WHC Nomination Documentation

File name: 492.pdf UNESCO Region EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

SITE NAME ("TITLE") Pueblo de Taos

DATE OF INSCRIPTION ("SUBJECT") 14/12/1992

STATE PARTY ("AUTHOR") UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CRITERIA ("KEY WORDS")

DECISION OF THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE:
16th Session
The Committee took note of the agreement between the U.S. Government and Taos Pueblo Tribal Council on interpretation of the United States' trust responsibility for the protection of the Taos Pueblo as a World Heritage site to include appropriate legal, moral and financial support necessary to assure respect for, and the protection of those cultural traditions, natural resources and practices which the Pueblo's leadership considers sacred and necessary for the continuity of the community.
The Committee also took note, in this regard, of the additional agreement between the U.S. and Taos Pueblo on the latter's status as a self-governed community, and that any action undertaken by the United States in carrying out its trust responsibility for the protection and preservation of the Pueblo be conducted in a manner that acknowledges the full knowledge, participation and prior approval of the Pueblo's
duly elected leadership.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION:
Situated in the valley of a small tributary of the Rio Grande, this adobe settlement consists of dwellings and ceremonial buildings, representing the culture of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico.

1.b. State, province or region: New Mexico, U.S.A.

1.d Exact location: Long. 105°32’ W ; Lat. 36°26’ N

492

30-12-198

CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF
THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE

WORLD HERITAGE LIST

Nomination Submitted by the United States of America

Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico
1987

1. SPECIFIC LOCATION

a) Country
United States of America

b) State
New Mexico

c) Name of Property
Pueblo of Taos

(The 16th-century Spanish also called it Braba, Valladolid, and Tayberon or Tayberin. The mission at the Pueblo was historically known as San Geronimo de Taos.)

d) Exact Location on Map and Indication of Geographical Coordinates

Latitude and Longitude: 36° 26' Latitude
105° 32' Longitude

Universal Transverse Mercator coordinates corresponding with lettered points on the accompanying map:

A. 13 451820 4032820
B. 13 451280 4032370
C. 13 451040 4032360
D. 13 451010 4032450
E. 13 451010 4032570
F. 13 451140 4032720

The boundary of the area recognized as a U.S. National Historic Landmark is indicated on the accompanying map. This is also the boundary proposed for World Heritage listing. This area includes the historic walled village as well as important historic and prehistoric features outside the walled area.

2. JURIDICAL DATA

a) Owner

Taos Pueblo
P. O. Box 1846
Taos, New Mexico 87571

b) Legal Status

Our tribal government is responsible to this land and to the people. We have lived upon this land from days beyond history's records, far past any living memory deep into the time of legend. The story of my people, and the story of this place, are one single story. No man can think of us without also thinking of this place. We are always joined together.[1]

Taos Pueblo is a self-governing community with centuries-old roots in the lands it now occupies. The Pueblo's legal status reflects its place within traditions that have continued unbroken for centuries in northern New Mexico. The Spanish crown legally recognized the Pueblos' right to land in grants of four square leagues. Under the 1848 treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended

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1. Statement by a Taos Pueblo man, quoted in Jeannette Henry et. al., eds., Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1970), p. 35.

the U.S.-Mexican War, the U.S. recognized the land rights of former Mexican citizens. A Surveyor-General, a Federal official, recommended confirmation of the Pueblo grants, an action which the U.S. Congress took. Patents were completed and issued during the presidency of Abraham Lincoln.[2] The Pueblos thus have a long history of recognition within European-American legal systems of their right to lands they presently occupy.

Nonetheless, in ensuing years the precise legal status of the Pueblo lands was a subject of dispute, because of encroachments on Pueblo lands by non-Pueblos and because the Pueblo grants were not, for a time, considered inalienable as are reservations in the usual sense. A U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1876 capped a series of local court decisions to the effect that the Pueblos held sole and complete title to their lands, and had the right to dispose of those lands. In effect, this meant that the Pueblos did not share in the special "trust" relationship of the Federal government with other Native American groups, a relationship developed in the early days of the U.S. republic to rationalize competing claims of sovereignty. This had the effect of allowing increased encroachment on Pueblo lands.[3]

Then, in the case United States v. Sandoval, in 1913, the Supreme Court reversed itself, declaring that the Pueblos were entitled to the same Federal legal provisions applied to other tribes. Subsequently, Congress created a Pueblo Lands Board to quiet claims to Pueblo lands by non-Pueblos, a process completed in 1938. The Pueblo Lands Act of 1924 reaffirmed Federal fiduciary responsibility in regard to alienation of Pueblo lands. Following this settlement, some Pueblos have acquired additional lands to meet their further needs.

The single most dramatic event in the recent history of Taos Pueblo lands is the 1970 return to the Pueblo of 48,000 acres of mountain land including the sacred Blue Lake. Among the ritual sites where Taos people go for ceremonial reasons, Blue Lake is perhaps the most important. Its return is a tribute to the tenacity of Pueblo leaders and to the community's commitment to guarding its lands for the spiritual and cultural health of the Pueblo.

The return of this land capped a long history of struggle. By at least 1730, the people of the Pueblo were appealing to Spanish officials for protection against squatters on their land. Their appeals to the Spanish governors were in many cases upheld, but Spanish families continued to encroach on the Pueblo's lands. For example, in 1815, following a petition from the Pueblo Governor, Spanish officials searched for a compromise that would allow some accommodation of the needs of the Spaniards living on lands that belonged to the Pueblo, and of the Pueblo's legal rights. The people of the Pueblo were asked to lease ranches occupied by those Hispanos, in return for payment in livestock, an arrangement which the Pueblo refused. Throughout this dispute, the Spanish governor upheld the Pueblo's legal right to the royal four-league grant.[4]

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2. Myra Ellen Jenkins and Albert H. Schroeder, A Brief History of New Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press), pp. 57, 61; Communication from Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, November, 1987.

3. Marc Simmons, "The History of the Pueblos Since 1821," in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), p. 214.

4. Myra Ellen Jenkins, "Taos Pueblo and its Neighbors, 1540-1847," New Mexico Historical Review 41 (1966): 100-104.

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In 1906, the U.S. Forest Service took over the management of the Blue Lake land as part of the Carson National Forest. For more than fifty years the Pueblo sought to regain control of the land, based on original use and cultural claims to the area. These claims were confirmed by the United States Indian Claims Commission in 1965. Pueblo leaders such as Juan de Jesus Romero, Severino Martinez, and Paul J. Bernal persisted in pressing their right to the sacred Blue Lake pilgrimage site, and popular support of Taos' claims grew. Finally, in 1970, Congress passed, and President Richard M. Nixon signed, legislation returning the disputed Blue Lake land to Taos Pueblo. This action "marked the first time in the long history of U.S.-Indian relations that land illegally seized by the government was returned to an Indian tribe on the basis of freedom of religious worship."[5] Despite attempts to discourage their pilgrimages to Blue Lake, and offers to compensate them for the land with money, the Pueblo reclaimed the lake in a reaffirmation of their ability to maintain their religious traditions and autonomy as a community.

Protective, Legal, and Administrative Measures for Conservation

The structures in the walled village at the heart of the Pueblo are the most obvious tangible evidence of the preservation and protection of the Taos community and culture in the face of centuries of contact with European-Americans and resulting changes in the economy and ecology of the Taos Valley. Of the Pueblo communities in the United States, the Taos are among those most vigilant and successful in maintaining a social structure and belief system that set them apart from European-Americans, as well as distinctive architectural traditions. Within the walled area, the Pueblo has long maintained controls designed to protect the community's traditions. In this area, the community allows neither electrical power lines nor piped-in running water.

The current ordinance of the Taos Pueblo Council governing the installation of electric service on Taos Pueblo lands demonstrates a continuing commitment to protection of the cultural and religious heritage of the Pueblo.[6] Under this ordinance, no construction or installation of electrical facilities is permitted within a restricted zone, which includes the walled area and lands to the east of the village. In other parts of the Pueblo lands, the ordinance requires that power lines be installed underground. The ordinance clearly states that this restriction is designed for the preservation of the natural beauty and cultural heritage of the Pueblo, and to give special protection to areas related to certain traditional activities. In 1975-76, this ordinance was challenged in a case before the United States District Court in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and upheld. Taos' Cacique, a spiritual and temporal leader, said at that time in court documents:

> The [Tribal] Council has, under the ancient system of self-government followed by Taos Pueblo for centuries, the authority to define and protect the religious, traditional and ceremonial life of the community. In the exercise of that authority, the Tribal Council traditionally prohibited electric service lines within the walled village and in the

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5. John Bodine, Taos Pueblo: A Walk Through Time (Santa Fe, New Mexico: The Lightning Tree), p. 17.

6. Taos Pueblo Council, "Ordinance Governing the Installation of Electric Service on Taos Pueblo Lands," Ordinance 1974-01, as amended by 1974-02. Please see the copy of this ordinance in the Appendix.

> area east of the village before any written Ordinance was written .... When the Tribal Council decided to adopt a written Ordinance defining precisely the boundaries of the zone in which installation of electric lines or connections to existing lines were prohibited, it sought to protect the religious, cultural, and aesthetic values of the ancient village and of the religiously important eastern area from electric service lines.[7]

The people of Taos have added European-American items to their material culture, such as linoleum and automobiles. While adapting and adopting some Hispano and Anglo ways and goods, they have at the same time rejected outside influences that they considered a threat to the integrity of their culture and community. The buildings of the Pueblo within the community wall, as described elsewhere, mirror these processes. Additions and some use of non-native materials have not fundamentally altered the visual impact of the Pueblo or its striking evidence of ancient building traditions.

The community's commitment to preservation of the old structures within the Pueblo wall is also demonstrated by a recent application for a Federal grant for preservation and restoration at the Pueblo. Federal funds of $330,000 for this project were supplemented by an appropriation of $100,000 from the New Mexico State legislature. Standards and guidelines for preservation of the Pueblo are being developed in conjunction with this project and promise to serve preservation needs on a continuing basis. The work will stabilize the North and South houses, the two main complexes within the Pueblo wall, and will be carried out under a joint powers agreement between the State of New Mexico and the Pueblo.

Taos has been recognized by the U.S. Federal government as a National Historic Landmark since 1960. It is also listed in the U.S. National Register of Historic Places. Under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, its historic and cultural significance must therefore be carefully considered by any Federal agency involved in undertakings that affect Taos. That act requires that if a Federal undertaking could adversely affect a National Historic Landmark, the responsible Federal agency must, to the maximum extent possible, undertake planning and other actions necessary to minimize harm to the Landmark. When a Federal agency is involved in an undertaking that will have an effect, adverse or not, on a property listed in the National Register of Historic Places, that agency must take into account the historical or cultural values of the property, and afford a reasonable opportunity to comment on the undertaking to a Federal body known as the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The Act thus affords a significant degree of protection from Federal activities. At the same time, National Register and National Historic Landmark status are completely compatible with the self-governing nature of the Pueblo.

The U.S. National Park Service monitors the condition of National Historic Landmarks through periodic inspections. By law, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior must prepare an annual report to the U.S. Congress on endangered National Historic Landmarks. Landmark status is designed to encourage the preservation of Landmark properties by their owners, and to increase public awareness of the importance of Landmarks.

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7. Civil Case 75-393, United States District Court, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Occupancy

Occupancy of the Pueblo has changed somewhat in recent decades. During that time, an increasing number of Pueblo residents have made their homes outside the walled area of the Pueblo. As a result, the heart of the Pueblo is now occupied most fully at ceremonial times. The people of Taos had a tradition of using farm or "summer" houses away from the village center dating back probably to the prehistoric period. Homes outside the wall, in recent years, have become year-round residences for increasing numbers of people, as growth in population has made it impossible for all residents to live inside the Pueblo walls. Nonetheless,

> the old village still serves as the most important focus in which most intra-village interaction is carried out. The concept of the wall remains crucial, so Taos is more properly classified as nucleated by comparison with San Juan or Laguna.[8]

Accessibility

Taos' fame attracts large numbers of tourists annually. The Pueblo in recent years has established a Visitor's Center for them. The Pueblo is open to visitors on most days of the year, but is closed on certain ceremonial occasions. In addition, certain areas of the Pueblo may not be entered by outsiders.

c) Responsible Administration:

Taos General (Tribal) Council and the Office of the Governor
Taos Pueblo
P.O. Box 1846
Taos, New Mexico 87571

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8. John Bodine, "Acculturation Processes and Population Dynamics," in New Perspectives on the Pueblos, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press), p. 268.

3. IDENTIFICATION

a) Description and Inventory

In the Southwestern United States, Pueblo communities and numberless ruins testify to a way of life that developed over centuries, based on agricultural skills, close communal bonds, and shared social and religious vision. Taos is one of nineteen Pueblo communities in present-day New Mexico. Together with the Hopi villages of northern Arizona, these are the living reminders of centuries of cultural and social processes that culminated in the growth of large communities in the arid American Southwest. Pueblos of New Mexico represent three primary language groups, the Keresan, the Tanoan, and the Zunian. Within the overall designation of "Pueblo culture," these three linguistic groups each show certain characteristic cultural variations from the others. Taos residents speak a language in the Tiwa branch of Tanoan.

Taos Pueblo's walled complex is symbolic of the enduring traditions of a community that has successfully protected itself through centuries of pressure from unsympathetic and intrusive peoples. The large multi-tiered dwellings, housing many families, that developed among the prehistoric Pueblos in the era archeologists call their "Classic" period represent in tangible architectural terms the communal life that bound each Pueblo together. This style is believed original to the Southwest, rather than derived from Mesoamerican precedents. Today, only Acoma, Taos, and the Hopi villages, among all the Pueblo communities, fully retain that ancient architectural style. Even in that group, Taos possesses special architectural distinction, for its five-storied north house is "the largest multi-storied Pueblo structure still existent and continuously inhabited."[9]

Because of their biases in favor of agricultural and sedentary ways of life, European-Americans have long been impressed by the qualities of Pueblo culture and architecture. The early Spanish explorers found the Pueblos, with their settled agricultural communities and distinctive building style, a striking contrast to the non-sedentary Native American groups at a distance from them in all directions. Later, United States officials similarly paid tribute to the Pueblos, whom they considered, in contrast to nomadic and semi-nomadic groups, "the only tribe in perfect amity with the government, and ... an industrious, agricultural, and pastoral people."[10] The Pueblos have never been one "tribe," but this statement does reflect 19th-century Anglo-American perceptions of their architectural and agricultural heritage.

Elements of Taos Pueblo

Taos Pueblo lies on a plateau between the Sangre de Cristo mountain range and the Rio Grande, in a relatively well-watered area sometimes called the Taos Valley. Nearby is the Hispano and Anglo town also known as Taos or Taos Plaza.

At an altitude of some 7,000 feet, Taos is near the most rugged mountains in New Mexico, at the southern end of the Rocky Mountains. The Pueblo has thus had access not only to the fertile soil of the Rio Grande valley, but also to mountain game and water from mountain snows. Both have played an

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9. Bodine, Taos Pueblo, p. 10.

10. James S. Calhoun quoted in Simmons, "History of the Pueblos Since 1821," p. 209.

important role in the Taos economy. Though it has a relatively short growing season, Taos was historically a productive agricultural area. At the same time, the mountains provide access to more than one ecosystem, and hunting at Taos supplemented crops to a larger extent than at most Pueblos. The visual impact of the Pueblo is inseparable from the great beauty of its mountainous setting. To the east of the Sangre de Cristo range lie the Great Plains, a fact that also influenced life at Taos in ways that will be discussed elsewhere.

The two main complexes of the Pueblo, the North and South houses, lie on either side of a central plaza. A stream between them, running through the plaza, is still a primary source of water for drinking and cooking. It is also a direct link to the sacred ceremonial area of Blue Lake, its source. The multi-storied North and South houses rise from the plaza in terraced tiers; upper stories are set back from those below, so that the flat roof of the story below serves the floor above as a work and entry area. Unlike the masonry structures of the prehistoric Pueblos at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and other Anasazi communities, Taos and most of the other Rio Grande Pueblos are built of adobe.

As the Pueblo population has increased, some new structures have been added to the old buildings. More than twenty sections today cluster within the wall, compared to the 18 noted by Spanish observers in 1540.[11] Because Pueblos often grew by accretion over a long period of years, no rigid uniformity in room sizes and roof heights prevails here. Still, the dictates of traditional building customs, techniques, and materials have resulted in harmonious construction throughout the Pueblo complex within the walled area.

The single major obvious change in the Pueblo's prehistoric architectural traditions is the introduction of European-style framed windows, doors, and corner fireplaces with roof chimneys. Early Spanish observers remarked on the scarcity of doors and windows on Pueblo exteriors, and the fact that entry to the rooms was gained by climbing ladders to roof-top openings, a style presumably developed for purposes of defense. An Army officer in New Mexico noted in 1881 that "windows and doors are very scarce in this pueblo which in this respect adheres more closely to archaic forms than any of the towns east of the Moqui [Hopi] Villages."[12] Entry by rooftop openings largely lost favor late in the 19th century. Nonetheless, as recently as 1900, third, fourth, and fifth stories still had the small window and door openings characteristic of indigenous traditions, and these openings were relatively few in number.[13] Window glass was not allowed in the Pueblo even in the 1920s, except in the church.[14] Taos was among the last Pueblos to allow the innovation of framed windows, but today, as recent photographs

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11. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), pp. 288-9.

12. Lansing B. Bloom, ed., "Bourke on the Southwest," New Mexico Historical Review, 12 (1937): 46.

13. Bodine, Taos Pueblo, p. 10-12

14. Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo (1936; reprint ed., New York, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), p. 17.

demonstrate, framed doors and windows are comparatively numerous. The windows remain small, and a significant degree of harmony prevails in their size, proportions, and placement, despite variations in framing and glazing.

Other important structures, in addition to dwelling houses, are the wall around the core village area, and the seven kivas in and near the walled area. Kivas are ceremonial chambers, here built underground. Along with the societies associated with them, they play a major role in the religious life and social organization of the Pueblo. Though one of the kivas is no longer in use, the remaining six kiva societies are active today. The privacy of the kiva societies and of the kivas themselves has been rigorously guarded for generations against intrusion of any sort by outsiders.

Cornfield Taos site

This ruin, located a short distance northeast of the North house in a cornfield, appears to have been the immediate predecessor to the present-day Pueblo. It is considered by the people of Taos a vital part of the community's heritage. The modern surface of the central section of this ruin has provided clay for plastering the Pueblo's houses over the years, but below the surface there seems to have been little disturbance of the ruin.[15]

Middens

Also included within the boundaries of the Taos Pueblo National Historic Landmark and the proposed World Heritage area are four middens. These are primarily piles of ash from house fires, but they include potsherds that have provided valuable archeological evidence. The middens are located behind the North and South houses; two are on the north side, one to the south, and one at the southeast corner. Three of them are shown on Figure 3. When a mound erodes enough to spread onto a nearby road, the debris is scraped up and re-deposited, but always in an area considered inside the Pueblo. Outsiders are expected to remain at some distance from the middens.

Race-Track

This race-track, shown on Figure 2, is the site of foot races that play an important role in the ceremonial cycle at Taos.

Church of San Geronimo de Taos

The present mission church at Taos was built in the 19th century and has been altered somewhat over the years since then. The National Historic Landmark boundary also includes the ruin of an earlier church that was destroyed in 1847.

Traditional patterns of building are challenged today by an increase in construction of individual homes outside the main Pueblo, as noted elsewhere. In 1971, 109 households within the old Pueblo proper were consistently occupied, compared to 192 outside the Pueblo wall.[16] In spite of this,

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15. Florence Hawley Ellis and J.J. Brody, "Ceramic Stratigraphy and Tribal History at Taos Pueblo," American Antiquity, 29 (1964): p. 317.

16. John Bodine, "Taos Pueblo," in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, Alfonso Ortiz, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution), p. 260.

the tendency to residency outside the wall is not as marked a change from traditional Pueblo patterns of settlement as might be expected. As Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis has observed:

> As we now know, the old original Pueblo pattern consisted of a village surrounded by planted fields or at least within fairly easy walking distance of those fields. As time passed and the population of a tribe increased, the remaining land which could be cultivated necessitated a longer trek from the main village to plant, cultivate and harvest the crops on which the later established families must depend. This led to single field houses of one or more rooms constructed for more or less occupation per summer season by the farmer and his family... The field houses, however, were usually abandoned for the winter, the families returning to their own apartments in the main pueblo....
>
> Taos Pueblo itself was so located that the farmers could reach with fair ease their fields on all sides outside the Pueblo wall. They probably had a scattering of field houses in the past and certainly now many of the families are living outside the wall, on the lands they are planting. In this century the advantages of such an arrangement not only place the family next to their work, but at the same time permit one to have running water, modern plumbing, electricity and more space .... [17]

Comparisons with Acoma and the Hopi villages

Taos Pueblo, among present-day Pueblo communities, epitomizes the climax of the multi-tiered, terraced architectural style that developed during what archeologists call the Classic period of Rio Grande Pueblo prehistory. The height and size of the North house are unmatched among present-day Pueblos, and reflect that multi-storied style with an integrity rivalled only by two other Pueblo groups. Only at Acoma Pueblo in New Mexico, and in the Arizona communities of the Hopi, do living communities' structures also retain this style with a high degree of fidelity. Terraced houses at Zuni Pueblo, for example, were once as much as five stories high, but now for the most part the Pueblo is single-storied. At Acoma and the Hopi towns, today the multi-tiered residences do not rise above three stories. Taos, by comparison, has four- and five-storied heights. Acoma and the old Hopi villages are built of stone masonry. Taos is of adobe construction. Taos is thus the best surviving representative of a form of adobe architecture indigenous to the Southwestern United States and highly important as a reflection of cultural development in that region.

Oraibi, oldest of the present-day Hopi communities, has lost population to other Hopi communities during the twentieth century. As a result, many of old Oraibi's former houses are now in ruinous condition. Walpi and Shongopovi, other Hopi villages approaching the age of Taos, also show some effects of abandonment for newer communities on the Hopi reservation, although not to the extent apparent at Oraibi. At both, changes in the number of rooms and in building heights have been marked since the late 19th century.[18]

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17. Communication by Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis, November, 1987. National Park Service files (History Division), Washington, D.C.

18. Stanley A. Stubbs, Bird's-Eye View of the Pueblos (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), pp. 95, 117.

b) Maps and Plans

Figure 1. Taos Pueblo as it may have appeared in 1776

Figure 2. Taos Pueblo, 1936. Map by Elsie Clews Parsons

Figure 3. Taos Pueblo. Map from John Bodine's "Taos Pueblo" in vol. 9 of the Handbook of North American Indians, p. 257, based on Historic American Buildings Survey map of 1973

Figure 4. United States Geological Survey Map showing National Historic Landmark boundaries, which are the proposed World Heritage boundaries; Taos, New Mexico quadrangle map

Figures 5-7. Historic American Buildings Survey drawings

c) Photographic Documentation

Figure 8. Taos Pueblo, 1953 (Witteman Collection, Library of Congress)

Figure 9. Taos Pueblo, 1953 (Witteman Collection, Library of Congress)

Figure 10. View of the highest section of the South House, Taos Pueblo, 1974 (National Park Service photograph)

19 color transparencies, all National Park Service photographs; originals at the Preservation Assistance Division, Washington, D. C. 20013-7127

Slide No.:

1. 1973 General view
2. 1973 General view with drying racks for corn and other crops in foreground
3. 1977 General view
4. 1973 General view
5. 1973 General view
6. 1975 General view
7. 1975 Domed oven
8. 1973 Detail of adobe construction
9. 1973 General view
10. 1973 General view
11. 1973 General view
12. 1973 General view
13. 1975 Detail showing ladder used for access to upper story
14. 1977 General view
15. 1975 Detail of adobe construction
16. 1973 General view
17. 1977 Present-day church
18. 1973 Detail showing ladder
19. 1975 General view

d) History

Prehistory and Archeology

In prehistoric times, Pueblo peoples established farming communities in a large area of present-day Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. Their success in agriculture and in supporting concentrations of population in arid and semi-arid environments almost certainly accompanied a significant degree of centralization and specialization in social organization and in ceremonial life. This florescence reached a peak in what archeologists regard as the "Classic" Pueblo period of the Anasazi people of the Colorado Plateau, which culminated at communities such as those of Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon, concentrated in the "Four Corners" area where the present-day boundaries of the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado meet.

Taos Pueblo is a living expression of the continuation and vitality of this ancient tradition, and its shift from the Plateau area. The archeological record does not reveal specifically why, by about A.D. 1300, the great Anasazi communities of the Four Corners were abandoned. Most explanations emphasize evidence of lowered precipitation over a prolonged period. Between 1300 and the beginning of the historic era in 1540, the area occupied by Pueblo peoples diminished, and shifts in population occurred. This movement culminated in the distribution of Pueblo settlements that obtained in 1540, along the Rio Grande, in some nearby parts of New Mexico, and at the Hopi communities.

The exact relationship between the peoples of the prehistoric Four Corners Pueblos and the historic Pueblo communities of the Rio Grande Valley is not yet absolutely clear. Present-day Pueblo communities, clearly, are inheritors of the Anasazi cultural tradition. Rio Grande Valley habitation by people who participated in Anasazi/Pueblo culture can be traced to ca. A.D. 600.[19]

Larger communities in the Rio Grande region developed toward the end of what archeologists call the "Coalition Period," A.D. 1200-1325. This trend continued, and in recognition of attendant cultural developments, archeologists describe the era between 1325 and the arrival of the Spaniards as the "Classic" period for northern Rio Grande Pueblos. This was a time marked by increased formalization of trade networks, and by greater sophistication in the use of agricultural techniques such as reservoirs, contour terraces, and raised and gridded fields, compared to prior settlements in the Rio Grande region.[20] As with the Anasazi of the Colorado Plateau, and probably because of migration eastward from that area in the late 1200s, in the Rio Grande country there was new reliance on flood-water and stream diversion types of irrigation which, by the early 1300s, the Pueblos developed into extensive systems for diversion of the Rio Grande and its tributaries.[21]

In the Taos area, at the northern limits of the area historically occupied by the Pueblos, the earliest sites identified indicate that the era of early, developmental Pueblo culture began around A.D. 900 or 1000. Some archeologists

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19. Laurance C. Herold and Ralph A. Luebben, Papers on Taos Archeology (Taos, New Mexico: Fort Burgwin Research Center, 1968), p. 19.

20. Anne I. Woosley, Taos Archeology (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University and the Fort Burgwin Research Center, 1980), pp. 11-15.

21. Edward P. Dozier, The Pueblo Indians of North America (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), pp. 34, 39; communication of Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis, November, 1987.

have viewed the Taos area of prehistoric times as relatively isolated from the main centers of Rio Grande Pueblo development to the south. Nonetheless, early settlements in the Northern Rio Grande region, in architecture and ceramics, bear strong resemblance to those of the early Four Corners area, as well as to the early northern Mogollon culture near Albuquerque. Links between Anasazi culture and the Taos area are accepted, though contacts with other Pueblos over the years were probably not uninterrupted.

The Taos area saw greater concentrations of population in the A.D. 1200-1325 "Coalition Period." It seems reasonable to assume that increased centralization and cooperation marked ritual and social structures during this growth. During the later part of this era, the Pot Creek Pueblo became a major center of population in the area. Located near the Rio Grande de Ranchos, south of Taos, this Pueblo was the largest in the Northern Rio Grande region. Its great kiva suggests that it may have been an organizational and ceremonial center for numbers of sites in the area. By about 1350, though, the Pueblos had deserted Pot Creek. On its abandonment, Pot Creek's inhabitants may have gone to Taos, Picuris Pueblo, and other Taos Valley sites, but the exact nature of this relationship has not been established.

The archeological record thus does not definitively answer the question of how the ancestors of the Taos arrived at the Taos site. Archeologists, and Taos oral traditions, suggest that the key migration was from the north, but that other influences and groups may have also come to the area from the south and west. Published sources recount that the people of Taos have said that they came to Taos in a number of different religious society or kiva groups, which settled in several locations in the Ranchos de Taos-Pot Creek area, south of the Pueblo, and north of present-day Taos, before finally coalescing at the Taos site of today.

Linguists suggest that Tiwa speakers came to the Taos Valley about A. D. 1100, and that some remained in the area while others went south. These latter possibly became ancestors of the Tiwa-speaking Pueblo communities of Sandia and Isleta.[22]

The Cornfield Taos site by tradition is said to be the predecessor of the present-day Pueblo. After limited archeological testing, on the basis of ceramic types, Dr. Florence Hawley Ellis has dated it to between 1325 or 1350 and 1450. The present-day Pueblo, judging from archeological testing in the community's oldest refuse mound, was probably founded by roughly A.D. 1400. It is possible that some buildings stood on the site shortly before that date. Little archeological work has been allowed in the Pueblo proper, with the notable exception of the brief project in the 1960s conducted by Dr. Ellis and J.J. Brody.[23]

Historic Period

Spanish intrusion on the Pueblos begins with the journey of Fray Marcos de Niza and a Moor known to history as Esteban. Although they only penetrated

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22. M. Estellie Smith, Governing at Taos Pueblo, Eastern New Mexico University Contributions in Anthropology, vol. 2 (1969), no. 1: p. 6.; Bodine, "Taos Pueblo," in Handbook, p. 259.

23. Ellis and Brody, "Ceramic Stratigraphy," pp. 320, 323, 324; Ronald K. Wetherington, Excavations at Pot Creek Pueblo (Taos, New Mexico: Fort Burgwin Research Center, 1968), p. 83.

the fringes of the Pueblo world, it was their inflated accounts of wealthy northern cities that drew Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, governor of New Galicia in northern Mexico, to make the first Spanish expedition to the Pueblos, 1540-42. Coronado's captain, Hernando de Alvarado, went ahead of the main group to reconnoiter, and his party provides our earliest written description of Taos Pueblo and its environs:

> Among them [the Pueblos] there was one located among some banks. It must have twenty districts, and is well worth seeing. The houses have three stories of mud walls and three others of wood or small timbers. On the three stories of mud there are three terraces on the outside. We thought this pueblo must have had up to fifteen thousand people. The country is very cold. They do not raise chickens or cotton. They worship the sun and the water. Outside of the pueblo we found dirt mounds, in which they bury their people.[24]

In Pedro de Castaneda's account of Coronado's expedition, Taos Pueblo is described as seen by another exploratory party led by Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo:

> The river flowed through the center of it, and the river was spanned by wooden bridges built with very large and and heavy square pine timbers. At this pueblo there were seen the largest and finest estufas [kivas] that had been found in all that land. They had twelve pillars, each one two arms' length around and two estados high.... This land is very high and extremely cold. The river was deep and had a swift current, without any ford. Captain Barrionuevo turned back from here, leaving all those provinces at peace.[25]

Several recent scholars state that the Pueblo described by Coronado's men was not the present-day Pueblo, but instead a nearby village, probably the Cornfield Taos site.[26] The findings of Dr. Ellis, however, show that Taos Pueblo, at its present location, was well established by 1540.

The first narratives by the Spaniards show that they were impressed by the sedentary, agricultural life of the Pueblos, their many-storied communities, and their weaving and pottery. In fact, Coronado and later Spanish intruders depended on the Pueblos for provisions and received from them cotton blankets and skins. Foreshadowing later developments, these demands led to friction and bloodshed even during Coronado's expedition. Taos, in its relatively remote northern location, did not bear the brunt of this early conflict.

After Coronado's expedition, the Spaniards made no effort to colonize New Mexico until the end of the century. Several Spanish expeditions came into the region in the 1580s, but in available documentation, details of their routes are sometimes difficult to interpret. Opinions differ as to whether

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24. Hammond and Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, pp. 183-184, and pp. 288-9.

25. Ibid., pp. 244-245.

26. Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey, eds., Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1945) eds. notes p. 282.

the Chamuscado-Rodriguez expedition of 1581-82 or the Espejo expedition, which followed in 1582-83, ever reached Taos.[27]

Reports of the Rodriguez-Chamuscado expedition of 1581-82 prompted a royal authorization for Spanish control (by then termed a "pacification") of New Mexico. Don Juan de Oñate contracted for the official right to establish a colony there, and was appointed first Spanish governor of New Mexico. In September of 1598, just after Oñate's colonists arrived in New Mexico, Oñate solicited and received promises of obedience to the Spanish king and the Christian god from a group of "captains" of Pueblos, including representation from Taos. Oñate also sent priests to the Pueblos, but it seems unlikely that the one assigned to Taos was very active there.[28]

Shortly thereafter, signs of conflict between Spanish civil authorities and the Catholic church developed. This conflict complicated their relations with the Pueblos episodically throughout most of the 17th century. Each side accused the other of exploitation of Pueblo labor and goods, in a competition for influence in the Pueblo communities. The system of encomiendas, by which certain Hispanos were granted tribute in kind as personal income from specified Pueblos or parts of Pueblos, left the governor open to such charges. At various times, missionaries complained, too, that civil authorities blocked their efforts to Christianize the Pueblos. Missionaries, for their part, were sometimes accused of oppressing mission Pueblos and other abuses of their position.

From the beginning, Taos was one of the centers of resistance to Spanish incursions. In 1613, the people of Taos protested the exaction of tribute.[29] As early as 1609, one of the missionaries wrote that a league of "hostile tribes," including Taos, had formed to oppose both the Spaniards and the "friendly" Pueblos who had provided the newcomers with food, clothing, and shelter. This league, he said, would attack the "friendlies" if the Spaniards withdrew from New Mexico, and was already working to persuade "the peaceful Indians that the latter should throw off the heavy Spanish yoke." He entered a plea that mission work among the Pueblos be continued and receive greater protection through an increase in the civil population of Hispanos.[30]

Among the sources of friction were missionaries' attempts to suppress Pueblo religion, which included destruction of religious objects, attacks on kivas, and persecution of religious leaders. In 1634, Fray Alonso de Benavides, in a report to the Pope on the mission work in New Mexico, acknowledged that the people of Taos "had been very rebellious."[31]

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27. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), pp. 13, 37, 53; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, "The Rodriguez Expedition," New Mexico Historical Review 2 (1927): p. 352; and Hammond and Rey, Don Juan de Onate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico, 1953), pp. 2-4.

28. Hammond and Rey, Onate, pp. 342-345; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, Benavides' Memorial, n., p. 283.

29. Jenkins, "Taos Pueblo and its Neighbors," p. 88.

30. Hammond and Rey, Onate, pp. 1094-5.

31. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, Benavides' Revised Memorial, p. 71.

He underestimated the strength and depth of this resistance. In 1637-38, the missionary at Taos was under investigation because the people of Taos said he had committed immoral acts. In early 1640, a friar was killed at Taos, and the church and convent at Taos were destroyed. The Spanish response, in 1641, was a punitive raid.[32] In this period, some people of Taos took refuge on the Plains. They joined Apaches at a site called El Cuartelejo, in present-day Kansas, presumably to escape the Spaniards in the wake of events of 1640-41. In the early 1660s, the Spaniards reported an expedition to El Cuartelejo that brought some of the Taos people back to New Mexico.[33]

Meanwhile, between 1610 and 1680, the Hispano population of New Mexico grew, spreading to the Taos Valley by mid-century. As Spanish land grants to them drew closer to Taos, there were reports of failed plans for revolt at the Pueblo. Finally, a group of Pueblo leaders joined in a successful plan to force the Spanish out of Pueblo territory. Taos was the center of this planning activity, and people of Taos were among its acknowledged leaders. In 1680, in a carefully planned and coordinated effort, the Pueblos united to overwhelm the Spaniards. At Taos, the church and convent were burned when the uprising began.[34] By late August, the Spaniards withdrew from New Mexico.

The Spaniards did not regain a foothold in New Mexico until 1692-3, when Diego de Vargas re-established Spanish government in New Mexico. In 1692, Vargas made a first foray in Pueblo country. Dissension among the Pueblos prevented them from making a unified opposition; as Vargas made his way among the Pueblos, he found some apparently willing to make peace. Taos, though, he found deserted. The people of Taos had taken refuge in the mountains, and Vargas pursued them. His campaign journal reports that he persuaded them to return to the Pueblo with promises of peace, pardon, and baptism, and hoisted the royal banner in token of reclaiming the Pueblo for the Spanish king.[35]

On his return to New Mexico in 1693, Vargas succeeded in taking Santa Fe, but found the allegiance of the Pueblos difficult to secure. He received reports that only four of the Pueblos would remain allies of the Spaniards, and that Taos was among the Pueblos that would resist. Many of the people of these Pueblos went to defensible places in the mesas and canyons, but the residents of Taos and nearby Picuris Pueblo did not leave their homes.

In the hostilities that followed, Vargas was driven by the need of provisions to venture to Taos again. Once again, he found the Pueblo deserted, as its residents moved to the mountains at his approach. Vargas sacked

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32. Ibid., n., p. 283; Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), pp. 206-7.

33. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, Benavides' Revised Memorial, n., p. 284.; Hackett, Historical Documents, p. 264; Jenkins, "Taos Pueblo and its Neighbors," pp. 88-9.

34. Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., and Charmion Clair Shelby, trans., Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), pp. 171, 246-7, 361-362.

35. J. Manuel Espinosa, ed., First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), pp. 150-153.

the Pueblo and took its grain for his people in Santa Fe. By the fall of 1694, Taos, Picuris, Acoma, and the Zuni and Hopi were the only Pueblo communities not firmly under Vargas' control. Vargas eventually re-established Spanish control in New Mexico, after another uprising in 1696. Taos again rose up in resistance in that year, but the Spaniards attacked the people of the Pueblo where they had taken refuge in the mountains, and the Pueblo capitulated.[36]

After re-taking New Mexico, the Spaniards did not re-institute the encomienda system. Another change in their relations with the Pueblos came as the threat of attack by Apache and Navajo groups created a Pueblo-Spanish alliance against these semi-nomadic tribes. By 1706, the Spaniards reported recruitment of Pueblos, including residents of Taos, for action against the marauders. One Spanish captain said that as a result "the Indian inhabitants had been avenged and satisfied with the useful spoils of war."[37] The Spaniards added new elements to these hostilities. The livestock and crop varieties introduced by the Spaniards were added to the lists of possible booty and trade items; there are also hints that the traditional rivalries were exacerbated by Spanish raiding practices.[38]

In the 18th century, the Comanche and Ute also became a significant threat in the Taos area, raiding or trading according to the possible advantages to them of either course. By mid-century the Comanche received support from the French for hostile actions against the Spanish and Pueblos, generated by the Franco-Spanish rivalry for control of the vast interior regions of North America. Comanche activities also increased pressure on Apache groups, who in turn stepped up raiding against Pueblo and Hispano in New Mexico.[39]

In the years after the 1680 revolt, as Hispanos returned to the Taos Valley, they and the Comanche contributed new elements to the complex of cultural exchanges at the Pueblo. In the 18th century, there are reports of Spanish people living in or near the Pueblo, presumably for protection from raiders. Following Comanche raids, in 1770, Hispanos moved into Taos Pueblo and abandoned settlements in the general vicinity. When the Comanche threat diminished, after the Spaniards made a peace with them in 1786, the town of Taos (or Don Fernando de Taos) grew up, and it became a magnet for the fur trade in the Southern Rocky Mountains. The Comanches became an important source of hides in New Mexico, and their contacts with Pueblos became frequent.[40]

There was already, though, a long-standing pattern of exchanges between Plains groups and Pueblos. Because of its location near a major mountain pass to the east, Taos has long been an important focus of contact with

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36. Espinosa, First Expedition of Vargas, pp. 34-39; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, Benavides' Memorial, n., p. 284.

37. Hackett, Historical Documents, pp. 367-68.

38. Charles H. Lange, "Relations of the Southwest with the Plains and Great Basin," Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), p. 202.

39. Ibid., pp. 202-03.

40. Ibid., p. 203; David J. Weber, The Taos Trappers (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 3-4, 22; Jenkins, "Taos Pueblo and its Neighbors," pp. 92, 97, 98-9.

Plains groups, in raiding and trading. Archeological evidence suggests that exchanges between the Pueblos and nomadic and semi-nomadic groups on the fringes of the Pueblo world stretched back into prehistoric times. As early as 1602, Spaniards noted that trade with the Apaches brought Plains goods, such as buffalo fat and hides, to Pueblos such as Taos and Pecos.[41] In historic times, this trade was organized in an annual fair at Taos that was one of the major trading events in the region. In peaceful times it drew Plains Indians to the Taos Valley. More recently, outsiders have noted that people of Taos display, more than other Pueblos, customs of clothing and hairdress that resemble traits commonly ascribed to Plains groups. The exact extent of reciprocal influences is difficult to ascertain, but its existence at Taos is undisputed.

Along with the turbulence of the years before and after the 1680 revolt, significant numbers of the Pueblo communities that existed at the time of Spanish arrival in New Mexico vanished, as a result of droughts, epidemics, and conflicts with the Spaniards and various Native American groups. The abandoned Pueblos include the Tompiro or Saline Pueblos south of Santa Fe, and Pecos Pueblo, abandoned in 1838.

Despite these losses, the Pueblos that remain today maintain separate and distinctive cultural and social systems and community identities, and have done so throughout their long history of contact with Hispanic and Anglo populations. In doing so, they have added to their culture, adapting aspects of other cultures to their own. They have officials, for example, whose primary tasks include dealing with the outside world, positions developed in response to Spanish government needs and perhaps with Spanish encouragement. At the same time, in addition to those officials, each Pueblo has an integrated system of traditional roles and authorities fulfilled by kiva society leaders and other traditional leaders. Similarly, since missions and religious conversion received heavy emphasis in Spanish interaction with the Pueblos, the Pueblos observe many of the customs and ceremonies of the Catholic religion. At the same time, they also practice older, Puebloan, religious traditions. The Hopi villages, which were virtually untouched by the Spaniards after the 1680 revolt, show instructive contrasts to these patterns. Catholicism, for example, has had little historical strength among the Hopi. The Rio Grande Pueblos are thus living examples of processes by which communities may guard their separateness despite centuries of acculturational pressures, in contrast to the Hopi, who experienced relatively little of such pressures until recent times.

Most of the written evidence of Pueblo history is in the comments of outsiders: missionaries, Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo officials, anthropologists, and other observers whose comments reflect varying abilities to understand the cultural gulf separating them from the Pueblos. Documents from the 18th and 19th centuries do provide clues about the nature of Pueblo-Hispano relations, and the strength of Pueblo culture. For example, when Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez reported on his official inspection of the missions of New Mexico in 1776, he said of Taos:

> Father Claramonte came to Taos as missionary in the year 1770. Finding everthing going from bad to worse, he immediately set to work, almost

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41. Hammond and Rey, Onate, p. 838.

> entirely at his own expense, although the Indians did help him a little, and often doing the labor himself and made the following repairs ... the sowing and all other [agricultural] work are in the charge of the pueblo.[42]

That the Spanish and Pueblo people were at once in close contact and distinctly separate is apparent in Dominguez' description of Taos Pueblo:

> Its plan resembles that of those walled cities with bastions and towers that are described to us in the Bible. I use this simile to explain myself more clearly with regard to its labyrinthine arrangement, but nevertheless I resign myself to describing it. For greater clarity it should be noted that from that same place between the aforesaid sierras a very decent river arises....
>
> In relation to the church and convent the pueblo is to the east and the aforesaid river runs through the middle of it. There are walls to cross it (they are of adobe), with their openings underneath. On each side of the river there is a tenement, or sugar loaf or honeycomb, exactly like the ones at Picuris. On the east a very high wall extends from the end of one to the end of the other, and there is a gate in this wall facing the said direction. The gate is on the north side of the said river, and on the corner of the tenement facing east on this bank there is a fortified tower.
>
> Continuing along this same bank, below the tenement and at the corner of it, is another fortified tower. Then there is a wall that makes an inside corner, and then a small block of houses which faces south, and making another inside corner below, turns its back to the corral of the convent (which is beside it) and faces east. It runs around the corner and turns again to the south, ending about 12 varas before the cemetery gate, which faces east as I said in the proper place. On this north bank the convent and church are joined to the aforesaid.
>
> The tenement on the south side has its fortified tower on the upper corner. Then the wall continues without turning, and then a small block of houses that end with the casas reales, which are like all the rest. A wall runs from the end of these casas reales, and crossing the river nearby joins a small block of [Hispanic] settlers' houses (I will very soon say why they live here), which are back to back, and consequently some face east and others west away from the plaza, but the entrances are from within the plaza for safety's sake. There is another fortified tower on the casas reales.
>
> This settler's block ends at the main gate, which faces west, and as we stand in it facing that direction, a small block of settlers runs on our right to a corner with a fortified tower facing the cemetery. Around the corner there are other small houses almost to the foot of the church tower. Inside, just beyond the main gate toward the convent, there are other houses on the left against the cemetery wall as far as its gate. The corrals in which the cattle are kept are in the plaza. There is a bridge made of beams to cross from one bank to the other....

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42. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, eds., The Missions of New Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), pp. 107-108.

> While speaking of the pueblo I cited the explanation, or reason, why they [the Spanish settlers] live there, and it is as follows. Formerly these settlers had a small plaza near the west side of the pueblo on the river and near the said swamp. This, built with the consent of the Indians, came to be a sort of hospice for the settlers when they visited Taos, and they stayed there as long as they liked as owners of the houses. Among these houses, one end of the plaza served for the casas reales, and the natives of the pueblo bought it from a citizen for this purpose. Here the alcalde mayor lived with the settlers, for they lived there most of the year.
>
> Later, when the Comanche raids became more troublesome, because this plaza was about two musket shots away from the pueblo and therefore cut off for purposes of mutual defense of pueblo and plaza, the settlers abandoned it and moved to the pueblo with the consent of the Indians in the year '70.... But although this is so, it does not mean that they will always live here, but only until the plaza which is being built in the canada where their farms are is finished.[43]

There are today no watchtowers on the Pueblo wall, and no Spanish "settlers'" houses in the Pueblo. The old church and convent complex north of the Pueblo has been replaced by a church on the Pueblo plaza. With these exceptions, this description is not unlike the Pueblo as it exists today.

There are other clues about the relative openness of Taos to outsiders in the 18th and early 19th centuries. For example, documents indicate that meetings were held inside Taos kivas in 1810 that included Pueblos, Hispanos, and French or Anglo people.[44] Today, outsiders are not allowed in the kivas, or even in their vicinity.

When Mexico established independence from Spain in 1821, the new country promised the rights of full citizenship to its Native American peoples. This brought little change in practices of civil administration for New Mexico's Pueblos. Under Mexican governments, there was a general tendency toward somewhat less official protection of Pueblo land and water rights against encroachment by a growing Hispano population. Litigation, as opposed to appeals to local Hispano officials, became increasingly a feature of Pueblo efforts to preserve their resources. The people of Taos Pueblo continued to fight for protection of their land and water rights, and their efforts received some support from Mexican officials.[45]

A tragic point in the Pueblo's relations with the society outside its walls came in 1847, after the United States government took control of New Mexico in the U.S.-Mexican War. A trader, Charles Bent, was installed as the new governor of the territory. In January, 1847, a group of Hispanos and Pueblos killed Bent and many local officials, in an uprising probably motivated largely by fears about the new government's intentions. U.S. troops from Santa Fe attacked the church where Taos and Hispano rebels had taken up their defense. Many died in the ensuing attack, and the church was destroyed. Its ruins stand today in testimony to the heavy cost of this revolt to the Pueblo.

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43. Ibid., pp. 110-113.

44. Albert H. Schroeder, "Rio Grande Ethnohistory," in New Perspectives on the Pueblos, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), p. 64.

45. Simmons, "History of the Pueblos Since 1821," pp. 206-207; Jenkins, "Taos Pueblo and its Neighbors," pp. 104-107.

Resistance to infringement of their rights has remained a persistent theme in the history of Taos' people under U.S. administration. The first U.S. agent to the Indians of New Mexico, James S. Calhoun, reported in 1850 that

> The Indians of Taos were in a moody and dissatisfied state. They complained of Mexican encroachments upon their Soil, and that the laws by which they had been governed from time immemorial, were being subverted, and gave as evidence of the latter fact, that the Alcaldes were now appointed by the Government at Santa Fe, instead of the annual elections to which they had been accustomed. They pray for protection, and the extension of United States Indian Laws over them.[46]

Foreshadowing later conflicts about the legal status of the Pueblos (outlined above) and contrasting Mexican and U.S. policies toward Native Americans, Calhoun told them that they might either act as citizens participating fully in the government of New Mexico, or they could request the U.S. Federal government to "secure them in an independent government" under the special Federal laws for Native American reservation lands and trade between Native Americans and others.[47] As suggested in the "juridical data" section above, this issue was not fully resolved until the 20th century, and protests by the Pueblo when land, water, or grazing rights were infringed punctuated Taos history under U.S. administration.

In 1910, the Pueblo's reputation for independence was still such that reports of an uprising, occasioned by friction with non-Indians about land, were credited by New Mexico officials. The Territorial governor called upon the National Guard to suppress the supposed rebellion, reports of which proved false.[48]

In 1922, in an effort to cushion the potential impact on Anglos and Hispanos of the U.S. v. Sandoval decision, Senator Holm O. Bursum of New Mexico introduced legislation to effectively confirm title to non-Pueblos who had held claims to Pueblo lands for more than 10 years prior to 1912.[49] Once again, Taos was prominent in efforts to protect the autonomy of the Pueblos. Declarations such as this one, in 1924, were part of Taos' role in the general ferment of this period:

> In the event that action by the Courts becomes necessary in order to protect the religious rights of this Pueblo or its individual members, the Officials of this Pueblo request and authorize the several friendly organizations to act in concert, to the end that an adequate record shall be made and the case be carried if necessary to the highest courts.[50]

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46. Annie Heloise Abel, ed., The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 103.

47. Ibid., pp. 134-137.

48. Communications of William J. Mills, 13-14 May 1910 and 26 November 1910, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Governors' Papers, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

49. Simmons, "History of the Pueblos Since 1821," p. 215.

50. Antonio C. Romero for the Council of the Pueblo of Taos, 7 May 1924, Francis C. Wilson Papers, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The Pueblos received support from sympathetic Anglos, and the fight against the Bursum Bill received nationwide attention. The bill was defeated. John Collier, who later became head of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, involved himself in this struggle. His interest in Native American communities was inspired in large measure by his experiences at Taos. Collier later brought about important changes in U.S. policies toward Native Americans, changes intended to give Native American communities more autonomy and to protect their right to maintain their own social and cultural systems.

It is nonetheless true that the 19th and 20th centuries have wrought important changes in the economies of all the Pueblos. As late as 1881, Taos still largely depended on agriculture for sustenance. As one member of the Pueblo said in that year:

> We may not seem to you to be as wealthy as other Pueblos, but we sow more than all the others put together; we raise, as you see, a great deal of wheat. Wheat is our money; with it, we buy everything--clothing, blankets, horses, coffee, sugar, apricots:--all that we eat.[51]

Taos was known for the productivity of its extensive fields, but this remark also shows the extent to which the traditional barter system was replaced by a cash economy as the 19th century wore on.

This process, and the growth of New Mexico's non-Indian and non-Hispano population, became major trends in the years after the advent of the railroad in New Mexico in the 1880s. Today, the economic impact of the surrounding non-Pueblo society has made itself felt in an increased acceptance of wage work by people of the Pueblo. This trend accelerated in the post-World War II era, when there was a considerable increase in the Pueblo's population.

However, as younger people have sought paying work outside the Pueblo, their elder relatives, in caring for their children, have continued to teach the community's values. Often, too, those who leave the Pueblo for jobs do so only for a few years, and many return for special feast days and vacations.[52] Taos has the advantages of a relatively well protected land base, significant tourism revenues, and the proximity of some employment in the nearby town of Taos, to support those who remain at the Pueblo.[53]

In spite of economic pressures, Taos today maintains social, cultural, and religious systems that are distinctively Puebloan. Effectively and in numerous ways, it maintains a clear cultural identity that separates it from neighboring non-Pueblos. For most of the Taos people, the Taos variety of Tiwa is still the primary language.[54] The Pueblo has fought effectively, as noted above, to retain control of lands important for its community identity and religious traditions.

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51. Lansing B. Bloom, ed., "Bourke on the Southwest," New Mexico Historical Review XII (1937): 49.

52. Bodine, Taos Pueblo, pp. 33-34.

53. Bodine, "Acculturation Processes," p. 280.

54. Bodine, "Taos Pueblo," in Handbook, p. 255.

Its Governor, War Chief, and the General or Tribal Council constitute, as in the past, a community government recognized by other governments as an independent and autonomous governing body. The Council includes not only secular officials but also religious leaders from each of the six kiva groups. Holders of major secular posts must be initiates of the traditional religious system. These links between secular and religious authority, as well as a clear delineation of the power given to each of those authorities, create a well integrated system for governing the Pueblo's various affairs, internal and external, civil and religious. One outside observer remarked that "the unique genius of Taos social control has combined certain features in a way that makes Taos an especially viable community, despite internal strain and external stress."[55]

The kiva groups are highly important in other ways as well. They remain key to the social organization of the Pueblo and to its religious life. Six active kiva groups remain today; they continue to function as keepers and teachers of the traditional religion of Taos.

The Pueblo maintains a distinctive ceremonial life, including public dances which may be viewed by outsiders. The calendar for these public ceremonies reflects Catholic traditions, as well as centuries of history and the Pueblo genius for adopting and adapting aspects of other cultures without diminishing their own cultural independence. The limits of these Catholic influences and the extent to which the Pueblos have accommodated them within their older traditions are reflected in the fact that

> With the exception of the procession from the Church on Christmas Eve ... and the performance of the Matachines--a dance of Spanish and Mexican origin--all ceremonies are Indian in nature.[56]

Taos Pueblo protects itself from outside influences in a number of ways. Pueblo officials control entry into the Pueblo by outsiders. Many aspects of Taos religion may not be divulged to outsiders, perhaps as a result of years of intermittent attempts by Spanish and U.S. authorities to suppress these religious traditions. Taos Pueblo members who marry outside the Pueblo face community strictures against such unions, and may find it difficult to live on the Pueblo lands. Like other Pueblos, "Taos and Santo Domingo have made overt attempts to control marriage with outsiders and subsequent on-reservation residence."[57] Analysis of 1968 Pueblo census rolls by an observer long interested in Taos resulted in findings suggesting that, as of that date, attitudes against exogamy had to a great extent been successfully maintained at Taos.[58]

Taos' long history of protecting its traditions is clear and present in its architecture and its people. Its continuity and distinctiveness in the midst

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55. Smith, Governing at Taos Pueblo, pp. 35, 39.

56. Bodine, Taos Pueblo, p. 45.

57. Bodine, "Acculturation Processes," p. 266.

58. Ibid., pp. 276-280.

of the two seas of Hispanic and Anglo society have awed many visitors to the Pueblo over the years. When D. H. Lawrence came to live at Taos, he wrote:

> The Indians say Taos is the heart of the world. Their world, maybe. Some places seem temporary on the face of the earth: San Francisco, for example. Some places seem final. They have a true nodality. I never felt that so powerfully as, years ago, in London. The intense powerful nodality of that great heart of the world. And during the war that heart, for me, broke. So it is. Places can lose their living nodality. Rome, to me, has lost hers....
>
> Taos Pueblo still retains its old nodality. Not like a great city. But, in its way, like one of the monasteries of Europe. You cannot come upon the ruins of the old great monasteries of England, beside their waters, in some lovely valley, now remote, without feeling that here is one of the choice spots of the earth, where the spirit dwelt....
>
> Taos pueblo affects me rather like one of the old monasteries. When you get there you feel something final. There is an arrival. The nodality still holds good.[59]

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59. D. H. Lawrence, "Taos," in D. H. Lawrence and New Mexico, ed. Keith Sagar (Salt Lake City, Utah: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1982), p. 11.

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4. STATE OF PRESERVATION/CONSERVATION

a) Diagnosis

Like all adobe structures, Taos Pueblo must be regularly maintained, through periodic replastering. For centuries, the people of the Pueblo have maintained the Pueblo as part of their community duties and in traditional ways. Taos, like all the Pueblos, has a strong tradition of cooperation for community labor, including maintenance of the Pueblo buildings and irrigation ditches. However, as noted above, today fewer members of the Pueblo live full-time in the Pueblo. The Pueblo shows typical signs of adobe weathering, as a result. Should these problems go unchecked, they could lead to severe deterioration. Also, some unsympathetic materials, such as chicken wire, have been used in efforts to stabilize the adobe.

b) Agent Responsible for Preservation/Conservation

Taos Pueblo
Office of the Governor
P.O. Box 1846
Taos, New Mexico 87571

c) History of Preservation/Conservation

Taos Pueblo has been continuously occupied and maintained by the people of the Pueblo for centuries, using traditional abobe construction and maintenance techniques. The Pueblo guards its right to maintain the Pueblo buildings according to traditional practices and its own standards.

A visitor to Taos in 1881 made the following comments about the Pueblo's conservative maintenance practices:

> Their houses are of adobe; as soon as a portion falls down or become [sic] dilapidated, it is rebuilt, the old vigas and wood-work being used as far as possible and thus in edifices of comparatively recent date may often be found rafters of venerable antiquity, black with the smoke of generations. I could readily believe my guide's story that some of the rafters under my own observation had been cut with "haches de piedra" (stone axes). They had been hacked with very blunt instruments, just as likely as not with those of stone which must have remained in use until long after the Spanish Conquest. [60]

As noted above, some changes have taken place in this Pueblo over the centuries since 1540. The Pueblo today, though, remains remarkably like the community described in narratives by Coronado's men.

d) Means for Preservation/Conservation

As noted in the "Juridical Data" section, the Pueblo has received significant funding from Federal and State governments for preservation and stabilization of the historic Pueblo buildings. In addition, funds from private sources have been raised, so that the Pueblo has some $600,000 for preservation.

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60. Bloom, "Bourke on the Southwest, p. 48.

A registered engineer, working for the Pueblo, has been studying the Pueblo's stabilization since 1979, with special attention to the drainage problems so important in adobe preservation. It is expected that he will be involved in a continuing program for preservation maintenance at Taos. The State Historic Preservation Officer of New Mexico, and the Federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, have also been contacted by the Pueblo government staff in the development of standards and guidelines for the program of future preservation work at Taos Pueblo. As it has in the past, the Pueblo will continue to determine ways and means for the preservation and protection of the Pueblo's structures.

e) Management Plans

In addition to this preservation planning effort, the Pueblo has received a Federal grant for preparation of a tourism development and marketing plan. In August of 1987, the Pueblo received a second grant for implementation of that plan. Community leaders are keenly aware of the potential impact of increased tourism. They are interested in controlling that visitation, to ensure that the privacy of Pueblo residents and its ceremonial areas is respected, and to reap benefits from it in a manner consistent with their traditional ways.

5. JUSTIFICATION FOR INCLUSION ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

a) Criterion (iv): A property should "be among the most characteristic examples of a type of structure, the type representing an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological, or industrial development."

Taos Pueblo is among the very few remaining communities where the traditional Pueblo building style has been preserved and maintained into the twentieth century. Although Oraibi and Acoma can lay claim to greater antiquity, neither presents a clearer, more striking picture than Taos of what most observers view as the archetypal multi-storied Puebloan architectural style. The size and height of Taos' five-storied North house surpass those of any other present-day multi-storied Pueblo dwelling. Other Pueblos also remain well integrated communities which retain strong identities as Pueblos with distinctive social, cultural, and religious traditions. None, however, combine the exceptional architectural qualities of Taos with this integrity of traditional secular and religious qualities. Taos Pueblo's preservation is an even more remarkable accomplishment in light of the fact that unlike Oraibi and Acoma, it is of adobe, rather than masonry, construction.

Taos Pueblo is thus among the most characteristic examples of the historical continuity of a type of architecture that represents centuries of development of Pueblo cultures in the Southwestern United States. It reflects the durability today, in a living community, of traditions also exemplified in the long abandoned Mesa Verde ruins, already inscribed on the World Heritage List. Lacking direct testimony or written evidence about the great abandoned Anasazi Pueblos, archeologists have used their knowledge of present-day Pueblos in interpretation of the Anasazi ruins at Mesa Verde and throughout the Southwest.

Prehistoric Anasazi and Pueblo culture in the American Southwest was preceded by hunters and gatherers whose culture began to change with the introduction of agriculture by about 2000 or 1000 B.C. Ultimately, though not immediately, the agricultural possibilities of domesticated crops played a major role in Southwestern cultural development. It seems clear that the corn, squash, and bean crops of this agricultural development derived from Mexico. Mesoamerica was probably also the source of other technological innovations, such as pottery making. Some scholars believe that "the Southwest from about 2000 B.C. onward can be best understood in terms of its marginal relationship to Mesoamerica, from which it received important cultural stimulation."[61] This view seems accurate, however, only in discussing Pueblo material culture, which owes much to Mesoamerican precedents. The social and religious systems of the Pueblos are unique, as is their ancestral architectural style.

The continued survival of Pueblo communities as distinguished enclaves in the midst of a European-American society testifies to that uniqueness. Among the cultural traditions in the Southwest, "the Pueblo peoples are the only one of the cultural groups identifiable as long ago as two millenia that have survived with clearly unbroken cultural continuity into the last quarter of the twentieth century."[62] Their cohesive communities and the preservation

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61. Richard B. Woodbury and Ezra B. W. Zubrow, "Agricultural Beginnings, 2000 B.C.-A.D. 500," in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, edited by Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), pp. 43-44, 52.

62. Alfonso Ortiz, "Introduction," in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, p. 3.

of their social and religious systems reflecting pre-Columbian traditions, as well as their development of agricultural techniques successful in an arid land, set them apart from all other Native American groups in North America.

The process of cultural development in this tradition reached a climax in the era that ended in 1300. By this time, Anasazi communities had spread over a large area in present-day Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. They also influenced and experienced influence from two other Southwestern cultures, the Hohokam and the Mogollon, which also developed sedentary, agricultural ways of life permitting concentrations of population. The Hohokam experienced a decline and territorial contraction after their "Classic" period, which ended by ca. 1400 or 1450, and their successors in Arizona had a material culture much simpler than that of the classic Hohokam. The Mogollon tradition ultimately appears to have been absorbed by the Anasazi. The great ruined Anasazi Pueblos of the Four Corners, such as those of Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon, have not been inhabited for centuries.

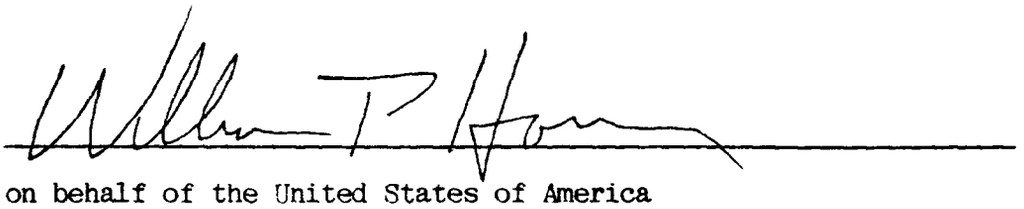
Thus, Taos Pueblo is among the most characteristic representatives of the continuity, into the present day, of centuries of cultural development over a large part of the present-day United States Southwest. It represents a major era in the long story of human adaptation to arid and semi-arid conditions there. It is a reminder of the development of social and cultural systems that provided for large groups of people to live together, through cooperative agricultural efforts, in far greater numbers than would have been possible through a hunting and gathering economy alone, in this challenging environment. It would not be too much to say that the Anasazi and present-day Pueblos are a significant chapter in the story of urban and community life and development. Taos is thus nominated for World Heritage listing under criterion (iv).

b) Criterion (v): A property should "be a characteristic example of a significant, traditional style of architecture, method of construction, or human settlement, that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change."

Taos also meets World Heritage criterion (v). As indicated above, after A.D. 1300, the Anasazi-occupied area contracted. Further diminution of the number of Pueblo communities in New Mexico occurred after the Spanish occupation. Because of this contraction and more recent changes in settlement patterns and architecture at other Pueblos, Taos is, among today's Pueblo communities, the best surviving example of Pueblo traditions of multi-storied adobe architecture.

In the 20th century, there have been major changes in Pueblo economic life, changes in large measure brought about by the large increase of New Mexico's non-Indian population and by improved transportation systems that have lessened the Pueblos' geographical (if not cultural) isolation. These changes have included increases in wage work, as well as contact with non-Pueblos and non-Pueblo consumer goods. Gradually, such goods have found their way into the Pueblo material culture inventory. These additions and changes have created concern at Taos about preservation of the old ways. Taos in this sense is vulnerable to the impact of the non-Pueblo society around it.

It is also true, though, that Taos' community identity remains strong. Its ways of governing, worshipping, and socializing its youth remain distinctively Puebloan. The people of Taos have successfully rejected outside innovations that appeared to threaten essentials of the community's way of life, while at the same time borrowing certain aspects of Anglo and Hispano culture that seemed compatible with Taos' traditions. Although predictions that the Pueblo of Taos would ultimately lose its identity were being made as recently as the 1930s, the strength and flexibility of Pueblo culture gives those predictions the lie. Taos will continue as a reminder of the endurance and achievements of Native Americans in the arid lands of the Southwest.

Signed 

on behalf of the United States of America

Full Name William P. Horn

Title Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks

Date DEC 15 1987

APPENDIX

Taos Pueblo Council Ordinance Governing the Installation of Electric Service on Taos Pueblo Lands

TAOS PUEBLO COUNCIL

ORDINANCE GOVERNING THE INSTALLATION
OF ELECTRIC SERVICE ON TAOS PUEBLO LANDS*

Effective August 7, 1974

Section 1. Title. The title of this ordinance shall be "Ordinance Governing the Installation of Electric Service on Taos Pueblo Lands."

Section 2. Purpose. Taos Pueblo is unique in having preserved through the centuries the natural beauty of the community and its lands, and the cultural and religious heritage of its people associated with certain areas of traditional activities. This ordinance is intended to protect these unique values for future generations by establishing zones and regulations for the installation of electrical service.

Section 3. Service Line Agreements. No construction or installation of electric service lines shall be initiated until properly authorized by a service line agreement between the Pueblo and the service company. The agreement shall include a plat or map designating the location of any proposed lines. All service line agreements shall comply with the provisions of this ordinance and with the requirements of the Rights-of-Way Regulations under CFR Title 25, Part 161, as amended, and be subject to review by the Taos Pueblo tribal attorney, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to approval by the General Council.

Section 4. Placement of Power Lines. All power lines, including lines to individual residences or other buildings, shall be installed underground. Whenever practicable, power lines shall be constructed adjacent to existing roads or farm roads.

Section 5. Permission of Individual Assignees or Landowners. Prior to proceeding with construction across lands assigned to individual Taos Indians, the power company shall obtain from said assignees written permission to proceed with such construction.

Section 6. Zones.

a. Restricted Zones. No construction or installation of electrical facilities shall be permitted in the following restricted cultural and religious areas: All lands of Taos Pueblo lying east of a certain line located in Sections 27, 28 and 34, Township 26 North, Range 13 East, and Section 3, Township 25 North, Range 13 East of the New Mexico Principal Meridian, within the Taos Pueblo Grant, County of Taos, State of New Mexico, as shown on the "Inset" on the plat entitled "Electricity Zone Boundary" dated July 16, 1974, and including the segment designated "Line A" as shown on such plat, said line being more particularly described as follows:

BEGINNING at point A-7, on a magnetic bearing of N.20°44'22"E., 9,068.70 feet from the section corner common to Sections 4, 5, 32 & 33 of Townships 25 and 26 North, Range 13 East, N.M.P.M.;

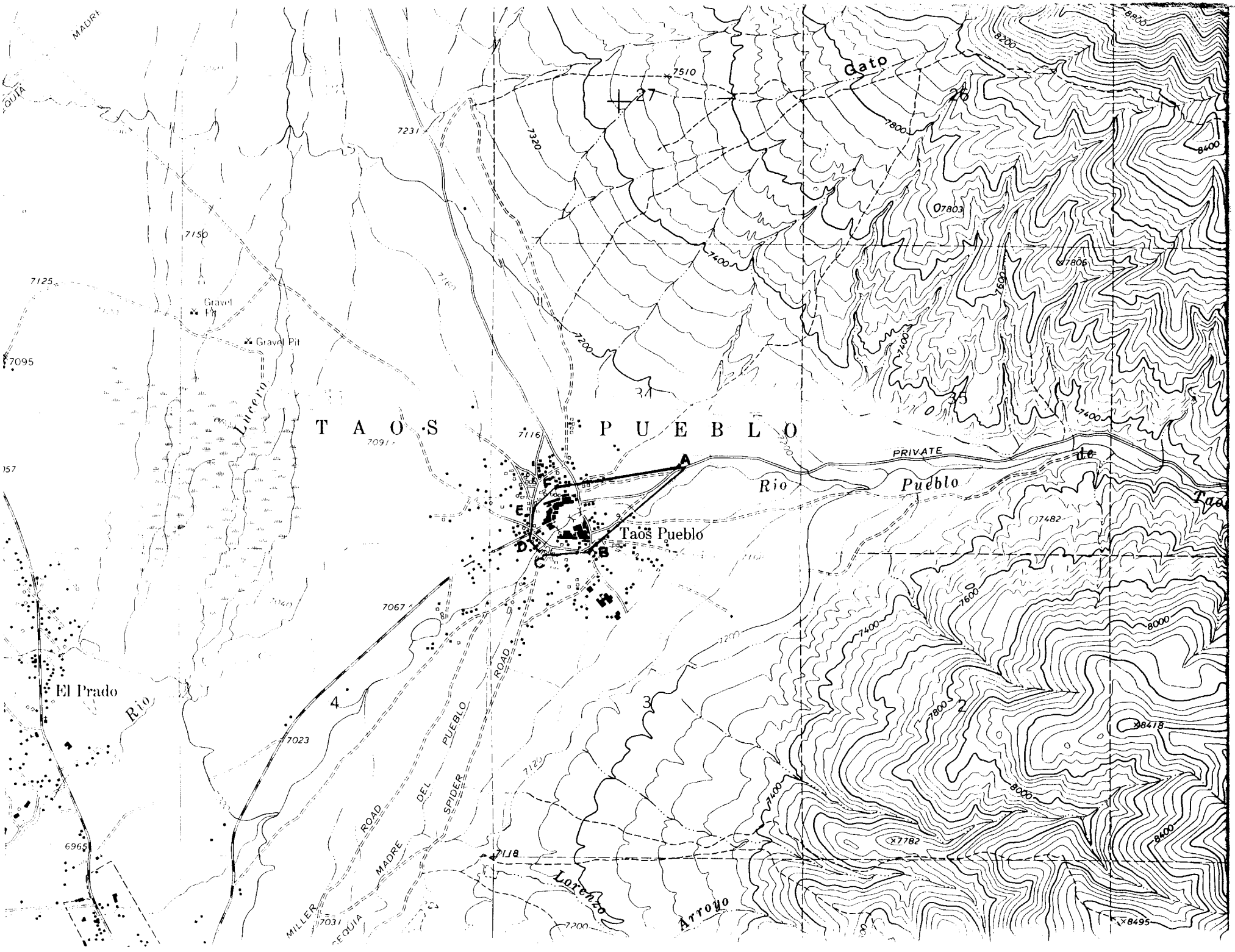
thence S.15°06'10"E., 785.47 feet to point A-6;
thence S.33°20'10"E., 1,196.83 feet to point A-5;
thence S.43°57'10"E., 1,010.52 feet to point A-4;
thence S.32°46'10"E., 1,533.71 feet to point A-3;
thence S.15°53'E., 1,332.58 feet to point A-2;
thence S.8°42'E., 639.65 feet to point A-1;
thence S.45°23'27"E., 314.13 feet to point A;
thence S.62°37'27"W., 772.78 feet to point B;
thence S.11°46'30"E., 641.64 feet to point C;
thence S.55°37'E., 441.95 feet to point D;
thence N.82°35'E., 776.06 feet to point E;
thence S.10°08'30"E., 168.44 feet to point E-1;
thence S.42°43'50"E., 204.61 feet to point E-2;
thence S.48°04'30"E., 726.57 feet to point E-3;
thence S.42°58'30"E., 738.48 feet to point E-4;
thence S.32°26'15"E., 659.00 feet to point E-5;
thence S.70°11'50"E., 2,943.70 feet to point E-6;
the end of line, said line being 14,886.12 feet in length or 2.82 miles.

b. Pre-existing Uses. Any pre-existing service connections to residential property lying within a restricted zone from the service line that serves the Bureau of Indian Affairs compound are exempted from the provisions of Sub-section 6a, provided that such connections were made and in use at least six months prior to the date of enactment of this

ordinance; and provided further that upon sale of such property, the exemption provided herein shall cease.

Section 7. No Liability. The Pueblo of Taos shall not be liable to any person for any reason in connection with the installation, operation or maintenance of electric lines or equipment, including without limitation any contracts for electric service between a utility and a member of the Pueblo, payments for electricity supplied by a utility, or damages claimed by any person.

* Ordinance 1974-01, as amended by 1974-02, superseding the Zoning Ordinance for Electricity on Taos Pueblo Lands of February 4, 1969.


TAOS PUEBLO
Taos Pueblo
El Prado
Rio Lucero
Rio Pueblo de Taos
Arroyo Lorenzo
PRIVATE
MILLER ROAD
MADRE DEL PUEBLO SPIDER ROAD
Gato
Gravel Pit
Gravel Pit
7510
7231
7320
7150
7125
7095
7116
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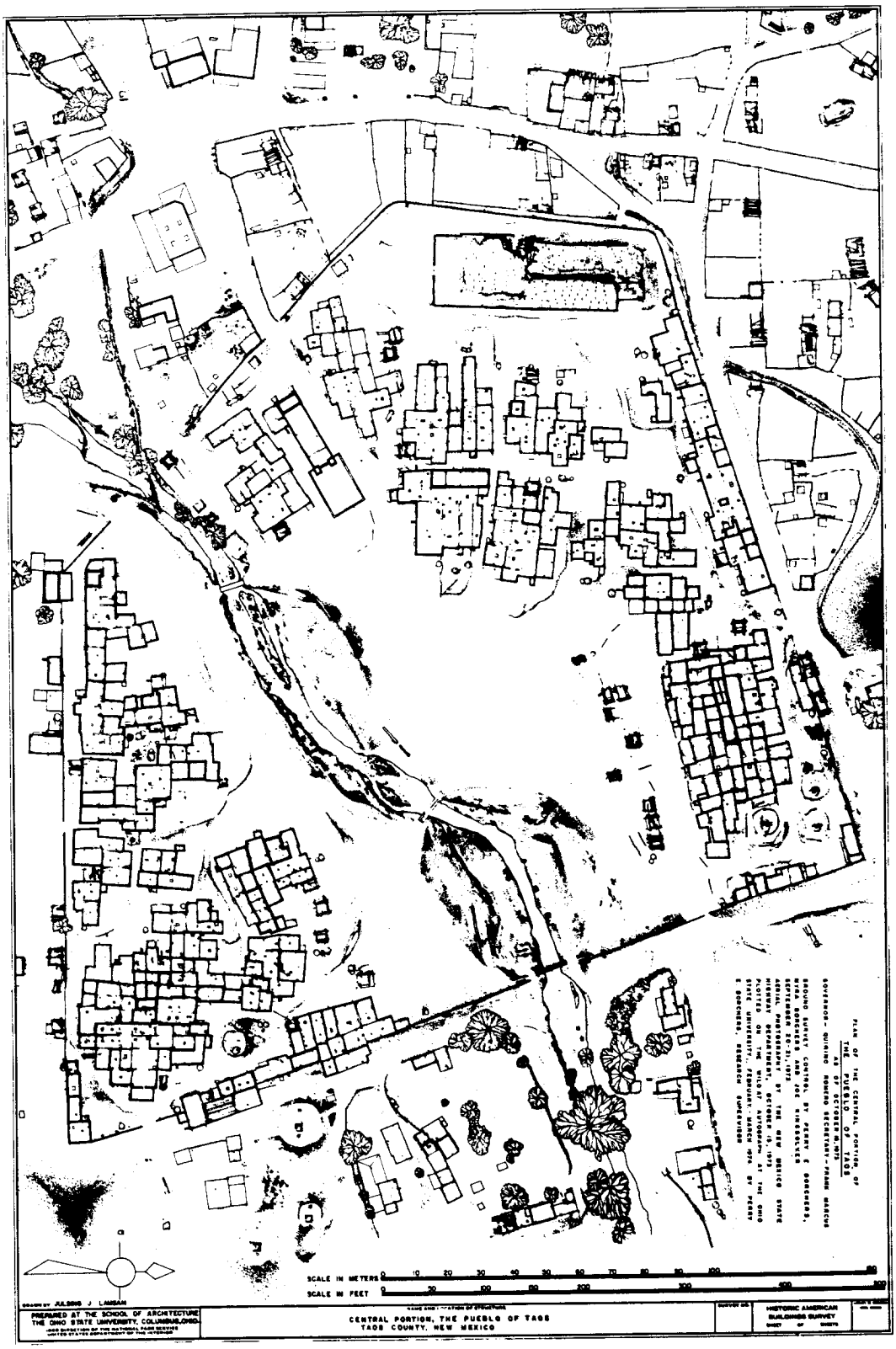
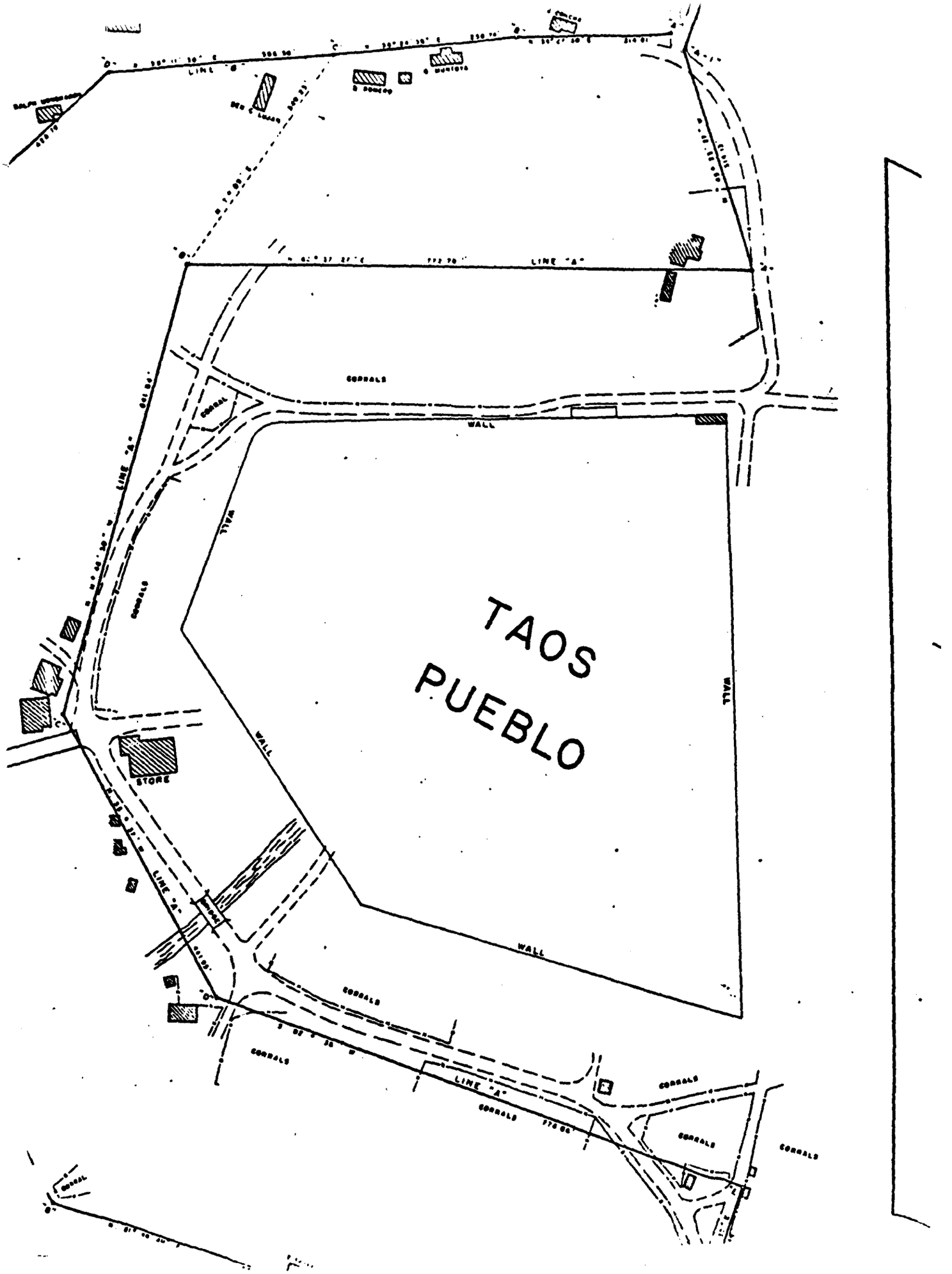
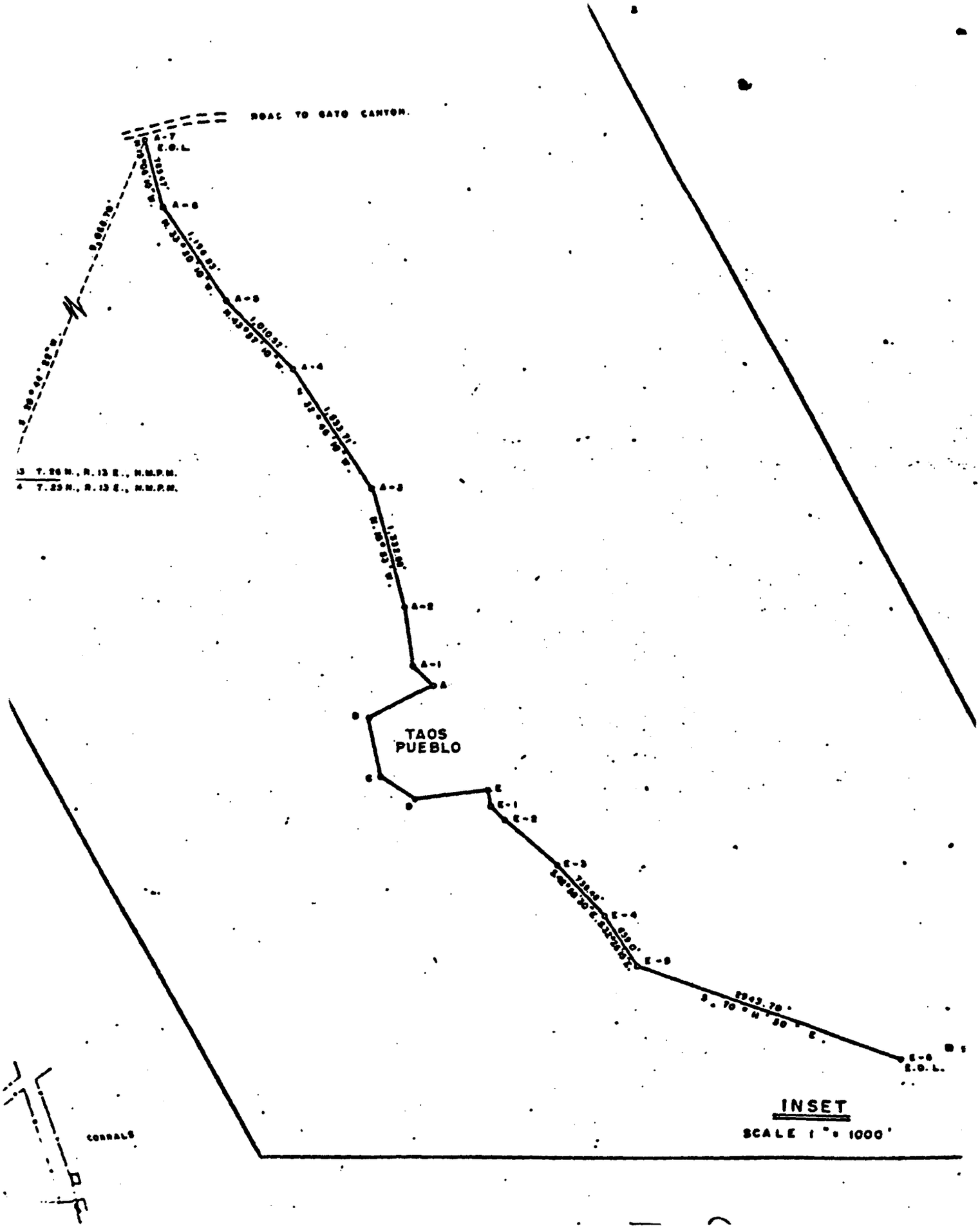

PLAN OF THE CENTRAL PORTION OF
THE PUEBLO OF TAOS
AS OF OCTOBER 31, 1975
GOVERNOR - QUIRINO ROMERO SECRETARY - FRANK MARTIN
GROUND SURVEY CONTROL BY PERRY E. BORCHERS,
MYRA BORCHERS AND JOE KINSELLER
SEPTEMBER 30-31, 1975
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY BY THE NEW MEXICO STATE
HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT, 1973
PLOTTED ON THE WILD AT AUTOGRAPH AT THE OHIO
STATE UNIVERSITY, FEBRUARY - MARCH 1976 BY PERRY
E. BORCHERS, RESEARCH SUPERVISOR
SCALE IN METERS 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
SCALE IN FEET 0 50 100 150 200 300
PREPARED AT THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OHIO
CENTRAL PORTION, THE PUEBLO OF TAOS
TAOS COUNTY, NEW MEXICO
HISTORIC AMERICAN
BUILDINGS SURVEY

Figure 5


TAOS
PUEBLO
LINE "A"
WALL
CORRALS
STORE


ROAD TO GATO CANYON
A-7
E.O.L.
A-6
A-5
A-4
A-3
A-2
A-1
A
TAOS
PUEBLO
E
E-1
E-2
E-3
E-4
E-5
E-6
E.O.L.
T. 26 N., R. 13 E., N.M.P.M.
T. 25 N., R. 13 E., N.M.P.M.
CORRALS
INSET
SCALE 1 " = 1000 '

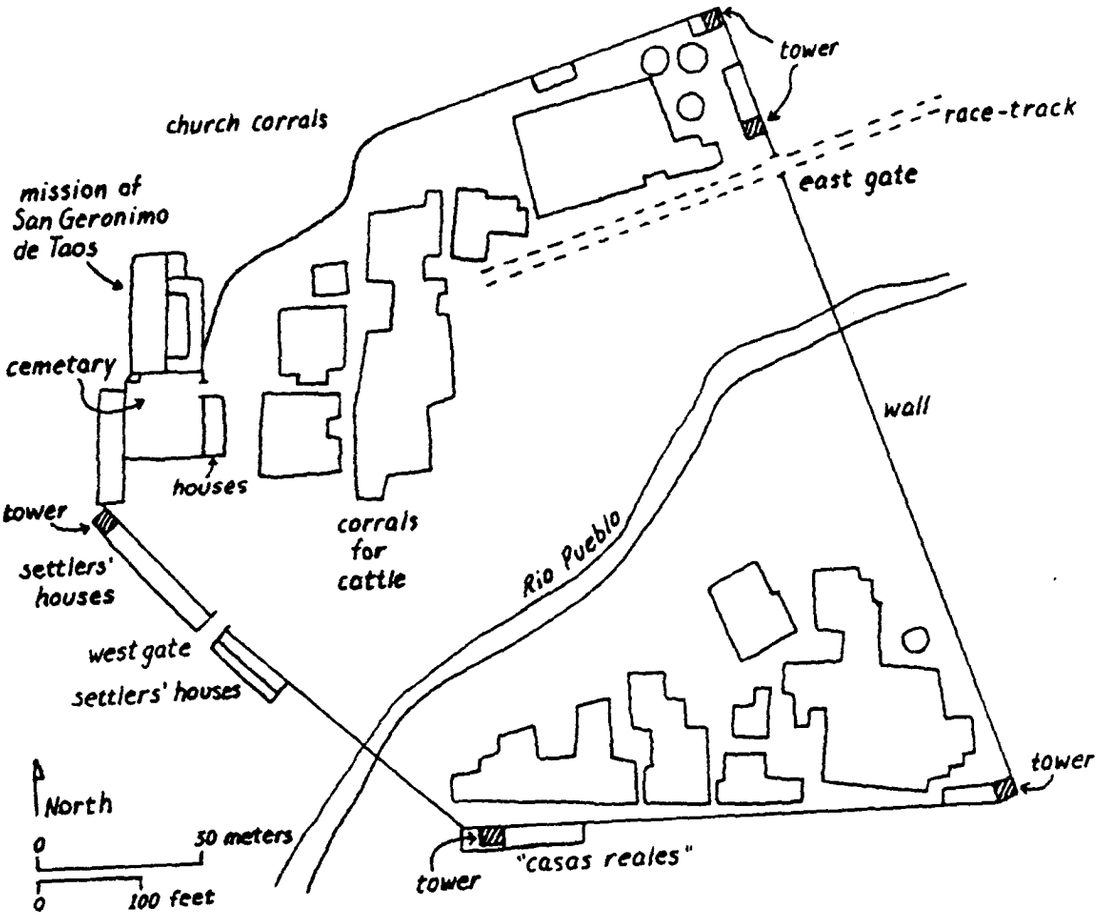
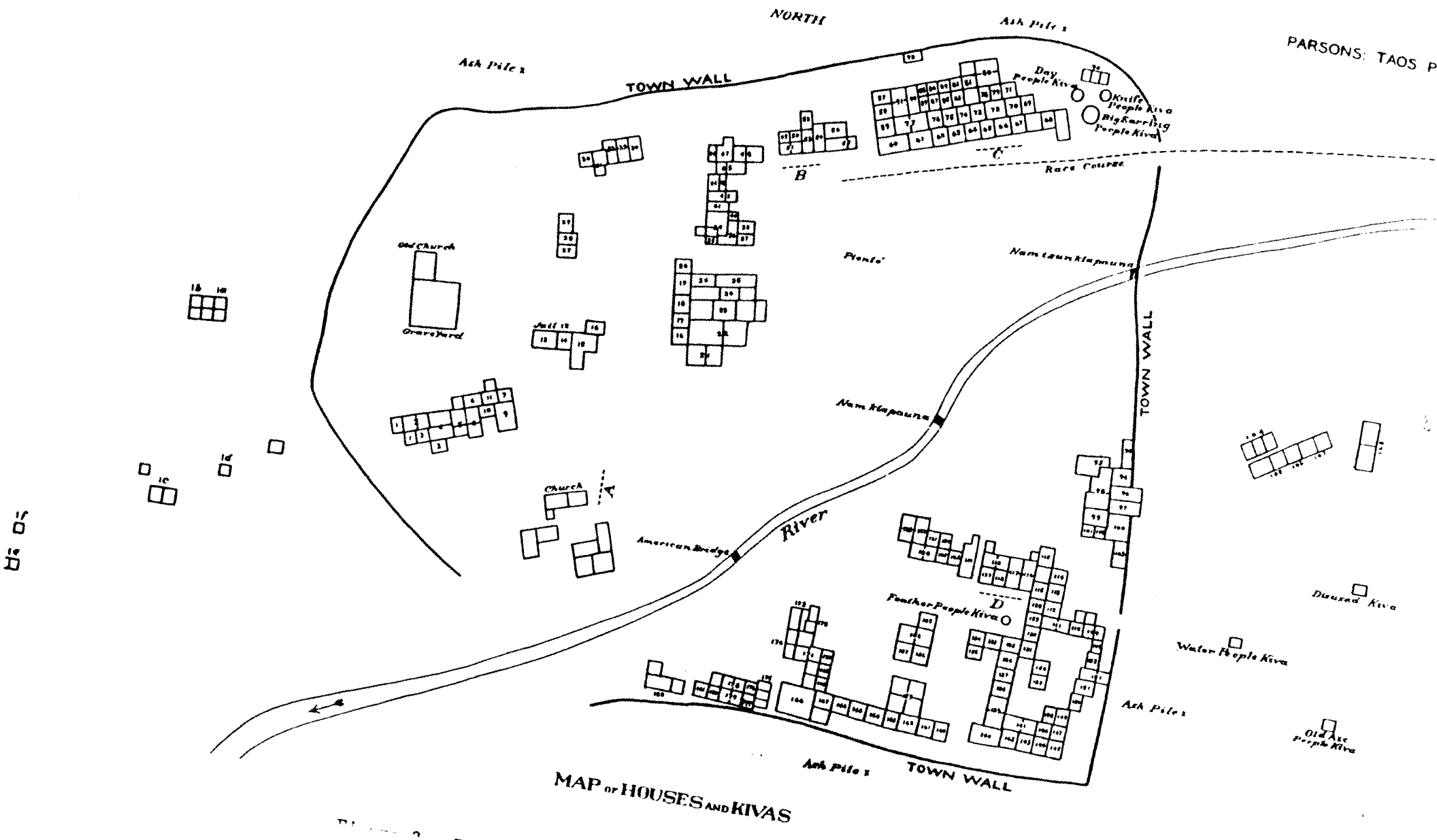


Figure 1. Taos Pueblo as it may have appeared in 1776, based on the description of Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez.

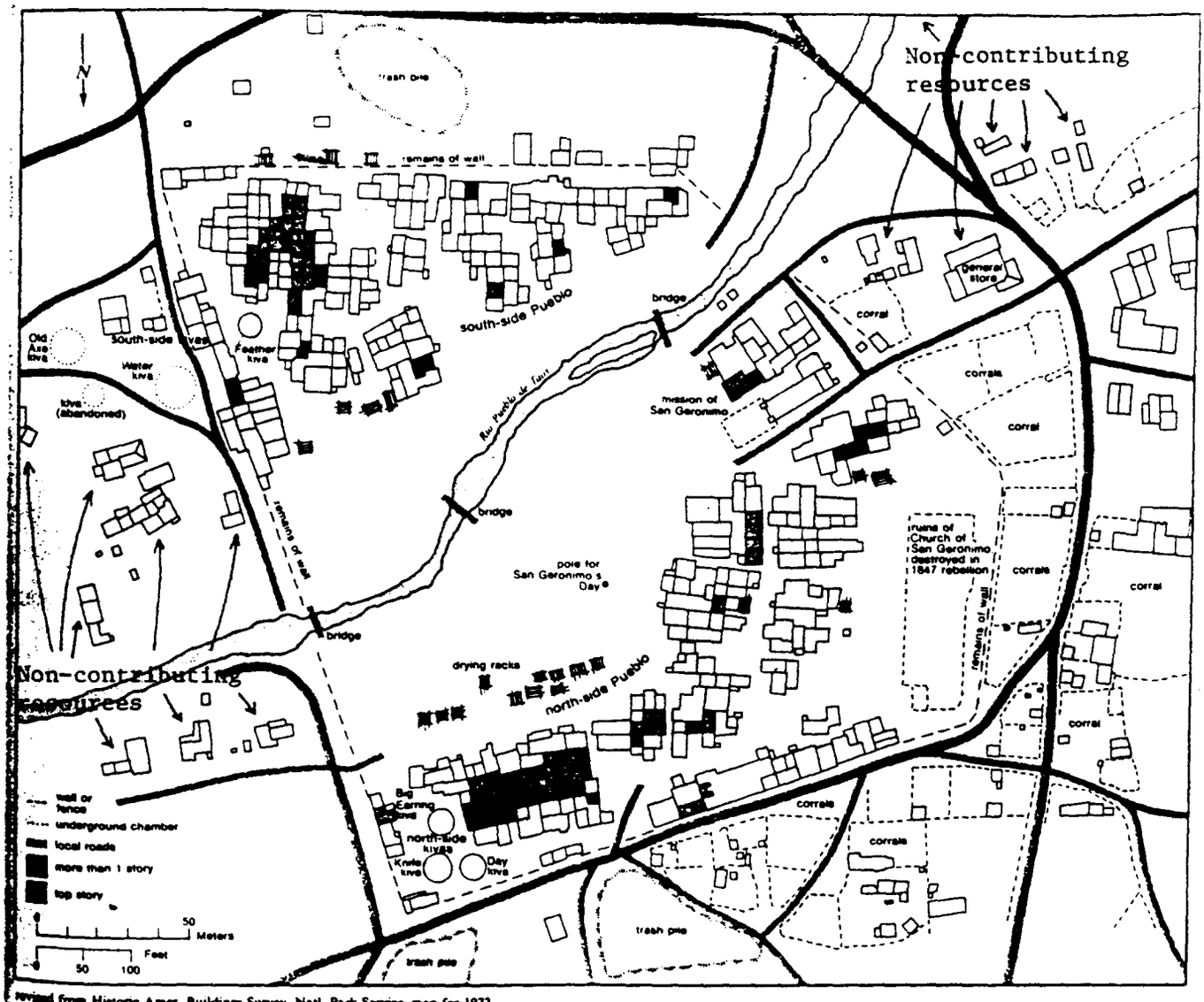
HORIZON
HORIZON
ELEVATION OF NORTH APARTMENT FROM S S E
HORIZON
HORIZON
ELEVATION OF PLATFORMS FROM S S E
PARTIAL PLAN OF NORTH APARTMENT AND PLATFORMS
FROM ONE STEREOPAIR TERRESTRIAL PHOTOGRAMMETRY
FROM S S E
PUEBLO OF TAOS
AS OF SEPTEMBER 21, 1973
GROUND SURVEY CONTROL BY PERRY E BORCHERS
MYRA BORCHERS AND JOE KINGSOLVER
SEPTEMBER 20-21, 1973
PLOTTED ON THE WILD A7 AUTOGRAPH AT THE
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, FEBRUARY-MARCH 1974
BY PERRY E BORCHERS, RESEARCH SUPERVISOR
SCALE IN FEET 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
SCALE IN METERS 0 10 20 30
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
THE PUEBLO OF TAOS
TAOS COUNTY, NEW MEXICO
PREPARED AT THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OHIO

Figure 7



MAP OF HOUSES AND KIVAS

Figure 10.
Close-up of highest portion of South House, 1974
(National Park Service Photograph)



revised from Historic Amer. Buildings Survey, Natl. Park Service, map for 1973.

Fig. 2. Taos Pueblo.

Figure 3. Taos Pueblo. Map from Bodine (1979:257) after map for Historic American Buildings Survey, 1973.

WORLD HERITAGE LIST **N° 492 Rev** **TAOS**

IDENTIFICATION

Nomination : Pueblo of Taos

Location : State of New Mexico

State Party : United States of America

Date : 30 December 1987

DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

The culture of the Pueblo Indians extended through a wide geographical area of northern Mexico and the southwest United States. It can still be found in a certain number of communities in the States of Chihuahua (Mexico) and Arizona and New Mexico (United States). Taos is the best preserved of the pueblos north of the borders defined by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

Located in the valley of a small tributary of the Rio Grande, Taos comprises a group of habitations and ceremonial centres (6 kivas have been conserved), which are representative of a culture largely derived from the traditions of the prehistoric Anasazi Indian tribes, who settled around the present borders of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. Their culture went into an irreversible decline, and in the later 13th century major sites like Mesa Verde and Chaco (included on the World Heritage List in 1978 and 1987 respectively) were abandoned, perhaps because of major climatic changes.

The proliferation of small pueblos in the valley of the Rio Grande and its tributaries, when considered along with the disappearance of the Anasazi tribes, was one of the major characteristics of the settlement of the North American continent. Modest rural communities, characterized by common social and religious structures, traditional agricultural practices perfected during the "classical" period, and a systematic use of irrigation, were built. Taos is thought to have appeared before 1400.

In the modern historical period the two major characteristics of the Pueblo civilization were mutually contradictory : unchanging traditions deeply rooted in the culture and an ever-constant ability to absorb other cultures. Their faculty for acculturation gradually began to appear following the first Spanish expedition of the Governor of New Galicia, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, in 1540-1542. Beginning in 1613, the inhabitants of Taos resisted the system of encomiendas which allowed certain Spaniards to exact a tribute in kind from the village. In 1634 the missionary Fray Alonso de Benavides complained to the Pope of their "rebellious" attitude.

The entire 18th century was a time of wars in which Taos played an important part in resisting the colonizers. However, the breeds of cattle and types of grain introduced by the conquerors were readily adopted into their agricultural system. Attempts to convert the Pueblos to Christianity were ill-received (during the major Pueblo revolt of 1680 the first church

was burned down) but unconsciously the religious mentality of the people changed. A similar dichotomy between an irredentist attitude in principle and an assimilation in fact marked the two subsequent historical stages : from 1821 to 1848, under Mexican administration, and from 1848 to the present, under the US administration. In 1970 the people of Taos obtained the restitution of lands usurped by the Government, which included the sacred site of the Blue Lake. At the same time, their ritual ceremonies include both a Christmas procession and the Hispano-Mexican dance of the Matatchines.

Today, the village appears at first sight to conform with the description given in 1776 by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez. However, although the earthen enclosure which he likened to one of the Biblical cities survives, numerous modifications can be observed.

To the west, the missionaries' convent and church lie in ruins. A new church was built at a different location of the west side of the north plaza in the 19th century. The multi-tiered adobe dwellings still retain their original form and outline, but details have changed. Doors, which traditionally were mostly used to interconnect rooms, are now common as exterior access to the ground floors and to the roof tops on upper stories. Windows, which traditionally were small and incorporated into walls very sparingly, are now common features. The proliferation of doors and windows through time at Taos reflects the acculturation of European traits and the relaxing of needs for defensive structures. In addition to ovens located outdoors, fireplaces have been built inside the living quarters.

AUTHENTICITY

The two main adobe building complexes retain their traditional three-dimensional layout. Certain features, such as doors and windows, have been introduced over the last century, which may with some justification be claimed to represent a natural evolutionary process, as the community has adjusted to a changed social and economic climate. In recent years there has been a deliberate policy of ensuring that all repair and reconstruction work has been carried out using traditional materials and techniques and of ensuring that discordant elements, such as inappropriate doors, have been replaced using more harmonious designs and materials.

MANAGEMENT AND PROTECTION

Administration of Taos Pueblo is vested in the Taos tribe, which is deeply conscious of its heritage and of the material expression of that heritage in the buildings of the settlement. It has a comprehensive and well conceived Preservation Project, headed by a very competent Director, who is a member of the Taos tribe. Restoration work is carried out by his team, who are all members of the tribe, with scrupulous respect for traditional materials and techniques.

Although the self-governing Indian community maintains its identity in face of the city of Taos, which was founded after 1786 further downstream, two dangers threaten the medium-term future of this

traditional human settlement. First, the pueblo of Taos has tended to become a seasonal habitat reserved for ceremonial functions, with most of the population living permanently in what were formerly summer residences situated outside the enclosure, which have been provided with the modern facilities that are not permitted within the main pueblo. Secondly, the pueblo, which has a Visitor's Centre, is increasingly assuming the role of a tourist attraction.

EVALUATION

Qualities

A number of the Pueblo culture settlements established in the late 13th and early 14th centuries in the valleys of the Rio Grande and its tributaries have survived continuously up to the present day. Taos is exceptional among this group by virtue of the fact that it has retained its original layout and distinctive style of architecture virtually intact. As such it vividly illustrates the survival of a traditional way of life and community characteristic of this region of "Oasis America" over more than a thousand years.

COMMENTS

This nomination was submitted in 1987 and deferred awaiting a study to compare it with other Pueblo sites, especially those in northern Mexico.

The Mexican Government nominated the Paquimé archaeological site as a complement to Taos. It was recommended by the World Heritage Bureau in June 1991 that the two sites should be included on a joint nomination. In a letter to Mrs Raidl of UNESCO dated 11 October 1991 the Mexican Permanent Delegate to UNESCO indicated that his Government was not prepared to follow this recommendation, on the grounds that the two sites, "although connected, displayed very different characteristics."

The argument put forward in this letter has some merit. The two sites differ in that one has continued in existence up to the present as a human settlement, whilst the other is an archaeological site, displaying the remains of a major Pueblo settlement that no longer survives. Other differences are also present in layout and detail.

It must be added, moreover, that archaeological sites of the Pueblo culture are already represented on the World Heritage List by Mesa Verde (N° 27) and Chaco (N° 353 rev), although these belong to the earlier classic phase. Any decision about the inclusion of Paquimé should be made in relation to these sites rather than Taos.

An ICOMOS mission composed of expert Mexican and US National Committee members, the Secretary General, and the World Heritage Coordinator visited sites in Mexico and New Mexico on 13-18 April 1992. The above recommendation is based on their report.

ICOMOS RECOMMENDATION

That this cultural property be included on the World Heritage List on the basis of Criterion iv.

- **Criterion iv** : Taos is a remarkable example of a traditional type of architectural ensemble from the pre-Hispanic period of the Americas unique to this region which has successfully retained most of its traditional forms up to the present day. Thanks to the determination of the latter-day Native American community, it appears to be successfully resisting the pressures of modern society.

ICOMOS, October 1992

LISTE DU PATRIMOINE MONDIAL N° 492 Rev TAOS

IDENTIFICATION

Bien proposé : Pueblo de Taos

Lieu : Etat du Nouveau-Mexique

Etat partie : Etats-Unis d'Amérique

Date : 30 décembre 1987

DESCRIPTION ET HISTOIRE

La culture des Indiens Pueblos concerne une vaste zone géographique couvrant le nord du Mexique et le sud-ouest des Etats-Unis. Elle survit encore dans un certain nombre de communautés des Etats Chihuahua (Mexique), Arizona et Nouveau-Mexique (Etats-Unis). Le village de Taos est le mieux conservé des ensembles pueblos au nord de la frontière définie par le traité de Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

C'est, dans la vallée d'un petit affluent du Rio Grande, un ensemble d'habitations et de centres cérémoniels (6 kivas sont conservées) représentatif d'une culture qui hérita largement des traditions des Indiens Anasazi lorsque les populations préhistoriques établies aux limites actuelles de l'Arizona, du Nouveau-Mexique, de l'Utah et du Colorado connurent une récession définitive et que de grands sites comme Mesa Verde et Chaco (inscrits respectivement en 1978 et 1987 sur la Liste du Patrimoine mondial) furent abandonnés, dans la deuxième moitié du 13ème siècle, en raison peut-être de profondes modifications climatiques.

La prolifération des petits "pueblos" dans la vallée du Rio Grande et de ses affluents, mise en relation avec la disparition des grandes communautés Anasazi, est l'un des faits majeurs dans l'histoire du peuplement du continent nord-américain. Des agglomérations rurales modestes, caractérisées par des structures sociales et religieuses communes, par des pratiques agricoles traditionnelles perfectionnées au cours de la période "classique" par un recours systématique à l'irrigation apparurent alors. Celle de Taos paraît s'être définie avant 1400.

A l'époque historique, la civilisation des Pueblos se définit à la fois, et fort contradictoirement, par l'enracinement de traditions immuables et par une faculté sans cesse renouvelée d'acculturation. Celle-ci se manifesta graduellement au lendemain de la première expédition espagnole, celle de Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, gouverneur de la Nouvelle-Galice, en 1540-1542. Dès 1613, les habitants de Taos résistaient au système des encomiendas grâce auquel certains Espagnols levaient un tribut en nature sur le village. En 1634, le missionnaire Fray Alonso de Benavides se plaignait au pape de leur attitude "rebelle".

Tout le 18ème siècle fut une époque de guerres où Taos joua un rôle important dans la résistance aux colonisateurs. Cependant, les espèces de bétail et de céréales introduites par les conquérants étaient annexées de bon gré au système agro-pastoral et une christianisation mal tolérée (la

première église fut incendiée lors de la plus importante révolte Pueblo en 1680) modifiait insensiblement les mentalités religieuses traditionnelles. Des oppositions analogues entre un irrédentisme de principe et une assimilation de fait marquent les deux étapes historiques suivantes : de 1821 à 1848, la période de l'administration mexicaine; de 1848 à nos jours, celle de l'administration des Etats-Unis. Les habitants de Taos ont obtenu en 1970 la restitution des terres usurpées par le gouvernement qui donnaient accès au site sacré du Lac Bleu. En même temps, leurs cérémonies rituelles incluent désormais la procession de Noël mais aussi la danse hispano-mexicaine des Matatchines.

De nos jours, le village paraît tout d'abord conforme à la description qu'en donnait, en 1776, Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez. Si toutefois, l'enceinte de terre qui le rendait comparable à l'une des cités de la Bible subsiste, on peut observer de nombreuses modifications.

A l'ouest, le couvent des missionnaires et l'église sont ruinés. Une nouvelle église a été construite au 19ème siècle, sur le côté ouest de la plaza nord. Les maisons en adobe à plusieurs niveaux conservent toujours leur forme et leur silhouette d'origine mais les détails ont changé. Les portes qu'on utilisait traditionnellement et en grande partie pour faire communiquer les pièces entre elles sont maintenant utilisées comme moyen d'accès au rez-de-chaussée et aux terrasses des étages supérieurs. Les fenêtres qui étaient traditionnellement de petite dimension et peu nombreuses sont devenues des éléments communs. A Taos, la prolifération des portes et des fenêtres au cours du temps reflète l'acculturation des caractéristiques européennes ainsi que l'atténuation des besoins en structures défensives. Des cheminées aménagées à l'intérieur des pièces d'habitation sont venues s'ajouter aux fours situés en plein air.

AUTHENTICITE

Les deux ensembles de maisons en adobe les plus importants ont conservé leur plan tridimensionnel traditionnel. Certains éléments comme les portes ou les fenêtres ont été introduits au cours du siècle dernier. On peut déclarer avec quelques arguments que ceci constitue un processus d'évolution naturelle dans la mesure où la communauté s'est adaptée à un nouveau climat socio-économique. Ces dernières années, une politique délibérée garantit que tous les travaux de réparation et de reconstruction soient entrepris dans le respect des matériaux et des techniques traditionnels. Elle garantit aussi que les éléments dissonants tels que des portes inadéquates soient remplacés en utilisant des modèles et des matériaux plus harmonieux.

GESTION ET PROTECTION

L'administration du Pueblo de Taos a été confiée à la tribu Taos qui est parfaitement consciente de son patrimoine et des constructions du site, expression matérielle de ce patrimoine. Il existe un Projet de Conservation global et bien conçu, à la tête duquel se trouve un Directeur très compétent, membre de la tribu de Taos. Les travaux de restauration sont entrepris avec un respect scrupuleux des techniques et des

matériaux traditionnels par son équipe, composée de membres de la tribu.

Si l'autogestion du village par une communauté d'indiens maintient sa différence face à la ville de Taos fondée après 1786 un peu en aval, deux dangers menacent à moyen terme cet établissement humain traditionnel. Tout d'abord, le Pueblo de Taos tend à devenir un habitat saisonnier réservé à des fonctions cérémonielles, la majorité de la population occupant en permanence les anciennes résidences d'été, situées hors de l'enceinte qui ont été dotées d'équipements modernes, interdits dans le pueblo principal. Ensuite, le Pueblo de Taos, qui comporte un "Visitor's Centre" tend d'autre part à assurer progressivement sa fonction touristique.

EVALUATION

Caractéristiques

Plusieurs sites appartenant à la culture Pueblo, établis à la fin du 13ème siècle et au début du 14ème siècle dans les vallées du Rio Grande et de ses affluents, ont survécu sans interruption jusqu'à nos jours. Taos occupe une place exceptionnelle au sein de ce groupe car il a conservé presque intacts son plan d'origine et le style architectural qui le distingue. En tant que tel, il illustre de façon précise la survivance sur plus de mille ans d'un mode de vie et d'une communauté traditionnels, caractéristiques de cette région de l'"Oasis America".

OBSERVATIONS

Cette proposition d'inscription avait été soumise en 1987, mais elle avait été différée dans l'attente d'une étude visant à comparer Taos à d'autres sites Pueblo, notamment ceux du nord du Mexique.

Le gouvernement mexicain a présenté la proposition d'inscription du site archéologique de Paquimé en complément à Taos. Il a été recommandé par le Bureau du Comité du Patrimoine mondial en juin 1991 de combiner les deux sites dans une seule nomination jointe. Dans une lettre à Madame Raidl de l'UNESCO datée du 11 octobre 1991, le Délégué Permanent du Mexique auprès de l'UNESCO indiquait que son gouvernement n'était pas disposé à suivre cette recommandation, car les deux sites, "quoique liés, avaient des caractéristiques très différentes".

L'argument exprimé dans cette lettre peut se justifier. En effet, les deux sites sont différents, en ce sens que l'un existe et est encore occupé à l'heure actuelle, alors que l'autre est un site archéologique comprenant les vestiges d'un important site Pueblo qui n'existe plus. Il existe aussi d'autres différences dans le plan et les détails.

En outre, il faut ajouter que des sites archéologiques appartenant à la culture Pueblo sont déjà représentés sur la Liste du Patrimoine mondial avec Mesa Verde (N° 27) et Chaco (N° 353 rev) bien qu'ils appartiennent à la phase classique précédente. Toute décision concernant l'inscription de Paquimé devrait être prise en relation avec ces sites plutôt qu'avec Taos.

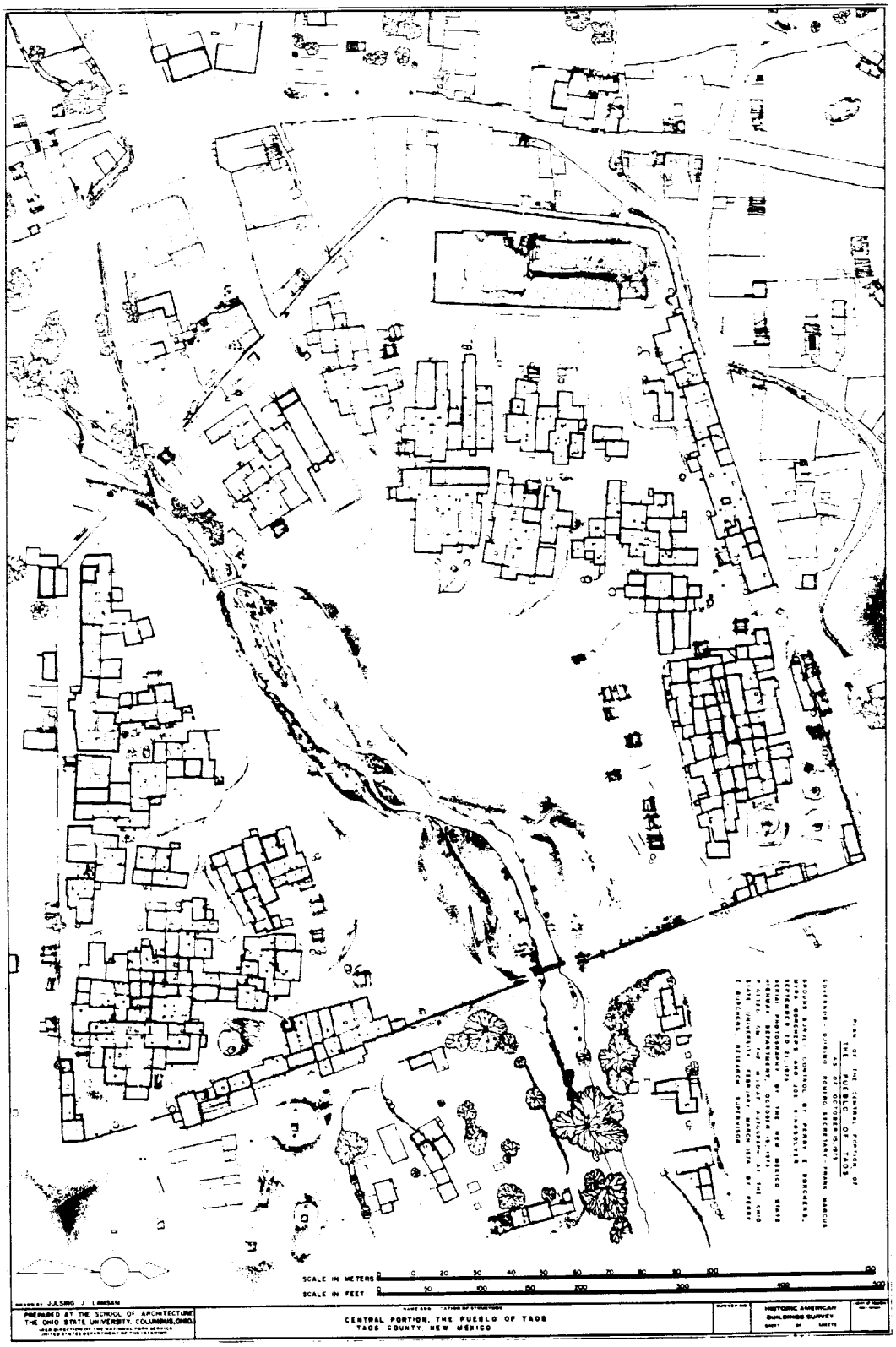
Une mission de l'ICOMOS composée d'experts, membres des Comités nationaux du Mexique et des Etats-Unis, du Secrétaire Général et du Coordinateur pour le Patrimoine mondial ont visité des sites au Mexique et au Nouveau-Mexique du 13 au 18 avril 1992. La recommandation mentionnée plus haut est basée sur leur rapport.

RECOMMANDATION DE L'ICOMOS

Que ce bien culturel soit inscrit sur la Liste du Patrimoine mondial au titre du Critère iv.

- **Critère iv :** Taos constitue un exemple remarquable d'un type d'ensemble architectural traditionnel de l'époque préhispanique des Amériques unique dans cette région qui soit parvenu à conserver la plupart de ses formes traditionnelles jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Grâce à la détermination de la communauté actuelle d'Indiens d'Amérique, il semblerait que le site soit en mesure de résister aux pressions de la société moderne.

ICOMOS, octobre 1992



TAOS : plan du site / plan of the site