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**Negotiating Boundaries, Space, and Power:  
The Top-Down Institutional Assertion of Boundaries and Claims and the Taos  
Pueblo People's Bottom-Up Defense of Their Cultural Landscape**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Mansi Patel, "Negotiating Boundaries, Space, and Power: The Top-Down Assertion of Boundaries and Claims and the Taos Pueblo People's Bottom-Up Defense of Their Cultural Landscape," Architecture, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2023.

This thesis considers the oscillation and negotiation of power between the Taos Pueblo and external institutions that draw boundaries to claim pueblo land and influence narratives about the pueblo, while the Taos Pueblo people defend and reclaim their self-determination over their cultural landscapes through different historical eras and power structures. The Taos Pueblo, its culture, and its people are cast into different relationships with the Spanish reimagining indigenous land as its own empire, the American southwest reconstructing the Taos Pueblo to create its own identity, and heritage institutions that try to claim the Taos Pueblo's past and present. The narratives and understandings of the Taos Pueblo are critically analyzed through a survey of maps, images, and documents, which have been produced by mostly non-Pueblo people. The first chapter focuses on the Spanish empire's mechanisms of colonization and infrastructures of power created to enforce their control over the Taos Pueblo people. The second chapter focuses on the Taos Pueblo being absorbed into the newly forming American identity to construct a sense of place and history, particularly using the Panama-California Exposition as a case study. The third chapter focuses on heritage organizations in the 20th century that assert how the Taos Pueblo is defined and preserved while the Taos Pueblo people have their own perceptions of their land and notions of cultural preservation. The top-down assertion over land, histories, and culture by institutions has met with the persistence and resistance of the Taos Pueblo people in these historical moments, shaping how non-native people understand the Taos Pueblo.

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## PROJECT INTRODUCTION

*“When every effort was made to wipe out our culture and religion, we made adjustments to insure that there was an outward showing of compliance. We managed to keep our religion and culture going (underground, as it were) so we were able to survive the Spaniards. So too are we able to survive the tourists and culture they represent.” -Taos Pueblo member<sup>1</sup>*

Although the Taos Pueblo is architecturally incredible to have been built and consistently lived in for 1000 years, this quote from a Taos Pueblo person hints at tangled histories and legacies of colonialism that are not easily visible in the architecture at an initial glance.



Figure 1. 2023 - Photo of adobe buildings on the northern side of the Taos Pueblo



Figure 2. 2023 - Photo of adobe buildings on the southern side of the Taos Pueblo.

The Taos Pueblo is recognized and valued by the US National Historic Landmark District and also a UNESCO World Heritage Site for the adobe buildings standing for 1000 years with Taos Pueblo people continuously living in them.<sup>2</sup> However, the Taos Pueblo’s significance is not just the architecture, but also the relationship it has to the histories, the places it is connected to, and the relationships with other groups of people. The legacy of the Taos Pueblo people has been intertwined with representations and narratives that colonial institutions have written and imposed. Hence, the legacy of the Taos Pueblo is complicated and tangled with the legacy of Spanish colonialism, the legacy of the US forming its identity, and the legacy claimed by heritage organizations. This paper will untangle and analyze how these understandings

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<sup>1</sup> Carol Chiago Lujan, “A Sociological View of Tourism in an American Indian Community: Maintaining Cultural Integrity at Taos Pueblo,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17, no. 3 (October 1, 2007): 101.

<sup>2</sup> UNESCO World Heritage. “Taos Pueblo.” UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed September 12, 2022.

became a part of the Taos Pueblo's narrative by looking at history, geography, architecture and planning, identity politics, and socio-politics.

As a non-Native person writing about the Taos Pueblo, this paper is not intended to claim what the Taos Pueblo is or means. Rather, it is intended to peel away the mixed layers of history that external institutions have created on the Taos Pueblo and to understand the intent and impacts of these constructed narratives. The Taos Pueblo has been studied by several scholars like archeologists, anthropologists, and historians who have perpetuated harmful interpretations of the Taos Pueblo and its people, so the intent of this paper is to unpack, undo, and analyze the created and reinforced narratives about the people, culture, and architecture.

### ***Architectural and Geographical Focuses***

“Pueblo” in Taos Pueblo refers to both the architecture as well as how its people are referred to as. However, prior to the adobe buildings being built in the 13th century, the Taos Pueblo people, like many Native American groups, have always lived on the land.<sup>3</sup> The adobe buildings are organically organized on each side of the Taos River and connected by walking bridges over the river. Figure 3 shows the concentration of several adobe structures and varied heights in a plan view.

The landscape that the Taos Pueblo buildings are on includes the Taos River which is a key source of water, soil that makes up part of the adobe building material, the surrounding Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and also the ecosystem of plants and animals. The landscape, adobe buildings, and people are intertwined and in relationship with one another, such that only focusing on the buildings already begins to reduce



Figure 3. 1950 - Diagram of the Taos Pueblo structures and story heights.

<sup>3</sup>Jose Vicente Lujan, “An Operational Paradigm of Cultural Sovereignty at Taos Pueblo” (Ph.D., United States -- Arizona, Arizona State University), accessed September 17, 2022, p. 28.



The introduction of Spanish contact in 1540 disrupted the existing relationships between the pueblo communities, and it also expanded the geographical and social relationships the Taos Pueblo had to include Spain, Spanish territories in the Americas, and Spanish conquistadors and settlers.<sup>6</sup> The Spanish became the first external group to disrupt the relationship of the Taos Pueblo people, lands they used, and built environment, which is demonstrated in Spanish mapping. As the Spanish Empire claimed a vast expanse of what is now the US, they visualized, claimed, and reinterpreted the land through the development of cartography.

Later in 1848, the US claimed land that the Taos Pueblo sits on through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Despite promising to protect the land in 1906, the US government claimed part of the Taos Pueblo land, including the Blue Lake, redrawing a boundary that converted private Native land into federal public land.<sup>7</sup> Hence, there is a long history of external groups putting pressure on the Taos Pueblo to control and claim their land and people through drawing boundaries.

While boundaries and access to land get disputed, the Taos Pueblo becomes unwillingly absorbed into the US identity. In 1915, the Taos Pueblo architecture was completely decontextualized from the landscape and a replica was built in San Diego's Panama-California Exposition. The Taos Pueblo was forced into a new context and the architecture of the pueblo was claimed to be part of the American Southwest identity. The Santa Fe Railroad played a key role in sponsoring and promoting this exposition with the intent to promote the use of the railroad for tourism, using the pueblo as a tool.<sup>8</sup>

Tourism in the mid-1900s expanded beyond the railroad network as the Taos Pueblo became recognized by national and global heritage organizations, further expanding who and where Taos Pueblo is exposed to. The heritage boundaries encompass the adobe architecture, defining and restricting the boundary of cultural significance to just the physical buildings, ignoring the relationship with the landscape the pueblo is on and people.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Myra Ellen Jenkins, "Taos Pueblo and Its Neighbors, 1540-1847," 1966, 85.

<sup>7</sup> John J. Bodine, "Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Rights," *American Indian Law Review* 1, no. 1 (1973): 25.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> "World Heritage List: Nomination of Pueblo de Taos," December 30, 1987.

Outsider groups asserting property, legal, and cultural boundaries and claims disrupts the relationship of the Taos Pueblo, land, and people. This relationship can be interpreted as a cultural landscape, where the land, architecture, culture, and people's identity are all intertwined and connected.<sup>10</sup>

In response to the disruption, claims to land, and inserted boundaries from institutions like the Spanish and US government, the Taos Pueblo people resisted these efforts to reclaim their land, culture, and ways of life at multiple historic moments. With the Spanish colonists and Taos Pueblo, architecture became a symbolization of power as the Spanish built and imposed a church, which was later destroyed by the Taos Pueblo people after winning the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, reclaiming their space and right to practice their cultural beliefs.<sup>11</sup> In the 20th century, the US government claimed ownership over the Taos Pueblo people's Blue Lake, a sacred place, so the Taos Pueblo people engaged in a legal battle with the US for about 60 years to reclaim their right to the land, to hold religious ceremonies, and to protect a place of cultural significance.<sup>12</sup> Since time and immemorial the Taos Pueblo people have passed their culture and stories orally through generations, and they intentionally continue to do so to preserve their culture from being misinterpreted or claimed by institutions.<sup>13</sup>

With the battle of these institutions imposing and claiming the Taos Pueblo's history, meaning, and architecture, sovereignty becomes an important term. The Taos Pueblo people having sovereignty means they would have the right to their way of life on their cultural landscape, from how they decide to govern themselves and also how they want to use the land.<sup>14</sup> Many Native American groups advocate for the US to recognize tribes as sovereign nations, because they want to be able to continue to live life how they want to without external parties exerting control.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Buggey, Susan. "Associative Values: Exploring Nonmaterial Qualities in Cultural Landscapes." *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology* 31, no. 4 (2000): 21–27.

<sup>11</sup> Roberts, David. *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion That Drove the Spaniards out of the Southwest*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005.

<sup>12</sup>William F. Deverell, "The Return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 49, no. 1 (1987): 57–73.

<sup>13</sup> Lujan Jose Vicente. "An Operational Paradigm of Cultural Sovereignty at Taos Pueblo." Ph.D., Arizona State University. Accessed September 17, 2022.

<sup>14</sup> Lujan, 5.

<sup>15</sup> Deloria, Vine. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Avon, ; W213. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Hence, this paper looks at the architectural and geographical contexts the Taos Pueblo gets exposed to by institutions, like the Spanish colonists, Panama-California Exposition of 1915, and heritage organizations.

### ***Research Question/Problem***

This thesis seeks to understand how institutions' interpretations and representations of the Taos Pueblo are used to construct narratives that misrepresent the people for the benefit of the institution. These interpretations and representations of the Taos Pueblo need to be unpacked to better understand and remove false perpetuated histories from the narrative. The Taos Pueblo is typically highlighted by scholars for the architecture associated with the history of the Spanish and newly forming American. However, understanding the Taos Pueblo can't be limited to just architecture but must also be seen in relationship with identity, their history, other people, and external geographic scales. Uncovering institutions' imposed representations of the pueblo will help to undo the misunderstanding of the Taos Pueblo and its people.

The legacies of Spanish colonialism continue to impact the Taos Pueblo people today. The Spanish wrote the earliest written documents about the Taos Pueblo, and although some information before this exists, it stays protected within the Taos Pueblo people and in their oral stories. The US co-opted the narratives and identity of the Taos Pueblo to create a false history of the American Southwest to create a sense of belonging on the land. The Panama-California Exposition of 1915 highlights the stereotyping of several Native groups, commodifying indigenous culture, and using the pueblo buildings to appear as a complex yet primitive architecture in comparison to the rest of the exposition. The exposition shows how the Taos Pueblo was totally reconstructed in its ideas, culture, perception, and understanding to be absorbed as a part of the American Southwest identity. UNESCO reinforces the history of Spanish contact and reduces the cultural landscape to its architecture, defining publicly what the organization thinks is important about the pueblo from the top-down.

Hence, the problem is how to begin to undo the constructed narratives on the Taos Pueblo and people formed from institutions' priorities and power. There is not

much scholarship that deeply discusses the connection and relationship of the pueblo architecture beyond the structure and appearance of the building itself. Scholarship begins to connect certain aspects of the architecture and historical moments, like the Taos Pueblo people adding windows and doors for protection from colonial forces, but does not deeply explore how the history of the Taos Pueblo and its relationship with outsiders influence the narratives on the Taos Pueblo. The pueblo has primarily been studied from the archeological and anthropological fields and does begin to connect the land, architecture, and people. To better understand the Taos Pueblo, this paper will view the architecture of the pueblo as being in relation to the historical social relationships and also in relation to other scales of space and place beyond adobe buildings.

### ***Research Methods***

To address the complexity of this problem, the research requires connecting several disciplines to uncover and unpack forced and harmful narratives to better understand the Taos Pueblo. The Taos Pueblo will be approached by looking at identity politics, geography, architecture and planning, history, and socio-economics. The forced contact of outsider groups and the Taos Pueblo exerts an identity onto the Taos Pueblo people during and after colonialism, where institutions define the importance of the pueblo from a top-down level. Geographic methods, such as cartography, help to critically read how the Taos Pueblo is represented on historic maps by the Spanish, US, and UNESCO, as well as understanding the networks of relationships and scales that the Taos Pueblo is forced into from drawing boundaries, like the Spanish Crown's expansive empire and the railroad network.

Planning is a tool of power where the visions of outsider groups conflict with the Taos Pueblo, such as Spanish rules of planning from the Crown as opposed to how the Taos Pueblo people think of their cultural landscape and how they want to exercise their sovereignty to their own land. The Spanish settlements and city of Taos and Santa Fe were produced from Spanish planning and continue to have a legacy to today.

History is crucial to understand how come the Taos Pueblo is reduced to its architecture today, why Taos Pueblo people are continuously dehistoricized, and how



the legacies of the Spanish and early US interpretations of the Taos Pueblo continue to dominant narratives and understanding of the Taos Pueblo today.

Socio-economics helps to understand how the Taos Pueblo has faced and also resisted against institutions that try to extract from them, whether its their land, narratives and culture, or tourist economy for their own personal economic gain at the cost of the Taos Pueblo people. All of these connect and are inherently intertwined into the architecture of the pueblo, so the Taos Pueblo must be seen within the larger context it currently and historically exists within.

The primary sources used include maps, legal documents from empires, and drawings or representations of the Taos Pueblo being made by non-Taos Pueblo people. There is no written history from the Taos Pueblo because the history has been passed generation to generation through oral stories and even today, there is limited written documentation from the Taos Pueblo, for cultural privacy and protection. There is limited access to these oral stories because what is not known to non-Native people cannot be co-opted. Hence, instead of commenting on what the Taos Pueblo people's culture is, the primary sources are examined to understand what histories and interpretations of the Taos Pueblo and its people have been constructed by institutions and why.

Several maps are used in all of the chapters where an external party enforced their notions of space, place, and where boundaries are or are not located. Early cartography developed by the Spanish helped visualize and therefore claim space as Spanish territory. Maps are a key tool that help question what it means for another group to exert its boundaries onto the Taos Pueblo, because its people deal with the consequences of it and are forced into new relationships created from drawing boundaries. Also, maps show how these outside institutions viewed the pueblo and land in choosing what and what not to depict.

Legal documents like the Laws of the Indies, The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, and the UNESCO nomination documents describing the importance of the Taos Pueblo all claim some kind of ownership over the land and control rules over how the Taos Pueblo people are able to live on the land. These documents provide insight into

the intentions of the institutions that created them and the impacts on the Taos Pueblo people.

Photos and drawings of the Taos Pueblo is the last key type of primary source that is used to depict the pueblo. These representations help understand how the pueblo was visualized by institutions and promoted to more outsiders. Some key sources for photos and drawings include the Panama-California Exposition Digital Archive and the LIFE Magazine. The photos and drawings help provide more perspective on what materials shaped people's understanding of the Taos Pueblo, what ideas they convey, and how that benefits who it was created for.

For secondary sources, many are primarily from archeology and anthropology journal articles and books. This is because information about the Taos Pueblo is primarily studied in these fields more than others. There are secondary sources that focus on key historical moments that the Taos Pueblo is connected to, like the Pueblo Revolt, the Panama-California Exposition, and the battle for Blue Lake. A dissertation by Jose Vicente Lujan, a Taos Pueblo person, titled "An Operational Paradigm of Cultural Sovereignty at Taos Pueblo" published in 2022 was helpful to better understand what the Taos Pueblo people's values are and how they might envision their future.<sup>16</sup> Although one person cannot be representative of a culture and group of people, it does provide insight into core values and issues of colonialism's legacies.

Because there are not many primary and secondary sources from the Taos Pueblo people, these primary sources provide a basis on how to unpack and uncover the misunderstandings of the pueblo and the secondary sources provide contexts from multiple disciplines. It is not the Taos Pueblo people's responsibility to help non-Native people understand how they have been exploited, but it needs to be recognized by non-Native people because the institutions we interact with have historically and will continue to reinforce false understandings that dehumanize and unknowingly shape our understandings of the Taos Pueblo people.

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<sup>16</sup> Lujan.

## **Summary of Chapters**

Chapter One focuses on how the Spanish empire colonized and employed several mechanisms to enforce their control over the Taos Pueblo people. The chapter begins with how Nicholas Sanson's 1657 map and the Law of the Indies reveal how the Spanish Crown saw indigenous land as a part of the Spanish empire, and then discusses how the Spanish enforced a planned infrastructure of control at a regional scale, with Santa Fe as a place of power, and at a more local scale, with the Taos Spanish settlement closer to the pueblo. Then, the chapter zooms closer into how the Spanish Catholic institution inserted itself into the pueblo by constructing a church that later gets demolished by a resistance movement from multiple pueblo people. Key sources in this chapter include Bowden's *Spanish Missions, Cultural Conflict and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680*, *The Laws of the Indies*, and Sanson's 1657 map of America.

Chapter Two focuses on the Taos Pueblo within the context of America as newly forming, especially with the American Southwest becoming a part of America. In constructing an identity of the American Southwest, the US absorbs the Taos Pueblo as if it was always part of the American identity. This chapter begins with the map from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that solidified the US holding and claiming of what is now the American Southwest, which includes the Taos Pueblo. The 1915 Panama-California Exposition becomes an important case study that highlights how the Taos Pueblo architecture and people are dehistoricized and co-opted into the created and constructed American narrative, through rebuilding a replica of the pueblo in San Diego, California. Key sources in this chapter include Snead's *Lessons of the Ages: Archaeology and the Construction of Cultural Identity in the American Southwest* and Bokovoy's *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*.

Chapter Three focuses on the 20th century when the Taos Pueblo is once again claimed by heritage institutions asserting their western notions of heritage and what they deem as meaningful to preserve. The heritage institutions like UNESCO, World Monuments Fund, and the US government play a major role of inserting their understandings of the Taos Pueblo, controlling the dominant narrative, and reinforcing some of the narratives told during Spanish and settler colonialism. Yet, the Taos Pueblo people should have ownership over their own narratives and land, claiming what their

own importance is, and how to preserve it as they have done. The Taos Pueblo people legally battle the US to reclaim land the government stole from them, control tourism at the pueblo, and also how they want to preserve their cultural landscape. Key sources in this chapter include Carol Chiago Lujan's *A Sociological View of Tourism in an American Indian Community: Maintaining Cultural Integrity at Taos Pueblo*, Gordon's *The Battle for Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Religious Rights*, and the *World Heritage List: Nomination of Pueblo de Taos*.

Hence, this paper dives deeper into the past to understand and unpack the Taos Pueblo. There is an oscillation and negotiation of power between the Taos Pueblo and external institutions that draw boundaries to claim land and narratives of the pueblo while the Taos Pueblo people defend and reclaim their self-determination over their cultural landscapes through different historical eras and power structures. In each, the Taos Pueblo, its culture, and its people are cast in different relationships with the Spanish reimagining indigenous land as its own empire, the American Southwest reconstructing the Taos Pueblo to create its own identity, and heritage institutions that try to claim the Taos Pueblo's past and present.

## **CHAPTER ONE: Writing Indigenous Land as New Spain: Colonizing the Taos Pueblo through Mapping and Architecture**

The scholarly account of Taos Pueblo typically begins in the 13th century when the Taos Pueblo was first built, and then jumps right to 1540 when the Spanish conquistadors first came into contact with the Taos Pueblo. It is important to acknowledge here that the Taos Pueblo people had a much longer presence on the land and history prior to Spanish contact and the significance of the pueblo should not begin when the Spanish came. Although it is unfair of these narratives to start with the Spanish, this first chapter does so in order to unpack why. It is generally acknowledged by scholars that the Spanish produced the first written documentation on the Taos Pueblo and its people. Through the production of history, the Spanish exerted much power and control over space and places through colonization. The history prior to Spanish contact exists, but it is protected and passed down orally through generations of the Taos Pueblo people. These stories are intentionally not written or shared for privacy and protection of culture.<sup>17</sup> The goal of this chapter is to understand the impact and legacies of the Spanish empire on the architectural and urban environment.

The arrival of the Spanish also meant the arrival of enforcing their notions and understanding of space, land, and borders onto the landscape where the Taos Pueblo people have lived. The Spanish were the first group of outsiders that significantly disturbed the cultural landscape and agency the Taos Pueblo people had over their daily lives. Spanish colonization of the Americas had led to the introduction of masses of land being claimable and the management and control of Native American communities. The Taos Pueblo was forced into a larger socio-political context, geographic relationships, and the Spanish's notions of space.

The Spanish strategically maintained control over the land, Taos Pueblo, and its people using different scales of power put in place by the Spanish Crown abroad, laying out institutional networks within the regional pueblo communities and in local individual pueblos. To understand the larger context and how the Spanish visualized space and controlling place, the Spanish Crown helped fund and develop cartography and also

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<sup>17</sup> Lujan, Carol Chiago. "A Sociological View of Tourism in an American Indian Community: Maintaining Cultural Integrity at Taos Pueblo." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17, no. 3 (October 1, 2007): 101–20.

inscribed rules on how to plan for settlements in the Americas. Nicholas Sanson’s map in 1657, “Audience de Guadalajara, Nouveau Mexique, Californie,&c” as seen below in Figure 6, was one of the first mapped representations of Taos.



Figure 6. 1657 - Early Spanish Cartographic representation that also shows Taos.

Sanson intentionally represents a piece of the Americas and the boundaries around “Guadalajara, Nouveau Mexique, Californie,” where Native American groups are labeled in text, the ports are labeled near the coastlines, and physical landscape features like lakes and mountains. Hence, the map shows the naming and labeling made on top of Native people’s land, showing the top-down interpretation of the land. The map is an early attempt to represent the size and shape of the land in order to claim it.

Analysis of the map through Mundy’s text “The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of Relaciones Geograficas,” reveals Spain’s intentions and perceptions of space in map making by primarily representing risks or variables in order to maintain control.<sup>18</sup> Mundy explains that the king was a primary driver in developing cartography and provided the funding for it, showing the motive to

<sup>18</sup> Mundy, Barbara E. *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. 1st pbk. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

use map making to visualize what lands the Spanish empire possessed and the extent of their land claims. King Philip II, who ruled Spain from 1556 to 1598, no longer wanted to travel to the lands that became a part of the empire so maps like Sanson's helped the king visualize the empire as well as display power to his own people as a way to legitimize the claims in the eyes of the subjects.<sup>19</sup> While some maps are produced to accurately represent the land, Mundy extends this idea by saying that mapping comes from a culture's understanding of space and spatial relationships, which is shaped by social relationships. In the Americas, the relationship between space and people became something to claim and conquer, reflected in the map's priorities of showing topography and human settlements. Cartography is therefore a means and tool for the Spanish to colonize space, where the Taos Pueblo is just a dot on the map within Spanish claimed territories. Through reading Mundy's text, Sanson's map hints at intentions of flattening the identity and culture of the Taos Pueblo people, enforcing their power to control them, and representing the vast Spanish empire's power.

In addition to cartography, the Spanish Crown also created a document called the *Laws of the Indies* in 1573 which inscribed rules on how to plan for settlements in the Americas.<sup>20</sup> In 1977, the first proper English translation of the *Laws of the Indies* was done by Axel I. Munding and Dora P. Crouch.<sup>21</sup> The *Laws of the Indies* are a result of the Spanish Crown ordering instructions to be made on how to plan cities in the New World, with the intention to pacify potential issues with Native people and also recreate Spain.<sup>22</sup> Hence, it was also a document that was meant to control and manage Native people, while maintaining the Spanish Crown's ability to rule from a distance. The *Laws of the Indies* become an important context in this chapter because it inscribed how institutional power and control would look like in pueblo communities and Taos Pueblo people. While the Spanish maps visualized and spatially claimed the land, the *Laws of the Indies* were like planning instructions on making new settlements and infrastructure to house networks of power, going in-depth on how to organize cities in the New World, how to treat Native American people, and how to enforce Catholicism onto them.<sup>23</sup> Both

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<sup>19</sup> Mundy, 9.

<sup>20</sup> Munding and Crouch.

<sup>21</sup> Munding and Crouch, 248.

<sup>22</sup> Munding and Crouch, 247.

<sup>23</sup> Munding and Crouch.

Spanish maps and this document ultimately provide a lens of how the Spanish perceived land, the Taos Pueblo people, and mechanisms of Spanish colonialism.

This chapter will focus on Spanish colonization and specific moments during the time period from 1540, when the Spanish came to the Taos Pueblo, to 1821, when the Spanish gave up their claim to the land in the Treaty of Cordoba. The Spanish exposed the Taos Pueblo to relationships within a larger geography and strategies of enforcing power and control over these geographies, from looking at the “unclaimed” Americas, to creating infrastructures of power at the regional scale, and to the local scale of building a church in the pueblo for enforcing Catholicism. One particular moment that this chapter focuses on is how the Spanish established a regional infrastructure of power with establishing Santa Fe as a place of control in 1610 and establishing the Spanish settlement near the Taos Pueblo in 1615. The other moment this chapter focuses on is how the Spanish established a church building in 1619 as a local place of control within the Taos Pueblo that became part of the battle of reclaiming sovereignty during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.

The Spanish colonial encounter disrupted the identity and culture of the Taos Pueblo people and how the histories are told. The Spanish colonized Taos Pueblo land through mapping to reimagine indigenous land as Spanish land, creating a regional power structure, and imposing the church on the Taos Pueblo land.

### ***Subtheme 1: Spanish Regional Infrastructures of Power and Control***

Sanson’s map and the *Laws of the Indies* both inform how the Spanish Crown asserts a vision of power through regional and local infrastructures that made it possible to control the “New World” settlements, land, and Native people from Spain. The Spanish, therefore, needed infrastructure to house places of controlling the regional pueblo communities and managing communication with the Spanish Crown. The network and fabric of Spanish colonization and political power operated at different scales in order for the Spanish Crown to have power to make decisions impacting the “new” Spain. To understand how Spanish colonialism was able to operate and spatially control the Taos Pueblo, the networks and places of power will be examined. Figure 7 shows the routes of the conquistadors finding the pueblo communities that the Spanish



will exert control over. One of the earliest formal Spanish settlements was in 1610, “La Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Asi”.<sup>24</sup> The first location of power that got established was Santa Fe, which followed the *Laws of the Indies*’ city planning to be strategically near and have access to the pueblo communities.<sup>25</sup> The Santa Fe’s layout also follows the grid organization emphasized in the document, which is visible in Figure 8.

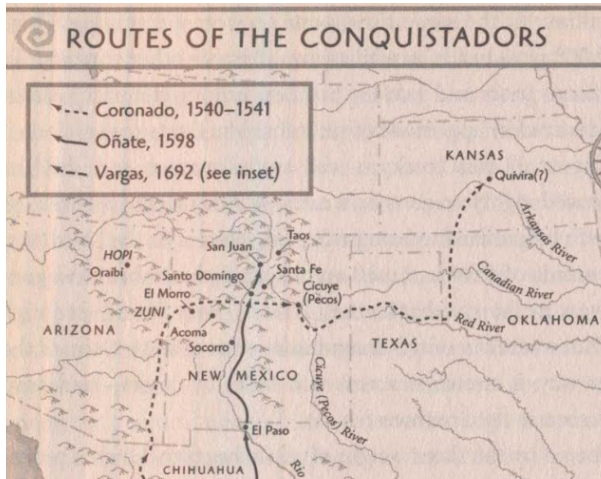


Figure 7. The pueblos are labeled in relation to when the Spanish had found them. Santa Fe is also represented.

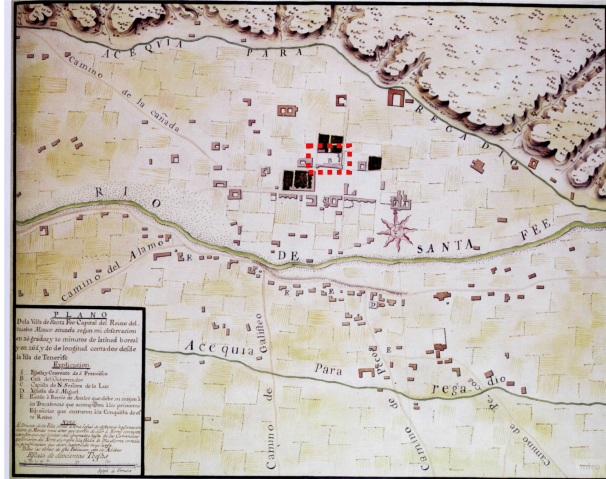


Figure 8. 1776 - One of the earliest plans of Santa Fe. The red dashed box is the Palace of Governors.

The building in Santa Fe that serves as a connection between the Spanish Crown to the region is the Palace of Governors. Then, in 1615, the Spanish established a settlement near the Taos Pueblo which was called Taos. These scales and networks of Spanish colonial infrastructure will be discussed in this section.

The Taos Pueblo and Santa Fe have a relationship of not just geography, but also of politics and power. In the hierarchy of Spanish scales of power, Santa Fe served as a crucial piece of it, connecting the region to and reporting back to the Spanish Crown, who dictates where money is put into, laws on how to manage the new territories, and decision making power. The planning rules for Santa Fe come from the Crown’s *Law of the Indies*, requiring a detailed set of plans from Spain, to help dictate the location of where the settlement should go, and what kind of style and organization

<sup>24</sup> Weber, David J., and William deBuys. “Santa Fe.” In *First Impressions*, 194–213. A Reader’s Journey to Iconic Places of the American Southwest. Yale University Press, 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Crouch and Mundigo.

would be necessary. Having a plaza, grid-like organization, and other elements are mentioned in the document and essentially offer guidelines on how to design and recreate the feeling and aesthetic of a Spanish city in the “new” Spain.<sup>26</sup> Santa Fe was imagined as a recreation and extension of Spanish land and was thus intentionally designed that way.

Even the organization of Santa Fe itself shows the Crown’s colonial influence imposed onto the space. The grid-like organization of Santa Fe contrasts to the more organic organization of buildings in the Taos Pueblo as well as some other pueblo communities. See Figures 9 and 10 where the plan view clearly shows this difference. Hence, Santa Fe was influenced and built based on the *Laws of the Indies* and as the first settlement in this region, it became one of the first physical imprints of Spanish colonization.

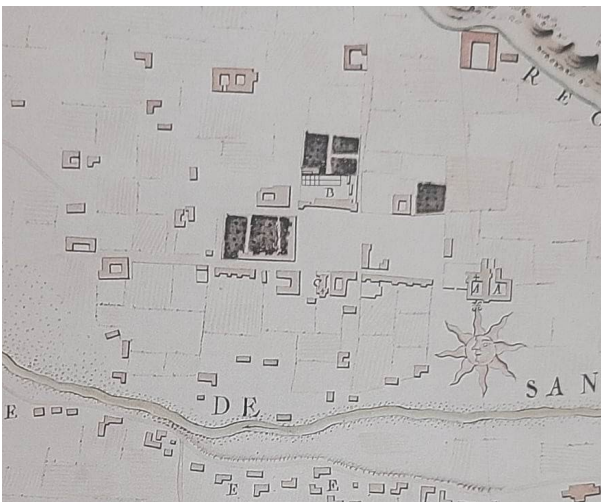


Figure 9. 1776 - Santa Fe gridded layout.



Figure 10 - Taos Pueblo organic layout.

In Santa Fe, the Palace of the Governors was the colonial capital building that housed the civic and political needs of the city as well as being a center for exerting power over the pueblos in the region. The Palace building was long, enclosing the north side of the plaza space, as shown in Figure 11. As a place of power, the large architectural scale and interior finishes showcased, “...power and cultural superiority to both settlers and Natives” and had, “...represented Spain’s values and worldview,” according to Emily Abbink, a professor at UC Santa Cruz teaching American studies and Native American history. Hence, the Palace housed the functions of a capital

<sup>26</sup> Crouch and Mudingo, 265.

building and also was an architectural representation of status, power, and superiority of the Spanish.

Even though the Taos Pueblo was one of the more distant pueblos from Santa Fe, as shown in Figure 12, the church and military were institutions that were centered in Santa Fe to be able to



Figure 11. 1880 - The Palace of the Governors building in Santa Fe.

further reach into individual pueblo communities. The Taos Pueblo is caught within the Spanish infrastructure and hierarchy of power from the Spanish Crown, to Santa Fe as the territorial capital with the Palace of

Governors, and then the institution of the church and military being able to branch into pueblos at a local scale. Hence, the Crown establishing these scales and infrastructures of power were Spanish mechanisms that made it possible to colonize the Taos Pueblo and maintain control of the land and space to recreate into another Spain. Santa Fe and the Palace of Governors are therefore places of power that connect and translate the Crown's power to the region and pueblos itself.<sup>27</sup>



Figure 12 - Distance between Santa Fe and Taos Pueblo is a 2-day walk.

In addition to Santa Fe and the Palace of Governors, another mechanism for power was the Spanish settlement which was located a few miles away from the Taos Pueblo structures. This settlement in 1615 began five years after Santa Fe was established, showing the progression and development of the infrastructures of power. As a settlement significantly closer to the Taos Pueblo than Santa Fe was to the pueblo,

<sup>27</sup> Abbink, Emily. *New Mexico's Palace of the Governors: History of an American Treasure*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2007.

there is a physical and geographically reduced distance between the Spanish and pueblo.

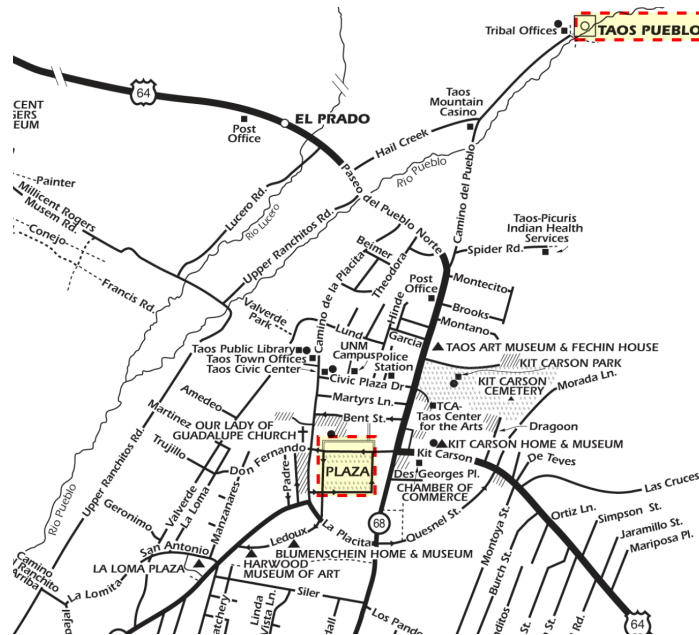


Figure 13. - Distance between Taos settlement and Taos Pueblo is a 1-hour walk for 3 miles.

In fact, the Spanish settlement and what is now currently the city of Taos sits on land that was part of the Taos Pueblo people’s cultural landscape.<sup>28</sup> The settlement is not only significant in its proximity to the Taos Pueblo people but also in how it begins to claim and benefit from the cultural landscape that was used by the Taos Pueblo. The encroachment and expanded infrastructures of power over the Taos Pueblo keep developing and will grow overtime and be occupied by more and more Spanish settlers. Although there is not much information on the appearance or layout of the settlement at the time and the Taos Plaza original physical architectural style, the settlement is still part of the Spanish’s regional power structure. Chapter Three will continue to discuss and expand on how the legacy of the Spanish settlement continues in the tense relationship between the city of Taos and Taos Pueblo today.

Even though the Spanish’s intentions throughout the Spanish Empire are to control the Taos Pueblo people through these institutions, the Spanish built buildings that are from the pueblo style of architecture. The architectural styles that came about in New Mexico were very similar to the pueblo style and were appropriated by the

<sup>28</sup> Bodine, John J. “Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Rights.” *American Indian Law Review* 1, no. 1 (1973): 26.

Spanish. The architectural style that uses adobe or adobe-like materials is a legacy of the pueblo people that the Spanish adopted into their own architecture, including the Palace of Governors and even the Taos Plaza, a Spanish settlement in the city of Taos. The architectural styles in New Mexico that came about after the Taos Pueblo people and other pueblo people include the Spanish Colonial Period, Territorial, and Later American.<sup>29</sup> Looking at just the Taos Plaza built by Spanish settlers in the 18th century, the architecture style builds off of the Native Pueblo people's architectural style.<sup>30</sup> Although it is important to consider that the Spanish may have been forced by circumstance and environmental resources to build similarly or using similar techniques to the pueblo people, there is still an irony of the Spanish colonial attempt to assimilate the pueblo people through religion and control while benefiting and being able to survive from their architectural techniques. The legacy of adobe architecture is often connected and associated with the Spanish in the dominant narratives, however, adobe stems from the pueblo people having used these techniques and elements for hundreds of years. In establishing the regional infrastructures of power and buildings that would become places of power, the Spanish took from and used pueblo styles and methods of building.

By looking at a regional scale of how the Spanish built their influence on the Taos Pueblo and also how the pueblo people's architectural style is taken by the Spanish, the Spanish begin to create the mechanisms for colonization needed to control the Taos Pueblo and maintain their claim to the land. Santa Fe and Taos Pueblo have a political relationship in how the Palace of Governors in Santa Fe is a center of Spanish order where power is located and then enforced with the religious and military means over the pueblos in the region.<sup>31</sup> From this history of colonial infrastructures, the legacies of the Spanish prevail to today with the Palace of Governors continuing to be a civic and military building for the Mexican and then US empire, and claiming the pueblo architectural style while trying to eliminate the pueblo cultures. Yet the physical infrastructures of power build upon the geographic visualization and spatialization of the Spanish claim to the land and extension of Spain and are organized through the ways in

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<sup>29</sup> Bunting, Bainbridge. *Taos Adobes: Spanish Colonial and Territorial Architecture of the Taos Valley*. 1st ed. Publication / Fort Burgwin Research Center ; No. 2. Santa Fe, N.M: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1964, 1-14.

<sup>30</sup> Bunting.

<sup>31</sup> Abbink.

which the Spanish Crown wanted to organize and plan for settlements. Hence, creating a regional power structure through Santa Fe as a center for regional power that expands the network of power through military, the church institution, and the Taos settlement, sets up a mechanism for which the Taos Pueblo's identity and culture become disrupted.

### ***Subtheme 2: Localizing Spanish Disruption of Pueblo Power Through Colonial Architecture***

Having established transnational and regional scales of the Spanish Crown and infrastructures of power, this section investigates how the Catholic Church inserts itself into the Taos Pueblo and also how the Taos Pueblo reclaims their power. This exemplifies how colonial institutions use space, planning, and architecture in order to colonize the Native people and expand their networks of power. *The Laws of the Indies* describes a framework on how to enforce Catholicism onto the new lands and Native people.<sup>32</sup> In outlining what settlements need and how to go about organizing them, *The Laws of the Indies* also included how churches are necessary to build at each settlement. The Spanish imposed on the religious boundaries of the Taos Pueblo by physically inserting a church into the pueblo, and the church became a site of resistance where the Taos Pueblo people attempted to reclaim their religious sovereignty. The St. Gerome Church in the Taos Pueblo that was built by the Spanish in 1619 reflects the politics and power of buildings where the Spanish and Taos Pueblo people battle for the space and ideology that the architecture represents.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Mundigo, A. I., & Crouch, D. P. (1977). The City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies Revisited. Part I: Their Philosophy and Implications. *The Town Planning Review*, 48(3), 247–268.

<sup>33</sup> Bowden, Henry Warner. "Spanish Missions, Cultural Conflict and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680." *Church History* 44, no. 2 (1975): 217–28.

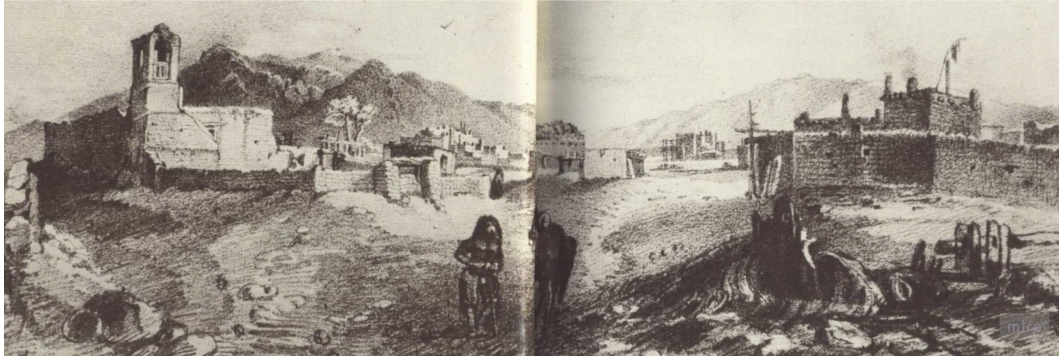


Figure 14. This is a drawing of what the church building might have looked like on the left.

In 1619, the San Geronimo Church was built in the northwest side of the pueblo and it is adjacent, if not seemingly part of, the Taos Pueblo.<sup>34</sup> The scale of the building is quite large and incredible in comparison to the scale of most structures in the pueblo. The plan below in Figure 15 depicts the Taos Pueblo buildings, showing the difference in scale.



Figure 15. 1933 - The plan highlights the Church of San Geronimo in yellow.

Just through the architecture and scale, it is clear that the church imposes on the Taos Pueblo, and also, the methods of the institution were imposed on the people to convert

<sup>34</sup> Historic American Buildings Survey, Creator, Perry E Borchers, Myra Borchers, Joe Kingsolver, John A Burns, Julsing J Lamsam, Bruce Casterline, Jeanne C Lawrence, and Caroline R Alderson, New Mexico State Highway Department, and Perry E Borchers, photographer. Pueblo of Taos Central Portion, Taos Pueblo, Taos County, NM. Taos County Taos Pueblo New Mexico, 1933. Translated by Christianson, Justinemitter Documentation Compiled After. Photograph.

and prevent the Taos Pueblo people from practicing their culture and traditions and even speaking their language. The insertion of the church into the pueblo disrupts the cultural boundaries and ability of the Taos Pueblo people to practice their religion and way of life. The church housed the infrastructure to impose cultural restrictions and force Catholicism on the Taos Pueblo people and was a tool of the Spanish to erase and rewrite the culture of the community.

*The Laws of the Indies* discusses how each settlement should have built churches and how a major goal was to preach to the Native people on conquered land. However, at a more fundamental level, the aim of *The Law of the Indies* document and church institution was to try to absorb Native communities and force assimilation to recreate a new Spain. Hence, the presence of the church signifies a competing built environment between the Taos Pueblo structures they had been living in and building more as they grow. The cultural landscape was disrupted from sovereignty they had since time and memorial with the Spanish inserting themselves and their cultural practices as a physical space in the pueblo.

As the Spanish had many forms and systems created to oppress the Taos Pueblo people and other pueblos, like the church and also encomienda system, the pueblo communities organized a rebellion that would be one of the only successful Native American rebellions against the Spanish.<sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 had resulted in the removal of the Spanish in the region.<sup>37</sup> Many texts highlight Po'pay as a key figure in the revolt who was from Ohkay Owingeh, which is also called the San Juan Pueblo.<sup>38</sup> Given the Taos Pueblo's geographic region being one of the north-most pueblos, Po'pay hid there for a few years and helped organize the pueblos to revolt. Even after the revolt, he was involved in how pueblos should go about revitalization of culture after years of Spanish cultural imperialism. The resistance against the Spanish had continued after the revolt into the effort to undo the Spanish influences and

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<sup>35</sup> H Allen Anderson, "THE ENCOMIENDA IN NEW MEXICO, 1598-1680," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 1985.

<sup>36</sup> Henry Warner Bowden, "Spanish Missions, Cultural Conflict and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680," *Church History* 44, no. 2 (1975): 217–28.

<sup>37</sup> Livingston, Jerry L, "The battle sites, 1694," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*. 1st ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, p. 180.

<sup>38</sup> Roberts, David. *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion That Drove the Spaniards out of the Southwest*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005.



revitalize pueblo culture. In the Taos Pueblo, this manifested into the Taos Pueblo people physically demolishing the San Geronimo church. The ruins of this church are illustrated by the drawing in Figure 16.<sup>39</sup>

The architecture that had embodied and housed Spanish control and religious agenda was demolished and its spatial power, presence, and scale were reduced. Hence, there is a reclaiming of space and power and a battle against the forced ideologies and symbols of

power of the Spanish church institution. The ruins and remnants of this church still exist by the pueblo, but the dismantling of a building that inserted itself into the pueblo allowed the Taos Pueblo people to reclaim the space and story of that space.<sup>40</sup>

The Pueblo Revolt as well as the destruction of the church are both important stories about the Taos Pueblo in how these narratives are not just of the struggles and challenges of the Taos Pueblo people. This was significant in how the architecture tells a narrative of resisting colonialism and being a challenge to the Spanish empire and agenda of dominating and controlling space. The demolition represented the reclaiming of their culture and land by removing physical remnants of Spanish occupation and control.

For twelve years, the Taos Pueblo was free of Spanish control and when the Spanish returned, the power dynamics were different with the Spanish exercising more limited control over the Taos Pueblo.<sup>41</sup> During their return, the Spanish did construct another church in 1726, this time smaller and on the southside of the pueblo in between structures in a pueblo style of architecture, as seen in Figure 17 and 18.



Figure 16 - 1985. The photo shows the ruins of the demolished church as a graveyard.

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<sup>39</sup> Bowden, 221.

<sup>40</sup> Bodine, J. J. (1996). Taos Pueblo: A walk through time : a visitor's guide to the pueblo, its people, their customs and their long history (Treasure chest books ed.). Treasure chest Books, 20-21.

<sup>41</sup> Espinosa, J. Manuel. "The Recapture of Santa Fé, New Mexico, by the Spaniards-December 29-30, 1693." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 19, no. 4 (1939): 448.

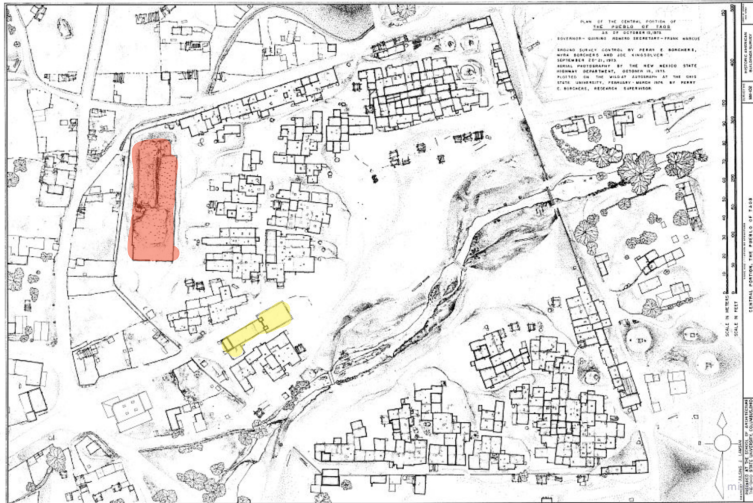


Figure 17. 1933 - The demolished church is in red and the new church built in 1726 is highlighted in yellow.

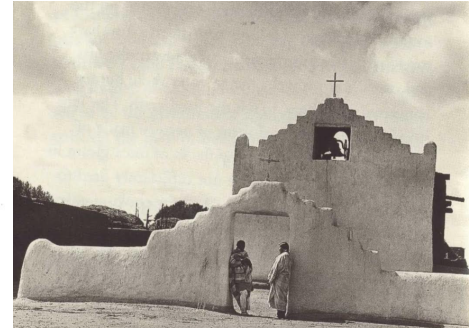


Figure 18. 1930 - Second church rebuilt.

Even though the Spanish returned, there is an oscillation of power between the Spanish and Taos Pueblo people in how disrupting one empowers the other and buildings are used as a symbol and housing of power. Although once again, Catholicism is being inserted into the cultural landscape, the Pueblo Revolt and aftermath has left a legacy of a successful narrative of resistance, time to revitalize culture, and also how strict the Spanish control was.<sup>42</sup> The story told by the churches in the Taos Pueblo reflect the complexities of Spanish contact and how the Taos Pueblo people tried to fight against the Spanish attempt to rupture their identity and culture through organized resistance.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter focuses on particular strategies and moments during Spanish colonization of the Taos Pueblo to understand how the culture and identity of the Taos Pueblo have been disrupted as well as how there are stories of persistence and resistance from the Taos Pueblo people. The infrastructural networks of power influenced and framed by the Spanish Crown from the top-down influence and reinterprets the cultural landscape of the Taos Pueblo. By creating these networks, mechanisms and places of power were built by the Spanish to exert control at various scales. From the regional level with the Palace of Governors in Santa Fe to the church

<sup>42</sup>Mundigo, A. I., & Crouch, D. P.

of San Geronimo in the Taos Pueblo, the Spanish reimagine and try to reshape Native and cultural land to become Spanish land.

The Taos Pueblo simultaneously was also a dot on a map within a large mass of land that the Spanish Crown claimed. By perceiving space as land that is claimable through control, Spanish cartography helps to contextualize how the Spanish colonized and created borders to claim land and power within. The Taos Pueblo people's identity and culture already becomes flattened in the Spanish maps for the Spanish benefit of presenting their progress and legacy of growing their empire in the 16th and 17th century.

The Spanish Crown also produced the *Laws of the Indies*, recreating Spain in settlements and cities on "new" land, as if there was a clear blank slate of history to be made by the Spanish. This document guides how the Spanish Crown can maintain power by providing direction on how to plan settlements and infrastructures to control Native communities, including Spanish settlements, a central place for regional power, and the church institution.

The resistance against the Spanish oppression on multiple pueblo communities brings pueblo peoples to form relationships and organize, successfully removing the Spanish, reclaiming history and land, and destroying Spanish documents and buildings that might have imposed their narratives. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was a pivotal moment in allowing for cultural revitalization, reducing the near risk of the people's culture disappearing, and being the one of the only successful rebellions against the Spanish in the Americas. Even though the Spanish returned in 1692, the Spanish were more distant and the Taos Pueblo people had more agency than before.

The story of the Pueblo Revolt and battle for identity is also told through the architecture of the church in the Taos Pueblo. The Spanish had built the San Geronimo Church adjacent to the Taos Pueblo, but the Taos Pueblo people destroyed it after the Pueblo Revolt, signifying reclamation of space, culture, and land. After the Spanish return they built another church within the Taos Pueblo that is still currently standing. Still, the story of resistance and reclamation is told through the Pueblo Revolt and destruction of Spanish physical remnants.

Not only was the church a symbol or institution for power, but so was the Palace of Governors in Santa Fe. The building housed power in that it had the infrastructure to suppress pueblo communities and also had contact with the Spanish Crown. The political connection between the Taos Pueblo and Santa Fe involves the Spanish military, church, and infrastructures of control over the Taos Pueblo people. Even after the Spanish Empire ends and the land transfers “ownership” to Mexico and then later the US, both of those empires continue to use the Palace of Governors as a civic building and make Santa Fe the capital. Not only during Spanish control but also the control of other empires, Santa Fe serves as a place that has the means to exert power over the pueblos and the region. Not only is there a legacy in how Santa Fe continues to be a place for power, but the Spanish also get credit for the legacy of the pueblo architectural style of Taos and other Pueblo people. As the Spanish colonists build settlements, the architectural style is appropriated as their own. It might not be intentional to claim the style as a Spanish style because the Spanish might have used it based on need and resources, but the Spanish still actively engage with both suppressing the identity and way of life of Taos Pueblo and other pueblo people while benefiting from pueblo ways of building.

Throughout Spanish colonization, the Taos Pueblo gets visualized and interpreted by the Spanish and the legacy of the Spanish continues. The Spanish often dominate the narratives told about the Taos Pueblo. Hence, unpacking the Spanish mechanisms of colonizing land and people and identifying moments like the Pueblo Revolt help understand how Spanish colonization attempted to dominate and assimilate the Taos Pueblo and recreate an extension of Spanish land.

## **CHAPTER TWO: Settler Colonialism and the American Southwest Representations and Appropriations of the Taos Pueblo, Its Culture, and Its People**

After the Spanish, the US was the next major empire that claimed a vast amount of land that included the Taos Pueblo. The goal of this chapter is to understand how the Taos Pueblo is reinterpreted and absorbed into the newly forming identity of the American southwest and the Panama-California Exposition from 1915 to 1917 in San Diego, California will serve as a case study.

The Spanish empire's reign over the land and the native people ended in 1821 under the Treaty of Cordoba that gave the territories the Spanish claimed to Mexico. Soon after, the Mexican-American War happened from 1846 to 1848, and even though the Taos Pueblo people and Hispanic people allied to resist in what is called the Taos Revolt in 1847, they were defeated. As a result of Mexico's defeat, a large expanse of land would become US land through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.<sup>43</sup> This treaty marks the beginning of the US empire's claim to what would become known as the American southwest and the westward expansion of American settlers.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo does address how Native people are on the land and how they intend to be managed by the US government. The US both fully claims ownership over Native lands while also promising protection with the land being:

“...occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the exclusive control of the Government of the United States...” while “...special care shall then be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes...” (Article XI).<sup>44</sup>

The treaty already begins to perceive Native people as obstacles to settling on the land and foreshadows the settler colonialist intentions over the Taos Pueblo. By promising protection and claiming the intent to keep Native homes in place, the US is able to claim and settle the land surrounding Native land while also trying to prevent conflict between the two parties. This treaty is important to the Taos Pueblo in that it legally claims to

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<sup>43</sup> Beckman, Abigail. “Treaty Of Guadalupe Hidalgo Has Lasting Effects On Southern Colorado.” Colorado Public Radio. Accessed February 16, 2023.

<sup>44</sup> “Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) | National Archives.” Accessed February 16, 2023.

protect the land yet the US will impose on the cultural landscape by claiming it and controlling its narratives. The cultural and physical boundary of the Taos Pueblo is reduced by the treaty.

Just as the Spanish interpreted and spatialized the land through Sanson's map, the map attached with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo once again interprets the vast amount of land from the perspective of the newly forming and expanding US. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the map, as seen below in Figure 19, are significant in how it establishes a new political relationship between the Taos Pueblo and the US government, as well as a foundation for new geographical relationships to be made.



Figure 19. 1848 - Map attached with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo showing new US territories.

In looking at what the map says about the conceptions of space and land, the US creates new boundaries that will build on top of the borders drawn here. What is and is not represented on the map informs how the US began to spatialize the American southwest. Unlike Sanson's map from Chapter One, the treaty map does not label the Taos Pueblo, or any other Native tribes. The treaty map only includes some geographic features of the land, but by not representing anything else on this land, the map visualizes the American southwest as large vast pieces of empty land. The US perceives the land as a blank slate, flattening the presence of Native people. During the next century, the US will exercise its power to draw boundaries and create infrastructures and networks that the Taos Pueblo will be forced to be in relation with.

With the land being perceived as being “wilderness” and “virgin soil”, the idea of the frontier and Manifest Destiny takes hold, that Americans are meant to expand and settler into these, invisibilizing Native people on the land.<sup>45</sup> As Anglo Americans expand westward, the frontier can be understood as a social boundary where the Anglo American people insert themselves into a relationship with Native people, including the Taos Pueblo people. The painting by John Gast, *American Progress*, is a commonly used representation of Manifest Destiny, shown below in Figure 20. The painting conveys how American settlers believed they had “the right to possess [the soil] - to take it from Indians...”, while Native people would only become “...acceptable only by becoming Christian and accepting white values and customs.”<sup>46</sup> Although this was the vision and mindset of westward expansion at the time, it is also a representation of settler colonialism and its mechanisms as well as seeing the frontier as an ever shifting boundary that Anglo Americans were “destined” to keep pushing.<sup>47</sup>



Figure 20. Boundary of expansion being pushed westward through the imaginary of Manifest Destiny.

The Taos Pueblo not only becomes exposed to settler colonialism’s mechanisms like the railroad and Anglo Americans settling near the pueblo, but also their land, history, and architecture becomes claimed and co-opted as a part of the American southwest.<sup>48</sup> As “new” land has been settled on, Anglo American people’s identity and connection were not grounded in anything, even the land. Hence, the frontier created a relationship between the Taos Pueblo and Anglo American settlers, where pueblo people were absorbed into America’s history despite pre-existing America. The frontier is the boundary that moved past the Taos Pueblo, becoming exposed to the new US identity being created and imagined by American settlers.

<sup>45</sup>Fredirick J. Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History (1893)”, AHA.

<sup>46</sup> Matthew Baigell, “Territory, Race, Religion: Images of Manifest Destiny,” *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 4, no. 3/4 (1990): 8.

<sup>47</sup> Turner.

<sup>48</sup> Bokovoy, Matthew F. *The San Diego World’s Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

In order to understand how the Taos Pueblo gets reinterpreted and absorbed into the newly forming identity of the American southwest, this chapter will focus on the Panama-California Exposition from 1915 to 1917 in San Diego, California as a case study. The exposition shows the relationship of settler colonialism's mechanisms and the Taos Pueblo in how the architecture, land, and narratives of the Taos Pueblo become claimed, appropriated, and ahistorical. Ahistorical, as defined by Vine Jr. Deloria in *Custer Died for Your Sins*, describes how the Taos Pueblo's history is partially invalidated, mixed with narratives glorifying the Spanish colonists, and sees the Taos Pueblo people as being a representation of the past. Matthew F. Bokovoy, a historian who has studied Native American and Indigenous people and the American west, wrote *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*. Bokovoy describes and critically analyzes the Painted Desert exhibit and says, "The exhibit was certainly a form of 'imperialist nostalgia,' the yearning to recapture the Indian past that was thought to be quickly disappearing."<sup>49</sup> The Taos Pueblo and its people are still alive in the present yet they are represented as being in the context of Spanish contact, freezing them in a narrow moment in the past.

The first part of this chapter discusses what it means for the Taos Pueblo to be a part of the exposition and what it means for the exposition to be a part of San Diego's vision to be the center of the American southwest. The next part of the chapter discusses how the Taos Pueblo was physically de-contextualized, recreated in San Diego, and rendered as ahistorical as a tool to construct a narrative of the American past and relationship to the land. The last part of the chapter reconnects the replicated Taos Pueblo back to the actual Taos Pueblo by looking at the Santa Fe Railroad and Fred Harvey Company and how the pueblo and people are interpreted and exposed to tourism and part of the constructed narrative of the American southwest.

The identity of the American Southwest is created alongside the long existing identity of the Taos Pueblo people. Hence, co-opting the Taos Pueblo becomes a part of the legacy and goals of settler colonialism. The Panama-California Exposition's exhibit with the Taos Pueblo highlights this through decontextualizing and rebuilding an artifice,

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<sup>49</sup> Bokovoy, 123.



recontextualizing and rewriting narratives as a part of the fair and San Diego, and reconnecting the constructed narratives back to the Taos Pueblo via railroad.

***Subtheme 1: The Taos Pueblo within the Panama California Exposition and City of San Diego's Vision and Imaginary of Power***

In looking at the Panama-California Exposition in relation to the fair as well as the city of San Diego, the Taos Pueblo is a tool for gaining and demonstrating power. Within the context of the fair itself, "Painted Desert of the Santa Fe" was located all the way in the north part of the exposition, as shown in the map of buildings and parts of the exposition in Figure 21. This was the first exhibit if entering from the north entrance where people arrived by car or foot. The other primary entrance was on the west, which would lead right into a plaza. Based on where someone would enter, the Taos Pueblo would be a representation of the American southwest's past either way in that they would start with the past or end with the past. Placing the Painted Desert exhibit is intentional and creates a relationship with the rest of the exhibits at the fair. In relation to the rest of the fair, this was the primary exhibit that represented the American past and the rest of the fair primarily represented Spanish Revival architecture, which was much more ornate in comparison to the Taos Pueblo.

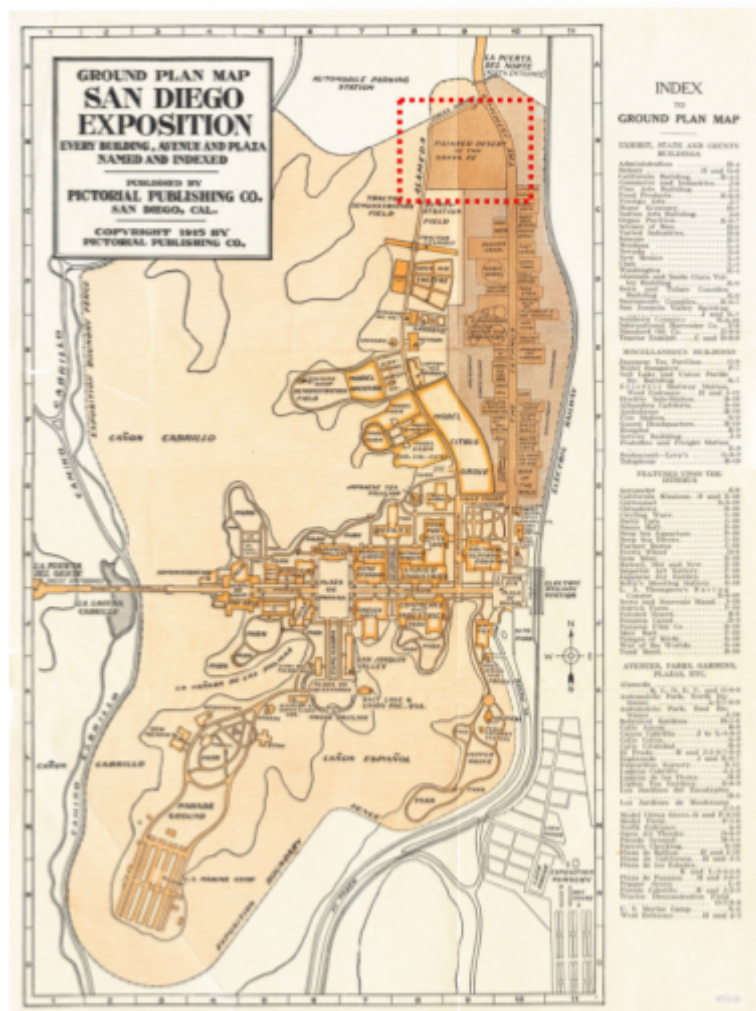


Figure 21. 1915 - The red box shows the locations of the "Painted Desert" exhibit on the Panama-California Exposition map.

Hence, the placement of the Taos Pueblo and Painted Desert exhibit is in stark contrast with the buildings and plazas in the rest of the exposition. The Painted Desert exhibit not only displayed the Taos Pueblo but it was also an early representation of Native people's cultural clothing, dances, performances, art-making, and even living. Hence, this "primitive" and "simple" past was something that the fair and buildings that represented the visionary of American progress could be compared to, showing how much progress America has made. The Taos Pueblo was intentionally created and carefully crafted as an exhibit that would demonstrate power and the progress that America has made so far, co-opting Native people's culture to be dehistoricized and re-historized as a basis to compare to.

To expand the scale, there is also a relationship between the Panama-California Exposition and the city of San Diego. Expositions are commonly held in larger cities like San Francisco and the early 1900s of San Diego did not have a significant population. Having the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego was envisioned to be a tool to demonstrate the potential of the city and its land, increasing the power and presence of San Diego. The Taos Pueblo gets caught up in how the fair was a means to show and try to gain political and economic power in the city.

The San Diego Fair showed many visionaries, about the past and also the future, both being narratives that center power. Figure 20 shows one of the promotional brochures of the exposition, positioning a map of the globe with San Diego in the center and drawing connections to various parts from San Diego, including Panama, where the canal was just completed.



Figure 20 (left). Figure 22. 1913 - This is a promotional brochure of the San Diego exposition released two years before the exposition began. The imagery and fantasy compares to Figure 20.

The surrounding images of the steamboat, railroad, and architecture all also comment on the physical, technological, and architectural ability of the city. The brochure writes “San Diego California: The Harbor of the Sun” which is a very bold imaginary for San Diego at the time having little presence and barely being recognized as a dot on the map. Looking at the map and the images, San Diego imagined itself as an important port city and place of power, having the logistical capacity and prime geographical potential. Phoebe S.K. Young, an academic on the American Southwest culture and history at the University of Colorado Boulder, discusses how San Diego wanted to host the exposition with the intent of capitalizing on the potential economic power they can gain, becoming both an important international port as well as a center of the American Southwest.<sup>50</sup> Both the brochure and the “American Progress” painting by John Gast in Figure 20, show the imaginaries of settler colonialism and desire to continuously expand an empire, forcing a place to have a network or relationship with another by pushing its own physical and economic boundary onto other places. After westward expansion reached the coast, the opportunity to expand power through an economic relationship was seen through the exposition, and the Taos Pueblo got caught in between.

The imagery and narratives of the Panama-California Exposition as an imaginary to bolster the city of San Diego is also seen in Figure 23 which is on the second page of the *Official Views of San Diego Panama-California Exposition* booklet.

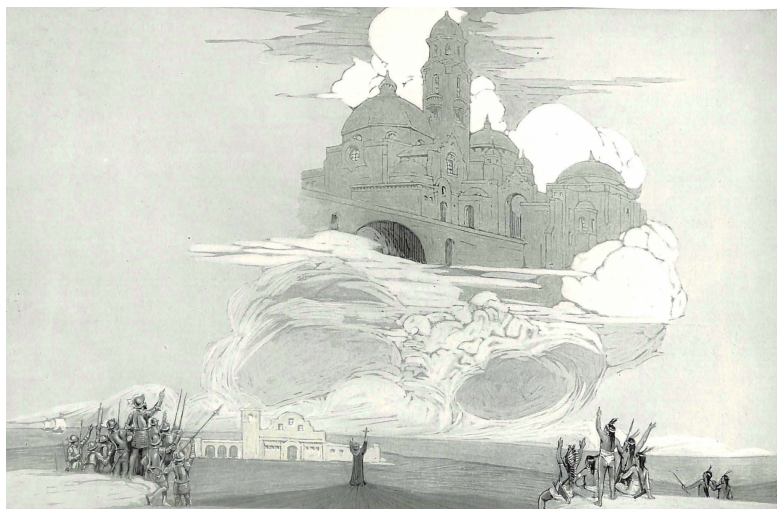


Figure 23 - Image from the *Official Views* booklet on the Exposition.

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<sup>50</sup> Phoebe S.K. Young, “To Show What Will Be By What Has Been: Thinking like an Empire,” *Boom: A Journal of California* 5, no. 1 (2015): 74.

Figure 23 depicts an imaginary with the army on the left, a priest holding a cross in the middle, and a group of Native people on the right, all focusing on the California Building that emerges from a distant Spanish colonial building. The vision of the exposition is depicted by bridging the past “primitive” Native history into a continuation of the present expansion of religion and empire to form the imaginary future of California. The Panama-California Exposition is also showing a seamless transition from the vanishing Indian ancient identity to the Spanish empires’ architecture and history as being glorified and expanded on in California’s present and future.<sup>51</sup> The image glorifies and shows an intention to continue the Spanish’s legacy of colonialism and empire into California’s present and future to show the present and future progress. The Taos Pueblo architecture becomes a representation of “Indianness” and the ancient past, when the people and architecture are still living in the present moment.

The Taos Pueblo people are rendered as ahistorical, which according to Vine Deloria Jr., a Native American activist and author, in his book *Custer Died for Your Sins*, is how being Native in America means that a group’s existence in the present is seen as a representation of an American past, primitive people.<sup>52</sup> The Taos Pueblo people also become ahistorical in how the Panama-California Exposition both warps the attempted representation of the Taos Pueblo during Spanish colonization and also freezes their existence to this past.

The Taos Pueblo gets caught in between San Diego wanting to be a place of global economic connection and wanting political power of recognition. In these visionaries, brochures, and drawings showing the exposition, the intentions of representing and having the Taos Pueblo is all centered around political ploy and whether it enhances the narratives of the southwest or San Diego’s narrative of potential power. When it is convenient, the Taos Pueblo is invisibilized and when aids a narrative of power and progress, it is demonstrated and depicted to bolster how much America has progressed since “the past”. The Taos Pueblo architecture and culture is spatialized, invisibilized, or molded creating a relationship where the US controls the Taos Pueblos narratives as a means to gain power.

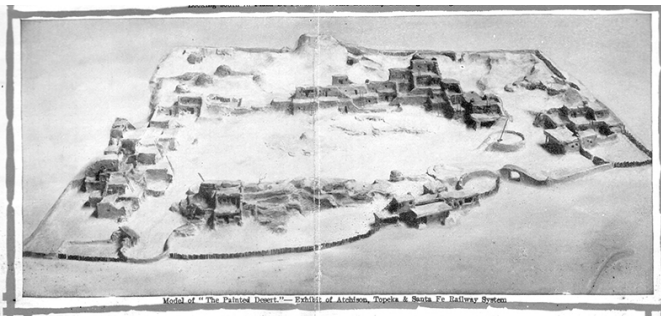
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<sup>51</sup> Phoebe S.K. Young, “To Show What Will Be By What Has Been: Thinking like an Empire,” *Boom: A Journal of California* 5, no. 1 (2015): 72.

<sup>52</sup> Deloria.

## ***Subtheme 2: Constructing the Painted Desert Artifice: Reconstructing the Taos Pueblo and Its Narratives***

In the Panama-California Exposition, the Taos Pueblo is duplicated in San Diego and the Taos Pueblo becomes a political and economic tool to claim as a part of the American identity and history.<sup>53</sup> The “Painted Desert” exhibit sponsored by the Santa Fe Railroad and associated Fred Harvey Company reflected how Native American people were understood, how it became tied up as representing part of the American identity, and how it was used for economic and political benefit. Some structures of the Taos Pueblo were recreated in the “Painted Desert” which has multiple implications of rendering the pueblo as a-geographical without the context of the cultural landscape. Figure 24 shows a model of the recreated Taos Pueblo looked in the exhibit next to Figure 25 showing a model of the Taos Pueblo.



*Figure 24. 1915 - Photo of a model of the “Painted Desert” exhibit in San Diego from a bird’s eye view.*



*Figure 25. 1875 - Taos Pueblo diorama.*

Some pueblo buildings were recreated into this smaller version of the actual pueblo. The cultural landscape relationship with the buildings is removed without the Taos River running through the middle or even the Sangre de Cristo Mountains surrounding it.

The construction of the artifice in San Diego steered far from the processes of how adobe architecture was made by the Taos Pueblo people. The exposition hired men from a different pueblo community, the San Ildefonso Pueblo, to recreate the Taos Pueblo, when the real Taos Pueblo was built and maintained by its own people.<sup>54</sup> Even the construction process involved materials that the Taos Pueblo did not have, like 2x4 wood to support the walls and stucco for the exterior appearance.<sup>55</sup> The Taos Pueblo

<sup>53</sup> Bokovoy.

<sup>54</sup> Bokovoy, 118.

<sup>55</sup> Bokovoy, 118.

was constructed with adobe and some wood to support the roofing as the material reality is deeply connected to the land at the pueblo being the source of material.<sup>56</sup> The construction of the replica was an artifice and the structures' builders and materials only begin to show how the Taos Pueblo people's representation becomes generalized with other Native American groups in the exhibit.

A closer look at depictions of the replicated Taos Pueblo in San Diego highlight the misrepresentations of Native American groups. A stereographic image and its description of the Taos Pueblo highlights how even the perceptions of the Taos Pueblo people and other Native American groups were constructed into a false narrative in Figure 27.



Figure 26. 2016 - Photo of the actual Taos pueblo at a similar view to Figure 27.



Figure 27. 1915-1916 - The stereograph image is of the Taos Pueblo replica in the fair.

<sup>56</sup> Site source on how architecture of pueblo was made.

The image in the stereograph is shot from a bird's eye-like view at a structure about four to five stories high, depicting the part of the Taos Pueblo that is so commonly taken from, as shown in comparison to the Figure 27. The title of the exposition of "*Painted Desert*" already shows an imagined depiction of the southwest. Marta Weigle, a former professor at the University of New Mexico for American studies, claimed that calling the pueblo a desert made it sound like "a fine national playground" in her article *From Desert to Disney World: The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company Display the Indian Southwest*.<sup>57</sup> For the stereograph to mention the exhibit being "of the Santa Fe" is also a geographic misrepresentation of the Taos Pueblo. There is a grouping of multiple Native groups in the exhibit that is supposedly representing Santa Fe. The photo shows Native people being depicted near the recreated pueblo and these people were actually hired from multiple pueblos as well as tribes to live in the pueblo, wear "more traditional-looking clothing," and do more "cultural" performances for the viewers at the fair.<sup>58</sup> The US is writing a narrative on Native American people. The description on the stereograph depicts the Taos Pueblo from the perspective of othering and generalizing, "the labor of white men and the more important labor of the red men themselves" and also includes the "habitation of cliff-dwellers of the Navajos and other nomadic tribes".<sup>59</sup> Despite using the labor of Native American people to built the replica, the Native American builders are making a pueblo that's not their home and are using a completely different building method, hence, there is a lack of caring for the authenticity of the pueblo, its people, and landscape yet this is how they are represented, viewed, and understood by Anglo Americans at the fair.

The replica of the Taos Pueblo in the Panama-California Exposition not only flattened the narratives about the Taos Pueblo people, but it rendered them as ahistorical. As Deloria said, Native people are perceived as if they are primitive people of the past and that their histories are crystallized in how and who they are in the present. The image from a booklet of the Painted Desert Exhibit in Figure 28 depicts a

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<sup>57</sup> Marta Weigle, "From Desert to Disney World: The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company Display the Indian Southwest," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 45, no. 1 (1989): 132.

<sup>58</sup> Bokovoy.

<sup>59</sup> Bokovoy.

large figure wearing red boots and draped with a red piece of clothing with a black vague pattern, wearing a hat and white pants and then smaller red figures farther in the background.



Figure 28. 1915 - Flyer from the Painted Desert Exhibit showing Taos Pueblo as the main flyer image and a photo of the Pueblo have one of the largest images in it.

The background landscape looks like a sand-like, vastly empty, flat landscape that the Taos Pueblo sits on. The representation of the landscape as well as representing the Native people as red figures flattens the perceptions and perspectives that portray the Taos Pueblo people and Native American groups. The reality is that these people are not mysterious figures of a past or a group to create an imaginary of. The booklet on the exhibit mentions that the pueblo structure intends to replicate how the pueblo looked when the Spaniards first came in 1540 and how "Taos is...one of the best preserved examples of antiquity so far as architecture is concerned." Despite not knowing how exactly the Taos Pueblo would've looked like when the Spanish came, the active decision to select this timeframe of first contact ignores that the Taos Pueblo people are still in the present day and there is still a history from 1540 to 1915. Only the doors and



windows that were added later were removed in the image as well as in the replica.<sup>60</sup> By attempting to pre-date notions of the Pueblo during Spanish contact, the histories of the people and pueblos are ahistorical, where their histories are removed and reconstructed for the purpose of giving Anglo Americans a sense of identity. The booklet even calls the Taos, Acoma, and Hopi groups as being examples of “antiquity” which further pushes how their narrative is shaped as belonging to the ancient past, even though many of these people and their ancestors have continued to survive multiple empires, have changed overtime, and still were living in the present in 1915 to 1917.

In addition to being rendered as ahistorical, the Taos Pueblo was also seen as an “antiquity.” As America was creating its identity within the southwest, the Taos Pueblo became absorbed as a part of the American identity despite existing long before America was even realized. In *Lesson of the Ages: Archaeology and the Construction of Cultural Identity in the American Southwest*, James E. Snead, a historian in archeology and professor for anthropology, discusses the importance of antiquities as being able to “play an important role in the efforts to build a sense of community among Anglo American Southwesterners, despite the fact that there was no cultural relationship between the new settlers and the ancient Native Americans who had actually built the ruins”.<sup>61</sup> As an academic in the early 21st century, Snead argues how the Taos Pueblo ultimately becomes a tool to be co-opted into American history. The US perceives the Taos Pueblo as being ahistorical, but then takes from the Taos Pueblo narrative, and bends it into its “own” American narrative representing its “own” past. Hence, putting the Taos Pueblo in the Panama-California Exposition’s Painted Desert exhibit shows how the people and its culture become a depiction and part of the American past and inherited heritage.

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<sup>60</sup> Markovich, Nicholas C., Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, and Fred Gillette Sturm. *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990.

<sup>61</sup> Snead, James E. “Lessons of the Ages: Archaeology and the Construction of Cultural Identity in the American Southwest.” *Journal of the Southwest* 44, no. 1 (2002): 19.

### **Subtheme 3: The Santa Fe Railroad: Connecting the Artifice to the Real Taos Pueblo via Tourism**

The Taos Pueblo people's narratives were not only being twisted and co-opted by the city of San Diego and the Panama-California Exposition, but the Santa Fe Railroad also was a major institution who stepped in to use the Taos Pueblo as a tool to promote itself.

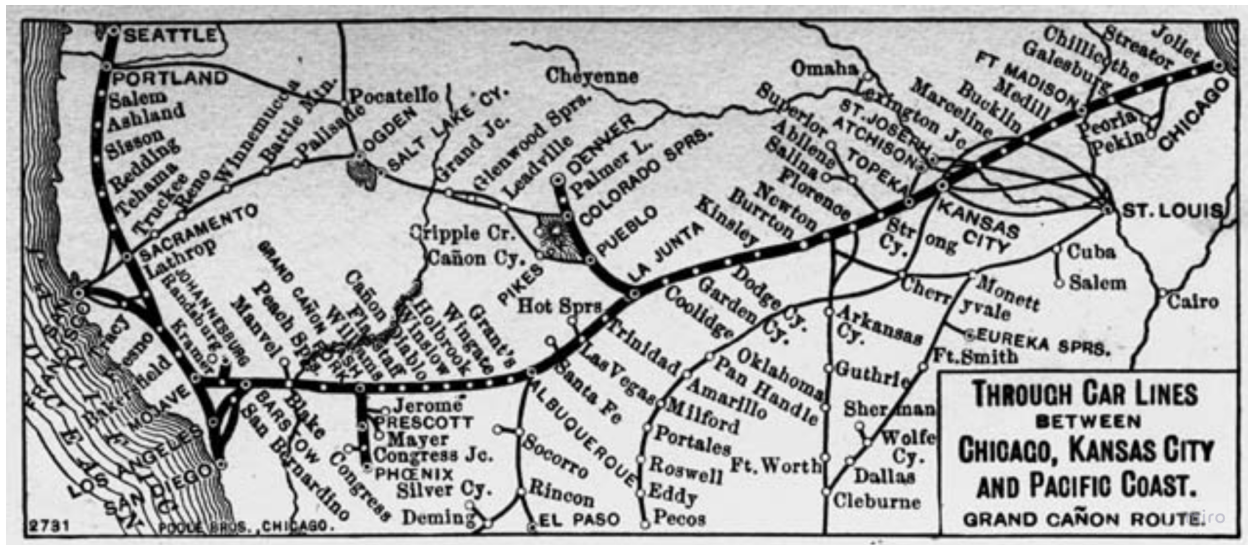


Figure 29. 1900-1905 - The Santa Fe Railroad network had connected the American southwest, even San Diego to New Mexico.

The Santa Fe Railroad shared similarities with these groups in that perceiving the Taos Pueblo people and native groups as belonging to the American past helped advance their own narratives and agendas. In *The San Diego's World's Fairs*, mentions the Santa Fe Railroad was “granted a monopoly for the public presentation of native peoples,” which meant that they could control how Taos Pueblo people and other native groups were represented.<sup>62</sup> Knowing that the railroad company is the source of funding is crucial in understanding how the Taos Pueblo architecture becomes exposed to tourism and as a consumed product, rather than being perceived as a cultural landscape.

Even before the fair was open to the public, the Santa Fe Railroad began to promote itself through the fair, using architecture as a means to promote the use of the railroad. The Santa Fe Railroad released a promotional brochure in 1913.

<sup>62</sup> Bokovoy.




Figure 30. 1913 - The promotional booklet was created by the Santa Fe Railroad for the San Diego fair.

This brochure uses lots of mythical and romanticized language, like “She [San Diego] knew the white man’s wandering ships before Columbus...,” and “It was in the gladness of His dreams God made it,” to promote San Diego and the fair which would ultimately be a tool to encourage people to go to Santa Fe via railroad and make a case for that. The brochure depicts on almost every page, the logo for the Santa Fe Railroad. To connect the relationship between the Taos Pueblo and this pamphlet, the Santa Fe Railroad actually glorifies the architecture of the Spanish, including missions and churches, and looks at Junipero Serra as a hero saving the violent Native people. This depiction sets up a glorification of Spanish colonization and its legacy and also creates curiosity around this “other” population that the Spanish had helped. Hence, the architecture of the Spanish Revival at the exposition would allude to Spanish colonization as the American past and how the Spanish created intricate buildings and spaces for helping Native people and religious progress.


As the Santa Fe Railroad had the contract to be in charge of marketing materials for the Taos Pueblo for the fair, the Taos Pueblo’s understanding was flattened and reproduced in visual forms like paintings and photos, encouraging people to visit the

pueblo.<sup>63</sup> The LIFE magazine was a major source during the 1900s of understanding what was culturally important to Americans as well as being a source for political news to even just having many advertisements. The Taos Pueblo is depicted in the LIFE Magazine issue in 1947 with the caption and title of “When traveling to or from California on the Santa Fe, visit...Land of Pueblos”.<sup>64</sup>



*When traveling to or from California  
on the Santa Fe, visit . . . .*

# Land of Pueblos



*“Taos Pueblo” . . . an age-old Indian pueblo on the Indian-detour trips in northern New Mexico.*

No matter what time of the year you are traveling to or from California via the Santa Fe, northern New Mexico calls you to visit its unique and colorful Land of Pueblos.

There, at any season of the year, you can see the Pueblo Indians in one or more of their age-old ceremonial dances, or fascinating rituals and authentic costumes handed down from generation to generation.

In this mountainous area you also visit prehistoric cliff dwellings, ranches, adobe missions, and watch the Indians making pottery and silver-and-turquoise jewelry.

As many world travelers express it, the Land

of Pueblos of northern New Mexico is “the most interesting hundred miles in America.”

Winter is an especially good time of year to schedule a trip. Climate is crisp and invigorating. Nighttimes are memorable, filled with fragrant piñon smoke and with the air so clear you can almost reach up and “pick a star.”

An ideal way to see this Land of Pueblos is on a one, two, or three-day *Indian-detour*—the fascinating private motor tours that start from Santa Fé, New Mexico.

Convenient, too. Merely arrange to “stop over” at Lamy, New Mexico, on your trip to or from California on the Santa Fe. A motor

coach will meet the train and take you on the short jaunt to Santa Fé. La Fonda, Fred Harvey’s famous hotel facing the historic plaza, will be your headquarters.

Let us send you the picture folder giving full details on the colorful Land of Pueblos and the *Indian-detours*. Just mail the coupon.

T. B. Gallaher, General Passenger Traffic Manager  
Dept. L-2, 80 East Jackson Boulevard  
Chicago 4, Illinois

Please send me complete information on the Land of Pueblos and tell me how I can explore it on my way to or from California via Santa Fe.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

SANTA FE SYSTEM LINES . . . Serving the West and Southwest

Figure 31. The LIFE magazine advertises visiting the Taos Pueblo via the Santa Fe Railroad.

This is next to a big logo of the Santa Fe Railroad as shown in the promotion brochure before. The title and caption alone clearly encourage traveling and using the railroad

<sup>63</sup> Bokovoy.

<sup>64</sup> Inc, Time. *LIFE*. Time Inc, 1947.

while using Pueblos to encourage people to do so. The painting is specifically depicting the Taos Pueblo, its landscape of the mountains and river, as well as several women and is accompanied by the caption that calls the Taos Pueblo “an age-old Indian pueblo” and in the description calls it “pre-historic”. The Taos Pueblo, grouped along with other pueblos, are once again being crystallized versions of the past that are still visible attractions to see today.<sup>65</sup> Hence, the media and marketing of the Taos Pueblo by the Santa Fe Railroad also flattens, generalizes, and shapes the narratives as seeing the pueblo and people as artifacts of the past and objects to consume to promote people to travel by railroad.

A major implication of railroad using the Taos Pueblo as marketing material is that the pueblo unwillingly enters into being a relationship with the massive railroad system and a relationship of tourism. The Santa Fe Railroad links San Diego’s exhibit of the replica of the Taos Pueblo to the real Taos Pueblo near Santa Fe. The broad and expansive network of the railroad connects San Diego to Santa Fe while also connecting to various other locations as well. The curiosity, exoticification, and stereotypes from the Panama-California Expositions and the advertising materials of the Santa Fe Railroad have planted seeds of how Anglo Americans perceive Native American people. Even the LIFE magazine promotes tourism as a means of economic gain and control that will continue to grow into an industry and deeper economic relationship with National Heritage titles and recognition.

## ***Conclusion***

The Panama-California Exposition in San Diego from 1915 to 1917 is an important event that highlights the relationship between the architecture and landscape of the Taos Pueblo with the US identity-making and how many institutions benefit from using the Taos Pueblo to promote their own power, economic, and political gain. It demonstrates how settler colonialism took shape in the southwest and also specifically how it impacted the Taos Pueblo. While spatializing the Taos Pueblo in different ways than the Spanish had, the US not only tries to flatten their presence but they also take advantage of the Taos Pueblo’s culture to create a sense of American identity in the

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<sup>65</sup> Deloria.

southwest. Because the US was so newly founded and the southwest even more, the Taos Pueblo people's culture and physical structures are co-opted into a created narrative of the American past. The past is visible through seeing Native groups and they are seen as representing a past despite very clearly existing in the present time as well. Creating a contrast of "primitive," "past" Native people and more "modern" settlers who have made progress in ways of living and architecture, creates a false understanding and dehumanizes Taos Pueblo people.<sup>66</sup> The Panama-California Exposition shows how multiple American parties use the Taos Pueblo as a tool to profit, gain power, or market something by using the Taos Pueblo as a part of a created narrative. Recreating the pueblo in San Diego perpetuated a crafted narrative of Taos Pueblo people being generalized with other Native groups, seen as primitive in comparison to the other American progress that was made and displayed at the fair, and crystallized a false past of the Taos Pueblo people.<sup>67</sup>

The Santa Fe Railroad takes advantage of the Taos Pueblo people, gaining a contract to be in charge of producing materials on the pueblo, using it as a marketing tool to encourage people to travel via train. The push and pull of trying to invisibilize them while only making parts of them visible in their story harms the Taos Pueblo and people from being understood, being seen as continuing to live and exist, and stealing their culture for the American benefit. These parties misrepresent and diminish the understanding of the Taos Pueblo people while exerting their presence into their lives, through fairs and tourism.

Hence, settler colonialism flattens and constructs perceptions of Taos Pueblo people and objectifies their existence and cultural landscape for the narratives of US identity. San Diego's dream of being a global port and economic power and the Santa Fe Railroad's economic gain via tourism and railroad use are visionary agendas that relied on the Taos Pueblo. The legacies of Spanish colonialism continue in the US narratives in how the US accepts and glorifies Spanish control as saving Native people and seeing the Taos Pueblo people as continuing to exist within that narrow historical context of colonization.

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<sup>66</sup> Deloria.

<sup>67</sup> Bokovoy.

Tourism becomes a legacy of settler colonialism in how the Taos Pueblo people are now part of the fabric of American tourism, of the expansive railroad network in the US, and being represented to a broader American audience in media from the fair, LIFE magazine, and other sources. Along with tourism, the Taos Pueblo became a part of the National Heritage in the 1900s, reaffirming how the pueblo is a part of the US' heritage and history. However, as the US begins to claim the Taos Pueblo culture and history, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo still claims that the land rights of the Taos Pueblo are protected by it.

### **CHAPTER THREE: Who Owns the Past and Present? Official Heritage, Tourism and the Taos Pueblo Preserving and Protecting the Pueblo**

Entering further into the 20th century, the Taos Pueblo becomes exposed to a deeper relationship with the US government and institutions of heritage. All of these groups set up different types of boundaries that attempt to define the landscape, culture, and property limits in ways that apply and enforce an external understanding of the Taos Pueblo. The dominant narratives that these institutions typically control are still in tension with the Taos Pueblo as its people are able to gain power and persist toward their own priorities and cultural preservation.

This chapter can be contextualized through a critical analysis of maps that show the tension of drawing a boundary around what institutions believe encompasses the Taos Pueblo, asserting their understanding of the cultural landscape from a top-down perspective. Although the Taos Pueblo people do not have a solid defined boundary, there is still a tension in outsider groups creating a solid line, especially in the 20th century.

Before the Taos Pueblo people were even in contact with the Spanish, they had about 300,000 acres of land that they used and were in relationship with. When the Spanish came, the Taos Pueblo people were exposed to a group using and imposing on land that they had historically used.<sup>68</sup> In the early 1900s, now being a part of the US, the Taos Pueblo had 67,000 acres of land, however, this was reduced to 17,000 acres after the US National Forest claimed the area of Blue Lake as being a part of Carson National Forest.<sup>69</sup> Although the Taos Pueblo people fight and reclaim the land, the understanding of the pueblo also gets confusing by the heritage boundary, which solely included old pueblo buildings and excluded the landscape around it.

The chapter will begin with the legal battle between the Taos Pueblo and US government over the ownership and meaning of claiming part of the Taos Pueblo's Blue Lake, which is part of the cultural landscape. In 1903, the US began the process to claim 50,000 acres of Taos Pueblo land promised in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in

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<sup>68</sup> Bodine, John J. "Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Rights." *American Indian Law Review* 1, no. 1 (1973): 27.

<sup>69</sup> GORDON-McCUTCHAN, R.C. "The Battle for Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Religious Rights." *Journal of Church and State* 33, no. 4 (1991): 786.



1848.<sup>70</sup> The National Forest Service takes the land in the name of protecting it, converting Native land into federal and public land. The long legal battle of the US viewing and claiming the land as a legal boundary versus the Taos Pueblo people seeing the lake within their cultural boundary without a monetary value ended in 1970, being a 64-year battle of resistance.

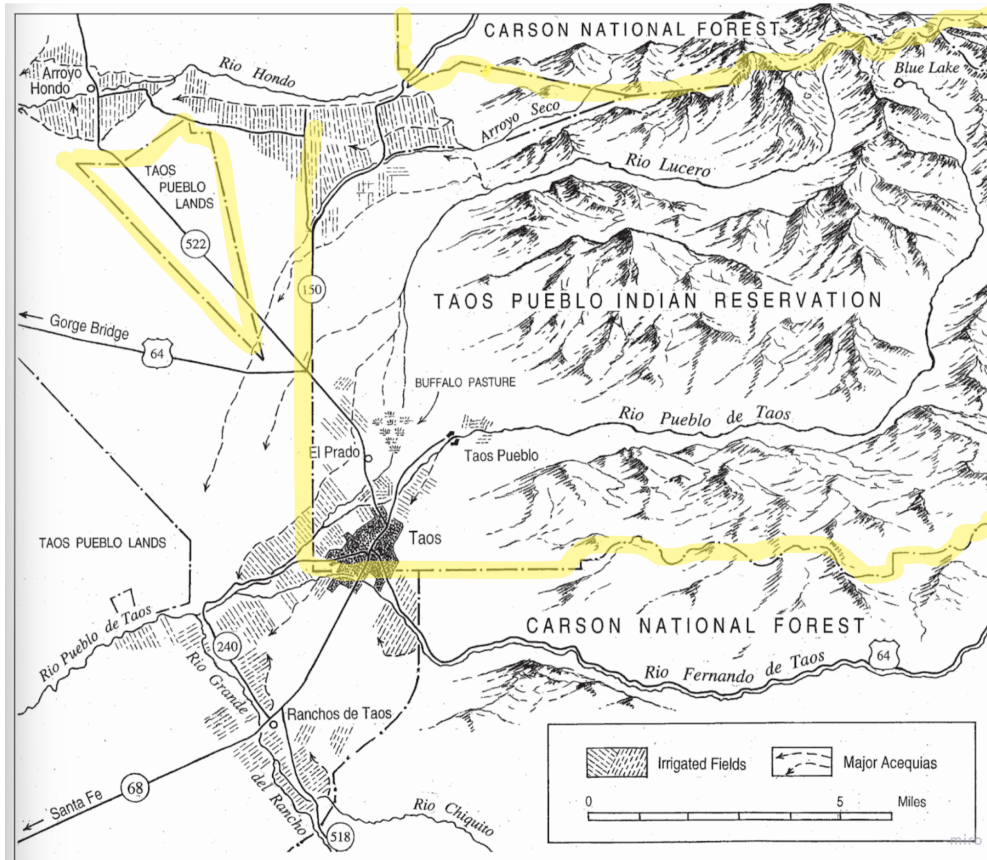


Figure 32. 2009 - Lands of the Taos Pueblo that show Blue Lake belonging to them in relation to the National Forest that had once claimed that land.

The second part of this chapter dives into the heritage boundaries that are imposed onto the Taos Pueblo as an outsider group defining their significance from the top-down. The National Historic Register, National Park Service, and UNESCO define the Taos Pueblo as a heritage site and the boundary around it as a site worthy of preservation for the nation and world. The boundary of heritage primarily defined the significance as being of architectural and archeological value, narrowing the understanding of the people's relationship with the natural and cultural landscape.

<sup>70</sup> Gordon McCutchan, 78



resist from the bottom-up by protecting their ownership of their culture, land, and ways of life.

### ***Subtheme 1: Taos Pueblo's Legal Battle with the US Government Reclaiming Blue Lake***

Despite promising the Taos Pueblo governmental protection over its own lands in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the US government itself is the group that imposes on the lands. By trying to absorb the Blue Lake as federal and public lands, the US government imposes on the Taos Pueblo people's physical and cultural boundaries. By legally claiming land that the Taos Pueblo people owned and used, the US government deepens the legal relationship between the Taos Pueblo and US government, engaging in a long legal battle for 64 years.

The US government claims the land through the National Forest Service in the name of protection, but the Taos Pueblo people have protected it as a part of their cultural landscape and place of rituals and religious significance.<sup>71</sup> Blue Lake becomes a symbol for the Taos Pueblo's right to self-determination, being reclaimed as being within their cultural and physical boundary of land.

Although the US had affirmed the Taos Pueblo people's right to the land and sovereignty in 1848, the US once again revealed its desire to claim land from Native people.<sup>72</sup> Once the frontier had been fully pushed, completing westward expansion in the 20th century, indigenous lands became a target for gaining more land.<sup>73</sup> By breaking the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the 20th century would also become a time with more legal interactions between the US government and the Taos Pueblo people. As Deloria claims in his book, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, treaties can be a means for the US government to steal land by breaking their own promises to Native people or molding them to validate US claims to the land.<sup>74</sup> Blue Lake became a part of the Taos National Forest and then Carson National Forest, being under a US government agency that had

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<sup>71</sup>John J. Bodine, "Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Rights," *American Indian Law Review* 1, no. 1 (1973), 24.

<sup>72</sup> Deloria.

<sup>73</sup> Turner.

<sup>74</sup> Deloria.

actually gotten an offer to have access to a slope for timber rights.<sup>75</sup> Hence, the US claimed that the natural lands were being preserved and protected when it is likely an example of a settler colonist intention of using the land for resource extraction or ultimately extracting power from land in some way.

Two key moments in the 20th century battle highlight the tension between the US government and the Taos Pueblo and the Taos Pueblo's defense over its right to its cultural boundary. In 1924, the Pueblo Lands Act established the Pueblo Lands Board which was made to help settle land disputes. In looking at the Taos Pueblo land disputes of the lake, the board agrees that the pueblo land should not be used by non-Native people, but the board's power was only limited to offering monetary compensation in exchange for the Blue Lake area.<sup>76</sup> The Taos Pueblo people did not get either compensation nor the title to the land. Similarly in 1951, the Indian Claims Commission had agreed that the US government had unrightfully taken the land from the Taos Pueblo people, but once again, were limited in their ability and only able to compensate the pueblo with money. The Taos Pueblo people refused to get compensated for the land because it was of religious significance and do not have a monetary value that they would exchange for it.<sup>77</sup> They wanted sovereignty over the land that was promised and guaranteed to them under the 1848 treaty. The US government and its affiliated boards and commissions inherently understood land as a commodity of economic value that is exchangeable with money, however, the Taos Pueblo people resisted this notion and advocated reclaiming the land that has a priceless cultural and historical value of being a place of religious traditions.

The advocacy efforts of the Taos Pueblo continued into the 1960s, during which many Native groups were organizing and resisting the US government. Although throughout the 20th century, Taos Pueblo people, anthropologists, and organizations had backed the Taos Pueblo in trying to regain the land.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Dean M. Kelley, "Guest Editorial: The Impairment of the Religious Liberty of the Taos Pueblo Indians by The United States Government," *Journal of Church and State* 9, no. 2 (1967): 162.

<sup>76</sup> Bodine, 26.

<sup>77</sup> Gordon-McCutchan, 788.

<sup>78</sup> Bodine.

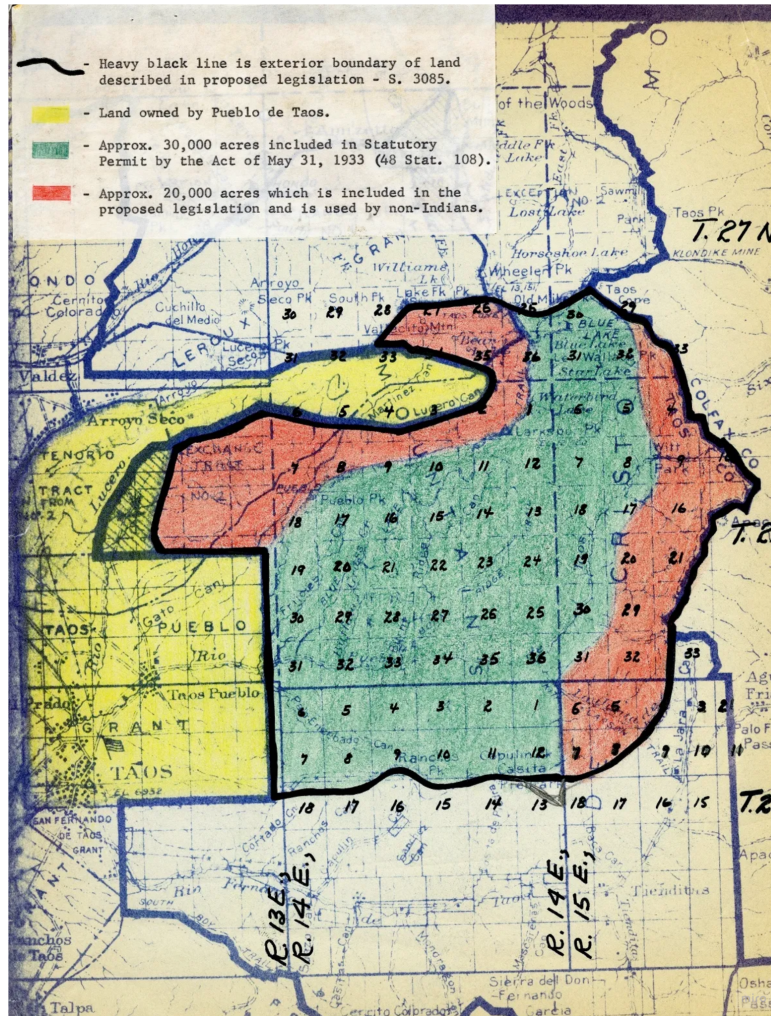


Figure 34. 1960s - The map proposes the transfer of land from the US to the Taos Pueblo for Blue Lake.

The map above shows the lands that the Taos Pueblo had after losing the lake and lands under the permit and not that they wanted to reclaim. By using the map as a tool, the Taos Pueblo, anthropologists, and organizations who advocated for the lake were able to use mapping as a method to visualize stolen land and reclaim it.

There was also especially a lot of momentum of Native American people's activism and advocating for their rights and against termination policies during the late 1960s. For example, the occupation at Alcatraz in 1969 had also gained a lot of attention for the broader American public to understand the injustices towards Native people from the US government's policies.<sup>79</sup> Hence, the Nixon administration faced a lot

<sup>79</sup> Kotlowski, Dean J. "Alcatraz, Wounded Knee, and Beyond: The Nixon and Ford Administrations Respond to Native American Protest." *Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 2 (2003): 201.

of pressure and was pushed to begin acknowledging that Native people had the right to self-determination over their lands. When Nixon signed the bill in 1970, he stated that with Native Americans, “there will be more of an attitude of cooperation rather than paternalism, one of self-determination rather than termination, one of mutual respect”, which pivots significantly from the termination and assimilation acts in the mid-1900s.<sup>80</sup> This was a key victory for the Taos Pueblo people in that the long legal battle for the lake kept consistently putting pressure on the government along with other Native American advocacy efforts. Even though Nixon’s administration was conservative, they gave into returning the land to the Taos Pueblo people. Signing the bill in 1970 was a significant victory for the Taos Pueblo that reflects their persistence in defending and advocating for their cultural landscape and religious identity.<sup>81</sup> There is an oscillation of power in that the Taos Pueblo reclaims power and self-determination to their lands, hence also legally reaffirming their right to live how they want on the land. The map below shows a reclamation of their lands in Figure 35.

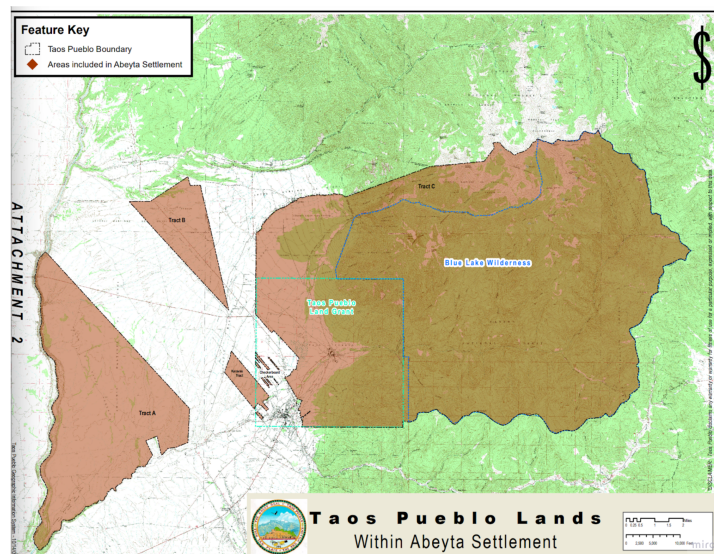


Figure 35. 2006 - The map reflects the lands that belong to the Taos Pueblo, including the reclaimed Blue Lake.

From losing the Taos Blue Lake to the National Forest to regaining it back in the 1900s, the legal lengthy battle resulted in the US acknowledging and reaffirming the Taos Pueblo’s initial promised treaty rights to sovereignty over the land. The National

<sup>80</sup> Gordon, 797.

<sup>81</sup> Ddancis. “Righting a Wrong: The Return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo.” *The Text Message* (blog), November 10, 2020.

Forest Service and government institutions interpreting the land as a commodity and trying to redraw boundaries to claim the Taos Pueblo land is unsuccessful with the Taos Pueblo people's persistence to defend the boundary that meant much more than just a commodity.

### ***Subtheme 2: Official Heritage Titles: Institutions Defining the Taos Pueblo's Importance***

Just as the US' National Forest Service is an institution that tried to claim the Blue Lake as their land to protect, the National Register, National Park Service, and UNESCO are institutions that also use their power as an external group to insert boundaries of heritage that define and shape histories and narratives of the Taos Pueblo people. With its significance as heritage needing to be defined, the Taos Pueblo is forced to fit into certain criteria that reduces the people, architecture, and cultural landscape. There is an underlying tension in the relationship between the institutions that declare the Taos Pueblo as heritage and what the Taos Pueblo people believe is important to their culture and their own priorities as a group.<sup>82</sup>

In 1966, the National Park Service was created through the National Historic Preservation Act, which was based on the Antiquities Act in the early 1900s.<sup>83</sup> This act created a process on how to go about defining what is considered to be national heritage in the US and how the institution believes the heritage site should be protected from potential harm. As the National Park Service managed the protection of the Taos Pueblo and had to define what exactly is heritage with the Taos Pueblo, they had their own agenda, set of priorities, and perceptions going into the process and classification.

In defining heritage in the 1960s, a narrative of the historical significance is needed, which is difficult with the Taos Pueblo's historical understanding being intertwined with the Spanish empire and American narratives. With indigenous sites in the US, David Ruppert and Charles Smythe, who work with the National Park Service,

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<sup>82</sup> Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Florence: Routledge, 2006.

<sup>83</sup> Ruppert, David E., and Charles W. Smythe. "National Park Service Approaches to Connecting Indigenous Cultural and Spiritual Values to Protected Places." In *Indigeneity and the Sacred*, edited by Fausto Sarmiento and Sarah Hitchner, 1st ed., 22:133–58. Indigenous Revival and the Conservation of Sacred Natural Sites in the Americas. Berghahn Books, 2019.

discuss how, “indigenous cultural places, such as Mesa Verde in Colorado or Canyon de Chelly in Arizona, are also protected because they provide reflections of the nation’s first Americans’ history and culture”.<sup>84</sup> The constructed American narratives of viewing indigenous people as the past of the American people continues from the early 1900s and gets reaffirmed in the 1960s, continuing the legacy of the US’ created and co-opted dominant narrative. Yet, it is ironic for the US to claim the Taos Pueblo as being an important site of heritage with American historical value while breaking treaty promises to claim land and creating many policies to assimilate and terminate Native American groups in the 1950s. Hence, the Native people and their landscapes are once again claimed as being *American*, during a time when they are facing policies from the US government that were meant to harm the culture and identity of Native people.

Another key part that the National Park Service looks at is the “significance” of a site.<sup>85</sup> In looking at the National Historic Landmark Status Report in 1979, the first questions asked about the site are primarily related to physical and architectural aspects of the building, like structural problems, physical conditions impacted and then there is a section on “why the property is important” primarily discussing the historical context. The National Historic Landmark in these documents views the Taos Pueblo buildings as property as opposed to being a cultural landscape and the buildings being in relationship with the land.

The historical narrative from the National Park Service is centered on how outsider groups had interacted with the pueblo, like the Spanish conquistadors and settlers. In a way, it depicts the Taos Pueblo people as being outsiders of the land and pueblo. For example, it discusses that the reclaiming of Blue Lake in the 1900s led to “the region was segregated from the national forest lands and returned to the jurisdiction of the Pueblo of Taos” (9). By defining the reclamation of a cultural landscape as land that was “segregated” from national land, the National Park Service reveals a hierarchy of power in that the National Park Service wants to assert claims to the Taos Pueblo land and property.

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<sup>84</sup> Rupper and Smythe, 134.

<sup>85</sup> Rupper and Smythe, 135.



The historical context and significance being defined by the institution is bound to be limited by what the institution sees and understands as being valuable, which imposed and reinforced a narrative coming from the top-down. Hence, the national heritage context creates a boundary that defines the Taos Pueblo's significance and heritage value as its archeological architectural remains and being a part of the American past.

The UNESCO World Heritage Nomination similarly also reinforces these ideas, however, at a global scale, which even further blurs the idea of who the heritage belongs to as well as reinforcing heritage as a top-down decision and structure. The nomination form's description and history section describes the history of the Taos Pueblo culture as primarily being dependent on and in relationship with the acculturation with the western world. The Taos Pueblo is described as being both, "unchanging traditions deeply rooted in the culture and an ever-constant ability to absorb other cultures."<sup>86</sup> Once again, the Taos Pueblo people are rendered as ahistorical and being of the past while having existed alongside the present time frame of white Americans.<sup>87</sup> In addition to this, the Taos Pueblo is being absorbed into American culture, history, and now the western ideas of heritage. The historical context is limited and focuses on the legacies of the Spanish and US empire, who had control over the narratives and what is seen as history.

The western view is visible in how the culture is not defined as its own but a part of the American people's history.<sup>88</sup> They are not talked about as being their own group of people with their ways of life, religious beliefs, and values, and how long they have actually been on the land. The World Heritage Nomination form also reduces to the description of the architecture as not having changed much, except adding doors and windows, another western influence, likely needed to protect and give privacy from western influence. Hence, there is a reinforced narrow understanding of the Taos Pueblo people that ignores the more complicated histories and the buildings' relationship with the land and people.

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<sup>86</sup> "World Heritage List: Nomination of Pueblo de Taos," December 30, 1987.

<sup>87</sup> Deloria.

<sup>88</sup> Disko.

The map in the nomination form in Figure 33 even further highlights the priorities of UNESCO as well as the National Park Service who drew the maps. In comparing the boundaries that in the nomination form to the lands that the Taos Pueblo people actually own in Figure 35, there is a stark contrast.

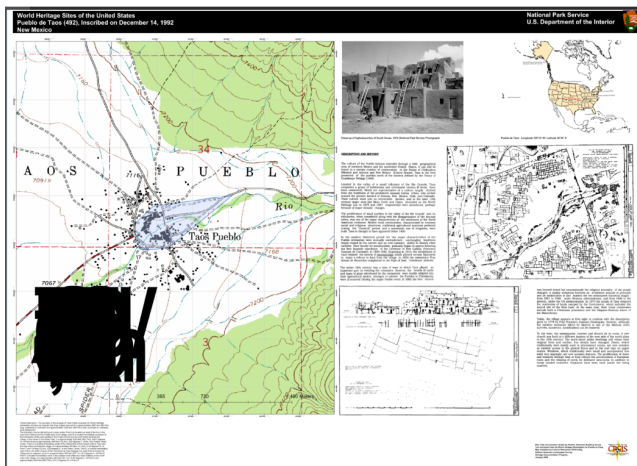


Figure 33. NPS Nomination Form

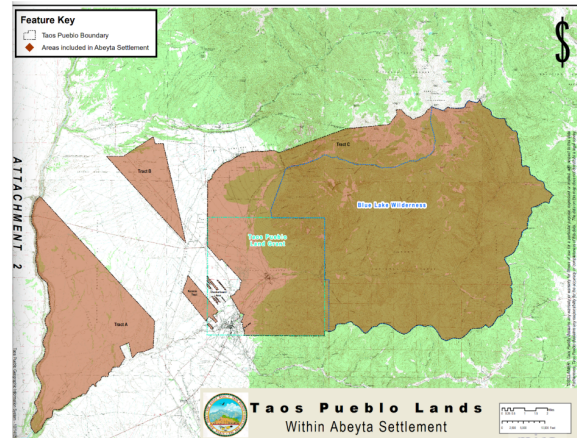


Figure 35. Land Owned by Taos Pueblo

The UNESCO map primarily highlights the edges of the Taos Pueblo heritage as being based on streets and the entrance to the site. The Taos Pueblo people actually saw their lines of their land as being much more land and encompassing a cultural landscape that the pueblo is in relationship with versus the National and UNESCO groups seeing the architecture and pueblo buildings themselves as being the site of heritage.

This idea is further reinforced in how the recommendation and UNESCO recognized the Taos Pueblo as the iv criteria, which clearly emphasizes the importance as “a remarkable example of a traditional type of architectural ensemble...” highlighting how even UNESCO looks at the Taos Pueblo from a narrow lens of significance and reduces it to the pueblo and architecture.<sup>89</sup> Although category iv recognizes the Taos Pueblo as a cultural site, there are criteria that also protect the natural aspect of a site, which is fully ignored in the case of the Taos Pueblo where it is not being seen as being a mixed heritage site and encompassing the broader landscape that they have legal right over and the cultural landscapes like Blue Lake.<sup>90</sup> Disko, a consultant on

<sup>89</sup> “World Heritage List: Nomination of Pueblo de Taos,” December 30, 1987.

<sup>90</sup> Disko, 41.

world heritage, highlights how the western perception of heritage is often ignored and the tangible aspects are being hyper-focused on, instead of the interconnected relationships with the Taos Pueblo people, land, buildings, and cultural landscape that the people are part of.<sup>91</sup>

Hence, the National Register and UNESCO are both examples of institutions that claim and define significance of the Taos Pueblo and have the impact of reducing their people, history, and culture. By drawing a boundary of heritage around just the pueblo structures reduces the site's deeper relationships with the larger landscape beyond those defined borders of land use, community, and religious significance.

### ***Subtheme 3: American Commodification of Culture vs Taos Pueblo Power of Cultural Preservation***

The Taos Pueblo gets defined and put into a narrow historical, natural, and legal boundary that influences how tourists and the Taos Pueblo interact. The 1900s had attracted a lot of tourists to the Taos Pueblo through the Santa Fe Railroad marketing tactics like Panama-California Exposition and magazine ads, being in postcards, and also being a national and then global heritage site. There is a tension between the Taos Pueblo and tourism as the Taos Pueblo people's culture is treated as a commodity by outsiders while the Taos People people maintain and exercise their power over cultural preservation. Also due to tourism, there is a tension between the relationship of the Taos Pueblo and the city of Taos.<sup>92</sup> Although tourism and preservation require the Taos Pueblo to heavily interact with outsider organizations and people, the Taos Pueblo people preserve how they define and practice their culture.

As UNESCO is able to exercise some control over the Taos Pueblo's ability to be considered a heritage site, the pueblo had to maintain the preservation requirements set up. Hence, the National Park Service nominated the Taos Pueblo in 2009 to have a plan to preserve the pueblo to maintain the world heritage title. As a top-down approach from a global institution, their perspective of preservation is bound to be limited by the

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<sup>91</sup> Disko, 41.

<sup>92</sup> Lujan, Carol Chiago. "A Sociological View of Tourism in an American Indian Community: Maintaining Cultural Integrity at Taos Pueblo." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17, no. 3 (October 1, 2007): 101–20.

significance and understanding of history defined in the nomination forms and heritage forms as well as only within the boundaries defined as heritage. Also, the pueblo has been standing for centuries and the people living there have clearly been able to maintain the pueblo and still have the knowledge to keep doing so. The World Monuments Fund steps in to document and formalize a process that does not really need to be, but the external institutions think it is important to maintain their vision and preservation of the Taos Pueblo image they have partially constructed.<sup>93</sup> The Taos Pueblo Preservation Program (TPPP) created this structure and documentation that primarily focuses on the limited boundaries and defining of the Taos Pueblo from the heritage organizations.

The preservation of the physical buildings is emphasized but also led by the Taos Pueblo people. As the Taos Pueblo does primarily and should have the ability to manage and do their cultural preservation, rather than it being applied from a top-down, the pueblo does much more than just physically preserving the site.<sup>94</sup> In looking at the tourist maps of the Taos Pueblo and some ethnographic interviews, there is more intentional cultural preservation that the Taos Pueblo is doing based on what is important to them and their ways of life.<sup>95</sup> The maps of the Taos Pueblo from the official tourism website lays out the pueblo's structures and nearby roads and walking paths.

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<sup>93</sup> Zamora, Luis Mountain, and Mary Kay Judy. "Taos Pueblo Preservation Program." *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology* 46, no. 4 (2015): 38–45.

<sup>94</sup> Lujan.

<sup>95</sup> Trujillo, Adriana. "Exploring Living Heritage Conservation: An Ethnography of Taos Pueblo, New Mexico" 6, no. 2 (2019).

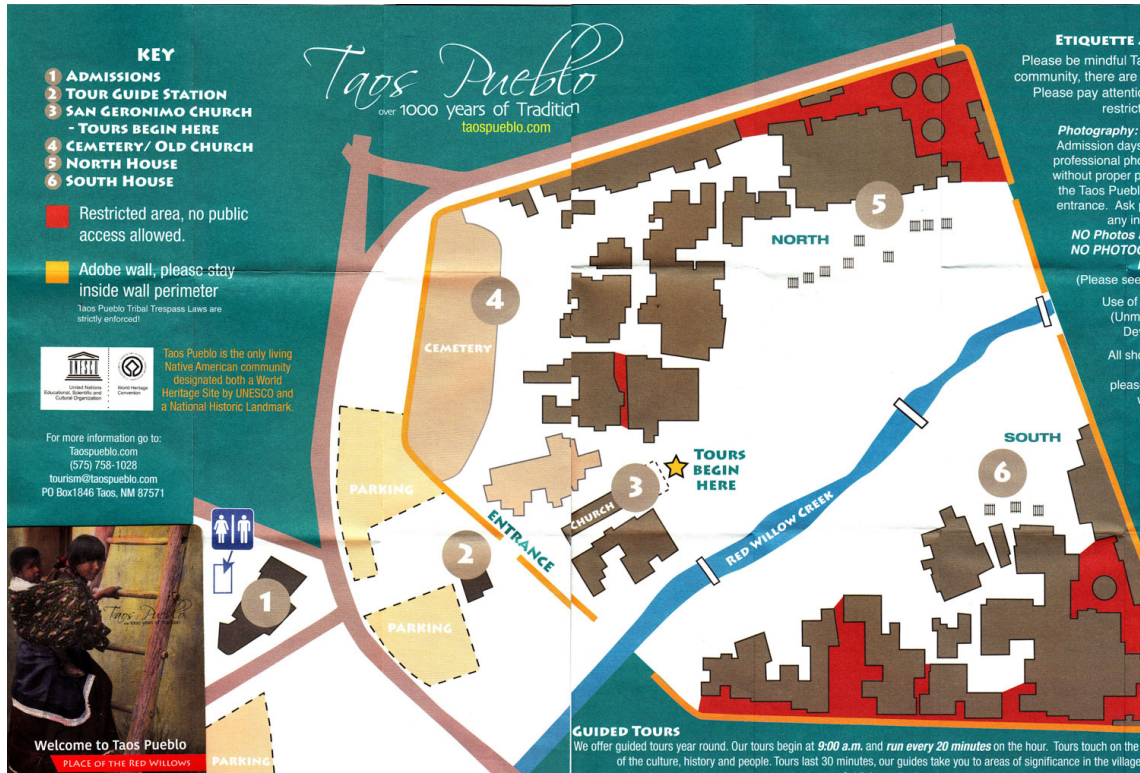


Figure 36. The tourist map shows in red what is restricted from access.

Most importantly, this map highlights red zones where public access is not allowed. This is important because as a site that frequently has tourists, some people still live in the pueblo buildings and have to interact with the outsider tourists. By restricting access to certain locations, there is some more privacy and control from the Taos Pueblo people to ensure that there is a boundary of privacy between where outsiders can go and where Taos Pueblo people can have agency over their landscape. In looking at some ethnographic interviews, there is a strong sense of understanding and defining of what their own preservation priorities are and clearly defining what outsiders do and don't have access to.<sup>96</sup>

Another way the Taos Pueblo ensures that its culture can be preserved to protect it from outside influences is limiting the hours and times that the Taos Pueblo remains open. In the winter time, the pueblo closes for about 10 weeks, which does result in a loss of monetary gain from tourists but it gives the Taos Pueblo people time and space to be able to live their way of life with privacy and without outsiders frequenting and

<sup>96</sup> Adriana Trujillo, "Exploring Living Heritage Conservation: An Ethnography of Taos Pueblo, New Mexico" 6, no. 2 (2019).

being around the pueblo.<sup>97</sup> This active decision was made to help preserve the Taos Pueblo's culture and create a space and time to have agency over their ways of life.

In fact, the pueblo has more than a physical and temporal boundary to protect their culture, they also have a cultural boundary of what information they share to outsiders. Hence, the knowledge, culture, and understanding of it stays internally without having the opportunity to be molded, misinterpreted, and co-opted by outsiders as they have done for centuries. Hence, the priority of the cultural boundary is not to define who they are to external groups, rather these cultural boundaries are for themselves, their protection and preservation and development of culture to allow it to be shared amongst each other and continue to evolve and change how they want it to.

The relationship that tourism creates between tourists, the Taos Pueblo, and the city of Taos is one that stems from the Spanish settlements but also from the current and future exposure to tourism. All of these fuel a tension between the pueblo and city. The city and pueblo of Taos are both 4 miles apart and have been so since the Spanish colonists established their settlement.<sup>98</sup> The city takes the name of Taos, using the identity of the Taos Pueblo as a basis of their identity. The geographical division between the cities shows a tension between the "shared" identity. Even the architectural style started out and continues to be from the Taos Pueblo, hence, from the beginning the city of Taos has been a place that has co-opted the physical and naming identity of the pueblo and is now also exposed to the tourism and perhaps economic boost from tourists. In Lujan's paper, she mentions that "tourism has exacerbated the difference between the two groups and has intensified the level of competition and resentment".<sup>99</sup> Despite the city of Taos being a legacy from the Spanish colonists and co-opting the pueblo, both are segregated communities and the city of Taos feels a sense of competition despite the fact that it is benefited from its relationship from the Taos Pueblo since the beginning, when the Spanish struggled to survive in the a landscape it wasn't adapted to.<sup>100</sup> Now, it economically depends on the Taos Pueblo along with its identity.

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<sup>97</sup> Lujan, 104.

<sup>98</sup> Lujan, 102.

<sup>99</sup> Lujan, 115.

<sup>100</sup> Lujan, 117.

Hence, many institutions like UNESCO, the National Register, and the city of Taos benefit from what they have taken and co-opted from the pueblo, whether it is the narratives, architecture, or naming. Their forced relationship with the Taos Pueblo creates a boundary of power and influence that the Taos Pueblo also advocates for as needed and uses their agency to protect culture and ways of life. Although heritage and tourism are forms of western understanding and consumption of history and culture, the Taos Pueblo people continue to battle through yet another outsider group that can put pressure on them and defend their agency and boundaries.

### ***Conclusion***

There is an oscillation of power between the external organizations defining and preserving what they deem is significant about the Taos Pueblo and the Taos Pueblo reclaiming the power to protect their culture and sovereignty. These external groups draw many boundaries around the Taos Pueblo that create and impose a relationship and understanding of the Taos Pueblo.

The legal boundary is brought into question as the US government's National Forest Service claims Blue Lake, 50,000 acres of land, as a part of Carson National Forest. The battle is more than just a legal one to the Taos Pueblo because it also crosses a cultural boundary, where the lake is significant to religious practices. The US intended to grab the land to continue its settler colonialist mentality of seeing land as a resource for exploitation. However, the Taos Pueblo people know the land is more valuable than that and also cannot be reduced to a monetary value.

The heritage boundary that the National Park Service and UNESCO draw also impose on the Taos Pueblo's boundary of its cultural landscape. It lacks acknowledging that the pueblo is more than just its architectural significance and attempts to preserve a history that was pieced together for a western perspective and American narrative. The heritage boundaries only include the architecture of the pueblo, applying a western perspective on the pueblo that ignores the cultural, natural, and religious significance and the people and culture.<sup>101</sup> However, the Taos Pueblo people know and define their

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<sup>101</sup> Disko.

own boundaries and barriers to protect the pueblo and culture, restricting access to outsiders through both tangible and intangible methods.

These boundaries as well as the Spanish and US colonial legacies are also reflected in the pueblo's relationship with the city of Taos. The legacies of the Spanish settlement, settlers from the US western expansion, co-opting of architectural styles, and stereotyping of the Taos Pueblo people's narrative are all embedded at the local scale in the relationship and tension between the city of Taos and the Pueblo. As the city of Taos was created and had its identity stemmed from the pueblo, the Taos Pueblo is very much its own community that advocates for its boundaries and ways of life and protecting their culture and people from external influences that have repeatedly put pressure on the pueblo by asserting boundaries and narratives.



## PROJECT CONCLUSION

In order to better understand the Taos Pueblo, this thesis traces legacies of colonialism that continue to permeate and be intentionally and unintentionally reinforced by institutions. As the Taos Pueblo and its people have persisted for over a thousand years, there is an oscillation and negotiation of power between the Taos Pueblo and external institutions that draw boundaries to claim land and narratives of the pueblo while the Taos Pueblo people defend and reclaim their their self determination over their cultural landscapes. This will be investigated by examining how the Spanish reimagines indigenous land as its own empire, the Taos Pueblo is reconstructed to help form the American southwest identity, and the relationship of resisting from heritage institutions that try to claim the past and present. The architecture of the Taos Pueblo cannot be understood by only looking at the adobe buildings as the heritage organizations define to the public and tourists. It is inseparable from the cultural landscape and geographic context it exists in, where the relationship between the land, religion and culture, people, and buildings are genuinely connected to the Taos Pueblo people. Yet, the land itself is also compartmentalized by the Spanish and America as being a means to gain power, assert their ways of life over a space, and mold the existing relationships to what benefits them at the cost of the Taos Pueblo people.

Despite the history of these institutions and groups asserting their power and boundaries over the Taos Pueblo, the Taos Pueblo people resist and defend their boundaries of their cultural landscape and continue their ways of life. As the Spanish, US, and heritage organizations disrupt the Taos Pueblo, people, and land and shape the dominant narratives of the pueblo, the moments of the Taos Pueblo people's defense over their landscape and culture are valuable narratives that help decolonize our understandings of the space. The Pueblo Revolt in 1680 reclaiming the culture of the landscape by demolishing the Catholic Church building, the legal battle to reclaim Blue Lake's sacred landscape from the National Forest Service, and the agency to decide what non-Native people have access to both seeing the physical Taos Pueblo and also the a-physical knowledge and practices. These significant moments highlight not just reclaiming space but also their narratives and ways of living.

The oscillation of power is important to consider in deconstructing inaccurate understandings of the Taos Pueblo and why colonialist legacies were reinforced and perpetuated. The stories of reclaiming and protecting their relationship to the land, pueblo, and culture are also narratives of regaining power over their ways of life from external institutions.

### ***New Significance and Application of Work***

The application of this work is an understanding of how to rethink our understanding of history, people, land, and architecture. No site or group of people can be understood by only looking at one isolated discipline of study because the reality is that the disciplines of study are connected and intertwined such that separating it reduces the importance. The Taos Pueblo cannot be understood by solely looking at the architecture. Bringing together the geographic, social, political, and historical relationships allows us to better understand the Taos Pueblo as a building as well as the land and people who are inseparable when discussing the pueblo.

### ***Call for more Research***

For the purposes of this paper, only particular moments in the long historical context were chosen to be discussed. Even within the historical contexts that were discussed, there is more depth and unpacking that can be done. The more we can deconstruct the dominant narrative and allow for unflattened understandings, the better we can understand not just the Taos Pueblo but also the institutions that we are still surrounded by that continue to perpetuate structures that reinforce narratives that are told by those in power.

The Spanish and American legacies can be discussed in more depth and over a larger context of time than the particular time frames discussed in this paper. The Spanish and US had employed many more mechanisms of colonialism that also impacted the Taos Pueblo. Because the scope of this paper is focused on architecture, planning, and space, discussions on other systems that oppressed the people and put pressure on the land and narratives can be further researched, like the encomienda labor system or US policies that impacted the Taos Pueblo people's right to the land and their identity.

The Taos Pueblo is just one of many indigenous places that has a dominant narrative shaped by institutions of power. There are many places, people, and histories that have been molded for the benefit of power accumulation of a party and more work needs to be done to deconstruct these as a first step to stop perpetuating harmful misleading narratives and the potential disappearance of valuable histories.

The call for research should not be to study the Taos Pueblo to learn more about them in the same ways western scholars have done. The western notion of needing and having the right to understand another culture has perpetuated the top-down interpretations of the Taos Pueblo. Instead, this work and future works need to be considerate to either work for the Taos Pueblo people or Native groups on what *they want* to research or critically rethink how these legacies can be made visible as historically and continuing to cause harm. How can understandings and (un)intentional perpetuations of colonial historical legacies be decolonized as a small step towards the Taos Pueblo and other Native groups having full ownership over their histories and current ways of life?

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