EIGHT
Tamaya under Merikaana's Law 143

NINE
Merikaana Moves toward Tamaya 169

TEN
Tamaya's Lands, Merikaana's Rulings 203

ELEVEN
Tamaya Yesterday and Today 223

APPENDIX ONE
Tracing the History of the Tamayame before Tamaya 247

APPENDIX TWO
Map Sources 267

APPENDIX THREE
Private Claims in the Ranchiit'u 275

APPENDIX FOUR
Missionaries at Santa Ana, 1700–1821 277

APPENDIX FIVE
Superintendents of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, 1851–1874 279

APPENDIX SIX
Pueblo Indian Agents Responsible for Santa Ana, 1849–1931 280

APPENDIX SEVEN
Tamaya's Officers 282

Abbreviations 287

Notes 290

Index 379

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ELEVEN

Tamaya Yesterday and Today

The young corn rose toward the sky and the bushy cotton plants spread in the fields as they had for centuries.[1] Each year the seasons passed and the people gathered for ceremonies held since the Hanu came into this upper world. The dry years came still to parch the fields, and the rivers now and again swept over their banks, threatening the fields and homes of the Río Grande peoples. Passing by, a traveler might hear the sound of drums and ancient songs. Each year the potters went to the hills to gather clay, the farmers carried the harvest back from the fields to the pueblo, and hunters returned with game for the winter. These ancient, familiar activities, however, took place in a world far different from the Río Grande that Coronado had marched into or the pueblos Stephen Kearny had seen.

Tamaya's farmers still planted their crops each spring, but they guided mechanical plows through fields where their fathers had dug the earth with sharp oak sticks. The grain, once gathered by hand and threshed by horses, would be harvested with binding and threshing machines. When the threshers had finished their work, they would load the grain, not in oxcarts lined with hide, but in pick-up trucks, automobiles, or horse-drawn wagons for the trip back to the pueblo. On the shelves where the harvest was stored for the winter, jars of fruit, vegetables, and meat canned by pueblo women stood beside the dried meats, chilies, and baskets of corn.[2]

And the harvest was no longer carried back to the old pueblo beneath the mesa, for, about 1935, the Tamayame had decided to make their homes in the Ranchiit'u year round. Still they would return each year to the old pueblo for the ceremonies, but they would dwell in two villages near their fields.[3]

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Often now the Tamayame journeyed far from their homes. They went, not on short trips like the two-month journeys that had taken their ancestors to the land of the Comanches to trade for hides and buffalo, but to find work that would keep them in the fields of Colorado and California or in distant cities and factories for many months. In the summers, some of the men lived in camps, not to patrol as their grandfathers had for Navajo and Apache raiders, but to take jobs building roads and bridges, fighting fires, and digging wells in programs set up by Merikaana's government. Once again, Merikaana's government called for the pueblos' assistance in times of conflict, and once again the governors of Tamaya and the other pueblos offered their support. During the Second World War, Tamayame served in the armed forces and in the civilian defense, the governor himself traveled to Santa Fe to deliver money collected at Tamaya for war bonds, and the pueblo offered food to the hungry people of Europe and China. Throughout these years, Tamaya's governors went, as many had gone before them, to speak with Merikaana's leaders in distant cities, but automobiles, trains, and airplanes rather than horses and coaches carried them on their errands. Still the people waited anxiously for word of their success, but now the news reached the pueblo almost immediately, by telegraph or telephone.[4]

Tamaya's children grew up in this new world. Like all of the generations before them, they learned the pueblo's ways from their elders, but they would also attend Merikaana's schools. Some of their parents recalled the long unhappy journeys to distant boarding schools where teachers told them that they must abandon the ways of their people, where they had been whipped if they were caught speaking the language of the Hanu or talking of the things their elders had taught them. These children, however, would come home regularly, with accounts of teachers who encouraged them to speak their own languages, study their own culture, and learn the arts and crafts of their people as well as Merikaana's new skills. From the 1920s on, nearly all of the pueblo's children would be enrolled in one of Merikaana's schools: the day school at Tamaya, St. Catherine's, the Bernalillo school run by the Sisters of Loretto, the Albuquerque and Santa Fe Indian schools, and, in later years, the Bernalillo public schools.[5]

Again in these years, the pueblo's governors would take out the ragged papers given to them with their grants and protest the decision that had taken the Espiritu Santo lands from them. For those who held Tamaya's canes in the mid-twentieth century, the task of defending the pueblo's land and water would be a heavy one. Farmers and herdsmen watched the skies and the streams anxiously, for water, always important in this dry land, became

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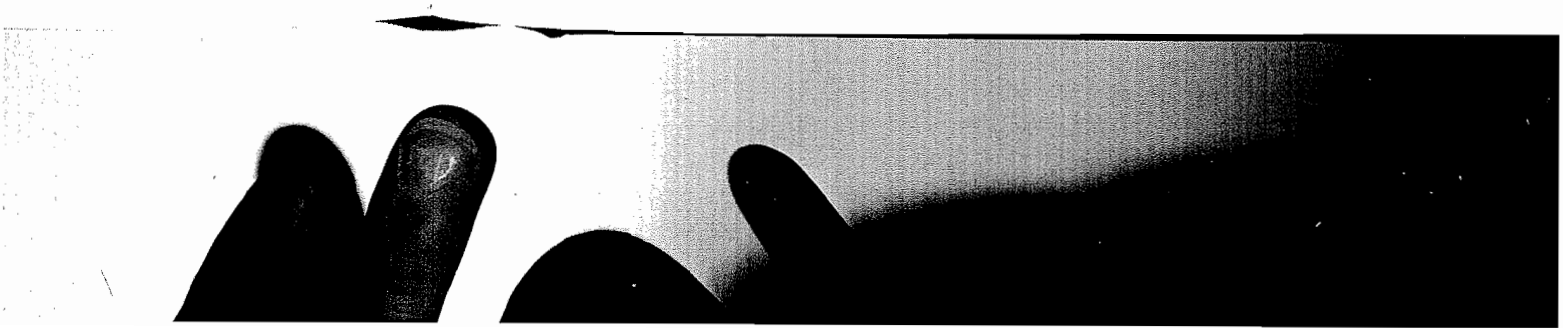
crucial as Merikaana's cities and ranches grew. During these hard years, the Tamayame dwindled until only slightly more than two hundred people remained. Hardly a family had not been touched by disease, as epidemics of smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, and influenza swept through the pueblo. Most adults could remember when Tamaya had been twice as large, and the oldest men and women could recall when the pueblo had been larger still. For a time it seemed that the Tamayame might not survive: by the 1930s, one outsider described the pueblo as a "tiny, disappearing village."[6]

Change had always been a part of the upper world, but the changes had never come so quickly. Men and women born at the end of the last century could recall the time when farmers had used canoes to travel to the fields. They told their children how the people had trained burros to lie still in the canoes and described how they had used "wooden plows with one handle which they made from the branches of cottonwood trees." They could remember farming east of the Ranchiit'u ditch, as far as Algodones, as well as the time when the Río Grande had shifted in the Ranchiit'u. They recounted the arrival of the railroad in their childhood, explaining how they had placed cornmeal on the track so that this strange "spirit" could eat, until they discovered that the train was only a "moving house" that carried people from place to place. As boys, some men had led oxen in the fields, while others had taken the pueblo stock to graze, herding the animals south toward Corrales, west in the Espiritu Santo, and east to Placitas. All could tell of the winters, when they had returned to the old pueblo.[7]

The changes had come so rapidly that these things were unfamiliar to their children. The boys who hid from the trains would watch their sons and daughters, wearing stylish modern clothing or crisp uniforms like those worn by their non-Indian neighbors, board trains that would carry them to distant schools, jobs, and battlefields. Children whose parents had used hard oak sticks to plant corn grew up using wooden plows; as adults, they would meet to decide what price the pueblo should pay for mechanical combines, threshers, and harvesters. Women whose mothers and grandmothers had made the bowls and pots used in nearby Spanish villages would trade their own pottery for food during years when crops were destroyed by grasshoppers and drought. As they grew older, they would encounter tourists willing to pay cash for their pottery and museums eager to display it, not for the long service it would give, but for its decoration.[8]

This generation would grow up in a world where Tamaya was no longer a remote, isolated place of little interest to outsiders. The Bursum Bill had drawn national attention to the pueblos, and long after the bill had been



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defeated, the story and the ways of these ancient peoples would fascinate non-Indians throughout the nation and even in remote European lands. As a result, children whose parents had been whipped for talking about their traditions in school were suddenly encouraged to speak of their people's ways. In 1934 pueblo school children began a painting project using the traditional natural colors. Teachers asked pueblo parents to help find the clays and earth substances to make "the rich reds, browns, and white colors" that "had long been used by native women for painting designs on their pottery." To ensure that all of the students would have access to as many colors as possible, each school gathered materials and exchanged them with the others. Both teachers and students learned that making paint from earth and clay was "a long and tedious process." First the materials had to be ground, pounded, sifted, and soaked; then the paint was skimmed and dried; finally water and glue had to be added to these dried colors before they could be used. In spite of this time-consuming process, the children were eager to use traditional paints instead of the "commercial colors formerly provided," and in the spring they proudly exhibited their paintings in Albuquerque.[9]

Paintings by Tamayame children were among the seventeen chosen from this display to represent America in an international exhibit, sponsored by the College Art Association, that toured the country the following year. The pueblo children's work "received favorable comment and created much interest in Indian arts in general." Later the same year, pueblo students at the Santa Fe school designed posters for an exhibit of American Indian art that traveled to Paris. The next year, Vincent Armijo, a student at Tamaya's day school, exhibited his painting "Driving Horses Home" in a display at New York's Rockefeller Center. Children at the Albuquerque Indian School presented a puppet show on land use and conservation; they made the puppets, designed posters, and wrote the script, as well as related essays and editorials. By the end of the 1936–37 school year, the children at the Santa Fe school had exhibited their art in more than thirty shows across the country and published their work in several magazines, including one in London.[10]

Pueblo arts were in demand for exhibitions throughout the country. In 1938, the "carpentry, silversmithing, and carving departments" in the schools worked with "the craftsmen in the pueblos" to build a model room for the Gallup Indian Ceremonial. Pueblo exhibits were displayed at the San Francisco Exposition and in Washington, D.C. By the following year, the New Mexico fair had a special building to display Indian arts. Among its exhibits was a miniature pueblo, constructed by school children, with a tiny irrigation system to water fields of real alfalfa and wheat sprouts. The model showed a

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pueblo during a fiesta, complete with tourists "bargaining for pottery" and "visiting Navajos" with their "covered wagons." With the help of San Felipe's governor, students completed traditional paintings for the model.[11]

Children were not the only Tamayame artists who began to receive recognition from Merikaana during these years. A visitor to Tamaya in 1933 could go to "a little curio shop," which sold pueblo pottery, paintings on buckskin, watercolors, and drums like the two "painted a sky blue, with white rain clouds around each end" that one woman purchased there.[12] Tamayame men had learned silversmithing from the Navajos in the 1890s, and José Rey León, who "learned the craft from a Navajo in the San Ysidro region," had taught "several of the younger men of the village." By the 1940s, Tamaya had four active silversmiths who did most of their work in the winter, after the crops had been harvested. José Rey León sold his silver in "the nearby towns."[13] Like other Indian silversmiths, these men found that the high demand for Indian silver produced many "cheap imitations." To protect pueblo artists from these inexpensive and often shoddy duplicates, the government established an Indian Arts and Crafts Board and designed a trademark that enabled prospective buyers to distinguish genuine Indian arts.[14]

Although Tamaya's painters and silversmiths found their work in great demand in the 1930s, few outsiders were initially interested in the work of Tamaya's potters, whose bold and vivid designs were not in fashion. One visitor even claimed that Tamaya's pottery was poor because the clay was "not suitable." By the following decade, however, appreciation of and interest in this pottery had begun to increase. For many years, Eudora Montoya was the only potter working at Tamaya; later Crescenciana Peña and her daughter, Lolita, also made pots that were sold in Sunday markets and at the Coronado State Monument. Other Tamayame artists and craftspersons also found their work in demand at the Coronado Monument: among them were Don Lujan, Old Man Joe García, and Valencio García, all of whom did weaving and woodcarving; María Lujan, who did embroidery and made dolls; and Porfirio Montoya, who made paintings and woodcarvings and did straw inlay work. In 1948 a group of Tamayame artists displayed their work at the Chicago Railroad Fair, with such great success that the man in charge of the Coronado Monument had soon made plans to send them on another similar trip.[15]

The sale of traditional arts played an important role in Tamaya's changing economy. For hundreds of years, the Tamayame, like most of their New Mexico neighbors, had relied on a system of barter, exchanging their goods directly for whatever they needed. In this way, they had acquired the lands of the Ranchiit'u in exchange for livestock, pottery, blankets, and other goods. In the harshest

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years, the women of the pueblo had traded pottery for food; in more abundant times, they supplied the residents of nearby towns with pottery in exchange for other desirable goods. When Merikaana's traders first reached New Mexico, they learned that most purchases were made in this way. By the early twentieth century, however, a cash economy had replaced the barter system, and cash transactions had become a necessary part of the peoples' lives. Cash was required to process a claim in Merikaana's courts, to purchase seeds and tools, to buy and maintain the wagons and trucks that transported the pueblo harvest from field to storehouse, to obtain tools and materials to repair the irrigation ditches, and to buy gas to operate the community tractor.

The sale of pueblo arts thus became an important source of cash income. The pueblos could also borrow cash from a reimbursable fund set up by the government to enable Indians to purchase seed, farm machinery, and irrigation improvements; they would repay the fund by selling part of their crops. With the encouragement of Merikaana's officials, many pueblo people soon took jobs for wages, often working for the railroads or in the Colorado beet fields. Pueblo children learned trades at Merikaana's schools, which then placed them in summer jobs with non-Indian families in Albuquerque and Santa Fe. By 1930 the government had set up a placement center in Albuquerque to find off-reservation jobs for adult Indians.[16] Pueblos who joined Merikaana's armed forces during World War I returned home with salaries, pensions, and eligibility for veterans' loan programs.

By the 1930s, the names of Tamayame workers appeared frequently in the records of the area's cash economy. One Tamayame filed suit against a non-Indian who owed him three hundred dollars; another requested federal funds to build a windmill near his home and then used his veteran's compensation certificate as collateral for a loan to improve his farm.[17] During the Great Depression, many Tamayame participated in New Deal employment and public works projects and in the special Indian work projects established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under John Collier, including programs sponsored by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and the Soil Conservation Service (SCS). Tamayame working for the CCC programs served on fire crews in the region and helped to protect the pueblo from floods. At the end of the decade, Tamaya was approved for participation in a WPA project to translate documents related to pueblo lands; participants reported to the project in January 1940. The SCS sponsored projects to control erosion by putting up fences and windbreaks. By 1941, almost all of the Tamayame (224 persons, in 56 households) relied on one or more of these programs for income.[18]

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The compensation awards also brought cash to the pueblos, who used this money, with the encouragement of the agency, to improve their farmlands and equipment. Like farmers across the country, they recognized that new machinery would enable them to farm more efficiently and produce larger crops. When Merikaana first came to Tamaya, farmers who used walking plows, hand sickles, and hand-threshing had to spend fifty to sixty hours to cultivate one acre, producing only twenty bushels of wheat. With the gang plows, binders, threshing machines, and horses and wagons available in 1890, the same task required only eight hours. With a tractor, disk, harrow, combine, and truck, a farmer in 1930 could cut his labor to three or four hours.[19] At Tamaya, where the population had fallen to its lowest level ever and many of the men were forced to seek jobs away from the pueblo, such labor-saving machinery was welcome. In 1935, when Governor Hilario Sanchez requested permission to buy a "badly needed" community binder, the Tamayame had only a "hand reap hook" to harvest their crops.[20] In the following years, the Tamayame used their compensation funds to buy and repair a community tractor and to buy gas and oil, seed, fertilizer, and insecticide. In 1949, they cashed three savings bonds to buy a new combine and built a community warehouse to store their grain and machinery. Reimbursable funds made it possible for some Tamayame to buy wheat, alfalfa, and bean seeds, better cattle, and wagons.[21] Others added to their income by joining AAA farm and range programs.[22]

Through the late 1930s, farming provided most of Tamaya's income, although pueblo wage-earners outnumbered pueblo farmers by the middle of the decade. In 1936, the pueblo's 60 farmers raised more than $13,000 worth of crops, an increase over the previous year. They harvested 6,200 bushels of corn and 3,250 bushels of wheat, which had become a more important crop at Tamaya after the turn of the century. Farmers also raised melons, beans, and chilies, and grew alfalfa for fodder. The pueblo's orchards produced 100 bushels of apples and 4,000 bushels of grapes. Under Merikaana's law, however, the Tamayame could no longer make wine as their ancestors had. The pueblo owned cattle, horses, swine, and chicken valued at more than $6,000, but stock sales produced only $700 in income. Seventy-four Tamayame worked for wages, earning a total of more than $3,000 for the year.[23]

Beginning in the 1940s, the Tamayame had another source of income: the fees paid by outsiders to lease pueblo lands. Leases and permits were granted to firms hoping to mine bentonite, sand, clay, gravel, pumicite, and volcanic ash, and an oil company applied for a permit to make surveys. The pueblo

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agency leased the Taylor place as headquarters for a range-rider. One firm obtained permission to post billboards. By the 1960s, Tamaya had begun to lease some of its farming and grazing lands.[24]

The years from 1930 to 1950 were a time of hardship for the Tamayame, in spite of the new sources of income. Throughout the Southwest, drought and depression reduced livestock prices drastically and made increasing demands on the region's limited irrigation water. Farmlands suffered from floods and silting. Tamaya's livestock industry, which had once provided half of the pueblo's income, dwindled.[25]

The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, which was designed to control the use of rangeland in the West, brought a new threat to Tamayame stockmen. The act provided that no one could graze livestock on public lands without a permit. First priority in obtaining permits and leases was to be given to those who had used the lands during the past four years, those who had water rights in the area, and those who owned nearby property. Until the law was amended in 1936 to extend the period of use, few of the Tamayame and their Indian neighbors could qualify for leases.[26]

Among the lands open for grazing applications was the Espiritu Santo region granted to Tamaya, Zía, and Jémez by Kastera. At a meeting of the All-Pueblo Council in 1936, the Tamayame appealed to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier to restore their grant, which they had been told was "public land and not in line for purchase." They declared their "earnest determination to provide the future generation with a solid foundation to stand on as we find ourselves in the bewildering wilderness of modern civilization." To achieve that goal, they needed a "way of livelihood." All three pueblos had an "immediate and pressing need" for more grazing land, and the Espiritu Santo lands were "rightfully" theirs "through early Spanish treaty." Their "ancestors" had "made some developments, such as water holes," on the Espiritu Santo. The next day, Collier replied: the Espiritu Santo was public land and could not be withdrawn from the grazing program, but he would file grazing-lease applications for the three pueblos.[27]

A few days later, Tamaya submitted its formal application for Taylor grazing lands. By October that request—and every other pueblo application—had been denied. The Tamayame voiced their protests at a hearing and resubmitted the pueblo's application in January 1938. In March, they filed new applications in the names of individual Tamayame stockmen rather than that of the pueblo. In early April, the board turned down all of their applications, on the grounds that the lands they had applied for were needed to fill the requests of non-Indian applicants and to create a stock driveway. In May

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the Tamayame appealed again, requesting federal rangeland for 690 cattle. This time they received permission to graze 450 head. With the assistance of their attorney, they filed yet another appeal, asking for permits to use the rest of the rangeland and urging the board to remove the stock driveway bordering their lands. As their lawyer pointed out, Tamaya was legally entitled to lease these lands: the pueblo owned the base lands and water to qualify, had made prior use of the area, and could provide photographs of the potholes and water sources that they had used in townships 13, 15, and 15 north, ranges 3 and 4 east. After hearing this evidence, one of the grazing board officials believed that the matter might be settled without a formal hearing.[28] Apparently, however, the problems were not resolved, for Tamaya received a notice in February 1939 that pueblo stockmen had violated the lease by allowing their cattle to graze outside the allotted land.[29]

During the decades that followed, the Tamayame regularly applied for grazing permits. In 1941, they were granted a one-year permit to graze on the Santa Ana allotment and the Jémez community allotment. Two years later, they received a temporary permit to use state land, as well as permission to lease the area between the Río Grande and the pueblo. In 1944, they were given a ten-year permit to graze on federal land in the Santa Ana and Bernalillo allotments, as well as a temporary permit for state land. They renewed a five-year lease on state lands in 1949 and again in 1954, at a rate of three cents per acre. With the annual grazing fee sent to the Bureau of Land Management in 1957, the pueblo included a note that they were paying the fee in spite of previous droughts. Throughout the 1960s Tamaya regularly renewed the leases for these grazing lands (see map on page 232).[30]

Decades of drought, flooding, erosion, and overgrazing had caused severe damage to the rangeland throughout the region. In 1937 a range examiner reported that of all Tamaya's lands, only the mesa itself remained relatively intact. Elsewhere there was severe erosion; "extensive sand dune areas" had formed along the Jémez River; ring grass and snakeweed had replaced the native grasses in much of the pasture land; and silting had ruined crops and clogged one of the pueblo's two wells, leaving only a single well to provide domestic water. The old pueblo still had "corrals for domestic livestock," and most of the Ranchiit'u had been fenced, but the inspector found no other "existing range improvements." He recommended fencing the entire grant; installing cattle guards, corrals, and wells; developing range water; and establishing a range management plan to restore the land and the grasses so that the pueblo could "develop a stable and economic livestock industry." The inspector could find "no accurate figures" on "the actual number of stock in

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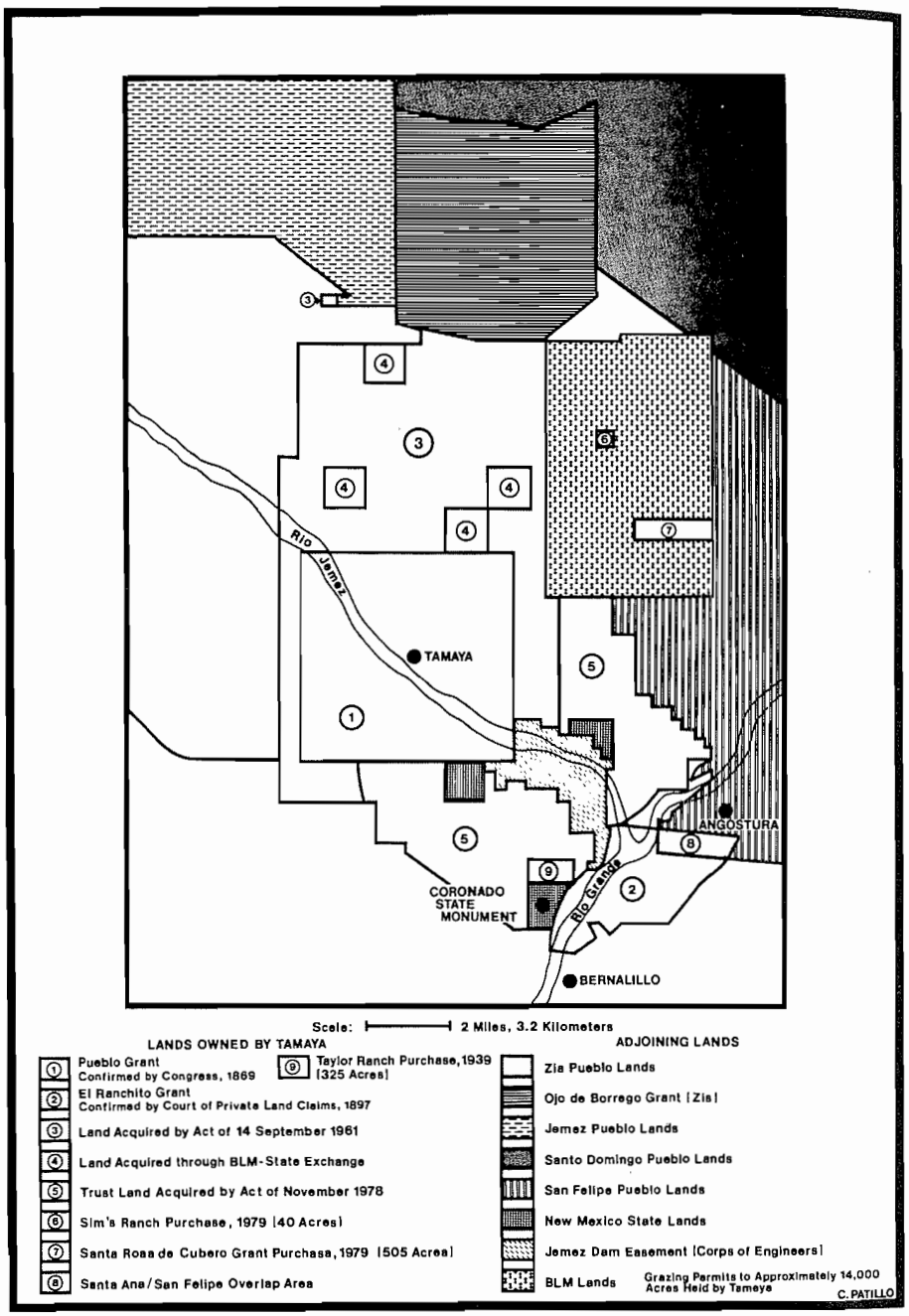
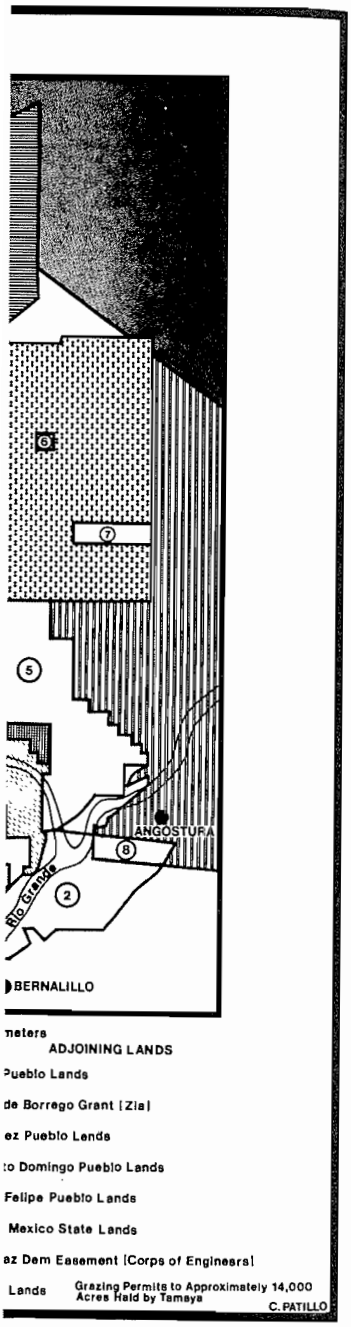

Rio Jemez
TAMAYA
ANGOSTURA
CORONADO STATE MONUMENT
Rio Grande
BERNALILLO
Scale: 2 Miles, 3.2 Kilometers
LANDS OWNED BY TAMAYA
① Pueblo Grant Confirmed by Congress, 1869
② El Ranchito Grant Confirmed by Court of Private Land Claims, 1897
③ Land Acquired by Act of 14 September 1961
④ Land Acquired through BLM-State Exchange
⑤ Trust Land Acquired by Act of November 1978
⑥ Sim's Ranch Purchase, 1979 (40 Acres)
⑦ Santa Rosa de Cubero Grant Purchase, 1979 (505 Acres)
⑧ Santa Ana/San Felipe Overlap Area
⑨ Taylor Ranch Purchase, 1939 (325 Acres)
ADJOINING LANDS
Zia Pueblo Lands
Ojo de Borrego Grant (Zia)
Jemez Pueblo Lands
Santo Domingo Pueblo Lands
San Felipe Pueblo Lands
New Mexico State Lands
Jemez Dam Easement (Corps of Engineers)
BLM Lands
Grazing Permits to Approximately 14,000 Acres Held by Tamaya
C. PATILLO

TAMAYA, 1982



trespass on pueblo lands." In its current condition, he declared, Tamaya's rangeland could support only "39 head of cattle or horses on a yearlong basis," or 117 head moved from pasture to pasture during the year and given additional feed during the winter. The grassland east of the railroad tracks would support an additional 15 horses. The report concluded that this plan might require "a reduction in the numbers of stock owned at present."[31] In fact, since the Tamayame owned 634 cattle and several hundred horses, his plan would have allowed them to keep less than sixteen percent of their stock at best.[32] Fortunately a Forest Service report, released in the same year, explained that since the range examiner's plan had not considered the pueblo's grazing leases, a new plan would have to be submitted when the lease question was settled. The forester also reported that the Tamayame had made a stock census and that they used their hay, alfalfa, and grain as supplemental feed. He agreed with the range examiner that the pueblo should build fences and drift fences and develop the water on the range. In subsequent years, the pueblo made plans to develop additional range water, and by 1950 Tamaya, Zía, and Jémez had submitted a joint range-management plan of their own.[33]

Throughout these decades, Tamaya leased any available grazing lands to support pueblo livestock and relieve the pressure on the grant lands, but the Tamayame never gave up the hope of recovering the Espiritu Santo. Again and again they asked agency officials if they could buy back this land that Kastera had granted them. They brought out their deeds and papers and explained once again what they had told Merikaana for many years: these lands had been given them in the place of the children that Kastera had taken from them. Repeatedly, however, the officials denied their request. In 1936 they were told that they could not use money appropriated by the Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act to purchase the Espiritu Santo grant, but they might use these funds to buy the Perea, Taylor, and Wade lands within the Ranchiit'u. Two years later, Tamaya sent a petition to the secretary of the interior. Having been told that they must remove seven hundred sheep from the rangeland, they had immediate need for grazing lands. Why, they asked, could they not use the Espiritu Santo for grazing as their ancestors had? In January 1938, by executive order, the Bureau of Indian Affairs gained jurisdiction over the smaller Espiritu Santo grant that had been part of the original grant to Tamaya, Zía, and Jémez. Non-Indian stockmen in the region, however, protested immediately, and by summer the BIA had signed a memorandum agreeing to give the Espiritu Santo lands to the Department of Agriculture and the Soil Conservation Service in exchange for the Sedillo grant. As part of that agreement, Jémez, Zía, and Laguna were granted

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grazing privileges in the Espiritu Santo, but Tamaya received nothing.[34] From 1949 to 1951, the elders of Tamaya, Zía, and Jémez gave information about the pueblos' use of the grant to their attorneys, who were preparing a case to be presented to the Indian Claims Commission, a special court created by Congress to hear Indian claims and award compensation for lands and resources wrongfully taken. Nearly twenty-five years later, the three pueblos would receive a monetary award from the Claims Commission for the Espiritu Santo lands, but the lands themselves would not be returned.[35]

Slowly, however, Tamaya began to rebuild its landholdings in other areas. In the 1930s, the BIA used funds from the Submarginal Land Purchase Program to acquire land for Indians. The first acquisition under this program in New Mexico was the Zía-Santa Ana Purchase Project, an area of forty-seven thousand acres. In 1934 non-Indian claimants were paid and Tamaya regained control over the claims within the Ranchiit'u extinguished by the Pueblo Lands Board. Using compensation money and funds from the Wheeler-Howard Act, the pueblo began to buy back additional lands in the Ranchiit'u whenever the grantholders were willing to sell. In 1937 Tamaya made an offer for private claim 20, parcel 1, then owned by David and Carolina García; probate delayed the sale, which was completed three years later. In 1950 the Tamayame also bought the Taylor Ranch, an area of more than three hundred acres. They also discussed Mariano Montoya's offer to sell five acres (private claims 8 and 15), and considered buying the Archibal property. Tamaya also proposed an exchange of land along a stock driveway. By acts of Congress in 1961 and 1978, the pueblo obtained trust lands north of the square, extending to the Borrego Grant, and the land between the square and the Río Grande. Early the following year, the pueblo was able to purchase the area known as Simms Ranch, approximately 14,000 acres of pastureland north of the old pueblo on the mesa, lying between the trust lands awarded to Santa Ana in 1978 and the lands of San Felipe pueblo. The Simms Ranch lands included 545 acres of private holdings, 1,288 acres of state land under lease, and 12,160 acres of federal land under lease from the Bureau of Land Management. After buying the ranch, the pueblo began working for legislation that would transfer the federally owned land to the pueblo in trust, but, although the BLM supports the proposal, Congress has not yet approved it. In 1979 Tamaya was also able to purchase the Santa Rosa de Cubero Grant.[36]

In the following decade, Santa Ana acquired two tracts of land that have provided the basis for substantial economic development: the Duke Parcel and the Coronado Monument Exchange. Both acquisitions involved complex legal issues that originated in the 1940s. The Duke parcel, patented to Eva

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Wade Duke in the 1930s, lay just south of the Taylor Ranch. Santa Ana controlled the only access to it—the Jémez Canyon Dam Road, which had been built in the 1950s on a right-of-way previously granted to Santa Ana for a BIA truck trail that provided access to the Taylor Ranch. When the heirs to the Duke lands tried to develop the property in the 1970s, Santa Ana opposed their plans, which included a trailer park in the southern section owned by Sunnyland Development and the mining of sand and gravel in the northern segment owned by local politician H. E. Leonard. The pueblo refused to grant access on Tamaya's right-of-way, preventing the developments. Leonard protested to the state's congressional delegation; his protests led to a series of meetings that included representatives of the pueblo, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Corps of Engineers, Senator Pete Domenici and Congressman Manuel Lujan. The group worked out an agreement that allowed the pueblo to obtain a loan, to be paid back from the development of the sand and gravel resources, from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to buy the Leonard property. The land was to be held in trust for the pueblo by the United States. In September 1981 the transaction was completed. The following year, Tamaya purchased a 140-acre parcel at the south end of the tract from First American Title Company, which had acquired the property from Sunnyland Development. In the following years, the pueblo bought the two remaining tracts in the Duke Parcel: a ten-acre plot that include "the old Duke residence, a large southwestern style structure built of 'terrones,' adobe-like bricks actually cut from the ground," and a 47-acre parcel "that included a large residence that had been built by Harold Brooks of Albuquerque." The pueblo has since acquired several small tracts "south of the Duke parcel along Highway 44."[37]

As the developers began to submit proposals for the Duke property, Santa Ana's attorneys discovered that a portion of the Coronado State Monument—a state park with a visitor center, campground, and other facilities at the site of a large pueblo ruin on the west bank of the Río Grande just north of Highway 44—had in fact been built within Tamaya's Ranchiit'u lands. In the 1930s, the United States had deeded a large tract of land containing pueblo ruins to the University of New Mexico. While excavating a pueblo now known as the Kuaua Ruin, the university discovered that the ruin extended onto Tamaya's land and made a proposal to exchange a ten-acre strip of university land in the area for the lands within the Ranchiit'u that contained the ruin. The Bureau of Indian Affairs accepted this proposal, and Congress authorized the exchange in 1940, but for some reason, the deed of exchange was never signed. Meanwhile the university went ahead with its excavation; later the State Parks Department took over the administration of

HP2517

the site and constructed the visitor center. When Santa Ana discovered this situation—nearly fifty years after the original excavation—the federal government, at the pueblo's request, sued the state and the university in federal district court for trespass. The court ruled that "the United States could not sue the State on behalf of an Indian tribe," but the ruling was overturned by the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, which upheld "the Government's sovereign interest in asserting Indian land rights, and reinstated the action." The parties then negotiated a settlement, through which Tamaya acquired a parcel of nearly 120 acres, north and west of the Coronado Monument, in exchange for title to approximately 24 acres in the State Park. In 1986, Congress confirmed this agreement.[38]

The pueblo quickly moved to develop these newly acquired lands. In 1982 they established a sand and gravel operation on the northern portion of the Duke Parcel. Although this development was not "entirely successful" and the pueblo decided to withdraw from active operation of the enterprise, the sand and gravel remained a "valuable asset" for the pueblo, and these initial efforts eventually led to the development of sand and gravel resources elsewhere on Tamayame lands. In subsequent years, Tamaya also developed the old Brooks residence as a community center; established a "high quality mobile home park" on the Brooks parcel; and leased the old Duke home to an Albuquerque restaurant owner for a fine restaurant, the Prairie Star, which has become very successful. On the remaining Duke lands and the adjacent parcel acquired in the Coronado Monument exchange, the pueblo constructed a 27-hole championship golf course, which it now owns outright. An office complex and other facilities are being constructed on the lands south of the Duke Parcel on Highway 44.[39]

While the pueblo acquired new lands, pueblo officials continued their efforts to protect the lands they had purchased two-hundred years earlier. Disputes over land in the Angostura region continued throughout the 1940s and 1950s, and both Tamaya and San Felipe asked officials to search for information about the disputed lands. The Tamayame also met to gather information about the claim. Those who had herded stock in the grant described the boundaries as they knew them, and those who had presented evidence to the Pueblo Lands Board and other officials recalled the history of the dispute. They reviewed the mass of documents that had accumulated in nearly two hundred years, as well as more recent complications, such as the state highway right-of-way granted through the disputed area, which gave compensation to the heirs of those who had acquired Santa Ana's land from San Felipes.[40] At last, in the case of *Pueblo of Santa Ana v. Alfredo Baca and*

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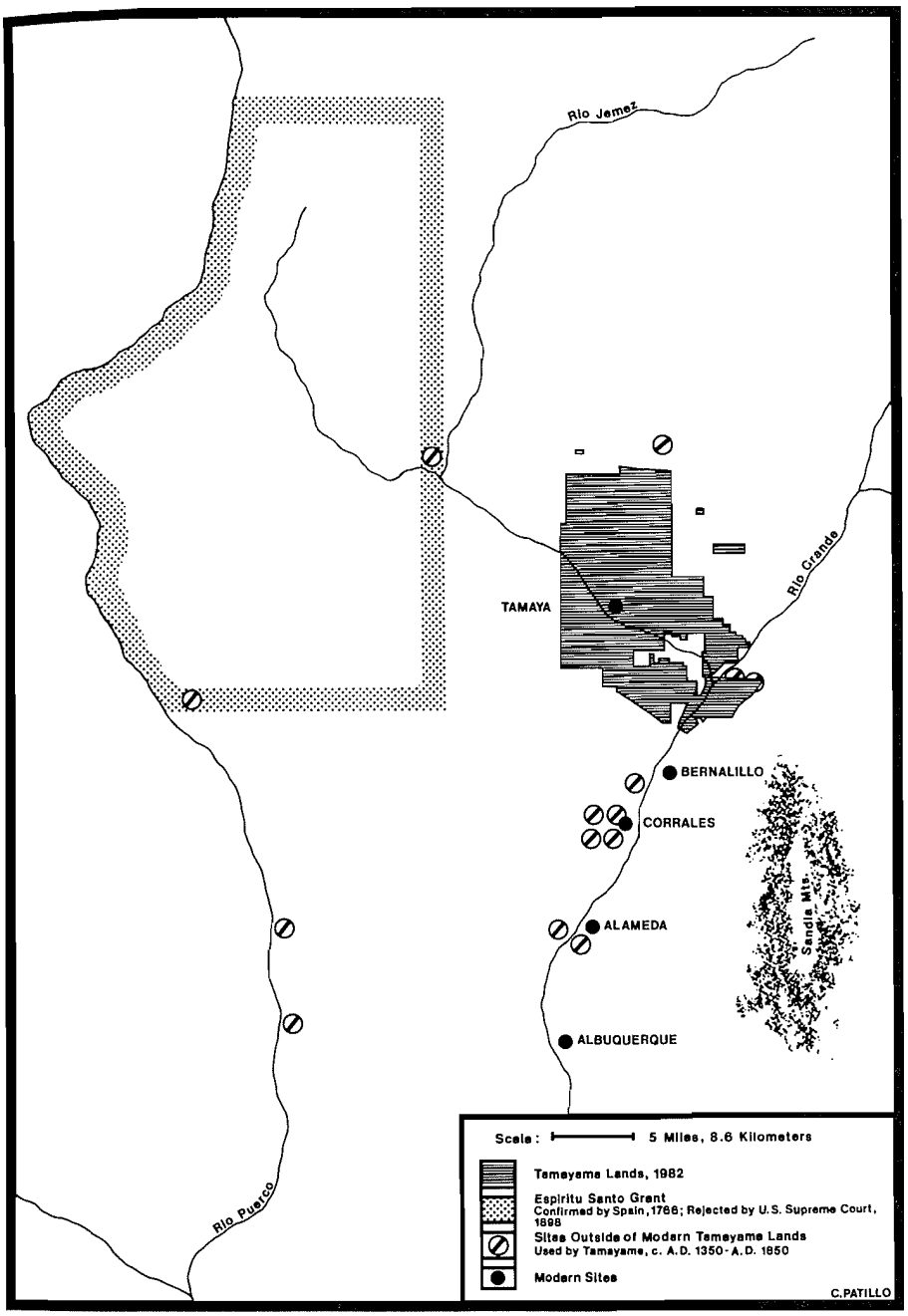

TAMAYAME LANDS, c. 1350-1982

Mary Lou Baca, the federal district court ruled that "the Pueblo of Santa Ana has had good and indefeasible title in fee simple to the lands in the overlap area . . . since 1763," that the adjudication of the matter in 1813 had "conclusively determined this dispute in favor of Santa Ana," and that the pueblo would have established its title to these lands through continuous use, dating at least from the 1930s, even if it had not held deeds to the land. That decision was affirmed three years later, in 1988, by the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals.[41]

While the Tamayame presented their complaints to Merikaana's officials and courts, outsiders continued to seek pueblo lands. The development that accompanied statehood in New Mexico generated numerous applications for right-of-way through Tamaya's lands. In the late 1920s, the pueblo granted right-of-way to the short-lived Santa Fe Northwestern Railroad, which ran up the Jémez River through the pueblo grant. The following year the New Mexico Power Company asked for a fifty-year right-of-way across the Ranchiit'u. In 1933 the pueblo complained that the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad lines had damaged a flood-control dike and caused erosion, and the railroad superintendent proposed a plan to repair the dike. In later years, Tamaya granted passageways to the state highway, a stock driveway, the Albuquerque Gas and Electric Company, the Texas-New Mexico Pipeline, and the Atrisco Feeder Canal, as well as approving an easement for the Jémez Dam.[42]

As the years passed, governor after governor protested trespasses on Tamaya's lands. In 1936 the governor told the pueblo agency that the Ranchiit'u boundary would have to be fenced to control stock from Bernalillo, which was causing serious problems. Markers on the west boundary of the Ranchiit'u had been moved, and would-be homesteaders began to erect fences on the Tamayame's land. For three years, fishermen had driven over the pueblo's pastureland and set fires within the grant. Some trespassers dumped trash on the Ranchiit'u, while others cut the pueblo's timber and hauled the wood away. The pueblo asked that their crooked and dangerous access road, which ran through Charles Brown's land, be straightened, but Brown would not agree. The pueblo also asked that a twenty-foot road, which ran from the highway to a pumping station, be closed. In 1946, Tamaya complained that a non-Indian had destroyed the pueblo's fence along the riverside road, and then tried to charge the pueblo for the damage when Tamayame stock entered his land. Zía sheepmen crossed the southwestern corner of the Borrego Grant onto Tamaya's land. Frank Bond, a sheepholder with headquarters in Bernalillo and on the Espiritu Santo, also allowed his sheep to trespass on the pueblo's land. There were several disagreements over who bore the re-

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sponsibility to fence land between non-Indian property and the pueblo. Eventually the pueblo reached agreements with Zía and Bernalillo to set up range lines and to decide the use of wells.[43]

As New Mexico's population grew and the demand for water in the arid region increased, Tamaya's water became as attractive to outsiders as its land had been to earlier trespassers. Local farmers and ranchers, fearing that they would not have enough water to keep their stock and crops alive in dry years, began to ask the government to build dams to store water, provide irrigation, and control flooding. Merikaana's agents had begun to study pueblo water use and to develop projects to improve irrigation, domestic water supplies, and range water, under a program that obligated the Indians, in time, to repay the government for these improvements.[44]

In 1908 Merikaana's Supreme Court heard the case of *Winters v. U.S.*, which defined the principles of Indian water rights under Merikaana's law. With water, as with land, Indian rights differed from non-Indian rights. Indians, as the original holders of these natural resources, had prior and paramount rights to all of the water they needed in the present or in the future. Those rights did not depend on state or local laws, on whether a tribe had signed a treaty, or on whether a tribe had made use of all of the water to which it was entitled. In times of shortage, Indian rights had to be honored before the claims of other users, and agreements signed to create dams or to apportion water could not reduce Indian water without the Indians' consent. The justices also held that the government, as trustee for Indian tribes, was responsible for protecting those rights.[45]

By the 1920s, the pueblos' neighbors had begun to test those rights. In March 1920, the residents of Bernalillo sought to divert water from a branch of Tamaya's ditch into the Bernalillo Community Ditch. Although they told the irrigation office that their plan would not interfere with Tamaya's water use, the irrigation officer was suspicious and quickly wrote to ask the pueblo attorney what he should do to protect the pueblo's interests. The lawyer recommended that he draw up a written agreement of the terms of joint use, making sure that the Bernalillo Ditch users acknowledged Tamaya's rights and that the document clearly stated that the pueblo's water rights did not fall under state jurisdiction. In April, the ditch company signed an agreement drawn up under these terms.[46]

The question of pueblo water rights became a major issue in 1926, when New Mexico drew up plans for a conservancy district that would have charge of water matters along the Río Grande. As the proposal was first drafted, nearly all of the pueblos opposed it, but by early 1928 a revised version of the

HP2521

proposed legislation had won pueblo approval. In a series of meetings, the pueblos authorized John Collier, of the American Indian Defense Association, to act as their representative in Washington and convey their approval of the proposal, which provided that if the district did work on pueblo lands, the pueblos would be liable for no more than $67.50 an acre, and they would have at least forty years to pay off the debt. In Congress, however, the terms of the bill were changed. One early version increased the amount of debt that the pueblos might incur by half a million dollars, included provisions that could have forced a pueblo to begin repayment as soon as the work was completed, and defined the six pueblos within the district—Tamaya, Cochití, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Sandía, and Isleta—as a single unit. That meant that each pueblo might have to pay for work done at the others instead of being liable only for its own improvements. A pueblo like Tamaya, with less land eligible for the programs, might end up paying nearly twice its share.[47]

John Collier brought this bad news to the pueblos at a meeting held at Santo Domingo in March 1928. He explained that he had appealed to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and in the end, the bill had been revised to allow the Indians to use as much as four thousand acres of improved land while paying only operation and maintenance charges. But the revised bill also permitted a higher debt than the pueblos had agreed to, and under its provisions any rent or lease money the pueblos obtained for the land might have to be used to repay the debt. Collier had persuaded a famous lawyer, Louis Marshall, to represent the pueblos without charge if the matter went to court, but officials hoped that the problem might be settled without legal action. By the end of the year, the secretary of the interior had approved an agreement under which the new Middle Río Grande Conservancy District promised to provide conservation, irrigation, drainage, and flood control for Tamaya and the other pueblos.[48]

Throughout the 1930s, those who held the pueblo's canes of office had the added responsibility of negotiating complex legal agreements involving the pueblo's water. In 1930 the pueblo refused to sign a contract that included the Bernalillo Community Ditch Company, explaining that Tamaya "had never been successful in co-operative work with the people of Bernalillo" and that they feared that if they signed the agreement, they would have continual "controversy" and "difficulties in getting the work done." Officials responsible for the pueblos tended to agree.[49] The following year, Tamaya signed an agreement with the New Mexico State Highway Commission, which promised to remove silt, maintain a ditch on the Ranchiit'u, and pay the pueblo three hundred dollars. The pueblo also agreed to permit the conservancy

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district to build and maintain a headgate at the intake of the canal that served the Ranchiit'u, and to allow construction of a new drain and levee to the north and a wasteway ditch to run between the Bernalillo, Desagua, and Bosque ditches.[50] District officials refused to maintain Tamaya's old ditch system without payment, but they provided water to the pueblo without charge, as they had promised to do. In 1934 and 1935, the district paid Tamaya $4,672 for a right-of-way to build a new ditch across the Ranchiit'u. The Tamayame had agreed to allow non-Indians to use their water for fifty cents an acre, but by September 1936, Tamaya's lieutenant governor had warned the non-Indians that if they did not pay, the pueblo would no longer supply them with water. An agreement reached the following year with the district, however, established terms for non-Indian water use, and the Tamaya received payments through the end of the decade.[51] During this time, the government established the National Resource Committee to approve water projects and the Río Grande Advisory Committee to coordinate the plans for the Río Grande region. The pueblo agency prepared a ten-year plan to conduct soil surveys, improve irrigation, and develop range and domestic water, and a CCC well-rig was moved to Tamaya to develop range water.[52]

The age-old water problem that reappeared in early 1941, however, could not be resolved by ten-year plans, committees, or negotiations. By late May rivers throughout the region had risen dangerously. Swollen by heavy rains and the melting snow pack from the mountains, the rivers soon endangered pueblo homes and farms, including those in the Ranchiit'u. With a hundred inches of snow still in the mountains, Tamaya faced the threat of disastrous floods. A month after the floods had subsided, *Indians at Work* told the story, with photographs of Porfirio Montoya riding watch along the pueblo dike and other Tamayame working to strengthen the dike and move a truck that had slipped off the levee. Bridges, dams, and phone lines had washed out. By late May, it seemed certain that the dike at Ranchiit'u, where the Jémez River emptied into the Río Grande, would fail, flooding both Ranchiit'u and Bernalillo. Many Tamayame moved "without fuss or confusion or protests" to the pueblo's day school and the Albuquerque boarding school, where the government had set up kitchens and beds for those who had to leave their homes. During the flood, measles and pneumonia spread among the people, and Tamaya's day school also became an emergency hospital. By May 22, the river was "chocolate colored," with five-foot waves that broke against the banks, pulling the sand out. Exhausted men from Tamaya and the neighboring towns and pueblos worked day and night, stopping only for a quick meal of food canned at Tamaya and some "nice, good, thick coffee." After working

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for hours in the cold rain, they were "wet to the skin and shivering" in spite of the raincoats provided by the government, but they still "laughed and joked." When at last the river began to subside, the dike remained standing, thanks to the "heroism" of the workers.[53]

As the people of Ranchiit'u returned to their homes to repair the flood's damages, government agencies began to consider ways to prevent another such flood. Soon after the water receded, Congress passed the Flood Control Act of 18 August 1941, under which the Army Corps of Engineers began developing a plan to survey the Río Grande region and study the possibility of building dams. As news of this plan spread, letters from all parts of the country poured into the offices of the commissioner of Indian affairs, the newspapers, and the officials responsible for the plan; remembering the Bursum Bill, many individuals wrote to protest that the new project might threaten pueblo lands, and the national media focused attention on the issue. A delegation representing five pueblos traveled to Washington to express concern. To quiet the opposition, Commissioner Collier explained that the bill permitted only exploration, not dam building. Surveying, studying flooding and silt buildup, and drilling test holes were not likely to harm pueblo lands, but the pueblos would be paid for any damage that occurred. Collier argued that such a study was urgently needed, for the range, the watershed, the farmlands, and the homesites near the river were in terrible condition. Without surveys and testing, pueblo land titles could not be resolved and the government could not determine how to prevent damage to pueblo lands from silting and floods.[54]

When the All-Pueblo Council met in April 1943, the pueblos were divided over the question. Opponents of the bill spoke all morning; then agency personnel argued for the potential advantages of the project. Before the delegates reached a conclusion, Tamaya's governor spoke. They had heard many who opposed the bill in the name of the pueblos, he said, but Tamaya was also a pueblo, and Tamaya's concerns had not been mentioned. He reminded the other delegates that "if the river had gone up two or three inches more in 1941 Santa Ana would have lost all their crops and all of the lower village." The Tamayame were concerned that if nothing were done they would be left "completely unprotected against such floods." They did not know whether building dams was the answer, but they did not want to see the proposal dismissed without "a full consideration of the case." The council's final resolution reflected the concerns of all the delegates: the pueblos declared their opposition to this bill, to the construction of dams at San Felipe and Otowi, and to the preparation of plans for their lands in which

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they were not consulted, but they also expressly stated that they did not oppose flood-control measures.[55]

Over their opposition, however, the Corps of Engineers had begun its survey by October. Although the commissioner of Indian affairs reassured San Felipe's governor that no dams were planned, the first survey led to others, and soon the agencies proposed a five-year intensive study of sedimentation in the Middle Río Grande Valley. A bill to provide flood protection and construct a floodway in the Ranchiit'u just north of the day school was drawn up.[56] Meanwhile pueblo complaints about the conservancy district increased. The pueblos asked Congress to extend the period of time they had been given to pay operation and maintenance fees, charging that the district had not lived up to the promises made in 1928 and that many of them had lost crops as a result. Some pueblos had not received the water they were guaranteed; others had had their supply cut off. The district had not met its obligation to repair and maintain the ditches. Tamaya's ditch boss, Unelio Menchego, described the shortages that had occurred at Tamaya, and Porfirio Montoya listed the unkept promises that the district had made to the pueblos at earlier meetings. The Tamayame still had no flood control, and silting remained a serious problem. While these promises remained unmet, new proposals continued to be drafted. The Atomic Energy Commission prepared a plan to divert water from the Jémez watershed, over the opposition of the pueblos along the Río Jémez, who feared that their water rights might be compromised and their farming threatened by the project. When disputes over pueblo rights to stored water arose, the pueblos worked to secure their entitlement to water impounded in El Vado reservoir. As plans to place a dam near the mouth of the Jémez River went forward, Tamaya's governor was asked to allow engineers to drill on the pueblo's land.[57] The Flood Control Act of 1948 authorized the Army Corps of Engineers to construct a dam and reservoir on the Jémez River to control flooding and sediment flow in the Río Grande. The corps drew up plans for a dam within Tamayame land, "just downstream from the old pueblo," and asked the pueblo to grant it the rights and easements required to construct the dam. Its proposal included provisions for a levee to protect Tamaya from flooding if the reservoir were filled to its design level; a one-lane bridge across the Río Jémez to provide access to Tamaya when the reservoir was full; construction of various improvements, including a well, a windmill, a water-storage tank, and a stock-watering tank for the pueblo; and $3,000 compensation for the pueblo. Tamaya gave its approval in February 1952, and the dam was constructed.[58]

For nearly 30 years, no permanent reservoir existed at the Jémez Dam;

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water was stored behind the dam only temporarily, when it was necessary to control river flows to prevent flooding. Then, in the early 1980s, the Corps created a small permanent reservoir behind the dam. Santa Ana, which had acquired the federal lands on which the dam was built, as well as lands surrounding the reservoir, began to consider the possibility of developing recreational facilities on the shore of the reservoir. Meanwhile, engineers revised their estimates of the maximum potential flood at the headwaters of the Río Jémez. In 1986 the Corps of Engineers increased the dam's height without making provision to protect the pueblo in the event of such a flood; as a result, were such a flood to happen now, the water would flow over the levee originally constructed to protect Tamaya, and damage, or possibly even destroy, the old pueblo.[59]

Waiting for the young men of the pueblo to return safely from distant camps, working to rescue homes and crops from rising floodwaters, and protecting the lands of Tamaya in the twentieth century all evoked memories of past journeys, past floods, and past dangers, but they also required new skills and new ways of understanding. Once, when the pueblo needed new rooms, the men gathered timber in the mountains to erect the walls, the women prepared and applied plaster, and in a short time a family had a new home or the pueblo had new storage rooms ready for the harvest. In the 1960s and 1970s, when the Tamayame needed new housing, pueblo leaders had to negotiate contracts with federal agencies like the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Parents passed the traditions of the Tamayame on to their children, as the elders of the pueblo always had, but they also worked with the Bernalillo County School system to determine the school curriculum. To provide health care and community services for the Tamayame, pueblo leaders participated in programs sponsored by agencies such as the Public Health Service and Community Action programs. Shortages of employment and income, in an economy that requires cash payment in exchange for goods and services, have become a problem as serious as drought to a farming people; the search for answers to this problem has led the pueblo into complex arrangements to develop Tamayame land and resources in ways that will provide jobs and income for the people while preserving the pueblo's resources. To survive in this complex world, Tamaya must understand both the old and the new, the ancient traditions and the intricacies of modern legal systems and technologies.

In the centuries that have passed since the Hanu entered this upper world, change has always been a part of the people's lives, but perhaps never before have the changes been so many, so rapid, and so great as in the past decades.

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The Tamayame, who had watched their seedlings grow in every settlement since the first at Kashe K'atreti, lived through a time when the pueblo planted no crops at all. Sons and daughters of those who had led horses into the threshing ground would take jobs far from Tamaya, assembling aircraft that could carry the people farther in hours than their ancestors journeyed in all the years they spent searching for their homeland. And that homeland, once a haven with abundant land and water for the Tamayame, now stands within a crowded world, kept safe only by the people's ability to master the legal complexities that protect their homes and rights. The people of Tamaya have learned that a few words on a piece of paper may bring greater dangers than the harshest winter or the most severe flood, and that the threat may come more rapidly than the swiftest raiders once swept down upon the fields, with no warning.

Yet through these dangers, as through the dangers of the past, the Tamayame have survived. Still the ceremonies are held, and still the leaders guide the people in accordance with the instructions they received when they entered this upper world. Today's journeys may cover greater distances than the paths the Hanu followed to Paak'u, Tamaya Kuwasaya, Kwiiste ~~Puu~~ Tamaya, K'enewa, and Kwiiste K'enewa before settling along the Río Jémez, but the Tamayame still return to the homeland they chose on that first journey. Their lands and their lives are far different from those their ancestors knew, but the traditions remain alive, just as ancient designs reappear in new forms on recent pottery. Through fire and flood, through disease and drought, and even through the vast changes of the twentieth century, the pueblo's foundations have stood firm. Again and again the people have had to rebuild the walls, but Tamaya still stands below the dark mesa in the land that the Hanu were told of many years ago.

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