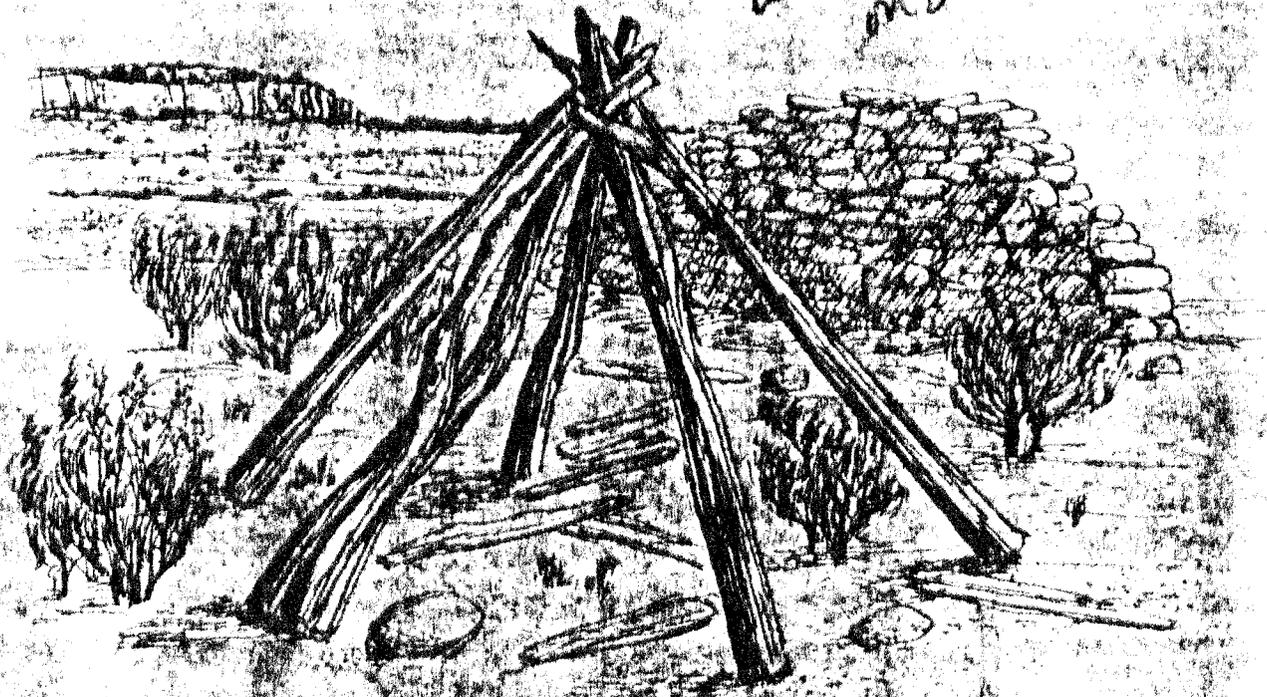




**NEW MEXICO
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT**

*See also - personal -
mulek - early Nav. arch;
also Dept. collection
on Dinotah*



RETHINKING NAVAJO PUEBLITOS

**Contributions by
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**NAVAJO-PUEBLO INTERACTION
DURING THE GOBERNADOR PHASE**

A Reassessment of the Evidence

Patrick Hogan

Abstract

The stone towers of the Dinetah have long held a fascination for archeologists, and almost a century of research has been devoted to understanding the cultural processes that gave rise to these monuments. For most of that period, construction of the pueblitos was attributed to Pueblo refugees who fled to the Navajos when the Spanish reconquered New Mexico in the closing years of the seventeenth century. Only in the last few decades have we come to recognize that these strongholds were built for defense against Ute and Comanche raiders. What has not changed is the long-standing perception that eighteenth-century Navajo culture was fundamentally altered by a massive influx of Pueblo refugees. This document provides a review of the archeological and historical evidence supporting this interpretation of the Gobernador Phase as a period of intensive Navajo-Pueblo interaction. Based on that review, it is suggested that scholars have greatly overestimated both the number of Pueblo refugees who joined the Navajos and the influence of those refugees on Navajo culture.

Even if this were true
of the Gobernador period, this
statement ~~it~~ doesn't necessarily follow. \nearrow
The no. of refugees before the
revolt may well have been
much greater. Absence of horses,
metal, etc. from ~~the~~ most Navajo
origin stories that have a lot in
common w. Pueblos suggests an
early Spanish - Pd. (or earlier)
time of sharing. See Forbes, Apache,
Navajo, and Spanish; literature on
Navajo clan origins; anthropological
theories on the ~~the~~ coalescence of tribes
from local groups of disparate origins
on the face of conquest, colonization,
state-level soc.

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Chapter 1

The Archeological Evidence

This review of archeological research at Gobernador Phase sites has two objectives. The first is to document the extent to which our perceptions of Navajo-Pueblo interaction during the Gobernador Phase have been conditioned by uncritical acceptance of the "refugee hypothesis." The second objective is to assess the archeological evidence cited in support of that hypothesis. To achieve these objectives, both the arguments made by previous researchers and the evidence used to support those arguments are described in some detail (see Figure 1 for area of cultural interaction).

Kidder (1920) was the first to describe the pueblitos of the Gobernador area in a short article summarizing his own 1912 survey, a survey done by Nelson in 1916, and excavations conducted by Morris in 1915. In describing the ruins, Kidder noted their defensive nature, the poor quality of the masonry, the extensive use of wood and evidence that metal axes were employed, the association of Navajo hogans with the pueblo-like rooms, and the presence of sheep and cattle bones. The pottery was described as comprising three types: a Blackware that we now recognize as Dinétah Gray, a thin painted ware later named Gobernador Polychrome (Kidder and Shepard 1936), and a thick bichrome and polychrome pottery that was "not distinguishable...from the 'modern painted' ware of the Pecos and Tano countries in central New Mexico" (Kidder 1920:325) (Figure 1). From this evidence, Kidder concluded that the structures were built during the historical period, and he suggested two possible explanations for their origin.

[F]irst, that their inhabitants were indigenous, and that iron tools, livestock, and other items were transmitted to them by tribes further south who were in actual contact with the Spanish; second, that their builders were members of one of the Pueblo tribes, who for some reason came north, lived in the Gobernador region for

a time, and then either returned to their former houses, or were destroyed (Kidder 1920:327).

Kidder considered the first theory improbable because, "in the exhaustive lists of towns given by the early Spanish chroniclers, there is no mention of any such northern settlement" (1920:327). In support of the second theory, he referenced Bandelier's discussion of the Pueblo rebellions.

...in 1696 occurred the last important insurrection. A battle was fought in which the Jemez were completely routed, their Pueblo allies from Acoma and Zuñi deserting them, and they fled north to the Navajo country. In the following summer no trace of them could be found in the Jemez valley. They remained away for some time, apparently about ten years, but eventually returned to their deserted towns (in Kidder 1920:328).

Kidder could find no other account of any Pueblo people having moved so far to the north during or after the Revolt. Consequently, because Gobernador Canyon was in Navajo country and offered an ideal refuge, it seemed reasonable to attribute construction of the pueblitos to the Jemez refugees. He added that the hogan-like structures surely pointed to contact with the Navajos, and this also seemed appropriate to the case of the fleeing Jemez (Kidder 1920:328). ~~Even so, Kidder clearly viewed this conclusion as conjecture — a hypothesis to be tested~~ through comparison of the pottery from the Gobernador sites with that from the villages abandoned by the Jemez at the time of the Revolt.

~~This conjecture~~ profoundly influenced subsequent archeological research. In an early paper on Navajo origins, Amsden indicates "the [Navajo] tribe grew as well during these troubled times. Many pueblos sent their non-combatants into the Navajo

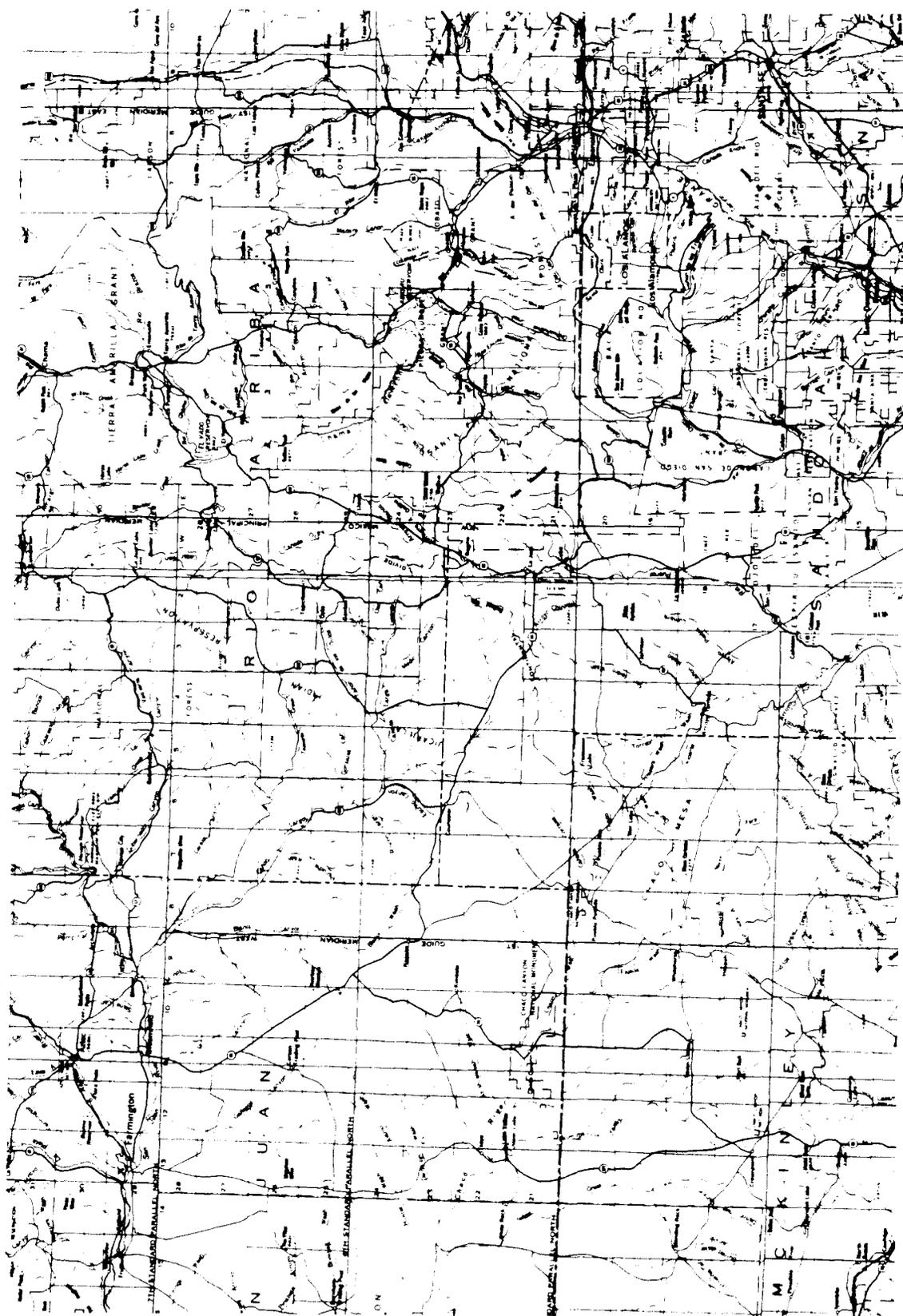


Figure 1. Area of Navajo, Pueblo, and Spanish interaction in Northwestern New Mexico.

country for refuge when capture by the dethroned conquerors seemed the only alternative, and numbers of these refugees were merged into the tribe" (1932:202). In support of this statement, he included the following footnote: "Kidder describes ruins in Gobernador Cañon in northwestern New Mexico, which show a jumble of Navajo and Pueblo house structures, and pottery characteristic of both peoples; concluding that they date from this period when Pueblo and Navajo lived for a brief time together."

In a preliminary report of the Laboratory of Anthropology's Largo-Navajo Project, published the same year, Mera indicated that village sites found during a survey of the Largo area "demonstrate a cultural complex that includes both Pueblo and Navajo pottery and domiciliary types" (Mera 1938:237-242). Mera obtained tree-ring dates in the early 1700s from some of these sites, and he noted that various kinds of Pueblo pottery, dating from the sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries, were found in abundance. In summarizing this research, Mera concluded:

During the first half of the 18th century groups of Pueblo people representative of all the villages of that time are known to have left their homes to found others to the north in Navajo territory. Here, evidence shows they became so closely associated with the Navajos that, although the use of Pueblo styles in decorated pottery was continued, the indigenous Woodland-like type practically superseded their own utility wares. During this association a new and distinct type of polychrome pottery, decorated with Puebloan designs on an orange-colored ground, first appears (Mera 1938:237).

Reiter's (1938) excavations at the Jemez pueblo of Unshagi would have provided an opportunity for the ceramic comparisons suggested by Kidder as a test of his hypothesis. Reiter did review the traditional and historical evidence that Jemez refugees fled to Navajo country during the Reconquest but, in considering the archeological data supporting those reports, he notes only that "Jemez shards have been found in several of the Gobernador and Largo

sites to the north, confirming Dr. Kidder's suggestions" (Reiter 1938:38).

~~In two decades, Kidder's suggestion that the Gobernador sites might have been built by Jemez refugees became an assumption that the sites were built by refugees from several of the Rio Grande pueblos. The archeological evidence supporting that assumption was the masonry architecture of the pueblitos, the presence of Jemez and other types of decorated Pueblo pottery, and a few tree-ring dates, which indicated that the pueblitos were built in the early eighteenth century. The presence of hogans and the predominance of indigenous Woodland-like utility wares at these sites were interpreted, not as contradictory evidence, but as an indication of contact between the Navajo and Pueblo refugees.~~ With the question of who built the Gobernador sites resolved, the emphasis of research shifted to a new problem. "Did the Navajo, as a result of this contact, acquire certain cultural traits derived from Pueblo sources, and with these an infusion of alien blood?" (Mera 1938:237).

Farmer seems to have been the only archeologist to question Kidder's interpretation of the pueblito sites during this period.

The association of towers and other Pueblo-like structures and hogan-like dwellings was observed in the Largo, Gobernador, and other canyons in the region by Kidder and others. Kidder suggests that the stone structures may have been built by Pueblo people from the Rio Grande valley who took refuge in the diné'tah after the Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish in 1680 and that the hogan-like structures were made by the Navahos...There is evidence, however, that the Navaho themselves took over the tower building complex. In a letter of Ugarte y Loyola written in 1788, he tells of the Navaho building "...ten rock towers within their encampment..." The origin of the tower complex is far from clear. Towers had wide use in earlier times in south-eastern Utah and southwestern Colorado and in parts of northwestern New Mexico...Also patent to the question are the Spanish traits in the towers of the 1700's (Farmer 1942:69-70).

Farmer made two important points in this passage: (1) that the pueblito architecture might have been inspired by some source other than Pueblo refugees, and (2) that the Navajos themselves were known to have occupied the pueblitos. Yet, despite these observations and an explicit warning of "the danger of a reconstruction of native history based too extensively on ethnological and linguistic evidence" (Farmer 1942:79), his arguments did little to alter the assumption that the pueblitos were refugee pueblos.

Keur's excavations at Big Bead Mesa (1941) and her survey and excavations in the Gobernador area (1944) fixed perceptions of the Gobernador Phase as a period of intensive interaction between the Navajo and Pueblo refugees.

The sites [of the Gobernador region] consist of groups of hogans with associated structures, such as sweat houses and storage pits, all Navaho in character, and mixed groups of pueblitos (small pueblo-like structures) or tower-pueblitos with hogans clustered nearby...In the character of the rooms, wall and roof construction, windows, fireplaces, and architectural details, the [pueblito] structures are typically puebloid...One of the most interesting sites exemplifying architecturally the very close relationship between the Navaho and Puebloan at this period is situated on a mesa top in San Rafael Canyon. It consists of a rather large and elaborate pueblo, from which extends a high compound wall enclosing a large area...Within this enclosed compound are eight typical forked-stick hogans (Keur 1944:75-79).

The pottery from the sites investigated by Keur consisted of 78.62% Navajo utility sherds, 14.4% Gobernador Polychrome sherds, and 4.69% Puebloid sherds. Except for the glazewares, which occurred sparsely only at the pueblitos, all types of sherds were recovered both from the pueblito complexes and from hogan groups not associated with the pueblitos. Nevertheless, Keur felt that the variety and distribution of these materials supported her interpretation of the architectural evidence.

The ceramic situation reveals an interesting combination of typical Navaho conical-bottomed, unpainted cooking pots; typical Puebloid wares of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries...and the ware known as Gobernador polychrome, presumably Navaho-made but Pueblo inspired...Judging from the large quantity of potsherds, the variety of wares, and their generally excellent quality, this was a period of ceramic florescence for the Navahos, who were possibly inspired, no doubt, by their skilled and versatile Pueblo neighbors (Keur 1944:85).

From her discussion, it is clear that Keur viewed the pueblo-style masonry architecture as convincing proof that the pueblitos were built by Pueblo refugees, and the differential distribution of glazeware sherds strengthened this conviction. Thus the predominance of Navajo pottery at the pueblitos, the hogans associated with those sites, and the occurrence of Puebloan painted wares at hogan sites were necessarily perceived as evidence of the close interaction of Navajo and Pueblo refugees. The underlying basis for her interpretations, however, was not archeological evidence but historical references to Pueblo refugees.

The sites in the Gobernador area differ from all other eighteenth century Navajo sites investigated to date in the close association of hogans with pueblitos. Both house types clearly maintain their identity and the situation suggests either initial contact or temporary union. The location and character of many sites is defensive. Since many rebellious Puebloans fled north to escape Spanish reprisals at the end of the seventeenth century, as recorded in the early chronicles, this is, in all likelihood, a refuge area, a place where the uprooted Puebloans joined the erstwhile hostile Navahos to hide out against a common foe (Keur 1944:85-86).

The Gobernador Phase was formally defined during the Navajo Reservoir project "on the basis of

materials excavated by Keur (1944) and Farmer (1942) together with that observed and excavated from the Navajo Reservoir District" (Dittert 1958:246). The major material traits listed for the phase included forked-stick, cribbed-log, and masonry hogans; pueblitos, fortified sites, ramadas and sweatlodges; a ceramic assemblage with Dineta Utility, Gobernador Indented, Gobernador and Frances Polychrome, and Pueblo tradewares; rock art with Puebloan motifs and recognizable yei and Twin War God figures (Schaafsma 1963); corn and beans; horses and sheep; and a small number of European trade goods (Dittert 1958; Dittert et al. 1961; Eddy 1966; Hester 1962).

Dates for the phase were based on three sources – intrusive Puebloan pottery, tree-ring dates from early Navajo sites in Gobernador Canyon, and early Spanish documents (Dittert 1958:244; Eddy 1966:511). The dates for intrusive pottery at sites in the Navajo Reservoir area ranged from AD 1300 to 1800, but there was a cluster between AD 1650 and 1775 that seemed to encompass the Gobernador Phase occupation (Dittert 1958:244). Similarly, the tree-ring dates reported for sites in the Gobernador area ranged from AD 1714 to 1762+, but most were earlier than AD 1750 (Eddy 1966:460). Thus both lines of evidence suggested that the Gobernador Phase dated primarily to the eighteenth century.

The beginning date for the Gobernador Phase was set at AD 1700, corresponding roughly to the 1696 Pueblo rebellion. The end date was set at AD 1775. Historical records suggested that Ute and Comanche raids forced the Navajo out of the upper San Juan drainage by the late 1700s (Hester 1962; Schroeder 1963; Vivian 1960), and the ceramic and tree-ring dates for early Navajo sites in the Dineta were consistent with that documentary evidence.

Following earlier researchers, pueblitos in the Navajo Reservoir District were interpreted as refugee pueblos. Only seven small pueblitos were found in the project area, though, each consisting of only one to four masonry rooms. Also, some architectural features typically associated with sites in the Gobernador and Largo drainages – masonry and cribbed-log hogans, tower pueblitos, defensive walls, and Spanish-style fireplaces – did not occur in the Navajo Reservoir District. There was not much evidence of European trade goods or domestic animals. Given these differences, the researchers con-

cluded that Gobernador Phase sites in the Navajo Reservoir District were slightly earlier than those in the Gobernador and Largo districts, and that the Navajo Reservoir District may have been at the extreme northern edge of the area inhabited by refugees following the Pueblo Revolt (Dittert et al. 1961; Hester and Shiner 1963).

Despite the low ratio of masonry structures to forked-stick hogans, Dittert (1958:246) argued that the Gobernador sites in the Navajo Reservoir District were occupied by a mixed population of Navajos and Pueblo refugees, predominantly Jemez. He believed that these people lived side by side in an acculturative situation, and that Gobernador Phase culture was a blend resulting from this interchange. The primary archeological evidence supporting this interpretation centered on the ceramic assemblage.

In the Navajo Reservoir District, Jemez Black-on-white and Rio Grande Glazes E and F were the most common tradewares. Lesser amounts of Koytyiti Glaze Polychrome, Tewa Polychrome, and Puname Polychrome also suggested trade with the Rio Grande Pueblos, while sherds of Hawikuh Glaze Polychrome and Jeddito Yellow reflect contact with the Acoma-Zuni and Hopi areas, respectively (Eddy 1966:404-407). Although indigenous wares were predominant, Dittert speculated that Gobernador Indented was a local adaption of Jemez culinary wares and that Gobernador Polychrome might have been developed by Pueblo refugees, with Gobernador-Navajo (Frances) Polychrome marking the first Navajo attempts at making painted vessels (1958:245-246).

Hester (1962:89) shared this perception of the Gobernador Phase as a period when Navajo culture was profoundly altered by Puebloan influence.

Following defeat at the hands of the Spanish in 1692 and again in 1696, their numerous Pueblo Indians fled north and lived with the Navajos. This was a period of intensive acculturation, with the Navajos adopting the Puebloan style of architecture, pottery making, weaving, additional ceremonial elements, origin myth, clans, matrilineal descent, and matrilocal residence. Much intermarriage occurred, with numerous Pueblo Indians never returning to their original homes.

Hester relied heavily on documentary evidence to support this interpretation. Specifically, he cites Forbes (1960) in arguing that numerous Pueblo groups – including residents of San Cristobal, Pecos, Santa Clara, Jemez, and Cochiti – sought refuge with the Navajo during the 1696 rebellion. He also references Hodge et al. (1945) as evidence that these refugees were still residing with the Navajos in 1705 and Navajo tradition, which indicated that some Navajo clans originated with Pueblo ancestry.

Carlson (1965) further expanded this theme in his report describing Morris's 1915 excavations at pueblito sites in the Gobernador District. Carlson notes the problem encountered in fully accepting Kidder's suggestion that the pueblitos were refugee pueblos is that the tree-ring dates and ceramic associations indicate that the large masonry sites were not built until some 20 years after the 1696 rebellion. Instead, the tree-ring dates from the earliest large pueblitos agree with documentary evidence for the Ute and Comanche advance of 1716 to 1720. He further recognized that the construction of these large pueblitos marked a shift in Gobernador Phase settlement patterns.

The earlier pattern is one of hogan clusters dispersed over a wide area sometimes associated with small masonry pueblitos in defensive locations. This picture is presented by the data from the survey in the Navajo Reservoir District...and this pattern can also be seen in the Gobernador District. The later pattern...is one of large masonry citadels up to 40 rooms in size at which, one suspects, the inhabitants of hogan clusters in the vicinity gathered during times of stress (Carlson 1965:101).

Because Navajo-Spanish relationships were relatively peaceful during the middle eighteenth century, Carlson concluded that the pueblitos were built for defense against Ute and Comanche raiders, and not the Spanish. This evidence effectively demonstrated the fallacy of interpreting the pueblitos as refugee pueblos, but he continued to view the Gobernador Phase as a period of intensive Navajo-Pueblo interaction. "This information does not invalidate Kidder's interpretation since the culture shown in the sites is obviously a mixture of Pueblo

and Navajo traits, but simply indicates that we must look elsewhere for a slightly earlier occupation by a mixed Pueblo and Navajo group. Such an occupation has been found in the Navajo Reservoir District" (Carlson 1965:98).

Following Dittert and Hester, Carlson argued that early Gobernador sites in the Navajo Reservoir District were occupied by a mixed population, which formed as the result of the Pueblo rebellion of 1696. To support this argument, he cites Forbes (1960) as indicating that Jemez groups, Tewa from Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, and Keres from Cochiti joined the Navajos during the 1696 rebellion.

The strictly archaeological evidence that the migrants to the Navajo came from the Rio Grande rather than from other puebloan areas rests primarily on the pottery. The shape of the vessels as well as the decorative style of Gobernador Polychrome are indicative of Rio Grande prototypes. The designs are similar to those on Jemez Black-on-white for the most part, and in a few instances are identical. I suspect that there are strong resemblances to early Tewa Polychrome (Mera 1939:11), also, but there is no adequate collection of the latter type with which to make comparisons. The color pattern of Gobernador Polychrome, black and red on yellow or buff, was widespread throughout the Puebloan area by 1700, although either late Rio Grande Glaze V (Kidder and Shepard 1936:250-253) or early Tewa Polychrome could be the specific source of the color pattern as well as of the vessel shapes (Carlson 1965:100).

Carlson (1965:104) further noted that references to the return of refugees from the Navajo area seemed lacking in both the historical documents and native tradition. Rather, the traditional evidence indicated that the "Hemis became Navajo in Long Canyon" (Reiter 1938) and that the Navajo Black Sheep and Coyote Pass clans originated from Puebloan progeny. Thus, it seemed likely to him that the eighteenth century occupation of the Gobernador District represented a southward shift of the mixed Navajo-Jemez-Tewa-Cochiti population that

occupied sites in the Navajo Reservoir District. By 1750-1775, when continued Ute and Comanche depredation forced the Navajo to abandon the Gobernador District, Carlson believed that any descendants of Pueblo refugees living with the Navajo were probably culturally and socially Navajo and moved with them when the area was abandoned (Carlson 1965:104).

From this discussion, it is clear that Hester's and Carlson's interpretations represented a significant departure from earlier views of Navajo culture change during the Gobernador Phase. First it was recognized that the tree-ring and ceramic dates for the pueblitos were generally too late to warrant interpretation of those sites as refugee pueblos. Instead the data suggested the pueblitos were built for defense against Ute and Comanche raids. Second, although masonry architecture continued to be accepted as evidence of Puebloan influence, the occurrence of intrusive Pueblo pottery and the attributes of Gobernador Polychrome emerged as the primary archeological data used to support arguments for an influx of Pueblo refugees.

The most profound change, though, was in the inferred nature of Navajo-Pueblo acculturation. Hester and Carlson continued to interpret the Gobernador Phase as a period during which the Navajo adopted numerous aspects of Pueblo culture as a result of a massive influx of Pueblo refugees following the 1696 rebellion. While earlier scholars had viewed Navajo contact with Pueblo refugees as a brief period of intensive interaction, however, Hester and Carlson asserted that a large number of Pueblo refugees had remained with the Navajos. Consequently, Gobernador Phase culture was seen as an amalgamation of Navajo and Pueblo populations as well as of Navajo and Pueblo culture.

Just as Kidder's article profoundly influenced archeological research during the 1930s and 1940s, **Hester (1962) and Carlson (1965) have become** the standard references guiding Navajo archeology since the mid-1960s. Thus their interpretation of Navajo acculturation during the Gobernador Phase has become the dominant view (Bailey and Bailey 1986; Brugge 1981, 1983; Kelley 1982; Van Valkenburgh 1974). As succinctly phrased by Bailey and Bailey (1986:15): "[a]lthough scholars have tended to view the Navajos as Athabaskans whose culture had absorbed Puebloan cultural traits, we prefer to

see them as biological and cultural hybrids, neither Athabaskan nor Puebloan, but a product of both."

Subsequent archeological research has provided little data to warrant any significant revision of this hypothesis. Publication of the tree-ring dates collected from early Navajo sites in the Gobernador and Largo drainages during the Navajo Land Claim project (Stokes and Smiley 1963, 1969) provided additional support for Carlson's dating of the pueblito sites, as did Powers and Johnson's (1987) reassessment of that data. Indeed the 1690-1694 dates obtained from Tapacito Ruin (Wilson and Warren 1974) raise again the issue of whether the appearance of masonry architecture in the Dinetah coincided with the arrival of Pueblo refugees.

~~The point of this section, however, is that the archeological evidence for a large influx of Pueblo refugees never has been conclusive. Southwestern archeologists have rarely accepted the presence of small percentages of intrusive pottery as evidence that the people who actually resided that pottery actually resided with the local group.~~ Minor amounts of intrusive ceramics almost always are interpreted as evidence of exchange relations. Nor is it likely that the appearance of Gobernador Polychrome is linked to the influx of Pueblo refugees. The pottery itself exhibits an amalgam of Tewa, Jemez, Hopi, and Navajo attributes (Carlson 1965; Ditter et al. 1961; Eddy 1966; Marshall 1985) that is most parsimoniously explained as a Navajo impression of Pueblo pottery. Moreover, the dates from Tapacito Ruin suggest that it was fully developed by AD 1690-1694, before the major exodus of Pueblo refugees from the Rio Grande.

Similarly, the masonry architecture of the pueblitos is a mixture of Spanish, Pueblo, and Navajo traits (Carlson 1965), with Spanish influence most obvious in the earliest pueblito form (Powers and Johnson 1987; Wilson and Warren 1974). Moreover, as Farmer (1942) observed, there are numerous examples of prehistoric Puebloan architecture in Navajo territory that could have served as models for the pueblitos. The Navajo also had ample opportunity to observe contemporary Pueblo and Spanish defensive architecture as visitors and traders, and from the uniquely instructive perspective of an attacking force. There is no reason why the Navajo could not have duplicated these models without assistance from Pueblo refugees.

Navajo-Pueblo Interaction

Although archeologists have chosen to **interpret** this evidence as indicating that a large number of Pueblo refugees were living among the Navajos after the Reconquest, it is equally consistent with an alternative hypothesis: that the Navajo incorporated a number of Puebloan and Spanish traits into their culture as a result of more than a century of alternately peaceful and hostile contact with Pueblo and Spanish groups in the Rio Grande area. It seems clear that the evidence which led researchers to

favor the refugee hypothesis is not archeological but historical—the documentary evidence indicating that Pueblo refugees fled to Navajo country during the 1696 rebellion. Similarly, assertions that the Gobernador population was a mixture of Navajos and Pueblos are based on historical references and native traditions suggesting that many Pueblo refugees remained with the Navajo after the Reconquest.

Chapter 2

The Historical Evidence

The major sources of historical information concerning the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico are Vargas's journal and various letters and documents relating to the campaign. These are summarized briefly by Forbes (1960) and in more detail by Espinosa (1942). The Pueblos moved to defensive positions following the 1680 revolt but, except for those who retreated to El Paso with the Spanish, there was probably little displacement of the native population. The various aborted attempts at reconquest decimated the pueblos on the lower Rio Grande and in the Tiguex province and forced the abandonment of Isleta and the Southern Tiwa pueblos of Sandia, Alameda, and Puaray. The reconquest attempts had little effect on the upper Rio Grande pueblos, however. Nor did the events surrounding Vargas's 1692 expedition, the initial resettlement of New Mexico in 1693, or the 1694 rebellion cause those Pueblo groups to abandon the Rio Grande area. **References to Pueblo refugees joining the Navajos relate primarily to the 1696 rebellion.**

Most of the information on Pueblo refugees comes from the testimony of prisoners captured during the rebellion. Not surprisingly, the evidence is sometimes contradictory, but collectively it provides a fairly detailed picture of the movements of the rebellious pueblos. This information is summarized in terms of the major language groups.

Tanos

The testimony of Diego Xenome, cacique of Nambe, on 12 July indicates that the Tanos (Southern Tewa) of San Cristobal joined Tewa groups on a butte near Chimayo (Espinosa 1942:250-252). Citing this same source, Forbes (1960:266) reports that "it was said that the Tanos of San Cristobal had already gone to the Navahos and thence to Zuñis." That a small group of Tanos had moved to Zuni is confirmed by the testimony of other prisoners. An Acoma captured near Jemez reported that the Tanos were considered enemies of the Acoma, ex-

cept for those who had fled to Zuni (Espinosa 1942:259); two Zunis questioned by Vargas at Zia said there were 20 Tanos at Zuni (Espinosa 1942:273); and a Keres prisoner captured at Laguna on 14 August reported about 40 Tanos and Tewas had gone to Zuni (Espinosa 1942:275). Most of the Tanos, though, remained in the region.

Vargas attacked and dispersed the Tanos and Tewas at Chimayo on 2 July. On 15 July, the alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz, Roque Madrid, reported that most of the Tanos had left Taos. He amended this report in a later letter to Vargas, which indicated that a large number of Indians were moving from the mountains where the Tanos had their rancherías toward the sierra of Santa Clara (Espinosa 1942:264-265).

On 22 July, Captain Antonio Valverde located a group of Tewas and Tanos in the mountains beyond Nambe. According to a Cuyamungue captive taken in the subsequent skirmish, Tanos from San Cristobal and San Lazaro engaged the Spanish while the Tewa retreated. The Tanos then dispersed, some going to join the Navajo, others to Taos (Espinosa 1942:266). On 27 August, however, Miguel Saxette, the native governor of San Juan, told Vargas that a few Tanos from San Cristobal were hiding in the mountains (Espinosa 1942:278) but most had gone to Hopi (Forbes 1960:270). Vargas did find some Tano families at Taos in late September (Espinosa 1942:284; Forbes 1960:270-271), a few of whom later tried to escape to the Plains with the Picuris.

Early in 1697, Vargas resettled the pueblo of Santa Cruz de Galisteo with remnants of the Tano from San Cristobal and San Lazaro (Espinosa 1942:303), presumably the families from Taos and those that had remained in the mountains. This pueblo was abandoned in 1793 and the handful of survivors went to Santo Domingo (Simmons 1979:187). As reported by Miguel Saxette, the main group of Tanos—evidently the ones that were initially said to have gone to the Navajos fled to Hopi.

Tewas

Diego Xenome's testimony and records of the council of war at Santa Cruz (Espinosa 1942:258) indicate that the Tewa from Nambe, Cuyamungue, Pojoaque, and Jacona were on a steep cerro near Chimayo at the beginning of the 1696 rebellion. The Tewa from San Juan were at El Embudo and at the "caja" of the river five to six leagues from Santa Cruz; those from Santa Clara were in the mountains facing their pueblo; and those from San Ildefonso were scattered through the mountains facing their pueblo, on the opposite side of the river.

In mid-June, Governor Domingo of Tesuque arrived in Santa Fe and informed Vargas that warriors from Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, under the command of Naranjo, were planning to attack Tesuque to punish Domingo for remaining loyal to the Spanish. On 17 June, Vargas moved his army to Tesuque, causing the rebel force to retreat (Espinosa 1942:255-256) and, on 2 July, he attacked and dispersed the rebels gathered in Chimayo.

By mid-July, Roque Madrid reported to Vargas that the scattered inhabitants of San Juan were in four rancherías at El Embudo de Cochiti, and their governor had gone to visit the Navajo in an effort to obtain corn. As mentioned, Captain Valverde attacked a group of Tewas and Tanos in the mountains beyond Nambe on 22 July. According to the Cuyamungue captive taken in that battle, these Tewa were the inhabitants of Nambe, Pojoaque, Cuyamungue, and Jacona. After their retreat to the mountain tops, the prisoner said some of the Nambe elected to remain in the mountains and others, along with the Cuyamungue, went to Taos. The Pojoaque and Jacona were said to be on their way to join the Navajo. The next day, Vargas attacked Naranjo's group at El Embudo. Naranjo was killed and the rebels dispersed (Espinosa 1942:267-268).

During August, Vargas launched a campaign against Acoma, and details concerning the whereabouts of the Tewa are sketchy. A Jemez Indian captured by Miguel de Lara indicated the Tewa were now living in front of Los Pedernales on the Chama River (Espinosa 1942:274). The Zunis questioned by Vargas at Zia said there were two Tewa families at Zuni but they were moving to Hopi. On 14 August, a Keres from Cochiti captured at Laguna said there were no Tewa at Acoma, but a second Keres from San Marcos indicated there were. Both

prisoners agreed a few Tewa were at Zuni (Forbes 1960:268-269). Finally, on 27 August, Miguel Saxette told Vargas six families from San Juan remained in the mountains, while the rest had gone to Taos. He further reported a few Tewas from Pojoaque remained in the mountains, and the Santa Clara had left to join the Hopis and Navajos.

Vargas found a number of Tewas at Taos during his late September campaign, presumably those from Cuyamungue, San Juan, and a few Nambe. Some of this group later fled to the Plains with the Picuris (Espinosa 1942:287). Beginning in mid-October, small groups of Tewas gradually emerged from the mountains and returned to their pueblos.

On 11 November, Roque Madrid reported to Vargas that 17 men and 36 women had returned to San Ildefonso, but the rest were reported to be with the Hopis and Navajos. There were 12 men and 19 women and children at Jacona, and those still in the mountains were returning. Nambe also was being resettled (Espinosa 1942:296; Forbes 1960:272). In a letter to the viceroy dated 24 November, Vargas asserted that the Tewa pueblos had been reduced and only the inhabitants of Santa Clara, Pojoaque, and Cuyamungue remained free. On 28 November, he reported that the Santa Clara had fled to many places—some to Hopi and Zuni, some to Acoma, "others to the next nations [from their pueblo] and surrounding neighbors of the Apaches of Navajo, Embudo, and Sierra de los Pedernales" (Forbes 1960:272).

From these accounts, it appears the Tewas of San Juan, Nambe, and Jacona remained in the region during the rebellion and gradually returned to their villages during the winter of 1696-1697. The inhabitants of Cuyamungue can be traced to Taos and, since Vargas reported that this pueblo was not reduced, it is likely that they were among the Tewas who fled with the Picuris. Some of the Tewas of Pojoaque and San Ildefonso apparently sought refuge in the mountains, and a few of the latter returned to their pueblo in November 1696. Most of the inhabitants of San Ildefonso are reported to have joined the Hopis and the Navajos, however, and there is one report that the Pojoaque fled to the Navajo. Finally, Miguel Saxette reported that the Santa Clara left to join the Hopis and the Navajos, while Vargas indicated they had sought refuge at Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and among the Apaches of Navajo, Embudo, and Sierra de los Pedernales.

In other contexts, "Embudo" is used in referring to the Embudo Creek area near Picuris. Thus "Apaches of Embudo" is probably a synonym for the Olleros, bands of Jicarilla Apaches who were living in the mountains north of Abiquiu (Tiller 1983). The reference to the Sierra de los Pedernales is also interesting because of the testimony of Lara's Jemez prisoner, who reported that the Tewas were living in front of Los Pedernales. Wozniak (1986) argues cogently that the Navajos considered the Piedra Lumbre area to be part of their territory but that they did not live there. Thus there is a possibility that some of the references to the Tewas fleeing to the land of the Navajo actually refer to the retreat of the rebels to Los Pedernales, a location within Navajo territory but some distance from Navajo population centers.

Keresans

The Keresan pueblos of Zia, Santa Ana, and San Felipe remained loyal to the Spanish during the 1696 revolt but Acoma, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and La Cienguilla joined the rebellion. In 1694 Vargas destroyed the pueblo on Horn Mesa used by the Cochiti as a refuge, so when the 1696 revolt began, the Keres from Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and probably La Cieneguilla moved into the mountains facing that ruined pueblo. Vargas and his forces made three forays into these canyons between 11 and 13 July, seizing livestock and caches of maize, but the rebels retreated after his first attack (Espinosa 1942:261-262). The Jemez questioned by Lara in early August said that all of the Keres from Cochiti had gone to Acoma. This information was partly corroborated by the prisoners captured at Laguna on 14 August, who reported that there were 80 Cochiti and 25 Santo Domingo at Acoma. The prisoners further indicated that others from Cochiti were at Embudo de Cochiti. Vargas's campaign against Acoma was unsuccessful and it remained a Keres stronghold throughout the rebellion (Espinosa 1942:274-277).

Forbes (1960:270), citing the 27 August testimony of Miguel Saxette, asserts that about half of the Keres from Cochiti went to the Hopis or Navajos. Espinosa's description of this same testimony indicates a large number of Cochiti were among those "hiding in the mountains, from where they were attempting to gather a few ears of maize and beans

in their abandoned fields" (1942:279). The latter is probably a more accurate interpretation of the records, since reports sent to Vargas from Bernalillo in November indicate that "the dispersed Indians from Cochiti were about to submit, and Acoma also desired peace" (Espinosa 1942:296).

In summary, the records suggest that the vast majority of Keres from the rebellious pueblos either retreated to Acoma or remained in the mountains. During the winter of 1697-1698, most of the refugees at Acoma established themselves at three new pueblos north of Cubero Creek near Laguna (Espinosa 1942:341-342). The other Keres groups gradually returned to Cochiti and Santo Domingo.

Towas

The Towa speakers in the Jemez region occupied two pueblos in 1696—San Diego del Monte y Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, which was located on a low mesa extending from the base of the peñol between Guadalupe and San Diego canyons, and San Juan de los Jemez at Walatowa, the site of present-day Jemez Pueblo (Bloom and Mitchell 1938; Hodge et al. 1945:278). At the beginning of the rebellion, the inhabitants of San Diego del Monte abandoned their pueblo on the first mesa and moved to Mashtiasinkwa (Astialakwa), a pueblo on the adjacent peñol. Here they drove off an attack by Spanish forces under Don Fernando de Chavez, losing 32 warriors (Bloom and Mitchell 1938:107).

In letters to Vargas on 1 July, Chavez and Miguel de Lara reported that Lara, along with soldiers recently sent to Zia, had been following the trail of a rebel group leading toward Acoma along the Sierra de Jemez when they were fired upon from a nearby mesa. In a running fight, the Spanish eventually defeated this rebel group which, according to an Acoma prisoner taken in the battle, consisted of "many Apaches de Nabajo and 45 Indians of the peñol of Acoma of his nation and those of the Cochiti and Xemes" (Forbes 1960:267).

This defeat proved decisive, and active resistance by the Jemez ceased. Mashtiasinkwa was abandoned and the Jemez there scattered "some [moving] through the Valle region, and beyond to Cochiti and even to Taos; others northwest to the 'Apaches de Navajo,' to Hopi, to Acoma. Some fled at first only 'to the pueblo of the mesa of San Juan' which lay three leagues north of the peñol. To this retreat

fled also some of the Jemez who at this time completely abandoned the San Juan mission" (Bloom and Mitchell 1938:107).

Bloom and Mitchell (1938:100) identify "the pueblo on the mesa of San Juan" as Amoxiumqua, a ruin located eight miles north of San Diego del monte, west of the head of Virgin Canyon (cf. Rieter 1938:82-83). Reiter suggests this pueblo was one of the most important Jemez communities at the beginning of Spanish influence in the region, and it is mentioned as a *visita* in the early 1620s (Bloom and Mitchell 1938:92). By about 1628, though, Benavides congregated the Jemez at two pueblos: "San Joseph [Guiusewa], which is still standing...[and] San Diego, of the Congregation, which for this purpose, we founded anew, bringing thither what Indians there were of that nation who were going about astray" (in Reiter 1938:34).

Following the Pueblo Revolt, Amoxiumqua was apparently reoccupied by Jemez from the deserted San Diego del Congregación (Walatowa) and Keres from Santo Domingo (Bloom and Mitchell 1938:100). These Jemez remained on the mesa of San Juan through the 1694 rebellion, but they returned to their old pueblo at San Diego—now renamed San Juan de los Jemez—before March 1696 (Bloom and Mitchell 1938:104). Evidently Amoxiumqua was the refuge pueblo for the Jemez congregated at Walatowa, so it is not surprising that they retreated there following Lara's victory.

On 3 or 4 August, Vargas sent Lara with a force of 12 soldiers, Indian allies, and six pack mules and muleteers to search for maize caches in the Jemez region (Espinosa 1942:274). The accounts of this foray are somewhat conflicting, but it is clear that both Mashtiashinkwa and Amoxiumqua were abandoned. Bloom and Mitchell report the Spaniards searched in vain throughout the mountains and canyons for pueblos and hidden caches of corn, but saw only one Jemez warrior who told them his people were going to Apache country to live as soon as the green corn was ready for harvesting (1938:107). Espinosa's account, based on an 8 August entry in Vargas's journal, indicates that Lara returned to Zia on 8 or 9 August with about 100 fanegas of maize found in some caves in the vicinity of the mesa of San Juan pueblo. Espinosa also indicates that Lara's force captured a Jemez prisoner on the mesa who said that all of the Jemez had gone to Acoma, except

for a small number from both San Juan and San Diego who were living in the mountains. The Keres captured at Laguna on 14 August indicated there were only five Jemez families at Acoma, however.

Researchers since Bandelier have accepted the accounts of this foray as evidence that the Jemez temporarily abandoned their homeland in the summer of 1696. It should be recognized, though, that Lara's mission was not to locate the rebellious Jemez but to secure provisions for the campaign against Acoma. Given this objective and the duration of the foray (5-7 days), it is likely the search was limited to the vicinity of San Juan, San Diego del Monte, and the two refuge pueblos known to the Spanish—Mashtiashinkwa and Amoxiumqua. Consequently, Lara's report does not necessarily indicate the entire Jemez territory had been vacated.

Vargas does not mention finding any Jemez at Taos in late September (Espinosa 1942:283-284). Neither is there any specific reference to Jemez groups joining the rebel Keres, although this seems likely given the coresidence of Jemez and Santo Domingo at Amoxiumqua following the Pueblo Revolt, the Jemez-Keres alliance at the start of the 1696 rebellion, and Bandelier's comments regarding the traditional relationship between Jemez and Cochiti (Lange et al. 1975:154-155). According to Espinosa (1942:279) Miguel Saxette's testimony indicated a large number of Jemez remained in the mountains, although Forbes (1960:270) cites this same document in asserting that about half of the Jemez had fled to the Hopis and Navajos. Finally, in letters to the viceroy dated 24 and 28 November, Vargas lists the two Jemez pueblos among those not reduced, stating that many of the Tanos, Jemez, and Tewas of Santa Clara were now living at Zuni, Acoma, and the Moqui pueblos, and others had joined the Navajo (Espinosa 1942:297).

Jemez oral history also provides some information on the refugees. Parsons's (1925:3) discussion of these legends—the source most commonly cited by archeologists (e.g., Carlson 1965; Reiter 1938)—is limited to a footnote commenting on reports that the Jemez fled to the Navajos after being defeated by Lara's force. "Of this there is still tradition. 'The Hemis became Navaho in Long Canyon (gy'a'wohmu, stone canyon).' See also Kidder, 1920, p. 328." Sando (1982:121), however, provides additional data.

[T]he Hemish fled with their families to their ancestral homeland in the northwest, Cañon Largo, or Gy'a-wahmu ("stone canyon"). Others went to Anyu-kwi-nu ("lion-standing place") to the west in Navajo country. Many also fled to the Hopi country... Many of the people who fled evidently lived among the Navajos for many years before they returned; others never returned, but became a part of the Dineh, with Hemish tradition.

The reference to Anyu-kwi-nu is particularly interesting in this context. Anyu-kwi-nu is one of the formerly-occupied Jemez pueblos listed by Bandelier and by Hodge et al. (1945:275). Bandelier (1890-1892ii:207) also describes a Jemez tradition that "the people of Amoxiumqua dwelt first at the lagune of San José, seventy-five miles to the northwest of Jemez, and that they removed thence to the pueblo of Añu-quil-i-jui, between the Salado and Jemez. In both of these places are said to be the ruins of former villages." Given the association between Amoxiumqua and Walatowa discussed previously, it would appear that the Jemez congregated at San Juan de los Jemez in 1696 probably included descendants of the original inhabitants of Amoxiumqua. Consequently, when the rebellious Jemez abandoned Amoxiumqua, it seems reasonable to assume that some segment of this group would opt to return to Anyu-kwi-nu, just as other Jemez apparently fled to their ancestral homeland in the north.

Bandelier reports that Anyu-kwi-nu is situated between the Rio Salado and Rio Jemez, north of Jemez, which is generally consistent with Sando's placement of the pueblo to the west of Jemez. This location best describes the Ojo del Espiritu Santo area, but it could also be applied to the Rio Cebolla or Rio de las Vacas drainage, an area that Sando indicates was occupied by the Jemez before they moved into their historical range (1982:10). In either case, any Jemez refugees at Anyu-kwi-nu were east of the Continental Divide some distance from late seventeenth-century Navajo population centers.

In recounting the Jemez origin myths, Sando indicates the Hemish emerged from the underworld "via a lake called Hoa-sjela, now known as Stone or Boulder Lake, on the Jicarilla Apache Reservation"

(1982:4), and after their emergence from the lake "the Hemish lived for untold centuries within sixty or seventy miles of Hoa-sjela" (1982:6). This tradition is consistent with Sando's reference to Largo Canyon as the ancestral homeland of the Jemez, and also suggests that the center of that ancestral homeland lay east of the Continental Divide. This leaves open the possibility that some of the Jemez groups that fled northward might have remained on the eastern fringes of Navajo territory.

The Jemez did not begin returning to their pueblos before 1703 (Sando 1979:422). By 12 January 1706, Fray Juan Alvarez indicates that "there are about 300 Christian Indians [at the mission of San Diego de Jemez]...and others keep coming down from the mountains where they are still in insurrection" (Hackett 1937:376). This report and similar statements by Escalante (Wozniak 1985) corroborate the testimony of Miguel Saxette and suggest the largest portion of the Jemez refugees remained in Sierra de Jemez during the rebellion.

Refugees at Hopi

From the historical evidence summarized above, it appears that most of the Tanos; most of the Tewas from Santa Clara; some Tewas from San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, and Jacona; and some Jemez fled from the upper Rio Grande during the 1696 revolt. There is good evidence a few Tanos went to Zuni, and a few who fled to Taos or hid in the mountains were later settled at Santa Cruz de Galisteo. The majority, though, were first reported to have joined the Navajos, then it was said that they had gone to Hopi. Hopi-Tewa tradition, which indicates that Hano was settled by Southern Tewa from the Galisteo Basin (Dozier 1966:17-19), supports the latter report, as do the Spanish historical records. In 1701, Governor Don Pedro Rodriguez Cubero led a punitive expedition to Hopi after learning of the destruction of Awatovi.

With his armed force he killed some Indians and captured others, but not being very well prepared to face the multitudes of the enemy, he withdrew and returned without being able to reduce them, especially as the Moqui had with them the Tauos [Tanos] Indians, who after com-

mitting outrages, sought or had taken refuge among them and had risen at their command (Hackett 1937:386; emphasis added).

Vargas was fairly specific in indicating the Tewa from Santa Clara sought refuge at Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and among the Apaches of Navajo, Embudo, and Sierra de los Pedernales. The disposition of the Tewa from San Ildefonso and Pojoaque is less certain. By early November 1696, a few families had returned to San Ildefonso, but the rest were said to be with the Hopi and Navajo. Similarly, Miguel Saxette reported a few families from Pojoaque were hiding in the mountains in late August, while a Cuyamungue captive testified that they went to join the Navajos.

Reports concerning the Jemez are also ambiguous. There is good evidence that a few Jemez families fled to Acoma, and some probably joined the Keres rebels at Embudo de Cochiti. There are also reports, consistent with Jemez oral tradition, that some refugees fled to Navajo. Others fled to Hopi. From the early eighteenth century records, though, it appears that most of the Jemez retreated deep into the mountains where they remained for several years after the rebellion.

Interestingly, most references to these refugees indicate they fled to the "Navajos and the Hopis", and not just to the Navajos. Given this phrasing, it seems prudent to look for Tewa and Jemez refugees at Hopi before accepting these reports as evidence for a massive influx of Pueblo refugees into the Dinétah. As summarized by Bandelier:

The Pueblo outbreak of 1693 affected the Moquis also. They had no occasion to participate in it directly, as the seat of war was too remote from their homes...but fugitives from the rebellious villages, chiefly Tehuas and Jémez, quartered themselves among them...The Tehua outbreak of 1696 made matters worse, in furnishing new accessions to the colony of Tehua refugees. They founded a pueblo of their own, between Auha-tuyba and the other Moqui towns, but in closer proximity to the latter (in Brew 1949:20).

The records of Vargas's 1692 expedition to Hopi mentions the Hopis who met him at Walpi were accompanied by some Utes and Apache Coninas (Espinosa 1942:220), but there is no indication that refugees from the Rio Grande pueblos were then at Hopi. Stanislawski (1979:600), following Fewkes and Mindeleff, suggests the Tano did not arrive at Hopi until late in 1700 or in 1701, since they are not mentioned in the accounts of the destruction of Awotovi. Other Tewa refugees apparently arrived earlier.

Hopi tradition includes frequent references to the Asa (Tansy Mustard) Phratry, who are recognized as a Tewa group distinct from the Tanos, and who are traditionally regarded as the founders of Sichomovi (Stanislaski 1979:600). According to these traditions (Schroeder 1985:108-109), the Asa left their village in the Chama area and migrated west via Santo Domingo, Laguna, and Zuni. When they arrived at First Mesa, the Asa are said to have settled at Coyote Water just under the gap on the east side. After the Asa repelled attacks by the Utes and later the Navajos, the Hopis allowed them to build on First Mesa near the present site of Hano but, after several drought seasons, they went to Topkabi (Canyon de Chelly) and lived among the Navajos. Sometime after the Tanos established their pueblo on First Mesa, the Asa quarreled with the Navajos and returned to First Mesa, joining the Tanos at Hano. Although Schroeder speculates the Asa migration might have occurred in the early seventeenth century, it more probably relates to the flight of Tewa refugees during the Reconquest.

Schroeder tentatively identifies the Firewood people mentioned in Hopi tradition as being from Jemez (1985:108), and Fewkes (1900:604) indicates that Katci, the surviving chief of the *Kokop* (burrowing owl) clans, told him "his people originally came from the pueblo of Jemez, or the Jemez country, and that before they lived at Sikyatki, they had a pueblo in Keams Canyon." Taken literally, the latter reference suggests an early Jemez migration but, given the Hopi practice of initially settling refugees at the base of First Mesa, it is possible that the Jemez arrived during the Reconquest and settled near the ruined pueblo of Sikyatki. In any event, we do know that a significant number of Jemez were living at Hopi after the 1696 revolt. On 30 April 1716, two warriors from Jemez and three Jemez Indians from Hopi appeared before Governor Phelix Martinez

seeking permission to take "twenty young men of the pueblo of San Juan de los Xemes...to bring out sixteen families of their nation [113 people] who are living in said province of Moqui, in the pueblo of Gualpi" (Bloom 1931:187). Whether this group comprised all of the Jemez refugees living at Hopi is unclear, but it is unlikely, given later reports.

The Pueblo refugees at Hopi also included the Southern Tiwas from Sandia, Alameda, and Puaray. Hopi tradition indicates these refugees fled to Hopi after the Pueblo Revolt, where they settled at Payupki on Second Mesa. The residents of this pueblo are said to have returned later to their homes on the Rio Grande after a quarrel with Mosongnovi (Schreoder 1985:109). Sandia was burned by Governor Antonio de Otermin, reoccupied, and then burned again in 1681 during Otermin's attempted reconquest. In 1692, Vargas found that all three pueblos were abandoned, as they had been during the attempts at reconquest made in 1688 and 1689. Thus Southern Tiwa exodus occurred sometime between 1682 and 1688 (Brandt 1979:345).

A map of New Mexico prepared by Visitor General Juan Miguel Menchero during his inspection tour in the 1740s (Simmons 1979:Figure 3) shows the "Mesas de los tiguas" situated northeast of the old pueblo of Shongopavi, which conforms to the location of Payupki. In 1742, Fathers Delgado and Pino brought 441 Indians back to the Rio Grande from Hopi. These Indians were settled at Jemez and Isleta but, on 24 November 1742, Fray Cristobal Yreata asked that they be granted their former pueblos, such as Parjarito (Puaray?), Alameta, and Zandia, "which were the ones they possessed when they revolted in the year 1680" (Hackett 1937:389-390).

According to Father Juan Sanz de Lezaun's account, Fathers Delgado and Pino brought another large group of Indians from Hopi in 1745.

They having entered in the midst of the said civil strife among the Moquis [daily wars which they have with each other], many of these people came down to take refuge with the fathers, all willing to follow them, but the latter were prepared to take away only five hundred persons, great and small. Because the said governor [Don Gaspar de Mendoza] had not assisted them with the necessary food, men, and

animals, they could not bring out more than two thousand souls...The governor put most of these people in Xemes and others in La Isleta (Hackett 1937:472).

In 1747, Fray Miguel Menchero was sent to Hopi with an order from the viceroy to resettle the pueblo of Sandia. The pueblo was subsequently reoccupied by about 50 families, which Fray Menchero "took away from the apostates of Moqui, for they were fugitives and were excessively vexed in Moqui by those barbarous chieftains" (letter to the Franciscan Procurador General cited in Brew 1949:34; emphasis added).

Brew (1949) argues forcibly that most of the converts brought to the Rio Grande during this period were refugees and not Hopis, a contention generally supported by the documentary evidence presented in this document. Consequently, it appears that several thousand refugees from the Rio Grande pueblos sought refuge at Hopi. The Southern Tiwas apparently migrated to Hopi before the Reconquest, and some Tewa and Jemez refugees seem to have left the Rio Grande in 1693 or 1694. The major population influx at Hopi, though, apparently occurred after the 1696 rebellion.

Estimating the Size of the Refugee Population

At the time of the Pueblo Revolt, the population of the New Mexico pueblos is estimated at 16,000 to 17,000 (Simmons 1979:186; Wilson 1985:113), but it probably declined sharply over the next two decades. Although Otermin's attempts at reconquest were essentially bloodless, eight Tigua and Piro pueblos were burned and three others were sacked (Hackett 1942:ccx). This undoubtedly resulted in a number of indirect casualties among the affected pueblos. Otermin also brought 325 captives from Isleta back to El Paso, where they were permanently settled at Yselta del Sur. In 1689, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate destroyed Zia in a bloody battle in which hundreds of the pueblo's inhabitants were killed, leaving only about 300 survivors (Espinosa 1940:18; Hoebel 1979:408-409).

Raids on the pueblos by the Utes, Navajos, and Apaches intensified after the retreat of the Spanish, and there was factional infighting among the pueblos

themselves, both of which must have added to the death toll. Niel in *Apuntes*, 103, 6, also indicates that the Pueblos were afflicted with hunger and pestilence: "for seven years it rained ashes while for nine years no water fell, and the streams all dried up. The Tompiros were exterminated; very few Tiguas and Jemez survived..." (in Reiter 1938:37). The potential losses resulting from this combination of factors are amply documented in early Spanish accounts.

Lack of rain in 1640 combined with the destructive Apache raid of that year produced widespread famine and 3,000 Indian fatalities throughout the province. Other thousands perished in the drought and famine of 1663-1669 when Pueblo people were seen "lying dead along the roads, in the ravines, and in their huts" (Simmons 1979:184).

The veracity of Niel's statement concerning the Jemez is demonstrated by Vargas's account of the attack on the peñol of Jemez on 24 July 1694 (Espinosa 1942:200-203). Vargas assaulted this stronghold, which was held by the Jemez and their Santo Domingo allies, killing 84 and capturing 346. On 16 August, two of the Jemez rebels arrived in Santa Fe offering submission. They reported that only 72 men and women had escaped during the attack. This suggests the combined Jemez and Santo Domingo force consisted of about 500 people. Assuming that a similar number of Jemez were residing at Amoxiumqua, it is evident the total Jemez population in 1694 numbered little more than 1,000 to 2,000. In contrast, Fray Vetancurt estimated there were 5,000 Jemez in 1680 (Simmons 1979:185). The latter figure may be an overestimate but, even allowing for missionary zeal, it is clear that the Jemez population had been decimated.

Given these losses and the flight of the Southern Tiwa, it is doubtful that the total population of the New Mexico pueblos numbered more than 10,000 to 12,000 at the beginning of the 1696 rebellion. The first census taken after the Reconquest was made in January 1706 by Fray Alvarez, who estimated that the 11 missions and seven visitas in upper New Mexico were serving 8,840 Christian Indians (Espinosa 1942:366). The documentary evidence presented earlier suggests that several thousand refugees were at Hopi. Again allowances must be made for missionary zeal, and for the presence of the Southern

Tiwa who migrated to Hopi before the Reconquest. Nevertheless, the large number of Tano, Tewa, and Jemez refugees at Hopi would account for most of the difference between the pre- and post-rebellion population estimates.

Fray Alvarez also indicates the population of the upper Rio Grande pueblos in 1706 was being increased "from day to day by those who are coming down from the mountains where they live among the heathen and apostates" (Hackett 1937:372-373). The reference to apostates in this statement almost certainly refers to Pueblo groups who, like the Jemez referred to in the passage cited earlier, were still living in the mountains in insurrection. Thus only a fraction of the Pueblo refugees who had not gone to Hopi or returned to their pueblos by 1706 were living among the "heathen." Of those, only a fraction joined the Navajos, since the historical references indicate that the Pueblos also sought refuge among other Apachean groups. It would appear, therefore, that the Pueblo refugees who fled to the Navajos probably numbered in the low hundreds and not in the thousands, as many researchers have assumed.

The Evidence for Pueblo Refugees Among the Navajos

The primary evidence that Pueblo refugees remained with the Navajo is Navajo oral tradition, which indicates the origin of some clans can be traced to Pueblo ancestry. Hodge (1895:227-228), in an early attempt to correlate Navajo origin myths with historical sources, estimated that by about AD 1650 the Navajo comprised 19 clans: the original Navajo, whom he believed were cliff dwellers; three Apache; two Yuman; one Keresan; one from north of the San Juan, possibly Shoshonean; one Ute family; one Tanoan; three Puebloan; and six of unknown origin. Later sources were more specific, suggesting that a number of the Navajo clans had their origins in Pueblo refugees who remained with the Navajo. These include the Jemez or "Coyote Pass" clan, the "Black Sheep" clan reportedly derived from San Felipe, the Zia clan, and the Zuni clan (Brugge 1983; Hester 1962; Van Valkenburgh and McPhee 1938; Vogt 1961).

Undoubtedly, these traditions have some basis in fact. As Reiter (1938:177) observed for the Jemez

clan, however, its origin "may be accounted by only a single Jemez woman, the clan ancestress." The origin of the Mexican clan, for example, is attributed to a small number of captives taken during a raid on a Spanish settlement near Socorro (Amsden 1932; Hodge 1895; Van Valkenburgh 1974). A similar origin also seems likely for the Black Sheep, Zia, and Zuni clans. The inhabitants of Zia and San Felipe were allied with the Spanish during the Reconquest (Espinosa 1942), and had little reason for fleeing to the Navajo, while the Zunis were only peripherally involved in the 1696 revolt and Zuni was itself a refuge for rebels fleeing the Rio Grande. Curiously, there are no specific references to Tewa clans, although the documentary evidence suggests some Tewas from Santa Clara and Pojoaque joined the Navajos. Thus Navajo tradition does not necessarily provide evidence that any large number of Pueblos were incorporated into the Navajo population. Nor do these traditions necessarily indicate that the origins of the Puebloan clans, with the possible exception of the Coyote Pass clan (Van Valkenburgh 1974:208), date to the late sixteenth century. Those inferences were made by scholars attempting to reconcile Navajo tradition with historical sources.

Documentary evidence for Pueblo refugees remaining in the Dinétah after the 1696 rebellion is limited. Hester (1962:22) and others cite records of the punitive expeditions of Roque Madrid as indicating that some Jemez remained with the Navajo as late as 1705. Only two statements were found relating to these expeditions to support such a conclusion. In Madrid's journal, he describes the capture of two women (one Navajo, the other from Jemez) who were tortured to death in an attempt to determine the location of the Navajo rancherías (McNitt 1972:20). The second statement comes from Reeve's (1958:222) summary of the campaign.

[The Spanish] left destruction in their path, having burned corn fields and destroyed huts of the Navajo people. They brought home an assortment of spoils of war: captive women and children, skins, baskets, and some horses and sheep; and they also restored to their former homes certain Pueblo Indians, some of whom had been taken captive during the Pueblo uprisings of 1680 and the 1690's. The others were refugees.

These statements indicate only that there were some Pueblo Indians among the Navajo in 1705. Some were refugees but others were captives taken during Navajo raids. There is no suggestion that any significant number of Jemez or other refugees had remained with the Navajos.

The Rabal documents also include a statement by Blas Martín that, during a punitive expedition mounted between 1712 and 1715, "it seemed to him that there must be on the mesas more than 200 Christian Indians of this kingdom" (Hill 1940:402). None of the other witnesses to this expedition mention Christian Indians, though, so there is no corroboration for this testimony.

Finally, in his study of the early mission records, Brugge found references to five Pueblo women — two Jemez, two Tewa from Pojoaque, and one Keres — who had come from Navajo and who were married to Navajo men.

The baptismal records indicate three baptisms toward the end of August that were doubtless the direct result of the second campaign of 1705...[T]wo Navajo children were baptized at Zia...Another girl was baptized at Jemez on August 23 who was described as the daughter of an Apache father and of Catharina Ursula of Jemez who "came from Navajo..."

The next mention of the Navajos in the baptismal records is dated April 29, 1708, and is the record of the baptism at Jemez of Micaela, the natural daughter of Maria Cuchee Neva, a Jemez woman "who came this same year fleeing the captivity in which she was among the Gentile Navajos." Whether she had been taken captive in a raid or was a refugee being held captive is not explained, but these two entries leave little doubt that there were Jemez among the Navajos at this time.

There were also Tewa, apparently. On June 2, 1709, three children, all under four years, were baptized at Nambé. Their mother was Juana, a "Tigua" (sic) from Pojoaque, but they had been "brought from Nabaxo." Two other children of the same mother, probably older brothers,

were baptized at Nambé on October 7. No mention of the fathers of any of these children was made in the baptismal entries and it is to be presumed that they were not baptized. If so, both the children baptized at Jemez and those baptized at Nambé were almost certainly half Navajo...

In January 1710 three Indians whose parents were an "Apache" father and a Keres mother were baptized together at Zia. The record states that "they came from Nabaxo." All were estimated to have been about 20 years old. If they had been brought back by one of the campaigns of 1708-1709, the time lapse would be about right for them to have been catechized...

On May 30, 1731, two children were baptized at Nambé. It was recorded that they and their mother came from Navajo and lived at Pojoaque. On July 1 another boy from Navajo, the son of gentile parents and resident at Pojoaque, was baptized at Nambé. He had been catechized and instructed and may be an older brother of the first two children (Brugge 1968:39-41).

As Brugge emphasizes, these records indicate that some Jemez and Tewas were living with the Navajo in the early 1700s. Again, however, there is no indication that any large number of Pueblos remained with the Navajos. Neither is it clear that these women were refugees. Indeed, the only specific reference describes one of the Jemez women as a captive of the Navajos.

The Influence of Archeology on Historical Research

A final and unexpected discovery resulting from this review of the historical records was the extent to which some historians were influenced by the interpretations of early archeologists. Two examples, in particular, seem germane to this discussion. Forbes (1960) is the primary historical source cited by both Hester and Carlson in discussing the flight of Pueblo refugees to the Navajo. In describing the influence

of these refugees on Navajo culture, Forbes comments:

Of at least equal significance is the knowledge of the large numbers of Pueblo Indians who chose to live with the Navahos during this period. These refugees, along with earlier ones, were to have a great impact on the Navaho way of life and religion, and many of them were to be absorbed into the Athapascan ethnic group by intermarriage. Archeologists have discovered many "pueblo" structures in Navaho country, associated with defensive towers and Navaho houses and dating from post-1700 to as late as c. 1770. Undoubtedly, many of the refugees eventually returned to their former pueblos after 1698, but it is clear that others chose to live with the Navaho Apaches for years, preferring life with the Athapascans to Spanish dictation (1960:270).

The source of the knowledge that "large numbers of Pueblo Indians chose to live with the Navajos during this period" appears to be Keur's (1944) discussion of pueblito sites in the Gobernador area—the reference cited by Forbes in support of this passage. Given the differences in his and Espinosa's description of Miguel Saxette's testimony noted earlier, Keur's assessment of the archeological evidence may have led Forbes to overestimate the number of refugees that fled to the Navajos. Also, because Forbes was concerned primarily with the Navajo and not with the Pueblo refugees, he may have missed some of the contradictory testimony relating to the movement of Pueblo groups during the 1696 rebellion.

Hester and Carlson also cite Hodge et al. (1945) in arguing that some of the Jemez who joined the Navajo in 1696 were still with them in 1705. Again it appears that these historians based their interpretation of the documentary evidence partly on what they perceived to be corroborative archeological data.

Some of [the Jemez] who joined the Navajo were still with them when Roque de Madrid made an expedition against them in 1705. In this connection see Kidder. Ruins of the Historic Period in the

Upper San Juan Valley, in which the author very reasonably attributes these ruins to the Jemez, who seemingly went to the Navajo country in later years, there building pueblo houses. See also Stallings, cited below, who lists the dates of beams from pueblo ruins in the same cañon ranging from about 1700 to about 1752, and from other ruins in the San Juan drainage from about 1723 to 1754 (Hodge et al. 1945:278).

Therefore, archeologists appear to have used historical data and historians, archeological data—each assuming the other's evidence was both

conclusive and independently derived. Thus a circularity developed in which archeologists initially based their interpretation of pueblito sites in the Dinetah on historical references to the flight of Pueblo refugees. Some historians then used this early archeological research to corroborate fragmentary historical references to the flight of Pueblo refugees and to Pueblos living among the Navajos during the early eighteenth century. These historical summaries, in turn, were cited by later archeologists to support arguments that a large number of Pueblo refugees joined the Navajos during the 1696 rebellion and many of these refugees remained with the Navajo permanently.

Chapter 3

Summary and Conclusions

It is argued here that the archaeological evidence for Pueblo refugees in the Dinétah was never conclusive. Instead, archaeologists have relied on historical evidence as a basis for interpreting the Gobernador Phase as a period when Navajo culture was fundamentally altered by a massive influx of Pueblo refugees. The historical evidence that any large number of Pueblo refugees fled to the Navajos also appears equivocal, however.

The documents relating to the 1696 rebellion include one report that some Tewas from Pojoaque were on their way to join the Navajos and a statement that most of the Tewas from San Ildefonso had gone to the Hopis and the Navajos. Vargas also indicated that the Santa Clara scattered, some going to Hopi, Zuni, and Acoma, and "others to the next nations [from their pueblo] and surrounding neighbors of the Apaches of Navajo, Embudo, and Sierra de los Pedernales" (Forbes 1960:272). Finally, there is some evidence — supported by Jemez tradition — suggesting that some of the Jemez fled to the Navajos, while others went to Hopi.

Taken in isolation, these reports suggest that segments of three Tewa and two Jemez communities, somewhere on the order of a thousand individuals, may have sought refuge in the Dinétah. When the historical evidence from Hopi is considered, though, it appears that most of these Tewa and Jemez refugees joined the Hopis and not the Navajos. Indeed, the number of Pueblo refugees at Hopi seems to account for most of the difference between pre- and post- rebellion population estimates for the Rio Grande pueblos. Given this evidence, the refugee population in the Dinétah probably consisted of, at most, a few hundred individuals.

The evidence that Pueblo refugees remained with the Navajos after the rebellion is even more limited. The primary documentation cited in support of this assertion is Roque Madrid's account of a punitive expedition in 1705. According to Reeve (1958:222), this expedition "restored to their former homes certain Pueblo Indians, some of whom had been taken

captive during the Pueblo uprisings of 1680 and the 1690's. The others were refugees." There is also Blas Martin's questionable testimony, and references in the early mission records to five Pueblo women — two Jemez, two Tewa from Pojoaque, and one Keres — who had come from Navajo and who were married to Navajo men.

Again, there is nothing in these records to support assertions that any significant number of refugees remained with the Navajos after the Reconquest. The evidence indicates only that an unspecified number of Pueblos were living with the Navajos during the early decades of the eighteenth century. Some of these Pueblos were refugees, but many appear to have been captives taken in Navajo raids on the Rio Grande settlements. The evidence provided by Navajo oral tradition also seems inadequate to support this interpretation.

Navajo oral tradition indicates that the origins of some clans — including the Jemez or "Coyote Pass" clan, the "Black Sheep" clan reportedly derived from San Felipe, the Zia clan, and the Zuni clan — can be traced to Pueblo ancestry. Except for the Coyote Pass clan, however, ~~there appears to be nothing that can be traced to the origins of these clans to the Pueblo rebellions.~~ In fact, it seems unlikely that the origins of the Black Sheep, Zia, and Zuni clans could be attributed to Pueblo refugees. Moreover, this evidence does not necessarily indicate that a large number of Pueblos were living with the Navajos, since the origins of Navajo clans require only the presence of a single clan ancestress.

In summary, the Gobernador Phase has been described both as a period when Navajo culture was fundamentally altered by brief but intensive interaction between the Navajos and Pueblo refugees, and as the period during which Navajo culture emerged as an amalgamation of Athapaskan and Puebloan population and culture. Neither of these interpretations is defensible given the dearth of evidence that any large number of Pueblo refugees fled to the Dinétah or that many refugees remained with the

Navajos after the Reconquest. Although there is little question that Navajo culture was influenced by Puebloan culture, the source of that influence is more likely to be found in the long history of Navajo-Pueblo relations than in the influx of Pueblo refugees in the closing years of the seventeenth century.

More importantly, it is a mistake to view Puebloan influence as the primary, if not the only, factor af-

fecting Navajo culture change. The Gobernador Phase was a period during which the Navajo were forced to contend with Ute and Comanche marauders, the permanent presence of the Spanish, and marked fluctuations in environmental conditions. All of these factors must be given equal consideration to understand the evolution of Navajo culture during the eighteenth century.

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