## NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES **INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM**

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FOR FEDERAL PROPERTIES

#### SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

# 1 NAME

HISTORIC				
AND/OR COMMON Navajo/Refuge	e Pueblo Thematic Gro	up (name for regi	stration); Refugee	Pueblitos
2 LOCATION	J			
STREET & NUMBER				
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STATE	······································	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
New Mexico		35	San Juan, Rio	Arriba 45/39
3 CLASSIFIC	ATION			
CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESE	NT USE
DISTRICT	PUBLIC	OCCUPIED	AGRICULTURE	MUSEUM
BUILDING(S)	PRIVATE	XUNOCCUPIED	COMMERCIAL	PARK
STRUCTURE	<b>Ж</b> ВОТН		EDUCATIONAL	-PRIVATE RESIDENCE
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OBJECT	N/A_IN PROCESS	YES: RESTRICTED	GOVERNMENT	SCIENTIFIC
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group		NO	MILITARY	X OTHER grazing
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STREET & NUMBER	900 La Plata Hig	nway		
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## NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET Existing surveys ITEM NUMBER 6 PAGE 2

1.\* Title: Archaeological Documentation in the Gobernador Region of Northwestern New Mexico: Pueblitos and Other Defensive Sites of the Gobernador Period - Margaret A. Powers and Byron P. Johnson

Date: July 15, 1985 to July 15, 1986

\_\_\_\_\_Federal X\_\_\_State \_\_\_\_County \_\_\_\_Local

Depository: Division of Conservation Archaeology San Juan County Museum Association 975 US Hwy 64 Farmington, NM 87401

> Historic Preservation Division (Site Survey Records) Office of Cultural Affairs Villa Rivera, Room 101 228 E. Palace Ave. Santa Fe, NM 87503

\*This historic preservation matching funds project resulted in this thematic nomination.

2. Title: Survey Records of the San Juan Archaeological Society and Personal Notes of Harry L. Hadlock

Date: 1958-1972

\_\_\_\_ Federal \_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_ County <u>X</u> Local

Depository: San Juan County Museum Association 975 US Hwy 64 Farmington, NM 87401

> Mr. Henry Jackson Aztec Photo Service 120 S. Main Ave. Aztec, NM 87410

3.

Title: Navajo Land Claim Surveys (Navajo Tribe of Indians vs. U.S. Government, Docket 229, Plaintiff's Exhibit)

Date: 1953 to 1959

\_\_\_\_\_Federal \_\_\_\_\_State \_\_\_\_County X\_Local

Depository: Navajo Nation Library Window Rock, AZ

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CONTINU	ATION SHEET Ex	isting surveys	ITEM NUMBER <sup>6</sup>	PAGE 3
4.	Title: NPS a	and BLM Stabili	zation Projects	
	Date: 1973 t	:0 1981		
	X Federal	State	County	Local
	Depository:	Bureau of Land 900 La Plata H Farmington, NM	lighway	
5.	Title: Keur	Survey and Exc	avation - Field N	otes
	Date: 1941			
	Federal	State	e County	<u>X</u> Local
	Depository:	Historic Prese Office of Cult Villa Rivera, 228 E. Palace Santa Fe, NM	cural Affairs Room 101 Ave.	(Site Survey Records)
6.	Preh	rchaeological 1 istoric and His nage, New Mexic	Inventory and Eval storic Sites in th co	uation of Some ne Upper San Juan
	Date: 1973			
	<u>X</u> Federal	State	e <u> </u>	Local
	Depository:	Historic Press Office of Cult Villa Rivera, 228 E. Palace Santa Fe, NM	tural Affairs Room 101 Ave.	(Site Survey Records)

7.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

## NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLÁČES INVENTOR Y -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET Existing surveysitem number 6 PAGE 4

Title: Miscellaneous Site Forms, Notes, and Maps Subject: References to prior site designations, maps, site forms, letters, and other material including references to work by: Carl Johnson

C. O. Erwin and M. W. Kelly Deric O'Bryan Edward T. Hall W. S. Stallings Elizabeth Murphey Malcolm Farmer J. Loring Haskell John P. Wilson Pam Smith and Dabney Ford Bruce Grove Donald Clifton and Steve Koczan

Date: Various

\_\_\_\_\_Federal <u>X</u> State <u>County</u> Local Depository: Historic Preservation Division (Site Survey Records) Office of Cultural Affairs Villa Rivera, Room 101 228 E. Palace Ave. Santa Fe, NM 87503



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DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

see continuation sheets

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CONTINUATION SHEET

The 48 sites in the thematic nomination are historic archaeological sites that date to the Gobernador Period (ca. 1680 to 1780). Of these, one (Frances Canyon Ruin) has been listed on the National Register, two (Shaft House and Crow Canyon) are contributing elements of the Crow Canyon Archaeological District which is listed on the National Register, and 12 (including the three above) are listed on the State Register of Cultural Properties. The sites are located in the area of northwestern New Mexico commonly referred to as the Largo-Gobernador or Dinetah The sites are of mixed cultural origin -- some were region. probably built and occupied by Pueblo Indians from the Rio Grande area, some by Navajos, and some by intermarried Navajo and Pueblo Indians and their descendents. The earliest dated site from this period falls between 1690-1694 (Wilson and Warren 1972:13). It was probably built by Pueblo refugees who fled north when the Spanish reestablished the control of New Mexico that they had lost in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. According to scanty historical records, the Pueblo refugees settled among the Navajo Indians who were already living in the Dinetah region. Although many Pueblo Indians returned to the Rio Grande, the continuance of Puebloan cultural traits among the Navajo of the Dinetah suggests that some Pueblo Indians remained in the Dinetah, perhaps having intermarried with Navajos.

The sites of the Gobernador Period encompass three principal site types: a) dwelling sites composed of one or more houses (called forked-stick hogans) made of a conical framework of poles, together with various external features -- trash deposits, hearths, etc., b) masonry structures (usually in defensive positions) called pueblitos, sometimes associated with hogans, trash deposits, external features, and piles of fire-reddened sandstone from sweathouses, and c) rock art (both petroglyphs and pictographs) depicting both secular and religious themes. This nomination covers the pueblitos and other defensive sites of the Gobernador Period in the Dinetah region.

#### The Historic Context: Navajo Culture of the Gobernador Period (ca. 1680-1780) in Northwestern New Mexico

Dinetah is a region of rugged upland mesas and canyons that flow into the San Juan River in the vicinity of Blanco, New Mexico. The region comprises the upper San Juan River and its tributaries, particularly Largo Canyon, Gobernador Canyon, and Frances Canyon. Major tributaries of Largo Canyon include Crow Canyon, Tapicito Canyon, Rincon Largo, and Carrizo Canyon. The principal tributaries of Carrizo Canyon include Adams Canyon, Munoz Canyon, and Delgadita Canyon. Within these drainage systems Navajo culture flourished for

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about 100 years. The term Dinetah usually refers to the area occupied by Navajo Indians during this period (ca. 1680-1780). Although the core area of late seventeenth-early eighteenth century Navajo occupation is well-defined, the limits of that occupation are not well-established. Thus the boundaries of Dinetah shift as archaeological data is acquired.

The remains of Navajo dwellings in the form of forked-stick hogans occur by the thousands within Dinetah. Pueblitos and other defensive sites are less common but are scattered throughout the region. An early form of Navajo pottery, Dinetah Gray, appears to originate within Dinetah (see Brugge 1963:5-6). Piles of burned sandstone used to provide heat for Navajo sweatlodges and remains of the sweatlodges themselves commonly occur in the vicinity of the dwellings. Thousands of pictographs and petroglyphs representing Navajo deities and other aspects of Navajo life are depicted on the walls of the canyons of Dinetah (Schaafsma 1963, H. Hadlock and S. Hadlock survey records).

Dinetah is the Navajo equivalent of the Holy Land and it is here that the Navajo creation story is focussed. The geography and place names of Dinetah reflect its role in both the creation story and the clan migration legends. It contains two of the Sacred Mountains of the Navajo world -- Huerfano Mountain on the west and Gobernador Knob on the east. Gobernador Knob is a principal mountain in the Navajo Blessing Way Chant. It is considered the birthplace of Changing Woman, an important Navajo deity. Huerfano Mountain is also important in both the lifestory of Changing Woman and in Navajo clan traditions. Dinetah also contains several other sacred or respected places (Van Valkenburgh 1974a) -- Salt Point, Mesa Quartado (Harris Mesa), Delgadito Canyon, River Junction (now inundated by Navajo Lake), San Rafael Canyon, and Big Water (lower La Jara Canyon). These places are important in various clan River Junction is also important in both the traditions. Blessingway and Nightway ceremonies and is associated with the Navajo hero twins, the sons of Changing Woman (Van Valkenburgh 1974a). Some of the Navajo chantways may have developed or may have become more elaborate during the Gobernador Period, perhaps because contacts among ethnic groups became more intense.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the Southwest were times of turmoil and social disruption. In 1680, decades of friction between the Spanish and the Pueblo Indians erupted in the Pueblo Revolt (Sando 1979, Simmons 1979), when a union of pueblos and Navajos successfully ousted the Spanish from northern New Mexico. During the ensuing decade, traditional factionalism reasserted itself and hostilities between groups of pueblos resumed (Simmons 1979:186-188, Schroeder 1972:56-57). Raids

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by Navajos, Utes, and Apaches continued. With the resumption of Spanish control in 1692, members of various pueblos fled to the Hopi Mesas in Arizona, to other pueblos, or to the Navajo (Brugge 1983:491). Both Jemez and Santa Clara (Tewa) people are reported to have joined the Navajo (Carlson 1965:57, Brugge 1983:493), bringing with them cultural practices (both puebloan and Spanish) that fused with traditional Navajo ways to provide the roots of modern Navajo culture. The influence of the Puebloan refugees can be seen in the pottery, the architectural forms, and the rock art of the Dinetah region. For example, Gháá'ask'idii, the Humpbacked God, who bears a strong resemblance to the Puebloan fertility figure, Kokopelli, is prominent among the rock art representations. Pueblo and Spanish captives from the Navajo raids and Pueblo refugees from the reconquest also influenced Navajo culture. They were probably the founders of several Navajo clans, for example, the Zuni and Tewa clans, the Black Sheep clan, the Coyote Pass-Jemez clan, and the Mexican clan (Van Valkenburgh 1974b:207-208).

Navajo raids against Pueblo and Spanish settlements continued into the early 1700s and the Spanish sent expeditions to Dinetah to retaliate. Fields and houses were burned, captives taken, and former Spanish and Pueblo captives and stock recovered (Reeve 1958). By about 1715 Ute attacks had become the overwhelming threat to all communities in northern New Mexico and Navajo depredations on the Spanish ceased (Schroeder 1972:61, Reeve 1958). Trading with the pueblos probably resumed. Franciscan missionaries travelled into Dinetah to preach and convert. The influence of the missionaries, the pressure of Utes, and possibly a drought in the late 1740s eventually led the Navajo to move to the south and west of Dinetah (Reeve 1959). These shifts were apparently accompanied by a rejection of many Puebloan and nontraditional Navajo practices (Brugge 1972).

#### Pueblitos and Defensive Sites

Because Dinetah was a frontier area, inhabited by Navajos and Pueblo refugees, and held against retaliatory Spanish expeditions and Ute-Commanche raids, defensive sites typify the architecture of Dinetah. They take on several different forms and occupy various topographic settings. The region of Dinetah is rugged and, until the advent of oil and gas exploration, was nearly inaccessible. The elevations within the Dinetah region range from about 1700m to 2400m (5550 to 7875 ft) and abrupt elevation changes of 300 ft are common. Gobernador Period sites are hidden from view among the mesas and benches of this dissected upland country.

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Although pueblitos are occasionally found in open terrain, more often they occupy the tops of detached boulders on the valley floors, isolated pinnacles or crags, eroded blocks of sandstone that have separated from the point of a ridge, and the crests of ridges and lower benches overlooking major valleys. Many sites sit on rock projections with sheer sides 20 to 80 ft high. The sites occur within an area characterized by pinyon-juniper woodland on the mesas and sage on the valley floors. Characteristically they were walled around the edges of the sandstone block and enclosed either forked-stick hogans, masonry rooms (pueblitos), or both. The sites generally command a wide view of surrounding valleys and of other sites. They exhibit a variety of defensive strategies, principally controlling access to the sites and maintaining a visual network to provide advance warning of attackers. Access was controlled by dead end "entryways", serpentine entrance passages, angled portholes (loopholes) for shooting arrows at attackers, defensive walls, and construction on promontories that are nearly inaccessible. By controlling access, the inhabitants could protect the site with only a few defenders. By using the advantages of their elevation over surrounding terrain and their view of other sites, the inhabitants had advance warning of attacks.

The density of pueblitos, where present, varies from one to three per square mile. Most sites are small and cover less than 5 acres of land each.

Ceramics at Gobernador Period sites are predominantly Dinetah Gray. Gobernador Polychrome is frequently present but in smaller quantities than Dinetah Gray. Occasional specimens of various puebloan tradewares also occur. These types include pottery from Zuni, Acoma, and the Rio Grande areas. Lithic artifacts are scarce at most pueblitos. The most common materials are a pinkish-gray metaquartzite derived from local sources and obsidian from the Jemez area. Grinding implements of local sandstone and quartzite also occur. Occasional small side-notched projectile points have also been found.

Many of the pueblitos are in excellent condition. Walls often stand 4 to 15 ft high and original roof beams are present in many structures. Some sites have deteriorated through impacts from natural processes and from visitors. These latter impacts include the removal of roof beams, the reduction of wall height, the theft of notched log ladders used to reach the upper stories, and the vandalism of small areas of trash. Vandalism increased in late 1985 and the first half of 1986 and appears to be continuing. In an effort to stem the deterioration from visitor impacts, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) stabilized seven pueblitos in the period from 1973 to 1975. An eighth site, Shaft House, was stabilized for the

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BLM by the National Park Service. In all cases the stabilization arrested the collapse of walls and roofs and improved drainage through the site. Each site was also marked with a well-designed interpretative placque. The seven sites stabilized by the BLM are so well done that the repairs are virtually undetectable. The stabilization program has clearly enhanced the interpretative qualities of the sites.

History of Archaeological Studies in Dinetah

The first non-Indian people to find the ruins of the Gobernador Period were probably Hispanic sheepherders and ranchers. Their names and dates from the late 1800s to the early 1900s are inscribed on sandstone crags, on pueblito roof beams, and near panels of rock art. A. V. Kidder was the first anthropologist known to have visited the sites. In 1912 he visited Three Corn Ruin, Old Fort, and another unidentified site in Largo Canyon. He inferred that the sites were built by Pueblo refugees from the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico and that the builders of the sites were in contact with Navajos (Kidder 1920:327-328). Kidder (1920:329) also noted that in 1916 Nels C. Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History, probably acting on information obtained from Earl Morris, observed similar, but smaller, ruins in Largo Canyon and in other parts of the Gobernador area. In 1915 Earl Morris had excavated or collected material from 17 sites in the vicinity of Gobernador Canyon (Carlson 1965).

Virtually no work occurred for the next 20 years, but archaeologists were very active from 1934 to 1941. In 1934 two amateur archaeologists, C. O. Erwin and M. W. Kelly, recorded 11 sites in Frances and Gobernador canyons and collected tree-ring samples (Stallings 1937:3) for the Laboratory of Anthropology of the Museum of New Mexico (Robinson, Harrill, and Warren 1974). In 1938 E. T. Hall of Columbia University recorded four sites (LA 2135-2138) and obtained tree-ring samples (Hall 1951). In 1941 Dorothy Keur, also of Columbia University, recorded sites in Gobernador, La Jara, Frances, Pueblito, Munoz, and Carrizo (Companero) canyons. In addition, she excavated 19 hogans and 2 pueblitos of the Gobernador Period. She also collected tree-ring samples (Keur 1944). The same year, E. T. Hall and W. S. Stallings collected additional tree-ring specimens from the Gobernador area (LA 2297) and from a pueblito on Largo Canyon (Tapicito Ruin - LA 2298) (Robinson, Harrill, and Warren 1974:80, 83). Work in the Largo Canyon area also increased in the late 1930s. Sites in Largo Canyon, which had been noted as early as 1916, were visited by Elizabeth Murphy of the School of American Research and by Richard Van Valkenburgh in 1937 and by Malcolm F. Farmer in 1938 (Farmer 1939).

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The 1950s marked another period of research in Navajo archaeology. Sites recorded by Van Valkenburgh and Farmer were re-examined by surveyors for the Navajo Tribe as part of the surveys recorded hogans and pueblitos (fortified crags) throughout Dinetah. Most importantly, the surveyors obtained tree-ring samples from most of the fortified crags. These dates, which cluster between 1715 and 1750, are the basis for claiming that most of the pueblitos were built as defenses against the Utes rather than the Spanish and for arguing that they were built primarily by Navajos (or Navajo and Pueblo Indians who had intermarried) not by Pueblo refugees. During the late '50s, the San Juan Archaeological Society, a local amateur archaeological group, recorded many Gobernador Period pueblitos which had just been made accessible by oil and gas roads. R. Gwinn Vivian completed a study of Navajo sites on ' (Vivian 1960). Vivian correlated the archaeological and historical data and presented one of the first syntheses of this period. In

data and presented one of the first syntheses of this period. In the many Navajo hogan sites and some pueblitos were recorded (Dittert, Hester, and Eddy 1961) and excavated (Hester and Shiner 1963). Hester (1962) used the accumulating data on Navajo sites to plot the movement of the Navajo across the Southwest.

In 1962 Roy L. Carlson and archaeologists from the relocated some of the sites excavated by Earl Morris. Carlson then published the results of the excavations using Morris's field notes and his collections at the University of Colorado Museum. Carlson's study remains the most important single publication on the pueblitos of the Gobernador Period.

Between 1970 and 1975 several studies of Gobernador Period sites were undertaken. In 1972 John P. Wilson of the Museum of New Mexico revisited (LA 2298), remapped it, and obtained additional tree-ring specimens (Wilson and Warren 1974). In 1973 the BLM (Enloe et al. 1973) surveyed several tracts in the Gobernador area and recommended that an area around

be designated as the Gobernador Archaeological District. This proposal echoed those made earlier by Homer Hastings of the National Park Service and by the San Juan Archaeological Society to make the service and by the San Juan Archaeological Society to called for the sites to be protected from the impacts of oil and gas development.

In 1974 J. Loring Haskell (1975) completed a dissertation study involving excavation of a pueblito and hogan site and mapping of three other pueblitos around **contraction** Haskell attempted to demonstrate aspects of the residence pattern, pastoralism, and world view of Navajos during the Gobernador Period.

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Between 1973 and 1975 the BLM sponsored the stabilization of eight pueblitos. Shaft House was stabilized by the National Park Service under contract to the BLM and the other seven were stabilized by a BLM team.

Aside from a few records resulting from oil and gas surveys, no archaeological work has been performed on Gobernador Period pueblitos since Haskell's study. The current nomination is the result of a 1985-86 reconnaissance project sponsored by the Division of Conservation Archaeology of the San Juan County Museum Association and the Historic Preservation Division of the State of New Mexico (Powers and Johnson 1986). During this project, 65 sites were located, 49 were documented, and 48 are included in this thematic nomination.

Descriptions of the individual properties to be nominated follows. Unless otherwise noted, the property boundaries exclude noncontributing elements. All sites date to the Gobernador Period (ca. 1680-1780) but where absolute dates (tree-ring samples) are available, they are reported in the "Dating" section of each site description. The section "Other Designations" indicates other names and numbers assigned to each site and the archaeologists who recorded it. The section "Prior Work" lists surface collections, excavations, and stabilization, and known visits by anthropologists that did not result in formal site records or new site numbers.

# **8 SIGNIFICANCE**

PERIOD	AR	EAS OF SIGNIFICANCE CH	ECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW	
PEHIOD PREHISTORIC 1400-1499 1500-1599 1600-1699 1700-1799 1800-1899	ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC XARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC AGRICULTURE XARCHITECTURE ART COMMERCE	EAS OF SIGNIFICANCE CH COMMUNITY PLANNING CONSERVATION ECONOMICS EDUCATION ENGINEERING EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	LECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE LAW LITERATURE MILITARY MUSIC PHILOSOPHY	RELIGION SCIENCE SCULPTURE &SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN THEATER TRANSPORTATION
1900-	COMMUNICATIONS	INDUSTRY INVENTION	POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	OTHER (SPECIEV)

SPECIFIC DATES ca. AD 1680-1780

BUILDER/ARCHITECT N/A

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

see continuation sheets

# **9** MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

see continuation sheets

# **10**GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

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		of each site.				
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VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

see Item 7

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New Mexico	35	San Juan	45	
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE	
New Mexico	35	Rio Arriba	39	
NAME / TITLE			Division project)	
Margaret A. Powers/Princi	pal Investig	ator and Byron	P. Johnson/Archaeologist	
ORGANIZATION			DATE	
Division of Conservation	Archaeology,	San Juan Count	y Museum Association	<u>9/3</u> 0/8
STREET & NUMBER			TELEPHONE	
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CITY OR TOWN			STATE	
Farmington			New Mexico	
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#### Summary

The Dinetah region is significant for its historic archaeological values and for its relationship to the development of Navajo Indian culture. Within Dinetah are the archaeological evidence of the earliest definable aspects of modern Navajo culture (ca. AD 1600(?)-1780). The pueblitos and other defensive sites of Dinetah are significant 1) for historical archaeology, 2) as representatives of characteristic architectural forms built and used by Navajo during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and 3) as indicators of the complex social relations that obtained among Navajos, Utes, Pueblo Indians, and Spaniards.

The sites contained within the Navajo/Refugee Pueblo Thematic Group Nomination are considered potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register under criteria "c" and "d" as defined in 36 CFR 60.

#### Historic Archaeology

Pueblitos and other defensive sites have the potential to contribute to studies of 1) economics, 2) settlement and mobility strategies, 3) social organization, and 4) warfare of the Navajo and other contemporaneous groups during the Gobernador Phase.

#### Economics

The nature of Navajo subsistence during the Gobernador Phase is unclear. Both historic and archaeological sources confirm that the Navajo were practicing maize agriculture (Haskell 1975, Reeve 1958). The role of herding in the economy is a matter of controversy. Remains of domestic sheep or goat have been found in the trash midden of some pueblitos (Carlson 1965, Haskell 1975:135, cf. Keur 1944), but Bailey and Bailey (1982) argue that herding was a marginal economic pursuit until the early nineteenth century. The sheet middens of the sites considered in this nomination contain burned bones that can be studied to assess the development of herding in Dinetah.

Trading, particularly during the later part of the Gobernador Phase, probably occurred with some frequency. The most likely trading partners for Navajo populations in Dinetah were the Pueblo and Spanish settlements along the Rio Grande. Items of Spanish manufacture and Puebloan pottery have been identified on sites of the Gobernador Phase including several included in this nomination (Carlson 1965, Hester and Shiner 1963). The frequency of these items and the kinds of artifacts present are indicators of the intensity, frequency, and nature of trade among these groups. Acquisition of trade items, horses, or sheep through raiding may also account for the presence of these kinds of artifacts in the assemblages.

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Sites of the Gobernador Phase also contain preserved wooden implements that provide evidence of craft production (e.g. weaving) (Carlson 1965:40) and economic activities (e.g. farming tools) (Keur 1944).

Settlement and Mobility Strategies

Apparently the Navajo were relatively settled during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Substantial houses (hogans and pueblitos) appear for the first time during this period. Trash deposits associated with the nominated sites contain lithics and ceramic tempering materials whose origins can be traced, thereby providing evidence for local resource acquisition or for resource acquisition over a wider field of exploitation. Samples from trash deposits and from the floors of dwellings also offer the opportunity to recover pollen and preserved macrofossils that will isolate the season or seasons the sites were occupied. That pollen and macrofossils are preserved in Gobernador Phase sites is shown by excavations at the Adolfo Canyon site (Haskell 1975). Other indications of seasonality of use can be expected in the form of outdoor hearths and ramadas, which also occur on sites of this period (Haskell 1975).

Social Organization and Demography

Pueblitos tend to be of modest size (four to six rooms). The addition of room units as demonstrated by patterns of abutted walls and remodeling constitute evidence of changing social needs of the site's occupants. The likelihood of obtaining reliable construction dates from well-preserved roof beams enhances the potential interpretation of construction sequences. The timing of construction episodes parallels the changes in intrasite or intersite social groups. Substantial intervals (e.g. 15 years) between room additions may signal the maturation of offspring of the original builders. Some larger pueblitos also suggest the presence of larger or multiple kin groups. The number of hogans within the sites also is a convenient measure of both intrasite population and population concentration within the region. The juxtaposition of hogans and pueblitos may also indicate internal social divisions within the pueblito communities.

#### Warfare

Antagonism between the Nava os and Spanish and later between Navajos and Utes led to the construction of defensive sites within Dinetah (Van Valkenburgh 1947). The defensive strategies probably encompassed two basic approaches -- advance warning of raiding parties and regulation of access to the sites or to parts of the

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site. The positioning of Gobernador Phase sites, particularly pueblitos and the walled hogans, appears to have constituted the first line of defense. The locations of sites at the **second** 

Often these positions appear to be visually linked. Many sites command views not only of access routes but also of other pueblitos and defensive sites. Even if the site itself is not visible to the naked eye, smoke or fire could be seen. Loopholes, small openings in the walls, are sometimes fixed on surrounding sites. The positioning of the sites also served as the second line of defense. Nearly all the sites in this nomination are situated on steep-sided boulders or crags that cannot be attacked from above or be easily climbed. Other means of restricting access were also used -- dead end "entries", serpentine passages, narrowed entrances, single points of access to room complexes, and removable log bridges. Angled loopholes also provided protected means of shooting arrows at approaching raiders and encircling defensive walls also provided shelter for defenders. A classic example of an angled loophole occurs at Shaft House where a loophole points directly at the hatchway in the tower by which one reaches the upper level.

The sites considered in this nomination, therefore, are significant in studies of the defensive aspect of warfare. They offer the opportunity to study one set of responses to raiding, a phenomena that occurs on a world-wide basis.

#### Architecture

The sites in this nomination embody the characteristics of Navajo architecture during the Gobernador Phase. The architecture encompasses two distinct types -- forked-stick hogans and pueblitos. Both forms are most common during the Gobernador Phase although in areas south and west of Dinetah, they persist until the late eighteenth century (Vivian 1960; Brugge 1983:494).

Pueblitos are typically constructed of a two-story outer masonry wall that conforms to the shape of the outcrop on which it rests (e.g. Hester and Shiner 1963:34). The outer wall is then partitioned by abutting an interior crosswall to the outer walls. In most cases the rooms tend to have rounded corners. The masonry is generally composed of large unshaped sandstone blocks and slabs which are set in varying amounts of mud mortar (e.g. Vivian 1960, Haskell 1975). Characteristically, the blocks of one course of sandstone barely overlap the underlying blocks and thus the walls often appear to have been built with "columns" of slabs. The interiors of the rooms are usually covered with hand-pressed adobe

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In many cases the walls are plastered with mud, smoothed mortar. with an instrument that leaves a scored or textured surface, and then whitewashed. The ceilings of the rooms are supported by pinyon and juniper logs often as much as 30cm in diameter. Above the primary beams, and at right angles to them, are split slabs of juniper and pinyon. Sometimes adobe is placed directly over the wood slabs: sometimes a layer of juniper bark preceeds the adobe. Although the primary beams are usually socketed in the outer walls of the pueblito, occasionally the beams are supported by larger posts set in the floor of the room. These posts are nearly always placed with the root (butt) end up to provide a broad surface to support the massive roof beams. Many of the primary beams have been shaped with an iron adze to have a flat lower surface. Primary beams also frequently bear the scars of iron axes on their ends and where branches were removed. The wood slabs often are charred along their margins, probably as a result of girdle-and-burn wood harvesting techniques.

Pueblitos contain a number of typical internal features that are characteristic of Navajo architecture of that period. Rooms frequently contain "shelves" built of parallel logs that are socketed diagonally in the corners of rooms, holes for pegs that probably were used to hang strings of corn, pots, and garments, and bins and niches for storage (Haskell 1975). Hooded fireplaces, modeled after the Spanish fireplaces, are common (Carlson 1965). Usually they consist of a log set diagonally in the corner of the The upper surface of the log was grooved to receive the ends room. of wooden slats that extended up toward the corner. The slats were then covered with mortar. A small ceiling vent usually provided an exit for smoke. Ceiling hatchways were used to gain access to the upper stories of the pueblitos although exterior doors in the second stories were also common. Most doorways have lintels of pinyon and juniper poles, sometimes flattened with an adze. The thresholds are usually masonry. Occasionally mud mortar was used to round the openings in the entryways. More commonly, and characteristic of pueblitos, are entryways that are finished by constructing narrow masonry "pillars" on each side of the door. Sometimes, an adobe and post (jacal) wall protrudes a short distance into the room from one side of the doorway. Besides the exterior doors to the pueblito, the outer wall was often pierced by angled loopholes that point toward other sites and toward potential routes into the pueblito. In several instances, access to the boulder-top pueblitos was apparently via a room below the boulder. Access to the boulder-top unit was gained by entering a door in the lower room and climbing a ladder through a hatchway to the roof. Until recently, notched log ladders were found at many of the sites.

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Forked-stick hogans occur throughout Dinetah as well as in association with pueblitos and defensive walls. Those included in this nomination, however, are typical of those throughout the area, although they may encompass a smaller span of time. Generally the hogans have a framework of three poles that form a tripod. On this framework are placed split juniper slabs in the form of a cone. When they collapse, forked-stick hogans form circles made of radiating spokes. In their original condition, the juniper slabs were covered with a layer of mud mortar. Slab-lined bins or hearths often occur within the hogan. Some hogans of this period have masonry entryways, generally oriented north or east (Carlson 1965).

#### Social Relations

Sites of the Gobernador Phase contain archaeological data that bear on the relations among Navajos, Pueblos, Spanish, and Utes. The pueblitos and other defensive sites are signs of the hostile relations between Navajos and Spanish and between Navajos and Utes. More precise dating of the different architectural forms and analyses of Navajo strategies of site placement can reveal if Navajo responses to Ute and Spanish raids were similar. Analysis of trade items may also demonstrate during what periods peaceful relations obtained. The nature of the artifacts (religious, utilitarian, etc.) also indicates the kind of contact that occurred among the groups. More precise analysis of hogans and pueblitos sites through tree-ring analysis can also be used to measure the periods of heaviest Puebloan influence and of the persistance and resurgence of traditional Navajo practices (Brugge 1972). Ceramic analysis and historic document evaluations may also help to identify the places of origin of the different Puebloan and Hispanic Navajo clans and their relationships to the traditional Navajo clans (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1974:110-111).

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