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# LE PETROGLYPH NATIONAL MONUMENT RAPID ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT PROJECT



## FINAL REPORT

by

Michael J. Evans

Richard W. Stoffle

Sandra Lee Pinel

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***Petroglyph National Monument***  
***Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project***  
**Final Report**

**Submitted by**

**Michael J. Evans  
Richard W. Stoffle  
Sandra Lee Pinel**

**Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology  
University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona**

**Submitted to**

**New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office  
Santa Fe, New Mexico**

**and**

**Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service  
Santa Fe, New Mexico**

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**On the front cover:**

**Sandra Lee Pinel interviews Phillip Lauriano of Sandia Pueblo about petroglyphs  
at the Petroglyph National Monument in Albuquerque, New Mexico.**

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# **Executive Summary**

## **Purpose and Result of Study**

The Petroglyph National Monument Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project had two primary goals. One was the identification of those American Indian Tribes, Pueblos, and Spanish heritage groups who wanted to participate in a long-term consultation process with the National Park Service about the management of the new Petroglyph National Monument located outside of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The second goal was to document the cultural resource concerns of the Native Americans and the Spanish heritage people, so that protection of these cultural resources could be incorporated into the General Management Plan that the National Park Service is developing for the Petroglyph National Monument.

The research team that conducted this study was composed of Drs. Richard W. Stoffle and Michael J. Evans, both of whom are anthropologists in the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona. A third team member was Sandra Lee Pinel, M.A., a planner with the state of New Mexico who has experience working with a number of Pueblo tribes. The time frame for this study was short: the start date was December 16, 1991, and the review draft of the report was due June 1, 1992.

After beginning the study, we learned through meetings with the Monument and planning staff that the National Park Service was also interested in how to go about establishing a long-term working relationship with the Indian Pueblos, Tribes, and Spanish groups with concerns in the area so that both management and research could be conducted appropriately as the Monument is developed. Consequently, we added this topic to those we had already included in response to the scope of work. As a result, the Petroglyph National Monument project serves as one type of model for how such studies should be approached in the future, in conjunction with Indian Pueblos, Tribes, and other cultural groups.

The foundation is now established for a working relationship between the Monument staff and the Pueblos. Our interviews and meetings with Pueblo people show that this project was met with cautious optimism by many Pueblo people who have cultural resource concerns in northern New Mexico. Despite many Pueblo peoples' perception of harm done by past research and journalistic studies, many



Pueblo communities took part in this study and made very practical recommendations for how the Monument resources and their connections with those resources could be both appreciated and protected. Equally important, Pueblo government officials expressed a willingness to continue the discussions with the National Park Service on how to work on this and other projects in the future.

Two points need to be made about the following report. First and foremost, this report is a compilation of the Pueblo statements and views about the cultural resources of the Petroglyph National Monument, and their views and recommendations on how a consultation process between themselves and the National Park Service should be carried out. In this regard, the views and recommendations given to us during our interviews with Pueblo people were entirely consistent with those expressed at the time of the Monument's establishment (Jojola and Jojola 1988). Second, this project represents the first step in consulting with the involved Pueblo groups. At several times in the course of our work, we were told by the Pueblo people that they not only wanted, but expected the Monument staff and the National Park Service to follow up with further contacts, meetings, etc., about the cultural resources of the Monument. It is with this expectation in mind that they made their recommendations concerning a future consultation process.

## Method

This Rapid Ethnographic Assessment study took place primarily between January and May 1992. Following our established research methodology,<sup>1</sup> twenty-three tribes and three Spanish-American groups were invited by telephone, correspondence, and personal meeting to participate. Four Pueblos were involved in all phases, including site visits, focus group interviews, and discussions of a future protocol for National Park Service consultation. Other Pueblo groups were involved in various aspects of the project involving meetings and presentations. Still others took a "wait and see" approach. The All Indian Pueblo Council, Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc. Governing Board, and to a lesser extent, other tribal consortia, also were involved in different parts of the project. This report was verbally

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<sup>1</sup> See Stoffle 1987; Stoffle and Evans 1990, 1992; Stoffle, Evans, Halmo, Niles, and O'Farrell 1988; Stoffle, Evans, and Harshbarger 1988; Stoffle, Halmo, Olmsted, and Evans 1990; Stoffle, Halmo, Evans, and Olmsted 1990; Stoffle, Jake, Evans, and Bunte 1981; Stoffle, Stewart, and Evans 1984.



presented to the All Indian Pueblo Council on May 19, 1992, at which time the Governors' comments were invited.

## **Cultural Resources and their Protection**

The Pueblos believe the Petroglyph National Monument area was a place used by many Pueblos and Tribes for numerous purposes. Although some Pueblo groups may have a more intimate use, none believe the area was used exclusively by one or two Pueblos. There are many cultural resources important to Pueblo people found within the Monument boundaries. The archaeology sites and petroglyphs are only two of these. Others are plants, animals, and general areas considered sacred because of the presence of shrines or other religiously important items. There was a great deal of consensus on the significance of these cultural resources among the Pueblos and the need for protection from damage caused by visitation.

Pueblo people do not view the spiritual significance of an area in terms of specific sites. They emphasized to us during our interviews the importance of the relationship between the Monument area and the Sandia Mountains, and that there are spiritual pathways in the area of the volcanoes that connect the petroglyphs on the escarpment with the mountain range. Context is important to the Pueblo people within the Monument boundaries where cultural significance is identified by the relationships between petroglyph symbols, rocks, grinding areas, and offering areas.

During our interviews with Pueblo people, it became clear that petroglyph symbols cannot be pulled out of the context in which they are found and still retain any significant meaning for Pueblo people. The spatial, geographical, and petroglyph-grouping contexts in which these symbols are observed provide the meaning of the symbols to Pueblo people. Pueblo people know, in general, and sometimes in minute detail, the meaning of the petroglyphs in their culture because the symbols are often repeated in other designs, such as the kiva murals and religious symbolism in use today.

Although no one Pueblo claimed exclusive "ownership" of the lands and resources within the Petroglyph National Monument, Pueblo people maintain that the resources exist because of their ancestors and their cultures. They feel the area is worthy of Monument status because their ancestors both used and protected the area, and they want a role in the protection of both cultural and natural resources within the Monument.



## Protection and Management Policies

The Pueblo consultants recommended that any approach to preservation of cultural resources should be by district or area, rather than by site. The evident level of recreational use, vandalism, and painting of rocks was pointed out as a reason to restrict access in some way to the volcanoes and other areas. Protecting these places that are used, or have been used in the past, so they can continue to be used for religious purposes is essential to people keeping their religion and their culture. If an area is no longer used because of disturbance, the culture loses the knowledge associated with the area.

The Pueblo people we interviewed told us that they could not share specific cultural resource information unless absolutely necessary to protect an area that will otherwise be disturbed or destroyed, and therefore have opted to withhold site specific recommendations until the National Park Service provides more details of its plans.<sup>2</sup> General principles have been shared, however, and the Pueblo recommendations at this time include:

- The entire Monument area should be treated with the respect and appreciation of the interconnectedness of cultural resources and the integrity of the area.
- Visitation should be limited and the construction of roads, buildings, and other facilities be kept to a minimum.
- Where privacy is needed, such as at the volcanoes, the Pueblos need to be assured of private access. No signs should be posted indicating special Pueblo use.
- Access should be afforded to the Pueblos for current or renewed culturally relevant use such as plant collecting, ceremonial hunts, and teaching youth about their culture.
- The Pueblos identified several activities they felt were examples of exploitative financial gain being made from cultural resources they considered sacred. These activities included the sale of items that

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<sup>2</sup> The topic of Pueblo secrecy regarding their religious knowledge is well known in anthropology. Past abuses of confidences shared with anthropologists, journalists, and other writers considerably dampens the enthusiasm Pueblo people may feel toward establishing a consultation process with the NPS. For reference to secrecy see Lamphere 1989; Parsons 1929, 1932; Scheper-Hughes 1987; Stevenson 1894; Suina 1992; White 1932, 1935, 1962



incorporated petroglyph symbols such as note cards, postcards, dinnerware, clothing, and photographs. They asked that these items not be sold at the Monument.

- Pueblo government officials from two Pueblos and the All Indian Pueblo Council suggested that the National Park Service establish a system of shared revenues from visitor fees and concessions. These officials felt the revenues could be shared to benefit all Pueblos, not just individuals or specific Pueblo tribes. An example given by one group of Pueblo consultants is a scholarship fund for the education of Pueblo students in anthropology and other social science disciplines.
- Restricted access was recommended for three areas: 1) the volcanoes, 2) a possible shrine site on the escarpment, and 3) the Piedras Marcadas ruin.
- Most of the Pueblos we contacted recommended that the archaeological sites, such as the Piedras Marcadas ruin, should not be excavated for any reason. Zuni Pueblo's archaeology program representatives said that they would need to see specific plans the National Park Service had for the Piedras Marcadas ruin before they could make specific recommendations. If they were not shown specific plans for the excavation, they said they would also have to recommend no excavation be carried out. They also suggested that the National Park Service explore non-destructive analysis procedures, such as those they advocate for archaeological work conducted on the Zuni reservation.

## **Future Consultation**

Both Spanish heritage and Indian people told us they want to help design future consultation processes between themselves and the National Park Service, rather than being first approached only after the process is set up by the National Park Service. The groups envision their involvement to include input on how information they share with the National Park Service will be used. In addition to specific interested Pueblos such as Sandia, the National Park Service should, according to the Pueblos, go to the intertribal organizations to consult. Tribal governments, the All Indian Pueblo Council, the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, and the Ten Southern Pueblos Governors Council declared their interest in participating with the National



Pueblos Governors Council declared their interest in participating with the National Park Service, but also noted that they lack the resources to monitor so many different Monuments and federal actions that affect their religious life. The Pueblo consultants felt the National Park Service could implement their recommendations by working with these groups to establish a setting within which consultation can occur. Their recommendations are:

- 1) Create a liaison position, paid for by the National Park Service, but located part-time at the Chairman's office of the All Indian Pueblo Council, to work with member Pueblos. This could be an activity of the National Park Service Southwest Regional Office's American Indian Program.
- 2) Support the formation of a cultural resource protection committee within the All Indian Pueblo Council to monitor all actions on federal lands (not just National Park Service units) and deal with issues such as the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, antiquities, and historic preservation laws and regulations.
- 3) Make basic presentations concerning National Park Service cultural resource projects to all the member Pueblos and provide information to the Governors' staffs.

Our meetings with Governors, Tribal Councils, and the All Indian Pueblo Council show that effective consultation will require several structural components with both the Pueblos and the National Park Service: a) a willingness to modify or create plans as a result of consultation and learning on the part of the people involved; b) a willingness to test incremental plans (i.e. planning done in small phases, rather than one large master plan that is then implemented over several years); c) an understanding that consultation is a learning process for all participants; d) a scheduling of meetings at mutually agreeable times, and in mutually agreeable locations; e) a focus by both the Pueblos and the National Park Service on building tribal members' skills and capabilities of working with cultural resource issues by supporting tribal historic preservation committees and other efforts with financial resources.

The Pueblos have many questions about the Monument and how they can join with the National Park Service to protect it. It was made clear to us during our



interviews with Pueblo people that the National Park Service needs to seek general concerns before holding a meeting where it expects the Tribe to articulate an official position. For example, several Governors said to us both individually and within the collective forum of the All Indian Pueblo Council that the National Park Service should not hold a meeting expecting Pueblo leaders to approve or disapprove a long list of items without some time for reflection and consideration of the issues.

Because of past experiences, some Pueblo leaders have no confidence that their concerns will be heard or that their recommendations will be considered in a culturally sensitive manner. Pueblo leaders told us the most important step the National Park Service and Monument staff can take at this juncture is to try to incorporate Pueblo cultural resource protection recommendations into the alternative plans now being presented for public comment. They suggested the next step would then be to provide the necessary staff or financial support to make it feasible for Pueblo people to participate in the long-term planning efforts of the Monument and the National Park Service. As a corollary to this, the National Park Service might consider working within the cultural structure Pueblo people use to authorize decisions and recommendations.

This study yielded information on how the National Park Service can proceed to involve the Hispanic and Indian communities in the future, even if all communities were not involved in the short time frame of this particular project. This study also showed that within Puebloan society, cultural resource information can only be shared by Pueblo people when they understand and are confident about how the information will be used. In the Pueblos' government and cultural structure, it is more useful if the consultation process comes first and the specific cultural resource information requests come later, once such a consultation process is clearly established as being of mutual benefit. Our Pueblo consultants suggested that hiring an American Indian liaison person with the Southwest Regional Office would help facilitate the long-term consultation process and strengthen the Ethnography Program.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Project Goals and Participants

At the beginning of the study, the research team contacted all 19 Pueblos, the Jicarilla Apache Tribe, the Mescalero Apache Tribe, the Hopi Tribe, and the Navajo Tribe, to see if they wanted to participate in the consultation process. As part of the contact component of the project, we met with the All Indian Pueblo Council, the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, the Ten Southern Pueblos Governors Council, and Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc. We contacted those Spanish heritage groups identified by the National Park Service and others as the most likely groups to have members with cultural resource concerns. These groups included the Atrisco Land Rights Council, the Westland Development Corporation, and the Atrisco Historical Committee. We also contacted Tonantzin Land Institute as a potential collaborator in identifying Hispanic cultural resource experts or eliciting concerns. In addition to these tribal governments, and Spanish and American Indian organizations, we also contacted several individuals from both American Indian and Spanish ethnic groups. A complete list of the governments and organizations we contacted as part of this work is listed in the List of Contacts table. To protect confidentiality, individuals are not identified in this report.

According to our informants, this is one of the first times the Pueblos have been asked to participate in a project that involved cultural resources before plans were developed. They said they are normally sent copies of predetermined plans during the public comment phase of a project. They cited numerous examples of receiving planning documents with standard cover letters requiring comments within a prescribed number of days. The fact that the Petroglyph National Monument process sought input before planning documents were drafted was unusual for the Pueblo leaders since they did not have any plans to review. Once they understood the project, it was made clear to us that they prefer to be included early on in the planning process. The Pueblos who participated with us in this project are the ones most experienced and confident in interacting at such initial stages with government agencies. The other Pueblos may become interested in individual consultation once they have seen the reasons for and benefits of being involved in



this particular project. As the Pueblo government leaders become more acquainted with the process through intertribal organizations, the non-participating Pueblos may eventually choose to become more involved with the National Park Service and Monument staff.

This report is neither a "clearance" document nor an endorsement of the Monument plan alternatives by the Native Americans involved in this ethnographic assessment project. As they often stated, they did not have enough time to adequately examine the entire Monument area. They also were not informed of specific planning ideas of the National Park Service until late in our fieldwork. Therefore, they have offered general recommendations. This rapid ethnographic assessment project marks a beginning of the National Park Service's consultation process with ethnic communities who have direct ties to the Petroglyph National Monument. Consultations with other publics have taken place, and Park Service consultations at other parks are ongoing.

## **Methodology**

### *Native American Participation*

Upon notification of the project award on December 16, 1991, the University of Arizona research team arranged to begin the project work activities. Standard practice is to send a letter and a copy of the research proposal to all potential participants before the project is awarded or begins. However, the project award came just one week before Christmas, effectively negating any attempts to make tribal contacts in advance. In Pueblo governmental structure, most Governors and tribal officers serve for one year, beginning in January. Not only were most of the tribal officers changing at Christmas time, but also there are many complex and long-lasting Christmas observances, both within the Catholic Church, and within Pueblo religious structure. The result was that no tribal contacts could be initiated until after January 6, 1992, when the tribal officers were in place in their respective Pueblos.

Tribal contact took the form of letters, telephone calls, and meetings. Two letters were sent to each tribe and Pueblo introducing the project, providing them with the research proposal, and requesting a mutually agreeable time for a meeting and presentation with the Governor and Tribal Council. These letters were followed up by several telephone calls to each tribal office. Sometimes a meeting was not

possible because of the short project timeline. A large agenda of items competed with our Petroglyph National Monument project, so some Governors were unable to devote scarce time and resources to a topic that would not have direct and immediate impact on their own Pueblos or lands. Some Governors chose not to become involved in the project because: a) they did not think it directly concerned them as a tribe; b) they felt it was very important but did not want to be put in a position of divulging information in a research project because they considered religious information secret and for Pueblo people only; or c) they did not believe their voices would be incorporated in any federal land use plans.

Our meetings with Pueblos (with three exceptions) were always with the Governor or his staff or officials. In three cases we were invited to meet with the Tribal Council. Two of these Tribal Council meetings occurred somewhat early in the project, and the Councils gave us their procedures and direction for continuing their involvement. In the third case, the meeting with the Tribal Council was at the end of our project work, and our presentation came only after extensive involvement in the project by the Governor's staff and the organized Cultural Committee of the Pueblo.

At the beginning of the project, we also presented the purpose of the study to officers of the All Indian Pueblo Council and the Director of the New Mexico Office of Indian Affairs in order to facilitate the communication of information to the individual tribes. Both groups recommended we continue to ask the Governors of each tribe before proceeding with any research. This is a pattern that fits with general Pueblo governmental policy. In all Pueblos, the Tribal Council and officials make major decisions, especially those decisions about topics originating in the non-Pueblo world. Often the Governor is charged with deciding what topics the Tribal Council addresses. If the Governor does not think a topic is one that the Council will be interested in, or has already addressed in another context, then it is not necessary for him to bring it to the Council's attention. On the other hand, if the Governor does want to explore the topic further, he can decide to participate in the activities necessary to gather information that he can then present to the Council later. In all but one case of active Pueblo involvement, it was this latter method of working that the Governors chose to follow. In one case, a Tribal Council chose to participate further in the project based on what members heard during our presentation of the work. There were several Pueblos and other Indian Tribes that expressed verbally or in writing that they would like to participate but could not



meet the time frame required by the National Park Service in this study. At a meeting with the All Indian Pueblo Council in late May 1992, several Governors indicated they would become involved with the National Park Service and Monument staff in further consultation through the forum of the All Indian Pueblo Council. Table 1 shows the contact decisions made by the tribes and Pueblos as of June 1, 1992.

One meeting was held with a non-Pueblo tribal group, the Ramah Navajo Chapter executive committee. Besides the meetings held with individual Pueblos, we also had meetings with the staff and made presentations to the All Indian Pueblo Council, the Ten Southern Pueblos Governors Council (1991 members only), the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, and Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc.

#### *Spanish Heritage Groups*

Our contacts with Spanish heritage groups in the Albuquerque area essentially followed the same procedures as outlined above for the tribes and Pueblos, although the Spanish heritage and Hispanic peoples are not represented by political bodies to the same extent as are the sovereign Indian Tribes and Pueblos. Therefore, we also contacted the Tonantzin Land Institute, which acts as an advocate for the needs of a number of Hispanic land grant groups. We met with the director just before Christmas to explain the project. At that meeting several alternatives were discussed, including the possibility that the director would work as a paid member of the research team. The director explained that he could not work as an individual, and that we should hire the Tonantzin Land Institute as a subcontractor. This alternative was not possible given the parameters of the project.

Following the holidays and the official contract award, we contacted the Atrisco Land Rights Council, identified by the National Park Service and others as another potential participant. The Atrisco Land Rights Council representative (as well as the Tonantzin Land Institute director) said they had testimony on file that would be helpful but that meetings with their membership and cultural resource experts were not possible at this time. It is our understanding that the Tonantzin Land Institute discussed with the Atrisco Land Rights Council the possibility of entering into a consultation process with the National Park Service and Monument staff. However, both groups eventually chose not to participate in the ethnographic assessment project. We were notified of these decisions in mid-May 1992.

A third group of concerned Hispanic people is composed of historians and writers who trace their descent from the original Spanish families who settled in the Atrisco area in the early 1600s. They met with us approximately halfway through the project fieldwork period. Further contacts with members of this group continued until the end of our fieldwork. According to an Hispanic professional we talked with, the lack of involvement by Spanish people may not indicate lack of interest or of cultural resources but rather other historic and political factors in the state of New Mexico or concerns with how federal and state agencies handle research contracts.

### *Cultural Resources*

Our proposed methods for delineating the concerns about cultural resources of the Native American and Spanish heritage participants centered on site visits and focus groups, or group discussions. It is our standard research policy (and consistent with federal policy concerning government-to-government relations) that if a tribal government chooses not to participate in a project, we do not attempt to interview or involve any members of that Indian tribe. This approach recognizes and respects tribal sovereignty. For those groups that most fully participated in the project work, we made site visits to the Monument area. These site visits served as forums during which group discussions occurred. The participants, or their designated spokespeople, were able to express their thoughts and feelings concerning not only the petroglyphs they saw, but also the consultation process, cultural resources, and the process of cultural resource documentation. Other group discussions outside of the site visit context focused on future Monument management concerns.

Because the site visit and interview participants were chosen by the tribal officials of the Pueblo, and not by the research team, it was not possible to stratify them by age, sex, or other variables. However, these participants are representative of the Pueblo, precisely because they were chosen by their tribal officials to participate in the project.

One interview and extensive day-trip was conducted with the designated spokesperson for the Atrisco Historical Committee. However, this trip did not include the Monument area at the request of the spokesperson. He did not know of any Spanish cultural resources within the Monument boundaries, and thought the time would be better spent touring the area of Albuquerque known historically as the Spanish village of Atrisco.



The site visits were scheduled at the convenience of the Pueblo. The Governors, Tribal Councils, or tribal officials chose the people who went on site visits. No restrictions were placed on the Pueblo group regarding who or how many people could make a site visit. We did ask, however, that the person choosing the site visit participants try to include people who either knew about the specific cultural resources in the project area, or knew about cultural resources likely to be found in the area. As a result, the participants in the site visits were all knowledgeable people familiar with the area, or the resources found there. For three Pueblos the site visit participants had been involved with similar efforts in the past, so they were familiar with what we were asking of them. For others, this was the first time they had been exposed to this type of research. Defining the role of tribal people as cultural resource experts was a new concept to many of the Pueblos. We only made site visits with Pueblo people chosen by their tribal officials to accompany us.

Petroglyph National Monument is not large in acreage, but the actual number of petroglyphs is estimated at 17,000. These petroglyphs can be found along the entire length of the escarpment making up the eastern edge of the West Mesa, a distance of some 17 miles. Therefore, it was not possible for Indian representatives to see everything. Some Pueblo leaders asked for more than one site visit, or a multi-day site visit, and we accommodated these requests. Even with more time, however, priorities had to be set and some sites were not visited by every group.

The locations visited (listed in the Cultural Resource Concerns section) were chosen because of their accessibility for tribal elders with decreased mobility and because they were examples of the types of petroglyphs found in the area. In most cases, the locations were ones shown to us by the National Park Service and archaeologists familiar with the area. One Pueblo group who made a multi-day visit requested to see the northern geologic window and the Rinconada Canyon area, in addition to the locations we had chosen. Another Pueblo group requested a second site visit to see an area at the northern edge of the escarpment near Paradise Hills Boulevard because the area contains relatively recent petroglyphs (as determined by the degree of patination) they felt were connected to their Pueblo.

The Piedras Marcadas Ruin location was included in all site visits because we were told by the National Park Service in December that possible excavation was planned for the site. With the exception of the Piedras Marcadas Ruin, we were unable to base decisions about which site to visit on proposed plans for the area because the National Park Service did not have information about preliminary

alternatives until April 1992. After receiving this information, we incorporated it into our site visit discussions. We did not have time to visit areas that were not already well documented (in terms of location) by either the State of New Mexico or the National Park Service. General descriptions of the site locations are included in the cultural resource section.

#### *Consultation on Management Issues*

During this project, we specifically documented the Pueblos' interest and recommended procedures for future involvement in the Monument planning, research, and management activities. We asked for tribal recommendations in three ways.

First, during site visits we asked for their recommendations for protecting specific sites when they said an area should be protected or restricted. While driving through the Monument, we reviewed the National Park Service planning process, general goals, and stated management arenas (public information, excavation and the like as indicated in National Park Service documents) to elicit discussion or comments. We also presented an aerial map of the area. All of this information was provided to us throughout the project by the National Park Service Monument planning staff.

Second, we met with Governors and tribal officials on several occasions. During such meetings, we presented the National Park Service planning process as it had been explained to us verbally by Monument and National Park Service staff, and in documents provided by the Monument. In our meetings with Pueblos, we asked how they would like to be involved in this process. We repeated this question at the end of the project at meetings with the tribal officials, or in some cases, Tribal Councils. In late April, we obtained draft alternative plans on maps from the Monument staff to advance this discussion because it had become clear that the Pueblo people wanted to respond to some of the National Park Service plans. The alternative plans were presented to them to promote discussion. When these plans were presented to cultural experts, they took the project to the Tribal Council for recommendations on how to proceed. The maps became a very useful part of our discussions with tribal staff and political leaders on resource policy and management questions.

Third, we followed the requests of several Pueblo leaders that these issues of the Pueblo role in future preservation and management concerns be discussed at an intertribal forum. These served as focus group sessions with emphasis on future



consultation and general cultural resource concerns and as an opportunity to discover areas of consensus among many tribes on management concerns. For this process, we prepared basic handouts on the goals of the Monument (as stated in the General Management Plan Task Directive of September 1992) and a list of questions for further discussion that included:

- Does the group wish to be involved in the future?
- Which types of issues do they want to be involved in?
- Through what tribal or intertribal procedure do they want to be involved?

It became clear to us that federal government actions that affect off-reservation resources over which no individual Pueblo tribe has exclusive rights are customarily debated within the existing representative and intertribal organizations. We worked with the smaller organizations such as Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc. (FSIP) first, because many of the more involved Pueblos are members of FSIP, and then made presentations to the All Indian Pueblo Council. Staff within these organizations were also contacted and provided detailed information.

At the request of both the involved Pueblos and the Monument planning staff, the final step was to help move the consultation process to the Monument staff by facilitating the scheduling of future meetings, distributing basic printed information (provided by the National Park Service), and encouraging both the Pueblos and the Monument staff to create intermediary and on going systems of communication.

It was not possible to determine the future method of consulting with the Spanish heritage groups because we were not given an opportunity to make a presentation to their governing bodies. Instead, we asked knowledgeable and concerned Hispanic scholars how the National Park Service might approach studies in the future. It was recommended to us that the National Park Service make every effort to hire Hispanic scholars and researchers to conduct cultural resource projects in the future. One person recommended that the National Park Service (and other government agencies) not use the standard Request for Proposals/Bid process for these research projects, and instead simply give the project to Hispanic scholars and researchers.

# Chapter 2

## Cultural Resource Concerns

### Overview

Pueblo people who visited the Petroglyph National Monument area believe that the area was a place used by numerous Pueblos and Tribes for many purposes. Although some Pueblos such as Sandia claimed a frequent use of the area, none believed that use had been exclusive. In addition, supporting documents submitted for a land claim filed by the Pueblos of Jemez, Zia, and Santa Ana in the 1950s showed an overlapping use area located immediately north of the Monument (Ellis 1956). In keeping with this joint use concept for the Monument area, we have combined Pueblo concerns that were given to us during site visits and meetings. When the comments of Pueblo people included in this section were rare or not in the same vein as most participants, they are so noted. However, there was a great deal of consensus on the significance of cultural resources among the people who visited or discussed the area. Representatives from five Pueblos made site visits, with two of these Pueblos making more than one site visit. One Pueblo made a two-day visit.

The Petroglyph National Monument is dominated by two major geological features. One is the basalt escarpment, commonly called the West Mesa, that runs roughly north-south on the west side of the City of Albuquerque. This escarpment is not solid basalt; instead it is a thin basalt caprock on top of alluvial sediments. Wind and water erosion has undercut the basalt caprock creating a talus slope, giving the impression that the escarpment is solid basalt. Most of the petroglyphs found within the Monument are along this escarpment. The lava flows that created the basalt of the escarpment came from five volcanic cones and eleven smaller volcanic vents. Over time, six different eruptions occurred with most of the lava flowing east toward the Rio Grande floodplain.

There are several different kinds of cultural resources important to Pueblo people found within the Monument boundaries. The archaeology sites and petroglyphs are only two of these. Others are plants, animals, and general areas considered to be sacred because of the presence of shrines or other religious items. Even though our fieldwork took place primarily in the winter, several species of



plants were identified as having religious, medicinal, and food value. These species include *Cymopterus fendleri* (chimaja, biscuit root), *Gutierrezia* spp. (snakebroom, matchweed, broomweed), *Chrysothamnus nauseosus* (rabbitbrush), *Artiplex canescens* (saltbush), *Ephedra* spp. (Indian tea), *Rhus trilobata* (squawbush), and *Oryzopsis hymenoides* (Indian ricegrass). Our Pueblo consultants declined to elaborate on the uses of these plants at this time, since some have significant religious value to members of kiva societies who are not allowed to divulge their use. It was also not clear to the people making the site visits if the plants were in any danger of being destroyed by future National Park Service or Monument activities. It is recommended that a full ethnobotany study be conducted during a spring and summer season to fully document the presence of plant species Pueblo people feel are culturally significant in potentially impacted areas.

## Volcanoes

Our Pueblo consultants identified the volcanoes area as culturally significant to Pueblo people in two ways. The first was as a general area. In discussions with seven different Pueblo groups, the entire Monument area was referred to as "the volcanoes." Sandia Pueblo consultants identified the entire area west of the escarpment as the location of spirit trails—trails that are traveled by spirits of the dead on their way to other places. They feel the petroglyphs on the escarpment, the volcanoes, and the spirit trails are interrelated, forming a communication nexus to the spirit world that can be used by living people to help their prayers and medicine in this world. Some prayers and medicine are thought to be more powerful if they can be expressed or practiced at the volcanoes. Sandia Pueblo consultants felt this was so in the past, and they know of living people who have used the volcanoes for prayers and medicine in their lifetimes. The volcanoes are also included in at least one Rio Grande Pueblo story regarding the Underworld. The English translation of a Pueblo name for the area is approximately "Crown of the Blossom."

The second way the Pueblo consultants identified the volcanoes as culturally significant was through site specific objects and locations. At least one, and possibly two, sacred areas were identified by consultants from three different Pueblos who visited the area. Sandia Pueblo consultants also identified the general volcano area as a location that was included in prayers and ceremonies today. It was mentioned that prayers and prayer sticks are brought to the area, and that specific healing powers are attributed to the volcano area.

In the larger context of Pueblo belief systems, all things, whether plants, animals, rocks, or other inanimate objects, are alive and have spirits. Zuni consultants pointed out that the rocks are alive so that they can take care of the plants. Zuni consultants felt that people coming to the volcano area for medicinal plants would have left offerings for the rocks and the volcanoes because of the sacred relationship between the volcanoes, the rocks, the mountains, and the medicinal plants. In keeping with Zuni Pueblo's traditions, these offerings and the medicinal plants associated with them would have been used by special medicine societies.

Zuni Pueblo consultants felt the volcanoes area, and the open central area separating the volcanoes from the escarpment, might contain the remnants of trails people used while traveling from various points to sacred areas in the Sandia Mountains. They pointed out that people would not simply have walked a straight line from their home to the mountains, but would have stopped at places along the way. The volcanoes area is an obvious place these travelers would have stopped, due to the volcanoes' proximity to the Sandia Mountains, the unique nature of the rock outcroppings, and the location of the petroglyphs along the escarpment. If they did stop at the volcanoes on these religious journeys, they would have left offerings at significant places on and around the volcanoes.

Zuni Pueblo and Zia Pueblo elders said the volcanoes were an obvious guidepost and visual marker for people traveling between the Santa Fe Mountains, the Sandia Mountains, Mt. Taylor, the Ortiz Mountains, and the Magdalena Mountains. They said they have names for these in their language, suggesting that their ancestors were familiar with the mountains. For Pueblo people, the Sandia Mountains are sacred, and contain sacred areas and shrines. Given the sacredness of the Sandia Mountains, the Zuni Pueblo consultants felt it was highly likely that there are other specific prayer, religious, and sacred areas immediately surrounding the mountains, probably in the area of the volcanoes.

The sacredness of the surrounding mountains is expounded upon by Ortiz (1969:19) who gives the Tewa name of the Sandia Crest as *Oku Pin* or Turtle Mountain. The sacred mountains of the Tewa all have "earth navels" associated with them. Earth navels are marked by shrines to indicate the place where people can communicate with the spirit world. In Tewa society, the shrines also help gather the blessings of the different spiritual worlds and direct these blessings to the



village (Ortiz 1969:141). In Tewa pueblos, pilgrimages are made to earth navel shrines located on the four sacred mountains.

The shrines identified near Vulcan Volcano within the Monument boundaries are entirely consistent with the descriptions of earth navels given by Ortiz and others for Tewa Society (see Ortiz 1969; Stevenson 1913; Parsons 1929). In the larger context of the Pueblo religious system, it does not matter if Pueblo people still own the sacred area. The Pueblo consultants felt the important point was that the area not be disturbed, because some Pueblos believe that if a place is disturbed it cannot be used for religious activity. The evident levels of recreational use, vandalism, and painting of the rocks were pointed out as reasons to limit access to the area.

During our interviews, it became obvious that Pueblo people view the Monument area as a whole, not as a group of discrete cultural resources. The volcanoes were felt to be connected on many different spiritual and physical realms to both the escarpment petroglyphs and the Sandia Mountains.

In general, Pueblo people believe that if a location is specifically connected to medicine societies or clans, and people stop using it, those clans, the prayers, the songs, and the items associated with the site can disappear from the culture. The Pueblo consultants felt that protecting these places so that they can continue to be used for religious purposes is essential to their people keeping their religion and their culture. Zuni Pueblo consultants pointed out that once the use of a place is lost spiritual items can disappear forever.

It was made clear to us during the site visits and interviews that Pueblo people continue to know how to interpret the importance of an area. An Indian person does not have to be the original user of the cultural resource or be from the original users' tribe to have a culturally based understanding of how an area was used in the past.

## **Northern Geological Window**

Zuni Pueblo consultants specifically asked to visit the Northern Geological Window based on photographs shown to the Tribal Council as part of our project presentation. This location contains many petroglyphs of varying sizes. Some of these symbols have been used in publicity concerning the petroglyphs and related protection efforts by the Friends of the Petroglyphs organization, an Albuquerque-based special interest group. In this area, Zuni Pueblo representatives identified a

grouping of petroglyphs they felt had religious significance to them. Included in the grouping was a star-shaped symbol and many others they identified as interrelated.

The repetition of animals and tracks was considered significant by Zuni Pueblo consultants. One symbol was felt to be connected to the Sandia Cave, and others were identified as possible katchinas. The combinations of symbols marked this area as being a special place of high religious and cultural significance to Zuni Pueblo. The consultants asked that we not publish detailed interpretations of these petroglyphs, because they did not know the specific plans the National Park Service had for this particular location. They did say, however, that the grouping was important enough to cause them to recommend that the Northern Geologic Window be restricted in visitor use.

## **The Stag Horn Drive Site**

The Stag Horn Drive Site is within the boundaries of the Indian Petroglyph State Park. Because of the housing development near the eastern boundary of the Monument, it is easy to enter the area. This site has several large petroglyphs and many grinding areas.

Sandia Pueblo consultants identified a star-shaped symbol at this site as connected to the Bow Priest society (see also Schmader and Hays 1986:133). The tell-tale arrow in the symbol was the key for the Bow Priest identification. The star symbol generally faces south-southeast, and is one of at least three star symbols in the area. One Sandia Pueblo consultant also remarked that the symbol is similar to current kiva mural paintings he is familiar with. These mural paintings triggered the consultant to identify this star-shaped petroglyph with the Bow Priest society.

Illustrating the inherent problems in attributing only one interpretation to a petroglyph, Zuni Pueblo consultants did not think this symbol was connected to the Bow Priests. They explained that different Pueblos, though they may have many cultural activities in common, or were similar to each other in different ways, often would have various interpretations for religious symbols based on their own cultural stories.

The consultants from Sandia Pueblo, Zuni Pueblo, Zia Pueblo, and Santa Ana Pueblo who visited this site felt it was a ceremonial and religious area. Zia Pueblo consultants who visited the site the morning after a rain remarked on the pools of water in the lava rock, commenting that this was probably the reason people used



this location. They felt these former users of the area would have had plants for medicinal, religious, and subsistence uses nearby, and a periodic water source closer than the Rio Grande. The Zia Pueblo consultants believed it was reasonable that previous users would have placed important religious symbols at this spot. Zia Pueblo consultants also thought that groups of hunters rendezvousing and traveling past the West Mesa area might have used the site to replenish their food supply for the remaining journey because of the pools of water and the many large grinding slicks.

## **The Morning Star Panel Site**

The Morning Star Panel site is located to the north of Marsh Peninsula on a south-facing slope of the escarpment. According to Sandia, Zuni, and Zia consultants, the label of "star-beings" (Eastvold 1986:131) for some of these symbols is incorrect. This site, sometimes called the "Shrine of the Star-Beings" by non-Indians, was identified by Sandia Pueblo consultants as a possible ceremonial area, and as a sacred site with religious relevance to Pueblo people today. Schaafsma (1992:103) has published a photograph of this site.

The three star-shaped symbols face to the south-southeast, which was considered significant by Sandia Pueblo and Zuni Pueblo elders who visited the site. The star-shaped symbol with the hands and feet was identified as a Morning Star, while the one to its immediate left with the bird-like claws was identified as the Evening Star. The star shape on the rock behind the panel was identified as the north star. The placement of these three symbols was felt to be generally indicative of their corresponding location in the sky during certain times of the year. The circle below the star shapes on the panel was identified as the sun. The thin incised lines connected to this circle were identified as having been added later to the original. The panel was identified as having two halves, with the symbols on the left half connected to the "spring" seasons and the symbols on the other right half connected to the "fall" seasons.

The Pueblo people who visited the site or saw photographs of the panel did not support the interpretation by Schfaasma (1992:103) that the panel is related to war, or that the incised lines added to the star shapes represent eagle feather headdresses. However, Barnes (1982:298) did label star-shaped symbols from an area south of Albuquerque as Morning Stars. Other star shapes located within the Monument were identified by Pueblo people as connected to the Bow Priests, which

traditionally had a role in warfare in defense of the pueblos. The leaders of the Bow Priest societies (also Warrior society in some Pueblos) represent the Twin War Gods in Zia Pueblo culture (Stevenson 1894:72), and the War Captains present in current Pueblo government and religious structure also function as representatives of the War Gods in the performance of their duties as keepers of tradition (Tyler 1964:219). The Twin War Gods are culture heroes in Pueblo society, often saving people from various dangers and ills in Pueblo stories. They are said to have been born in the rays of the sun, with the sun as their father, and Yellow Woman of the North as their mother (Tyler 1964:214). They are not necessarily related to war as defined by battle between opposing armies or forces. Based on what our Pueblo consultants told us, a more ethnographically based interpretation of this panel would be that it contains symbols related to the Twin War Gods of Pueblo mythology, with the placement of the symbols representative of specific stars in the sky. The other symbols have connections to exploits of the Twin War Gods as told in Pueblo stories (Stevenson 1894:43-57). According to Stevenson's account of Zia mythology, the Twin War Gods now live on Sandia Mountain.

This site is illustrative of two points regarding Pueblo peoples' feelings toward petroglyphs. Zuni Pueblo consultants pointed out that the panel with the star-shaped petroglyph is symbolically connected to other petroglyphs on the same rock. The panel group is also symbolically connected to two nearby groups of petroglyphs. These three groups are in turn symbolically linked to other petroglyphs, the volcanoes, and the Sandia Mountains. Zuni Pueblo and Zia Pueblo consultants believe the context in which the petroglyphs are found figures prominently in the meaning of these petroglyphs. This context is defined as not only the other petroglyphs that may be associated with the symbols being observed, but also the geographic and regional context. This position is in counterpoint to a common archaeological technique of studying petroglyphs by presenting them in discrete artistic style categories.

A second point illustrated by this panel is the problem of modification of the original petroglyphs. All of the Pueblo consultants said the star-shaped symbols have been extensively modified from the original symbol. This is most evident with the added "crowns" or "feather headdresses" on top of the star shapes. These are very thin lines that were incised into the rock with a sharp tool (presumably metal), instead of being pecked into the rock using another rock as a hammer stone. The Sandia Pueblo, Zuni Pueblo, and Zia Pueblo consultants who saw this panel



immediately identified these lines, and other lines on the rock, as having been added by someone other than the original petroglyph maker. The literature references to this site illustrate the symbols as if the "crowns" or "feathered headdresses" are part of the originals (Eastvold 1986:131, 133; Schaafsma 1992:103).

Contemporary Pueblo people generally do not approve of the modification of petroglyphs. The Pueblo consultants felt that the petroglyphs were put in a location for a specific purpose, and that it would not be condoned for an Indian person to modify the original. This does not eliminate the possibility that an Indian person added to the petroglyphs at some time in the past; however, the Pueblo attitude regarding modification of petroglyphs, coupled with statements from Pueblo, Spanish, and Anglo people that Spanish residents and other non-Indians made a variety of petroglyphs along the escarpment, makes it unlikely that a Pueblo person made the modifications, at least in any kind of sanctioned manner. Some Pueblo consultants defined modifications to the petroglyphs such as those at the Morning Star Panel as vandalism.

## **Rinconada Canyon**

The Rinconada Canyon area is identified in Schmader and Hays (1986) as having several hundred petroglyphs in groupings found along the entire length of the canyon walls. The southern half of Rinconada Canyon was still part of the Atrisco Land Grant at the time of this project, and as such was owned by Westland Development Corporation. While Westland had plans to sell this acreage to the National Park Service for incorporation into the Monument boundaries, this sale had not yet been completed when we conducted our fieldwork. On the advice of the National Park Service, we did not visit the southern half of Rinconada Canyon; our site visits were restricted to the north side of the Atrisco Land Grant boundary.

The Zuni Pueblo consultants who visited Rinconada Canyon commented that many petroglyphs they saw did not look as "old" as some others (relative age being judged by the degree of patination), and that many did not look like the style of petroglyphs made by Native Americans. Several petroglyphs were pointed out as probably having been made by Anglo or Spanish people. One of these was a "head shape" more similar to an outline of a person's profile than other "masks" along the escarpment. Another was identified as "a white man's dog." They also commented

on the number that had been used for target practice and had consequently suffered severe damage.

No specific interpretations or identifications were made of the Rinconada Canyon petroglyphs, nor were any specific sacred areas identified. However, given the number of petroglyphs observed, the Zuni Pueblo consultants felt the Rinconada Canyon probably did have cultural significance in the past, and the area would have helped define the sacred nature of the whole escarpment for the former residents.

## **Mesa Prieta**

The Mesa Prieta area was not visited by the Pueblo consultants. This area is owned by the Westland Development Corporation, and the only access is either through their locked gates, or by way of a cross-country hike. Instead of taking Pueblo consultants to this area, we made a sanctioned solo visit to the location and took photographs illustrating the types of petroglyphs in the area. These photographs were then shown to elders and religious leaders during later interviews and meetings. While this procedure was not ideal, it was felt to be the only way to get some input about the area from the Pueblo consultants given the short period of the project.

Not surprisingly, little information was derived from the use of the photographs instead of site visits. Photographs can rarely give a viewer the detail of the petroglyph, along with the physical and geographical context of the symbols. This illustrates the importance of American Indian people seeing the symbols for themselves in their natural context.

A Zuni Pueblo consultant said he thought one petroglyph might be symbolizing the earth with rain, clouds, and stars placed above the ground. The so-called "Christian crosses" did not elicit any comment from any of our consultants.

A Native American concern that came up during the viewing of the Mesa Prieta photographs was that someone had defaced the petroglyphs with underlined numbers. The Pueblo consultants viewed this as vandalism. Archaeologists familiar with the area have been unable to determine when this defacing occurred.

## **Marsh Peninsula**

The Marsh Peninsula juts out of West Mesa to the east, approximately halfway between Rinconada Canyon and the Indian Petroglyph State Park. Several rock



rings are placed on its top, with a large rock-walled circle on the eastern edge of the peninsula. Petroglyphs are located on the escarpment along the peninsula. There are also recent graphics on the rocks on the south side of the peninsula, identified by some Pueblo consultants as a type of vandalism.

One Sandia Pueblo consultant speculated that the rock rings were used in religious activities related to hunting. However, this consultant could not confirm that the Marsh Peninsula rock rings were used for this purpose. Zia Pueblo consultants identified the rock rings as probably unconnected to hunting ceremonials, although they confirmed that similar rock rings were used for such purposes. They offered one interpretation of the rock rings as being used for signal fires. The Zia Pueblo spokesperson pointed out that the rock rings were placed all around the edge of the peninsula. This placement would have allowed a variety of signals to be used, depending on the number of fires lit, and their specific location around the edge of the peninsula. During the day, straightforward smudge fires would have produced smoke. At night, the light of the fires would have formed the signal. The consultant pointed out that fires are used today by men of their Pueblo to signal their return from ceremonial hunts and fasts in the mountains.

One set of apparently unique petroglyphs at Marsh Peninsula was identified by Zia Pueblo consultants as being the same as petroglyphs they have on their Pueblo lands near the Albuquerque area. The symbols appear to be small human footprints that lead over several discontinuous rocks in a generally northern direction. The consultants said they had a similar petroglyph at their Pueblo, but that the footprints pointed to the south. They also felt the petroglyph at Marsh Peninsula was not as "old" as others, based on a relative degree of patination. The Zia Pueblo consultants who identified this petroglyph as related to theirs thought the connection was strong enough to warrant the conclusion that their ancestors must have used the West Mesa area. It should be noted that in Zia symbolism, small footprints made by the Twin War Gods are present on Sandia Mountain (Stevenson 1894:57). Further interpretation of these petroglyphs by Zia religious leaders may be warranted, given their identification as being related to a similar set of footprints near Zia Pueblo.

## **Piedras Marcadas Ruin**

Sandia, Zuni, Zia, Santa Ana, and Cochiti Pueblo consultants who visited the Piedras Marcadas Ruin site felt the area was significant, large, and should not be

excavated. Sandia Pueblo tentatively identified the site as being connected to their ancestors. This connection is supported by the archaeological assessment of the area (Marshall 1984). Zia Pueblo consultants identified some pottery sherds they saw as identical to those at their Pueblo.

Zuni Pueblo consultants (all members of the Zuni Archaeology Program) said there should not be any excavation at the Piedras Marcadas Ruin because these kinds of ruins had sacred components for Pueblo people. They felt that the former inhabitants of the now ruined pueblo chose that location for certain reasons, some of which would have been religious and spiritual in nature. Therefore, the location itself had sacred meaning to them, and should be respected as a sacred site. The evidence of burials (as reported in Marshall 1987) and kivas reinforces the sacred and religious nature of the location to Pueblo people. The Zuni consultants said they have a policy regarding archaeological excavation, but that this policy is intended for salvage archaeology projects, not research or scientific excavation. Sandia Pueblo also has a policy concerning archaeological excavation, but it also is only for salvage projects. None of the Pueblo consultants who visited the Piedras Marcadas Ruin site felt it was in any danger of destruction, and that the only possible impact currently on the site was from the Open Space Division Ranger who lived in the house at the site. Hence, it did not fall into their definition of salvage archaeology, and they did not feel it needed to be excavated for scientific reasons.



# **Chapter 3**

## **Native American Cultural Resource Management Concerns**

The following sections outline the cultural resource management concerns given to us by Pueblo people during interviews, meetings, and site visits. We have compiled these concerns into categories to make them more useful for the National Park Service. This section was presented to the All Indian Pueblo Council in detail at a meeting held in late May 1992, and this section as presented in the Draft Final Report met with the All Indian Pueblo Council approval (see Hena 1992).

### **Guiding Principles of Cultural Resource Management**

During site visits, Pueblo consultants were asked to comment on steps that should be taken by the National Park Service to protect those areas identified as needing protection or restricted access. Although the Pueblo consultants were clear about the need to protect a number of areas, and the Monument as a whole, specific recommendations on appropriate methods were somewhat limited at this early stage. Part of the reason for this is that the Pueblos generally do not have a comprehensive idea of the protection policies and techniques that are within standard practice for the National Park Service.

As a result of their experience with other public and private land-use plans affecting off-reservation or on-reservation cultural resources, however, the Pueblo consultants clearly expressed basic principles to us which they felt should guide resource protection efforts.

#### *The Concept of Respect*

Our Pueblo consultants said they have petroglyphs, ruins, and shrines, created by their ancestors or others' ancestors, on their own lands. They treat these areas with respect, whether or not the areas are currently in use by their own people. When a Pueblo person comes across a site such as those that exist within the Monument, they do not disturb it. With petroglyphs, for example, because they were made by ancestors of earlier peoples, the spirits of those ancestors or makers still reside in that place. Non-disturbance is even more essential if the site had been

created with an intention of communication with forces of nature. All such forces must be kept in balance, and prayers and Pueblo ceremonies continue to be oriented to maintaining harmony. Any disturbance of an area such as Morning Star Panel can disturb this balance with catastrophic effect on current peoples, both Indian and non-Indian. Pueblo people believe the natural world will react to such disturbances. Therefore, it is essential in their view that such areas not be disturbed.

The concept of respect applies not only to cultural resources, but to plants, animals, people, rocks, and all other elements that make up the world. The Pueblo consultants expressed skepticism that most non-Indian visitors, staff, and nearby residents would have this same respectful attitude. They feel this is a fundamental problem confronting the protection of the Monument's cultural resources, and that there would be no need for special restrictions if non-Indians and government personnel shared their values. The lack of shared values, in addition to the sheer quantity of nearby residents and potential visitors, caused the Pueblo consultants' concern based on their own past experiences. This concern was voiced when they saw the level of existing vandalism—scratched-in additions, gunshot damage, littering, paint, defacement of the petroglyphs and volcanoes, pot hunting, road and housing construction, and so on.

#### *Consideration for Future Generations*

Pueblo peoples' consideration for future generations is based on the value that it is better to develop lands slowly while monitoring and evaluating impacts, than to make irreversible decisions because of rapid development of visitor access and facilities. Many of the southern Pueblos are specifically practicing this principle on their own lands in the way they are pursuing economic development. In discussions with the Pueblo consultants on how cultural resources should be protected, the specific statement was made and affirmed that Pueblo people think first about saving resources for future generations, rather than of how the present generation can financially benefit from such resources. In contrast, the Pueblo people told us they feel the tourist and development oriented government of Albuquerque considers financial benefits first.<sup>3</sup> Pueblo people said that the first concern of the National Park Service should be preservation of the Petroglyph National Monument's cultural resources, including the Piedras Marcadas Ruin. They felt

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<sup>3</sup> An example is the often-repeated statement that the City of Albuquerque will want a "return on its money" that was spent to buy the Piedras Marcadas ruin site.



additional developments to accommodate additional visitors or uses could be added as the impacts were fully considered, but the reverse was not true. If the area were first developed to accommodate all potential uses and expected visitors, they said it would be very difficult later to restrict access or limit activities. The Pueblo consultants feel damages can never be reversed, and that the effect of damage goes beyond physical destruction of the resource. Archaeological excavation is viewed by our Pueblo consultants as a type of destruction.

#### *Privacy for Religious Uses*

The Pueblos are currently dealing with cultural and religious privacy issues on other public lands that they use for religious purposes. Examples are the National Forest Service lands in the Sandia Mountains and Jemez Mountains, and Bureau of Land Management lands being reclassified for wilderness-recreational use. The problems have increased with the number of residents and outdoor enthusiasts living in central and northern New Mexico. The very integrity and efficacy of ceremonial activities practiced by the Pueblos depends on their secrecy (Suina 1992) and many of these retreats and ceremonies take place off-reservation on lands in the mountains. One group of Pueblo consultants told us that if privacy cannot be assured, then the Pueblos will no longer engage in the activity. As specifically expressed by some of our consultants, when any ceremony must stop, a part of the culture ceases permanently.

Some of the cultural resources within the Petroglyph National Monument fall into this category of needed privacy. Several Pueblo consultants visited the Monument to look for shrines, and some were found in the general area of the volcanoes. However, Pueblo people are restricted in specifically identifying such sites to outsiders. The solution sometimes proposed of fencing off areas that contain shrines was considered self-defeating by the Pueblo consultants. They thought any such action is equivalent to an advertisement to the curious, thus attracting more attention rather than ensuring privacy. Because of the kind of activities carried out during ceremonies, ceremonial areas sometimes encompass more land than site specific locations. One example given to us was that the pilgrimage to the site was connected to the religious nature of the site itself. Ceremonial areas are places where a number of geographic, spatial, and natural elements combine. Sites often acquire their cultural meaning in this context and the procession to and from such an area is just as private as what occurs on the site itself.

## *Access*

For the Pueblos, culture is continued by the practices of their members and by continued ways of relating to the natural world. The Petroglyph National Monument and surrounding areas were used in varied ways by a number of different Pueblos, both those adjacent to the area and those more distant. Residence, as in the case of the Piedras Marcadas Ruin, is only one type of use. Other uses identified were the meeting and replenishing of hunting parties from various Pueblos, collection of food and medicinal plants, hunting, signaling and communication, temporary dry land cultivation, the making of the petroglyphs, and religion. All of these uses have Pueblo religious connotations and are part of strengthening shared identity and culture, both for individual Pueblos and among Pueblos.

Pueblo people feel the increasing population of the northern New Mexico area and multitude of land owners has resulted in a narrowing of traditional use areas for the Pueblos and therefore a narrowing of opportunities for practicing their cultures and passing knowledge on to the youth. Zia Pueblo specifically invited their youngest officers on the site visit in keeping with their principle of increasing the knowledge of traditional uses among the younger tribal members. A principle of instruction in the Pueblos is for the young to learn by doing. This is evident in visits to the Pueblo feast days when tribal members as young as two years old are following their parents and grandparents in a dance. Access and use of the area for traditional purposes by Pueblo people was seen by some Pueblo consultants as an opportunity for the youth and adults to learn and share traditional practices. We were told by our Pueblo consultants that access to the Monument for hunting rabbits and gathering certain religiously significant plants would be important for them in their goal of teaching their youth certain cultural and religious knowledge.

## *No Personal Gain from Cultural Resources*

It was clearly stated by Pueblo consultants from all the involved tribes that in New Mexico most tourism and visitor attractions had resulted in the exploitation of cultural resources for financial gain. Examples supporting this Pueblo perception are evident throughout the New Mexico tourist industry and are cited by the Pueblos. Some of the Pueblos have joined the New Mexico Indian Tourism Association to define guidelines for culturally appropriate tourism and to stop what they feel is exploitation. Other Pueblo leaders and artists have testified at State



Legislative hearings on the cultural importance of their designs, and the inappropriateness of others using such designs.

In New Mexico and throughout the United States there is a common practice of non-Indian people using Pueblo culture for their own personal financial gain. This is most often in the form of what the Pueblos describe as exploitation of native design elements. The petroglyphs are no exception, with a number of Santa Fe residents now selling cards, dinnerware, clothing, and trinkets with petroglyphs as the main theme. In one particular case, the seller of some note cards has added her own "interpretation" of the symbols, in the form of an alleged Native American story, as if this story and her "interpretation" had relevance from a Native American perspective. We showed our Pueblo consultants examples of such work to help define what is and is not exploitation of Pueblo culture in their view. The sale of such cards accurately illustrated their definition of exploitation of cultural resources by non-Indians. Our Pueblo consultants defined such action as exploitation since they thought the "interpretation" was not based on their own Puebloan knowledge. We checked with a Cochiti Pueblo elder who had worked with this seller in the past in a further exploration of this definition of exploitation. He told us he felt the seller had "stretched" the interpretation of the petroglyphs he had described to her, and that her interpretation did not accurately reflect either his beliefs about petroglyphs, or his recollection of what he had told her. However, he told us that the seller had never given him a copy of the book she wrote about the petroglyphs they worked on, so he could not be completely positive that what she had written as interpretation was entirely inaccurate.

This is not merely an issue of Indian versus non-Indian gain. Pueblo people told us that they consider it just as inappropriate for individual tribal members to look for monetary or personal recognition from resources such as the petroglyphs as it is for Albuquerque and Santa Fe residents or the National Park Service to do so. Illustrative of this belief is a resolution recently passed by the Pueblo of Jemez which prevents individual tribal members from sharing information with outsiders without proper authorization.

Many Pueblos believe that the area was used by many different Indian peoples and that its use should have a shared benefit. They feel any marketing, sales, and monetary income from or related to the Monument resources should be shared with all Pueblo people in such a way that it has a general benefit for cultural preservation and self-sufficiency efforts within all the Pueblos. They consider policy

concerning this sharing of expected revenues to be a respectful stance for the National Park Service to take, given the dependence of New Mexico's and Albuquerque's tourism economy on the cultural works and continuity of Pueblo peoples and tribes.<sup>4</sup>

## **Site Recommendations for Cultural Resource Protection and Management**

The All Indian Pueblo Council in 1988 passed a resolution in general support of establishing the Monument (the All Indian Pueblo Council 1988). During the time of this project, Isleta Pueblo and the Southern Pueblos Governors Council followed the lead of Sandia Pueblo in passing a resolution against the extension of Paseo del Norte through the Monument (Hartranft 1992; Southern Pueblos Governors Council 1992). One reason for Pueblo support of the Monument was, and continues to be, resource protection (the All Indian Pueblo Council 1988; Agoyo 1988a, 1988b; Jojola and Jojola 1988). Resource protection concerns also motivated the resolutions against the Paseo del Norte road extension. Pueblo people are aware that National Park Service units, by their very nature, attract and accommodate visitors. Their concern is that visitors will destroy the resources by their very numbers. The example most often given was Camel Rock, an area located adjacent to a campground operated by Tesuque Pueblo. They said the base of the rock is crumbling from people walking on it, and as a consequence of this experience, the Pueblo consultants recommended some Monument areas should have minimum visitor access.

The Pueblo consultants did not make recommendations for every location they visited. The following sections outline site specific recommendations made by the involved tribes.

### *Volcanoes*

As stated previously, the specific shrine or sacred site, the ceremonial area the shrine is in, and the pilgrimage to the area, all have significant religious meaning to Pueblo people today. For these reasons the Pueblo consultants felt that the entire volcanoes area needed to have restricted access, not just specific sites on the

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<sup>4</sup> There are a number of references to the expression of this principle including the Indian Tourism Association, recent amendments to the New Mexico Indian Arts and Crafts Act, and the All Indian Cultural Center in Albuquerque.



volcanoes. Protection of the volcanoes through some type of restricted or lack of easy access was a unanimous recommendation. We elicited some site specific recommendations for that area after learning that one National Park Service alternative includes access to a high point and vista at the volcanoes. The Pueblo consultants looked for and found currently and historically used sites at the volcanoes area, but they said they would need a great deal of time to look at the entire area before they would know what else needed special protection. They felt the safest way to proceed would be to avoid developing facilities in the area until such an examination could be made. The National Park Service in consultation with the involved tribes would determine when the Pueblos could examine the area. Zuni Pueblo consultants pointed out that it was difficult for them to say one volcano or rock outcropping is more important than another because they are all tied in location to communication channels with other sites in the four sacred mountain ranges, and especially in the Sandia Mountains. The land area stretching from the volcanoes to the escarpment is part of this connection. Sandia, Zuni, Zia, and Santa Ana Pueblo consultants do not want roads built across the mesa to connect the volcanoes and the petroglyphs. They recommended the area should have no vehicle access and they recommended that the existing roads be removed.

Santa Ana Pueblo consultants recommended fencing off the volcanoes area, whereas others thought fencing might draw attention to the area. Further discussion with the participating Pueblos is needed on how best to protect this area.

#### *Northern Geological Window*

Zuni Pueblo visited the Northern Geological Window. The petroglyphs they saw there were specific, recognizable, and currently relevant images used in religious dances. They felt the symbols were clustered in an area in relation to one another, and therefore recommended that no trails be constructed through the bottom of the geologic window in deference to that area.

#### *Morning Star Panel*

Sandia, Zuni, and Zia Pueblo consultants recommended that this Morning Star Panel site be restricted, without visitor access, to protect the petroglyphs and the sacred integrity of the site. Some form of protection for the petroglyph area was unanimous among those Pueblo consultants who visited the site.

The consultants recommended that the National Park Service devise specific strategies for guarding against modification of the Morning Star Panel as well as all

other petroglyphs. They also recommended that if interpretation is done by the National Park Service about this site, that the interpretation include mention that the originals have been modified from the original.

Zuni Pueblo and Zia Pueblo consultants also recommended against using the term "star-being" concerning these symbols, or others like them, since it was not a Pueblo term. Zuni Pueblo consultants recommended that the Pueblo meanings of such areas be kept strictly confidential and not be part of the National Park Service literature.

#### *Marsh Peninsula*

Zia Pueblo consultants thought the Marsh Peninsula area had interest, but was not as religiously important as other areas. They felt the area can probably remain open for some type of general visitor use, so long as the rock rings and petroglyphs are protected from visitor use.

#### *Piedras Marcadas Ruin*

The Pueblo consultants who visited the ruin said it should not be excavated or put on public display. This position has been unanimous and consistent with all Pueblo groups we asked about the Piedras Marcadas Ruin. The site was identified by Zuni Pueblo consultants as having sacred value because of the belief system Pueblo people have regarding the locations their ancestors chose to live. Some Pueblo people see no scientific value in excavating the site, and as one Sandia Pueblo elder put it, they want people to "just leave it alone." Zuni Pueblo expressed the feeling that excavation would be "a desecration to the site, to the burials, and to the beliefs and culture of living Pueblo peoples." Sandia Pueblo consultants voiced the rhetorical question of why there was such an interest in excavating Indian burials, but no interest in excavating Anglo burials. The Pueblo consultants said this no-excavation recommendation is consistent with the position they have taken on similar projects, and follows the cultural resource policies of Sandia Pueblo and Zuni Pueblo who sent members to visit the site. Zuni Pueblo consultants, all members of the Zuni Archaeology Program, said that if the site were classified as a salvage archaeology project (i.e., it was going to be destroyed by some development) then they would have to see an excavation plan before they could comment on the site. However, they did not feel there was any danger to the site from development, since it was on city-owned land incorporated into the Monument.



### *Paseo del Norte*

As of June 1, 1992, Sandia Pueblo, Santo Domingo Pueblo, and the Southern Pueblos Governors Council had passed resolutions against the Paseo del Norte road extension. The Pueblo consultants who visited the location confirmed that the road should not be built, since they could not see any way of protecting the petroglyphs either from the initial construction, or the increased exposure to users of the road. Some Pueblo consultants felt that their original recommendation of not building the Paseo del Norte road had been ignored, and they believed this opinion was confirmed when they were asked what they recommended for the petroglyphs if the road were built. They felt that if it was already the conclusion that the road was going to be built, then they questioned the sincerity of the researchers and the National Park Service in asking them what their recommendations were for the cultural resources of the Monument.

### *Petroglyphs within the Monument Boundaries*

At any of the petroglyphs themselves, the Pueblo consultants recommended that any visitor trails necessary should be constructed beside, not through, the petroglyphs. An example of what not to construct are the trails at the current Indian Petroglyphs State Park. During an orientation, National Park Service staff and archaeologists familiar with the area told the researchers that rocks have been moved out of context by road construction in nearby housing subdivisions. In addition, one trail breaks the relationships between specific petroglyph groupings, rocks, and grinding areas. These relationships are important to Pueblo people, and often help to define the meaning and function of petroglyphs. We were not able to elicit any specific recommendations on different types of visitor use of trails—such as dispersed visitor use versus environmental education. Our Pueblo consultants did give us the general recommendation that trails that are built should not pass through petroglyph groupings but be placed at some distance away.

Zia Pueblo made an interesting suggestion during discussion of neighborhood access and the proximity of houses to the petroglyphs: Nearby residents should be encouraged by the National Park Service to take a stewardship role in which they would help watch for vandalism or inappropriate use and thus serve as extra eyes for the National Park Service in patrolling the area. Zia Pueblo also thought that rather than put resources "under glass" so to speak, there should be some blank rock areas set aside where visitors could try and make their own petroglyphs.

## Monument Management Recommendations

Although no single Pueblo claimed exclusive "ownership" of the lands and resources within the Petroglyph National Monument, the Pueblo consultants maintain that the resources exist because of their ancestors and their cultures. They feel the area is worthy of being a Monument because their ancestors both used and protected the area. The same is true, they said, of Bandelier National Monument, Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and other parks. This is expressed in resolutions passed by the All Indian Pueblo Council and individual Pueblos concerning both the establishment of the Monument and the proposals for road construction by the City of Albuquerque through the Monument. Pueblo people expressed this stance directly to us at Council meetings, on site visits, and at a meeting of the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc.

When we asked about how they want to participate in overall Monument management plans, Pueblo leaders said they not only have the right and obligation to comment on how specific cultural resources are managed, but on how natural resources are managed. They take this position because of their feeling that much of the remaining open space and natural resources in the Rio Grande area are due to the good stewardship of their ancestors and to their policies and values of preserving resources for future generations.

"This is our place and we should be involved.... We should stand our ground for conservation," was a statement made at our meeting with the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Board of Governors in the context of minimizing human impact and staying involved in the National Park Service consultation process. Several times Pueblo people told us they have been communicating with one another to ensure consensus on basic management principles. Our consultants told us that before they will make specific recommendations, they want to know what the National Park Service plans to do with cultural and natural resources and what real impact they will have if they make recommendations. For example, at both individual tribal meetings and at the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos meeting, a specific recommendation was made about staffing the Monument with Pueblo rangers. At the latter meeting, however, the Governors in attendance decided to postpone such a discussion until after their general views were made known to the National Park Service (through this report) and they were assured of a meaningful and long-term institutionalized



method of providing input. They expressed an interest in establishing a process by which such ongoing consultation will take place.

We shared the list of overall management activities that we had received from the National Park Service with the Pueblos to help define specific recommendations. Some of the Pueblo consultants asked for a written summary of the management categories to discuss within their individual council meetings and intertribal meetings. We recommended they speak directly with the Monument staff to express their concerns. However, the Pueblo people offered the following initial management recommendations:

- The entire Monument area should be treated with the respect accorded to the sacred beliefs of Native Americans, and these beliefs and the cultural resources should be considered as interconnected.
- In order to prevent damage to both cultural and natural resources, overall visitation should be limited and an effort should be made to minimize the number of unsupervised visitors in the Monument areas. Do not develop for maximal visitor use, economic gain, or tourism potential. The construction of roads, buildings, and other facilities should be kept to a minimum initially, especially where such construction would impact areas not already disturbed. Areas containing cultural resources should not be disturbed.
- Where privacy is needed, such as at the volcanoes, the Pueblos want to be assured of private access and desire that visitors not be allowed access to these areas while ceremonial activities take place. Since many of these ceremonial activities occur at night and during the early morning hours, it was recommended that if there is to be any access to other people, it might be limited to midday hours. There should be no signs or other indications of special Pueblo use.
- Some Pueblo people want to be able to use the natural and cultural resources in the area. The area is known by living people to be an excellent area to hunt rabbits, for example, and plants of current religious, medicinal, and subsistence value were identified during site visits. Both historically and prehistorically, Pueblo cultural activities involved traveling for hunting, plant gathering, and ceremonial purposes. It was recommended that the National Park Service make

the area accessible to support the continuation of these activities and knowledge, allowing access to Pueblo people for current or renewed culturally relevant use such as plant collecting, ceremonial hunts, and for teaching young people about their culture. This access does not necessarily have to be exclusive in all aspects, and can be defined with the individual Pueblos that express such an interest in future consultation.

- The Piedras Marcadas ruin should not be excavated; the Pueblo people felt enough Pueblo ruins have been excavated in New Mexico. They do not want the remaining ruins to be disturbed. If any burial areas are disturbed for any reason, they felt Pueblo people should be involved in properly reinterring such burials in exactly the same location where they were found, even if it means under a road. The Pueblo people do not want cultural or artifact materials to be removed from the site.

In addition, the Pueblo people recommend that:

- The National Park Service specifically recruit and train Pueblo staff and rangers to guide visitors in the Monument. The Pueblo consultants felt that the interpretive rangers should be Pueblo people.
- Photographs and other items containing petroglyph images not be sold in a gift shop. The Pueblo consultants said the National Park Service should not perpetuate the exploitation of cultural resources in New Mexico's economy. The assumption by the Pueblo consultants is that the National Park Service has some control over the type of material sold in gift shops at visitor centers.
- The National Park Service make a commitment to ensure benefits from Monument development and operation are shared with the Pueblos, not just with the city and private business community. The Pueblo consultants suggested: a) the development of a scholarship fund from a percentage of visitor fees so that Indian people could become the expert anthropologists and historians; b) assistance in developing tribal or intertribal concessions within or outside the Monument boundaries; and c) sharing revenues from gift shop and book sales. Pueblo people stressed the point that individual or strictly monetary gain is not appropriate. Funds received by the Pueblos would be used for the



shared benefit of continuing their cultures and increasing the abilities of their youth. They feel individual and short-term gain from cultural resources is an inappropriate activity for both Indian and non-Indian people.

### *Preferred Types of Public Information*

We asked the questions, "How would you want the public to know of or think of this place and the resources in it and how should the National Park Service present them?" Responses were elicited from the Pueblo people concerning what the National Park Service should not do or say about the area.

The Pueblos want people to know enough to treat the area with respect, but not to know any specific meanings Pueblo people give to the petroglyph images through their own related stories, symbols, and ceremonies. The Pueblo consultants felt one way to ensure appropriate information and attitudes are shared is to hire members of the Pueblos as guides and interpretive rangers. The question of interpretation and information is so sensitive that some Pueblo people said that the sharing of incorrect information, as is currently published in books and articles, would be preferable to sharing Puebloan information with non-Pueblo people. We also heard the view expressed that it would be better for a cultural resource item to be destroyed than to divulge its existence or cultural meaning to outsiders.

In respect for the Pueblo belief that sharing sacred information is paramount to sacrilege within the Pueblo, and that it can weaken the importance and strength of some images, we did not ask consultants to provide interpretation of petroglyphs. However, some Pueblo people did share their thoughts on the general subject of interpretation of petroglyphs. These Pueblo consultants made a point of explaining that there is no one correct or complete Pueblo interpretation for a petroglyph image. Each Pueblo associates symbols with its own stories, activities, and other symbolic forms in the community and through such association can interpret what the images might signify. Based on our interviews with Pueblo people, it would be inappropriate for the National Park Service at this time to write text assigning meanings to such symbols as has been done in the rock art literature unless this interpretation is supported by information from Pueblo consultants (see for example Patterson-Rudolph 1990, Schaafsma 1980, Eastvold 1986). More general statements of significance such as the location of petroglyphs near water and grinding areas, or in groups would be more appropriate than trying to put specific interpretations on

petroglyphs. The Pueblo consultants recommended that interpretation of individual petroglyphs or groupings of petroglyphs would be a useful topic for future consultation between the National Park Service and the involved Pueblo tribes.

Several Pueblos are creating their own museums and cultural centers for the public where they are in control of deciding what is and is not appropriate to share with outsiders. We observed that items shown relate to livelihood and subsistence activities but no items of ceremonial use or those associated with birth and death are on display. Further discussion with the Pueblos concerning the sharing of information with the public is needed once the National Park Service has site-specific plans for the Monument.

In response to a stated concern from the National Park Service, we asked the Pueblo consultants if the taking of photographs of the petroglyphs was appropriate, and under what circumstances this could be done. The consultants told us that photographs for research purposes by the National Park Service (archiving and cataloging for example) is probably acceptable, although they did not want this to be construed as a blanket endorsement for photographing petroglyphs. Questions about photographs meant for display were considerably harder for people to respond to, since they could not take a position without knowing which petroglyph symbols were being photographed and the purposes and ultimate display plans for those photographs. Like information meant for the public, they suggested that the Monument staff meet with the involved tribes to discuss specific photographs and the Monument's plan for the photographic displays.

The Pueblo consultants said photographs taken for sale, such as post cards, note cards, and photographic prints meant for framing by the buyer, are not appropriate and are not acceptable. This kind of sale of petroglyph images falls under the general principle of exploitation of cultural resources, and they recommended that the National Park Service devise a policy to prevent this kind of exploitation. Pueblo consultants felt photographs meant for technical, research-oriented books may or may not be appropriate depending on the petroglyphs being photographed and the nature of the book. It was suggested to us that the author and the National Park Service clear these photographs with the Pueblos prior to publication of the work.

Several times we were told by the Pueblo consultants that Pueblo people were not willing to make more specific recommendations on information to be shared with the public at this early stage in the Monument planning process. However, the



Governors, Tribal Councils, and Pueblo consultants we met with all discussed the need to be involved in all aspects of National Park Service planning for public information and other management policies. The next section presents the Pueblo recommendations for this involvement.

## **Future Consultation Process Recommendations**

Pueblo people we consulted with during this project expressed an interest in being involved in a long-term conservation process with the National Park Service concerning the Petroglyph National Monument. They feel conservation can include proper and culturally regulated uses of plants and animals. They anticipate that specific discussions will occur as the general management, development, and facility plans are created. They would like this consultation to be with both interested individual tribes and with all the intertribal organizations that collectively represent concerns in situations like this, especially the All Indian Pueblo Council. Many Pueblo people said that Sandia Pueblo should be specifically consulted and included in all discussions with the National Park Service. What follows are the guidelines and methods suggested by Pueblo people and their governing bodies to achieve their involvement in a long-term consultation process.

### *Consultation Concerns*

Throughout our fieldwork, Pueblo people said that they do not want to take scarce time and resources to give their views if those views are not heeded. They told us that although they have not previously interacted with the staff of the Petroglyph National Monument, it has been their experience that government agencies want to be able to say they consulted with Indian people, but do not try to incorporate Indian recommendations into their work. A meeting of the All Indian Pueblo Council in March 1992 was given to us as illustrative of the Pueblo peoples' opinions regarding this issue. At the March meeting, the National Park Service personnel made a presentation about the Monument and the planning schedule and agenda as it was formulated. At the May meeting, at which time we presented the draft report concerning this ethnographic assessment, we were told that some people did not gain any confidence from the National Park Service presentation because of the way the information was delivered, and did not believe the National Park Service was sincere about Indian involvement in the planning process. We were extensively questioned at the May meeting as to why we thought Pueblo views were being heard by the National Park Service, and why we thought this kind of

project would make a difference. Those Governors and Pueblo people who reacted negatively toward us in May were doing so as a direct consequence of what they perceive as problems with the way consultation has been handled in the past.

More severe distrust was expressed to us from the Hispanic community. One of the reasons given by Hispanic organizations for not participating fully in our study was that they had no say in the way the study was designed nor who was selected to work with Hispanic people. They chose not to participate at all in the study since they did not want to appear to be supporting a process they felt was fundamentally flawed.

#### *Desired Consultation Procedures*

We asked Pueblo leaders five questions about the consultation procedure: Did they want to be consulted in the future as the Monument is being developed? Should that consultation be with their tribe individually or within an intertribal context? How would they like to be consulted and on what management issues? Through what protocol or which offices should the National Park Service contact the Pueblos? And what assistance or resources are needed for the Pueblos to effectively participate, given the constraints and responsibilities they face? Many of the tribes could not give us answers to these questions because at the time the National Park Service plans for the Monument and some of the basic issues were too undefined for them to respond.

Both Spanish and Indian people said they do not want to be consulted within the parameters of a pre-process established by the National Park Service. Instead they said they want to help design what that process will be and how information they share will be used. Several Pueblo tribes decided not to participate because they did not feel that information would be used to their benefit. Some Pueblos also did not feel it was their place to make recommendations before the issue was fully discussed by Pueblos closer to the site or in an intertribal context. Others took an optimistic view because the plans were in an early stage and chose to suggest consultation methods and procedures. Some Pueblo leaders asked that such matters be discussed in the context of intertribal meetings of the Ten Southern Pueblos Governors Council, All Indian Pueblo Council, and Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos. We had meetings for this purpose with Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos and the All Indian Pueblo Council.



### *Individual Tribes*

The Sandia Pueblo Tribal Council has taken a leadership role in a number of issues affecting the Monument, including passing a tribal resolution in opposition to the construction of the Paseo del Norte extension. They have also communicated with Friends of the Petroglyphs and the Regional Director of the National Park Service about their concerns. Sandia Tribal Council members said they have resources at the Monument and have worked to protect their other resources in Rio Rancho and in the Sandia Mountains. Sandia Pueblo has a long-term relationship with an archaeologist who has documented resources in the mountains and Rio Grande Valley with the assistance of Pueblo elders. Pueblo officials and employees are organized to consult directly with the Monument staff and with policymakers and intend to be fully involved both individually, and in concerns they share with the other Pueblos. The Council asked us how Sandia could best assure maximum protection of the entire Monument area and who they should communicate with to gain that end. We recommended they communicate directly with the Monument staff and the National Park Service Southwest Regional Office staff. Sandia Pueblo clearly was waiting for the National Park Service and Monument staff to contact them directly with a clear agenda of specific items concerning the new Monument.

The Pueblo of Zia also wants direct involvement with the National Park Service and Monument staff concerning the plans and operation of the Monument. They also will express their concerns through the collective voice of Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc. and the Ten Southern Governors Council. The Zia Pueblo consultants expressed absolute certainty based on the observation of resources at the Monument and on the experiences of living tribal members that people from Zia used the West Mesa area. They explained to us their use of the area both prehistorically and historically into the 1930s. Members of the Pueblo have worked closely with the National Park Service in the protection of resources at Chaco Culture National Historical Park, and the Pueblo has been a member of the transportation advisory committee for the west loop road, which will circle the Petroglyph National Monument area. Zia Tribal Council views are communicated through the tribal administrator and Pueblo leaders. These leaders are appointed to specific boards and committees such as the existing Indian consultation committee for the Chaco Culture National Historical Park. A former Lieutenant Governor of Zia was nominated by the All Indian Pueblo Council to represent the southern Pueblos on the Petroglyph National Monument Advisory Commission. In addition to being

individually consulted, the Pueblo maintains that it shares most management concerns and cultural resources with many of the other ten southern Pueblos and will express those concerns in consensus with those other Pueblos when the National Park Service and the Monument staff contact them.

Santa Ana Pueblo government leaders specifically recommended that consultation with them be through the Ten Southern Governors Council and that they would express their concerns among the other southern Governors on questions such as alternative land-use plans and management policies. Santa Ana Pueblo would like to be consulted directly on any plans for development of the volcanoes area, due to the presence of at least one religiously important shrine located near Vulcan volcano.

The Zuni Archaeology Program members who accompanied us on site visits said that they want to be included in the consultation process with the National Park Service. The Cultural Preservation Coordinator, Andrew Otholie, said he could serve as the contact point with the program. It would be prudent for the National Park Service also to consult with the Zuni Tribal Council, however, since the archaeology program members told us that they did not represent the tribe, did not work for the Tribal Council, nor could they enter into any binding agreements on behalf of the tribe, without the Tribal Council's approval.

Members of the Ramah Navajo Chapter Executive Committee (the functional equivalent of a Tribal Council) said they would be interested in consulting with the National Park Service in the event any Navajo-related cultural resources were discovered within the Monument boundaries. They suggested that the procedure for their involvement in such consultation could follow that established for the El Malpais National Monument.

The Pueblos who belong to the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council are primarily interested in providing additional comments and support to the involved southern Pueblos through the forum of intertribal groups such as the All Indian Pueblo Council. They recommended that the National Park Service and the Monument staff make their presentations and desires known to them at the All Indian Pueblo Council meetings, at which time they will voice their thoughts and concerns. The Governors will then decide whether to have the All Indian Pueblo Council (through the office of its executive director) take some action. The northern Pueblos did not visit the Monument area with us and deferred to the southern



Pueblos on cultural resource issues. These views were made known to us in meetings and conversations we had with representatives of Nambe Pueblo, San Juan Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, and Taos Pueblo. If the desire for individual consultation comes up as a consequence of National Park Service actions and presentations, the Governors may decide to work directly with the National Park Service and Monument staff instead of through the offices of the All Indian Pueblo Council.

#### *Intertribal Organizations*

The Governing Board of Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc., composed of the Governors from Cochiti, Jemez, Sandia, Santa Ana, and Zia Pueblos, specifically discussed future consultation and decided to bring their recommendations to the All Indian Pueblo Council for consistency with the other Pueblos. There was an expressed desire from Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos that, in addition to the individual Pueblo consultations, the Pueblos agree on fundamental positions to be communicated to the National Park Service. The Governing Board of Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, whose members include most of the Pueblos directly involved in this study, recommended that Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos was an appropriate forum for more detailed discussion of such issues. Any results of consultation between the National Park Service and Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos would then be presented by Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos and the National Park Service for comment and consensus to the larger bodies of the Ten Southern Governors, and in some cases, the All Indian Pueblo Council. The Governors said the Pueblos will speak with one voice on general concerns, and refer specific concerns to affected individual Pueblos.

We met with officers of the All Indian Pueblo Council both in February and in April 1992 to ask how the council would like to be involved with the Monument. Initially, the officers said their involvement would be in response to specific requests from the Governors. After seven Pueblos expressed the desire that the All Indian Pueblo Council become involved, we met again and asked to present the question of future consultation and management plans to the Governors. This meeting occurred on May 19, 1992.

The All Indian Pueblo Council officers suggested two models for future consultation. The first was for the consultation to occur through a special subcommittee of that organization. However, they expressed a lack of staff resources to devote to this committee at this time. The All Indian Pueblo Council has

previously discussed forming a committee to deal with cultural resource concerns in the region because cultural resource issues are frequently brought to their attention by both federal agencies and private industry.

The second consultation model involved staffing. Although the All Indian Pueblo Council feels it should monitor cultural resource impacts in consultation with its member tribes, it does not have the staff or financial resources to assign the job to someone. It was recommended the National Park Service help fill this gap. One option suggested by the Chairman of the All Indian Pueblo Council to the Governors was that the Monument assign one of its staff persons to be a liaison and work in the All Indian Pueblo Council office as a tribal contact person full or half-time. This person would keep the individual Pueblos fully informed on issues involving the Monument.

The All Indian Pueblo Council is involved with the National Park Service through the established procedure of the Petroglyph National Monument Advisory Commission. The All Indian Pueblo Council nominated two individuals to this Advisory Commission, assuming that they had two positions allocated to them on the commission. However, only one person, from the northern Pueblos, was appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. At the May meeting of the All Indian Pueblo Council, several Governors expressed a concern during the open meeting that the southern Pueblos would not be fully represented on the Advisory Commission without someone from a southern Pueblo on the commission itself.

Both the idea of a liaison person and an advisory committee were discussed, supported, and elaborated on by the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Board of Governors. They felt there is a need for both a liaison person and a committee. The Native American advisory committee might be based on a model used by Chaco Culture National Historical Park. The Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos board members described the Chaco Culture National Historical Park advisory committee as a group that was able to advise the National Park Service on park plans, and have some influence on plans that concerned cultural perservation. The FSIP board members felt such an advisory committee, whereby Pueblos with cultural ties to the Petroglyph National Monument could be given a voice in approving and disapproving specific activities, such as archaeological stabilization and archaeological excavation, would be a useful item for the National Park Service to consider. The formation of a Petroglyph National Monument Indian advisory committee was given as an example of providing the Pueblos a true and sufficient



framework for participation in cultural resource issues. They felt it is insufficient to have only one or two representatives in a strictly advisory capacity with representatives of the city and other interest groups. The Pueblos said they needed their own group within which concerns and suggestions could be discussed and then communicated to the National Park Service. They felt meetings of the All Indian Pueblo Council, for example, are helpful for sharing information but are not a forum for such detailed discussion. The Pueblo leaders stressed that consultation with the Tribes must go beyond hiring experts to collect data or having one Pueblo person on an advisory committee. It should be a process of communication.

In summary, the involved Pueblos recommended that the National Park Service consult with them during all phases of Monument development and operation. This consultation should be set up so that Pueblo recommendations can actually affect what is done. The Pueblos are fully aware that the purpose of the Monument is both resource protection and public visitation and are, to a large degree, willing to work with the National Park Service to accommodate varied uses. However, they feel protection should be the first priority. The Pueblos see themselves as having valuable suggestions to make as to how the preservation objective can be accomplished within the larger public purposes of the Monument. They feel that each Pueblo should be involved to the level they desire on any management and planning issues they are interested in, but that they will likely agree on many of the overall issues.

# Chapter 4

## Analysis and Conclusions

This Rapid Ethnographic Assessment was the first step in the process of participatory research with Pueblo people who have a direct connection to the resources at the Monument. Unfortunately, there is not enough time in a rapid ethnographic assessment to address some of the research questions of interest to the National Park Service and Monument staff. These questions were principally in the area of interpretation, meaning, and significance of individual petroglyph symbols. Because of the connections between petroglyphs, the Pueblo spiritual world, and current Pueblo religion, people were reluctant to divulge details of interpretation and meaning at this time. They were able, however, to speak about petroglyphs in a general context and individual symbols in a non-specific manner. Once the National Park Service has detailed plans for facility development at the Monument, and specific plans for displays, trails, etc., then the involved tribes will have a better idea of what information they need to provide to protect cultural resources, and how this information will be used by the National Park Service. It is common with American Indian people, and especially with the Pueblo tribes, that sensitive religious information and knowledge will not be readily told to outsiders even if the cultural resource is in imminent danger of being destroyed.

The question of which tribes wanted to be involved in not only a cultural resource assessment, but also in a consultation process with the National Park Service, was successfully addressed by this project. The involved tribes also gave us their outline of how such a consultation process should begin, and who should be involved. The involved Pueblo tribes were clear in their desire for the consultation process to be ongoing after the rapid ethnographic assessment project was finished. This research project was not the appropriate mechanism to carry out the desired consultation to its fullest extent, either from the perspective of the Pueblos nor the National Park Service.

Cultural resource projects that are policy and management oriented can build involvement in a planning and consultation process in a very effective way, if it is participatory. Participatory projects work best when they are designed around problems and interests shared with, in this case, the Indian and Hispanic people.



Ideally, members of the communities will be involved in performing some of the research so that these results can be used both by the National Park Service and the involved groups. An example from this project is the on-site visits that members of the involved tribes participated in. One group brought a video camera along so as to show elders and other tribal members unable to participate in the on-site visit what the group had seen and discussed.

A recommendation made repeatedly to us during the course of this project was that in any future cultural resource work, the National Park Service should consult with interested Indian tribes and Hispanic groups to help design the project. Participants would then jointly specify the research and decision points in which the cultural groups need to be involved. If the Indian and Hispanic communities are not involved in designing the project, they expressed the belief that the federal agency is framing all the questions and the "acceptable" answers, which may or may not conform to what the Pueblo tribes and Hispanic peoples hold as options.

When groups representing two different interests decide to engage in a participatory research process, the level of participation and quality of results will be greatly affected by how each perceives the other's intentions, approach, and interests. The National Park Service, Pueblos, and Hispanics have different interests and priorities, and it is helpful when each party knows what the priorities are for the other participants. The National Park Service must, by statute, put the national purposes first, and then accommodate local concerns. Due to several federal laws such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, the Historic Preservation Act, and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the National Park Service also needs Pueblo input to achieve those national objectives. The Pueblos' interest is in resource protection and their own cultural continuity. These are mutual goals which can help define a long-term consultation process.

Historic power relationships affect whether or not people feel it is worth participating in a project and their perception of who stands to benefit. When a federal agency calls a hearing where Indian people are expected to compete to have their views heard with groups with more political power such as the City of Albuquerque, they will not have confidence in the process or intentions of the federal government. It is helpful in designing a consultation process for all the participants to know the nature of past experiences in consultation. That way the designers of the process can work to address the problems and concerns the participants have about consultation.

If the National Park Service wants Pueblo involvement in designing the goals of the "Rock Art Research Center," then a match needs to be found between the needs of the Pueblos and the needs of the National Park Service. Sufficient time and effort needs to be allocated for recruiting Pueblo staff for the research center, and a mechanism for including Pueblo people as paid participants in research efforts needs to be formulated.

The need for Pueblos to define the boundaries and uses of research was made clear to us at a May 1992 meeting with the All Indian Pueblo Council. The statement was made that Pueblos will not document their cultural and religious information for open-ended use by the National Park Service. The Governors stated that they will not identify specific sites without knowing the specific National Park Service plans for an area. If research is to be designed to protect Pueblo religious beliefs and practices, then the Pueblos want their own definitions of what is religious to be used, not the federal government's or archaeologists' definitions of "sacred site." One statement made at the meeting was that "...the first thing that will happen when a site is identified is that archeologists and others will be there wanting to count how many Indians go there and when they use it." The Pueblos are involved in cultural resource discussions with the El Malpais National Monument and the Chaco Culture National Historical Park, and recommended that the National Park Service look at these efforts for ideas.

Pueblo people said they need good reasons to share information with outsiders. Even though the National Park Service may feel there is a need to have information to use in protection of cultural resources, most Pueblos actively intervene to prevent people from divulging information about religious matters (Suina 1991). Pueblo people cannot divulge information defined as secret by their culture without risking severe consequences from their own people. It is difficult for non-Pueblo people to determine what may or may not be privileged information. A seemingly innocuous article in a past issue of *National Geographic* (Ortiz 1991:6-13) has caused severe criticism of the anthropologist who wrote it. Unfortunately, the author divulged information about privileged Pueblo subjects to illustrate a philosophical treatise. This particular incident, and others like it from the past, severely limit the ability of the National Park Service, anthropologists, historians, and other social science researchers to carry out meaningful inquiries with the Pueblos, no matter how beneficial these may be for the Pueblo people themselves.



The Pueblo tribes have leadership structures, decision-making processes, and sovereign rights, and the tribes will work most effectively with agencies that show a willingness to treat them as sovereigns with the accompanying respect. The Pueblos have maintained these systems of government in the face of centuries of pressures to designate one spokesperson for the convenience of the outside agency. The Pueblos will take the National Park Service desire for consultation as being more sincere if the National Park Service demonstrates its willingness to work within their governmental systems.

## **Consultation Recommendations**

### *General Guidelines*

In the case of the Petroglyph National Monument, effective consultation will require five components to be in place:

- 1) There is need for clarity on the reason for involving Indian people in a consultation process and a corresponding willingness to consider modifying plans as a result of that interaction.
- 2) If the project and time allows, writing incremental plans and testing them may work better than writing a master plan that covers all points from the beginning and then asking people to comment on the master plan.
- 3) It is helpful if all participants in the consultation process understand that consultation is a two-way learning process. Both the National Park Service and the Pueblo people need to be aware that the other participants may have reasonable solutions to cultural resource concerns.
- 4) Consultation usually takes place at meetings scheduled for mutually agreeable times, and in mutually agreeable locations. At least one Pueblo's Tribal Council we met holds its monthly council meeting at night. Other meetings may also occur at night, and at some distance from the City of Albuquerque.
- 5) It is helpful if the entire effort is directed toward building the skills of all participants. Some of the Pueblos have historic preservation committees they can use to continue an active involvement with the

National Park Service. This may mean that the National Park Service will need to help pay for the costs people incur in participation because they have enormous conflicting demands on their time. Designated historical committees are becoming effective intermediaries in some of the Pueblos, but any such contact group will be determined and authorized by the Tribal Governments as they deem appropriate.

### *Tribal Governments*

While some anthropologists and planners who routinely work with the different Pueblo Tribes are familiar with their government structures, many people are not. Therefore we are including this brief outline of tribal government structure in the hope that it will be useful to the National Park Service in future consultation efforts by the Monument staff.

Each Pueblo has its own slightly different form of government and method of making decisions. For secular concerns, most operate under the authority of a Tribal Council made up of either a male from each household or former Governors, Lieutenant Governors, and other officers. A few Pueblos, such as Isleta and Laguna, have elected councils. The Governor is the selected liaison with outside agencies and concerns, but this does not mean he will always be able to unilaterally respond to outside requests. Who the Governor should involve in the decision depends on the level of importance and potential impact of the issue. If an issue is considered important, a Governor will often not address it without consulting with the Council or other tribal officials. In all of the Pueblos, religious leaders deal with religious and other community concerns.

Most Governors are appointed every year by the religious leaders of the Pueblo. Only six of the 19 Pueblos elect their government leaders (Isleta, Laguna, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Zuni). Even though some Governors may be reappointed to a second term, it is the Tribal Council and the Governor's staff who provide the necessary continuity from one administration to another. Governors delegate matters to staff at varying levels and staff usually consult with the Governor or Lieutenant Governors on requests made of them. Therefore, staff of the Governors' offices may often be effective as communication links, but should not be contacted without confirming the appropriateness with the Governors. When designated staff have the information, they can facilitate the necessary local discussions.



What this means for future National Park Service consultation efforts is that the Governor's office must be contacted first on any new issue or project. If the Governor chooses to participate in the project, he will often appoint a tribal official or respected tribal member to be the lead contact person for the project. In the case of this ethnographic assessment project, these contact people were tribal administrators, War Captains, and Lieutenant Governors. Once a contact person has been appointed for a consultation effort, the process can proceed smoothly.

Several Pueblos have staff or historic committees assigned to historic preservation concerns, but others do not. Where such staff or committees exist, the Governor will often assign such matters of cultural resource preservation to them for analysis and they will consult with the Governor or Council before communicating an opinion on behalf of the tribe. It is our understanding that a number of the Pueblos are members of the Keepers of the Treasures, which the National Park Service played an instrumental role in forming. This organization provides a vehicle for sharing information and formulating historic and cultural resource protection ordinances. These ordinances are modeled on tribal values toward cultural resources rather than on the U.S. model of strictly architectural or archaeological protection. There may be opportunities where the National Park Service and Monument staff can strengthen and support such groups so that there will be a core group of knowledgeable people within the Tribes. Strengthening of local historic preservation groups would be a possible benefit to the Pueblos of this effort and it would facilitate consultation on the Monument. Zuni Pueblo, for example, has a designated committee of elders and qualified staff on cultural resource management and is seeking its own contracts for applied research.

Even though the Governors or tribal councils may designate a contact person, this person may not be able to make binding decisions, but for Pueblo decision makers can be an important translator of information and implications. When such concerns are regional and outside the land or land claim boundaries of a specific Pueblo, the Pueblos will sometimes designate the staff of an intertribal consortium to keep current on actions that will affect several Pueblos. Designated staff may also analyze information for a board meeting of Governors. The staff of organizations such as Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, the All Indian Pueblo Council, and Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council can assist with communications on issues that affect the interests of more than one Pueblo. Even though communications may occur with staff of the Pueblos or their organizations such as the All Indian Pueblo

Council, communications should always be sent to the Governors and all their organizations. Key staff people in the intertribal organizations may be helpful in setting up meetings.

Tribal governments, the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos, and the All Indian Pueblo Council declared their interest in participating with the National Park Service, but also described a lack of resources for monitoring so many different projects and federal actions that affect their religious life. The following recommendations were made to us at various times during the course of this project:

- 1) A liaison person is needed to work at the Chairman's Office of the All Indian Pueblo Council and with all member Pueblos at least half-time. The person would be paid by the National Park Service and might be hired from an Indian tribe in the region and connected to the regional Indian Programs Office. We understand from the All Indian Pueblo Council that the Southwest Regional Director of the National Park Service has already spoken with the All Indian Pueblo Council concerning this recommendation.
- 2) It would be helpful if the National Park Service would support the formation of a cultural resource protection committee within the All Indian Pueblo Council to monitor all actions on federal lands and deal with issues such as the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, antiquities, and historic preservation laws and regulations.
- 3) It would be useful if the National Park Service made presentations to all the Pueblos every six months on what is going on and who is doing what. It might be possible to use the Pueblos' office staff as intermediaries to communicate basic information.

It would be helpful if the consultation procedures this section addresses, while necessary at the Monument level, also be implemented at the Regional Office level. Perhaps these procedures could be codified in the form of specific policy statements and guidelines.

Leadership structures are more fragmented within the Hispanic community, and therefore a participatory research process is more difficult to define. The best approach might be to identify a Hispanic organization or individual who can act as a facilitator and intermediary among different groups without being perceived by



other legitimate Spanish interests as having an agenda of its own. Tonantzin Land Institute was identified as a possible intermediary with some skills in documenting cultural resource use. The Institute expressed some willingness to act in that capacity, if compensated. However, it was not clear at the time of our study whether the Institute had the support of its Board or related groups to be a facilitator or liaison, since we were never allowed to meet with the Board members. The best approach we can recommend at this time is to consult with Hispanic historians on how to approach any future projects with the Hispanic community. This consultation should occur before beginning such a project.

The principle of respect mentioned in an earlier section of this report requires that Indian and Hispanic experts be treated with the same professional respect and similarly be compensated for their time as is an academically trained researcher. This is not a recommendation that the National Park Service "pay for information." The National Park Service might consider, however, paying recognized experts for their time spent assisting the National Park Service in the study effort. In the case of the Pueblos, these Indian experts should be tribally appointed and sanctioned before beginning any expert-consultation effort with the National Park Service.

As a result of this project, the National Park Service has the opportunity to build a consultation process that will be clear and acceptable to all. The results will be determined by how comfortable and confident all parties are in that process. The most important step the National Park Service and Monument staff can take at this juncture is to try to incorporate the cultural resource protection recommendations made by the Pueblos in the alternative plans now being presented for comment to the public. The next step is to provide the necessary staff or financial support to make it feasible for Indian and Hispanic people to participate in the future.

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# Research Team Participants

## *Dr. Richard W. Stoffle*

Dr. Stoffle leads the University of Arizona research team at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology. Stoffle received the Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Kentucky in 1972. Since 1972, Stoffle has worked as a principal investigator and consultant with American Indian cultural resource assessment projects throughout the United States. During these projects, Stoffle has worked with over 60 American Indian tribes. In addition, Stoffle has led the Dominican Republic Marine Resources cultural assessment project, and the Michigan Low Level Radioactive Siting Project. Stoffle specializes in social impact assessment and applied anthropology. He is a Fellow of the Society for Applied Anthropology, and a member of the American Anthropology Association, and the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology. He is the past Applied Anthropology editor for the journal *American Anthropologist*.

## *Dr. Michael J. Evans*

Dr. Evans received the Ph.D. from the University of Florida in anthropology in 1988. He has worked as a principal investigator and consultant on applied anthropology and historic preservation projects in the United States, Europe, Mexico, and Micronesia. Evans specializes in social impact assessment, historic preservation, and computers in anthropology. He is the past Project Director for the Micronesian Resources Study, a comprehensive survey and inventory of the cultural resources of the islands of Micronesia funded by the National Park Service, and has worked with over 40 American Indian tribes concerning cultural resources.

## *Sandra Lee Pinel, M.A.*

Ms. Pinel received a B.A. in anthropology from Brandeis, and an M.A. in resource planning in 1978 from the University of Wisconsin. Pinel has worked for a number of Pueblos and intertribal organizations as a planner since that time. In 1991, Pinel held the position of planner for the Office of Indian Affairs for the state of New Mexico. Currently, Pinel works as a planner for the Local Government Division for the state of New Mexico.



# Annotated Bibliography

This annotated bibliography contains references to selected ethnographic, petroglyph, and Pueblo literature as it pertains to the resources found at the Petroglyph National Monument. Many of the references included here were used extensively during the Rapid Ethnographic Assessment project. Others served as useful background material, or as sources pointing to more far-flung or esoteric literature sources.

Babcock, Barbara

- 1991 *Pueblo Mothers and Children: Essays by Elsie Clews Parsons, 1915-1924*. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press.

This 140-page work pulls together many of Parsons' classic, yet previously scattered, essays related to views on maternity, myths, and ritual historically integral to Pueblo people. Uses of shrines located near the mountains, and discussions over the provenience (post- or pre-Spanish) of certain rituals is included. Zuni, Laguna, Hopi, and Tewa are represented. Babcock writes an illuminating introduction.

Backer, Anna M.

- 1986 Research Potential of Rock Art. In *Las Imagines: The Archaeology of Albuquerque's West Mesa Escarpment*. Matthew F. Schmader and John D. Hays, eds. Pp. 107-115. Prepared for State of New Mexico Historic Preservation Division.

Part of the supporting text for Schmader and Hays' report, this piece makes the argument that rock art research concerning the symbolism and meaning of petroglyphs is not possible. The author maintains that since we cannot talk to the makers of the rock art, it is only speculation as to what it means. Therefore, the archaeological system of classification is the only valid way of categorizing and interpreting petroglyphs. This piece was written before Young's groundbreaking work.

Barnes, F.A.

- 1982 *Canyon Country Prehistoric Rock Art*. Salt Lake City: Wasatch Publishers Inc.

This text was written as a guide for amateur rock art researchers and tourists traveling in the Colorado Plateau region. While in places Barnes' accuracy is questionable, he does present numerous illustrations of petroglyphs. Barnes does not agree with the "artistic style" categorization process common in the archaeological study of petroglyphs.

Beidleman, Richard G.

- 1956 Ethnozoology of the Pueblo Indians in Historic Times. *Southwestern Lore* 22:17-28. The Colorado Archaeological Society.

This article articulates the important relationship between the natural and spiritual worlds in Pueblo thought and cosmology. Reference is made to members of the Keresan group, who hunt game in nearby mountains.

Boyd, Douglas K., and Bobbie Ferguson

- 1988 *Tewa Rock Art in the Black Mesa Region*. Amarillo, Texas: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation.

This straightforward archaeological survey of rock art in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, resulted from an irrigation ditch project. Extensively illustrated, the report contains numerous lists of the petroglyphs categorized by type. The interpretation of the petroglyphs follows the stylistic analysis set forth by Schaafsma with no new additions.

Brant, C.S.

- 1948 Preliminary Data on Tesuque Pueblo. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* 34:253-259.

This brief article makes the point that Tesuque ceremonialism, even in 1948, was composed of a mosaic of origins: aboriginal, Spanish Catholicism, other Pueblo and non-Pueblo influences, and contact with Mexicans. Nevertheless, the author describes Tesuque as culturally conservative.

Bunzel, Ruth L.

- 1932 Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism. In *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1929-30*. Pp. 467-544. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Conditions of economic and social life, cosmological beliefs, ritual and its means of controlling the supernatural, ceremonial patterns and organizations, as well as a calendar are addressed in this treatise. Bunzel suggests that the primary objective of religious participation is social good; also highly valuable is the function of producing rain and furthering the growth of crops.

Castleton, Kenneth B.

- 1978 *Petroglyphs and Pictographs of Utah*. 2 vols. Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Natural History.

Castleton's book is a widespread survey of the rock art of Utah. Extensive illustrations and maps are included in relatively sparse text. A good reference work if used alongside Cole's more comprehensive text. Castleton explicitly states that artistic styles are simply a convenient way of categorizing petroglyphs, but that interpretation based on style is highly speculative.



Cole, Sally J.

- 1990 *Legacy on Stone: Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau and Four Corners Region*. Boulder, Colo.: Johnson Books.

In this book Cole presents a synthesis of the petroglyph and pictograph studies conducted in the Colorado Plateau area. A short, but useful introductory section focuses on the study of rock art in archaeology, as well as the "artistic style" classification system used to categorize rock art symbols. While she uses a style classification system in her description of the rock art of the Colorado Plateau, she outlines the limitations of such a system, such as there being no absolute way of tying a particular panel to a particular culture. Cole also includes a useful bibliography of the references cited in the text.

- 1989 *Iconography and Symbolism in Basketmaker Rock Art*. In *Rock Art of the Western Canyons*. Jane S. Day, Paul D. Friedman, and Marcia J. Tate, eds. Pp. 59-85. Denver: Denver Museum of Natural History.

This interesting piece outlines the archaeological assumption of the connection between rock art and shamanism during the Basketmaker period.

Curtis, Edward S.

- 1976 [1926] *The North American Indian, Volumes 16 and 17*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp.

These volumes have provoked controversy over the years especially for their visual depictions of Native Americans, which the author is known on many occasions to have contrived. Volume 16 covers the Tiwa, including Isleta and Taos, and the Keres—Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Acoma, and Laguna. Volume 17 covers the Tewa—San Juan, San Ildefonso, Nambe, and Zuni. Numerous references to shrines and uses of natural resources are included.

Dozier, Edward P.

- 1970 *The Pueblo Indians of North America*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.

This 223-page book, divided into three parts, addresses contemporary Pueblo life, prehistoric and historic background, and traditional society and culture. This work serves as an adequate introductory reader for Pueblo culture.

Douglass, William B.

- 1917 *Notes on the Shrines of the Tewa and Other Pueblo Indians of New Mexico*. In *Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists*. Pp. 334-378. Washington.

The author documents numerous shrines and tentatively describes their uses. This work clearly shows that mountains have a long history of being critical places for the location of shrines, and hence places of religious import. Douglass acknowledges in his introduction the Pueblo tradition of guarding their secrets of their shrines, and of resisting inquiries into their existence, function, and meaning.

- 1912 A World-Quarter Shrine of the Tewa Indian. *Records of the Past* 11:158-173.

This article describes the author's exploration of an Indian shrine located at the apex of a mountain. It includes a detailed description of the shrine, its location, and its associated features: altar, prayer sticks, vase. The author also provides a diagram of the shrine, photographs or illustrations of the artifacts, and a map of the archaeological site. An anecdotal note documents a Tewa's negative reaction (refusal to talk) to the author's request to explain the shrine.

Dumarest, Noël

- 1919 Notes on Cochiti. *American Anthropological Association Memoirs* 6:137-237.

This work, edited by Elsie Clews Parsons, was published after the author's death but in accordance with his wishes. It is loosely organized and rather superficially treats a range of topics: birth, the training of children, sickness and cure, witches, death, ceremonies, curing and weather control societies, myths and tales. A section on ceremonial places makes reference to shrines as being in all the higher places. Various illustrations are included.

Eastvold, Isaac C.

- 1986 Ethnographic Background for the Rock Art of the West Mesa Escarpment. In *Las Imagines: The Archaeology of Albuquerque's West Mesa Escarpment*. Matthew F. Schmader and John D. Hays, eds. Pp. 116-136. Prepared for the State of New Mexico Historic Preservation Division.

The author attempts to attach ethnological interpretation to the petroglyphs on West Mesa. He relies on early ethnological work about Hopi katchinas and ceremonies, and attributes meaning to the petroglyphs from this Hopi perspective.

Eggan, Fred

- 1972 Summary. In *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 287-305. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This summary of the *New Perspectives* collection includes an overview to the generalized Pueblo world view. Especially relevant is the description of the Pueblo conception of boundaries as marked by sacred mountains. Furthermore, the author explains the essential quality of harmony, and how any failings or imbalances can bring on disaster.

Ellis, Florence Hawley

- 1966a The Immediate History of Zia Pueblo as Derived from Excavation in Refuse Deposits. *American Antiquity* 31:806-811.

This archaeological project was undertaken to assist in providing an objective check on the length of occupation of the present Zia Pueblo site. The excavation occurred several years after Zia's successful land claim against the U.S. government. Ellis determined that the ancestral Zia people first settled the pueblo during the fourteenth century.



- 1966b Pueblo Boundaries and Their Markers. *Plateau* 38:97-107.

This article reports on the ways in which Pueblo peoples knew the edges of their land before the period of reservation boundaries. Ellis notes that boundary spots were often marked by the location of shrines. The author also discusses a stone marked with a Z, which may have represented a land grant from Mexico, although the legitimacy of the stone was disputed. The article leaves little doubt that Pueblo-dwelling people were historically land conscious.

- 1964a Archaeological History of Nambe Pueblo, 14th Century to Present. *American Antiquity* 30:34-42.

The 1962 excavation of the village ash piles, undertaken to assist the tribe in its land claim effort, is reported in this article. The artifactual evidence, namely pot sherds, suggests that the people of Nambe have utilized their village at least since 1350.

- 1964b Ceramic Stratigraphy and Tribal History at Taos Pueblo. *American Antiquity* 30:316-328.

The author reports on the contents of a refuse mound that was excavated at the request of the Taos Pueblo, to assist Taos tribal officials in establishing evidence of ancestral aboriginal occupation for the purposes of their land claim. The archaeologists dated the occupation of the original Taos village at about 1300.

- 1956 *Anthropological Evidence Supporting the Land Claim of the Pueblos of Zia, Santa Ana, and Jemez*. Manuscript, 86 pp. Washington, D.C.: Indian Claims Commission.

This investigation sought to discover how long the Pueblo peoples and their ancestors occupied the claimed area. Verbal and archaeological evidence were supplemented with historical documents. Dwelling sites from A.D. 1200 were mapped as well as other use-sites such as religious shrines, smoke signal points, springs, areas from which clays and paints were collected, farm areas at a distance from the villages, hunting areas, corrals, herding camps, and watering places.

Euler, Robert C.

- 1954 Environmental Adaptations at Sia Pueblo. *Human Organization* 12(4):27-32.

This brief paper reports on an Indian Service attempt to establish a land improvement program at Zia, and tries to illustrate the importance of Zia culture and history in shaping the project's outcome. It makes the point that Zia religion and agricultural practices are inextricably interwoven.

Ford, Richard Irving

- 1992    *An Ecological Analysis Involving the Population of San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico. In The Evolution of North American Indians: A 31-volume series of outstanding dissertations.* David Hurst Thomas., ed. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.

The publication of the author's dissertation more than 20 years after its original completion attests to the lasting importance of this work, intended to contribute a model for understanding human adaptation. Ford's focus on human-environment transactions makes this study highly relevant for understanding the indigenous relationship between culture and nature. Among other things, he discusses cultural institutions, such as sodalities and ritual practices, in relation to natural resources.

Friedlander, Eva and Pamela J. Pinyan

- 1980    *Indian Use of the Santa Fe National Forest: A Determination from Ethnographic Sources.* Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies.

This report is an overview of the literature related to the use of Santa Fe National Forest by Indian groups in the region. The Sangre de Cristo Mountains are cited, and material evidence of cultural use, such as shrines, is noted. Although use of the forest has changed over the years, the authors conclude that the Pueblo groups continue to use the forest for a variety of reasons. A useful bibliography is included.

Godfrank, Esther Schiff

- 1927    *The Social and Ceremonial Organization of Cochiti. American Anthropological Association Memoirs 33.*

This overview of the Cochiti builds on Dumarest's unfinished notes. The study is especially interesting for its timing: The investigation occurred at a time when many aspects of social conventions were breaking down, yet a complex ceremonial organization continued to thrive. Several pages discuss the use of shrines.

Grant, Campbell

- 1967    *Rock Art of the American Indian.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

This good, although somewhat dated work serves as an introduction to rock art research in the United States and Canada. It is accompanied by extensive illustrations. Although this volume is out-of-print, it can often be found in the inventories of book dealers in Santa Fe.

Harrington, John Peabody

- 1916    *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians. In Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1907-1908.* Pp. 29-636. Washington: Government Printing Office.

This treatise presents the geography related to the Tewa of the upper Rio Grande Valley. The author makes reference to difficulties encountered in gathering his data, largely due to the "reticent and secretive nature of the



Pueblo people with regard to religious matters." The author divides the region of place-names into 29 areas, and shows each on a map. Chapters on cosmography, meteorology, periods of time, geographical terms, place names, names of tribes and peoples, names of minerals, and a bibliography are included.

Harvey, Byron

- 1972 An Overview of Pueblo Religion. In *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*. Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 197-217. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Harvey's overview includes insights into the highly held value of secrecy in Pueblo religion and addresses secrets that are formulations of ritual. However, his essay does not touch upon the controversial nature of secrecy—the notion that Pueblo people may not want outsiders to acquire knowledge about their religion.

Henderson, Junius and John Peabody Harrington

- 1914 Ethnozoology of the Tewa Indians. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 56*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

The bulk of this 76-page study is an annotated list of animals, from mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians, to fishes, insects, crustaceans, and lower invertebrates. Other features of this book are a phonetic key, some background on the species inhabiting the region, a classification of animals, bibliography, and index. Knowledge of ethnozoology is recommended for the fullest appreciation of this study.

Hibben, Frank

- 1937 Excavation of the Riana Ruin and Chama Valley Survey. *University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series*, Vol. 2, No. 1.

The site of this excavation is unique for its location at 6,200 feet above sea level. The author places the abandonment of the pueblo shortly after the year 1348. The evidence yielded from the excavation clearly points to a long history of Pueblo occupation in the area based upon the cultural artifacts that were unearthed.

Indian Claims Commission

- 1965 Pueblo of Nambe vs. United States of America, Docket 358. In *Commission Findings on the Pueblo Indians*. Pp. 393-422. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.

The findings of fact provide excellent background into the history of settlement and cultural uses of natural resources, including hunting and plant use. The area of aboriginal occupancy is described as dotted with religious shrines, which were frequently visited by members of the Pueblo of Nambe for ceremonial purposes.

Lamphere, Louise

- 1989 *Feminist Anthropology: The Legacy of Elsie Clews Parsons. American Ethnologist* 16:518-533.

The paper provides excellent background on Parsons' life, including how she obtained secretive information from Pueblo informants. The author originally presented this article as the 1989 American Ethnological Society Distinguished Lecture in Santa Fe.

Lange, Charles H.

- 1951 *An Evaluation of Economic Factors in Cochiti Pueblo Culture Change.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico.

Various aspects of this study offer useful information. Especially relevant is the author's affirmation of the ritual aspects of hunting and the way in which religious life is integral to the everyday.

- 1953 *Culture Change as Revealed in Cochiti Pueblo Hunting Customs. Texas Journal of Science* 5:178-184.

This article, though brief, documents the Cochiti's historical use of the mountains as well as the importance of the hunt in the past and continuing into the ethnographic present. The connection between hunting and religious practice is made evident by descriptions of animal bones being taken to shrines as well as other sacred conceptions of nature.

Marshall, Mike

- 1984 *The Mann Site LA 290: A Tiquex Pueblo in the Middle Rio Grande District, N.M.* Manuscript.

A brief manuscript written in support of the nomination of the Piedras Marcadas Ruin site to the National Register of Historic Places.

Ortiz, Alfonso

- 1991 *Through Tewa Eyes: Origins. National Geographic* 180(4):6-13.

A short piece written in the first-person, outlining the birth and naming ceremonies of Tewa society. Written for a lay audience.

- 1983 *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, Vol. 10.* (editor) Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

This handbook, a general reference for North American Indians, has sections devoted to the various Pueblo groups.

- 1972 *Ritual Drama and the Pueblo World View. In New Perspectives on the Pueblos.* Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Pp. 135-161. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

In this article, Ortiz documents the precision with which Pueblo people try to bring their definitions of space into line with their cosmologies. This clearly has implications for places viewed as sacred. The interconnectedness of Pueblo cosmology, as well as of causality, is made clear.



- 1969 *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being, and Becoming in a Pueblo Society.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Concepts that are key to understanding Tewa symbolic classification are discussed in this dense, complex symbolic analysis of Tewa society. Adapted from the author's dissertation, the work identifies mountains sacred to Pueblo people. The conceptual boundaries of the Tewa world are explicated. Important concepts related to sacred aspects of Pueblo life, such as shrines and earth navels, are discussed.

Parsons, Elsie Clews

- 1939 *Pueblo Indian Religion.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

This two-volume set is the classic text on Pueblo Indian religion. Parsons leaves nothing untouched, and for this the book has been viewed by some as highly controversial.

- 1932 Isleta, New Mexico. In *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1929-30*. Pp.193-465. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Sections on ceremonial organization and ritual are included in this study of Isleta Pueblo. Significant space is also devoted to historical and contemporary relations, economic life, personal life, secular government, calendar, supernaturals, folk tales, Spanish tales, tales of witchcraft, and tales of personal experience. The author prefaces the report with a warning that ceremonial accounts must be taken with reservation because her informant may have altered reality in line with the Isleta tradition of being a "particularly secretive" Pueblo.

- 1929 *The Social Organization of the Tewa. American Anthropological Association Memoirs 36.* Manasha, Wisc.: George Banta Publishing Company.

This monograph sought to fill a gap in the publication record by systematically describing the Tewa, a people Parsons describes as "past masters in the art of defeating inquiry." She calls informants "unequally reliable." While dated, the work contains useful cultural information. The contents cover family, kinship, clanship, moieties, kivas, Governor and officers, ceremonial organization, ceremonial calendar, ritual, supernaturals, and folktales. Several photographs of shrines in the hills or mountains are included in the section on ritual.

- 1925 *The Pueblo of Jemez.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

This 144-page book is part of the result of a general ethnological survey which Parsons conducted in 1921 and 1922 among the Pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico. Parsons' study was used in part to shed light on the life of the inhabitants of Pecos, the abandoned Pueblo believed to be the ancestral home to some Jemez Indians. The scope of the study includes sections on Jemez historical and contemporary relations, economic life, kin and clan, personal life, secular government, ceremonial life, ritual, the 1840 Pecos immigration to Jemez, tales, and a bibliography.

Patterson-Rudolph, Carol

- 1990 *Petroglyphs & Pueblo Myths of the Rio Grande*. Albuquerque: Avanyu Publishing Inc.

In this text Patterson-Rudolph maintains that petroglyphs, and in particular those found in the La Cienega area near Santa Fe, form a writing system that can be read by someone who understands the symbols. Patterson-Rudolph argues that specific symbols and panels can be attributed to specific Puebloan myths and stories, instead of being a metaphorical symbols as presented by Young (1988) and others. Unfortunately, the reader has to take this "interpretation" on faith, since Patterson-Rudolph presents no evidence that contemporary Puebloan peoples have any knowledge of petroglyphs forming a writing system in the past. Equally unfortunate for archaeologists, Patterson-Rudolph presents her text as a professional archaeological study.

Robbins, Wilfred William, John Peabody Harrington, and Barbara Freire-Marreco

- 1916 *Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 55*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

The bulk of this 124-page study is an annotated list of plants, both indigenous wild and cultivated. This book also includes a phonetic key, a section on methodology, a section devoted to the Tewa concepts of plant life, several pages identifying Tewa plant names, as well as parts and properties of plants, growth of plants, condition of plants, and color of plants. Other features are a fold-out archaeological map of the Jemez Plateau, bibliography and index. A background in ethnobotany is recommended for accessing this study to its fullest potential.

Rohn, Arthur H.

- 1989 *Rock Art of Bandelier National Monument*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This coffee-table style book presents a study of the petroglyphs and pictographs of the Bandelier National Monument. These rock graphics were made by the "Pajarito Plateau" people from A.D. 1300-1540. While Rohn presents some interesting information about the Bandelier area, his study is only peripherally relevant to the petroglyphs of the West Mesa.

Sando, Joe

- 1982 *Nee Hemish: A History of Jemez Pueblo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Ortiz describes this work as "an intimate account of Jemez Pueblo from distant times to the modern era." The struggles, accomplishments, and aspirations as seen from within the community lend coherence to the book. Chapters dealing with religious concepts and land claims issues are especially relevant.

- 1976 *The Pueblo Indians*. San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press.

This historical account of the Pueblos, written by an insider, includes a section on religion that, although brief, emphasizes the way in which



spirituality permeates daily life. Chapters are devoted to a range of topics: nations within a nation; traditional history; Spanish conquest and Pueblo revolt; the United States in Pueblo history; land, water and survival; elements of change; and individuals who shaped Pueblo history. Useful appendices, maps, and illustrations flesh out this work.

Schaafsma, Polly

- 1992 *Rock Art in New Mexico*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

The leader in southwest archaeological rock art studies recently has produced this work, which is a revised and expanded version of the earlier 1972 text. Redone with a new cover and more illustrations, the text now includes a relatively substantial discussion of the cultural symbolism that endow petroglyphs, a discussion that was largely lacking in the earlier version. Still missing is any systematic attempt to attach contemporary Native American meaning and interpretation to any of the petroglyphs. Some of the interpretations of the West Mesa symbols are at considerable variance with the Rapid Ethnographic Assessment project's findings.

- 1987 *Rock Art at Wupatki: Pots, Textiles, Glyphs. Exploration: Annual Bulletin of the School of American Research*. pp. 21-27.

Concerned with the rock art at Wupatki National Monument, this short piece concentrates on the abstract images found there. Schaafsma classifies these as "textile designs" and relates them to pottery and weaving traditions.

- 1982 *Tompito Rock Art. Exploration: Annual Bulletin of the School of American Research*. Pp. 17-19.

This short piece (only four paragraphs of text) does not adequately introduce the reader to the rock art of the Salinas area.

- 1980 *Indian Rock Art of the Southwest*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

In this comprehensive look at petroglyphs and pictographs throughout the southwest, Schaafsma lays the foundation for the artistic styles and stylistic analysis she developed for the region. Lavishly illustrated, the book relies on accepted archaeological interpretation of petroglyphs. There is no indication of whether contemporary ethnographic data influenced either the styles Schaafsma uses to categorize the petroglyphs or their interpretation.

- 1975 *Rock Art in the Cochiti Reservoir District*. Museum of New Mexico Press, Papers in Anthropology, Number 16.

Schaafsma surveyed petroglyph sites north of Cochiti Pueblo in 1966 in preparation for their inundation by water backed up by the Cochiti Dam. The project work was meant to supplement the larger and more comprehensive reporting of archaeology site survey and excavation in the area directed by Charles Lange. Schaafsma classified the petroglyphs she recorded as part of a "Rio Grande Style" that she maintains is widespread from Santa Fe to Socorro. The author compares the petroglyphs in the Cochiti Reservoir to those located in the Galisteo area, the Pajarito Plateau area, and along the Rio Grande. Schaafsma uses the common archaeology technique of dating petroglyphs by associating them spatially (or geographically) with existing archaeology sites,

and by comparing them with pottery designs from known periods. For the Cochiti Reservoir petroglyphs, this relative dating was supplemented by several historic period initials and names that had dates next to them on the rock. Schaafsma draws conclusions of "older" or "more recent" for some petroglyphs. Schaafsma speculates that some petroglyphs may have been associated with shrines. She also presents some interpretation of individual petroglyphs, apparently wholly drawn from Lange's ethnography of Cochiti Pueblo (Lange 1959). It is unclear whether informants worked directly with the author.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy

- 1987 *The Best of Two Worlds, the Worst of Two Worlds: Reflections on Culture and Field Work among the Rural Irish and Pueblo Indians. Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29(1):56-75.

This article's examination of problems of cultural survival in two societies concludes with a section on secrecy, power, and knowledge. The theoretical approach is highly current as the article ends with an acknowledgment of "the mighty right to withhold" words.

Schmader, Matthew F., and John D. Hays

- 1986 *Las Imagines: The Archaeology of Albuquerque's West Mesa Escarpment*. Prepared for the State of New Mexico Historic Preservation Division.

This report documents an extensive survey of the West Mesa Escarpment conducted in preparation for nominating the area as a Historic District under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act. Included are chapters by other authors on the archaeological and ethnographic interpretations of the petroglyphs.

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe

- 1915 Ethnobotany of the Zuni Indians. In *Bureau of American Ethnology, Thirteenth Annual Report. 1908-09*. Pp. 31-102. Washington: Government Printing Office.

This work covers medical practices and medicinal plants, and various uses of plants, from weaving to folklore to ceremony. The author makes clear the close relation between Zuni and their plants, as well as the sacred quality of many species.

- 1913 Studies of the Tewa Indians of the Rio Grande Valley. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 60:35-41.

A short work that should be used as an introduction to Stevenson's larger 1894 report.

- 1985 The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies. In *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Pp. 3-634. Reprint, Glorieta, N.M.: The Rio Grande Press Inc.

This reprint of Stevenson's comprehensive report on the Zuni delves deep into various aspects of mythology, worship and ritual, calendar and calendric



ceremonials, priesthoods, festivals, history, arts, and customs, games, arts and industries, and fraternities.

- 1894 The Sia. In *The Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Pp. 3-157. Washington: Government Printing Office.

This broad-sweeping study, while dated in many ways, features sections dealing with cosmogony, cult societies, theurgistic rites, songs, childbirth, mortuary customs and beliefs, and myths. Stevenson includes an anecdote about how her husband obtained a sacred vase from the vicar of the snake society against the wishes of a special tribal council. The story is highly relevant to the ongoing issue of secrecy.

Stoffle, Richard W.

- 1987 *Native Americans and Nuclear Waste Storage at Yucca Mountain, Nevada: Potential Impacts of Site Characterization Activities*. Report submitted to Science Applications International Corporation, Oak Ridge, Tenn. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

This "think-piece" outlines the process and procedures for the Department of Energy to use in its cultural resource investigations and consultation with Native American tribes concerning the Yucca Mountain, Nevada, high-level nuclear waste storage project.

Stoffle, Richard W., and Michael J. Evans

- 1992 American Indians and Nuclear Waste Storage: The Debate at Yucca Mountain, Nevada. In *Native Americans and Public Policy*. Fremont J. Lyden and Lyman H. Legters, eds. Pp. 243-262. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

This work was written for policymakers and outlines the reasons for including Native American consultation in the Yucca Mountain high-level nuclear waste storage project.

- 1990 Holistic Conservation and Cultural Triage: American Indian Perspectives on Cultural Resources. *Human Organization* 49(2):91-99.

A theoretical work outlining how Native Americans approach cultural resource projects, and the real-world tradeoffs they encounter when they become involved in such projects.

Stoffle, Richard W., Michael J. Evans, David B. Halmo, Wesley E. Niles, and Joan T. O'Farrell

- 1988 *Native American Plant Resources in the Yucca Mountain Area, Nevada*. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research. Prepared for Science Applications International Corporation, Las Vegas, Nevada, and the U.S. Department of Energy, Nevada Operations Office.

This report of the ethnobotanical studies at Yucca Mountain includes a methodological section for ethnobotany studies.

Stoffle, Richard W., Michael J. Evans, and Camilla L. Harshbarger

- 1988 Native American Interpretation of Cultural Resources in the Area of Yucca Mountain, Nevada. (Interim Report). Las Vegas: Department of Energy, Nevada Operations Office.

Included in this report of the ethnoarchaeological studies at Yucca Mountain are contemporary Native American perceptions and interpretations for archaeological sites in the study area.

Stoffle, Richard W., David B. Halmo, John E. Olmsted, and Michael J. Evans

- 1990 *Native American Cultural Resource Studies at Yucca Mountain, Nevada*. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

This work is a summary of four reports on the cultural resources of the Yucca Mountain, Nevada, region.

Stoffle, Richard W., David B. Halmo, Michael J. Evans, and John E. Olmsted

- 1990 Calculating the Cultural Significance of American Indian Plants: Paiute and Shoshone Ethnobotany at Yucca Mountain, Nevada. *American Anthropologist* 92(2):416-432.

A methodological work on how to calculate the cultural significance of plants in ethnobotanical studies undertaken as part of larger cultural resource impact projects.

Stoffle, Richard W., Merle Jake, Michael J. Evans, and Pamela Bunte

- 1981 Establishing Native American Concerns in Social Impact Assessment. *Social Impact Assessment* 65/66:4-9.

An early methodological work on how to conduct social impact assessment projects with Native American participants. The methodology outlined here (and in subsequent work by the same authors) formed the foundation of the National Park Service's guidelines on how to incorporate "intangible" cultural resources in nominations to the National Register.

Stoffle, Richard W., Omer C. Stewart, and Michael J. Evans

- 1984 *Toyavita Piavuhuru Koroin (Canyon of Mother Earth): Ethnohistory and Native American Religious Concerns in the Fort Carson-Piñon Canyon Maneuver Area*. Kenosha, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin-Parkside.

A project report that describes the Native American concerns in the Piñon Canyon, Colorado, region. The cultural resources in the study area included substantial petroglyph panels.

Suina, Joseph H.

- 1992 Pueblo Secrecy Result of Intrusions. *New Mexico Magazine*, January 1992, pp. 60-63.

This work features a concise statement of why Pueblo people retain a cloak of secrecy around their religious and cultural affairs. The author is from Cochiti Pueblo.



Sutherland, Kay

- 1978 Petroglyphs at Three Rivers, New Mexico: A Partial Survey. *The Artifact* 16(2):1-67.

Sutherland's study was a basic survey of the first 900 feet of the Three Rivers site. At the time the survey was completed (1973), the site was managed by the BLM. Sutherland's survey does not provide any groundbreaking insights, but does offer ample illustrations of the petroglyphs Sutherland and her crew surveyed. Unfortunately, these petroglyphs were illustrated with simple hand-drawn sketches without any sense of context or size.

Turner, Christy G., III

- 1963 Petrographs of the Glen Canyon Region. *Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin*, No. 38. Flagstaff, Ariz.: University of Northern Arizona.

One of the first systematic studies of rock art in the Colorado Plateau region, this document covers petroglyphs and pictographs destroyed by the construction of the Glen Canyon Dam and the subsequent filling of Lake Powell.

Tyler, Hamilton A.

- 1964 *Pueblo Gods and Myths*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.

The author sets out to present a composite picture of all the Pueblo gods and other lesser supernaturals. Chapters such as "The Cosmos and the System of the Six Directions" provide relatively easy reading on the spiritual world of the Pueblos. The work was largely taken from earlier ethnographic literature.

- 1991 *Pueblo Birds & Myths*. Northland Publishing.

The integration of birds within Pueblo life is explored in this beautifully illustrated book. The author considers ways in which birds, and their individual feathers, provide a basic frame of reference in Pueblo ceremonialism and community life. Beyond the complex, symbolic uses of bird feathers, the author notes the reverence that Pueblo Indians show for all wildlife.

Weaver Jr., Donald E.

- 1984 Images on Stone: The Prehistoric Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau. *Plateau* 55(2):1-32.

A good introductory text concerning the rock art of the Colorado Plateau, Weaver's text should be used as an introduction to Cole's more complex and comprehensive study of the region.

Wellman, Klaus F.

- 1978 A Bibliography of North American Indian Rock Art. *The Artifact* 16(1):1-109.
- 1979 A Bibliography of North American Indian Rock Art. *The Artifact* 17(4):1-45.

Both of these references are bibliographies of rock art literature sources published prior to 1978. While somewhat dated, they do give a reasonable overview of the field of petroglyph studies.

White, Leslie

- 1962 The Pueblo of Sia, New Mexico. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 184. Washington: Government Printing Office.

White begins his comprehensive investigation with a history and then addresses topics such as Christianity, culture, land, agriculture, stockraising, health issues, cosmology and pueblo life, social organization, government and social life, ceremonialism, war, paraphernalia, and concludes with a section entitled "retrospect and prospect." Of special interest is his preface, in which a discussion of Stevenson's work raises ethical matters related to secrecy. Also noteworthy are discussions that situate spiritual activities in the mountains. The section on culture change provides a good statement about cultural encroachment.

- 1945a Ethnographic Notes on the Sandia Pueblo, New Mexico. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* 31:215-222. Ann Arbor.

This brief article includes a discussion of the winter ceremony known as the communal rabbit hunt. Again, the spiritual dimension of hunting is underscored.

- 1945b Notes on the Ethnozoology of the Keresan Pueblo Indians. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* 31:223-243. Ann Arbor.

This article illustrates the importance of various birds and animals in pueblo culture; for example, feathers are used in rituals and as decorations, and when attached to prayer sticks serve as an important vehicle of communication with spirits.

- 1942 The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico. *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 44.

White's descriptions of activities related to hunting are highly relevant for the way in which they illustrate the connection between nature and spirituality, hunting societies, and ritual activities. Sections are devoted to the history of Santa Ana, cosmology and Pueblo life, social organization, government and social life, corn and the cosmos, hunting, war, sickness and witchcraft, and paraphernalia and ritual.

- 1935 The Pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico. *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 43. Menasha, Wisc.

White begins this monograph with a prefatory note that speaks to how "utterly impossible" it is to do ethnological work in the open among Pueblo



people and then proceeds to explain how he secured his information. The work includes sections on social organization, life cycle of an individual, ceremonialism, and myths and tales.

- 1932a *The Acoma Indians. In Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1929-30. Pp. 17-192. Washington: Government Printing Office.*

This overview of the Acoma moves from the historical to the ethnographic present, covering topics related to kin and clan, government, ceremonies and ceremonial organization, paraphernalia and ritual, life cycle of an individual, and myths and tales. White attributes the "suspicious" nature of the Acoma (directed toward government officials, tourists and other outsiders in the 1920s) in part to fears that land may be taken from them. He notes that the Acoma remain on guard to prevent information on ceremonies from becoming known lest they be suppressed or ridiculed "by the whites."

- 1932b *The Pueblo of San Felipe. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association 38. Menasha, Wisc.*

A short piece on the Pueblo of San Felipe, White covers the same general topical areas as in his previous ethnographic writings.

- 1930 *A Comparative Study of Keresan Medicine Societies. In Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Americanists. Pp. 604-619. New York.*

The noteworthy aspect of this article is the clear link that is made between the medicine societies and the natural world. White explains how medicinemen do not possess power to cure disease in and of themselves; they receive it from animal spirit doctors, e.g. bears, mountain lions, badgers, eagles. Actual parts from some of these animals are used ceremoniously, and their mountainous habitats are significant.

Young, M. Jane

- 1988 *Signs From The Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.*

Young presents one of the few studies of rock art that focuses on the contemporary cultural meaning of petroglyphs. Young spent four summers working with Zuni people in a survey of rock art on the Zuni reservation. This book, an outgrowth of Young's dissertation, presents the Zuni interpretation of the rock art as being a symbolic way of communication between their gods, spirits, and ancestors. Young includes a useful bibliography on both Zuni culture and rock art as it pertains to the Zuni situation.

# List of Tribal and Community Contacts

Officers' names <sup>5</sup>	address	phone
Governor Reginald Pasqual 1st Lt. Gov. Ronald Charlie 2nd Lt. Gov. Ted Martinez	Pueblo of Acoma P.O. Box 309 Pueblo of Acoma, NM 87034	505-552-6604/6605 (FAX) 505-552-6600
Governor Epifanio Mody Lt. Gov. Lawrence Herrera	Cochiti Pueblo P.O. Box 70 Cochiti Pueblo, NM 87041	505-465-2244 (FAX) 505-465-2245
Governor Alex Lucero 1st Lt. Gov. Albert Cherino, Sr. 2nd Lt. Gov. Lalo Abeita	Isleta Pueblo P.O. Box 317 Isleta Pueblo, NM 87022	505-869-3111/6333 (FAX) 505-869-4236
Governor Joe V. Cajero 1st Lt. Gov. Jerry Sando 2nd Lt. Gov. Vincent A. Toya	Jemez Pueblo P.O. Box 100 Jemez Pueblo, NM 87024	505-834-7359/7525 (FAX) 505-834-7331
Governor Harry D. Early 1st Lt. Gov. Emmett Hunt, Sr. 2nd Lt. Gov. Robert Thomas	Laguna Pueblo P.O. Box 194 Laguna Pueblo, NM 87026	505-552-6654/6655 (FAX) 505-243-9636
Governor Moses Chavez Lt. Gov. Richard Bernal Jennie Holmes	Sandia Pueblo Box 6008 Bernalillo, NM 87004	505-867-3317 (FAX) 505-867-9235
Governor Frank Tenorio Lt. Gov. Calvin Garcia	San Felipe Pueblo P.O. Box A San Felipe Pueblo, NM 87001	505-867-3381/3382 (FAX) 505-867-3383
Governor William H. Gallegos Lt. Gov. Bruce Sanchez	Santa Ana Pueblo Star Route Box 37 Bernalillo, NM 87004	505-867-3301/3302 (FAX) 505-867-3395
Governor Victor Reano Lt. Gov. Donicio Coriz, Sr.	Santo Domingo Pueblo P.O. Box 99 Santo Domingo Pueblo, NM 87052	505-465-2214/2215 (FAX) 505-465-2688
Governor Bennie Salas Lt. Gov. Moses Shije	Zia Pueblo General Delivery San Ysidro, NM 87053	505-867-3304/3305 (FAX) 505-867-3308
Governor Robert Lewis Lt. Gov. Pesancio Lasiloo	Zuni Pueblo P.O. Box 339 Zuni, NM 87327	505-782-4481 (FAX) 505-782-2700
Governor Tony B. Vigil Lt. Gov. Virginia Gutierrez	Nambe Pueblo Route 1, Box 117-BB Santa Fe, NM 87501	505-455-2036 (FAX) 505-455-3933
Governor Gerald Nailor Lt. Gov. Ivan Rael	Picuris Pueblo P.O. Box 127 Penasco, NM 87553	505-587-2519/2043 (FAX) 505-587-1071

<sup>5</sup> This is the list of Governors and other Tribal Officers in 1992.



Governor Jacob Viarrial  
Lt. Gov. Thelma Talachy

Pojoaque Pueblo  
Route 11, Box 71  
Santa Fe, NM 87501

505-455-2278/2279  
(FAX) 505-455-2950

Governor Pete Martinez  
1st Lt. Gov. Gilbert Sanchez  
2nd Lt. Gov. Jay Mountain

San Ildefonso Pueblo  
Route 5, Box 315-A  
Santa Fe, NM 87501

505-455-2273/2274  
(FAX) 505-455-7351

Governor Herman Agoyo  
1st. Lt. Gov. Joe Talachy  
2nd Lt. Gov. Stanley Bird

San Juan Pueblo  
P.O. Box 1099  
San Juan Pueblo, NM 87566

505-852-4400/4210  
(FAX) 505-852-4820

Governor Walter Dasheno  
Lt. Gov. Francis Tafoya  
Tesy Naranjo

Santa Clara Pueblo  
P.O. Box 580  
Española, NM 87532

505-753-7330/7326  
(FAX) 505-753-8988

Governor Tony Reyna  
Lt. Gov. Vince Lujan, Sr.

Taos Pueblo  
P.O. Box 1846  
Taos, NM 87571

505-758-9593  
(FAX) 505-758-8831

Governor Gilbert L. Vigil  
Lt. Gov. Clarence Herrera

Tesuque Pueblo  
Route 11, Box 1  
Santa Fe, NM 87501

505-983-2667  
(FAX) 505-455-3815

James Hena, Chairman  
Danny Sanchez  
Benny Atensio

All Indian Pueblo Council  
3939 San Pedro, N.E.  
P.O. Box 3256  
Albuquerque, NM 87190

505-881-1992  
(FAX) 505-883-7682

Hispanic Organizations  
David Lujan

Tonantzin Land Institute  
P.O. Box 40182  
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87196-0182  
Atrisco Land Rights Council

505-256-0097

Jesus Salinez

# New Mexico Leaders for the Twenty-Two Tribes, 1993

Officers' names	address	phone
Governor Reginald Pasqual 1st Lt. Gov. Lloyd Tortalita 2nd Lt. Gov. Rex Salvador	Pueblo of Acoma P.O. Box 309 Pueblo of Acoma, NM 87034	505-552-6604/6605 (FAX) 505-552-6600
Governor Cedric Chavez Lt. Gov. Joseph C. Quintana	Cochiti Pueblo P.O. Box 70 Cochiti Pueblo, NM 87041	505-465-2244 (FAX) 505-465-2245
Governor Alvino Lucero 1st Lt. Gov. Randy Jiron 2nd Lt. Gov. Richard Olguin	Isleta Pueblo P.O. Box 317 Isleta Pueblo, NM 87022	505-869-3111/6333 (FAX) 505-869-4236
Governor Paul Tosa 1st Lt. Gov. Stuart Gachupin 2nd. Lt. Gov. Brophy Toldeo	Jemez Pueblo P.O. Box 100 Jemez Pueblo, NM 87024	505-834-7359/7525 (FAX) 505-834-7331
Governor Harry D. Early 1st. Lt. Gov. Victor Sarracino 2nd. Lt. Gov. Wilmer Lente	Laguna Pueblo P.O. Box 194 Laguna Pueblo, NM 87026	505-552-6654/6655 (FAX) 505-243-9636
Governor Inez Baca Lt. Gov. J.R. Trujillo	Sandia Pueblo Box 6008 Bernalillo, NM 87004	505-867-3317 (FAX) 505-867-9235
Governor Carlos Lucero Lt. Gov. Lawrence Troncosa	San Felipe Pueblo P.O. Box A San Felipe Pueblo, NM 87001	505-867-3381/3382 (FAX) 505-867-3383
Governor Eliseo Raton Lt. Gov. Bennett Armijo	Santa Ana Pueblo Star Route Box 37 Bernalillo, NM 87004	505-867-3301/3302 (FAX) 505-867-3395
Governor Thomas Moquino Lt. Gov. Alfred Garcia	Santo Domingo Pueblo P.O. Box 99 Santo Domingo Pueblo, NM 87052	505-465-2214/2215 (FAX) 505-465-2688
Governor Moses Shiye Lt. Gov. Bennie Salas	Zia Pueblo General Delivery San Ysidro, NM 87053	505-867-3304/3305 (FAX) 505-867-3308
Governor Robert Lewis Lt. Gov. Pesancio Lasiloo	Zuni Pueblo P.O. Box 339 Zuni, NM 87327	505-782-4481 (FAX) 505-782-2700
Governor Herbert Yates Lt. Gov. Tony R. Romero	Nambe Pueblo Route 1, Box 117-BB Santa Fe, NM 87501	505-455-2036 (FAX) 505-455-3933
Governor Manuel Archuleta Lt. Gov. Jess Mermejo, Jr.	Picuris Pueblo P.O. Box 127 Penasco, NM 87553	505-587-2519/2043 (FAX) 505-587-1071



Governor Jacob Viarrial Lt. Gov. George Rivera	Pojoaque Pueblo Route 11, Box 71 Santa Fe, NM 87501	505-455-2278/2279 (FAX) 505-455-2950
Governor Pete Martinez 1st Lt. Gov. Gilbert Sanchez 2nd Lt. Gov. Jay Mountain	San Ildefonso Pueblo Route 5, Box 315-A Santa Fe, NM 87501	505-455-2273/2274 (FAX) 505-455-7351
Governor Wilfred Garcia 1st Lt. Gov. Earl Salazar 2nd Lt. Gov. Joe Garcia	San Juan Pueblo P.O. Box 1099 San Juan Pueblo, NM 87566	505-852-4400/4210 (FAX) 505-852-4820
Governor Walter Dasheno Lt. Gov. Francis Tafoya	Santa Clara Pueblo P.O. Box 580 Española, NM 87532	505-753-7330/7326 (FAX) 505-753-8988
Governor Jose Samora Lt. Gov. Phillip Martinez	Taos Pueblo P.O. Box 1846 Taos, NM 87571	505-758-9593 (FAX) 505-758-8831
Governor Charlie J. Dorame Lt. Gov. Frederick Vigil	Tesuque Pueblo Route 11, Box 1 Santa Fe, NM 87501	505-983-2667 (FAX) 505-455-3815
President Leonard Atole Vice Pres. Wainwright Velarde	Jicarilla Apache Tribe P.O. Box 507 Dulce, New Mexico 87528	505-759-3242 (FAX) 505-759-3005
President Wendell Chino Vice Pres. Keith Miller	Mescalero Apache Tribe P.O. Box 176 Mescalero, New Mexico 88340	505-671-4494/4495/4496 (FAX) 505-671-4494
President Peterson Zah Vice Pres. Marshall Plummer	Office of the Navajo Nation President P.O. Box 308 Window Rock, Arizona 86515	602-871-6352 thru 6357 (FAX) 602-871-4025
James S. Hena, Chairman	All Indian Pueblo Council 3939 San Pedro, N.E. P.O. Box 3256 Albuquerque, NM 87190	505-881-1992 (FAX) 505-883-7682

## Distribution List of Project Participants<sup>6</sup>

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Cochiti Pueblo	4	0
Isleta Pueblo	1	1
Jemez Pueblo	6	0
Laguna Pueblo	0	0
Nambe Pueblo	1	0
Picuris Pueblo	0	0
Pojoaque Pueblo	0	0
Pueblo of Acoma	2	0
San Felipe Pueblo	1	0
San Ildefonso Pueblo	0	0
San Juan Pueblo	1	0
Sandia Pueblo	26	9
Santa Ana Pueblo	5	1
Santa Clara Pueblo	1	1
Santo Domingo Pueblo	0	0
Taos Pueblo	1	0
Tesuque Pueblo	1	0
Zia Pueblo	4	0
Zuni Pueblo	3	0
Ramah Navajo Chapter	3	2
Canoncito Navajo Chapter	0	1
Mescalero Apache Tribe	1	0
Tonantzin Land Institute	0	0
Atrisco Land Rights Council	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>15</b>

<sup>6</sup> This list includes individuals that participated in the project through site visits, meetings, and personal phone calls. It does not include individuals contacted only by letter, nor individuals who participated strictly through the various intertribal organizations such as the All Indian Pueblo Council.



**Table 1: Contact Decisions of the Involved Tribes, Pueblos, and Hispanic Organizations**

Group Name	Contact Directly	Contact Through Intertribal Organizations <sup>7</sup>	No Contact Decision Expressed	Do Not Contact
Cochiti Pueblo		X		
Isleta Pueblo			X	
Jemez Pueblo		X		
Laguna Pueblo				X
Nambe Pueblo		X		
Picuris Pueblo			X	
Pojoaque Pueblo			X	
Pueblo of Acoma		X		
San Felipe Pueblo				X
San Ildefonso Pueblo			X	
San Juan Pueblo			X	
Sandia Pueblo	X			
Santa Ana Pueblo	X			
Santa Clara Pueblo			X	
Santo Domingo Pueblo				X
Taos Pueblo		X		
Tesuque Pueblo				X
Zia Pueblo	X			
Zuni Pueblo	X			
Ramah Navajo Chapter	X			
Canoncito Navajo Chapter			X	
Alamo Navajo Chapter				X
Mescalero Apache Tribe				X
Jicarilla Apache Tribe				X
All Indian Pueblo Council	X			
Ten Southern Pueblos Governors Council	X			
Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council	X			
Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc.	X			
Tonantzin Land Institute			X	
Atrisco Land Rights Council			X	

<sup>7</sup> These organizations include the All Indian Pueblo Council, the Ten Southern Governors Council, the Eight Northern Pueblos Council, and the Five Sandoval Indian Pueblos Inc.