

Case: 6:69-cv-07941-BB

# EXHIBIT

## C

(A)

- San Gabriel Del Yungue as seen by an Archaeologist
  - by Florence Hawley Ellis
  - 1989

(B)

- When Cultures Meet, Remembering San Gabriel Del Yungue Oweenge
  - Chapter: “The Long Lost “City” of San Gabriel Del Yungue, Second Oldest European Settlement in the United States”
  - Paper delivered by, Florence Hawley Ellis
  - 1987

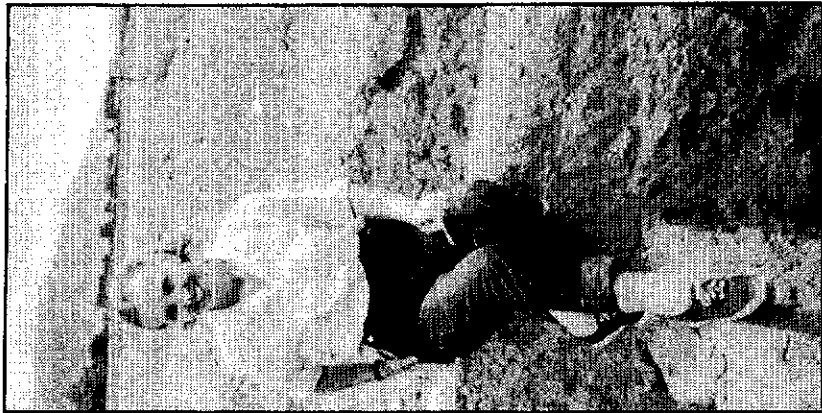
# SAN GABRIEL del YUNGUE

AS SEEN BY AN ARCHAEOLOGIST

In 1598, the Spanish conquistador, Don Juan de Oñate, founded the first capital of New Mexico in an old Indian settlement on the west bank of the Rio Grande river. This colony and others prospered until, years later the Indians revolted, destroying this village which was then lost for centuries. But, in 1959, Florence Hawley Ellis, a famous pioneer anthropologist, was asked by San Juan Indian Pueblo to excavate a ruin on their reservation, an unheard of request as Pueblos usually denied permission for excavations on their lands. A badly corroded Spanish archer's helmet had been found by an elder who was digging adobe clay. They wanted to know what "they had." Her work returned San Gabriel del Yungue — the Spanish name for the first capital of New Mexico — and its five domed ovens, the first built in this land, to their rightful place on the map. This book is the story of that awakening.

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR:


Florence Hawley Ellis, PhD, is famous for her extensive excavations and related research in ethnology, tree-ring dating, and pottery analysis. Her excavations include areas in Chaco Canyon, and along the Chama, Rio Grande and Jemez river valleys as well as elsewhere in the Southwest. She has published over 300 articles and monographs. Dr. Ellis was trained at the University of Arizona and University of Chicago where she received her Doctorate in Anthropology in 1934. She is Emerita of the University of Arizona and New Mexico where she taught. She has received numerous awards including an Honorary Doctorate of Letters from the University of New Mexico in 1987. She is active as Director of the Florence Hawley Ellis Museum and of the Archaeological Field School at Ghost Ranch, near Abiquiu, New Mexico.



The author sitting on one of the walls of San Gabriel at the time of the excavation.

ON THE COVER: Remains of wall structures at San Gabriel del Yungue.

\$10.95

 Sunstone Press  
Santa Fe, New Mexico

ISBN: 0-86534-129-X

# SAN GABRIEL del YUNGUE

AS SEEN BY AN ARCHAEOLOGIST

FLORENCE HAWLEY ELLIS

# Table of Contents

Preface ..... 5  
 San Gabriel del Yunguc, as seen by an Archaeologist ..... 9  
     Background ..... 9  
 An Archaeological Summary of San Gabriel del Yungue (to Date)  
     Early Work: Important Bits and Pieces ..... 17  
     Culture Succession in Yungue's West Mound ..... 23  
     The East Mound, Then and Since ..... 37  
     The Spanish Center of San Gabriel: Apartments, Kitchens, Domed Ovens, and the Permanent Church ..... 47  
     Apartment I ..... 48  
     Apartment II ..... 49  
     Apartment III ..... 51  
     Apartment IV ..... 51  
     Apartment V ..... 52  
     Apartment VI ..... 52  
     Apartment VII ..... 52  
     Apartment VIII ..... 53  
     Apartment IX ..... 56  
     Apartment X, XI, XII, and XIII: The Convent? ..... 57  
     Arca AA ..... 63  
 The Church of San Miguel:  
     First Permanent Spanish Church in our Southwest ..... 65  
     The East Plaza and its Trenches ..... 69  
     The Overwhelming Distribution of Metal in San Gabriel ..... 72  
     Categories Intended for Trade ..... 74  
     The Birth and Death of Oñate's City of San Gabriel ..... 75  
     The Birthing of San Gabriel: the Little Things that Define a Lifestyle ..... 77  
 PS ..... 85  
 Bibliography ..... 90  
 Index ..... 95

Dedicated to  
 a Great Man  
 who made our publications possible  
 Jim Hall  
 There is no other like him

Copyright © 1989 Florence Hawley Ellis

All Rights Reserved.

Manufactured in the U.S.A.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means including information storage and retrieval systems, without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote brief passages in a review.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data:

Ellis, Florence Hawley

San Gabriel del Yungue as seen by an archaeologist / by Florence Hawley Ellis.

p. cm.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

ISBN: 0-86534-129-X : \$10.95

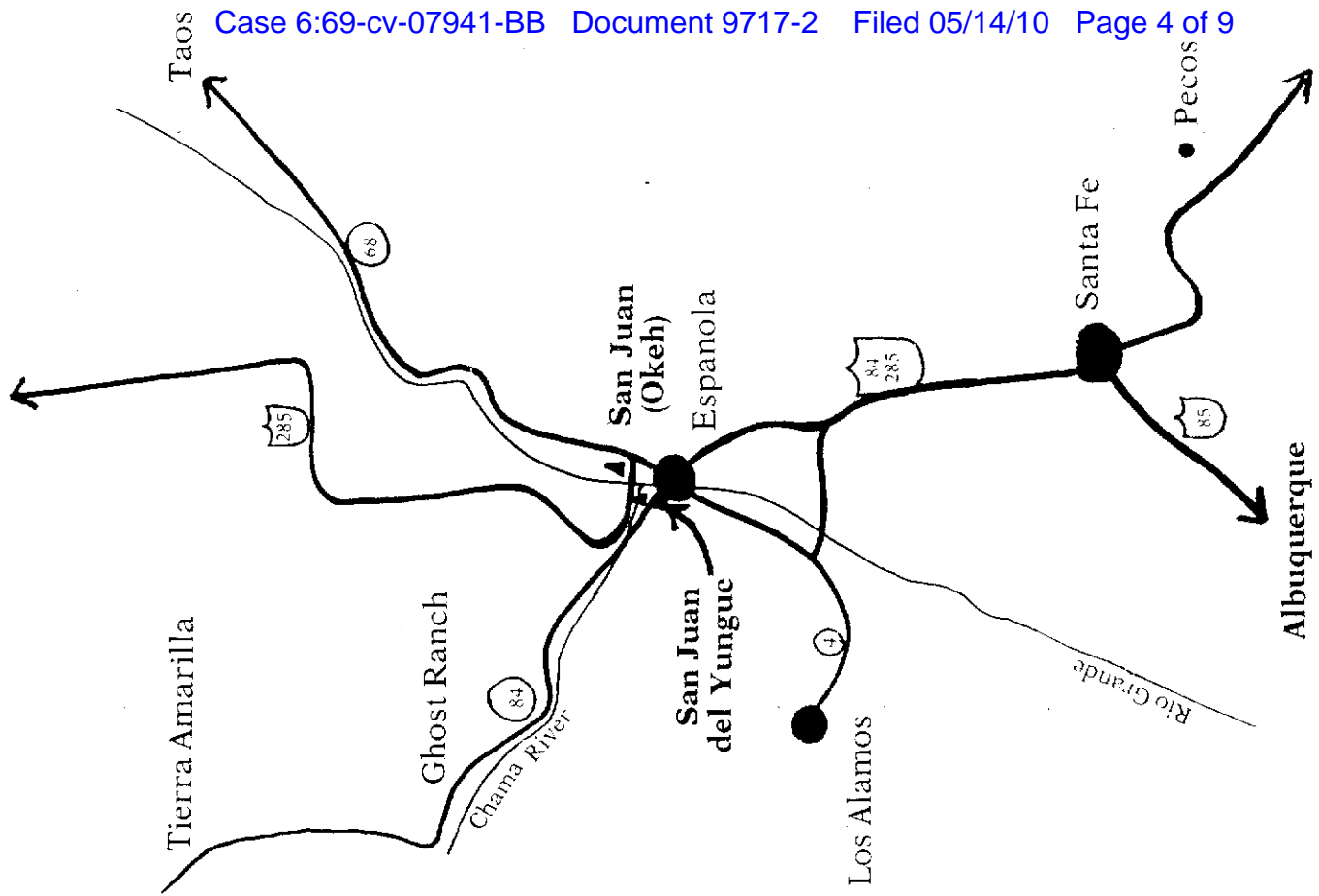
1. Yungue Site (N.M.) 2. Pueblo Indians--Antiquities. 3. San Gabriel del Yungue (N.M.)--Antiquities. 4. New Mexico--Antiquities. 5. Indians of North America--New Mexico--Antiquities. I. Florence Hawley Ellis Museum of Anthropology. II. Title. E89.P9E43 1989 978.952--dc19

89-4212  
 CIP

Published in 1989 by SUNSTONE PRESS  
 Post Office Box 2321  
 Santa Fe, NM 87504-2321 / USA

in conjunction with The Florence Hawley Ellis  
 Museum of Anthropology at  
 Ghost Ranch, Abiquiu, New Mexico 87510

And so, with deep gratitude to Jim, our always friend, aid, and inspiration, we shall pursue the study of man and his works in the past, with hope that such will enhance man's further understanding of our future. We also want to thank the careful work of our excavators; the accurate reports of the crew chiefs; Ghost Ranch which housed the excavators and has backed us all along; the Pueblo Governor who requested our excavation of the Yungue mounds; the various Indians who through their intuitive knowledge provided their special finds to us and the Museums for study; the various researchers who have helped analyze the artifacts and the data from this site; the publication crew who have typed, edited, and repeated those jobs again and again to ready the manuscript for printing; Lou Baker who has so kindly provided production of the camera ready manuscript; Andrea my daughter/assistant who typed, edited and has seen to the orchestration of the many details of publication; the publication house itself; and most of all Jim Hail without whom you would not have been reading this book.



Andrea Dodge 1977

# San Gabriel del Yungue, as seen by an Archaeologist

The pen may be mightier than the sword, but to judge from historic accounts dating from past centuries, important as they are to all of us, there were times when the ink ran out. Or, more likely, the penman so often was too taken up with the very real problems of daily existence in a new and difficult environment to set down all the details his or someone else's descendants - centuries later - might want to know.

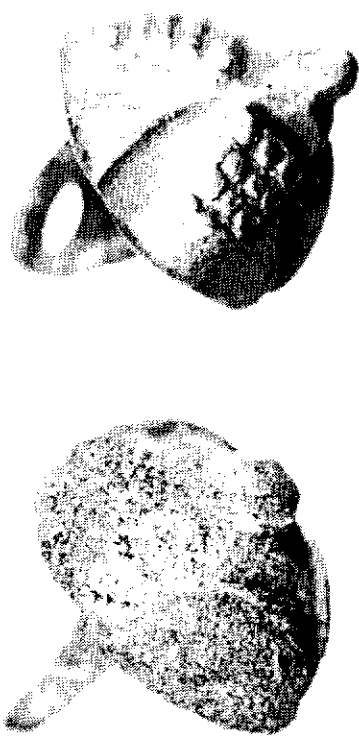
About what? Well, about the precise rather than general location of where that historic settlement was established. And where and of what materials and size, and according to what floor plan the first permanent church mentioned in the record was constructed. Also, such matters as the size of those living quarters which the colonists took over from resident Indians but complained were cold, smokey, and bug-ridden. And if and how those quarters were furnished. What kinds of vessels were used for cooking and for serving meals? In general, how those first colonists and missionaries to actually settle north of today's United States-Mexico border were celebrating their new home 33 years after other Spaniards had settled in San Augustine, Florida, but 22 years before English settlers established themselves at Plymouth Rock.

And, as part of the close association in late sixteenth and seventeenth century New Mexico, what lasting influence did those two groups of human beings, Spaniards and Pueblo Indians, each with its own historically successful pattern of living (anthropologically their "culture") bring to bear upon the other?

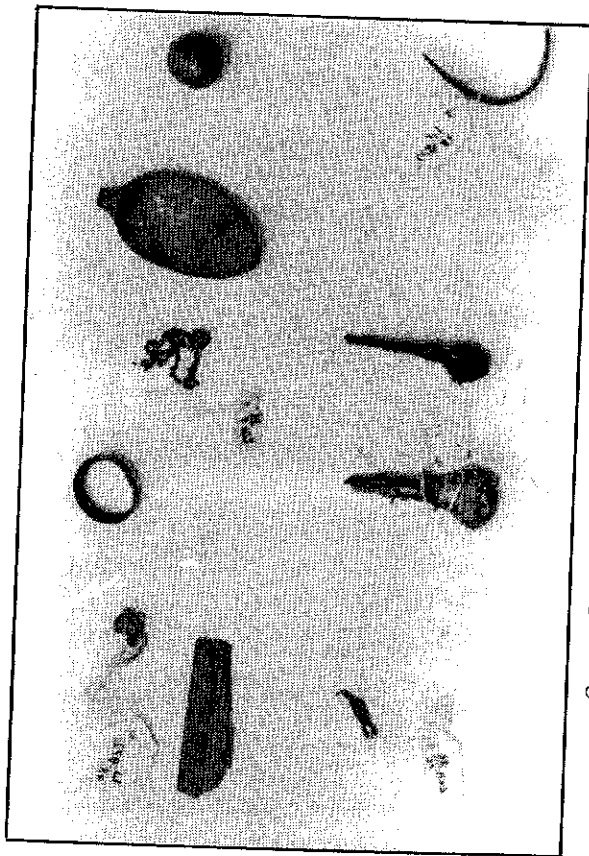
## The Background

see. <sup>↑</sup> Nice brief  
Shawnee Def. of Culture

We know from the records that missionization was a primary point with the Crown and with the 10 friars (8 priests and 2 assistants) who accompanied Oñate's colonists in making that first permanent settlement in our Southwest. There also was the desire for territorial expansion and always the hope for discovery of some source of wealth, even though their earlier explorers actually had brought nothing more convincing than tall tales when they returned from the borderlands. The Crown, however, made but very little contribution of funds or equipment to the project. To the uninitiated it comes as something of a surprise to learn that it was Oñate himself, plus two opulent family members in Mexico, who were footing the bills and who in the long run would lose a fortune in the hope of finding one.



Brass Buttons found in Yungue



Some Spanish objects found at Yungue

Oñate and his captains, on horseback, reached San Juan Pueblo on July 11, 1598, and were invited to make themselves at home. The remainder of his colonists were slowly struggling northward with 83 unwieldy ox carts and wagons of household goods, foods, and a multitude of listed equipment, as well as over 7,000 head of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. The five weeks and two days Oñate and his companions were to wait before the main party should appear would be devoted to visiting the various Pueblos on the Rio Grande and its tributaries, recording the Indians' oaths of allegiance to the Spanish King, and making plans for the distribution of missionaries. Necessary duties, in terms of that period in history, in spite of the fact that we can be sure (and as was later demonstrated) the Indians, as unused to the concepts of kings and kingdoms as to the Spanish language, could have had little idea of just what was going on.

On August 11th, in their last free week, Oñate's captains "began construction" (probably actually the "direction of construction") of an irrigation ditch for the "City of our Father, Saint Francis" (Hammond and Rey 1953:322). We see a reflection of Pueblo good will and at the same time an indication of the size of San Juan Pueblo in the statement that about 1500 Indians (presumably all men, for this was not a job at which Pueblo women labored) were helping the Spaniards with this ditch. As Pueblo ancestors had constructed and used irrigation ditches in the Chama Valley and on other side streams of the Rio Grande at least since A.D. 1300 and perhaps earlier (Ellis 1970, 1988), the Indians probably would have handled the project better than the Spanish officers, especially with the only implements available until the colonists' carts arrived being native-made digging sticks and perhaps stone axes for excavation and baskets or blankets for moving the soil. According to San Juan tradition, all the Spanish ditches were west of the river.

It hardly requires reading between the lines to realize that Oñate, from the beginning, had intended to establish something of an urban center, named for St. Francis, patron of the friars accompanying his party. But the only community building put up during that year, as far as we presently know, was a church. The structure, we read, was begun on Aug. 23, only 5 days after the main party of colonists reached San Juan Pueblo. Within 15 days the project was so far advanced that its dedication to St. John the Baptist was celebrated, though a few more weeks were to pass before final completion. After the ceremony, the religious play of Los Moros y los Cristianos was put on, presumably for the benefit of the Indians. Comprehension of this religious drama (still given by many communities in Spain and a few in northern New Mexico) which concentrates on the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain hardly could have been expected of the natives,

but the occasion gave opportunity for display of horsemanship and of assorted weapons, presumably to the delight of both peoples.

No one today has any idea where this first church was erected or of what materials; there is neither Pueblo tradition (as far as we could learn) nor documentary record. Even the frame of a religious structure intended to accommodate the 400 male colonists, plus wives and children brought along by 130 of those men, plus an unstated number of servants (Bolton 1930:202) and, one would surmise, some Pueblo Indian guests, could not have been erected in two weeks time if stone, wood, or adobes had been used. One might guess that it would have been a temporary jacal structure of upright posts set into a trench and heavily plastered with adobe mud inside and out. Wherever the site, it probably has been many times built over in the expansion resulting from natural increase in native population and the fact that the general pattern of Pueblo layout since the 1500s has changed from one of several storied house blocks tightly enclosing a plaza to a minimally outlined plaza supplemented by widespread one story modernized homes.

It seems that history is not even clear as to whether the colonists first settled and built that initial church in San Juan Pueblo on the east side of the Rio Grande or elsewhere. Hammond and Rey (1953:17) state openly that the Spaniards' "first headquarters or capital" was founded "on the east bank of the Rio Grande and named San Juan de los Caballeros," though known to the natives then and now as Okeh (Okf). Dedication of that church to San Juan as patron certainly suggests that it should have been there. But then we read that after a few months

... they [the Spaniards] moved their camp to the pueblo of Yunque or Yugewinge [elsewhere spelled by the Spaniards as Yuque Yunque and Yunque Yunque and with other variations, all approximations of the actual native name of Yunque Ouinge] which they called San Gabriel, on the left bank of the Chama where it flowed into the Rio Grande. This was a town of approximately four hundred houses and was more adequate for the needs of the Spanish forces. It remained the capital of New Mexico until Governor Don Pedro de Peralta, Oñate's successor, founded Santa Fe in 1610. (Hammond and Rey 1953:17).

The deduction of these two historians, that the Spaniards made their first headquarters in San Juan but moved to Yunque in the winter of 1600-1601 (France-Scholes, personal communication, 1954) was based on the fact that, of the four letters sent out from the Oñate camp between 1598 and the end

of 1600, one was datelined as written "at the Pueblo of San Juan" on the last day of February, 1599, one of the same year but without month mentions the writer's group being in the province of the Teguas (Tewas) but gives no dateline, and two, both similarly marked 1599, are datelined simply as "New Mexico" (Hammond and Rey 1953:427, 481, 490, 493). In contrast, we have all five letters written between March 22nd October 2, 1601, datelined "San Gabriel" or "At the pueblo of San Gabriel" (Op. cit.:608, 672, 690, 700, 701).

However, when Don Luis de Velasco wrote that long letter covering innumerable complaints against Oñate, the camp, and the countryside, datelining it as "From the pueblo of San Gabriel, March 22, 1601," he included a puzzling statement:

In this manner we came to a pueblo where the governor [Oñate] ordered a halt. It is the one from which I am writing to your lordship. We have been here three years, hoping to discover something of value and importance, which has not been found up to the present. (Hammond and Rey 1953:609)

Just where had the Spaniards been quartered those three years? In San Gabriel? Hammond and Rey (1953:609, fn. 3) footnote Velasco's statement with a reiteration but no explanation:

The expedition first settled at San Juan de los Caballeros but after a short time had moved to San Gabriel.

How can we be certain? Hopefully, we reach for *History of New Mexico*, an epic poem by Villagr , one of Oñate's captains, published in 1610. Villagr 's eye witness accounts of much that occurred leaves us in his debt, but his only pertinent note on this question is that when they reached "a splendid pueblo" which they named San Juan, the natives came out and "shared their homes" with the newcomers (Villagr  1933:147).

Our suggestion is that the problem is more apparent than real, though puzzling enough to warrant some lines of ethnographic clarification.

Velasco well may have been - accurately - thinking of San Juan and Yungue as two parts of a single pueblo. This certainly is done today by those "San Juan" families which live in the San Gabriel del Yungue area (some even on top of the old site). According to tradition, Yungue as a Pueblo was somewhat older than Okeh, the people of the latter earlier having lived a few miles farther up the Rio Grande but moving successively closer to and finally onto the site of Okeh as their previously occupied

locations were washed out. The San Juan tribesmen today explain that the two physical entities, Yungue on the west side of the Rio Grande and Okeh on the east side of the same river, originally were, respectively, the homes of their Summer people and that of the Winter people. The two moieties today comprise the single tribe which we outsiders refer to as "San Juan." Today's natives speak of their tribe and overall site as that of "San Juan Pueblo," but they list its components as Okeh, Yungue, Pueblito (that little farm village a short distance up the Rio Grande on the west side of the river), and El Llano, the flat area of houses and small farms south of Okeh to the east of the river.

In other words, there may be several geographic divisions within a "Pueblo," just as there are numerous subdivisions or other named sections within one of our organized Anglo communities, whether the huge City of Los Angeles or the moderate sized cities of Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Simple enough, but a problem which long has confused non-Indians in relation to Pueblos including San Juan.

Early Spaniards exploring the Southwest reported clusters of sites which spoke a single language and looked to a single pueblo as the ceremonial and political center of that cluster. To those Spaniards, the cluster and associated lands became a "province." On August 3, 1598, for example, Oñate and his men had gone

... to the great pueblo of the Emes [Jemez]. On the 4th we went down to the other Emes pueblos. They say there are eleven altogether; we saw eight. ... On the 5th we went down one league to the last pueblo of this province. (Hammond and Rey 1953:322)

Very few historic Pueblos\* have consisted of people living in but a single local habitation unit. Our best modern example is Laguna Pueblo, a tribe as such but made up of at least nine local habitation groups at some distance from each other and each with its own name: Old Laguna, New Laguna, Paguante, Parajs, Mesita, Encinal, Seama, and three post World War II additions with the tongue-in-cheek designations of New York, Philadelphia, and Chinatown. The tribal center of religion and government always has been Old Laguna. Similarly, though on a smaller scale, Acoma

\* We use the capitalized "Pueblo" to designate a people, tribe, or person of Pueblo type culture, but also use it as part of a village name: San Juan Pueblo. The non-capitalized "pueblo" should refer only to the architectural entity, but we admit that all writers are not consistent on these points.

Pueblo recognizes as its three components the villages of Acoma (on the Mesa), Acomita, and McCartys. The old site on the mesa long was the political as well as religious center, but today we casually speak of "going out to Acoma," when our destination in reality is Acomita where matters of government presently are handled in a new community center and council hall. Zuni, Isleta, Jemez, Zia, Cochiti, Tesuque, Nambí, Pojoaque, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Taos all are known to have been comprised of more than one settlement or "great house" in the historic period.

One's tribe and home thus might be given as Acoma, Laguna, or San Juan, though his actual residence was in McCartys, Paguate, or Yungue (San Gabriel). Our suggestion is that Don Luis de Velasco and his companions were living at San Gabriel and recognized it as a suburb of San Juan, the center, even today, which gives its name to the entire tribe.

San Gabriel del Yungue apparently was as close a substitute as could be had for Oñate's dream of the "City of our Father, San Francisco."

A revealing comment is that of Gines de Hererra Horta who had been sent to New Mexico as "chief auditor and legal assessor to Don Juan de Oñate, governor ..." with the auxiliary group which reached San Gabriel at the end of December, 1600, when after a few uncomfortable months this official intruder, resented by Oñate, was quickly granted his request to return to Mexico. His 1601 report to the authorities, included some expectable uncomplimentary commentaries, but there was one paragraph which clearly reflects the deep disappointments against which Oñate was struggling:

... the governor [Oñate] wanted a town established, an alcaide named and houses built, but that the Spaniards [colonists] refused. This witness thought that the reason for this was their dissatisfaction at remaining and their desire to abandon the land because of the great deprivations they were suffering. (Hammond and Rey 1953:652)

There was little he could do about the drought which struck in the years 1600 and 1601,\* leaving everyone hungry and some of the Indians near starvation. The small native stores of corn and a few other foods, customarily set aside by each family to hold it over some two years of dearth in crops, had been consumed when the Spaniards forced their demands for food.

\* These drought years are clearly shown in tree-ring records for the northern Rio Grande drainage. (Smiley, Stubbs, and Barnister 1953).

Some of the colonists had suggested that Oñate should have ordered a communal field planted, but apparently he did not. Was his reason the difficulties with the unruly young men who resented the absence of plentiful Spanish females, the lack of silver bars "lying on the ground," Oñate's rules against despoiling the Indians of blankets and other possessions, - and who frequently went their own way in spite of rules and punishments?

The one solution Oñate could see to the problem of the Spanish city which was not to be built was requesting the Indians who had been living in the partly ruined pueblo of Yungue to vacate that 400 room native condominium and turn it over to the Spaniards as their own habitation and center. That the Indian officials agreed may reflect something of the difficulties they had been experiencing with Spaniards quartered so close within the native domain. Our uncovering of what appeared to have been an old Pueblo shrine in one room points to a few natives having remained in Yungue to work for the Spaniards in some remodeling of the original structures and possibly, at a guess, in some farm and other labors, but they could easily have lived in Okeh and walked a quarter mile to work at Yungue. Other Yungue citizens, as we think likely because of occupation date suggested by sherdtypes, may have left Yungue to move up the Rio Grande 4 miles to establish the farm hamlet still known as Pueblito.



# AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF SAN GABRIEL del YUNGUE (to date)

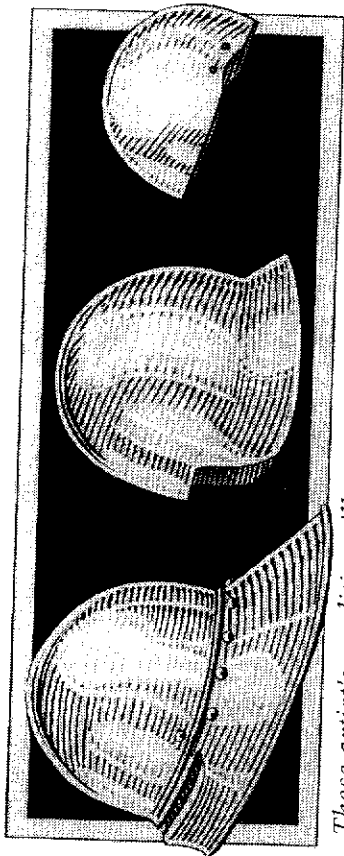
## Early Work: Important Bits and Pieces

It was in 1944 that Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett, Director of the Museum of New Mexico and of the School of American Research, called in Marjorie Tichy (now Lambert), his curator of archaeology, and asked her to go out for a little personal investigation at the possible site of San Gabriel del Yungue. Hewett long had been an admirer of Adolph Bandelier, the late 19th century archaeologist-ethnologist who believed in considering, where possible, regional archival background (often from his own translations) in the light of evaluating native oral history, architecture, and artifacts. Piecing together the notes of early Spaniards from the Coronado expedition as recorded by Castañeda in 1541, Villagrà's epic poem of 1610 covering Oñate's colony, and what official records of Oñate's difficult venture then were available, Bandelier stated simply that:

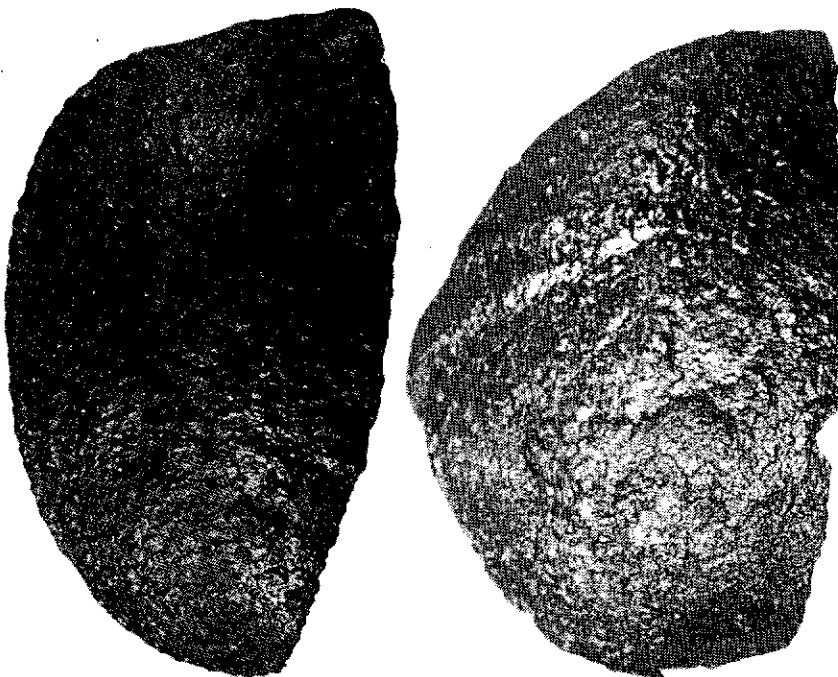
When Oñate came in 1598, he moved directly to San Juan, established his camp there, and proceeded to found San Gabriel, on the opposite bank of the Rio Grande. (Bandelier 1890:124, fn. J. Also see data under Yungue, Yungue-Yungue, Yuge-uin-ge, and San Gabriel, Bandelier 1890:311; 1892:31, 36 fn. 1, 58, 59, 123, 330 fn. 1).

By 1944 Bandelier's suggested location of San Gabriel across the Rio Grande from San Juan was marked by a very few Indian dwellings on the western and southwestern peripheries. The main ruin, according to Tichy, had

... been reduced, through cultivation, to an irregular quadrangle with breaks or openings, on the southeast and northwest. A cienega or pond, is said by the Indians to have once been a part of the depression that forms the center. In recent years it was drained to bring the area under cultivation. Remnants of a rather large adobe and rubble building and a well that appears to be recent, occupy the top center of



*These artist's renditions illustrate some of the possible ways the archer's helmet may have looked. Illustrations by Glen Stroock.*



*Spanish military helmet found at Yungue;  
Top: Side View, Bottom: Back View;  
Courtesy of Museum of NM, Neg. Nos. 46664 & 46665*