

GLIMPES INTO THE HISTORY OF THE 1908 FIELDWORK AT YAPASHI,
BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT

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At the turn of the century, several distinguished researchers examined numerous sites on the Pajarito Plateau of north-central New Mexico. Little is known about what they did in the field, and this lack of knowledge regarding the history of method and theory in southwestern archaeology, as well as the lack of reports, is often frustrating. In 1908 Yapashi, a large site now within Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico, was excavated. No published reports exist on this pueblo, which dates ca. A.D. 1300-1450 and only passing references are made to it. The goal of my paper is to summarize some information on the history of the excavations in an attempt to understand the reasons behind the lack of information.

EARLY RESEARCH AT YAPASHI

Yapashi (LA 250) is located on the Potrero de las Vacas, a mesa at the foot of the San Miguel Mountains between Capulin and Hondo Canyon (Figure 1). Adolph Bandelier (1892) was one of the first to record information on this pueblo, which is considered to be an ancestral site of the Keresan people whose descendants now live in Cochiti Pueblo. Yapashi is a Keresan word used to indicate fetishes that represent human forms. Because a number of such stone forms were found at the site by L. Bradford Prince in 1885, Bandelier (1892:152) applied this name to the large stone pueblo that he estimated had 280 ground-floor rooms, six kivas, a

courtyard, and a reservoir. The inhabitants of Cochiti called this pueblo Tit-yi Ha-nat Ka-ma Tze.shum-a or the "old houses above in the north," while others referred to it as the Pueblo of the Stone Lions because of its proximity to the shrine to the west, named Mokatsh Zaitsh, "where the panthers lie extended" (Bandelier 1892). Bandelier mapped sites in the area and gathered oral history. Charles Lummis accompanied him on one of his trips to the area, but no excavations were carried out at Yapashi.

At the turn of the century, Edgar L. Hewett was beginning his investigations on the Pajarito Plateau. His report (Hewett 1906) provides no additional information on this site; most of what he wrote was quoted directly from Bandelier's 1892 report. By 1908, during his second year as director of the School of American Archaeology (later to be the School of American Research) of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), however, Hewett worked in the Rito de los Frijoles and at some sites on the mesas to the south (Hewett 1908a). He had obtained a permit from the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Department of Agriculture, under a joint agreement with the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and the Santa Fe Archaeological Society (AIA). Hewett's (1908a, 1909a) reports on that field season indicate that he did not confine his investigations to the Rito; two other large sites to the south were explored.

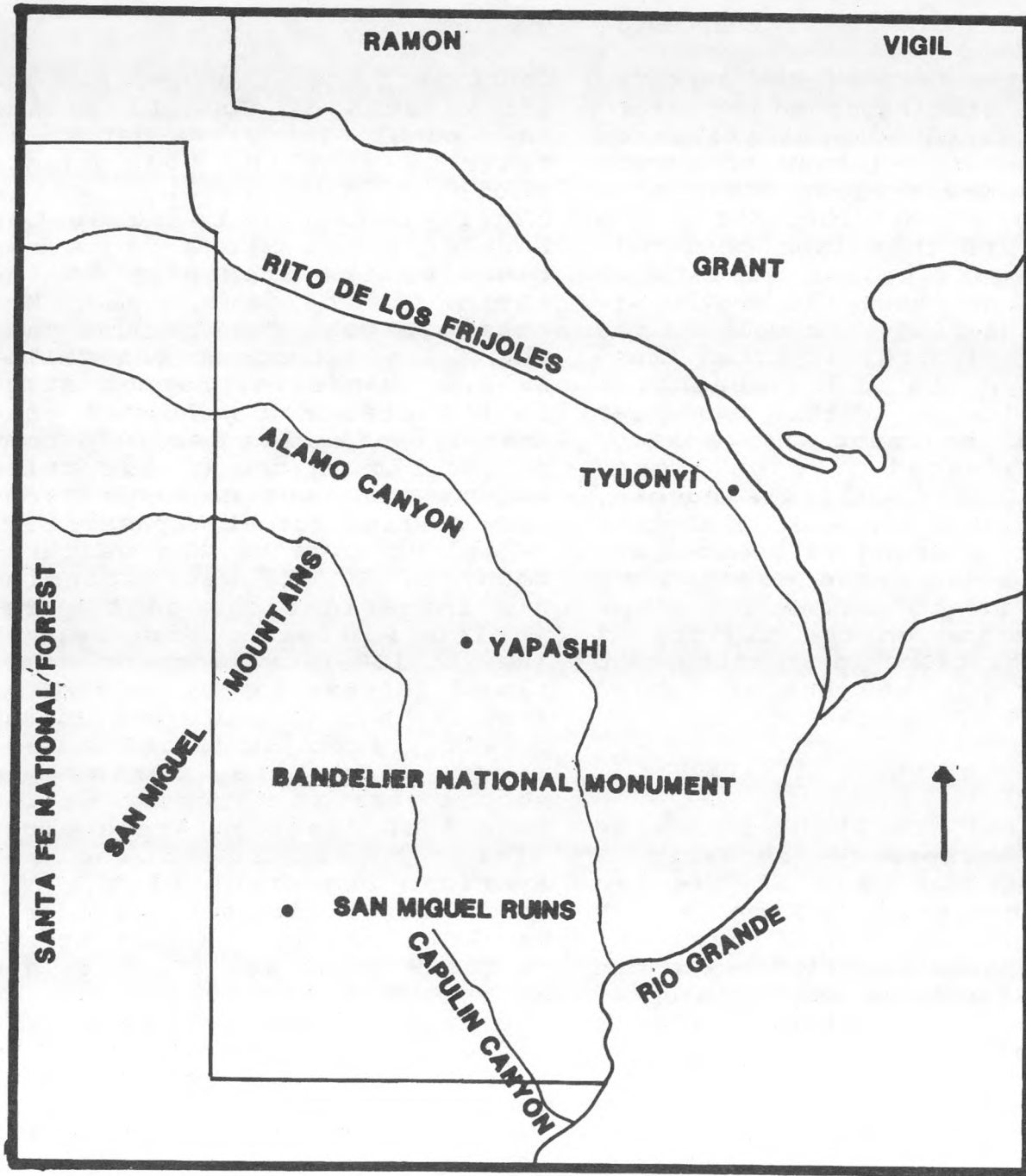


Figure 1. Map of Bandelier National Monument indicating major sites and landmarks.

In addition to the excavations made at the Tyuonyi settlements during the [1908] season, a considerable amount of exploratory trenching was done at the ruin of Haatse [San Miguel, LA 370], a pueblo lying on the mesa top south of Canada de la Questa Colorado, a distance of perhaps ten miles in an air-line from the Rito. Several rods of trenches were run also about the "Pueblo of the Stone Lions" [Yapashi, LA 250] on the Potrero de las Vacas, about six miles in a straight line south of Tyuonyi (Figure 94). [Figure 94 is a photograph of "Ruins of the 'Pueblo of the Stone Lions'" which shows large tufa block walls of several rooms. Mountains appear in the far distance.] Besides this a number of rooms were excavated in the pueblo. This site is especially known on account of the "Shrine of Mokatch" found near by....

The results of these various excavations will be described in the detailed report on the excavations at Tyuonyi, to appear in a subsequent paper. Detailed description of the material found will also be made in a separate report. The excavations this season were less productive of material than those of former years, but the work will result in substantial additions to our knowledge of the archaeology of the Rio Grand drainage [Hewett 1909a:452].

Unfortunately, Hewett's promise was never fulfilled. A detailed report of Tyuonyi did not appear; the work of the 1908 season at Yapashi was incorpo-

rated into several summary reports (Hewett 1909a:451, 1930:224, 1938:54-55), in which the site was given only a few words in passing. As a result, we must look elsewhere to reconstruct what happened.

GOALS OF RESEARCH AT YAPASHI

Why Hewett undertook the excavations at Yapashi and San Miguel are not clearly stated. His overall goal, to study historic development, as well as cultural differences among Native Americans, is a broad anthropological one (Hewett 1908b); but the specific reasons for selecting Yapashi are more difficult to discern. Perhaps he was interested in examining the data, in order to clarify the Cochiti migration stories. While Hewett accepted the claims of the Cochiti people that the area was part of their ancestral homeland, he questioned whether they migrated from the site of Tyuonyi in the Rito de los Frijoles to modern Cochiti, and he indicated that much archaeological work needed to be done to clarify these points (Hewett 1909b:673). Whether this question existed in Hewett's mind before, or only after, the excavation at Yapashi is not known. Prior to the excavation, he definitely felt there would be considerable artifactual and burial material at this site. One reason for focusing on skeletal material was to obtain a large collection for study purposes; he had hoped that such a collection stored in a national museum and available to researchers would help answer many questions about prehistoric Native Americans (see below). At that time, excavators wanted artifacts for museum collections, and Hewett was not alone in this quest.

There were political reasons, however, which affected his work. Hewett and Lummis were both members of the Archaeological Institute of America. By 1907 both men were also leaders of that organization. Hewett had been named director of the new School of American Archaeology in 1907 and was charged with setting up its research program (Chauvenet 1983). Lummis had been a member of the Southwest Society of AIA and had been one of the people responsible for establishing the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles as a repository for the work carried out by that affiliate and as a teaching facility. He supported establishing the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe and pledged assistance to Hewett to insure its success (Moneta 1985).

Correspondence between Hewett and Lummis (on file at the Braun Research Library of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles) sheds some light on events. The following excerpts or summaries from the files provide a glimpse at the intrigue that existed between them and others in the east who were interested in carrying out research in the southwestern U.S. under the recently established Antiquities Act of 1906 and the departmental regulations that were written to implement the act. The first document, quoted in full, sets the stage and provides the names of some of the players.

Minutes Meeting
Executive Committee
Southwest Society, AIA
June 21, 1907, Room 371
Pacific Electric Building, LA

Secretary [Lummis] reported recent campaign in Washington by Prof. Hewett and himself regarding the regulation governing the

scientific explorations on reservation lands. Two years ago President Roosevelt, at the request of this Society, and by direct intervention, opened the Indian reservations, Forest and Military reserves of the Southwest to scientific exploration. A committee from the Departments of the Interior, War, and Agriculture was appointed to draft the governing rules for such exploration. They left the matter in the hands of Dr. Cyrus Adler of the Smithsonian; and his regulations were adopted and printed without consultation with the scientific bodies interested. Upon investigation these regulations were found to be impossible in their provision. No wise and self-respecting scientific body would work under them. Mr. Hewett, by an extraordinary diplomatic campaign, secured a reconsideration and the adoption of amended and satisfactory rules by this joint committee. He secured the approval and the signature of Secretary of the Interior, Garfield, and Secretary of War, Taft; but Secretary of Agriculture, Wilson, flatly refused to sign, alleging that the new resolution "let down the bars" and that he was going out to the Southwest to look into these matters for himself.

The secretary brought this matter up with the President on Wednesday, June 5, accompanied by Mr. Hewett and stated the facts of this obstruction to scientific work by the Department of Agriculture. President Roosevelt summoned Secretary Wilson and Secretary Garfield to a conference next day, June 6th, with Prof. Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, Mr. Hewett, and Mr. Lummis; and after a fifty-five-minute discussion, instructed these Secretaries to allow the Southwest Society to

conduct its explorations this year "under a very loose construction of the rules"; the permanent regulations still to be a matter for discussion. Next day Mr. Hewett and the secretary had a full conference with Secretary Garfield, secured his assent to their statement of the President's ruling, and secured, they believe, a satisfactory arrangement for their work this year.

The conference with President Roosevelt was decided upon at a meeting of the American Committee of the Archaeological Institute of America, held June 4th. Present: Miss Alice Fletcher, Dr. Fewkes, Prof. Carroll, Prof. Hewett, and Mr. Lummis. The question was if, in view of Secretary Wilson's refusal, we had better confine this year's activities to the Indian Reservations and to Mexican land grants, leaving the Forest Reserves aside as under impossible conditions, or whether the matter should be taken to the President for his decision as to whether we should do this or whether he would interfere. The unanimous decision of the meeting was that the matter should be brought before the President. His action is set forth above. It is the judgment of the American Committee that this action has saved a year in the working of the Southwest Society and of such other scientific institutions as may be included.

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Several letters between Hewett and Lummis indicate their course of action after this date; while other correspondence may exist that would expand on the details, the following summaries outline the reasoning involved in the decision to excavate Yapashi in 1908 rather

than in 1907.

July 23, 1907--Hewett to Lummis. Hewett recommends work be undertaken at Puye rather than in the Rito de los Frijoles or Yapashi, as permits issued by Garfield and the Santa Clara are free from all restrictions. The Rito and Yapashi are in the National Forest and Wilson would probably put restrictions on a permit. Hewett suggested the Southwest Society could work at Yapashi if Lummis obtains a permit from Wilson; but he leaves that decision to Lummis.

August 2, 1907--Lummis to Hewett. Garfield thinks an application to Uncle James [Wilson] for work in the Rito de los Frijoles would be worthwhile.

August 3, 1907--Lummis to Hewett. It would not be a loss if Wilson refused the permit.

August 10, 1907--Hewett to Lummis. Hewett received a permit to work in the Rito, but questions whether or not he should use it. He will go to the Rito next week to map out work for whenever they decide to proceed.

August 11, 1907--Hewett to Lummis. Hewett advises Lummis to wire request for a Forest Department permit "to make excavations in the canon of Rito de los Frijoles and on the adjacent mesas." "Now as between Puye and the Rito, it is a case of 'how happy I could be with either.' The swag will be rather better at the Yapashi I think. At least it looked so to me the last time I saw them and I think there has probably been no recent looting." The decision "will depend on what Jimmy [Wilson] does re restrictions."

August 15, 1907--Hewett to Lummis. Hewett is still hesitant about the Rito. He plans ten days to two weeks of work at Puye "to clean up then do burial mounds at Yapashi for a week or 10 days."

August 21, 1907--Hewett to Lummis. Hewett's idea is to completely finish the South House at Puye that season "then, if Uncle Jimmy 'toles fare,' cut our force down considerably and clean up the burial mounds at Yapashi." "A message from Wells indicates that our letter of marque and reprisal for the Rito and adjacent mesas will come all right..."

August 31, 1907--Hewett to Lummis. "Wells wires me that our Rito permit is granted. A private letter, however, points to restrictions that we won't stand for. Will save it in a day or two and we shall see. Am ready to hop onto the Yapashi burial mound if all is right..."

October 3, 1907--Hewett to Lummis. He decided not to "open up the Rito this season." He put all of his energy into Puye.

February 7, 1908--Hewett to Lummis. Hewett has the permit to work in the Rito but wants concessions from the Department of Agriculture.

August 5, 1908--Hewett to Lummis. "I think now that we must jump into the Rito this year. It is about to get away from us. Special agricultural privileges have been granted in the Valley and homesteads will be filed there before long. Accordingly I have asked for the renewal of our permit. Was assured before I left Washington that it would be granted if asked for without reference to

Wilson. We will ignore all conditions absolutely, simply going ahead in obedience to the law and I'm willing to take all consequences."

August 15, 1908--Hewett to Lummis. "Will make camp in the Rito de los Frijoles for some preliminary studies. Have not fully determined on the sites for excavation."

August 24, 1908--Hewett to Lummis. "I have a thousand dollars for New Mexico, divided between Harvard and New Mexico Arch. Society....I shall probably work two sites, possibly three."

In summary, while Hewett needed to comply with federal regulations, he also considered the damage that might result if homesteaders began to explore land that contained archaeological sites. Once he received his permit and had support from the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and the Santa Fe Archaeological Society, he initiated excavations at Tyuonyi and other sites in the Rito de los Frijoles, as well as at three pueblos on the mesas to the south--Frijolito, San Miguel, and Yapashi (Hewett 1909a).

YAPASI EXCAVATIONS AND COLLECTIONS

The question of exactly what was done at the sites and where the notes and other materials went has not been fully answered. Hewett's 1908 report indicates (1) that 60 rooms in outlying ruins were excavated, but not how many at each ruin, e.g., Yapashi, San Miguel, and Frijolito; (2) that a photo record was kept; and (3) that topographic and archaeological

maps were drawn. We know that several trenches and a number of rooms were excavated at Yapashi. Because of Hewett's desire to investigate the "burial mounds," he put trenches through some of the smaller mounds that surround the large pueblo.

The Bandelier project survey map (Figure 2) indicates which rooms or areas were previously excavated; a total of 14 rooms in 3 areas of the site show major disturbance and two other areas were excavated at some time in the past (Figure 2). Included are two adjacent rooms in the western room block, four (two groups of two adjoining rooms) in the southern room block, and eight in the eastern room block (five in one room and three in another, these separated by a row of three other rooms). Possibly more rooms were excavated. A glass slide in the Hewett collection (Figure 3) shows approximately 14 excavated rooms in two rows in one area of the site in 1908. The discrepancy between the map in Figure 2 and the slide is unexplained. Several archaeologists have questioned whether this slide is Yapashi or another site that was excavated in 1908. One explanation may be a result of wall disintegration over the years. Two photographs, Hewett (1909a:Figure 94) and Hoard (1983:68), show stone walls that were higher than they are today. On the other hand, possibly some backfilling took place, but if so, by whom? Hewett does not mention backfilling his sites, and there is no known record of stabilization at that site by the National Park Service (Creutz 1975).

Some artifacts (Accession No. 08-02) at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology were part of A. M. Tozzer's collection under the Joint Expedition

in July and August of 1908. They are from the Rito de los Frijoles-Pueblo of the Stone Lions (Yapashi) (Ian W. Brown, Assistant Curator of North American Collections, personal communications 1984; Robert W. Preucel, Associate Curator of Southwestern Archaeology, personal communication 1990). Included in this accession are some human bones, bone artifacts (awls, whistles, scraper, points, pendant, spatula), ground stone (axes, a metate, manos, hammerstones, smoothers), chipped stone (points, flakes), an arrow straightener, corn, quartz crystals, pottery mold, ceramic materials (olla, pipe, ball), shell pendant, twisted vine, matting fragments, etc. Which artifacts are attributable to which site, or to either site, is not clear. A different list indicates that the materials came from 5 different trenches and 42 different rooms. An accompanying sketch map of a site is more representative of Tyuonyi, with its curved wall, than Yapashi. The map also shows 42 numbered rooms; thus, it is more likely that this material was from Tyuonyi.

The Peabody shared all the material from this expedition. Kidder's (1915:Plate XXI) illustrates one bowl that, in his table of provenience and ownership, is listed as being from the New Mexico State Museum. This vessel is now at the San Diego Museum of Man, Cat. No. 10786. It is a Biscuit ware bowl, with inside designs consisting of black circles and a serpent, while the outside has outlined triangles with cross lines in them. The bottom of the bowl is marked Y.....1908. Correspondence (9 May 1985) between Linda Fisk-Jones of the San Diego Museum and J. Andrew Darling (then of New Mexico

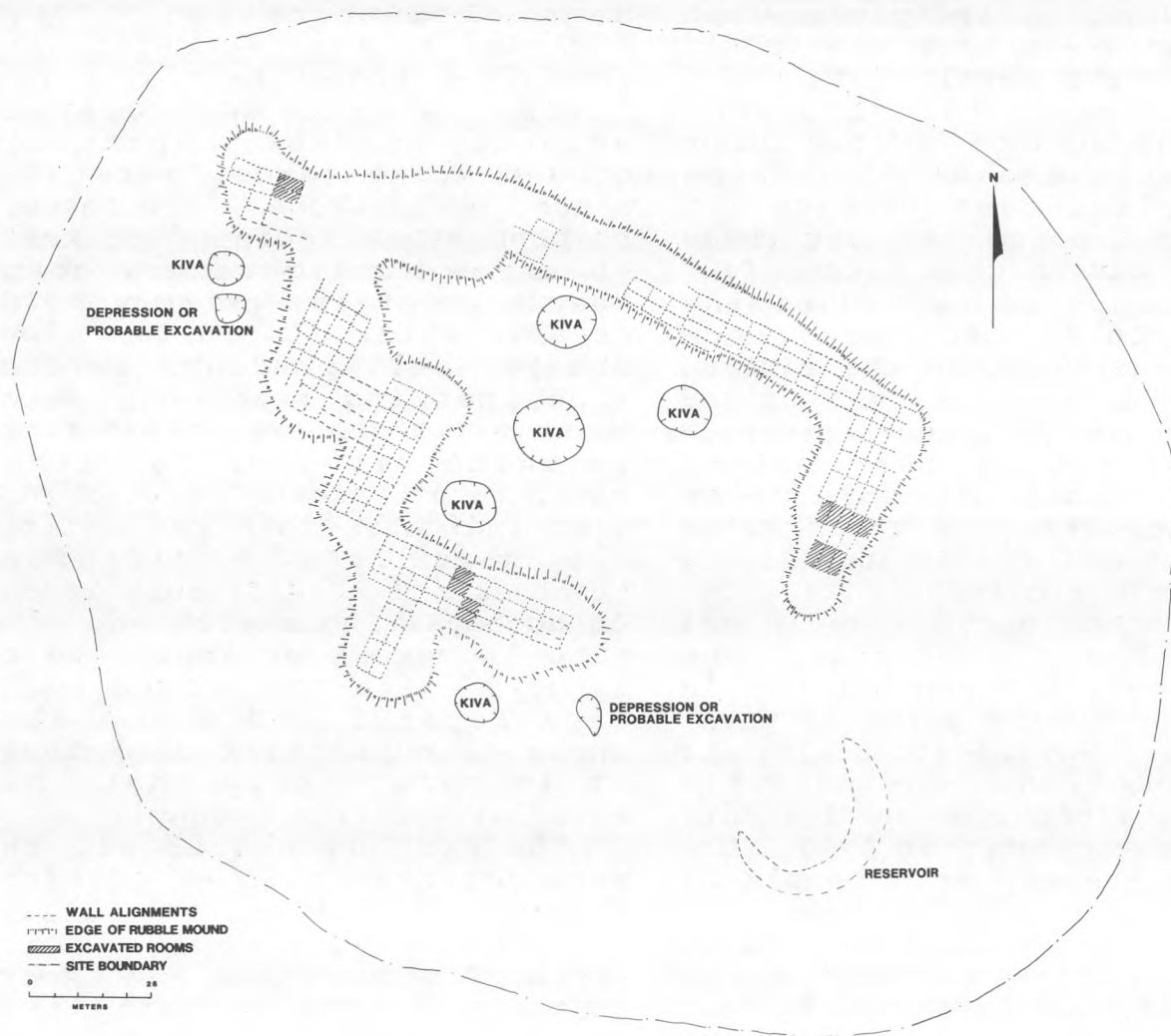


Figure 2. 1989 map of Yapashi prepared by J. Miller and the National Park Service Bandelier Project survey crew.

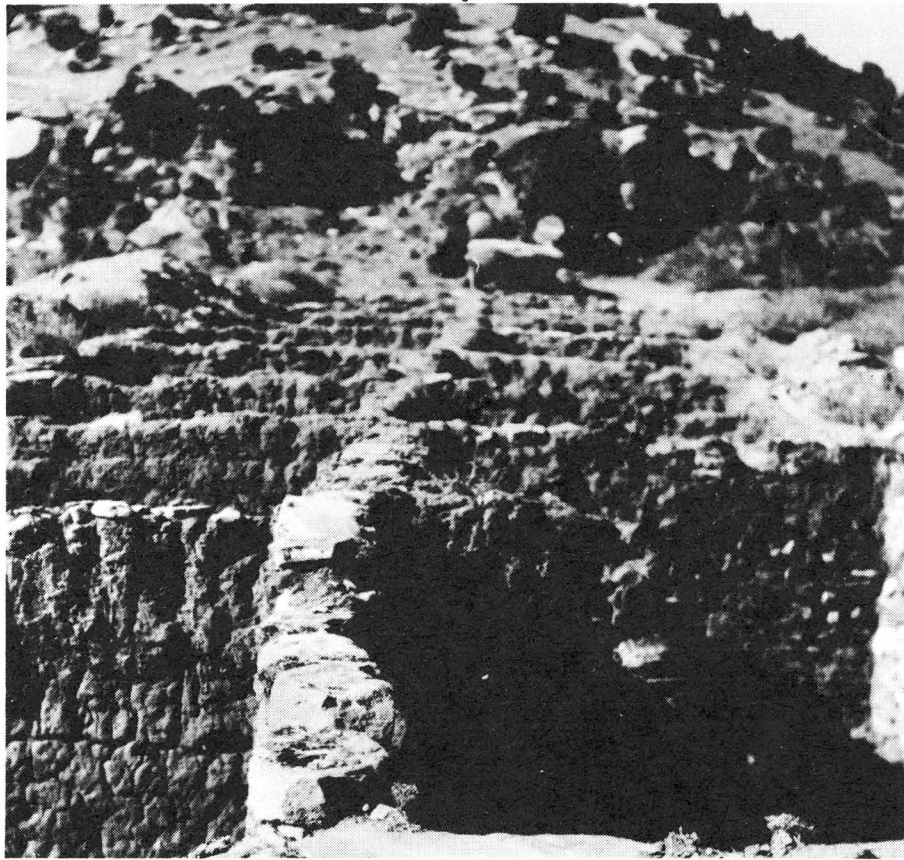


Figure 3. Illustration of excavations at Yapashi, taken from a glass slide in the Edgar L. Hewett collection, School of American Research Collections in the Museum of New Mexico, Laboratory of Anthropology, No. GS1.52028.

State Monuments) indicates that vessel was part of a collection brought by Hewett to the Panama-California Exposition and later made part of the permanent collection. It was part of the collection that was retained in New Mexico. Recent examination of the records at the Museum of New Mexico, however, has not revealed any trace of that share of the collection.

DISCUSSION

Because finances were always needed to support the work of the School, Hewett entered into a number of cooperative agreements in order to carry out his fieldwork. Several people from

the Peabody Museum at Harvard University were among those who worked with the School in various field endeavors that summer (Hewett 1908a). The entire list of participants is as follows:

Byron Cummings
(who directed the Arizona work)

Hugo de Fritsch

Dr. R. B. Dixon

Dr. A. J. Flynn

John Harrington

Neil Judd

A. V. Kidder (Harvard)

Clifton Lockhart

Warner McLaughlin

Sylvanus G. Morley

(Harvard)

J. H. Morley

Jess Nusbaum

E. C. Parsons
Paul Stanwood
Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer
(Harvard)

Mrs. B. A. Tozzer

Fowler (1989) indicates that five of these men (Harrington, Kidder, Morley, Nusbaum, and A. M. Tozzer) were part of the field crew that worked in Frijoles Canyon and that two (Dixon and Mrs. Tozzer) were visitors from Harvard.

Unfortunately, by the end of the summer, a major clash had developed between Hewett and A. M. Tozzer. It was part of a larger competition that brewed for years between Harvard and Hewett (Fowler 1989; Hinsley 1985, 1986). Hewett may not have published excavation results if interpersonal relations made some field notes, maps, and other materials inaccessible to him because they were part of the Harvard Peabody Museum "swag." Hewett was willing to ignore the materials from Yapashi if that site did not yield the "swag" that he anticipated. That the burials were not as prolific as anticipated may be an understatement. There were probably few, if any. This statement is based on the fact that, in other years, Hewett had been sending all of his skeletal material to the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, for Hrdlicka to examine. Yet, none of the material catalogued by the Smithsonian is from Yapashi. As noted above, only a few human remains were among the Tozzer collection.

Based on the available evidence, further directions for research on past excavations

and collections from Yapashi include (1) pursuing papers and field notes from members of the 1908 field research team, particularly those of Kidder, Morley, Nusbaum, and Tozzer; and (2) conducting more detailed searches and examining collections and archives at the Peabody Museum.

That not all material will be found in one place, let alone under Hewett's name, is not surprising, given the joint agreements among the various institutions that supported the study that year. Hewett's later policy of trading of collections to insure that all museums would have representative samples of materials from all areas also complicates the trail of artifacts from excavation site to current repository. But the trail may be worth further pursuit in order for us to understand some of the differences among large pueblo sites attributed to the Cochiti ancestors.

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Santa Fe

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