



## *NewsMAC*

NEWSLETTER OF THE NEW MEXICO ARCHEOLOGICAL COUNCIL  
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## *NewsMAC Spring 2019 (2019-1)*

### *Research Updates from NMAC Grant Recipients*

#### **Contents**

PRESIDENT'S WELCOME	2
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	2
DATA COLLECTION FOR NEW MEXICO MERCHANTS AND THE SPANISH INTERNATIONAL TRADE LINDA TIGGES – NMAC GRANT RECIPIENT	3
A METAL ARTIFACTS SAMPLE FROM THE ANCESTRAL / COLONIAL PIRO PUEBLO OF TZELAQUI / SEVILLETA (LA 774) DAVID H. SNOW AND MICHAEL P. BLETZER – NMAC GRANT RECIPIENT	10
SAVE THE DATE	22
2019 NMAC CONTACTS	22

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## PRESIDENT'S WELCOME

I am delighted to announce that starting in 2019 NMAC is expanding the method of tracking membership and collecting fees. Soon, new member signup and annual membership payment will be available on NMAC's website: <http://nmarchcouncil.org>. NMAC will continue to accept cash or checks at events or by mail but will begin to encourage members to provide fees via credit or debit cards and PayPal. NMAC will also obtain a magstripe (debit/credit card) reader for ease of card payments at NMAC events such as the annual conference, workshops, and other various events. The purpose of these changes is to provide members with modern and convenient options to submit their annual membership, workshop, and conference fees as well as purchase NMAC publications.

Albuquerque will host the 84th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) from April 10-14, 2019, which will be headquartered at the Hyatt Regency downtown. NMAC will host the Council of Councils meeting at this conference, which is an assembly of state archaeological councils and interested colleagues. This meeting is a two-hour session where we will present on the structure and function of NMAC and moderate other various topics pertinent to state archaeological councils. The meeting will be held on Thursday April 11, 2019 from 8-10 AM in the Hyatt Room Fiesta 1-2 . We encourage NMAC members to attend this session and other Southwestern- and New Mexico-centric sessions scheduled at the 2019 SAA conference.

The NMAC annual conference is scheduled to occur in November 2019 at the Hibben Center, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. The tentative theme of the 2019 conference is a forum to honor the 50th anniversary of Alfonso Ortiz's 1969 publication *The Tewa World*. The conference will focus on collaboration between Native American people and archaeologists. We intend to draw archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, historians, and Native American scholars and elders to discuss collaboration and new directions in indigenous archaeology. Contact NMAC if you'd like to participate in this year's conference ([nmarchaeologicalcouncil@gmail.com](mailto:nmarchaeologicalcouncil@gmail.com)).

As usual, NMAC will award up to three thousand dollars in grants this year to successful applicants. NMAC's Grants Chair will distribute a request for grant proposals on the NMAC Listserv very soon. Start formulating your next research project and spread the word!

Thank you for your continued participation and support of NMAC.

*Kye Miller, NMAC President*

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## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

In this issue, we highlight research abstracts from recipients of NMAC research grants, Linda Tigges (2018) and David H. Snow and Michael P. Bletzer (2017). Dr. Tigges' research examines wills and probate inventories and some civil and criminal court cases to ascertain the goods traded by New Mexican merchants between 1715-1765 at the commercial centers of northern New Spain: El Paso, Chihuahua, and Parral. Drs. Snow and Bletzer contribution discusses preliminary results of metal detection surveys at the Ancestral/Colonial Piro Pueblo of Tzelaqui/Sevilleta (LA 774).

If you have a paper that you would like to share with all of us – your colleagues – please let us know. Research papers, book reviews, opinion essays, photographic essays, or publication announcements – if it has to do with New Mexico archaeology NewsMAC is interested! Email me at: [bsisneros@swca.com](mailto:bsisneros@swca.com).

*Brianne Sisneros, NewsMAC Editor*

## DATA COLLECTION FOR NEW MEXICO MERCHANTS AND THE SPANISH INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Linda Tigges

In 1704 prospectors struck a silver bonanza at Santa Eulalia, a site located north of Parral and fortuitously located near the route of the Camino Real. This strike had important consequences for New Mexicans, in that after the 1692-1696 reconquest of the province, they resumed trade with the northern mining towns of New Spain, but now with the opening of Santa Eulalia, located days closer than Parral. As in the past, eighteenth century New Mexicans traded hides, leather goods, and some food stuffs to the shopkeepers, wholesalers and miners, in the growing towns of Chihuahua and in El Paso.

On their return to New Mexico, the traders brought back with them goods from New Spain, and, significantly, goods from the Spanish empire: cloth from looms of France, England, Italy and the manufacturing towns of Europe; silk, porcelain, and other luxury goods from China mostly via the Manila galleons; and iron and other manufactured goods from Spain. There is no doubt that goods from Spain's global empire arrived in New Mexico as they had in the seventeenth century, though now in a less turbulent time.

In the eighteenth century, with the Spanish inclination of meticulously recording and archiving legal matters no matter how minor, it is possible to have some idea of how many of these goods from the Spanish global empire actually arrived in New Mexico. Were there just a few pieces? Who brought them and who owned them? How much were they worth compared to locally produced goods? This paper is a partial response to these questions using a systematic approach to the available data as described below.

### METHODOLOGY

The focus of this study was goods traded by New Mexican merchants in the fifty years between 1715-1765 at the commercial centers of northern New Spain: El Paso, Chihuahua, and, to a less extent, Parral, primarily using wills and probate inventories and some civil and criminal court cases. The first step in the study was collection of data from the documents on the names and locations of the merchants, the document date, (in most cases was death date of the merchant),

the names of goods and their descriptions in English and Spanish. This step, now completed with the funding assistance from the New Mexico Archeological Council and the Historical Society of New Mexico, generated a 2,300-row Excel spreadsheet data set. While the goods from the international and prestige trade were of particular interest, in order to provide context all goods listed in the wills and inventories were made part of the data set.

Because this study is concerned with New Mexican merchants trading international and prestige goods, only their wills, probate inventory and relevant court cases were reviewed, understanding that relevant documents have been lost or destroyed. The criteria for identifying merchants was a description in the documents (*commerciante, tratante, contrante, mercador viandate or trato commerencia*), the number of goods listed in their wills or inventories not likely to be for personal use, (for instance, 80 pairs of stockings); and loans made by them or, more often to them by the miners, storeowners, or wholesalers of El Paso, Chihuahua, or Parral. Widows or female relations of some merchants were included with the idea that some of the merchants' goods would have been inherited by her, and to identify goods that were hers from a dowry, earlier inheritance, or other sources, as provided by Spanish law (Tigges 2016:20-21). It was also possible the information would show women's entrepreneurial activities, acting as merchants in their own right.

In the end, 58 persons were made part of the data set, 40 men and 18 women. The data were divided into some 17 categories, based on categories from archeological data sets and other sources.

Note that using this data set, this author prepared a partial analysis for the NMAC publication "Papers in Honor of Cordelia Thomas Snow". Because the current NMAC grant for data collection provided part of the basis for this analysis, it seemed appropriate to include a summary of that paper as part of this grant report.

## **SUMMARY**

The categories with the most international and prestige goods were selected for the NMAC paper, which were Clothing, Clothing Accessories and Jewelry, Textiles and Notions, and Ceramics.

**Clothing.** The data show that New Mexicans owned and wore elegant and costly clothes and, by including them in their wills or inventories, showed they believed them to be important.

Of the 58 persons (40 men and 18 women) chosen for the study, 45, or 77% listed some kind of clothing in their will or inventory. (There were 324 items of clothing listed in the wills and inventories.) Most of the clothes mentioned in the documents can be considered prestige, if not luxury, items, garments that owners were proud to own and bequeath to their heirs. Everyday clothing of cotton, inexpensive linen, or the even more inexpensive wool *jerga* were not mentioned, with the exception of men's drawers (*calzones blancos*), or women's underskirts of *faldillas*.<sup>2</sup>

**Outerwear.** The most common clothing type was men's and women's outerwear: cloaks, capes, and jackets. Outerwear items accounted for 77 or near one-quarter of the 324 clothing items listed in the data set. Of the 45 New Mexicans (29 men and 16 women) who made clothing part of their will or inventory, 36 (27 men and nine women) or over three-quarters listed outerwear, an average of two items per person. The styles, fabrics, and enhancement of those items suggest they were a prestige item of which the owner was proud, and perhaps used as an indication of status.

Of the 27 men who decided to bequeath their outerwear to descendants, the most common were, as shown in the above image, dress coats (*casacas* and *capas*, 10 each) and jackets (*casquetas* and *solapas*, nine). Other items were short cloaks (*capotes*, six), greatcoats (*gabán*, three), and paired outfits (*vestidos*, usually a dress coat or waistcoat and knee pants, three). When embellishment was described, it tended to be in silk, gold or silver galloon or trim (*galón*), sometimes on the facing and cuffs of the item, and gold or silver buttons and button holes. Colors were *encarnada*, (flesh colored) or *escarlata*, (fine red wool), blue, wine-colored, cinnamon, black, crimson, or green, with silk or linen linings of yellow, blue, green or red.<sup>2</sup>

The fabric for most of men's outerwear was wool from Castile (16), Querétaro (four) or England (one). When silk was used, it came from China and sometimes Spain, with the linen coming from France. Two of the more spectacular outwear items was that of Juan Rodriguez with a cloak of cinnamon colored Castilian wool trimmed with galloon (valued at 200 pesos), and a jacket of blue Castilian wool with silver buttons and buttonholes (45 pesos.) Also of note is the flashy sounding cloak of Juan Miguel Castillo, in the 1760s, one the wealthiest merchants in New Mexico, of Castilian wool, lined with red wool *escarlata* at 200 pesos, (valued the same as his 200 peso saddle). If he was so inclined, what an entrance he must have made!

For women's outerwear, 25 items are listed, owned by nine women, out of the 16 women who listed clothing. Women's outerwear came in a variety of types. There were waist length capes (*capotillos*, two); longer capes (*dengues*, seven); short cloaks (*mantellinas*, eight); longer cloaks (*mantos*, seven); mantles (*mantón*, one) and a belted coat with a high collar (*chamberluco*). When mentioned, the fabric used was mostly silk woven as silk velvet (*terciopelo*, three); plush (*felpa*, one); satin (*raso*, four); brocade (*brocade*), one. With a few exceptions (China and Seville), no source was listed for the textiles mentioned. The silk fabrics were most likely exported from China and to a lesser extent from Spain.

For outdoor clothing worn only by women, the long scarf-like *rebozo* that could be worn over the head and shoulders was common. There were 55 *rebozos* listed with the French expatriate merchant Juan de Archibeque owning 19 and Juan Miguel Castillo having five, both surely intending them for trade. Twelve individuals included *rebozos* in their will or inventory, six women and six men. When mentioned the textiles were mostly linen (28) and silk (12). The colors were rarely listed though the *rebozo* of Maria Diega Garduño was silk with a yellow and green stripe. Nicolasa Lujan, wife of merchant Juan Montes Vigil, and the owner of some of the pricier clothing, was white silk with a fringe valued at 50 pesos. Generally, the value was four to six pesos.

### **Other Clothing Types.**

**Knee Pants.** For other clothing types, the largest category for men was *calzones* or knee pants (breeches), which appeared as 39 items, plus three that appeared with dress coats as part of an

outfit (*vestido*). Of items for which fabric is listed, 25 were made of wool and one (owned by Juan de Archibeque) was satin. Fourteen of these items were wool velveteen (*tripe*), and of those, three were flesh colored (*encarnada*), and one other of *grana*, a purple-red color. Miguel Lucero had knee pants valued at 25 pesos, with gold galloon, buttons, and buttonholes at the knee. The value of knee pants varied from between four and 26 pesos with many at 15 to 20 pesos (the price of a pretty good horse) not uncommon.

Shirts. The 34 shirts (*camisas*) listed were worn by both men and women. They were often made of linen from Brittany and Rouen in France, or also made of cotton (*mantas*, *campeches*, or *patis*), *cambrai* from France, *cambaya*, from India, and the new and still not common fabrics of calico (*elefante*) and chintz (*zoraza*), also from India.

Skirts were often decorated and showy, probably intended to show the status and prestige of the woman wearing them or that of her husband and family. The styles were those often used as petticoats (*poleras*, *faldillas*, and *guardapiés*), the more common *naguas*, and full-length skirts (*tapapiés*). With the exception of the *faldillas* and *tapapiés* they could either be used as the shorter petticoats (covering skirts and meant to be seen) or as skirts alone. There were 16 *poleras*, and when the fabric was mentioned, they were shown to be made of silk or satin (three) and wool, linen, and *melandra*, a rich black fabric, one each. Notable examples were Ana Maria Baca with a maroon *polera* with silver galloon and point lace from Milan. Margarita Martin, daughter of the well-known Sebastian Martin Serrano of Rio Arriba, also listed a maroon *polera* valued at 50 pesos. Nicolasa Lujan had a *polera* of black *melandra*, embellished with silver flowers and lace, valued at 100 pesos. (In comparison, merchant Juan Rodriguez owned a silver embellished sword worth 40 pesos, and Juan Reaño de Tagle, one of the wealthier New Mexicans in the 1740s, had one valued at 50 pesos.

*Tapapiés* were long skirts, reaching to the feet (*piés*), as suggested by the name. There were 15 listed, 10 were made of silk of which six were satin. When mentioned, the colors were green (four) and yellow (one), and red and green (one). One skirt, owned by Bartola Hurtado was of *capichola* (or ribbed silk) decorated with silver fringe, valued at 26 pesos. The values for these skirts varied from 20 to 30 pesos. The only textile

source given was for a satin *tapapiés* from Valencia, Spain owned by Nicolasa Lujan.

*Naguas* were the skirts most commonly worn; they were mentioned 25 times by 12 women. Nineteen were made of wool such as *bayeta* or *baize* (one), *sarga* or wool serge (nine), and red *escarlata* (eight). The prices varied from four to 30 pesos, commonly being around 15, those with the *escarlata* being more expensive.

Overgowns, robes. Also among women's clothing were six over-gowns or dressing gowns, variously called *cabos*, *ropones* or *quimones*. The fabrics used were chintz (*zaraza*), wool serge, and silk. One item, a *quimón*, (belonging to Nicolasa Lujan) is a rare example of a loan word from Japanese (*kimono*). It was silk and embellished with lace, with a value of 40 pesos. Bartola Hurtado had a *cabo* of fine chintz (*zaraza*) also valued at 40 pesos. Other items were valued from 12 to 18 pesos.

#### Clothing Accessories.

While nearly all of the clothing items described above were for personal use, clothing accessories were another matter. Accessories such as hats, scarves and shawls, sashes, and shoes were sold to New Mexicans by the El Paso and Chihuahua wholesalers. In return, items like wool stockings were produced in New Mexico for sale outside the province.

Shoes. The documents show 156 pairs of *calzados* (a generic name for footwear), and 139 pairs of shoes called *zapatos* were listed in the wills and inventories. The *zapatos* and *calzados* were sometimes listed as for men or for women, but otherwise there was little other description. Exceptions were Luisa Lujan's three pair of shoes with high heels (*talán*) and Manuel Vigil's pair made of Cordovan leather. Shoes were produced in New Spain and were not an international item.

The price for most shoes, when mentioned, seems very low, from five or six *reales* to one to two pesos per pair. In many cases, the shoes were ordered by the dozen. Juan de Archibeque's inventory showed 29 dozen *zapatos* and *calzados* valued at two pesos each; and Joseph Reaño de Tagle had two dozen *zapatos* at nine pesos per dozen. With the exception of the *zapatillos* from Chihuahua owned by Juan de Archibeque, no source for shoes was listed.

Hats. Hats (*sombreros*) were trade items brought to New Mexico from New Spain. There were 125 hats listed, including two beaver hats (*castor*), one belonging to Juan Miguel Castillo valued at 40 pesos, and the other to Joseph Romo de Vera (no value given). Ordinary hats, such as the 22 shown by Joseph Reaño de Tagle were valued from six *reales* to four pesos. Three hats were garnished with gold galloon (listed by Alphonso Real de Aguilar, Dimas Jíron de Tejada, and Juan Gallegos) and two hats had plumes (Luisa Lujan's dowry). The hat merchants were Joseph Reaño de Tagle (34), Juan de Archibeque (33), and Juan Miguel Castillo (29).

Scarves. Like skirts, scarves (*pañó de cabeza, pescuezo, and tobajilla*) were some of the showier items found in the wills and inventories. All of the 20 listed scarves were of silk, probably from China, in black, red, red and gold, or maroon colors, and were embellished with silver or gold galloon, lace, or flowers. The prices of seven scarves were noted, ranging from 25 to 90 pesos. For example, Antonio Duran de Armijo of Taos owned a scarf made with cloth-of-gold (*tela de oro*) valued at 95 pesos. (To compare, he owned a silver inlaid *escopeta* valued at 80 pesos.) In what may have been a one-up, Nicolasa Lujan had a *tobajillo* also of cloth-of-gold and gold fringe, valued at 90 pesos.

Stockings (medias). Of all the items in the data set, stockings were one of the few New Mexican items produced in quantity for trade. The number of wool stockings (592 pairs) were greater even than the number of shoes. In some cases, such as the 300 pairs in Archibeque's inventory, they are listed as *medias de la tierra*, stockings made locally.

There is little direct evidence that the women in this study were trading stocking, though New Mexican women were likely involved in making them. Juana Dominquez stated that she was owed for seven pair of stockings, suggesting she had stockings for sale, perhaps her own work. Francisco Afán Rivera's inventory showed two pair of knitting needles for stockings (*jeugos de agujas de hacer medias*). Juan Miguel Castillo had 70 pairs of knitting needles for wool (*agujas laneras*) at four *reales* per pair as well as an *alumbre de hacer medias*, a wire form for knitting stockings, valued at 60 *reales*.

Also listed in the inventories were 14 elegant, embellished pairs of silk stockings that were surely meant to be worn with men's velveteen

knee pants or women's fancy skirts. They would have come ready made on the Manila galleons and perhaps from Spain. Five men listed silk stocking, including Antonio Tafoya Altamirano with a pair of yellow silk, and Joseph Reaño de Tagle had six pair of red (*carmesí*) silk stockings. Luis Garcia de Noriega, a livestock raiser and occasional merchant, had black stockings with raised embroidery (*realce*), and Juan Miguel Castillo had three pair listed at an extraordinary 15 pesos per pair, the value of six or seven of his sheep (*carneros*). Also owning one pair each were Manuela Aguilar whose stockings had raised embroidery and Francisca Misquia had flesh colored (*encarnada*) silk stockings.

Other Related Items. Other accessory items found in the wills and inventories perhaps of interest to archaeologists include a silver cane handle (*puno de baston de plata*), four combs (*peine*) with three from China, and two ivory painted fans (*abanicos pintados de china de mafil*), also from China.

### Textiles.

Textiles were a major trade item for New Mexicans and were, in fact, a major trade item for all of New Spain. From the Atlantic trade fabrics were imported from the European weaving centers in Flanders, Italy, France, England and Spain. These fabrics were traded for Mexican and Peruvian silver in particular, but also for indigo, cochineal, and *compeche* log dyes; copper; and other New World goods. The Pacific trade brought mostly silk textiles from China, but also some cotton and wool from China, Japan and even India. These textiles were traded for the mostly traded for much-needed Spanish *reales* and pieces of eight.

The basic trade textiles were cotton, linen, wool, and silk, by themselves or in combination with each other. They were woven in an amazing variety, in at least 30 types. with wool and silk having the most variations. Descriptions of these fabrics follow:

Cotton (algodon) textiles, plentiful in New Spain, included *campeche* cloth made in the Yucatan in the province known as Campeche, as well as *mantas* and *paties*. These three cotton fabrics were woven to a more or less standard sized piece and came from a variety of sources such as Puebla, Villa Alta, and Sierra. In specie scarce New Spain (with so much being exported to as part of the Atlantic and Pacific trade), these

fabrics sometimes operated as a form of payment. For example, a buckskin might be traded for two *mantas* or three *campeches*. Other cotton fabrics were part of the international trade. Cambric (*cambrai* or *cambray*) was named for its source in France, (Cambrai). *Cambaya*, calico (*eléfante*) and (*zoraza*) came from India, sometimes traded at Macao and then shipped on to the Philippines.

Linen (*lienza* or *pano de hilo*) was sometimes called *mitán* (a kind of pressed linen), *cotense*, or French *pontivi*. Of the 84 linen items named, 53 come from Brittany and Rouen. Both linen and cotton were used for linings, skirts, shirts, and a variety of everyday garments, as well as for sheets (*sábanas*) and pillowcases (*almohadas*).

Silk textiles (*seda*) came in 13 varieties: satin (*razo*), silk from Peking (*pequín*), silk primavera, taffeta (*tafetán*), China silk (*sayasaya*), Spanish wool and silk (*calamanca*), a rich black silk (*melendro*), silk from Nanking (*lanquín*), bombazine (*bombazi*), silk and wool (*droguete*), ribbed silk (*capichola*), gauze from China (*tisú*), and velvet (*terciopelo*). Of the 110 items listed as silk, 29 sources were given, nearly all China or Peking.

Wool (*lana* or sometimes just *pañño*) had eight varieties: serge (*sarga*), baize (*bayeta*), fine red wool (*escarlata*), sack cloth (*sayal*), eighteen count wool (*pañño diez y ocheno*), wool velveteen (*tripe*), fine thin wool from China (*lanillas*), and camel hair combined with silk (*pelos de camellos*). Most wool textiles came from Castile, but also came from England and Querétaro in New Spain. Occasionally the cloth was referred to as *pañño a la tierra*, meaning that it was woven in New Mexico.

The goods list of the presidio store showed that most of the fabrics named above were available in Santa Fe: cotton *campeches*, *mantas* and *paties*; linens; wool sack cloth, baize and serge; and the more expensive wool *escarlata*, *lanilla*, and camel hair. The presidio list also included fancy fabrics such as *droguete* (silk and wool) and flowered satin primavera.

The seemingly endless variation of fabrics, measurements (*varas*, *piezas*, *onzes*), and prices per measure surely meant that the merchants had to be both experienced and canny to make a profit. In spite of this, some New Mexicans, (and the presidio) chose to do that. For example, in

1720 Juan de Archibeque's inventory listed 52 *mantas* (mostly cotton) and 120 varas of wool and linen. Six years later, Francisco Afán Rivera probate case listed cotton *campeches* (22 pieces) and 13 varas of Indian *cambaya* cotton in addition to linen from Brittany and Rouen constituting 15 varas; 39 varas of silk, (mostly from China/Peking); and 53 varas of Castilian wool (Castile) for a total of 147 varas of textiles.

In comparison, when he died, Joseph Reaño de Tagle's 1740 inventory showed that he still owned 108 varas and 53 pieces of various kinds of textiles, including: Rouen and Brittany linen, Villa Alta *mantas*, silk from China, wool from Castile, and 33 varas of New Mexico wool at a little over two pesos per vara. He also had ½ vara of *eléfante* (calico) valued at 12 pesos and one vara of red *escarlata* wool at an extraordinary 21 pesos. In amounts and types of fabric, he was rivaled by Juan Antonio Rodriguez who had 97 varas of cloth, mostly wool and linen from Castile and New Spain, but also a piece of *sayasaya* silk from China valued at 21 pesos, and one vara of silk bombazine at 12 ½ pesos. Where the merchants stored these goods, protected by from the weather and the moths, has yet to be discovered, though from the Ysidro Sanchez presidio robbery case in 1720, we do know the presidio store was located on the plaza. (Tigges 2016:284-290)

### Notions and Pearls and Coral.

Notions. Those New Mexican merchants who traded in textiles included in their trade goods inexpensive items for cutting, sewing and decorating the clothing made from the fabrics the merchants provided. Their wills and inventories show amounts of what used to be called "notions": buttons (*botines*), lace (*encaje*, mostly from Lorraine, ribbons (*cinta*, satin and silk from Peking), thread (*madeja*, silk and linen), galloon trim (*ribecillo* or *galón*), tiny brass bells from China added to both clothing and horse tack (*esquilas* or *campanillas*), and needles (*aguja*). The presidio store carried a stock of similar goods. Surely some of the non-perishable items are found on historic archaeological sites.

Pearls and Coral. Pearls (*perlas*) and coral (*corales*) jewelry were also part of the merchants' trade. Being commonly found in the pearl fisheries and coral reefs of the Philippines, they were brought on the Manila galleons, (Ango 2010:159-161) for use in necklaces, earrings, bracelets, rosaries and reliquaries. There nine

persons listing pearl items such as Margarita Martin with seven strings of black pearls valued at 27 pesos per string and Nicolasa Lujan, whose pearl eardrop pendant earrings were valued at 100 pesos. Antonio Duran de Armijo had 12 strings of coral valued at two pesos per string, and Francisco Afán Rivera had five ounces of coral.

**Ceramics.** Ceramics, particularly porcelain and majolica, have long been seen by archaeologists as a measure of prestige and status (Voss 2008:211, 220). Of the total 144 items in the ceramics category, 59 were cups (*tazas* or *jicaras*) or about a third of the total. In addition, a box of cups, perhaps for tasting wine (*caja de trastes*) was listed in the will of Juana de Anaya Almazan. Some of the cups (*tazas mas calderas*) could be considered soup bowls. Of the total cups for which a source was named, eight were from China (porcelain), and three from Puebla (majolica).

Other ceramics appeared as 12 soup bowls (*calderas*), seven of which were from China. There were also 21 olive jars (*botijas*), two from China, and two pitchers (*jarros*) from Guadalajara. The list of ceramics also included 19 plates (*platos*) of which 16 were from China; three majolica plates from Puebla; one water jug (*tinagita*) from Guadalajara; and two serving platters (*salvillas*), one from Barra, (Oaxaca), and one from Guadalajara. A majolica saltcellar (*salero*) and a large porcelain bowl or water jar (*tibor*) were part of the Luisa Lujan dowry.

Additionally, there are general references to *china*. In his 1721 will, Francisco Afán Rivera stated that he owned “fine china for my use” ( *fina de china de mi uso*) with no further description given. (Esquibel and Martinez 2018:9,16). In the 1733 will of Francisco Xesus de Espejo, Espejo stated that he owed an unknown amount of money for *losa de china* purchased by three women (SANM I #1219:3). Stephen Post, in the excavation of the Santa Fe presidio found what appeared to be an entire set of china, broken into pieces. (Post 2015:13 and personal communication, June 4. 2018.)

### **CONCLUSION**

Based on the 2018 New Mexico merchants’ data set, there is little doubt that New Mexicans were part of the Spanish global trading network in that they received and traded goods coming from the Atlantic trade and from the Orient via the Manila galleons. They did not have had the amount of

international and prestige goods as the residents Puebla, Zacatecas or even the El Paso or Chihuahua. Still, based on the goods they considered important enough to list in their wills and inventories, we know that New Mexicans were part of the trade network of New Spain and of Spain itself.

The data on clothing, accessories, textiles, notions, and ceramics suggest that New Mexicans saw elegant and stylish clothing and porcelain and majolica ceramics, as an important part of establishing and maintaining their place in Spanish Colonial society. By wearing clothes of French linen, Castilian wool, and silk from China all decorated with Lorraine lace, silk and satin ribbons and silk embroidery thread, and by eating and drinking from porcelain or majolica tableware, they would have made known their identification as *españoles*.

An observation, rather than a conclusion, is that the clothing styles and fabrics New Mexicans chose to own, came in a great variety. For example, a coat was not just that, but a *casaca*, *casqueta*, *capa*, *manto*, or *capote*, (and more); a skirt not just a skirt but a *nagua*, *pollera*, *guardapiés* or *tapapiés*. A buyer could choose to have any one of these garments made from two dozen or so different fabrics coming elsewhere in New Spain, Europe, India or the Far East. These styles and fabrics were part of the society of New Spain which was wealthy enough to support a culture where servants wore silk and meals were served on porcelain plates. The data show that New Mexicans, who, by comparison, were not so wealthy or extravagant, chose to partake of these cultural elements of the *español* society of New Spain and the Spanish empire.

This is not surprising. Living in New Mexico did not mean that the merchants and their families and retainers were backward or isolated from the rest of the Spanish world. Many, if not all of the subject merchants named in the data, had at least visited El Paso and probably Chihuahua if not Mexico City. After all, some of the merchants had lived in El Paso as refugees from the Pueblo Revolt, and continued to have relatives there who were available for visits and business advice. for visits and business advice. Several of the merchants were immigrants from France or Spain, such as (Juan de Archibeque (Bayonne, France), Juan José Moreno (Seville), Alfonso Real de Aguilar (Lorca, Murcia) Joseph Reaño de Tagle (Santander), Juan Ruiz Cordero (Medina-Sidonia), and Francisco Xesus de Espejo



(Cádiz). Juan Rodriguez, Joseph Romo de Vera, and Antonio Godines claimed their origins in Mexico City. Though they ended up living far from the urban centers of the south, they came from places (and on occasion returned to them) where being well-dressed was expected. Wishing to be seen as *españoles*, they made efforts to do just that.

Finally, the data indicates a difference in social status between the merchants and other New

Mexicans, and sometimes differences among the merchants. There were the men and women who consistently had more numerous and expensive goods or wore a greater variety of clothing than others. This does not mean they were particularly wealthy, (their debts listed in the wills and inventories suggest many of them were living on credit), but that they preferred or found it necessary to give the appearance of being so. This is a topic for further study.

## NOTES

1. All data and references in the study to goods owned by particular individuals are taken from *The New Mexico Merchants Spanish Colonial Cultural Resources Data Set*, an unpublished data set prepared by Linda Tigges, 2018.
2. Special recognition is given to Josie Caruso for use of her excellent and extensive translation guide and glossary for Spanish clothing and textiles as referenced in the following bibliography.

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## A METAL ARTIFACTS SAMPLE FROM THE ANCESTRAL/COLONIAL PIRO PUEBLO OF TZELAQUI/SEVILLETA (LA 774)

David H. Snow and Michael P. Bletzer

### Background

Located on the east bank of the Rio Grande north of Socorro, NM, the pueblo of Tzelaqui/Sevilleta (LA 774), the only surviving Rio Grande Piro mission pueblo, once held a prominent location near the junction of the *camino de México* (the historic Camino Real) and a 17<sup>th</sup>-century branch road to the Salinas Piro (TOMPIRO) and Tiwa pueblos east of the *bocas de Abó* (Abo Canyon) (Fig. 1). Ceramics indicate that the pueblo was established in the late 1200s or early 1300s in a landscape dominated up to that point by smaller habitation sites. Although doubtless occupied at the time of the Coronado *entrada* (1540-42) and the later Rodríguez-Chamuscado (1581-82) and Espejo-Beltrán (1582-83) expeditions, the pueblo was not identifiably named until the arrival of Juan de Oñate and his vanguard in the summer of 1598. Oñate and his men camped for a week inside a pueblo which they called “Nueva Sevilla.” Subsequent records mention the pueblo’s native name (at least as it sounded to Oñate’s scribes) as “Tzelaqui” and its inhabitants as “Atzigues” (with variant spellings). A version of the name, Se(e)locu, also appears in conjunction with the establishment at the pueblo, in c. 1627/28, of the Franciscan mission of San Luis Obispo. From that point forward the pueblo only appears as “Sevilleta” in period documents (as does after 1622 the term “Piros” instead of Atzigues).

The historical record from the founding of San Luis Obispo up to the pueblo’s final abandonment sometime in the fall of 1681 (!) is fragmentary but includes a number of unpublished documents which provide glimpses of volatile and often violent times not only at Sevilleta proper but across the whole of the “provinces” of *Los Piros* (i.e. the Rio Grande Piro pueblos) and *Las Salinas* (the Salinas Piro/TOMPIRO and Tiwa pueblos). There are references to abortive Piro rebellions, increasingly hostile relations with Apache groups, Spanish meddling in Piro affairs, droughts and failed harvests, and disease outbreaks. Following a last abortive plan to attack the retreating Spaniards at Socorro Pueblo in August 1680, the remaining Piro pueblos (from north to south Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro, and

Senecú) disintegrated with the Spaniards’ immediate removal of several hundred Piros to the El Paso area and again in the winter of 1681/82. Many Piros escaped these deportations but eventually joined other Pueblo groups (e.g. Acoma, Zuni, Jemez, Cochiti) or Apache bands. No pueblo in either *Las Salinas* or *Los Piros* was ever reoccupied.

In view of Sevilleta Pueblo’s historical record, surface assemblage, apparent subsurface structural integrity, and status as the only accessible example of a Rio Grande Piro mission pueblo, archaeological research at the pueblo is expected to offer much insight into Piro-Spanish interactions from first contact up to final abandonment in the early 1680s. This puts the Sevilleta project in contrast with two other multi-year studies of Rio Grande Piro pueblos, Teypana (Plaza Montoya, LA 31744), a west-bank pueblo occupied from the early 1500s to the early/mid-1600s, and Pilabó (LA 791), the first Rio Grande Piro mission pueblo with an apparent occupation sequence similar to Sevilleta but without any above-ground structural remains (the site lies under modern Socorro).

Based on initial on-site observations and the previous experiences at Teypana and Pilabó, the general Sevilleta project plan was to combine geophysical sampling, wall tracing, and test excavations. The need especially for the latter two methods was driven home early in the project’s first year when the mound (Area I) assumed since H. P. Mera’s time to represent the mission of San Luis Obispo turned out to be a 17<sup>th</sup>-century room block (Figs. 2, 3). This negated the results of two ground-penetrating radar (GPR) transects that had suggested the presence of a church nave. The ensuing conundrum as to the real mission location was not resolved until a year later when wall-tracing of a lesser mound (Area II) revealed a small east-west oriented church with several attached rooms (Figs. 2, 4). In hindsight, this structure’s size (or rather lack thereof) should not be all that surprising, given that for most of its existence the Sevilleta mission was reportedly just a *visita* under administration of the Socorro mission.

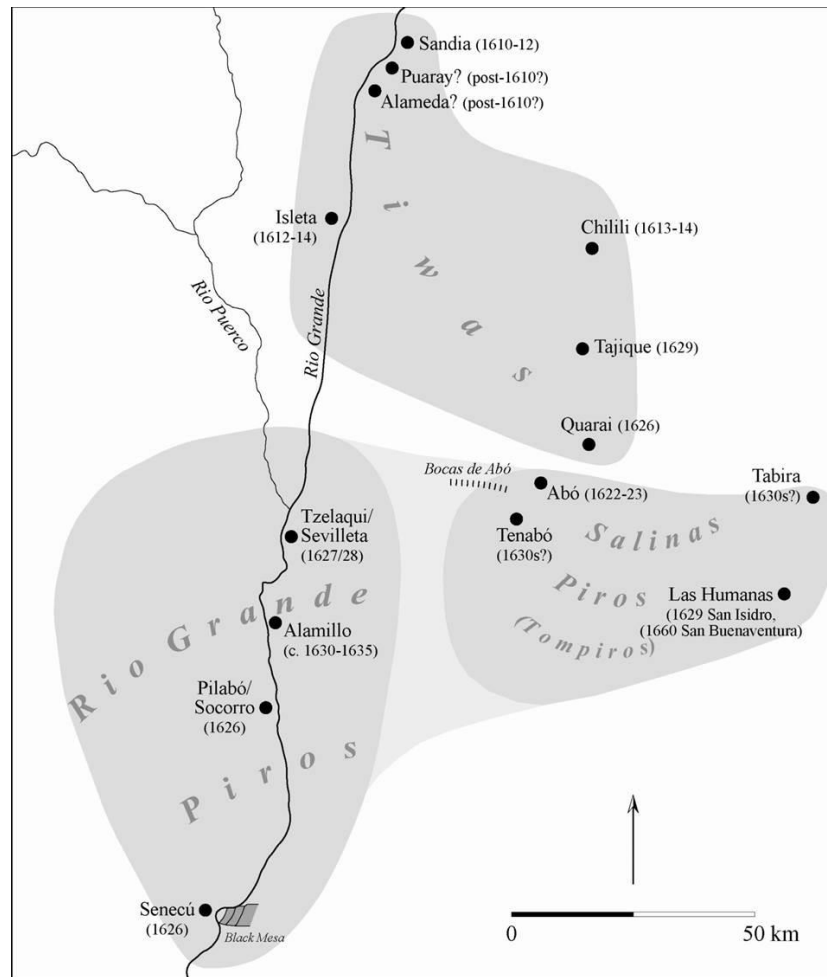
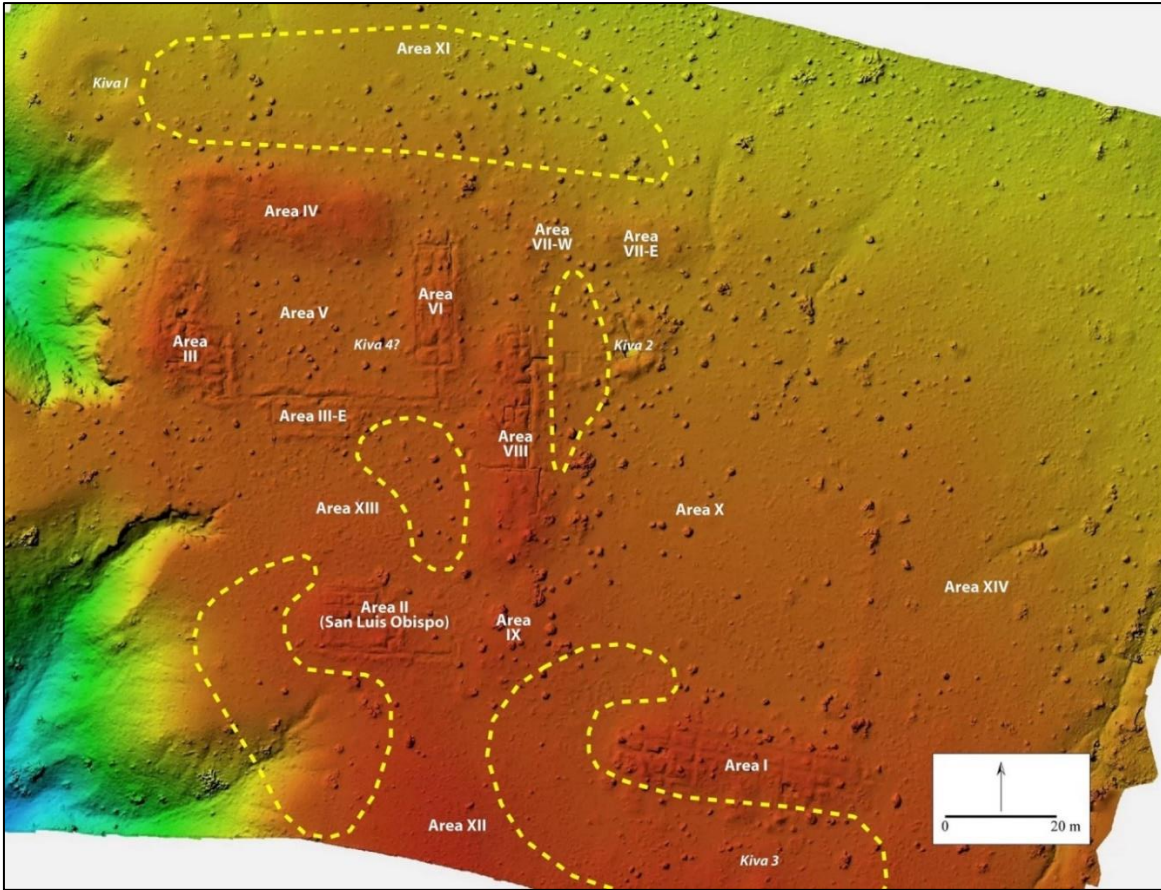


Fig. 1. Mission pueblos (including *visitas*) in Los Piro and Las Salinas.

As part of the overall research approach, the pueblo's known colonial-period affiliation also invited inclusion of a detailed metal-detection component. Except for several small areas of dense mesquite growth, the whole site and its periphery is easily accessible to the metal detector. Visible mounding suggests that the pueblo consists of up to ten architectural mounds (Areas I, II, III, III-E, IV, VI, VII-E, VII-W, VIII, and IX), but judging by the surface distribution of diagnostic ceramics only four of these mounds (Areas IV, VII-E, VII-W, and the southern 2/3 of Area VIII) are of prehistoric affiliation. All other mounds appear to be entirely of colonial date. Three kivas have so far been identified; a possible fourth was recently located in a GPR transect (Fig. 2). Of these, Kiva 2 has been partly excavated and a complete profile from modern surface to kiva floor recorded (Fig. 5). In orientation and feature assemblage (including different sets of loom anchor holes and traces of geometric wall-painting) this kiva is essentially

identical to several found at the Salinas Piro/Tompiro pueblo of Las Humanas (LA 120). Like some of its Las Humanas counterparts, Kiva 2 had been burnt, but the context of destruction is unknown. Although it is tempting to associate the burning with the establishment of the San Luis Obispo mission there is no direct evidence for such a hypothesis. Two  $^{14}\text{C}$  samples taken from burnt reeds in the roofing layer (beams are cottonwood, hence no tree-ring dates) only indicate construction/repair in the later 1500s. Metal artifacts were found in the first sediment layers above the collapsed kiva walls, but not on the floor or in association with the burnt roof. Just west and southwest of Kiva 2, however, intensive metal detecting produced several hundred mail armor (*malla*) links (including multiple connected links), lead balls (fired and unfired), nails, and other metal objects. This metal concentration represents one of the densest and stratigraphically most diverse samples of metal artifacts documented so far at the pueblo (Fig. 2).



**Fig. 2. LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: major structural components and metal concentrations (broken yellow lines) (base DEM by Mark Willis 6/2018).**



Fig. 3. Left: LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: Area I, 17<sup>th</sup>-century room block, adobe wall bases; right: LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: Area X, Kiva 2, test to floor (at c. 205 cmbs).



**Fig. 4. LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: Area II, 17<sup>th</sup>-century *visita* church of San Luis Obispo, west end with altar base in foreground (photo by Tom O’Laughlin 11/2016).**

### The Metal Assemblage: Recovery, Analysis, and Preliminary Interpretation

At present, the stretch between Kiva 2 and Area VIII represents the most systematic metal-detection sample at the site. By itself, work in this area illustrates some basic procedures and problems. Given the largely open character of the pueblo and its surroundings, a key goal was to achieve as close to total metal detector coverage as possible. Grappling with the subjective nature of this goal, it soon became clear that to approximate it would require multiple sweeps under different moisture and temperature conditions and with different types of equipment. In the case of the Kiva 2/Area VIII sample, initial detecting was defined by the approximate edges of the Area VII-E, VII-W, and VIII room blocks and a random north-south and east-west line as the eastern and southern boundary. Within this area, differently-angled transects were surveyed up to 30 times and more at varying times of the year. Using different coils or machines especially near the deeper deposits close to the room blocks, numerous objects were recovered from depths up to 30 cmbs. Although later detector sweeps have produced markedly fewer artifacts, the area has not yet been exhausted of metal artifacts especially in the deeper deposits along the room block margins.

To date, nearly all accessible portions of the pueblo and adjacent stretches of the Camino

Real and various other offsite locations have been covered at least once with metal detectors. Intensity of coverage still varies widely, however. As a result, five large metal concentrations have already become evident (Fig. 2), yet there remains significant internal variability in the representativeness of the running sample. That said, a vague image of differential functional association is emerging based on the types of artifacts clustering in different locations. Nearly half of the current total of more than 1,000 metal objects comprises military “hardware,” i.e. armor (almost entirely *malla*) fragments and lead munitions (Figs. 6, 7). The other half includes a wide variety of more “domestic” objects such as boot nails, horseshoe nails, carpenter nails (Fig. 8), *coscojos*, awls, pins, buckle fragments, aglets, thimble fragments, and a substantial number of sheet iron fragments perhaps deriving from bladed tools or weapons. There also is a small sample, spatially discrete (from the Area I room block) of obviously religious artifacts (Fig. 9). A small batch of later artifacts has also been recovered, including percussion caps, buttons, and horseshoe nails. The protocol for metal detecting at Sevilleta calls for documentation of 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century artifacts up to about the beginning of the railroad period (c. 1880) and concomitant end of the Camino Real as a travel/transportation route to assess the possibility of post-abandonment site use and visitation. No identifiably “modern” (i.e. c. post-1880) metal is collected.



Fig. 5. LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: multi-link *malla* fragments (iron, brass [lower left], and iron-brass mixed [lower right]).

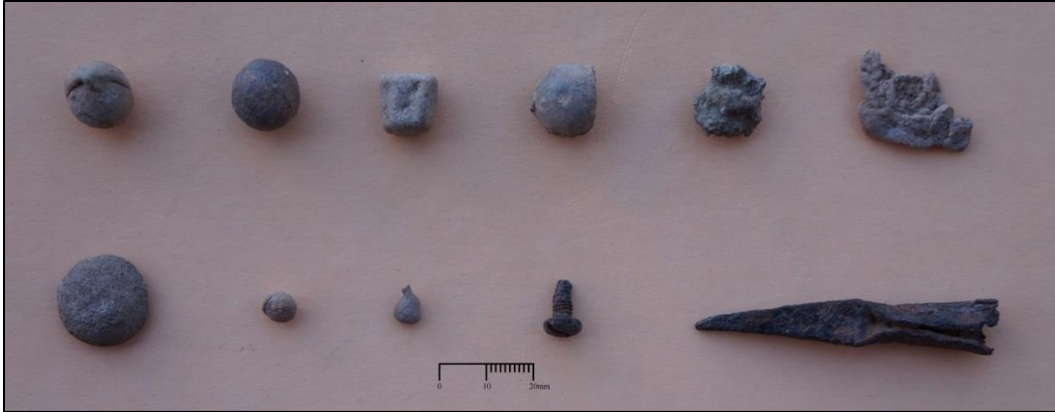


Fig. 6. LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: fired and unfired lead projectiles, lock-plate screw (brass), iron *cuadrillo*.



Fig. 7. LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: horseshoe fragments, *coscojos*, and nails.

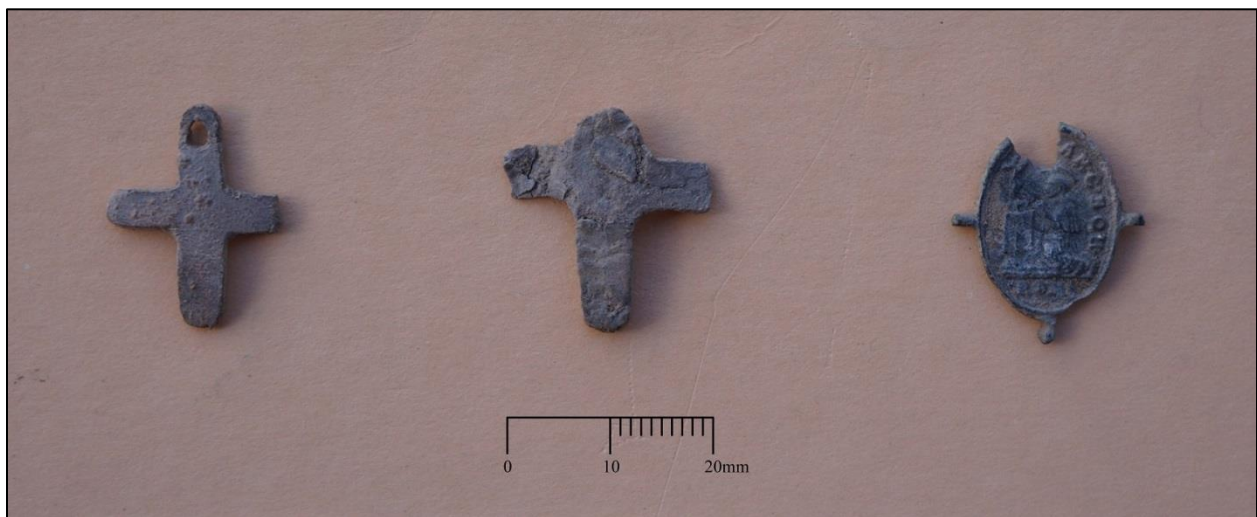


Fig. 8. LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: Area I, religious objects.



Whenever possible, all objects recovered during metal detecting are mapped using a Leica Zeno 20 Android. In case of use of other GPS receivers, object locations are further triangulated off the nearest established mapping points. Depth is recorded in centimeters below surface (cmbs). The running inventory of metal artifacts covers the entire site and adjacent areas, with five large concentrations south and west of the Area I room block, south and west of the *visita* of San Luis Obispo (Area II), north of the Area IV room block, west of the southern half of the Area VIII room block, and the aforementioned concentration between Kiva 2 and Area VIII. Every concentration contains a multitude of different artifacts at different depths, which at first glance seem to indicate cumulative deposition over multiple “events.” This is especially the case for the concentration near Area I. Although analysis is yet preliminary, the southern portion of this concentration includes a high proportion of needles, awls, and pins relative to the other artifact concentrations (except for the one north of the Area IV room block). Two thimble fragments also came from this area and a number of possible thermal features were uncovered during metal detecting. Despite the presence of numerous *malla* links and link fragments, the primary working interpretation for this is a multi-seasonal *paraje* or camp area in the south lee of the Area I room block and close to the Camino Real. Pieces of possible *malla* repair wire found in this area may indicate repair of armor accessories such as *cotas*, *cuissas*, *beavers*, or *gloves*. On the other hand, the concentration also includes fired lead balls in various locations. These are assumed to have been “deposited” in

a hostile context presumably unrelated to use of the camp area.

Unfortunately, except for differences in recovery depth and projected functional associations, there is very little in the metal assemblage that helps to disentangle any potential sequence of primary “depositional” events. The military artifacts in particular are chronologically non-diagnostic. All multi-link patches of *malla* are standard 4-in-1 weave and riveted (Fig. 6). *Malla* was used by Spanish soldiers throughout the entire span (from 1540 to 1681) of possible hostile encounters at the pueblo. There are clear differences in size (Fig. 10) and wire treatment, but these could well be functional. Although a number of links are brass, brass with iron rivets, or comprise patches with brass and iron links, it is impossible to attach any chronological meaning to such differences. This is not entirely surprising as examples of mail armor from Europe from the pre-Roman Iron Age to the Later Medieval Period by and large show little in the way of general technological change, especially when it comes to individual links. Nor is the sample of lead balls in itself diagnostic. Calibers range from 2 to 14.2 mm, but given the lack of caliber standardization prior to the mid-1700s, there is nothing to indicate that different-sized balls reflect temporal differences in firearm bores. It seems more likely that the large number of smaller balls (both round and “tear drop”-shaped) reflects the use of “hail shot,” so called in Europe (e.g. *Hagelschuss*) and used also for early artillery pieces, which similar to modern shotguns would have been very effective at close range against unarmored opponents.



Fig. 9. LA 774 Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo: size range of *malla* links.

The sole diagnostic object in the military metal sample is an iron *cuadrillo*-type crossbow bolt head, which was found on the north side of the Area I room block (Figs. 7, 11). In the Southwest, bolt heads are commonly associated with the Coronado *entrada* of 1540-42. According to the documentary record, this was the only 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish force which used crossbows in appreciable (if still modest) numbers (though travel manifests show that crossbows were imported into the Spanish American colonies at least as late as the 1610s). A majority of bolt heads found to date are, however, rolled copper and were manufactured in Mexico (the main supply region for Coronado's expedition). Iron bolt heads are very rare, though not unheard of. In the old Piro province, an even rarer tanged iron *cuadrillo* was found years ago east or south of Socorro (Fig. 11). Like most if not all 16<sup>th</sup>-/17<sup>th</sup>-century iron tools and weapons, these were likely

imported from Spain and as such subject to the vagaries of price fluctuation, government-imposed quotas, and trans-Atlantic trade. At times at least iron was certainly a rare commodity even in Mexico, but sometimes significant shipments were made under individual contracts. One example is a contract from 1539/40 between Pedro de Alvarado, then governor of Guatemala, but soon to be en route to West Mexico to die in the Mixtón War, and a merchant from Vizcaya, the main iron-producing region of Spain. This contract called for the delivery to Alvarado's army of, among other things, 200 crossbows, 205 arquebuses, 400 pikes, and 900 dozen *saetas*, i.e. crossbow bolts. The total of more than 10,000 almost certainly iron-tipped bolts seems staggering compared to the low number of known iron bolt heads, but it illustrates the potential for such *saetas* to have found their way into the quivers of one or other of Coronado's *ballesteros*.



**Fig. 10. Socketed iron *cuadrillo* from Tzelaqui/Sevilleta Pueblo (see also Fig. 7) and tanged iron *cuadrillo* from the southern part of *Los Piros* (found by the late Bob Weber of Socorro in the 1990s).**

Outside the ballistics and armor sample, a number of metal objects are of chronological significance. At the early end of the spectrum are a half dozen steeply bifaceted nails (Fig. 8, lower left), which in the Southwest are also considered to be a diagnostic of Coronado *entrada* sites. In conjunction with the *cuadrillo* these nails indicate visitation of Tzelaqui/Sevilleta by one or more parties from the Coronado expedition, perhaps by way of Pottery Mound Pueblo (LA 416), only 20 miles upstream from Tzelaqui along the Rio Puerco, where ongoing metal detecting has so far uncovered more than 20 *malla* links, two

arquebus balls, and assorted other metal artifacts of possible colonial-period origin. There can be little doubt that Coronado made efforts to explore south from his main bases on the middle Rio Grande, but the documentation for such side expeditions is sketchy and makes no mention of their composition (i.e. did they include *ballesteros*/crossbowmen?). As a result, the possibility that sites with few or no artifacts like bolt heads, bifaceted nails, and similarly diagnostic objects may still be part of the Coronado cultural landscape seems to be generally underappreciated by archaeologists

working in such contexts. As for 17<sup>th</sup>-century affiliation, several artifacts at Tzelaqui/Sevilleta are diagnostic enough to be associated with post-mission life at the pueblo. Most obviously, they include four religious objects from the Area I concentration, three small lead alloy crosses (one drilled) and a brass religious medallion probably depicting a saint (the image still awaits identification) (Fig. 9). Another chronological marker is a brass thimble (two fragments) with a knurled star decoration similar to thimbles manufactured in the Low Countries during the mid-1600s.

Beyond visual identification and recording, variability in elemental composition may be indicative of differences in origin and thus could perhaps indicate temporal differences in procurement and deposition. To get an initial understanding of the metallurgical make-up especially of non-ferrous artifacts in the running sample, a sub-sample of 54 artifacts was subjected to XRF analysis by Dr. M. Steven Shackley. This analysis was funded by a NMAC research grant. Although a detailed examination of the XRF results is only just beginning, a preliminary tabulation of chemical element shows a wide isotopic and alloy range across various artifact classes. There are brass and bronze pieces of armor and clothing accoutrements (aglets, rivets), as well as among objects possibly relating to horse gear. There are also various silver and lead alloys in objects deemed

decorative such as a possible silver scabbard fragment. Iron objects, too, exhibit some variability in the content of the base metal. For instance, there are significant differences in the Ni, Cu, and As ratios of the iron *cuadrillo* from Tzelaqui/Sevilleta and the one from the Socorro area. Whether this indicates different origins and/or differences in smelting and smithing processes cannot be ascertained without trace element analysis and comparison with possible source ores from regions like the Asturias or Vizcaya.

The metal sample from Tzelaqui/Sevilleta keeps growing in size as metal detecting continues across much of the pueblo and adjacent areas. Numerically similar samples are so far known only from a few Coronado *entrada* sites that appear to represent battles between natives and Spaniards. But if the Sevilleta sample size may seem unusual, this is probably misleading. Comprehensive metal detecting approaches do not appear to be part of the research protocol on potential colonial-period sites generally. This is lamentable, as some types of metal artifacts are either too small (e.g. individual *malla* links or link fragments) to be discerned on the ground or in the screen, or too “gravel-looking” (e.g. fired lead balls) to be identified by sight. Missing such artifacts, however, means flawed databases, whose analysis may easily lead to inaccurate interpretations of native-Spanish contacts at any given site.

We would like to thank NMAC for funding the XRF analysis of the Tzelaqui/Sevilleta metal sub-sample and Steve Shackley for carrying out the analysis. Many thanks also to Ronnie Sinclair and the La Joya Charitable, Educational, and Assistance Organization (LJCEAO) for allowing us to work at the pueblo; as well as to the numerous volunteers who have braved heat, cold, and the occasional Río Salado khamsin in the pursuit of Piro and Spanish ghosts.

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