

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS
VOLUME 81, NUMBER 7

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EL PASO, TEXAS

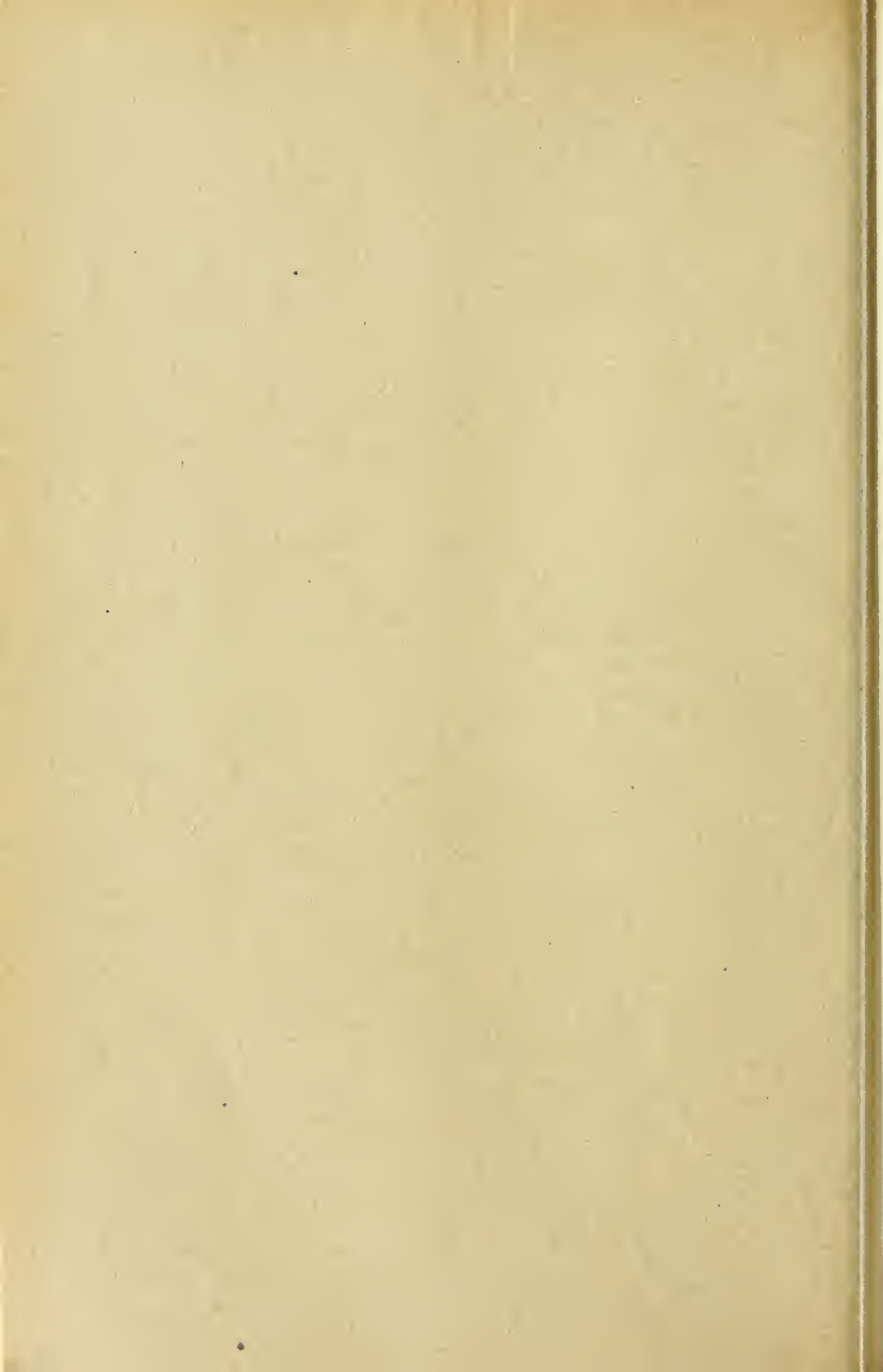
(WITH FIVE PLATES)

BY
FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR.
Bureau of American Ethnology



(PUBLICATION 3009)

CITY OF WASHINGTON
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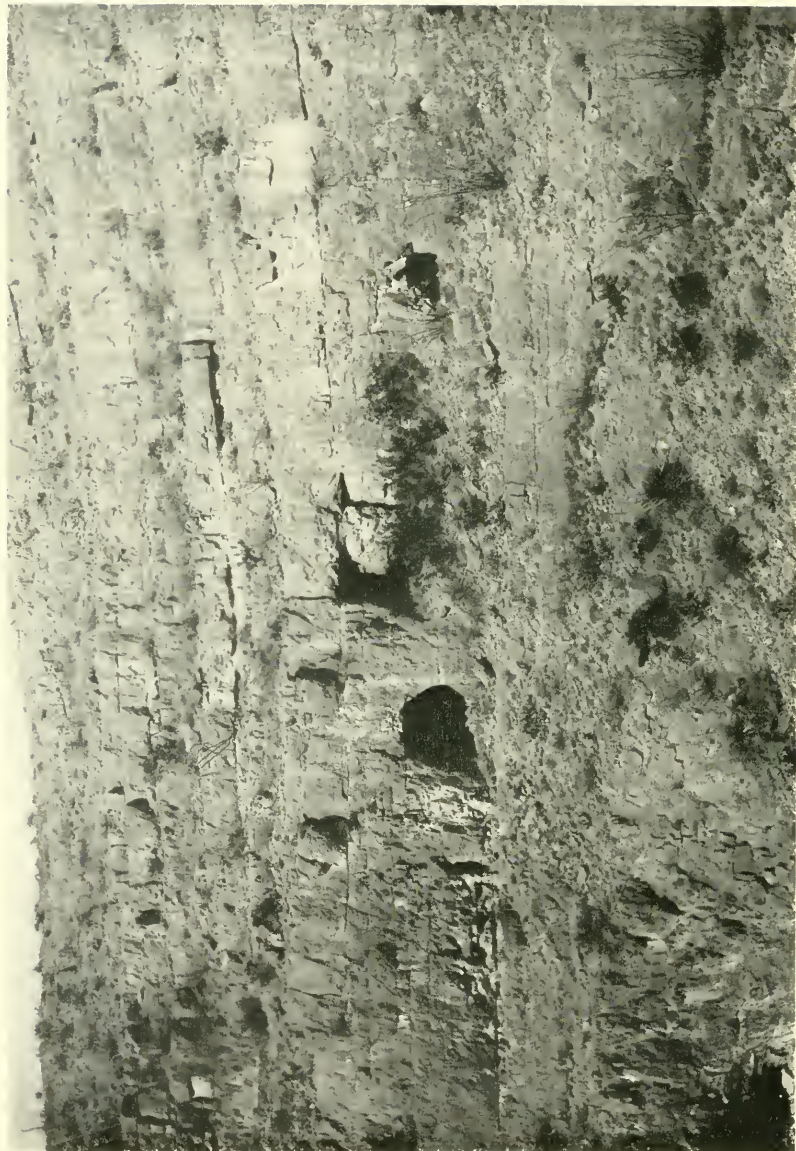
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Openings to some of the caves in mountains northeast of El Paso, Texas.
Photograph by courtesy of J. A. Alexander.

RECENT ARCHEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE VICINITY OF EL PASO, TEXAS

BY FRANK H. H. ROBERTS, JR.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

(WITH FIVE PLATES)

In the winter of 1921 the writer visited a number of caves approximately 20 miles northeast of El Paso, Texas, for the purpose of examining a series of pictographs which were painted on their walls. The mountains in which the caves are located lie between El Paso and the far famed Hueco Tanks, in the range bearing the same name, which played so prominent a part in the early history of that section of the Southwest. These water holes formed the oasis for many a wandering band of Apaches, and have long been the rendezvous of cattlemen and a resting place for travellers in that semi-desert region. There is a much greater variety and number of pictographs in the vicinity of the tanks than in the immediate neighborhood of the caves mentioned above, but the drawings in the latter are of greater interest, not for what they represent but because their presence led to the discovery that the caves were once occupied and that many objects of the material culture of a people not yet definitely identified were buried beneath the sand which covered the floors and filled the back portions of the recesses.

At the time of his first visit to the region the writer was impressed with the possibility of finding traces of occupation in the caves, but he was unable to make the necessary investigations because of lack of time and equipment. In the following years there was no opportunity to return to the region, and consequently no definite steps could be taken towards a careful examination of the caves. In the meantime others became cognizant of their existence, through the reports that paintings were to be seen on the rocks of the neighborhood, and it was soon discovered that interesting "curios" could be dug out of their sandy floors. No extensive finds were made, however, until the spring of 1927 when Mr. Robert P. Anderson, then president of the El Paso Archaeological Society, and Mr. R. W. Stafford began a systematic exploration of the caverns and secured a large amount of material.

The specimens collected during the investigations of the two El Paso men include fragments from headdresses, a number of sandals, curved clubs, digging sticks, spear shafts, spear heads, foreshafts for spears, netting, a cord skirt, shell pendants, beads, parts of mosaic combs, and a large basketry armlet covered with a turquoise mosaic. News of the discoveries was published in El Paso papers and was reported to the National Museum by Mr. Anderson. The writer was just leaving for field-work in northwestern New Mexico when this information was received, and fortunately was able to include El Paso in his trip west. At the latter place he had an opportunity of examining the objects gathered by Mr. Stafford and Mr. Anderson and of revisiting the caves where they were found.

There are 28 of these natural recesses in the faces of the limestone cliffs. In some cases they are just above the tops of the steep talus slopes, about two-thirds of the way up the side of the mountain, and in many instances have a narrow ledge of rock running along in front of them (pl. 1). Others are located just below the tops of the cliffs along the upper ledges. In general they open to the northwest or west, and most of them contain evidence of Indian visitors. In many these traces take the form of pictographs painted on the walls in red pigment, while others furnish objects from the material culture of the people. The best examples of the rock paintings were not found in the caves where objects were obtained, but in a large shallow recess about a mile away. Some of the caves have small alcoves, opening off from the main room, which give evidence of having been blocked up at some time or other with loose rock walls.

In three of the caves, smoke-blackened ceilings and débris-covered floors gave definite indications of at least temporary occupation. It was in the layers of refuse, ash, and sand that the specimens left by the people who occupied them were found. One cave in particular had proved quite rich in such objects. At the time when it was visited it had been rather thoroughly examined and a great many objects removed. By digging in the few undisturbed portions of the floor at the back of the cave, however, there were uncovered 12 sandals, a number of spear shafts, a fragment of netting, several portions of curved clubs, a few beads, and some potsherds.

The pictographs in this district consist of realistic and conventionalized life-forms and geometric designs. Inasmuch as a careful study of the drawings and paintings on the rocks of the region is being made by Col. M. L. Crimmins, U. S. A., retired, only a few examples will be given. The writer feels that a great majority of them are to be attributed to the various groups of Apache who were in that section

of the Southwest in fairly large numbers, but a few of them suggest at least slight Pueblo influence. The latter seem to be of greater age and in some instances are partially covered by portions of those of more recent date. Whether they have any relation to the objects found in the caves is a problem still to be solved.

Three figures which probably were intended to represent masked heads were found on the walls of one of the caves (fig. 1). In two examples the persons represented seem to have been wearing a tablet-like headdress, a feature quite common in the Southwest since early historic times. Thus far no evidence has been obtained to show that the ceremonial mask was in use in prehistoric times, although certain investigators are inclined to believe that its development may have begun, as the result of influences from the Mexican cultures to the

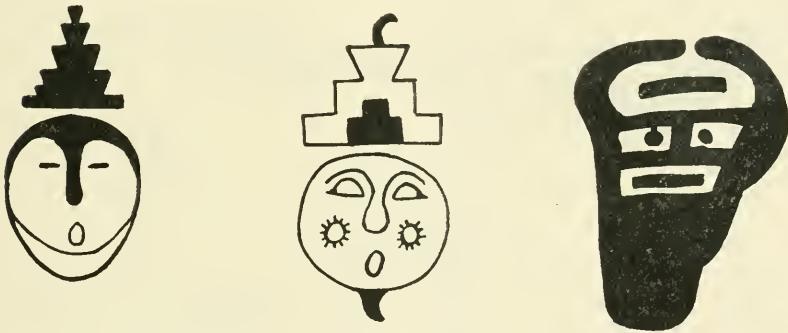


FIG. 1.—Representations of masked heads painted on walls of one of the caves.

south, in the period just following the great era of the Pueblo peoples and immediately preceding the advent of the Spanish explorers. The use of the ceremonial headdress has been markedly widespread in recent times, however, not only among the Pueblos and Navajos but also among the Apaches in certain of their observances. Among the majority of the groups using the mask and headdress there is considerable use of thin strips cut from the flowering stem of the yucca or Spanish bayonet in building up the framework. Fragments of frames made from this sort of material were found in several of the caves, and it seems quite probable that the pictures represent such objects. Their stepped or terraced shape is comparable to some of the Pueblo forms. The third figure possibly represents the mask worn by a participant in a buffalo or similar dance and is certainly decidedly suggestive, in its character and the manner in which it was drawn, of the work of the nomadic Indians.

Among the realistic forms are a number of birds which are not readily identifiable. Two examples are illustrated in figure 2, *a*, *b*. There are also many representations of snakes. In some instances, as figure 2, *c*, they are very realistic, while in others they are more conventionalized and show a combination of the geometric and realistic types. The horned or plumed serpent illustrated in figure 2, *d*, is an example. The plumed serpent has long played a prominent part in Southwestern cultures and representations of it are found in many places. It occurs in the decorations on pottery and in pictographs and petroglyphs, and is used in effigy forms in certain ceremonies of the Zuñi and Hopi Indians. Its prominence in the art and ceremonies of the Mexican cultures to the south is so well known that it needs no

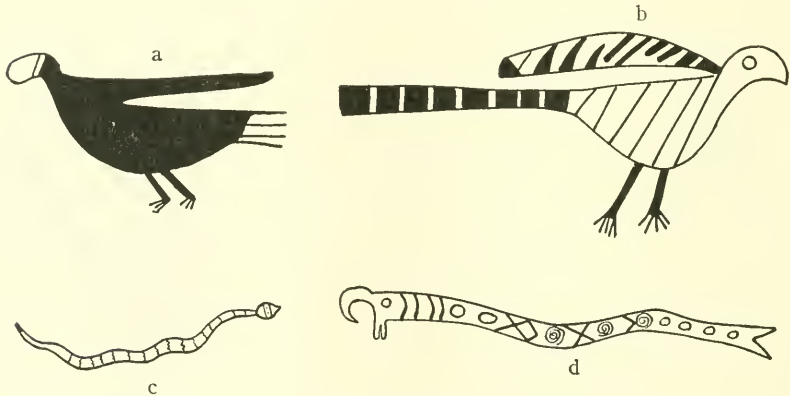


FIG. 2.—Bird and serpent pictographs found on cave walls.

discussion. The example from this cave suggests similar forms on pottery from Casas Grandes in the Chihuahua district of Old Mexico and also some of those occurring on bowls from the Mimbres Valley in southern New Mexico.

Figure 3 shows the best example of a highly conventionalized geometric form. It is impossible to say just what it was intended to represent, but it is quite reminiscent of some of the square-shouldered figures of the Pueblo country to the north and west. A closer parallel to this figure is to be found, however, in some of the geometric designs on pottery from Casas Grandes in northern Mexico.

Only a few illustrations of the kind of pictographs to be seen in this section have been given, but they are sufficient to indicate the general character of the paintings; an extended discussion would be beyond the requirements of this paper.

Mention has been made of headdresses fashioned from the split stems of the yucca. Several triangular shaped objects were found in some of the caves by Mr. Stafford and Mr. Anderson which may well have been the framework for such headdresses. They were constructed from two long pieces and a series of short ones placed cross-wise (fig. 4). The short cross pieces were fastened to the longer ones by means of cord made from tightly twisted yucca fiber. The holes through which the cord passed were drilled. In some cases the material was painted red on one side and the other side was covered with pitch, possibly



FIG. 3.—Conventionalized geometric figure painted on the wall of a cave.

for the attachment of down or feathers; other examples show that the red pigment was applied to both sides. Some of these triangular frames measured 8 inches wide and 18 inches long while others were as much as 2 feet wide at the base and 3 feet long. They would have served admirably, because of their extremely light weight, as a base for a pyramidal or fan-shaped headdress.

Two kinds of sandals appear in the collections from these caves. The predominant style is not common in the better known portions of the Southwest, whereas the other form is fairly well represented in collections from various sites (pl. 2). Both were made from the ever-useful yucca leaves woven in a wickerwork technique. The

narrow leaf variety of the plant seems to have furnished the best material as it was the most frequently used.

The characteristic form of sandal has a long oval outline, and seems to have been shaped for use on either foot. It was made of a wicker-work of whole leaves woven over a warp of two bundles formed from several of the leaves, four to eight being the normal number. The warp was generally tied at both ends, although occasional examples show a single bundle bent at the middle and tied at the heel end. The latter are generally rather square toed. The projecting ends of the warp leaves were frequently shredded at the heel to form a pad, and at the toe, several of them were tied to make a fastening loop and the remainder were allowed to protrude to form a slight fringe. The weft strands or cross-elements were started on the lower surface

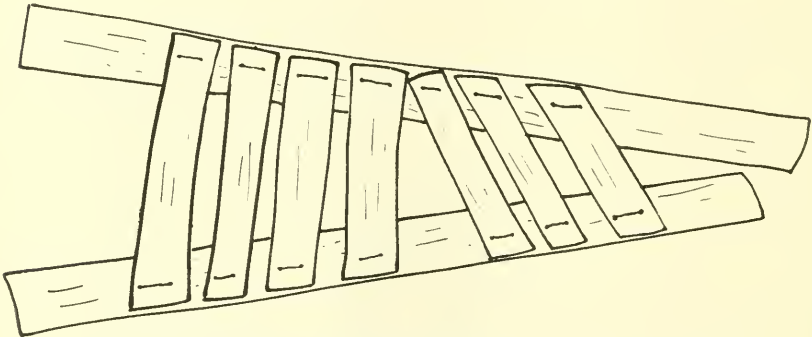


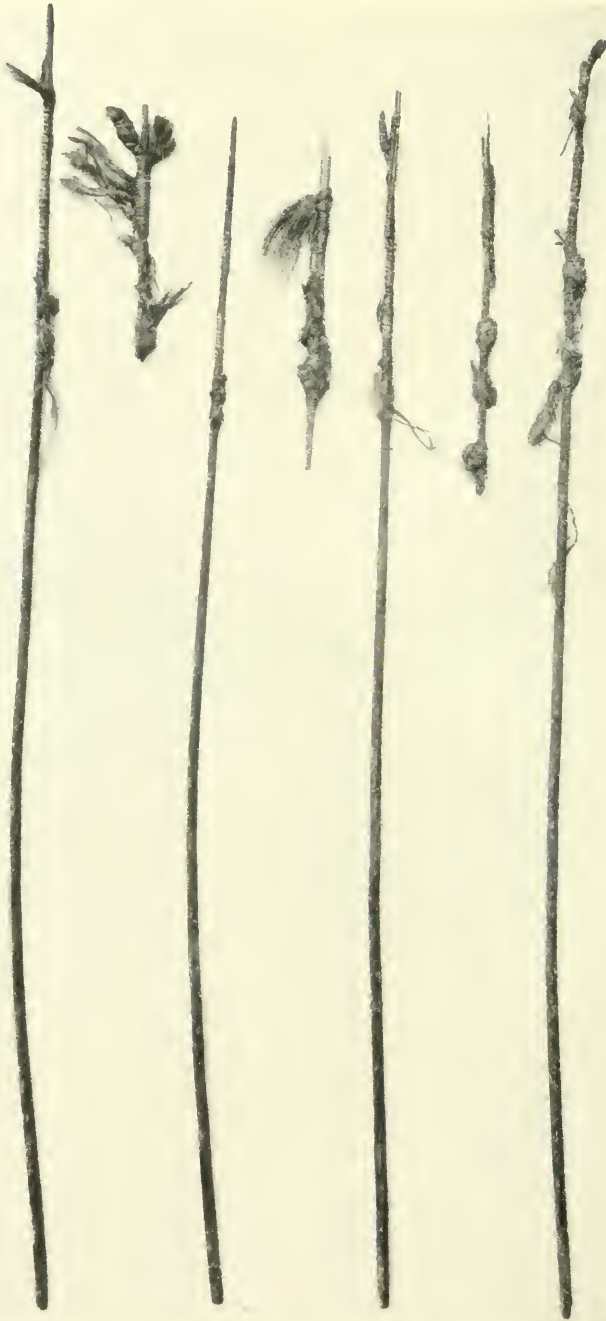
Fig. 4.—Characteristic form in which headdress frames were made from yucca stalks.

of the sandal (fig. 5). The small ends meet in the middle along the top; the strands pass under one warp and back over it; then under and over the other, the ends being drawn down through the sole where they were cut off and shredded to form a pad on the bottom. This is one form of the figure 8 type of weaving.

Two methods of fastening the foot strings at the toe end are indicated by the specimens. The loop fashioned from projecting ends of the warp leaves has already been mentioned. Another form shows a separate loop passed through the warp. In some of the sandals, strings of twisted fiber were fastened to these loops and passed back over the foot where they were attached to the warp, one string just back of the instep and the other just below the ankle. The loops in both forms were small and the strings probably passed between the first and second and third and fourth toes. On most of the specimens found by the writer, and those examined in other collections, there



Examples of sandals found in caves. U. S. National Museum Catalogue Nos. 215428, 340796.



Spear shafts showing fiber embellishment. U. S. National Museum
Catalogue No. 340790.



FIG. 1.—Cord skirt made from twisted apocynum fiber. Photograph by J. A. Alexander.



FIG. 2.—Fragment of netting found in one of the caves.



FIG. 1.—Basketry armllet with turquoise mosaic.



FIG. 2.—Shell pendants and fragments from mosaic combs.
Photographs by J. A. Alexander.

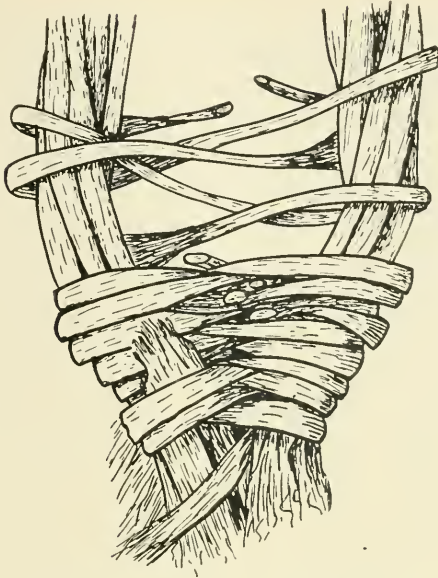


FIG. 5.—Technique of sandal weaving.

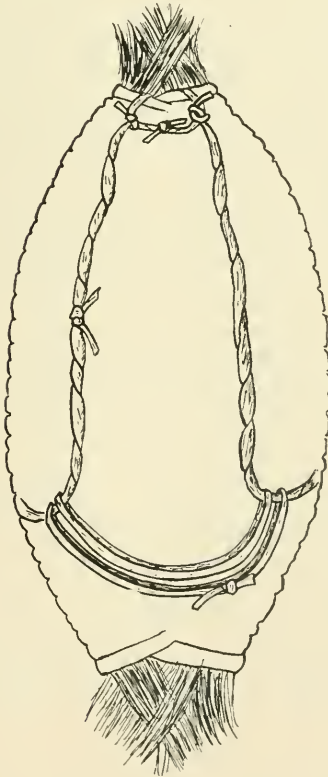


FIG. 6.—Attachment cords on sandals.

are no indications of heel cords, but in a few instances they are present. Where this is the case, the heel cords consist of several loops of shredded leaves which pass around the back of the heel of the wearer and connect the side strings (fig. 6).

In general it may be said that this form of sandal is one which belongs in that section of the Southwest. Similar specimens have been reported from Silver City,¹ New Mexico; the writer has seen a number in various collections from caves in the vicinity of Van Horn, Texas, some distance east of El Paso; and two of the same type, in the collections of the National Museum,² were found in a cave near Lava, New Mexico, in 1902 and presented to the museum shortly afterwards. Dr. Walter Hough found a specimen in 1905, during the course of his investigations at Tularosa Cave in western New Mexico, which is comparable to those from El Paso, although the yucca leaves in the former were partially shredded.³ Another of the same type is figured by Lumholtz in his *Unknown Mexico*. This specimen was obtained during the course of investigations carried on in Cave Valley, northwestern Chihuahua.⁴ Only one example of the type has been noted in collections coming from regions farther north in the Pueblo area. The latter is in the private collection of Mr. J. A. Jeancon at Nateso Pueblo, Indian Hills, Colorado. Mr. Jeancon found it in a cave in southeastern Utah in 1908, when he was conducting explorations in the Montezuma Creek section. A type very suggestive of the El Paso form but varying somewhat in the technique of its manufacture was found in northeastern Arizona by Kidder and Guernsey during their earlier explorations. They found a number of sandals in a small cliff house on Laguna Creek which have the general appearance of the ones from El Paso but which differ from them in that they did not have the figure 8 weave in the weft and that they had only a single leaf in the warp.⁵

The second form of sandal had four warp strands of single leaves. The warps were tied at the heel and toe, and the weft leaves were

¹ Mason, O. T., *Primitive Travel and Transportation*. Rep. U. S. Nat. Mus. 1894, Washington, 1896, p. 358, pl. 7, No. 3. U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 45610.

² U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 215428.

³ Hough, W., *Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of the Upper Gila River region, New Mexico and Arizona*, Bull. 87, U. S. Nat. Mus., Washington, 1914, p. 84, fig. 173, a. U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 246688.

⁴ Lumholtz, Carl, *Unknown Mexico*, Scribners, 1902, Vol. I, pp. 68-69.

⁵ Kidder, A. V., and Guernsey, S. J., *Archeological Explorations in North-eastern Arizona*. Bull. 65, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Washington, 1919, p. 103, fig. 37.

woven back and forth in the usual wickerwork technique. The large ends of the weft leaves were brought out on the under side where they were shredded as in the case of the other sandal. There was also the same tendency to permit the shredded ends of the warp leaves to protrude in a sort of fringe at the toe. No specimens from this region have been found with foot attachments still in place, and it is therefore impossible to tell how these may have functioned. Similar sandals have been found at other sites in the Southwest. Kidder and Guernsey describe the form in their Arizona paper,¹ and the collection obtained from Bat Cave, 125 miles north of El Paso, by Mr. DeMeir contains an example of the form.²

The spear shafts are very interesting (pl. 3). They were made from the flower stalks of the agave, which, although light, is very strong and suitable for such purposes. Their average length varies between 5 feet 3 inches and 5 feet 9 inches. The distal ends of these shafts are the heaviest. They have an average diameter of one-half inch and taper gradually towards the butt ends. The latter average a little less than a quarter of an inch in diameter. In the heavy ends a cone-shaped hole was drilled for the purpose of inserting a short foreshaft in which a stone point had been mounted. They were not always equipped with stone points, however, as some of the specimens in the collection of Mr. Stafford had hard, sharp wooden points. In every case the proximal or butt end shows a slight cup-shaped depression, which suggests that the shafts were for use with a spear-thrower or atlatl. The latter object has a small hook at one end which would fit into such a cup-like hole and aid materially in hurling the projectile. The ends of the shafts were bound with sinew wrappings which have disappeared from most of the specimens, although the markings which they left are plainly discernible. These wrappings were probably used to prevent the shaft from splitting as a result of the drilling of the hole in its end.

One rather curious feature about the spears is that they were decorated with streamers, balls, and braids of agave fiber (*Agave lecheguilla* Torr).³ These decorations must have been attached for ceremonial purposes, as the spears could not have been of great usefulness with so much cumbersome material fastened to them (pl. 3). It is possible that they may have been used as wands in the ob-

¹ *Iidem*, p. 158.

² U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 215428.

³ Mr. L. H. Dewey of the U. S. Department of Agriculture kindly identified the material for the writer.

servance of some ceremony, or they may be analogous to the long prayer pahos of the Pueblos. Certain features about the cave in which they were found suggested that it might have been one of the sacred places of the people rather than a mere dwelling site. The great numbers of spear shafts scattered through the débris give at least some grounds for such a supposition.

Closely associated with the twisted fiber on the shafts, in a number of cases, was a small bundle of three or more sticks which had been carefully smoothed, sharpened at one end, and rounded off at the other (fig. 7). They were bound together by strips of sinew and then fastened to the shaft with some of the twisted fiber. They were so placed that their rounded ends projected several inches beyond the butt of the shaft. What their purpose may have been or what significance may be attached to them is not known at the present time. Kidder and Guernsey found similar bundles of small sticks in their

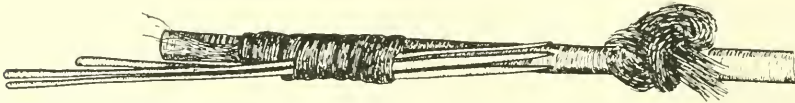


FIG. 7.—Method of attaching bundle of small sticks to end of spear shaft.

Basket Maker caves which they identified as material for the making of hair ornaments.¹ They did not find any attached to spear shafts.

A dull red pigment was applied to the spear shafts in some cases, and this is especially noticeable where they have been protected by fiber wrappings. The shafts as a group are very much like those found with the remains of the Basket Maker cultures in the region farther west and north. Their chief difference is in the agave fiber embellishments.

Foreshafts for the spears were made from sticks of harder material. They were tapered at one end to fit the socket in the shaft, while the other end was notched for the insertion of a stone point. The latter was held in position by the use of pitch and a wrapping of sinew. Without the heads the foreshafts range from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 inches in length. The stone points, from 1 to 2 inches in length, are of the elongated triangular shape with good barbs and a tang. The majority of them were made from a gray chert.

¹ Guernsey, S. J., and Kidder, A. V., *Basket-Maker Caves of Northeastern Arizona*. Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Cambridge, 1921, p. 52, pl. 18, c.

The piece of netting obtained from the cave¹ is too small to permit the determination of what it may have been used for, but because of the many similar fragments which were dug out by various specimen hunters it is possible that it may have been a small section from a rabbit net such as the peoples in the Pueblo area farther north and west used.² It is different from the latter in its weave, however, and is quite suggestive in a general way of the technique used in the manufacture of the foundations for the fur and feather cloth blankets. In the latter the weaving was much finer than that of the El Paso specimens, which give no indication of the attachment of either fur or feathers. The fragment may possibly be from a carrying net.

The netting was simply made, although two kinds of material were used in its manufacture. Double warp threads of tightly twisted, two-ply apocynum cord are in marked contrast to the weft of loosely twisted agave fiber. The weft was held in place by a double twist of the warp between each weft cord (pl. 4, fig. 2). The weft was looped back at the edge and carried along until its end was reached, when a new cord was spliced on. The warp strings were placed at an average of every two inches. The double twist which held the weft in place made an average space of one-fourth inch between the strands of the latter. The width of the fragment obtained by the writer is 20 inches but its original length cannot be determined. Netting of the same type was found in caves near Carlsbad, New Mexico, and a portion of it presented to the National Museum.³

Twisted apocynum fiber was used for other purposes than making netting and cords for sandal ties. One of the specimens from the large cave was a cord apron consisting of a waist string to which a series of short cords had been attached (pl. 4, fig. 1). The latter hung down in front in a kind of fringe. Kidder and Guernsey, as well as many other investigators, have found large numbers of similar aprons and have determined that they were a woman's garment. Many have been found on female mummies but none has been observed on a male.

Curved clubs from the caves are comparable to those from the Basket Maker caves of northeastern Arizona and to some of those found in southeastern Utah by Mr. N. M. Judd.⁴ They were fashioned

¹ U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 340797.

² Guernsey and Kidder, *loc. cit.*, p. 77, pl. 31, c.

³ U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 330643.

⁴ Guernsey and Kidder, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, pl. 36.

Judd, N. M., *Archeological Observations North of the Rio Colorado*. Bull. 82, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., Washington, 1926, p. 147, pl. 51.

from a hard wood and are slightly oval in cross-section. The sides are fairly flat but the edges are well rounded. The long way of the stick is not straight. They are either slightly crescentic like a boomerang or tend towards an S-shape (fig. 8). Down the center on each side, running from end to end, are four deep parallel grooves. These are not always continuous and may be broken at one or two places. Possibly this is due to the fact that at intervals of varying distance most of the clubs have, or did have, encircling wrappings of sinew, probably so placed to prevent the object from cracking. The makers occasionally went so far as to make a groove around the stick where these wrappings were placed. Some have a deeper groove or notch at one end which may have been for the purpose of attaching a wrist cord. Practically all show traces of a pitch bumper at the opposite end from the cord notch.

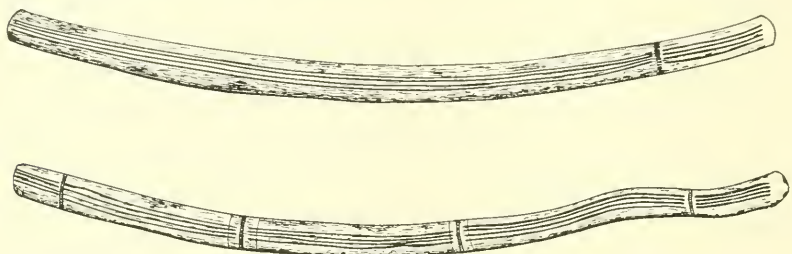


FIG. 8.—Two forms of grooved clubs found in the caves. (About $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size.)

Such clubs are frequently referred to as rabbit sticks, because of their apparent likeness to clubs used by some of the modern southwestern Indians in hunting rabbits, but in certain specific features they are not comparable to them. Inasmuch as this subject has been discussed at some length elsewhere,¹ it will not be necessary to consider it in detail here. Guernsey and Kidder have pointed out the relation between clubs of this sort and the atlatl in the Basket Maker cultures, and also as noted in some of the sculptures of Yucatan, in which figures are depicted holding such an implement as well as bundles of spears and spear-throwers. It is in this connection that the suggestion was made that they may have been used as a weapon of defense in warding off spears. They would also have made a fairly good offensive weapon at close quarters for delivering a bruising or crushing blow.

Clubs of the same kind have been found at other localities in the El Paso area. An almost identical one was recovered from a cave near Carlsbad, New Mexico, in 1924 by Dr. Willis T. Lee and is at

¹ Guernsey and Kidder, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

present in the U. S. National Museum.¹ It was collected at the same time as the netting mentioned in a previous paragraph. Another fine specimen is that figured by Dr. Hough in his Upper Gila paper.² Mr. De Meir of Las Cruces found it at the same time as the sandals already described. Still another example was found in New Mexico, in an old shrine near Laguna pueblo, by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons.³ It probably was never used at Laguna, but likely was found in some cave and because of the fact that it belonged to the "old" people, was deposited in the war god shrine as an offering of considerable significance.

The few planting sticks found in the caves are very simple in form. They consist of a long, straight stick of hard wood slightly flattened and pointed at one end. There is nothing unusual in this type of implement and its only interest here lies in showing that the people were at least partially agriculturists.

One of the most attractive specimens in Mr. Stafford's collection⁴ is the basketry armlet. The base was made of basketry upon which was placed a rather crude mosaic of turquoise chips (pl. 5, fig. 1). Several of the latter had been used as pendants, or at least intended for such a purpose, as they were perforated at one end for suspension. The pieces of turquoise were held in place by a thick layer of pitch, possibly piñon gum.

The abalone shell pendants and fragments from two combs with shell mosaic ornamentation are illustrated in plate 5, figure 2. The combs were made from wood, and as in the case of the armlet, the mosaic pieces were held in position by some pitchy substance.

Beads from the locality are of several kinds. Some were made from turquoise, a few from bone, others from shell, olivella, abalone and clam; a few were made from seeds, and quite a number from a fairly hard, fine-grained white stone suggestive of the southwestern form of alabaster. Most of the beads, excepting of course the olivella shells, are of the flat cylindrical shape but an occasional one is found which has an elongated oval form with the perforation at one end. The latter might even be classed as small pendants.

¹ U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 330644.

² Hough, W., Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of the upper Gila River Region, New Mexico and Arizona. Bull. 87, U. S. Nat. Mus., Washington, 1914, p. 19, fig. 21.

U. S. Nat. Mus. Cat. No. 215429.

³ Parsons, E. C., War God Shrines of Laguna and Zuñi. Amer. Anthrop., N. S., Vol. 20, No. 4, Lancaster, 1918, p. 385, fig. 39.

⁴ The collection has since been sold to Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Alves, El Paso, Texas.

The few fragments of pottery picked up were interesting because they are from a type of vessel which seems to center, more or less, in the El Paso area. It is a very sandy, dark red ware with a dull black painted decoration. The writer has found fragments from vessels of the same kind at many sites in the neighborhood of El Paso, and has seen sherds and vessels of the same type from the Mimbres Valley in southwestern New Mexico. There seems to be no question but that it is prehistoric pottery and that it belongs in the period of the great era in Pueblo development, but its extent—the area of its distribution—is a problem still to be worked out.

This brief description of the caves and the objects from them is not intended to be in any sense an exhaustive or complete report on a new archeological phase in the Southwest, but is presented purely as an announcement of recent developments in the area. There are puzzling problems which can be solved only by additional work in the region. Many features indicate a culture comparable to that of the Basket Makers, the predecessors of the Pueblo-Cliff-Dweller peoples of the San Juan region. This is especially marked in the spear shafts, curved clubs, sandals, and netting. Other factors point toward a later period and a possible connection with some of the nomadic groups of the region. Unquestionably there is some mixture of early and late material in these sites but unfortunately the stratigraphic evidence was lost during the excavations. From what could be learned of the positions in which the objects were buried, it seems fairly certain that the potsherds and triangular-shaped frames which are thought to have been used in the making of ceremonial headdresses do not belong with the other objects but represent a later horizon. Of this we cannot be sure, however, until further investigations bring more evidence to light.

On the present meager evidence the writer is inclined to suggest that there is in this section of the Southwest the northern fringes of a culture analogous to the Basket Makers of the San Juan, but which had its fullest development in the northern Mexico region; a culture closely related to that represented by the material from the Coahuila caves. The sites as a whole open up a new and interesting field for future investigation, one which should be carefully worked, not only that a thorough knowledge of the remains of the region may be obtained, but that the relationships existing between the peoples of this area and those to the north and south may be determined.