Glenmore in Queensland, which his descendants still hold. His thirty three years in Mexico had not, perhaps, justified his youthful hopes of prosperity, but in his diaries, journals and other manuscripts we have informative glimpses of an economic progress made with difficulty and danger in a time of violent unrest in the Mexican Republic.

THE NAVAHO-SPANISH PEACE: 1720's—1770's*

By FRANK D. REEVE

DURING the eighteenth century, the region of Cebolleta Mountain in west central New Mexico, topped by Mt. Taylor,[1] became an area for conflict between two peoples of markedly different cultures, the Navaho and the Spanish—the one classed as pagans by the Christian world, the other devoted followers of Jesus Christ. The former with only a simple concept of a usufructary right in land and water, the latter believing in outright ownership under legal grant from His Majesty, their political sovereign.[2] These concepts clashed when the two peoples met, despite a degree of good intentions to the contrary on both sides.

Writing early in the century when the Spanish and Navahos were at war, Fray Antonio de Miranda placed on record an interesting statement: "they who made use of me in order that I shall obtain peace for them were the Apaches of Navaho who brought me a holy cross which I sent to General Don Francisco Cuerbo." These Navahos said that they had seen a painted cross on the road to the Moqui Pueblos.[3]

* ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES: A. C.—Edward E. Ayer Collection of Spanish Colonial documents, Newberry Library, Chicago; typewritten copies. A. G. I.—Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. A. G. N.—Archivo General y Publico de la Nación (Mexico). B. L.—Bancroft Library, University of California. B. N. M.—Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico. N. M. A.—New Mexico Archives, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico. F. L. O.—Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico (The University of New Mexico Library has a microfilm copy of these documents).

1. For further details see Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navaho Geography," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 31:290-309 (October, 1956).

2. Cf. Gladys A. Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians: with some attention to minor ceremonies*, pp. 89-95. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Writing as of the present day, Miss Reichard states that, "Our property ideas are so utterly different from those of the Navajo that there seems to be hardly any principle intelligible to the natives which an official might follow no matter how fair-minded he might be," p. 93.

I assume that there has been no fundamental change in Navaho concepts of property, and that the present understanding applies to the eighteenth century. History supports the assumption.

3. Miranda to Marques de la Peñuela, Laguna, November 25, 1707. A. G. N., *Provincias Internas 36*, Expediente 2, f 84.

A quarter century later, Bishop Benito Crespo was hopeful of converting the Navahos to Christianity, "both because they plant and because of their great worship of the holy [cross], which they keep in their houses like the Jicarillas mentioned above." Crespo to Viceroy Juan Vázquez de Acuña, Bernalillo, September 8, 1730, in Eleanor B. Adams, ed., *Bishop Tamaron's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760*, p. 98. University of New Mexico, 1954 (Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, vol. 15). Also in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vols. 28-29 (April 1953, January 1954).

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The Spanish of course since the days of Fray Alonso Benavides had had relations with both the Moquinos and the Navahos, and the latter had learned that the cross of the white man signified peace, although the cross in form was an Indian design also.

This incident in the days of Fray Antonio had little carryover insofar as converting the Navahos to Christianity was concerned, but the nearness of their location to the Pueblos of Acoma, the new one officially established at Laguna in 1699, and Jemez, made it inevitable that some day Christian missionaries would be among them. During the second and third quarters of the century a period of prolonged peace reigned between the pagan and the Christian. Trade was carried on and visits of the former to Christian centers became commonplace. The missionary early took advantage of this opportunity, of which hints are found in the records of the period. For instance, in 1744 at Jemez Pueblo the *Padre* "catechized the pagans who were accustomed to enter in peace." And at the Pueblo of Zia, lower down the Jemez Valley, lived a former captive of the Navahos who had been restored to her own people by the Spanish. She, "La Galvana," had resided with her captors so many years that sentiment led them to visit her occasionally, and the resident missionary "catechized some of them."[4]

Meanwhile Benito Crespo, Bishop of Durango, made a visit to New Mexico in 1730 with an eye to asserting control of the secular church over religious affairs in place of the Franciscan missionaries. The time and circumstances were not propitious for any such change. On the contrary, stiff opposition was offered by the pioneers in this mission field against relinquishing control of their century old position. But in his leisurely journeying through the province, Bishop Crespo saw possibilities for further work among the pagans. "The said pueblos of Acoma and Laguna," he wrote, "can be

4. Declaration of Fray Juan Miguel de Menchero [Santa Barbara, May 10, 1744]. "Documentos para la Historia del Nuevo Mexico." A. G. N., *Historia 25*, f233v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). Also printed in Charles Wilson Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. 3. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937.

well administered by one minister, for they are only four short leagues of flat terrain from one another. I must place before the Christian and pious consideration of your Excellency the fact that with zealous workers, they will be able to obtain great increase in Christianity because the place of the pagans, called Cebolletas, is within seven leagues of the pueblo of Laguna."[5] He was also aware that the kinsmen of the Cebolleta Navahos, living far to the north, were a fertile field for missionary work. They were peaceful and all that was needed, so he believed, were representatives of the Christian church who would speak their language and labor with zeal among them because they were a farming people and already familiar with the Cross.[6]

Bishop Crespo's reference to the northern Navahos was not without some bearing on the future mission field at Cebolleta, but it was not solely missionary zeal that brought the northern group into this relation. The notion of rich silver mines in the mountainous country of northwestern New Mexico had been in the air for a number of years, at least as early as 1740. When the Mallet brothers returned to French Louisiana in that year, after a year's sojourn in New Mexico, they carried a letter from Santiago Roibal (or Roybal) wherein it was written that "we are not farther away than 200 leagues from a very rich mine, abounding in silver, called Chiquagua [Chiguagua], where the inhabitants of this country often go to trade. . . ."[7]

Don Santiago's interest in the matter was more than academic, so he accompanied the expedition of 1743 that set forth to find the silver in the land of the Chiguagua who lived northwest of the Province of Navaho. The expedition was guided by an Indian named Luís who professed to know the location of the treasure. But the searchers were disappointed. The only tangible results of the trip was a friendly and informative visit with the Navahos and probably the naming of

5. Crespo to Vázquez de Acuña, Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

6. The Bishop of Durango (1731), A. G. I., *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, 104-2-11 (A. C.). And Adams, *op. cit.*

7. Father Sant Iago de Rebald, vicar and ecclesiastical judge in New Mexico to Father Beaubois, in Henry Folmer, "Contraband trade between Louisiana and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 16:262. Also 15:91.

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the mountain range which is still known as La Platta (the Silver Mountain).[8]

Don Santiago, Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge in New Mexico, was the representative of the Bishop of Durango. There was a running dispute, although intermittent in occurrence, between the Bishop of Durango and the Franciscan Order concerning the question of jurisdiction in the province of New Mexico. The latter were stubbornly insisting that it was still a mission field and properly under their control.[9] The presence of Don Santiago on this journey had no direct influence on the subsequent Franciscan missionary work among these Navahos, but the spur to action was felt from another quarter, the competition of the Jesuits who had been granted jurisdiction over the Moqui province by a royal cedula of July 19, 1741. The scarcity of missionaries in their ranks and other difficulties barred immediate action, so the province was restored to the Franciscans in 1745.[10] Meanwhile the latter had not been idle in the matter, and had visited the Moqui. Then they turned their attention to the Navahos.

The Commissioner-General of the Franciscans, Fray Pedro Navarrete, ordered the mission project to be undertaken. In the inclement season of March, 1744, the sixty-seven

8. P. S. Dn. Santtiago Roibal, Clerigo Presbytero Domiciliario del obispado de Durango Vicario y Juez ecleciastico de este Reyno, in Sarjento Maiôr Don Joachin Códallos y Rabál Gobernador y Capitan General de la Nueva Mexico, Testimonio â la letra de los Auttos que originales se remiten al superior Gobiernor del Exmo Señor Conde de Fuenclara . . . Sobre La Reducion de los Yndios gentiles de la Provincia de Navajo al gremio de Nuestra Santta Madre Yglecia, Febrero 26, 1745. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 24 (B. L.).

A part of this ms. has been translated with some errors and published in W. W. Hill, *Some Navaho Culture Changes During Two Centuries*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1940. Reprinted from Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections vol. 100 (whole number). Roibal's testimony of the journey is omitted.

For a short biography of Roibal see Fray Angélico Chávez, "El Vicario Don Santiago Roybal," *El Palacio*, 55:231-252 (August, 1948).

9. A detailed discussion of this jurisdictional problem can be found in the Introduction to Adams, *op. cit.* For a broader discussion see Robert Charles Padden, "The Ordenanza del Patronazgo, 1574: An Interpretative Essay." *The Americas*, 12:333-354 (April, 1956).

10. Hackett, *Historical Documents . . .*, 3:394 note; 417.

The story of the Moqui mission can be read in Henry W. Kelly, "Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 15:345-368 (October, 1940), 16:41-69 (January, 1941).

year old Fray Carlos Delgado, with Fray José Yrigoyen as companion, left Isleta for the Navaho country, traveling by way of Jemez Pueblo which was Fray José's mission. The two Padres spent six days with the Navahos on their mesa-top homes in the canyons of northwestern New Mexico, preaching the gospel, and distributing gifts to promote the good work. The Indians who assembled to hear the Padres all embraced Christianity, so it was reported. In the zealous eyes of the missionaries, they numbered five thousand,[11] a figure that traveled through official channels of communication and eventually reached the King himself.

Meanwhile, one tangible result came from this entry to the Province of Navaho. Some Indian Captains promised to visit Santa Fe at the time of the full moon, and they were as good as their word. Fray Carlos presented them to the Governor, Joachín Códallos y Rabál (1743-49), who proceeded to take them "under the royal protection as vassals of a king so Catholic that he would protect and defend them from all their enemies."[12]

Both the Governor and the missionaries were eager to follow up this promising beginning toward bringing the pagans into the folds of the Church. Recommendations were sent through both civil and ecclesiastical channels that three or

11. Fray Carlos Delgado to Pedro Navarrete, Isleta, June 18, 1744. A. G. N., *Historia 25*, f216 (pt. 2, N. M. A.). And in Hackett, *Historical Documents . . .*, 3:392f. Yrigoyen to Navarette, Jemez, June 21, 1744. *Ibid.*, 3:414. *Historia 25, op. cit.*, f219.

Fray Carlos Delgado to Fogueras (commissary general), Isleta, June 10, 1745. B. N. M., *legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 19, N. M. A.).

The eyes of Fray Carlos were not so blinded with apostolic fervor that he was not aware of the realities involved in the task of converting the Navahos. So he was of the opinion that "until more [goods are available, such as beads, ribbons, tobacco, etc.], they will be more effectively converted with arms, which, accompanied by words, produce an effect and accomplish a great deal." June 18, 1744, *op. cit.*

12. Delgado to Navarrete, Isleta, June 18. *Op. cit.*

Fray Gabriel de la Hoviela Velarde to Fray Pedro Navarette. El Paso del Norte, July 12, 1744. B. N. M., *Legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 14, N. M. A.).

There is some discrepancy in the dates concerning this visit to the Navahos. Fray Carlos stated that he left Isleta on March 3 for the Province of Navaho and that the Indians promised to visit the Spanish at the full moon. This lunar phase occurred on March 28, and April 26, 1744 (Letter from H. M. Nautical Almanac Office, England, April 20, 1956). Fray Gabriel stated that he sent Fray Carlos to the Province in *May*. This implies that two trips were made. The total evidence is clear however that this could not have been. A copyist's error on the date may have occurred in one of the Padres' letters.

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four missionaries should be assigned to the new field. The reasons advanced were that the Indians had clearly revealed a desire to become Christians, that they wanted missions established in their homeland, and that they had lived at peace with the Spanish for a number of years. The Viceroy responded in October with instructions to the Governor of New Mexico that further investigation be made of the project.[13] Interest in the matter was increased by Fray Carlos' statement that the appearance of the Navaho country gave promise of mineral wealth. But the promise of such wealth played no part in the outcome of the mission work.

Governor Códallos y Rabál held extensive hearings in February and early March of 1745. New Mexicans who had entered the Province of Navaho at various times for the past four decades gave testimony in considerable detail on the nature of the country and the character of the people. While this investigation was in progress, the Franciscans were also active in keeping with the viceregal order of the previous October.

Fray Francisco Sanchez arrived at Isleta Pueblo on February 18, 1745, bearing a patent from the Father Custodian to visit the missions of New Mexico. He also brought dispatches for the Governor and one for Fray Carlos. These were to the effect that the latter should give aid promptly for another trip to Navaho to sound out the attitude of the Indians. Weather permitting, he was anxious to do so.

March 23 found Fray Carlos at Santa Ana Pueblo ready to leave on his mission when an unexpected difficulty arose. The worthy Padre apparently had not secured formal permission from Fray Francisco. The resulting dispute dragged on for nearly a month. The Governor sided with Fray Carlos and helped to break the deadlock through conferences in Santa Fe. Fray Carlos finally left Isleta on April 21, once more

13. Delgado to Navarette, June 18, 1744. *Historia 25*, f244 (pt. 3, N. M. A.); same in Hackett, *Historical Documents . . .*, 3:394. Delgado *Report* to Conde de Fuenclara, quoted in latter's statement, October 3, 1744. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 24 (B. L.).

The Governor of New Mexico had used the figure of 4,000 for the Navajo in his report. However, the current estimate of the Navahos ranged from 2,000 to 4,000. Joachín Códallos y Rabál, Santa Fe, June 16, 1744. A. G. I., *Audiencia de Mexico, 89-2-17* (A. C.).

bound for the Navaho country in company with Fray José Yrigoyen and Fray Pedro Ygnacio del Pino.[14]

The trip to the northwest was not without hardships, which was no doubt true of many of the pioneer missionary trips. The mule bearing supplies fell in the Rio Santa Ana, causing some damage to the cargo. Furthermore, the Rio Puerco of the East was not the damp arroyo of late summer, but held sufficient water to serve as an unwelcome barrier to travelers: "We crossed it undressed and with considerable risk of our lives." Continuing their journey, the Friars arrived at a spring which they named "Nuestra Señora," which was one league distant from the first settlement of the Navahos. This could have been the San José spring of later days or, more likely, Amarillo Spring near the head of Cañon Largo. Here a Navaho chief met the party.

The Navahos had been informed that the missionaries were coming with soldiers to destroy them. The tale bearer was a native of Jemez Pueblo. To this rumor Fray Carlos replied that the informant was the devil in disguise. So he and his companions continued peacefully on their way, visiting the people in various localities and distributing gifts among them. A few rosaries, some beads, an occasional necklace and considerable ribbon were used to gain goodwill.

At a Navaho "Pueblo" named *los Collotes* (the coyotes), a large number of Indians gathered. In confirmation of their desire to become Christians, which they had expressed the year before, some of the leading men now asked for baptism. This step Fray Carlos refused to take without direct orders from his Superior, but he did feel qualified to baptize sick people, so two adults and five children were given this rite of the Church. At least this was the account given to Fray Juan Fogueras in a report prepared at Isleta on June 10. Testifying on an earlier occasion, the missionary stated that he had baptized a chief, his wife, and five sons (without mentioning

14. Fray Francisco at least went through the formality of issuing an order for the trip to the Province of Navaho. Santa Fe, April 5, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). Delgado to Fogueras, Isleta, June 10, 1745. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 19, N. M. A.). The controversy is discussed at length in this document. Fray Francisco's order named Fray Pedro Ygnacio Pino as Delgado's second companion, but he states that Fray Juan Joseph de Toledo was his companion.

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the matter of illness) and that he "would have baptized many more if he had remained longer in the Province."[15]

Meanwhile, Fray Miguel Menchero, Solicitor General of the Missions of New Mexico, had read the reports from the north concerning the new mission field. He was sent to New Mexico as *visitador* by Fray Juan Fogueras, and soon proved to be a welcome and vigorous addition to the ranks of the pioneer missionaries in the Navaho country. At least he acquired a halo of goodwill from Fray Carlos: "He has been a rainbow of peace in the turbulent storm that occurred in regard to those whom we had converted in the year '44 in the province of Navajoo."[16]

The Governor was co-operative in supplying a military escort and other necessities for mission work. Sometime in June, Fray Miguel started on the trip in company with Fray Carlos, Fray José Yrigoyen, and Fray Pedro Ygnacio del Pino, all escorted by Don Bernardo Antonio de Bustamente y Tagle, *Theniente General* of New Mexico, with a detachment of twelve soldiers. Travelling the well-known route that had been blazed by Fray Carlos, they arrived in due time at their destination—the scattered *rancherías* of the Navaho nation in the southeastern tributaries of the Rio San Juan. Moving around the Province, they preached the gospel and distributed more gifts. At the *Pueblo Españoles*, eight children were baptized. The demonstrations of the Indians were so favorable toward receiving the Holy words that the Friars were overcome with emotion and not able to chant the *Te Deum Laudamus*.

15. Fray Delgado on Navaho mission project, May 12, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). Delgado to Fogueras, Isleta, June 10, 1745. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 19, N. M. A.).

There is no doubt about the baptisms having taken place. The one additional note is that they received "instruction," a procedure that became a point of concern to some Franciscans later. Fray Juan Miguel Menchero, *Statement*, Santa Barbara, September 15, 1745. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 18, N. M. A.).

While Fray Carlos was preparing his report, the Alcalde Mayor of Jemez arrived with a story that six Navahos had come to Jemez with the news that one of the baptized Navahos had died. This confirms the statement of Fray Carlos that he had baptized sick people. The news pleased him. He looked upon the event as the "first fruits" of his work. *Ibid.*, doc. 19.

16. Delgado, *et al.* to Fogueras, Isleta, July 11, 1746. Hackett, *Historical Documents . . .*, 3:421; or *Historia 25*, f250v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). Menchero, *Informe*. Santa Barbara, November 20, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.).

The long interval between the visits of the missionaries had made the pagans a bit doubtful of their good intentions. But they were now appeased by the renewed effort of the Friars to carry out their professed intentions to bring them into the fold of the Church. They not only listened to the words of the Gospel with attention, but they also received with pleasure the more tangible evidence of what the proposed new way of life held for them. They were given rosaries and Christian relics for their spiritual life; hoes, needles and tobacco to satisfy their material desires; and a variety of items to appease their vanity, such as glass beads, necklaces, ribbon, and scarlet capes. The ribbon amounted to about one thousand Spanish yards in length.[17] If the other items were in comparable quantity, the Indians had been treated generously. The capes were probably distributed only among the few.

On the return trip from the Navaho Province, Fray Juan Miguel with the military escort turned aside at the Holy Ghost Spring, near the southwest end of Nacimiento Mountain, and traveled to the Pueblo of Laguna. His goal was Cebolleta Mountain where another large group of Navahos had lived for many years. Departing from Laguna with Fray Juan Garcia and Fray Juan Joseph Padilla, the party arrived at their destination on June 30. Fray Juan Miguel went to work in great earnest. He delivered three sermons in as many hours, and recorded the conversion of all the people, or more than 500. But he did not baptize any adults; only the children, and they were volunteers. Don Bernardo Antonio, *Theniente General*, Don Gerónimo de Zevallos, Alcalde Mayor of Laguna and Acoma, and some soldiers held the children in their arms

17. *Testimony* taken at Isleta in July, 1746, from Bustamente, *et al.* B. N. M., *Legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 82, N. M. A.). A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). Fray Juan José Pérez Mirabal to Commissary General Fray Juan Fogueras, Isleta, July 8, 1746. A. G. N., *Historia 25*, f249v (pt. 3, N. M. A.) or Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:420-421). Delgado *et al.* to Fogueras, Isleta, July 11, 1746, *op. cit.*

The name of *Pueblo Españoles* was derived from Doña Agustina de Peralta and Doña Juana Almassan who were taken captive at the time of the Pueblo revolt of 1680. See above *Testimony*. This implies of course that the Navahos were involved in that uprising.

Fray Juan Miguel Menchero was credited with being generous in distributing gifts among the Navahos in 1746 without cost to the royal treasury. Bernardo Antonio de Bustamente y Tagle, "Testimonial," B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 45, N. M. A.).

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during the baptismal rites, thereby acting as Godfathers. Twenty-seven were so gathered into the Church. They were given presents for co-operating in the ceremony. With this heartening success, the Friars returned to the mission of St. Joseph at Laguna and sang *Te Deum Laudamus*. Then they moved to St. Stephens at Acoma and sang mass.[18]

While the missionaries were laboring among the pagans, the civil government was studying reports and coming to a decision about the new mission project. A year and a half after Fray Carlos first entered the Province of Navaho in 1744 and reported that 5,000 souls had been won for the Church, the King ordered that all necessary aid be furnished for the mission project and that a detailed progress report be sent to him.[19] In keeping with the royal instructions, the Viceroy issued the decree of June 28, 1746, directing the Franciscans to establish four missions in the Province of Navaho.[20] But neither the zeal of Fray Juan Miguel nor the will of the Viceroy could bring about the successful establishment of the proposed missions.

A number of factors interfered with the project. The Utes on the northern frontier, and border tribes elsewhere, erupted and taxed the military resources of New Mexico. The Governor, therefore, was unable to provide immediately the military protection for the proposed missions. Fray Juan Miguel himself took time out to accompany a military expedition against the Gila Apaches, operating from the Presidio at El Paso in the summer of 1747.[21] By December of this year, he was again at Isleta. Evidence of his previous missionary activities awaited him.

A Navaho had arrived from *Los Coyotes* where the Friar had baptized a few children. At that time the wife of this

18. *Testimony* taken at Isleta in July, 1746, *op. cit.* Menchero wrote of "my missionaries in the conquest of the province of Navajo and the new conversion of the nation of the Cebolletas in their rugged and uncultivated mountain. . . ." A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.).

19. Instructions to Viceroy Conde de Fuenclara, San Lorenzo, November 23, 1745. A. G. I., *Guadalajara 235* (N. M. A.). The same in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:416.

20. B. N. M., *Legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 38, N. M. A.)

21. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2:218ff. The Torch Press, 1914. 2 vols. H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 245. San Francisco, 1888.

Navaho was pregnant. The father now wanted the new born infant baptized. With Don Nicholas Chaves and his wife acting as God parents for the Indian child, the appropriate rites were performed. In due time the Navaho returned home, stating that he was coming back with some friends and other people. As of June 15, 1748, he had not returned.

Prior to this event, and during Fray Juan Miguel's absence from New Mexico, his associates, in some way not clearly revealed, had had contact with the people in the Province of Navaho. The Navahos in turn (at least some leaders) had led the missionaries to believe, and the Governor too, that they would come to Santa Fe to be missionized in the spring of 1748. They had not done so.

Fray Juan Miguel was tempted to visit the Navaho once more to clinch the matter, but several reasons weighed against it. New Mexico was suffering from a drought, so springs were dry. This made travel difficult for both man and beast. He also seemed a bit uncertain about what Navahos had obligated themselves which, in view of their scattered settlements, might cause him to miss them. In other words, they might be traveling to Santa Fe by way of the Piedra Lumbre while he was moving northward from Jemez. And then he had the new Pueblo of Sandia on his mind. There he was trying to settle about 350 Pueblo folk who had been brought back from the Moqui Province after a number of years of exile.[22]

Conditions by the summer of 1748 led Fray Juan Miguel to change his mind about immediate plans for the Navahos. For one thing he had completed the task of settling the Moquinos at Sandia Pueblo. Then a Navaho, probably Fernando de Orcazitas, visited him with a renewed request for a mission. So sometime during the following months he did bring some Indians from the northern province to a new homesite in the Cebolleta region. Writing early in 1749 or late 1748, he stated that despite the inability of Governor Codállos y Rabál

22. Menchero to Fray Lorenzo Anttonio de Estremera, Santa Fe, April 20, 1748. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 50, N. M. A.). Menchero Petition to Governor, June 15, 1748. *Ibid.* (doc. 45). Governor to Viceroy, Santa Fe, June 15, 1748. *Ibid.*

Documents on the Sandia resettlement project are translated in Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 2:220-225.

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to fulfill the commands of the Viceroy in 1746 that a military escort be provided for the proposed missions, he had acted independently: "I took the step in compliance with my obligation to seek the said Indians and to bring them to the place opposite of the point of the compass, which is the South, of the said province of Navaho. . . ."[23]

Just when the migration took place is not specified. But the fact that it was done is supported by the report of Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún who, writing in 1760, alludes to the heathen Indians at Cebolleta, among whom he worked in 1748, as being both Apaches and Navahos, thus distinguishing between the Navaho of the Province of Navaho and those who had long lived on and along the base of the Cebolleta Mountain. Fray Juan Miguel had drawn the same distinction when he first visited Cebolleta in 1746. Of course both groups were Apaches in the eyes of the Spanish (or Navaho, if you prefer), and belonged to the same linguistic group, namely Athapaskan.[24]

The Navahos were suffering from the effects of a drought in 1748. With inadequate crops, they had been forced to draw heavily upon their livestock for subsistence. This no doubt made some of them more amenable to the missionaries' suggestion that they move to the Cebolleta region.[24a]

In the fall of 1748, Fray Juan Miguel had petitioned the Governor to accompany him to select mission sites in the Cebolleta Mountain area and also to examine the people and land farther north. The Governor was physically incapacitated at the time, so he commissioned "Theniente del Alcalde Mayor" and War Captain of Laguna and Acoma, Don Pedro Romero, to do the job. Fray Juan Miguel, Fray Juan Joseph

23. In statement of Don Juan Francisco de Guemmes y Horcacitas, Conde de Revilla Gigedo (Viceroy 1746-1755), Mexico, October 18, 1749. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 80 (B. L.).

The Spanish reads: tome la providencia en complimiento de mi obligacion de buscar â dicho Yndio, y â traer los p.r la parte ôpuesta de el rumbo que es, el sur, de la dicha Provincia por donde no los ymbaden sus enemigos tanto, y ofresen mayores comodidades su cituacion que es la Sierra de la Cebolleta. . . ."

24. Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún, *Noticias*, 1760. A. G. N., *Historia 25*, f41 (pt. 1, N. M. A.); or Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:471.

24a. Gov. Códallos y Rabál, "Statement," Santa Fe, July 20, 1748. N. M. A., doc. 494 (1748-1751).

de Padilla, Fray Juan Joseph Toledo, accompanied by Don Fernando de Orcazitas, Captain General of the Navaho people, traveled together to the proposed mission site where the Friars had already laid the seed for their work. The party was escorted by Don Juan Phelipe de Ribera, Lieutenant of the Santa Fe Presidio, with a force of ten regular soldiers, ten residents from the Albuquerque district, and twenty-five Pueblo Indians. Leaving Laguna Pueblo about November 9, they arrived at Cebolleta Canyon, a distance of six to seven leagues to the north, where they received a cordial welcome from the Navaho people.

Entering the "Jacal de su morada," or sheltered assembly place, the group seated themselves on the ground and Fray Juan Miguel proceeded to explain the purpose of his visit, speaking through interpreters. The Indians present professed to understand him. With this auspicious beginning, Fray Juan Miguel retired to his tent for a rest.

Early the next morning, the real work began. A variety of gifts were first distributed to the adults and children: ribbon, religious relics, rosaries, crosses, medals, bells, beads, necklaces, elk skin for shoes, some caps, false pearls, garnets, sugar, hoes, tobacco, and other items. With the preliminaries ended, the missionary preached to the multitude. Then the several Spaniards present advanced with a child in arm to be baptized. The ceremonies lasted until sunset, when eighty-one children had received the Holy rites. The next day nineteen more children were baptized, making a grand total of 100.

The religious service was followed by civil proceedings, since these people were of interest to both the church and state. The two prominent Navahos present were given a baton in token of their leadership. They were then advised that at a future date they should visit the Governor in Santa Fe for official confirmation of their political status. In this fashion the Spanish began the policy of trying to instill into the minds of the Navahos some understanding of political unity and responsibility of leadership as understand and practised by the white men.

All the Navaho people in the Cebolleta region were not

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present on this occasion. Winter snow, the scattered nature of their way of life, and a touch of measles prevented a grand assembly.[25] Nor did the ceremonies mean that a permanent mission had been established, and least of all a pueblo. But a site for a mission church was selected. It was probably near the mouth of Cebolleta Canyon, the location of the present-day village of Cebolleta. The Navahos lived on top of Cebolleta Mountain and in the adjacent canyons. The distances given by contemporaries of six to seven leagues from Laguna to the Cebolleta mission is approximately the distance today from Laguna to the village. It may be that some of those present were migrants from the north.

The Franciscans were still thinking in terms of four missions in the Navaho country, but that was coming to be an impossibility. Four missionaries had been approved and their stipends provided, but the physical difficulties in the undertaking and the Indian way of life worked against success.

The Presidio at Santa Fe had been reduced from a complement of 100 men to eighty some years before. The drought and border warfare had reduced their effectiveness in protecting far-distant missions, and the Governor thought of the Province of Navaho as being ninety or so leagues distant from Santa Fe. This was an over-estimate, but at the best the protection of missions on the Rio San Juan, where they were originally planned, no doubt would have created a military problem, despite an earlier judgment to the contrary.[26]

Further reasons advanced for abandoning the northern mission field was the normal scarcity of water and the limited acreage for irrigation. This may have been the rationalization of a faint heart, although the Franciscans had revealed very little of that attitude in general. Fray Juan Miguel and his associates had actually visited the valley of the Rio San Juan, but I suspect that it was the upper stretch where irrigation was less practicable; so in abandoning the northern field, Fray Juan was thinking in terms of the narrow canyons in

25. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 85, N. M. A.). Varo, *Report*, January, 1749. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 57, pp. 8, 9, N. M. A.).

26. Phelipe Romero, *Declaration*, Mexico, November 12, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). He was of the opinion that a detachment of fifteen men and the Navajos themselves could ward off Ute enemies.

the Province of Navaho where land and water were distinctly at a premium.[26a]

Accepting the realities of the situation, Fray Juan Miguel recommended that the missions proposed for the Province of Navaho be abandoned and that locations for them be selected in the Cebolleta country where mission work had actually been started, and even a site selected for one church at Cebolleta. Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín (1749-1754) approved the proposal in May, 1749, and the following October the change was approved by the Viceroy, but only for two missions[27] rather than the long dreamed of four.

Fray Juan Miguel had made another trip to Moqui in order to bring more of those people to the valley of the Rio Grande. The results were very disappointing. In a subsequent hearing on the matter, witnesses testified that the expedition had not touched at Cebolleta for reasons not known to them. But that is aside the point. Most of them agreed that the Navahos of Cebolleta wanted a mission, and that the location was suitable for two. This was the revised project that the Viceroy approved.[28]

The visit to the Governor at Santa Fe that had been stipulated at the time of the conversion rites at Cebolleta was carried out by some Navaho leaders in September of 1749. They were evasive when questioned about settling down at a mission site in the Cebolleta area. The Governor finally stated that he would wait until their crop of maiz was harvested, then he would visit them with the missionaries. He was as good as his word. The Governor, Fray Juan Miguel, Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún, Fray Manuel Bermejo, and the Navaho Captain Don Fernando Orcasitas, who probably served as

26a. In the Nineteenth century the Navajos took possession of the San Juan valley below the old mountainous region where they had been more secure from Ute attacks by living on the mesa tops. "The crop was raised upon one of the bottom holes along the San Juan, cultivated without irrigation, watered only during a high stage of the river. The corn tassels were of the height of a rider's head upon horseback." Lieut. C. A. H. McCauley, *Report of the San Juan Reconnoissance of 1877*. 45 cong., 3 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, pt. 2, p. 1768 [1846].

27. Cachupín, Order, May 4, 1749. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 61, N. M. A.). Statement of Don Juan Francisco de Guemmes y Horcasitas, October 18, 1749. Note 23 above. Fray Carlos Delgado had been confident in 1745 that missions could be established in the meadows (vegas) along the Rio San Juan. Testimony of May 12, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.).

28. *Ibid.*

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interpreter, arrived at a site named Encinal on October 20 (possibly the 21st) where some Navahos were living. These were probably migrants too. The location was a short distance north and west of Laguna. The Indians gave the visitors a friendly reception as usual but bargained over the proposition that they should adopt a settled way of life with a mission in their midst.

Two points seemed to be important to the Indians. First, they wanted protection against enemies. They no doubt had the Utes in mind. Second, they requested the Governor to act as Godfather for their children as he had done on a previous occasion for other Indian children. The Governor agreed to both proposals. With this understanding they agreed to accept Fray Juan Sanz as their resident missionary and built a brush shelter for him, finishing the job in one day. Even the Governor and the soldiers pitched in and worked on the task.

This otherwise pleasant scene was marred by an argument that occurred between Fray Manuel and Fray Juan Miguel over jurisdiction and their respective ecclesiastical status in the baptismal rites performed for the Indian children. When Fray Juan Sanz baptized a child he used the phrase, "*cum venia Parrochi.*" Fray Juan Miguel objected to this, claiming that Fray Juan Sanz was no more *parroco* at Encinal than Fray Juan Miguel himself; in fact, the latter claimed that he was *parroco* there. Fray Manuel argued to the contrary, claiming that both he and Fray Juan Sanz had priority because they had been elected by the Legitimate Prelate. But they did not push the matter to a conclusion, nor did they engage in any outburst of temper because Indians were coming and going in the Governor's tent at the time, and they did not wish to disrupt the useful work which they were both anxious to conclude after so many months if not years of frustration.

The issue of course involved the question of whether a resident mission friar should have the privilege and responsibility of baptizing members of his flock, or whether a visiting missionary enjoyed equal right, or in the case of a new mission, prior right. Fray Juan Miguel claimed to be *parroco* for the founding of the mission, but Fray Manuel argued that

Fray Juan Sanz, selected as the resident missionary, had the status of *parroco* from the the moment of his appointment to the Encinal mission.

Despite the argument over procedure, the baptismal rites were completed for the time being. Sixteen children were inducted into the Church with the Governor acting as Godfather. Fray Manuel was a bit skeptical about the proceedings, implying that these youngsters had been baptized on a previous visit from the missionaries and that their sole interest in repeating the ceremony was the lure of gifts from the white man.[29]

Moving northward to the site of Cebolleta, where they had previously labored, the good work was continued on the 25th. The argument about jurisdiction also continued, with a new issue being injected. In the first place, Fray Juan Miguel tried to clear the air about jurisdiction with the assistance of the Indians. He asked them whether or not he was their only *padre* and had preached to them on a previous occasion. They replied in the affirmative. Fray Manuel refused to be convinced. He was fearful that the Indians had been imposed upon. Furthermore he was of the opinion that Fray Carlos Delgado, Fray José Yrigoyen and Fray Pedro Ygnacio del Pino had come among these neophytes first. Fray Manuel's opinion implies that the Navahos at Cebolleta, among whom the missionaries were now laboring, were migrants from the north, since Fray Carlos Delgado had done his work in the Province of Navaho and not at Cebolleta Mountain. Fray Juan Miguel had been the pioneer preacher in the Cebolleta field, although he had also labored in the northern field. If these pagans acknowledged correctly that he was the first to come among them, the conclusion would be that they were the Cebolleta Mountain Navahos.

Another argument arose over the name of the new mission. Fray Juan Miguel wanted to name it La Concepción and St. Anthony. Fray Manuel favored San Pedro Regalado on the ground that the Custodia already had several missions named

29. Fray Manuel Bermejo to Joseph Jimeno, Santa Fe, November 18, 1749. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 55, N. M. A.). Bermejo to Custodio Fray Andre Varo, Santa Fe, November 11, 1749. *Ibid.*

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for the Holy Mother and for St. Anthony, and as resident missionary he claimed the right to decide. Just when this issue was settled is not clear. Meanwhile the Indians were holding out against the initial proposal of their visitors.

The Navahos claimed that if they consented to settle under the auspices of a resident missionary, they would be prevented from hunting as was customary; they also feared that they could not learn the doctrine of the Church, and that they would be punished for their shortcomings. Fray Manuel assured them that they could hunt at will, that they could have a month, or three months, or a year or more to learn the doctrine, and that he would not punish them; in fact, he would not even scold them for failure. On the contrary, he would teach them with patience and a generous measure of love and kindness.

To the pagan mind the offerings of the whiteman were not crystal clear, but they did go through the form of welcoming a new way of life. They accepted their appointed missionary, Fray Manuel, and gave him a shelter for a house until a church and friary could be built. As immediate evidence of success, sixteen children were baptized by Fray Juan Miguel. Then the resident missionaries carried on the work.

Fray Juan Sanz labored for nearly five months at the Encinal mission, catechising the Indians, and Fray Manuel did likewise at Cebolleta. They lived under primitive conditions, supporting the venture largely from their own pockets. To say or hear mass they were forced to travel the six or seven leagues to Laguna Pueblo. Their pleas for material aid finally brought a little maiz, some sheep and one-half pound of indigo, all for Fray Manuel. His colleague received nothing.

The Governor profited from the mission venture whether or not the Indians were becoming Christians. The missionaries complained that he carried on trade in skins and baskets with the Alcalde of Zia, Don Carlos de Bustamente, acting as agent. Since the business was legal, there was nothing that they could do about it.[30]

30. Bermejo-Lezaún, *Report*, October 29, 1750. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 8, doc. 67, N. M. A.).

The Indians at Encinal were practical enough to recognize the need for water in tilling the soil. Their supply was inadequate, so they petitioned to be removed to a better site at the spring of Cubero. This meant possible encroachment on the lands of Acoma, so the Governor thought it advisable to make an investigation before any change was carried out. Fray Manuel San Juan Nepomuceno y Trigo was asked to undertake the task in company with Don Bernardo Antonio de Bustamente, Lieutenant General.

On April 16, at Laguna Pueblo, Don Bernardo presented a letter to Fray Manuel San Juan from the Governor with information that the Indians at Encinal and Cebolleta missions had driven out the resident missionaries. Fray Manuel was asked to investigate this new development. He did so with all the formality of an official investigation.[31]

The hearings were held at Acoma in April. Witnesses to the initial meetings with the Navahos, when the mission work was started with resident missionaries, were very positive in their testimony. In reply to the words of Fray Juan Miguel Menchero offering certain inducements for a settled and Christian way of life, "They [the Indians] replied that they did not want pueblos now nor did they desire to be Christians, nor had they ever asked for the fathers; and that what they had all said in the beginning to the reverend father commissary, Fray Miguel Menchero, was that they were grown up, and could not become Christians or stay in one place because they had been raised like deer. . . ."[32] They were willing to have their children baptized, and to remain at peace and friendship with the Spanish. Maybe later on the children would accept the new way of life.

Don Pedro Romero, Lieutenant of Acoma and Laguna, stated: "They themselves knew nothing and for what was given to them they handed over their children to have their

31. Cachupín to Nepomuceno y Trigo, Santa Fe, March 24, 1750. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 66, N. M. A.). The same letter can be found in *Historia 25*, f341v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). And in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:424. Nepomuceno y Trigo to Bustamente y Tagle, n. d., *Historia 25*, f342v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). Hackett, *op. cit.*, 3:432.

32. Testimony of Capt. Don Fernando Ruyamor, Alcalde Mayor of Acoma and Laguna. Acoma, April 18, 1750. Hackett, *op. cit.*, 3:433-34. The Spanish version is in *Historia 25*, f344 (pt. 3, N. M. A.).

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heads washed with the water of baptism, and for no other reason." And he pointed out that Fray Juan Miguel had been generous with presents whereas the resident missionaries had little to give them. This materialistic view of the Navahos was supported by the interpreter. "I know all these people well [he said], for they are my people and my relatives, and I say that neither now nor ever will they be Christians. They may say yes in order to get what is offered them, but afterwards they say no."[33]

Another factor at work in causing failure in this mission field, according to some of the Franciscans, was the bad example set before the Navahos in the Spanish-Pueblo Indian relations. In an effort to get the Navaho mission on a firm foundation in short order, the Governor had drawn upon Laguna Pueblo Indians to build a church at Cebolleta, and those of Acoma to work at Encinal. This first-hand glimpse of forced labor did not please the Navahos. They saw in it the reflection of their own future. And in other ways they came to realize that all was not perfect in the Pueblo-Spanish relations. As Fray Juan Sanz recorded: "The heathen Navahos are continually coming into and going out of the pueblos, and they see iniquities and hear the clamors of the Christian Indians. There had been hopes for the conversion of the Navahos, but after having observed all this oppression, no matter how much they are preached to they will be unwilling to be reduced. . . ."[34]

A deeper reason, and one not clear to the eighteenth century missionary, was the wide gulf that lay between Christian concepts and the ingrained beliefs of the Navaho people. To the latter, as a contemporary student has phrased it, "Fear of the dead, the 'ghost,' amounts to a tribal phobia; it is the most universal of all reactions. Christianity gives the Navaho

33. *Ibid.* This rational for Indian behavior was not peculiar to civil officials. The Father Provincial, writing in March of 1750, attributed the delay in establishment of these missions to the fickleness of the Indians "who promised to be congregated and have not complied, and the cause may have been the total lack of supplies." B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 3, doc. 70, N. M. A.).

34. Lezaún, *Report*, November 4, 1760. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:474; *Historia 85*, f41 (pt. 1, N. M. A.). See also the Bermejo-Lezaún *Report* of October 29, 1750. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 3, doc. 67, N. M. A.).

as its divine hero a man become god because he is risen from the dead."[35]

The rejection of the missionaries did not mean the end of Navaho-Spanish relations. But the hope of settling them in a pueblo with a resident religious slowly faded from the Spanish mind. The church ornaments for the proposed missions were stored in care of the "Syndic of the missions." In the course of time some were given to the missions at Sandia Pueblo and the settlement at Abiquiú. Finally, in 1783, the remainder were distributed.[36]

Meanwhile, the basic relation between the two people shifted from a religious to a territorial problem. Spanish settlers slowly penetrated the valley of the Rio Puerco of the East and the Cebolleta area in mid-eighteenth century. In short, the immediate furor over the expulsion of the Franciscans had scarcely died down when the first Spanish land grant was made in the valley of the Rio Puerco.

The population of New Mexico increased very slowly in the eighteenth century, but sufficient pressure developed within the narrow confines of the Rio Grande Valley to force frontier expansion. The first movement into the valley of the Rio Puerco occurred in the 1750's. The five sons of José Montaño, unable to make a living from their few acres in the Albuquerque district, were "obliged to go out, among the nearest Indian Pueblos, to work for them, sometimes weeding their fields, sometimes bringing firewood from the

35. Gladys A. Reichard, "The Navajo and Christianity," *American Anthropologist*, n. s., 51:67 (January-March, 1949).

The Ghost Dance movement of 1890 among Western Indians was rejected by the Navaho: "For the Navaho with his almost psychotic fear of death, the dead and all connected with them, no greater cataclysm than the return of the departed or ghosts could be envisaged. In short, the Navaho were frightened out of their wits for fear the tenets of the movement were true." W. W. Hill, "The Navaho Indians and the Ghost Dance of 1890," *Ibid.*, 46:525. See also Morris Edward Opler, "The Lipan Apache Death Complex and its Extensions," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1:122-141 (1945), and "Reaction to Death among the Mescalero Apache," *Ibid.*, 2:454-467 (1946).

The story of Franciscan mission work among the Navahos in recent times can be read in Robert L. Wilken, *Anselm Weber, O. F. M.: Missionary to the Navaho 1898-1921*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1954.

36. The Father Provincial's reply of March, 1750, to Don Ant° Ornedal's *Informe*. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 3, doc. 70, N. M. A.). A. Cav^no. De Croise to Ansa, Arispe, January 24, 1783. N. M. A., doc. 853 (1782-1784).

The care of these ornaments is discussed by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez in Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, p. 274f. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956.

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mountains, for the small compensation of the few ears of corn, with which they pay, for this and other very laborious work." Their petition for a land grant was acted upon favorably by Governor Cachupín under date of November 25, 1753.

The Montaño boys were not alone in this first venture to the West. A total of twelve families, or about eighty persons, were involved including a few servants. Their settlement was officially named Nuestra Señora de la Luz, San Fernando y San Blaz. The land lay along the Rio Puerco from a point slightly south of west of Albuquerque to a boundary line approximately due west of the Pueblo of Santa Ana. The northern line enclosed a straegic water hole in the Cañon del Gueyo. Under the terms of the grant, specific lots were assigned to the families with the houses arranged in a compact form to enclose a public square with only one gate for entry, wide enough for a wagon. The arrangement was intentionally for defense since the region was known to be a route of entry for hostile enemies (the Southwestern Apaches) invading the settlements to the east.

The settlers were officially placed in possession of their land at the site of the village on December 11, 1753. Antonio Baca, Chief Alcalde, officiated at the ceremony. The grant was bounded on the north by the Zia-Laguna road, on the south by the Cerrito Colorado, on the east by the Rio Puerco Mountain (the brow) and on the west by the Mesa Prieta. Due to their failure to meet the specific terms of the grant, these settlers nearly lost possession. They petitioned for a copy of the grant papers in 1759, not having received them. Governor Don Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle (1754-1760) stipulated that the grant would be reconfirmed provided they built a settlement according to the royal regulations. They agreed, and a copy of the papers was issued by the Governor under date of January 19, 1759.[37]

Antonio Baca next located a site for a home and stock ranch in 1759. He did not acquire legal possession and petitioned three years later for a formal grant because he lacked

37. F. L. O., R49 (File 98).
A figure of seventy-four persons for this settlement is given by R. E. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 1:91f (Doc. 277).

sufficient land "to enable me to raise, pasture and maintain my herds and horses so necessary for the continual war which, in the service of both God and the King, and without pay, we maintain in this province with the savages overrunning the country, supplying ourselves at our own expense with arms, horses, ammunition and provisions, and in order to enable me to do this with greater facility and promptness." His willingness to locate in the place described was a tribute to the peacefulness, at that time, of the Navahos of Cebolleta.[38]

The Baca grant lay west of the northern part of the Montaño grant. It was bounded on the north by the Mesa Blanca Canyon, on the east by the Mesa Prieta, the south by a point on the Rio Salada, and on the west by "the high mountain, where the Navajo Apaches cultivate." The Rio Salada enters the Rio Puerco from the west at about the same point as Cañon del Gueyo from the east. The "high mountain" of the Navaho, of course, was Cebolleta Mountain. This grant was named Nuestra Señora de la Luz de las Lagunitas del Rio Puerco.

The roughness of the land made impossible a careful survey of the area, but since metes and bounds was the common method of defining boundaries, and since the settlers of the time knew what the geographical terminology meant, there was no conflict over boundaries, although there might be and actually were some disputes as to priority of possession. The normal way to prevent conflict was to have witnesses present when land was formally tendered to the owner. If there were no objections at that time, the boundaries were considered official.

The Baca grant was significant in regard to the Navahos. Under Spanish rule they were recognized as having a usufructary right to land when actually used. If there was any possibility of Navaho rights being invaded, the Alcalde Mayor also summoned them to be present as witnesses in order to

38. The Navahos had an opportunity to complain about this frontier expansion other than being present at the time and place of placing a settler in possession of a Grant. They had access to the Governor at Santa Fe who followed a policy of treating them in a friendly way and of presenting visitors with food and a few gifts. Francisco Antonio Marin de el Valle to Manl. de el Portillo y Urrizola, Santa Fe, May 10, 1761. A. G. N., *Prov. Inter. 102*, f141 (pt. 2, N. M. A.).

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raise any valid objections at that time. On this occasion, Navaho representatives were not actually present, but it was reported by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco when Baca was placed in possession on August 3, 1762, that the adjoining settlers said they would not be injured by the proposed boundaries, "nor would the peaceful Navajo Indians. . . ."[39]

Antonio Baca failed to secure proper title to his land grant when first located in 1759, so other settlers moved into the area. Baca made a fight for his ranch and won a formal grant from the Governor in 1762. Joaquin Mestas was the dispossessed settler and now applied for a grant in the upper watershed of the Rio Puerco, northward from Baca's grant. The specific boundaries are of no interest at the moment, but the grantees received the land "with the condition that they shall not give or occasion any injury to the Apaches of the Navajo country, but shall rather treat them with love, fidelity and kindness, endeavoring earnestly to bring them to the pale of our Mother the Church and under the vassalage of our sovereign. . . ." Bartolomé Fernández, Alcalde Mayor, placed Mestas in possession on February 8, 1768. There were no Navahos living there to object, and the nearest Spanish settlers, the Montoyas to the south, had no complaint to register.[40]

Westward from the Mestas location, a land grant was made to Ignacio Chaves et al. on January 20, 1768. It lay along the Arroyo Chico which encircles Cebolleta Mountain on the north. Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta (1767-1778) stipulated that the grant was made "saving the rights of third parties having a better title, and especially the rights of the Apaches of the Navaho country, (should there be any on the land applied for by these parties) and under the condition that they shall not dispossess those Indians, nor drive them away from the land they may have in occupation. . . ." Navahos were to be summoned for the ceremony of possession, but there were none present when the act was carried

39. F. L. O., R101 (File 176). Published in 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, pp. 72ff. Twitchell lists the grant in *Spanish Archives* . . ., 1:41 (doc. 105).

40. F. L. O., R97 (File 171). Published in 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 20; and Twitchell, *Spanish Archives* . . ., 1:159.

out on February 17.[41] This was rather surprising because the land was certainly close to the old haunts of the Indians. The inference is that the Navahos had never cultivated the bottom land of the Arroyo Chico, although they had a stronghold nearby on top of the Mountain.

Two residents of Atrisco, Diego Antonio Chaves and Pedro Chaves, seeking land for their stock, pushed over to the northwest side of Mt. Taylor in the Canyon of San Miguel, a southerly extension of Arroyo Chico. There they found a spring of water. The Governor was a bit scornful of their petition for a land grant in 1766. It appeared to him that they could have located nearer existing settlements, such as San Fernando on the Puerco, but that they preferred to have land in "the peaceful region of the Navajo country."[42] But the important question was whether the Navahos would be affected adversely. Bartolomé Fernández, who was well acquainted with the region, advised the Governor that "I have never observed that they the said Apaches have lived upon the land permanently, and much less would it be prejudicial to the people of this province" (that is, the Navaho). Furthermore, "In regard to whether the Navajo Apaches have planted or now plant upon the land applied for I state, that I have seen in a branch of the little valleys scattered here and there a few corn stalks, but I have never observed that the Apaches lived near these small patches of corn, but they mostly make their huts, owing to their dread of the Utahs, distant and on the highest and roughest parts of the mesas."

The Alcalde Mayor made a correct observation of Navaho farming practice. His failure and that of the Governor was not to realize that the patches of corn that appeared abandoned were symbolic of Indian use of the land. It was possible of course that Spanish stockmen could run their cattle or sheep in the country without harming the crops. When the act of possession was carried out on July 4, 1767, "with summons to the Navajo Apaches, who adjoin the said tract of

41. F. L. O., R96 (File 170). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 18.

42. The Rio Puerco region, due west of Albuquerque, or southeast from Mt. Taylor, had long been regarded by Spanish authorities as a route of attack by Southwestern Apaches against the Rio Abajo, so the northwestern side of Mt. Taylor would be a safer location.

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Nuestra Señora del Pilar on the West, and who are outside of these limits, they interposing no objection whatever," the grantees felt no sense of intrusion into forbidden territory.[43]

Continuing the encirclement of Mt. Taylor with land grants, Bartolomé Fernández de la Pedrera petitioned for a tract of land farther up the Canyon of San Miguel, or south of the grant made to Felipe Tafoya and associates. The spring of San Miguel provided the necessary water. "Although some small parties of Apaches of province [of Navaho] are accustomed to live at said spring this will not prevent them from so doing—but will rather serve to conciliate and gratify them, and contribute to their quietude whilst in our lawful friendship and good relations . . .," so the petitioner claimed.

Governor Mendinueta approved the petition provided that there was no injury to the interests of a third party (the usual reservation) "and especially to the unchristianized Indians, of the province of Navajo, not only those accustomed to live at San Miguel spring but all the others who should be treated with kindness and Christian policy, so as to incline them to civilization, and draw them to our holy faith, and the subjection of our sovereign." With this understanding, on September 11, 1767, the grantees were placed in possession of the land by Carlos José Perez de Mirabál at Santa Cruz de Guadalupe in the "Navajo province." In regard to the rights of the third party, he reported: "the citation I made to the adjoining parties, the same being to all the contiguous residents, except to the Navajo Apaches, there being none at that place, but having ascertained, whether any of them lived there all answered me as well the residents as other Navajoes, that usually when out hunting a few came to reside a short time at said spring" of San Miguel.[44]

To the southwest of the Bartolomé Fernández grant, or northwest of Mt. Taylor, Santiago Duran y Chaves petitioned

43. F. L. O., R99 (File 173). 48 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 41ff. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:140 (doc. 456).

It was even recorded that the lack of Navaho opposition was marked by the fact that "two families having voluntarily joined them, and who are supported by kind treatment, and the said land so applied for being known to be unfit for cultivation, and fit only for pastnre land, on which account the said Apaches have not made, nor will not make, any complaint whatever, as is shown by the past."

44. F. L. O., R78 (File 154). Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:110f (doc. 358).

for a square league of land in 1768 that enclosed on its eastern side the spring of San Mateo. This was "in the neighborhood of Navajo. Although in the vicinity of the spring some Apaches farm they cannot be injured because there is sufficient land where I may establish my farm without injury to them," and the site lies outside the Fernández grant. As in so many cases of requests for land, Duran y Chaves needed more pasturage, his stock numbering 800 mares, 40 mules, 1,000 sheep, and some cattle belonging to his mother.

The petition was acted upon favorably by Governor Mendinueta "without prejudice to any third party . . . and very especially to the Apaches who plant at the mentioned spring of San Mateo." If necessary to avoid disturbing the natives, the boundaries should be adjusted accordingly. When Don Bartolomé Fernández measured the area on February 12, there were "seven ranchos of Apache Navajo" within the southeast boundary of the small valley where the grant was located, but they did not object to the intrusion of the Spanish settler because they were friends and would assist them against their enemy the Ute Indians.[45]

Two years before the Mestas land grant, Governor Cachupín had granted a tract one league square to Miguel and Santiago Montoya, residents of Albuquerque, in the upper Puerco valley. It was bounded on the north by the Mestas land, on the south by a tract belonging to José Garcia, and extended westward from the Rio Puerco to a hill called Angostura. It lay north of the junction of the Arroyo Chico and Rio Puerco. The Governor granted the petition of the Montoyas on October 23, 1766. The following year, on January 29, Bartolomé Fernández placed them in possession: "proceeding to measure off one league, on each course, I measured from East to West, three thousand four hundred varas, the distance from the Puerco river, which is the boundary on the East, to a small hill called the Angostura, which is the boundary on the west, and in order not to impinge upon fields that are generally planted by the Navajo Apaches, and which are situated towards the west, I completed the remainder of the five thousand varas on the northern side, the boundary being the

45. F. L. O., R184 (File 190).

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point of a mesa called the Bosque Grande. . . ." Witnesses from Zia Pueblo gave their assent to the grant, but there were no Navahos present.[46]

Luis Jaramillo, a discharged corporal of the Santa Fe garrison with thirty-six years of service to his credit, petitioned for land "on the slope of the Navajo country" for the maintenance of about 1,000 head of small stock and a few cows. The desired spot was west of the villages along the Rio Puerco where settlers received a grant in 1753. They protested the proposed grant to Jaramillo, but lost their case. He was given possession on August 14, 1769. To the west of Luis' land, a tract was held by Salvador Jaramillo who sold part of it for the sum of $5,600 worth of cows and sheep in 1772 to Don Clemente Gutierres, a resident of Albuquerque. The sales contract had an interesting stipulation from the point of view of Navaho possessory rights: "the said vendor also says that if at any time the Apaches who live in the center of the *sitio* should ask for the said land in order to establish a town, the vendor shall not lose it, the purchaser shall lose it. . . ."[47] Salvador Jaramillo's homesite was at Santa Cruz de Navajo.[48]

In the winter of 1768 Bernardo de Miera and Pedro Padilla were granted a tract of land one league square that bordered the south side of the holdings of Antonio Baca and Salvador Jaramillo and lay west of the settlements of the Rio Puerco. The land that they wanted was "commonly called the Cañada de los Alamos. . . ." The boundary of the proposed grant was conditioned by the "understanding that if on the course towards Cebolleta where the Pueblo of the Navajo Apaches was commenced to be built the survey of the league should approach so as prejudicially to affect the planting or pastoral lands belonging to the site of the said Pueblo so commenced, it will be reduced in so far as not to occasion injury. . . ." This was in keeping with the usual practice of safeguarding the interest of a third party, "and especially the Apaches of the Navajo country, and under the condition that

46. F. L. O., R100 (File 175). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:162 (doc. 571).

47. F. L. O., R103 (File 177). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 100.

48. F. L. O., R98 (F172).

they do not ill treat them or drive them away from their settlements [estancias] but rather endeavor, to bring them under the influence of our holy faith and under the control [vassalage] of our Sovereign, by treating them with good faith and Christian Charity, under the penalty of Defeasance in the grant. . . ."

Pacheco and Padilla were residents of the Albuquerque jurisdiction and had experienced the pinch of inadequate pasturage for their stock. The former owned some cows and Padilla had 700 sheep and a small herd of mares. The care revealed in safeguarding the interests of the Navahos implies that the Indians were not stockmen in this locality, otherwise there should have been a clash of interests at the moment. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the western boundary of the land grant was Cebolleta Mountain and to the south "a cañon where there are usually some Apaches living." The northern boundary was the Arroyo Salada in part.

Francisco Trebol Navarro, Alcalde Mayor of the Albuquerque jurisdiction, placed the grantees in possession on March 3, 1768. For witnesses of the ceremony to safeguard third-party interests, there "appeared the settlers of San Fernando, on the Puerco river, Salvador Jaramillo settler at the place Santa Cruz de Navajo, and the Indians of Sebolleta, and each of them exhibited to me the grants they have respectively to the lands they hold . . .," and stated that they would not be injured by the new grant.[49]

In 1768, Don Carlos José Perea de Mirabál petitioned for a grant of land that he had been using about eight years. It lay to the west of Jaramillo's holdings. The area was known as the Cañada de los Alamos, sometimes called *Sitio de Navajo* or place occupied by the Indians. Don Carlos claimed that he

49. F. L. O., R98 (File 172). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62.

Some Navahos apparently had become aware of the Spanish procedure for securing land ownership. This inference is strengthened by the statement that the Navahos of Cebolleta had engaged in campaigns against hostile Indians in company with the Pueblo folk of Laguna, Acoma and Zuñi, "and they have come as the other Pueblos to confirm their varas."

Governor Don Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle (1754-1760) to Governor Don Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola (*ad interim* 1760), May 10, 1761. A. G. N., *Provincias Internas 102*, pt. 2, f143.

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had located there before the Navahos and had lived amicably with them: "That within these said villages of Navajo Apaches, that most of these have come to settle here since I have been in possession without having had any trouble. . . ." His petition was granted by Governor Mendinueta on May 21, 1768, "without prejudice to any third party who may have a better right, and particularly with regard to the Navajo Apaches, notwithstanding that the greater part of those who live within the limits of the boundaries may have gone there after the said grantee Mirabal had settled there." On June 18, at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Santa Rosa, Bartolomé Fernández placed him in possession of the grant. Neither neighbor Jaramillo nor the "Apaches" objected.[50]

The country along the south side of Mt. Taylor was also penetrated by eighteenth century Spanish settlers. Baltazar Baca, a resident of (Our Lady of) Belen, feeling the pinch for pasturage, petitioned for a tract of land about three leagues slightly west of north from Laguna Pueblo. The eastern boundary joined the land where the Franciscans had attempted to establish the mission of Encinal. The petition was approved on December 16, 1768, with the condition that Baca and his sons, who were partners in the grant, should not forsake their homes in Belen and should use the land only for stock raising. Third party interests of course were not to be injured, least of all "the pagan Apaches of the Province of Navaho." Neither the Pueblo folk nor any Navahos objected when Antonio Sedillo placed the grantees in possession on January 19 of the following year, naming the tract "San José del Encinál."[51]

The amicable intrusion of the Spanish into the territory of the Navahos came to an abrupt end early in the decade of the 1770's. The half century of peace between the two people was followed by another era of conflict. As a result, the settlers in the Valley of the Rio Puerco abandoned their holdings, and the settlements became ghost villages. The Navahos reasserted mastery of their territorial homeland just as earlier

50. F. L. O. (File 195).

51. F. L. O., R104 (F 178). 48 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 109f. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:44 (doc. 114).

they had rejected the Spanish mission and the notion of village life for themselves. Missionary work among them was not resumed until the closing years of the nineteenth century. The contest for land in the Cebolleta area ended in their defeat much earlier.

The failure of the Navaho mission was due to the gulf that existed between the two cultures, and additional sources can be cited to illustrate that situation. But the reopening of the struggle for land can only be surmised in the lack of specific reasons advanced by contemporary recorders of events. It is reasonable to assume that Spanish stock ranging on unfenced acreage might wander into Navaho corn fields and enjoy the rich diet but irritate the rightful owners in the process. To protect the fields was not practicable because the Navahos did not have a year-round fixed habitation, nor did they pay much attention to careful cultivation of a corn crop, leaving it more to the tender ministrations of Mother Nature. On the other hand, the roaming Spanish-owned stock could readily be a temptation to the younger have-nots among the Navahos. The theft of a horse, or a few sheep would readily arouse the owners to punitive action. This in turn could stir up other Navahos who, perhaps guiltless in starting the trouble, might be punished for the wrong-doings of their kinsmen. With retaliation following retaliation on a petty scale, the time would come when the government would be obligated to take a hand in the matter. This in turn meant outright warfare or skillful diplomacy. In the eighteenth century, the Spanish tried both methods, especially the latter in the decade of the 1780's after a few years of warfare.

The assumption that the cause of the trouble between the two peoples was simply economic in nature is an over-simplification of the story, although it is difficult to analyze the problem with ease because of the one-sided nature of the sources of information and the nature of those sources. But there was a time of general economic distress during the drought of the late 1740's that could have incited the Navahos to seek relief by raiding their neighbors. But this drought occurred during the era of peace. It did not lead to the reopening of Navaho-Spanish hostilities. They were delayed for

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another quarter century, and at that time there is no clear evidence that the Navahos were in dire straits. There must have been some other specific factor. It can only be concluded for the time being that too close contact through territorial proximity provoked frictions that brought an end to the longest era of peace between the white people and these Indians until their military subjection in the 1860's, about two and a half centuries after the first recording of conflict between the two, Navahos and the Europeans.[52]

52. Writing in 1781, Croix stated that "The fear of losing their possessions obliges them [the Navahos] to keep peace in New Mexico, but when they observe afflictions within the province, they are induced by their relatives, the Gila, to declare war upon us." Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783*, p. 113. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.

To risk their own possessions for the sake of their distant kinsmen is too altruistic. To believe that the Navahos would fish in troubled waters, except for a few have-nots, is hard to believe.

NEW MEXICAN WOMEN IN EARLY AMERICAN WRITINGS

By JAMES M. LACY*

THE Americans who came into New Mexico during the first half of the nineteenth century found a society very different from the one they had left in the United States. The language, the religion, and the customs were unlike anything they had known. The people dressed differently, ate different foods, and governed their actions by a set of values which the newcomers found difficult to understand. There was more gayety, less social restraint, and an attitude almost of indifference to material gain. The visitors saw much that interested them, and many of them recorded their reactions for posterity in letters, diaries, and journals.

Few aspects of the society received more attention from the early visitors to New Mexico than the women. They were the one subject upon which most newcomers voiced approval. The Mexican men were usually disliked by the Americans, but almost every male visitor whose opinions have been encountered has had something complimentary to say about the women. The two sexes were endowed with entirely different character traits in the writings of the Americans. The consistency of these differences in the reports of the Americans removes any doubt as to the sincerity with which these opinions were formed. George Kendall wondered at the contrast between "the almost universal brutality and cold-heartedness of the men of New Mexico," and "the kind dispositions and tender sympathies exhibited by all classes of the women."[1] Francis Parkman, perhaps unconsciously, made a distinction between the men and women by referring to the men as "Mexicans," and the women as "Spanish." He spoke of seeing "a few squaws and Spanish women" and "a few Mexicans, as mean and miserable as the place itself." He

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1. George W. Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition* (Chicago: R. R. Donnely and Sons Company, 1929), pp. 393-394.

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