A Garland Series

AMERICAN INDIAN ETHNOHISTORY

Indians of the Southwest

compiled and edited by

DAVID AGEE HORR
Brandeis University

HP6141

Navajo Indians II

NAVAJO ACTIVITIES AFFECTING
THE ACOMA—LAGUNA AREA,
1746—1910

Myra Ellen Jenkins
Ward Alan Minge

THE NAVAJO INDIANS

Frank D. Reeve

Garland Publishing Inc., New York & London
1974

HP6142

Copyright© 1974

by Garland Publishing, Inc.

All Rights Reserved

E
99
N3
N338
V.2

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Jenkins, Myra Ellen.
Navajo activities affecting the Acoma-Laguna area, 1746-1910.

(Navajo Indians, 2) (American Indian ethnohistory: Indians of the Southwest)
M. E. Jenkins and W. A. Minge's report presented before the Indian Claims Commission, joint exhibit no. 530, docket no. 229; F. D. Reeve's report: exhibit no. R-150, docket no. 229.
Bibliography: p.
1. Navaho Indians—History. 2. Laguna Indians—History. 3. Acoma Indians—History. I. Minge, Ward Alan, joint author. II. Reeve, Frank Driver, 1899- The Navajo Indians. 1974. III. United States. Indian Claims Commission. IV. Title. V. Series. VI. Series: American Indian ethnohistory: Indians of the Southwest.
E99.N3N338 no. 2 970.3s [970.3] 74-2380
ISBN 0-8240-0704-2

Printed in the United States of America

HP6143

Contents*

Map showing 1950 location and estimated original range of the Navajo Indians 7**

The Reports

Record of Navajo Activities Affecting the Acoma-Laguna Area, 1746-1910
Myra Ellen Jenkins, Ward Alan Minge 9

The Navajo Indians, *Frank D. Reeve* 235

*There are three volumes on the Navajo Indians in the Garland American Indian Ethnohistory Series. The prefatory material is in Volume I; the Commission Findings in Volume III.

**Garland Publishing has repaginated this work (at outside center) to facilitate scholarly use. However, original pagination has been retained for internal reference.

II. SECONDARY ACCOUNTS

Amsden, Charles, "The Navaho Exile at Bosque Redondo," New Mexico Historical Review, VIII (January, 1933), pp. 31-50.

Bender, A. B., "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, IX (July, 1934), pp. 249-272.

Heyman, Max L., Jr., "On the Navaho Trail: The Campaign of 1860-61," New Mexico Historical Review, XXVI (January, 1951), pp. 44-63.

Keleher, William A., Turmoil in New Mexico 1846-1868. Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1952.

Reeve, Frank D., "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880, New Mexico Historical Review, XII (July), 1937), pp. 218-269; XIII (January, 1938), pp. 14-62; (April, 1938), pp. 146-191; (July, 1938), pp. 261-313.

Reeve, Frank D., "The Government and the Navaho," New Mexico Historical Review, XVI (January, 1939), pp. 82-114.

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson, Leading Facts in New Mexican History. Cedar City: The Torch Press, 1914), Vol. II, pp. 303-304, note 228.

Walter, Paul A. F., "The First Civil Governor of New Mexico under the Stars and Stripes," New Mexico Historical Review, VIII (April, 1933), pp. 98-129.

DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT NO. R-750
Indian Claims Commission
Docket No. 229

THE NAVAJO INDIANS

by

Frank D. Reeve

University of New Mexico

Albuquerque, N. M.

HP6144

CONTENTS

The Navajo Homeland 1848-1868 - Summary----------1

Navajo Locations 1800-1848----------4

The Eastern Navajo Frontier----------21

The Northern Navajo Frontier----------41

The Western Navajo Frontier----------60

The Southern Navajo Frontier----------85

HP6145

THE NAVAJO HOMELAND 1848-1868

Summary

The Navajos, a branch of the Athapaskan linguistic Indian family, more commonly known as Apaches, lived in the northwestern quarter of the present state of New Mexico when the Spanish appeared on the scene in the seventeenth century. They inhabited the canyons that extend northwestward from the continental divide and constitute a part of the drainage system of the San Juan River, and on Cebolleta Mountain to the south. About the middle of the eighteenth century they were as far east as Canon Largo and along the San Juan River where it flows westward for a considerable distance before bending toward the northwest to mingle its waters with those of the Colorado River of the West. Under pressure from the Ute Indians, the influence of missionaries and a drought, they abandoned the Largo region and moved westward into the Chuska Range and a few southward to the Cebolleta Mountain and the land between these two major geographical land marks.

When the Government of the United States assumed sovereignty over New Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the whereabouts of the Navajos was well known to the New Mexicans except for details on the western part of their land. Without doubt they occupied the Chuska Range and the valley on each side from the San Juan River southward to Campbell's Pass where the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway was built in 1880. The Zuni Mountains rise south of the Pass and afforded rich pasturage for Navajo livestock and an abundance of water at Bear Springs for raising corn. Some of these folks had also moved to the Blue Water

HP6146

in the early 1840's. Farther eastward they had long competed with Pueblos and New Mexicans for land and water along the north side of the Rio San Jose and the adjacent mountain canyons. On the east side of Cebolleta Mountain they had lost ownership of Cebolleta Canyon, but still retained a foothold in the canyons farther north. The land between Cebolleta Mountain and the Rio Puerco of the East was used jointly by Navajo and New Mexican, and to a lesser extent by the Laguna Indians.

On the north side of Navajoland, these pastoral folks utilized the lower La Plata and Las Animas valleys, although the region was often referred to as Ute country. However, the Utes did not practice agriculture and sheep raising as early as the Navajos, but were more of a hunting people; consequently, both groups could reside in this region
240 without basic conflict of interest. Their chief problem was to avoid stealing one another's livestock.

The Utes made occasional use of the land at the headwaters of the Rio Puerco of the East for camping, probably when on a trading expedition to the Pueblos, hunting or marauding against Navajos. At any rate, references to Utes being in the Navajo country appear in eighteenth and nineteenth century documents. One site was sometimes referred to as the Alto Utah and lay north of present-day Cuba along the continental divide which customarily was thought of as marking the eastside beginnings of Navajoland in the eighteenth century.

On the south, the Navajos customarily ventured into Apache country to trade, visit or fight; and the Apaches came northward for the same purposes, seeking their kinsmen in the canyons of Cebolleta

Mountain and the Chuska Range. There is little evidence of Navajo occupation, other than under duress, south of the Rio San Jose and its headwaters prior to the American occupation.

When Navajo raiders struck at New Mexican livestock and settlements in the valley of the Rio Grande, they invariably fled westward or northwestward toward their haunts in the above-cited places. On one occasion prior to the American occupation they fled southward into Apacheland when pursued by New Mexican forces too strong to cope with in their home mountains. Flight to the south became common during the Carleton campaign of 1863 when they were rounded up for resettlement in the Pecos Valley of eastern New Mexico.

Westward from the Chuska Range, the Navajos did not live much beyond the Pueblo Colorado Wash and Steamboat Canyon. They grazed 241
their sheep to some extent on Black Mesa, but their cornfields lay in the Wash and in Black Creek Canyon with a spill over into the Puerco Valley of the West near the junction of the Creek and the Puerco River. They might have grazed their stock farther southwestward along the Puerco, and perhaps even south of that river for some distance toward the Little Colorado River; but the extent is not known and probably was not significant.

Under military pressure from the American army in the 1860's, they did flee far to the west of the Hopi villages; but that region was not their customary homesite, nor was it needed. In the light of their estimated population and the size of their flocks and herds, the regions as described above provided ample room if they could maintain control against the continuous pressure from the expanding New Mexican population which became aggressive around the turn of the nineteenth century.

HP6147

NAVAJO WESTERN FRONTIER

Navajoland extending westward from the Chuska Range is a land of wide mesas intersected by canyons and washes with a few high peaks and some traces of volcanic action. The stream of water flowing from the Canyon de Chelly turns northward along the Chinle Wash, hoping to reach the San Juan River, seventy-five miles distant, before being caught by cornfields or death in the sands. The Head of the Chinle Wash is about twenty-five miles south of the Canyon entrance at the divide between the southwestern drainage of the Chuska Range into the Little Colorado River and this northern flowing tributary of the San Juan. Fort Defiance was (and is) on the east side of the divide about thirty miles airline north of the junction of Black Creek with the Rio Puerco of the West, a tributary of the Little Colorado. About twenty-five miles airline west of the Fort the Pueblo Colorado Wash rolls southwestward toward the Little Colorado, joining forces with Cottonwood Wash before entering the main stream about fifteen miles farther on, and about five miles east of Winslow, Arizona.

298

Beyond these sites little was known of the country toward the west at the time of the American occupation of the Southwest, but military scouts and government sponsored exploration gradually revealed the geographical features of the country. Moving northward along the Chinle Wash and then turning west, the soldier saw the Mesa Calabasa which was bathed on the west and south by Laguna Creek, or present-day Tyende, as it bends northeastward to empty its water into the San Juan. Tyende is also a current name for Mesa Calabasa. Across the creek to the south lay Black Mesa, or as it was called in the days of the Navajo

roundup, Mesa de la Vaca. The low spot between the two mesas which carries the waters of Laguna Creek is Marsh Pass, or La Puerta de la Limita, beyond which the soldier boys did not venture in their pursuit of fleeing Indians. Southward and a little to the west the Hopi folk carried on their centuries old precarious existence.

> In fact, the Moquis, from their complete isolation; their timidity and ignorance, which make them the prey of the rapacious wild tribes which entirely surround them; as well as by their numbers, their agricultural habits, the hope of their improvement and the important effect which the reaction of that improvement would have upon the Utahs, Coyoteros, Cosninas, Yavipais, Gilenos, Pinalenos, and Navajoes . . . call most loudly for the services of a faithful Indian agent (Major H. L. Kendrick to Governor Meriwether, Fort Defiance, August 22, 1856. Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, Letters Received, Misc. Papers 1856. Cf: Father Morfi's description of their surrounding neighbors in the eighteenth century. Supra, p. 4).

299

The western Ute Indians visited the Hopi villages to trade. Chief Walker was a leader in this relationship, moving out from his home area in southern Utah, passing the Rio Colorado at the Crossing of the Fathers about thrity miles upstream from Lees Ferry. He also contacted the Navajos and Zuni people. However, there is no mention of specific Navajo location in the sources relating to his activities (John D. Lee to Dr. Willard Richards, Parowan, Utah, March 13, 1852. Printed in Deseret News, April 17, 1852. Clipping in Journal History, March 13, 1852. Archives of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. A. W. Babbitt to Editor, Journal History, November 28, 1853. Brigham Young to Luke Lea, Great Salt Lake, September 29, 1852. Office of Indian Affairs, Utah Superintendency, Letters Received 1852/U17. National Archives. The Church archives will be cited as LDS in subsequent notes).

HP6148

Major Kendrick contended in 1856 that the Hopi villages were "the farthest point west, anywhere near its longitude & east of the Grand Colorado, of which white men have any knowledge" (Kendrick to Meriwether, op. cit.). The Mormons by this time had some knowledge of the region west of these villages through contact with Ute traders to the Hopi and activities of Mormon missionaries, but they did not mention Navajos west of the villages in the late 1850's (George W. Armstrong to Brigham Young, Provo City, Utah, June 30, 1855. OIA, Utah, LR 1855, A 392). Jacob Hamblin visited them in 1858, traveling by way of the Kaibab Mountains and the Crossing of the Fathers, and made no mention of Navajos between the Rio Colorado and the villages (James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin, p. 62ff, 152. Salt Lake City, 1881).

300 Likewise the Ives Expedition, traveling eastward in 1858, did not meet Navajos west of the Hopi. Lt. Ives crossed the Little Colorado River near present-day Sunset, Arizona, and moved up the east side to Cottonwood Wash. From there he turned northward to Oraibi along a well beaten Indian trail which the Hopi followed to the salt spring on the Little Colorado. The trail today is one of the roads to the villages. Ives also traveled about twenty-five miles to the northwest of the Hopi and then turned back because of the rough trail and lack of water, reporting that the region gave every indication of a waterless desert to the Colorado River. It was not until the expedition had proceeded along the route from the Hopi toward Fort Defiance that they met Navajos, and the first ones were only visitors to the villages. Farther along, at White Rock Spring, they met with numerous Navajos, and another dozen miles brought them into the Pueblo Colorado Wash where "Countless herds

of horses and flocks of sheep were grazing upon the plain. The Moquis said that we were entering one of the most thickly populated sections of the Navajo territory" (J. C. Ives, Report upon the Colorado of the West. Washington, 1861. Pt. 1, p. 128; pt. 3, p. 90).

Captain L. Sitgreaves of the Topographical Engineers led an expedition from Zuni to the Colorado River in 1852, following down the Zuni river to the Little Colorado then along that stream to the Falls where they crossed over and turned westward toward the San Francisco Mountains. Sitgreaves did not meet with any Navajos, although the party encountered a few Coyotero Apaches enroute to trade some burros at Zuni. They also met a few Tonto Apaches or Yampai Indians near the San Francisco Mountains. The only mention of Navajos is on the map drawn by the cartographer for the party and they are located in the Chuska Range (Capt. L. Sitgreaves, Report of an Expedition down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers. Washington, 1854). 301

The following year Lt. Whipple led another survey party via Zuni, but following a more direct line toward the Little Colorado. After crossing the continental divide and passing through Zuni, the party camped at Navajo Spring (also known as Agua Caliente) near the Rio Puerco of the West, about fifteen miles west from Jacob's Well (now known as Morgan Well) or forty miles from Zuni. Soon after sunset, "two Navajo Indians rode into camp. They said they were hunters from the Canon de Chelly . . . (A. W. Whipple, Reports of Exploration and Surveys . . . , vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 73). Otherwise, "In passing through the Navajo country the natives have kept quite aloof from us." Relying on the words of a New Mexican who had been held captive by the Navajos

HP6149

for nine months, Whipple reported that the former captive had "accompanied a party of one thousand warriors through the Moqui country, and afterwards spent much time among their rancherias in the famous Canon de Chelly" (Ibid., p. 76). The number of warriors in the party was probably exaggerated.

The Beale expedition that experimented with camels as beasts of burden for the western country followed the Whipple route from Zuni in 1857 and did not sight Navajos westward from the Pueblo to the Little Colorado (Edward F. Beale, Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River. 35 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 124. 1858).

A trading license was issued to Jarvis Nolan et al. in December, 1853, to trade with Navajos "at the following described places within the boundaries of the country occupied by the said tribe, viz: Rio San Juan, Rio Colorado, Chaya, Tounicha, Chusca" (OIA, NM, LR, Misc. Papers 1855). The "Rio Colorado" was the Arroyo Colorado or Red Wash which enters the Rio San Juan from the South near the Four Corners, heading between Beautiful Mountain and Carriso Mountain. The reference was not to the Colorado of the West nor its tributary the Little Colorado.

302

In January of 1858, "an Indian whose Mother is Navajo & father is said to be Utah, living in the direction of the Moqui villages," visited Fort Defiance on the way home from a conference with Navajo chiefs as representative of some Ute chiefs who professed to want peace with the Navajos (Capt. W. J. H. Brooks to AAG, Fort Defiance, Jan. 12, 1858. United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters Received, Box 10, B5. The National Archives. Record Group 98). The emissary had traveled as far away as Salt Lake City, and even carried a certificate of

membership in the Mormon Church. The statement, "living in the direction of the Moqui villages," implies to the east of them and not to the west.

In April of this same year, Navajos ran off a flock of sheep and Capt. Hatch led a detachment from Fort Defiance to the Amarillo or present-day ~~Window Rock~~ of Mitchell to recover them. About two miles westward on the road to Hopi, he encountered Chief Manuelito bringing in a few of the woollies (J. P. Hatch to Post Adjutant, Fort Defiance, April 6, 1858. Ibid., B19-1). During the war of 1858, launched by Major Brooks, "several families" of Navajos who lived 25 or 30 miles northwest of Zuni Pueblo, petitioned the Zuni folk for permission to live with them during the hostilities. An American, E. T. Buckman, advised against it on the ground that in time of war all Navajos were involved, so the few could not seek asylum from American pursuit. The distance by airline places this site at the Colletas on Black Creek, or at the least on the Rio Puerco.

303

Some of the Hopi were reported as preparing to join the Navajos in the war, but one Hopi Chief traveled to Zuni looking for a way to remain at peace and not be harmed. One alternative, of course, was to seek a haven at Fort Defiance, but "They cannot go through the Navajos to you [Col. Miles], so they wished to bring their stock and come and live here" [Zuni] (E. T. Buckman to Miles, Zuni, Sept. 9, 1858. Ibid., LR, M73/1).

The Hopi Pueblos lie due west of Fort Defiance, of course, so if the peacefully inclined folks could not "go through" the Navajos to reach Fort Defiance, but could travel the well-known route from Hopi to Zuni without risk, then the Navajos were not living southwest of Fort

HP6150

Defiance as far as the region between the Puerco River of the West and the Rio Zuni. The farthestmost group southwest of Fort Defiance were at the Colletas in Black Creek Canyon.

During Major Brooks' war, a detachment was sent against the Navajos at the "Collittas" (Colletas), supposedly the home site of Sarcillos Largos, but the inhabitants were not taken by surprise--the foes indulged in a little skirmishing the next day. The military then moved southwestward through Canyon Chenilly without seeing any more Indians, but they did find heavy tracks of stock that had moved through the canyon (Brooks to Lane, Fort Defiance, Sept. 25, 1858. Ibid., Box 10, M61/1).

Col. Miles led a detachment westward from Fort Defiance to seek the Indians,

304

> passing Peubla [Puebla] Colorada, and examining the valleys beyond in a south west direction. My reconnoisance of this section of country, has been satisfactory in making me acquainted with the favourite haunts of the enemy, the easiest and best route to Calabasha Seirra [Sierra] and Mesa, where he grazes his stock. . . .

He marched westward on the first day, October 18, a distance of 13½ miles "to the water hole on the Moqui road." Early the next day the Colonel moved westward and reached Pueblo Colorado at 8 o'clock. On the following day the detachment marched about five miles west, then turned southwest to Manuelito's village and "encamped by the principal corn fields, in a beautiful valley with sufficiency of water and very good grass." These fields were in the Pueblo Colorado Wash at a site named Cornfields today. From this place, Capt. Lindsay led a force southward for 12 miles and

> came to a field of corn standing, but found no water, he then coursed west until he struck the valley of the encampment [Pueblo Colorado Wash], he met with large trails of horses and sheep, but not recent, saw no Indians, Marched he supposes 35 miles and arrived at camp about ½ past 6 P. M.
>
> Lt. Lane after marching north for ten miles, came to a bluff overlooking the valley [Beautiful Valley or Chinle Wash] where Pvt. Sweeney was wounded [northwest of Ganado] (this connects our scout with the route of that from Canon de Chelley) found in the rocks a large pool of water [Pine Springs], turned west, then south and then east to the encampment without seeing an Indian or any flocks, altho there was recent sign of both.

Capt. McLane marched west and northwest and "met the enemy" (Col. D. S. Miles to AAAG, Fort Defiance, October 23, 1858. Ibid., Box 10, M75). Subsequent to this military operation, Miles reported that the Navajos 305
were seeking peace and as a token of good intentions planned to return stolen stock. In order to do so, they rounded them up from Canyon de Chelly, Sierra Calabasha, Pueblo Colorado, Chusca, Tuni Chay, Carrissa and Cieniga Juan Icho (Juanico) (Miles to Wilkins, Fort Defiance, Dec. 1, 1858. Ibid., IR 1858, M94. R098, from Pl. Ex. 200, Docket 229 Navajo), all well-known sites of Navajo occupancy.

In July of 1859, Captain O. L. Shepherd led a scout into the western part of Navajoland. Departing from Fort Defiance, the detachment marched 36 miles along the road to the Hopi Pueblos which brought them to the Pueblo Colorado. On the third day they turned southward for four miles to "the Rio Pueblitos [Pueblo Colorado Wash] on which we encamped the night previous. Water not permanent." The following day, the troop moved southwest through the canyon of the Rio Pueblitos for 15 miles without finding permanent water. The next march was westward

HP6151

for ten miles "into a large Canada leading West in the direction of the Moqui villages." This is a low depression toward Jadito Wash. There was no trail and again the water was not permanent. The guides "not knowing that section of the country, it was thought best not to pursue this valley any further," so the detachment marched about 15 miles across hilly country without trails to the Ojo de la Jara in Steamboat Canyon on the Hopi road. Turning westward, they reached the first of the villages in about 30 miles.

Capt. Shepherd camped "in front of the two Pueblos of Muchonobe [Mishongnovi] & Chupaulebe" (Shipaulavi) at a pond of rain water. Five miles farther west and southwest of the Pueblo of Shongopove they again encamped at a pond of rain water. A Pueblo guide now led them 15 miles south where they encamped in the unnamed canyon which they had abandoned on turning north to Ojo de la Jara. Twelve miles farther south they "encamped on the southern side of some black & high mesas," a volcanic area called the Hopi Buttes, from which could be seen the Little Colorado River, supposed to be about 20 miles distant. The water was permanent but scarce. Marching E. S. E. about 20 miles, they cut no trails and encamped at a spot where the water was not permanent. Ten miles eastward brought them to the Rio Pueblitos again (Pueblo Colorado). From there a march of 15 miles E. S. E. brought them to another Ojo de la Jara (Tanner Springs in Wide Ruins Wash) on the Zuni-Hopi trail. Marching E. N. E. for 14 miles they arrived at the ruins of Pueblo Grande (Wide Ruins); thence E. S. E. for 4 miles to an encampment at the Agua de Viboras (Rattlesnakes Spring)--water not permanent.

From the Agua Viboras the detachment marched E. S. E. for 15 miles and entered the lower end of the Canon de Calites (Colleta, Black Creek Canyon). A difficult march of about 23 miles toward the northeast brought them to permanent water in the upper part of the canyon. The Captain noted incorrectly that the canyon had never been traveled its length before. A further march of 16 miles brought them to Fort Defiance.

During the total distance of about 265 miles, they "saw no Indians along the route except on the Rio Pueblitos [Pueblo Colorado] the second day out." Near the Hopi villages some two or three Indians came into camp but they did not live near there.

> At the mouth or lower end of the Canon of the Calites, some few came into camp . . . , also at the tanks near Pueblo Grande [Wide Ruins]. At the last camp in the canon of the Calites, some few also came into camp. . . . No flocks of sheep were seen on the whole route. At the last only 16 miles from the Post a herd of horses were seen.
>
> Corn fields were seen on the Rio Pueblitos about 30 miles hence, also a few small fields down the canon of the Pueblitos on the 4th day out. No fields were then discovered till we came to the canon of the Pueblo Grande, about 30 miles hence, S. west, thence none till we entered the lower end of the Canon of the Calites where were extensive fields, distant hence about 35 miles, and also in the upper Canon of the Calites 16 miles. Some few other patches were seen along the way hardly worth mentioning. Scarcely a hundred acres in all were discovered.
>
> Evidences were discovered of wintering large herds of Horses & flocks of Sheep, in the Canada leading west towards Moqui from the lower end of the canon of the Rio Pueblitos as well as on the Mesas adjoining this canon. Also in the canada [Steamboat] of the Ojo de la Jarra near Moqui, and thence particularly in the valley reaching from the Ojo de la Jarra on the Zuni & Moqui trail, to the

HP6152

Pueblo Grande, and likewise at the lower end of the canon of the Calites (Capt. O. L. Shepherd to J. H. Edson, Fort Defiance, August 7, 1859. USAC, NM, LR, S44/1).

Capt. Shepherd also reported that

The large mountain lying south west of the Moqui villages is doubtless the Sierra de Francisco and is beyond the Rio Colorado Chiquito. Being about five days journey beyond and the home of the Coninas indians. I am satisfied that the Navajoes never go there to secrete themselves or property (Ibid.).

While Capt. Shepherd was scouting the western Navajo country, Capt. Walker led a detachment through the region of the Canyon de Chelly:

following the Rio Chelly which after freeing itself from the canon turns due North, for six miles we passed a succession of fields of growing corn, some of them containing from forty to sixty acres. This valley and the lower half of the canon are probably the most populous portion of the Navajo country. . . . The last cultivated land we saw upon the Chelly is almost six miles from the mouth of the canon, and the Indians informed us that there was no cultivation lower down, but that the country is grazed over a good deal in the fall after the rains have brought up the grama grass upon the plains. . . . (J. G. Walker to AAG, Camp La Hoya near Fort Defiance, August 3, 1859. Ibid., Box 12, S44/2).

308

A year after the Shepherd reconnaissance, or the fall of 1860, Col. E. R. S. Canby launched a campaign against the Navajos. Moving westward from the Rio Grande Valley toward the enemy country, he soon reported that

The information derived from the spies, the wounded Navajoes and friendly Utes all point to the conclusion that the Navajoes have been driven by the operations of Maj. Sibley's command & my own from their haunts in the Chusca and Tunicha mountains and are flying to the West with the Sierra Limita as their ultimate destination.

Toward that point the next operations of the campaign will be directed in the hope of inflicting a decisive blow (E. R. S. Canby to AAG, Camp near Fort Defiance, October 4, 1860. USAC, NM, LR, Box 13, C39).

This same season, the Mormon missionary Jacob Hamblin made another trip to New Mexico. Two day's travel by a crooked trail from the Colorado River enroute to the Hopi, or 30 to 40 miles west of the village, he met four Navajos. One of his party, George A. Smith, Jr., was killed by them. All told about forty Navajos collected at the place bent on mischief (Little, Hamblin, p. 71f). The Missionaries had traveled about 100 miles before experiencing this tragedy at the hand of the "large company" of Navajos who had fled "from their own country for safety" because of the war waged against them by the United States (Deseret News. Clipping in Journal History, November 2, 1860. LDS. George A. Smith to Amasa M. Lyman, Great Salt Lake City, Nov. 29, 1860. Ibid., Nov. 29). 309

Col. Canby's comment as of October 19 supports the Mormon report that the Navajos were so far west because of military pressure: "I have the honor to report," Canby wrote, "that our operations since leaving Fort Defiance have been attended with no important result except that of driving the Indians to the West and South-west." "We are now moving in the direction of Puerta Limita with reasonable hopes of success" (Canby to AAG, Camp on Arroyo 16 miles below mouth of Canon de Chelly, October 19, 1860. USAC, NM, LR, Box 13, C49/1).

The reasonable hopes of the Colonel rested with Captain H. H. Sibley who was entrusted with the scout to the westward of Canyon de Chelly. From the site known as Ewell's Hay camp, or La Hoya, which was twelve miles north of Fort Defiance, or the present-day Sawmill, the

HP6153

command moved southwestward some 27 miles to the familiar Pueblo Colorado, in the neighborhood of Ganado, "represented by the guides as a favorite haunt of the Indians, and affording excellent water and pasturage." A night march on October 11 was made by a detachment towards the west and north in the direction of some lakes at the head of Pine Springs Wash where it was hoped the Navajos would be taken by surprise. The following morning, the main command moved to the mouth of the Canon Cito Trigo (Pine Springs Wash); "The country traversed, especially in descending from the 'Mesa Colorado' [Ganado Mesa into Beautiful Valley] is much broken and essentially a 'mal pais' devoid of herbage or trees and the surface covered with petrified forest trees." On the 13th, the country was examined west to some lakes "distant about eight miles towards the base of the 'Mesa de la Vaca' [Black Mountain]. . . ." The grass around
310 the lakes had been entirely consumed by the Indians' stock. Returning to the mouth of the Canon Cito Trigo, the troops encamped in some corn fields already harvested.

Moving northward toward the Canyon de Chelly for a distance of about 8 miles, camp was made at a waterhole. The following day they reached the mouth of the Canyon and awaited the column under command of Col. Canby. The combined force continued the route northward along Chelly Creek (Chinle Wash) from the Canyon, marching twelve miles the first day; the second day, distance unrecorded, they encamped near the red sandstone formation known as La Ventana (Window Rock); the third day they covered 21 miles, passing enroute the permanent water called La Encina Gorda (near Rock Point), not to mention some Indian inscriptions on the rocks near the trail, and then made camp. The following day, the

route turned from the Chelly Creek westward; the column ascended a mesa and traveled over rough country for six miles to the "'Cienega Bonita,' [Laguna Creek or Dennehotso] a deep rock crested gorge, carpeted with luxurient [sic] grass and watered from Springs hidden under the cavernous sides, tributaries of the San Juan." Capt. Sibley now made

> a night march Southward to the middle point of the Mesa de la Vaca, distant some 35 miles; to ascend to mesa [Black Mesa] at this point and by a south and westerly course to enter the 'Puerta de las Lemetas' [Marsh Pass] near some old Pueblo ruins noticed by Capt. Walker Mounted Rifles in his reconnaisence of 1859 (Capt. H. H. Sibley to AAG, Ewell's Hay Camp, Nov. 12, 1860. Ibid., LR, C53/4).

The Old Pueblo ruin is

> known by the name "Ruin A" or "Tecolote" (the Mexican-Spanish for ground-owl, from Nahuatl tecolotl). It was known to white men many years ago and was visited by prospectors, relic hunters and soldiers. It was also indicated on the United States Engineers' map of 1877. Here Lieutenant Bell, 3rd Infantry, U. S. A., (probably William Hemphill Bell) carved his name, with the date, 1859 (Albert B. Reagan in El Palacio, 22:536. June 18, 1927).

311

This site is near the west entrance to Marsh Pass.

At dawn, the soldiers located and attacked Delgadito's band with their considerable herds of horses and sheep. Since the land to the south and west was unknown as to water resources, Capt. Sibley returned to his point of departure. They marched to the Chelly Cito, "a stream of fine water [Laguna Creek] rising near the mouth of the Puerta de las Limetas, and flowing north to the San Juan. . . ." Moving southward along this canyon until it narrowed with vertical sides, the detachment turned up a side canyon and in four miles distance

HP6154

joined the main command. After several days, the column marched back to the Chelly Creek (Chinle Wash) and Canyon (Sibley to AAG. op. cit.).

In Colonel Canby's summary of the operations, after reaching the point farthest west,

> The command remained four days for the purpose of resting the animals and examining the Canon Limita and Puerta Limita and the adjacent Sierra. These examinations showed that the Navajoes with immense herds and flocks had fled to the South and West, in the general direction of the Moqui villages and the Sierra de los Ladrones, and after ascending the Sierra had broken up into small parties and dispersed themselves in different directions. As there was no water known to any of our guides within sixty miles, it was as impossible as it would have been fruitless to attempt any further pursuit. . . .

Aside from the destruction of some Navajo livestock,

312

> The attendant and not less important result is that of driving the Indians from their homes and grazing grounds into the most desolate and repulsive country that I have ever seen, and where from the statements of captured Indians great numbers of their horses and sheep have perished from hunger and thirst.

He then planned to operate against "the winter grazing grounds of the Navajoes" (Canby to AAG, Ewell's Hay Camp, November 8, 1860. USAC, NM, Box 13, C49. RG98).

Additional campaigns against the Navajos to the southwest in the late fall and early winter of 1860 furnished additional information on Indian occupancy of that region. Capt. L. McLaws moved southward from Fort Defiance on November 18 for a distance of nine miles and camped "at the Amarillo" (St. Michaels). The following day he moved along the base of the "Callitas Mountain" [Defiance Plateau] on the Zuni road about ten miles, finding a corn field and some springs.

Farther along the Callitis [Colletas] Valley [Black Creek] he camped at "Callitis" Springs [Willow Springs]. There were numerous Navajos in the vicinity who made a request for peace, but the Captain was not there on a peaceful mission and had no authority for such negotiation. Continuing along the Zuni road through a thickly wooded pass in the hills, the column descended into the valley of the Puerco River of the West [near Lupton] where Capt. McLaws tried, without success, to bring on a fight with the numerous Navajos. He then continued along the river in a leisurely way from the late afternoon of November 21 until the forenoon of the 23rd when they "found water in abundance, where an old and well beaten trail crossed the river. . . ." Crossing at this point, [Sanders] they moved ten miles downstream and struck Carriso Creek and a mile farther on the Almagre where camp was made.

313

From camp on the Almagre, Capt. McLaws moved to "Navajoe Springs," a watering place also known as Agua Caliente and, in the Navajo language, as Tu-si-to. There was abundant evidence of grazing in the vicinity, and of trails leading to the south. Lieut. Plummer was sent along Beal's wagon road to Jacobs Well (Ojo Redondo, or Ojo del Chi) which lay about nine miles to the east while McLaws followed the trails to the south. The latter, after traveling twelve or fifteen miles, found that the trail did not turn east toward Jacobs Well as hoped for, but continued south

> into a country about which no one knew anything. There was no beaten trail, nothing to indicate that this was any great thoroughfare used for passing between points, but, the tracks indicated to me that the animals had been herded over the Country, gradually moving along to the South and East, and I believe to some watering place between

HP6155

the Colorado Chiquito and Ojo Navajoe or Caliente, or perhaps to the Colorado itself. I think this because there were no evidence at Ojo Caliente that the Indians had made any stay there, no huts; not even a sign of a fire. The Indians while there were merely passing along to occupy a place previously selected somewhere in the splended grazing country. I could see before me from the summit of the Sierra Singes-tin.

Capt. McLaws further reported that

The Indian women prisoners [Navajo], the Mexican "Jesus" and the Navajoe boy from Fort Defiance, all knew the water called Ojo Caliente (Nav Spring) and the country around but none would acknowledge having heard even of the Colorado Chiquito; and after my arrival at that river they said they knew nothing of its existence, which is additional evidence that the bands whose tracks were at Ojo Caliente have some intermediate place of resort between there and the river, because both "Jesus" and the women, we afterwards discovered, belonged to those bands. . . .

314 Lt. Plummer returned to Navajo Springs, reporting signs but not Indians enroute to Jacobs Well. A night scout southward along the mountain revealed no signs of Navajos. McLaws now moved westward along Beal's road about three miles; turning to the left, down the Puerco, he crossed the river "within two miles." Following down stream, they traveled all told about 20 miles and camped "in a place indicated by 'Jesus,' our other guides admitting their ignorance of the country." These other guides were "Mexicans" and also Juan Chi, a Navajo from Cebolleta, and Juan Chiquito from Fort Defiance.

This camp site was on the grazing grounds for Navajo stock. For eight or nine miles the Puerco was lined with cottonwood trees. Water was found in numerous holes in the river bed and the grazing was good away from the water. Tracks were seen of stock that had wandered

back and forth to the stream, but no distinct sign of a trail approaching or leaving the neighborhood. Leaving the cottonwood locality, the detachment moved downstream toward the Little Colorado. As the Colorado was approached, "all tracks except of Antelope which were very numerous, entirely disappeared"; and for five miles above the junction (two miles east of Holbrook) there were "no signs of the river [Little Colorado] here ever having been visited by Indians or indeed by any person or animal but Antelopes and rabbits."

After failing to find the Zuni River, to the south Capt. McLaws returned down the Little Colorado for some distance, struck across the country to the Rio Puerco and finally followed Lithodendron Wash, noticing numerous tracks of stock. Turning from the Wash, the detachment followed a direct route to Ojo Caliente, distant some eighteen 315 miles. The next day the troop "nooned" at Jacobs Well. Picking up Beal's road, they returned to base camp by way of Zuni Pueblo (Lt. L. McLaws to AAAG, Camp at West Spring near Fort Fauntleroy, December 16, 1860. USAC, NM, LR, Box 14, C12).

The information derived from the series of scouts led Col. Canby to certain conclusions; namely,

that the country on the upper Colorado Chiquito is not now and has not recently been occupied by the Navajoes, and that there are no trails leading eastward from that now.

Abundant evidence was found by Capt. McLaws of recent occupation and in considerable numbers, on the Puerco; the lower Collites; the Ojo de Jesus and Navajo Springs. The trail from the last mentioned place leading to the South and West. This scout and information derived from other sources shows that considerable numbers of the

HP6156

> Navajoes (divided into small parties) are now wintering on the Puerco, the lower Collites and the Pueblitos or Torrejon.

He planned to operate with small detachments to convince these scattered folk that they and their kinsmen must learn to live at peace (Canby to AAG, Fort Fauntleroy, Dec. 11, 1860. Ibid., Box 13, C57).

Nearly two weeks later the Colonel reported

> that information derived from the Navajoes recently captured, and from the delegations that have visited this post and Fort Defiance to ask for peace, indicates that the great body of the wealthy Navajos with their flocks and herds are now in the vicinity of the San Francisco mountains. This information derived from different sources is confirmed by our own observations. . . .
>
> The operations that are now in progress have for their object a thorough examination of the country west of this place embracing the Navajo wintering grounds on the Puerco, the Torrejon and Pueblo Grande and north, the Chusca Mountains and valley and the broken range bordering that valley on the south and east (Canby to AAG, Fort Fauntleroy, Dec. 24, 1860. Ibid., Box 14, C2).

316

On the 14th of December, Lt. Stith surprised a camp of Navajos on the Rio Puerco about thirty miles southwest of Fort Fauntleroy (Canby to AAG, Jan. 6, 1861. Ibid., C11), or near the junction with Black Creek.

The upshot of Canby's operations was a treaty signed at Fort Fauntleroy whereby "The Navajo Chiefs shall immediately collect their people and establish them in the country west of Fort Fauntleroy, and until it is otherwise stipulated, none of them will be allowed to live or graze their flocks in the country east of that post" (Ibid., C32).

Col. Canby's assertion that the Navajos were in the vicinity of the San Francisco Mountains with their flocks is vague. When

Hamblin again explored south of the Colorado in 1862, he traveled past the north side of these mountains enroute to the Moqui villages and did not report any Navajos (Little, Jacob Hamblin, p. 85). The following year he visited the Coninas deep in their canyon on the south side of the Colorado and then pushed on to the Moqui without encountering Navajos until he saw a few visiting in the villages. On the return trip he explored the south and east side of the San Francisco Mountains without mentioning these Indians, although he did meet some Pi-Utes--and lost his horses to the Hualapais (Excerpt from his journal in Journal History, May 13, 1863, p. 8. LDS).

Many years later, the western range of the Navajos was attested by "An old Navajo, now living at Tuba City, [who] said that when the Carson campaign began [1863] his family lived near Keams Canyon, and they were the farthest west of the Navajo." In fear of the American soldiers, some of them fled as far as Cataract Canyon and made their first contact with the Havasupai Folk (Katharine Bartlett, "Why the Navajo came to Arizona." Museum of Northern Arizona, Notes, 5:31. Dec., 1932). This was far to the northwest of the San Francisco Mountains and west of the Grand Canyon.

317

With the cessation of hostilities by Col. Canby, and the withdrawal of the troops from Fort Fauntleroy at Bear Springs, the Navajos reoccupied their planting grounds at that site. When Col. Carson arrived in the summer of 1863 for another campaign against these people, he found wheat growing and appropriated about 40,000 pounds for the mules.

Moving westward from Fort Defiance in July, Carson found Navajos in their usual haunts in the valley of the Pueblo Colorado. From a captured

HP6157

Pah-Ute woman, he learned that Navajos with large herds were at a pond of water about thirty-five miles to the west (Jadito Wash) of the Pueblo Colorado, but they had fled before he reached that point and could not be overtaken without crossing a waterless stretch of ninety miles (Col. C. Carson to AAG, Pueblo Colorado, July 24, 1863. Department of Justice, Correspondence of the Navajo Campaign). The following month, the Colonel led a detachment southward from Fort Defiance to a point about fifteen miles from Zuni Pueblo; turning westward he marched about twenty-five miles toward Hopi. The following day, shortly after leaving camp, the troops destroyed about 12 acres of corn, then traveled about fifteen miles and camped for a few hours. A night march brought them at ten A. M. to "a Canon a little west of Moqui." Here the Ute allies took two women and three children prisoners, and Capt. Birney's Company captured some stock. From this initial camp site, he marched about three miles farther west to a spring in the canyon. Then "an Oribi [Oraibi] Indian brought me news that a party of Navajoes, with large herds had passed their village twelve miles distant." After pursuing them for 25 miles, Carson returned to his canyon camp. At another spring about twelve miles west of Hopi, the soldiers destroyed about an acre of corn. From his camp, Carson headed for the base of operations on the Pueblo Colorado. While enroute, somewhere along the march he destroyed "about 50 acres of corn." "From all I could learn from the Moqui Indians," he reported, "and the captives taken, the majority of the Navajoes, with their herds are at the Little Red River [Little Colorado], and this is confirmed by my own observation" (Carson to AAG, Camp on the Pueblo Colorado, August 19, 1863. Ibid.). After a scout around the Canyon de Chelly, Carson was able to report:

318

"In summing up the results of the last month's Scout I congratulate myself on having gained one very important point viz: a knowledge of where the Navajos have fled with their stock, and where I am certain to find them" (August 31, 1863. Ibid.).

In October of 1863, the Colonel operated once more to the southwest of Fort Defiance. Moving toward the pueblo of Zuni, he marched over the familiar trail by way of Jacobs Well to the Little Colorado. Mountains to the south and east of the line of march were scouted without finding any Navajos, and likewise to the northwest. The Zuni allies, however, picked up about fifty head of sheep and goats. Carson sent Capt. Pfeiffer with a detachment on a night march down the river: "At the Rapids they saw and pursued seven Navajoes with about fifteen horses, but owing to the broken down condition of our Horses, the Indians escaped."

On the 25th, he commenced the return march "on the River," presumably from the point "85 miles from where the California Road first strikes it [near Navajo Springs]." Having traveled fifteen miles on the 27th (the second day), Carson led a detachment to scout the country on a more direct route between the river and Fort Canby. They arrived on the 30th at Camp Four of the previous scout when enroute to Hopi, or a distance of about sixty miles north of the Little Colorado. In the final report of this campaign, Carson wrote that "I examined the River thoroughly a distance of 85 miles from where the California Road first strikes it, and am satisfied that no Indians have been on the River within this distance since last spring, excepting this party of seven seen by Captain Pfeiffer" (Carson to AAG, October 5, 1863. Ibid.).

319

HP6158

Col. Carson once more campaigned toward the west in November of 1863 and found some Navajos while enroute to the Hopi villages. From that point he marched 65 miles with only one halt of two hours and arrived at a stream of water, tributary to the Little Colorado River, at 2 A. M. He captured one Navajo boy, 7 horses, destroyed an encampment and one Navajo man voluntarily surrendered. The following day, the 25th, stock was found in the canyon of the Little Colorado. The animals were rounded up, but the five herders escaped by clambering up the steep sides of the canyon.

> From this place [he reported] to where the Navajoes went is three days without water, as I am informed by a Mexican boy taken captive some time since by the Navajoes, and recaptured by Capt. McCabe. This my animals could not stand, and I was reluctantly obliged to let them go unmolested. Our camp of this day is about Twenty-five miles Southwest [Southeast?] of the San Francisco Mountains.

From this camp he returned by "a different route," but on neither route, going or coming, was water to be found for a distance of 50 miles (Carson to Cutler, Fort Canby, December 6, 1863. Ibid.). Carson had earlier reported that the Hopi were surrounded by Navajos (Carson to AAG, Fort Canby, October 19, 1863. Ibid.).

After three more months of scouting during the winter, Capt. A. Carey, commander-in-chief during Carson's absence, reported that

> I am now satisfied that nearly all the Indians of this Nation north and West of the Rio Colorado Chiquito have surrendered themselves; but I also believe that there are still a large number of wealthy Navajoes South of that River in the Apache Country (Carey to AAG, Fort Canby, March 20, 1864. Ibid.).

Colonel Carson agreed with his subordinate, although he used slightly different wording: "that nearly, if not all, the Indians now remaining are wealthy and are living South-East and South-West of the Little Colorado at the first intersection of the 'Beale Road,' and in the Apache country." Nearly all of the Navajos "north and west of the Rio Colorado Chiquito," he believed, "have surrendered themselves; but I also believe that there are still a large number of wealthy Navajoes South of that River in the Apache Country."

> the Herds reported as seen by my Spies on my last visit to the Little Colorado, December 6, 1863, comprise nearly all of the Navajo Stock North-West of the San Francisco Mountains. That the owners on discovering my command crossed a Desert of four days march to the 'Colorado Grande,' or Colorado of the West; and that many of the people died of thirst in crossing (Carson to AAG, Fort Canby, March 20, 1864. Ibid.).

In April, a detachment of troops was in the field for "protection to the Navajoes en route from South of Red River [Little Colorado] against attacks from the Pueblo Indians or the Apaches" (Carson to Carleton, Fort Canby, April 10, 1864. Ibid.). The policy of total war was forcing the bulk of the Navajos to accept the Carleton plan of removal to the Pecos River Valley, although a few recalcitrants remained at large.

In the summer of 1865, a volunteer expedition encountered "at or near the San Franziscko Mts about two hundreds warriors, Navajos & Apaches combined" and seized their stock (Shaw to AAG, July 24, 1865. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent, vol. 16). The Zuni Indians took a hand in the game of running down their old enemies and

HP6159

encountered a small group on the Rio Puerco of the West (Shaw to Cutter, August 8, 1865. Ibid., vol. 17).

The Carson campaign forced some Navajos so far west of their usual haunts that they crossed the Colorado River into Utah on raids against the beef cattle and horse herds of the Mormon colonists (George A. Smith to Daniel H. Well, Toquerville, Feb. 19, 1866. Journal History). They were also reported as being "very mad" (James G. Bleak to Erastus Snow, St. George, April 2, 1866. Ibid. Cf: Little, Hamblin, p. 99f and Deseret News, 18:89, in Journal History, March 24, 1869. LDS), and who would say nay.

The Utah Indians added to the terror of the Navajos by striking at them south of the Colorado River. Caballado Chino's band on the Mesa de la Vaca was attacked and in January of 1866 he surrendered at Fort Wingate for transportation to the Bosque Redondo, having come "from the other side of the Moqui Villages" (Capt. E. Butler to AAG at Santa Fe, Fort Wingate, Jan. 18, 1866. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent). The following summer other recalcitrants yielded to hunger and came in from the Mesa de la Vaca and Mesa Calabasa (Capt. E. Butler to Maj. Cyrus H. De Forrest, Fort Wingate, July 28, 1866. Ibid., vol. 16). Thus, after three years of pressure, the bulk of the Navajos accepted the plan for their removal to the valley of the Pecos River.

NAVAJO SOUTHERN BOUNDARY

The southern limit of Navajo land occupancy was roughly the Rio San Jose from east of Laguna Pueblo westward into the northern part of the Zuni Mountain, but their holdings were precarious because of competition from New Mexican, Pueblo and harrassment from their southern Apache kinsmen. This situation was illustrated for the new ruler of New Mexico the year following the entry of General Kearny by a petition from the Cubero folks for permission to abandon part of their holdings for lack of water and settle on the Rio San Jose; a further reason advanced was the insecurity in their present location, "that being a frontier much harrassed by the depredations of the ungrateful Navajo tribe . . ." (Federal Land Office, File 79. Santa Fe, New Mexico). The land they asked for "has been occupied only by the said Navajo Indians, to the notorious injury of the settlements adjacent thereto . . . ," and they could serve as "a great check to the Navajos who occupy it under the pretext of peace. . . ." Their petition was approved by Prefect Francisco Sarracino on the legal advice of the United States Attorney that the land was open for settlement since it was a part of the public domain and Navajo occupancy did not represent ownership (Ibid.).

The controversy over land was revealed in the communication of John R. Tulles a few years later when he informed the newly appointed governor of New Mexico about a dispute with the Laguna folks:

> It appears that the Navajos have possessed and cultivated the lands on which they now live for at least one hundred years, but never had held any grant from the Mexican government. A Laguna Indian

HP6160