NAVAJO SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, 1846-1870:

A GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

by

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ABSTRACT

Modern scholarship has identified the Navajo people as Athapascan migrants who moved into northwestern New Mexico from western Canada at the beginning of the sixteenth century. After a residency of one hundred years they began to leave and were gone by 1800. Out-migration reached as far west as the Hopi mesas but the majority of Navajos were concentrated within the valleys of the Chuska Mountains where they have continued to live.

In contrast, Navajo land today stretches far to the north and west of the Chuskas but as the preponderance of research has dealt mainly with Navajo geographic problems before 1800 the nature of this comparatively recent expansion is not clearly understood. It was important, therefore, to examine Navajo migration after 1800 and, at the same time, make use of the vast amount of data gathered by the Navajo Land Claim recently tried in the courts of the United States.

The purpose of this thesis, then, was to define the territory of the Navajo between the period 1846 and 1870 and within that context solve the following problems: the identification of (1) core area settlement, (2) peripheral range areas, (3) frontier areas, (4) expansion and migrational patterns, and (5) the influence of the United States Army upon those patterns.

Historical data was obtained mainly from primary source materials and supported by tree-ring dates and Navajo vital statistics to

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provide amplification and cross-referencing. Research strategy required the development of a model which used these three totally different data types in a compatible way to determine behavioral regularities in terms of habitate and land use typically and distinctly Navajo. The model employed four components which sifted and analyzed the raw data for reliability and behavioral controls. The data which emerged was finally incorporated into a settlement typology with geographical application.

These methods yielded the following information: A Navajo dominated territory that occupied space between a western line lying at the western edge of Black Mesa, continuing north to the San Juan River at the Chinle Wash and west to Keams Canyon above the Hopi Mesas, a southern line lying immediately south of Hopi Buttes between Leupp and Navajo, Arizona, and continuing north by east to the San Juan River and a northern line conforming to the bed of the San Juan River between the tributaries of the Animas River and the Chinle Wash; a western frontier that interfaced with Southern Paiute territory between Moencopi Plateau and the San Juan River between Monument Valley and Navajo Mountain; a San Juan River frontier in the Carrizo Mountain-Shiprock area interfacing with the Southern Ute Indians and a southern boundary at Navajo, Arizona bordering lands used primarily for range and hunting purposes.

One core area of population was found. Its geographical position encompassed the Carrizo Mountains and the southern fringes of the Defiance Plateau. Eastern and western margins were defined at the Chaco

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Canyon and Chinle Wash, respectively.

The position of the U. S. Army within the central portion of Navajo land was found to be significant initiating a definite out-migration to the west from the core between 1858 and 1863. It was not the first migration to have taken place into this region, but it was a numerically superior one and thrust itself into areas apparently not occupied by Navajos before.

Finally, a Navajo presence chronology was developed for the years 1600 to 1870. Additionally, a direction for future research into Navajo geographical problems was suggested and involved the questions of the permanency of the militarily induced settlements and the expansion of these cores should they have occurred.

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INTRODUCTION

Today when Indians in many parts of the United States are using the courts to obtain remuneration for lands taken from them during the process of Anglo colonization, it seems an appropriate time to capitalize on the interest that these cases have created for both the layman and the academician by determining in a scholarly way what lands they did indeed occupy and specifically what the successive stages of settlement were that developed on that land.

It was not difficult to identify an Indian tribe for such an historical reconstruction. At hand was probably the most interesting, if not the most ambitious, claims case yet on record, the Navajo Land Claim (NLC). An indemnity was filed in behalf of the NLC and presented before the courts in the early 1960's. It received a confirmatory judgment on 29 June 1970.

The decision of the court rested upon the proof of exclusive use and occupancy within the area of the claim. To satisfy these terms of proof, the legal brief of the NLC incorporated mammoth studies in Navajo history and pre-history resulting from a great archival search and the amassing of monumental amounts of data. Of particular significance, in this regard, was the information gathered from the sources of tree-ring research and vital statistics. The value of these data types is obvious in the building of a chronological pattern of settlement. They also have not been employed much in research related to Navajo

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geographical problems. It was, therefore, decided from the outset of this study that utilization of this data would be a valuable addition to the evidence usually employed in historical reconstruction.

The purpose of this thesis then is to define the territory of Navajo Indians between the period 1846 and 1870, and within this context to solve several distinct but related problems: the identification of (1) core area settlement, (2) peripheral range areas, (3) frontier areas, (4) expansion and migrational patterns, and (5) the influence of the United States Army upon these patterns.

As the search of the literature developed, it became apparent that the American Army was "cause celebre" for most of the Navajo history for the period under consideration. Therefore, the inclusion of point five seems justified.

The time period was selected because it roughly corresponded to that phase of New Mexican territorial history when the U.S. Military exercised some control of the Navajo Indians and to the needs of the NLC which were designed to prove use and occupancy between 1846 and 1868, the legal test period.

The area of study conforms to the history of the Navajos in this period and, in most cases, to the boundaries of the NLC (Figure 1). It encompasses those regions that can be described as including all of the Little Colorado drainage, most of the San Juan drainage, a part of the area drained by the western tributaries of the Rio Grande, particularly the Rio Puerco of the East and the Rio Salado or a significant portion of the states of Colorado, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico.

A sectional division is derived by separating an eastern segment

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Figure 1. Area of study.

from the general area of study having a northern boundary at the San Juan River, a southern boundary at the Rio Salado, an eastern boundary, as variously defined in several places, at the Rio Puerco of the East and a western boundary at approximately the New Mexico-Arizona border in the north and the Pueblo of Zuni in the south.

The western segment of study is divided from the general area and has a northern boundary at the San Juan River, a southern boundary at the Little Colorado River in the west to its junction with the Rio Puerco of the West and Zuni in the east, a western boundary at a line between Flagstaff and Red Buttes and the eastern edge of the Grand Canyon, and an eastern boundary at the Arizona-New Mexico state line.

The last section of study lies within the northern portion of the study area and has a western boundary along the Colorado River north to the Abajo Mountains, northeast to the Delores River, southeast to a point where the San Juan River crosses the border between New Mexico and Colorado, and a southern boundary at the San Juan River.

Data Description

The historical data used was, in most cases, obtained from primary source materials, including contemporary reports, letters, journals and maps. The sources were broad in scope including materials of a private nature as well as national and local government documents. Complimentary use was made of secondary histories and research papers. Historical records remained, throughout the study, the back bone of the research strategy. The other following data types were used in support capacities for amplification and cross referencing.

Dendro-chronological or tree-ring data was obtained from the NCL

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in the form of four tree-ring bulletins issued by the Laboratory of Tree-ring Research, of the University of Arizona.[1] During the 1950s, the Laboratory undertook a massive program of tree-ring dating for the NLC. The Navajos' purpose in hiring this group was to obtain proof of possession of certain lands during the initial period of American occupation in the Southwest. Dates, chronologically on either side of this period, were also accepted and used to strengthen the position of their case. Eighteen years later, in 1969, 1,272 dates had been collected from wood specimens from various kinds of Navajo structures still in existence. The project involved locations in Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado where, as might be expected, particular attention was paid to providing specimens from the extremes of the claims area beyond the reservation line. The majority of the dates represent these areas.

Vital statistics and oral histories were obtained from volumes one and two of the NLC which in turn acquired them from Navajo medical records and the direct testimony of selected individuals.[2] These data will be referred to throughout the thesis as informant information.

Navajo claims attorney Norman Littell maintained that this information was valid due to the internal consistencies between living informants separately but identically interrogated for the purposes of establishing such validity; and due to the genealogical reckoning of one generation for every 29.65 years, the usual Navajo age difference between parents and child.[3]

Use of Data

At the outset, two problems became immediately evident: how to

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use three unmistakably different types of data in a meaningful and compatible way and how to determine behavioral regularities, in terms of land use, from what appeared to be rambling and scattered patterns. It was decided that the use of a research model would be the most efficient procedure. As it worked out, construction of the model involved identification of four components, each of which was analyzed in terms of reliability and behavior controls before they were incorporated into the model.

Component 1: Historial Records

Explicit in land apportionment and land use type differentiation is the importance of the contact--the who and the where of the historical event. Significant, also, are the perceptions concerning the use and occupation of the land, held by the people involved in and writing about the event. Therefore, the model includes only statements related to actual contact with Navajo Indians or any of their land use features, and to times when penetration of or approach to Navajo territory were thought to have occurred.

Component 2: Tree-Ring Dates

The raw data as presented in the Tree-Ring Bulletins are undifferentiated in regard to the accuracy and reliability needed to determine the death date of a wood specimen. The question to be answered here was how do tree-ring dates with various kinds of outside ring characteristics approximate actual construction dates and other periods of Indian activity on that structure. Inquiry disclosed that the time of cutting is revealed by the condition of the rings and that the

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optimum condition for dating requires one of the following: 1) that all of the rings be intact and present (C date); 2) that bark or bark cells be present (B date); or 3) that beetle galleries be present (G date). According to the tree-ring laboratory the superior and only provable condition for dating is found in those specimens containing 'B' and 'G' dates, hereinafter collectively known as 'G' dates.

Once reliability was established it was important to establish behavioral controls regarding the use of wood specimens. A number of possibilities existed. Wood was removed from live trees. Wood was removed from dead trees or from previously constructed buildings. Then, wood was stockpiled for an indefinite time before use or it was used immediately. Finally, wood was used to construct a new structure or used to repair a previously built structure. Perhaps it was used to completely repair or rebuild a previously constructed structure.

It is apparent from the listing that 'G' dates could be used in two ways: 1) to signify activity (repair or rebuild) on a single structure during the representative time period and 2) to derive an exact time of construction. According to tree-ring experts, the most correct treatment of these propositions involve the use of only tightly clustered dates, to within 15 years, to derive construction dates, and the recognition of the "immediate implementation" habits that prevailed in the major drainage systems outside of the Black Mesa geographical area.[4] This means that there was an absence of stock-piling and the immediate use of freshly cut wood in these areas or 'G' dates equal actual time of event.

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Component 3: Informant Information

No criteria was developed for this research to test the validity of informant information. As far as is known, there does not exist the geneologically related information necessary to set up internal controls for Indian peoples. It was, therefore, simply a matter of accepting or rejecting this body of information. It was decided to accept it with two reservations: 1) the fallibility of memory, and 2) the inaccuracy of information due to the adverse circumstances surrounding the informant at the time of deposition.[5]

Component 4: Identification of Land Use and Habitate Behavior Distinctly and Typically Navajo

Navajos consider themselves to be sedentary agriculturists and are, therefore, restricted to a certain geographical location.[6] The winter home is the principal residence and is usually a hogan singly located or in association with other Navajo structures.[7] The year-round residence is a hogan in association with the windbreak, ramadas, lean-to and other Navajo buildings.[8] The summer home is a ramada, brush circle, windbreak or lean-to.[9] Movement from a principal residence is sometimes made for winter fuel. Since the advent of the wagon, however, wood is usually hauled to the principal residence. In either case, distance is negligible.[10] Flocks are sometimes moved to higher elevations in the summer, but distance traveled from the chief dwelling is usually not more than 15 miles.[11] The sheep are generally accompanied by a few members of the family, but not the entire family. Movement from the principal residence is sometimes made for summer farming, but, again, distance is negligible.[12]

In terms of hunting behavior, Navajos usually stalked and killed antelope, deer and small animals. Depending upon size, animals were either tracked, impounded in game corrals, shot or entrapped.[13] Game corrals were used in all the geographical sections before 1868.[14] Navajos usually travelled three to five days from the main home to these corrals and hunting areas. They also travelled great distances to gather plants, fruits and nuts not locally grown.

Economic behavior elements included the raising of sheep and goats, corn, wheat, and melons. When not found within established Navajo territory and particularly in close proximity to Pueblos, their identification as exclusively Navajo may be doubted.[15] Corn grown within established Navajo territory was sometimes grown away from the principal residence.[16]

Structures distinctly and typically Navajo were hogans, cribbed log, vertical poled and circular stone-walled, sweathouses, lamb pens, and sheep corrals.[17] Structures used by Navajos but not typically Navajo are windbreaks, ramadas, lean-tos, antelope corrals and rock shelters.[18] All of these marginal structures may be designated Navajo when located within Navajo territory and in association with hogans and sweathouses.

Once components were established and reliability assured, the research strategy proceeded with the development of a settlement typology and typological application. They are best expressed in enumerated forms.

Typology

Type I: One or more hogans, singly or in spatial proximity

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and in association with one or more of the following: corral, sweathouse, cornfield, stock, windbreak, ramada, and lean-to.

Type II: Windbreaks, ramadas, lean-tos, located within established Navajo territory.

Type III: Stock located within established Navajo territory.

Type IV: Agricultural fields located within established Navajo territory.

Type V: Navajos and stock located within an acknowledged non-Navajo area with or without Navajo structures.

Type VI: Game corrals beyond established Navajo territory.

Typological Application

Type I: will constitute core area settlement

Type II: III, IV: will constitute first degree area of range (short).

Type V: will constitute second degree area of range (long).

Type VI: will constitute area of migration and expansion.

The research model now includes the following steps:

1. Historical contacts, actual or peripheral compiled and mapped.

2. Sites containing R-dated construction and activity dates compiled and mapped.

3. Informant information compiled and mapped.

4. Frontiers drawn at interface between Navajo and non-Navajo territory.

5. Land use and occupancy differentiated and indicated according to typological definitions and applications.[20]

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Endnotes

[1]M. A. Stokes and T. L. Smiley, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim." Tree-Ring Bulletin, 1963, 1964, 1966, 1969, 4 vols.

[2]Norman W. Littell, Proposed Findings of Fact in Behalf of the Navajo Tribe of Indians in the Area of the Overall Navajo Claim, (Dockett 229). 6 vols. (Washington, D.C.: n.d.). In as much as this reference will be cited many times in the footnotes, it will be referred to as Navajo Land Claim hereafter.

[3]Ibid., 7: Appendix K, 3.

[4]Francis Meade Kemrer, "The Dynamics of Navajo Settlement," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1973), pp. 58-68.

[5]Mr. David M. Brugge, an employee of the Navajo tribe at the time these depositions were taken believe that the Indians were questioned under some pressure. His letter will be found in Appendix A.

[6]W. W. Hill, "The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navajo Indians," Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 18, (1938):18.

[7]Richard F. Van Valkenburg and J. C. McPhee, A Short History of the Navajo People (Window Rock:Office of Indian Affairs, Navajo Service, 1938), p. 45.

[8]Kemrer, p. 118; Navajo Land Claim, 3:558. A ramada is a simplistic structure that does no more than give shade. It is made of brush or wood.

[9]Ibid., Van Valkenburg.

[10]Navajo Land Claim, 3:530.

[11]Hill, The Agricultural, p. 18.

[12]Ibid., Navajo Land Claim, 3:553.

[13]Ibid., p. 96; Ibid., 4:754.

[14]Ibid., 4:843.

[15]Ibid., 3:609, 756.

[16]Ibid., 3:574.

[17]Ibid., 3:746, 752, 756.

[18]Ibid., Ibid., 3:751, 752, 754, 756, 757.

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[19]Ibid., 3:740, 745.

[20]All geographic calculations, done for this study, are made from U.S.G.S. quadrangles at the scale of 1:250,000.

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CHAPTER I

A SUMMARY OF NAVAJO HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

The fundamental substance of any historical reconstruction is the contact--the first hand knowledge of any given event. It is not different for a geographical reconstruction. In the case of defining Navajo distribution and settlement boundaries, prior to 1846, the infrequency of contact, between Indian and Hispanic colonizer, within the exact place of Navajo residence has caused interested researchers some difficulty.

In essence, the only real knowledge of Navajo geography existed at the points of contact outside of Navajo-settled areas. The sum of these contacts developed a frontier that extended from just west of Chama, at Abiquiu and the Rio Puerco Valley of the North, down that river past the Cebolleta-Laguna area to Zuni, then west to the Hopi mesas. It was along this line that the history of the Navajo was oriented rather than to any occupational centers at its interior. The grand tour of Conquistadorial reconnaissance, between 1530 and 1592, lay to the south and east of this frontier or between Hopi and Taos in an almost L-shaped line with Acoma at the intermediary point.

Eventually Spanish communities, beginning in 1598, were located in those places immediately adjacent to this frontier and the Rio Grande pueblos. The consequences were instantaneous and harsh. They knew they were dangerously close to Indian habitat but its exact

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location was a constant enigma. To the west the Spaniards heard of nebulous Indians mumbling conspiratorial messages against them from Hopi to Acoma. But their historical documents were unclear as to the identity of these people and their places of origin. They said little else than that they were surrounded and summarily attacked by either Apache, Quercho or Apache de Navajo.

A temporary peace in the middle 18th century, after over one hundred years of warfare allowed the frontier to be penetrated to the main center of Indian population, then in the Gobernado district, and for the first time the exact location of early Navajo land was known. Resumption of Navajo warfare again closed the frontier to all but a few punitive expeditions undertaken in desperation by the Spanish and then the Mexican military. These basic essentials of contact were to remain the same until 1846.

An added confusion persisted in earliest records because of the Spanish inability to differentiate between the Apachean tribes which led to the indiscriminate use of the term Querecho. Whether the Indians that were called Navajos after 1630 were also the same Indians that were called Querechos before that time has led to a polarization of modern scholars over the southern boundary of Navajo territory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here then are the overriding problems under which research into Navajo time and space has labored since its inception.

Before 1900 the knowledge of Navajo history and prehistory was exceedingly limited and Navajo geography as an expressed subject of research was largely ignored. Washington Mathews had published from

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the Navajo origin legends and proposed a presence chronology based upon Navajo methods of reckoning time, by an old man's age, vocabulary analysis and legendary evidence. In summary it stated that Navajos were linguistically related to the northern Athapascans of the Yukon and McKenzie River valleys of western Canada; that they had early migrated into areas of the San Juan River drainage and had, sometime between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1400, developed tribal organization.[1]

Hubert Howe Bancroft had written a history of early New Mexico by 1889 which dealt with Navajo location as the incidental product of a larger political and social reconstruction. Much of his data was wrested from original Spanish documents which included references to a Navajo habitat somewhere west of Santa Fe in 1630 and at Cebolleta and Encinal in 1774.[2] These were isolated and unrelated attempts at geographical reconstruction and they had the effect of establishing a framework for future research.

Six years later Frederick Webb Hodge advanced the understanding of Navajo prehistory by suggesting, on the basis of an analysis of Matthews, that Navajos had appeared in the San Juan not earlier than the 15th century. Before this time, they had probably been cliff dwelling peoples, to whom various of the indigenous peoples of the southwest had gravitated during their migrational episodes and with them settled the San Juan.

He also believed that tribal beginnings had taken place before the 18th century and that the composition of the tribe at that time reflected Athapascan, Tanoan, Keresian, Yunian, Zunian and Shoshonian origins. As his contribution to Navajo history, he maintained that

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the Navajo were a weak and unaggressive population during the early Spanish period and made no trouble for the inhabitants of the Rio Grande.[3]

After the turn of the century and until 1940, the knowledge of Navajo distribution and settlement was associated with the various translations from the Spanish archives that appeared during this period. The intent of some of these publications was not to produce geographical research, per se, but the larger issues of Spanish-American history. Within this context, however, geographical scholarship became a legitimate interest and a natural outcome.

Ralph Emerson Twitchell published The Spanish Archives of New Mexico, a numerical tabulation of selected Spanish documents, in 1914. Expedition into New Mexico by Antonio de Espsjo, 1582-1583, the translation of a journal description of this event was published by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey in 1929.

Twitchell's work contained a 19th century description of Navajo territory which informed scholars that Navajos were living in or near the Tunicha Mountains (Chuska Range) and in Canyon de Chelly during the first decade of the 1800's.[4]

The Espejo document presented, also for the first time, a description of Indian peoples living near Mt. Taylor that were called Querechos. The translators footnoted these peoples as early forerunners of the Navajo people.[5]

One of the first syntheses of Navajo history appeared in 1932 under the authorship of Charles Amsden. Essentially it was a revision of Matthews and Hodge, and included a geographical interpretation from

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the Zarate-Salmeron Relaccion (1626) and the Duran Report (1786). The sum of his investigation into these records pointed to a much more rapid dispersal of Navajo peoples across early New Mexico than was conceived of pre-1786 documents and earlier Navajo historical research. It was his contention that a portion of the tribe had left the northwest corner of New Mexico before 1626 and had by that time already expanded southward to Cebolleta and the San Mateo Mountains, and westward to the Chuskas and Canyon de Chelly where they were reported to be settled, in 1786 by Duran. It was also Amsden's feeling that Querechos were probably not early Navajos as the historical record spoke for small beginnings.[6]

Also in 1932, Alfred B. Thomas published Spanish documents pertinent to the Indian history of New Mexico between 1777 and 1787. Included in this material was a geographical description of Navajo territory in 1782 by Fray Juan Agristen de Morfi, published for the first time in this volume and another inferred from the correspondence between Juan Bautista da Anza and Cavallero de Crois. Morfi stated that the Navajo resided east of Hopi even at the border of this country, but not to the north, west or south of it.[7] Anza said the Navajo Nation was established on the road between Santa Fe and Hopi and half way in between.[8]

Charles W. Hackett's 1937 collection of selected Spanish documents appeared next and contained what is known as the Valdez Report. Information from this source strengthened the notion of a western migration from the San Juan in the 18th century by indicating that Navajo may have been as far west as the Colorado River at that time.[9]

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It can be seen that the basic configuration of Navajo territory from earliest historic times to the beginning of the 19th century had been figured out by the end of the 1930's. The subsequent publications from the Rabal (1940), Cordero (1957) and Viscarro (1964) manuscripts have not altered that projection.[10] It can best be described as containing a core of Navajo settlement in the northwest corner of New Mexico in the 16th and 17th centuries and undergoing a flow of out migration that extended to southern and western areas, probably not beyond Cebolleta and Black Mesa by the end of the 18th century.

During the last thirty-eight years, Navajo geography has become a separate interest within the status of historical and anthropological research. The focus of this interest has been toward the development of a more precise and systematic analysis of Navajo distribution through time. Some important investigations of this type have come from studies done by W.W. Hill, J.P. Harrington and James J. Hester (anthropologists).

Hill was the first to propose a Navajo core area location for the first half of the 18th century that was detailed with almost cartographic exactitude. His boundary lines for this settlement area, between the 35th and 37th parallels, lay slightly north of present-day Fort Defiance, slightly west of the New Mexico-Arizona state line and in the north, at the San Juan River. The eastern line was maintained west of the Rio Puerco frontier.[11]

Harrington, on the basis of the Miera map and previous archeological findings, suggested that Navajo territory had passed through three geographical stages.[12] Between 1500 A.D. and 1600 A.D. core

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settlement, originally located in Largo and associated canyons of the Gobernador, shifted eastward to a place slightly west of modern Burford Lake, New Mexico. During the next century, this entire area expanded southward into the vicinity of Huerfano Buttes and eastward almost to the Chama River. After 1700 A.D. and until 1800 A.D., the Gobernador was vacated and Navajos were pushed into the Cebolleta Cabezon Peak area, by the momentum of a southern migration.[13]

It was not until 1962 that Navajo areal distribution received its ultimate refinement by an anthropologist in the form of Hester's "Navajo Migrations and Acculturations." His research strategy was interdisciplinarian in approach and his conclusions have become the point of departure for future geographical interpretation. The central theme of this work is the definition of Navajo territory from its earliest probable date to 1800 A.D. He has described this region and its movement through time in fifty year intervals. Because of the importance of his conclusions to this study, they will be listed here in their entirety. (Figure 2)

Pre-1600 A.D.

Navajos were probably in the canyons of the Gobernador in the 16th century. Some tree-ring dates have been found from as early as 1491 A.D. but the range and number are inclusive and, at this point, do no more than suggest an initial settlement time.

1600 A.D.

The earliest tree-ring date was obtained from the Chacra Mesa and dates 1600. This has led to the inclusion of this mesa as the western

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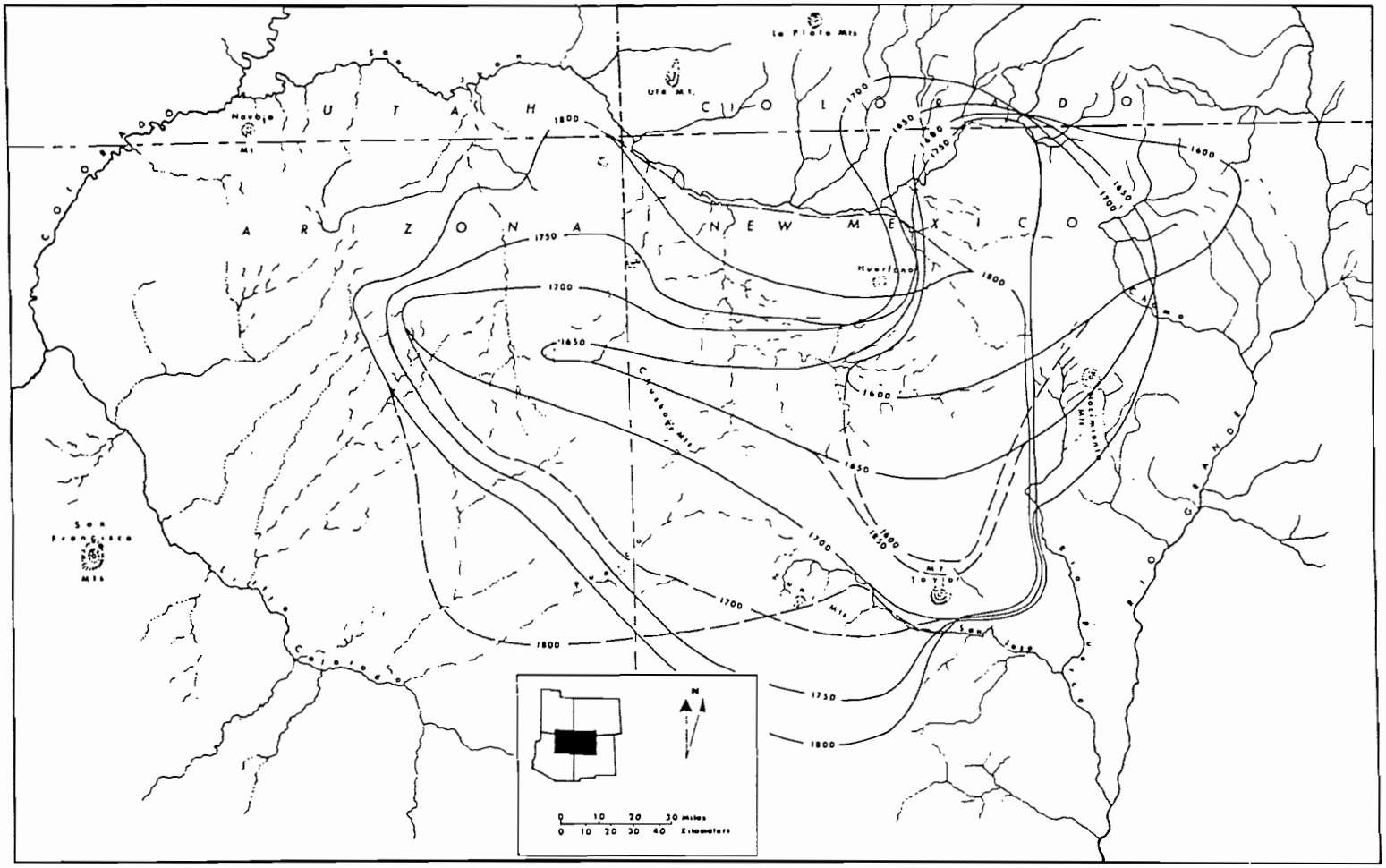

Figure 2. James J. Hester's reconstruction of Navajo settlement between 1600 A.D.-1800 A.D.

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extent of the Gobernador settlement at the beginning of this century. Dependent upon the interpretation of the term Querecho, it is possible that the region of Mt. Taylor was also occupied by the Navajos in this period and represented the southern extent of this same territory.

1650 A.D.

On the basis of a tree-ring date near Hopi, it is possible that some migration from the core of settlement had taken place to the west and into Canyon de Chelly.[14]

1700 A.D.

The Gobernado begins to show signs of shrinkage accompanied by signs of increased migration to the southwest, at the San Juan River line, to the northwest in the vicinity in the Animas River and perhaps to Black Mesa in the area of the Oraibi drainage.

1750 A.D.

A definite pattern of out migration is observed from the Gobernador in the direction of Canyon de Chelly and Cebolleta with some settlement perhaps occurring north of Canyon de Chelly in the direction of the Carrizo Mountains and southwest in the direction of the Gila Apaches.

1800 A.D.

The abandonment of the Gobernador has been achieved and Navajos have increased their territory to its extreme western line at approximately the Dinnebito Wash on Black Mesa in the south and near Dinnehotso and Tec Nos Pos in the north. The southern most boundary still

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corners at Cebolleta in the east and probably near modern Houck in the west.[15]

Some important contributions in systematic research have found expression in the domain of purely narrative history. One of the first publications of this type was produced by S. Lyman Tyler. While his thesis dealt mainly with the reconstruction of early Ute Indian territory, it nevertheless made some contributions to the understanding of Navajo geography.

It was his opinion that Querechos, the plains Vaqueros and the Ute Indians shared a certain cultural behavior, the buffalo use complex. In fact, the Vaqueros encountered by Coronado in 1539 may well have been the ancestor of the modern Ute. In other words, the Querechos of Mt. Taylor were probably Shoshonian not Navajo and the term Querecho was applied to Apachean peoples due to some behavior similarities they bore to the Shoshonian type.[16]

Another important point established by Tyler, though indirectly, was the absence of Navajo in the area in which Dominquez-Escalante and Garces journeyed in 1776. This would be south of Hopi and north of the Pueblo for a short distance in the direction of Lee's Ferry and Navajo Creek.[17]

Frank D. Reeve followed in 1956 with a series of articles which focused mainly on Navajo-Hispanic contact history. His first endeavor, "Early Navajo Geography" established with the most discriminating precision the exact location of the sixteenth and seventeenth century core areas of the Gobernador and Mt. Taylor. He also confirmed the geographical position of the Piedre Alumbra described in the Spanish

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documents as the eastern most extent of Navajo land and the corridor through which these Indians passed to attack the Rio Grande settlements for over one hundred years.[18]

Jack D. Forbes' Apache, Navajo and Spaniard appeared in 1960 and was essentially a revision of 16th and 17th Spanish history according to his notion that Navajos were really responsible for much of the early Indian history in the upper Rio Grande valley and were indeed the infamous Querechos of Mt. Taylor. In other words, the word 'Navajo' should be substituted in most of those early Spanish passages using the term 'Apache' and 'Querecho.'[19] The idea was not new to Forbes' work, however, but had roots in the research of Donald E. Worcester who had previously published around this idea.[20]

The most current systematic narrative study is that of Ward Alan Minge and found in his dissertation "Frontier Problems in New Mexico Preceding the Mexican War, 1840-1846." While his energies were not explicitly aimed at an evaluation of Navajo territory per se he nevertheless treated it as the incidental result of the numerous violent Indian contacts which were one of the many problems on the Mexican frontier. This work has filled a gap in Navajo presence chronology that was sorely needed and its importance in providing an immediate background to this present study is immeasurable. It is, therefore, presented here in some depth.

Dissertation information may be divided by contact type, Navajo attacks on Mexican and Pueblo settlements and military expeditions made within territory thought to be Navajo. The first classification will not be used in this tabulation. For purposes of simplicity, it is

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necessary to say only that between 1840 and 1846 Navajos raided the Mexican-Navajo frontier and with their listing provide answers to some frontier questions but not habitat location to the interior -- the question of major concern to this thesis. It is with the classification of military expeditions that this summary deals.

Minge established that no specific boundaries were ever mentioned in Mexican records for Navajo country. This means that during this period, Navajo territory must be defined in terms of the places to which the expeditions were sent.

1838 A.D.

Under the command of Manuel Armijo, a campaign was launched against the Navajo Indians in the fall of 1838. The location of the attack was reported to be in the vicinity of the Tunicha Mountains (a designation used for the central portion of the Chusca Mountains above Canyon de Chelly) and Tres Lagunas.

1839 A.D.

Military forces under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Juan Archuleta found Navajos living in Canyon de Chelly and Canyoncito de Trego.

1840 A.D.

Juan Ramirez and a group of Mexican militiamen marched to Red Lake in a Chuska Mountain valley and put to flight Indians living there and reported the presence of a Navajo rancheria lived in by a Chief Ceballa. There were other expeditions into Navajo country during the first forty-six years of the century. They were, however, sparsely documented in terms of Navajo settlement location. The Ramirez expedition marked

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the last formal entry into the land of these people before the arrival of U.S. Troops.[21]

Summary of Archeological Research

In relation to the archeology of other Indians in the southwest, Navajo archeology was slow to materialize, produced few dates, and was cursory in nature. Cosmos Mindeleff first drew attention to this field of study in 1895 with his discovery of Navajo burials at Canyon de Chelly.[22] It was not until 1912 that research was undertaken in earnest with the Kidder survey of that year in the Gobernador district. Gobernador and Largo Canyons revealed smaller than usual pueblo style masonry structures in widely spread groupings, associated with stone watch towers and Navajo hogans. Artifacts included an assortment of Navajo and Pueblo items. Architecture maintained Spanish, Pueblo, and Navajo traits.

Arrangement of the sites at the edge of mesa projections, on boulders, high in the canyon walls or surrounding walls suggested a positioning for reasons of defense. Kidder, therefore, concluded the settlement to have been of a temporary nature and built by some Rio Grande Puebloans who were living in some kind of contact with Navajos. The exact nature of the Navajo population was unknown, but Kidder assumed the Pueblo people were Jemez driven north in 1696 by the Spanish reconquest of the Rio Grande.[23]

These basic assumptions for the Gobernador district have undergone little reinterpretation. The tree-ring dates of subsequent excavations have revealed a quantity of dates clustering about the period of the early and middle eighteenth century while a few dates have appeared

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from sixteenth century construction. But it was believed the relative infrequency of the earlier dates did not justify shifting Navajo occupation back a century.[24] Until the work of Hester revealed Navajo occupation on the San Juan River proper for an earlier period, Kidder's refugee theory found no substantive support. Hester's dates from hoganwood in the Navajo Reservoir District dated as early as 1504. While his specimens were few and inconclusive, they allowed him to speak of a "Gobernador Phase" which when related to the "Dinetah Phase" of the Gobernador District, spoke for Navajo cultural development dating from 1696-1750.[25]

In essence, Hester proposed an early settlement of mixed Puebloans and Navajos on the San Juan, perhaps having come into existence with the Pueblo revolt of 1680. Due to some pressure, possibly from Ute and/or Commanche Indians, Navajos were forced south occupying the defensive sites of the Gobernador.[25]

Tree-ring dates indicated abandonment of these sites between 1750 and 1755, and the spread of these dates showed the process to have been a gradual one. The evacuation of Gobernador was logically supposed to have taken migrating Navajos to the south or the west. Exactly where was a different problem.

The only major publication to appear in the 1940's concerned excavations done at Big Bead Mesa, one hundred miles to the south of the Gobernador. While the settlement was a post-gobernador phase, the almost total lack of Navajo pottery at the site indicated a group of Navajo unassociated with the canyons to the north.[26] Vivian, ten years later, identified 23 dates on Chacra Mesa, clustering around the middle

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eighteenth century.[27]

Intensive archeological investigations were undertaken in the 1950's under the auspices of the Navajo Project Studies of the Museum of New Mexico. Field work was undertaken in the south San Juan division at the southern edge of the Gobernador District. Forty-seven sites with the Gobernador Phase occupation were found indicating Navajo had come into the area by 1500 A.D. or shortly thereafter.[28] This date conflicted with E. T. Hall who had by this time determined the Navajos had moved in the San Juan canyon country as early as the twelfth century and as an overlay on an already existing Puebloan occupation.[29]

Also determined was the extent of occupation in this southern portion of the district; it appeared to have continued beyond 1700 A.D. into 1800 A.D. Francais Canyon was also found to have been the northern boundary of the Dinetah as no large Pueblo structures were found in the project areas, as they had been in the Gobernador District.[30]

In 1963 the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research began a comprehensive review of all tree-ring specimens from sites in the southwest. By 1974 they had published all but one of the quadrangles in the series. Southwestern Colorado has not yet been finished.[31] Their reports were taken from the following areas: Shiprock, Zuni, Mt. Taylor, Eastern Grand Canyon, Tsegi Canyon, Kayenta, Puerco, Wide Ruin, Ganado, Chinle, de Chelly, Red Rock, South Utah area, Chacra, Gobernador, Hopi Mesa area, Gila and Salt Rivers area, southeastern Arizona, and southwestern New Mexico. These records showed little archeological activity after 1960 and no dates for Navajo structures not included in Appendix B.

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Summary

The following representation of Navajo history and prehistory is presented in summary of the one hundred years of study and research just reviewed. Most scholars would accede to its being the most correct version today.

Navajos, called Apacheans in the Southwest, are related linguistically to the Athapascan Indians of western Canada who presently make their homes, as they have done for the last one thousand years, in the drainages of the Yukon and McKenzie Rivers. Sometime between 1000 and 1300 A.D. a portion of these people migrated, either as a unit or in successive waves, southward into the southwestern part of the United States and into the Gobernador district of northwestern New Mexico.

The route taken is at this time unknown. With the discovery of Apachean cultural elements at Promontory, Utah, Dismal River, Nebraska and western Colorado it is, however, proper to speak of three possible corridors of migration. The Great Basin, the Plains, and the intermountain region of the western flanks of the southern Rockies.

Beyond the possession of a portable material culture the nature of the migratory group(s) and the developmental phases of their prehistory are also unknown. The predominate theory suggests the probability of a plains corridor of migration and a differentiation within the group which left two units (Lipan and Kiowa) to dominate the central and southern plains and an Apachean offshoot to move into the southwest where the Navajo, separated from the Apaches, drifted into northwestern New Mexico by the beginning of the sixteenth century. The only evidence that can substantiate this point of view is a tree-

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ring date from Gobernador Canyon dated 1491 A.D. and evidence from the Espejo account which locates Querechos, a possible Athapascan speaking people, near the Acoma pueblo in 1583.

The first clear picture of the Navajo is derived from the seventeenth century Spanish documents of Frays Alonso de Benevides and Zarate - Salmeron. Here they are spoken of as a definite cultural group living in the canyons of the Gobernador by the name of Apache de Navajo. They have assumed, through close contact with the eastern pueblos, the identity of farmers and stock raisers and incorporated some Puebloan cultural characteristics which include tribal structure, matrilineal descent and village-like habitation.

In other words we have for the first time a specific body of people, called Navajo, classified by definite cultural characteristics and inhabiting a certain prescribed area in the southwest. This area has been defined as existing (1500-1700) between Burford Lake and the Chama River in the east to Chacra Mesa in the west and from the San Juan River in the north to Huerfano Buttes in the south.

It is generally agreed that the Navajos began to leave the Gobernador as early as 1700 A.D. and were gone by 1800 A.D. It was a gradual shifting south and west brought about by pressure from hostile Ute and Commanche Indians and the removal of a large number of Indians to the Spanish missions at Cebolleta and Encinal in 1746. Out-migration reached as far west as Hopi, but the majority of Navajos were concentrated within the Chuska, Tunicha and San Mateo Mountains.

In the meantime Navajo relationships with the Hispanic colonizers of the Rio Grande Valley, first the Spanish and then the Mexicans, were

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from earliest times ones of constant warfare. As the Indians came to value European cattle, sheep and goats as essential economic resources, raiding for stock increased with exasperating frequency.

In almost every generation after colonists reached the upper Rio Grande Valley, in 1598, Hispanos had to face the possibility of losing their hard won foothold in New Mexico. It seemed certain they would be either starved out or killed.

For the entire time that Spanish speaking peoples governed New Mexico colonial affairs of state were directed, by necessity, toward the resolution of Navajo problems. Three policies seemed most likely to succeed: conversion of the Indians to Christianity, diplomatic interaction and treaties, and punitive retaliation and extermination.

Catholic missionaries entered Navajo country in 1629 and 1746. Little is known of the efforts of the first group. Apparently they were able to build a log church and baptize a few Indians. The resident friar was soon killed and the collapse of the mission immediately followed.

The second missionary effort in the Gobernador resulted in the conversion of a reported five thousand Navajos. But because it was impossible to furnish the necessary numbers of soldiers to enforce religious activities the mission was removed, with five hundred of the converts, to the more accessible location of Encinal and Cebolleta Mountain.

Success at instilling Indian minds with Christian virtues lasted only as long as the supply of gifts and services. When the Spanish failed to deliver, the Navajo failed in their attention to religious

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duty and in the end most of them moved to the western settlements in the Chuska Mountains.

Political policies were aimed at negotiating peace treaties and agreements with the unit called the Navajo tribe. The assumption of political or tribal unity was incorrect and the Spanish quickly learned that Navajos lived only in bands, which after movement into the west, were widely dispersed and governed by local headmen. Their authority was in effect only for their band and did not exceed their geographical borders.

In short, Spanish and Mexican governments at Santa Fe could rarely write a treaty that would be obeyed by the entirety of the Navajo people. A period of relative peace was achieved between 1720 and 1775 but had more to do with the distribution of gifts than native respect for treaty stipulations.

The punitive retaliatory campaign was the most continuing and relied upon of all Hispanic policies. In truth it was the only option left, being impossible, as it was, to deal with the Indians on any other basis.

Punitive expeditions into Navajo land began in the early 1600's and continued almost unabated until the eve of American occupation in 1846.

There were two types, the chase that was put in force immediately after raiders were off with their plunder and the battle that engaged the Indian on his home ground. The latter method of punishment was not a regular occurrence but when the citizens of New Mexico were sufficiently mad hundreds of soldiers with the most updated weaponry were

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marched almost to the Navajos' front door to deal out a bloody revenge.

Unhappily for peace and economic stability on the Rio Grande most of the Indians easily evaporated, as it were, into thin air.

When the U.S. army arrived in New Mexico conditions between the Indians and the European population were operating at the two hundred year old level of chaos. The Mexican economy was paralyzed and the people were laboring under deprivation and fear. The future obligations and duties of the Americans, as victors in the Mexican War, were clearly set before them.

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Endnotes

[1]Washington Matthews, "Navajo Legends," American Folklore Society, Memoir, No. 5. (1887):135-160; Fredereck Webb Hodge, "The Early Navajo", American Anthropologist 8 (July 1895):228.

[2]Hubert Howe Bancroft, The History of Arizona and New Mexico. (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1963), pp. 162, 247.

[3]Hodge, pp. 238-240.

[4]Ralph Emerson Twitchell, The Spanish Archives of New Mexico (2 vols., Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1914) 2:Nos. 1492, 1712, 1730, 1767, 1792, 1828.

[5]George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio De Espejo, 1582-1583 (Los Angeles: Quivera Society, 1929), pp. 86-87.

[6]Charles Amsden, "Navajo Origin," New Mexico Historical Review, 7 (July 1932):196-206.

[7]Alfred E. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), p. 108.

[8]Ibid., p. 223.

[9]Charles Wilson Hackett. Ed., Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Neuva Viscarjo and Approaches Thereto, to 1773. 3 Vols. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937) 2:381-383.

[10]The Rabal Document is a record of testimonies, given before a council of war in New Mexico, by persons who had been to Navajo country in the San Juan area and reported its exact location. W. W. Hill, "Some Navajo Cultural Changes During Two Centuries," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940) 100:400-413. Cordero reported that there were ten Navajo settlements in 1796: "Cebolleta, Chuske, Guadalupe, Cerro Cabezon, Agua Salada, Cerro Chato, Chuska, Tunicha, de Chella and Carizo, D. S. Matson and Albert H. Shroeder, "Corderos Description of the Apache - 1796," New Mexico Historical Review 32(1957):356; Vizcarras' expedition found Navajos in the Tunicha Mountains, Canyon de Chelly, near Ojo de la Vaca, Mepo Springs on First Mesa, near the last fork of the Dinnebito and on the slopes of Skeleton Mesa. The latter three contacts were with itinerant horsemen. Settlements, as such, were not involved; David M. Brugge, "Vizcarras Navajo Campaign of 1823," Arizona and the West 6(1965):229-238.

[11]Ibid.

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[12]The Miera Y Pacheco Map of 1779 located Navajoes in the area of Canyon de Chelly for the first time, Alvin M. Josephy, ed., The American Heritage Book of Indians (New York: Simeon and Schuster, 1961), pp. 130-131.

[13]J. P. Harrington, "Southern Peripheral Athapascan Origins," Essays on Historical Anthropology of North America, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940) 100:514-517.

[14]The date of settlement for Canyon de Chelly has been established, in large measure, from tree-ring dates taken from hogan wood near Spider Rock, in 1941. The dates ranged between 1758-1770, Wesley R. Hurt, Jr. "Eighteenth Century Navajo Hogans from Canyon de Chelly National Monument," American Antiquity 8(1942):98. These dates have since been reevaluated and redated to 1794-1864, David M. Brugge, "Revised dates for Navajo Hogans Near Canyon de Chelly," American Antiquity 32(1967):see also, Bryant Bannister, Jeff S. Dean and Elizabeth Gell, Tree-Ring Dates from Arizona E:Chinle-de Chelly-Red Rock Area, (Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1966), p. 33; Recent excavation on the north rim of Canyon del Muerto (1972) has disclosed a Navajo occupation ranging in time from 1770 A.D. to the near present. Charles D. James, III and Alexander J. Linsay, Jr., "Ethnoarcheological Research at Canyon Del Muerto, Arizona: A Navajo Example," Ethnohistory 20 (Fall 1973):362.

[15]James J. Hester, "Navajo Migrations and Acculturations in the Southwest," Museum of New Mexico Papers in Anthropology, No. 6 (1962): 82-84.

[16]Samuel Lyman Tyler, "Before Escalante," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1951), pp. 53-55. For alternative opinions that these people were Southern Athapascans recently moved from the plains east of the Rio Grande River see Delores A. Gunnarson, "The Southern Anthapascans: Their Arrival in the Southwest," El Palacio 63(1956): 363; Delores A. Gunnerson, "The Jicarilla Apaches: A Study in Survival," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1971), pp. 93-94.

[17]Ibid., pp. 186-191.

[18]The Piedre Alumbre may be located on the U.S.G.S. Topographic Quadrangle for Albuquerque, New Mexico, just west of the Jemez Pueblo, Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navajo Geography," New Mexico Historical Review 31(1956). The remaining articles in the series are: "Navajo-Spanish Wars, 1680-1720," New Mexico Historical Review 33(1953):205-231; "The Navajo-Spanish Peace, 1720's-1770's," New Mexico Historical Review 34 (1959):9-40; "The Navajo-Spanish Diplomacy, 1770-1790," New Mexico Historical Review, 35(July 1960):200-235.

[19]Jack D. Forbes, Apache, Navajo and Spaniard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

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[20]Donald E. Worcester, "Beginnings of Apache Menace in the Southwest," New Mexico Historical Review 16(1941):1-13; "The Navajo During the Spanish Regime in New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review 22 (1951):103-104.

[21]Ward Alan Minge, "Frontier Problems in New Mexico Preceding the Mexican War, 1840-1846" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1965), pp. 72-73, 78-80, 84. To preserve the continuity of Navajo presence in the 19th century before 1846, as has been summarized thus far in this chapter, it is thought to be important to add, here, the locations of Navajo settlement determined by the punitive expedition of Governor Albino Perez in 1837. Perez's men advanced on Navajo country by way of the Zuni Pueblo and the Black Creek Valley, the location of present-day Window Rock and Fort Defiance, Arizona. Their final destination was in the mountains of the northern Chuscas. Four Navajo "rancherios" were reported to be at Ojo del Oso and in the southern Chuscas. Other settlement was found in the "Tunicha" Mountains. It was also stated that the Tunicha area and Canyon de Chelly were, collectively, the center of Navajo land. This information has been taken from Myra Ellen Jenkins and Ward Alan Minge, "Navajo Activities Affecting the Acoma-Laguna Area, 1746-1910" in Navajo Indians II (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 60-61.

[22]Cosmos Mindeleff, "Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona," Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897):166-170.

[23]Alfred V. Kidder, "Ruins of the Historic Period in the Upper San Juan Valley, New Mexico," American Anthropologist 22(1920):322.

[24]Ray L. Carlson, "Eighteenth Century Navajo Fortresses of the Governador District: The Earl Morris Papers, No. 2," University of Colorado Studies Series in Anthropology, No. 10 (1965):2.

[25]Hester, "Navajo Migration and Acculturation in the Southwest," pp. 87, 91, 95.

[26]Dorothy Keur, "Big Bead Mesa, an Archeological Study of Navajo Acculturation, 1745-1812," Society for American Archeology, Memoirs, No. 1 (1941).

[27]Gordon Vivian, "Navajo Archeology of the Chacra Mesa, New Mexico," (M.S. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1960), pp. 155-156; see also, Roy Malcolm, "Archeological Remains, Supposedly Navajo, from Chacra Canyon, New Mexico," American Anthropologist 5 (1939).

[28]Alfred E. Dittert, Jr. "Preliminary Archeological Investigations in the Navajo Project Area of Northwestern New Mexico," Navajo Project Studies: 1, Museum of New Mexico Papers in Anthropology, No. 1, (1958):24.

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[29]Edward Twitchell Hall, "Recent Clues in Athapascan Pre-history in the Southwest," American Anthropologist 46(1944):103.

[30]Dittert, p. 18.

[31]William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrill and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico B, Chaco-Gobernador Area, (Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1974), p. 11.

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CHAPTER II

AMERICAN INTRODUCTION INTO OLD NAVAJO LAND, 1846-1849

In 1846 the United States began its war for the possession of Southwest and other areas of Mexican held territory west of the Mississippi River.

General Zachary Taylor was fortifying a camp of about four thousand American Dragoons on the north bank of the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, on March 28. If the Mexicans made any attempt to repel this invasion Taylor was ordered to open fire and declare war.

During May General Stephen W. Kearny was gearing up his Army of the West in Leavenworth, Kansas for their march over the old Santa Fe Trail to the capital of New Mexico. He was under direction to take and hold it for the United States -- by right of conquest.

It was going to be a momentous summer for Americans back home, in the east, who had, in effect, issued a mandate for this expansion to James K. Polk in the previous election of 1845. It was also going to be a momentous summer for the free spirited Navajo Indians living west of the Rio Grande River. For in that year forces were being put into motion that would eventually limit their wandering over beloved homelands and restrict them to the rigid boundaries of a reservation.

But at this moment the land, the central theme of this narrative and the place upon which this drama was to unfold, was obscure and as unknown to the rest of the world even as the Navajo Indians themselves

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were at the advent of Kearny's Army of the West into old New Mexico. Almost nothing was known of the country between the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean. As far as the average interested person was concerned it was a vast featureless expanse, inhabited here and there by fierce and barbarian tribes.[1]

This is a fact of considerable significance to our understanding of Navajo settlement in the early American period. For some of what we know of these people has come from the writing of men who never actually set foot within their land.

The only area of New Mexico that most people had any familiarity with in 1846, was the settled area along the Rio Grande River from El Paso to Taos. It was the most widely known area of the entire Mexican cession and had been so since 1598 when the first Spaniards settled there. They, too, with their progenitors would have had some difficulty plotting the homes and corn fields of the Navajo west of the river with any cartographic accuracy.

But Americans wanted to know about this new land and in particular the Congress wanted to know about it and their curiosity became the stimulant behind the great inventory of the far west that began in the Southwest with the exploratory work of William Hemsley Emory. Under Government orders he was attached to General Kearny's Command and with these troops made his way over the Raton Pass, through the small village of Las Vegas and down into Santa Fe in early August. Emory was a graduate of West Point with the class of 1831 and at that moment was a member of the U.S. Topographical Corps of Engineers. Assigned to duty with him were young Lieutenants James William Abert

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and William G. Peck, also engineers with the Topographical division of the U.S. Army. Together they planned to amass as much data as possible so that Congress in Washington would be able to envision with great detail the physical and ethonographic conditions of the southwest.

The media for such an assignment was the most up-to-date of the scientific equipment employed by the Corps--two large-box chronometers, two eight and one-half inch sextants, a syphon barometer, two copies of Fremont's Report of 1843-44, Mitchell's Map of Texas, Oregon and California, four copies of Emory's own map of Texas, one copy of Abert's map, Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies, two sets of Hasswell's tables and two nautical almanacs,[2]

Probably, however, the presence of the U.S. Army near Indian country had more to do with the discovery of Navajo settled places than Emory's expedition or any of the exploratory reconnaissances that followed in the next 13 years. Troops began to build Ft. Marcy on the hill above Santa Fe almost as soon as they arrived with Kearny. Fort Defiance, near present-day Window Rock, Arizona was established by 1852 and old Fort Wingate, ten miles southeast of Gallup, New Mexico was built in 1862. With the exception of a few years during the Civil War the U.S. Military remained constantly at Navajo borders until old Navajo land was turned into a reservation in 1868 under the direction of the Department of the Interior.[3] It is from the activities consequent to this military occupation of New Mexico that settlement patterns of the Navajo Nation have become understood.

Kearny had his first experience with the Navajo in the middle of September when on a good will tour of the Mexican and Pueblo settle-

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ments near Albuquerque, raiders struck native sheep herds under the very nose of his encamped soldiers.[4]

But they had been of concern to Kearny for some time before this episode. In fact, when he first arrived in Las Vegas, a few weeks before, he declared with great urgency to the one hundred and fifty citizens gathered in the public plaza that the United States had every intention of waging a strenuous war against the wild Indians of New Mexico in order to protect these citizen's lives and property.[5] He repeated the same promises of protection on the nineteenth and twentieth of the month when he took control of the government at Santa Fe.[6]

Here now in September, because his words had apparently gone unheaded, this intense and very irritated man determined to end the ravages of the impudent Indians. Immediately word was sent to Alexander W. Doniphan, a regimental commander to send two patrols west of the Rio Grande. Accordingly by September 16 four companies of First Missouri Cavalry were on their way to the frontiers verging on Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Here they were to hold a line against the destructive work of the Indian raiding parties.

Major William Gilpin heading one of the companies led one hundred and eighty troops to the village of Abiquiu, on the Chama River, almost forty-five miles northwest of Santa Fe. The expectation of this operation was the clearing of Abiquiu's immediate hinterland of marauding Navajos and Utes.[7] On the same day Lieutenant Colonel Congreve Jackson and three companies of Missouri volunteers advanced on the old town of Ceboyetta, in the San Mateo Mountains, about forty-five miles west of Albuquerque to keep the nearby river valley clear

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of raiders until Doniphan took up his march to Chihuahua, Mexico, which was scheduled for October.[8] Both Jackson and Gilpin were, in the meantime, to set up peace councils between the Indians and General Kearny to be held at later dates at Santa Fe. The Navajo ignored their invitations, however, and no such meetings took place.[9]

On September 25, the business of setting up a provisional government at Santa Fe was concluded and Kearny, turning his attention to the questions of presidial power in Mexican California, marched his men south along the Rio Grande. The Navajos, still unable to resist their two hundred year old practice of raiding, attacked the Pueblo of Isletta as he passed within three miles of it on September 29.[10] Further down the river, near the small village of Polvidera, the Indians drove off more stock and managed to escape with them though Captain Meredith T. Moore and C. Company bore hard upon their heels.[11]

At this point Kearny, particularly annoyed by this intrusion, prepared to bring about a final conclusion to the problem of Navajo peace in New Mexico. It was his opinion this could be accomplished through the implementation of the peace treaty. It was an extravagent idea in light of the Navajos' war-like history and demonstrated the limited knowledge Kearny and his officers had of the nature of Navajo government, Navajo land and the patterns of land use which gave rise to a system of many autonomous groups under the jurisdiction of local leaders or headmen.[12] In other words, it would be almost impossible to institute any laws relative to total tribal behavior that would be followed by the majority of the individual bands.

Nevertheless, Kearny halted the American war with Mexico long

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enough to keep Colonel Doniphan from his duties in Chihuahua and sent him orders to proceed into Navajo Country. Specifically, he was to secure a peace, restrict all raiding, and obtain a surrender of all captives and stolen property.[13]

With the Navajo consigned to apparent peaceful oblivion, General Stephen Watts Kearny regrouped his troops, marched south again, along the Rio Grande to a place about two miles south of present-day Truth or Consequences and turned west for California.[14] Their route passed the Santa Rita Copper Mines on their way to the head waters of the Gila, which they followed faithfully to its junction with the Colorado. Emory, historian and map maker for this journey, records only Apaches, Maricopas and Pimas at their advance.[15] The Grand Army of the West reached San Diego in December. It was the first time anyone besides Apaches and a few trappers such as the Patties and Ewing Young had traversed the Transmississippi southwest.

Before Emory leaves this narrative it is important to consider his contribution to the knowledge of early Navajo settlements. He has provided one of the first American historical documents dealing with their geographical distribution in 1846. This document has come to be known as the Emory Map and was included with the other information he gathered in the southwest under the title Notes of Military Reconnaissance. This work is extremely readable to any interested party and a delight to the botanist, ethnologist and historian as a document of an almost pristine past; the map endures as the first accurately drawn map of the Southwest (Figure 3). Of interest to the student of Navajo geography is the allocation, made by this map, to land occupied

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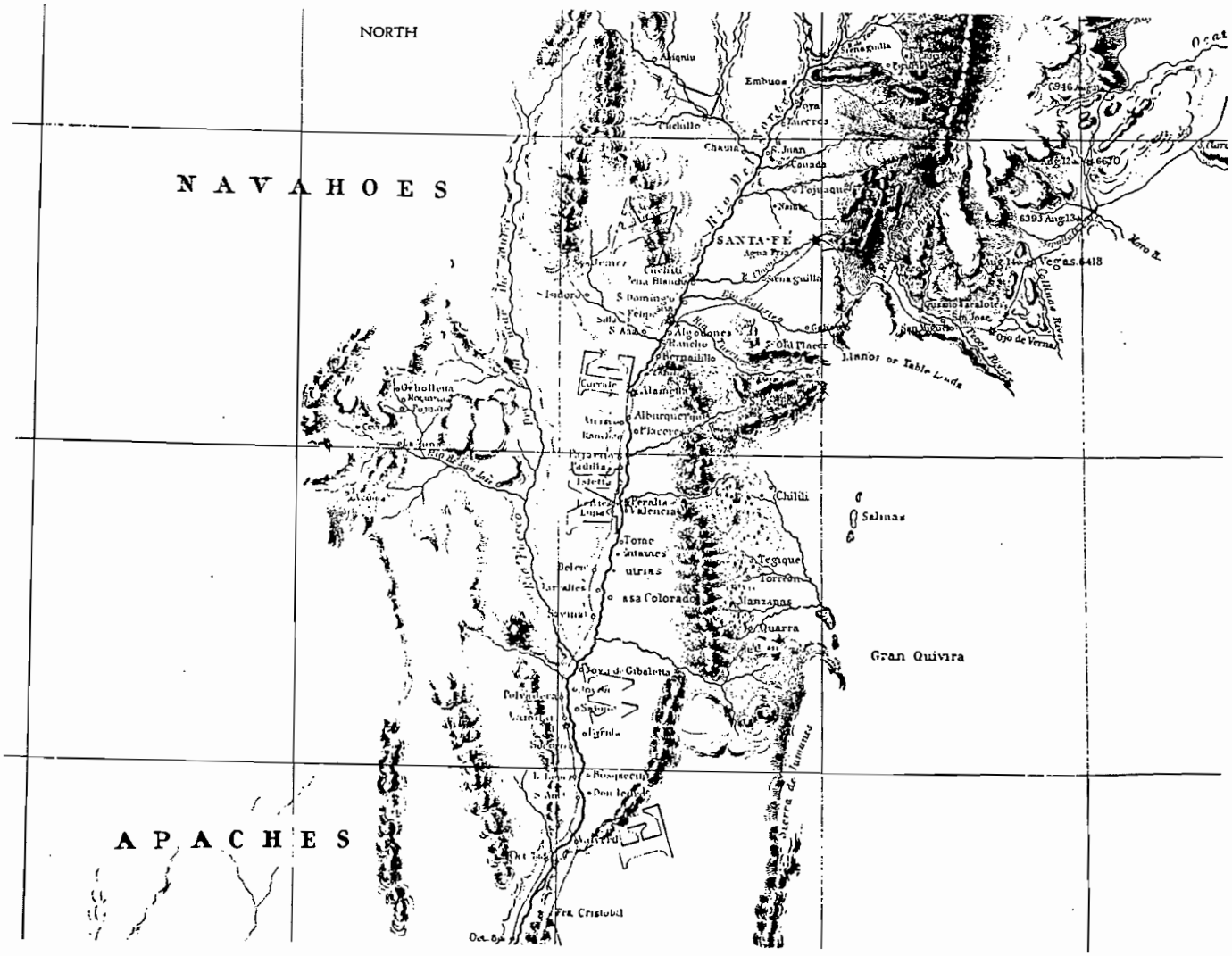

Figure 3. The Emory map, 1846.

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by the Navajo people in the 1840's.

The word Navajo appears over that area immediately west of the Rio Puerco and north of the San Mateo Mountain complex. It is printed closely to what appears to be an eastern boundary fixed at approximately 170° east longitude. A southern limit seems to exist at about 35° 22' north latitude, however, Emory may have wished to propose an interface with Apaches somewhere near the 34th parallel. Northern and western boundaries are indefinite.

How accurate this delineation of Navajo land occupancy is can only be determined by the actual first hand knowledge which Emory was able to secure between the dates of August 15, when he reached Las Vegas, New Mexico and November 22, the day he crossed the Colorado River into California. Goetzmann says that "in most cases" Emory drew in only that information which was of first hand knowledge to himself or to the rest of the topographical unit.[16] But Emory did not accompany either Jackson's or Gilpin's troops to the "frontiers"; and he had left Santa Fe long before Doniphan marched to Ojo del Oso in November. So he must have spoken with the Mexican people about the Navajos, checked with Abert and Peck for their findings in the area of the Rio Grande and applied his own keen sensitivities to some of their raiding behavior that he observed during this last journey down river. Emory says that he saw Navajo hiding places in the sandhills above Pardillas, in a ravine south of Isletta, that served as a corridor for the Indians and their swift horses to surprise unsuspecting villagers and the direction of chase taken by Moore at Polvidera. All three observations had a westward orientation and caused him to make

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the following remark which we can take as a summary of Emory knowledge on the subject of Navajo location:

> Their retreats and concerns are at a distance to the west, in high and inaccessible mountains, . . where Mexicans have never thought of penetrating.[17]

Abert and Peck, too, experienced only peripheral contact with the Navajo during a thorough exploration made by them of the country west of Albuquerque during the latter part of October. Searching for the Seven Cities of Cibola, a necessary feature of this exploration, directed their investigation to the area around Cebolleta Mountain and the Pueblo of Acoma which was considered to be in the immediate vicinity of these legendary places.[18]

On October 15, their preparations completed, the topographical unit, headed west across the Rio Grande for Indian country. They had been warned before leaving that the valley of the Rio Puerco of the West, a flat section of country through which they must pass, was dangerous and had, over time, become the Navajo War Trail leading to the Mexican villages. Intrusion, therefore, into this area was expected to bring about dire results. But instead of crossing the Puerco as rapidly as possible Abert and Peck decided to march north along the river bed itself in order to ascertain the direction of its course. The appellation of river, of course, was a gross misnomer as it was for most such water ways in the southwest. Only isolated pools of water, deep sand and dense stands of cedar trees greeted their steps. In a short time they were forced to abandon their reconnaissance and were satisfied to explore the area they had already covered. Not far from their camp a small conical hut and corral were discovered. The

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hut was constructed of light poles covered with brush and stood empty on the barren soil. Evidence suggested that its former occupants had been gone for some time and ravens in a small abandoned corn field represented the only visible life.

By the nineteenth the expedition had crossed the Puerco and had reached the Mexican town of Moquino which was situated on the side of a rocky hill and near another dry stream bed. Only hours before a party of fifty Navajo horsemen had passed there on their way to the river. These two experiences, for the hut was doubtless of Navajo derivation, constituted the only situations of contact made by the party of engineers with the Navajo Indians. The remainder of Abert's report describes scenes from the early New Mexican countryside in and about Laguna and Acoma and the pastorial serenity that united sleepy Mexican villages and these sturdy adobe complexes. Navajos were not mentioned again until October when on his return to Albuquerque Indian raiders struck along the river. Abert reported them for the last time at Valverde in November. This time they had forded the Rio Grande and surprised settlers on its eastern banks.

As can be seen, the Abert-Peck survey was hardly an eye witness account of Navajo settlements. It did, however, like Emory's experiences, indicate that Navajos had come from some point west of the Rio Grande and the San Mateo Mountains. As it turned out none of the military expeditions to the Cebolleta area reported Navajos living in the vicinity between 1846-1850.

It will be remembered that a short time before Abert and Peck left for Acoma Doniphan had been ordered by General Kearny to dispatch

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his regiment to the west. The orders given them were explicit: "chasten the Navajo in their own country" for their continued depredations, their apparent dedication to thievery and violence, and their insolent rejections of Kearny's invitation to Santa Fe to submit to the authority of the United States.[19] During the first week of October Gilpin met with the Ute Indians, and succeeded in obtaining their interest in a peace council that was held later at Santa Fe. In the second week he was making preparations to leave for the interior to hold talks with the Navajo about their rejection of Kearny's offer and the possibility of setting up another meeting. To the south, Jackson had met with some success with the Navajos. Word was received at his camp that they were willing to be involved in peace talks though they preferred them be held in their own lands. According to Sandoval, the controversial Navajo liaison between Jackson and the Indians, Navajo lands were somewhere in the Tunicha Mountains and in the vicinity of the Laguna Colorado or Red Lake, a distance of two hundred miles.[20]

John W. Reid of Jackson's command and thirty volunteers left camp on October 12 for the appointed meeting in the Chusca Mountains and the Red Lake region. William Gilpin, commanding his own troops, made his way up the Chama River later on the twenty-second.

Reid's itinerary took him across the northern slopes of Mt. Taylor. They apparently ascended by way of Cebolleta Creek Canyon and marched to the west across the loose, black lava that covers this portion of the mountain. After a march of eight miles they descended, into a valley on the west side.[21] This place was probably the San Mateo Valley, a lush green region fed by numerous springs. Here

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Robinson, a participant in the expedition, said they were surrounded by peaks rising to their right and left and were in an area occupied by a group of Sandoval's people who were living in round houses, built of rock, about eight feet in diameter, four feet high and covered with poles and dirt.

The line of march out of this valley is much more difficult to determine but following Robinson's description, it is possible that they struck a course through the long valley directly ahead of them. This route would have taken them past a number of lakes including the Smith and Marianno lakes.

By October 16 Reid was sixty miles west of Mt. Taylor. He had traveled over hills and valleys, past pine forests and had finally reached the edge of a lake inhabited at that time by an old Navajo chief.

Shortly thereafter he was met by an advance party of Indians with whom he travelled the next two days through more hilly country and past yet another lake. Additional Navajos gathered to the growing processional and eventually all arrived at Red Lake and the lodging of Narbonna, the Navajo headman that Reid had come to see.

Long talks followed though no details concerning them apparently survive. But in all probability they were friendly, as Robinson described gay scenes of trading, dancing and participation in Indian games of skill that preceded them.

On the nineteenth their business concluded, Reid and his men were on their way south to Agua Fria in the Zuni Mountains. Here they were to sign a peace treaty with Navajo headmen at a later date.[22] There

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is no record that such a meeting took place.

Two days after Reid had left for Narbonna's camp another expedition headed westward and was led by a Captain Parsons of F Company. The objective of their march was the recovery of 40 animals stolen from their encampment by the Navajos sometime between October 20th and 22nd.[23]

Marcellous Ball Edwards, informant for and participant in the Parson's exploration claimed that the company of troopers left camp, now removed to within five miles of Cubero, and followed Reid's trail, though somewhat to the south of it.[24] He stated that they ascended high ridges and passed mesas into which were incised deep canyons.

On October 25, having gone more than sixty-eight miles, Parsons and his men found themselves at a large lake in a wide and extended valley. Cornfields were found near by as well as an unoccupied "hut." Navajos were also contacted in this area. Most were on horseback, and a few were encamped. These Indians probably belonged to the raiding party, at least 27 of the horses were recovered nearby.

On October 28 F Company moved south toward Zuni. Edwards says they were forty-five miles from their destination on that day.[25] During the first five miles several Navajos were seen in the distance as were smoke signals in the surrounding mountains. This was the last time before reaching Zuni and returning to camp San Jose that these Indians were seen or contacted by Parsons and his men. The meeting with the Navajos probably took place near present Bluewater State Park in the Cebola National Forest. Reeve says that Zarcillos Largo may have been living in Blue Water canyon sometime in 1846.[26]

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It took Gilpin six days to reach the San Juan River from the headwaters of the Chama, if John T. Hughes is to be believed. No one traveling with Gilpin has apparently left a record of the expedition, and Hughes, the self-appointed historian of the expedition under Doniphan's command, spent his duty in New Mexico at Santa Fe or camping about the Rio Grande River with remnants of the First Regiment of the Missouri Mounted Volunteers who were awaiting Doniphan, Reid and Gilpin to join them at Socorro and the resumption of their march to Chihuahua. In other words, Hughes' information is at best second hand.

The Rio Chama heads in the Terra Amarillo section of northern New Mexico and is fed by the Rio Chamita which in turn heads in the San Juan mountains above Durango, Colorado. Hughes says Gilpin found the source of the Chama among "high and elevated" peaks and pictures him crossing in Olympic style the "grand and lofty summits of the Cordilleros eternally crowned with snow."[27]

More accurately Gilpin probably did not go above Durango but sought the San Juan River by a more direct and southern route which would have crossed modern Carson National Forest parallel to U.S. Highways 84 and 17. He would then have struck the river somewhere near Canyon Banco.

Once down in the river valley the troops moved down stream for what Hughes said was forty miles. During this time they found themselves among a considerable number of Navajos who were watering their equally numerous animals.

At the end of the forty mile stretch they were said to be at a

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point seventy-five miles from the east face of the Chusca Mountains. Such a view can be taken at the mouth of Canyon Largo. Here Gilpin and his men left the river and, traveling over "barren and sandy plains," reached the Chuskas and began to ascend the east face, probably in the vicinity of present day Toadalena.

At this point in the narrative it is interesting to refer to the authority of the Navajo Claims Case for according to its records, Gilpin's party unknowingly passed, as they were moving across the plains above Chaco Canyon a family of Navajos settled on the Mancos River. They were apparently new to the area and the first of a larger migration that would follow twenty-five years later.

According to the birth records of the Claim small numbers of these Indians had been moving in and out of the region north of the San Juan as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century. Their locations of birth were scattered over the many canyons of southern Utah and sometimes children were born as far north as the LaSal Mountains.

Tree-ring dates corroborate penetration of this region; a remnant sheep corral in Caracas Canyon has been dated to 1789. But other characteristics of this information type suggest that only a few Indians built hogans and other Navajo structures above the San Juan (mainly at Bears Ears), and then as quickly as they came they abandoned them and moved on to places below the river.

By the seventeenth Gilpin's detachment had crossed the summit of the Chuskas and was making a descent into Canyon de Trigo. The canyon was reported to be planted in wheat and grain and settled by numerous

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Navajo Indians. Canyon de Trigo does not appear on modern maps but was undoubtedly in the immediate vicinity of Wheatfields, a location that is today planted in wheat and heavily populated. Many Navajos visited their camp signifying a desire for peace and some of these Indians maintained they had met with Reid's company a few days before.

Just before Gilpin crossed the mountains he had received a message from Doniphan informing him of an impending peace conference which had been arranged during his absence. It was to be a momentous occasion in the history of U.S.-Navajo relations and fortunately, Gilpin had concluded his talks with the Indians at Wheatfields in time for him to keep this appointment. It was scheduled for the twentieth of the month and was to be held at the southern edge of the Wingate Valley at Ojo del Oso.[28]

Doniphan reached the springs on the nineteenth, one day ahead of Gilpin. He had crossed the Rio Grande with three hundred men and made his way to Jackson's camp on the San Jose River. On November 15 Doniphan with Jackson started up the San Jose River and in five days time reached their destination. Hughes described the Wingate Valley on those days as being heavily grazed by "immense droves of horses and mules and numerous flocks of sheep and goats."[29]

There in the vicinity of old Ft. Wingate Doniphan concluded the first treaty between the United States Government and the Navajo Indians. It contained five articles which in turn called for a lasting peace between the Americans and Navajos, pronounced the Indians of New Mexico, Americans, asked for a free and protected trade between consenting parties of New Mexican Indians, and required all captives

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taken by the Navajos to be returned to their homes along with all property stolen since August 1846.[30]

Fourteen Navajo headmen signed. It was said that they represented the majority of their people. Perhaps they understood the meaning of U.S. troops at their border and the necessity of peaceful relations explicit in their occupation of New Mexico. They certainly realized the U.S. Army had shown the ability to penetrate their historically inaccessible habitats. But somehow, they did not understand the necessity for terminating their hostile relations with the Mexican settlements of the Rio Grande implicit in the treaty. Doniphan had scarcely regained his command at Socorro when Navajos raided the battalion's sheep near that place.[31]

Before General Kearny left Santa Fe he appointed Charles Bent to the governorship of the new territory of New Mexico. Bent was a man of enviable reputation and reportedly had an unusually large understanding of the varied peoples under his jurisdiction. His familiarity with New Mexicans did go back to 1828, when he first met Ceran St. Vrain, the trapper from Taos; and to 1833 when he and his brother built Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River.[32]

Among his first duties, Bent was required to submit to Washington a complete inventory of all the Indians living within the territory of New Mexico which at that time included the present state of Arizona.

From this effort has come what Schoolcraft termed as "the most authentic document in the possession of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." It was indeed the first intelligent evaluation of these Indians and was submitted under the date of November 10, 1846.[33]

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In essence, Bent's report stated that Navajos had no permanent homes and only roamed over a section of land between the San Juan and Gila Rivers or a distance of one hundred fifty miles. The land was described as "consisting of high table mountains, difficult of access, and affording them, as yet, effectual protection against their enemies."

The Apaches living in the Gila headwaters were said to be occupying the lands immediately adjacent to the Navajos southern boundary and the Ute Indians, the country about 35°N. The Hopi, the most westerly of the Puebloan peoples were simply described as neighbors to the Navajo.[34]

It is obvious from this description that Bent believed that Navajos were living south of the thirty-four parallel that year. This would be well below the Pueblos of Acoma and Zuni and in the region of the Mogallon Mountains. He also believed they maintained sole occupancy between the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth parallels with an area of, perhaps, joint use shared with the Utes above the higher latitude. The western line of Navajo occupation was drawn at Black Mesa the northern extension of the Hopi mesas.

Modern scholars support this last part of Bent's report and say that the Ute Indians did use the northern part of New Mexico, in the early 19th century but probably not any further south than the Chama Valley. This area was the southern extent of their range and the center of their trade with traders who stationed themselves at the Abiquiu Pueblo.[35]

There does not appear to be any historical evidence, beside that

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of Bent's report, to support the idea that Navajo were ever settled below the San Jose River. This river became critical to the Navajos' freedom to move about and inhabit new lands when they were forbidden by the Spanish government at Santa Fe to move south of it after 1788.[36]

This directive came at the end of a series of battles over land between the Spaniards and Navajos in the Cebolleta Mountain area that began almost as soon as Spanish settlers began moving west of Albuquerque and the Puerco River in 1760. Even though many of the Navajos that were part of the original settlement at Cebolleta and Encinal in the mid 1700's (explained in Chapter 1) were moving away by 1800, a few remained to contest the loss of their land. The government, however, was firm in its resolve and successfully restricted the Indians to a few sites in the Bernabe Montano Grant, on the Puerco River, the Padro Padilla Canyon and the Juan Tafoya Canyon on the Agua Salada and at Cubero.[37] It is well here to refer back to the Navajo Land Claim for information that relates to Navajo settlements below the San Juan River and Wingate Valleys. Tree-ring dates indicate that at least five families were living near Alamocito Creek which drains the Gallina Bear Mountains northwest of Socorro, New Mexico, and on Cebolleta Mesa directly south of the San Mateo Mountains between 1846 and 1850. In fact a hogan was in the process of construction, on the mesa, one year before Doniphan passed it on his way to Bear Springs.

Informant Information from the Claim also reinforces the idea that Navajos were living south of the San Jose and out of sight of the main flow of military traffic which passed between Cubero and

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Albuquerque. Birth records exist for at least six persons born in the modern Alamocito area during the last half of the 1840's and for five persons in the vicinity of Ramah. A few other Navajos were born during this period in the eastern portion of old Navajo land mainly in the vicinity of modern Canyoncito Reservation near the Puerco River.

A further look into these records show that a small migration from the canyons and mesas of the Gobernador had taken place as early as 1628 when at least one family reached the Gallina-Bear Mountains. The first appearance of Navajos on Cebolleta Mesa came at a much later date in 1798 and appears to have attracted a mainly summer-residence type population from then on.

Apparently none of the peoples of the southern mountains stayed or were joined by others. It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that settlements grew and developed in the Alamo area, though there were never many people or many hogans at any one time during this period.

The year 1847 was a particularly bad year along the Rio Grande. The St. Louis Republican on September 6, 1847 stated that Indian depredations in New Mexico had been more destructive to life and property during the preceding year than at any other period for twenty years. Lack of military resistence was held to be a contributing cause.[38]

It was not long before the citizenry of New Mexico revolted and a battalion of volunteers was led by Major Robert Walker into Navajo country. It was the first punitive expedition undertaken by the American military. Two more such expeditions would follow, one a year

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until 1850.

Little is known of the Walker foray beyond a few feature stories in the Santa Fe Republican appearing in the fall of 1847 and again in January 1848. They apparently marched directly to a predetermined area on the west side of the Chuska Mountains and camped beside the Laguna Colorado just north of the Black Creek Valley.

Detachments spread out in three directions to find and punish any Indians they could discover. Only a few isolated horsemen were found, however, and they were contacted near the headwaters of the Pueblo Colorado Wash, a few miles north of present day Ganado. Immediately a fight developed in which one Indian was killed and several were wounded.

Next, Walker marched through the mouth of Canyon de Chelly and down its main canyon for a distance of six miles. Except for a few tiny specks of humanity atop the canyon's steep walls, it appeared to him to be totally deserted. As he could make no direct contact with these Indians the battalion turned about, marched out of de Chelly, retraced its steps over the former route and reached Santa Fe by October 14.[39]

Colonel Edward W. B. Newby took to the field against the Navajo in the spring of 1848, to fulfill new obligations occasioned by the end of the Mexican War, earlier in the year, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This document, signed in February, placed the behavior of approximately twenty-five thousand New Mexican Indians squarely on his shoulders as the new commander of the Ninth Military Department.[40] Since the Navajo were still the most troublesome of the territory's

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Indians, Newby focused on their conduct first.

He and two hundred volunteers made their way west via the Jemez road which meant crossing over the broad plains and deep sands above Chacra Mesa. It was the first time American soldiers had entered the domain of the Navajo by a central route.

By May 10 Newby was camped at Beautiful Mountain in the Chuskas and found himself surrounded by numerous Indians. In a letter to Major General Roger Jones, a month later, he related the precariousness of their site. He said that his men awoke on the morning of May 11 to find themselves surrounded by hundreds of sheep and Navajos who were hurrying them to a pass in the mountains somewhere in the vicinity of present day Sa-no-tee and the Pena Blanca Creek.[41]

So rapid was their pace that clouds of dust covered the immediate area and the animals careened in and out among his sleeping troopers.

Newby waited nine days at Beautiful Mountain for the Navajo to send them a peace delegation. Finally on May 20th it arrived and negotiations for a new treaty got underway. The terms selected were similar to those of the Doniphan Treaty. The Indians would henceforth cease their hostile activities and return, immediately, any stolen property and captured Mexicans enslaved among them. No mention was made of the land upon which the Navajos lived nor was any restriction placed upon its use. The future of U.S. Military and Indian relations depended upon whether the Navajos would take seriously the stipulations of Newby's Treaty. The history of events that were soon to take place in the Rio Grande Valley tells us that they did not.

Under the direction of President Zachary Taylor the Indian agency

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at Council Bluffs was transferred to Santa Fe on March 29, 1849. This was a first step toward establishing closer relations with the Indians of New Mexico and in turn it was expected that this move would result in the creation of the peace long needed in the southwest.[42]

James S. Calhoun was appointed to the position of Indian agent, the first for the territory. He arrived in Santa Fe in midsummer 1849, and into a situation well described by George Ruxton, semi-secret agent and professional traveler in the old west. Although a description of northern Mexico, it had application for all those settlements along the Rio Grande plagued by the "wild Indians." Homes, he said were enclosed by high walls and "flanked at the corners by circular bastions, loopholed for musketry." The gates were closed at night and a sentry posted around the clock. No members of the household were allowed out after dark and a large fire was set upon the roof to light up the night. Some people were actually hungry, the land they cultivated being held in sufferance from either the Ute, Apache or Navajo.[43]

These were the concerns that required Calhoun's immediate attention, as well as the loss of 1070 sheep, 34 mules, 19 horses, 78 cattle, 1 murder and several abductions. All this had transpired since Newby's treaty, one year before.[44] As a result, Colonel John N. Washington, recently appointed military governor of New Mexico, determined that a vigorous campaign against the Navajo was in order before the summer was out. Calhoun was in the line of march as it headed west in August. He had been in Santa Fe only one month.[45]

Three accounts were made of Colonel Washington's expedition. His own, dated September 25, 1849, and on file as House Executive Document,

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31st Congress, 1st Session, #5. Pt. 1 and John S. Calhoun's description contained in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1849. The one preferred for use here is the account written by Lieutenant James Simpson, of the Corps. of Topographical Engineers. Simpson's Journal, known as Senate Executive Document, 31st Congress, 1st Session, #64, was chosen for its great attention to detail and unusual description.[46]

Washington's battalion left the Rio Grande Valley at San Ysidro, circumvented the southern tip of the Nacimiento Range and headed west across the Piedra Lumbra. On August 25 they were headed north by west and up the Torreon Wash.

The next day they entered Chaco Canyon and followed its main branch to the ruins of ancient Wijiji and Unavida. Here Simpson took a day to explore the other ruins of modern Chaco Canyon National Monument and in so doing, became separated from the main body of infantry. Failing to regain the battalion by the end of the day, he spent the night near the junction of the Chaco River and Tsaya Creek. On the morning of August 29, still at this location, he recorded his first encounter with the Navajo. They were not identified in any way. They were simply fifteen mounted Indians approaching his camp through the Chaco Canyon to his northwest.

The army in the meantime had spent the night of the 28th southwest of present-day White Rock Trading Post or, according to Simpson's Journal, at 36° 04' 35" north by 108° 39' 30" east. They had camped by some Indian wells and were approached by several Navajo men and women who informed them that other Navajos were living on cornfields

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nearby and that they, themselves, had come to Washington's camp to return stolen stock per the treaty expectations of the year before.

Simpson by now had gone ten miles up the Chaco then turned south across a hilly plain heavily incised with ephemeral washes. From here he could see the corn fields and Navojos southwest of the White Rock Trading Post. On the thirtieth, he was back with Washington and together they had gained the Chuska Valley and were moving north on the Tuntsa Wash. The reading for this night's camp was set at 36° 12' 59" north by 108° 50' 45" east. Several Navajo headmen came to this place and complained of the destruction of their cornfields, from which the army had been busily feeding their animals since arriving in the Valley.

The next day Narbonna, Jose Largo and Archuletta and other Navajo headmen joined Washington, Simpson and Calhoun at a location somewhere between the Wash and Two Gray Hills. The Indians evidenced hostility at the invasion of their home lands and the loss of their corn. They in turn were warned against further stealing. A scuffle over the rightful ownership of a horse followed and Narbonna, venerable old Chief of the Navajo, was killed by an over anxious trooper.

Washington, undaunted yet somewhat apprehensive, continued into Navajo land and led his men across the Chuskas, past a few Navajo hogans, through a narrow pass above Sheep Springs Trading Post and down Whiskey Creek to a place near the eastern entrance of Canyon de Chelly. They were at that moment just west of present day Crystal Springs Trading Post.

Navajos themselves were present. Some of them followed the

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battalion all the way along the north rim of Canyon de Muerto professing deep feelings for peace with each step and great animation. Finally a camp was made on the north bank of the Chinle Wash amid the cornfields and hogans of the Chinle Valley.

Simpson said the valley was planted in corn along a belt one half mile wide. He also said that within nine and one-half miles of the mouth of Canyon de Chelly, proper, and within the canyon itself, hogans, peach orchards and Navajos were found in some abundance. What he did not find was a fort. Wasn't de Chelly the impregnable fort of the Navajo?

He also was surprised by their way of life. "I did expect in ascending the canyon to find that the Navajos had other and better habitations than the conical pole, brush and mud lodge." He had been told, though, previously by their Mexican guide, that "they have no other habitation, they live where ever the cornfields and stock are. In winter they take to the mountains, where they can get wood." Simpson figured it must have been true "as yet we have not met a single village of them--it appearing to be their habit to live scatteringly,"

A treaty was signed on September 9. It has survived as Doniphan's and Newby's has not and according to Richard Van Valkenburg, the scene of this event took place on a small knoll between the present day Thunderbird Ranch and the entrance into Canyon de Chelly.[47]

On many points the treaty was little different than those that had gone before. The Navajo were to return stolen property, discontinue their hostile activities and live in peace. The treaty did,

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however, have the distinction of taking a formerly politically independent people and making them wards of the State. Henceforth the Government would dictate almost every phase of their lives.[48]

On September 10 Washington began the long march back to Santa Fe. He did not retrace his former route but headed toward Zuni by way of the Black Creek Valley. In time this trail came to be known as the Zuni Road. It passed by modern Window Rock and St. Michaels, Arizona, down the lower Black Creek, over to Lupton, Arizona and straight on to the Zuni Pueblo. Simpson said nothing more about Navajos after leaving the Chinle Valley, except to estimate their population at between seven and ten thousand people.

In September, fresh from his journey into the heart of Navajo country, Calhoun was back at his desk in Santa Fe busily applying himself to the task of bringing the "wild tribes" under permanent control. In a report to the Office of Indian Affairs concerning these Indians he said:

> Numberous bands of thieving Indians, principally Navajos, Apaches and Commanches, are straggling in every direction, busily employed in gathering their winter supply, where they have not sewn. Not a day passes without hearing of some fresh outrage, and the utmost vigilance of military force in this country is not sufficient to prevent murders and depredations and there are but few so bold as to travel alone 10 miles from Santa Fe.
>
> The wild Indians were more successful in their robberies since Kearny, since they believed the U.S. didn't have power to stop them. The Indians were commitin depredations as far up as Bents Fort and Navajos and Kiowas are known to be in every section of the territory.[49]

Calhoun went on to say that the Navajo population numbered about five thousand and that they "claimed" territory between 35° and 28° North latitude and 29° and 33° East longitude, west from Washington,

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D.C.[50]

It is possible to represent this area in the form of a rectangle. The two corners at the top of the rectangle from west to east would represent Beef Basin, Glen Canyon National Recreation area, Utah and the San Luis Valley, northern section, Colorado. The two corners at the bottom, from west to east, would represent the Painted Desert, Arizona and Moriarity, New Mexico.

Probably Calhoun did not wish to intimate that Navajo occupied this entire area, nor were even settled in much of it. The area he depicted represented, only, the extent of their range lands, used, partially, as he suggested above, for purposes of plunder. Calhoun continued his report by saying that:

> They derive their title to the country over which they roam from mere possession not knowing from whence they came. . . I respectfully suggest these people should have their limits circumscribed and distinctly marked out and enforced by the military, also they can't leave with limits placed on their comings and goings.[51]

Recognizing where the Navajos most populated settlements were, Calhoun finally suggested two locations for proposed military stations. They were Canyon de Chelly and the Tunicha mountains. Jemez, Zuni and Laguna were also listed as prospective sites for military garrisons. Since these areas had been well surveyed by the military expeditions between 1846 and 1849, and concentrations of Navajo were not found, it can be safely assumed that the selection of these places aimed at fortifying an already desperately weak frontier.[52]

James S. Calhoun finished out the year alerting the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the numerous depredations that continued until the end of the year. He pled, also, for reinforcements to augment the

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territories already inadequate number of troops. Finally, he asked for full agencies for the Indians, which were to be placed on their own lands.[53]

From the above information the following summary is given with appropriate conclusions. The historical record has shown that U.S. military expeditions were west of the Rio Grande River, between 1846 and 1849, for the purpose of identifying Navajo lands and people and placing them under the authority of the United States government.

The physical areas covered by these expeditions include the San Mateo Mountain district, a lake area between these mountains and the southern portion of the Chuska Range, the Chuska valleys on both sides of these mountains but not north of Beautiful Mountain or Wheatfields, the Black Creek, Wingate and Chinle Valleys, a portion of the main canyon in Canyon de Chelly, part of the upper San Juan River and Zuni Mountains and the area between White Rock Trading Post and Sheep Springs. Also explored was the country between San Isidro and Chaco Canyon, the area through which the Newby and Washington expeditions were routed in 1848 and 1849.

Reid's party found Navajos settled in a valley immediately to the east of Mt. Taylor in the San Mateo Mountains. While the description of this settlement is bereft of the necessary cultural elements pertaining to land use, it is, nevertheless, given to understand in the documents dealing with the Sandoval band of Indians that resided there, that their's was a place of permanent residence. Reid further discovered a single residence within the lake district and at Red Lake. Additional single residences were found in the Bluewater area

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and at Encinal.

Other areas of settlement were discovered in 1849 and reported along Washington Pass in the Chuska Mountains, in the Chinle Valley, in the vicinity of modern Chinle and the lower portion of Canyon de Chelly.

Areas of agriculture were identified also in 1849 and were located between White Rock and Sheep Springs and between that place and Two Grey Hills, in the Chinle Valley and Canyon de Chelly. These were primarily areas of corn production. Earlier in 1846 wheat and other grains were found growing in the vicinity of modern Wheatfields.

Grazing was reported in the records of most of the expeditions and was located in the Wingate Valley, along the upper San Juan, in the vicinity of Beautiful Mountain and along the route of Reid's travel between the San Mateo Mountains and Red Lake, which most assuredly included the upper part of the Black Creek Valley. No record of Navajos or Navajo occupation, between San Isidro and the western fringes of the Chaco Canyon, was reported by either Newby or Simpson.

It is evident from this information that during the latter part of the 1840's the majority of Navajos were occupying two distinct and separated areas (Figure 4).

The first such settlement, and the most westerly of the two, occupied the mountains and valleys in the central portion of the Chuska Range. Its eastern and western margins lay between the Chinle and Chaco Washes. Here Americans found an abundance of hogans, agricultural fields and stock typical of Navajo use.

Land to the north, east and south of this core area was used for

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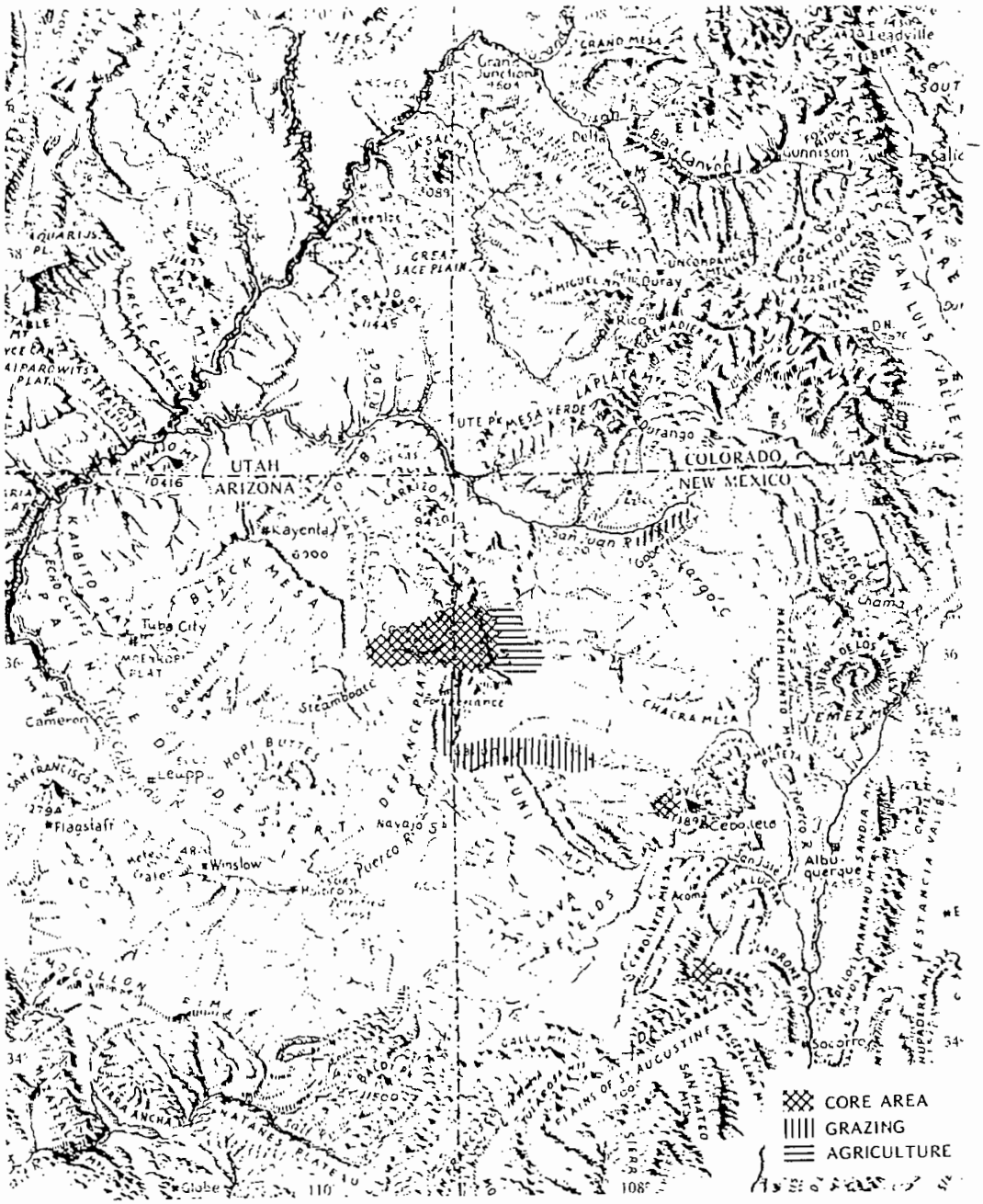

Figure 4. Navajo settlement, 1846-1849.

grazing and agricultural purposes and maintained as extensions of the core in varying degrees of range. Corn cultivation extended east as far as White Rock and along the Tuntsa Wash. Stock was grazed along the upper San Juan River, in the Wingate and Black Creek Valley and in the mesa country of the Smith and Mariano Lakes.

The second area of settlement lay to the south and east of the Chinle Chuska Core and had a northern boundary at the San Mateo Mountains and a southern boundary at the Datil-Gallina-Bear Mountain Complex.

This conclusion is at variance with the historical record, which stated that the Navajos did not venture south of the river. Nonetheless, information from the Navajo Claim suggests that this area was penetrated at least as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, which was before the great migration from the Gobernador began in earnest and before the settlement of Canyon de Chelly and the Cebolleta-Encinal Mission had been undertaken.

This initial entrance into this region was not followed though by any influx of Navajo people. Active settlement of this area was not achieved until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when a number of Navajo families began moving into the area. This idea corresponds with Van Valkenburg's notion that movement into the Alamo area occurred as a result of Navajo slaves deserting Hispanic settlements to the east along the Rio Grande;[54] and to Bent's 1846 report that stated that the Navajo southern boundary was at the Gila headwaters.

Settlement at Cebolleta Mesa and near Canyoncito was primarily

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the outgrowth of the earlier Cebolleta-Encinal mission and the shrunken vestige of that group which had already moved to the west during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. But at the onset of American occupation most of these people had apparently left. Sandoval and his band were the only visible remains.

Above the San Juan, in land acknowledged to be Ute Indian in the late 1700's, Navajos were apparently making inroads at establishing permanent residence at least in the area of Bears Ears at the turn of the nineteenth century. Tree-ring and birth dates at this location and dispersed above the river, suggest that migration north of the San Juan was contemporaneous with the final abandonment of the Governador and movement north from Canyon de Chelly which was outlined by Hester in Chapter One.

Settlement efforts though were not effective and during the time Americans were making initial inventories of Indian distributions (Bent & Calhoun Reports), the Ute Indians were very much in control of land north of the San Juan River, which fact, however, did not deter a few Navajos from ranging the northern regions as high as the La Sal mountains.[55]

It is difficult to evaluate the value of the births that occurred in the vicinity of Ramah. Reid and his men made their way up the Pescado River on their return to Camp San Jose in 1846. There was no mention in the record of their having contacted any Navajos during that journey. Old Hastiin Biye said his family had moved to Ramah in 1868 and there were no Navajo families living there.[56] Clyde Kluckhohn, noted anthropologist, said the Zuni were surrounded by the Navajos who

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held them close to their town and garden enclosures. But the nature of that control was not explained.[57]

It may be in order to presume that expansion in this area was underway when the Americans entered the southwest. It is all that can be done until evidence, presently unknown, has been presented. We do know, however, that Ramah grew and in the 1870's vied with migrating Mormons for land, perhaps rightfully their own. Canyoncito and Alamo, too, survived separated from and culturally atypical of traditional Navajo behavior. As such all three small "alien" groups pass from this study and into the eclipse of the main Navajo expansion which would, in time, move north, south and west of the wide and abundant Chinle.

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[52]Ibid., p. 34.

[53]Ibid., p. 57

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CHAPTER III

EXPLORATION AND MAPPING OF NAVAJO CENTRAL PLACES, 1850-1859

On November 27, 1850, the Commissioner of Indians Affairs, reviewing the year's events in his department, wrote to the Secretary of the Interior of the "ruinous condition" of Indian affairs in the Territory of New Mexico. He emphasized that no section of the country required more "prompt and efficient" measures for restraining the wild tribes.[1]

Earlier, James Calhoun had written from Santa Fe that matters were "infinitely worse than you can imagine them and which without being an eyewitness you cannot realize."[2] He went on to say in more specific terms that the mail was being robbed, travelers were being killed or kidnapped and treaties were continually ignored. American traders were exerting "evil influences" upon Indians by supplying them with guns and the Indians, in return, were making inroads on the Mexican and Anglo populations, causing many Americans to move their belongings to California or to return to the east.

For the entire year of 1850 Calhoun had reported, on the average, of not less than one murder or robbery per month; and these violent acts were attributable, solely, to the Navajo Indians.[3] Here then was the continuing issue for the decade of the 1850's. Its resolution would be given maximum priority.

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At the same time the development of a national policy for the opening of the far west, to trade and settlement, had reached fruitful proportions. It was an extraordinary program of exploration, survey, construction and repression of native peoples.[4] Within the context of Navajo geography, both of these occurrences would mean further penetration of the obscure Indian habitat with its accompanying revelation of a precise areal distribution for these people.

At the outset of the 1850's not much progress had been made toward a government settlement of Navajo depredation. In the first place, it was almost impossible to determine which Indians were the culprits, if indeed, the whole tribe was not at fault; and in the second, it could not be ascertained from any vantage point on the Rio Grande where the raiders began their journeys of destruction. In other words where exactly did they live.

Until the army obtained this information there was no way that it could deal with the Navajo problem effectively.

At least this was the conclusion at which Calhoun had arrived in 1850 when he decided that Navajo country had to be explored and surveyed. Also he wanted limits placed upon their areas of range. Navajos could not continue to be allowed to roam at will.[5]

Another aspect of Calhoun's Indian Program, developed during this year, was the conversion of these purportedly wild and untamed people to the peaceful pursuits of farming. In Calhoun's mind this was the real answer to Navajo raiding, moreover the regenerating characteristics of this plan more closely suited his charitable disposition than did the schemes of military punishment. What was needed was a

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dedicated Indian agent willing to live among the Indians and patiently teach them the skills of farming.[6]

Calhoun presented his program to the Office of Indian Affairs and asked for funds for a thorough exploration and inventory of Navajo land and an agent of their own to be stationed at the Pueblo of Zuni. He was answered with only verbal support and told to rely more on the army and its retaliatory powers for solutions to his problems.

Calhoun's untiring but unsuccessful efforts for peace in New Mexico and a sensible program for Indian control and rehabilitation present a sad picture in the annals of early American Indian relations in the Southwest. He simply could not obtain the necessary cooperation and financial support from his own superiors in the Office of Indian Affairs or develop an amicable arrangement between the civil and military branches of authority in the new territory which warred almost continually during his three-year tenure in office.

Instead, the army set forth to devise its own plans for peace and sent George McCall to Santa Fe in 1850 to evaluate Indian problems in New Mexico and propose such salutary solutions as he saw fit.

In his report published in 1851 McCall stated that the Navajo could put two thousand warriors into the field, at any one time, and suggested that a heavily garrisoned military post be established in the heart of their land to avert such a possibility as well as curtail the raiding activities of lesser numbers of Indians. He also selected Canyon de Chelly as the proper site for the fort and four hundred and fifty men, divided between infantry and artillery as the correct number of soldiers with which to garrison it.[7]

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His final recommendation called for military posts to be erected at the strategic locations of Taos, Abiquiu, Cebolleta and Albuquerque. These locations compared with his belief that Navajos occupied some of the country between Hopi and the Gila, San Juan and Rio Grande Rivers.[8]

A drastic change in the Ninth Military Department was not long in coming, as a result of this report, and was conceived of in at least two formidable propositions: the removal of the army from New Mexican communities to post duty nearer the front line of Navajo habitation and the immediate placing of troops within Indian country itself. This last measure would allow the army a better position from which to inflict serious punishment upon the entire Navajo tribe. It also meant that for the first time in the history of New Mexico Indians would not be separated from Europeans, and, from henceforth, there would no longer be a frontier.

It was an aggressive program and the right man for the job was one Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, a man of resolute behavior. By midsummer, he was in Santa Fe more than willing to administer justice at the head of what had become the largest and best equipped army New Mexico had yet seen.[9] By August he was in Canyon de Chelly ready to personally oversee the battle. But it was hardly a decisive undertaking. There were no Indians and minimal cultivation up to eleven miles of the mouth of the canyon. Instead of a vigorous contest between antiquated weaponry and modern howitzers, Sumner had to be satisfied to dodge a few misplaced arrows and boulders sent crashing from the tops of the cliffs at the instance of a small party of hostiles.[10]

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Navajo defensive strategy was rarely confrontive. The stall or total absence were more attractive maneuvers.[11] Thus, it was not surprising that Sumner found de Chelly seemingly empty. It is apparent from the correspondence of this time period that the Navajo had, in fact, been moving out of the canyon since early spring. In April Indians told soldiers, in the field, that they were on the move to escape an expected military expedition thought to arrive later in the year.[12] Army surveillance also reported that Navajo sheep were being moved from the lower San Juan to the upper part of the river in the same month. The Indians, themselves, followed shortly thereafter and spread across the San Juan River into Ute territory "mixing" with these Indians and planting their corn.[13]

Later in May they were seen by traders returning from the San Juan. The Navajos were still on the north side of the river and had set up living quarters among the Utes.[14] Another group of Navajo was found in the same week moving down from the river along both sides of the Tunicha Mountains, headed for Zuni. They were, presumably, in search of grass not found along an already crowded San Juan.[15]

It is possible to get some idea of the location of most of this traffic by using information from the diary of James Bennett, a trooper stationed at Abiquiu that spring and the report of Lieutenant John Park on military patrol in the San Juan area.

Bennett contacted these people somewhere on the upper part of the river where he arrived to investigate the murder of seven trappers.

He and sixty infantry men marched from the Pueblo for more than one hundred and twenty miles across a waterless terrain of deep sand

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to the river. Though Bennett didn't say he must have marched through Largo Canyon. Subsequent military expeditions from the Rio Grande Valley often used this approach to northwestern New Mexico as it was the most direct route and of approximately the same number of miles traveled by Bennett's party.

Once on the river, he proceeded south and in two days time reached a place where corn was growing and the earth was imprinted with the tracks of "thousands of cattle which, he judged, had preceded him there by three days. Here camp was made and by afternoon was surrounded by Indians in every direction . . ." On June 24 three days later and at a camp still further down the river four hundred curious Navajos visited among the troopers tents. Bennett didn't say where these people came from or whether they were living near the river. But he did leave the impression their settlements were at some distance from it.[16]

This same general area was patrolled by Park earlier in March. His reconnaissance took him northeast of the Chuska Mountains, and along the Chaco and San Juan Rivers. He, too, was impressed with the area's busy atmosphere and the abundance of corn grown almost everywhere water flowed across the dry surface and especially near the San Juan on the south side. He also wrote in his report that corn was growing on the north side of the river, along the margins of the Animas and LaPlata tributaries, at the junction of these rivers with the San Juan and up this river to within two miles of Largo Canyon.[17]

It seems likely with this information in mind that the Navajos, moving out of reach of the American army, were doing so in the

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vicinity of Farmington, New Mexico.

Sumner was, perhaps, disappointed by the Canyon de Chelly episode but not defeated. He said later that "It was hardly possible to close an Indian war of many years standing by one expedition. I believe the large post at Canyon Bonito will, in a short time, effectually restrain those Indians . . . If this post does not put a stop to the Navajo depredations, nothing will do it but their entire extermination ."[18]

Sumner was speaking of the new Ft. Defiance which he had located earlier in August at a spot near the mouth of the Canyon Bonito in the Black Creek Valley. He had passed through this valley on his way from Zuni to Canyon de Chelly and, struck by the fertility of the area, the abundant water supply and its proximity to what he believed was the heart of Navajo land, he detached Major E. Bachus and a few infantry men to remain behind and build the new army post.

Initially it was a quadrangle of adobe, stone and barrack buildings and was established on one of the Navajos favorite grazing grounds. It was not finished until 1852 when five companies of infantry were detailed to garrison the new fort. By 1853, Ft. Defiance had become the second largest military establishment in the Ninth Military Department.[19]

Undoubtedly because the Navajo felt greatly intimidated by the new fort in their midst, the remainder of the 1850's was mostly pacific in nature. Two events, however, taken by federal authorities as insults, of tremendous proportions, against American power and authority, caused troops to be sent into many, heretofore, unknown parts of Navajo land.

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The first affair involved a Mexican sheepherder who was murdered in May 1853 at Vallecitos. His son was captured and his sheep were stolen.[20] When the Navajo failed to produce the murderers, William C. Lane, now governor and Indian superintendent issued a July 6 deadline for their surrender and Sumner, in agreement, threatened general orders and virtual extinction if the deadline was not met.[21]

Instead, Lieutenant Colonel Dixon S. Miles relieved Sumner of his command of the Department before such activities could begin. Because Miles was of a less aggressive nature, he was satisfied to send out two rather peaceful reconnaissances into Navajo country which he hoped would have some fear-inducing value.

The two detachments left Ft. Defiance in August. One moved eastward from the junction of the Chaco River and the San Juan and the other moved down the San Juan to the Chinle Wash. The reports issued by the officers in charge do not say whether any interesting or unusual events took place while they were in the field and we have no way of knowing if the Indians were sufficiently awed by this operation. All that was said was that the Navajos were still planting their cornfields in the familiar places in and near Canyon de Chelly and the Chuska Mountains.[22]

Apparently this maneuver around the Chuska and Carrizo Mountains did not turn up the murderers or find any other Indian hostiles. One of the officers involved, Henry L. Kendrick, Commander at Fort Defiance, concluded that the absence of these Navajo reinforced his earlier belief that the dissident Indians were only thought to be near the Chuska Mountains and in reality were probably at Ojo del Oso and the Chacra

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Mesa.[23] In July he had reported that a band of murderers under the leadership of an Aguila Negra had disappeared beyond the San Juan. They evidently were still there in August.[24]

David Meriwether, appointed Governor after Lane, was of a different mind and attributed much of Navajo aggression to the Archulleta band, whom, he said, lived "nearer to our settlements and on the border of the Utahs, with whom they associate."[25] In any case, for the time being, some Navajo hostiles were beyond the reach of military justice and over the San Juan River.

Later in the year, Lieutenant Robert Ransom led a detachment from Abiguiu to the San Juan along the trail of the Bennett expedition through Largo Canyon. Passing down the south side of the river, the troops encountered a few Navajo who immediately fled to the north side but mainly, they were greeted by vacant cornfields on the Animas and La Plata tributaries and in the lower Tunicha Valley.

His report of this reconnaissance was concluded with a recommendation that a military post be built at the Animas-San Juan junction. Here, Ransom thought, was the approximate center of Ute-Navajo activities for the San Juan region.[26]

Before the year was out, the matter of apprehending the murderers was dropped and forgotten. A small group of two hundred Navajo was convened, instead, at Santa Fe and given a simple lecture on the virtues of good behavior and the notice of a general amnesty.[27] Peace returned to northern New Mexico and the trader was one of the first to perceive the value of its beneficent effects.

A Jarvis Nolan was granted a license to trade and travel among

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the San Juan Navajos in December, 1853. Auguste Lacome was granted permission in 1854 to bargain his wares at Tunichia, Chuska, Chinle Valley, Carrizo Mountains and the San Juan. Both licenses stated that the locations mentioned were within Navajo territorial bounds.[28]

The matter of Navajo aggression was not yet closed, however, for Meriwether. Early in his government career at Santa Fe, he had favored a more rigorous approach to its solution. In spite of lukewarm beginnings, his was a more belligerent plan of action than that of his two predecessors, Calhoun and Lane. The plan did not include the dole of food and clothing or other government assistance so popular with these men. According to Meriwether, these were superficial answers and not in line with the reality of the Navajo disposition. It was, in his mind, time for the Navajo to be soundly beaten and put away once and for all behind the invisible bars of a reservation.[29]

In July 1854, General John Garland, now head of the Ninth Military endorsed the idea of a reservation and thirty thousand dollars was appropriated by the government for making treaties with all the "wild tribes."[30] With the signing of a treaty, according to Meriwether, the Navajos would no longer be able to live near New Mexican settlements, the peaceful Sandoval, living in and around Cebolleta excepted, and their lands would be paid for in annuities from which the total cost of their depredations, should they reoccur would first be deducted.[31]

Meriwether, however, found himself in somewhat of a quandary familiar by now to most previous government officials. When it came to defining how much Navajo land would be involved in these treaties he could not be very precise.

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He told Commissioner George Manypenny that the Navajo claimed all the land in the northern portion of the New Mexican territory not occupied by American citizens, and his map reflected the enormity of their claims; the western boundary was drawn at the Colorado River and the southern, below the Little Colorado River.[32]

The Letherman Report published in 1855 was a more cautious geographical document describing Navajo distribution in 1854. Dr. John Letherman came to the southwest that year at the request of the Smithsonian Institute which was interested in a precise historical and cultural description of the Navajo Indians. He maintained quarters at Ft. Defiance and was in almost daily contact with Major Kendrick, still commanding the post. Kendrick is important to the understanding of Navajo settlement as the author of a numerous correspondence transmitting specific geographical information gathered, piecemeal, by patrols originating at the Fort. It would be difficult not to presume that Kendrick had some influence on Letherman's observations. His report read: "The Navajo Indians are a tribe inhabiting a district in the territory of New Mexico lying between the San Juan River on the north and northeast, the Pueblo Zuni on the south, the Moqui villages on the west, and the ridge of land dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic Ocean from those which flow into the Pacific on the east."[33]

Governor Meriwether was able to conclude a treaty with the Navajo tribe the following year at Laguna Negra, fourteen miles north of Fort Defiance. The agreement contained mention of the usual guarantees of perpetual peace but was accompanied by a new element in American-Navajo treaty negotiations--the statement of an Indian land cession. Article 5

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required the Navajo Tribe to cede and relinquish all claim and title:

> Which they have or ever had had to lands within the territory of New Mexico, except to much as is hereinafter reserved to them. And the Navajos further agree and bind themselves, to remove to, and settle on the lands reserved to them, within twelve months after the ratification of this treaty, without any cost or charge to the United States for their removal.[34]

The tract set apart was described as beginning on the south bank of the San Juan from the junction with Chelly Creek (Chinle Wash) to the mouth of Canyon Largo, up the canyon to the Continental Divide and southwest along the divide to the main branch of the Zuni River, along the north side of the Zuni, to the Lt. Colorado River and then north to the point of beginning, and excluding the lands owned by the Pueblos of Zuni and Moqui and a tract of fifty square miles around Fort Defiance (Figure 5).

The Capote Ute, this same year, were given land from the northbank of the San Juan, between and Animas River and Canyon Largo, northward. This southern line of the new reservation reinforced the northern boundary of the tract above.

The exact location of the lands ceded was not written into the body of the treaty. We may assume, however, the largest portion of these lands lay somewhere between Ojo del Oso and the Rio Puerco of the west. This is the only area east of the Chacra Mesa and Zuni known from the records, to have been settled by the Navajos.

Twenty million acres were involved in the transaction for which the government offered to pay one-half cent per acre or one hundred and two thousand dollars.[35]

The concept of reservation appearing in this document was not new

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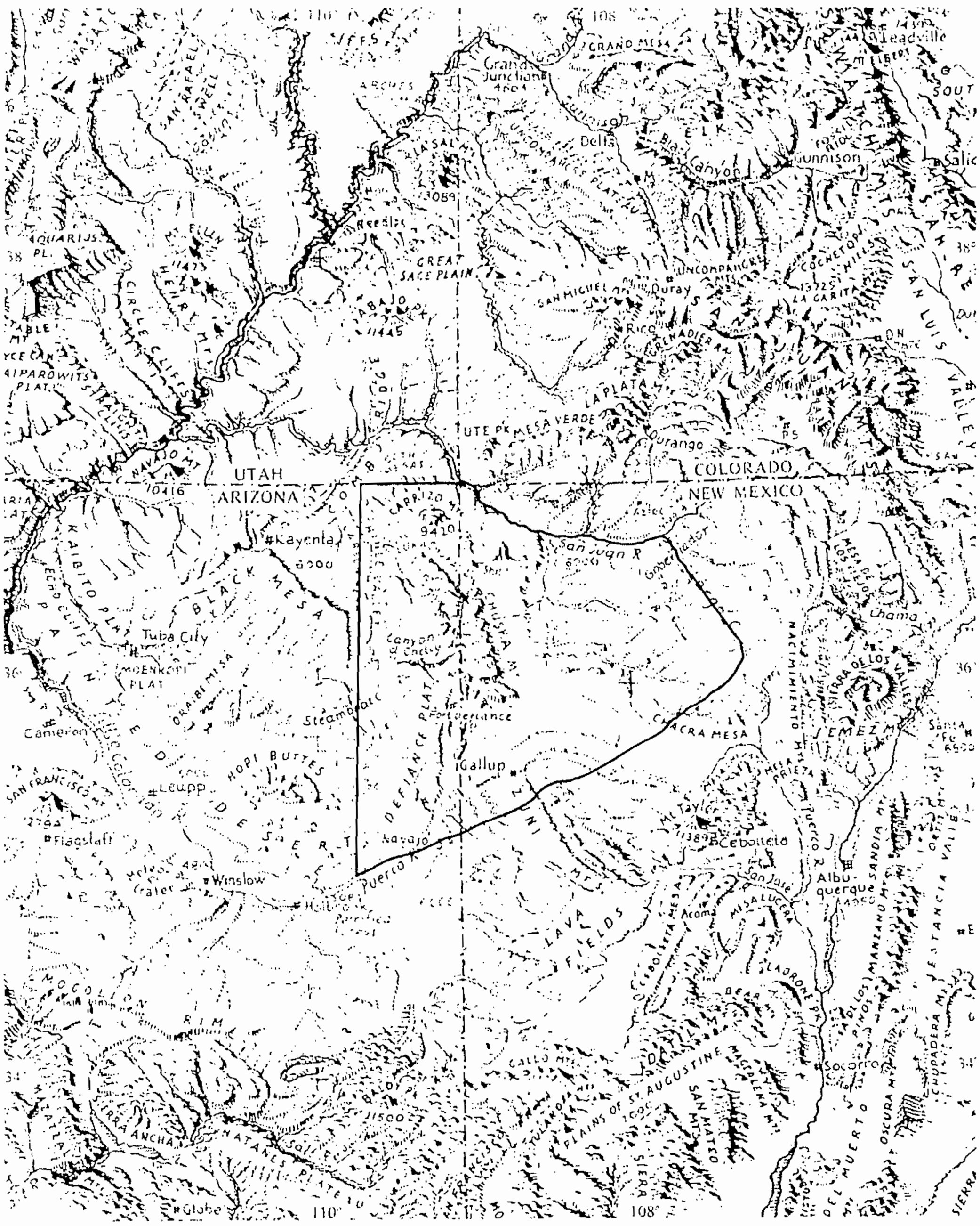

Figure 5. Meriwether treaty, 1856.

in the southwest. Calhoun had written a great deal on the subject of enforced separation and limited land usage. Others after him had addressed themselves to the same subject. But this was the first time such a notion was given legal sanction.

But Meriwether's treaty was never ratified. There was too much opposition from the New Mexicans. They felt that not nearly enough good land had been trimmed away from the Indians.[36] The Zuni were distressed. They disliked the ambiguous reference to their lands which read, "excluding land owned by the Zuni . . ." Which lands? It was not specified. The Zuni may have known which lands were theirs but the Navajo had other ideas. They began moving into the Ojo del Oso area in the Wingate Valley early in 1856. The valley had traditionally been a no-man's land between the two Indian peoples and was utilized in the late 1840's as a grazing ground by the Navajo. Now they were asking for the right to plant.[37] Several months later, "immense numbers of Indians" were reported moving into Ojo del Oso and Carrizo Springs, a few miles to the east of Oso.[38]

This was probably not the only area they began to settle. We can imagine them moving into the Zuni Mountains and even further to the south.

Kendrick himself was concerned with the government disposition of Zuni land and said that "These grounds have been in their possession for many years, probably during the entire existence of the Pueblo. itself . . . I do not know what other title than possession these lands are held, nor have I legal knowledge enough to know whether that be good against the Navajos, under the treaty of Laguna Negra."[39]

HP7283

The Navajo, themselves, did not give the treaty a moment's heed for to the north they were busy involving themselves in the problems of the Utes and Jicarillas which would take them east beyond the prescribed reservation boundary. Agent Henry L. Dodge tried to discourage such involvement by asking Navajos near the San Juan to "retire south fifty or sixty miles and to make every exertion to keep the Utes from passing the aforesaid river which is recognized as the line between the two nations."[40] The Utes, nevertheless, swarmed over the border and were at Ojo del Gallo, thirty miles south of the San Juan, between the Chaco and Largo Canyons, the same month.[41] The next year the Navajos retaliated and raided Utes encamped near Abiquiu. They continued to go east of the line when sheep were stolen at San Isidro in February of 1857 and Utes were again attacked near Abiquiu in April.[42]

The second event to stir the anger of the well-disciplined army exterior was the wanton murder of Captain W.T.H. Brooks' black servant boy in the summer of 1858. The results of this tragic event were serious enough to be classified as the Navajo War of 1858.[43]

Brooks, then the successor to Major Kendrick as commander of Fort Defiance, demanded of the Navajo head chief, Zarcillos Largo, that the murderer be surrendered the next day. He was not and even an ultimatum of war within twenty days did not produce him.

Lieutenant Dixon Miles, sent to command the Navajo Expedition as the operation against the Indians was called, prepared to put troops into the field. Their duties required them to destroy Navajo property, capture their sheep and drive them out of their secluded hiding places

HP7284

in the mountains on to a less difficult battlefield. Here they were met and defeated, finally and decisively.

Operations began in earnest in September when Miles lead three companies of mounted rifles and two companies of infantry out of Fort Defiance on the ninth. He entered Canyon de Chelly from the east and marched west to its mouth and made camp in one of the cornfields that fed on the irregular offerings of the Chinle Wash that issued through the wide entrance.

A few Navajos were encountered in the canyon as he made his way past the steep slick-walled sides and the empty stone rooms of the ancient Anazassi. But they offered no resistence, and soon disappeared from view. Miles waited patiently at the entrance for one day giving the Indians every opportunity to deliver up the murderer of the boy. Finally realizing that they had no intention of complying with the army's demands the battalion moved out and south, first into a small canyon twelve miles distant, then into the upper valley of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. Here they began a thorough search for stock and their Indian masters. They found only emptiness and a few more fields of corn.

Thirteen more expeditions were undertaken before the end of the year (Appendix E). Most of them were directed to locations in the general vicinity of Ft. Defiance and Canyon de Chelly and only three of these "scouts," as they were termed, revealed Navajo settlements outside the region of the Chuska Mountains and the Chinle Valley.

In October Lieutenant Miles took out the first of these groups. He marched over the Moqui Road to the Pueblo Colorado Wash, followed

HP7285

it in a southerly direction and discovered a Navajo village on the left bank of the Wash. The location of the village corresponds to that of present-day Cornfields, Arizona, and according to Navajo testimony, was occupied by Manuelito, a Navajo headman and his band. Later in October, Lieutenant George W. Howland's detachment discovered a deserted Navajo "rancho" some fifteen miles south of Fort Defiance at a place called Colites (Oak Springs). There were cornfields there as well as in Canyon de Chenilly, southwest of there and on the Rio Puerco of the West.[46]

This was an area long used by the Navajo. Hogans had graced the Black Creek Valley as early as 1721 when the first migrant reached Hunter's Point, just south of modern St. Michaels. These people came from the Gobernador district during its earliest period of abandonment and were followed by others until a fairly sizeable community was established--about sixteen hogans. Some Navajos moved further to the south and were living near modern Manuelito in the middle 1700's.

In the late eighteenth century many of the Indians began moving away. Some newcomers may have arrived after they left but more hogans stood empty than not. What Howland was really discovering were the remnants of this former settlement.

In November, Miles and Major Electus Bachus, who had brought in fresh troops from Jemez, were scouring the Tunicha Mountains and points northward.

They found a few Navajo animals grazing the Carrizos, even fewer Navajos and some of their "lodges." The valleys and passes of the Tunicha Mountains were deserted but the canyons of the northern Chuscas

HP7286

were full of corn and houses. Everything Navajo that did not move was destroyed and the people fled before the destruction. Tracks led to the west and northwest. Miles and Bachus believed some of the Navajos sought refuge on Calabasa Sierra;[47] others crossed over the San Juan.[48]

By December, Miles was able to report that army operations had rounded up stock at Canyon de Chelly on Calabasa Sierra, along the Pueblo Colorado Wash, in the Chusea Valley, at Tunicha, Carrizo and Cienega Juanico (Wheatfields).[49] The army obviously had been successful and the tribe was suing for peace almost immediately. The treaty was signed December 25, 1858, at Fort Defiance. The government drove a hard bargain at the peace negotiations and the Indians lost more land. Their eastern boundary, though disregarded in every sense by the Navajo, was considerably reduced from its 1855 form. But it conformed more to the reality of their distribution as discovered by the recent scouts.

Beginning at the junction of the San Juan and the Chaco Rivers, the new line ran southwest to the ruins of Escondido in Chaco Canyon (15 miles west of Pueblo Bonito) then southwestward to Ojo del Oso and then in a direct line to Pescado Spring (Figure 6).[50] This was the last treaty signed between the Navajo Indians and the United State's Government until 1868. It was never ratified and had no effect, whatever, upon the raiding behavior of these people.

Undoubtedly, the most important outcome of the Navajo war of 1858 as far as Navajo settlement patterns are concerned, was the declaration of Navajo distribution made by Lieutenant Colonel Miles to Agent

HP7287

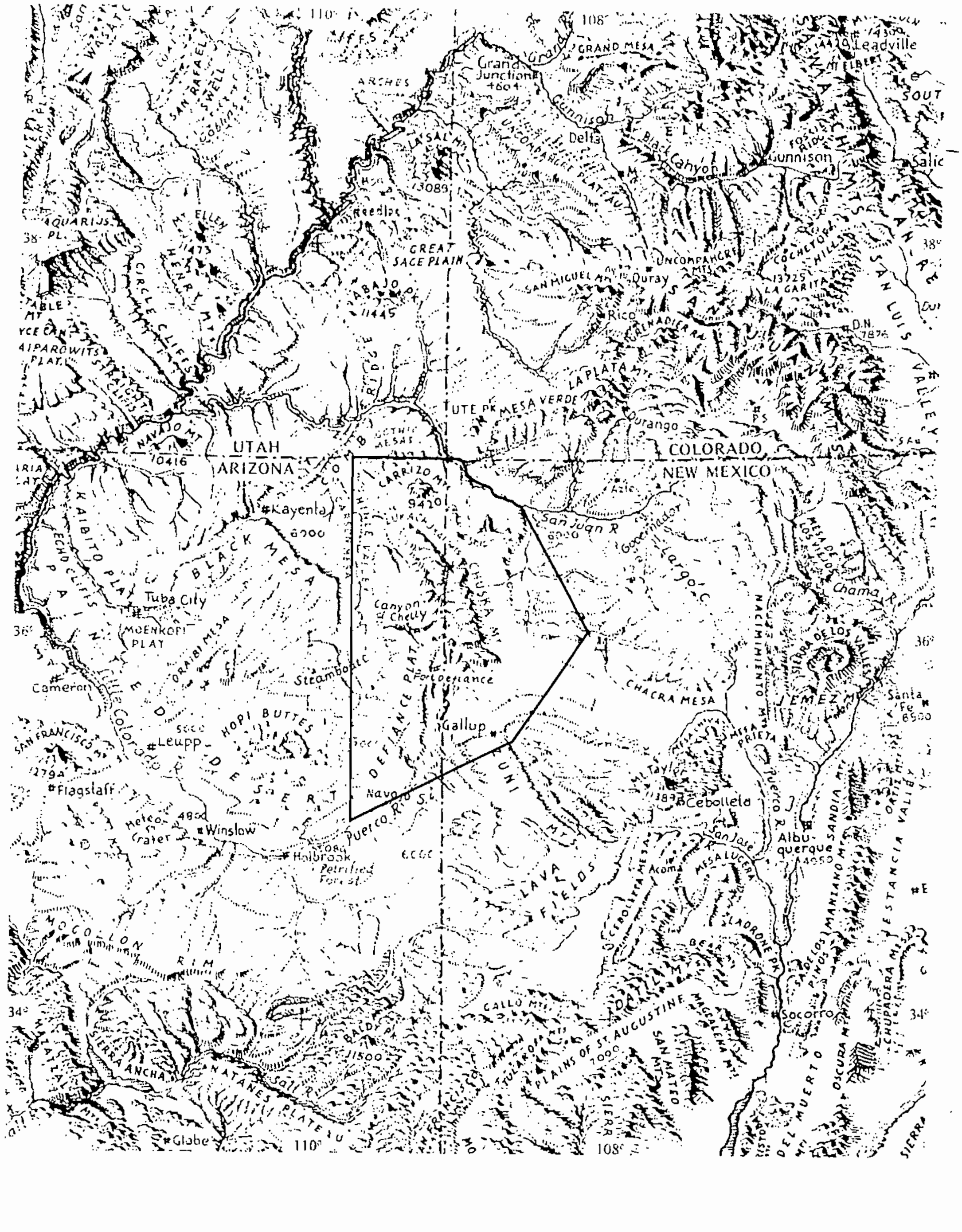

Figure 6. Navajo treaty, 1858.

HP7288

Samuel Yost in December. It related specific locations with specific types of land use. It was the first such document to that date. In answer to Yost's enquiry on the locations of Navajo arable land, grazing districts and crop production, Miles answered as follows:

1. The best planting areas, in order of size, were the Chuska Valley, Tunicha, Ojo del Oso, Ojo Caliente, Colitas, Laguna Negra and Cienega Juanico.
2. Corn was planted at Chuska, Tunicha, Ojo Caliente and Colitas.
3. Wheat was grown at Ojo del Oso and Laguna Negra.
4. Stock was grazed on the Tunicha Plain and Mesa, within the Chuska Valley, on the Rio Puerco of the West, the Calabasa and Vaca Mountains and in the Pueblo Colorado Valley from its head to where it ends in the valley of the Puerco.
5. The largest cultivation of corn was at the mouth of Canyon de Chelly and nearly equalled that of the cultivation of Chuska.
6. There was also corn cultivated within the Canyon, at La Joya (10 miles north of Ft. Defiance) and Pueblo Colorado (Kinlichee) and also in one canyon a few miles south of de Chelly.

At the end of the report, Yost was assured by Miles of the authority with which these statements were made: "I have seen every field of corn planted in the Navajo Nation, except that seen by Major Bachus at Ojo Caliente, on the San Juan, the lower Rio de Chelly (Chinle Wash) and around the northern and western slope of the Carriso Mountains."[51]

Raiding began again in 1859. Actually, it had never ceased.

HP7289

More murders and robberies were reported for the year 1856 than for several years previous to that time. In the spring and summer of 1858, robberies continued near the Rio Grande Valley, even as the war was being conducted far to the west.[52]

The continuance of these hostilities placed the army in an untenable position. Justice demanded that the Navajos be punished for the misery they were inflicting on the citizens of New Mexico; but the treaty provisions, of the December just passed, denied them the right to pursue that punishment.

Instead, the army was bound by a rigid code of behavior. It was to act in concert with the Indian agent, retrieve stolen goods and punish the guilty but in no way start a general war.[53]

Nevertheless, Colonel Benjamin Bonneville, now commander of the Ninth Military Department, felt that some forceful steps should be taken to move the Navajos closer to a position of subservience. It was, therefore, decided to march U.S. troops throughout the Indian country in a great show of strength and to send out a series of exploratory parties to map planting and grazing locations and points of habitation, in case an all out war should occur.[54]

1859

Major John S. Simonson, at the head of seven hundred men, made the grand march into Navajo country. One column under his direction left from Abiquiu, crossed the dry plains above Chaco Canyon to the Tunicha Mountains and reached Fort Defiance via Washington's Pass and the Cienega Negra in late spring. Another column came up the old Fort Defiance Road, in the Wingate Valley, from Los Lunas in time to meet Simonson for a peace council at the post in Canyon Bonito held between

HP7290

July 5 and 14.[55]

Only verbal agreements were reached for the restoration of stolen property.[56] The Navajo were in no mood for paper obligations and refused to sign any more treaties. Under Orders #8, the mapping reconnaissance of Navajo territory got under way later in July. Captain John G. Walker undertook to command the first of these ventures, and the district he covered lay directly north of Fort Defiance and south of the San Juan River (Figure 7). Specifically, this first lap of the reconnaissance covered Canyon de Chelly and that portion of country between present day Chinle, Round Rock and the river. The return march came down the east face of the Carrizo Mountains, through the Red Rock valley and a pass between the Lukachukai and Tunicha Mountains. Access to Fort Defiance probably followed fairly closely to the route of Arizona Highway 12.

Walker did not record the many evidences of Navajo life, along his itinerary, so obvious and carefully noted by the exploring parties that preceded him. The mountains and valleys of this report were quiet and the absence of Indians was noticable. He crossed paths, though, with a few of their "peculiar" houses, as he called them, once at Round Rock and again on the northern slopes of the Tunichas but they were uninhabited. Yet we know that Walker saw them because he said in the closing paragraphs of his report, "Navajos everywhere evinced the most earnest desire for peace."[57]

The second reconnaissance was begun in August under the direction of Captain Oliver L. Shepherd. The area covered was generally west and south of Fort Defiance with Coyote Springs in Hopi Butte country

HP7291

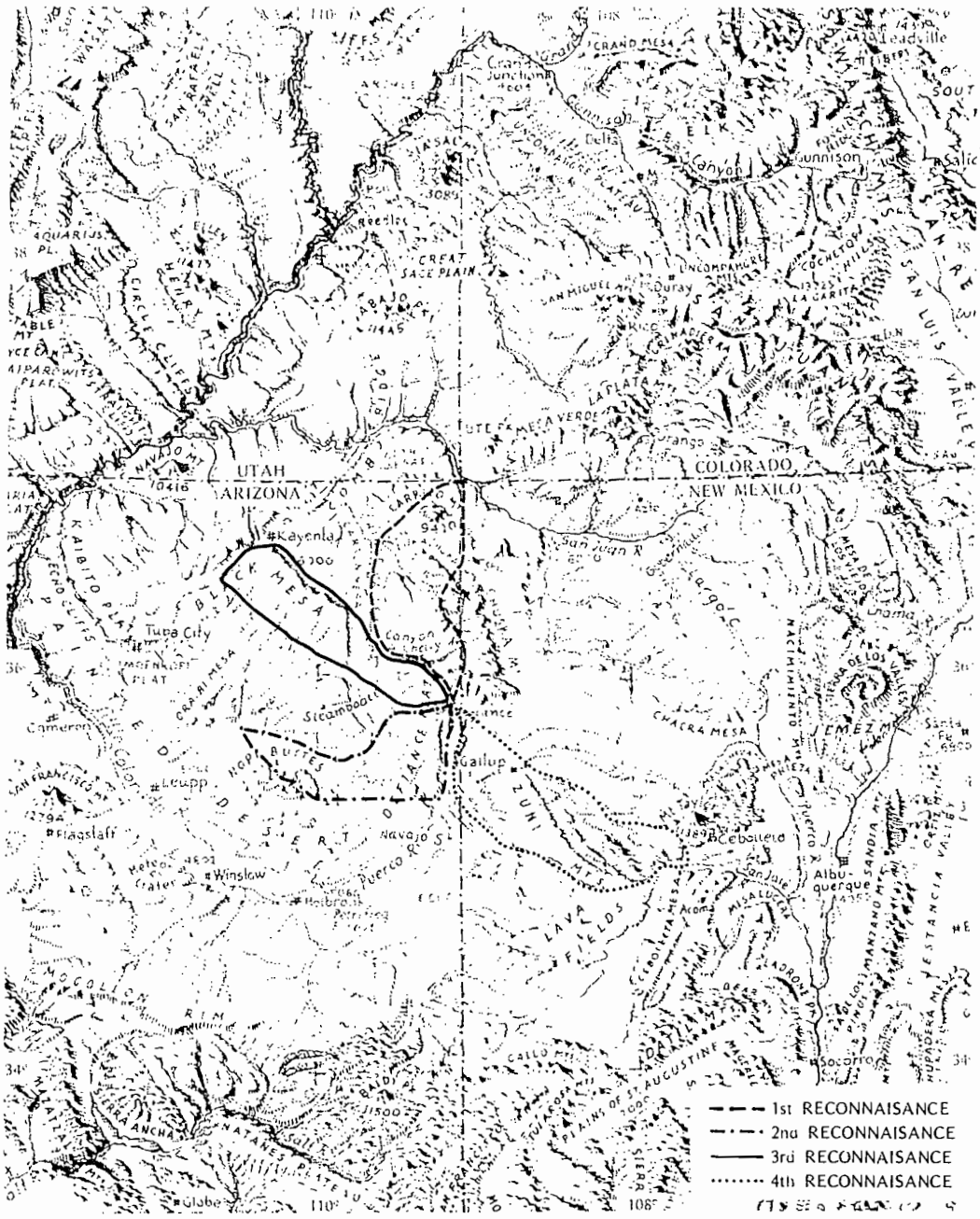

Figure 7. Mapping and exploration reconnaissance, 1859.

providing the intermediate stopping point.

Shepherd led five companies of mixed infantry and mounted rifles over the, by now well-beaten trail of the Old Moqui Road. It wound up out of Canyon Bonito on to the pine covered Defiance Plateau and eventually led down into the valley of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. The men followed along the Wash, around the bend near Ganado and south by Cornfields and interested Navajos who took time out from their chores to ponder the spectacle of this curious entourage.

They turned west at Jeddito Mesa toward the Hopi Mesas and visited the Hopi towns, each in turn, as they passed below them to the south.

At Coyote Spring, fifteen miles southeast of Oraibe the battalion turned about and started for the Fort they had left ten days before. Their trail passed through the beautiful valleys of the Butte Country or the "Black and high mesas" as Shepherd referred to them.

There appeared to be no Navajo Indians out there. Their conical houses and cornfields were visibly absent since turning west from the Pueblo Colorado Wash. Shepherd believed, though, that a portion of the area below Hopi had recently been used as a wintering ground for their horses and the abandoned animal corrals which were invisibly disposed within the Buttes and on Jeddito Mesa suggested that the region had been a hunting ground in times past. Tree-ring dates on these structures placed the Navajo west of the Pueblo Colorado Wash as early as 1796.

Once the Wash was again forded and Shepherd's men reached present day Wide Ruins and the western fringes of the Defiance Plateau it was

HP7293

very evident they were back in Navajo land. Pleasant faced Indians, mostly women, stood about their camps and watched, others followed behind as they marched up through the Black Creek Canyon. The washes and arroyos were full of corn and there were many hogans at Wide Ruins. Shephard commented on their number. They were new, he said, and the community was not older than the previous severe winter.[58]

Shepherd's retinue of worn animals and soldiers finally arrived back at Fort Defiance on August 6 while preparations were under way for a third reconnaissance. It moved out a month later with J. G. Walker again in command. His objective this time was the northern section of Black Mesa and the valleys at its base. From the Pueblo Colorado Wash, his battalion of infantry and mounted rifles, made their way across the valley floor to the Mesa and crossed it at an angle between Theater Rock and Big Mountain. Once to the western edge they descended to the Klethlana Valley, passed through Marsh Pass to the northeast and continued east along the base of Black Mesa to the Chinle Valley.

Before Walker could ascend to the top of the mesa, from the east, a range of broken mountain-like hills had to be reached. We can call them the eastern fringe of the mesa to differentiate it and the population of Indians that were living there in the 1850's from the Navajo who lived on the top.

Walker's party did not see the fringe people. But the vital records from the Navajo Claim says they were there, few in numbers, albeit, but scattered between Brigham Lake near upper Jeddito Wash and modern Salina.

HP7294

They did, however, see evidences that some Navajo had lived there once though their hogans were empty at that moment. Left, he said, because of pressure exerted from March Pass by Paiute people living there. He talked with Paiutes, later, and they reinforced this conclusion. The Pass was evidently the eastern edge of their territory.

Walker didn't see the Navajos who lived on the top and missed their occupied hogans entirely. There were seven of them hidden in the washes of the upper Oraibe, Dinnebito and Moencopi. ?

The Navajos had reached Black Mesa early in their history in the southwest arriving on the upper Oraibi as early as 1622. And on the eastern edge at Pitch Point in 1723, these people apparently moved on and it was sixty years before a settlement was attempted again, this time on the upper Dinnebito in 1782. Again the Navajos left and it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that any portion of Black Mesa was effectively penetrated with permanent places of settlement resulting. But Walker was convinced and said of the top of the mesa:

NB Wagner - based by NLC

> No part of this region is now inhabited . . . there never seems to have been any cultivation here, although the valleys appear to be fertile . . . that the Navajos would avail themselves of the few watering places in time of war with us and conceal themselves in this labyrinth of hills, valleys, and arroyos is very certin, as they (Navajo scouts) assured me they did last year. Discovering their hiding places would be as difficult as it was to discover Seminoles in the hummocks of Florida.[59]

Their passage along the north walls of the Mesa in the valley where Kayenta is now, was uneventful. Only a single tree and a solitary stone outcrop broke the monotonous landscape and the tedious measure of their footsteps.

HP7295

The valley of Chinle, to the north of the Wash, was different. It abounded in life and color. Here was Indian country again. They:

> marched up Arroyo de Chelly, passing numerous cornfields and Navajo huts, swarming with men, women and children whose principal occupation seems to be the devouring of the corn crop of this year. Some of the more provident were engaged in drying corn for winter use in kilns heated with hot stones. The Indians brought us some very good peaches. Half of the Navajo Nation seem to be congregated here either to enjoy the fruits of their own labor or the labor of others. They all express good will toward us and a desire to be on friendly terms.[60]

It is the last such happy scene to be drawn from the military record before the Carson round-up of 1868. Time was moving in on all the people within the pleasant hills and valleys of old Navajo land.

Six days after Walker's return on September 19, the fourth and final reconnaissance took to the field under the direction of Captain Shepherd, then presumably rested from his venture over the waterless countryside near Hopi. He managed in two and a half weeks time to lead his men from the Chuska Mountains to Acoma and back to Fort Defiance by way of the salt lakes south of Zuni. In the many miles traveled Navajos were only seen twice, once in the Chuska Valley, south of Sheep Springs and again in the San Mateo Mountains where beautiful meadows contained the cornfields, corrals, and lodges of Sandoval's band.

Shepherd summarized the important aspects of his reconnaissence by saying that the land east of Ojo del Oso appeared "like an immense desert" dividing the western Navajo from the enemy Navajo at San Mateo; and that "Navajo do not frequent the region south of the Zuni Mountains." In so saying, he also drew the eastern boundary to old Navajo land in 1859.[61]

HP7296

While officials at Santa Fe were wrestling with Indian problems between 1850 and 1859, important people in Washington, D.C. were dealing with the challenge of a national railroad and the notion of coast-to-coast communication. Ever since Asa Whitney, an American tea dealer had returned from two years in China, in 1844, and begun to spread his very verbal enthusiasm for the expansion of the American railway system, as a means to capture the lucrative oriental trade, the capital had been buzzing with plans to run the iron rails to the Pacific Ocean.

By the 1850's the excitement had boiled down to a serious division between the political and economic interests of different parts of the United States. The ever-vying northern and southern sections of the country saw in the transcontinental railway an opportunity for political supremacy in the congress as well as an avenue to wider markets, perhaps including the Far East. Small towns along the Mississippi Valley frontier saw that the possession of a railway terminal would line the pockets of local merchants and exert some control over a rising monolith of western trade.

Competition for the eastern terminus was naturally both heated and boisterous and became centered in the late 1840's and early 1850's in the selection of a viable route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. A number of independently authorized exploratory parties took to the road to survey various sections of the far west. In the southwest one such group, under the command of Brevet Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, of the U.S. Topographical Corps of Engineers, marked a trail along the 35th parallel in the year 1851.

HP7297

Interest in this route was aroused by Simpson's report and its description of the Washington expedition in 1849. In this report a program of exploration was recommended to be undertaken west of the Zuni Pueblo to the Colorado River. There, according to Simpson's judgment of the terrain, a wagon road, eventually becoming a railroad bed, would be found.

Sitgreaves and the men selected to fill out the ranks of his topographical unit rendezvoused at the Zuni Pueblo on the first of September. And there, after waiting impatiently for almost a month for an army escort from Fort Defiance, marched toward the Colorado River.

It was a significant moment in the history of southwestern exploration. The land of the thirty-fifth parallel had never been viewed before under the careful eye of scientific evaluation (Emory's investigation followed near to the thirty-fourth parallel), and it became important enough that the Santa Fe tracks of 1868 were laid almost in Sitgreaves footsteps.

It is unlikely that the commander was unaware of his moment in history and one would expect, when reading his summary report, to find some enthusiasm for the things he saw. Maybe not as effervescent as the Simpson Journal but some noteworthy descriptions of a new and exciting country.

In his opening paragraph it merely stated that he could add little information beyond what was contained on the map, which was produced from journey; and that "almost the entire country traversed (was) barren and without general interest."

The report was brief and did not deviate from this sterile

HP7298

introduction. Even though Sitgreaves journeyed through the Zuni Mountains, down the Zuni River, through the Painted Desert and down the Lithodendron Wash to the Little Colorado River -- country critical to the definition of a Navajo southern boundary--the reader will never know if he ever saw a Navajo.[62]

By 1853 a good general knowledge of the Transmississippi West had been accumulated from the numerous explorations undertaken after 1850. It seemed an appropriate time, then to determine the exact route to the pacific for the future transcontinental railway. Once this decision was made the nation was launched into the era of great railroad surveys or the period of the Great Reconnaissance, as it has been variously described.

The geographical direction of the surveys was limited to four possibilities: a northern line between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth parallels; a central line between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels; and two southern lines at the thirty-fifth and thirty-second parallels.

Each of these routes was selected according to its practicability of development and the preferences of eastern political and economic interests; and each was put under the command of a capable military trained explorer.

At the thirty-fifth parallel the responsibility for the long overland journey was bestowed upon the able Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple, then thirty-five and an exemplary graduate of the U.S. Military Academy. His orders were similar to those of Sitgreaves, in terms of which lands were to be explored, but demanded of him a far

HP7299

more careful examination. Whipple more than adequately fulfilled his obligations and provided posterity as well as the War Department, under whose immediate direction the surveys were carried out, with a systematic record of the trail he pursued, between Zuni and the Colorado River, and an expansive dialogue on each day's events.

Army personnel and the numerous paraphernalia needed for two months in the field were assembled at Santo Domingo Pueblo in November 1853. From there the long caravan made its way to Cubero, then crossed the Zuni Mountains, at Agua Fria and reached a campsite near Zuni by the last week in November. Contact was made with the Indians at the Pueblo and for several days Whipple indulged his enthusiastic interest in their cultural activities.

On the twenty-ninth the wagon train turned south along the Zuni River to the old Indian watering hole at Jacobs Well, which is ten miles southeast of the present railroad station at Navajo, Arizona, Here stock trails were particularly numerous and Whipple wrote that "a finer grazing country could scarcely be desired. Gramma grass is luxuriant and the whole year the climate is excellent."

The next day the party of explorers rode up to the springs at Navajo, eight miles to the west, and into an encounter with two Indians from Canyon de Chelly. These men, according to their own words, had ridden into the southern most regions of Navajo country to hunt, and after a short verbal exchange which conveyed their fear of contracting the smallpox--then raging in Zuni--from the soldiers who had been within the walls of the infected town, they hurriedly departed for points southward.

HP7300

By December 3 Whipple had led his men across the wide valley of the Rio Puerco of the west and was well within the barren reaches of the petrified forest. At the Lithodendron Wash, which flows ephemerally from the Hopi Buttes country, they turned south to strike the valley of the Little Colorado at about 110° west or immediately west of modern Holbrook.

The remainder of Whipple's journey along the Little Colorado, until he crossed below the falls of the river, was without incident relating to contact with Navajo Indians. That they did not see any of these people is of some significance since they traveled the north side of the river past the Leupp region which has been thought to have a long history of Navajo occupation.[63]

Four years later Edward F. Beale, then superintendent of Indian Affairs for California and Nevada, crossed the thirty-fifth at the head of a remarkable procession of twenty-five camels and assorted civilian and army associates. He was under instructions from Jefferson Davis and the War Department to find a wagon road between Fort Defiance and the eastern border of California as well as test the feasibility of using camels in army transportation in a country where the deficiency of water was a serious handicap to military operations.

Beal's route almost traced in step the path of the Whipple survey. His account provided similar observations of the trail to those of Whipple though not as fluently summarized nor all inclusive of detail. Nevertheless, it was sufficiently lucid to know that he made no contact with Navajos between Albuquerque and the San Francisco Mountains and had no perceptions relating to the size and extent of

HP7301

their territory. The importance of Beal's three months on reconnaissance was the establishment of a suitable road to the Colorado which traversed the southern slopes of the San Francisco Mountains and the Black and Cerbat ranges. Beale recrossed this trail in the winter of 1858 and within a year California bound immigrants were following his carefully constructed path. The camels, on the other hand, were not destined to play a part in the history of the West except, as a few runaways, they turned up in journal entries and early newspaper articles as strange and unexpected sights in the southwestern landscape.[64]

Toward the end of the 1850's the need for government exploration and roadbuilding was shifting to the responsibility of private enterprise. Money was flowing in and out of the once inaccessable wilderness by means of investment in a multitude of new towns and the corporate structure of the recently launched mining industry. The businessmen knew where they wanted their roads and had the cash to lay them.

Knowing their days were numbered, the Topographical Corps of Engineers began to look for lands unknown and uninhabited and for reasons to enter and explore them. The Mormon War of 1857 provided the occasion and two relatively unfamiliar regions to investigate, the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin. In the aggregate of their western operations the Corps had given these places little of their attention.

Involvement in the war meant, among other things, the discovery of military supply lines into the Basin over other routes than the

HP7302

imperfectly known country crossed by the Oregon Trail and the Mormon Cut-off and used by Johnston's army to enter the Mormon capital of Salt Lake City.

The most obvious direction for at least one of these supply lines to originate from was the Southwest and the first man to undertake this venture was the eager engineer Joseph C. Ives.

With much enthusiasm he boarded the home-made steamer Explorer at Fort Yuma in December 1857 for the purpose of making contact with the Great Basin by river and steamboat. Instead, his craft struck submerged rocks in Black Canyon and Ives and his men, forced to withdraw from their boat and their assignment of discovery, became the first Americans to explore the depths of the Grand Canyon and enter Navajo land, entirely on muleback, from its extreme western boundary.

That Ives should obtain to such a lofty reputation came about completely by chance. The main idea in his head, upon disembarking was reaching Fort Defiance, the closest place of refuge, alive. It took him four months to do so including the famous investigation of the floor of the Grand Canyon in the vicinity of the Haulapais villages at Diamond Creek. After almost a week at this place he struck out across the Coconino Plateau, skirted the San Francisco Mountains on the north side and reached the Little Colorado River by the first part of May. At this point, he detached half of his party along the Beal Road to Fort Defiance while he and the remainder of the group visited the Moqui on their three mesa tops.

By May 18 having spent several days among these people, Ives was back on the road headed for Fort Defiance. After thirty miles of

HP7303

travel over rolling mesa country dotted with cedars he arrived in the valley of Steamboat Wash. Here he wrote, "We are now in the Navajo region" and recorded the large numbers of sheep, horses and Navajos on horseback near his encampment.

The next day and twenty miles further along the trail--they were following the Moqui Road--past Peach Orchard and White Rock Springs the explorers entered the region of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. Before them were "countless herds of horses and flocks of sheep." Their Hopi guides told them they were approaching one of the most densely populated sections of Navajo country and Ives, in confirmation, wrote that their campsite was quickly filled with hundreds of curious Indians. The Navajos never left the soldiers even as they took up their march on the following day, but crowded and pressed in upon them during the last few miles across the Defiance Plateau. They were at their heels even as Ives and his men trudged into Fort Defiance on May 23 just two months after Beale had proudly ridden into Albuquerque.[65] Ives was not successful in his original assignment on the Colorado River, but of all the Topographical explorers, in the decade of the 1850's, he was the most successful in his contribution to the knowledge of Navajo distribution in those years.

Government interest in road building did not end with Ives and outlived the threats of the Mormon War. Long after the projected battle with the Saints had evaporated into troubled air the Corps of Engineers was busy looking for the elusive path to the north. In the last year of the decade Captain John N. Macomb and his reconnaissance of the Colorado Plateau represented the last hope for its discovery.

HP7304

Macomb with a detachment of the Eighth Infantry, four assistants and the famous geologist John S. Newberry left Santa Fe in July 1859. Per instructions, they followed the Chama River, north of Abiquiu, to its head waters above Durango and turned west across the southern flanks of the La Plata Mountains. In this direction Macomb tried to keep closely to the old Spanish Trail and in so doing fell in line with the Mesa Verde Plateau of southern Colorado and the Anasazi ruins scattered among its many overhanging ledges.

From there his trail cut north to a point near present-day Needles, Utah in Canyonlands National Park. Here they were confronted with the deep gorges at the confluence of the Green and Grand Rivers and the awesome and inpenetrable maize of canyons that thrust far into the earth at every angle.

Plainly Macomb's expedition could not advance further. A retreat was chosen and the explorers moved south across the plains of southern Utah, above Monument Valley, to strike the San Juan River at its junction with Recapture Creek. They then turned northeast, following the north side of the river, to the mouth of Largo Canyon and continuing in the example of former army expeditions, made their way down the canyon, past the Nacimiento Mountains to Santa Fe.[66]

Macomb's exploration made impressive contributions to the knowledge of plateau geography and geology and demonstrated the impossibility of connecting the wagon road of the thirty-fifth parallel with the Great Basin from a route following the general direction of the old Sante Fe Trail. It also added to the knowledge of Navajo land use by providing a map which showed Indian cattle crossings at Recapture

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and Montezuma Creeks and Olejto Wash;[67] and a summary report which stated that Navajos were not planting along the San Juan that year which was due to the increased hostility of the Ute Indians.[68]

So ended the era of the Great Reconnaissance in the southwest. Macomb's was the first formal survey of the Colorado Plateau and one of the last important efforts of the Topographical Engineers. It was concluded just in time to precede the rapid disintegration of U.S.-Navajo relations occasioned by the delay in Navajo repayment of stolen stock. By October only one-tenth of the amount required by the December treaty had been returned. If nothing else the recent army reconnaissances of 1858 and 1859 had shown that the Navajo were more than capable of returning the animals. Again, a deadline was given and again it was ignored. Two punitive expeditions were ordered out against the Indians but returned with little success. The Navajo, apparently to demonstrate the futility of the current American intimidation, stole a flock of public sheep from the Fort in November, while the troops were in search of them elsewhere.

A tribal council was held near Chinle later that month. Indians from great distances were gathered to voice their sufferings at the hands of the U.S. government. A peace faction lead by Ganado Mucho and Zarcillos Largo made an effort to effect a peace but were overruled by Manuelito and several young warriors. Plans were made to attack Fort Defiance and drive the Americans out.[69]

The following is a chapter summary with suitable conclusions. The early territorial government in New Mexico was, in its initial stages, ill prepared to meet the challenge of Navajo subjugation and

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the guerilla war tactics so ably devised and carried out by the Navajo people. In simple terms, they were beating the U.S. Army at almost every turn and largely because military strategists had little notion of the location of their principal places of residence. They did, of course, have in mind a generalized area, somewhere between the Hopi Mesas and the Gila, Rio Grande and San Juan Rivers, which was dutifully projected into every plan invented to curtail Indian depredation but because it was vague the result was always the same, weak, and ineffectual programs and the constant procession of numerous military expeditions, both pun tive and exploratory, throughout Navajo land.

The establishment of Fort Defiance in the heart of Navajo country tended to remedy this problem by providing a strategic base of operations from which military patrols could range deep into the nooks and crannies of the Indian countryside and develop, piecemeal, an inventory of exact habitat location and land use description. By the end of 1859 Navajo land had been completely surveyed, by either officers at Fort Defiance or the topographical reconnaissance, and the required geographical information catalogued.

The distribution of Navajo people developed from these examinations indicates that a core area of settlement lay between the San Juan River, the Rio Puerco of the West, and the Chinle and Chaco Washes (Figure 8). Within the core population density was as its greatest north of Fort Defiance, particularly in the Chinle Valley and the mid-section of the Chuska Range, and thinning toward the margins of the San Juan.

Here the river, east of the Chinle Wash, was an established

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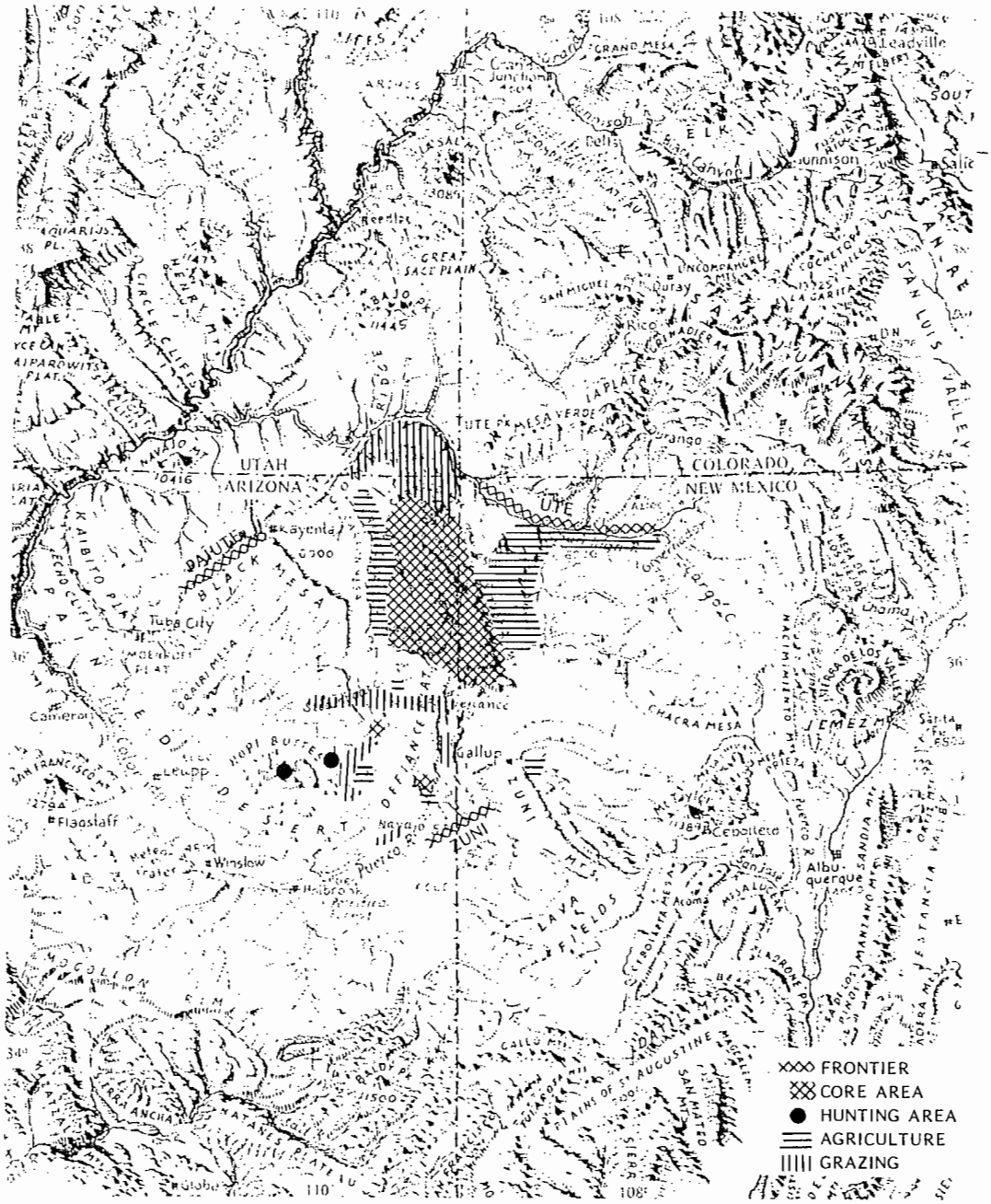

Figure 8. Navajo settlement, 1850-1859.

dividing line between the Ute and Navajo Nations and the scene of constant tension or warfare with respect to their territoriality. Even so, a small number of Navajos, through time, feeling no obligation to honor the boundary, moved in and out of Ute land. And by 1851, a large number of them moved across the river ostensibly to escape the punitive activities of the American Army to the south. Throughout the rest of the decade additional Navajos crossed the river, from time to time, chiefly to avoid capture and punishment for raiding activities in eastern New Mexico communities.

Historical evidence does not reveal the precise area of their settlements and beyond the planting of corn in the neighborhood of Farmington, New Mexico, nothing is known of their hiding places.

Support data from the Navajo land claim, also, has little suggestive evidence to offer except a tree-ring date in White Canyon which indicates a Navajo family may have been living there in 1855.

Undoubtedly, some Navajos elected to remain above the river but the permanency of such settlements cannot be substantiated from what is known at this time. Rather the periodicity of the information from the Claim, which involved a few birth and tree-ring dates between 1840 and 1860, argues for a small and fluid population involved in a temporary situation.

Below the Chinle valley Navajo population continued to thin southward in the direction of the Rio Puerco of the West. Although numerous Indians were observed by army reconnaissance below Fort Defiance, identification of more than three settlements--Cornfields, Pine Springs and Wide Ruins--cannot be made with any certainty.

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Unquestionably, though, a great portion of the southern Defiance Plateau drainage was utilized for either grazing or agricultural purposes and the southern and western boundaries of this use and occupation lay at the lines of Navajo Springs, Hopi Buttes and Steamboat Canyon. Beyond these points Navajo territory, in the sense of concentrated and permanent habitation, did not extend.

Records involving Navajo distribution in the Wingate Valley and the Zuni Mountains are few despite the fact that the Fort Defiance Road, the supply line between the Fort and Albuquerque, was routed through this valley.

Kendrick evidently patrolled this area in the early fifties when he stated that some Navajo raiders were secluded at Ojo del Oso in 1851. No other exploratory expeditions penetrated these mountains until 1858 and then no evidence of Navajo occupation was found. Yet the McCall and Letherman reports and the Meriwether map delineate a southern line of Navajo occupancy in the vicinity of the Zuni Pueblo. Obviously, they were inferring that some kind of use was being made of this region by these Indians. But that these documents represent a known fact is another question. The first recognizable attempt at settlement in the Wingate Valley occurred in 1856 and may bear some relationship to the Meriwether Treaty which formally granted them the right to this valley and, certainly, to the wheat found growing at Ojo del Oso by the subsequent military expeditions.

Still however, a definite partition between the Zuni and Navajo can be distinguished at the line of the Pescado, Nutria and Zuni Rivers.

Finally, it can be said that a frontier was still in existence

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at the location of Black Mesa. Penetration of the region had been made in the past by westward moving Navjos but circumstance had prevented a full and continuous occupation. By 1850 only the evidence of minimal habitation can be detected.

Investigations carried out in 1858 and 1859 revealed only a few abandoned hogans and relocated stock. The consensus of the examining officers was that there was not then in process, within the hills and valleys of the mesa an active settlement. Rather, the region was used as a refuge for Navajos fleeing their homes to the east. Furthermore, they believed Paiutes living at the western margins of the mesa had significantly discouraged more than periodic entrance into the area.

Support data (tree-ring and birth dates) does not necessarily conflict with this historical evidence. Instead, it suggests that a small group of Indians was trying to maintain a foothold on the mesa and that some were actually living in their hogans out of sight of army reconnaissance.

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Endnotes

[1]U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 1850. p. 42.

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[3]Ibid., pp. 100-256.

[4]Averam Burton Bender, "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico," New Mexico Historial Review 9(1934):1-7.

[5]Able, pp. 190-194.

[6]Annie Heloise Able, "The Journal of John Greiner," Old Santa Fe 3(July 1916):208.

[7]George G. McCall, "McCall Report," 31st Cong., 2d Sess., 1851 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1851), pp. 19-20.

[8]Ibid., pp. 12, 18, 19.

[9]Charles F. Coan, A History of New Mexico, 2 Vols. (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1925), 1:348.

[10]Summer to Jones, October 24, 1851, cited in Able, The Official, p. 418.

[11]Robert W. Young, The Role of the Navajo in the Southwestern Drama (Gallup: Robert W. Young and the Gallup Independent, n.d.), p. 36; Jacob Piatt Dunn, Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West, 1815-1875 (New York: Archer House, 1965) p. 228.

[12]U.S. Department of War, New Mexico, Ls, Old Book 4, Vol 4, AAAG to Chandler, April 17, 1851, cited in Able, The Official, p. 309; Navajo Claim Collection, Ex.No. 113.

[13]Calhoun to Lea, May 1, 1851, cited in Abel, p. 342.

[14]U.S. Department of War, New Mexico, LR, RG98, G10, Graham to AAAG, May 6, 1851, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 1R-32.

[15]Ibid., 8-55, Chandler to AAAG, June 2, 1851, Ex. No. 73,118.

[16]Clinton Brooks and Frank D. Reeve, eds., "James A. Bennett: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856," New Mexico Historical Review 2(1947):93-94.

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[17]Frank D. Reeve, expert witness for the NLC warns against a literal translation of this information. He believes that only the land in the immediate area of the three river confluence was being farmed. Frank D. Reeve, "The Navajo," in Navajo Activities Affecting the Acoma-Laguna Area, 1746-1910 (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1974), p. 281; U.S. Department of War, New Mexico, LR, RG 98, Box 3, Parke to Monroe, March 7, 1851, cited in Reeve, "The Navajo," p. 281.

[18]Ibid., Sumner to Jones, October 24, 1851; Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 79.

[19]Paul D. Bailey, "The Navajo Wars," Journal of Arizona History 2(1961):6; Young, p. 37.

[20]David M. Brugge, Zarcillos Largos (Window Rock: Navajo Parks Publication, 1970), p. 9.

[21]Annie Heloise Abel, "Indian Affairs in New Mexico under the Administration of William Carr Lane: From the Journal of John Ward," New Mexico Historical Review 16(1941):343-344.

[22]U.S. Department of War, New Mexico, LR, K.19, Kendrick to AAAG, August 15, 1853, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 102.

[23]Ibid., Kendrick to AAAG, June 14, 1853, cited in Reeve, "The Navajos," p. 43.

[24]Ibid., Kendrick to AAAG, July 12, 1853, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 104.

[25]U.S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, LR, RG 75, N. 177, Merewither to Manypenny, September 19, 1853 Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 104.

[26]Robert Ransom, Jr., "Daily Journal of a March," Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 101.

[27]Frank D. Reeve, The History of New Mexico, 2 Vols, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1961), 2:106; Dunn, p. 227.

[28]David M. Brugge, "Navajo Use and Occupation of the Area North of the San Juan" (Window Rock: nd., p. 4 (typewritten; Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. G.251, 122, 124.

[29]Edward Everett Dale, The Indians of the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 51.

[30]Reeve, History of, s:107; Alban W. Hoopes, Indian Affairs and their Administration, with Special Reference to the Far West, 1849-1860 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), p. 175.

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[31]Hubert Howe Bancroft, The History of New Mexico and Arizona (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1962), p. 664.

[32]U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, LR, Meriwether to Manypenny, September 29, 1854, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 118.

[33]John Letherman, "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, Territory of New Mexico" Smithsonian Institution Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Regents, (1855), p. 283.

[34]David M. Brugge and Lee J. Correll, The Story of the Navajo Treaties (Window Rock: Research Center Navajo Tribe, 1971), pp. 73-77; "The Meriwether Treaty" in Reeve, A History of, p. 107.

[35]Brugge, Zarcillos, p. 19.

[36]Reeve, History of New Mexico, p. 107.

[37]U.S. Department of War, New Mexico, LR, K-2, Kendrick to AAAG, February 25, 1856, cited in Reeve, "The Navajos," p. 87.

[38]Ibid., K-9, Kendrick to AAG, June 13, 1856, p. 88.

[39]U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, LR, Kendrick to Meriwether, August 22, 1855.

[40]Ibid., Dodge to Meriwether, February 13, 1855, cited in Reeve, "The Navajo," p. 48.

[41]U.S. Department of War, New Mexico, LR, K-w, Kendrick to AAG, February 25, 1856, cited in Reeve, "The Navajos," p. 49.

[42]Ibid., K-11857, Kendrick to Nichols, February 11, 1857, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. R-51.

[43]Dale, p. 52.

[44]U.S. Department of War, Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc., No. 1, 35th Cong., 2d., Sess. Reports of the Secretary of War, p5. 2, pp. 294-296; 310-313.

[45]U.S. Department of War, Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc., No. 2, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., Ser. No. 1024, Miles to Wilkins, October 23, 1858, p. 260.

[46]Ibid., Howland to Lane, October 24, 1858, p. 266.

[47]There is some discrepancy in the literature, concerning the geographical position of Calabasa Sierra. Reeve says it was seventy miles west of Canyon de Chelly, locating it immediately west of Kayenta and north of Marsh Pass. Reeve, History of, 2:462; Kelly

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says that it was the northern portion of Black Mesa. Isabel T. Kelly, "Southern Paiute Ethnography" in Paiute II (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1946), p. 168; Kelly has included with the transcript of Carson's correspondence a copy of one of the maps used by him during the Round-Up of 1863-1865. Calabasa Mountain is denoted, thereon, as the northern part of Black Mesa. Lawrence C. Kelly, Navajo Round-Up: Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Expedition Against the Navajo, 1863-1865 (Boulder: Pruett, 1970), p. 122.

[48]U.S., Congress, Department of War, New Mexico, LR, Sex. Ex. Doc. 1, 36th Congr., 1st Sess., Ser. No. 1024, Miles to Wilkins, November 23, 1858, pp. 278-282.

[49]Ibid., Miles to Wilkins, December 1, 1858, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. Doc., No. 200.

[50]U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, LR, 50, J-947, Articles of Peace, December 25, 1858, cited in Reeve, The Navajos, p. 37.

[51]U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, LR, Y-42, Miles to Yost, December 20, 1858, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 206.

[52]U.S. Department of War, New Mexico, LR, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2, 36th Cong. 1st Sess., Ser. No. 1024, Collins to Mix, September 21, 1858, p. 283.

[53]Frank D. Reeve, "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," New Mexico Historical Review 12(1937):236.

[54]J. G. Walker and D. L. Shepherd, A Navajo Reconnaissance: A Military Exploration of Navajo Country in 1859, L. R. Bailey, ed., (Los Angeles: Western Lore Press, 1964), p. 10.

[55]Ibid., p. 11.

[56]Brugge, Zarcillos, p. 31

[57]Walker and Shepherd, p. 38-52.

[58]Ibid., p. 54-65.

[59]Ibid., p. 89.

[60]Ibid., p. 86.

[61]Ibid., pp. 98, 106.

[62]Lorenzo Sitgreaves, "Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers," 32d Cong., 2d Sess., 1854 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1854), pp. 5-6.

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[63]Grant Foreman, Pathfinder in the Southwest, the Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941) pp. 132-156.

[64]May Humphreys Stacey, Journal of Uncle Sam's Camels: The Journal of May Humphreys Stacy, Supplemented by the Report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale. Edited by Lewis Bert Leslies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 191-210, 270-277.

[65]Joseph C. Ives, "Report Upon the Colorado of the West, Explored in 1857 and 1858" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1861), pp. 128-130.

[66]Averam Burton Bender, "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review 9(1934):27.

[67]Navajo Land Claim, 2:493.

[68]John W. Macomb, "Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, in 1859" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876). p. 6.

[69]Walker and Shepherd, p. 17.

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CHAPTER IV

ROUND-UP AND DISPERSAL, 1860-1870

In the early morning hours of April 30, 1860, approximately one thousand Navajo warriors attacked Ft. Defiance and made actual entry into the outbuildings and corrals on the north side. A vigorous battle ensued which dislodged the Indians from their positions of battle, scattered them up the hillside west of Canyon Bonito and left men dead on both sides.[1]

This was not the first attack of the year. Three hundred Indians had assaulted the fort's beef herd six miles from the post in the middle of the previous January, harried the supply train on the Defiance Road on January 22 and again attacked the grazing grounds in February.[2] Such activities were entirely in line with the resolutions of the war party which had taken command of the Navajo council earlier in December. These resolutions focused upon the enforcement of a complete withdrawal of all Americans from Navajo territory.

Unwittingly, Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy, the new commander of the Ninth Military Department, played into their hands by instituting a non-aggressive policy that prohibited the army and independent companies of New Mexican civilians from retaliating against Indian depredations. This new policy also called for the closing of Fort Defiance and the transfer of a portion of its garrison to a new fort that was to be built at the southern edge of Navajo country at Ojo del Oso

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(Fort Fauntleroy). In fact, Fauntleroy planned a general disorganization of all the military defenses in New Mexico. His intentions were of the best although naive. He believed a foreign army stationed within Indian lands served to incite rather than mitigate Indian hostilities.[3]

Major Oliver Sheperd, then post commander at Fort Defiance, was irate at the indefensibility of his position deep within hostile country and wrote to Fauntleroy that, "Indians believe the Americans are afraid of them because of our inaction in not assuming the offensive . . . all attacks from the beginning are growing bolder, better planned, and executed. The Navajos are aware that this garrison is now not more than half as strong as when the war began."[4]

The citizenry of the Rio Grande Valley were up in arms, too, at Fauntleroy's do-nothing policies. Raiding had not ceased in their settlements; approximately thirty thousand sheep and at least one hundred head of cattle were stolen in February, more stock was captured near Tome in March and in July people were murdered within ten miles of Santa Fe.[5]

Fauntleroy procrastinated any retaliatory measures until they were taken out of his hands by the Secretary of War. In July came the orders from Washington. Fort Defiance was not to be abandoned and a winter campaign was to be instituted against the Navajo as soon as preparations could be made.[6]

In terms of bringing about a lasting peace, this campaign had relatively little effect. But for purposes of defining Navajo distribution and settlement patterns in the 1860's, these military

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offensives, as well as the punitive expeditions led by Christopher "Kit" Carson in 1863 and 1864, provide a wealth of geographical data.

Fauntleroy had his plans for the big march crystallized by September.

Lt. Colonel E. R. S. Canby marched from Fort Garland in Colorado with one company of Calvalry, one company of infantry and numerous Ute Indians and his route to Fort Defiance was by way of the Abiquiu Pueblo. Major H. H. Sibley left Santa Fe with four companies of calvary and one company of infantry and took the Defiance Road through the San Jose and Wingate Valleys into Canyon Bonito. Lafayette McLaws proceeded from his post at Fort Craig towards Zuni at the head of one company of cavalry and two companies of infantry. His orders required him to find, enroute, Navajos supposedly living in the vicinity of the Pueblo. The specific orders of the overall full-scale military campaign were to seize and destroy Navajo crops and seek out the Indian people--even surprise them in their fields.[7]

The three directional pincers moved into Fort Defiance the first week of October. Canby wrote that his troops had driven Navajos before them and that most of them had fled their "haunts" in the Chuska and Tunicha Mountains toward the Sierra Limita for safety in the west.[8]

Fittingly, the first march of the invasion was directed toward the Sierra Limita or the northwestern corner of Black Mesa. In the meantime, the land between the Mesa and Fort Defiance was to be scoured thoroughly from as far south as the Pueblo Colorado valley near present day Ganado where Sibley and five companies of troops arrived on October 10. No Navajo were found there and evidence indicated that

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they had not been there for some time. This was a favorite grazing spot for Indians but only a battalion of Mexican Americans occupied the valley that day. The next morning, the line of march was west in direction of Black Mesa then north to the head of Pine Springs Wash where it was hoped they would make contact with the Navajos. Camp was made in an already harvested cornfield near the wash, but the area was uninhabited and Sibley's only comments were that the terrain was devoid of decent water and the grass was "entirely consumed by the flocks and herds of the Indians."[9]

For the next two days the column continued to move north to Canyon de Chelly. Canby and his forces were approaching from the east along the north rim and a third column was being held in the southeast to destroy the Navajos trapped between the two lines of march. If there were any Navajos in hiding to the west of de Chelly Sibley couldn't find them. Only vacant corn fields filled the valley. He was ready to turn his attention to northern lands.

The junction between the two columns was made on October 18 and march was resumed up the Chinle Wash to a point east of modern Dennehotso. Here they turned west, ascended a mesa of irregular sandstone outcroppings and after six more miles arrived at Cienega Bonita or Dennehotso.[10] From this place on the night of October 23, Sibley and his forces marched south to the "middle point" of Black Mesa, a distance of thirty-five miles. His intent was to ascend the mesa at this place and in time examine Marsh Pass or the Puerta de las Limitas as he called it, which was further south and west. He was unable to climb the mesa, as intended, and therefore, proceeded directly to

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Marsh Pass the next morning. Before reaching his destination, Sibley encountered a Navajo encampment and twenty-two hundred head of livestock.

The site itself was devoid of vegetation and without a decent supply of water. It was evident to Sibley at the outset that the Indians were in the process of flight toward a westward destination. An attack was called but the Navajo succeeded in alluding Sibley's men though losing the entirety of their animals in the process.

At the conclusion of the skirmish, Sibley took up his march and proceeded twenty-six more miles toward the Pass and arrived at the banks of the "Chellycito" which was undoubtedly the Laguna Creek which today drains Marsh Pass and Tsegi Canyon. At this point he was west and south of modern Kayenta and turned south into Marsh Pass for a distance of eight miles. In the narrow part of the pass, the troops turned into a side canyon and joined the main command, which had preceded them there. This canyon would be Tsegi Canyon.

The entire outfit remained at this position for four days. It was a strategic location in terms of water and access into regions further to the west, a place where they would surely intercept and defeat any escaping Indians. But any such Navajos that were out there were apparently able to dissolve themselves into the numerous nooks and crannies of the heavily dissected topography, leaving Sibley and Canby to maintain a useless watch. Understanding this to be the situation, the command moved out on November 1 and returned to Fort Defiance.[11]

On the eighth of November Canby summarized the results of field

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operations to that date. Thirty-four Navajos had been killed and eight thousand head of stock had been captured. It was hardly a decisive victory according to Canby and he was happier to continue his report by saying that the Navajo had been forced from their homes and grazing grounds "into the most destitute and repulsive country 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."[12] Later in November, he added a postscript to these observations by saying that Canyon de Chelly was then uninhabited "but used frequently as a means of securing their escape when flying from troops."[13]

Additional campaigns were undertaken later in the year and Captain Lawfayette McLaws was among the first to lead one of these offensives. The area of his search was the region between Fort Defiance and the Little Colorado River and so on November 18 he led his troops south along the Zuni Road in pursuit of that objective.

During the first portion of the journey, it was evident that Navajos were still inhabiting the Black Creek Valley. But this year there were more people than ever near the road and McLaws saw or met with them as far south as Lupton in the valley of the Rio Puerco of the West. Agriculture, too, had increased along the creek bed and large fields of corn now extended to within ten miles of modern St. Michaels.

Plainly the community of Navajos on the eastern side of the southern Defiance Plateau had enlarged in the two years since Lieutenant Howland was there, and so McLaw's troops were spread out over the

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countryside below Lupton to see if Indians had also moved down into these extreme southern lands.

Scouts moved methodically between the Lithodendron Wash and Jacobs Well and Navajo Springs and the Little Colorado. But there was no one and not a single stand of corn. This land was unfamiliar to their Indian guides even though they were members of bands supposedly frequenting this region. Speaking of these guides, McLaws said, "all knew the water called Ojo Caliente or Navajo Springs and the country around, but none acknowledged having heard even of the Colorado Chiquito, and after my arrival at the river they said they knew nothing of its existence."[14] In support of this testimony, McLaws was unable to locate any beaten trails leading south from Navajo Springs, nor was there any evidence of Navajos having gone east of there.

Noting that the land around the springs had excellent grazing possibilities and that there were no "huts" nearby, he finally concluded that it was a wintering ground for Navajo cattle, the spring was used periodically as a watering hole and that he had reached the southern end of Navajo land.[15]

Canby was sent out the next January to attack the settlements discovered by McLaws and to also explore the country of the Chuska Mountains and valleys. Only one group of Navajo was found as a result of these forays, a temporary Indian encampment thirty miles west of Fort Fauntleroy on the Puerco near its junction with the Black Creek.[16] The rest of the people that provided the busy scene along the Black Creek the month before seemed to have melted away.

By the end of December the Navajos were willing to talk peace

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and the next February they signed a treaty at Fort Fauntleroy. The terms agreed upon denied the tribe access to lands east of the Fort and the Chuska Mountains. Under no consideration would they be allowed to graze or build there and if they were found in violation of the law they would be treated as "robbers" and punished accordingly. An added stipulation required the "peaceful" Indians to regulate the outlaws among them.[17]

With the signing of the treaty a cessation of hostilities was put into effect by the army and lasted throughout the remainder of 1861.

Actually the army's apparent pacific disposition had more to do with the uncertainties related to events in the east, which culminated in the war between the states, than with any amicable relationship with the Navajo Indians. The true state of affairs for that year continued as always with Navajo terrorizing the countryside. The abandonment of Fort Defiance in April when its garrison was assigned to duty in the Civil War provided one cause, while illegal punitive expeditions into Navajo country by Mexican Americans provided another. The purposes of these expeditions were to punish the Indians for years of accumulated grievances. And they were worked out in plunder and murder.

By the end of the year, Canby, now head of the Department of New Mexico, was talking removal and reservation. It was the only solution for all parties concerned, so he thought, and it would give maximum protection to each. "Recent occurrences in Navajo country," he wrote to Washington, "have so demoralized and broken up that nation that

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there is not choice between their absolute extermination or their removal and colonization at points so remote from settlements as to isolate them entirely from the inhabitants of the territory."[18]

James Collins, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for that year, had made similar suggestions to a party of Navajo at one of their periodic peace overtures in Santa Fe. He wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he didn't believe them as they had no concept of moral responsibility but favored their being put on a reservation rather than exterminated.[19]

The treaty of 1858 had provided for boundary lines but permitted the Navajo to remain on their own land, though somewhat shrunken in size. The remarks of Canby and Collins represented the first time that removal was officially regarded as a solution to Indian problems in northern New Mexico.

It had been Canby's concern, from the signing of the treaty the year before at Fauntleroy to separate from the peaceful members of the tribe its renegade elements and punish them rather than chastise the innocent. His immediate plans then in the winter of 1861 and 1862 were to destroy several groups of hostiles living temporarily in the area of the Rita Quemada, south of Zuni, in the Datil Mountains and at the head waters of the Little Colorado River.[20] But before any action could be taken New Mexico was invaded by a confederate force intent upon the capture of the territorial capital of Santa Fe.

Major H. H. Sibley, who had in the fall of 1860 so valiantly pursued Navajos in the vicinity of Black Mesa and Kayenta, led the Confederate troops up the Rio Grande valley, from Ft. Craig, in February.

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They took Albuquerque and Santa Fe, handily, without the shedding of blood and prepared to bolster the numbers of their troops and hold on at this sensitive location.

Federal troops had other ideas and were collecting at Fort Union ninety miles to the east on the old Sante Fe Trail. On March 22 they moved on the capital passing down Apache Canyon a few miles out of town. A confederate force was surprised in the canyon. Several engagements were fought and, in due time, won by Sibley's men. But in the process of the fight, his supply wagons were destroyed so in the name of survival he called a retreat and completely withdrew all Confederate troops from the northern Rio Grande.[21]

Brigader General J. H. Carlton arrived in New Mexico in July with the first effective military force since Kearny in 1846--a group of California volunteers sent to relieve New Mexico's precarious situation. But he arrived too late to be of any real value to Canby's threatened troops. Instead, he spent a month about Santa Fe under the constraint of official idleness. Eventually in September he relieved Canby as Commander of the Army and immediately became involved in the lingering problem of Navajo hostility and depredation.

At the time of the change in jurisdiction Canby was well into plans for the subjugation of these people and easily persuaded Carlton to his ideas of removal and reservation. Canby had gone as far as to build a new Fort Wingate, somewhat west of the abandoned Fort Fauntleroy, and garrison it with four companies of New Mexico volunteers who were on momentary call for the orders that would send them out to round up the Indians.

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All that needed to be done was for Carlton to fill in the details. And this he did, admirably, by producing a more thorough and systematic program for removal than Canby had ever conceived of. It was a fairly simple plan. The peaceful Navajo were to be separated from the lawless portion of their tribe and the Indians themselves were to choose in which category they belonged. The outward manifestation of the peacefully intended was voluntary exile from homes and other familiar surroundings to incarceration at Fort Sumner three hundred miles away on the Pecos River. Navajos not so specifying were to be sought out and killed. It was the first time government forces would take the offensive against the Navajo and Apache, for his program involved all New Mexican hostiles. It was a strong and drastic solution.

Carlton's war strategem was shaped up by spring, 1863. He had already told a group of headmen the previous December that "they would have no peace until they . . . give other guarantees than their word [they were to] go home and tell their people so, [and] that if they did not return we should know they had chosen the alternative of war . . . the consequences rested on them."[22] He had also decreed July 20 as the mandatory deadline for tribal submission and transfer to Fort Sumner.[23] Finally, in the knowledge that it would not be a complete submission, Canby had ordered "Kit" Carson to command a force of New Mexican volunteers in a series of "scouts" to be undertaken throughout Navajo land to destroy Indian farmland, capture their stock and kill or seize the dissidents themselves. Carson was to proceed directly with his command to the Pueblo Colorado Wash near present

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day Kinlichee, establish Fort Canby and then from there "prosecute a vigorous war upon the men of this tribe."[24] These operations were in process and completed by August 5.

At the same time the mountains to the east of Albuquerque and Santa Fe were being systematically scoured for Indians said to be infesting them. Other areas receiving the same treatment were the lands south of the San Jose River and between Canyon Largo and the Red River to the north.[25] Here the instructions duplicated those of Carson and Chavez, Commander at Fort Wingate: "Kill every Navajo or Apache male who is large enough to bear arms," and "Clear the whole country of every Indian in it."[26] "There is no peace party of Navajos unless such a party came in before the twentieth of last July. The whole tribe is a war party and as such will be treated alike."[27]

Carlton had turned his energies against the Mescalero Apaches before Carson's August expedition and the Navajo knew of its outcome--the total subjection and captivity of those people. Now his destructive force would be turned against them and so they began to stream out of the safety of their homes in the mountains and valleys of old Navajo land. In early August, two hundred Navajos were seen going south as they passed a short distance from the east side of the Laguna Pueblo. "They are now said to be mixed with the predatory bands of Apaches."[28] On August 27 soldiers from Fort Wingate were chasing a band of Navajos who had gone south and were then in the vicinity of the salt lakes below Zuni. One day earlier, forty Indians and about five hundred of their sheep had been hurrying along the Little Colorado before the relentless pursuit of Chavez' men.[29] By September,

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large numbers of them had gone southward to join the Gila Apaches.[30]

Besides searching nearly all of the country near the Rio Grande, troopers were stationed in the mountain passes, at the springs and watering places and in nearly all the byways peripheral to Navajo country to prevent them from slipping through to freedom.[31] Yet numbers of them escaped the blockades. Some of them developed into raiding parties and terrorized such places as La Joya on the Rio Grande where at least sixty mounted Indians captured one or two herds of sheep and the settlements south of Zuni.[32] In December, Navajos were even near the Red and Canadian Rivers, sending off small parties with stock across the plains.[33]

Kit Carson with four companies of the First New Mexico Volunteers left Las Lunas July 7 for the Pueblo Colorado Wash. The site area for the proposed Fort Canby was found not to be as viable as supposed and Carson decided immediately to remove to another position. Writing Carlton of his decision, he complained of the sparse resources--little water and timber and no grass. In fact, according to Carson, the Navajos had used up a great deal of the space by planting large quantities of grain even upwards of seventy-five thousand pounds of wheat and a large amount of corn.[34]

By July 28 the command had been relocated at old Fort Defiance. With some alterations on the abandoned superstructure and a change of name to Canby, Carson was ready to move his troops out on the first extensive scout of the last great U.S. Military-Navajo confrontation. On August 5 he was on his way with a large force of men down the Zuni Road from a camp near present day St. Michaels.[35] The route led past

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the now familiar settlements and agricultural fields of the Black Creek Valley. Two hours from camp they came upon seventy acres of corn and an "Indian farm of large extent."[36] Three hours later and fifteen miles from St. Michaels, they were encamped in fifteen acres of wheat near the head of Black Creek Canyon. But there were no Indians.

Then the country changed, becoming heavily timbered with pine, cedar and scrub oak, as they made their way down the narrow canyon above Lupton.[37] There were still no Indians and scouts were sent to search the country back from the road. The results were disappointing, only a few women and children, their sheep and a few acres of corn.

On August 7 the procession of soldiers had reached the now New Mexico-Arizona state line and were within fifteen miles of Zuni.[38] Here they turned west for the Hopi Mesas and a large party of Navajos said to be camped nearby.

By the evening of the ninth they had moved up on Wide Ruins Wash and still they had seen no Indians near their trail even though it had threaded a multitude of their huts and corrals.[39]

Later in the evening, Carson and one hundred and five of his ablest men, including some Ute Indians, made an all night ride to a canyon fifteen miles east of Oraibi and on the next morning surprised and captured five Navajos and over one thousand head of stock. Immediately Carson turned west in pursuit of other fleeing Indians.

The chase took them twenty-five miles into the desert toward the bend of the Little Colorado and would have taken them farther had their mules not begun to falter and fall behind.[40] Seeing that it

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was useless to continue, Carson, his men and their broken animals turned toward camp which by then had been moved up to the Polacca Wash.

The last days of the expedition focused upon the Navajos that lived between the Polacca Wash and Canyon de Chelly. Accordingly, the command made its way north into what Eban Everett, a trooper on this expedition called Volunteer Canyon. He described it, in his diary, as a beautiful canyon abounding in springs and green grass. There were corn and melon fields and numerous Indian trails radiating out in all directions. This was present day Keams Canyon and obviously a center of Navajo occupation that year.

From here Carson found his way to the Moqui Road and followed it through the rolling hill country and past fields of ripened corn to the Pueblo Colorado Wash, striking it just below Ganado.[41]

On the seventeenth he moved up river to a position more near Ganado in a broad valley that had good water and plenty of grass. It also contained several cornfields which he was not hesitant to use for animal food. On the twentieth, Carson, somewhat rested from fourteen days in the field, continued the march north toward Canyon de Chelly. An immediated destination was Canoncito de los Tregos or the canyon directly east of modern Nazlini.

It was a sixteen mile march and covered the same ground that Lieutenant Miles had explored five years earlier. This time there were more corn fields and the evidence of a larger concentration of Navajos nearby.[42] The canyon itself contained many huts, corrals and threshing floors, even acres of beans, pumpkins and wheat.[43]

Carson arrived in the Chinle Valley the next day. Corn fields in

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all directions were stretched out before him and, per Carlton's orders they were promptly and efficiently destroyed. Not a stalk remained.

Carson did not attempt to enter Canyon de Chelly at this time. It was his opinion that most of its former inhabitants had fled with their flocks to the Little Colorado River and the remaining Navajo whom he thought to be few in number, would have to leave soon due to hunger brought about by the loss of their corn crop.

The return to Fort Canby was begun on the morning of August 23. They traversed the north rim of Canyon del Muerto and came down to Canyon Bonito by way of the Wheatfields and Black Lake country. Detachments combed the countryside enroute but found only one lone Indian on horseback. He was one of the few Navajos seen by the troops since leaving the Polacca Wash.

In summing up his August expedition, Carson wrote that he had gained one very important point--a knowledge of where the Navajo had gone with their animals and "where I am certain to find them. I also have gained an accurate knowledge of the country . . . I have ascertained that a large party of Navajo are on the Salt River near the San Francisco Mountains (White Mountains) among the Apaches and within easy striking distance of the Pima villages."[44]

Carson headed another scout in September. This time the focus of his efforts centered on the examination of the country around the Zuni and Little Colorado Rivers. In his October report of this venture, he said he had inspected the latter river thoroughly going along it as far as the rapids, "a distance of eighty-five miles from where the California Road first strikes it."[45] Only one small party of

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Navajo and their fifteen horses were contacted. Carson was convinced that "no Indians were on this river since last spring."[46]

The post commander at Fort Wingate too investigated south of the post leading an exploratory expedition in September into the region of the Datil Mountains. After surveying this area he swung west to Jacob's Well by way of the Little Colorado River. At the Well he reported that he had found and destroyed several cornfields and added that, "In the large scope of country over which I have travelled during the past month, every evidence tends to show that in that section they [Navajo] have no longer permanent abiding places, but are fleeing from one part to another in a continual state of war."[47]

Captain Francis McCabe had the same story to tell after he had scoured the mesa country above the Rio Puerco near the Zuni and Fauntleroy Roads. All he could find was one small patch of corn and evidence that Navajos had fled the area the previous August.[48]

Carson made the last large-scale scout of the year in November. This time his objective was the country west of Oraibi, which he covered to the extent of sixty-five miles via the Moencopi Wash, and terminating at a place twenty-five miles north west of the San Francisco Mountains on the Coconino Plateau. Near the Moencopi one Navajo boy was captured. Out on the Plateau two children and one woman were seized. There were other Navajos temporarily encamped here and there. They were surprised and attacked. Some escaped into nearby canyons; others eluded their pursuers in the dark, leaving, in many cases, their campfires still burning.[49]

The turning point in the Navajo round-up came with the invasion

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of Canyon de Chelly in January 1864. Prior to this time, very few of the tribe had surrendered voluntarily. General Carlton had long considered the storming of this historic bastion as being necessary to their final capitulation. Accordingly, in December he had sent Carson orders to move at once, against the Navajos hiding in the canyon. Plans were drawn up and ready for implementation by the next month.

Captain A. H. Pfeiffer took his company from Fort Canby to the east entrance of Canyon del Muerto and Carson brought up his men to the mouth of Canyon de Chelly from the Pueblo Colorado Wash. On January 14, the junction between the two forces was accomplished at Carson's camp. Pfeiffer reported that he had experienced great difficulty proceeding along the frozen stream bed to the meeting place and that numerous Indians were forced ahead of his troops, some naked and half starved. Other Navajos along the sides offered resistance by "firing shots and throwing rocks down on my command." Additional Navajos "jumped about on the ledges like mountain cats, hallooing at me, swearing and cursing and threatening revenge . . . the curl of smoke from my fires ascended to where a large body of Indians were resting over my head, but the height was so great that the Indians did not look larger than crows."[50]

On January 16, Pfeiffer and Captain A. B. Carey moved a force of seventy-five men east through the main canyon destroying crops and warning the Indians to surrender. Carey reported one hundred fifty full grown Navajos in their camp that night as well as many children. He gave them permission to return to their homes and families then

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report to Fort Canby within ten days.[51] By the time Pfeiffer and Carey reached the post they had gathered up over two hundred fifty-nine Indians. Afterwards, the remainder of Carson's expedition returned to the fort via the Pueblo Colorado Wash with upwards of 344 Navajos.[52]

According to some of the tribe interviewed by Carson enroute to Canby, they had been forced into a state of complete starvation and already many had died. Moreover, they had been under the impression that the United States was waging a war of extermination on them, thus preventing them from surrendering earlier.[53] In any case, they now began to submit in large numbers until by the end of January they were arriving at Fort Canby almost hourly. On February 14, there were 900 at Fort Wingate and on February 25 there were 1300 at Los Pinos, an intermediary transhipment station between Fort Wingate and Fort Sumner. By the middle of March, 5500 Navajo had surrendered and were involved in various stages of preparation for their march to Fort Sumner.[54]

Carson's expedition did not conclude the war with the Navajo Indians although during its continuance objectives were refocused somewhat. Over the next three years patrols ranged their country for Indians known to have gone into hiding. Accent now was upon a complete numerical submission so that the successful roundup revolved about such questions as: Who were the Navajos that sill remained beyond military control? Where were they and how many were there?

Carson said the holdouts were the wealthy of the tribe, the ones rich in sheep and horses. The others, poor and destitute, the ones most affected by the destruction of their economic base, were the

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Indians that daily crowded the forts and were straining government food supplies. Carlton added to the characterization of the surrendering Navajo by saying that, "amongst the poor are nearly or quite all the ladrones and murderers, so that we have already in our hands the bad men of the tribe."[55] And so the consensus elected the rich and the well-fed to the status of outlaw.

Carson thought these "ricos" were living southeast and southwest of the Little Colorado River and at the first intersection of the Beale Road and in Apache Country.[56] He seemed to be right for McCabe found 110 Navajos, an entire band, in the mesa country north of Houck.[57] In April, a large party of "ricos" came in from west of the Hopi villages. They went only as far as Colitas, however, and turned back.[58] About two hundred Navajo and Apache warriors were encountered by a volunteer expedition, in the summer of 1865, near the San Francisco Mountains. Others were contacted by the same group on the Leroux Wash earlier that month.[59] But Captain John Thompson, on an expedition to Canyon de Chelly that same summer, found a few remaining Navajos hiding in its secluded defiles and near Nazlini. On his return to Fort Canby, his troops picked up the trail of a small group of Indians and their 1500 head of stock. Their leader turned out to be Barboncito, headman of the de Chelly Navajos.[60] Fleeing Navajos then were likely to be found in other locations. David Brugge identified one of those places as the country above Bears Ears north of the San Juan, inhabited during the years of exile by a K'aayeli and his band.[61] This may be the same small group reported by Agent John Ward in 1866 as being in the Utah territory that year.[62]

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The definitive report on Navajo retreats, however, came from headman Herrera in the spring of 1865. After making a journey from Fort Sumner to old Navajo land, he stated that he knew from his own observation that there were only six small parties of Navajos remaining at large. One group was west of the Little Colorado and another was sixty miles "beyond" the Zuni on the east side of that river. The remaining Indians occupied sites in Canyon de Chelly, at Colitas (Pine Springs), on the Pueblo Colorado Wash and on Mesa Calabasas with 2,000 head of sheep. This last group, according to Herrera, was in contact with the Pauite Indians that lived nearby. He ended his report with a count of the total number of Indians he thought to be in hiding. It was 480.[63]

It appears, though, that there was never any real agreement on the number of Navajos brought into Fort Sumner or how many remained at large, let alone the total number for the entire tribe. In March of 1864, Carlton considered about 8,000 to be the proper number, while Carson thought 12,000 was a more representative figure.[64] Only 8,793 Navajos were captured, however, during the campaigns of 1863-1864, according to Rupert Richardson's history.[65] Nelson Thomasson, one of Carson's soldiers, remembers a higher number of 9200.[66] The highest number recorded in the census at Fort Sumner was 8,557 in January, 1865. By the end of the year, it had dropped to 6,236 and risen again in 1868 to over 7,000.[67]

It will probably never be known how many Navajo remained in their old territory. As can be seen, it is not a matter of simple subtraction. It is, also, probable that a list of military correspondence

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and other data could be compiled for the years between 1864 and 1868 to show locations and numbers for the Indians that escaped during those eventful years. There are fragments of information that indicate that many of them stayed out for almost the entire period. Jose Largo and his large band were raiding Pinos Altos, near Silver City, New Mexico; and other Navajos joined Black Hawk, a hostile Ute chief, and raided Utah and southern Colorado in 1865.[68] But most of this information is not available to this study and remains only as an avenue to future inquiry.

What is obtainable, though, are a few testimonies from the Navajos themselves that record the distribution of their ancestors during those years.[69] Summarizing from only those areas beyond the Chinle-Chuska Core and the Black Mesa region, this information reveals a frightened people moving rapidly into the wilderness areas of the La Sal, Henry and La Plata Mountain regions and Ute dominated areas immediately north of the San Juan River. Many of these Navajos were compelled by the hostility of the Utes to retreat southward to wander between the river and the San Francisco Mountains. Other Navajos found refuge in the canyons of Navajo Mountains, at the junction of the Pahreah and Colorado Rivers at Lee's Ferry. Some fled to Canyon Diablo and in the Grand Canyons with the Havasupai.[70] Others started small settlements in the country about Shonto and Inscription House.[71]

An old Navajo living at Tuba City in 1933 remembered that many Navajos escaped Carson's invasion by fleeing to the deep canyons and tributaries of the San Juan and Colorado Rivers. But more important

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to the theme of Navajo distribution in the 1860's was his declaration that he and his family, then living in Keams Canyon, were settled the farthest west of the other members of his tribe.[72]

Lee J. Correll refers to other informant information for the life of Chief Hoskinni, whom, he says, spent the duration of the Navajo exile in the country between Navajo mountain and Bears Ears. Evidently, an army scout, unknown in the records used for this thesis, invaded Monument Valley and drove him and his band across the river.[73]

In these narratives, the Utes are not the only Indian enemies of the Navajo. The Paiutes inhabited Navajo mountain, Lee's Ferry, the Bodoway and the area of modern Tuba City. They actively scouted the Navajo and often killed them.

That the Navajo could move so easily into the territory of another Indian group may cause some question. The Navajo Land Claim suggests that this seeming act of aggression probably had its roots in collusion in which Navajo and Paiute were temporarily friends at the expense of the U.S. Army.[74]

Perhaps Left Handed, the subject of the autobiography Son of Old Man grasped the real essence of Navajo territoriality when he described his family's unsuccessful attempt to settle at Navajo Mountain upon Paiute land in 1882.

> This isn't your place [Paiute speaking]. This is all mine. So take your sheep back in the canyon and stay upon the canyon with your sheep. I don't want any Navajo to come down this canyon. I don't want any of them to live around here.
>
> Maybe you think that way [Navajo speaking]. What do you think you are? You're just a Paiute, that's all. I'm not a bit scared of you . . . all around here, all over around Navajo Mountain belongs to me. It doesn't really

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> belong to me, it belongs to all Navajo, so you've got no business riding up to me like this. You didn't make this canyon; you didn't make all those rocks. You didn't plant all those bushes, weeds and grasses. So you've got no business talking about this place. Somebody made this whole world, and its put up for everybody. For all the animals, birds and other creatures. Whoever wants to get on it. If he wants to stay he can stay wherever he wants to.[75]

It is also probable that southern Paiute bands were small, unaggressive and autonomous groups that fit nicely into some isolated niches leaving the vast western lands open for the taking.

Other information from the Navajo Land Claim adds to the description of the Navajo flight period. It is included here after the foregoing testimonies for it gives them some form and substance being, as it is, more precise in terms of numbers and locations. It also agrees with the notion of a limited number of Navajo escapees advanced by such men as Carlton and Herrera.

Actually only a population under one hundred, living west of Black Mesa and Chinle, between 1860 and 1868, can be verified from the birth and tree-ring dates from the Claim. Most of these people had gathered onto land around modern Tuba City. Others had fled to Navajo Mountain or the Cameron-Gray Mountain area on the Little Colorado. A few Indians hid in the canyons here and there between these places.

After Carson's round-up had been completed some Navajos who had been fortunate enough to elude the army joined those who had fled earlier and spent the exile period among them. Different Navajos went down to the country around Leupp, south of Hopi or withdrew to a place closer to their former homes at nearby Kayenta.

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Probably the most significant aspect of the Claim's data is that it testifies of an earlier Navajo penetration of these extreme western lands--in the Coconino Basin by 1709 and at Navajo Mountain by 1776. In fact, there was a small number of people that preceded the fleeing Navajo to their places of refuge by at least twenty years and were, perhaps, in the process of permanent settlement there when they arrived.

But the overlay of the enforced migration was preponderantly greater. It not only filled the previously but periodically occupied spots but spilled over into places unknown to former Navajo habitation. It even moved on to land of the Hopi and Paiute who were living in and near modern Moencopi.[76]

There were non-Indian people on western lands in the 1860's and the record of their activities focuses upon the Navajo as he comes into the west and approaches his destiny as an outlaw and defector even as we have observed him in the situation of going out or flying from his homelands and the hands of an implacable enemy. In their story is also the last episode in the history of a free people as well as another means by which we can measure the depth of Navajo penetration west of the Chinle Valley.

The people are Mormon missionaries and even as the Navajo were bringing their war of removal to Fort Defiance in the spring of 1860, these men were arriving in Santa Clara, Utah Territory from a proselyting journey to the Hopi Indians; and when Sibley's troops were waiting at Tsegi Canyon, in the fall of that year, the Mormons were recrossing the Colorado at Ute crossing in expectation of reaching Hopi to

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preach their religion for another time.

The southern moving frontier of the Mormon empire had brought them and the teachings of their church to within proximity of the Navajos and the hundreds of other Indians occupying the Colorado Plateau. In the early 1850's it had reached down into southern Utah with the establishment of Cedar City and Santa Clara. By the 1860's it would move down the Virgin River to its junction with the Muddy and further south into northern Arizona at Moencopi in 1875.

In the meantime the Indian mission at Santa Clara, whose presiding authority was Jacob Hamblin, directed its attention to the Hopi over three hundred miles away and prepared to send Hamblin on seven expeditions into their country during the decade of the 1860's. His singular efforts at proselyting brought him, several times, into head-on contact with the Navajo moving west and caused him to survey lands heretofore unseen in the history of southwestern exploration. The knowledge of four of these expeditions is important to this study.

The first such journey was begun in the fall of 1859. Hamblin and nine missionary companions followed a previously opened trail across the northern margins of the Kaibab to Ute crossing,[77] now submerged in the Lake Powell Recreation area. They crossed the Colorado River at this point, entered Navajo Creek directly to the south and traveled for three days over uneven country that was dotted here and there with thick brush and cedar trees and had sufficient water for only the first fifty miles.[78] On the fourth day, having crossed a portion of the Kaibito Plateau they descended into a valley occupied by a large group of Paiutes encamped near ruins of an ancient Anasazi

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dwelling.

Hamblin spent a few hours with these people then resumed his march to the Moencopi Wash eighteen miles distant. There they were told by their Paiute guide that the land directly ahead was Navajo country and that the remainder of their progress, which was thirty miles and probably through Blue Canyon, would require the greatest caution.[79]

Oraibi, the most western of the Hopi villages was reached, however, without incident on November 6 and Hamblin was able to implement his plans for the conversion of the Hopi Indians, which involved, among other things the leaving of two missionaires, Thales Haskell and Marion Shelton, to preach throughout the winter.

After a most unsuccessful experience, Haskell and Shelton returned to Utah ahead of schedule, during the following March. Their route to the Colorado River was more westerly this time and took them through Moencopi where Haskell noted in his diary that the Oraibi were busily growing cotton.

Not to be defeated in their attempt to bring salvation to the savage soul Hamblin and his company of missionaries were at Ute crossing again in October 1860 and on their way south, presumably through the familiar country of the Kaibito Plateau.

In two days time they were met by four friendly Navajos who warned then to turn back before an encounter with a large party of extremely hostile Navajos. Hamblin proceeded with his journey in spite of the warning and ran headlong into about forty angry Indians. Subsequently a member of Hamblin's group, George A. Smith, Jr., was killed and the

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remaining missionaries made a rapid retreat to Navajo Mountain and the safety proffered by a friendly Navajo band under the leadership of Spanshanks.[80] It was made known to Hamblin here that the murderers of Smith had come from Fort Defiance and were not residents of the western area.[81]

C. Gregory Crampton believes the murder took place near present day Tonalea which is immediately to the west of Black Mesa.[82] Hamblin himself said they were almost within sight of the Hopi villages.[83]

The third venture into Hopi country in 1862 took Hamblin to the south of Santa Clara and down the Virgin River. He crossed the Colorado about five miles below old Pearces Ferry and proceeded across the Coconino Plateau to the northern slopes of the San Francisco mountains which he crossed in an easterly direction. In two days time, he struck the Colorado somewhere in the vicinity of modern Cameron and made his way north of Oraibi.

This new route was selected to satisfy Brigham Young's orders to find a wagon road into the valley of the Little Colorado from the west for Mormon pioneers soon to settle northern Arizona.

In the following spring a search was made across the southern foothills of the San Francisco Mountains as part of another mission to Hopi. This time Hamblin succeeded in opening a trail near the site of modern Flagstaff and the Beale Road six miles west of Leroux Springs.[84]

It is significant that in the many miles of travel across the Coconino Plateau and in the San Francisco Mountains Hamblin did not report any contact with settled or fleeing Indians.

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Navajo began raiding the southern border towns of Utah in the winter of 1865, according to the correspondence of Erastus Snow, then Brigadier General of the Iron Military District. It was the work of Spanshanks, Hamblin's old friend, and a few other Navajos living in the same area of Navajo Mountain. Snow said they came to "our eastern settlements pretending to be friendly. They were well received and fed by our people; however, on their way home they stole a number of horses from a settlement called Kanab, about eighty miles from here, doing this entirely without the least provocation."[85]

In December, militia headquarters in St. George were advised that a large herd of cattle had been driven from the J. W. Whitmore ranch at Pipe Springs in the Arizona Strip. By the following January, Navajos had run off all of Whitmore's sheep and had killed him and his companion Robert McIntyre in the process.[86] Three more deaths followed in April near Short Creek, Arizona, throwing the entire frontier into an extreme state of alarm. A general withdrawal from the border settlements was ordered, leaving the exposed section of Kane and Garfield counties vacated.[87]

Navajos continued their thievery into 1869 and had by that time driven off two thousand head of stock and reached as far west as the tiny communities of St. Thomas and Hebron for new fields of enterprise.[88] Their periodic strikes, usually made in the winter months when the river was low, had brought about a situation of war causing the entire eastern border of the settled portion of southern Utah to be kept under constant military control for over one hundred miles.[89]

Snow identified the invaders as "a lawless renegade portion of

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the main tribe of Navajos [who] roam over the country north of the Little Colorado. In making their raids they generally cross a ford (the only one on the Colorado for several hundred miles) about one hundred and sixty miles or so a little east of here at Saint George."[90] Probably it would be more generous to say that it was the need for food that brought some of them in conflict with the Mormon settlers.

Jacob Hamblin made two more expeditions to Hopi before the decade was out. In both instances, he went to remedy the seemingly hopeless situation with the Navajo. In both instances nothing was accomplished.[91]

The next year, however, he would sign a peace treaty at Fort Defiance that would temporarily bring peace along the Mormon frontier.

The western-most Navajos were probably more fortunate than their eastern brothers whom they left to face the enemy at Fort Defiance. The future was unpredictable and hardships were daily but they were free to be themselves and could keep together some semblance of their cultural role. Also, they achieved a kind of anonymity in the unexplored wilds of northern Arizona so necessary to keep alive in those days.

It is to the main portion of the tribe that our feelings and interests turn, particularly as they leave their favorite retreats in the mountains for an uncertain fate on the Pecos River at Fort Sumner. Carlton, perhaps caught up in the poignancy of the movement, wrote in 1865 that "The exodus of this whole people from the land of their fathers is not only an interesting but a touching sight. They have

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fought us gallantly for years on years, they have defended their mountains and their stupendous canyons with a heroism which any people might be proud to emulate."[92]

Assistant Surgeon Lieutenant George Gwyther, a witness of the Long Walk, was even more specific:

> It seemed like the exodus of the Israelites . . . to watch this large body of men, women and children, in their very primitive costume, or mere bundles of rages, with such household goods of blankets, pots and kettles as they could carry, and driving all the livestock of horses, goats and sheep that the campaign had left to a few of them, winding their way through the narrow valleys leading from Wingate to the Rio Grande . . .[93]

The reservation experiment proved to be a failure almost from the first moment the Indians arrived. It was enmeshed in a complexity of political squabblings in which Agent Michael Steck and General Carlton were the most vociferous. Steck wanted the Navajos removed from the Pecos, away from the settled areas of eastern New Mexico and back in western lands near their former territory, perhaps in the valley of the Little Colorado. He also rejected the notion that the government should be financially responsible to the Navajo for any more than a welfare level of subsistence. Carlton, of an emphatic and contrary mind, wanted and intended to have the Indians re-educated into the traditions of the American value system which focused, largely, on the attributes of self-sufficiency. The government, of course, would bear the financial burder with a free flowing supply of cash and the local military would undertake to offer them the personal instruction necessary. In the end, Navajos would be transformed from Indian types to modern Americans.[94]

For a time, Washington sided with Carlton, but finally transferred

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in 1867, the military four year burden and the reservation's 7,704 Navajo Indians into the hands of the Department of the Interior and, at a more local level, the hands of Agent Theodore H. Dodd.[95]

If the Navajo could have survived the division among the authority groups responsible for the administration of a unified policy dealing with the proper and beneficent disposition of their lives, they could not have survived the impositions and impediments of the reservation itself. The expectation was that they were to gladly bear the daily intrusions of the Mescalero, who lived on the reservation with them and who they disliked intensely, an inadequate wood supply, insufficient funding of basic subsistence commodities and the loss of most of their crops to insect infestation.

Moreover, they were to be uncomplaining of restricted activities, the fervent dislike of and even murder by the citizens of San Miguel and Mora counties and nearby Comanche Indians, and the administrative inefficiencies which amounted to, at best, lack of cooperation between officials and, at worst, to overt dishonesty.

It could not have been a surprise then, that the Indians began slipping away from Fort Sumner in January, 1868. A team of government investigators, Colonel Samuel F. Tappan and William T. Sherman, reported back to Washington in May what was surely obvious, "We had [four] long interviews with the Navajos. Without absolute force, they will not remain here or immigrate further east. Tappan and I have concluded to let them return to a reservation in the northeast part of New Mexico . . ."[96]

With the removal order once given, the Navajos started back to

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their former lands on July 1, 1868. It was recorded that the procession was ten miles long and took until July 22 to reach Fort Wingate.[97] Agent Dodge was there to take charge of them and there they remained on government rations until January 1869.[98]

According to Article Two of the Treaty of 1868, lands within the following designation were set aside as a reservation for the Navajo Indians:

> Bounded on the north by the 37th degree of north latitude, south by an east and west line passing through the site of old Fort Defiance, in Canon Bonito, east by the parallel of longitude which, if prolonged south, would pass through old Fort Lyon [Fauntleroy], or the Oso del Oso, Bear Spring and west by a parallel of longitude about 109°30' west of Greenwhich, provided it embraces the outlet of the Canyon-de-Chelly, which canyon is to be included in this reservation, shall be, and the same is hereby, set aside for the use and occupation of the Navajo tribe of Indians, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them . . ." [Figure 9][99]

In terms of the actual land granted by the treaty, the Navajo remained in possession of lands in the immediate vicinity of the bend of the San Juan, though south of it, the mountains and valley of Carrizo, Lukachukai and Chuska, the tree-covered country of the Defiance Plateau above Canyon Bonito, the agriculturally valuable Red Rock Valley and the plains west of the Chaco Wash, the northern portion of the Chuska (Chusea) Valley and the upper drainage of the Pueblo Colorado Wash. What the treaty did not allow them were the winter grazing grounds near the southern part of the Rio Puerco of the West and Steamboat Canyon, old homes and agricultural sites on the southern Defiance Plateau, along the lower Pueblo Colorado Wash, Black Creek and at Black Mountain and the most valuable of all, the

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Figure 9. Navajo reservation, 1868.

previously intensively developed corn fields of the Chinle drainage, the western boundary of the new reservation falling, as it did, east of present day Chinle, even at the very mouth of Canyon de Chelly.

In order to possess even this shrunken vestige of their former territory, the Navajo had to give up any claims outside of the new borders, although hunting rights on peripheral lands were maintained. The Navajo Treaty of 1868 was the only ratified cession treaty made with the Indians of New Mexico. Peace treaties had been made earlier and the agreements for the setting aside of reservations but none required the Indian to permanently give up ancestral domains.

Approximately eight thousand Navajo people came on to the reservation in January 1869.[100] According to Article V of the treaty, sometime in the near future they, as heads of households or single persons over 18, would be able to find out there 160 acres and 80 acres, respectively, upon which to build their homes and feed their families. Such a division of the land seemed a reasonable prospect for a parcel of land that contained over five million acres. If considered solely for the number of families reported by Dodd the previous spring, 296,000 acres would be needed. But all the land was not of equal value and so it was surveyed. The survey report maintained that there was arable land enough for all Indians then on the reservation, which that fall was judged to be in access of seven thousand. The measurements were given as "84 miles and 60 chains north and south by 61 miles and 29 chains east and west, containing within its limits an area of 3,328,302 acres."[101] This amount proved more than adquate and since the reservation was only partially surveyed at that time,

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it looked well for future growth.

The future success of the 160-acre subdivision of old Navajo land was mightily overplayed and the idea was apparently created in ignorance of extreme aridity and poor soil that characterized most of the country. In the first place, it was tantamount to a redistribution of old Navajo holdings. The pattern of distribution was, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and still is, scattered hogan clusters the size of which was determined by the availability of water in conjoint arrangement with arable land. Survival in such a system was dependent upon the good nature of the Gulf storm system, the ephemeral stream and the scattering of a few people over a large area. Mistakenly, families were expected to take up their 160 acre homesteads just as though the land were like the prairies of the midwest.

Secondly, the treaty presumed the Indians would speedily ascend to the position of affluent farmer; therefore, no more than a few provisions were provided for after the first year on the land.[102] The nature of the land and the Indian himself dictated against such an assumption and for years they nearly starved to death, unsuccessfully trying to sow and reap on lands that were marginal, at best.

The near total destruction of their economy during the Carson campaign also prevented such an early self-sufficiency. Many of their hogans were gone as was most of their livestock. The fields lay untilled and hardened. It was not long before the Navajo returned to their own system of squatters rights.[103]

Nonetheless, the Indians moved out upon the land in 1869, presumably into old hogans and familiar places. The Superintendency

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records for the year 1869 give little information as to the exact locations of return but they, surprisingly enough, keep good account of the numbers of Navajos there were that year. A letter of July 9 referred to Navajos living on the "northern part of the reservation" where their lives and farms were, at that time, under attack from the Ute Indians.[104] Again F. T. Bennett's monthly report for September indicated that "quite a number [of Navajos] have endeavored to raise crops in lands farmed by them."[105] Toward the end of October, when making "a full account" of the Indians in his charge, Bennett named three other places at which they were living and the total number of Navajo Indians then under his supervision which was 8,181. Some came up from Cubero and Cebolleta and "some" came from Mesa Calabasa "who as they say have not been here before thirteen years." This was the largest number of Navajo recorded since 1864, inflated perhaps because, as Bennett said, "some drew twice."[106]

His count for November was more in line with earlier reports. This time it was 7,470. Again it was said to be a "true count" of all the Navajos on the reservation since "only a few did not come in."[107] Navajos had also returned to Canyon de Chelly and were reported to be re-planting their peach orchards and wheat fields.[108] Living Navajos remember their forebears returned to the old homes at Round Rock, Lakachukai, Rough Rock and Natural Bridge near St. Michaels.[109].

All Navajos leaving Fort Sumner did not take up residence on the reserve. Most of these non-reservation Indians populated lands to the east in such locations as Cubero where a small band was farming seven

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miles to the west in September and at Cebolleta, Alamo and near the Magdalena Mountains.[110] Two hundred fifty Navajo from Cebolleta and two hundred from Cubero appeared at the Fort Defiance Agency in October and November for their allotments.[111] Robert N. Young says that some of these Navajo were members of the old Sandoval group who became in time, the nucleus of the present day Canoncito Reservation.[112] He also said that the Cebolleta Navajo were members of the Delgadito band. Perhaps these were the Navajo that trader Nathan Bibo said were allowed to live outside the reserve as a reward for having served the government as scouts and guides in the Navajo Wars.[113] Delgadito was, however, making his home near Fort Wingate in September as were other Navajos of whom some were said to have come up from the Chirichuahua Mountains.[114] In October, Bennett said a small band of Navajo were farming and raising stock one hundred miles east of Fort Defiance. They, too, were suffering the harrassment of Ute Indians.[115] One hundred miles from Defiance in almost any direction would place these Indians well outside the reservation boundaries. To the west, Navajos are known to have returned to Black Mesa and to the northwest to Navajo Mountain.[116] There appears to be no historical data pointing to a return to old homesteads west of these places.

The superintendency reports for this last year of the decade have more to say regarding this first year on the reservation and it was apparently not a transition that went smoothly because Navajos continued to steal and were doing so from settlers near the reservation and from the agency itself. The amount of theft was substantial enough to prompt the issuance of a public proclamation indicating the future

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status of off-reservation Indians. Unless accompanied by military personnel, Navajos leaving the reserve would be "treated as common enemies of the country" and would be punished accordingly. There were to be no exceptions. Citizens of the territories of New Mexico and Arizona were advised that they could use any means of protecting themselves even to the killing of transgressors.[117] Agent J. C. French, Dodd's successor, believed that inadequate rations were behind this state of affairs.[118] There is no data to the contrary but if we may read between the lines, the situation of "displaced person" undoubtedly played its silent part in the areal reorganization of this large number of people. In any case, with no reported change in allotments, Bennett was able to report in September that "the Navajo were peaceably disposed except for a few petty thieves [and that the] majority of the tribe [were] raising good crops."[119]

The following is a summary of the important points in this chapter and the conclusions drawn from them. The status of U.S.-Navajo relations had not altered appreciably during the first four years of the 1860's from the previous fourteen year situation of reciprocal bloodshed. The accumulation of grievances on both sides continued to render coexistence intolerable and prompted two military invasions of Indian Territory in these early years. Even though periods of relative quiet prevailed after the outbreak of the Navajo War in 1858, the punitive expeditions of 1860 may definitely be viewed as extensions of that war. The famous round-up of the Navajo Tribe, initiated by the Carson "scouts" may, within this context, be conceived of as the final victorious maneuver of that same war.

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The military campaigns of the late 1850's were defensive in nature, aimed at physically hurting the Indians, but not calculated to seriously affect a habitat relocation. Therefore, since the focus of nearly all marches in the 1860's was largely within the same geographic areas as those covered in the 1850's, similar patterns of Navajo distribution were revealed. Exceptions obtained for the northern regions of the San Juan River where data bearing upon this area is fragmentary[120] and the Carrizo-Chuska area from which military correspondence is unavailable to this research.

Some data concerning Navajo occupation on the San Juan can be found in the Navajo Land Claim. It states that seven children, representing at least five families, were born at modern Shiprock, Bears Ears, Horseshoe Canyon, Devils Canyon, and on the Delores River between 1860 and 1868. Still the nature of the Navajo settlement along the San Juan River for this decade is inconclusive. A very small population was obviously living in the canyon recesses and along adjacent river margins. Due to their proximity to Ute settlement, north of the river, these people apparently suffered much harrassment, which may have affected the continuity of settlement. At most, a static population can be assumed. It was probably a transient, if not declining, district of settlement.

Navajos continued to live in the major drainage systems of the southern Defiance Plateau and along the eastern margins of Black Mesa but showed a marked increase in population and land use over the preceding decade.

According to information from the Navajo Land Claim, at least two

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hundred and fifty-four people were living at these locations between 1860 and 1863. Of these, almost half (45%) were living at sites along the Black Creek, the Rio Puerco of the West and the Pueblo Colorado Wash. Fourteen percent lived at Black Mesa and the remainder of the Indians were scattered between Jeddito Mesa and modern Leupp which are south of the Hopi Mesas. In other words, beyond the Chinle-Chuska core area most Navajos were living along the fringes of the southern Defiance Plateau.

Increases in land-use also developed between Keam's Canyon and the Pueblo Colorado Wash and in the Ganado Valley. Land at these locations was being intensely farmed and grazed in the early 1860's. Lieutenant Ives was impressed only with the abundance of cattle and sheep in 1859.

New areas of occupation were discovered during the early 1860's at Pine Springs Wash and Nazlini Canyon. Land use at the Wash was agriculturally and range-oriented, and the canyon contained the full range of Navajo settlement items and was, undoubtedly, a permanently established Navajo homestead.

Increased use in the above named areas indicates growth and expansion to the point where it is now proper to speak of the Southern Defiance Plateau as a core area of population (Figure 10). Also this designation can be expanded to include Nazlini Canyon in the southern portion of Beautiful Valley and the farmed areas between Keam's Canyon, Pine Springs Wash and Ganado Valley because Navajo dwellings were typically built in proximity to cornfields.

Probably the most significant information to come from the

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Figure 10. Navajo settlement, 1860-1863.

historical record of this period is the seeming destruction of the Navajo life style which was at least a century old. When the futility of their situation finally reached traumatic and realistic proportions during the invasions of the 1860's, many Navajos began to abandon their homes and property for distant places. The exodus radiated out from Navajo land in all directions. While it is unnecessary to rename all of the locations where Navajos sought refuge, it is important to note the areal extremities of their flight; from the Canadian River and La Sal Mountains in the north to the Gila River and White Mountains in the south, even into the Chirichuahua Mountains farther to the south. Testimonies from living Indians supplied additional locations that historical data fail to record and indicated that other Navajos hid in most of the intervening mountains and canyon areas.

Tree-ring and birth dates for the period 1864-1868 suggest the exodus from the Defiance Plateau and the eastern edge of Black Mesa was not inclusive, twelve hogans were occupied and more children were born during this time than for any of the other years combined.

This fact may have been the function of informant choice exercised by the Navajo Land Claim. If not, these figures are meaningful to a future appraisal of total tribal strength before and during the round-up and indicate that at least one hundred and thirty people continued to live close to the military garrisons of Canby and Wingate and in places long occupied by Navajos, despite the pressure of "round-up" tactics.

While no agreement was ever reached as to the number of people involved in mass flight, it must surely have approached one thousand.

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That figure is easily reached by the simple addition of the numbers of Navajos observed to be beyond their habitat, before 1864, by army surveillance and round-up parties.

It was not possible to accurately document Navajo settlement locations in their first year on the reservation from the historical data. The only places mentioned, as actual places of residence, were Canyon de Chelly and the very vague designation of San Juan River.

Tree-ring dates are more specific. In 1868, Navajos were occupying hogans near Steamboat Canyon, in the lower Jeddito drainage near Jeddito Mesa, on Burnt Corn Wash near Black Mountain and in the Black Creek Valley. Only six sites are involved in this tabulation but they are indicative of the spatial distribution of this post Fort Sumner settlement.

By 1869 five new sites were added to the list meaning that Navajos were probably expanding their habitat. One hogan occupied a site on Dinnebito Wash and one hogan each was being used on Hoosdoditto and Doyanescla Mesa and in the Coconino Basin. It is important to note that only one of these sites is west of Black Mesa and all of them, for both years, were beyond the reservation's western boundary.

Vital records for 1868 indicate that most of the locations of birth occurred within those areas occupied by the Navajos before 1863 and all of them except those in Black Creek Valley were west of the reservation line.

The last area considered in the chapter lies west of Black Mesa and the Chinle Valley. It is a vast and complex region, deeply incised into a variety of strange and unusual landforms and confusing

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and difficult of access to the visitor of today. Many Navajos live out their lives in its remote corners always hidden from the eyes of strangers. It could not have been different in the 1860's.

The historical record describes only a portion of the land, Navajo birth records tell of even a smaller portion, and tree-ring dates are disappointingly incomplete. But if used together, these sources allow some conclusions and assumptions to be made.

The extreme western lands of today's Navajo reservation were a wilderness area in the middle 1800's inhabited in one place by Paiute Indians along the western edge of Black Mesa (and probably here and there throughout the entire region), in another place by the Hopi at Moencopi and in other places, along the Little Colorado River near Gray Mountain, at Navajo Mountain and near Kayenta and Tuba City, by a few Navajos.

An enforced migration of Navajos was set in motion by the U.S. Military invasions that began in 1858. Numbers of Indians poured out upon the western lands in a desperate search for sanctuary. The main thrust of their advance was toward locations previously settled by a few of their people and perhaps in the earliest stages of occupational development. They probably also were the most viable locations being areas of abundant water and fertile soil.

The land was shared, but not in joint-use capacity, with the Paiutes and the Hopi. The numbers of Navajos were, at this time, not sufficient to displace these Indians, but by the middle 1870's their territories would be seriously threatened before the onslaught of a greater Navajo westward expansion.

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Endnotes

[1]U.S., Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 1, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1078, Shepherd to Fauntleroy, May 7, 1860, pp. 55. Hereafter cited as Shepherd to Fauntleroy.

[2]U.S., Congress, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 69, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1051, Dickinson to Shepherd, January 23, 1860, p. 41-42; Shepherd to Wilkins, February 14, 1860, p. 42-43.

[3]Edward Everett Dale, Indians of the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 53; Frank D. Reeve, "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," New Mexico Historical Review 12 (July 1937):239.

[4]Ibid., Shepherd to Fauntleroy.

[5]U.S., Congress, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 69, 36th Cong. 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1051, Collins to Greenwood, February 19, 1860, p. 64; U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, LR., Steck to Collins, March 1, 1860, from the Navajo Claim Collection, Window Rock, Research Center; U.S. Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 1, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1079, Fauntleroy to Scott, August 5, 1860, p. 60.

[6]U.S., Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 1, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1079, Floyd to Fauntleroy, July 9, 1860, p. 60.

[7]Ibid., Fauntleroy to Thomas, September 9, 1860, p. 64.

[8]U.S., Department of War, New Mexico, LR, RG., 98, C-53, Canby to AAG, November 8, 1860.

[9]Ibid., C-53 Sibley to Rich, November 12, 1860, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 530.

[10]Ibid., C-49 Canby to AAG, November 8, 1860.

[11]Ibid., C-53 Sibley to Rich, November 12, 1860.

[12]Ibid., C-49 Canby to AAG, November 8, 1860.

[13]Ibid., C-54 Canby to AAG, November 21, 1860, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 842.

[14]Ibid., C-12, McLaws to AAAG, December 16, 1860.

[15]William J. Palmer, in his report on the railway survey in 1868, suggests that McLaws did not reveal all that he saw in this exploration of the southern area. He said that, "In the valley of Navajo Creek we skirt the southern edge of Navajo country where Canby's troops found immense herds of stock and very numerous fields of corn,

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peach orchards. . . Colonel Willis of the California Column, who accompanied us on the survey states that he assisted in destroying some of these cornfields as low down as the vicinity of Navajo Springs and the corn was as high as his head. William J. Palmer, "Report of Surveys Across Continent in 1867-1868 on the 35th Parallels for a Route Extending the Kansas Pacific Railway to the Pacific Ocean at San Francisco and San Diego, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1868):123.

[16]Ibid., C-11, Canby to AAG, January 6, 1861.

[17]Ibid., C-32, Canby, General Orders No. 14, February 19, 1961.

[18]U.S., Congress, War of the Rebellion Series, I, Vol. 4, Canby to AAG, December 1, 1861, p. 77.

[19]U.S., Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 1, 37th Cong. 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1117, pp. 734-735, cited in Elwin J. Girdner, "Navajo-United States Relations, 1846-1868" (MA Thesis, University of Arizona (1950) p. 104.

[20]U.S. Department of the Army, New Mexico, LR, RG 98, C-32, Canby to AAG, February 19, 1861.

[21]Rupert N. Richardson and Carl O. Rister, The Greater Southwest (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935) p. 266-267.

[22]U.S., Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 156, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1279, Carlton to Thomas, December 20, 1862, p. 103.

[23]Carlton to Chavez, June 23, 1863, cited in Frank D. Reeve, "Federal Indian Policy," New Mexico Historical Review, 12(July, 1937): 251.

[24]Carlton to Carson, June 15, 1863, cited in Lawrence C. Kelly, Navajo Round-up; Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Expedition Against the Navajo, 1863-1865 (Boulder: Pruett, 1970), pp. 21-24.

[25]U.S. Congress, Senate Ex. Doc. 156, Ibid, Carlton to Lewis, August 3, 1863, p. 122; Carlton to Archer, p. 123; Carlton to Plympton, August 19, 1863, p. 130.

[26]Ibid., Forest to Smith, August 5, 1863, p. 123.

[27]Ibid., Carlton to Chavez, August 7, 1863, p. 126.

[28]Ibid., Carlton to West, August 7, 1863, p. 127.

[29]Estelle Bennett Burton, "Volunteer Soldiers of New Mexico & their Conflicts with Indians in 1862 & 1863," Old Santa Fe 1(1914):410-411.

[30]U.S. Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 156, Ibid., Carlton to West, September 3, 1863, p. 132.

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[31]Ibid., Carlton to Thomas, August 23, 1863, p. 131.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid., Carlton to Smith, November 15, 1863, p. 142-143; Carlton to Smith, December 18, 1863, p. 148; Carlton to Commanding officer at Fort Wingate, December 18, 1863, p. 148; Carlton to Commanding officer at Fort Bascom, December 19, 1863, p. 149.

[34]Carson to Carlton, July 24, 1863, cited in Lawrence C. Kelly, Navajo Round-Up; Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Expedition Against the Navajo, 1863-1865 (Boulder: Pruett, 1970), p. 29.

[35]U.S., Department of the Army, New Mexico, LR, RG 393, Carson to Cutler, August 19, 1863, cited in L. Kelly, p. 38.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Raymond E. Lindgren, ed, "Diary of Kit Carson's Navajo Campaign, 1863-1864," New Mexico Historical Review 21(July 1946):228. The diary is unauthored but Lindgren believes that the writer was Eban Everett a member of many of Carson's expeditions.

[38]Ibid., p. 229.

[39]Ibid., p. 230; U.S. Department of the War, New Mexico, LR, RG 393, Carson to Cutler, August 19, 1863, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 298.

[40]Ibid., Carson to Cutler, August 19, 1863.

[41]Lindgren, p. 234, 235, 247.

[42]U.S. Department of the War, New Mexico, LR RG 393, Carson to Cutler, August 31, 1863, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 300.

[43]Lindgren, p. 242.

[44]Carson to Cutler, August 31, 1863, Ex. No. 330.

[45]Carson to Cutler, October 5, 1863, cited in Kelly, p. 53. The Beal Road or California Road intersected the Little Colorado River just south of Hopi Buttes.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Post Commander to AAG, October 6, 1863, cited in Kelly, p. 87. The vicinity of Jacob's Well was surveyed in 1868. In his report of that event, Palmer stated, "Even in the dry country near Jacob's Well we saw traces of an ancient irrigating canal," Palmer, p. 123.

[48]McCabe to Murphy, October 2, 1863, cited in Kelly, p. 62.

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[49]U.S., Department of War, New Mexico, LS, RG 98, Carson to Littler, December 6, 1863, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 578.

[50]U.S., Congress, War of the Rebellion Series I, Ibid., p. 76-78.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid., pp. 78-80.

[53]Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 251.

[54]Ibid., Cutler to Wallen, February 14, 1864, p. 158; Carlton to Wallen, February 25, 1864, p. 158.

[55]Ibid., Carlton to Thomas, March 12, 1864, Cited in Kelly, pp. 126-128.

[56]Ibid., Carson to AAG, March 20, 1864, cited in Kelly, p. 141.

[57]U.S., Department of War, New Mexico, LR, RG 98, C-48, McCabe to Laughlin, March 5, 1864, Navajo Claim Collection, Ex. No. 326.

[58]Ibid., Carey to Carlton, April 24, 1865, Ex. No. 334.

[59]Shaw to AAG, July 10, 1865, cited in Navajo Land Claim, 2:447.

[60]Stephen Jett, "The Destruction of Navajo Orchards in 1864, Captain John Thompson's Report," Arizona and the West (1974):368-370.

[61]David M. Brugge, "Navajo Use and Occupation in the Area North of the San Juan," (Window Rock:n.d.), p. 6.

[62]William A. Bell, New Tracts in North America, A Journal of Travel Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean During 1867-1868, 2 vol., (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869), 1:282.

[63]U.S., Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 156, 39th Cong. 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1279, Carlton to Wood, March 21, 1865, pp. 221-222.

[64]Ibid., Carlton to Carson, April 24, 1864, p. 180; Carson to AAG, March 20, 1864, p. 141.

[65]Richardson and Rister, p. 277.

[66]Nelson Thomasson, "Recollection of Kit Carson," March 1, 1925, speech given before the military order of the Loyal Legion of the commandery of the State of Illinois, Christopher Carson Collection, No. 109, State Historical Society of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

[67]Frank D. Reeve, History of New Mexico, 2 Vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1961) 2:115.

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[68]U.S., Congress, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 1, 40th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1234, p. 184, 185; R. S. Allen, "Pinos Altos, New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review 4(October 1948):306.

[69]The following summary will be taken from Ruth Roesell, ed, Navajo Stones of the Long Walk Period (Tsaile: Navajo Community College Press, 1973), pp. 25-260.

[70]Leslie Spier says that Navajos met the Havasupai of Cataract Canyon for the first time during the round-up, see "Havasupai Ethnography" Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 24(1928):95n. In another place Spiers says that the Havasupai may have incorporated Pueblo traits into certain of their culture elements by way of long standing Navajo communication, but not before 1850. Leslie Spiers, "Problems Arising From the Cultural Position of the Havasupai," pp. 217-219. There is a tree-ring date from hogan wood dated 1793 for Havasu Canyon. In M. A. Stokes and T. L. Smiley, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Claim," Tree-Ring Bulletin 28(March 1969)81.

[71]William Yewsdale Adams, "Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navajo Community." Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, 88(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963):38.

[72]Katherine Bartlett, "Why the Navajos Came to Arizona," Museum of Northern Arizona, Museum Notes, 5(January 1933):31-32.

[73]J. Lee Correll, "Events in Navajo History--Chief Hoskininii and the Monument Valley Murders," Navajo Times, May 5, 1966, p. 10.

[74]Navajo Land Claim, 2:395.

[75]Walter Dyk, Son of Old Man Hat, A Navajo Biography (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938), pp. 111-112.

[76]In 1776 Paiutes were living on the Kaibito Plateau and the Havasupai were farming at Moencopi. Herbert Eugene Bolton, "Pageant in the Wilderness," Utah Historical Quarterly 18(1950):228, 231; Kelly defined Southern Paiute land in 1860's as laying between Monument Valley to the Black Mesa in the east and the Colorado River to the Little Colorado River, above Moencopi Plateau (then uninhabited), in the west. But because of the fear of meeting militant Navajos they stayed, much of the time to the east of Moonlight Creek and Black Spring which are north of Cameron, Arizona. Black Mesa was regarded, by the Paiute, as their eastern boundary in the south. The Mesa itself was considered to be Navajo territory. Isabel T. Kelly, "Southern Paiute Ethnography," in Pauite Indians II (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976), p. 167. For a reference that Southern Paiute territory began at Colorado River in 1776 see Bolton, p. 119 above; Nagata claims the Paiute stayed in this area into the 1870's and were possibly there when the Mormons moved into Moencopi as a Hopi

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planned buffer to marauding Navajo expansion which was fully in operation in that decade. Shuichi Nagata, "Modern Transformations of Moencopi Pueblo, Illinois Studies in Anthropology, No. 6 (1970):31-33; The NLC claims the Southern Paiute, east and south of the Colorado River were, by 1846, assimilated by the Navajo people--a situation eventuated by a long history of close geographical association. Navajo Land Claim, 1:51-54; According to Stephardson and Hammond, a surviving remnant of the Southern Paiute exist in this last half of the twentieth century. They can be located on Rainbow Plateau, between the Colorado and San Juan Rivers, and have in no way been assimilated by the Navajo, by whom they are completely surrounded. Mary Shephardson and Blodwen Hammond, "Change and Persistence in an Isolated Navajo Community," American Anthropologist 66(1964):1048-1049.

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[78]Juanita Brooks, "The Journal of Thales Haskell," Utah Historical Quarterly, 12(January-April 1944):78-79.

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[81]James Amasy Little, Jacob Hamblin, Narrated Autobiography of Jacob Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881):83.

[82]C. Gregory Crampton. Personal communication.

[83]Little, p. 70.

[84]Ibid., p. 73-88.

[85]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Snow to Fenton, December, 1869.

[86]Robert W. Olsen, Jr., "Pipe Spring, Arizona and Thereabouts," Journal of Arizona History (Spring 1961):13-14.

[87]Herbert E. Gregory, "Population of Southern Utah," Economic Geography 21(January 1945):30-31.

[88]Ibid., Snow to Fenton, December, 1869.

[89]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Dodge to Tartelott, November 9, 1869.

[90]Ibid., Snow to Fenton, December, 1869.

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[91]Little, p. 92, 96.

[92]U.S., Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc., No. 145, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., Ser. No. 1279, Carlton to Thomas, March 12, 1864, p. 93.

[93]George G. Gwyther, "An Indian Reservation," Overland Monthly 10(January 1873):126.

[94]Reeve, History of New Mexico, 2:116-119.

[95]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Dodd to Sherman, May 30, 1868.

[96]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Sherman to Henderson, May 30, 1868.

[97]Dale, p. 62.

[98]Ruth M. Underhill, The Navajo (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 151.

[99]Martin A. Link, Treaty Between the United States of America and the Navajo Tribe of Indians (Flagstaff: KC Publications, 1968), p. 19.

[100]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Dodd to Sherman, May 30, 1868.

[101]Ibid., Wilson to Cox, November 29, 1869.

[102]Link, p. 21.

[103]Underhill, p. 153.

[104]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, French to Gallegos, July 7, 1869.

[105]Ibid., Bennett to Clinton, September 29, 1869.

[106]Ibid., Bennett to Clinton, October 20, 1869, Navajo Claim Collection, Navajo Series 6, No. 620-622.

[107]Ibid., Bennett to Clinton, December 8, 1869.

[108]U.S., Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869.

[109]Roessell, pp. 41, 85, 123, 246; Stephen N. Patzman, "Henry Chee Dodge, A Modern Chief of the Navajos," Journal of Arizona History 5(Spring 1964):36.

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[110]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Bennett to Clinton, September 9, 1869; Testimony of Casamira Baca in Roesell, pp. 139-140.

[111]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Bennett to Clinton, December 8, 1869; Bennett to Clinton, Decmeber 8, 1869.

[112]Robert W. Young, The Role of the Navajo in the Southwestern Drama. (Gallop: Robert W. Young and the Gallop Independent, n.d.) p. 42; Testimony of Charlie Sandoval in Roessel, pp. 142-143.

[113]Floyd S. Fierman, The Impact of the Frontier on a Jewish Family: The Bibos (El Paso: Texas Western College Press, 1961), p. 246.

[114]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Bennett to Clinton, September 9, 1869; Hastiin, biye lani yee bje, The Ramah Navajo (Lawrence: Haskell Institute Publications Service, 1967) p. 71.

[115]Ibid., Bennett to Clinton, October 7, 1869.

[116]Dyk, p. 4; Testimony of Ason Ahakai in Roessel, p. 125.

[117]U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, LR, Parker to Clinton, August 16, 1869.

[118]Ibid., French to Gallegos, March 26, 1869.

[119]Ibid., Bennett to Clinton, September 9, 1869.

[120]Brugge, "Navajo Use," (Window Rock, n.d.), p. 6.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study of Navajo settlement geography, derived from American and Navajo history, has attempted to define the larger boundaries of Indian occupation in early New Mexican territory and delineate the region at the interior of these boundaries in terms of core area settlement and peripheral range. Boundaries were also differentiated according to frontier type status and proximate non-Navajo occupation.

Navajo land between 1846 and 1863 was found to occupy space between a western line lying at the western edge of Black Mesa, continuing north to the San Juan River, at approximately the Chinle Wash and west to Keams Canyon above the Hopi Mesas, a southern line lying immediately south of Hopi Buttes between Leupp and Navajo, Arizona, and continuing north by east to the San Juan River and a northern line conforming to the bed of the San Juan River between the tributaries of the Animas River and the Chinle Wash (Figure 11).

Frontiers and Boundaries

The western boundary, or frontier, interfaced with Southern Paiute territory between Moencopi Plateau and the San Juan River between Monument Valley and Navajo Mountain. This line was not found to be a hard barrier against western Navajo movements which, undoubtedly, can be attributed to the more aggressive disposition of the

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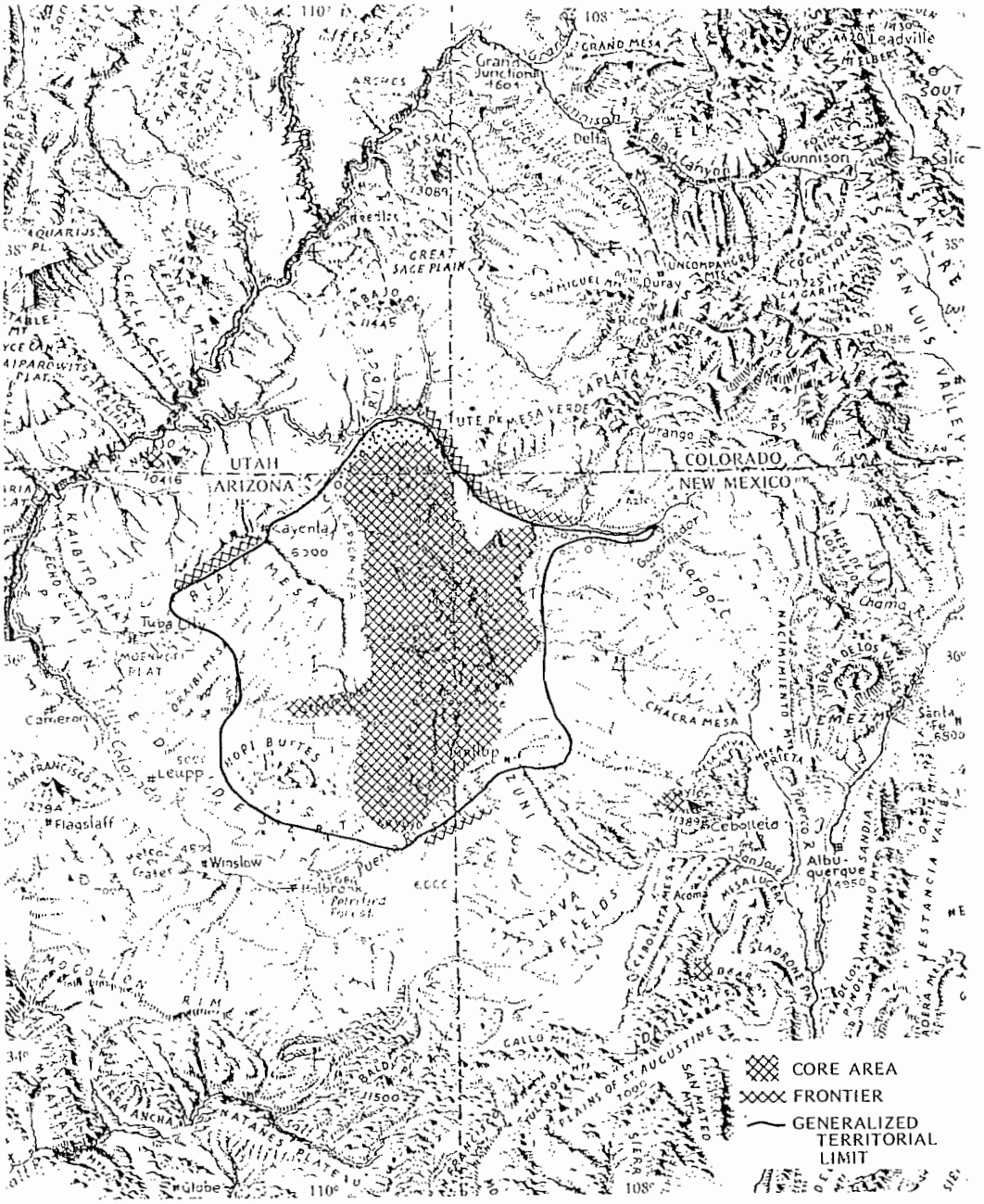

Figure 11. Navajo settlement, 1848-1870.

Navajo, their concept of property rights and an ineffectual population of the Paiute Indians. The limited occupation of Navajos west of this line, that developed over time, therefore, can not be considered joint use in nature but in violation of prior land rights.

Conversely, the San Juan River frontier was found to be a hard line between Navajo settlements in the Carrizo Mountain-Shiprock area and the supremely militant Ute Indians with whom it interfaced. More than often the Utes overran the river and penetrated deep into the country to the south. This situation made the northern portion of Navajo land a tenuously held possession characterized by discontinuity of use and fluctuating population.

The southern boundary as it lay in proximity to Apache and Yavapais Indians was not defined in terms of these peoples' actual land holdings. Rather, the accent was upon the diminishing of Navajo land use as it moved away from Chinle-Chusca settlements. It was found that this southern area was not settled primarily in terms of permanent or continuous residence but rather used for range purposes and hunting activities.

To the east the line largely followed the reservation boundary suggested by the treaty of 1858. Navajos living north of the Wingate and San Jose Valleys before that time undoubtedly had retreated to the western settlements or the small enclave at Mt. Taylor after that date. During the period of study the area around Ojo del Oso experienced growth and expansion in population and land use types.

Two types of Navajo frontiers were identified from the data: 1) the part of Navajo country that bordered upon the country of

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another; 2) as the line beyond which a single person or group of persons have exceeded the borders of their centers of population. The first definition type has been discussed above. The latter definition was defined in terms of what I have called the numerical frontier. Numbers in this context were derived according to the highest amount of persons calculable and were obviously associated with the Chinle-Chusca-Defiance Core at which place this frontier was drawn.

The process of Navajo movements beyond this frontier, which was variously defined in all geographic directions, was identified as being neither uniform nor consistent and called the process of skipping and infilling.

w lec on Nav land use & nomad

The implication of these concepts is that all land ascribed to a Navajo territory, whether it be as broadly defined as the early (1846-1849) reports and inventories or as the Navajo Claim insists, the approximate size of the study area (Figure 1), was not totally, sparsley or even continually inhabited by the Navajo Indians; and when movement occurred into any part of this land it was not done in a uniform or gradual progression from the core area of population.

Rather, Navajos wandered to and fro upon the land, any land, any body's land. Sometimes staying. Often going. Some never returning and occasionally leaving a hogan to fall into disrepair.

This characterization of what has been typical land use behavior throughout this study asks the questions, does one hogan equal control or even migration if not followed by another; does the birth of a baby by the wayside of a trading or grazing expedition equal expansion?

In other words, since I do not feel that it does, it suggests

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that beyond the numerical frontier explicit statements of absolute use and occupation break down. The numerical frontier was found to be the only consistent, sustaining and explainable line of Navajo occupation.

Core of Settlement

Only one core area of settlement of the Type I designation, was located in the entire area of study (does not include that of the Eastern Navajo). Its geographical position encompassed the Carrizo Mountains and the southern fringes of the Defiance Plateau. Its eastern and western margins were defined at the Chaco Canyon and the Chinle Wash, respectively. An eastern extension of this core lay to the west in the direction of Keams Canyon. Most all valleys and plains conjoined by the various drainage systems of the core contained, at one place or another, the full range of typically Navajo land use elements.

A small population, defined mainly by the support data of tree-ring dates and birth records, was found to exist at the eastern fringe of Black Mesa between Keams Canyon and Salina and on Black Mesa in the drainages of its three major washes. The characteristics of this population is very low density, minimal residence occupation and wide dispersion. Its relationship to the core settlement to the east was temporal in nature denoted by simultaneous occupation.

Presence Chronology

The support data, profiled to supply contextual and descriptive amplification suggested that some Navajos had entered Navajo territory

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as early as 1622 A.D. on the Oraibi Wash, 1658 A.D. on the Carrizo Wash, a Zuni River subarea, 1709 A.D. in the Coconino Basin, 1721 A.D. in the Black Creek Valley, 1776 A.D. at Navajo Mountain and 1789 at White Canyon, a tributary Canyon on the San Juan River. From this initial western movement only two relatively continuous settments were established; one in the Black Creek Valley with peak development between 1721 and 1802 and another in the Coconino Basin with peak development between 1709 and 1829. Quite outside the territory of western Navajo but still of importance to the interests of Navajo settlement is the tree-ring date found on Alamocito Creek in the southern sector. It is dated 1628 A.D.

From the above data it is possible to suggest a Navajo presence chronology in the Southwest based upon the work of Hester and the other information offered in this study. It follows the fifty year format developed by Hester.

Pre-1600 A.D.: Navajos were probably in the Canyons of the Gobernador in the sixteenth century. Inconclusive tree-ring dates suggest settlements may have occurred as early as the fifteenth century.

1600 A.D.: The western extent of the Gobernador had been reached by 1600 and was located at the Chacra Mesa. Dependent upon the interpretation of the term "Querecho," it is possible that the region of Mt. Taylor was also occupied by the Navajo of this period, and represented the southern extent of this same territory.

1650 A.D.: On the basis of a tree-ring date on the present-day Alamo reservation, dated 1628, it is possible to conclude that some

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migration south of the San Juan River had taken place extending the southern boundary of the Gobernador in that direction. That being true it is also probable that the Indians known as Querechos in sixteenth century Spanish documents were in reality Navajo Indians.

The tree-ring date on the Oraibi Wash, dated 1622, indicates migration had taken place to the west from the Gobernador and possibly into intervening areas.

1700 A.D.: The Gobernador begins to show signs of shrinkage accompanied by signs of increased migration to the southwest at the San Jose River line and to the northwest in the vicinity of the Animas River. There is no indication that this migration is moving south of the San Jose line. A date of 1653 on the Carrizo Wash indicates some movement south in the direction of the Little Colorado River.

1750 A.D.: A definite pattern of out migration is observed from the Gobernador in the direction of Canyon de Chelly, Black Creek Valley, the Coconino Basin and Ceboletta mountain, with some settlement occurring north of Canyon de Chelly in the direction of Carrizo Mountains.

1800 A.D.: The Cebolletta-Encinal mission shows signs of shrinkage and out migration in the direction of the west. A date at Canyon de Chelly, dated 1770 indicates this place has definitely been occupied. Movement from either the Gobernador or Canyon de Chelly has led to the extension of the northern line at Navajo Mountain, Bears Ears and White Canyon in Paiute and Ute Indian territory; and the southwestern line at Jeddito Mesa.

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Expansion of the western-most extent of Black Mesa has been reached at Moencopi Wash, the eastern boundary of the southern limits of Paiute country. The southern most boundary still corners at Alamocito Creek in the east and in the Jeddito Drainage in the west. By the end of the century the abandonment of the Gobernador has been achieved.

1850 A.D.: Settlement between the San Juan River and the southern Chusca Mountains has increased in density properly becoming the core of population for western Navajos. The eastern margins of Black Mesa are being populated for the first time infilling behind previous western expansion of the mesa. Cebolleta Mountain as well as locations interim to the Gallina-Bear Mountains show evidence of small population growth. The land south of the Hopi Mesas and west of Black Mesa in the Chinle Valley are beginning to infill with a small but widely dispersed population. Occupation in the Coconino Basin has begun to diminish.

1863 A.D.: Expansion of the Chinle-Chusca Core into the drainage of the Defiance Plateau has reached such proportions as to include this section of country in the original core area of population. The eastern margins of Black Mesa at Keams and Steamboat Canyon are increasing in occupational size. Navajos have begun to leave homes in the core and peripheral areas, moving in all directions as a response to the Navajo war. As a result, incipient migration and settlement is appreciably evident in extreme western locations.

1870 A.D.: Most Navajos have spent upwards of five years incarcerated at Fort Sumner on the Pecos River. Some Navajos remained in

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seclusion within and beyond formerly settled areas. Most of these Indians returned to the new reservation and to lands previously occupied by them. Some of these locations were west of the reservations western boundary. By the end of the period movement away from the reservation was in operation and in the direction of the Coconino Basin.

Role of the U.S. Military in Navajo Settlement Pattern

The position of the U.S. Army within the central portion of Navajo land was found to be significant initiating a definite out-migration from the core between 1858 and 1863. Toward the end of the war the numbers of people involved in this migration became increasingly more numerous.

One important conclusion can be drawn from this fact, the Navajo War inaugurated the settlement of the western portion of the present day Navajo reservation. In truth as has been said, much of the out-migration was directed toward this western region. But it was not the first migration to have taken place to this area. A small number of people were already residing there, at the outset of the war. It was, however, a numerically superior migration and thrust itself into areas apparently not occupied before.

That this rapid movement out upon western lands developed into permanent settlement depends upon the answer to one question: Did the escaping Navajos return to the east and former homesites after the war and during the early years of the reservation episode? This is essentially the NLC answer to the "Flight Theory" which in essence assumes

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flight into non-Navajo territory on a somewhat permanent basis. The NLC maintains that flight, with family and possessions, was a typically Navajo type expedient to evade non-Navajo aggression. It was directed toward Navajo controlled territory and was followed by a return to former dwelling places when pressure had subsided. The NLC, also, maintains that Navajos did not escape into non-Navajo territory before 1858 and such a situation occurred only as a result of the Carson round-up of 1863. This study has shown that this was not the case. Navajos escaped readily into both Ute and Paiute country as the situation demanded.

In any case, the time period set for thesis study precluded the evaluation of evidence that would answer the question above. The data does exist in some quantity, however, to support such an inquiry.

If the answer is found to be yes, that permanent settlement and expansion did result from this wave of fleeing Navajos, then the most that can be said is that military intervention into old Navajo land accelerated processes of permanent western settlement already in operation.

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A Chronology of Archeological Research,

1912-1972

Researcher		Excavation and Survey Sites With Dates	Tree-Ring Dates or Summary Statements*
A. V. Kidder	1912	Gobernador, Largo Canyons	Surveyed Pueblo style ruins in association with Navajo hogans.[1]
Earl Morris	1916	Frances Canyon	LA 2135 1717-1743 (7)[2]
Earl Morris	1916	San Rafael Canyon	LA 1869 1651-1749 (10)[3]
Earl Morris	1916	San Rafael Canyon	LA 1871 1583-1733 (6)[4]
C. O. Erwin & M. W. Kelly	1934		
H. P. Mera & Stanley Stubbs	1934	Munoz Canyon	LA 1687 1766
C. O. Erwin & M. W. Kelly	1934	La Jara Canyon	LA 1684 1735 (1)[5]
C. O. Erwin & M. W. Kelly	1934	Gobernador Canyon	LA 1868 1733 (1)[6]
C. O. Erwin & M. W. Kelly	1934	Gobernador Canyon	LA 1872 1727 (1)[7]
Richard Van Valkenberg	1937	Largo Canyon	Group I 1570,1678 (2)[8]
Malcolm Farmer	1938	Largo Canyon	Group II 1506-1768 (12)[9]
Richard Van Valkenberg	1942		
Frank Hibbin	1937	Gallina Valley	Discovery of utility ware similar to those used by the Navajo.[10]
E. T. Hall, Jr.	1938	Santo Nino Canyon	LA 2137 1726-1750 (4)[11]

*Number of dates in parentheses.

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E. T. Hall, Jr.	1938	Dos Cerritos Canyon	LA 2136	1725-1734	(6)[12]
E. T. Hall, Jr.	1938	La Jara Canyon	LA 2138	1705-1715	(9)[13]
D. Keur	1939	Big Bead Mesa		1662-1785	(25)[14]
D. Keur	1940	Gobernador Canyon	Goberador Group,	1426-1752	(37)[15]
Deric O'Bryan	1940	Haystack Mesa (Grants, N.M.)		1557	(1)[16]
E. T. Hall, Jr. & W. S. Stallings, Jr.	1941	Pueblito Canyon	LA 2297	1697-1726	(5)[17]
E. T. Hall, Jr. & W. S. Stallings, Jr.	1941	Largo Canyon	LA 2298	1689-1694	(18)[18]
E. T. Hall, Jr.	1941	Gobernador Canyon	LA 2305	1718-1722	(3)[19]
R. W. Hurt, Jr.	1941	Canyon de Chelly		1758-1770	(3)[20]
Richard Van Valkenberg	1941 1942	Pinedale (Gallop)		1743,1744	(2)[21]
Roger Green	1954	Canada Larga	Bg-83	1582-1622	(3)[22]
James Hester	1960	Pine River	LA 4297	1502	(1)[23]
R. G. Vivian	1954-1960	Chacra Mesa		1598-1779	(23)[24]
D. Brugge	1967	Canyon de Chelly		1794-1864	(3)[25]
J. P. Wilson	1972	Santos Peak	LA 8948	1695	(1)[26]
Navajo Land Claim M. A. Stokes & T. L. Smiley	1963	Gobernador-La Jara Canyons	N-USJ-GLS	1668-1747	(30)
		Lower Animas River	N-SJ-LA	1745,1771	(2)
		Bears Ears	N-LSJ-BE	1715-1836	(11)
		Montezuma Creek	N-LSJ-MC	1701-1846	(11)
		White Canyon	N-LSJ-WC	1620-1830	(10)
		Cottonwood-Comb Washes	N-LSJ-CC	1730-1843	(10)

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		Grand Gulch	N-LSJ-GG	1825	(1)[27]
M. A. Stokes & T. L. Smiley	1966	Alamocito Creek	S-AS-AC	1628-1845	(15)
		Allegro Mts.	S-AS-AM	1622-1800	(6)
		Datil Mts.	S-AS-D	1785-1846	(7)
		Gallina-Bear Mts.	S-AS-GB	1791-1846	(11)
		Ladron Mts.	S-AS-L	1780-1836	(4)
		Canyon Diablo	S-MLC-CD	1842	(1)
		Lower Puerco River	S-MLC-LP	1750-1764	(8)
		Carrizo Wash	S-ULC-CZ	1387-1834	(46)
		Embudo Mts.	S-ULC-EM	1541-1833	(20)
		Upper Puerco of the West	S-ULC-UP	1705-1846	(33)
		Zuni River	S-ULC-ZR	1543-1844	(13)[28]
M. A. Stokes & T. L. Smiley	1964	Havasu Canyon	W-HC-LH	1731-1844	(3)
		Navajo Creek	W-NM-NC	1776-1845	(16)
		Coconino Plateau	W-LLC-C	1709-1839	(81)
		San Francisco Wash	W-LLC-SF	1813-1826	(2)
		Burnt Corn Wash	W-LLC-BC	1765-1846	(13)
		Dayanescla Mesa	W-LLC-DO	1772-1844	(6)
		Black Mt.	W-LLC-DZ	1701-1843	(6)
		Hooshdodiito Mesa	W-LLC-HT	1797-1841	(3)
		Moencopi Wash	W-LLC-M	1759-1846	(12)
		Moqui Buttes	W-LLC-MB	1777-1817	(2)
		Middle Dinnebito	W-LLC-MC	1740-1811	(7)

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		Middle Jeddito	W-LLC-MJ	1720-1826 (19)
		North Jeddito	W-LLC-NJ	1703-1843 (13)
		Owl Point	W-LLC-OP	1711-1804 (2)
		Pinyon	W-LLC-P	1710-1817 (5)
		Salinas Mesa	W-LLC-SM	1711-1826 (17)
		Tse Chizzi	W-LLC-TS	1666-1817 (4)
		Upper Dinnebito	W-LLC-UD	1780-1846 (6)
		Upper Oraibi	W-LLC-VD	1622-1835 (18)
		Upper Chinle	W-LLC-UC	1741-1772 (5)
M. A. Stokes & T. L. Smiley	1969	Upper Puerco River	E-RP-UP	1719-1772 (5)
		Middle Puerco River	E-RP-MP	1696-1843 (24)
		Cebolleta Mesa	E-RP-CM	1732-1846 (16)
		Upper Chaco Canyon	E-C-UC	1772-1840 (8)
		Upper Largo Canyon	E-CL-UL	1675-1747 (28)[30]

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Endnotes

[1]Alfred V. Kidder, "Ruins of the Historic Period in the Upper San Juan Valley, New Mexico," American Anthropologist, 22(October-December, 1920), 322-320.

[2]William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrell, and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from Nex Mexico B: Chaco-Gobernador Area. Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1974.

[3]Ibid., p. 70.

[4]Ibid., p. 71.

[5]Ibid., p. 77.

[6]Ibid., p. 69.

[7]Ibid., p. 72.

[8]Ibid., p. 62.

[9]Ibid., p. 78.

[10]Frank C. Hibbin, "The Gallina Phase," American Antiquity, 4(1938):135.

[11]William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrell and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico B: Chaco-Gobernador Area, p. 75.

[12]Ibid., p. 74.

[13]Ibid., p. 76.

[14]J. J. Hester, "Navajo Migrations and Acculturations in the Southwest," p. 80.

[15]William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrell and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico B: Chaco-Gobernador Area, p. 88.

[16]Bryant Bannister, William J. Robinson, and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico A, G-H: Shiprock-Zuni Mt. Taylor Area. (Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1970).

[17]William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrell and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico B: Chaco-Gobernador Area, p. 80.

[18]Ibid., p. 83.

[19]Ibid., p. 82.

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[20]Wesley W. Hurt, Jr., "Eighteenth Century Navajo Hogans from Canyon de Chelly National Monument," American Antiguity 8(1942):98.

[21]Bryant Bannister, William J. Robinson and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico A, G-H: Shiprock-Zuni Mt. Taylor Area. (Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1970).

[22]William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrell and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico B: Chaco-Gobernador Area, p. 80.

[23]Ibid., p. 52.

[24]J. J. Hester, "Navajo Migrations and Acculturations in the Southwest," p. 80.

[25]David M. Brugge, "Revised Dates for Navajo Hogans Near Canyon de Chelly," American Antiquity 32(1967): see also, Bryant Bannister, Jeff S. Dean and Elizabeth Gell, Tree-Ring Dates from Arizona E: Chinle-de Chelly-Red Rock Area (Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1966), p. 33.

[26]William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrell and Richard L. Warren, Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico B: Chaco-Gobernador Area, p. 100.

[27]M. A. Stokes and T. L. Smiley, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim," Tree-Ring Bulletin, 29(1966):11-13.

[28]M. A. Stokes and T. L. Smiley, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim," Tree-Ring Bulletin, 26(1964):15-22.

[29]Idem, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim," Tree-Ring Bulletin, 27(1966):5-7.

[30]Idem, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim," Tree-Ring Bulletin, 29(1969):5-12.

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Punitive Expeditions of the Navajo War--1858

Date	Point of Origin	Destination	Commanding Officer
September 9	Ft. Defiance	Canyon de Chelly upper Valley[1]	Dixon Miles
September 24	Ft. Defiance	Laguna Negra (.9 miles No. of Defiance) + 16 miles beyond[2]	Jonathan P. Hatch
September 29	Ft. Defiance	Chusca Valley (northeast of Defiance)[3]	W. W. Averell
September 29	Ft. Defiance	Chusca Valley (20 miles northeast of Defiance)[4]	Dixon Miles
September 29	Chusca Valley	Chusca Valley, east side of[5]	W. L. Elliott
September 30	Chusca Valley	Lake 15 miles distant, Canon beyond, 5 miles to another canyon[6]	A. J. Lindsay
October 4	Ft. Defiance	Wingate Valley to Ojo del Gallo, to valley south and Bacon Springs, north across old Ft. Defiance Road to Chusca Valley & Laguna Negra[7]	W. T. H. Brooks
October 20	Ft. Defiance	45 miles to Calabasa Mts.[8]	George McLane
October 23	Ft. Defiance	South down Zuni Road to Coletas Mt. and beyond a few miles in southwest direction[9]	George W. Howland

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November 1	Ft. Defiance	To Washington Pass, crossed Chuskas, Canyons and valleys in immediate area; returned Chinle Valley, north of Canyon de Chelly, West to Calabasha Sierra.[10]	Dixon Miles
November 4	Chuska Mt.	North from camp with Miles to Canyons of Paso Blanco and Pena Blanca, to Red Rock, to Carrizo Mt. and north side of Carrizos, West to Chinle Wash, joined Miles, west to Calabasha Sierra.[11]	Electus Bachus
November 6	Tunicha Mts.	Carrizo Mts. Summit[12]	Cogswell
November 8	Red Rock	Carrizo Mts., west end of [13]	?
November 8	Red Rock	West of Red Rock Camp[14]	?
November 8	Red Rock	Carrizo Mts.[15]	?

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Endnotes

[1]U.S. Congress, Senate, Ex. Doc. No. 1, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, Ser. No. 975, Miles to Nicholas, September 10, 1858, pp. 310-313.

[2]Ibid., Hatch to Lane, September 25, 1858, pp. 318-319.

[3]Ibid., Averell to Miles, September 29, 1858, p. 323.

[4]Ibid., Miles to Wilkins, October 3, 1858, pp. 324-325.

[5]Ibid., Ellcott to McLane, October 4, 1858, p. 328.

[6]Ibid., Lindsay to Lane, October 3, 1858, pp. 326-327.

[7]U.S. Congress, Senate Ex. Doc., 37th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 2, Pt. 2, Brooks to Lane, October 19. 1858, pp. 262-263.

[8]Ibid., Lane to Lane, October 22, 1858, p. 265.

[9]Ibid., Howland to Land, October 24, 1858, pp. 266-267.

[10]Ibid., Bonneville to Thomas, November 14, 1858, p. 268; Miles to AAAG, Ft. Defiance, USAC, NM, LR M-97, November 23, 1858.

[11]Ibid., Bachus to Lane, November 1858, pp. 278-283.

[12]Ibid., p. 278.

[13]Ibid., p. 279.

[14]Ibid., p. 279.

[15]Ibid., p. 279.

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