Navajos.

MILITARY CAMPAIGNS in the NAVAJO COUNTRY, Northwestern New Mexico, 1800-1846.

by

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number 5

Museum of New Mexico Research Records

Museum of New Mexico Press

HP8100

A Salvage Archaeology program conducted by the Museum of New Mexico in cooperation with the National Park Service, Southwest Region, Department of the Interior, in the Navajo Irrigation District.

Printed in U.S.A.

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Library of Congress Catalog
Card No. 66-64955

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INTRODUCTION

The following report is a brief history of the 19th century Spanish and Mexican military relations with the Navajos, as this history unfolded in one part of the Navajo homeland. The specific locality is that now known as the Navajo Irrigation Project area of northwestern New Mexico, with attention centered on the Chuska Valley and the Chaco Plateau.

In 1962 the Museum of New Mexico, under contract to the National Park Service, began an archaeological survey of the Navajo Irrigation Project area in northwestern New Mexico. The survey produced data on some 1700 prehistoric and historic sites in the Chuska Valley and Chaco Plateau, areas previously little known to archaeologists. To supplement the analysis of the archaeological materials, an ethnohistorical study was designed to provide further information on two points of interest. First, since the Navajo period is as much a part of the culture history as the earlier Puebloan ones, it is highly desirable to supplement the archaeological record by learning where the Navajos were living at various times and what ethnographic details are available concerning them. Secondly, and as a means of establishing a baseline for historical reconstructions, any recorded changes in the nature of the landscape or in the availability of natural resources should be extracted from the records, compiled, and evaluated.

A survey of anthropological and general historical literature on both the Navajos and the far northwestern part of New Mexico had provided very little specific data on the land or its people. An ethnohistorical study of the available source materials was therefore undertaken. While this study remains incomplete, a summary of the results to date is presented below.

The source records consisted almost entirely of reports on punitive or exploratory military expeditions. This was true of the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods alike in New Mexico, and, in fact, until nearly 1900. During all periods, numerous and often shadowy references were found, to raiding parties organized by individuals or by New Mexico communities to capture slaves or livestock from the Navajos. Although these unofficial campaigns probably far outnumbered the government-sponsored ones, the former are very poorly documented and will consequently be ignored in this book.

French-Canadian and American trappers criss-crossed parts of the Navajo country in the 19th century, but no permanent trading posts or settlements other than Navajo were established in the Chuska Valley or Chaco Plateau until after 1868. Earlier contacts with the Navajos in their homeland were infrequent and brief. A possible exception might be the Navajo agency established by Henry Linn Dodge near Sheep Springs, New Mexico, in 1855, but very little is known about this short-lived settlement.[2]

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Such records as have been preserved from the Spanish and lexican periods are fragmentary and are principally housed in the rchival collections of the New Mexico State Records Center and rchives in Santa Fe. Many of those pertinent to this study originally vere translated and presented as exhibits in Acoma-Laguna-Navajo land laims hearings.[3] Numerous others were prepared and submitted by lr. Albert H. Schroeder of the National Park Service as exhibits in lavajo land claims cases. Mr. Schroeder made available copies of is data, while Mr. David M. Brugge of the Navajo Land Claims Office enerously supplied copies of his own translations of these archives, long with additional material deriving from his current research. Several archives were translated for the author by Dr. Myra Ellen enkins and by Mr. George A. Johnson of the State Record Center. Other translations of Spanish-period documents were found in the New lexico Federal Writers' Project collection, dating from the 1930's. A irly complete collection of the extant documents from the Spanish and lexican periods was therefore available. Other documents of equal or reater value may well remain to be discovered in other depositories.

To judge from the kinds of records examined (orders of the day, ampaign diaries, service records, summary reports), the documentation n Spanish and Mexican military campaigns must have originally been uite extensive. Unfortunately, relatively little of this has been preserved. luch more complete information is available for the American Period, ie principal sources being the National Archives, the Annual Reports f the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Annual Reports of the Sec- etary of War, and occasional published journals such as those of Simp- on (1850) or Robinson (1932). Official correspondence supplements ie strictly military reports, the correspondents being chiefly military fficers or Indian agents. The Americans had much to say about the thnography and natural history; a compilation of their observations will ppear in a subsequent book. Once again, David M. Brugge was most elpful in supplying leads to information and copies of unpublished docu- ients.

The purpose of this report is to provide a brief sketch of each nown Spanish and Mexican period expedition that intruded into north- vestern New Mexico, especially the ones that penetrated the Chuska 'alley or Chaco Plateau. The relative scarcity of observations concern- ig the landscape or the activities of the Indians precluded any attempt to ostract and organize these separately; thus any such comments have een incorporated into the text. The expeditions are considered in chron- ogical order and a maximum effort has been made (often unsuccessfully) determine specific areas visited. Consideration of governmental policies ward the Navajos and of the reasons underlying these campaigns are sually not pertinent here. It would be easy to infer from the records at the Navajos were almost universally to blame for the periodic hostil- es in New Mexico. This is decidedly not so, but appears that way ecause all of the documentation is from one side. One of the rare esentations of the Navajo point of view may be found in Abel (1915, . 467-469).

A number of authors have mentioned these expeditions or have made se of the reports and official correspondence for the same period,[4]

the most comprehensive to date being Bailey's The Long Walk (1964). Nearly all have dealt solely with the American period, while Spanish or Mexican activities have received less notice.[5] The best current guide to the earlier expeditions is the Jenkins and Minge report (1961), prepared for the Indian Claims Commission. Brugge has recently published a series of Spanish and Mexican archives bearing on the Navajos, including a campaign diary.[6] Schroeder has supplied a series of maps and references detailing the location of the Navajos at various times and the areas visited by many of the military expeditions.

Place names, or the lack of them, have presented a constant problem. Many names have been localized by a careful comparative study of the documents and available maps, augmented by a first-hand knowledge of the geography of the area gained during the archaeological survey. Mr. Brugge's and Mr. Schroeder's aid in this aspect of the research was most valuable and appreciated. Two published sources were also utilized.[7]

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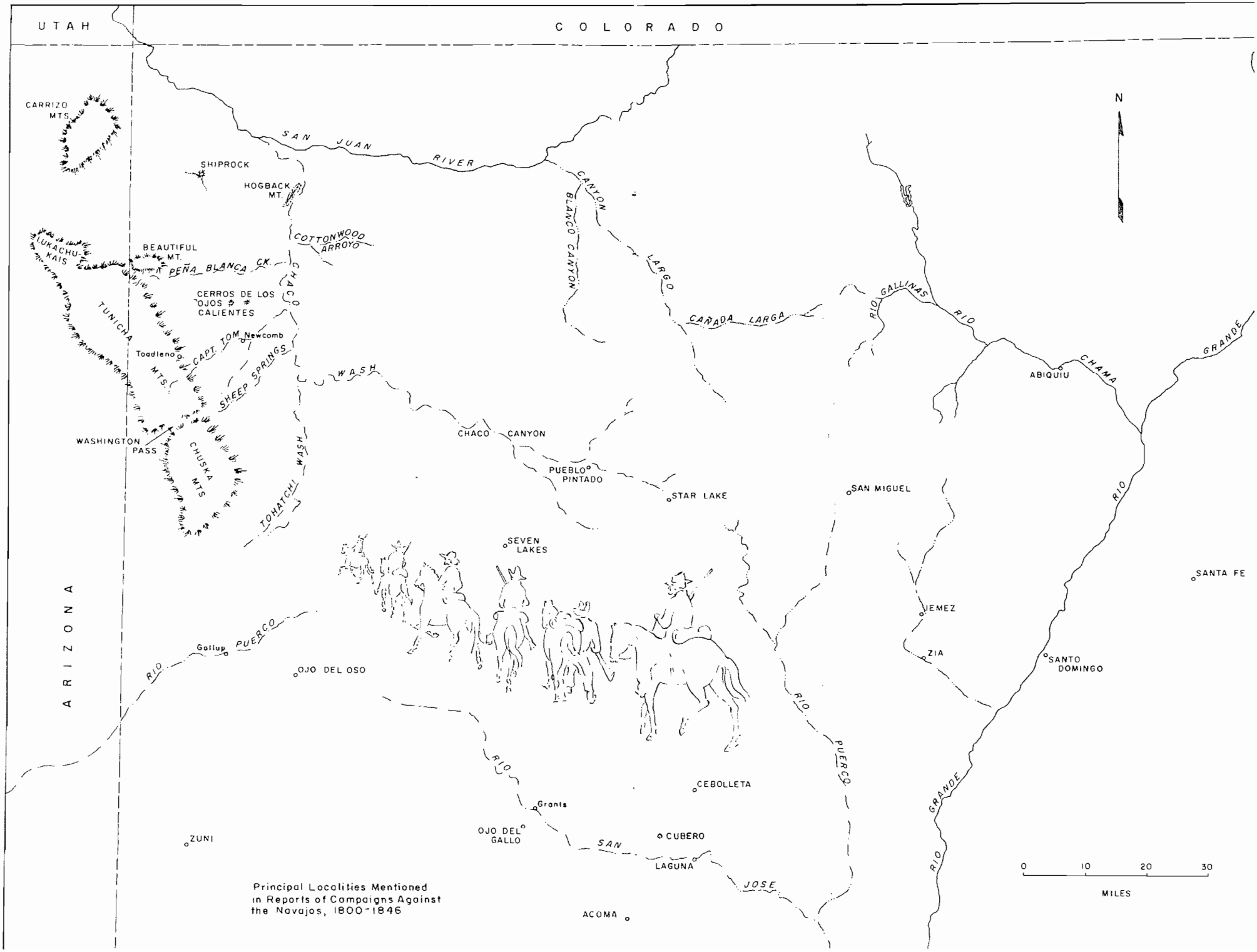

Principal Localities Mentioned in Reports of Campaigns Against the Navajos, 1800-1846

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CHAPTER I

THE SPANISH PERIOD: TO DECEMBER, 1821

Navajos had made contact with the Hopis by 1692,[8] indicating that some Navajos were west of the Chuska Valley by then. In 1706 Governor Cuervo y Valdez described boundaries for the Navajo province which would place today's Navajo Project survey area well within their territory.[9] While no Navajo sites in the project area have been tree-ring dated, the earliest dated site in a nearby area is a fortified crag in the headwaters of Chaco Canyon, occupied about A. D. 1725.[10]

By 1754, the Utes had forced Navajos living in the upper San Juan drainage to abandon their homeland, from which they fled to the south and west.[11] Van Valkenburgh (1948, p. 18) credits Antonio el Pinto[12] with leading the Navajos to dwell in the Chuska-Tunicha mountain region, which would accord well with a mid-18th century date for a principal Navajo movement into the Chuska Valley. Hosteen Klah told Newcomb (1964, p. xv) that his ancestors came to the survey area seven generations, or possibly seven lifetimes, before his birth in 1867. The alternative translations of generations or lifetimes made a conversion into years difficult, but would seem to indicate circa A.D. 1700 at the latest.

The first published references to Navajos within the project area are the Miera y Pacheco maps of 1777-1779. These show the Provinci de Nabajoo, with the name Chusca and several hut symbols in approximately the center of this "Province." Chusca is interpreted here as meaning the Chuska Valley and is in the proper relative location.[13] These maps accompanied the report of the Dominguez and Escalante tour of exploration, made in 1776, but this expedition passed slightly to the north of the Navajo country.

Two other 18th century accounts also refer to Navajos in this area A report dated December 21, 1786, by Pedro Garrido y Duran, named Chusca as one of the five divisions of the Navajos.[14] In 1796 Cordero mentioned Chusca and Tunicha as two of the ten "fixed domiciles" of the Navajo tribe, adding that they were currently at peace with the Spanish. No further details were provided in either report.

Following the Navajo hostilities of 1774-1775 and 1780-1785, New Mexico entered a period of "peaceful co-existence" and even alliance with them.[16] This situation was disrupted sometime during the first six years of Governor Fernando de Chacon's term in office (1794-1805), for in 1804 he recalled that Navajo depredations had occurred "especially on two occasions during my administration up to and until 1800, the year of their last uprising."[17]

On May 13, 1800, Chacon led a combined force of 500 regular troops and volunteers against the Navajos, to "subdue them by force" and put an end to the Navajo uprising then in progress. Neither the

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point of origin nor the route of his expedition is stated. The troops penetrated "as far as Tunicha, the center of the territory of said nation, where I proposed to commence hostilities, at least in their haciendas, which are many." However, a delegation of prominent Navajos met Chacon's party a short distance from Tunicha and the differences between the two nations were settled peacefully. Sixteen days were spent on this expedition, after which it retraced its steps as far as the Rio Puerco. Chacon then divided his force and, taking 300 men, marched south to scout the San Mateo Mountains (southwest of Socorro), after which the divisions recombined. By June 28th. the troops were in "the locality of Socorro."[18]

Chacon's report was the first to mention Tunicha as the "center" of Navajo territory, with the strong implication that this was a Navajo population center. Tunicha is used frequently and in various ways in the documents (i.e. Sierra de Tunicha, Arroyo de Tunicha), but often shows up as a place name. This latter usage, judging from a comparison of numerous Spanish, Mexican, and American period source materials, applies to the upper portion of the area drained by Captain Tom Wash. Tunicha is also described as the center of the Navajo country in several Mexican period reports (as detailed later), which lends support to Chacon's description of it as a population center. Sierra de Tunicha refers to the northern half of the Chuska Mountains, above Washington Pass, while Arroyo de Tunicha applies to Captain Tom Wash and, in some accounts, to the lower portion of Chaco Wash.

New Mexico was peaceful again until the spring of 1804, when the Navajos resumed their raiding. By May, Governor Chacon had decided on a series of campaigns against them.[19] At least three major expeditions went out during the remainder of 1804, the documentation on two of which is very incomplete. On June 18th, Chacon wrote to Comandante General Salcedo in Chihuahua that he intended to lead a campaign with 500 men against the Navajos.[20] In his follow-up letter of August 28th, Chacon reported on "the operations followed by the First Lieutenant of the Santa Fe Company, Don Antonio Vargas, in the persecution of the Navajo Indians." These resulted in the deaths of 57 persons "including 17 warriors" and the capture of five Indians plus some livestock, one soldier having been killed.[21] Pino's account (see below) implies that Chacon went in person, accompanied by Captain Don Jose Francisco Pino, Don Antonio Vargas, and Don Nicolas Farin.[22] Neither of Chacon's letters to Salcedo have been located and further details are lacking.

The Navajos, along with some Apaches, continued their depredations.[23] In October Salcedo ordered Antonio Narbona, an experienced Indian fighter, to take a force of 303 Sonoran troops to the aid of the New Mexicans.[24] Salcedo had planned a campaign coordinated with Chacon's forces. Narbona was to hit the Navajos in a surprise flanking movement from the west while Chacon's New Mexicans were fighting them on the east.[25]

The Sonorans finally arrived at Zuni on November 21st. Acting on a letter from the Justice of Laguna, Narbona then marched in that direction and on the 26th met Lorenzo Gutierrez and Bartolome Baca

from Laguna, with 100 auxiliaries, at a place called El Badito. This volunteer detachment may have been sent to join Narbona by Lieutenar Don Nicolas Farin, the leader of the New Mexican forces.[26] They brought orders from Chacon for Narbona to operate in conjunction wit Farin, who by this time was probably already in the field. The two divisions never met one another. The consequences of Farin's campa are not on record, but Narbona sent his baggage train on to Laguna and set out to accomplish what he could.[27] Despite snow storms and cold weather, exhaustion of his horses, and the swollen feet of the inf try, he advanced as far as Canyon de Chelly. There, "at the foot o the mountains of the Canyon de Chelli," he attacked a small Navajo encampment on December 3rd. Two Navajos were killed, two taken prisoner, and eight horses captured. The bad weather and condition of his troops caused Narbona to return to Laguna by December 10th without accomplishing more.[28] Farin must have returned about the same time, his campaign journal was sent to Salcedo on December 1

The fourth and most famous operation in this series followed in January, 1805, again with Antonio Narbona in charge. This is the campaign to which the Massacre Cave incident is usually attributed. O January 17th Narbona attacked "an almost inaccessible point" in Canyc de Chelly which "a large number" of Navajos had fortified. His troop carried this point the following morning, killing 115 Navajos (including 90 warriors), making prisoners of 33 more, and also capturing some 380 head of stock.[30] The troops on this expedition were evidently Narbona's 303 Sonorans plus the 100 New Mexico auxiliaries, under Gutierrez, who had participated in the first excursion. The expeditior was probably of brief duration, aimed directly at Canyon de Chelly to secure a triumph over the Navajos and make amends for Narbona's rather lackluster performance the preceding December. The campaigr concluded with this significant victory.

Don Pedro Bautista Pino gave a short account of this 1804-1805 war in his Exposicion, published in 1812. His description supplements and largely corroborates the reconstruction of events outlined above indicating also that many more operations and incidents took place than can be found in the extant documents. He writes:

> The war which they fought against us for a period of three years with great tenacity and ferocity, but without advantageous results, left them a peaceful tribe. This war started about the year 1803 or 1804, when Don Fernando Chacon was governor. He went on the campaign in person and took with him Captain Don José Francisco Pino, Don Antonio Vargas, and Don Nicolás Farín. They were successful from the first engagements. The Navajos, however, would not give up. Senor Chacon served his term of office, and Lieutenant Narbona continued the campaign. He had come at the instruction of Senor Salcedo, commandant general, to aid the province by joining Don Lorenzo Gutiérrez and Don Bartolomé Baca, militia capitans, who were fighting at that time. At last, after many bloody encounters and after the Navajos had lost even Chell, their capital (which was well fortified and admirably provided with men and arms), they

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sued for peace, in 1805, when Don Joaquin del Real Lancaster (sic) was governor. They renewed the alliance which they had with us many years before.[31]

Whether campaigns continued after January, 1805, is not clear; Chacón hints of an impending one in a document dated March 27th.[32]

A new governor, Don Joaquin del Real Alencaster, arrived in Santa Fe on March 28th.[33] By April the Navajos were petitioning Alencaster for peace.[34] They agreed to abide by the terms set forth by the Governor and on May 12th a peace agreement was concluded between Alencaster and representatives of the Navajos.[35] Josef Antonio García had been appointed an official interpreter[36] in May, and the name Tunicha turns up again as the place where he was expected to hold a conference with Navajo leaders on June 3, 1805, concerning conditions among the Indians.[37] Both sides seem to have made an effort to comply with the terms of the treaty, the Navajos returning some stock and the Spaniards returning Navajo captives, but sporadic Navajo raids continued through the remainder of 1805 and into 1806.[38]

New Mexico was at peace with the Navajos from 1806 until 1817 or 1818, the only recorded incident being a threatened assult on Cebolleta in 1816.[39] This peaceful situation deteriorated rapidly during 1818, however. A party of Utes and Navajos raided Jemez in February, 1818, and Governor Pedro María de Allande referred to Navajo depredations in 1817 also.[40] In June the Governor learned of "a feeling of unrest in the Navajo tribe."[41] The Alcalde of Laguna made a reconnaissance of the Zuni and San Mateo mountains in late June and early July, seeking cattle stolen by the Navajos, but with unsatisfactory results.[42] Navajo raids continued and in early July the Governor advised the Teniente de Justicia of Zuni that, with regard to the Navajos, "I have positive information that they have started an uprising to commit hostilities upon us in all directions."[43] His information came from the interpreter, Antonio García, who had just returned from Tunicha and a conference with the Navajo Chief Juaquín (Joaquín). The latter had reported "the general uprising of his tribe against us" to García.[44] On July 20th, Joaquín himself came into Jemez, reporting that "the whole design of his tribe is to overthrow this frontier and the others,"[45] probably meaning Jemez and other frontier settlements.

The New Mexico government eventually bestirred itself and Chavez (1957, p. 151) lists a document referring to a proposed Navajo campaign beginning on September 1, 1818. Whether this took place is uncertain; the author of the document may have confused Navajos with Comanches, as Lieutenant Arze of the Santa Fe Company left on an expedition into the Comanche country on August 31, 1818.[46] Whatever the case, on October 30th Governor Facundo Melgares instructed the Alcalde of La Canada and one Andrés Gomez Sanudo to report at Jemez on November 7th with the troops specified for campaign duty.[47] The Governor probably left Santa Fe on the day he penned these instructions, perhaps with the regular troops, for on December 18th he reported to Field Marshal Don Alexo García Conde in Durango that he had "just returned" from forty-nine days on campaign.[48] Enlistment records show that the men participating returned on December 16th,[49] and the forty-nine days probably represent the duration of the Governor's absence from Santa Fe. Melgares may have had several divisions out during both this campaign and the subsequent one in February-March, 1819.

The militia detachments presumably made a rendezvous at Jemez, the entire army then departing for the Navajo country about November 7t The size and route of the expedition are obscure, and its results were inconclusive, since Melgares could not lead the Navajos into decisive conflicts. He did kill seven Indians, captured two more, and took nearly 2400 head of livestock from them. They asked for peace, one of the Governor's conditions for which was that the Navajos "reduce themselves to living in the mountain range that bears the name of the tribe."[50] A traveler in 1829 referred to the Carrizo Mountains as the "Navajo mountains,"[51] but the latter term was also used to designate the San Mateo Mountains (Mt. Taylor region) at various times and to the Chuska Mountains at least once.[52] An 1840 report mentions that Melgares, while on a campaign in 1818, besieged the Navajos for some forty days on a fortified mesa more than 600 yaras in height, finally abandoning the siege as the Navajos had extensive facilities for the storage of food and water.[53] Brugge (1964a, p. 28) believes that this mesa may have been in the Carrizos, rather than Beautiful Mountain or elsewhere. Another suggestive lead is the Navajo tradition of a siege by the Mexicans atop tsénikání (Flat Rock), in Mexican Canyon near Cove, Arizona.[54] The height of this mesa, more than ten times that of Big Bead Mesa, would seem to eliminate the latter as a possible location.[55]

Bancroft indicates that there were at least two subsequent operation in this series, during February and March of 1819, but does not give details and his references were unavailable.[56] On January 29, 1819, Melgares ordered Matías Ortiz, Alcalde of Santa Cruz de la Canada, to enlist 200 men for a campaign against the Navajos.[57] Similarly, Juan Antonio Cabeza de Baca of Pena Blanca acknowledged the Governor's order to march to join Captain Montes.[58] Meanwhile, on February 1st, Melgares sent a relay letter to three alcaldes, warning them that Navajos were approaching the New Mexico settlements and the alcaldes should be prepared to attack them.[59]

The second (?) expedition in the current series apparently left sometime during February and, according to the enlistment records, returned on March 16th.[60] Melgares wrote a summary report on March 18th, claiming that in three battles, including one near First Mesa in the Hopi country, his forces killed 33 Navajos, captured 14, and took 470 sheep and goats plus 24 horses and mules.[61] The people attacked by Melgares may have been from outside the area, rather than local Navajos. A detachment under Captain Don Andrés Sanudo returned separately by April 18th, reporting additional Navajo casualties of three killed and six captured.[62] Sanudo's late return may have led to Bancroft's mention of two operations during February and March, but he may have had data on another, separate expedition.

Before this campaign had actually ended, the Navajos were petitioning again for peace. On April 1st, Melgares "conceded them peace and friendship .... the tribe ceasing to make war." The Governor drew

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up a list of conditions under which peace would be granted, to all of which the Navajos agreed. The treaty was signed in Santa Fe on August 21, 1819, and was approved by the Viceroy of New Spain on October 26th.[63]

Although details are lacking, this treaty seems to have brought a lull rather than an end to Navajo raiding. A report to the Governor in March, 1821, states that, on the authority of Chief Juaquin, "only nineteen families are committing robberies," and adds that Juaquin "has facilitated restraining the nation in the future." Also mentioned is the "peace established last month."[64] The situation worsened and on August 19th Melgares sent a relay letter to several alcaldes, telling of "the impending war with the Navajos" and proposing a defensive plan of action.[65]

One or more campaigns had already taken to the field in the summer of 1821, but details on their operations are obscure. Juan Antonio Cabeza de Baca, by then Captain of the Militia at Jemez, submitted a condition report in July on the 225 men "assembled in this pueblo of Xemes to start in the expedition to Navajo."[66] This may be the campaign or at least a division of the one mentioned in Melgares' letter of July 23rd.[67] If so, it was not out very long or the one shown by enlistment records as returning on August 9th was different. The expedition returning on that date claimed eight warriors killed, with no mention of spoils.[68] Since this is less than was usually claimed as successes, the men returning on August 9th may have been out only a short time.

A large force was in the field during August and September, 1821. On August 27th Melgares reported that "the force, which at this date is at Navajo, numbers more than twelve hundred men," operating as three divisions.[69] Enlistment papers reveal that this campaign returned to Santa Fe on September 24th, having killed 21 warriors, captured 7 Indians, of both sexes, and taken 400 horses plus 2112 sheep.[70]

A much better documented operation, of unknown size, took place on the heels of the one returning September 24th. A column under Don Juan Rafael Ortiz was ordered to leave when the expedition then in the field returned, so it probably left on or shortly after the 24th.[71] A southern division led by Juan Armijo left from Cebolleta on October 3rd and returned there on the 21st, having accomplished little. Armijo's report is primarily devoted to his difficulties with insubordination and desertions among the militia. By the end of the second day his troops had arrived at "the place of Siete Ojos" (modern Seven Lakes). At this point a party of fifty men left the main contingent to obtain ammunition from the northern division commanded by Ortiz. Armijo's group left Siete Ojos on the 9th and continued on towards the west or northwest, possibly as far as the eastern fringes of the Chuska Valley. The ammunition party rejoined on the 12th, bringing munitions obtained "at Pena Blanca, farm of the Navajo Cayetano," which documents Ortiz as having been in the Sanostee area at this time. Armijo's expedition then marched for two days before turning south towards Ojo del Oso (Fort Wingate school). The only action during his operation took place after the southward turn, when seven Navajos were killed, one captured,

and five horses plus unspecified "supplies" taken, somewhere north of the Ojo del Oso. The troops continued on to the Ojo del Oso and then returned by way of the San Jose valley to Cebolleta.[72] Ortiz returned on October 27th, having killed twelve Navajos, captured one female Indian, and taken thirty-three horses and mules plus 200 fanegas of corn from the Navajos - this from the enlistment papers.[73] Luis Lobato, perhaps a member of Ortiz' division, was noted as having "died in action of war on October 24, 1821."[74]

The service record of Sergeant Pedro Sandoval reveals that on December 8, 1821, he returned from a campaign against the Navajos. This operation saw no action since the Navajos protested that they were at peace. At some later date "the chieftains and headmen" of the tribe came to Santa Fe to hold peace talks with Governor Melgares - probably a reference to the treaty of October 23, 1822.[75]

The personnel in these campaigns, with their ancient weapons and rag-tag equipment, must have presented a most un-military appearance. The bulk of the forces consisted of rural militia, citizen auxiliaries, and pueblo Indian auxiliaries, usually supplemented with a contingent of Presidial soldiers. The latter, veteran troops maintained by the government, amounted to 10 per cent or less of the total expedition strength in most cases.[76]

The Reglamento of 1772[77] required the regular troops to be armed with a broad sword, lance, shield, musket, and brace of pistols, plus a uniform, other accoutrements, and horses. The New Mexico soldiers probably never approached this state of equipage; an inventory of the Permanent Company of Santa Fe for February 1, 1835, listed their armaments as 84 carabinas (muskets?), 84 lances, 84 cartridge boxes, 4 swords, 1440 cartridges, and no pistols or sabers.[78] The full complement of the garrison was then put at 96. Whether any had uniforms was not stated.

Even so, the regulars were apparently better equipped than the militia and other auxiliaries. These local citizens served under their own alcaldes or captains, supplying all of their own equipment plus horses and mules as transport, and dividing the spoils of war as their only direct payment. An impending campaign was often announced by an order from the Governor for an alcalde to proceed on a campaign with his militia, auxiliaries, etc., or for a number of alcaldes to rendezvous with their militia units. Regarding these citizen troops, Pino wrote:

> ... The settlers, however, perform their military duties with the same punctuality as if they were veteran soldiers. They have to report with horses, rifles, pistols, bows, arrows, and shields. Likewise, they must pay for their own ammunition and the supplies needed during the time they are under arms, which is usually a period of forty-five days; sometimes, however, there are two or three months of continuous and cruel warfare against wild tribes, some of which are armed with rifles which they handle skillfully.[79]

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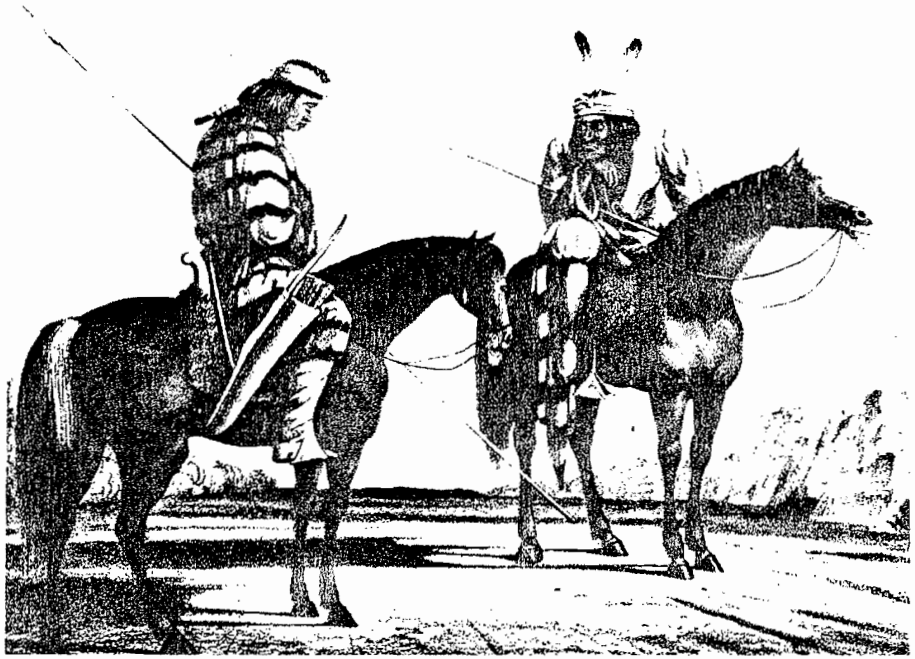
Cabeza de Baca's condition report on his militia at Jemez, preparatory to a Navajo campaign in 1821, gave the following breakdown:[80]

Men	225	Bows	155
Muskets	136	Arrows	3625
Cartridges	3500	Horses	141
Lances	150	Mules	126

Occasional references to the poor-quality arms and equipment, unwillingness to serve, and even mutiny among these unpaid militia are scattered through the archives. Formal companies were organized beginning in 1808,[81] with Indian and citizen auxiliaries continuing to form major portions of the expeditions. This state of affairs, with the citizenry bearing the burden of defense for the province, continued to the end of the Mexican period. Additional details on frontier defense in New Mexico may be found in Bloom (1913-15 passim) and Carroll and Haggard (1942: 67-71).



Navajo warriors.

CHAPTER II

THE MEXICAN PERIOD: DECEMBER, 1821, TO JULY, 1846

"There are but few items of interest or value in the record of Indian affairs for this period (1823-1845), though it is probable that local and personal details, if known, would furnish material for many an episode of adventure.[82] This must rank as a classic understateme even with the present incomplete knowledge of events during the Mexica period. Of no little interest are the observations of an American, Thomas James, on the state of affairs in New Mexico during late February or early March, 1822, and on the events preceding one brief "punitive" expedition:

> "... they (the Navajos) killed all of every age and condition, burned and destroyed all they could not take away with them, and drove away the sheep, cattle and horses. They came from the south directly towards Santa Fe, sweeping everything before them and leaving the land desolate behind them. They re-crossed the Del Norte below Santa Fe and passed to the north, laid bare the country around the town of Taos and then disappeared with all their booty. While this was going on, Malgaris (sic) was getting out the militia and putting nearly all the inhabitants under arms, preparatory to an expedition. I was requested to go, but I preferred to be a spectator in such a war. The militia of Santa Fe when on parade beggared all description. Falstaff's company was well equipped and well furnished compared with these troops of Governor Malgaris. Such a gang of tatterdemalions, I never saw, before or since. They were of all colors, with all kinds of dresses and every species of arms. Some were bareheaded, others were barebacked - some had hats without rims or crowns, and some wore coats without skirts; others again wore coats without sleeves. Most of them were armed with bows and arrows. A few had guns that looked as if they had been imported by Cortez, while others had iron hoops fastened to the ends of poles, which passed for lances. The doughty Governor, Facundo Malgaris, on foot, in his cloak and chapeau de bras, was reviewing this noble army. He was five feet high, nearly as thick as he was long, and as he waddled from one end of the line to the other, I thought of Alexander and Hannibal and Caesar, and how their glories would soon be eclipsed by this hero of Santa Fe. After him followed the Adjutant in his jacket with red cuffs and collar, and with his frog-sticker, called a sword, at his side. He examined the bows and arrows, lances and other arms of these invincibles. He with the little Governor seemed big with the fate of New Mexico. At last when all was ready, the Governor sent them forth to the war and

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himself went to his dinner. In the meantime where was the enemy - the bloodthirsty Navahoes? They had returned in safety to their own country with all their plunder, and were even then far beyond the reach of Gov. Malgaris' troop of scare crows.[83]

James may have been unfair in his judgments about Melgares, a governor with a large province to defend and few resources for doing so, but any outside military man would undoubtedly have left a similar, if less colorful, impression of the primitive state of New Mexico's defences.

The sentiments of the Alcalde of Laguna, who wrote to his Governor that "Senor, I am the dust upon which everyone trends," must have been echoed many times during the course of the Navajo wars.[84]

The campaigns of 1821 made little impression on the Navajos. Bloom (1913, p. 159) mentions that "During the previous year (1822) the Navajos had committed many depredations, especially in the region of Sandia Mountain." The available records can supplement this picture considerably.

James (1962, pp. 148-150) indicates that the Navajos were seeking peace in early 1822. A Navajo party, en route to Santa Fe to make peace, was murdered at Jemez late in February of that year. Two smaller parties arrived at Jemez shortly afterwards, inquiring after the first, and were similarly dispatched before the Navajos perceived what was happening to their emissaries. James gives a total of 24 Navajos killed in this manner and contemporary documentation supports the general nature of this incident, but mentions only 13 killed.[85] Davis (1938, pp. 289-290) also refers to this, but gives the year as 1820. The Navajo attacks following this sequence of events, described by James, are supported by contemporary burial records recently examined by David M. Brugge. These list at least thirteen New Mexicans killed for the Rio Abajo by the latter part of April, other deaths continuing throughout the summer.

Jacob Fowler's diary entry for March 8, 1822, notes that the New Mexicans had sent 700 men against the Navajos. His May 1st entry describes the return and successes of this expedition as follows:

> Wensday 1st may 1822 ---- We Ware Informed that Spanish army Had Returned that they Hag taken one old Indean and Some two or three old Horses that Ware So poor the Nabeho (Navajo) Cold not drive them up the mountains -- for it appers the Went up the Steep mountain and Role down the Rocks on their Pursurs So the the Ware Compled to discontinu the pursute --[86]

The Navajos had evidently taken refuge in some fortified stronghold. No other documentation on this campaign is known.

On April 24th Melgares warned the First Alcalde of Santa Fe that the province should prepare itself for expected attacks by the Navajos, attacks which actually began a month or two earlier.[87] On May 6th the Governor circulated an order to all alcaldias, instructing the alcaldes

to have their militia units rendezvous at Cebolleta on May 20th for a campaign of forty-five days. No enemy is listed but this expedition, the second one in the 1822 series, was almost certainly directed again the Navajos.[88] Its outcome is not known. While this operation was going on, Comandante General Conde wrote from Durango, instructing Melgares to send 800 men into the Navajo country to obtain the return of captives and stolen livestock, striking a "decisive blow" against the tribe if necessary. The Governor was therefore to use his own judgment about granting the Navajos the peace they had been asking for (before the spring campaigns?).

The Navajos raided Atrisco late in June and on July 21st Melgar circulated an order for a rendezvous of militia units, this time at Jeme on August 16th, for another forty-five day campaign.[90] Its purpose was stated quite clearly: "to punish the Navajos in terms which they will understand." The troops were to march afoot rather than on hors and Melgares was uncertain whether he would lead the campaign in pe son. No subsequent reports on this operation have been found.

Whatever the immediate consequences of these campaigns, they ha the desired effect on the Navajos from the New Mexican point of view. Melgares advised all alcaldes in September that peace negotiations wer to be held.[91] A peace treaty was duly signed at Zia Pueblo on Octob 23rd, the New Mexican representatives being Melgares and several others, while Segundo and a few fellow tribesmen signed for the Navaj

In November, 1822, Lt. Col. José Antonio Vizcarra replaced Melgares as jefe militar and civil governor of New Mexico.[93] Docume tation on the November, 1822 - January, 1823, period was not found, bu subsequent records allow for at least two alternative, inferential, estimations of the situation during that interval. One possibility is that the October 23rd treaty was broken soon after the ink was dry, the Navaj resuming their raids. A second one is that the treaty involved only that portion of the tribe in which Segundo was considered a leader, oth groups remaining free to continue their depredations. The second alte native is suggested by Vizcarra's record of peace negotiations with the Navajos in early February, 1823, in which "General Joaquin" was treated as a tribal leader.[94]

Whatever the true situation, the Navajos were willing to accept three of Vizcarra's conditions for granting peace and asked for a four-month period in which to talk over and decide on the fourth condition, their conversion to Catholicism and resettlement in pueblos.[95] They commenced raiding anew in the late spring, however, and on June 17t Vizcarra announced his intention of leaving the next day with a punitive expedition of 1500 men, possibly for four or five month.[96] Vizcarra was actually in the field until August 31st and his campaign diary, replete with details and place names, has fortunately been preserved.[97] A supplementary diary by Colonel Francisco Salazar, covering an independent operation, with 250 men, from August 3rd to the 18th, accompanies the main diary. These materials have recently been published by Brugge (1964b).

All of the real action on this campaign took place in Arizona.

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Many of the associated place names have been worked out and presented in Littell and Graham (1964, 1, pp. 107-108) and by Brugge (1964b), though there is some question that the locales involved after the fight with the Yutas are correctly identified.

Vizcarra's party marched from Santa Fe to Jemez, then west to the Rio Puerco, down the Puerco and west to Torreon. They arrived at La Agua de San Carlos (Star Lake or the headwaters of Chaco Wash) on June 24th and at Pueblo Pintado on the 25th. During the following three days they followed Chaco Wash downstream as far as the "big bend," where they camped at the Aguaje de la Vaca (mouth of either Tohatchi or Sheep Springs Wash). Vizcarra's diary should probably be credited with the first mention of the Chaco Canyon ruins, which he described only as "several ruins of pueblos of such antiquity that in those times Europeans were not known to their inhabitants." The Arroyo de San Carlos (Chaco Wash) was flowing and Vizcarra observed that "It presents good fields for the maintenance of stock and superior lands for planting by dry farming." The troops left the Arroyo de la Vaca on June 30th and proceeded to "the place of Tunicha." They spent several days reconnoitering that area, without incident, and on July 4th crossed the Chuska Mountains, probably by way of Washington Pass. The subsequent events connected with this expedition took place west of the Chuskas and will not be detailed here. However, on July 8th a Captain Julian Armijo returned to the main expedition with his scouting party, reporting a battle "in the Tunicha Mountains," where he killed fourteen Indians, took one prisoner, and captured five horses plus other spoils. A homeward course was set about August 21st. The return route led back across the Chuskas, possibly at Washington Pass again, and up the Chaco Wash. On August 31st the troops arrived back in Santa Fe. Enlistment records show that Vizcarra's men killed 50 Navajos and took 36 prisoners.[98]

In October the alcaldes of Jemez and Laguna reported that the Navajos were asking for peace. A council of representatives from the whole province of New Mexico was held on October 21st, the decision being to allow the Navajos to treat for peace. Peace negotiations with Governor Baca were successfully concluded four weeks later.[99] In 1865 one Anastitius Sandaval (Anastacio Sandoval?) recalled that "Under General Biscarra (Vizcarra) there was a treaty of peace which lasted a short time, when the Navajoes broke the treaty and commenced stealing flocks and killing people."[100] Sandoval did not specify whether this treaty was the one following Vizcarra's 1823 campagin, the one made in 1825, or still another one.

Navajo activities during the ensuing ten or twelve years are exceedingly obscure and there are few records of government-sanctioned campaigns against them. A period of relative peace may be more apparent than real, as a number of Navajo incursions were reported, with Jemez apparently bearing the brunt. In January, 1824, Vizcarra discussed the possibilities of another peace treaty with the Navajos, in an attempt "to create harmony in this unhappy Province."[101] Raids occurred in February, April, and December of 1824.[102] An obscure campaign under Vizcarra, "against the rebellious Navajos," returned on April 14, 1825. Military personnel records reveal that fourteen Navajos were killed and

twenty-two captured in a battle.[103] The size, route, and duration of this operation are all unknown.

On April 23, 1826, James O. Pattie and a company of American trappers "arrived at the chief village of the Nabahoes, a tribe that we knew to be friendly to the whites," located four days' journey up the San Juan River from its mouth. He spent only a few days in the are and left no details about his visit. Three months later he descended tl Rio Grande to Santa Fe, spending two days in another Navajo village fifty miles from the upper course of the river.[104]

Hostilities apparently continued as more forays took place in Dec ber, 1825,[105] June, 1827,[106] and "during the early part of 1829."[107] Two of the sources imply that the damage being done was of major pr portions. No records of any punitive expeditions have been found, bu a treaty of peace and friendship was celebrated at Jemez on July 15, 1829, and is described as a result of the Navajos petitioning for peace Antonio Armijo led a trading party down the San Juan River in Noven ber and December, 1829, without incident, but his diary contains only sparse notations on the country.[109]

The situation may have quieted temporarily, but depredations resumed and can be documented for September, 1829,[110] July, 1832,[11 February, 1834,[112] January, 1835,[113] and June, 1835.[114] No punitive expeditions against the Navajos are known until the one mentioned Bloom (1914, p. 355) in 1833, probably under the leadership of Vizc again.

Captain Don Blas de Hinojos, Comandante Principal of New Mex at this time, headed a campaign that lasted from October 13th to Nover ber 17, 1834. No data on routes or areas visited are given, but the troops killed 16 Navajos, captured three, rescued a captive, took 15 horses and mules and 3000 sheep, as well as other loot, "having put the enemy into veritable flight."[115] On his last expedition Hinojos left Santa Fe on February 8, 1835.[116] Hinojos and two other New Mexi cans were killed by the Navajos on February 28th, Jose Maria Caball assuming command after Hinojos' death.[117]

In his 1849 journal Simpson inferred that the main battle between the Navajos and Hinojos' troops took place in Washington Pass, the N Mexicans being ignominiously routed.[118] Henry Linn Dodge confirmed this location and outcome for the incident in an 1856 letter.[119] The wi of Juan Antonio Cabeza de Baca, the veteran of Melgares' campaigns and now one of the three casualties, was drawn up on February 28th in camp by the Sierra de Navajo, probably meaning the Chuska Mountains in this instance.[120] Further details on this expedition are lacking Enlistment paper notations show that the participants returned on Marc 13th, having killed 35 warriors, captured four Indians, rescued one captive, taken 14 horses and mules, 6604 sheep and 109 cattle.[121]

In the spring of 1835 Albino Perez was appointed civil and militar governor of New Mexico. On August 18 (?), 1835, he left the capita with all of the regular troops and some 600 militia to meet the Navajos

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at San Miguel (nine miles south of Cuba) "with the purpose of establishing the peace that they have been disturbing with this Territory for some time ...."[122] The consequences of this expedition are, once again, not on record.

Perez continued active campaigning against the Navajos. On July 21, 1836, he sent one José Francisco Vigil a set of instructions explaining that the rancherías of Narbona, Sandoval, José Tapia, Caballado Mucha, and El Negrito were at peace and should be "protected" during the impending campaign.[123] This operation evidently took place during July and/or August. Two months later Perez informed the Comandante General in Chihuahua that, according to orders, a campaign against the Navajos had started on September 14th. This was composed of 2000 men in three divisions, under the commands of Lieutenants José Caballero, Francisco García, and José Silva.[124] In a covering letter dated November 1, 1836, Perez then refers to "the three campaigns of which I informed Your Excellency in my letter of the 16th of September past ...", implying that the three divisions operated independently until Lieutenant García died. This letter accompanied the original reports and journals of these operations and described the results "in the different actions" as twenty Navajos killed, one Indian captive retaken, and 1645 head of stock with other spoils captured. The localities of these actions are not given, other than the note that Lieutenant García died a natural death in the vicinity of Zuni on October 15th.[125]

These activities accomplished little and Navajo depredations continued or worsened. In a report of December 8, 1836, Perez speaks of "the present critical circumstances in which the territory is found due to the ferocious war that the Navajo make upon it."[126] A circular dated November 20, 1836, written by Perez, complains that the recent Navajo expedition had failed through the fault of certain of the alcaldes to provide forces, and that another expedition would be necessary which he would head in person.[127] The latter was to involve 1000 men, including 50 regular troops, the object being to pursue the Navajos and punish them for their depredations.[128]

Perez actually mustered 60 regular soldiers to accompany 750 auxiliaries, noting, in a generally pessimistic frame of mind, that the latter "were for the most part those unhappy wretches that regularly report fatigue." He left Santa Fe on December 9th and proceeded to Cubero, the appointed rendezvous for the five militia companies involved. On December 16th Perez "began my march for the mountains where the Navajo live." He soon redirected his march towards Zuni to check on a reported allicance of Zuni with the Navajos, instructing Fernando Aragon to advance separately with 200 men to the Ojo del Gallo (San Rafael) "in order to direct himself to the points of Chuska and the Oso (Ojo del Oso) where the Navajos regularly live for permanent water." Aragon did as instructed, attacking four rancherias and killing twenty warriors, capturing one woman and fourteen children, and taking 5,300 sheep and 80 horses and mules. One wounded New Mexican died and many others suffered from the cold.

Perez left Zuni about December 26th and the two parties reunited, apparently at the appointed rendezvous of Quelites (Oak Creek, on lower

Black Creek in Arizona). They then marched "to the Sierra de Tunic center of the Navajo country where they have their most secure refuge distant from this city (Santa Fe) a little more than 200 leagues," but found upon arrival that the Navajos had already dispersed. Ensign Dieg Saenz took 300 men and trailed one group, eventually meeting and over whelming three rancherias with consequent losses of eight Navajos killed, four prisoners taken, and 2000 sheep plus 18 horses and mule: captured. The two units recombined near Canyon de Chelly, probably a few days after January 12, 1837, following seven days of separation. Subsequent operations are not listed, but the expedition evidently returne to the settlements early in February. Perez thought that the campaign had been successful and would help to conclude the "desolating war."[12 The service record of First Ensign Don Tomás Martinez mentions this campaign, but gives lower figures for the numbers killed or captured and for the amount of livestock taken.[130]

Whether this last operation had the desired effects is highly questio able. Read, writing of the 1836-1837 period in general, states:

> The Navajoe tribe was not, in the meantime idle; it committed depredations of every kind, and everywhere; it captured great numbers of stock, carried captives away, burned various persons alive in their homes, and sent parties to commit murders near Santa Fe, which was the jurisdiction best guarded in all the territory. A general campaign, it is true, was made to which the governor went in person, but it was productive of no better effect than that of losing the best part of the animals it carried and thereby completing the ruin of many unhappy farmers.[131]

It is not clear whether Read was referring to the December, 1836 January, 1837, operation specifically or to another one.

Little documentation is available for the 1837-1838 period. The next account of an expedition is by Governor Manuel Armijo, dated December 25, 1838, reporting on a 978-man campaign that the Governc led into the Navajo country during September and October. Armijo left Santa Fe on September 13th and the expedition departed from Jeme shortly afterwards, marching in the general direction of "the point of Tunicha, next to the mountain range of the same name, that because of its impassable roughness and its abundance of pasturage and waters is the central point that the enemy inhabits ...." En route, Armijo dispatched three parties of 150 men each to scout the country, arranging to rendezvous at Tunicha. A base camp was set up at Tres Lagunas, at "the center of the mountain range," from which units evidently operat in every direction. Armijo pursued a party of Navajos "to the vicinity of the Gila" (headwaters of Tularosa Creek), where the Navajos and some Apaches lost a battle with the New Mexicans. In another engagement, locality not stated, 150 troops dispersed an attacking party of mor than 600 warriors. Armijo reported the concrete results of this campaign as 78 warriors killed, 56 captives taken, some 2286 head of livestock and other spoils captured and, rather optimistically, that the troop "drove them from the Tunicha Mountains, their stronghold, for over a hundred leagues."[132] The terminal date for all these activities is not given, but the service record of Captain Don Francisco Martinez places

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this campaign in September and October, 1838.[133] Armijo also mentioned attached accounts by the officers commanding various parties, none of which have come to light.

The Governor probably mounted the most extensive campaign possible with the resources at this command, the consequences of which were a temporary scattering of the Chuska Valley Navajos into the Chuska and Tunicha mountains. An advance party may have preceded the main force, as a review of the Santa Fe Company lists 31 men as already absent for the Navajo campaign on September 1st.[134]

Captain Don Pedro León Lujan was a busy man that year. Soon after returning from Armijo's expedition he was commissioned to lead one of his own. The major portion of Lujan's campaign diary has survived and a fair reconstruction of his route can be made. Lujan departed from Abiquiu on December 8th with a force of 266 men, composed of troops from the Santa Fe Company with militia from many northern New Mexico communities. The party marched up the Rio Chama to the Rio Gallina, up the Gallina for less than a day, then overland to the continental divide. A pass led them into the headwaters of the Canada Larga. On the 16th Lujan took 120 men from the main division "to reconnoiter the points and lands of habitation of the perfidious Navajo." The route becomes less clear at this point, but his contingent probably marched to the mouth of the Canada Larga and continued on to the west, intersecting Blanco Canyon on the 18th and passing on to the west northwest across the Chaco Plateau, twenty miles or so south of the San Juan River. They arrived at the Ojo del Alamo on December 20th. Judging from both the similarity of the names and the geographical location implied by the troops' subsequent movements, a reasonable location for this spring would be somewhere in the headwaters of Cottonwood Arroyo. Apparently no Navajos had been observed thus far. The march continued in the direction of the Carrizo Mountains for five or six leagues, turning aside when smoke was noticed in the direction of the Cerros de los Ojos Calientes (Bennett Peak and Ford Butte). A small rancheria of Navajos was discovered on the west side of Chaco Wash and a subsequent battle resulted in three Navajos killed, six children captured, and twenty horses and mules and other spoils taken. A review of the company showed too little ammunition remaining to sustain the campaign. Lujan consequently rejoined the balance of his expedition, following a return route slightly different from the one taken during his advance. The diary breaks off on December 26th with the reunited expedition in Blanco Canyon and presumably on its way home.[135]

The near-overlap between Armijo's campaign and Lujan's operation may mean that Lujan was simply commissioned to remain in the field, putting into Abiquiu for supplies and/or reinforcements after the main body returned home. Such an interpretation is supported by Lujan's reference to "my division" (entry on December 8th) and his curious statement "begun in the plaza of Santo Thomas de Abiquiu the day shown by No. ____ of the present year," perhaps an anticipating reference to the report[136] that he knew the governor would be submitting on the general campaign.

Whether other expeditions followed and accomplished anything more

is uncertain, but on July 15, 1839, Governor Armijo recorded that "there was clebrated this day the treaty of peace, that is always being treated of with the Navajos and by petition of said Nation."[137] This sounds like simply another of the periodic peace treaties, in this case supposedly cemented by the appointment of one Antonio Sandoval as a "Captain" in the Navajo tribe. Josiah Gregg, writing in 1843, gave his opinion on the nature of peace treaties between the two parties in these terms:

> When the spring of the year approaches, terms of peace are generally proposed to the government at Santa Fe, which the latter never fails to accept. This amicable arrangement enables the wily Indians to sow their crops at leisure, and to dispose of the property stolen from the Mexicans during their marauding incursions, to advantage; but the close of their agricultural labors is generally followed by a renewal of hostilities, and the game of rapine and destruction is played over again.[138]

That Gregg's blanket statement is oversimplified is shown by the record, over the preceding forty years, of peace treaties negotiated at all seasons of the year.

Armijo's peace with the Navajos was short-lived, for the next campaign took to the field on October 18, 1839, remaining out until December 9th. The records of this operation are the "Orders of the Day," kept by Lt. Col. Don Juan Andrés Archuleta,[139] and notations in enlistment records.[140] The expedition was composed of three brigades, primarily militia, totaling at least 600 troops under the general command of Colonel Don Mariano Chavez. The point of departure and route followed are not clear, but by November 7th the troops were in Canyon de Chelly. All subsequent action took place on the Arizona side of the Chuska Mountains, between Canyon de Chelly and the San Juan River. The march homeward began on December 2nd, probably from the neighborhood of the Carrizo Mountains. The return route is also unspecified, but seems to have been up the San Juan River or east across the Chaco Plateau since the expedition arrived in Abiquiu on December 9th. The Orders of the Day were primarily concerned with the internal organization of the campaign, so many details were omitted or mentioned only in passing. The enlistment records place the duration as October 13th to December 13th, probably the dates that the presidial soldiers left and returned to Santa Fe. The troops killed nine warriors, captured one Indian, took 113 horses and mules and 10,000 sheep.[141] There is no evidence that the Chuska Valley was visited.

This expedition, like most of its predecessors, seems to have left the Navajos unimpressed. One subsequent report describes a large Navajo raid near Socorro on August 22, 1840.[142]

Navajo campaigns had become at least an annual event for the New Mexico government, beginning about 1834, and this record was not to be broken in 1840. A letter by Governor Armijo reported the results of two divisions that were in the field during September, 1840.[143] The two parties consisted of 500 "citizen auxiliaries and rural militia" each, under the commands of Captains Don José Salazar and Don José

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Francisco Vigil. The two evidently operated independently. Salazar's field of operations is not given, but he succeeded in killing thirteen warriors, capturing eight Indians and eight horses, plus taking the usual spoils. He also brought in José Largo, a headman who had come to Salazar asking for a truce in the war, preparatory to a peace settlement. José Largo can be documented as having been in the Chuska Valley at various times between 1846 and 1856, which may or may not be a clue to Salazar's field of activities.[144] Two documents from the early 1840's and one from 1867 place him farther south at those dates.[145]

Captain Vigil was involved in considerable hostile action, his most outstanding achievement being the capture (after a siege and a surprise midnight ascent) of the same fortified mesa that Melgares besieged in 1818. The location of this event would presumably place Vigil's company somewhere in the northern part of the Chuska Valley or in the Carrizo Mountains during at least part of their campaign. Vigil killed twenty warriors, captured six Indians and thirty-one horses, and took over one thousand pesos' worth of miscellaneous booty. Armijo's report was principally devoted to describing Vigil's exceptional feat and to handing out the usual plaudits to the officers; details such as the routes of the two parties and time spent in the field were not included.

These two campaigns and possible subsequent ones convinced the Navajos that peace was, again, the best policy. A Naachʼid was held "on the other side of De Chelly" and a Navajo from Pena Blanca (Sanostee) went to Jemez as an emissary, petitioning Governor Armijo to hold peace talks with Navajo representatives.[146] Although the emissary appeared in Jemez on December 14th, Armijo drafted a provisional peace treaty some three months later, in anticipation of a conference with the Navajos within the next few days.[147] The conference was only partially successful, due to the Governor's absence and to a reluctance by the New Mexicans to release captive Navajos.[148] The two sides made their peace nonetheless and in May Armijo proposed an intelligence-gathering expedition into the Navajo and Apache country, to "reconnoiter their water holes and places to which they retire with their families and livestock to hide them when they are at war... it being the proper time for these expeditions now that the enemy is at peace."[149] Whether this reconnaissance ever took place is unknown.

The treaty of 1841 eventually went the way of its predecessors and Navajo depredations resumed in the spring of 1843.[150] Although no records of campaings have been found, Comandante General Mariano Martinez must have put down this uprising in short order. He reported to Governor Chavez on February 26, 1844, that he had fixed March 21st as the day for concluding a treaty of peace with the Navajo chieftains, at a council to be held in Santo Domingo Pueblo.[151] The council actually met on March 23rd with Martinez, Governor Chavez, and five Navajo chieftains participating and agreeing to a peace treaty with eight articles.[152]

This treaty nearly concludes our information about military activities during the Spanish-Mexican periods. Lansing Bloom noted that: "There was a 'lively war against the barbarous Yutas, and with the Navajoes' this summer (1845)," giving no reference.[153] This might explain a letter of April 3, 1845, in which the Comandante General of New Mexcio

acknowledges that the Navajos were raiding near Jemez and asserts that an armed force of 100 men should leave for "the point of Tunicha" as soon as possible to redress these robberies.[154] Another letter reported a robbery at Santo Domingo, followed by a pursuit and a battle with the Navajos "in the place of Tierra Amarilla."[55] A final entry for the Mexican period, dated March 28, 1846, mentions renewed Navajo depredations and instructs the various alcaldes to prepare their militia units for yet another campaign, under Don Julian Perea.[156]

To close this section on military relations with the Navajos during the Spanish-Mexican periods, a general overview given in the words of those who participated in or observed these events during the early 1800's may be appropriate. The testimony of numerous such individual both native New Mexicans and more recent migrants from the eastern United States, was fortunately preserved in the Condition of The Indian Tribes: Report of The Joint Special Committee.[157] With the exceptior of Father Antonio Martinez's letter to General Santa Anna in 1843, con tained herein, these testimonials apparently were taken in 1865. A certain amount of bias is undoubtedly present, but the accounts agree well among themselves and were taken from individuals with various backgrounds.

In 1843 Martinez wrote to Santa Anna that:

> It has always been observed that when the Navajo tribes were at peace with our government, they always promised fidelity to the treaty, but complied with it one, two, or three years only, and the peace seldom lasted longer.[158]

His response to the 1865 inquiry of the Joint Special Committee was essentially the same:

> I have to state, that from the first year of this century, since I was nine years old, I have remarked that the Navajoes, who inhabit the villages west of New Mexico, situated on the Rio Abajo, sometimes were at peace, and at other times at war. They always observed this alternative, though the first periods were longer, say from four to five years, but seldom more than the second, which were from two, three, and even five years.[159]

Governor Henry Connelly, who had lived in New Mexico as a transient or resident for over forty years, observed that:

> I became acquainted, by conversations with citizens, with the relations between the Navajoes and Apaches and Mexicans. Since 1848 I have been intimately acquainted with them. These relations have been generally hostile, a continued warfare ... I found that state of things when I came here in 1824. I presume this state of things had existed from time immemorial. It has existed since we acquired the territory from Mexico. I think four years would cover the entire period in which we considered ourselves at peace with the Indians.[160]

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Similar statements may be found on pp. 97, 336-337, and 340 of the committee report cited above.

Such statements as "hereditary," "time immemorial," and "earliest history," contained in these testimonials, will not stand up under close scrutiny and should better be interpreted as circa 1800 or perhaps as far back as 1774. However, records for the 1800-1846 period confirms these observations as generally valid for that span of time. The next task is to continue this research into the American period, examining the records of those expeditions and individuals who passed through the Chuska Valley and Chaco Plateau from 1846 until the roundup preceding The Long Walk.

Cubero, base of operations for some campaigns.

NOTES

1. Drafts of this manuscript were read by Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, Mr. Albert H. Schroeder, and Mr. David M. Brugge. Their close reading and numerous suggestions were most valuable for achieving comprehensiveness and accuracy. Their help is sincerely appreciated.

2. McNitt 1964, pp. 192-193.

3. Jenkins and Minge 1961.

4. i.e. Dunn 1886; Reeve 1937, 1939, 1960.

5. Bloom 1913-1915; Bancroft 1889; Worcester 1951.

6. Brugge 1964b, 1965b.

7. Van Valkenburgh 1941; Van Valkenburgh and Walker 1945.

8. Schroeder 1965, p. 57.

9. Hackett 1937, pp. 381-382.

10. Site E-C-UC-N in Navajo Land Claims system; see Docket 229 (Navajo) Plaintiff's Exhibit No. 520H for description.

11. Schroeder 1965, p. 59; Reeve 1960, pp. 202-204.

12. Died October 26, 1793; NMSRCA,* Fernando de la Concha to Pedro de Nava, SA 1266. Translation in Navajoland Tourist Guide (1964), pp. 28, 35.

13. Amsden 1934; Bolton 1950.

14. Thomas 1932, p. 350.

15. Matson and Schroeder 1957, p. 356.

16. Reeve 1960.

17. Chacón to Salcedo, March 28, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1714.

18. Chacón to Nava, June 28, 1800, NMSRCA, SA 1492.

19. Chacón to Salcedo, March 26, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1712; May 16, 1804, SA 1730; Read 1912, p. 348.

20. Salcedo to Chacón, July 16, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1743.

21. Salcedo to Chacón, Sept. 16, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1754.

* New Mexico State Record Center and Archives.

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22. Carroll and Haggard 1942, p. 132.

23. Salcedo to Chacón, Oct. 5, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1766.

24. See Carroll and Haggard 1942, p. 178, for biographical data on Antonio Narbona.

25. Salcedo to Narbona, Oct. 8, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1767.

26. Chacón to Farin, Nov. 20, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1774; Narbona to Chacón, Nov. 26, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1776; Carroll and Haggard 1942, p. 132.

27. Narbona to Chacón, Nov. 26, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1776.

28. Narbona to Chacón, Dec. 10, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1778.

29. Chacon (?) to Salcedo, NMSRCA, SA 1780A.

30. Narbona to Chacón, Jan. 24, 1805, NMSRCA, SA 1792; see Brugge 1965b, pp. 6-8 for published translation.

31. Carroll and Haggard 1942, pp. 132-133.

32. Chacon, NMSRCA, SA 1801.

33. Carroll and Haggard 1942, p. 197.

34. See Note 32; also Alencaster to Salcedo, April 12, 1805, NMSRCA, SA 1810.

35. Alencaster to Salcedo, May 15, 1805, NMSRCA, SA 1828.

36. And probably spy; see Reeve 1960, p. 225.

37. Alencaster to Salcedo, May 28, 1805, NMSRCA, SA 1838.

38. Salcedo to Alencaster, Sept. 17, 1805, NMSRCA, SA 1890; Salcedo to Alencaster, April 23, 1806, SA 1985.

39. Brugge 1963b, Fig. 2; Pena to Allande, Aug. 20, 1816, NMSRCA, SA 2668.

40. Allande, March 2, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2714.

41. Vergara to Allande, June 24, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2726; Allande to Vergara, June 25, 1818, SA 2727.

42. Ortiz to Allande, July 7, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2732.

43. Allande to Ortiz, July 10, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2731.

44. Allande to Ortiz, July 10, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2733.

45. Vergara to Allande, July 21, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2736.

46. Thomas 1929, pp. 155ff.

47. Melgares to Alcalde of La Canada, Oct. 30, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2763; Melgares to Sanudo, Oct. 30, 1818, SA 2764.

48. Melgares to Conde, AGI (Sevilla), Estado 33 (Mexico 14), Chapman 6180, p. 39, Bancroft Library.

49. NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1801-1820. Enlistment of Joaquin Alari and others.

50. See Note 48.

51. Hafen and Hafen 1954, pp. 159-160.

52. Twitchell 1912, II, opp. p. 20.

53. Armijo to Minister of War and Navy, Oct. 3, 1840, NMSRCA, MA 6149.

54. Van Valkenburgh 1941, p. 45.

55. Keur 1941, p. 18.

56. Bancroft 1889, pp. 286-287.

57. Ortiz to Melgares, Jan. 31, 1819, NMSRCA, SA 2789.

58. Cabeza de Baca to Melgares, Feb. 2, 1819, NMSRCA, SA 2793.

59. Melgares, Feb. 1, 1819, NMSRCA, SA 2791.

60. See Note 49.

61. Melgares to Cordero, March 18, 1819, No. 1; Melgares to Cordero, March 18, 1819, No. 2, AGI (Seville), Estado 33 (Mexico), Chapman 6183, pp. 5-7, Bancroft Library. See also Note 56.

    Bestias is translated here as "horses and mules." An alternative rendering might be "pack animals." The term refers to domestic animals used to perform work. See Brugge 1965b, p. 29.

62. Melgares to Cordero, April 18, 1819, AGI (Seville), Estado 33 (Mexico 14), Chapman 6198, Bancroft Library.

63. Brugge 1965b, pp. 14-20.

64. Baca to Melgares, March 8, 1821, NMSRCA, SA 2971.

65. Melgares to four alcaldes, NMSRCA, SA 3007.

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66. Baca to Melgares (?), July 25, 1821, NMSRCA, SA 2994.

67. Duran to Melgares, July 26, 1821, NMSRCA, SA 2997.

68. NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1801-1820. Enlistment of Mariano Alire and others.

69. Melgares to the Council of Santa Fe, NMSRCA, SA 3019.

70. NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1732-1800. Enlistment of Jose Luis Telles. See also Note 68.

71. Melgares to Ortiz, Sept. 21, 1821, NMSRCA, Twitchell Collection, #89.

72. Armijo to Melgares, Oct. 23, 1821, NMSRCA, SA 3060.

73. NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1801-1820. Enlistment of Feliz Esquibel.

74. NMSRCA, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1801-1820. Enlistment of Luis Lobato.

75. NMSRCA, MA 6211; see also Note 68.

76. Salcedo to Chacón, July 16, 1804, NMSRCA, SA 1743; Alencaster to Salcedo, May 28, 1805, NMSRCA, SA 1838; Alencaster to Salcedo, Nov. 3, 1807, NMSRCA, SA 2089; Perez to the Comandante General, Feb. 16, 1837, NMSRCA, MA 4367 #67; Armijo to ?, Dec. 25, 1838, NMSRCA, MA 5381 #33.

77. Reglamento e Instruccion para los Presidios que se han de formar en la linea de Frontera de la Nueva Espana. Resuelto por El Rey N.S. en Cédula de 10 Septiembre de 1772. NMSRCA, Otero Collection.

78. Statement of the armaments and ammunition of the Compania Permanente de Santa Fe, Feb. 1, 1835. NMSRCA.

79. Carroll and Haggard 1942: 68.

80. See Note 66.

81. Carroll and Haggard 1942: 70.

82. Bancroft 1889, p. 315.

83. James 1962, pp. 150-151.

84. Ortiz to Allande, July 7, 1818, NMSRCA, SA 2732.

85. Conde to Melgares, June 15, 1822, NMSRCA, MA 65; replying to letter of March 18, 1822, describing this incident; latter not found.

86. Coues 1898, pp. 137-138.

87. NMSRCA, MA 43.

88. Melgares to all alcaldes, May 6, 1822, NMSRCA, SA 3034, p. 15.

89. See Note 85.

90. Armijo to Melgares, June 30, 1822, NMSRCA, MA 75; Melgare to all alcaldes, SA 3034, p. 17.

91. Sept. 12, 1822, NMSRCA, SA 3034, pp. 46-48.

92. Nov. 24, 1822, NMSRCA, SA 3034, pp. 50-51.

93. Bloom 1913, p. 155.

94. Vizcarra, Feb. 5 & 12, 1823, NMSRCA, MA 183.

95. See Note 94.

96. Vizcarra to the Council of Santa Fe, June 17, 1823, NMSRCA MA 244.

97. NMSRCA, MA 251-254.

98. See Note 68.

99. Bloom 1913, pp. 166-167.

100. Doolittle et. al. 1867, p. 337.

101. Vizcarra to Committee, Jan.16, 1824, NMSRCA, MA 392.

102. Chavez, Feb. 9, 1824, NMSRCA, MA 423; Bloom 1913, p. 167; Brugge 1965b, p. 21.

103. NMSRCA, Military Papers, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1821-1845. Enlistment of Juan de Abrego and others.

104. Thwaites 1905, pp. 139, 143-144.

105. Sandoval to Narbona, Dec. 3, 1825, NMSRCA, MA 2084.

106. Martin to Armijo, June 13, 1827, NMSRCA, MA 1441 #6.

107. Littell and Graham 1964, I, p. 115.

108. NMSRCA, MA 2256.

109. Hafen 1950; Hafen and Hafen 1954, pp. 159-160.

110. Sandoval to Chavez, Sept. 11, 1829, NMSRCA, MA 2315.

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111. NMSRCA, MA 3054.

112. García to Ynojos (Hinojos), Feb. 23, 1834, NMSRCA, MA 3961.

113. García to Hinojos, Jan. 12, 1835, NMSRCA, MA 4267 #8.

114. Baca to Perez, June 7, 1835, NMSRCA, MA 4375.

115. NMSRCA, Mexican Archives, Misc. Documents, Service Record of Blas de Hinojos.

116. Baca y Pino et. al. to Most Excellent Senor, April 1, 1835, NMSRCA, MA 4331.

117. NMSRCA, MA 4301; Bloom 1914, p. 366.

118. McNitt 1964, pp. 78-79.

119. McNitt 1964, p. 79.

120. Twitchell 1912, II, opp. p. 20.

121. NMSRCA, Military Papers, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1821-1845. Enlistment of Juan Esquivel; see also Bloom 1914, p. 366.

122. Perez to the Comandante General, Aug. 15, 1835, NMSRCA, MA 4367 #9; Military Papers, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistment Papers, 1821-1845, Enlistment of Ramon Torres. Latter says "expedition of Aug. 21, 1835."

123. NMSRCA, MA 4718.

124. Sept. 16, 1836, NMSRCA, MA 4367 #60.

125. Perez to the Comandante General, NMSRCA, MA 4367 #64.

126. Perez to the Comandante General, NMSRCA, MA 4367 #65.

127. NMSRCA, MA 4789.

128. See Note 126.

129. Perez to the Comandante General, Feb. 16, 1837, NMSRCA, MA 4367 #67.

130. NMSRCA, MA 6211.

131. Read 1912, pp. 372-373.

132. Armijo to ?, Dec. 25, 1838, NMSRCA, MA 5381 #33.

133. Dec. 31, 1842, NMSRCA, MA 7118.

134. University of New Mexico Library, photostat copies of the Mexican Archives of New Mexico, Volume for the year 1838, Part V. pp. 1141-1142.

135. NMSRCA, MA 5619.

136. See Note 132.

137. Armijo, NMSRCA, MA 5798.

138. Gregg 1962, I, p. 154.

139. NMSRCA, Mexican Archives, Miscellaneous Documents.

140. NMSRCA, Military Papers, Santa Fe Presidial Co., Enlistme Papers, 1821-1845. Enlistment of Juan Lopes.

141. See Note 140.

142. Baca to Chavez, Aug. 24, 1840, NMSRCA, MA 6128 #32.

143. See Note 53.

144. Jose Largo signed the treaty at Ojo del Oso in 1846; signed th Newby treaty at Monte del Cuyatana (sic) in 1848; attended Washington's conference at Tunicha in 1849; planted somewhere "in the vicinity and north of the Cerros de los Ojos Calientes" in 1851 (Parke to Munroe, March 7, 1851, National Archives, RWD, RG 98, DNM, LR, File Mark P-15/1851); lived "at o near the Hot Springs" (near Tocito) in 1856 (Dodge to Meriweither, June 13, 1856, National Archives, BIA, RG 75, Nev Mexico Superintendency, LR, File Mark N-138/1856 encl.).

145. Sandoval to Armijo, April 6, 1841, NMSRCA, MA 6309; Jan 27, 1844, NMSRCA, MA 7534; Allen 1948, p. 306.

146. Brugge 1963a.

147. March 10, 1841, NMSRCA, MA 6285.

148. Sandoval to Armijo, March 14, 1841, NMSRCA, MA 6291.

149. Armijo to ?, May 13, 1841, NMSRCA, MA 6225.

150. Bloom 1914, p. 164; Antonio Martinez letter in Doolittle el. al. 1867, p. 360.

151. NMSRCA, MA 7596.

152. NMSRCA, MA 7534.

153. Bloom 1915, p. 241.

154. Comandante General to Military Commander of Jemez, NMSRC MA 7534.

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155. Archuleta to Armijo, Nov. 21, 1845, NMSRCA, MA 8359.

156. Brugge 1965b, p. 28.

157. Doolittle et. al. 1867.

158. Doolittle et. al. 1867, p. 362.

159. Doolittle et. al. 1867, p. 487.

160. Doolittle et. al. 1867, p. 332.

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