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Appendix 1

Partial Hopi-Spanish/Mexican Chronology, 1540-1850

Although partial, this brief chronology addresses the assertion that there was “little to no meaningful interaction” between Hopis and Spaniards, especially after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Brescia, Mar. 25, 2009, 10), illustrating instead their almost constant contact. As far as Spain and Mexico were concerned, the Hopi towns remained a constituent province of the Spanish and Mexican polity of New Mexico.

The historian (among outsiders) who knew most about Hopi-Spanish relations died in 1996. Prof. Eleanor B. Adams of the University of New Mexico had collected from a dozen archives in Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. photocopies of pertinent documents, especially for the post-Pueblo Revolt 18th century. She intended to write a book on the subject, but never did. Today the documents reside in the Center for Southwest Research at UNM (Eleanor B. Adams Papers, Col. 826 BC). The folders cited below contain photocopies of original documents, typed transcriptions, some translations, and often Adams’ handwritten notes or cards.

- 1540 Pedro de Tovar of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado’s expedition reaches “Tusayán” (the Hopi pueblos). Ritual Spanish possession, probably at Awátovi.¹
- 1583 Antonio de Espejo with 80 armed Zuni auxiliaries reaches “MoJose” (Hopi pueblos). Received peaceably. Again ritual possession, at Awátovi and elsewhere.²
**Pérez de Luxán reports diverse and extensive Hopi agriculture and “very deep wells.” Other wells at Oraibi. Take possession. Obregón: a “fountain’ below Awátovi. Cutter report.
“Querechos” non-sedentary mountain people.**
- 1598 Juan de Oñate founds the Kingdom and Provinces of New Mexico. Exacts “obedience” from “Mojoqui” (Hopi pueblos).³
- 1604 Oñate passes peaceably through Hopi pueblos en route to the Gulf of California. Fray Francisco de Escobar’s description of “Moqui” (Hopi pueblos).⁴
Ranchería de los Gandules identified as Moencopi. FW Hodge note on Hopi in Ayer, Benavides Mem. 1630, citing DII.
- 1629 First three resident Franciscan friars to Moqui with armed escort; mission at Awátovi, then at Shongopavi and Oraibi, with visitas at Mishongnovi and Walpi. Other Spaniards present.⁵

- 1639 Former Gov. Francisco Martínez de Baeza implies that soldiers were being maintained among the Hopis.⁶
- 1653-55 Fray Alonso de Posada at Awátovi. Bartolomé de Salazar, alcalde mayor of Zuni and Moqui jurisdictions.⁷
- 1655 Case against fray Salvador de Guerra partly for forcing Hopis to weave cotton and woolen textiles for him. Scholes, *Troublos Times*, 12.**
- 1656 Juan Suñi, a Hopi of Awátovi, parodies the absent priest in the mission church. Scholes, *Troublos Times*, 14-15.**
- 1659 Case against Juan Suñi for theft, sentenced to whipping and 10-years slavery. Scholes, *Troublos Times*, 14-15.**
- 1659 Wheat and corn seed provided to Hopis of Shongopavi and Oraibi during famine.⁸
- c. 1659 Gov. Bernardo López de Mendizábal appoints controversial Diego de Trujillo alcalde mayor of Moqui jurisdiction.⁹
- 1661 Gov. Diego de Peñalosa refuses to grant escort and aid to Father Custos Alonso de Posada on the friar's visitation of Zuni and Moqui. Fray José de Espeleta, long-serving missionary at Shongopavi.¹⁰
- 1662 Peñalosa visits the Province of Moqui on inspection tour, during which he reduces 2 or 3 dozen Cruzados and Coninas to Moqui pueblos, certified by Father Espeleta.¹¹
- 1662 Francisco Gómez Robledo holds in encomienda half of Shongopavi, 80 units of tribute.¹²
- 1662 Bartolomé Cisneros, alcalde mayor of Zuni and Moqui.¹³
- 1664 Elena Gómez holds Awátovi in encomienda, mantas collected by Capt. Francisco Javier.¹⁴
- 1672 Friars at the Hopi pueblos are coping with New Mexico's widespread famine.¹⁵
- c. 1675 Peñalosa's map showing Moqui, "Xongopavi," "Aguatubi," "Santa Fe de Peñalosa," and the Sierra Azul.¹⁶
- 1675-80 Diego López del Castillo, alcalde mayor of Moqui.¹⁷
- 1680 Hopis join most of the Pueblo Indians in massive revolt; Spaniards flee south to El Paso district.¹⁸
After 1680, sheep and labor no longer controlled by Spaniards, another good reason for continued resistance in 18th century. Textile trade, however, keeps Hopis securely within the Pueblo world (and Kingdom of New Mexico). See especially

Laurie Diane Webster, "Effects of European Contact on Textile Production and Exchange in the North American Southwest: A Pueblo Case Study," (Univ. of Arizona, Diss., Anthro., 1997), maps, e.g., 10.6 : Primary networks of regional exchange in Pueblo cotton textiles, A.D. 1700-1850 (634).

- 1692 Vargas leads Spanish recolonization; ritual repossession of Hopi pueblos, November. Hopis all now living on mesa tops.19
- 1693 Vargas suggests that Hopis be moved to the Rio Grande Valley to the abandoned pueblos of Alamillo and Sevilleta and the area between them.20
- 1699 Gov. Pedro Rodríguez Cubero sends José Naranjo, "el Mulatto," alcalde mayor of Zuni, with fray Francisco de Garaicoechea and fray Antonio de Miranda to Awátovi. Threat by Oraibi's cacique Francisco de Espeleta. Naranjo thwarts attack, goes to Walpi, and brings out the Santa Claras who were ready to return to their eastern pueblo.21
- 1700 Naranjo goes back to Awátovi with Father Garaicoechea. The friar stays for a time, baptizing 73 babies, then returns to Zuni. Naranjo boasts in 1701 that on this and the previous trip he brought out the Santa Claras, eight families from San Juan, six from San Ildefonso, nine from Cochiti, four from Santo Domingo, all the Jemez, and six families from Galisteo.22
- 1700 Oraibi Cacique Espeleta to Santa Fe at head of a Hopi delegation. Received by Gov. Rodríguez Cubero. Espeleta suggests that friars come to baptize Hopi infants successively in each of the six pueblos over a period of six years. The Spanish governor balks, and the Hopis leave.23
- 1700-1701 Hopi destruction of Awátovi that winter. Gov. Rodríguez Cubero's failed punitive expedition to Moqui with 150 men-at-arms and 300 Pueblo auxiliaries.24
See Water, *Book of the Hopi*, 258-66, re destruction of Awátovi.
- 1702 Roque Madrid, alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, reports that Awátovi traders showed up seeking animal hides. He knows these Hopis.25
- 1705 Roque Madrid expedition to Navajo Dinetah, at this time south of the San Juan and west of Cañón Largo. Skirmishes. Hendricks and Wilson, *The Navajos in 1705*.**
- 1706 Gov. Francisco Cuervo y Valdés sends Juan Roque Gutiérrez to Zuni with a squad of eight soldiers.26
To defend Zunis from Hopis who were warring at the time. Gutiérrez and Tomás López Holguín lead raids against Hopis. Hendricks and Wilson, *The Navajos in 1705*, 108, 109.
- 1706 Drought. Cuervo y Valdés provides Hopis with wheat and maize seed for sowing.27

- 1707 Gov. Cuervo y Valdés sends soldiers twice to Moqui with fray Juan Mingues.²⁸
- 1707 Viceroy Duque de Alburquerque to Gov. Marqués de Peñuela, Aug. 29, responding to the good news that Hopis in June sent a cross to Zuni as a sign of peace.²⁹
- 1715 Delegation of eight Hopis to Santa Fe received by Gov. Flores Mogollón “telling me in the name of the entire province of Moqui that they came wanting peace with the Spaniards.” Later two Pueblo emissaries to Moqui reveal that the delegation was a ruse, unauthorized by Hopi leaders, meant to deceive Spaniards for the purpose of trading.³⁰
- 1716 Gov. Félix Martínez expedition to Moqui with fray Antonio Camargo and fray Domingo de Araos.³¹
- 1718 Three Tanos of Galisteo ask Gov. Antonio Valverde for a license to visit their relatives who fled to Walpi in 1696 but now want to come home. Rumors that many Tewas and Tanos want to leave Moqui but fear punishment.³²
- 1723 Capt. Antonio Becerra Nieto of Janos presidio supports the plan of Father Agustín de Campos, S.J., to make an entrada to Moqui via the Gila. Says Hopis want “padres prietos,” i.e., Jesuits, instead of Franciscans.³³
- 1724 Fray Antonio Miranda and fray Francisco Irasábal to Moqui for four days, 24 hours at Oraibi.³⁴
- 1728 Gov. Juan Domingo de Bustamante reports that Spaniard Jacinto Sánchez and Zuni leaders were welcomed at Moqui in the pueblo of the Tiwas. The 48 years of apostasy (since 1680) predicted by Father Espeleta has now run its course.³⁵
- 1729 *Reglamento para todos los presidios* comments on Pueblo Indians of other jurisdictions fleeing the abuses of their New Mexico alcaldes mayores to Moqui.³⁶
- 1730 Fray Francisco Manuel Bravo de Lerchundi to Moqui.³⁷
- 1730 Francisco Álvarez Barreiro lists Hopis among the 24 pueblos of New Mexico.³⁸
- 1731 Father Bravo de Lerchundi reports flight of Isletas to Moqui because of alcalde mayor’s abuses.³⁹
- 1740 Fray Carlos Delgado and fray Pedro Ignacio Pino to Moqui.⁴⁰
- 1742 Friars Delgado and Pino back to Moqui, bringing out 441 converts, mostly Tiwas settled temporarily in various Rio Grande pueblos. Another friar asks for an order to resettle them in their former pueblos of Pajarito, Alameda, and Sandia. At Isleta, Father Delgado baptizes 78 children brought from Moqui.⁴¹

- 1743 Montoya family brings 17 “Moquis (Hopis)” to Santa Clara Pueblo for baptism. These will form the nucleus of the Abiquiu resettlement of 1750.⁴²
- 1743 Three “Moquis” baptized at Laguna. At Isleta, Father Delgado baptizes 53 adults from Moqui.⁴³
- 1744 At Jemez, on Oct. 15, fray José Irigoyen baptizes 17 men and 20 women born in Moqui; all men Cristóbal, all women Bárbara.⁴⁴
- 1745 Friars Delgado, Irigoyen, and Juan José Toledo to Moqui with an escort of 80 Pueblo Indian auxiliaries from Acoma, Laguna, and Zuni.⁴⁵
- 1745 Delgado describes the Province of Moqui and the reception he and his two friar companions received there: six pueblos, 10,846 people. Residents will let them know when they are ready to receive baptism.⁴⁶
- 1747 “Father Menchero’s campaign:” 700 soldiers, civilians, and Indian auxiliaries from Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, and New Mexico set out to defeat the Gila Apaches, clear the road between New Mexico and Sonora, and reconvert the Province of Moqui. An utter failure, they get no farther than Zuni, while Apaches attack behind them. At Zuni, a large delegation of Hopi leaders assure Capt. Alonso Vitores Rubí de Celis and the friars “that already they were completely loyal, even as before their rebellion.”⁴⁷
- 1748 Father Menchero refounds Sandia with 70 families of 350 people, mostly Tiwas brought out from Moqui in 1742, but also including a few Hopis, among them a former cacique of Oraibi, hinting at Hopi factionalism.⁴⁸
- 1748 Capt. José de Berroterán reports that the Franciscans want the presidio of El Paso moved to Moqui.⁴⁹
- c. 1748 “Menchero map” shows “56. Provincia de Moqui” as an integral component of Spanish New Mexico (with pueblos numbered and labeled): “57. Gualpi Peñol Poblado,” “58. Tanos Peñol,” “59. Moxonavi Peñol poblado,” “60. Manxopavi poblado,” “61. Pueblo Antiguo d. Moxi.s.xong.os,” “62. Mesas de los tiguas,” “63. Oraibe.”⁵⁰
- 1749 Friars Menchero, Toledo, and Juan Sanz de Lezaun by a new route to Walpi.⁵¹
- 1750 New Mexico census, note for Sandía: repopled in 1748 with about 340 “indios tiguas y moquinos [Hopis].”⁵²
- 1750 on. Hopis continue settling at Abiquiu, forming part of the genízaro community there.⁵³
- 1755 Fray Mariano Rodríguez de la Torre visits Moqui, blames their recalcitrance on bad Pueblo Christians who fled there because of bad Spanish Christians. The only thing the Hopis lack, according to the friar, “is being Christian, for they already have such essentials as sweet dispositions, cheerful faces, and generosity.”⁵⁴

- 1756 Fray Tomás Murciano de la Cruz baptizes eight “Moquis” in Santa Fe.⁵⁵
- 1758 Bernardo Miera y Pacheco’s map of New Mexico details the “Provincia de Moqui” (with the pueblos of “Oraibe,” “mazanavi,” “Jongopavi,” “gualpe,” “Aguatubi” (as a ruin), as well as “llano de Oraibe,” the spring of “Cañutillo,” and to the west “tierra de los coninas”). Gov. Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle sends Miera on a mission to map the provinces of Moqui and Navajo.⁵⁶
Two versions of Miera’s Hopi map (c. 1758-59) exist, showing his route and drawings of a Hopi man and two Hopi girls, one version on display at the New Mexico History Museum, the other in Mexico City at the Museo Nacional del Virreinato.
- 1760 Another Miera y Pacheco map shows the Provincia de Moqui west of the Provincia de Nabajo.⁵⁷
- 1760 Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún report. Hopis “might soon be taken by siege force, since they have no water except at a distance, and their wood supply and their crops are also remote.” Cutter cites, Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 479.**
- 1771 Nicolás de LaFora’s map depicts 6 unlabeled mesatop pueblos of “Moqui.”⁵⁸
- 1775 Hopis come to Zuni to trade. Visit of fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and the alcalde mayor of Zuni to the Province of Moqui, 8 days, mixed messages from Hopis. Rumors of a planned Navajo ambush. Like Menchero before him, recommends that a presidio be established in Moqui. Accompanying map lists communities, now including “Xipaolabi,” “Colonia de Xipaolabi,” and “Colonia de Gualpi.” Population estimate 7,494.⁵⁹
Earliest (?) copy of Hopi sketch map (Miera?), Coleccion Boterini, RAH, Madrid.
- 1775 Father Vélez de Escalante to Gov. Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, Zuni, Oct. 28, stating that although the Hopis of the seven pueblos of Moqui are “rebels they are really vassals of Our Sovereign.”⁶⁰
Vélez de Escalante suggests that the Hopis be brought down from their mesas by force of arms; Governor Mendinueta objects. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 150-66.
- 1776 Fray Francisco Garcés arrives from the west early in July at Oraibi where the Hopis show him “no courtesy.” He leaves by the way he came.⁶¹
- 1776 Fathers Vélez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Domínguez in November pass through Moqui with a small party, are received courteously, and buy provisions.⁶²
Approaching from the west, according Vélez de Escalante’s diary, they come upon “a small lake and several banked pools of rainwater, and they serve as ponds and watering places for the Moqui cattle which we were already beginning to see in numerous herds.” Went s-se 2 1/2 leagues and named the vicinity “Cuesta de los Llanos, because from here begin the spreading plains . . . which extend southeastward

far beyond Moqui.” From lake and ponds, they were 15 ½ leagues w-nw and 3 leagues sw of Oraibi. Chávez and Warner, *Journal*, 108

Father Domínguez writes: “We traveled by extensive plains on which the herds of cattle and horses of Moqui graze, and after three days, which was on the sixteenth of this November, we reached Oraybi.” Adams and Chávez, *Domínguez*, 289.

- 1778 Miera y Pacheco’s map of the territory covered by the Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776 labels “Oraibe,” “Jongopavi,” “Masasanavi,” “thanos,” “Aguatubi” (as a ruin), and the spring “Ojito.”⁶³
- .1779 Gov. Juan Bautista de Anza writes of the shriveling drought that has scourged the Hopis since 1777. Prospect of resettling Hopis at El Sabinal on the Rio Grande.⁶⁴
- 1779 Thirty-three Hopis flee from Moqui and are escorted to Sandia.⁶⁵
- 1780 Fray Andrés García brings 77 Hopis to Santa Fe who are distributed among Rio Grande missions they select; number of such emigrants rises to 150.⁶⁶
- 1780 Anza’s expedition to Moqui distributes food, offers trade, but fails to reconvert the Hopis. Drought and famine have reduced their seven pueblos to five. Anza reports that the cacique of Oraibi confirms that he and all the Hopis have always recognized the Spanish king as their own sovereign.⁶⁷
Anza told that certain Hopis believe their triple calamities—drought, famine, and Navajo and Ute attacks—are a punishment for their ill-treatment of Father Garcés in 1776, hence they now eulogize him. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 237.
Anza too suggests the surviving Moquis be brought down off their mesas by force for their own good. Commandant General Croix vetoes the project, counting on the friendship and cooperation of the Hopis in his strategy against Apaches. E.g., Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 25-30.
- 1780 Map of the Provincias Internas by Manuel Mascaró, based on Miera’s maps, etc., shows “Provincia del Moqui” as part of Spanish New Mexico.⁶⁸
- 1781 Croix reports that Anza’s peaceful policy towards Moqui has resulted in the resettlement of more than two hundred Hopis in the eastern pueblos. ⁶⁹
- 1782 In his “Geographical Description of New Mexico,” fray Juan Agustín de Morfi includes the Provincia de Moqui.⁷⁰
- 1786 Anza “treaty” with Navajos: alliance against Gila Apaches, resumption of trade, and protection of Navajo plantings in the Cebolleta area. See Reeve.**
- 1789 A household of “vecinos del Moqui” residing at the Plaza de San Antonio in the Abiquiu district.⁷¹

- 1796 **Antonio Cordero's description of Navajo lands: "Sevolleta [Cebolleta], Chacoli, Guadalupe, Cerro-Cabazon, Agua Salada, Cerro Chato, Chusca, Tunicha, [Canyon de] Chelle and Carrizo." Matson and Schroeder quoted by Reeve.**
- 1799 The "Estado" of New Mexico still characterizes the pueblo of Sandia as "de indios tiguas y moquinos" and Abiquiu as "de indios genízaros de diversas naciones."⁷²
- 1799 Second-hand report of Lt. José Cortés calling the Hopis "the most industrious Indians of all those . . . in that part of America."⁷³
Repeats the Cordero list Navajo of locations and calls them "their places or permanent residences." See John, 52, and 133, n. 47 for locations. At this point, they're no farther west than the Defiance Plateau, Canyon de Chelly, and the country to the north (Adams report)
- 1801 People of Zuni, beset by Apaches, seek refuge and trade with the Hopis.⁷⁴
- 1805 **Lt. Antonio Narbona attacks Navajos in Canyon de Chelly. Reeve, "Nav. For. Affairs," pt. 1, 113-16.**
- 1808 **Case of Navajos in Cebolleta area. Gov. Alberto Maínez: "mere permission to the Navajos to plant on the Puerco did not confer property rights. . . . by no means an order to put the Navajos in possession." Reeve, "Nav. For. Affairs," pt. 1, pp. 121-21 [see SANM II, no. 2105].**
- 1810 Pedro Bautista Pino's *Exposición* reports that the seven Moqui pueblos have been unable to protect themselves from the forays of surrounding peoples and "are left with little more territory than that which their forefathers inhabited."⁷⁵
- 1819 Five Hopis to Zuni requesting Spanish protection against Navajos. Gov. Facundos Melgares sends detachment that attacks Navajos near Walpi and Hano.⁷⁶
- 1819 Melgares reports Hopis hard pressed by Navajos at Ojo de la Vaca and asking for Spanish aid. Expresses hope of founding a Hopi mission.⁷⁷
- 1819 Treaty of peace between Spaniards and Navajos, August, Santa Fe, article 16: Navajos to respect the persons and property of the Hopi Tribe "in view of the fact that this government is taking them under the protection of our kind sovereign, in whose shadow they have taken protection." Treaty reprinted in Mexico City newspaper.⁷⁸
Navajos to name "a general of the Navajo nation so that this government of New Mexico might have someone to direct itself to." Someone "to govern and direct it." Weber, *Bárbaros*, 210.
- 1823 Hopis aid Gov. José Antonio Vizcarra's campaign against the Navajos.⁷⁹
David Brugge's account of the campaign identifies "Los Algodones" as the Navajo name for Moencopi and Hopi cotton fields there, "suggesting that both tribes used the

springs in the vicinity (as they did in the 1870s, when the Hopis farmed, but did not have a permanent village there)." (Cutter report)

1824 Vizcarra's "treaty" with Navajos (Jemez, Jan. 20, 1824) involved exchange of prisoners, claims, and 'to quiet old grievances.'" Reeve, "Navajo Foreign Policy," part 2, 244-45

1827 Mountain man Old Bill Williams among the Hopis. Waters, *Book of the Hopi*, 270.

1829 New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo goes by way of the Hopi pueblos en route to southern California.⁸⁰

1834 Joe Meek of Rocky Mountain Fur Co. and party pass through the Hopi pueblos: "a dozen—a hundred others." Waters, *Book of the Hopi*, 270.

1846 Charles Bent, appointed by Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny as governor and superintendent of Indian affairs of occupied New Mexico, reports on Indian tribes including Moquis, the sedentary, village-dwelling neighbors of the numerous, warlike, roaming Navajos who regularly abuse the Moquis. He estimates the population of the latter at 350 families with 2450 souls.

1849-1851 "Treaties" with factions of warring Navajos. (e.g., Col. John M. Washington, Canyon de Chelly, Sept. 9, 1849; Maj. Electus Backus, Fort Defiance, Oct. 26, 1851—headmen from Zuni and Hopi present). See McNitt, *Navajo Wars*

1850 A Hopi delegation arrives in Santa Fe to meet with Supt. James S. Calhoun, complaining bitterly of Navajo depredations.⁸¹

From Calhoun's letter 82, Oct. 12: "The seven Moqui Pueblos sent to me a deputation who presented themselves on the 6th day of this month. Their object, as announced, was to ascertain the purposes and view of the Government of the United States towards them. They complained, bitterly, of the depredations of the Navajos. . . . They left me, apparently, highly gratified at the reception and presents given to them. These Indians ought to be visited at an early day." Abel, *Correspondence*, 264-65 (quoted by Frank Waters, *Book of the Hopi*, 272-73).

1851 Another delegation from the "Seven Moqui Pueblos" to Calhoun in Santa Fe, August 28. "Their object was to ascertain, whether their Great Father, and they supposed me to be him, would do anything for them." Navajos had continued to rob them leaving them in a wretched state. "These Indians seem to be innocent, and very poor, and should be taken care of." As was the case more than twelve months before, Calhoun wants to visit them, but now as then, no escort is made available to him. Abel, *Correspondence*, 415.

1876 Joseph Decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. Pueblos too "civilized" to be considered Indian tribes. Hence could sell land.

1890 General Allotment Act, “Dawes Act.” Allot individually land of Indian tribes, not Pueblos..

1893 Letters of W. Hallen Phillips, Washington, D.C., lawyer, arguing that the Dawes Allotment Act should not apply to the Hopis, who were Pueblos not an Indian tribe. Quoting his letter of Nov. 5: “The Pueblo Indians, on the contrary hold their lands by right superior to that of the United States. Their title dates back to grants made by the government of Spain . . . fully recognized by the Mexican Government and protected by it in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. . . . it can make no difference so far as the position of the United States is concerned whether the Mokis have a paper title to their land. They still hold them as they have from time immemorial in full right of property, and the fact that no patent may have been issued to them does not affect the question . . .” (Waters, *Book of the Hopi*, 294-95)

1911 Ill-starred efforts at allotment of Hopi lands (1892-94, 1908-11) finally given up.

Hopi Chronology References

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3. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 1: 360-62.
4. *Ibid.*, 2: 1014-15.
5. Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi: The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment at a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, vol. 36 (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 9-13.
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7. Montgomery et al., *Franciscan Awatovi*, 13-14.
8. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 191.

9. Ibid., 224. France V. Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 68-69, 109.
10. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 245-46, 253.
11. Ibid., 137, 255, 258-59, 264, 268.
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17. Kessell and Hendricks, *By Force of Arms*, 169, 219 n.76.
18. Montgomery et al., *Franciscan Awatovi*, 18.
19. Kessell and Hendricks, *By Force of Arms*, 555-74.
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21. Eleanor B. Adams, “Hopi-Spanish Relations in the Colonial Period,” 8, unpub. typescript, Eleanor B. Adams Papers [EBA], box 1, folder 7, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
22. Ibid., 8-9. EBA, box 11, folder 23.
23. Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, “Extracto de Noticias,” c. 1778, trans. Eleanor B. Adams, 286-89, EBA, box 13, folders 21-26.
24. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 386. EBA, box 11, folder 31.
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33. Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1964), 44. EBA, box 11, folder 36.
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37. Adams, "Hopi-Spanish Relations," 13.
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