

Reeve, Frank D. (Professor of History), 1974, *The Navajo Indians*. In *Navajo Indians II*,
D.A. Horr, ed., Garland, New York.

Charles Stett

THE DIVISO MOUNTAINS

by

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THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

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The visit of the Utes to Santa Fe in 1693 was the first of the

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This Spanish state did not last long; moreover, trouble broke
out with the Utes. A party of New Mexicans was licensed in 1693 to plunder
the Navajos in the Rio Grande region. Failing to find them, the speculators
attacked a band of peaceful Utes in the Abiquia region and their chief,
Spanish Chief, was seen in consultation with the Governor at Santa Fe
demanding redress of grievances.

to plunder

After the French and Governor Mactouan in 1844, they made
overtures for peace through Chief Mactouan of the Navajo who came to
them to reconcile his own desire for a continuing peace, and to open
trade for the Utes. They had journeyed to his home in the mountains

When the Government of the United States assumed sovereignty
over New Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the whereabouts of
the Navajo was well known to the New Mexicans except for details on
the western part of their land. Without doubt they occupied the Chinle
range and the valley on each side from the San Juan River eastward to
Capehart's Pass where the Archison, Topka & Santa Fe Railway was built
in 1880. The final Mountain rise south of the Pass and extended rich
pasture for Navajo livestock and an abundance of water at Bear Springs
for raising corn. Some of these folks had also moved to the Blue Water
land marks.

The Navajo, a branch of the Athapaskan linguistic Indian
family, were commonly known as "Indians" lived in the northwestern
quarter of the present state of New Mexico when the Spanish appeared
on the scene in the seventeenth century. They inhabited the canyon
part of the drainage system of the San Juan River, and on Chinle
mountain to the south. About the middle of the eighteenth century
they were as far east as Canon Largo and along the San Juan River
where it flows westward for a considerable distance before heading
toward the northwest to empty its waters into those of the Colorado
River of the West. Under pressure from the Ute Indians, the Indians
moved westward into the Chinle Range and a few continued to the
Colorado Mountain and the land between these two major geographical

Summary

THE NAVAJOS 1648-1668

in the early 1800's. Further westward they had long competed with Pueblo and Navajo for land and water along the north side of the Obolito Mountains they had lost ownership of Obolito Canyon, but still retained a foothold in the canyon further north. The land between Obolito Mountains and the Rio Grande of the Hat was used jointly by Navajo and New Mexicans, and to a lesser extent by the Laguna Indians.

On the north side of New Mexico, these pastoral folk utilized the lower San Juan and Las Animas valleys, although the region was often referred to as the country. However, the Pecos did not practice agriculture and sheep raising as early as the Navajo, but were more of a hunting people; consequently, both groups could reside in this region without basic conflict of interest. Their chief problem was to avoid stealing one another's livestock.

The Pecos made occasional use of the land at the headwaters of the Rio Grande for the hat for tanning, probably when on a trading expedition to the Pueblo, hunting or marketing against Navajo. At any rate, references to Pecos being in the Navajo country appear in eighteenth and nineteenth century documents. One site was sometimes referred to as the Alto Park and lay north of present-day Chaco along the continental divide which was thought of as marking the western boundary of the Pueblo of New Mexico in the eighteenth century.

On the north, the Navajo customarily ventured into Apache country to trade, visit or fight and the Apache came northward for the same purpose, seeking their kinsmen in the canyon of Obolito.

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two major geographical features toward the the larger region and the Pecos, the influence of those of the Colorado range before heading the San Juan River the eighteenth century Navajo, and on Obolito all divide and constitutes a canyon and the Pecos appeared in the northwestern Indian



In 1813, two Navajos set out to steal from the southern Apaches and reported killing one at Agua Caliente, taking a horse and a mule and returning to the northern Apaches. The Navajos returned by

to the west of south toward the north.

century. population which became aggressive around the turn of the nineteenth century. control against the continuing presence from the expanding New Mexican region as described above provided ample room for them could maintain their estimated population and the size of their flocks and herds, the not their customary herds, nor was it needed. In the light of they did live far to the west of the Hopi Villages, but that region was under military pressure from the American army in the 1800's, known and probably was not significant. distance toward the Little Colorado River, but the extent is not ward along the Paria, and perhaps even south of the river for some Paria River. They might have grazed their stock farther northwest in the Paria Valley of the west near the junction of the creek and the in the Paria and in Black Creek Canyon with a hill over into the their sheep to some extent on Black Mesa, but their corrals lay much beyond the Paria Colorado Mesa and Kanab Canyon. They grazed westward from the Chinle Range, the Navajos did not live rounded up for resettlement in the Paria Valley of eastern New Mexico. became common during the Indian campaign of 1863 when they were strong to cope with in their home mountains. flight to the south southward into Apachiland when pursued by New Mexican forces too places. On one occasion prior to the American occupation they fled westward or northward toward their herds in the above-cited settlements in the valley of the Rio Grande, they invariably find when Navajo riders struck at New Mexican livestock and its presence prior to the American occupation. occupation, other than under duress, north of the Rio San Jose and Mountain and the Chinle Range. There is little evidence of Navajo

of Colorado. some northward for the moved into Apache the outside be- along the continent. settlers referred to may appear in eighteenth that Navajo. At of them on a trading at the headwaters problem was to avoid side in this region. It was more of a not practice agricultural. In the region was often natural folds hillland extent by the that was used north. The land of the Rio Grande, but in the west side of the north side of the ng competed with

NAVAJO LOCATIONS 1800-1848

Going westward from Albuquerque on a clear day, the skyline of Cebolleta Mountain can be seen, dominated by Mt. Taylor on the southern end, soaring to a height of over eleven thousand feet. The Mountain extends about forty-five miles from northeast to southwest, deeply etched by the forces of nature whereby numerous canyons with running water and grass afford a living for farmer and stockman.

The Rio Puerco of the East rises in the highlands northeast of Cebolleta Mountain and flows far to the south where its waters mingle with the Rio Grande--that is, when there is water enough to travel the distance. The river marked the parting off place for travelers to the land of the Navajos whose realm extended to the west of Cebolleta Mountain as revealed in 1782 when Father Morfi discussed the location of the Moqui (Hopi) folk in relation to other Indians:

This province is bounded on the east by the land of the Zuni and Navajo, on the west and north-west by the Comanches, on the north by the Utes, on the south by Apaches who in New Mexico they call Mescaleros and in Moqui the Tachies, and the *not here* *not here* they are the same as the Gila Apaches and Pimas (Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi, Descripción Geográfica del Nuevo Mexico, Archivo General de Mexico, Historia 25, pt. 1, 2113).

So, toward the end of the eighteenth century the Navajos lived between the Rio Puerco of the East and the land of the Hopi to the west, and their locations were well known to the Spanish. "In general," Governor de la Concha wrote, "they occupy rough mesas of difficult access, and pasture their livestock on the borders of the Rio Puerco and in the Canyon de Chelly" ("Advice on Governing New Mexico, 1794," Trans. by Donald E. Worcester, *New Mexico Historical Review*, 24:239).

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Alternate peace and war marked the relations between Navajo and New Mexican, with land use a prime factor in their affairs. Governor Concha's predecessor had

arranged with the Navajo nation that any individual in the Province might pasture stock, not only on the Puerco, where they had possession, but also among their own establishments, provided that the stock did not invade their planted fields.

So it has been done and is still done, in such fashion that those New Mexicans who would utilize in practice a small district of good leagues or at the most two, are found today at a distance of fifty to sixty leagues, without any friction or strife having occurred between those people and our pastors (Gov. Fernando Chacon, Religion, Santa Fe, N. M., May 1, 1793, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mexico, 89-6-23. Ayer Transcript, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.).

Needless to say, the arrangement for joint land use did not eliminate friction between New Mexican and Navajo since there had been intermittent raiding back and forth for a generation. The focal points of trouble were: Cebolleta Canyon, Pedro Padilla Canyon, Juan Wafoya Canyon, Omdalup Canyon, San Miguel Canyon, Chaco Canyon and Mesa, and the Cubero region on the south side of Cebolleta Mountain (cf. Antonio Cordero, *Documentos para la Historia de Durango*, p. 229. Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif. Also in translation by Daniel S. Watson and Albert E. Schroeder, *New Mexico Historical Review*, 32:396).

Cebolleta Canyon lies on the southwestern side of Cebolleta Mountain and contains arable land and water. At the turn of the century, Gov. Fernando Chacon decided that it should belong to New Mexican settlers after vigorous protest and violence from Navajos (Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, N. M. Cebolleta Grant, 846 (173),

Dec. 5, January 23, 1800. Gov. Chacon to Messico Salcedo. Santa Fe, N. M., March 28, 1804. R. E. Twitchell, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, II, 1714).

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Pedro Padilla Canyon stretches from north to south along the western side of Mesa Gigante which is a few miles east of Cebolleta Canyon. The old road from Sia to Laguna passed by the north end of the Mesa and southward through the canyon. In the interest of peace, the Spanish officials decided in 1808 that the Navajos should be permitted to occupy this canyon although it lay within the boundary of the land granted to the settlers at Cebolleta. There was an additional possibility that the Indians would serve as a buffer against attacks from the southern Apaches (Ibid., II, 2105).

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Juan Tafaoya Canyon is a few miles north of Cebolleta Canyon and stretches eastward toward the Rio Puerco. Today the village of Marques lies at its head. In the olden days, Vicente and his Navajo kinsmen occupied the site, so friction developed when New Mexican sheepmen led their flocks into the canyon. In March of 1805, Gov. Chacon stipulated the conditions of peace for these Navajos and another group under Cristobal; namely, that they should not move their flocks south of three basic points: Juan Tafaoya Canyon, San Mateo on the southwestern side of Cebolleta Mountain and Bear Creek, presumably the site of the present-day Fort Wingate Ordnance Depot. The terms of peace concluded in May carried a specific provision that the Navajos should not claim the lands in Cebolleta Canyon (Ibid., II, 1810, 1828).

Friction again occurred in Juan Tafaoya Canyon in 1808, so Bartolome Baca journeyed there in June and arranged for the New Mexican stockmen to graze their animals in the lower reaches of the Canyon from Cerro Chato (Ibid., II, 2105), a volcanic neck that marks the landscape on the south side of Agua Salado which carries whatever water that escapes from Juan Tafaoya Canyon.

Guadalupe Canyon stretches from the northeastern end of Cebolleta Mountain and widens out to the east where it drains into the Rio Puerco. Navajos had established a stronghold on top of the mountain and had planted corn in the canyon below for at least a century and a half before the American occupation of the Southwest.

In 1818, a few of these folks attacked a party of harders near the Rio Puerco, eastward from Laguna Pueblo. They were pursued to the top of Cebolleta Mountain and toward the north end where lay their old stronghold (Archivo General de Indias, Estado Mexico, Legajo 13, Ayer Transcript, Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.). Captain Placido Melgares besieged them without success in this same year, but in 1840 the place was captured by a surprise attack at night and the Navajos suffered severe losses in lives and property (New Mexico Archives, Vol. 1840, pt. 4, University of New Mexico. Hereafter cited as NMA).

note

San Miguel Canyon stems from the northwestern side of Cebolleta Mountain as a branch of the Arroyo Chico which encircles the north end of the Mountain and joins the Rio Puerco of the East. This canyon was the home of Cristobal, the Navajo involved with Vicente in peace talks with Governor Chacon and forbidden to graze his flocks south of San Mateo Spring.

the southwestern side of Cobolista Mountain which is topped by Mt. Taylor.
The Mojaves, as we learn, have left a corn-field, which is said to be
about ten miles from us, the military detachment, to which we talk of re-

In April of 1804, some Kayjoes attacked the New Mexicans at
Ojo del Esplendido onto the southwestern side of Maclean's Mountain
east of the Rio Negro. They were pursued and attacked on the Rio de
San Miguel. Other Kayjo aggressors were overtaken at the Agua del
Raton, a spring near Pueblo Pinedo, one of the ruins in Chaco Canyon
about thirty miles distant to the northwest of Cobolista Mountain.
Further difficulties occurred with the Kayjoes when New
Mexican shepherds invaded the Canyon of San Miguel in 1816 with their
flocks and two parties were killed. Two years later another one was
killed and three wounded in fear of retaliation, the Kayjoes moved
away for the moment.
In the light of this dispute, peace talks were held between
the two parties whereby the Kayjoes retained the land that heretofore
they had used for corn fields. . . . and the boundary line as
formerly established remained without change up to Canon Largo, the
mouth of Chaco Canyon and the water . . . (Instructions to Governor
Francisco Martinez, August 18, 1819. Peace terms approved by Viceroy
Cevallos y Fombella, October 25, 1819, *Acosta de Mexico*, Tomo X, *1819*,
vol. 40, pp. 1127-30).

The line later also represented a concession to the Kayjoes
because it lies about twenty miles west of Mt. Taylor on the Rio San
Jose, or about twenty miles south and west of San Mateo Spring which
was the southern point in the treaty of 1805. Perhaps the negotiators
did not consider significant the difference in location between the
two sites when delineating pasture land.

The Chaco Canyon and Mesa was another area of Navajo occupation beginning at a point about fifteen miles airline north of Cebollita Mountain. In the spring of 1844, these folks ran off some stock from the Plaza Barranco, a few miles upstream from Abiquin in the Chaco Valley, and were trailed to the Chaco Mesa, but the plunder was not recovered (BMA, 1844, pt. 4). The following year they stole two saddle horses belonging to the pueblo of Santa Ana which is a close neighbor of James Pueblo. They were promptly pursued to the Chaco Mesa where one was killed when fighting to retain his horse (Ibid., 1845, pt. 4).

The Rio San Juan, far to the north of Cebollita Mountain, drains northwestern New Mexico, bending slowly from a southern course to a western and then northwestern to empty its waters into the Colorado River. The Rio Chama rises near the San Juan south of the present Colorado State boundary, flowing southward and southward to join the Rio Grande northwest of Santa Fe. The village of Abiquin nestles on a high point a few miles downstream from the Rio Chama Canyon where the river begins its southwestern course. The Rio Puerco of the North flows from the south to join the Chama at a junction site known as the Piedra Alumbre where the main stream emerges from its canyon. The Navajos and Utes had a common interest in the Abiquin region for trade and marauding, and the Jicarillas acquired a modest interest after the American occupation of the Southwest.

As early as 1796, Spanish officials commented on the close relationship that existed between Navajos and Utes. The latter were of the Capote branch whose members wandered over the region both east and

west of the Rio Chama and the lands north of the San Juan to Governor, Chalmers, July 8, 1796. Twitchell, Spain (1866). A decade later a group of Utes and Jicarillas joined a joint buffalo hunt on the eastern plains. The Utes were "dispersed throughout the regions of Navajo, Ojo del Espritu, Cerro de S. Antonio" (Ibid., 2304). This description, other bands of Utes than the Capotes who were in close contact with the Navajos. The first of the three localities lies west of the Rio Chama into the Rio San Juan Valley; Ojo del Espritu lies east of the upper Rio Chama; and the Cerro de San Antonio lies in the valley of the Rio Grande, north of Taos, New Mexico.

The "regions of Navajo" was crossed by these Utes on mischief toward their New Mexican neighbors, and like the latter when pursuing their tormentors. In 1844, for instance, Navajos were overtaken at Horse Lake with cattle stolen from the village of Ojo Caliente which lies fifteen miles airline northeast of Abiquin. Horse Lake lay along the Old Spanish Trail and was a favorite camp site for Indian and trader. It is distant some fifty miles airline to the northwest of Abiquin. Fortunately for the Navajos, but otherwise for the New Mexicans, the stolen cattle were recovered (Governor of New Mexico to Governor, BMA, 1844, pt. 2). A less successful bunch of Navajos was caught in the attractive valley of Tierra Amarilla, about twenty miles east of Horse Lake, where a few lost their lives and others were taken (Juan Andres Archaleta to Governor, Santa Fe, November 22, 1845, pt. 7).

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When the New Mexicans planned an expedition against the Navajos, they did not expect to find them in the region of Horse Lake, but much farther to the west in the Tunicha Valley and Chuska Range. The usual points of departure against them were three: Abiquiu, Jemez or Laguna. In October 1838, Governor Armijo marched westward from Jemez with an unusually large contingent of men, and established a base camp at three lakes. Scouting parties were dispatched to find the enemy with instructions to retrace at Tunicha, close to the Mountain of the same name which is better known as Chuska. This was the central part of Navajoland because of the rugged terrain, good water supply and adequate pasture. On this campaign, the New Mexicans drove some Navajos from "Tunicha Mountain, their temple, more than 100 leagues," into the land of the Gila Apaches who joined forces with the pursued and gave battle to the invaders (RM, 1838, pt. 3, p. 560).

In December, a sizeable campaign was launched from Abiquiu under command of Pedro Leon Injan who led his men across the headwaters of the Rio Gallinas, over the Cuesta Navajo (Rio Utah) into Largo Canyon. About midway of the Canyon, he moved westward across the high country, crossing Canon Blanco (tributary of the San Juan), and found a Navajo rancharia in the lower Tunicha Valley near the mountain of the Hot Springs or Bennett Peak as it is known today. The Arroyo de los Ojos Calientes begins near the north side of the Peak and soon joins the Arroyo Pena Blanca which is a tributary of the Rio Chaco. The Arroyo Pena Blanca provided grass and water for Indian livestock. This arroyo is sometimes referred to as Canon Blanco and must not be confused with the one above.

On the return journey, the advance party met with the baggage train at the junction of the Rios de las Animas and San Juan. If not short on supplies and ammunition, they could have pushed farther westward and found more Navajos. When the Spanish were having trouble with these people in 1818, the rebellious ones as the invaders termed them were believed to have assembled at Garriso, and that "some" Utes accompanied them when they sallied forth from fortified mesas to commit robberies (Vergara to Gov. Pedro Maria de Allande, July 21, 1818. Twitchell, Spanish Archives, II, 2735). The Garriso is the mountain of that name rising from the surrounding country to the north of the Inuchabukai (or Chuska Range) and south of the Rio San Juan, about forty miles northwest of Bennett Peak.

Navajos ventured north of the Rio San Juan to plant corn in the lower valley of the Rios de la Plata and Las Animas, and graze their flocks on the rich pastures of La Plata Range which is drained to the southwest by the Rio Mancos, and on the south and east by the Rios Salado and La Plata, all tributaries of the San Juan rising in the extreme southwest corner of the state of Colorado. In this region they mingled with Utes as was attested in 1835 when two Ute men and two women visited Jemez Pueblo to trade. They were questioned about conditions among the Navajos and replied that all the rich chiefs were in the middle of La Plata and Dátil Mountains with the Utes who also have their dwellings there. They were engaged in sowing their fields (M. Garcia to Blas Binojos, Comandante General, Jemez, January 12, 1835. RM, vol. 1835, pt. 1, Garcia was the representative of the Mexican government whose business was to know what went on in Navajoland since

he was officially the Interpreter). The Detil Mountains lay at the junction of the Rios San Juan and Las Animas, north of the former and west of the latter. La Plata Mountains lay to the northeast of the Detile (Miera y Pacheco Map of 1778. A. G. N., Historia 26. Copy in H. E. Bolton, Pages in the Wilderness, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1951), but the name Detil has been dropped and La Plata now designates the range.

The visit of the Utes to James in 1835 was typical of the status of that village in Indian affairs. It was a common meeting point for Navajo, Mexican, and sometimes the Ute. The Spanish stationed their Interpreter at James in the late eighteenth century, and in a later treaty stipulated that a Navajo "general" should live there. It is doubtful that this provision was literally observed, but it was not unusual for a few Navajos to live with the James for a period of time, and shorter visits were common, especially since they lived close by--and, of course, friction was periodical.

One of the abortive peace treaties between New Mexican and Navajo, negotiated in 1841 at the pueblo of Santo Domingo on the Rio Grande, led to the renewal of trade and joint use of land in the Puerco valley, so the status quo ante bellum reigned once more along the frontier "and in their own lands where [New Mexican] stock is now grazing, besides that no theft has occurred nor the least insult to the pastors; moreover, they [Navajos] are engaged in sowing their fields on the margins of the Rio Puerco very close to the frontiers" (NMA, 1841, pt. 1, and pt. 2).

This idyllic state did not last long; moreover, trouble broke out with the Utes. A party of New Mexicans was licensed in 1843 to plunder the Navajos in the San Juan region. Failing to find them, the regulators attacked a band of peaceful Utes in the Abiquin region and their chief, Spanish Cigar, was soon in consultation with the Governor at Santa Fe demanding redress of grievance.

The Governor refused to give him the desired satisfaction, and the Indian seized him by the throat, and commenced shaking him. Martinez drew his sword, and ran the Indian through the body;--he then gave orders to his soldiers to fire, and six of the Indians who had accompanied the Ute chief were killed upon the spot (George Bent, Travels, Sept. 9, 1844. "Letters and Notes," Colorado Magazine, 11:225. Nov. 1934).

This same year, a small group of Navajos "in the suburbs of James Pueblo" were attacked in the winter and instructions came from Santa Fe to investigate the matter (January 27, 1844. NMA, 1844, pt. 2). The term suburb implies in the very neighborhood, but the statement is vague.

The trouble may have stemmed from the New Mexican ranchers in the neighborhood. Diego Bacon, age sixty-nine, testified in 1893 as to his knowledge of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant on the west side of Maciaiento Mountain on the west of James, and he recalled having known the locality since 1842 because in that year he accompanied his uncle to Nesta's house west of the Puerco to arrange peace with some Navajos (Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, Court of Private Land Claims, Case #50). A land grant had been made to Joaquin Nesta in 1768, although occupancy had not been continuous. Gregorio Nesta in the 1840's was accused of having stolen a horse from his neighbors and, as a result, the Navajos were "moving some of their families away" (NMA, 1844, pt. 2).

After the fracas with Governor Martínez in 1844, Utes made overtures for peace through Chief Harbouna of the Navajos who came to James to reconfirm his own desire for a continuing peace, and to open talks for the Utes. They had journeyed to his home in the Tunicha Valley to solicit aid. Harbouna was assured that all the Utes need do was to send emissaries to Abiquin or James for talks and they need not be afraid of harm when coming for that purpose. In February of 1846, three Ute captains did come to James--it more important for the moment is the location of Harbouna's home. It is in the heartland of the Navajo country, or the "temple" whence Governor Armijo had driven them in 1838.

The glory of the heartland is the Canyon de Chelly on the west side of the Chuuka Range, a magnificent red sandstone walled canyon with drainage westward into the Chinle Wash which extends northward to the Rio San Juan. The Canon del Muerto, or Massacre Canyon, a branch of the Chelly, was the site where Governor Harbouna trapped a large number of Navajos in a cave and killed many, mostly women and children. It was this campaign that led to the futile boundary delimitation of 1805.

The land along the west and east sides of the Chuuka Range was rich in grass and the streams from the mountain nourished many corn patches. However, geographical detail westward from the Range is lacking for the Mexican era. The south end of the Chuuka fades away into the low pass across the continental divide where the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad laid rails in the 1880's that were extended on to California. Across the pass the Zuni Mountains rise and at their northern edge Bear Spring bubbles from the ground.

The pueblo of Zuni lies over the Mountain to the west of south from Bear Spring and Blue Water is thirty-five miles toward the south-east. Farther eastward lies the Cubero region where a scattering of Navajos lived. From these several vantage points they annoyed the Zuni and ventured far to the south for trading or marauding in the country of the Apaches.

The Apaches in southwestern New Mexico, of course, had long been a thorn in the flesh of New Mexicans, and after the diplomatic success of Governor Anza in the 1730's whereby he made allies of the Navajos, they in turn were attacked by southern Apaches and retaliated--likewise the folks of Zuni who were menaced by "Cooytero Apaches of the Pinal, who are there called Mescaleros, and to the north [of the Pinal] by the Apaches of the San Francisco and Mogollon Ranges. They have penetrated inland, pursued by our arms. They are called Gileños there [New Mexico]" ("The Zuni Journal, Tucson to Santa Fe." Ed., George F. Raymond. New Mexico Historical Review, 6:63).

At the opening of the nineteenth century, the Escalante expedition found Navajos bartering blankets with Apaches in the Mogollon Mountains, a home site of the latter (Nemesio Salcedo to Governor of New Mexico, Chihuahua, July 5, 1806. Spanish Archives, II, 1998). On another occasion, some Gila Apaches visited the Navajos in Canyon de Chelly. A few of the latter accompanied the visitors on the homeward trip to do some trading, but enroute their so-called friends stole the Navajo horses at siesta time. This story was told by Chief Segundo of the Navajos when visiting in Santa Fe (Nicholas de Almansa for the Governor, Santa Fe, November 3, 1807. Ibid., 2089).

population which became aggressive around the turn of the nineteenth century.

by Donald M. Worcester, New Mexico Historical Review, 24:239).

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In 1813, two Navajos set out to steal from the southern Apaches and reported killing one at Agua Caliente, taking a horse and a saddled mule belonging to the unfortunate victim. His kinsmen retaliated by stealing horses from Navajos. The Alcaldes of Laguna followed their trail, but abandoned it in the Batil Mountains, about 100 miles to the south as the crow flies (Vicente Lopes to Governor, Laguna, September 14, 1813. Ibid., 251A). The raiders from the south reached their northern goal by way of a trail along the west side of the McCarty Lava flow into the valley where lay the spring of El Gallo, the future site of Old Fort Wingate after the American occupation of New Mexico.

In July of 1815, five Apaches seized some horses and one burro from the Dani folk. Pursuers were unable to overtake them, but found the burro dead "a long distance from Dani" (Ibid., 2616). Two months later the Navajos launched an attack on the Mogollon Mountain Apaches and seized six persons (Ibid., 2585).

These various episodes illustrate the fact that the Navajos and Apaches lived far apart. The former north of the Rio San Jose and the latter at least as far south as the Batil Mountains, although their more common location was deeper into the southwestern mountainous country. At first glance this viewpoint might be modified with the possession of sheep by Apaches, but on second thought it is not.

In the 1830's, the Governor granted permission to Rafael Lopez for a raid on a flock of sheep belonging to "Apaches" on the Rio Galado, presumably the one to the southwest of Belen, New Mexico. He set forth with fifteen men and claimed to have started for home with 3,500 sheep, three burros and six horses, but the Apaches attacked and recovered their

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stock (J. de Madariaga, to Gefe Politico y Militar del Territorio, Tome, June 26, 1836. HMA, 1836, pt. 2). The site of this foray lay southwest of Belen, or toward the haunts of the Gila Apaches. Since the word Apache had been dropped in reference to Navajos, were these folks truly Apaches or Navajos?

The Apaches were not commonly sheep owners as was so true of the Navajos, but during the course of the nineteenth century they did occasionally steal sheep. In 1815, for instance, a band attacked the Dani Pueblo flocks and drove away a number of ewes (Spanish Archives, II, 2585). In southern New Mexico, some Mescalero Apaches ran off a few sheep in 1824 from the neighborhood of San Elizario, a settlement on the Rio Grande below El Paso (Mary of Captain Santos Crescitos. Secretaria de la Defensa. Operaciones Militares 1824-1825. Archivo Historico Militar, Mexico, DF). About a quarter century later, Apaches raided near Santa Cruz, Sonora, and tried to steal some sheep. They failed but managed to secure cattle and horses (Santa Cruz, September 8, 1848. Documentos para la Historia de Sonora, 4:84. Bancroft Library). And after the political organization of New Mexico as a Territory of the United States, "Apaches" raided the flocks belonging to the pueblo of Cochiti (Annie Hales Abel, The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun, pp. 48-58. Washington, 1915); but this is too far fetched to be taken at face value.

Navajos occasionally raided the New Mexicans downstrom from Belen in the region where Apaches also felt at home in the game of hide and seek. In 1840, they stole some animals just north of Socorro and

were pursued to the northwest as far as Ojo de la Sars, but were not overtaken (Juan Francisco Baca to Don Mariano Chavez, Socorro, August 28, 1840. *HNA*, vol. 1840, pt. 3). These harassing activities were of concern to the more responsible minded Navajos as well as to the New Mexican officials, so representatives of Harbouna and Arrijo, prominent Navajo leaders, journeyed to the village of San Ysidro in the Jemez Valley to discuss the matter. They stated that Arrijo had traveled extensively in Navajoland exhorting his people to remain at peace, but that [Jose] Largo was in the "Apache country." However, he too wanted peace and was willing to return to his "old planting fields" if it were not for the fact that the Utes might molest him (Francisco Sandoval to M. Arrijo, San Ysidro, April 6, 1841. *Ibid.*, vol. 1841, pt. 3). Largo's predicament probably arose from the intensive campaigns launched against the Navajos by Governor Manuel Arrijo in 1838 when one party was pursued into the haunts of the Gila Apaches. So it is far more likely that the sheep raided by Rafael Lopez belonged to Navajos and not to Apaches.

When trouble between New Mexican and Navajo was brewing again in 1843, leaders among the peaceful Navajos tried to avoid involvement; therefore, J. Chavez, Sarcillos Largos and El Pacundo let it be known that they wanted the recognized right to settle in the Suni Mountains at the Bear Spring and on the Chusca Mesa. Prefect J. Sarracino approved this request and invited the Navajo leaders to a conference when arrangements would be made for them to campaign with New Mexicans against their own people (J. Sarracino to J. A. Archuleta, Pajarito, June, 1843. *Ibid.*, vol. 1843, pt. 4). Whether the Governor approved the Prefect's decision is not known, but three years later it was rumored that Largo

had settled at Blue Water, the small canyon with arable land opening into the Rio San Jose Valley from the northern side of the Mountains that was mentioned in the treaty of 1819. This was reported to New Mexican authorities at this later date and there was talk that they might try to drive the Navajos away from the site (Commandant of the 2nd District, Pajarito, Jan. 27, 1844. *Ibid.*, pt. 2).

The Cubero Region, where friction was chronic, lay east of Blue Water. In 1806, the Spanish authorities planned an all out attack on the Navajos with a force sent northward from Sonora by way of the Pueblo to unite with a New Mexican force assembled near Cubero. They moved northwestward into the heart of Navajoland but found four Indians in the Chusca Valley. They killed the two men and the woman and child. A second invasion led to an hours-long fight in the Canyon del Muerto.

Military movements launched from Cubero or Laguna did not prevent a scattering of Navajos from living around the southern Cabolleta Mountain. About 1816, some of them wanted to move to the Canyon de Chelly in fear of attacks from Comanches. They asked Governor Pedro Maria de Allande of New Mexico to give them a certificate of ownership for holdings at Encinal, San Jose and Cubero. Their lands would not be appropriated by New Mexicans during the temporary absence (Spanish Archives, I, 668).

The expansion of population led a group of settlers at Blue Water to apply for a grant of land at Cubero in 1833 which was approved by the Governor with Cabolleta Mountain as the northern boundary.

canyon was the home of Cristobal, the Navajo involved with Vicente in peace talks with Governor Chacon and forbidden to graze his flocks south of San Mateo Spring.

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grantees were Juan Chavez and sixty-one others. Francisco Baca, "a Navajo Indian," was a prior claimant to this land, so his holdings were bought out by the new-comers. However, the folks of Laguna Pueblo claimed the same land and denied the right of Baca to sell. A petition was made to the Governor of New Mexico in August, 1835, to quiet title. The Alcalde took the side of Laguna against the Navajo and the new settlers but the last named eventually won out (*Ibid.*, I, 910, 1310. Federal Land Office, Santa Fe. Cubero Town Grant, C. D. No. 1, Mile 26. doc. 3).

Another Navajo by the name of Jose Sarracino was successful in realizing his desire when the Governor of New Mexico permitted him in February of 1845 to plant at San Mateo, and the Local Prefect was instructed to assist with a supply of seed (*BU*, Vol. 1844, pt. 2). San Mateo lies on the southwestern flank of Cebolleta Mountain, a few miles from the head of San Lucas Canyon which is a branch of San Miguel Canyon. The last named canyon, of course, was or had been occupied by Navajos. Cubero lay over the mountain to the south from San Mateo and Elbe Water was about equidistant toward the west. Other Navajos continued to live in the canyons to the north of Cubero, prior to the coming of the Americans, visiting, trading and sometimes committing a theft in the settlements.

NAVAJO EASTERN FRONTIER

With the American annexation of the Southwest in 1848, the picture of Navajo location along their eastern frontier underwent no immediate change. A military detachment was established in 1846 near the village of Cebolleta (most likely the site called Cebolletita) on

appointed by ... morning ten miles west of this ... of good wood, water, and grass, and some fields ... by the Navajo Indians" (*Journal of Marcellus Hall* ... Edited by Ralph P. Sieber, *The Southwest Historical* ... The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, ... was ... about five miles ...

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the southeastern side of Cebolleta Mountain which is topped by Mt. Taylor. "The Navajos, as we learn, have left a corn-field, which is said to be about ten miles from us [the military detachment], to which we think of returning, if we can find a pass through the mountains" (Jacob S. Robinson, A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan, p. 39. Princeton University Press, 1932). The location of the cornfield was pinpointed by Edwards: "Colonel Jackson has concluded to move in the morning ten miles west of this [Moquino] to a place where there is plenty of good wood, water, and grass, and some fields of corn fodder deserted by the Navajo Indians" (Journal of Marcellus Bell Edwards, 1846-1847, Edited by Ralph P. Bieber. The Southwest Historical Series, #187. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1935). The site was Mucinal, about five miles from Cudero, and the cornfields as Edwards wrote were full of Indian lodges which the soldiers burned for firewood, not realizing, of course, that the Indians would be back in season to occupy them.

A detachment was sent westward from Cebolleta to contact the leading man in the center of Navajoland. Having traveled about twenty-five miles over the mountain, the soldiers "descended into a valley, which is the residence of Sandoval . . . , a rich Navajo.

His situation is one of the most beautiful, being on an elevated plain, 3000 feet above the level of the country, and the mountain rising to snowy peaks behind it. Springs of pure water gush from the rocks, and find their way in rivulets across the plain to the precipice, down which the waters leap, scattering their spray to the winds. A view of the green grass and pine trees, with his beautiful fields of corn and wheat, make one almost forget that it is the abode of an untutored Indian (Robinson, op. cit., pp. 41, 56).

Sandoval's valley so described by Robinson lay on the west side of Cebolleta Mountain, at the spring of San Mateo or Willow Springs, a few miles farther north, where the Old Mountain Road descended into Arroyo Chico. The upshot of this first step in American policy toward the "untutored Indian" was their understanding not to fight Americans, but a lack of understanding that they could not continue to fight Mexicans, especially since the Americans were now fighting them. After the close of the War with Mexico, the Federal Government took in hand the matter of preventing the Navajos from fighting anyone, Mexican or American. Sandoval, a Navajo leader in the Cudero region, became an intermediary between his people, who lived at Tunicha and Comaca, and the military. In January of 1849, Capt. Croghan Kerr, commander at Cebolleta, a couple of miles south of Cebolleta, sent word through Sandoval that he would agree to peace only with Navajos who were favorably disposed and would locate in a fertile valley about fifteen miles from Cebolleta (Kerr to AAG, Cebolleta, January 29, 1849. United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters Received, 1848-1849, El. The National Archives, Record Group 98. Hereafter cited in abbreviated form).

The distance of fifteen miles to the "fertile valley" was only approximate and could include one of several sites in relation to Cebolleta: Juan Dofra and Guadalupe Canyon to the north; Encinal or some farther canyon on the west; or Sandoval's home valley on the west side of Cebolleta Mountain. The nearby lands at Pojuate, Cebolleta, and Cudero were occupied; they were "ordinary Mexican" villages (not Indian Pueblos) (James H. Simpson, Journal of a Military Reconnaissance, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country, p. 114. Philadelphia, 1852).

According to an early visitor in these years, Cebolleta village "is located far up among the mountains of the Habaajo country . . ." ("The Rev. Hiram Walter Reed, Baptist Minister to New Mexico," Rev Mexico Historical Review, 17:133). Insofar as distance is concerned, Cebolleta village is about ten miles as the crow flies north of the pueblo of Laguna. Pajuate lies about midway of these two villages, and Cuhero lies a few miles to the northwest of Laguna. Simpson recommended in October of 1849 that a military post be established at Cebolletta, specifying certain military advantages and also for protection of friendly Navajos (op. cit.), but his recommendation was not carried out other than stationing a detachment of troops there at times. R 10

During the decade of the 1850's, government representatives toyed with the idea that the Navajos were not a united people and that the troublesome ones could be differentiated from the peaceful ones. They detected a difference between the groups who lived west of the Chuska Mountain, far to the northwest of Mt. Taylor, and those to the east. There was a portion among the eastern group who could be accepted as peaceful and should be accorded special consideration. R 159

Sandoval was the alleged head man of the group in the peaceful category. Through long contact with New Mexicans, and even baptism in the colonial period, they were referred to as the Christian Navajos and were sometimes at odds with their kinsmen. Sandoval even engaged in raids against those who lived on the east side of the Chuska range.

A famous half-breed Habaajo Chief named Sandoval, who resides in this vicinity, came into town today to sell some captives of his own nation which he has recently took prisoners. --He sold one young man of 15 years of age for thirty (30) dollars (Reed, op. cit., p. 133). R 10

However, Sandoval and his own followers were not entirely trusted by the military. The chief could serve as a guide for the white man in military operations against the Navajos, but some of his own group might warn their kinsmen that trouble was on the way (D. T. Chandler to AAAG, Cebolleta, April 23, 1851. USAC, NM, LR 1851, C37). Furthermore, it was not always possible to determine whether a Navajo from Sandoval's group had caused trouble or whether the troublemaker came from elsewhere. R 31

In 1853, Col. Edwin Vose Sumner was of the opinion that Sandoval "with his half Pueblo, half Navajo band" had a hand in current trouble. "He is an unprincipled scoundrel" and gains from war by stealing from both sides (Sumner to Gov. Wm. Carr Lane, Albuquerque, June 10, 1853. USAC, NM, LS, Vol. 8, p. 544), that is, from his own kinsmen and from the New Mexicans. R 35

Major E. L. Kendrick held the more favorable view that "in relation to Sandoval, I have now to say that these people [other Navajos] are anxious to get rid of him fearing him greatly, whereas we ought to sustain him and to use him as a scourge" (Kendrick to AAAG, Fort Defiance, June 14, 1853. USAC, NM, LR 1853, K15). When Garcillos Largo, leader of a Navajo group that lived westward from Sandoval's location, reported to the military at Fort Defiance that some Navajos had run off a band of sheep west of Jemez Pueblo, Kendrick suspected that the raid was one that had been made near Laguna, and that the culprits belonged to Sandoval's band (Kendrick to Acting Governor W. G. Messervy, Fort Defiance, May 13, 1854. Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, Letters Received, Misc. Papers, 1854. The National Archives Record Group 75). The matter was one of probability, R 36
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but serves to reveal the conflicting attitudes toward Sandoval's status. His band, at least, was not attacked when the military campaigned against Navajos during the decade of the 1850's, although they were never above suspicion as troublemakers.

A few months later, "On the 15th inst. Sandoval, a Navajo Indian, (of Cebollita in this Territory) with his son and twelve Navajos came to our grazing camp in this vicinity. . . ." After some arguments and sheep killing, the Indians were scared away (Preston Beck, Jr., to Gov. D. Harivether. Preston, Pecos River, October 16, 1854. Ibid.). Sandoval was certainly far afield trying to steal sheep in far eastern New Mexico, or maybe just begging for some food, because the Beck land grant lay near Las Vegas, New Mexico. R 121

A couple of years later, it was reported that four Navajos on Wednesday, June 25, 1856, "said to be of Sandoval's party . . . , came upon Juan de Dios Salajeos of Covara, in the mountain a little above Hensel [sic], and shot him in two places" with a rifle ball and an arrow, "and another one [arrow] was shot into the back of his shepherd" (S. Gorman to Capt. H. L. Dodge. Laguna, June 27, 1856. Ibid., Misc. Papers 1856). Hensel lies a short distance to the east of Chvero, and the mountain referred to, of course, was the southern slope of Cebollita Mountain. There are several canyons there, and the Navajos did occupy one or more of them. R 129

Moving out of Chvero in 1859, Lieut. Freedley visited these folks.

(O. L. Shepherd to AAAG, Fort Berfiance, February 25, 1860. ES)

Many of the Indians had left their camp the night before, but some I was informed were still undisturbed in the Canon. I met a Mexican Boy with a burro packed with beef. He stated that the Indians had killed one Cow on their trail and that he was returning with the portion of it that they had left behind. He stated also that there was tracks of only three Cows with the Indians although it was said more were missing. I also met W. Wallace who had lost his horses. He was returning having given up the pursuit. The remainder of the Indians who were at Canon de San Jose fled before my arrival. I seeing only one he being high up upon the mountain among the rocks. The Canon de San Jose is a southern Canon of the San Mateo (Cebolleta) Mountain and is about six miles from Chvero. A small stream of water runs through the Canon and empties into the Ojo del Gallo. The water here was good but the grazing was very poor owing to the number of sheep which are grazed in the vicinity and to the amount of stock belonging to the Indians lately in the Canon (S. W. Freedley, to Capt. George Sykes, Las Lunas, April 30, 1859, USAC, NM, LR, Box 12, 128).

If the incident concerning Ballajos were a matter of concern to some people as the beginning of real trouble between the Navajos and the military, there was at least one skeptic:

So far as we can learn the Navajo war is all 'in my eye. Some few of Sandoval's men under Marjones are cutting up their 'skins', and peeped a Mex. from Chvero who was up in their country the other day. The people say that Hendrick's Indians are all as friendly as ever and have no intention of fighting. So we go (Extract from Letter John Trevitt to Asst. Surgeon De Leon. Near Laguna, July 3, 1856, in Christon to Nichols, July 8, USAC, NM, LR 1856, 026).

The theory of separating the Navajos into peaceful and hostile groups was also illustrated in 1851 when a few Navajo families were permitted to settle near Cebolleta by the common consent of the military and Governor James S. Calhoun (Lt. L. McLaw to Chandler, June 10, 1851, USAC, NM, LS, vol. 7, p. 158. Old Book 4). As Governor Marivether wrote three years later:

During these Navajo hostilities, a small Mexican settlement called Sebellista was broken up or abandoned, and Gov. Johnson gave Sandoval and his party permission to occupy it, which they have done up to this time, cultivating the soil with some degree of success. But I am informed that the former occupants of this settlement claim the land under a Mexican grant, which will render it necessary to provide for Sandoval and his followers in some other quarters. . . . (Marivether to Commissioner G. W. Marjones, Santa Fe, July 27, 1855. OIA, NM, LR, vol. 2, p. 500).

The settling of these migrants to the east of Cebolleta Mountain implies that Sandoval's location on the west side had become too "hot" for his people because of retaliatory warfare from their kinsmen. When Governor Marivether negotiated a treaty with Navajo in 1855, Sandoval was not present because he had separated from the tribe at large upon refusing to fight against the white folks (Marivether to Commissioner Marjones, Santa Fe, July 27, 1855. *Ibid.*, p. 581).

As of 1857, Sandoval was credited in military circles with having aided the Americans on campaigns as far back as the arrival of General Kearny and the American occupation of New Mexico. According to Colonel Bonneville, he had assisted Colonel Washington against the Navajos in 1849 and later Colonel Sumner. He assisted in the campaign against the southern Apaches in 1857 under the command of Colonel Bonneville. During this campaign, a band of Utah Indians from the Rio San Juan country raided Sandoval's "town," killed several Navajos and a Pueblo Indian "on a visit there from Laguna" (Col. B. L. E. Bonneville to AAG, Albuquerque, November 24, 1857. USAC, NM, LR, Box 8, 243. Col. Bonneville to Sept. J. L. Collins, Albuquerque, January 17, 1858. OIA, NM, LR, Misc. Papers 1858).

In the spring of 1858, John Ward, Special Agent for the Navajos, visited the frontier, touching at James, Cebolleta, Chabero and "two Navajo camps." He reported that many Navajos had abandoned their fields in fear of attack by a combination of Utes, Pueblo Indians, and white men.

Sandoval and Chino with their bands, are now living in the neighborhood of Laguna; the former has always been our friend, even against his own people who have, therefore, expelled him from among the real Navajos, to whom we give presents, Agents, etc. (John Ward to Agent G. M. Post (Post to Supt.), Albuquerque, April 9, 1858. OIA, NM, Misc. Files 1858. Same letter in *Ibid.*, Agency Letters 1858).

The Military campaigned against the Navajos in the summer of 1858 in Major Brock's war, but Sandoval's band continued to enjoy its usual status although they had shifted location unless "neighborhood" has a very loose meaning. They were

residing on the Puerco, and towards James. They have for years been looked upon as a separate people. The superintendent of Indian affairs has decided they are at peace; they have just received their presents and must not be molested (AAAG to Miles, Santa Fe, October 14, 1858. AAG, Old Army Records, Letters Sent from Santa Fe. Also printed in 35 cong., 2 sess., sen ex. doc. 1, 2:329).

The agent to the Navajos was very skeptical about their cooperative relations with the whites and so informed his superior:

You distributed presents this year to Sandoval's band which consists of about 300 souls. At that distribution there were over 700 persons of the Navajo nation. More than half of them belong to the bands against which the United States were at war, who were harbored by Sandoval during hostilities and paid in presents by the Indian Superintendent (without the knowledge of the Agent) while hostilities were being carried on here in the region of this Post (Post to Collins, Fort Defiance, December 15, 1858. OIA, NM, LR, Agency Letters 1858. R775).

R 136

R 27

R 137

When rumors developed that the folks of Laguna and Acosa planned to cooperate in an attack on the Sandoval band living on the Puerco, were promptly warned by the military not to molest these Navajos because they were at peace and helping the soldiers as informants (Lt. J. E. Whistler to Wilkins, Los Lunas, Nov. 8, 1858. Record Group 98. USAAC, NM, LR, M28/1858. Cited in Navajo Land Claim Case, Pl. Ex. 188, Docket 229).

The fact that they had left the Cebolleta site is confirmed by Lt. Freedley who reported in 1859 that

Near the Cebolleta there are several pueblos and ranchos in this Valley, each within about a mile of the other. The principal ones of them are called Cebolletas, Cebolletas, Houghtons and Pinales. These small towns are inhabited by . . . Mexicans . . ." (Lt. E. V. Freedley to Capt. George Sykes, Los Lunas, April 30, 1859. USAAC, NM, Box 12, 228).

"On the Puerco" was not a clear statement, but since a traveler spent the night with Sandoval's band, he was near a line of travel therefore just below the Agua Salada where one road passed to James father south on the Cebolleta-Albuquerque road; the latter was more probable since in this instance the traveler was enroute to Los Lunas which lies about twenty miles south of Albuquerque and served as a junction point for travelers.

A clerk of Judge Watts informed me today that a few days since while he was returning from Cebolleta he camped with Sandoval on the Puerco, and that night one of his animals was shot with an arrow, which since Sandoval has acknowledged to have been done by one of the Indians from the Navajo country who were in his camp that night (Lt. J. E. Whistler to AAG, Los Lunas, Nov. 1, 1858. USAAC, NM, LR, Box 11, M25).

When framing terms for another peace treaty in December of 1856, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs stipulated that

Sandoval and his people in consideration of his and their past fidelity and good conduct, will be permitted to occupy the country they now occupy notwithstanding the terms of the first of these articles. In the proposed treaty/ until otherwise provided in future, but in all other respects they are to be considered as part and parcel of the Navajo Nation (Collins to Bonneville, December 3, 1858. OIA, RM, LR, I-947 & C-1829. RO 75).

This stipulation was inserted in the treaty of December 25.

A probable location of Sandoval at this time can be inferred from Lt. Abert's report when he moved westward from Albuquerque in October of 1846, exploring the Puerco for a few miles up and down stream from where he first touched it. On the northern march, he encountered the old Spanish eighteenth century settlement of San Fernando, now abandoned and known simply as Pablason with its history already forgotten by the New Mexicans. Nearby, in the river bed, he found "a conical hut, composed of light poles covered with boughs of trees and mud; also a corral, but no recent signs of their having been used." He also found a corn field which "The ravens had right of possession, and had eaten much of the corn, and picked all the seeds out of the big pumpkins that were strewn around us." However, the intruders challenged the possessory right of ravens and fed some of the corn to their animals who were much fatigued from traveling in sand which at every step enfolded the fetlocks. Continuing the journey westward, the weary travelers late the next day arrived near the village of Moquino (Lt. J. W. Abert, Report of his Examination of New Mexico in the years 1846-1847, p. 466f, Washington, 1848). The description recorded by

Abert fits the Navajo pattern of living. They planted their fields and left them largely to the tender mercy of nature while going about their business: trading, hunting, marauding or visiting kinfolk.

The region between Cibolleta Mountain and Chaco Mesa on the west and the Rio Puerco to the east was crossed by Navajos when visiting or raiding the settlements east of the river, and by New Mexicans when in search of Navajos for trade or plunder. On one occasion a band of these folks stole some sheep from a citizen of Corrales in the Rio Grande Valley and were pursued as far as Chaco Canyon (Fernand Aragon, Justice of the Peace at Corrales, to the Governor, January 14, 1857. OIA, RM, LR). Major Kendrick made a reconnaissance of the Navajo country in 1853 and remarked, among other things, that the numerous depredations on New Mexican stock were made in part "by a few bad and irresponsible men living near the mesa of Chaco, the Oso, and in the vicinity of Chuska" (Kendrick to AAAG, Fort Defiance, June 14, 1853. USAC, RM, LR, Box 5). Three years later, Manuel Barala of Albuquerque claimed that Navajos had taken fourteen of his mules "from a point near the Puerco River" and also some firearms from his herders. He trailed them to "a Navajo camp beyond Cibolleta." Chief Miguelito surrendered the arms, but said that he would have to come in force to recover the animals (Darleton to Kendrick, Albuquerque, February 1, 1856. OIA, RM, LR, Misc. Papers 1856).

Agustin Lacome, resident of Mos Valley, requested permission from Henry Dodge, agent for the Navajos, to trade with them "within the boundaries of the country occupied by the said tribe viz: Tuniche, Chusca, Choy, Carrises, and San Juan . . . (Lacome to Henriquez Dodge, Santa Fe, March 4, 1854. OIA, RM, LR). These were long established homesites of the Indians.

When Colonel Washington marched to Navajoland in 1843, he followed a route northwestward from the pueblo of James to the Chaco Canyon: "After marching over a barren, badly watered, and, in many places, rough country for eight days, I arrived in the vicinity of the laborers or corn fields of the Navajoes, at Tuna Cha [Tuncho]" (J. M. Washington to AG, Santa Fe, N. M., September 25, 1849. USAC, RM, LR, Box 456, 214W. Printed in 31 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, pp. 111-112. *R 15*)

Serial 549). A decade later, Lt. S. W. Freedley observed that

There is no good grazing in the bottom lands of the Rio Puerco and excepting some on the mesa but little on the eastern side of the river. The herds belonging to the different towns on the Rio Grande are generally grazed on the Western side of the Rio Puerco where excellent grazing may be obtained (Freedley to Sykes, Los Lunas, April 30, 1859. USAC, RM, LR, Box 12, 828/2). *R 69*

Lt. Freedley's report was supported by a contemporary writer when he described the Puerco Valley in the 1850's as good sheep land, "thousands of which were seen grazing on every side," also stating that since Navajos "have confined their depredations to the more southern and western portions of the Territory, the Rio Puerco has become a favorite grazing region for the rancheros" (Samuel Woodworth Cozens, The Marvellous Country, p. 230f. Boston 1891).

The Boundary Line of 1852.

The depredations committed by the Navajos during the early years of the American occupation led government officials to think of establishing a boundary line between the two peoples. Major Kendrick in 1853 wrote that "It is to be regretted that Mexicans place temptation before the Navajoes by feeding their flocks on grounds belonging to the latter." He did not in his particular communication define the limits of the Navajo land holdings (Kendrick to AAAG, Fort Defiance, May 25, 1853. *R 104*)

USAC, RM, LR 1853, 111). In the fall of 1854, Governor David Meriwether pointed out that it would be difficult to make a map of Navajo land because these and certain other Indians "never have had any specific boundaries assigned to them, either by treaty or otherwise, and they claim all the lands not actually occupied by the whites" (Meriwether to Manypenny, Santa Fe, September 29, 1854. OIA, RM, LR, Misc. Papers 1854). He did send a map to Washington which delimited the Navajo country as currently understood; but he remarked, "It should be borne in mind, however, that these Indians claim and roam over a much greater extent of country than that which I have assigned to them on the map" (Id.).

The first attempt to mark a reservation for the Navajos was made by the abortive agreement of 1855, negotiated at Black Lake on July 18. The eastern boundary extended

up the San Juan to the north of the Canada del Amarillo [Canyoa Largo]; up this Canada to the divide between the drainage of the Rio Colorado of the West and the Rio Grande; along the divide northwesterly to the head of the main branch of the Rio Guni.

The Navajos were to receive a monetary compensation for the cession of land and removal to the area within the boundary line (OIA, Unperfected Treaties No. 274A. The National Archives). *R 157*

In the talks preceding the signing, it was understood that the reservation boundary included the Sacred Mountain Peaks. When discussing the fourth article, Mammalite remarked

that the Navajos claimed a much larger country than that proposed in the boundary assigned them, and that they were in the habit of going to Mount Polania, and another mountain, the name of which is forgotten, to worship the spirits of their fathers, and some were told

the village of Cebollita (most likely the site called Cebollita on

-35-

to give these mountains up; and also that they could not get salt, unless they were allowed to visit the salt lake near Zuni and gather it. The Governor then showed them Park's /Park's/ map of New Mexico, and explained to them that Mount Polonio was within the proposed reservation, and said he hoped that this one sacred mountain would be sufficient; he also said he would grant them the privilege of gathering salt as they desired, and that he proposed to pay them for all the ceded territory. After some consultation among themselves, Humaito said that the boundary was satisfactory (W. W. H. Davis, Secretary to the Governor, Notes of a talk between Governor McCreacher and the Chiefs, Headmen, and Captains of the Navajo Indians, held at Laguna Negra the 16th and 17th of July, 1855, through the medium of two interpreters. OIA, NM, LR, 1855, M36).

According to Park's map, Mount Polonio is the Carrizo Mountain of today which is a prominent landmark in the northeast corner of Arizona, due north of Fort Defiance. R 111

To enable you to understand the eastern boundary of this reservation, refer to Park's map of New Mexico which I enclosed to you during the last winter, then draw a line from the head of the Arapahito to the head of the Zuni river or creek, which will give you the true position of the ridge which divides the waters of the Rio Grande from those of the San Juan, which is a well defined boundary, well understood by the Indians (Merivether to Manypenny, Santa Fe, July 27, 1855. OIA, NM, LG, 21500). R 111

The boundary line of 1855 was approximately the continental divide. Merivether was probably correct in stating that it was well understood by the Indians. The Amarillo was the name for the present-day Large Canyon, a southeastern tributary of the San Juan River which heads in the continental divide near the head waters of the Rio Puerco. Maciestto Mountain ranges northeast to southwest parallel to the upper Rio Puerco. The highland extending northward from the mountain had long been named by New Mexicans the Cuesta Blanca or Cuastacita and also as the Cuastacita de Navajo (Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, New

-36-

Mexico. Report 71 (File 83), and Report 73 (File 153)). The term Blanco refers to the noticeable white rock strata that one descends into the San Juan drainage. Westward of this ridge lay the old Navajo country; that is, the southeastern tributaries of the San Juan: Largo Canyon, Blanco Canyon, and Gobernador Canyon where the Navajos were centered in the Spanish period of New Mexican history.

The treaty did not eliminate friction between the Navajos and New Mexicans. In January of 1856, Indians depredated near the Rio Puerco. The Utes of Hamcho's band were also active and stole stock (presumably Mexican) west of the Puerco, and "are now living at the head of the river" (Francisco Tomas C. de Baca, Juez de Pruebas of Pasa Blanca, to W. W. H. Davis, March 7, 1856. OIA, NM, LR); that is, the headwaters of the Rio Puerco. Some thirty Navajos under Aguilá Negra visited the pueblo of James on June 8, 1856. On the way home they ran off some cattle at San Isidro, a few miles south of the pueblo. These Indians "live near the point of Sebolleta Mountain" (Merivether to Dodge, Santa Fe, June 17, 1856. OIA, NM, Agency Letters 1856). R 113

Public agitation developed for further limiting the recognized territory of the Navajos: "New limits should be established for the Navajos, so as to give more room for our citizens to graze their stock" (Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, October 18, 1856. Clipping in Miguel A. Otero to Robert McClalland, Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C., December 5, 1856. OIA, NM, LR, OIA/1856). "There is no necessity for those Indians to have grazing grounds east of their settlements, for they have far better pasture land west of them, and where there will be no interference from any quarter" (ibid.). This argument implies that the R 153

-37-

"settlements" of the Navajo lay west of the boundary line established by the abortive treaty of Red Lake. This would not include, of course, the Cebolleta Mountain sites, which lay east of that line.

Depredations continued as in past years. Some Navajos stole sheep from the borders of the Rio Puerco and were overtaken at Chaco Canyon (Julian Tenorio, Notary of the Probate Court of Bernalillo to the Secretary of the Territory. January 13, 1857. OIA, RM, LR, Misc. Spanish docs.). In some instances, a Navajo headman secured the restoration of stolen stock. *not here*

In December of 1858, a new agreement was made with some Navajo leaders concerning their eastern boundary. It was marked from Pescado Spring, at the head of the Rio Zuni, in a direct line to Bear Spring which lay to the north on the road from Albuquerque to Fort Defiance; thence in a direct line northward to the ruins of Escondido in Chaco Canyon, and from there northward to the junction of the Rio Chaco and the San Juan River. The Navajos were not to plant or graze their stock east of this line which was considerably west of the one drawn in 1855. The agreement was signed by Navajo leaders named El Huro, Arwijo, Cabesa Colorado, and others. Major E. Backus, Lieut. G. Oranger, and S. M. Tost signed for the Government (Articles of Peace, December 25, 1858. OIA, RM, LR 1859, CI885 or 9547). *R 175*

S. M. Tost, Agent to the Navajos, opposed the policy of further delimiting their country. He argued to his superior as follows:

You state that you do not "want the lands but it is for the effect upon the Indians." I do not conceive it to be the policy of the Indian Department or the Government, to deprive the Indians of lands which can be of no possible benefit to us, but which are of incalculable value to them.

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He added that "The Indians themselves have no objection to an eastern limit. They consider that they have that now" (Tost to J. L. Collins, Fort Defiance, Dec. 18, 1858. OIA, RM, LR, Agency Letters 1858). Colonel Bonneville had favored drawing the line as far west as Fort Defiance, but in the opinion of Superintendent Collins, and correctly so, that would have deprived the Navajos of much arable land (Collins to Commissioner J. W. Denver, Jan. 8, 1859. *Ibid.*, CI885). *R 139*

Tost also took a dim view of the argument that Sandoval should be treated differently than other Navajos. He was convinced that they depredated: "he and his band [quoting Collins] are permitted to remain where they are, immediately almost on the border of the Rio Grande"; and assume that he and his band have been entirely guiltless of thefts . . ." (Tost to Collins, Dec. 18, 1858, *op. cit.*). *R 136*

Article 18 of the agreement of 1858 stipulated that "The Sandoval band could continue in the occupancy of land as was customary, but that otherwise they would be considered a part of the Navajo nation" (*op. cit.*). This represented a yielding to the Tost-Collins point of view, and an attempt to clarify their status according to the white man's notion of political arrangement. However, the treaty was not ratified by the United States Senate. *R 139*

Difficulties continued to occur between the Navajos and the New Mexicans. Enroute westward from Los Lunas in 1859, Lt. Freedley arrived at Laguna Pueblo where he

learned that some days previous a number of horses had been stolen by the Indians, but it was generally thought by the Apaches. I could obtain no other information regarding the Indians at this town, and leaving it, I took the trail for Otero (Gobern). This road led over

[4] High rocky mesa, up the side of which it was quite difficult for the pack mules to climb. About 12 AM I arrived at Oubero where I found large numbers of Indians (Navajo), although many had left on my approach. The people here complained bitterly of the Navajos, and stated that they were continually stealing the animals, that were grazing near the town, within the past ten days they had been stealing more frequently, and on a larger scale than at any time since the treaty with them. I estimated the number of Indians in and around the town at two hundred. These Indians were camped in the Canons of the Sierra San Mateo (or Cebolleta) from four to twelve miles from the town. These were the band of Navajos (late Sandoval's) which formed the peace party during the War last winter and some of the Indians from the west (Marshall's band and others). . . . Many of these Indians lounged idly about the town liking upon what they could procure from the Citizens and upon the herds of the town. I had no opportunity to converse with any of the chiefs, and all apparently [sic] endeavored to avoid the command. Soon after my arrival nearly all left the town for their respective camps (Lt. H. W. Freedley to Capt. George Sykes, Los Lunas, New Mexico, April 30, 1869. USAC, RM, Box 12, S28/2).

Moving eastward over the mountain ridge to the village of Cebolleta, Freedley listened to complaints from the residents that the thieving Navajos in their locality came from Tunicha and Chuaha. They lived for a few days with Andres band (late Sandoval's) then returned to their country much better mounted and equipped than before. They also accuse Andre's band of a great deal of petty thieving. The rancharilla of Andres is I understand about 10 miles from Cebolleta at the foot of the San Mateo mountain (Ibid.).

presumably Juan Taroya Canyon.

In February of 1860, the military reported that several camps of Navajos were near Oubero on the road to Fort Defiance, "presuming that the same course will be adopted as was done toward Sandoval's band in the fall of 1858," that is, that they would be given supplies

R 69

(O. L. Shepherd to AAAS, Fort Defiance, February 25, 1860. USAC, RM, Box 12, S30). 279

Open warfare broke out in 1860 between the Navajos on the one hand and the New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians on the other. The military finally stepped in and arranged another understanding with some Navajo leaders. Under article 5, they were not to graze their flocks nor live in the region that lay to the east of Fort Huantleroy, located at Bear Springs. Any Navajos found east of the Tunicha and Chuaha valley or to the south and east of Zuni Pueblo would be regarded and treated as robbers. The only exception made was in favor of the friendly Navajos under Po-Ba Coita (successor to Sandoval who had recently died), living in the neighborhood of Oubero and Cebolleta (L. L. Rich AAG, General Orders No. 14, by Lieut. Col. E. B. S. Canby, Fort Huantleroy, February 19, 1861. USAC, RM, Box 12, C 32 and C 32/1).

Frictions with the eastside Navajos continued about as usual until they were rounded up by orders of General J. H. Carleton and moved to the Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos River, in 1863. The General had trouble, of course, keeping his wards in their new home, and did not always succeed.

At 6 o'clock this afternoon two Indians of the Pueblo of Laguna came in here, and reported that they had seen the day before yesterday in the Canon Juan Tafolla 30 Navajo Indians all well armed with fire-arms. They had 3 pack animals and 3 women along with them. The Navajos told them that they had escaped from the reservation at the Bosque Redondo and that other of their tribe were following them in parties of 15 to 25, and that they also would arrive at the above mentioned place this night (Jose Francisco Aragona to C. O., Fort Huantleroy, San Mateo, September 12, 1865. War Dept., R295, RM, 12, PW 107/125) encls. Cited in Pl. Ex. 374, Doc. 229, Navajo. R 82

R 83

NAVAJO NORTHERN FRONTIER

The irrevocable relationship between Navajos and Utes during the Mexican regime continued after 1846. The tendency prevailed among American officials to regard the San Juan River as the boundary line between these two peoples. The former were sometimes referred to as the Upper and the Lower San Juan Navajos, but the distinction was not clear geographically speaking.

From the listening post of Abiquiu, Major L. R. Graham reported in April of 1851 that a large body of Navajos were on the Upper San Juan with their families and stock.

They can be reached from this Post by easy marches in eight or ten days, the grass is good during the month of May--on the entire route--and an abundance of good water with the exception of thirty five miles, the longest stretch without water.

They were reported by a Ute Chief named Tamochi as having been at peace for a long time and were even anxious to get the Utes to assist them in a war against other Navajos (Graham to AAAG, Abiquiu, April 1, 1851. R 30

United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters Received, Box 2. AAAG to Col. D. T. Chandler at Cebolleta, Santa Fe, April 17, 1851. Ibid. *not here* Letters Sent, vol. 7, p. 93. Old Book 4).

When reporting on the status of Chief Sandoval of the Cebolleta Mountain Region, who was at odds with his kinman, Capt. Chandler stated that Sandoval

seems to consider that portion of the tribe living beyond the San Juan as not being concerned in stealing his cattle, I am induced to believe he is not as hostile to these raiders as he is to his interest to be so (Chandler to AAAG, Cebolleta, April 23, 1851. United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters, received 1851, 537. National Archives. Record Group 90). R 31

Chandler at Cebolleta that they wanted peace. They had received information that an expedition was on foot against them. In reality there was no such expedition yet planned, but from the same informant it was learned that Navajos had planted on both sides of the San Juan that spring (Chandler to AAAG, Cebolleta, April 23, 1851. Ibid., 537). R 103
The planting fields lay along the valley from the present-day town of Fruitland, New Mexico, to the neighborhood of Kinman. These Indians were probably the group referred to as the Upper San Juan Navajos. The following month, traders reported that a large number of Navajos with families and flocks were living in the Ute country (L. P. Graham to AAAG, Abiquiu, May 6, 1851. Ibid., 510); or, as Superintendent Calhoun reported,

The Navajos have, or are removing from 'Cholla' to the Rio San Juan, and pitching their lodges upon both sides of the river. From the north side of the river they meet with the Utes (Gov. J. J. Calhoun to Gen. Santa Fe, May 4, 1851. (See OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN J. CALHOUN, GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO, 1850-1851, WASHINGTON, 1854, p. 26)). R 1

In the light of information furnished by

NAVAJO NORTHERN FRONTIER

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States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters Received, Box 2. AAAG

D. T. Chandler at Cebolleta, Santa Fe, April 17, 1851. Ibid. *Not here*
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When reporting on the status of Chief Sandoval of the Cebolleta Region, who was at odds with his kinsmen, Capt. Chamblin stated Sandoval

seems to consider that portions of the tribe living beyond the San Juan as not being concerned in stealing his cattle, I am induced to believe he is not as hostile to them unless we make it his interest to be so (Chandler to AAAG, Cebolleta, April 23, 1851. United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters Received 1851, C37. National Archives. Record Group 93). R 31

At this same time five Navajo chiefs sent runners to Colonel Chandler at Cebolleta that they wanted peace. They had received information that an expedition was on foot against them. In reality, there was no such expedition yet planned, but from the same informants it was learned that Navajos had planted on both sides of the San Juan that spring (Chandler to AAAG, Cebolleta, April 19, 1851. Ibid., C37).

The planting fields lay along the valley from the present-day town of Fruitland, New Mexico, to the neighborhood of Blanco. These Indians were probably the group referred to as the Upper San Juan Navajos. The following month, traders reported that a large number of Navajos with families and flocks were living in the Ute country (L. P. Graham to AAAG, Abiquiu, May 6, 1851. Ibid., C 10); or, as Superintendent Calhoun reported,

The Navajos have, or are removing from 'Chaille' to the Rio San Juan, and pitching their lodges upon both sides of the river. Upon the north side of the river they meet with the Utes (Gov. J. B. Calhoun to Gen. Santa Fe, May 4, 1851. (The Official Correspondence of James B. Calhoun, Ed. by Amos Embury Abel. Washington, 1917, p. 342)).

In the light of information furnished by informants who were familiar with Navajoland, Lt. Parks reported in 1851 that cornfields were scattered along the San Juan Valley at intervals of one or two miles from the mouth of Canada del Ojo Amarillo [Largo Canyon]. There were cornfields also along the rivers on the north side of the San Juan, although this statement should not be taken literally. Along the west side of the Chuska Range, "cornfields are stretched along at intervals being more numerous as we approach the San Juan. It is said that

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Archalette [Archaleto], Miguelito, Raytano [Raytano], Jose Largo and other rich Navajos plant in the vicinity and north of the Cerros de los Ojos Calientes." (John G. Parke to Col. John Moore, Santa Fe, March 7, 1851. BSAC, BN, 18, Box 3. The Cerros de los Ojos Calientes are known today as Bennett Peak). R 29

In June, Chandler reported that the Lower San Juan Navajos were moving southward along both sides of Tuniika Mountain toward the Zuni road because of the scarcity of grass and were discussing the question of peace or waging war. The Upper San Juan Navajos were reported as being wealthy and in favor of peace, although they were an outlet for disposing of stolen stock (Chandler to AAAG, Cebolleta, June 2, 1851. *Ibid.*, C 55). R 33

In 1853, the military commander at Fort Defiance, which was established in 1851 at the mouth of Canyon Bonito in the Chuska Range, demanded that the Navajos bring in a murderer, but they protested their inability. "Agle [Aguila eagle; hence Black Eagle] Negro, the chief to whose band the murderers of the Mexican belong, has also been in to day & says that the offenders are beyond the San Juan and does not think that they will return at present" (Major H. L. Kendrick to AAAG, Fort Defiance, July 12, 1853. *Ibid.*, LR 1853, K 18. Cf: Kendrick to Sturgis, Fort Defiance, June 18, 1853. *Ibid.*, 18, Box 5). R 37

Major Kendrick made a military reconnaissance of the Navajo country from Fort Defiance to the San Juan in 1853. One detachment then moved eastward from the junction of the Chaco River and the San Juan, and Major Kendrick moved down the San Juan to the Rio Chally (Chiale Wash). He reported that considerable corn was raised east of R 36

the Chuska range in the Chuska and Tuniika valleys, in the Puma Blanco, along the Chally and in the Canyon of the (Kendrick to AAAG, August 15, 1853. *Ibid.*, LR 1853, K Blanco in this description is the Puma Blanco wash that Chaco Wash from the east side of the Chuska Range. It Canon Blanco tributary of the Canon Largo which in turn Juan River near the town of Blanco, New Mexico. The last the canyons in the southeastern drainage of the San Juan inhabited by Navajos in the eighteenth century.

In September of 1853, Henry L. Dodge, agent for escorted a delegation of 100 Indians to Santa Fe.

This delegation is headed by their principal Chief Sarcillo Largo (or Long Barriero) and consists of the head men of the several bands that most remote from our settlements, north of the Gela [Gila] and in the neighborhood of the Tuniika [Tuniika] range of mountains.

Sarcillo Largo admitted that there were bad men among them but not from his group. Merivether attributed most of them to Archaleto's band: "This chief and his band together with other Navajos live nearer our settlements and on the border Utah with whom they associate, and are a bad set of fellows" (Gov. D. Merivether to George V. Murray, Santa Fe, Sept. 19, 1853. Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, Letter Received 1853, 8177. The National Archives. Record Group

Regarding the matter of New Mexicans trading in Utah Territory, the commissioner stated that they crossed the river enroute to Great Salt Lake City: "On the south of the country of the Navajos; and further down on the same side

villages of the Moque, built of adobe" (letter of P. P. Pratt in Deseret News, November 21, 1853. Clipping in Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Journal History. Church Archives, Salt Lake City. Hereafter cited as LDS). Traders from New Mexico had been traveling to Utah for a half century prior to the arrival of the Mormons. The Old Spanish Trail crossed the San Juan at a point near the present-day state boundary where the San Juan river flows into New Mexico, but this does not preclude a turn-off farther west to reach the Navajos from the north.

The notion that the country south of the San Juan belonged to the Navajos was illustrated when in May of 1854, Major Kendrick advised some Navajo leaders that if they allowed the Ute Indians to come south of the San Juan, and the Utes subsequently claimed the country as their own, "we shall be at liberty to respect such claim" (Kendrick to AAC, Laguna, May 23, 1854. USAC, NM, LR 1854, E5).

Seeking permission from proper authority to trade with the Navajos, the petitioner specified the locations of Tunicha, Chusca, Cheys, Carrisos, and San Juan" (Agustin Lacombe, resident of Doos Valley, to Henry Dodge, Santa Fe, March 4, 1854. OIA, NM, LR). These were all well-known Navajo homelands that had been occupied for many generations. But the notion of a separate band of bad men in association with the Utes was still stated as a fact: "There is one band of Navajos who have separated themselves from the remainder of the tribe, and removed eastward to the neighbourhood of the Utehs and Jicarillas" (Merivether to Murphy, Annual Report, Santa Fe, September 1, 1854. OIA, NM, LR, Misc. Papers 1854, E294).

X

R 42

R 119

R 157

The Jicarillas were newcomers who had lived eastward from Chos, New Mexico. During the American period, they became associated also with the land west of the Rio Grande because of the policy adopted by officials in New Mexico.

Pressure from the Plains Indians on northeastern New Mexico, especially the Pawnee in this case, led the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to hold an assembly of Utes at Abiquiu rather than at Thos as originally planned, all for the purpose of distributing annuities.

Jicarillas were present because they had long been friendly with the Utes (Orainer to Lane, Report, December, 1852. Ibid., LR). A proposal to move the Jicarillas west of the Rio Grande soon followed on the ground that they were related to some extent with the Utes and that it was time for them to settle down to cultivate the soil. Governor Lane and Chief Chacon selected land on the Rio Puerco of the North, a favorite winter grazing spot for Indians for many years. The Utes opposed their location farther north and the Navajos objected to any movement farther west or south (Steck to Lane, Santa Fe, May 20, 1853. Ibid., LR). The seeming contradiction in the Utes' attitude toward the Jicarillas is not surprising. They were no more a single unified group than any other Southwestern Indian tribe, so what one band might be doing at a given moment was not necessarily true of another band.

R 106

R 117

The migration of a few Jicarillas west of the Rio Grande apparently gave them ideas of grandeur about their portion of the earth's surface.

A part of this band under their chief Chacon were assembled and fed around a farm in the vicinity of Abiquiu during the Spring and Summer of 1853. . . .

The Jicarillas now claim a region of country of indefinite space, lying west of the Rio Grande and on the head of the Chama and Puerco Rivers, but they roam over many other portions of the Territory. . . (Merivether, Report, Santa Fe, September 2, 1854. Ibid., LR, Misc. Papers 1854).

R 157

The Capotes continued to wander far afield. On one occasion they wintered in the San Luis Valley of south-central Colorado:

There are a larger number of indians in the vicinity of Fort Massachusetts than is common owing to the fact that a large portion of the Capotes who live on the borders of the Navajo country are passing the winter there (Major George J. H. Blake to AAG, Cantonment Burgwin, January 19, 1854. USAC, RM, Box 6, 1854).

R 40

The Jicarillas again were reported planting their fields west of the Rio Grande in 1857 along the two streams of Rio del Oso and La Cueva (Labadie to [Sept.], Abiquin, May 31, 1857. OIA, RM, Agency Letters 1857).

R 149

Despite the wanderings of the Capotes and the removal of Jicarillas to the Abiquin region, the notion that the San Juan River was the boundary line between the Utes and Navajos continued to be affirmed. In the year 1854, another Mormon missionary crossed the San Juan into Navajoland. He did not specify the site of the crossing, but had probably traveled the Old Spanish Trail into Colorado and then turned southward down the valley of La Plata or Las Animas to the San Juan. He met some Navajos south of the river: "Their great captain wished us not to go among their towns and villages, as there were some that could not be controlled, and he did not want to fight us" (Elder Wm. D. Huntington, Deseret News, December 21, 1854, clipping in Journal History, same date. LDS).

R 178

However, the joint use of the valley of the tributaries is once more illustrated by the report of 1853. He led a detachment from Abiquin along the Rio Grande, crossed the headwaters of the Rio Gallina and the Rio Largo Canyon. During a night encampment, a Navajo told him that his people were on the San Juan. Jogging along the Rio Grande that river, a few more Navajos were seen but others were hidden in the stream in fear of the soldiers. Corn fields were seen on the La Plata and in the lower Tunicha Valley. Ranches were located at the junction of the San Juan and Las Animas. A post was located for controlling the Utes and Navajos. The post was located 40 miles of Tunicha; it would command the "outlet" to the Rio Grande. (Report, USAC, RM, LR 1853, R13).

In the winter of 1854-1855, trouble was reported between the Utes and Jicarillas in the San Juan region. In February 1855, Navajos assembled at the James Pueblo for a three day council. Henry L. Dodge was present and worried about the possibility of Navajos becoming entangled in the Ute-Jicarilla troubles.

I have sent out runners to all the Navajos living near the Rio San Juan to retire some fifty or sixty miles and to make every effort to keep the Utes from passing the Atore River which is recognized as the line between the two Nations.

The rich Navajos followed this advice, but some of them would join the Utes (Henry L. Dodge to Merivether, OIA, RM, LR, Agency Letters 1855).

It is doubtful that Navajos would be interested in forcing a
the hand out of the country south of the San Juan, but at any rate there
were some Utes there as reported in February:

I have the honor to state, that the Navajoes informed
their agent, Capt. Dodge, while on his way to this
Post, via Teme, that "Francisco Band of Capote
Utahs" with a few Hicarilla Apaches were at the
ojo del Gallo, a point some 30 miles south of the
San Juan River, & somewhere between the Chaco &
Canon Largo of Parley's Bay. It is said that, in
all, these Indians number some 250, of which it
is believed that a large portion are fighting men
(Kendrick to AAG, Fort Defiance, February 25, 1855.
USAO, RM, LR).

R 43

In April of 1855,

the Navajoes report to us that the Utahs, with a
portion of Hicarillas, in all amounting to nine
hundred (men, women & children) are at the South
Western base of the Sierra de la Plata, within
the Utah country. . . . Some time since five
Americans, from Abiquia, came to their camp with
corn for sale to the Utahs, who took their corn &
slew the Americans (Kendrick to AAG, Ft. Defiance,
April 16, 1855. USAO, RM, LR, Box 7, K5, R998. CR.
Dodge to Marivether, Ft. Defiance, April 17, 1855.
OLA, RM, Agency Letters 1855).

R 124

Meanwhile the Navajos were planting in their usual haunts of Tunicha and
Canon Blanco (Pena Blanca) in the spring of that year (Dodge to Marivether,
Tunicha, May 2, 1855. Ibid., LR 1855, 4440). Unfortunately for the
Navajo's peace of mind, the Utes

R 109

attacked the Ranches of two rich Navajos living on
the north side of the Rio San Juan killing them
both capturing three children and running off one
hundred head of horses. . . . This has produced a
panic in all their farming operations for the present
and caused the rich to flee to the mountains with
their women children flocks & herds where they have
concentrated in a body for mutual protection.

The mountain location was not specified, but it was the Cimarra Range
or Carrizo Mountain. The outcome was uncertain, Dodge added, because
the Utes were well armed, warlike and lived by the hunt, whereas the
Navajos farmed, were poorly armed and unwarlike (Dodge to Mackpenny,
Santa Fe, June 30, 1855. Ibid., LR 1855, 4469).

Steps were now taken to arrange the treaty of July 18, 1855,
with the Navajos at Laguna Negra (Black Lake). The terms included a
northern boundary line along the south bank of the Rio San Juan from
the mouth of the Rio Chelly to the mouth of Canon del Amarillo (Large
Canyon), up this canyon to the divide between the drainage of the Rio
Colorado and the Rio Grande, along the divide southwest to the main
branch of the Rio San (OLA, Unperfected Treaties, No. 274-A, the
National Archives. Abstract in Dept. of Arizona, Special File #146).

This same year, a treaty was made with the Capote Utes whereby
they ceded all their lands to the United States except for reserved lands
with the following boundary:

Art. 24.--The Capote Utes, cede to the United
States all lands in New Mexico, claimed by them,
except the reserve hereinafter specified. They
agree to remove within one year, at their own
expense, to cultivate the soil etc.

Art. 25.--Reservation. Beginning on the Rio San Juan at
the mouth of the Rio de las Animas, thence up the Rio
de las Animas to the Northern boundary of New Mexico,
thence East with the Northern boundary of New Mexico
to the top of the mountain which divides the waters of
the Rio Grande from those of San Juan, thence south-
westerly with the top of said dividing ridge or mountain to
the head of the Amarillo (Large Canyon), thence down the
canyon to the Rio San Juan, and down the river to the
beginning (OLA, Ariz. Dept., Special File No. 146. Abstracts
from the articles of agreement and conventions, concluded
with the Capote band of Utes, at Abiquia, New Mexico,
on the 5th of August, 1855).

ty was approved by the United States Senate, but they
 icial thought concerning Indian land boundaries.
 excitement over the Utes and Jicarillas quieted down. In
 reno Labadi, Indian agent at Abiquiu, reported that six of
 Ute residents "who live in the Datil and Sal Mts., in the
 id by the Capote tribe," visited him at the agency
 Merivether, Abiquiu, November 29, 1855. OIA, RM, LR, and R 160
 Letters 1855). The Sal Mountain lay to the northwest
 Mountain (Miera y Pacheco map, op. cit.). The current name
 Mountain. This Datil Mountain is not to be confused with
 named range that lies about 60 miles south of Cebolleta

nts in the spring and summer of 1856 continued the general
 vajo-Ute relations and locations. In March, the Ute band
 amache were accused of stealing sheep west of the Fueroo
 were now living on the headwaters of that river ("estan
 a en el nacimiento." Francisco Tomas C. de Bosa to
 y, Pena Blanca, March 7, 1856. OIA, RM, LR, Agency R 173
 the twenty-seventh, a killing and theft of sheep belonging
 e Otero and the Romeros took place. The sheep were
 cha in the Navajo country." The culprits were sons of
 and lived with the Capote Utes. Navajo chiefs agreed to
 on but could not surrender the killers, and they claimed
 pt to do so would only provoke civil war (Dodge to Davis, R 112
 April 19, 1856. Ibid., LR 1856, W36. Dodge to Merivether,
 June 2, 1856. Ibid. W38). The robbery was committed R 113

by the son of Narbonna, two sons of Archuleta, and two sons-in-law of
 Cayetano: These "thieves" live with the Capotes (Ibid., Agency Letters
 1856).

The offer of compensation did not change the American point
 of view that the above murderers should be apprehended; especially
 since they were "believed to be a renegade band under the chief
 Archuleta, and associated with the Capote Utes" (AAG to Kendrick,
 June 11, 1856. USAC, RM, LR, Vol. 9, p. 486). The Navajo Chief R 47
 Mamelito claimed that there were only twenty-eight bad men who were
 friends and relatives of the Capotes, and that the latter should also
 be held responsible for the wrongdoers (Dodge to Merivether, Navajo
 Agency, July 13, 1856. OIA, RM, LR 1856, W151). R 114

In August, Agent Labadi reported from Abiquiu that Chief
 Tamache and the Navajo Chaltano (Cayetano) had visited him. They
 stated that the Indians had assembled on the tributaries of the Chama
 about eighty miles from the agency in order to receive presents from
 Governor Merivether. The Capote, Shbeguache, and Mohuache (all Utes)
 were there and the "Navajos who are gathered within this agency"
 (Labadi to Merivether, Abiquiu, August 7, 1856. Ibid., Agency Letters R 161
 1856). On the thirtieth he wrote that "In the beginning of this month
 this agency was visited by some 30 Navajos who live in the land of the
 Capotes and are recognized as Capotes" (Ibid., August 30, 1856). R 162

The Moache Utes had been lured west of the Rio Grande because
 of the possibility of supplies at the Abiquiu agency, but their home
 land was essentially the San Luis Valley at the headwaters of the Rio
 Grande (C. Carson, Indian Agent at Thos, to Merivether, December 25, 1856. R 133

OIA, NM, LR, Carson Letters). The Tabogauche Utes in general lived northward and eastward from the Capote region in the San Juan drainage.

The Utes or "renegado" Navajos among the Capotes were not the only trouble-makers in this year. It was reported in June that a Navajo war party headed by Jose Largo had left Canyon Blanco (Pena Blanca) to steal and kill (Dodge to Merivether, Fort Defiance, June 13, 1856. Ibid., Agency Letters 1856). About two weeks later Lt. Carlisle reported that

I have learned that it is probable that a war party had gone from near Canon Blanco towards the Settlements, to revenge the death of two Navajos killed by the Mexicans. It is said they may go in the direction of Laguna. . . (Lt. J. Howard Carlisle to Carliston, Cuhero, June 14, 1856. NA, R298. Def. Ex. 078, Navajo Dock. 229).

In September, a few Navajos raided some Capotes within fifteen miles of Abiquiu. The Capotes planned to retaliate (Labadi to Manypenny, Abiquiu, September 30, 1856. Ibid., Agency Letters 1856. Labadi to Merivether, Abiquiu, October 20, 1856. Ibid.). A similar incident was reported in February of 1857 as having occurred between the northern point of the Tunicho Mountain and the mouth of the Chally on the south side of the San Juan where the Utes struck deep into Navajo country, killing eight Navajos. Retaliation brought about the death of five Utes (Kendrick to AAG, Fort Defiance, February 11, 1857. USAC, NM, Box 9, EL. OIA, NM, LR, Misc. Papers 1857).

In January of 1855, a trading license was issued to Bernardo Sanchez et al. to do business with the Capotes in the Dutil Mountains north of the San Juan, the Rio de las Animas, and as far as Canada Larga, within the limits of the country occupied by the said tribe (OIA, NM, LR, Misc. Papers 1856). Canada Larga is an eastern tributary of Canyon Largo. The old wagon road from Abiquiu followed Canada Larga into Canyon

R 128

R 49

R 123

R 131

R 57

R 125

Largo. The two together constituted the Aurillo Canyon which was the dividing line between the Navajos and Utes according to the Merivether treaties. The continental divide near this point was also known as Alto del Utah, or the Ute Heights--a Ute camp ground.

The year following the issuance of the above trading license, or 1857, some Navajos again raided the Capotes on the border of the Abiquiu agency near Los Caones de Hamaor Rio Purco of the North (Labadi to Merivether, Abiquiu, April 7, 1857. OIA, NM, LR, Misc. Spanish docs.). The Utes retaliated. They even attacked as far away as Chief Sandoval's homestead in the region of Cobollata Mountain (Col. E. L. E. Bonneville to James L. Collins, Albuquerque, January 17, 1858. Ibid., Misc. Files 1858). Another band, crossing the Colorado River below the mouth of the San Juan, were accused of killing the Navajo Chief Palco at Chally (Maj. V. F. E. Brooks to AAG, March 20, 1858. USAC, NM, LR 1858, B15). The Utes on this occasion passed the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers and journeyed past the Navajo villages to reach the Canyon de Chally.

The Navajos in 1858 were very averse to returning to their planting fields north of Fort Defiance because of possible Ute attacks (Brooks to AAG, April 3, 1858. Ibid., LR 1858, B20). However, they were soon reported with some skepticism as departing on a raid against their enemy (Brooks to AAG, Fort Defiance, April 28, 1858. USAC, NM, Box 10, B29). In the summer, the military commander at Fort Defiance judged that the Navajos needed to be punished, and he hoped that every encouragement would be given to "the Utes of Abiquiu" to repeat their raids (Brooks to AAG, Fort Defiance, July 22, 1858. Ibid., B45), a hope that was

R 13

R 1

R 5

R 3

R 3

R 5

realized. When Major Brooks' ultimatum for surrendering the murderer of his servant expired, he undertook to punish the Navajos and Ute warriors joined in for the plunder. The campaign covered the region of the Chuska Range northward to Carrizo Mountain.

Lt. Cogswell led a detachment and one of his encampments was in the Pasa Blanca (Canyon Blanco) arroyo which runs between Beautiful Mountain and Bennett Peak. He ascended the former (then known as Chaytano Mountain) and flushed out the Navajos who fled to the more northern Carrizo Mountain (Lt. M. Cogswell to Major E. Barnes, Camp at Rio Pajarito, November 8, 1858. *Ibid.*, LR, 877).

In November, a large party of Utes attacked a small band of Navajos on the south side of the San Juan River. Their chief, Cavilliard (Caballado) Nucko, had the day before sent word to the Navajo chiefs who were holding a Junta at La Joya that he would surrender stolen stock only on certain conditions. The same informant also stated to Major Brooks

that Chaytano and band (to which the murderer belongs) had made peace with the Utes (confirming what I had been before told) on the north side of San Juan, & that they were all there at this time (S. M. Fort to Collins, Ft. Defiance, Nov. 23, 1858. OIA, NM, Agency Letters 1858).

The informant was a wounded Mexican escapee from the Navajos; he also reported that the Utes had attacked the Navajo people under Cavilliano (Caballado) Nucko on the San Juan "opposite (north) Carrizo Mountain (Col. D. S. Miles to AAG, Fort Defiance, Nov. 23, 1858. USAC, NM, Box 10, 867).

According to the terms of the treaty of peace negotiated with the Navajo in the late fall of 1858, the boundary line on the

north was pin-pointed at the junction of the Rio Chaco (the San Juan. The Navajos were to stay west of the line from the ruins of Becondido in the Chaco Canyon. The initial point was from some of the old planting fields of the Navajos at San Juan (Articles of Peace, December 25, 1858. OIA, NM, LR, 877). The terms also included a provision that the Navajo would be held responsible for wrongdoers, and that the band crossed the San Juan to the Ute country would be considered and separated from the Navajo nation unless the murderer was (Fort to Collins, Fort Defiance, Nov. 20, 1858. OIA, NM, LR, Agency Letters 1858).

The treaty was not ratified by the United States & was not effective in determining Navajo land occupancy. In August, "Cabeson & some other Copotes [Utes] sent here to let them know they have crops sowed at the San Juan River" (A. G. to James L. Collins, Abiquiu, May 1, 1859. *Ibid.*, Agency Letters 1859). In the spring of 1859 the Flourillas arrived from the neighborhood of Abiquiu to east of the Rio Grande (Pfeiffer to Collins, May 6, 1859. *Ibid.*). Having traveled through the valley of the San Juan, Major Simms reported that "On the [San Juan River] as far down as Fench Arroyo [Canyon] bottom have been grazed by sheep and other stock of the Indians. And "At this time the Chipote Utes occupy on Las Animas [San Juan] the [Chipote] band of Navajo [Utes] on La Plata" (Pfeiffer to Collins, Fort Defiance, July 6, 1859. *Ibid.*, Misc. Papers 1859). In August, Lieut. Cogswell, a member of the Second expedition

that the Utes, fearing an inroad of Navajos, had "deserted the Rivers west of the Rio Piedra [Piedra]," and that "Cayetano is encamped about 48 miles below us on the Rio Las Animas." Also "We heard a rumor that the Chavatches & Moustaches were waiting for us on the Dolores, for the purpose of giving us battle" (Lieut. M. Cogswell to J. L. Collins, Rio Florida, August 4, 1859. Ibid.).

R143

The Rio Piedra is a south flowing tributary of the San Juan River, joining the parent stream near the Colorado-New Mexico boundary. The rivers to the west are Los Pinos, Las Animas, and La Plata, all joining the San Juan south of the boundary. The Rio Dolores is a tributary of the Colorado River, flowing northwestward from La Plata Mountain.

Lieutenant Cogswell wrote his letter on the outward bound leg of the Macomb expedition. On the return trip, they turned southward and touched the San Juan about fifty miles upstream from its mouth, and arrived at Abiquiu by way of Canyon Largo. Captain Macomb did not mention the presence of Navajos, but remarked that the warm season is short in the San Juan Valley, otherwise the Navajos would plant more extensively (John H. Macomb, Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, in 1859 . . . , p. 6, Washington, 1876).

R 9

Macomb's silence is not surprising in the light of Special Agent Baker's report after traveling with a scouting party around the Navajo country: "The Navajos have not planted anything on the river [San Juan] this year; the Turaks have driven them all this side [west] of the Tumache mountains. We did not see a Navajo settlement in forty miles of the San Juan River" (Alexander Baker to Collins, Fort

4.2

R 144 -58-

Defiance, August 8, 1859. OIA, RM, LR, Agency Letters Annual Report, Sept. 1, 1859, 36 cons., 1 sess., 88

The "driving" of the Navajos did not include San Juan because "Cayetano with his main body is on this is the same river where I left Capt. McCombs and from there in two days" (A. E. Pfeiffer to Collins, Nov. 23, 1859. OIA, RM, LR, Agency Letters 1859).

In January of 1860, the Ute Chief Rio Abiquiu, the Abiquiu agency, escorting four New Mexicans from country. "As the Mexicans came through the Navajo country, they were attacked by them" and suffered the loss of one life. Agent Pfeiffer that a great many Utes wanted to plant Animas in the next planting season, and that some of them had constructed an irrigation ditch (A. E. Pfeiffer to Collins, January 9, 1860. Ibid., Agency Letters 1860).

The Indians' reference to the Navajo country from the Utopia country which lies west of the San Juan and north of La Plata Mountain in the southwestern part of the State. Having southward, they were bound to strike the Old San Juan. They followed this to Abiquiu, the statement about the Utes was correct. The alternative was to follow down the Rio Dolores to the San Juan and pick up the trail that led through La Plata.

During the preceding December (1859), a party of New Mexicans, and probably a few Pueblos, raided the Navajo country in the Tuzila Valley. Since difficulties again broke out between the Navajos, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs ordered the Colonel Parlatery to drive upon the Utes to chastise them.

to A. B. Greenwood, Santa Fe, September 16, 1860. *not here* Ibid., LR 1860, (741).
 These activities flowered in the general campaign of 1860 under Colonel
 E. R. S. Canby against the Navajos, which made the country north of the
 San Juan important as a refuge. Meanwhile, other Ute Indians were raid-
 ing deep into Navajo country, as far south as Ojo del Gallo in the Mt.
 Taylor region (Col. M. Chaves to Commander of Department, Fort Lyon, *R 84*
 November 11, 1861. USAC, 88, Box 18, C246) where Old Fort Wingate was
 later located.

In May of 1862, the Navajo Chief's Armijo, Cayetano and Barboncito
 entered the village of Cubero, on the south side of Mt. Taylor, and asked
 for peace (Ms. Need to J. L. Collins, Cubero, May 16, 1862. OLA, 88, LR, *R 152*
 Misc. Papers 1862. Letter written by request of Manuel Garcia, Alcalde
 of Cubero). Col. Canby was of the opinion that the Navajos should be
 dealt with once and for all time by the military in an effort to put an
 end to the intermittent marauding that had been going on for generations.
 This idea was applied by General James H. Carleton in 1863.

When officials negotiated with the Utes and Jicarillas in 1863,
 shortly after the Navajos had returned to their home land from the Pecos
 Valley, the Utes were reported as claiming ownership of the land with the
 following boundaries: the Grand and Green Rivers on the North; the San
 Juan on the East; the Colorado River on the West; and as far south as the
 Navajo country, including the San Juan and its tributaries. The Jicarillas
 claimed the land from the Rio Grande on the East to the San Juan on the
 West and, as it was asserted, they would accept a reservation on the
 Navajo River, an eastern extension of the Rio San Juan (P.M.S. Army to Mts, *R 117*
 October 3, 1863. Ibid., LR, A610/1863), crossing and recrossing the state
 boundary as it flows westward into the parent stream.

NAVAJO WESTERN FRONTIER

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

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

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

In fact, the Moquis, from their complete isolation; their timidity and ignorance, which make them the prey of the rapacious wild tribes which entirely surround them; as well as by their numbers, their agricultural habits, the hope of their improvement and the important effect which the reaction of that improvement would have upon the Utahs, Coyoteros, Comanches, Navahos, Gileños, Pinalenos, and Navajoes . . . call most loudly for the services of a faithful Indian agent (Major H. L. Kendrick to Governor Meriwether, Fort Defiance, August 22, 1850. Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, Letters Received, Misc. Papers 1850. Cf. Father Morfi's description of their surrounding neighbors in the eighteenth century. Saura, p. 4).

The western Ute Indians visited the Hopi villages to trade. Chief Walker was a leader in this relationship, moving out from his home area in southern Utah, passing the Rio Colorado at the Crossing of the Fathers about thirty miles upstream from Lees Ferry. He also contacted the Navajos and Zuni people. However, there is no mention of specific Navajo location in the sources relating to his activities (John D. Lee to Dr. Willard Richards, Parowan, Utah, March 13, 1852. Printed in Deseret News, April 17, 1852. Clipping in Journal History, March 13, 1852. Archives of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. A. W. Babbitt to Editor, Journal History, November 28, 1853. Brigham Young to Luke Lee, Great Salt Lake, September 29, 1852. Office of Indian Affairs, Utah Superintendency, Letters Received 1850/July ^{first time} National Archives. The Church archives will be cited as LDS in subsequent notes).

Major Kendrick contended in 1856 that the Hopi villages were "the farthest point west, anywhere near its longitude & east of the Grand Colorado, of which white men have any knowledge" (Kendrick to Meriwether, op. cit.). The Mormons by this time had some knowledge of the region west of these villages through contact with Ute traders to the Hopi and activities of Mormon missionaries, but they did not mention Navajos west of the villages in the late 1850's (George W. Armstrong to Brigham Young, Provo City, Utah, June 30, 1855. OIA, Utah, LR 1855, A 392). Jacob Hamblin visited them in 1858, traveling by way of the Kaibab Mountains and the Crossing of the Fathers, and made no mention of Navajos between the Rio Colorado and the villages (James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin, p. 60ff, 15b. Salt Lake City, 1881).

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

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

Captain L. Sitgreaves of the Topographical Engineers led an expedition from Duni to the Colorado River in 1858, following down the Duni River to the Little Colorado then along that stream to the Falls where they crossed over and turned westward toward the San Francisco Mountains. Sitgreaves did not meet with any Navajos, although the party encountered a few Coyotero Apaches enroute to trade some burros at Duni. They also met a few Fovato Apaches or Tanyai Indians near the San Francisco Mountains. The only mention of Navajos is on the map drawn by the cartographer for the party and they are located in the Chuska Range (Capt. L. Sitgreaves, Report of an Expedition down the Duni and Colorado Rivers. Washington, 1858).

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

for nine months, Whipple reported that the former of a party of one thousand warriors through the Moqui wards spent much time among their rancherias in the (Ibid., p. 76). The number of warriors in the party exaggerated.

The Beale expedition that experimented with the burden for the western country followed the Whipple in 1857 and did not sight Navajos westward from the Colorado (Edward F. Beale, Map of Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River. 35 cong., 1 sess., sec. ex. doc. 124. 1857).

A trading license was issued to Harris in 1853, to trade with Navajos "at the following description of the boundaries of the country occupied by the said Navajos, Rio Colorado, Chuska, Pouniche, Chuska" (OIA, 1855). The "Rio Colorado" was the Arroyo Colorado which enters the Rio San Juan from the South near the Point between Beautiful Mountain and Carriso Mountain. It is not the Colorado of the West nor its tributary.

In January of 1858, "an Indian whose mother's father is said to be Utah, living in the direction of Fort Defiance on the way home from a conference with the Navajos (Capt. W. J. H. Brooks to AGO, Feb. 25, 1858. United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letter 25. The National Archives. Record Group 98). He had been as far away as Salt Lake City, and even carried

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

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

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

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

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

During Major Brooks' war, a detachment was sent Navajos at the "Collitas" (Colletas), supposedly the hom Sacrillos Largos, but the inhabitants were not taken by a Poes lamedal in a little skirmishing the next day. The then moved southwestward through Canyon Chamilly without more Indians, but they did find heavy tracks of stock that through the canyon (Brooks to Lane, Fort Defiance, Sept. Ibid., Box 10, M61/1).

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

passing Pueblo [Pueblo] Colorado, and examining the valleys beyond in a south west direction. My reconnaissance of this section of country, has been satisfactory in making me acquainted with the favourite haunts of the enemy, the easiest best route to Calabasho Sierra [Sierra] and where he grazes his stock. . . .

He marched westward on the first day, October 1 of 13½ miles "to the water hole on the Mogul road." Early the Colonel moved westward and reached Pueblo Colorado at On the following day the detachment marched about five miles turned southwest to Mammalito's village and "encamped by corn fields, in a beautiful valley with sufficiency of very good grass." These fields were in the Pueblo Colorado named Cornfields today. From this place, Capt. Lindsay marched southward for 12 miles and

Canada Larga is an eastern tributary of Canyon
The old wagon road from Abiquiu followed Canada Larga into Canyon

would be given to the Utehs of Abiquiu to repair their trails (books
to AAG, Fort Defiance, July 22, 1858. Ibid., B45), a hope that was

came to a field of corn standing, but found
no water, he then coursed west until he struck
the valley of the encampment (Pueblo Colorado
Wash), he met with large trails of horses and
sheep, but not recent, say no Indians, Marched
he supposes 35 miles and arrived at camp about
2 p.m. 6 P. M.

It. Late after marching north for ten miles,
came to a bluff overlooking the valley (Beautiful
Valley or Chitule Wash) where Pvt. Sweeney was
wounded (Northwest of Grand) (this connects our
scout with the route of that from Casa de Gallego)
found in the rocks a large pool of water (Fins
Springs), turned west, then south and then east
to the encampment without seeing an Indian or
any flocks, altho there was recent sign of both.

Capt. McLane marched west and northwest and "met the enemy" (Col. D. S.
Miles to AAG, Fort Defiance, October 23, 1858. Ibid., Box 10, W75).

Subsequent to this military operation, Miles reported that the Navajos
were seeking peace and as a token of good intentions planned to return
stolen stock. In order to do so, they rounded them up from Canyon de
Chelly, Sierra Calabesha, Pueblo Colorado, Chusca, Tuni Chay, Carrissa
and Omega Juan Ichu (Jumico) (Miles to Wilkins, Fort Defiance, Dec. 1,
1858. Ibid., IR 1858, W64. R698, from Pl. Ex. 200, Docket 229 Navajo),
all well-known sites of Navajo occupancy.

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

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

Capt. Shepherd camped "in front of the two Pueblos of Mochonobe
(Mishongovi) & Chupsulebe" (Shipsalvi) at a pond of rain water. Five
miles farther west and southwest of the Pueblo of Shogopore they again
encamped at a pond of rain water. A Pueblo guide now led them 15 miles
south where they encamped in the unnamed canyon which they had abandoned
on turning north to Ojo de la Jara. Twelve miles farther south they
"encamped on the southern side of some black & high mesas, a volcanic
area called the Hopi Buttes, from which could be seen the Little
Colorado River, supposed to be about 20 miles distant. The water was
permanent but scarce. Marching E. S. E. about 20 miles, they cut no
trails and encamped at a spot where the water was not permanent. Ten
miles eastward brought them to the Rio Puelitos again (Pueblo
Colorado). From there a march of 15 miles E. S. E. brought them to
another Ojo de la Jara (Danner Springs in Wide Ruins Wash) on the
Suni-Hopi trail. Marching E. N. E. for 13 miles they arrived at the
ruins of Pueblo Grande (Wide Ruins); thence E. S. E. for 4 miles to
an encampment at the Agua de Viboras (Battlesnake Spring)--water
not permanent.

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

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

At the mouth or lower end of the Cañon of the Chilitos, some few deer were seen, also at the tanks near Pueblo Grande [Hole Spring]. At the last camp in the cañon of the Chilitos, some few mice came into camp. . . . No flocks of sheep were seen on the whole route. At the last only 16 miles from the Post a herd of horses were seen.

Open fields were seen on the Rio Puelitos about 30 miles hence, also a few small fields down the cañon of the Puelitos on the 4th day out. No fields were seen discovered till we came to the cañon of the Pueblo Grande, about 30 miles hence, S. west, thence some still we entered the lower end of the Cañon of the Chilitos where were extensive fields, distant hence about 35 miles, and also in the upper Cañon of the Chilitos 16 miles. Some few other patches were seen along the way hardly worth mentioning. Scarcely a hundred acres in all were discovered.

Stragglers were discovered of wintering large herds of horses & flocks of sheep, in the Cañon leading west towards Hopi from the lower end of the Cañon of the Rio Puelitos as well as on the mesa adjoining this cañon. One in the cañon [Pueblo Grande] of the Op de la Sierra near Hopi; and others particularly in the valley reaching from the Rio de la Sierra on the Hill & Hopi trail, to the

Pueblo Grande, and likewise at the lower end of the cañon of the Chilitos (Capt. O. L. Shepherd to J. R. Moore, Fort Defiance, August 7, 1899. *Idid.*, Ser. 18, 244/2).

Capt. Shepherd also reported that

The large mountain lying south west of the Hopi villages is doubtless the Sierra de Francisco and is beyond the Rio Colorado Cañon. Being about five days journey beyond and the home of the Comanche Indians. I am satisfied that the Spaniards never go there to secure themselves or property (*Idid.*).

While Capt. Shepherd was scouting the western base Capt. Walker led a detachment through the region of the

following the Rio Chelly which after fracturing itself from the cañon, turns due North, for six miles we passed a succession of fields of growing corn, some of them containing from forty to fifty acres. This valley and the lower half of the cañon are probably the most populous portion of the Navajo country. . . . The last cultivated land we saw upon the Chelly is almost six miles from the mouth of the cañon. The Indians informed us that it was an irrigation lower down, but that the country is grazed over a good deal in the fall as the rains have brought up the green grass upon the plains. . . . (J. C. Walker to Maj. Gen. J. R. Moore, Fort Defiance, August 3, 1899. *Idid.*, Ser. 18, 244/2).

A year after the Shepherd reconnaissance, or the Col. E. S. Cady launched a campaign against the Navajo westward from the Rio Grande Valley toward the enemy country reported that

The information derived from the spies, the wounded Navajo and probably from all points on the conviction that the Navajos have been driven by the operations of Maj. Wiley's command & are now from their haunts in the Cañon and Pueblo mountains and are trying to get out with the Sierra Madre as their ultimate destination.

Toward that point the next operations of the campaign will be directed in the hope of inflicting a decisive blow (Lt. R. B. Chaby to AGO, Camp near Fort Defiance, October 4, 1860. WRAC, 84, 14, Box 13, 639).

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

8

Col. Chaby's comment as of October 19 supports the Mormon report that the Navajos were so far west because of military pressure: "I have the honor to report," Chaby wrote, "that our operations since leaving Fort Defiance have been attended with no important result except that of driving the Indians to the West and North-west." "We are now moving in the direction of Puerta Linda with reasonable hopes of success" (Chaby to AGO, Camp on Arroyo 15 miles below north of Canon de Chelly, October 19, 1860. WRAC, 84, 14, Box 13, 649/1).

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The reasonable hopes of the Colonel rested with Captain E. E. Hibley who was entrusted with the escort to the westward of Canon de Chelly. From the site known as Bull's Bay camp, or La Baya, which was twelve miles north of Fort Defiance, or the present-day Summit, the

command moved southward some 27 miles to the base of the neighborhood of Ganado, "represented by the highest of the Indians, and affording excellent water night march on October 11 was made by a detachment north in the direction of some lakes at the head of where it was hoped the Navajos would be taken by sunrise, the main command moved to the mouth of the (Pine Springs Wash); "The country traversed, especially from the 'New Colorado' [Ganado Mesa] into beautiful broken and essentially a 'mal pais' devoid of herbage surface covered with petrified forest trees." On the way was examined west to some lakes "distinct about eight base of the 'Mesas de la Face' [Black Mountains]. . . the lakes had been entirely consumed by the Indians" to the mouth of the Canon Cito Frigo, the troops and fields already harvested.

Moving northward toward the Canyon de Chelly of about 8 miles, camp was made at a waterhole. The ranches the mouth of the Canyon and exited the coils of Col. Chaby. The combined force continued the route Chelly Creek (Chiale Wash) from the Canyon, marching first day; the second day, distance unrecorded, they red sandstone formation known as La Verdana (Window) day they covered 21 miles, passing across the plain to Indian Gardens (near Rock Point), not to mention on the rocks near the trail, and then made camp. The

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

a night march Southward to the middle point of the Mesa de La Yaca, distant some 35 miles; to ascend to mesa Black Mesa at this point and by a south and westerly course to enter the "Puerta de las Liestas" Marsh Pass near some old Pueblo ruins noticed by Capt. Walker Mounted Rifles in his reconnaissance of 1859 (Capt. H. H. Sibley to AAG, Swall's Bay Camp, Nov. 12, 1860. ibid., 12, 653/4).

The Old Pueblo ruin is

known by the name "Tina A" or "Tocolote" (the Mexican-Spanish for ground-owl, from hollow tecoloti). It was known to white men many years ago and was visited by prospectors, relic hunters and soldiers. It was also indicated on the United States Engineers' map of 1877. See, Lieutenant Ball, 3rd Infantry, U. S. A., (probably William Hemphill Ball) carried his name, with the date, 1859 (Albert B. Reagan in El Palacio, 22:736. June 15, 1927).

This site is near the west entrance to Marsh Pass.

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

joined the main command. After several days, the column marched back to the Chelly Creek (Chiale Whab) and Cañon (Sibley to AAG, op. cit.).

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

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

Aside from the destruction of some Navajo livestock,

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

He then planned to operate against "the winter grazing grounds of the Navajoes" (Cusby to AAG, Swall's Bay Camp, November 8, 1860. USAC, RM, Box 13, C-9. 1898).

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

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

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

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

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

Capt. McLave further reported that

The Indian women prisoners [Navajo], the Mexican "Jesus" and the Navajo boy [from Fort Defiance], all knew the water called Ojo Caliente (Bar Spring) and the country around but some would acknowledge having heard even of the Colorado Chiquito; and after my arrival at that river they said they knew nothing of its existence, which is additional evidence that the bands whose tracks were at Ojo Caliente have some intermediate place of resort between there and the river, because both "Jesus" and the woman, who afterwards discovered, belonged to those bands. . . .

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

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

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

After failing to find the Zuni River, to the south Capt. McLaw returned down the Middle Colorado for some distance, struck across the country to the Rio Puerco and finally followed it (downstream) north, noticing numerous tracks of stock. Turning from the wash, the detachment followed a direct route to Ojo Caliente, distant some eighteen miles. The next day the troop "mooched" at Jacobs Well. Following up Bell's road, they returned to base camp by way of Zuni Pueblo (It. L. McLaw to MAG, Camp at West Spring near Fort Sumner, December 16, 1860. USAC, 2d, IB, Box 34, CID).

R-77

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

that the country on the upper Colorado Chiquito is not new and has not recently been visited by the Navajos, and that there are no trails leading eastward from that area.

Abundant evidence was found by Capt. McLaw of recent occupation and is considerable numbers of the Puerco; the Lower Caliente; the Ojo de Jesus and the Spring. The trail from the last mentioned place is the most recent and is the most direct. This scout and information derived from the sources above that considerable numbers of the

Sarcillas Laguna, was reported as having been killed near the village of Churo; and Suro Milas, Mariano and Sarcillas Laguna came to untimely deaths.

McLaw did not always go south nearly as often as he had

See next page
1899).
the northern

...ant. Soon after sunset,
... said they were hunters from
... Reports of exploration and
... "In passing through
... quite a lot from us." Reaching
... held captive by the Navajo

visited Fort Defiance on the way home from a conference with Navajo
chief's representative of some the chiefs who professed to want peace
with the Navajo (Capt. W. J. H. Brooks to AGO, Fort Defiance, Jan. 12,
1866. United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters Received, Box 10,
95. The National Archives. Record Group 98). The messenger had traveled
as far away as Salt Lake City, and even carried a certificate of

no distinct sign of a trail approaching
ing the cottonwood locality, the detach-
ittle Colorado. As the Colorado was
utelope which were very numerous,
miles above the junction (two miles
s of the river /Little Colorado/
dians or indeed by any person or
Zuni River, to the south Capt. McFara
or some distance, struck across the
ly followed Agibahomah Wash,
Turning from the Wash, the detach-
Ocaliente, distant some eighteen
ed" at Jacobs Well. Picking up
camp by way of Zuni Pueblo (it. L.
near Fort Huachuca, December 16,
on the series of scouts led Col.
near Colorado Chiquito
sally been occupied
are so trails
found by Capt. McFara
... number,
... to form
... the South and West.
... derived from other
... the number of the

-76-
Navajos (divided into small parties) are
any direction on the mesa. The lines of
and the Pablitos or Morapas.
is planned to operate with small detachments to convince these scattered
folk that they and their kinsmen must learn to live at peace (Cady to
AGO, Fort Huachuca, Dec. 11, 1860. IBid., Box 13, 597).
Nearly two weeks later the Colonel reported
that information derived from the Navajos
... the ...
... that ...
... to ask for peace, indicates that the great
body of the warlike Navajos with their friends
Francisco ... This ...
different ... is confirmed by ...
The operations that are now in progress here
for their object a thorough examination of the
country west of this place embracing the Navajo
... territory ground on the ... the ...
... and valley and the broken ...
valley on the south and west (Cady to AGO, Fort
Huachuca, Dec. 24, 1860. IBid., Box 13, 62).
On the 14th of December, Lt. Smith surprised a camp of Navajos on the
Rio Puerco about thirty miles southwest of Fort Huachuca (Cady to
AGO, Jan. 6, 1861. IBid., 611), or near the junction with Black Creek.
The report of Cady's operations was a treaty signed at Fort
Huachuca whereby "The Navajo Chiefs shall immediately collect their
people and establish them in the country west of Fort Huachuca, and
until it is otherwise stipulated, none of them will be allowed to live
or graze their flocks in the country west of that post" (IBid., 592/3).
Col. Cady's assertion that the Navajos were in the vicinity
of the San Francisco Mountains with their flocks is vague. When Jacob

having been killed near the village of
and Scirellus largest case to entirely

-92-
Col. Cady next said plans to destroy "the Navajo Indians (associated
with the Copiers and Navajo Apaches) that live in the neighborhood of
the Rio Grande, the head waters of the Colorado Chiquito and the Sierra

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

Many years later, the western range of the Navajos was attested by "An old Navajo, now living at Tuba City, [Vbe] said that when the Carson campaign began [1863] his family lived near Feans Canyon, and they were the farthest west of the Navajo." In fear of the American soldiers, some of them fled as far as Cataract Canyon and made their first contact with the Havasupai Folk (Katherine Bartlett, "Why the Navajo came to Arizona." Museum of Northern Arizona, Notes, 5:31. Dec., 1932). This was far to the northwest of the San Francisco Mountains and west of the Grand Canyon. R 2

With the cessation of hostilities by Col. Canby, and the withdrawal of the troops from Fort Huachuca at Bear Springs, the Navajos reoccupied their planting grounds at that site. When Col. Carson arrived in the summer of 1863 for another campaign against these people, he found wheat growing and appropriated about 40,000 pounds for the mules. 79

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

Pah-Ute woman, he learned that Navajos with large herds were at a pond of water about thirty-five miles to the west (Madito Wash) of the Pueblo Colorado, but they had fled before he reached that point and could not be overtaken without crossing a waterless stretch of ninety miles (Col. Carson to AAG, Pueblo Colorado, July 24, 1863. Department of Justice, Correspondence of the Navajo Campaign). The following month, the Colonel led a detachment southward from Fort Defiance to a point about fifteen miles from Guni Pueblo; turning westward he marched about twenty-five miles toward Hopi. The following day, shortly after leaving camp, the troops destroyed about 12 acres of corn, then traveled about fifteen miles and camped for a few hours. A night march brought them at ten A. M. to "a Canyon a little west of Moqui." Here the Ute allies took two women and three children prisoners, and Capt. Murray's Company captured some stock. From this initial camp site, he marched about three miles farther west to a spring in the canyon. Then "an Oribi [Orabi] Indian brought me news that a party of Navajoes, with large herds had passed their village twelve miles distant." After pursuing them for 25 miles, Carson returned to his canyon camp. At another spring about twelve miles west of Hopi, the soldiers destroyed about an acre of corn. From his camp, Carson headed for the base of operations on the Pueblo Colorado. While enroute, somewhere along the march he destroyed "about 50 acres of corn." "From all I could learn from the Moqui Indians," he reported, "and the captives taken, the majority of the Navajoes, with their herds are at the Little Red River [Little Colorado], and this is confirmed by my own observation" (Carson to AAG, Camp on the Pueblo Colorado, August 19, 1863, Ibid.). After a scout around the Canyon de Chelly, Carson was able to report: R 165

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

R 167

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

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

R 168

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

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

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

R 170

R 169

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

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

R 171

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

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

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

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

encountered a small group on the Rio Piarco of the West (Gaw to Cutter, August 8, 1865. Idid., vol. 17).

The Carson campaign forced some Navajoes so far west of their usual haunts that they crossed the Colorado River into Utah on raids against the beef cattle and horse herds of the Mormon colonists (George A. Smith to Daniel E. Hall, Tropicville, Feb. 19, 1866. Journal History). They were also reported as being "very mad" (James G. Kimb to Braxton Snow, St. George, April 2, 1866. Idid. Cf. Little, Rebelle, p. 99f and Deseret News, 12:89, in Journal History, March 24, 1869. 128), and who would say nay.

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

NAVAJO SOUTHERN BOUNDARY

The southern limit of Navajo land occupancy was roughly the Rio San Jose from east of Laguna Pueblo westward into the northern part of the Duni Mountain, but their holdings were precarious because of competition from New Mexicans, Pueblo and harassment from their southern Apache kinmen. This situation was illustrated for the new ruler of New Mexico the year following the entry of General Kearny by a petition from the Cubero folks for permission to abandon part of their holdings for lack of water and settle on the Rio San Jose; a further reason advanced was the insecurity in their present location, "that being a frontier much harassed by the depredations of the ungrateful Navajo tribe . . ." (Federal Land Office, File 79. Santa Fe, New Mexico). The land they asked for "has been occupied only by the said Navajo Indians, to the notorious injury of the settlements adjacent thereto . . ." and they could serve as "a great check to the Navajos who occupy it under the pretext of peace. . ." Their petition was approved by Prefect Francisco Barracaso on the legal advice of the United States Attorney that the land was open for settlement since it was a part of the public domain and Navajo occupancy did not represent ownership (1814).

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

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

at one time having planted on a portion of these lands, the whole pueblo, emboldened by this example, and knowing that the Navajos held no written title, have called in question the validity of the claim of the Navajos to the lands occupied by them (Quiles to James B. Calhoun, May 4, 1831. 28 Cong., 1 sess., Hse. ex. doc. 2, p. 437. Serial 636. Pocket 229-Navajo-p. 70).

The notion of a southern limit to the Navajo homeland was further revealed when Governor Calhoun offered military advice to his civilian superior: "Military stations ought to be established at Tuniika, and the Cañon de Chaille, in the Navajo country, at or near James, Duni and Laguna . . ." (Calhoun to Commissioner Medill, Santa Fe, October 1, 1849. Annual Report, p. 1001. 31 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1. Serial 590). The three pueblos mentioned were historically and actually the frontier outposts for Spanish relations with Navajos living to the west and north of these points.

Calhoun was also the first Indian agent for New Mexico and commented along this line when preparing a sketch map in 1849 to locate agencies for the various tribes under his jurisdiction:

Duni /as wrote/ is completely isolated, ~~inasmuch~~ as the nearest settlements to it--on the East--as the West, the Navajos may be found perhaps 100 miles distant--on the north they /the Navajo/ have the Navajoes--and on the north, the Apaches (Abel, Official Correspondence, map insert).

The military soon became a major reperterial service on this subject as illustrated by Major F. L. Kendrick, post commander at Fort Defiance:

I am informed that Mexicans from the Rio Grande, and that vicinity, are again grazing their sheep in the Navajoe Country, and have been herding them even to the west of Duni, one hundred and

sixty miles from their homes, and more than one hundred miles beyond the extreme frontier town. I am told that a short time since there were Mexican flocks in the Sierra de Duni between the Gallinas and Inscription Rock, and it is supposed that they are there now. I am further informed that the Indians, both Zuni & Navajos, are very much displeased at this encroachment on their lands, and have maltreated some of their herders. If these flocks are grazed there much longer a loss of some or all of them, at an early date, may safely be predicted. (Kendrick to AAG, Fort Defiance, Feb. 25, 1856. United States Army Command, New Mexico, Letters Received, Box 6. Record Group 50. The National Archives).

The following December, Major Kendrick sent a letter to several sheep owners complaining that they were grazing sheep near Inscription Rock, which lies on the southwest side of the Duni Mountains, and far into the Navajo country (Kendrick to Ramon Luna, et al. Fort Defiance, Dec. 18, 1854. Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, Letters Received, Misc. Papers 1854. Record Group 75. The National Archives). A year later, a Navajo killed an Isleta Indian who was acting as head shepherd for Juan Chavez of Sabinal: "the Navajo was hunting in the mountains near the blue waters [Rio] on horseback . . ." (Agent Henry L. Dodge, to Act. Gov. W. W. H. Davis, Navajo Agency, Dec. 26, 1855. Id., Agency Letters 1855).

Enroute to Bear Spring where New Fort Higate was later established, Major Kendrick met Dalgadito, a prominent Navajo leader who professed to be at peace. The Major reported that "the principal men at this time living in the vicinity of Bear Spring, whose people have been ill-disposed, declares himself anxious to plant in that quarter & correspondingly anxious to preserve the Peace" (Kendrick to AAG, Fort Defiance, Feb. 25, 1856. Id., Box 6, K2). Several

R 44
R 12
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R 46

months later "immense numbers of Indians" were at Bear and Carrio Springs (Kendrick to AAG, Fort Defiance, June 13, 1856. Id., K9), the latter being located a few miles to the east of Bear.

After a visit to Duni Pueblo in the summer of 1856, Major Kendrick reported to Gov. Mariwether that

The largest and best planting grounds of these Indians [Navajo] are at La Patria & the Pascado, each some 15 miles northeast and east from the Pueblo at present occupied. These grounds have been in their possession for many years, probably during the entire existence of the Pueblo itself, and their continued possession of both of them is of vital importance to the maintenance of that community; without them it would be inevitably and utterly ruined.

I do not know by what other title than possession these lands are held, nor have I legal knowledge enough to know whether that be good against the Navajos, under the treaty of Laguna Negro (Kendrick to Mariwether, Fort Defiance, Aug 22, 1856. OIA, Box 12, Misc. Papers 1856).

The Rio Pascado is a western flowing stream, draining the southwest side of the Duni Mountains, that provides a major water supply for Duni Pueblo. The Rio P. Urias joins this stream from the north. The Inscription Rock that Major Kendrick believed to lie in Navajo country lies about twelve miles airmile to the southwest of the Rio Pascado.

For the next two years the situation in regard to the Navajos remained about as usual. Agent Dodge reported that "A very large majority of the Nation lives at this time upon the road between this [Fort Defiance] and the blue waters . . ." (H. L. Dodge to Mariwether, Fort Defiance, Nov. 3, 1856. Id., Agency Letters 1856); disputes with New Mexicans over grazing land continued (Col. Remondilla to AAG, Feb. 28, 1857. OIAC, Box 12, Letters Sent, vol. 1, p. 89), and He-bit-i-la,

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a Mogollon Apache chief, sought to recover some captive children from Sandoval's band of Navajos with the assistance of Agent Michael Steck of the Southern Apache Agency (Michael Steck to Harley, Navajo Agent, Apache Agency, Jan. 10, 1858. Steck Papers, University of New Mexico).

R 174

In the late summer of 1858, Major Brooks launched a campaign against the Navajos to teach them to respect and abide by the white man's concept of lawful behavior. Capt. Melane attacked a party of Indians at Bear Springs: "8 or 10 Indians were killed; a number of their houses were destroyed, their blankets and cooking utensils captured . . ." etc. (Capt. George Melane to Lt. Col. D. S. Miles, Fort Defiance, Sept. 2, 1858. USAC, W, 12, Box 10, 148).

R 60

A navy letter written at Los Lunas, about twenty miles south of Albuquerque, informed Col. Bemisville that a large number of Navajo Indians were on the Rio Puerco of the East and in the mountains as far down as the village of Lemitar, about sixty miles south of Albuquerque.

The Mexicans say that Gordo, a brother of Barrillo Largo, and Muck-with-las, are among them. I recognized Jose Pilon and Vincents as rich men I have often seen at Fort Defiance. I counted within the space of two miles Seventeen different herds of sheep, and about four hundred head of horses. I also saw a number of clouds of dust in the mountains which the Indians informed me was caused by herds of sheep (Lt. J. I. G. Whistler to AAG, Nov. 1, 1858. Ibid., 125).

R 64

These southern ranging Navajos were probably keeping out of the way of Major Brooks' soldiers.

The years 1859 and 1860 were also troubled ones for Navajos and New Mexicans. A party of five Navajos drove off a small flock of sheep from the Rio Puerco Valley about twenty miles west of Los Lunas in the month of June. They were pursued to Zuni Mountain where the

sheep were recovered but the Indians escaped without harm (Capt. Geo. Sykes to AAG, Los Lunas, June 6, 1859. OIA, W, 12, Misc. Papers 1859). In August they stole stock from the Zuni folk and escaped into the northern mountains (Agent Alexander Baker to Collins, Fort Defiance, Aug. 12, 1859. Ibid., Agency Papers).

R 145

The impact of Major Brooks' war is reflected in the report of Lieut. John D. Wilkins:

Last winter it was frequently reported that the Navajoes had driven large numbers of their animals sixty miles south of Zuni, also to the waters of the Chiriquite /Little/ Colorado, and on the northern slope of the 'Sierra Blanca' /Southwest of Zuni/. Others represented that they were hid to the north and northwest of Mogul, and that Coyatom's band took refuge to the north of the San Juan (AAG to Major J. S. Simms, Santa Fe, Aug. 12, 1859. 36 cong., 1 sess., sen. ex. doc. 2, pp. 337-338. Serial 1204).

R 23

Agent Steck, enroute to his Southern Apache agency, learned at the village of Tome, some twenty-five miles south of Albuquerque, that Navajos had stolen 20,000 head of sheep (an over estimate) and had driven them into the Jornada which lay to the south. He also reported that Capt. Manuel Chaves had had a fight with sixty Navajos about thirty miles west of Fort Craig (Steck to Collins, Apache Agency, March 1, 1860. OIA, W, 12, Agency Letters 1860), a post near the north end of the Jornada.

R 148

And again in March of 1860 Steck reported that a band of Navajos were as far south as the Jornada and were even accused of having killed some one in the Organ Mountain to the east of Dona Ana in the Mesilla Valley (Steck to Collins, Apache Agency, March 5, 1860. Ibid.). The Navajos of course were also sometimes killed. Leading men such as Gordo, brother of

R 149

The month later General Canby raised a report that there is a spring called Ojo de Cibola about fifteen miles west of Llaneta, where the Navajos drive their stolen cattle and "hunt" the flesh at their leisure. Cannot you make arrangements (He asked Col. Ring) for a party of resolute men from your command to be stationed there for, say, thirty days, and kill every Navajo and Apache they can find? (Carlleton to Canby, Santa Fe, August 1863. 29 CBAG. 3 West., San. Rept. 186, p. 123. Serial 1279).

And again, a few days later, he claimed that "these Indians sometimes go as low or lower than Fort Thorn. As you are aware, they are a branch of the Apache family, talk the same language, and are said now to be mixed with predatory bands of the Apaches" (Carlleton to Brig. Gen. Joseph R. West, Santa Fe, Aug. 7, 1863. *Ibid.*, p. 127). Fort Thorn was near the southern end of the Jornada and on the west side of the Rio Grande.

Kit Carson, campaigning west of Fort Defiance, was visited by Little Foot who claimed to have come from the salinas southwest of Dnai, heading for the Chusca Valley where his people lived, and had planned for their emigration because of poverty (Carson to Cutler, Pueblo, Colorado, Aug. 31, 1863. Department of Justice, *Carson Papers*, Washington, D. C.).

The "salinas" might have been the salt lake that lies about forty-five miles airline due south of the Dnai Pueblo. The Rito Quemado is to the southeast of the lake. Carson also "ascertained that a large party of Navajos are on Salt River near the San Francisco Mts. among the Apaches, and within easy striking distance of the Pimo villages" (*Ibid.*). The area indicated was the land of the Coyotero Apaches. On an occasional map the White Mountains of east-central Arizona are marked San Francisco Mountains.

In the winter of October, 1863, the post commander of Fort Wingate led a scout southward for a distance of about 100 miles to a Navajo rancheria in the vicinity of the Dattil Mountains, only to find that it had been attacked two days before by Dnai warriors who had killed the chief, Barboncito, with sixteen others, captured forty-four squaws and children and about 1,000 sheep. He also reported seeing another detachment of Navajos heading northward with a band of horses and sheep. The post commander then moved south and west by way of the Little Colorado and Yemadé Spring to Jacobs Well where he destroyed fields of corn, water melons and pumpkins. From there the detachment returned to Fort Wingate where the leader reported: "In the large scope of country over which I have travelled during the past month, every evidence tends to show that in that section they [Navajos] have no longer permanent abiding places, but are fleeing from one part to another, in a continual state of alarm" (Post Commander to AAG, Fort Wingate, Oct. 6, 1863. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent, vol. 16).

Sordo (brother to Barboncito), Delgadito and Pedro Sarracino who belonged to Barboncito's group arrived at Fort Wingate shortly after this campaign to ask for peace in behalf of their people. They promised to live up to the terms that had been agreed upon at one time, namely, to subdue their own wrongdoers and if necessary to aid the military to overcome them. Meanwhile they asked permission for their people to locate on "La Gallina" (Capt. Rafael Chacon to General, Fort Wingate, October 18, 1863. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent, 1863). The Carlleton policy required them, of course, to move to the Bosque Redondo, so there was little chance that their request for locating on the Gallinas would be granted.

Navajos, Capt. Chacon to General, Fort Wingate, October 18, 1863. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent, vol. 16. They must cease any movement to the Rito Quemado and there been forwarded to General Chacon, Santa Fe, August 1863.

The following Volunteers led a scouting party in the Dattil Mountains east of El Fita Quemado. Shaw to AAG, Fort Wingate, Oct. 6, 1863. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent, vol. 16. Capt. Shaw issued "particular orders" to be sent along with other orders also came in with some information search for his own family bring in the family of Sordo.

In September, 1863, Navajos encamped near Fort Wingate. They promised to live up to the terms that had been agreed upon at one time, namely, to subdue their own wrongdoers and if necessary to aid the military to overcome them. Meanwhile they asked permission for their people to locate on "La Gallina" (Capt. Rafael Chacon to General, Fort Wingate, October 18, 1863. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent, 1863). The Carlleton policy required them, of course, to move to the Bosque Redondo, so there was little chance that their request for locating on the Gallinas would be granted.

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Meanwhile, Capt. Chacon issued a circular addressed to the residents of Cubero, Cebolleta, Laguna, Acoma, Rito and Paguate, advising them that they must cease any movements against the Barboquito band located on the Rito Quemado and therabouts because of the proposition that had been forwarded to General Carleton as outlined above (Capt. Rafael Chacon, Puerto Wingate, Dec. 28, 1864, *Ibid.*).

The following year, in January, Lt. Rankins of the 3rd Cavalry Volunteers led a scouting party to the south and reported "many Indians in the dattil mountains these are situated about 15 miles from & south east of El Rito Quemado. . . ." Sordo was killed. (Capt. Julius C. Shaw to AAG, Fort Wingate, Jan. 12, 1865. *Ibid.*). At this time, R 89
Capt. Shaw issued "particular instructions about sieging [sic] every Navajo man, woman & child in the towns of Cubero, Laguna, & El Rito" to be sent along with others to the Bosque Redondo (*Ibid.*). Delgadito also came in with some forty-nine Indians, and then set forth again to search for his own family "in the vicinity of the Rito Quemado and to bring in the family of Sordo his brother . . ." (*Ibid.*).

In September, Apaches were suspected of stealing stock from the Navajos encamped near Fort Wingate and Captain Montoya was sent in pursuit of the marauders: "after travelling between fifty and sixty miles [sic] met some other Navajos that reported the Apaches as having returned to the White Mountains" (Maj. E. W. Eaton to AAG, Fort Wingate, Sept. 29, 1864. USAC, Letters Sent by Subsistence Officers). R 90

Navajos ran off some stock from Lemitar in the Rio Grande Valley in late 1864 or early 1865. Some of the sheep were recovered by the military and a squaw was captured who stated that the culprits were not

escapes from the Bosque Redondo, and that they had been living near the Hopi villages. In the fall of 1864, they had started in the direction of Rito Quemado and 'Cierra del Mangos' . . . stopping at different places for a time and then moving on again"; furthermore, eight Apaches and eight Navajos had committed the theft of stock (Maj. E. W. Eaton to AAG, Fort Wingate, Jan. 11, 1865. USAC, Fort Wingate, Letters Sent. R 91
Mamuelito was one of the hold-outs. Mamuelito was sent out in the winter to induce him to surrender and move to the Bosque Redondo, but he refused, claiming that he would plant crops at the Cañon Bonito. However, he gave information regarding the location of other Navajos: a small band had been near the headwaters of the Little Colorado, but were then "below the road that crosses to Fort Whipple. . . . There has recently come from the 'Comino Mts.' three ranchitos, say thirty souls. . . . This party are on their way to the Post. Another group of about forty were at the Qualites [Collatas] about twenty miles from Fort Canby" (Maj. E. W. Eaton, post Commander, to AAG, Fort Wingate, February 9, 1865. *Ibid.*). A Navajo was sent to the Little Colorado by way of the Hopi villages in an effort to find Mamuelito and persuade him to surrender (Maj. Julius C. Shaw, Post Commander, to AAG, Fort Wingate, April 1, 1865. *Ibid.*, Letters Sent, vol. 16). R 92
The army was more successful in locating this band than the messenger of peace. In the summer of 1865 a pursuit party caught them "at the Ojo dal Mal-Pais about 75 miles South west of the old Fort Canby, N. M. . . . [where] they came upon the Camp of Mamuelito and party, they were encamped in deep ravine the descent into which was very difficult" (Lt. Col. Julius C. Shaw, Post Commander, to Capt. E. B.

Curry, Fort Wingate, July 14, 1866. Ibid.). But their days were numbered when not only the boys in blue but also their ancient enemies, the New Mexicans and Utes, struck them on the Little Colorado (Capt. E. Butler to AGO at Santa Fe, Fort Wingate, Jan. 18, 1866. USAC, Ibid.).

Following a raid by Navajos in the late winter of 1866, Capt. Bodt led a punitive expedition against them. On

the third day he crossed the Sierra del Datyl. . . . The fourth day he came on the Indians--about fifty in number. . . . Capt. Bodt says the Indians were mixed--Navajos & Apaches--the majority he thinks being Apaches, the Indian who was killed . . . was an Apache. The Indians were striking for the Sierra Blanco (Capt. E. Butler to Maj. C. E. DeForrest, Fort Wingate, March 29, 1866. Ibid.).

Mamelito's band had fled as far south as the Sierra Escudilla which lies southwest of the Datil Mts. The son of Tu-su-ni-nes reported that "Mamelito, Barboncito & Ganado Blanco are in the Sierra del Escudilla. There are many Apaches with them." He also claimed that "Mamelito & the two other chiefs desire to surrender & my come into this Post, but Barboncito wishes to go to the Bosque by a trail to the southward of the Sierra del Datyl [Datil], as he as well as his companions are afraid of the Miqui's and Dani's" (Capt. E. Butler to Maj. Cyrus E. DeForrest, Fort Wingate, July 28, 1866. Ibid., vol. 16).

The informant on the whole was correct. A son of El Ciejo with twenty-eight other Navajos surrendered at Fort Wingate in August. El Ciejo reported that "he met the Apaches who attacked our herd [the army's] at Los Romanas, when they were about to start on that St. 'ing expedition & also on their return from it." Also, El Ciejo believed that "the Navajos who are still with the Apaches will come in and give

themselves up" (Butler to DeForrest, Fort Wingate, Aug. 21, 1866. Ibid.). Mamelito did surrender in September with twenty-three others. They had come "from the head waters of the Colorado Chiquito. . . . He confirms the statement that Ganado Blanco is on his way to the Bosque by a southern trail" (Butler to DeForrest, Fort Wingate, Sept. 2, 1866. Ibid.). A few probably held out to the bitter end and never went to the Bosque Redondo.

Lieut. E. F. Leggett led a scout from Fort McKee in August of 1866 westward to the village of La Canada Alamose in the canyon of the same name. There he picked up the trail of some Navajos which he followed up the Canada to a point thirty miles northwest of the Hot Springs. But more important than this was his description of the Hot Springs:

The indications at Ojo Caliente are that it is the great thoroughfare of the Indians and the great abundance of grass and wood and water here, make it a most desirable place for a post. The nearest water to it being the Ojo Luera, sixty miles distant where I believe the Navajos have a rancharia (Leggett to Fort Adlt., Fort McKee, August 21, 1866. USAC, 24, Fort McKee, Letters Sent, vol. 11).

This rancharia had long been the route of travel for southern Apaches and a temporary reservation for them was established at Ojo Caliente in 1870.