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Apache Indians I

A STUDY OF THE APACHE INDIANS

PARTS I, II, AND III

Albert H. Schroeder



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PART I

The Apaches and their Neighbors

1540 - 1700

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INTRODUCTION

Much has been written about the Apaches, both fact and fancy, yet a study of their history as related in contemporary documents has never been compiled. For this reason, this study deals with considerable detail relating to the Apaches and their neighbors, both Indian and white.

The origin of the name Apache, like many other aspects of the history of these people, has been clouded by time. It has been suggested that the name was derived from the Zuni Apachu, meaning enemy, which name the Zunis apply to the Navajos (Hodge, 1907, p. 63). Since the accent is on the first letter of Apachu, it is unlikely that this word was the source of the name Apache, unless the Spanish, in adopting the word, changed the accent to the next to last syllable, as is the custom in their language. Three other sources suggest that the name was derived from Yuman speaking people, specifically, the Yavapai, who have a word for people that has been variously written as Apátieh, Arwátca, and Apádje. (Curtis, 1907, p. 5; Harrington, 1940, p. 513; Reeve, 1957, p. 36) One other possibility has been suggested - Aw á'tche, the Ute name for Apache. (Schroeder, 1958, p. 6)

The neighboring people of the Plains to the east of the Pueblo settlements were first reported as Querechos. This term was applied to other nomadic groups. Lujan and Obregon used it in the 1580's to refer to groups in the Little Colorado River and Verde Valley regions and to others in what is now northern Sonora and Chihuahua. (Hammond and Rey, 1928, pp. 19-20, 194, 328, 330;

Hammond and Rey, 1929, pp. 86, 97). This transference of a term from one group to another is evident also in the use of the name Chichimeco. Castañeda, Lujan, Obregon and Garces, from the late 1500's through 1776, used this Mexican term and applied it to wandering or wild tribes in the vicinity of the Hopis of northern Arizona. (See Bandelier, 1890a, pt. 1, pp. 28-29; Sauer, 1934, p. 7; Putnam, 1879, p. 3; Coues, 1900, p. 365)

The word Apache first appeared as "Apades" or "Apiches" in documents pertaining to Oñate's entradas of 1598. (Hodge, 1912, Vol. 1, p. 67) ("Todos los Apiches desde la Sierra Nevada hacia la parte del Norte y Poniente." in Oñate's Obediencia y vasallaje de San Juan Baptista in Documents Inéditos de Indias, XVI, p. 114) By the 1630's, the term Apache had spread and replaced Querecho.

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✓ There are several groups of Apaches in the Southwest, all of whom speak variants of the Athapaskan language, and live in widely separated regions and in different environments. All authorities agree that they came into the Southwest from the north, most of them favoring a route along the east side of the Rockies on the high plains. Though a few archeologists have suggested that the Apaches moved into the Southwest before 1300 A.D., while the prehistoric pueblos were still occupied (Gladwin, 1957, p. 216; Danson, 1957, pp. 111), neither oral traditions of any of the Apache groups nor tree-ring evidence support such an early date of entry.

✓ The small amount of archeological research that has been carried on in Apache sites, so far, suggests a much later date for the arrival of the Athapaskans. The Dismal River Aspect of western Kansas and Nebraska is generally accepted as being representative of Apache culture in its early stages in the southwestern portion of the United States (Wedel, 1940; Champe, 1949; Secoy, 1951; Lehmer, 1954). Nothing similar or as early has been recognized archeologically in New Mexico.

✓ Excavations in Navajo sites in northern New Mexico and in northeastern Arizona have yielded tree-ring dates from the 1720's into the 1760's in the traditional early homeland area of the Navajos, dinetah, located in the upper Largo drainage just west of the present Jicarilla reservation (Farmer, 1942, p. 71); from the 1740's into the early 1800's in the Big Bend Ahesa area, thirty miles west of Sia pueblo (Keur, 1941, p. 67); and from 1758 to 1770 in Canyon de Chelly (Hurt, 1942, p. 98). Spanish documents, however, report the presence of the Navajos in these places at earlier dates. Future archeological excavations undoubtedly will push Navajo dates back in line with historical evidence, provided sufficient remains of the earlier Navajo structures have survived for tree-ring analysis.

✓ Historians, linguists and others have generally placed the entry of the Apache in New Mexico sometime between the 1400's and 1600 A.D. (Hodge, 1895, p. 225; Harrington, 1940, p. 509; Matthews, 1897, pp. 90 ff) Spanish documents report the presence of Athapaskans

on the plains east of Pecos, New Mexico, in 1541. A few nomads are mentioned in New Mexico west of the Rio Grande in 1583, probably Gila Apaches, but none are reported in this region in any quantity until the 1620's, as will be detailed herein. According to the documents which will be cited, it appears that Coronado, in 1541, reached the Rio Grande from the west before the Athapaskans did from the east or north.

The historical relationships of the various Apacheans in the Southwest have been the subject of several anthropological papers, no two of which agree in their reconstructions. White recently analyzed various studies of Apache kinship systems and/or social structures (Opler, 1937; Kroeber, 1937; Murdock, 1949; Bellah, 1952; Hoijer, 1956) in which attempts were made to reconstruct a basic pattern from which the different Apache groups deviated. In presenting a table of the five reconstructions he points out that

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Kroeber and Hoijer depend upon linguistics and comparative-historical methods, [and] Opler, Bellah and Murdock have been influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the underlying social structures of the Southern Athapaskan tribes. (White, 1957, p. 442)

He concludes:

Future reconstructions of kinship systems for any linguistic stock or substock might profit by utilizing a combination of social data with a linguistic and comparative-historical analysis rather than emphasizing one approach to the exclusion of the others. (White, 1957, p. 448)

The problem remains to be resolved.

Linguistically the southern Athapaskans are divided into an eastern and western group. The former consists of the Jicarilla-Lipan and Kiowa Apache, and the latter of the Navajo and San Carlos-Chiricahua-Mescalero. (Hoijer, 1938a, p. 86)

The fact that the division is one of the east-west alignment suggests that the Athapaskan entry into New Mexico and Arizona was basically from the plains on the east rather than through the intermountaine region of the north. Hoijer states:

Taking the total evidence into consideration, we may set up the following classification as representing the probable historical development of the Southern Athapaskan languages after their separation from the Athapaskan languages of the north.

- I The Western Group
 - A. Navaho
 - B. San Carlos-Chiricahua-Mescalero
 - 1 The San Carlos Group
 - San Carlos proper, White Mountain Cibecus, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto*
 - 2 Chiricahua-Mescalero
 - a. Chiricahua
 - b. Mescalero
- II The Eastern Group
 - A. Jicarilla-Lipan
 - 1 Jicarilla
 - 2 Lipan
 - B. Kiowa Apache

*These are the five ethnic divisions of the Western Apache established by Goodwin. I have linguistic material only on the San Carlos proper but I have been told that the languages of the other four groups differ only slightly from San Carlos and can be understood without difficulty by San Carlos speaking people. (Hoijer, 1938, p. 86)

However, in his discussion of Coronado's trip into the plains, he treats them separately. He stated:

These people [Querechos] live in tents made of dressed skins of the cattle... These people were so skillful in the use of signs that it seemed as if they spoke... These Indians left this place the following day, with droves of dogs carrying their belongings. (in Hammond and Rey, 1940, pp. 235-236).

Another group was encountered two days later, which he called Querechos, but didn't describe. Four days beyond he tells us they encountered another group whom he doesn't identify. They lived in a large rancheria where the Indians presented them with a "heap of dressed skins and... a tent as big and tall as a house..." He also pointed out that they painted or tattooed themselves.

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At this place there was seen an Indian woman as white as if she were from Castile, except that her chin was painted like that of a Barbary Moorish woman. In general they all adorn themselves in that fashion there and they decorate their eyes. (in Hammond and Rey, 1940, pp. 237-238).

While at this spot, during a storm, he remarked that

All the pottery and gourds of the army were broken. This caused great inconvenience, because pottery is not made in that locality, nor are gourds found there. They do not cultivate maize either, nor do they eat bread, but they eat either raw or badly roasted meats and fruits. (in Hammond and Rey, 1940, p. 238).

It is to be noted that Castañeda mentioned pottery, or at least an olla (pp. 261-262), when he described both groups together in treating with the people of the plains. He apparently was referring to an olla carried by the army, as indicated above.

Four days beyond, according to Castañeda:

they came to other rancherías resembling alixares [grove of trees]. This was densely populated country... These pueblos of rancherías extended for a three days' journey. It was called Cona. From this place a few Teyas, for so those people were called, accompanied the army. They traveled with their packs of dogs...

He also said:

The women... through modesty they cover their whole body. They wear shoes and buckskins of dressed skins. The women wear blankets over their short undershirts, all of skins, with sleeves tied at the shoulders. They wear a sort of short tunic over their undershirts, with small fringes reaching to the middle of the thigh. (in Hammond and Rey, 1940, p. 239).

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In his study of the Tewa language, Harrington gives the following on Llanero Apache (akone--"plains"; sabe --"Apache"). This translates the Spanish name. The informants told him that these are distinct from the Jicarilla or Ollero Apache. (Harrington, 1916, p. 574). Whether Castañeda's "Cona" and the Tewa "Akone" are one and the same is not known.

The Relacion del Suceso, a contemporary source, stated:

In these plains, among the cattle, two types of people were found; one group was called Querechos and the other Teyas. They are well built and are painted; they are enemies of each other. They have no settlement or occupation other than to follow the cattle, of which they kill as many as they want. They tan the skins, with which they clothe themselves and build their tents. They eat the meat of the cattle, sometimes raw, and they also drink the blood when thirsty.

Their tents are in the shape of pavilions. They set them up by means of poles which they carry for the purpose. After driving them in the ground they tie them together at the top. When they move from place to place they carry them by means of dogs, of which they have many... What these people worship most is the sun. The hides of their tents are dressed on both sides, free from hair. The cattle and deerskins that they do not need, and the meat dried in the sun, they trade for maize and blankets from the natives at the river Rio Grande. (Relacion del Suceso in Hammond and Rey, 1940, pp. 292-293).

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Jaramillo's narrative, another contemporary source,

tells us:

At the beginning of the plains of the cattle we met some Indians, called Querechos by the people of the terraced houses [pueblos]. They did not live in houses, but carried some poles with them which they put together at their camping places in order to make a sort of shack which they used as houses. They fasten these poles at the top and spread them at the base, covering the whole thing with cattle hides which they carry along.

Some twenty days later, he said:

we came to another rancheria of Indians having the same type of houses and ways as the ones farther back. (Jaramillo in Hammond and Rey, 1940, pp. 300-301).

These apparently were the Teyas. From there they went north some thirty days, according to Jaramillo, to Quivira, identified as the Wichita villages on the Arkansas River in the Rice-McPherson County area, Kansas. (Wedel, 1942, p. 22).

As Gunnerson pointed out:

The highly integrated life of the Teya-Querecho growing out of the Plains environment and in turn adapted to it--almost qualified the High Plains east of the Pecos, in 1541, as a 'culture area', for the material culture of the 'dog-nomads' was the forerunner of Plains 'horse culture'... (Gunnerson, D. 1956, p. 347).

Coronado stated:

It was more than forty days travel from the place where I met these Teyas to the land where the guides were leading me...Quivira.

He traveled 42 days from this point and after totaling 77 days of travel he reached Quivira. In describing the houses of Quivira he stated:

They are of straw, and the people are savage like all I have seen and passed up to this place. They have no blankets, nor cotton with which to make them. All they have is the tanned skins of the cattle they kill, for the herds are near where they live, at quite a large river. They eat the meat raw like the Querechos and the Teyas. They are enemies of one another, but they are also people of the same type. These people of Quivira have the advantage over the others in their houses and in the growing of the maize.

He also stated:

There are not more than twenty-five towns, with straw houses, in it, nor any more in all the rest of the country that I have seen and learned about...

The people are large. I had some Indians measured and found they were ten spans tall $\sqrt{1}$ span equals 9". This is the English measure. The span of a Spaniard probably was closer to 8". The women are comely, with faces more like Moorish than Indian women. The natives there gave me a piece of copper that an Indian Chief wore suspended from his neck... The province of Quivira is... at a latitude of forty degrees. The soil itself is the most suitable that has been found for growing all the produce of Spain, for, besides being rich and black, it is well watered by arroyos, springs, and rivers. I found plums like those of Spain, nuts, fine sweet grapes, and mulberries. (in Hammond and Ray, 1940, pp. 187-189).

On the face of the data, these apparently could not have been the people to whom Alvarado referred when he stated they destroyed seven pueblos in New Mexico, even though they had houses of straw and raised maize, as Alvarado stated. They were too far from Galisteo Basin to have raided the pueblos he mentioned.

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The routes into the plains, as well as the locales and groups mentioned in the Coronado (1541), Oñate (1601) and other documents, have been hashed and rehashed by historians for over a hundred years. Many points of identification have become clouded in the process. Lack of agreement among historians has built up a picture so complex that little can be derived by making a comparison of the various reconstructions. The following outline is an attempt to start from scratch, and is based on published translations of the original documents. Both the Coronado and Oñate trips are discussed, since so many have considered the Quivira of both expeditions to have been one and the same place. This reconstruction is necessarily

discussed in some detail here since the first historical locales of the Apaches and Teyas are involved.

The accompanying map graphically outlines the routes proposed herein and various data relating to them. Aside from slight variations in Coronado's route, mainly between the Quarechos and the point of arrival on the Arkansas River, the general line of travel agrees with earlier reconstructions. The Onate route is projected slightly south of the previously suggested routes to his Quivira.

Bandelier (1890c), followed by Brower (1898), proposed that Coronado's army went from Pecos pueblo to the Canadian River where they built a bridge in order to cross the river. Later, others from Winship (1896) to Bolton (1949) contended that the expedition went down the Pecos River from the pueblo and built a bridge across it, four days later. Documentary evidence favors the Canadian River crossing.

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If the reconstruction presented here is correct, much of Bolton's work on the Texas-Oklahoma area as well as tribal identifications and correlations will have to be reworked.

From Pecos to the Canadian River

Treating first with Coronado's expedition, reference is made to Hammond and Rey's 1940 translations. Coronado left Tiguex on the Rio Grande and reached the plains in 9 days. (p. 186).

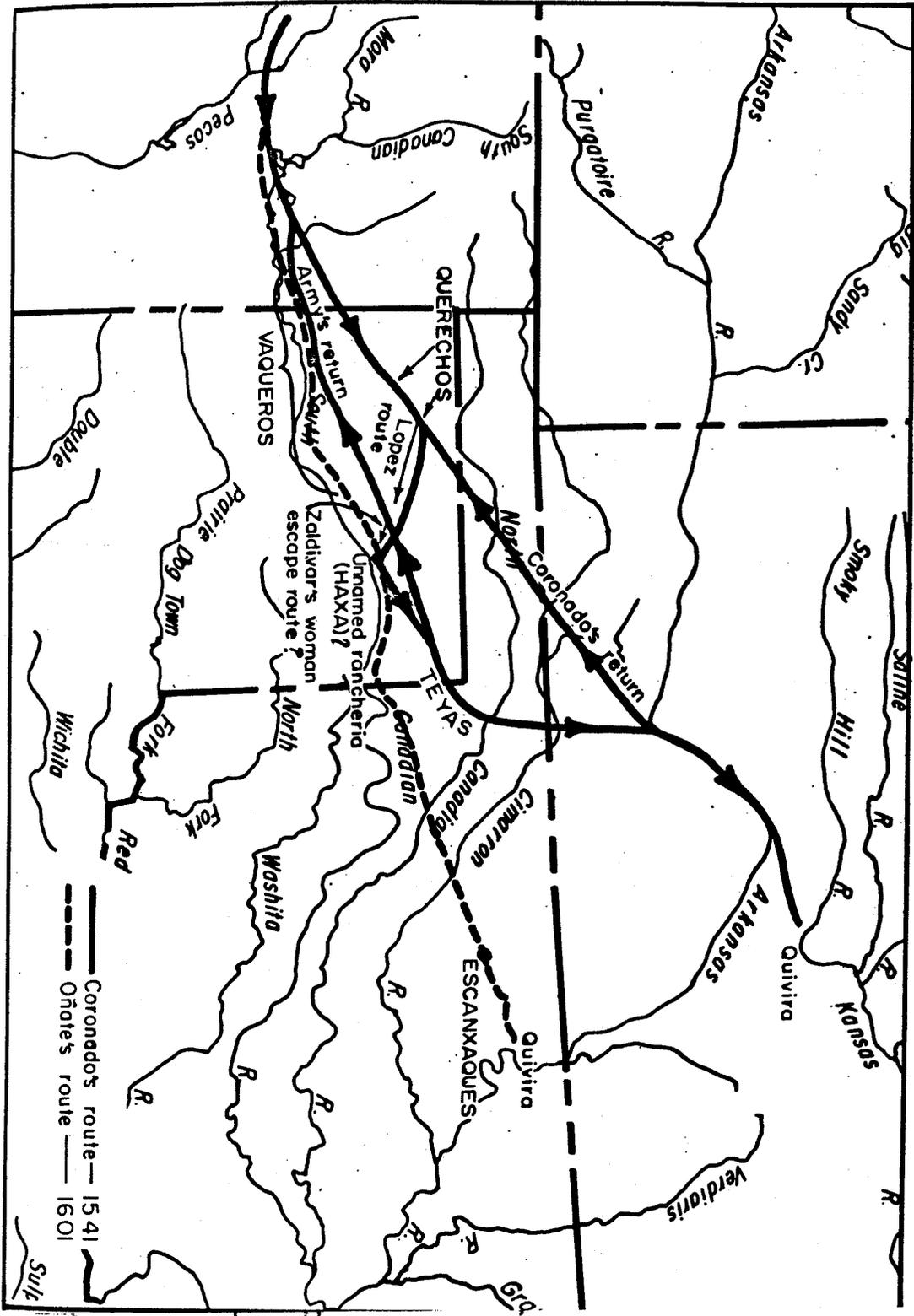
Castañeda stated that they left Pecos, where "there was a brook which abounds in excellent trout and otter," and "travelled in the direction of the plains [east] which are on the other side

[east] of the mountain range". (p. 235) He also stated "from Cicuye to the beginning of the plains it is 30 leagues." (p. 261) This means simply that they skirted the south end of the Sangre de Cristo range east of Pecos by going down the Pecos River, crossing it and moving east across the plains. Four days later, according to Castañeda they reached a deep river (Canadian) with much water "flowing [east] from the direction of Cicuye [Pecos]." They called it the Cicuye River and built a bridge in order to cross it. (p. 235)

Jaramillo wrote "we came to Cicuique [Pecos pueblo]." Then he added, "from here we proceeded in three days to another river which we called Cicuique." Obviously, this was not the Pecos, which he previously mentioned. "At the point where we crossed it, we went somewhat more to the left, which must be more to the north-east, and we began to enter the plains where the cattle roam." (p. 300) Thus, they crossed the Canadian, evidently near the Concho Dam area. All are specific that the first buffalo were encountered after the crossing of the Canadian. The same applies to the Onate expedition of 1601.

The Relacion Postrera stated it was four days from Cicuique to "land as level as the sea" on which the cattle roam. (p. 310)

The Relacion del Suceso recounts Alvaredo's exploratory trip to the plains prior to Coronado's venture. It recorded "a small river running southeast" at the beginning of the Plains. (p. 289) Since other sources indicate the plains began at the bridge crossing on the Canadian, evidently Alvaredo crossed this river in about the same place, when the direction of flow is considered.



In summary, four days east of Pecos pueblo they reached the Canadian River and crossed it from the right to the left bank, somewhere near the Conchas Reservoir area. Of interest, concerning the locale of the later crossings in this region, is the information recorded by the Chamuscado expedition in 1581. They marched 6 leagues from the Galisteo Basin over level ground, crossed over mountains (the foot of the Sangre de Cristos below Pecos pueblo) covered with pines, to rolling ground and a gorge with water (Cow Creed?) after covering 5 leagues, passed over plains (between Tecolote-Chaperito) for 8 leagues until they reached water in a valley (Gallinas River near Chaperito), and went down the valley 6 leagues to a river with much water (Pecos River at the Gallinas junction). From here they went downstream 4 leagues (a short distance below Colonias) where they encountered a rancheria of Vaqueros. They proceeded downriver another two days, returned to the above mentioned rancheria for guides, and with them went into the plains four days until they reached a valley (Canadian) which extended to the east. (Hammond and Rey, 1927, pp. 31-33; 1928, pp. 304-307) Thus, the 1581 expedition also took four days to reach the Canadian River from the Pecos River.

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All the evidence indicates that the Coronado expedition erected a bridge over the Canadian River, not the Pecos River as Bolton and others have suggested. For this reason, we cannot depend on the interpretations of those who projected the route from a bridge crossing on the Pecos. The reconstruction of the routes

that follow are tentative, as the suggested locations, and are offered as an interim possibility until they can be reviewed in greater detail. This reconstruction is necessary in order to show the relative locations of the Querechos and Teyas in 1541, as they relate to the beginning of history in this area.

From the Canadian crossing to the Querechos

Cerenado stated it took 17 days to reach the Querechos (Hammond and Ray, 1940, p. 186) from Tiguex. This means eight days from the Canadian River crossing, as he stated he reached the plains nine days from Tiguex.

Castañeda recorded ten days, after making the crossing, to the Querecho rancheria. Two days before, or eight days travel, they encountered their first "cattle". (p. 235) In regard to the return trip, he remarked that the army came back by a different route and struck this river at a point 30 leagues below the point where they built the bridge. The guides on the return trip told the Spanish that this return point was more than 20 days from the "Tiguex" River and that the Tiguex River flowed east from its junction with the river here being identified as the Canadian. (p. 243)

Many historians have been misled by the above statement, assuming that Castañeda meant the Pecos River joined the Rio Grande, at which junction the latter flowed east. Obviously Castañeda did not mean to suggest that the river to which they returned was the Pecos as he stated that it emptied into the "Espiritu Santo [Mississippi River]", which Don Hernando de Soto's men discovered in Florida." (p. 243) Castañeda's "Tiguex" in this instance must have been a slip and evidently referred to the Arkansas River, some twenty days to the

east of the return point of the army. It turns east after it joins the Canadian River.

Jaramillo reported the first "cattle" were four or five days from the crossing and that 2 or 3 days further on they ran into immense herds. (p. 300) He stated the Querechos were at the beginning of the "cattle" plains and that they traveled toward the northeast for 8 or 10 days, after which the guide directed them toward the east. (p. 301)

The Relacion Postrera merely says they traveled many days to an inhabited rancharia. The description of the inhabitants and their culture matches that of the Querechos described in the other documents. (p. 310) From this point on this document gives no further information relating to this trip.

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The Relacion del Suceso stated Alvarado came upon "cattle" four days after crossing the river. (p. 289) This account gives very little detail for the remainder of the route until the army and Coronado's small party split.

In summary, four to five days from the crossing they reached their first buffalo, and two to three days beyond they came upon immense herds. Querechos were encountered in this stretch, the last 8 or 10 days from the crossing.

Direction of the route

Regarding the direction and locale of this portion of the route, it evidently angled off to the northeast of the Canadian River crossing toward the northwest portion of the Texas Panhandle, where the Querechos were located, as indicated below.

Jaramillo remarked that after crossing the river they went "more to the northeast", toward the left, and between the first encounter with the cattle and the Querecho rancheria, they went "in the same direction." (p. 300) He also remarked that on leaving the rancheria of Querechos the expedition guide "drew us further to the east." (p. 301)

The Relacion del Suceso stated that Alvarado, after encountering cattle, followed the river (Canadian) for one hundred leagues. (p. 289) Evidently he pursued a different route (along the river) and went as far as the Texas-Oklahoma line to some sand hills. This approximates the spot where Onate turned northeast from the river in 1601, discussed further below. The Relacion also stated that Coronado went one hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred to the east and fifty to the south, before turning north. (p. 289) The route to the Querechos would be included in the first one hundred leagues to the east.

Castañeda said that the Querechos told them that "by going down in the direction in which the sun rises there was a very large river [Canadian], that the army could travel along its bank through continuous settlements for ninety days." The first settlement was called Haxa. (p. 236) Only the Canadian would fit the description, and particularly the length, when combined with the Arkansas below the Canadian-Arkansas junction. Plains Caddoan occupation on the Canadian and southern Caddoan settlements on the lower Arkansas, evidently were quite heavy on these streams even at this time, as will be demonstrated in another section below.

Since these settlements were on the large river east of the Querechos, the expedition at this time must have been in the northwest portion of the panhandle, almost directly west of the town of Canadian, Texas, on the north side of the Canadian River, perhaps near Dalhart.

From Querechos to Teyas

Coronado counted five days of travel between the Querechos and the Teyas, and stated that the two were enemies. The latter painted their faces and bodies. (p. 186)

Castaneda stated that two days from the first Querecho rancharia "between north and east rather toward the north" other Querechos were met. They gave "reports of settlements, all east of our present location." (p. 236)

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At this place it was reported that Haza was one or two days away, and Lopez was commissioned to try to reach it. He went toward the "rising sun by means of a sea-compass." On the first day he encountered a barranca (headwaters of Paloduro Creek southeast of the Stratford area). "So many cattle fell into it that it was filled." Thus, the barranca was obviously small. Lopez made a total of 20 leagues in the two days. When he didn't return at the appointed time, Coronado sent men out to search for him. Some of the search party went up a small river (Coldwater Creek) and others went downstream to check "for traces of his [Lopez] horses at the source and mouth of the river." Lopez and his men were found upstream from camp, and "they marched down the river to the camp." (pp. 236-237) Evidently, Lopez turned back somewhere between Paloduro Creek and the Canadian River in his endeavor to reach Haza on the east.

After Lopez's return, the expedition continued another four days to a large barranca. This is the barranca Donahue (1929) suggested was Pale Duro Canyon south of the Canadian River in Texas, not to be confused with the Paloduro Creek mentioned above. Bolton also identified it as such. The barranca contained a large rancheria, and it was noted that the people, who lived in tipis and decorated their chin and eyes, had a large quantity of dressed skins, did not cultivate, and ate meats and fruits. The name of this group was not given. Cabeza de Vaca was said to have visited this place according to Castañeda. (pp. 237-238) The barranca most probably was the Canadian River valley.

Four days later, according to Castañeda, they reached the Teya rancherias, which took three days to travel through. (pp. 237-240) He recorded 24 days of travel to this place from Pecos.

From the Querechos, Jaramillo said, the guide drew them further east. He does not mention the unnamed rancheria in the barranca, and indicates that the people of the rancheria identified by Castañeda as Teyas had "the same type of houses and ways as the ones farther back." He totals 24 days to this point also. He mentioned the Cabeza de Vaca incident, but this seems to apply to Castañeda's Teya rancheria, since he does not mention the unnamed rancheria. He stated that an old man here had seen Cabeza de Vaca's party closer to New Spain (Mexico) some time in the past, not at the rancheria itself. (pp. 301-302) Evidently, his remarks on the last rancheria, whose people he does not name, are confused with those of the unnamed rancheria mentioned by Castañeda.

They certainly do not jibe with the description given for the Teya rancherías.

Coronado's total to this point, apparently is 17 days plus, - from Pecos to the crossing, 4 days, 8 to the Querechos, and 5 between the Querechos and Teyas. We must add the 2 days between the two Querecho rancherías, which he did not mention, plus the 4 days to the unnamed group between the Querechos and Teyas, who Coronado might have considered to be either Querechos or Teyas. This totals 23 days.

96 The Relacion del Suceso reported 100 leagues east and fifty to the south to reach this point. The "south" of Hammond and Rey's manuscript reads "southeast" in Smith's Munoz copy. (fn., p. 291) Castañeda reported they averaged 6 to 7 leagues a day to reach this last ranchería. Thus, the Relacion's statement of 150 leagues tallies with the other documents - 24 days at 6.5 leagues a day totals 156 leagues. Castañeda also stated they made a "great deviation toward Florida." (p. 241) Thus, the travel from the last Querecho rancherías was the 50 leagues to the south or southeast, the deviation toward Florida, or the turning to the east of the various narratives.

In summary, the four days of travel noted by Castañeda, from the last Querechos to the large barranca with the unnamed ranchería, was undertaken in a new direction. From the Stratford area in north Texas, the only large barranca the expedition could have reached in four days toward the east or south would have been the Canadian River near the 101st meridian.

Castañeda reported that they "came to other rancherías" four days later. "This was a densely populated country. It produced abundant frijoles, plums like those of Castile, and wild grapes." These villages were called Cona and took three days to pass through. These people were called Teyas. (p. 239) The wild plants and beans mentioned suggest that these people were located in a valley, possibly on the lower Wolf Creek drainage or the north fork of the Canadian, east of the Texas-Oklahoma line.

Discussion of the Querechos and Teyas

As far as the Querechos of the plains are concerned, sources in the 1500's mentioned the hide tents and pole framework, along with the dogs that pulled the belongings of the Indians. These Querechos, who later become identified with the Apaches, exhibited traits found among more recent Athapascans. The conical, hide-covered, pole-framed tent, described by the chroniclers, was used by the eastern Apaches up into recent times. These people in the plains were experts in handling hides, dressed in hides, did not farm, ate raw meat or roasted meat or fruit, dried meat, were not sedentary, and worshipped the sun, all traits found among the Athapascans of Arizona and New Mexico in later years.

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The identity of the Querechos and Teyas has been the subject of much discussion. Bandelier pointed out that the Santo Domingo legend of 1880 attributed the attack of the Teyas some 16 years before Coronado's visit of 1541, to the Kirauash, which sounds like Querecho. He suggested that Castañeda may have become confused

and used the name Teya instead of Querecho, some twenty-five years after the event. (Bandelier, 1892, pt. 2, pp. 118-119) Since the pueblo people have been harassed for 300 years by the Apaches, it seems more probable that the pueblo traditionalists replaced the name Teyas with Kiraush, sometime after 1541. It would have been an easy and natural transference. Since Castañeda reported the attackers built houses of straw and raised maize, they could not have been the Apaches from near the Canadian River who were nomads. In any case, the Teyas could have come up the Canadian River to attack the pueblos just as easily as the Querechos, who also lived on the north side of the Canadian.

98 We cannot be positive of the house type of the Teyas. Descriptions of 1541 do not mention this feature. In describing the people of the plains in general, however, the documents give the impression that they all lived in tipis. When examined more closely we find that Castañeda did describe the Teya villages as "pueblos of rancherías" and that this "populated country...produced frijoles." (Hammond and Rey, 1940, p. 239) Houses of straw and maize were not traits of the Teyas of 1541, as described in the various narratives of this expedition. These traits were noted only at Quivira, the people of which province have been identified as a Wichita group. The fact that Castañeda said the people of Quivira "are of almost the same type and dress as the Teyas" (p. 263) suggests there was a possible relationship between the two groups. If these Teyas who painted themselves and lived in large rancherías were the later Jumanos of the Canadian River,

they would have been related to the Wichita, who built houses of straw and raised maize. In any case, there is a good possibility that the Teyas of 1525 and 1541 were one and the same people.

Harrington points out that the Jemez name for Navajos or Athapascans is Kearai. When one adds tse'a, meaning person, he gets Kearaitse'a. Harrington says "The Pecos name was presumably the same, and this explains the 'Querechos', Quereches', 'Guerechos' of Coronado." He points out that the Jemez and presumably the Pecos also, call the Apaches Tagu Kearai(tse), meaning east Navajo or east Athapascan people. He also states that Teya in the Pecos-Jemez dialect refers to the Lipanan Apaches who lived to the east. (Harrington, 1940, p. 512)

Thus, linguistically it appears that the names Coronado obtained for these plains people were provided by the Jemez-Pecos speakers and those closest were called Quereche (Apache people) and those farther east were called Teya (people to the east). The latter today applies to the Lipanan Apaches to the east. The same practice of assigning directional names is noted elsewhere, such as Yavapai, "people to the east," as they are called by the Mohaves. Thus, the terms Quereche and Teya do not necessarily imply the two groups were related. The Teyas were designated as people to the east, Apache or otherwise, whom Coronado tells us were enemies of the Querechos.

The whole problem hinges on the word Teya. Assuming that Castañeda and Alvarado were correct in their statements, only

one explanation presents itself, when all the evidence is considered. In 1525, the Galisteo Basin pueblos were attacked by a plains people from the east (Teyas) who lived in houses of straw and raised maize. Since a new or unknown group of people raided from the plains into the pueblo country without any warning, it would appear that the pueblo people had no alternative other than to refer to them as people from the east (Teyas). Archeologically these Teyas may well have been a new group. The Antelope Creek Focus along the Canadian River in the Texas Panhandle is thought to have come to an end around 1450 A.D. Evidently the Teyas had access to the pueblo area by 1525 or before. Either they or the Athapascans had cleared the way previously by forcing the people of the Antelope Focus west, possibly to join the pueblos. The 1525 episode appears to have been their first inroad into the pueblo area itself.

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The facts that the Teyas were enemies of the Querechos, a type of relationship not recorded in documents of the latter 1500's and the 1600's between any two Apache groups; that the Teyas painted themselves as opposed to the Querechos; that they lived in "pueblos of rancherias" and practiced agriculture (frijoles); that they were of the same type and dress as those of Quivira; all indicate that the Teyas were not Athapascans. The Querechos also mentioned a large population on the river (Canadian) to the east, who are referred to in the late 1500's and during the 1600's as Jumanos (painted people). These latter were a plains Caddoan group related to the Wichita.

I suggest that the Teyas were one division of the Caddoan speaking people of the plains, the Wichita group or closely related thereto.

From the Teyas to the last barranca

Coronado gives the impression that the army returned from the Teya rancheria. (p. 187) Jaramillo, who was with him, stated that the decision for the army to return while Coronado continued with a small group of men was made at the Teya rancherias, but that they marched with Coronado one day farther to an arroyo "between some barrancas," at which place the army remained over two weeks before returning to Tiguex. (p. 302) Castañeda reported that the Teya guides led them from their last rancheria to the "last barranca," which was a league across and had a small river in it. (p. 239) This evidently was the north fork of the Canadian or the Cimarron, depending on how much removed the Teya rancherias were from these spots.

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It should be pointed out that Jaramillo uses the word arroyo for all the rivers throughout the manuscript, from Mexico City to Quivira, with rare exception. Castañeda favored the word barranca for river valleys throughout his text. It is obvious in the above and in other cases that deep canyons certainly were not necessarily implied, except in the one case where a deep barranca was described at the locale of the unnamed rancheria between the Querechos and the Teyas.

From the last barranca to Quivira

Coronado stated they traveled 42 days to Quivira (p. 187), and that the people there lived by a large river. (p. 188) According to his figures, Quivira was 950 leagues from Mexico City (p. 189), which means 375 leagues from Pecos, according to other

The Ibarra Expedition, 1564-1565

Though there were no entries made into the present limits of the southwestern portion of the United States until 1581, Francisco de Ibarra explored the area immediately south of the present U. S. - Mexican border in 1564 and 1565, and provided us with information on tribes of the region which indicates that the Apaches had not yet penetrated that far south. (See Hammond and Rey, 1928, and Mehan, 1927, for details.)

He started his trip of exploration at present-day Durango, Mexico, in the summer of 1565, proceeded west to the coast and then turned north, following the western slopes of the mountains up the Yaqui River. From here he began a loop, proceeding first toward northeastern Sonora, where he crossed the Sierra Madres into northwestern Chihuahua, in which state he passed through Casas Grandes before turning southwest to return to his outgoing trail which he rejoined south of the Sonora River.

The first mention of any people that might refer to Apaches was a statement Obregon made in 1584, when he wrote of his experiences on this expedition, in connection with people in the lower Yaqui Valley who were "neighbors of the most valiant and daring people in these provinces. These are the Querechos, who follow the cattle." (in Hammond and Rey, 1928, p. 174). Five days travel brought them to Cumupa; and of the people at this place he said "they are a war-like people as was to be expected of the neighbors

of the Querechos." (p. 174) Hammond and Rey state "He [Obregon] evidently gets his name Querechos from his knowledge of Coronado's expedition and here applied it to any wild tribe, much as the Mexicans used the name Chichimecas." (1928, p. 175, footnote 253). The expedition while at Cumupa evidently was in Opata country, to the north and east of which the Jocomes and Janos were reported to range in the 1600's. Obregon described Cumupa as: "a town of five hundred houses... Here two hundred...men, well equipped with arms, clothes, and feather adornments, came to meet the army." He also said their houses were made of high timbers and there were streets. Four smaller towns were nearby. Three more were seen the day after leaving here. (in Hammond and Rey, 1928, pp. 174-175). The following day they crossed the mountains to the east to Çaguaripa, (probably present Sahuaripa) on a tributary of the Bavispe River. He referred to this valley as "this valley of Çaguaripa" and "this valley of Señora." (p. 177).

After several days of fighting at Çaguaripa, the army went two days further, probably up the Bavispe River Valley, to "a town of two hundred terraced houses." (p. 193). In summarizing their trip to this point, he said they passed through the lands of the "Caitas and Pimahitos, which is the same as to say Mexicans and Otomites." (p. 194). He also states "The people living in reed houses...are found as far as Florida, including Cumupa, Guaraspi, Hoera, and other neighboring towns." (p. 195). These possibly

were Cumupas, Arizpe and Ures respectively. Evidently the houses of Caguaripa to the east were different such as the fort, composed of four large houses on each side with an open patio in the center, which Obregon described.

After crossing the mountains east into Chihuahua, they encountered an Indian, and shortly afterward Obregon tells us:

There came to the camp 300 Querechos with their women and children. They had been called and brought there by the Indian whom the general provided with clothes.

The men are lively, of noble disposition, friendly, brave and able-bodied; the women and children are attractive. They came singing and dancing around the camp and showed great joy and merriment at seeing us. They made strange faces toward the sky which are ceremonies they employ in their worship of the sun. (in Hammond and Rey, 1928, pp. 201-202).

It is quite evident, however, that Obregon was again using the term Querecho rather loosely. He remarked:

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The natives stated that during part of the summer winter? they lived on the slopes and sheltered places, fleeing from the cold weather which afflicts them in the open country.

He then describes these natives saying:

these people are enemies of the Querechos who live among the cattle. They have droves of dogs. They are well-built, lively and war-like. They eat all sorts of wild reptiles; some corn, acorns, and walnuts, Castile prunes and all kinds of game. They are more friendly, loyal and valiant than those we had met before. They possess hides from the cattle; they do not have salt. We could not see what sort of habitations or houses they had because the Army passed at a distance from their town. They are a rustic people. (Obregon in Hammond and Rey, 1928, p. 203).

He also stated "According to the second explorers who went with Antonio de Espejo, we came within two days march of the last inhabited part of this region." (p. 199). According to Obregon these were the people Cabeza de Vaca encountered in 1536 on his journey from Texas enroute to Sonora. (in Hammond and Rey, 1929, p. 202). Bandalier identifies these people as the Sumas, who in the early 1600's were located in the area in and about Casas Grandes. It is doubtful that any of the people mentioned by Obregon were Apaches, particularly when we find no evidence of Apaches in these regions until the late 1600's, in spite of several entries made into this general area between the late 1500's and late 1600's. Obregon apparently used the term Querecho for any roaming group he described as rustic. He also applied it to the Yavapai of the middle Verde Valley of Arizona when describing the people encountered there by Espejo in 1583. (in Hammond and Rey, 1928, p. 330). From Casas Grandes Ibarra turned back to his outgoing trail lying to the southwest.

The Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition, 1581-1582

This expedition entered New Mexico from a more eastern point than did Coronado, over a route that was to become known as the Camino Real. From Santa Barbara in present Chihuahua they traveled down the Conchos River to the Rio Grande which they ascended into the Pueblo Indian country, going as far as Taos on the north, Zuni on the west and the Salinas country to the east of the Manzano Mountains and Pecos. (See Mecham, 1926; Hammond and

They are well-formed, lively, war-like, and brave, and feared by those in the neighboring districts. They are like gypsies, wandering about from place to place, following the natural sources of their food supply. This consists of the raw meat of the cattle, the prickly pears and dates which they gather. They have tents made of tanned cowhides, which are provided with the necessary fixtures of poles and willow stakes.

They have droves of dogs on which they load their tents, the contents of their huts, household goods and provisions. (Hammond and Rey, 1928, p. 305)

Four days out from the Pecos River the expedition encounter the Canadian River. Obregon said:

On October 19, 1581, they returned from this valley of San Francisco four days east of the Pecos River by stages to the town from which they had set out in the Galisteo Basin. The distance to the beginning of the regions frequented by the cattle is forty leagues. If a direct road is taken it is much less. (Hammond and Rey, 1928, pp. 306-307).

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Thus, we find the Vaqueros in the same general area and with the same customs and habits as the Querechos of Coronado's time. By their own statements, the inhabited area of these Vaqueros began two days from (east of) the Pecos River. Coronado's chroniclers reported them twelve to fourteen days east and northeast of Pecos. There is little doubt that the Querechos and Vaqueros were one and the same. Their presence further west after Coronado's time may indicate a slight shift in locale or variations in the hunting range of these nomadic people.

The Espejo Expedition, 1582-1583

This expedition, which began in November 1582, followed the same general route as that of Chamuscado and Rodriguez down the Conchos. Instead of going to the mouth of the Conchos River, as Chamuscado did, Espejo cut overland to the Rio Grande, which they reached some five leagues above the mouth of the Conchos. They then proceeded up the Rio Grande into the Pueblo country. From the Rio Grande, Espejo went west to the Zuni and Hopi country and then southwest into the Verde Valley, in central Arizona. He returned to the Rio Grande and proceeded east across to the Pecos River, down which he traveled a considerable distance (130 leagues) before turning west to return to the Rio Grande, which was reached some 14 leagues above its junction with the Conchos River. (For details see Hammond and Rey, 1928; 1929; and Bolton, 1952).

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Lujan, who accompanied Espejo, left a detailed daily account of the expedition's travels. He tells us that the Conchos River was settled with a large number of Conchos Indians, and that they were a naked people who covered themselves with skins of rabbit and deer.

They go about with their privy parts uncovered, except the women who cover their privy parts with the said skins, though they keep the breasts uncovered. They

In this case, Chamuscado, Gallegos and Espejo mention Indians two days below the Piro settlements, about which Lujan says nothing. The lack of any mention among these people in the mountains of tepees or dogs and travois would suggest these were not Apaches, at least not like the Apaches of the Plains contacted by Coronado or Chamuscado. These, however, may have been the Apaches de Perrillo who were living in this region in 1630 as mentioned by Benavides, who, however, did not leave us any description of them. It is doubtful that these may have been the Mansos, first recorded further south in 1598 by Onate enroute to New Mexico.

Espejo toured much of the Pueblo country and we find occasional references to nomadic people, none of whom were met by Chamuscado. While at the pueblo of Zuni, Espejo decided to go to the Hopi villages. Obregon tells us that messengers were sent first and that the Hopi replied that they did not wish them to enter their pueblos. However, the Hopi changed their mind and

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on this account...sent away the warriors that had been assembled in the mountains. These peoples are called the Querechos. They go about naked and the people of this town had enlisted their aid.

He also stated that

the day when the party reached Tuzayan [Hopi Province] they had sent away the Chicimeca people gathered to attack the soldiers. (in Hammond and Rey, 1928, p. 328).

These may have been Paiutes or Yavapais, but not Navajos who even at later date were not known to be this far west. Lujan called them "Chichimecos whom they called Corechos." (in Hammond and Rey, 1929, p. 96).

In the Hopi villages Espejo obtained guides to check on reports of minerals in the Verde Valley area. Obregon tells us

On their way they found three rivers and many swamps, hills and meadows. They also met numerous Querechos, naked people who wore crosses by instructions from the other people farther back so that they would not be harmed. (in Hammond and Rey, 1928, p. 330).

These were the Yavapais of central Arizona who may have obtained the idea of the cross from the earlier expeditions of Fray Marcos or Coronado, who are thought to have passed through the southern part of their range in 1539 and 1540 respectively.

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On his return trip toward the Rio Grande, Espejo went

from this pueblo of Acacolma [Acoma]...to the Cieneguilla del Rosal [Accmita, according to Hodge] belonging to the Querechos. There are numberless roses of Castile here. At this place they were attacked at daybreak by the natives who killed a horse. (Hammond and Rey, 1928, p. 332).

Obregon tells us

These people do not wear clothes; they are hostile and war-like. They use the same kind of weapons as the other natives. (in Hammond and Rey, 1928, pp. 332-333).

Espejo said, while at Acoma,

The mountains people came to aid those of the settlements, who called the mountain people Querechos. They

carry on trade with those of the settlements, taking to them salt, game, such as deer, rabbit, and hares, tanned deer skins and other things to trade for cotton mantas and other things with which the government pays them. (in Bolton, 1952, p. 183).

The Querechos, an Athapascan group, may well have been the vanguard of the Apachean move west across the Rio Grande. Some historians consider the Querechos near Acoma to have possibly been Navajos (Hammond and Rey, 1929, pp. 86-87). It does not appear that they were Navajo in the process of moving in, as 15 years later at Acoma, Villagra tells us an Acoma chief sent a "messenger to the Apache nation, a foreign tribe which lived far from his people and who were strangers to them." (Villagra, 1610, p. 213. Italics mine.) Espejo's Querechos may possibly have been Gila Apaches.

Reeve referred to this statement and the chief of this particular group, and commented:

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This chief lived far from Acoma, which could mean the Apaches to the south of the Pueblo, that is, Gila Apaches, or the Navahos, who lived on Cebolleta Mountain. (Reeve, 1957, p. 38)

The latter possibility is doubtful, as the Navajos were not in the Cebolleta region until much later as will be shown below.

Before continuing with Espejo's explorations, it perhaps would be best to discuss the Navajo beginnings and their relations with surrounding groups, in order to better understand why the above Querechos near Acoma, in 1583, are identified as possible Gila Apaches. (See accompanying map. Post - 1750 data on west is omitted.)

SOURCES OF DATA FOR NAVAJO MAP

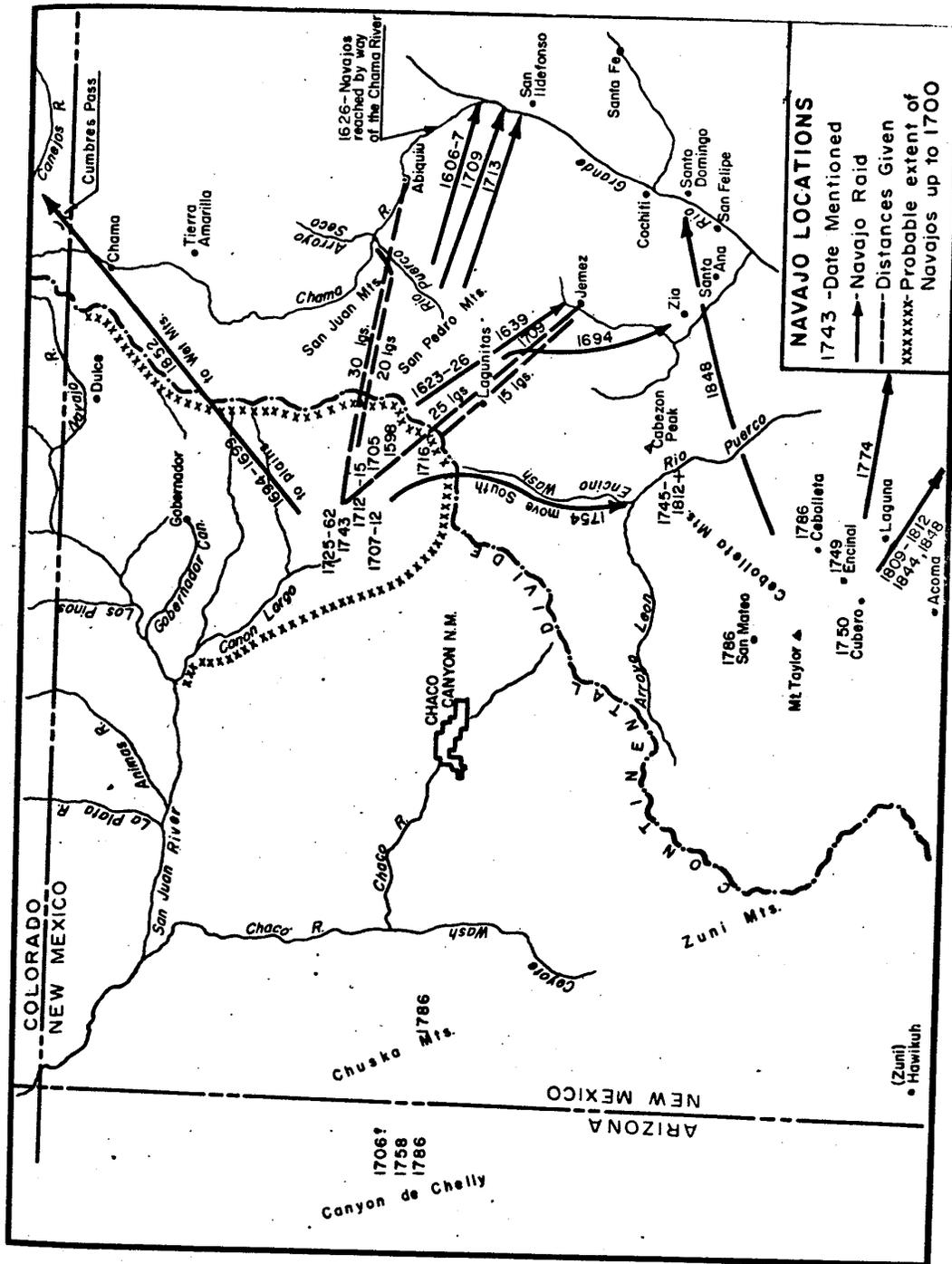
- 1598 Apaches (Hammond & Rey, 1953, p. 345)
- 1606-07 Apache raids (Scholes, 1944, p. 340)
- 1623-26 Navajo raids (Scholes, 1936, pp. 145-146)
- 1626 Navajos reached by way of Chama River (Lummis, 1899, p. 183) (See Harrington map, 1940, p. 514, showing Navajo distribution west of Chama River)
- cal629 Navajos reached 1 day plus from Santa Clara (Hodge, Hammond & Rey, 1945, pp. 86-87)
- 1639 Navajos attack Jemez (Hodge, Hammond & Rey, 1945, p. 277)
- 1694 Navajos attack Zia (Reeve, 1958, p. 211)
- 1694-99 Navajos raid Pawnees on plains (Thomas, 1935, pp. 13-14, 173)
- 190 1705a Enter Navajo province via Las Grullas Mts. 30 lgs NW from Santa Fe (Reeve, 1958, p. 221)
- 1705b Navajos 40 lgs west of Picuris (Reeve, 1958, p. 218)
- 1706a Navajos from the frontier (Piedra Lumbre?) up to the Grand River (San Juan) (Reeve, 1958, p. 217)
- 1706b Navajo province 70 lgs E-W and 30 N-S (Hill, 1940, pp. 408, 413)
- 1707-12 Navajo province 30 lgs W of Jemez (Reeve, 1958, p. 225)
- 1712-15 Navajos 20 lgs W of Piedra Alumbre (Hill, 1940, p. 402)
- 1713a Navajos raid San Ildefonso (Reeve, 1958, p. 226)
- 1713b Navajos live on mesa tops as a protection from Utes and Comanches (Reeve, 1958, pp. 227-228)

II

- 1716 Navajo province 15 lgs from Jemez (Reeve, 1958, p. 229)
- 1725-62 Tree ring dates on Navajo hogans in Largo Canyon (Farmer, 1942, p. 71)
- post-1716 No Navajo raids on Spanish for about 50 years. According to testimony of Spanish witness, this was due to Ute and Comanche pressure on Navajos. (Reeve, 1958, pp. 229-230)
- 1743 Navajos 30 lgs west of Abiquiu (Hill, 1940, p. 400)
- post-1743 Navajos spread south & west according to Hill (1940, p. 398)
- 1745-1812 Tree ring dates of hogans on Big Bead Mesa. Sites in north were occupied earlier (Keur, 1941, p. 67)
- 1750 Navajos request to found a village at Cubero (Hackett, 1937, p. 424)
- 1754 Navajos fled south from Utes (Thomas, 1940, p. 138)
- 1758 Tree ring date of hogan in Canyon de Chelly (Hurt, 1942, p. 89)
- 1774 Navajos attack Albuquerque (Thomas, 1932a, pp. 61-62)
- 1780 Navajo-Gila Apache alliance (Thomas, 1932a, p. 258)
- 1785 End of Navajo expansion according to Amsden (1932, p. 206)
- 1786 5 Navajo areas of concentration (Bartlett, 1932, p. 31)
- 1809 Navajos attack Sierra Blanca (Santa Fe Archives, #2248)

III

- 1812 Navajos attack Valverde (Carroll & Haggard, 1942, p. 1)
- 1844 Navajos stole stock near Valverde (Webb, 1931, p. 213)
- 1846 Navajos and Utes raid Abiquiu (Abert, 1848, p. 44)
- 1848 Navajo war trail through Puerco Valley (Abert, 1848, p. 49)
- 1848 Navajos killed 2 volunteers near Valverde (Abert, 1848, p. 86)
- 1848 Towns between Socorro and San Antonio deserted due to Navajo raids (Abert, 1848, p. 91)
- 1848 Navajos attack Santo Domingo (Abert, 1848, p. 46)
- 1852 Navajos and Jicarillas and Utes attack on Greenhorn River en route to raid Kiowas and Arapahos (Abel, 1916, p. 242)



Our first reference to Apaches that might have been Navajos after Espejo's day is in 1598 when some were mentioned as being in the mountains above Jemez. These were included in the assignment of the padre who was to minister to Jemez. (Oñate in Hammond and Rey, 1953, p. 345). After this we hear that in 1606-07 "Apaches" raided San Gabriel at the junction of the Chama and Rio Grande. (Scholes, 1944, p. 340). These, however, may have been the Apaches from the plains who traded at San Gabriel. (Hammond and Rey 1953, p. 838). Between 1623 and 1626 "famine and Navaho raids reduced them [Jemez] to a miserable state." (Scholes, 1936, pp. 145-46). In 1626, Zárate Salmerón reported that the Apache de Nabaju were reached by way of the Chama River. (in Lumis, 1899, p. 183). This would have been the so-called dinetah or original homeland of the Navajos. Harrington presents a map of the dinetah country, which shows the limits of Navaho occupation from the 1500's on. (1940, p. 514). The data on his map is in full agreement with the documentary evidence presented here.

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In his Memorial of 1634, Benavides described the range of the Gila Apaches as being west of present day Socorro. He said it extended "for more than fifty leagues along the frontier of the pueblos of New Mexico toward the west" before reaching the Navajo. (in Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945, pp. 82, 85). This would place the southern limit of the Navajos somewhere north of a line drawn between Santa Fe and Jemez Springs. Moreover, he stated, "all those fifty leagues from Xila up to this Navaho nation are settled with

rancherias..." (p. 85). This would include the Acoma region near which the Querechos were mentioned by Espejo in 1583.

Benavides also reported that he used Santa Clara pueblo "on the frontier of the Christian Indians of the Teoas [Tewa] nation" as his base for his conversion of the Navajos. This was "where the Apaches killed people every day and waged war on them." To reach the Navajos from here they "traveled all that day and on the morning of the next came within sight of the first enemy rancheria." (in Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945, pp. 86-87). The Navajos were also reached from the south between 1626 and 1632 by Father Martin de Arvide, who made the trip from Jemez. (in Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945, pp. 89, 252).

Benavides also reported the Apaches de Quinia above the Navajos, who were reached from Taos pueblo. In one instance they were reported only ten leagues away, and they were always located on the western side of the Rio Grande. (in Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945, pp. 89-91). These people were never again referred to after Benavides' day. They may have been a group that joined the Navajos in the dinetah region to the west.

In 1639 the Navajos attacked Jemez and killed the friar there. (Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945, p. 277). Between 1644 and 1647, the Jemez and "Apache" together were reported to have killed a Spaniard, and between 1649 and 1653 there was a general conspiracy reported which involved the people of Isleta, Alameda, San Felipe,

Cochiti and Jemez pueblos and certain Apache groups. (Scholes, 1938, pp. 105-106). Thus, the Navajo country through all of this time was north of Jemez and west of the Rio Grande, and they had contacts with nearby pueblos on the Rio Grande, both good and bad.

Archeological data has indicated that the Gobernador area, so far as published material is concerned, has yielded the earliest evidence of Navajo occupation, the earliest tree ring date being 1656 plus. (Keur, 1941, p. 55). This correlates with the historical documents referred to above. The lack of earlier tree ring dates in the Gobernador might be due to several factors such as a lack of sufficient excavation or survival of datable timbers.

196 After the pueblo rebellion, the people of Jemez, in 1693, who had sought refuge on their mesas, asked Vargas to allow them to remain there as a defense against the Navajos. (Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945, p. 277). The following year Zia was attacked by the Navajos and some Jemez people were reported with them. (Bandelier, 1892a, pt. 2, p. 213). Two years later, in 1696, when the second pueblo rebellion failed, some of the Jemez people fled to the Navajo country. (Bloom and Mitchell, 1938, p. 107).

It was during this period, when the population of the Navajo country was increasing due to the influx of pueblo peoples, that the Navajos made extensive raiding expeditions into the plains to fight the Pawnees, who were located on the Platte River. In 1697

some 4,000 Navajos were reported killed in one of their battles on the plains. (Thomas, 1935, pp. 13-14, 173). Such lengthy expeditions from their usual locale west of the Rio Grande suggests one of two things. Either these trips to the plains were not made, as Reeve suggests (1958, p. 212, fn. 17) or they had been undertaken in the past without the knowledge of the Spanish, or pressures on the plains forced other groups west of the Rio Grande into Navajo country. If the latter occurred, the late arrivals may have returned to the plains with Navajo reinforcements to seek revenge against the Pawnees, the very tribe that was engaged in warfare with the Cuartelejos and other Apaches on the plains in the early years of the 1700's. (in Thomas, 1935, pp. 69-72).

Such a contact between the farming Navajos west of the Rio Grande and the farming Apacheans on the plains, who were not contacted or reported in any detail by the Spanish until 1706, appears to have been quite probable. Culturally, they had many traits in common, such as farming and pottery, which distinguished them from the other Apaches of their day who were nomadic and without pottery. From the Gobernador, the Navajos could easily have proceeded through Cumbres Pass down the Conejos Valley into the San Luis Valley, and then through a pass in the Culebra Range to reach the edge of the plains, where they could combine with other farming Apachean groups against the Pawnees. The fact that the Apaches de Quinia were reported north of the Taos area for only a short spell in the Early 1600's

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suggests that the farming Apaches of the plains periodically were filtering through along the above described route, into Navajo country. The Navajos themselves possibly may have spearheaded the procession in the late 1500's.

198 This contact between the Navajos and the farming Apaches of the plains continued after 1706, but was diverted away from the San Luis Valley route due to the pressures of the Ute-Comanche alliance moving down from the north. Evidence of Ute pressure on the Apaches north of Taos occurs as early as 1694. Vargas, in referring to the Apaches de Acho, stated "that the Ute Nation, which we are looking for, does not countenance them [Apache de Acho] in their land." (in Scholes, 1936, p. 185. Italics are mine.) At this time these Apaches were in the mountains behind the Rio Colorado north of Taos, possibly infringing on Ute land. Thus, the historical circumstances of (1) an open corridor between the Navajos and Apaches of the plains northeast of Santa Fe, between 1694 and 1699, and (2) Ute pressure noted on the Apaches de Acho in 1694, plus (3) the appearance of the Ute-Comanche alliance in New Mexico by 1706, and (4) the lack of any further mention of Navajo expeditions to the plains after 1699, indicate the corridor was closed by 1700 or shortly after. The fact that the Jicarillas and other Apaches from the plains kept to the east of the Sangre de Cristo range after 1706, rather than passing through

it further north, and that the Jicarilla chief, El Coxo, whose band was located north of Cimarron, New Mexico, in 1719 "was absent because he had gone to the Navajo province," and that the Jicarillas in the 1720's were planning to move west from the present Cimarron, New Mexico area to join the Navajos (in Thomas, 1935, pp. 115, 201-203, 205, 208) are further indications that the Navajo-Plains contact of before 1700 had been diverted to another route, but was still operative.

After 1700, we find the Navajos still in the same region, northwest of Santa Fe. In 1706, Ulibarri went to the Navajos by way of Picuris pueblo and returned by way of Zia, and reported that Navajo territory was 70 leagues east-west and 30 north-south. (Hill, 1940, pp. 408, 413). This suggests, as Reed has pointed out (1941, p. 487), that the Navajos had possibly reached Canyon de Chelly in the west by this date. Testimony of Spaniards who made various expeditions into the Navajo country indicate that they started from Jemez, between 1707 and 1712 and also between 1722 and 1731. (Hill, 1940). During this period the Navajos continued to raid Jemez. (Hodge, Hammond and Rey, 1945, p. 278). Between 1712 and 1715 the Spanish also entered Navajo country by way of Piedra Alumbre, where

the Puerco River enters the Chama, and found the Navajos some 20 leagues beyond to the west. (Hill, 1940, p. 402). This is about the same distance Benavides had to travel to reach the Navajos in the 1620's. The expedition of 1743 left the region of Abiquiu and marched about 30 leagues to the Navajos. From Jemez it was 25 leagues or so. (Hill, 1940, p. 400).

Hill suggests that after 1743 the Navajos expanded south and west. (Hill, 1940, p. 398). The southern move apparently was caused by the pressures from 1716 on. (Hill, 1940, p. 397). Significantly, tree ring dates from hogans in the Largo Canyon area, the so-called dinetah or home area of the Navajos, range from 1725 plus to 1762 plus and from towers, range from 1723 plus to 1752 plus. (Farmer, 1942, p. 71). The dates from the Big Bead Mesa country south run from 1745 plus to 1812 plus (Keur, 1941, p. 67), and those in Canyon de Chelly begin with 1758. (Hurt, 1942, p. 89). Hurt further indicates that the occupation in Canyon de Chelly "coincides with the occupation of the Big Bead sites and the abandonment of the dinetah area." (Hurt, 1942, p. 98). As indicated above, however, occupation in Canyon de Chelly probably began in the early 1700's.

Documents confirm this shift of the Navajos in the mid-1700's, across the continental divide.

In 1730 Bishop Benito Crespo of Durango visited New Mexico and mentioned that "The place of the pagans, called Cebolletas, is

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Whether or not the Spanish actually knew that the Apaches inhabited the Sangre de Cristos, Sandias and other mountains mentioned as well as the mountains near Jemez, a few short weeks after establishing themselves in New Mexico, cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. None of the previous expeditions, with one exception, encountered or referred to any Vaqueros or Apaches anywhere along or west of the Rio Grande in central New Mexico. Aside from the mention of Querechos near Acoma in 1583, who evidently were Gila Apaches, the only other nomads reported west of the Rio Grande were the Cruzados in central Arizona who were Yavapai, and the Querechos or Chichimecos of the Hapi area, probably Paiutes.

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However, Vaqueros (Apaches) were noted from the Pecos east, and some nomads, quite possibly Vaqueros, were seen in the San Andres Mountains east of the Rio Grande in the 1580's. Those encountered by Castano de Sosa, on the Pecos in 1590, may well have been going into the Guadalupe and Sacramento Mountains and possibly into the San Andres Range immediately to the west for the winter. As pointed out above, the Vaqueros appear to have expanded westward slowly but surely, between 1540 and 1598, in the Pecos River area. If so, the furthest the Athapascans ranged to the west in southern New Mexico, of which we have evidence, was the San Andres Mountains, and this by the 1580's. Since Querechos were reported near Acoma in 1583, as mentioned above, it would appear that the Apacheans

also were moving west through central New Mexico at the same time.

Thus, it may have been possible for the Apaches to have been in the other ranges further north, such as the Sangre de Cristos and Sandias, as indicated by the assignments of the padres in 1598. However, since Onate documents make no other reference to Apaches, or any other nomadic group, frequenting the Sangre de Cristo and Sandia ranges east of the Rio Grande, in spite of the fact that Spanish troops soon after made several entries in and around the Sandias and Sangre de Cristos, it is extremely doubtful that any Apaches permanently used the Sandias or Sangre de Cristos north to Taos in Onate's day. The same applies to the reference to Apaches west of the Rio Grande near Jemez. No other mention is made of them in this region by Onate, or others, except for Apache trade at Taos, Picuris and other pueblos on the eastern frontier.

In summary, the Vaqueros and Querechos of southern New Mexico were found in increasing numbers, between 1541 and 1598, along the Pecos, evidently expanding westward. In central New Mexico, Querechos were reported west of the Rio Grande for the first time in the Acoma area in 1583. In 1598,

others probably Navajos, were reported north of Jemez as well as others in the Sandia and Sangre de Cristo ranges, but not in the years following. The western expansion in southern New Mexico may well have resulted in the Apaches de Parrillo, who were reported to the east and south of present Socorro in the 1620's. Others farther to the southeast who frequented the Sierra Blanca and Siete Rios regions, were reported later as Paranes, Matages, Mescaleros and by other names.

Weakly records a drought in Nebraska between 1587 and 1605. (Weakly, 1950, p. 93) Just how large an area in the plains was affected is not known. This long drought, however, may have been a major factor that caused the Apaches to move west into the area of New Mexico.

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There are two other references mentioning Apaches to the west of the Rio Grande. While Zaldívar was in the plains, Onate made a trip in October to the Salinas visiting pueblos in the vicinity of the east slopes of the mountains east of the Rio Grande, and then went on to Acoma, Zuni, and the Hopi villages from whence he returned to San Juan on the Rio Grande, via Zuni, which he left December 12, 1598. Nowhere on this trip did he mention encountering any other than pueblo peoples. However, Villagra, who accompanied Onate and

wrote in 1610, referred to Oñate's trip to Acoma in 1598 and stated:

After considering the matter [of the fight with the Spanish], Gicombo [an Acoma chief] sent Buzceice as messenger to the Apache nation, a foreign tribe which lived far from his people and who were strangers to them. He sent a message there to his faithful friend Bempel, an Apache war-captain of renown, requesting him to meet at Acoma when six suns had passed, that he might discuss with him matters of great importance. (Villagra, 1610, p. 213).

This reference to Apaches indicates they were not in the Acoma region, but "far" away, apparently three days travel if the distance of six suns is accurate (possibly in the mountains to the south). If in 1598 the Apaches were far from Acoma and "strangers" to them, then the "Querechos" (Gila Apaches) of 1583 near Acoma, described variously as trading with and warring with the people of Acoma, did not remain in the vicinity of Acoma, or visited Acoma only on occasion to trade or war.

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The second reference to Apaches occurs in the following year. In connection with the Zaldivar inquiry, Alferes Leonis Tremino de Banuelos stated in July 1600, in regard to Zaldivar's trip to the west in search of the South Sea in 1599:

that a year earlier, more or less, the sargento major left this camp on the expedition to explore the land to the west, taking along twenty-five soldiers, from whom this witness learned that the trip lasted three months and they endured great privation and hardship. They marched inland more than two hundred leagues, meeting many Indian nations, Apaches, Cruzados, and Tepeguanes, all able fighters. (in Hammond and Rey, 1953, pp. 814-829).