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## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NAVAHO-SPANISH RELATIONS

By FRANK D. REEVE

THE Navaho people are a branch of the Athapascan Indian language group. In this respect they are one group of the Apache people who lived in scattered bands over a large part of the Southwestern United States. In historic times, the Spanish gave Apache bands a name in keeping with some cultural characteristic or geographical location. In northeastern New Mexico the Jicarilla, or Basket Maker, Apaches made their homes. Along the eastern side roamed various bands known as the Natages and Faraones and eventually as the Mescalero, or mescal eating Apaches. Southwestern New Mexico was the habitat of Apaches referred to as the Faraones, Salineros, Mescaleros, and later as Gilas or Gileños. The Apaches of Navaho, or farmer Apaches, lived in northwestern New Mexico from Cebolleta Mountain to the Province of Navaho in the Rio San Juan drainage.<sup>1</sup>

There are several suggested sources for the derivation of the word Apache. It is "probably from *ápachu*, 'enemy,' the Zuñi name for the Navaho . . .,"<sup>2</sup> or else the Spanish picked up the word from the Yavapi Indian term 'Axwá, duoplural 'Axwáatca, meaning "Apache person."<sup>3</sup> "May I put the case for another explanation? — namely, that the Zuñi word is derived from *apádje*, "people," the name by which the Apaches of Yuman speech call themselves; that these Apádje were, at an early period, the typical enemies of the pueblo people; and that when the Athapascan Diné whom we know as the Navaho arrived, they were classified as a variety of

1. For a detailed discussion of the origin of the name "Navaho" and their location, see Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navaho Geography," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 31, pp. 290-309.

Cebolleta Mountain, sometimes marked on maps as San Mateo Mountain or Chivato Mesa, is topped at the southern end by Mt. Taylor, also one time named Mt. San Mateo.

2. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Pt. 1, Washington, 1907 (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30).

3. John P. Harrington, "Southern peripheral Athapaskawan origins, divisions, and migrations." *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection*, 100:512. Washington, 1940.

Apache."<sup>4</sup> The Apaches call themselves *Tinneáh*,<sup>5</sup> meaning "man" or the "people," sometimes spelled *dineh* or *diné*.

The word Apache first appeared in Spanish documents in the time of Juan de Oñate and the colonization of New Mexico (1598). Earlier contacts with these people were friendly, but now they were classed as a warlike people and soon became a serious foe for the Spanish who struggled to keep a foothold in New Mexico in order to maintain Christian missions among the Pueblo people. It is reasonable to assume that they had been troublesome toward the Pueblos before the advent of the Spanish,<sup>6</sup> and that relations alternated mildly between war and peace, a common condition among all the peoples of the earth, even to the earliest times. The fact that the Apaches were troublesome in the seventeenth century is made amply clear in Spanish records, but which group of Apaches was guilty at a given moment is another question.

When Governor Oñate (1598-1607) prepared to punish the people of Acoma for their unexpected attack on Spanish soldiers in 1599, he assembled a punitive expedition at his headquarters in the Pueblo of San Juan. "The natives, seeing these things, quickly became alarmed and sent messengers to the neighboring provinces, calling upon the savages one and all to unite and wage war against the Spaniards with blood and fire."<sup>7</sup> This call to arms may have been only a bit of poetic imagination, but if such a call was issued the Apaches would have been the people summoned, and especially the Navahos and the Jicarillas. There is no evidence that the Navahos or other Apaches rallied to the defense of Acoma, but Villagra's story reveals a Spanish awareness of the existence of the Apaches nearby the settlements of the Pueblos, and their potential as an enemy.

4. Barbara Aitken, *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 26:334 (October, 1951).

5. J. P. Harrington in R. H. Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886*, p. 5, note 13. New Mexico Historical Society, Publications in History, IX, or *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 14:313 note (October, 1939).

6. F. W. Hodges believes that the Navahos were "Raiders of the sedentary Pueblo Indians from as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century . . ." Foreword in Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: its technique and history*. Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1934.

7. Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, *History of New Mexico*, p. 219. Tr., Gilberto Espinosa. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1933.

The nearness of Apaches to the Pueblo settlements is supported by words of Oñate himself: "We have seen other nations, such as the Querechos or Vaqueros, who live among the Cíbola cattle in tents of tanned hides. The Apaches, some of whom we also saw, are extremely numerous. Although I was told that they lived in rancherías, in recent days I have learned that they live in pueblos the same as the people here. They have a pueblo eighteen leagues from here with fifteen plazas. They are a people that has not yet publicly rendered obedience to his majesty, as I had the other provinces do. . . .<sup>8</sup> Since Oñate was already acquainted with the several Pueblos of New Mexico, this reference indeed could be to the Navahos. They lived in a scattered fashion on the mesa tops of the Rio San Juan country (the Province of Navaho), but sufficiently concentrated to give the impression of a settlement or pueblo, and the estimated distance of eighteen leagues to their country is close enough in view of the lack of exactness in mileage recorded by the Spanish.

The poet Villagra also wrote that the Acoma war chief sent a messenger to an Apache chief, requesting him to come to Acoma,<sup>9</sup> which could mean the Apaches to the south of the Pueblo, that is, the Gila Apaches, or the Navahos who lived on Cebolleta Mountain.

The fact that the Apaches in general were troublesome was soon made clear in the time of Oñate. During his years of service in New Mexico, "numerous complaints had been received concerning his failure to deal in an appropriate manner with the Apaches and Navahos."<sup>10</sup> The thought occurred to the Viceroy that perhaps the Spanish had been too aggressive toward the natives outside of the Pueblo area, so an initial move was made to curtail further punitive expedi-

8. Oñate to Viceroy, March 2, 1599. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*, 1:484. The University of New Mexico Press, 1953. 2 vols. (vol. 5, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. George P. Hammond, general editor).

9. For a more detailed discussion of the location of the Gila Apaches, see Albert H. Schroeder "Fray Marcos de Niza, Coronado and the Yavapai," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 30:295 (October, 1955).

10. France V. Scholes, "Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 11:28 (January, 1936), or *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History*, VII.

tions under Oñate's successor. This order was quickly countermanded under pressure from the religious. Father Ximénez "informed the viceroy that the Spaniards and Christian Indians were regularly harassed by the Apaches, who destroyed and burned the pueblos, waylaid and killed the natives, and stole the horses of the Spaniards."<sup>11</sup>

Governor Don Pedro de Peralta's (1610-1614) instructions from the Viceroy when appointed to office in New Mexico included the statement: "Some villages and tribes are on the frontiers and lands of the Apaches who are usually protectors or hosts of enemies and among whom are the planners and plotters against the entire country and from which they issue to do damage and make war."<sup>12</sup> In the light of later information concerning the Apaches and relations with them, this quotation more nearly implies the Navahos' country as the alleged "refuge" than any other region of the widespread Apaches. Since the Navahos were a more settled folk than their kinsmen elsewhere because of growing corn, they would have been a more natural refuge for Pueblo people fleeing from Spanish abuse, and a potential ally despite past differences with them.

Their Northern Province near the Rio San Juan lay westward from the headwaters of the Rio Chama, and they had direct entry in peace and war to the Pueblo region at the confluence of the Rio Chama and Rio Grande by way of the valley of the Rio Chama. When Fray Alonso contacted these people in September of 1629, his emissaries departed from Santa Clara Pueblo on September 17, which fell on a Thursday. They arrived home on a Friday with a delegation of Apaches. At least one week had passed between the two events, which was sufficient for making a round-trip to the near-part of the pagan's homeland.<sup>13</sup> From the standpoint of

11. George P. Hammond, "Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 2:139 (April, 1927), or *H. S. of N. M., P. H., II*.

12. March 30, 1609. Translation by Prof. Watt Stewart, State Teachers College, Albany, New York, from the Spanish document published with a translation by Irene L. Chaves, in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, 4:183 (April, 1929).

13. *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630*. Tr., Mrs. Edward E. Ayer. Anno., Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis, p. 47. Chicago, 1916. Cited hereafter as *Benavides 1630*. Warren R. Good, *Perpetual Calendar*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Ann Arbor Press, 1943.

proximity, these frontier folk were closest to the heart of Puebloland. From the vantage point of Santa Clara Pueblo, Fray Alonso Benavides wrote: "Thither more than usual [elsewhere] these Navajò Apaches repaired to do havoc."<sup>14</sup>

Jemez Pueblo was another focal point of Navaho relations with the Pueblo folk and the Spanish. Shortly after the arrival of Oñate in 1598 the missionaries laid plans for Christianizing the Indians. "Fray Alonso Lugo was assigned to the Jemez pueblos, 'and also all the Apaches and Cocoyes of their mountains and districts.'"<sup>15</sup> This mission field, insofar as the Apaches were concerned, was not actually cultivated until years later, but an occasional peep is afforded in documents about relations with their neighbors: for instance, "in the spring of 1614 some Jemez Indians, together with some Apaches (Navahos?), killed an Indian of Cochiti. Several of the Jemez captains were brought to Santo Domingo, and there one was hanged."<sup>16</sup> A decade later the Jemez people, apparently with the approval of the Governor of New Mexico, felt free to abandon their new mission church and settled way of life. They decamped to the hills. "The incident doubtless had serious repercussions throughout the entire Jemez area, and it is not unlikely that the Navaho took advantage of the situation to raid the Jemez pueblos and inflict further damage."<sup>17</sup>

Shortly after the arrival of Fray Alonso Benavides in New Mexico in 1625 as Custodian of the Missions, serious efforts were made to strengthen relations with the Navahos with a view to converting them to Christianity and maintaining peace between them and the Pueblo folk. Having learned

14. *Benavides 1630*, p. 45.

The Jicarilla Apaches of course were a possible refuge for fleeing Pueblos, but they only touched upon the northeastern corner of Puebloland.

The Pueblo of Santa Clara "where the Apaches [de Navaho] killed people every day and waged war on them." *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, p. 36. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1945. Hereafter cited as *Benavides 1634*.

15. France V. Scholes, "Notes on the Jemez Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *El Palacio*, 44:61 (1938). Or, "all of the Apaches and Cocoyes of the neighboring sierras and settlements." Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, p. 345.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 63 note. Scholes' supposition that these Apaches were Navahos is sound on the basis of geographical proximity and in the light of the later story about relations between the Apaches and Jemez.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

that one of their Captains named Quinia had been wounded by an arrow, Fray Pedro de Ortega, missionary of Santa Fe, and Fray Gerónimo de Pedraza, a trained apothecary and surgeon, went to Naváholand to tend the wounded men. After this event, the Captain came to the Rio Grande Valley in the year 1627 and asked for baptism. "To console him, I [Fray Alonso] went to his rancherías, as he had retired farther inland, and planted there the first crosses." The following year Fray Pedro baptized Quinia and a fellow chieftain named Manases. Sometime during the spring of 1629, the serious work of planting a mission was started. Captain Quinia once more came to the Valley to escort the Friars entrusted with the task, Fray Bartolomé Romero and Fray Francisco Munos. They were also accompanied by Governor Francisco de Sylva (1629-1632) with a detachment of soldiers.

No time was wasted by these laborers in missionary work. "In one day they built a church of logs, which they hewed, and they plastered these walls on the outside." Then the Spanish departed except for Fray Bartolomé as resident missionary. The Apaches quickly grew restless under this strange tutelage. They attempted to kill the Friar and then moved on to other haunts. Fray Alonso attempted to retrieve the situation. He sent a peaceful delegation to these people to open negotiations for better relations. They succeeded in the undertaking and a delegation of Apaches came to the Pueblo of Santa Clara for a conference. It was probably after this meeting that Fray Martín de Arvide "entered this nation at the extreme end,"<sup>18</sup> that is, the Province of Navaho.

The years passed with missionary work confined to the Pueblo people. The Navahos carried on as usual, sometimes trading with the settled Indians, and occasionally warding

18. This story is pieced together from scattered information in *Benavides 1630*, *Benavides 1634*, and Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Memologio Franciscano*, p. 144. Mexico, 1871 (Teatro Mexicano, vol. 4).

Fray Martín de Arvide, with permission from Fray Alonso and by authority of Governor Felipe Sotelo Ossorio (1625-1629), had earlier succeeded in restoring the wandering Jemez people to their former settled status. *Ibid.*, p. 75f. *Benavides 1634*, p. 70.

Fray Pedro de Ortega was stationed at Santa Fe for about two years, beginning in January, 1626.

off an attack from the Spanish and Pueblo folk. When the individual Pueblo person could no longer suffer the impositions of his new masters, he fled "to the heathen, believing that they enjoy greater happiness with them, since they live according to their whims, and in complete freedom."<sup>19</sup> Again it is reasonable to assume that these "heathen" were the corn growing Navaho Apaches rather than the buffalo hunting Apaches of the eastern plains or the distant Apaches to the southwest of Puebloland.

The presence of aggrieved Pueblo refugees among the Navahos no doubt acted as an incitement to raiding the settled people; and to distinguish between Spanish and Pueblo (or friend and foe) was impossible because the two were so closely interlocked. The missionary had penetrated all the Pueblos with varying success and the Spanish soldiers' prime task was that of protecting the religious and their new converts to Christianity. The Spanish conquerors drew heavily on Pueblo manpower for both defense and aggression against the frontier foe. So there were more inducements for the frontier people to attack their settled neighbors than stories of hardships suffered at the hands of the Spanish as related by refugees. Furthermore, "The cause of the increasing enmity was doubtless resentment against the common practice of seizing Apache and Navaho boys and girls by Spaniards during trading expeditions to the lands of these tribes, in order to impress them into service on the ranches or as house servants, and to sell them as slaves in the labor markets of New Spain."<sup>20</sup>

It is a doubtful assumption that the nomads raided the Pueblos in order to benefit substantially from plunder. A pueblo dwelling was also a fortification, and very difficult to capture as the Spaniards themselves had learned from ex-

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19. Petition [of Father Juan de Prada, Convent of San Francisco, Mexico, September 26, 1638]. Charles Wilson Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3:111. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937.

Prada was Commissary-General of New Spain. In preparation for writing his report, he consulted missionary eyewitnesses, either personal or by correspondence.

20. France V. Scholes, "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 12:150 (April, 1937), or *H. S. of N. M.*, P. H., XI.

perience.<sup>21</sup> Within the fortress were stored the corn and other produce of the field, likewise any supply of cotton goods or other items that the Apaches could use. These supplies could have been obtained more easily by peaceful barter.<sup>22</sup>

The *encomenderos*, or citizen-soldiers, were the military core of provincial defense. They were responsible for guarding the missions, the settlers, and escorting travelers. They only numbered about thirty-five in the first part of the century. Their ranks were strengthened, when necessary, by a levy on the Pueblo folk and Spanish settlers. All told there were about 200 Spaniards able to bear arms.<sup>23</sup> It is not too far fetched to state that the military resources of New Mexico were always inadequate for the work at hand. The Spaniards felt themselves to be on the defensive, and usually insufficiently armed. They even fell short of horseshoes in the 1630's and could not make punitive expeditions because the enemy "lives in rough mountainous country and on stony mesas. . . ." The description certainly points the finger of suspicion at the Navahos who lived in just such a country.<sup>24</sup>

This suspicion is strengthened by the allusion of Fray Thomas: "Since it is clear and manifest that in their [the

21. Cf: "All the information which we have from regions other than the Southwest indicates that prior to the introduction of the horse, American nomads were impotent against settled agricultural groups. The assured food supply of the latter gave them an overwhelming superiority of numbers, while they were better organized and at least equally well armed and mobile." Ralph Linton, "Nomad Raids and Fortified Pueblos," *American Antiquity*, 10:29 (July 1944).

22. "These Indians [Pueblo] are notably poor and live a wretched life, for their entire property is limited to the raising of a little cotton, from which they weave the blankets with which they clothe themselves and which they sometimes exchange for buffalo and deer skins which the unconverted Indians are accustomed to bring, who live adjacent to our people and with whom they maintain peace, although always insecure, because these people do not keep their word." Petition [of Father Juan de Prada, Convent of San Francisco, Mexico, September 26, 1638]. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:108.

23. Petition [of Francisco Martínez de Baeza, Mexico, February 12, 1639]. *Ibid.*, 3:119. France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 10:79 (April, 1935). *Benavides 1630*, p. 22f.

24. Report by Cabildo to Viceroy, Santa Fe, February 21, 1639. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:73; see also p. 54.

Fray Diego de San Lucas fell a victim to the Navaho at Jemez Pueblo in 1639. *Benavides 1634*, p. 277 note.

"The first reference to Jemez subsequent to the time of Benavides is for the year 1639. Sometime during that year . . . 'los yndios de los hemes habian tenido un rebato y acometimiento de los yndios apaches (Navahos?) ynfeles enemigos de los cristianos y que en el havian muerto a flechazos al Padre Diego de San Lucas. . . ." Scholes, "Notes on the Jemez Missions . . .," 44:94.

Cabildo] time [1641-42] they subdued the whole Apache nation that had harassed the land in the time of [Gov.] Don Luis de Rozas [1637-41], burning more than 20,000 *fanegas* of Indian corn, killing and capturing a large number of Indians, so that he forced the Apaches to make peace."<sup>25</sup>

How much of the warfare can be attributed to the Navahos among all the frontier foes cannot be calculated with mathematical exactness, but there is no doubt that they were involved, even though the records at hand are scanty. Fray Alonso de Benavides recorded that the Navahos assembled at one time more than thirty thousand warriors. The figure is nonsense, of course, but he went on to explain that "This is a very conservative estimate, because the sargento mayor of the Spanish soldiers told me that once when he had fought them in a war he had seen more than two hundred thousand, as near as he could estimate." The significance of this statement lies not in the figure of fighting men, which can be completely ignored, but in the fact that even in or before Fray Alonso's time, scarcely a quarter century after the arrival of Oñate, the Spanish had campaigned against the Navahos.<sup>26</sup>

The picture of conflict becomes a little clearer in the 1640's. Drawing upon his memory in 1681 for events of forty years in the past, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, distinguished soldier in seventeenth century New Mexico, related that, "He knows particularly that [Gov.] Don Fernando de Arguello [1644-1647] in his time had twenty-nine Jemez Indians hanged in the pueblo of Los Jemez as traitors and confederates of the Apaches, and that he had imprisoned a number of them for the same crime and for having killed Diego Martínez Naranjo."<sup>27</sup>

The geographical location of Jemez in relation to the

25. Fray Thomas Manso to Padre Nuestro Reverendísimo [Prada], Parral, January 15, 1645. A. G. I., Sevilla, 2-4-1/22, No. 7. (Ayer Collection transcript, Newberry Library, Chicago). The Cabildo at Santa Fe was actually in power from the fall of 1641 to the fall of 1642.

26. *Benavides 1634*, p. 85.

27. Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., and Charmion Clair Shelby, tr., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682*, pt. 2, p. 266 (vol. 9, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, George P. Hammond, general editor).

The same passage is in *Documentos para la Historia del Nuevo Mexico*, a summary of the Otermín documents, A. G. N., *Historia 28 f152r* (pt. 2, enlarged microfilm,

Province of Navaho again indicates that the Apaches involved in the punishment of the Jemez Indians were or included Navahos. The inference is strengthened by the fact that a mere three or four years earlier the Navahos were probably a direct target of military action. Despite the jurisdictional strife between the Church and State in the seventeenth century, the Friars were not above helping the civil arm in controlling the troublesome frontier people, so on one occasion "The prelate [Custodian Hernando de Covarrubias] also aided the governor in other ways, such as lending horses for a campaign against the Navahos and Pacheco [Governor Alonso Pacheco de Heredia, 1642-1644] expressed warm appreciation of such whole-hearted coöperation."<sup>28</sup>

Whether Governor Pacheco actually attacked the Navahos at this time is not certain, but after the hanging episode under his successor, another bit of light is thrown on the state of affairs when, in the administration of Governor Luís de Guzmán y Figueroa (1647-49), punitive action was taken against them "in the campaign of the Rio Grande, Nabajo, and Cassa-Fuerte." Juan Domínguez participated in this campaign.<sup>29</sup>

Governor Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha (1649-53) was also faced with a conspiracy between the Pueblos and the

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Coronado Library, University of New Mexico). The microfilms will be cited hereafter as *New Mexico Archives*.

In 1645 Gov. Fernando de Argüello, "For these crimes hanged, whipped, and imprisoned more than forty Indians, all of whom were Jemez and were associated with the Apache enemies. . . ." Fray Vélez de Escalante, "Extracto de Noticias," *Biblioteca Nacional de México 3* (pt. 1, photo 77, *New Mexico Archives*). The enlarged microfilm copy in the New Mexico Archives does not have the original pagination, so the photo number must be used for specific page reference.

The authorship of the "Extracto de Noticias" is attributed to Fray Vélez by J. Manuel Espinosa, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 22:422-25 (May 1942). Prepared in 1778, it is a lengthy resume of New Mexican Affairs to 1717 based on the Spanish Archives at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

A portion of the "Extracto" can be found in A. G. N., *Historia 2* (pt. 2, *New Mexico Archives*). A printed version is in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Tercero Serie. Mexico, 1856.

Juan Domínguez de Mendoza arrived in New Mexico in 1634 at the tender age of twelve. Escalante, *op. cit.*

28. Scholes, "Church and State . . .," 12:85.

29. Commission issued to Domínguez by Governor Miranda, Santa Fe, July 27, 1671. *Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, ms. 19258, photos 62-66, document 23. I am indebted to France V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams for the use of these translations from a microfilm. The documents are a part of the Juan Domínguez de Mendoza papers which they plan to publish in the Coronado Historical Series. They will be cited hereafter as *Domínguez Papers*.

Apaches. The plan was revealed by Apaches who had seized a herd of mares. Overtaken by Captain Alonso Baca, they informed him that the Indians of the pueblos of Alameda and Sandia had delivered the stock to them as part of the bargain made for the alliance.<sup>30</sup> The Governor proceeded to hang nine leaders from the pueblos of Isleta, Alameda, San Felipe, Cochití, and Jemez.<sup>31</sup> Some Navahos were involved in this event too, and Apaches from elsewhere.<sup>32</sup>

During the governorship of Juan de Samaniego y Xaca (1653-56) an expedition was sent against the eastern Apaches. The "following" year the Navahos ambushed the people of Jemez killing nineteen and taking captive thirty-five. Retaliation was in order, and again Juan Domínguez took the field. "He surprised the Navahos during a native ceremonial, killed several Navahos, imprisoned 211, and released the captives, including a Spanish woman."<sup>33</sup> This indicates that the Jemez people were in an unhappy predicament. One moment they were hanged for conspiring against the Spanish in alliance with the Navahos or other Apaches. The next moment their sometime friends ambushed them. This situation can be attributed to a lack of unity among the Navahos.

When Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659-1661) assumed office, he was of the opinion that it would be necessary to punish the Apaches "and lay waste their sowings," all because they had failed to reaffirm the peace at the beginning of his government as they had done in the time of his predecessors.<sup>34</sup>

He had the corn-growing Navahos in mind, and his

30. Escalante, *op. cit.*, photo 77. Declaration of Diego López, December 22, 1681. Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt . . .*, pt. 2, p. 239.

31. Domínguez' statement in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt . . .*, pt. 2, p. 266.

32. Commission issued to Domínguez, *op. cit.*

Governor Ugarte punished Indians of Casa Fuerte Nabajo, which clearly means the Navaho, and of Matanssas. The latter term bears a similarity to the name *Manases* as used by Benavides in reference to the Apache Navaho.

Domínguez also campaigned against the eastern Apaches. *Ibid.*

33. Scholes, "Troublous Times . . .," 12:150. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 24-25, doc. 8.

34. Commission issued to Juan Domínguez. *Domínguez Papers*, photo 30, doc. 10.

This commission was dated August 30, 1659, which connects the Governor's opinion with the statement of Captain Andrés Hurtado: "For this purpose of making captives, the governor on the fourth of September of this year, 1659, sent out an army of eight hundred Christian Indians and forty Spaniards, though there was evident risk at the time the army set out that trouble would ensue, for the kingdom was then full of bands

military commander performed his task in a satisfactory manner. Juan Domínguez led his troops on a campaign to "the Rio Grande, where severe punishment was again meted out to the Apache enemies, many of whom were captured and killed."<sup>35</sup>

If Governor Lopez had any genuine desire for peace with the Navahos, his actions certainly belied his words. He committed an act that seems beyond the capacity of ordinary men, but was convicted on the charge at the close of office: "López intensified the hostility of the Apaches by acts of treachery. For example, certain Apache warriors were permitted to come in peace to Jémez, only to be cut down and killed by the governor's order. An expedition was then sent out immediately to seize the women and children who had been left behind."<sup>36</sup>

The decade of the 1660's opened with the subdivision of New Mexico into two administrative districts, the Rio Arriba (up river) and the Rio Abajo (down river) with Santa Fe as the headquarters for the Rio Arriba. This action was partly due to the "need for a more active defensive policy in the lower area where the Apaches were especially active."<sup>37</sup> Juan Domínguez was appointed *Alcalde Mayor* for the jurisdiction of Sandia and Isleta pueblos, and Lieutenant General for the larger region from Cochití Pueblo on the north to the pueblo of Senecú on the south (all a part of the Rio Abajo) and eastward to the pueblos of the Salinas district which lay southeast from the Manzano mountains.<sup>38</sup>

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of heathen who have entered the pueblos of Las Salinas, the *camino real*, and the farms of El Río, and also into the pueblos of Hemes, San Ildefonso, and San Felipe." Declaration of September, 1661, in Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:187.

35. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 62-66, doc. 23.

36. Scholes, "Troublous Times . . .," 13:69. The episode is retold with the statement, "having induced a group of Apache (Navaho) warriors" to visit Jemez in peace. Scholes, "Civil Government . . .," 10:85.

The Pueblo of Taos was also listed as the site of similar action. Scholes, "Troublous Times . . .," 13:74.

"Relations with the Apaches and Navahos were characterized by occasional peaceful trading ventures and by a series of raids on frontier pueblos followed by counter attacks on the Apache-Navaho strongholds," during the 1650's. *Ibid.*, 12:396.

37. Scholes, "Civil Government . . .," 10:91.

38. Appointment by Governor López, Santa Fe, November 19, 1659. *Domínguez Papers*, photo 29, doc. 11.

The Piro Pueblos in the region of Senecú (near present day Socorro) were involved in the intrigues with the Apaches of the Southwest. Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt* . . . , pt. 2, p. 299. *Escalante, op. cit.*, photo 78.

The administrative change was followed by a policy of keeping the frontier Indians from intruding into the settled area for the purpose of trading because there was always the possibility that they would commit some mischief, so "a pact was made with them that they should not pass beyond the pueblos of Humanos and Tavira [the Salinas area], where they come to barter; nor should the enemy of the same nation in the jurisdiction of Casa Fuerte and Navajó come, because it is from there that the whole kingdom receives hurt, for they [the Apaches] are all one people, and it is impossible to tell whether they are friends or enemies."<sup>39</sup> This restrictive policy was modified in January, 1664, when Governor Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa Briceno y Berdugo (1661-1664) ordered "that the enemies who are at peace be not allowed to come into the pueblos of this custody. Whenever they may come to trade they may do so, stopping outside, so as to avoid inconveniences that might result of informing themselves of our forces."<sup>40</sup>

Neither administrative change nor instructions on trade brought enduring peace. And nature added to the difficulties of the times with crop shortages which reduced both the Pueblo people and the Spanish settlers to a starvation diet, sometimes resulting in death. The Apaches continued to be troublesome. They "hurl themselves at danger like people who know no God nor that there is any hell."<sup>41</sup>

The decade preceding the Pueblo War for Independence in 1680 was a period of increasing trial and tribulation for conqueror and conquered. The great drought of the late 1660's was followed by a pestilence in 1671 which carried off both cattle and people. The next year the Apaches were again on the war path. Of particular significance for the future history of the nomads was the onslaught on the livestock in the Rio Grande Valley. The Apaches to the east, southeast,

39. Testimony of Captain Nicolás de Aguilar, May 11, 1663. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:143.

40. R. E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2:2. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914. (2 vols.). H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 168 note. San Francisco, 1888. New Mexico Archives, 1621-83, doc. 3 (Enlarged microfilm in Coronado Library of the Colonial Spanish Archives at Santa Fe, N. M.)

41. Fray Juan Bernal to the Tribunal, Santo Domingo, April 1, 1669. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:272.

and southwest no doubt utilized the sheep and cattle for food and the horses for transportation. It is quite possible that the well-known livestock (especially sheep) holdings of the Navaho Apaches in the eighteenth century had their origins in these years immediately preceding the pueblo uprising<sup>42</sup> because of their more settled way of life.

It is certain that the Navahos were active in contributing to the general distress during this decade. In addition to campaigns against the Apaches to the east and southwest of Puebloland, Domínguez was commissioned by Governor Juan Francisco de Treviño (1675-1677) in September of 1675 to campaign against the enemy "to the cordilleras of Navajo, Casa Fuerte, and the other places necessary"<sup>43</sup> to punish them and check their marauding. And again in 1678 a full-scale attack was launched by Governor Antonio de Otermín (1677-1683). Juan Domínguez once more was the commander. With a detachment of fifty mounted Spanish fighters and 400 Pueblo allies, he was instructed to follow the trails leading westward from Zia Pueblo "to the cordilleras of Casa Fuerte Navajo, Río Grande, and their districts," returning by way of the mountains of Piedra Alumbre, a jumping off point for enemy forces bent on raiding the Río Arriba. He succeeded in destroying some crops and capturing thirteen horses.<sup>44</sup>

Once more that same year the veteran soldier took the field against the enemy. He achieved marked success, although of an impermanent nature: "He burned and destroyed

42. Petition [of Fray Francisco de Ayeta. Mexico, May 10, 1679]. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:302. See also Fray Francisco in A. G. N., *Duplicados Reales Cédulas* 31, f36 (Ayer Collection transcript, p. 80). Or see quotation in Licenciado D. Martín de Solís Miranda to Exmo: Señor, September 5, 1676. A. G. N., *Historia* 25, f162.

Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 170, discusses the general situation due to Indian raids in the 1670's. Cf. Francisco Fernandez Marsilyo, October 2, 1676, quoted in *Historia* 25, f162 (pt. 2, Coronado Library microfilm).

The Apache raid on Zuñi in 1672, resulting in the death of Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala, was more likely the work of the Gila Apaches than the Navaho. The latter had a more fruitful field for raiding in the Río Grande Valley. Vetancurt, *Menologio*, 4:346f, merely accuses "los bárbaros."

The exact date of this raid and the death of Fray Pedro is a moot point. A re-examination of the evidence can be found in Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, p. 197 note. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956.

43. September 24, 1675. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 78-81, doc. 29.

44. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1678. Photos 134-86, doc. 32; photos 139-41, doc. 31.

more than 2500 fanegas of maize, and it is public knowledge that he captured the wives and children of the infidel Apache enemies, put to rout an ambush they had prepared on a mesa, burned their settlements, and won many spoils, actions worthy of every reward."<sup>45</sup> But a month later the governor wrote that the Navahos retaliated with an attack on the Pueblo of Acoma. "In order to restrain their insolence, their crimes and atrocities have been punished in the general destruction inflicted upon them by my order, which resulted in the death of some of them and the capture of others. Nevertheless, adding crimes to crimes, they lay in ambush at the Peñon de San Esteban de Acoma where they destroyed some sowings, killed an Indian, and attempted to destroy the said pueblo and stronghold."<sup>46</sup> So once again Domínguez took the field with instructions "to march from the plaza de armas of the pueblo of Sía in good order and military discipline to the said cordilleras of the west, of Casa Fuerte, Navajo, peñoles, and other places which may seem necessary to him. . . ."<sup>47</sup>

The results of the winter campaign are not at hand, but one more attack was made against the Navahos before the great catastrophe of 1680. In the summer of 1679, a pincer movement was planned against them. Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier led a force westward from Taos with instructions to cooperate with and eventually join another force led by Domínguez westward from Zia Pueblo. Any Navahos lurking in the mountainous country north of the Chama Valley would be driven westward as the other Spanish force invaded their homeland and turned eastward. A probable meeting place for the two forces was the Piedra Lumbre.<sup>48</sup>

The climax of Spanish-Pueblo friction was reached in the War of 1680. The part that the Apaches played in this

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45. Governor Otermín, Santa Fe, November 26, 1678. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 128-130, doc. 33.

46. Commission to Domínguez, Santa Fe, December 23, 1678. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Domínguez Papers*, photos 96-97, doc. 36.

Maese (Maestre) de Campo was the "title of a top-ranking Spanish army officer of field grade, equivalent to colonel, or even to major or lieutenant general, depending upon the number of troops under his command." Adams and Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, p. 356.

struggle for independence is not clear. They are frequently referred to as being allied with the Pueblos against the Spanish, but again they are mentioned as being hostile to the former and taking advantage of the situation after the protection of Spanish arms, for whatever they were worth, had been removed. The Apaches are seldom mentioned by a group name, but the few references are to the Faraones and Achos who lived along the eastern frontier of New Mexico. The latter were the Jicarillas of later times. The Ute Indians are mentioned at least once as taking advantage of the times.

The Navahos too played a shadowy part in the uprising. There are implications that they took advantage of Pueblo distress after the Spanish withdrawal. A handful of Pueblo Indians reentered New Mexico from El Paso shortly after the rebellion for some vague purpose of their own. One of the group, Shimitihua, reported that he met a Navaho Apache chief at the pueblo of Santo Domingo engaged in negotiations for peace between the two peoples. The meeting had been solicited by the Pueblo people.<sup>49</sup>

One fact in Navaho history does emerge clearly in the seventeenth century. They became involved in a persistent warfare with the Spanish. The conquerors exploited the Pueblo people for economic advantage despite the laws and the Friars to the contrary, and the latter aimed at a revolution in the Pueblo way of life. Both practices kept alive discontent among the Pueblo people. Their grievances in turn worked toward making the frontier people anti-Spanish. The harsh treatment of the latter by Spanish slavers, and punitive expeditions in retaliation for raids into the valley of the Rio Grande, gave the frontier people their own set of grievances against the white man. Adding to these factors a probably normal but mild sense of antagonism between the Pueblo and frontier people before the arrival of the Spanish, and the use made by the latter of Pueblo manpower in military activities, it was not surprising that the Spanish and Pueblos became entangled in a relationship with the frontier people that was more marked by war than peace. The Navahos

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49. B. N. M. 3 (pt. 1, photo 39, New Mexico Archives). Vina Walz, *History of the El Paso Area*, p. 45. University of New Mexico, 1951, ms.

played a prominent part in the story. After the Pueblo War for Independence against their Spanish masters in 1680, and their subsequent reconquest, the legacy of the Seventeenth century was another quarter century of warfare between the Spanish and Navahos before they settled down for a long era of peaceful relations.