Navajo Raids and Battles in the Jémez Mountains
&
The Earliest Settlement of Jémez Springs

This ruin was part of the Trujillo family farm located about 3.5 miles south of Jémez Springs. Tree-ring dating of a roof timber from here shows that the viga was cut in 1867. This is currently the oldest tree-ring-dated structure from the 18th or 19th centuries in San Diego Canyon.

The earliest evidence of people living in the Jémez Springs area comes from Jémez Cave, located just above Soda Dam on the west side of San Diego Canyon. Three-thousand-year-old corn cobs from farming along the river and other artifacts were found there in the 1930s. The oldest remnants of permanent dwellings in the Canyon are the ruins of Hemish villages, first built about 700 years ago. This includes the pueblo ruins of Gíusewa, where the Spanish mission church San José de los Jémez (Jémez Historic Site) was built in the 1610s-20s. The ruins of two other Hemish villages along the river are located just north and south of Hummingbird Music Camp.[1]

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[1] Carbon-14 dating of the corn cobs is reported in: Ford, Richard I. 2013. The Cultural Ecology of Jémez Cave. pgs. 69-79, Chapter 4, From Mountain Top to Valley Bottom, Understanding Past Land Use in the Northern Rio Grande, New Mexico, edited by Bradley J. Vierra. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City. 336 pgs.; Regarding the mission and villages see: Elliott, Michael L. 2011. San José de los Jémez Mission and Gíusewa Pueblo Site National Historical Landmark Nomination, NPS Form 10-900 USDI/NPS NRHP, Registration Form (Rev. 8-86), OMB No. 1024-0018.

Although Pueblo people have lived here since "time immemorial," there were long stretches when few people inhabited San Diego Canyon. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the Reconquest of the 1690s, there was apparently little or no year-round occupation in the upper reaches of the Canyon until the mid-1800s. Given the attraction of the hot springs and the fertile river valley, why was this so? The reason was that the upper Canyon, including the present-day Jémez Springs area, was a dangerous place to live. The killing of settlers and theft of crops and livestock by Navajos and other raiders continued from the 17th to the late 19th century in northern New Mexico. Attacks were especially frequent during the early to mid-1800s.[2]

The historical record of violence during this time in the Jémez Mountains is abundant, as noted in multiple accounts included in this essay. Sheep herders were repeatedly ambushed, killed, and their livestock taken. Isolated homesteads in the remote canyons and valleys of the Jémez were easy to raid with impunity. The rough terrain of the surrounding mountains and upland forests provided cover for surprise attacks, and it was too far for protection by the warriors living in Jémez Pueblo and in the Spanish village of Cañon.

Raiding by "Apaches" (the term used for both Navajos and Apaches in early Spanish documents) was a frequent problem during the early years of the San José mission. The defensive nature of the old church is obvious, with tall and thick walls, a bell tower (torreón), and only two windows. Early Spanish documents recount attacks by the raiders on Jémez villages and the mission churches. Adolf Bandelier, for example, noted that Gíusewa and the San José mission were "*abandoned in 1622, on account of the persistent hostility of the Navajos who had succeeded in scattering the Jémez Tribes*." The mission was then re-established in 1627 for a short period. Another story tells about the killing of a priest at Walatowa (present-day Jémez Pueblo) by Navajos during a raid in 1639. Even the stronghold of a relatively large pueblo settlement was not always a safe refuge.[3]

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[2] A general reference for the Navajo Wars is McNitt's publication of Lt. Simpsons 1849 "Navaho Expedition," including a transcription of the official report, many explanatory footnotes and endnotes, and a lengthy epilogue that summarizes much of the U.S. Army-Navajo war from the 1840s to 1860s: Simpson, James H./Frank McNitt. 1964. Navaho Expedition, Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navaho Country Made in 1849, edited and annotated by Frank McNitt, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 396 pgs.; Also see Keleher, 1954, footnote 18.

[3] Bandelier is quoted about the 1622 abandonment of the San José mission in the McNitt footnote, pg. 17, in Simpson/McNitt, 1964, ibid; The two windows of the old mission are also flared inward, as an embrasure, to aid firing at wide angles by defenders.; The 1639 killing of a priest by a Navajo arrow is recounted in Joe Sando's book: Sando, Joe S. 2008. Nee Hemish, A History of Jémez Pueblo. Clear Light Publishing, Santa Fe, New Mexico 262 pgs., pg. 108.

Close proximity to the Navajo homelands made the Jémez a front line of the Navajo Wars for more than three centuries. In Tom Merlan's and Kurt Anschuetz's history of the Baca Location No. 1, they stated:

"*The Valles are within easy striking distance by nomadic raiders who preyed first on the Pueblos, then on the Hispanics, and then on the Anglo-Americans who lived near or used the Valles Caldera. Bishop Crespo, describing his visitation of New Mexico in 1730, notes that Jémez is "five leagues from the Navahos…"*[4]

The San Diego Land Grant was allocated to twenty families in 1798.[5] The village of Cañon (or Cañoncito) and the church there, Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe Mission, was established sometime around 1799. It was located on the southern edge of the land grant near the junction of the Rios Jémez and Guadalupe. This location had somewhat greater safety from raiding due to proximity to Walatowa, and surprise attacks were more difficult in the open landscape with sparse pinon-juniper woodlands.

Multiple Navajo attacks occurred in the Jémez during the early decades of the 19th century. For example, from Merlan and Anscheutz:

Navajos raided along the Río Grande, striking repeatedly at Jémez but ranging from Abiquiu and the Valle Grande southward to Belen. Thousands of sheep and other livestock were run off; some of the pastors [sheep herders] were carried away as slaves and others were killed. A token force of fifteen soldiers was sent in March 1829 to patrol the frontier at Jémez…" [6]

A member of the Baca family was killed by the Navajos in the Jémez in 1835 (this family was granted the Baca Location No. 1 in 1860 by the U.S. Government):

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[4] Merlan and Anschuetz, Chapter 4, History of the Baca Location No. 1, pgs. 31-47, In: Anschuetz, Kurt F., and Thomas Merlan. 2007. More Than a Scenic Mountain Landscape: Valles Caldera National Preserve Land Use History, USDA Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Research Station, General Technical Report RMRS-GTR-196. 277 pgs.

[5] Translated transcript of the 1798 San Diego land grant document, Jemez Valley History, Jemez Springs Public Library: https://jemezvalleyhistory.org/?page_id=4428 ; It is worth noting that the first two names of the 20 original grantees are referred to in the original document as "Francisco and Antonio Garcia de Noriega, brothers and interpreters of the Navajo Nation," and it is mentioned that they had been "temporarily stationed," presumably at Jemez Pueblo and officially by authorities at an earlier date.

[6] Merlan and Anschuetz 2007, op. cit., pg. 31; They cite McNitt 1972:70 (Same as the Simpson/McNitt in footnote 2, above.)

"*The Baca family had begun taking their sheep into the Jémez Mountains during periods when the Navajos refrained from raids. In 1835, however, Navajo raiders suddenly struck. They killed Juan Antonio [Baca] and stole his sheep*." [7]

Given this history of violence in the early 1800s, when did the San Diego land grantees take the risk and begin to build homesteads in the upper Canyon? Besides the Hemish villages and San José mission church at Gíusewa, the oldest known houses or ruins in upper San Diego Canyon are the Spanish Queen mine works, located about 3 miles south of present-day Jémez Springs. A Spanish priest wrote about this mine in the late 1620s. Stone-built smelters and ruin walls at the mine were noted in 1849 by Lieutenant James Simpson of the U.S. Army. Traveling up San Diego Canyon from Jémez Pueblo, Lt. Simpson saw farm fields for "six or seven miles" above the junction of the rivers at Cañoncito (present-day Cañon), and "ruins of old adobe buildings," but no residents:

"Two miles from camp we came to a Mexican settlement, which continued sparsely scattered along the river for about five miles. The most populous portion of it, called Cañoncito, we found to be about three miles from camp, at the mouth of the Cañon de Guadalupe. Here I saw, within a hundred yards of the village, a small gray wolf shying off

[7] Merlan and Anschuetz, 2007, op. cit., pg. 37; they cite Craig Martin's book, pg. 27: Martin, Craig. 2003. Valle Grande, A History of the Baca Location No. 1, Background to the Creation of the Valles Caldera National Preserve, All Seasons Publishing, Los Alamos, NM. 157 pgs.

At left, Hosta, the Governor of Jémez Pueblo, in a painting by R.H. Kern from the 1849 Report of the Simpson Expedition to the Navajos. Hosta served as Simpson's guide to “Los Ojos Calientes” (the Jémez Springs area) and later to Chaco Canyon. At right, Chief Manuelito, who gained leadership and influence among the Navajos after the death of Chief Narbona in 1849 and led raids in New Mexico.[8]

very reluctantly from us. For a distance of six or seven miles the bottom of the Cañon de San Diego is pretty well cultivated-corn, wheat, and peppers being the chief product of the soil. The corn, which looked well, greatly predominated. Beyond the settlements, the ruins of old adobe buildings were ever and anon to be seen, which, according to our guide, were once inhabited by Mexicans who had deserted them from fear of the Navahos.” [9]

Another early eyewitness account of San Diego Canyon and the Jémez Springs area in the mid-1800s is from Franz Huning’s memoir. He was a trader and merchant who eventually made a fortune and built a large mansion in Albuquerque. The story he tells is from 1857. He decided to travel by horseback from Bernalillo to the Jémez hot springs to take the baths for his rheumatism. Note his description of how deserted and “lonesome” San Diego Canyon was, and how the single settler family at the hot springs warned him to beware the Navajos who prowled about the area. His hosts were undoubtedly José Francisco and Maria Bibiana Archuleta, who built the first bath house and were the earliest land grant settlers in this part of the Canyon:[10]

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[8] The plate showing the R.H. Kern painting of the Jémez Pueblo Governor Hosta is from the 1849 Simpson Report, Simpson/McNitt, 1964, op. cit., pg. 58; The Manuelito photo (public domain) is from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Navajo_Wars

[9] Simpson/McNitt, 1964, op. cit., pg.15; Also, Simpson says this about the Spanish Queen Mine: “*At San Ysidro I called to see senior Francisco Sandoval, the proprietor of the copper furnace we saw two days since up the Cañon de San Diego. He informs me that the mine near this furnace was worked until about 3 years since; that one man could get from it 10 arrobas [250 lbs.] of rich ore per day, and that gold was found in association with it. He further stated that he had now cashed near the furnace twenty-three arrobas of pure copper.*”, pgs. 24-25; This indicates that settler-miners were living and working in this part of the canyon at least temporarily at times before 1846.

[10] A caption handwritten on a photograph taken by R.B. Townshend on his 1903 visit to Jémez Springs provides information about the first settlement by San Diego land grantees in the Jémez Springs area. The photo shows the entrance to a cave in what appears to be volcanic tuff, and with ruins of a built-in stone doorway with wooden lintel. The caption reads “Cave once inhabited by Francisco Archuleta, the first man to plant a crop at the Jémez Hot Springs.” Photo ID number 1998.58.57, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University, England. José Francisco Archuleta (1807-1880) and his son Emiterio (1844-?) were friends of Townshend when he briefly lived in the Jémez Valley in the 1870s. He visited Emiterio in 1903 when he took this photo. Surely, this story that Francisco was the first to farm at Jémez Hot Springs was told by him, or by Emiterio, to Townshend.

"It must have been about this time that I made my first trip to the Jémez Hot Springs, as my rheumatism had not entirely disappeared. I went on horseback alone. As there was no accommodation at the springs at that time, I had to take my blankets along, so that with other necessary things my horse was pretty well loaded down and therefor my progress was slow. On the first day I only went to Corrales.

The next day I went to the Pueblo of Jémez where I camped with the priest. The next day early in the morning I reached the Cañon, which was a very lonesome place without a human being all the way up to the Springs. The only sign that anybody had ever been there was a cluster of two or three smelting furnaces with piles of copper ore and slag close by. I felt very lonesome in that wild cañon all by myself and was much relieved when I arrived at the Springs.

It was lonesome enough even there, since a Mexican and his wife were the only people there. There were two log cabins, in one of which the Mexican couple rusticated, in the other there were two wash or bathing tubs, into which the hot water ran directly from the spring. The only comfort there was consisted of a few boards laid down alongside the bath tub, on which to spread whatever bedding a person might have brought along for sweating and sleeping...

My landlord had cautioned me from the first against strolling away from the Springs too far, as the Navajos paid occasional visits to the neighborhood. I did go though on horseback as far as the waterfall several times. On one of these visits I met my old friend Manuel Abrego, as already stated, who was located at the springs farther up the creek, now called the Sulphurs. He invited me to come and visit him at his new rancho, but I did not go; I believe I was afraid of the Navajos." [11]

Raiding by Navajos in the Jémez and middle Rio Grande increased after the 1849 killing by the U.S. Army of Navajo Chief Narbona during a failed peace council at Canyon de Chelly. The more warlike Chief Manuelito gained influence with Navajo warriors after that event. During the 1850s many settlers and Pueblo people were killed, or taken for hostages or for the slave trade, and thousands of livestock were stolen nearly every year. Here is an example of the conflicts in a letter from U.S. Army Colonel John Munroe to Territorial Indian Agent, Colonel James S. Calhoun in Santa Fe dated March 31,1851:

"The Navajos continue, in small parties, to commit depredations, and have not the slightest idea that we can effectually check them. They never regard the loss of a few men and captives. A few days since, the Navajos drove off stock from near Manzana [near Albuquerque?]. The Apaches, whose localities have been in that neighborhood for months past, ascertained the fact, pursued the Navajos, recovered and returned the stock and brought in a scalp, four were wounded and three have since died. The Pueblo of Jémez are daily annoyed by them, notwithstanding the occasional loss of a man. The Governor of the

[11] Huning, Franz. 1973. Trader on the Santa Fe Trail, The Memoirs of Franz Huning, With Notes by his Granddaughter, Lina Ferguson Browne. The University of Albuquerque / Calvin Horn, Albuquerque, NM. 153 pgs. pgs. 63-64.

Pueblo is now here complaining that he has not the American protection promised, and begging for munitions of war, and the Territory is as powerless as the Superintendency." [12]

The reply from Calhoun reflects the complicated history and relationships between the Navajos and Jémez. At times, the tribes were friendly and engaged in trade and occasional intermarriage. During the Pueblo Revolt era, a group of Jémez refugees lived peaceably for a period of years in Navajo country. This history apparently gave the commander pause in providing the Jémez "munitions of war.":

"SIR,
I have just received your letter of this date stating the representation made by the Govr. of Jémez that the Navajoes are depredating on the property of the Pueblos, and that for purposes of Defence they want a supply of powder and Lead. It is not very long since Jousta [Hosta] accompanied Archibille a Navajoe Chief into this place at that time I am led to beleive the intercourse between the Pueblos of Jémez and the Navajoes was not beyond suspision and I would not now, feel myself at liberty to supply them with public ammunitions, without a very evident necessity.
Respectfully
Col. JAMES S. CALHOUN" [13]

However, there was warfare between the tribes at various times, as Joe Sando of Jémez Pueblo relates in this undated story from his book "Nee Hemish":

"*There are many stories of the experiences of young Jémez men while they were out herding horses. In a particularly popular story told to the grandchildren, during the late 1800s a raiding Navajo group was discovered unaware in the Valle Grande, camped on the west edge near a thick growth of scrub oak. The Jémez men were camped on the southeast side of the large, grassy meadow of Valle Grande. Since the Jémez men had spotted the Navajos first, they had the advantage; individual assignments and instructions were given, including the method of communications (whistling in different tones and length, plus imitating different bird calls for different situations). Cristobal Sando, grandfather and great-grand-father of the present-day Sandos, was selected to shoot the Navajo purported to be the leader. With their bows and arrows, three men penetrated the thick brush surrounding the Navajo camp; the others were stationed at different distances to prevent the raiders from reaching the herd and from inflicting damage to the men. After patiently waiting for the right situation and position of the Navajo leader, Grandpa Cristobal let fly an arrow. The fatal shot*

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[12] The Official Correspondence [1849-1852] of James S. Calhoun, While Indian Agent at Santa Fe and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico, Collected Mainly from the Files of the Indian Office, and Edited, Under Its Direction, by Annie Heloise Abel, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 1915. Google Books. 571 pgs. pg. 324.

[13] Calhoun, ibid., pg. 329.

reached its mark and caused great excitement, confusion and furor among the raiders. They took off toward the west, with more Jémez arrows flying after them-intended more as scare tactics than to kill the raiders. In their haste the raiders left twisted strips of cowhide and some strips of tanned deerhide." [14]

One of the best-documented accounts of a Navajo attack in the Jemez is the skirmish with hay cutters in the Valle Grande. Drought conditions had made it difficult for the US Army to secure hay for their livestock. In response, a couple of entrepreneurs went into the business of gathering hay in the high grasslands of the Valle Grande, with the intention of hauling it to Santa Fe and then selling it to the Army. The following account of the July 1, 1851 fight in the Valle Grande between Navajos and Anglo hay cutters, and later between Navajos and Jémez warriors, is by Craig Martin in his 2003 book "The Valle Grande":

"In one of the first contracts, the quartermaster at Fort Marcy hired Robert Nesbit and Hiram R. Parker to cut hay for the Army livestock. With the going price for hay hauled over 25 miles at $50 per ton, the two Santa Fe residents hoped to make what at the time could become, a small fortune.

Nesbit and Parker looked to the high-elevation valleys of the Jémez Mountains as their source of grass, that "being the only place in the whole country where grass could be had on account of the excessive dryness of the season." Recognizing the potential value of the hay enterprise in the Valle Grande, the Army provided material and labor to improve portions of the road between Santa Fe and the Valle Grande. The road crossed the Rio Grande at what would later become Buckman, climbed Mortandad Canyon to the Pajarito Plateau, and used Cañon de Valle as passage over the crest of the Sierra de los Valles.

In early summer Nesbit and Parker set up camp near the head of the Valle Grande. Their hay camp sat on the west flank of the Sierra de los Valles below the pass the Pueblos called "water reservoir gap," which was named for the small but persistent natural ponds at the summit. The camp was located in a grassy valley surrounded by huge ponderosa pines; to the west were the unlimited grasses of the Valle Grande. The partners built a small fort of "bottom wood" logs. On the side of the fort that faced the pines, they constructed a 30-by-50-foot corral to hold the sizable mule train that would haul the abundant hay cuttings back to Santa Fe. Nesbit and Parker stacked four or five cottonwood logs to build four-foot high walls. Not anticipating any trouble, Nesbit and Parker left no openings in the fort except one on the side facing the corral.

On the afternoon of July 1, 1851, a typical summer rainstorm hit the camp and a light drizzle persisted through the evening. Nesbit and Parker posted two guards but the sentries found it difficult to "see twenty steps from where they were walking." About one o'clock that night, an arrow whistled out of the darkness and pierced the neck of one of the guards assigned to watch the corral. The injured man cried out, fired his gun, and instantly a shower of arrows was unleashed from the darkness into the fort. A moment later, the entire

[14] Sando, 2008, op. cit., pg. 12.

camp was awake and the men read to fight for their lives. Nesbit estimated that 250 to 300 Navajos surrounded them.

Most of the hay camp workers were pinned inside the fort by a "continuous stream of arrows." (It was later noted that about 50 arrows were stuck in the door.) Through the one window of the fort, Parker fired two shots from his revolver toward the pines beyond the corral, but the opening was so high that he couldn't see where his shots were going. For more than two hours the few men outside the fort fought off the Navajos. Just before dawn the raiders brought down part of the corral and made off with 43 mules and 6 horses. The only casualty was the slightly wounded camp guard shot at the beginning of the attack.

Later that morning Nesbit wrote a letter to Colonel John Munroe at Santa Fe and requested immediate assistance. To investigate Nesbit's claims, Munroe dispatched Lieutenant Beverly H. Robertson from the army post at Abiquiu, which was about 10 miles north of the hay camp. As Robertson and his patrol entered the Valle Grande, they spotted a group of Indians herding stock on the opposite side of the valley. Assuming that the Indians were Navajos about to again attack the hay camp, Robertson ordered his men to open fire. The Native Americans immediately rushed on horseback across the valley toward the soldiers, frantically making signs of friendship. Robertson recognized the riders as being from Jémez Pueblo and ceased fire before anyone was hurt.

The Jémez Pueblo group had pursued the Navajo raiders the morning after the attack. Catching up with the raiders on the border of Navajo country, they had attacked them, killing two men and recapturing five mules, and were on their way to the hay camp to return the mules to their owners. The Jémez people told Robertson the number of Navajos in the raiding party was between 30 and 40. Robertson continued to the hay camp and verified what he could about the attack. Although he found Nesbit's account of the battle somewhat exaggerated, Robertson thought the camp would benefit from additional protection. However, Col. Munroe felt that the army camp at Abiquiu was close enough to provide protection to the hay cutters." [15]

There was another attempt to arrange a peace treaty at a council held at Jémez Pueblo in 1852, with U.S. government representatives and at least 200 Navajos present. Unfortunately, that gathering did not lead to peace. Craig Martin recounts killings of sheep herders by Navajos in the Jémez in 1853 and 1856. In addition to these two incidents, a third incident involved the murder of two sons of the Archuleta family from the hot springs in San Diego Canyon. That attack probably occurred sometime around this period on the mesas to the west of present-day Jémez Springs. I will relate this story about the Archuleta sons later, as told by Richard Baxter Townshend in his 1903 book. Here is what Martin summarized about the 1853 and 1856 attacks:

"Undaunted by the presence of the American force at Santa Fe and counter to proclamations from the military that the Navajo frontier was secure, Navajo raiders continued their attacks on the farms and ranches of northern New Mexico, including those

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[15] Martin, 2003, op. cit., pgs. 18-19.

in the Jémez Mountains. In 1853 Navajos killed two sheepherders at Vallecito on Oso Creek, a few miles northeast of the Valle Grande. In 1856, 400 sheep owned by José Ignacio Montoya were stolen and two herders killed [near Peña Blanca on the Río Grande between the Pueblos of Cochiti and Santo Domingo]. The New Mexican militia gave chase to the raiders. In the Valle Grande the party caught up with four Navajos herding the stolen sheep. A small battle erupted, leaving two Navajos dead." [16]

With the Army distracted by the Civil War, in 1862 Navajo and Apache raiders stole 30,000 sheep. It wasn't until after the Union Army had secured New Mexico from the threat of an invading Confederate Army (e.g., the Battles of Valverde and Glorieta Pass, February and March 1862) that they turned their attention to thoroughly defeating the Navajos. Colonel Kit Carson was assigned the task by General James Carleton in 1863. Finally, in 1864, the defeated Navajos were forced on the "Long Walk" into exile at Bosque Redondo on the Pecos River.

However, before their defeat sporadic fighting continued in 1863. Martin describes the Army's brutal attempt to stop the Navajos as they traveled "that noted thoroughfare," the Jémez Mountains, on the way to raiding in the Rio Grande Valley, or on their return:

"*On August 17, 1863, Carleton assembled a detachment commanded by Lieutenant Erastus W. Wood and ordered them to set up a camp in the Valle Grande. Accompanying Wood were five noncommissioned officers and 31 privates from Company A, 1st Infantry, California Volunteers. Carleton's orders were simple, direct, and brutal. The soldiers were to head to the Valles "and there, in that vicinity, to lie in wait for thirty days, to kill every Navajo or Apache Indian who attempts to go through that noted thoroughfare. No women and children will be harmed; these will be captured."*

On September 27, Lieutenant P.A. J. Russell, with four of the California Volunteers and a party of Pueblo people, rode from Camp Valles Grandes to follow the trail of a band of Navajos suspected of stealing stock from villages on the Rio Grande. Russell's command surprised the Navajos at Jémez Springs and, following Carleton's orders, killed eight men, captured twenty women and children, and recovered sheep and horses." [17]

Craig Martin's source of the story about the 1863 battle in "Jémez Springs" resulting in eight dead Navajos is William A. Keleher's classic New Mexico history book "Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868." Keleher used the "Jémez Springs" place name for this battle, but that name wasn't applied to the area until the early 20th century. Lt. Simpson referred to it as "Los Ojos Calientes" in 1849. The earliest official name of the village on 1890s USGS maps was "Archuleta," after the original settlers. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was often referred to in newspapers and advertisements as "Jémez Hot Springs." Keleher also referred to the peace treaty talks held with 200 Navajos in 1852 as the "Jémez Springs

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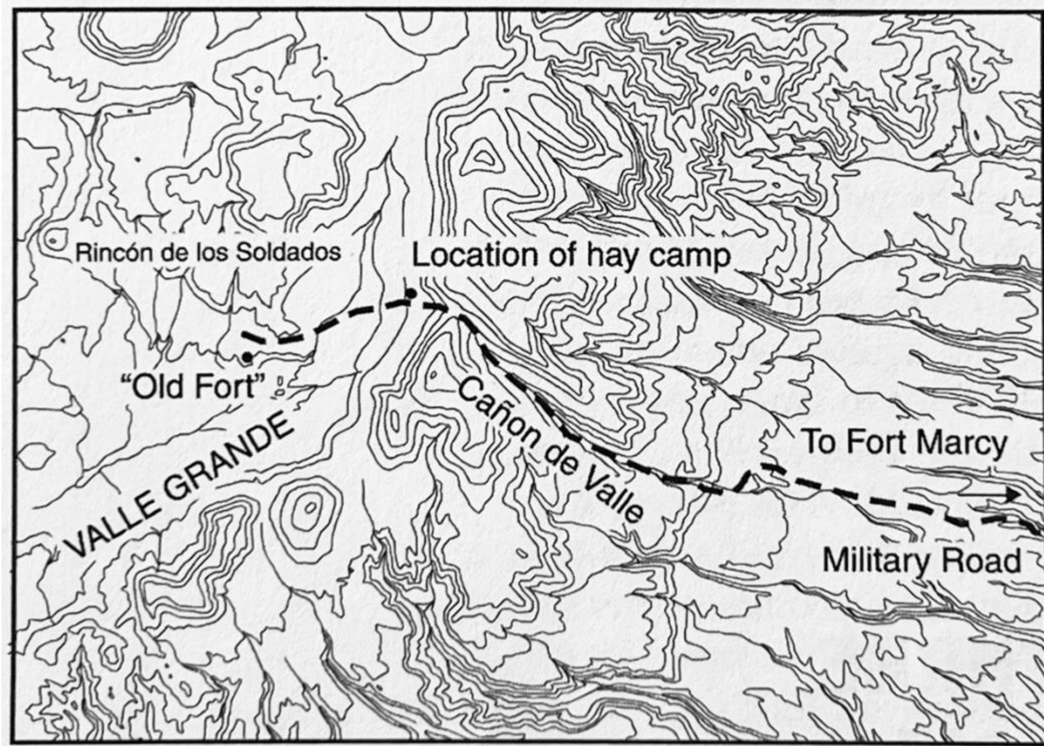
[16] Martin, 2003, op. cit., pg. 20.

[17] Martin, 2003, op. cit., pg. 21.

Council." However, primary documents suggest that the 1852 "Council" occurred at Jémez Pueblo. I suspect that Keleher inadvertently conflated the "Jémez Springs" place name with other Jémez locations.[18]



Old maps show the location of the 1863 Army camp in the Valle Grande as "Old Fort" located near springs and the head of the East Fork. The hay camp of Nesbit and Parker and the location of the 1851 battle with Navajos is where the old "Military Road entered the grasslands. That place is north of where state road 4 enters the Valle Grande. (modern map from Martin 2003).[19]

The tragedy of violence in the Jémez during the 1800s is told in a poignant story related by Richard Baxter Townshend in his book "Last Memories of a Tenderfoot." In this book Townshend tells of his amazement about the changes in the Jémez Mountains that he saw in 1903 compared to when he had lived here briefly in the 1870s. He had known the Archuleta family then, including the patriarch and matriarch Francisco and Maria Archuleta, and their son Emeterio. The old man had died in about1880, but Townshend recalled the story that he had heard about this sad event that probably occurred in the 1850s or 1860s, as follows:

[18] Keleher, William A. 1952. Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868, The Rydal Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 534 pgs.; Regarding the 1852 "Jémez Springs Council" see pgs. 59, 94; Regarding the 1863 battle between the U.S. Army and Navajos in "Jémez Springs," see pg. 314.

[19] Martin, 2003, op. cit., map on pg. 18.

"I like to see the old mountains again, though they are changed, for the washing of the rains has altered the valleys so that I would hardly have known them again. But still the air is there and the forest. But for me who remembers other things it's all different. For instance, poor old Archuleta! How things have changed since I knew him! Think of him in his lusty youth, running over these mountains in moccasins, bow and quiver at his back, slaying the wild deer and even mountain lions with his arrows… he killed four lions one day with arrows! Aye, and Navajos, too!

And then in a mountain he found his two brave boys, waylaid, and killed by the Navajos in turn, and wept so that he went blind, and his horse brought him home. And then in his old age came the new days, and he saw the railway, of which he had only heard by report, and the coming of the Americans.

Yes, I'd like to have seen him again, but I dare say he is better sleeping in quiet earth. But he was a grand old hunter, warrior, scout of the mountains, a true-bred son of the Conquistadores. Peace to his ashes." [20]

Finally, I return to the question of "When was Jémez Springs settled?" The eyewitness accounts of Lt. James Simpson in 1849 and Franz Huning in 1857 are quite clear that upper San Diego Canyon was uninhabited on those dates, except for the Archuletas and their "log" homestead and bathhouse at the hot springs in 1857. The Navajo threat at that time was mentioned in the descriptions, and later official reports of the U.S. Army and others show that the Jémez Mountains were a battleground in the final decades of the Navajo Wars. While living at the hot springs during those dangerous times the Archuletas suffered the tragic loss of two sons. Other families settled in the Jémez Springs area during more peaceful times after the Navajos were subdued in the mid-1860s.

One last set of historical documents provides insight into the settlement of Jémez Springs. There is one census document (to my knowledge) from the Mexican government period (1821-1846) that lists residents and names of 198 people living in the "Cañon de Jémez" in 1845. Almost all these people were likely living in what is known as Cañon today, near the junction of the two Rios. There are no Archuleta names listed in that document.

Apparently, the first full U.S. census in the Territory of New Mexico was in 1860. The 1860 census lists "Ind" (for Indian) people in the location called "Jemes," plus some non-Indians, for a total of about 400 names. But it is not possible to tell from these documents where the non-Indians were living. The Archuletas of Jémez Hot Springs are not listed in the 1860 census, as far as I can tell (the copy is illegible in places). They are listed in the 1870 census for "Cañon de Jémez," along with 159 people in 69 families. But again, it is not possible to tell in these documents who was living in the lower Cañon versus the upper

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[20] Townshend Richard B. 1926. Last Memories of a Tenderfoot. Jane Lane The Bodley Head, London. Reprinted in 2010 by Kesinger Legacy Reprints. 270 pgs.; The excerpt is from his 1903 visit and letter to his wife., pgs. 105-106; Gilbert Sandoval, a lifetime resident of Jemez Springs and a descendant of the Archuletas, said that he had heard this story as it was passed down in the family. He said the attack was on the mesas to the west of Jemez Springs, and that settlers from the surrounding area banded together and pursued the killers and recovered most of the sheep.

Cañon in Jémez Hot Springs at that time. The 1880 census documents include separate listings of residents in "Jémez Hot Springs," with the Archuletas listed along with 59 people in 16 families.[21]

Perhaps someday additional historical documents or maybe tree-ring evidence from timbers in an old house or ruin will change our understanding of when Jémez Springs was permanently re-settled after the Pueblo Revolt and Reconquest era. For now, a best guess would be about 1850 to 1856.

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[21] Census documents were accessed from Ancestry.com; Another documentary source that was consulted was "New Mexico Baptisms, Church in Jémez, NM, 1701-1829, Extracted and Transcribed by Members of the New Mexico Genealogical Society, Published by New Mexico Genealogical Society, 2017." I think this is a list of baptisms at the four Catholic Churches in the lower Jémez Valley, including the churches in Cañon, Jémez Pueblo, Ponderosa (Vallecito), and San Ysidro. But maybe mainly the one at Jémez Pueblo, referred to in the introduction of this document as San Diego de Jémez. I could not find José Francisco Jaramillo Archuleta, or his wife Maria Bibiana Montoya Archuleta, in these listings. However, I did find José Francisco's sister and parents listed for her baptism in 1816. Her name was Maria Guadalupe Archuleta, born July 4, 1816. Her parents (and Francisco's parents) were Blas Archuleta and Joséfa Jaramillo Archuleta (from Ancestry.com). It is not clear where this baptism took place. The listing says ambiguously "of this area" (pg. 71). Some of the other baptism listings in this compilation refer to home places of the baptized person, or the parents or padrinos/padrinas home places as Cañon, Cañon de San Diego, San Diego de Jémez, Vallecito, Nacimiento, San Ysidro, or other places. Hence, this listing seems to include records from all four churches, or for people who came to one or more of these churches from the general area for baptisms. In any case, the finding of Francisco Archuleta's parents and sister in this baptism record from 1816 indicates the family were early settlers in the Jémez area before Francisco and Maria Bibiana moved to the hot springs in the upper canyon after circa 1850. Their extended families were probably grantees of the 1798 San Diego Land Grant, and they were primarily residing in Cañon, San Ysidro, or Vallecito before 1850. Jaramillo and Montoya are among the 20 family names listed in the 1798 San Diego Land Grant document, but Archuleta is not.