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AMISTAD NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

Del Rio, Texas

AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBAL AFFILIATION STUDY PHASE I: ETHNOHISTORIC LITERATURE REVIEW

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Jointly Published by

THE TEXAS DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS DIVISION
Archeological Studies Program, Report No. 34

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THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Study Completed for the NPS Under Purchase Order 1443PX12598084
Amistad National Recreation Area, Del Rio, Texas

2002

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3/13/2003

Amistad National Recreation Area
American Indian Tribal Affiliation Study
Phase I: Ethnohistoric Literature Review

Published in cooperation with the National Park Service Amistad National Recreation Area
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Printed in the United States of America at

MORGAN PRINTING
book and publication specialists

900 Old Koenig Lane
Suite 135
Austin, Texas 78756
Tel: 512-459-5194
Fax: 512-451-0755
mprinting@austin.rr.com

On acid-free, 60 lb. paper
January 2002

For further information on this and other TxDOT archeological publications, please contact

Texas Department of Transportation
Environmental Affairs Division
Archeological Studies Program
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Archeological Studies Program Report No. 34
A. McGraw, Series Editor

Editing and production of this report was directed by

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ISBN 1-930 788-14-2

Dedicated to
Dr. Thomas N. Campbell
and Dr. J. Charles Kelley,
mentors and gentlemen.

Abstract

This document presents the results of an archival study focusing on the native groups that have or may have historical ties to the lands of the Amistad National Recreation Area (Amistad NRA). Its purpose is to identify those groups who may have affiliations with these lands for the National Park Service in order that park planners can solicit input from modern Native Americans. However, the document has potential utility for other federal and state agencies. Two of these agencies are the Federal Highway Administration and the Texas Department of Transportation. Like the National Park Service, these agencies also have responsibilities under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act and the National Historic Preservation Act. Therefore, in the spirit of interagency cooperation, the Texas Department of Transportation arranged for publication of this document.

For the most part, the study focuses on a wide variety of documentary records (e.g., ecclesiastical and death records of the Spanish missions in and near Texas, hand-written Spanish and English letters, diaries, military reports, governmental records, maps, censuses, etc.). Although these records are biased, they are invaluable for this unit of the National Park system because archeological data related to the historic residents of the region are modest. These documents, then, often represent a primary source of information on the inhabitants, their culture, their mode of living, and their interaction with the environment and the European newcomers.

Using these data, together with the archeological information, the authors identify a number of native groups who occupied and/or exploited the lands of the Amistad National Recreation Area. The earliest are multiple groups of small bands with a variety of names that generally disappeared from the historical records by the mid-to-late eighteenth century as the members of these small groups merged with broader, more powerful ethnic entities. At first, they merged with the Apache, and later with the Comanche, Tonkawa, Seminole, and others. By the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, most of these groups had removed to Indian Territory. Today, only the Seminole Maroons and the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas reside in the general region where the Amistad NRA is situated.

Texas Department of Transportation

National Park Service
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

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Acknowledgments

In March 1998, we entered into purchase order 1443PX12598084 with the National Park Service to complete Phase I of the ethnographic overview and assessment for the Amistad National Recreation Area. We were enthusiastic and excited about the work before us and remain so today. In part, our enthusiasm and excitement were because we both had undertaken this type of research as part of our doctoral efforts and, quite simply, love doing it. We already had done much of the documentation for the earliest groups that may have occupied or frequently traveled through the lands now submerged under Amistad Reservoir. Nonetheless, we were aware that there existed a wealth of additional material in dusty archives or on microfilms we had not seen. The challenge for us would be to try to find and accurately report on that material.

But our excitement and enthusiasm went beyond merely the challenge and intrigue of doing the research. Like the National Park Service (NPS) and the Native American tribes, we knew that this was a job that needed the doing. Few researchers have used this material, relying instead on a modicum of translations or transcriptions, most of which were completed several decades ago (for exceptions, see Kavanagh [1996], Campbell [1988], and Johnson and Campbell [1992]). Those documents are wonderful in and of themselves, but are too few and provide a biased picture of the historic Native Americans who occupied Texas. There are many, many more documents that have not been studied and those documents give a much more complex, intriguing picture of the vast array of groups that occupied the region 400 years ago.

The reasons researchers rarely go beyond the early translations are understandable. It is difficult to sort through the many, large, often un-indexed, materials. And, the task eats up time. In the cultural resource management world of contracts, time is precious. The task is made more difficult by the sometimes aged and faded condition of the documents, and it often seems that the most critical documents were penned in handwriting even more painful to read than one's own. Finally, the reader must often read not only Spanish, but also archaic Spanish.

Yet, precisely because this material has been infrequently accessed, the job needed doing. Native American tribes (Comanche, Mescalero Apache, Tonkawa, and others) know they had an historic presence in Texas and they both want and require consultation on activities that may affect lands to which they have ties but where they no longer reside. Federal agencies realize they need to consult with Native American tribes, but are confounded about which tribe might have ties to which regions in Texas. Hence, we were excited to have the opportunity to begin a search possibly producing a clearer definition of the Native American groups affiliated with the lands of Amistad National Recreation Area. And we stress the verb *begin*. Other documents in archives need to be read and reevaluated with the material we identified. Native American tribes need to assimilate the material we collated and determine the extent to which our conclusions mesh with their oral history traditions. We think this should be a collaborative effort, and we hope our efforts have helped open doors that were never locked, just not open.

Just as we were excited when we began, we were also awed. The task in front of us was daunting and we knew that the study would be nothing if we were unable to reach out for assistance from many sources. Along the way, we did reach out and each person and group asked, graciously and kindly helped. We would like to thank those groups and individuals as a small token of our appreciation. Dr. Alexa Roberts of the

Southwest System Support Office of the National Park Service (NPS) and the contract manager for this effort, was a knowledgeable guide and supporter. She tried to keep us focused on the target, to not overlook material, but, equally (or perhaps more) important, to not over interpret material. We hope we have at least come close to her standards. We also wish to express our appreciation to Jennette Roybal, purchasing officer for the NPS, who handled essential details for us throughout the project.

William Sontag, superintendent at Amistad National Recreation Area (Amistad NRA), offered us the full support of his staff and encouraged our work. We thank him for this, and we especially thank him for allowing us free access to Joe Labadie, the able park archeologist. Joe helped in innumerable ways, first by asking if we were interested in the project, and then by reading interim reports, offering advice, cheering on the sidelines, and providing maps. Joe also contributed to this study through his publications on the archeology of the region, especially his recent study of historic rock art (Labadie, et al. 1997). We also thank Eric Finklestein, Chief of Interpretations at the Amistad NRA for encouraging us to accept the contract, plying us with fine coffee and good cheer.

A special thank you to Don Wade is also in order. Don consistently encouraged our work, offered excellent suggestions, read drafts and told us what he thought was good and what was not. He also assisted in compiling the inventory of possible protohistoric and historic Native American archeological sites (Appendix 7), and drafted maps in the wee morning hours. The effort is more complete for his help.

We also must recognize the contributions of two mentors. First, we owe a great deal to Dr. Thomas N. Campbell, professor emeritus of the University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Campbell directed Mariah's dissertation on the historic Indians of Central Texas, and his fine ethnohistoric research set a standard we continually strive to achieve. In a similar vein, the late Dr. J. Charles Kelley served as a mentor and committee member for Nancy's dissertation work, offering advice on the pitfalls of her research of the Jumano and other groups that were affiliated with the Amistad NRA. The advice of these two scholarly gentlemen is greatly appreciated and we have followed it to the best of our humble ability.

Deborah Beene of the Archeology Division, Texas Historical Commission also reviewed and commented on the draft, as did Michael B. Collins of the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, The University of Texas at Austin. Their comments also have been incorporated into the document.

Colleagues also offered important advice and encouragement, including Sam Wilson, Thomas R. Hester, Lain Ellis, Myles Miller, Phil Dering, Carolyn Boyd, Kinga Perzynska, and Doug Boyd. To each, we express our profound appreciation. Martha Freeman provided a copy of her report on Camp Cooper and advice on useful collections at the Center for American History, and Barbara Laity and others of the staff at that facility ably assisted with those collections. The staff of the special collections at the libraries at the University of Texas at El Paso suffered through multiple questions and provided several useful maps. Nancy Brown and Felipe Mirabal of the Spanish Colonial Research Center, Zimmerman Library at the University of New Mexico assisted in our efforts there. Sister Carolina Flores of Our Lady of the Lake University kindly helped our research in their holdings, as did Elsa de Valle Esquivel and Ildefonso Davila del Bosque at the Saltillo Archives. Helen Tanner, and Cecile Carter offered advice on the sojourn of the Caddo in Coahuila in the nineteenth century. Last, but certainly not least, we wish to acknowledge the tremendous assistance of Patricia Lemee, A. Joachim McGraw and Timothy K. Perttula. Each aided greatly in the final publication of the document with advice on everything from editorial issues to issues of substance in the document.

To each of these individuals, we say thank you. We think the work was strengthened by their assistance. Any errors, however, are our own.

Management Summary

Prior to 1700, the region of the Amistad NRA was dominated by a number of small bands with distinct names, including:

Apache	Ape
Bagname	Bibit (Mabibit)
Cacaxtle	Catujano
Cibolo	Ervipiame
Geniocane	Gueiquesale
Julime	Jume
Jumano	Manos Prietas
Machome	Mesquite
Mescale	Ocane
Muruame	Pacpul
Pachale	Papanac
Pacuachiam	Saesse (Sanan)
Pasti	Teimamar
Teaname	Tilijae
Terocodame	Yorica
Xarame	

After 1700, the use of the lands of the Amistad NRA and the Lower Pecos changed. The change was related to the movement of Apache into the region and the increasingly regular traffic along a corridor from the Rio Grande Mission to San Antonio.

The corridor from the Rio Grande missions to San Antonio focused Spanish/native interactions east, as well as north and south, of the Lower Pecos. These activities concentrated around the settlements, presidios, and missions and along the corridor.

Both Apache activities and their experiences with the Spanish east of the Nueces River were quite different from their activities and experiences west of the Nueces River. After 1830, however, the Apache were largely confined to the area of the Lower Pecos and regions north and west of this area.

From the period 1750 to 1875, and especially during the nineteenth century, the Amistad NRA was part of a vast region between El Paso and San Antonio that was only sparsely occupied by Euro-Americans. During these years, the land was dominated by Lipan and Mescalero Apache as well as by several Comanche bands and their allies (e.g., Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, formerly Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, that traveled through the micro-region.

Modern tribes with historical ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA are:

Mescalero Apache Tribe
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
Jicarilla Apache
Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas
Seminole Nation of Oklahoma
Tonkawa Tribe
Comanche Tribe
Cherokee Nation
Kickapoo (in Musquiz)
White Mountain Apache Tribal Council
Fort Sill Apache Tribe
Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma
Kickapoo of Kansas Tribe
Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma
Wichita and Affiliated Tribes
Citizen Potawatomi Nation
Seminole Maroon (in Mexico)

Other federally recognized tribes that may be affiliated with the Amistad NRA are:

Absentee Shawnee Tribe
Ysleta de Sur Pueblo
Delaware Tribe of West Oklahoma
Poarch Band of Creek Indians
Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation
Anadarko (part of the Caddo Tribe)
Keechi
(part of the Wichita Affiliated Tribes)
Tawakoni
(part of the Wichita Affiliated Tribes)
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians
Eastern Shawnee Tribe
Delaware Tribe of Indians
Muscogee (Creek) Nation
Caddo Indian Tribe
Alabama-Coushatta Tribes
Waco
(part of the Wichita Affiliated Tribes)
United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee

Between the late 1700s through the late 1800s, the lands of the Amistad NRA became an area through which various Native American tribes traveled, but not one where they stayed. The dominant tribes in the area during this period were the Lipan and Mescalero Apache, the Comanche, and the Kiowa.

A number of tribes from East Texas and the eastern seaboard of the United States established ties with the broader area in which the Amistad NRA is situated (e.g., the macro-region) during the mid-nineteenth century. Sought by the Mexican government as a means of protecting that nation's northern flanks, the Seminole leader Wild Cat settled Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo, and a few members of the Caddo, Anadarko, Cherokee, Muscogee (Creek), Potawatomi, and other tribes south of the Amistad NRA. The presence of the Shawnee can be documented near the Amistad NRA as early as the 1830s, and the Delaware may have had a presence there as well.

The Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas resides in a small reservation south of Amistad NRA (near Eagle Pass) and also has strong ties with the Kickapoo at Muzquiz, Mexico, located just south of the recreation area. At times in their history, they traveled to and from Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma), often passing through the lands of the Amistad NRA, using this area to avoid most of the Anglo-American and Hispanic settlements to the east.

The Seminole Maroon, who remained in close proximity to the Amistad NRA, patrolled the lands of the recreation area as scouts for the United States army, often spending weeks combing the region for Native Americans. Thus, they, too, are affiliated with the Amistad NRA.

The NPS's completion of affiliation studies in the traditional park-unit-by-park-unit may hamper full identification or understanding of the native groups associated with a particular park.

Historically, Texas, eastern New Mexico, and northern Mexico were an integrated whole. Governmental policies in one region affected native groups throughout all the other regions. Similarly, the Native Americans who occupied these lands had an intricate and very complex set of relationships with each other. It is recommended that the National Park Service consider mechanisms to share knowledge between park units and/or to conduct research on the broad contextual landscape of the 16th through the late 19th centuries.

The NPS and others conducting affiliation research should seek to find the largest possible number of documents to demonstrate affiliation with as much accuracy as feasible. Individuals with variable backgrounds, knowledge, and personal agendas wrote the documents. Reliance on a single document may result in a skewed understanding of the native groups occupying and utilizing a region. Reliance on documents by multiple individuals will present a more accurate picture of the cultural landscape that existed at a given point in time.

Although mandated by federal law, recent affiliation studies in Texas are few and subject to a series of pitfalls. Because Native Americans were largely removed from the state in the mid to late nineteenth century, knowledge about which Native Americans can be affiliated with specific areas—that is, those that can be determined to have an association with those areas—of the state must rely on archeological sites or documentary records. Moreover, much of the state was occupied by hunting and gathering groups whose territories were large and overlapped. Hence, more than one Native American group is likely to be affiliated with the same physical area, a problem exacerbated by the frequent movement of Native Americans into and out of the region during the historic period. Finally, federal law related to affiliation does not distinguish between short term and long term occupancy nor does it require some minimal number of individuals of a specific group to be present before that group can be considered affiliated. Thus, affiliation studies seek to identify the broadest range of associated groups. Archeologists who have labored to equate site and tool types with specific cultures may find such conclusions at odds with their own research.

Chapter One

Purpose of This Work

In 1944, the United States of America entered into a treaty with los Estados Unidos de Mexico that, among other stipulations, allowed for construction of a water storage reservoir on the Rio Grande—the river that marks the boundary between Texas and Mexico. The treaty required that the reservoir and dam be placed below Fort Quitman and not interfere with the amount of water available to Mexico below Falcon Reservoir in Starr and Zapata counties, Texas. In 1960, the United States Congress authorized construction of that dam near Del Rio, Texas, under Public Law 86-605. The dam was completed in 1969, and the waters of the Rio Grande—from its confluence with the Devils River to a point below its confluence with the Pecos River—were contained in what was called Amistad ("friendship" in Spanish) Reservoir (Figure 1).

Although the reservoir was constructed prior to the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act, archeological resources were considered and (to some extent) mitigated prior to construction. This work was accomplished under the River Basins Surveys, organized to recover approximately ten percent of the archeological resources threatened by reservoir construction (Guy 1990:48). A number of sites were recorded, and some of the most significant—Devils Mouth (Johnson 1964), Conejo Cave (Alexander 1974), among others—were excavated as part of this effort (Figure 2). Data from these excavations have been used to develop the chronological sequence of human occupation in the region. Given the remarkable preservation of perishable materials in the dry caves and rock shelters of the region, the level of information available from those excavations is often exceptional.

Once flooded, the reservoir quickly became a favorite of fishermen and other outdoor enthusiasts. Since, by Congressional Decree (60 Stat. 885), appropriations for the National Park Service (NPS) include funds to administer, protect, improve, and maintain areas "under the jurisdiction of other agencies of the Government, devoted to recreational use," the day to day operations to manage Amistad Recreation Area were placed under the jurisdiction of the NPS. In late 1990, Congress issued another directive stating that the reservoir would be Amistad *National* Recreation Area to recognize the significant cultural and environmental resources under the NPS care.

Over the ensuing years, NPS has taken a number of significant steps in caring for the cultural resources at Amistad National Recreation Area (Amistad NRA). These steps include, among others:

- inventory and evaluation of curated materials;
- re-evaluation and assessment of sites on its lands;
- cultural resources study for Congress; and
- training to encourage monitoring of significant sites under the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

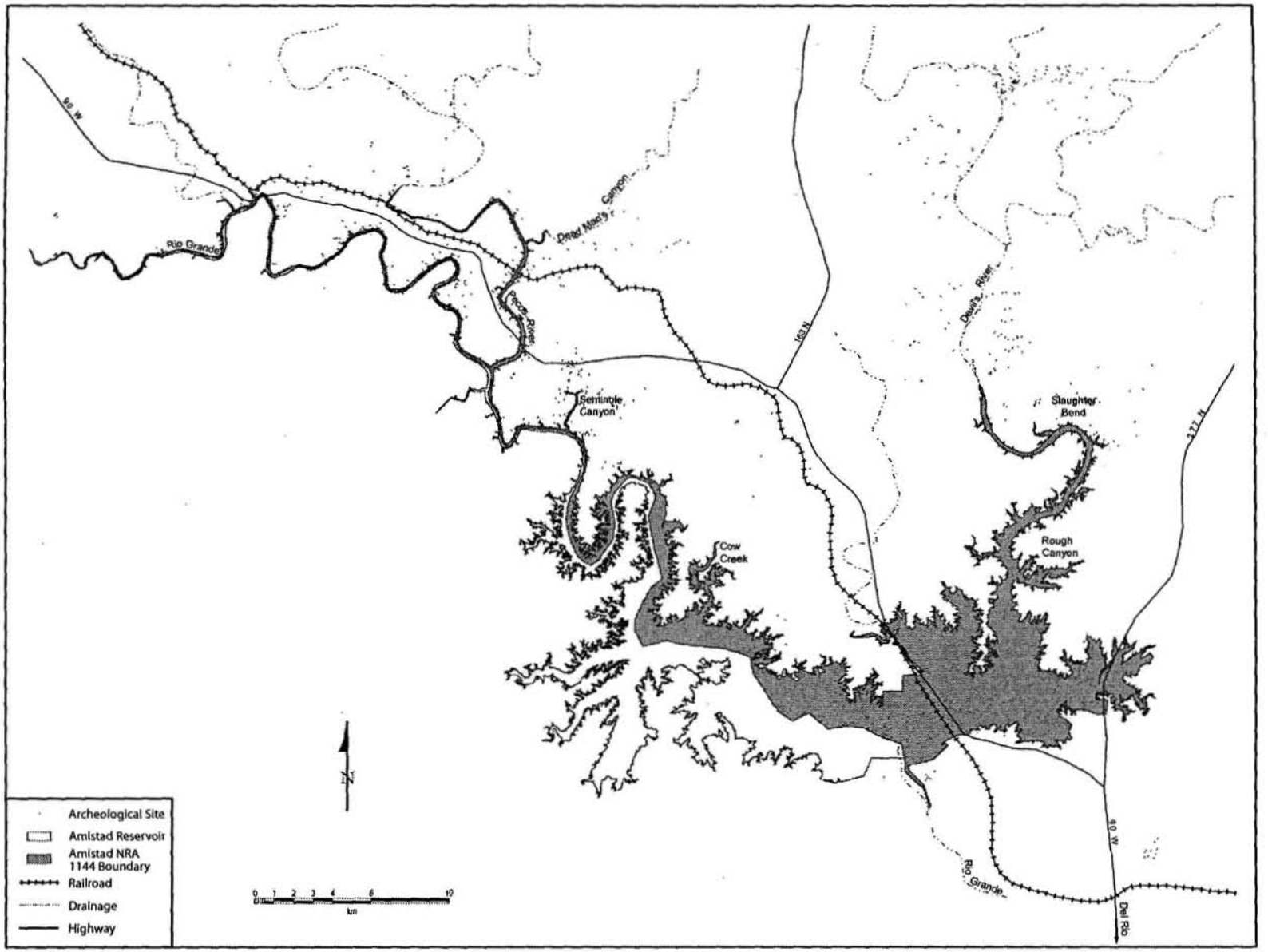


Figure 1. Location of Amistad Reservoir and the Amistad NRA lands.

with the Amistad NRA. The goal of that phase will be to create a final list of the tribes or Native American groups with ties to these lands and to identify resources that may have traditional significance to them. The final Ethnographic Overview and Assessment will include both phases.

Because of certain federal mandates, it is important that the Amistad NRA complete the overview and assessment in the near future. Amistad NRA has extensive archeological collections, including human remains, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) requires federal agencies to inventory human remains, associated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. The act further requires that the agencies determine, to the extent feasible, which of those items are affiliated with any federally recognized tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians and consult with those federally recognized groups about the disposition of the specific items. NAGPRA defines cultural affiliation as "a relationship of reasonably traced historic or prehistoric association between a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group" (25 USC 3001 Section 2(2)c). In addition, recent amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act (16 USC 470) and internal NPS guidance (NPS-28) also require consultation with groups and individuals (especially Native Americans) with cultural and historical ties to the park unit. Clearly, the key to completing these requirements is identification of the specific groups that are affiliated and considered to hold cultural and historic ties to the park unit. The overview and assessment seeks to complete this identification process, and will provide the Superintendent of the Amistad NRA with a list of affiliated, federally recognized tribes. As such, it will guide decisions about management of culturally significant resources, interpretation, planning, and future consultations about disposition of human remains and/or objects in accord with specific federal mandates.

We would be remiss, however, if we did not acknowledge that affiliation studies have inherent problems and challenges. Brandt (1997:1), in discussing the problems of establishing cultural affiliation for the Salinas Pueblos, notes:

> Anthropological models, particularly of . . . Indian communities as closed corporate communities, are largely an artifact of the single fieldworker model and theoretical models . . . which ignored both the complex histories and interactions of communities through time, as well as seeing them as cultural isolates in equilibrium.

Such models can lead to the assumption that aboriginal territories were somehow 'fixed' in space and could be drawn on a map, much as the boundaries of modern states and counties are drawn today. The difficulty in actually drawing such boundaries was highlighted during the work of the Indian Claims Commission (ICC). Like nineteenth century treaties between the United States and specific tribes, as well as United States legal judgments related to private land claims, decisions reached by the Commission were underlain with the premise of exclusive occupancy (Levine and Merlan 1997:1-3). Thus, despite complicated histories of movement, relocation, and/or interaction, many tribes found it necessary to negotiate their ancestral boundaries with neighboring tribal groups to avoid areas of overlap so that the Commission would resolve their claim (Levine and Merlan 1997:3). For example, in case 257, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes presented data to the Commission that documented the historic presence of all three in the Southern and Rolling Plains of Texas, Oklahoma, and Colorado (Wallace n.d.). Nonetheless, the final adjudication segmented those lands into arbitrary and independent segments among the three (ICC 1974), ignoring the broader historical evidence.

Another complication of affiliation studies for park units in Texas is that none of the federally recognized tribes reside in close proximity to the unit. Since, in Texas, the lands of the Amistad NRA were formerly held in private ownership and only recently acquired by the United States government, Native Americans have not resided in or close to the park unit for over a century. Thus, access to those

lands by Native Americans has been limited or non-existent. Memories of traditional use of a distant land, such as the Amistad NRA, would have dimmed with each passing generation.

Affiliation studies also grapple with the problem of what constitutes evidence of cultural affiliation. For example, is there some magical number of individuals from a particular Native American tribe that had to be present in the Amistad NRA before that tribe is considered "affiliated"? Would a tribe that was present only infrequently have less or no affiliation? If members of one Native American group (e.g., Ervipiame) is shown to have occupied the lands that are now under government ownership, but moved from those lands and later intermarried with or joined with a group that is today one of the federally recognized tribes (e.g., Tonkawa), is the latter affiliated?[1]

Finally, affiliation studies in Texas face yet another challenge. Here, such studies are likely to identify non-federally recognized Native American groups that may be associated with the physical area of the study. In some cases, the people in the group may be lineal descendants of a Native American group that did not survive European colonization (e.g., Teaname). In other cases, the group resides in Mexico (e.g., Seminole Maroon) and outside the jurisdiction of United States law and regulation. Can they be affiliated even though they are not federally recognized tribes? Equally problematic are several newly-formed groups, often found in the state's large urban centers. These groups have organized under the premise they have common ties as descendants of one or more of the aboriginal groups who resided in the state in the past. Some of the newly-formed groups in the state (The People of LaJunta [Jumano/Mescalero]), Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Tap Pilam-the Coahuiltecan Nation, Comanche Penateka Tribe, and the Tribal Council of Carrizo/Comecrudo Nation of Texas) have applied for but not yet received federal recognition (Bureau of Indian Affairs, www.doi.gov/bureau-indian-affairs.html). Regardless of whether they eventually receive federal recognition, can they be considered affiliated? In response, we conclude that NPS's legal requirements require identification of affiliated, federally recognized tribes but also require documentation of other groups, if present.

In summary, where the data demonstrate the likelihood that certain federally recognized tribes were present in the Amistad NRA in the historic past, we include their names as affiliated. In this, we make no distinctions between federally recognized tribes present for long stays and those present for only a brief period since we find nothing in the laws or regulations that require or indicate such distinctions. We also conclude that federally recognized tribes whose members can be shown to include remnants of Native American groups that once resided in or used the Amistad NRA must be considered affiliated as well. Moreover, since the ethnohistoric data indicate that territories frequently overlapped and varied through time, more than one federally recognized tribe can be affiliated with the Amistad NRA at any one period of history. These findings mirror those made in affiliation studies completed outside of Texas (see Brandt 1997; Levine and Merlan 1997). Affiliation studies are not confined to identification of federally recognized tribes. Federal agencies also have an obligation to consult and consider comments of other individuals and groups (whether Native American or not) that may have cultural or historical ties to a physical area, cultural site, or natural resource. In addition to identifying those federally recognized tribes affiliated with Amistad NRA, we have also attempted to identify the broadest range of Native American groups that can, or may be, associated with the lands of the park. Where other groups have stated to NPS that they believe they hold ties, but we have no firm evidence of such ties, we make no claim for their affiliation but recommend that they be given an opportunity to present such data to the NPS during Phase II of the study. Phase II of the study, as well as subsequent research, will, no doubt, refine our list of such groups and tribes, adding to or subtracting from the conclusions we reach.

The following sections of this chapter present a summary of the methodology we employed, a brief listing and summary of the sources used, and list contacts made with the agencies and tribes.

METHODOLOGY

Our contract stipulated that we should seek to identify Native American groups that occupied the Amistad NRA during late prehistoric and historic times. Our methodology attempted to address the issue of the cultural affiliation of Native American groups according to modern ethnic designations. At the same time, we tried to broaden the research to maximize the cultural and economic information that could be provided to the National Park Service.

Recognizing the types of biases intrinsic to this kind of study, we established certain methodological guidelines to follow during the research. The primary aspects of the methodology included: 1) a conscientious effort to rely as much as possible on primary archival sources; 2) the use of "the direct historical approach" as the means to attempt to relate the prehistoric past to historical events; 3) the definition of a broad geographical research area to allow for a more accurate perspective on the movements of native groups, particularly during the nineteenth century; and, 4) the deliberate emphasis on the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the periods most likely to yield concrete information about the cultural affiliation of native groups who lived in or utilized the Amistad NRA and their descendants. Each of the above mentioned methodological choices made by the authors addressed specific objectives. The following is a detailed explanation of the reasons for such choices.

Reliance on Primary Archival Sources

Many researchers who have conducted studies of the Lower Pecos have employed secondary archival sources (Hickerson 1994; Turpin 1986 among others). At times, this use of secondary sources is because the scope of the project does not require full knowledge of early historical groups (cf. Turpin 1986). However, regardless of the goal of one's research, the continuous use of secondary sources tends to cement misconceptions and misinterpretations of the facts and does not challenge interpretations often made in the early twentieth century when these documents were first translated. The majority of those secondary sources are based on translations that were made with specific cultural agendas and shaped by particular points of view. Some of these translations, although generally correct, omit details and parts of original texts that can prove to be of considerable importance when dealing with cultural affiliation and Native American issues in general.

Furthermore, consistent reliance on mostly secondary sources does not advance our knowledge of the culture or the modes of living of native groups. For these reasons we maximized the use of primary archival materials (Figure 3) and minimized our use of secondary sources. It should be recognized that such an approach to research is labor intensive and time consuming. Moreover, the documents themselves can carry their own biases, something we address later in this chapter. Nonetheless, the primary documents often produce unique and innovative results and can address Native American issues from new perspectives and sources.

Direct Historical Approach

The Direct Historical Approach proposed by Julian Steward (1942:337-343) states that to attempt to link archeological evidence to ethnohistoric evidence, one should move back in time (down streaming to the prehistoric period) and then move forward in time (up streaming to the historic period). Although Steward's methodology aimed at "working from the known to the unknown" (1942:337), that is, from historic archeological sites to protohistoric or even prehistoric periods and cultures, he was the first to recognize that "every tribe in the country cannot . . . be traced through its archaeology" (Steward

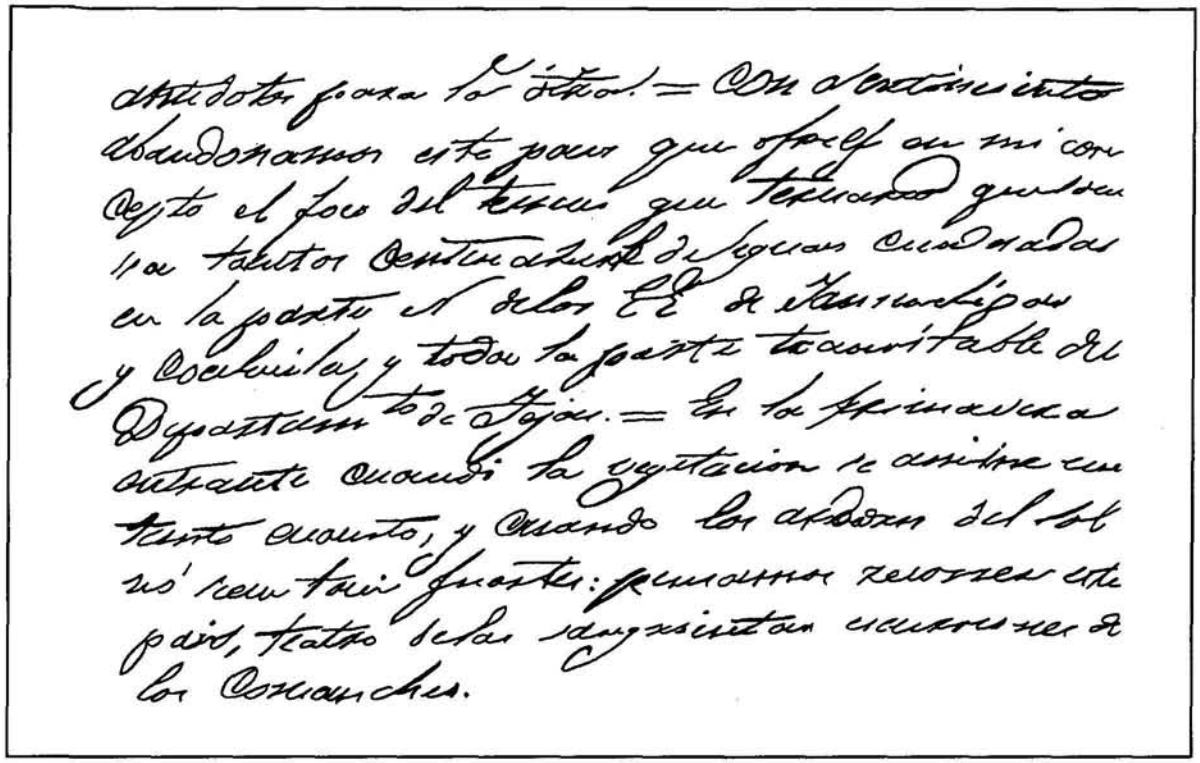


Figure 3. Copy of a page of a document from the Berlandier papers, the type of primary source material that yields the most accurate information in this type of research (traced from Berlandier papers, microfilm on file, Texas Department of Transportation).

1942:341). Steward understood the open potential of the methodology. He stressed that: "if one takes cultural history as his problem, and peoples of the early historic period as his point of departure, the difference between strictly archaeological and strictly ethnographical interest disappears" (Steward 1942:341). In fact, he advocated a direct historical approach to ethnology. Steward did not see any historical detail as too minor to be unimportant, just as he did not discard any element of material culture in the construction of "definable configurations" (Steward and Setzler 1938:4-10). In fact, he criticized "not commissions but omissions" (Steward and Setzler 1938:10). We acknowledge that this methodology has its limitations and critics (see e.g., LaCapra 1995:799-828, Galloway 1992:178-195, and for a brief, but timely, assessment of Julian Steward' s work and methodologies see Thomas [1983:59-68]).

Most academicians' critiques of this methodology center on the researcher's wholesale acceptance of the texts produced by the colonizers. Galloway points out that archeologists who use this methodology often fail to question the evaluation and interpretation of relevant texts that have been studied by historians. Similarly, she recognizes that modern researchers do not consider the historical context, cultural background, and biases of the colonizers *cum* reporters who wrote the documents that we use.

We agree that these warnings are important and should be heeded. At the same time, we unequivocally believe that the historical information contained in these same documents is important, relevant, and unique. As such, they represent invaluable resources that we should consider. Therefore, the Direct Historical Approach is the simplest method—often the only method—to link evidence between prehistoric and historic groups. In fact, one of the reasons we chose to concentrate on primary archival sources was to minimize some of the problems mentioned above. For example, researchers should not choose to ignore some of the information provided by the colonizers while

accepting other information that appears to make sense. Questioning the interpretation of historians or the reliability of the original sources is very different from discarding them or using them selectively because of the inherent biases and cultural differences of the original observers. The history of such biases is itself part of the history of colonization.

In sum, we believe that written historical artifacts (i.e., documents) should be used to augment, clarify or raise questions about material artifacts (archeological finds). Since the information comes from two very different types of evidence, each with inherent and specific biases (artifacts versus written records), the researcher needs to be duly cautious. On the other hand, when and where archeological information is scarce or ephemeral, historical documents provide the only record for the presence or absence of native inhabitants, their cultural behavior, mode of living, and the environment.

Geographic Area Considered in the Study

Amistad NRA is physically restricted to the portion of the Rio Grande where it is joined by the Pecos and Devils rivers (see Figure 1). Here, a total of approximately 58,500 acres or 91.4 square miles are under the jurisdiction of the NPS. Although this acreage stretches 127 miles northwest to southeast along the Rio Grande, 27 miles north/south on the Devils, and 20 miles north/south along the Pecos, its total extent is only a small part of the area occupied by and used by various Native Americans groups throughout the historic period. As will be shown, this is especially true of the later historic groups that often traveled on horseback. Their movements across Texas led us to consider two distinct geographic regions for purposes of this document. The first is a general area (macro-region) delimited to the north by the 32° parallel, to the west by the 106° 30' meridian, to the east by the 98° meridian (just east of San Antonio) and to the south by the 27° parallel (Figure 4). The southern boundary extends to the Conchos River in Mexico, the drainage of the Sabinas River and east to the general area of Monclova (Figure 4). The latter region (the micro-region) is made up of the Amistad NRA and its environs. Each of these regions is briefly described below and is more fully described in the chapter that follows.

The macro-region (see Figure 4) has no single physiogeographic distinction. Instead, it incorporates portions of a number of distinct regions, including the South Texas Plains, Edwards Plateau, Rolling Plains, Southern Plains, Trans-Pecos, and the western slopes of the Sierra Madre Oriental. The two unifying characteristics of these regions are: 1) they surround the micro-region and the Amistad NRA; and 2) the historic groups that used or traveled through the micro-region often traveled widely through the macro-region, and a portion of the documentary accounts of those groups relate to their encounters with Europeans in the macro-region. To better understand the activities and itineraries of each group, we believed it important to capture archival data from this broad macro-region as well as the data from the more focused micro-region. This broader region was selected to permit the inclusion of information about the movements of various native groups through or near to the general region of the Amistad NRA, particularly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The reader, however, should be aware that our search for data from the macro-region was not as intense as our search for data relating to the micro-region.

The micro-region that we employ in this document is the area known to archeologists as the Lower Pecos Archeological Region (Bement 1989). The Amistad NRA is located in the approximate center of this micro-region that stretches north along the Pecos and Devils rivers, upstream along the Rio Grande, and south some 100 miles into Mexico. In general, the Lower Pecos Archeological Region is considered to be the lands containing rock art sites famous for their large polychrome figures (Labadie 1994). The micro-region also contains rock shelters in the walls of the canyons along portions of the Rio Grande, Pecos, and Devils rivers. These rock shelters are well known for their deep, stratified deposits. Many of

the recorded rock shelters with cultural deposits and rock art sites are within the boundaries of the Amistad NRA. Given the hunting and gathering economy of the Native American groups that occupied or used the lands of the Amistad NRA, we felt the adoption of the Lower Pecos Archeological Region as our micro-region was appropriate. In our documentary effort, then, we conducted a more intense search for data relevant to the micro-region.

Apart from the use of the two regions defined above, we use the word "Texas" to mean the territory of Texas as understood in its modern geographic and political boundaries. Given the spatial and temporal scope of this study it would have been unrealistic to tailor our statements to the boundaries of Texas as they changed through time. It is to be noted that it took Father Doctor Jose Antonio Pichardo (1931–1946) a lengthy treatise to trace and justify the evolution of the history of Texas' legal boundaries during Spanish colonial times. As an example, on February 10, 1762 (Alonso de Muñoz 1762) the Coahuila-Texas border was defined as extending from the city of Monclova (in modern Coahuila, Mexico) to the Medina River in Texas. Although the Medina River generally was accepted as the southwestern boundary of colonial Texas, the same cannot be said about the eastern and northern borders of Spanish colonial Texas. Disputes with France and the United States over the eastern boundary led to Pichardo's treatise (see above); the northern border remained uncontested and undefined for a longer period of time. Thus, throughout this study and unless otherwise specified, Texas is to be understood in its geopolitical modern confines.

In summary, this study considers a macro-region to better understand the movements of native groups in the later period of colonization, while the micro-region of the Lower Pecos is used to analyze, in minutia, the information revealed by historical records about the specific area of the Amistad NRA. Each of the two regions is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Emphasis on the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

In order to identify Native Americans whose ancestors inhabited or utilized the geographic area encompassed by the Amistad NRA, the focus of our work had to be the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The nature of contact between the European colonizers and the colonized Native American groups as well as the relationships that they established caused, as time went on, an amalgamation of the smaller native groups into broader, more powerful ethnic[2] entities. These amalgamating processes diluted and perhaps eliminated some ethnic designations. Moreover, the process of amalgamation and the establishment of coalitions was accelerated with the presence and pressure of incoming groups such as the Apache, with the establishment of Catholic missions and, later, with the influx of groups such as the Comanche, Tonkawa, Seminole and others. The ethnic panorama visible in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reflected group dynamics and interactions that were, necessarily, rather different from those at the onset of European colonization of Texas in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

For these reasons it was apparent to us that the study should address the later period of colonization differently than the earlier period. Most early native ethnic names disappear from the historical records, or those groups amalgamated with later ethnic groups. Few clues of the ethnic or cultural affiliation for those early peoples with modern groups are found beyond the records of the mid-to-late eighteenth century. To establish a working-baseline for the native groups present in Texas, the authors used the Sacramental Records of all missions on the Rio Grande, the San Antonio River, and the Texas coast. The authors took the 1750s as a temporal mid-point, and down streamed (went back in time) to the earliest records of the missions on the Rio Grande (Appendix 1) and then up streamed (moved forward in time) to the last records of the missions on the San Antonio River and the Texas coast

(Appendix 2). These records provided information on native group affiliations that were then compared to the later records of the San Antonio Missions, the Gulf Coast Missions, and the census records available for the Mexican and early Anglo-American periods in Texas (Appendix 3).

Ecclesiastical and civil records (Figure 5) and censuses, however, do not constitute proof that a group (or groups) inhabited a given area before entering a mission or being counted in a census. On the other hand, they do provide direct evidence that members of a group were in the area at a specific time, and indirect evidence that those individuals may have been living in the area for some period of time. Sacramental records and censuses often include the ethnic affiliation of an individual. Often, these records also provide relative population numbers and life spans. Moreover, these are the records that provide quantifiable demographic and ethnic information: most other archival references to groups are too imprecise and often do not provide ethnic affiliation.

It should be noted that the concept of cultural affiliation is potentially different from the concept of ethnic affiliation, since the former may be understood in a broader manner than the latter. A group can claim to have a cultural affiliation to another group (or groups) with whom it amalgamated through historical and cultural processes. This does not necessarily imply that the group maintained (or divorced itself) from an ethnic affiliation that the group held prior to the process of amalgamation. The loss of an ethnic designation (group name) and the adoption of cultural features from another group (or groups), due to the interaction between groups and the processes of colonization, may have produced cultural affiliations that were (and are) different from a group's prior ethnic affiliation. Unfortunately, it is rare that oral history or archival records provide information about these changing associations for the majority of the native groups on record.

The overwhelming number of ethnic group names that appear in the early archival records shrink to about a few hundred by the middle of the Texas mission period. By the late 1700s the archival

Yndios Christianos, y Gentiles de la Micion de S. Bernardo

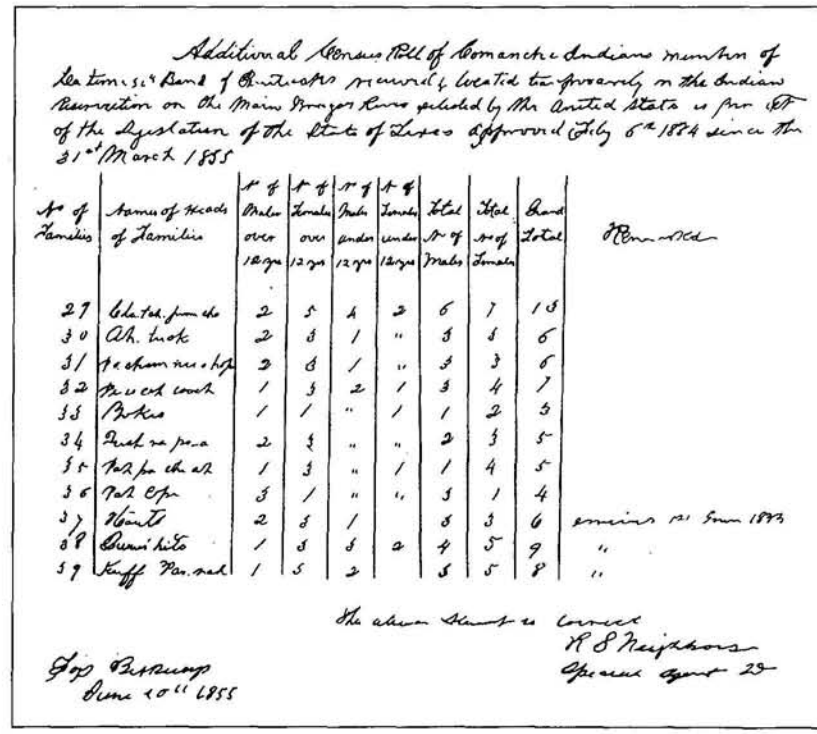
familias casadas. ----

Padron de los Yndios Christianos, Neophitos, y Gentiles Cathecumenos que tiene, y se hallan en esta Micion, y Viba Yndios Christianos, y Combersion de el s.s. Bernardo de el rio Grande de el Norte, este año de mil setecientos y treynta, y quatro años. Fran. co este año de mil setecientos y treynta, y quatro aHos. Fran. co Salinas Governador de Nacion // 21 Papanac con su muger Ysabel con dos hijos hacen Quatro–Pedro de Nacion Ocora con su Muger Melchora con tres hijos que hasen cinco – y su sobrino que son seis – Nicolas de Nacion Chaguam con su muger Xaviera con tres hijos que asen cinco – francisco Ygnacio Nacion Xacajo, y su muger Ana con una hija asen tres – Lorenzo Nacion PastanCoiam, y su muger Geronima con tres hijos que asen cinco – Joachin Nacion Minicu, y su Muger Luiza con dos hijos q. asen quatro – Pedro de Nacion Pamajo con su Muger Theresa, y una hija hasen tres – Joseph de Nacion Pajaca, y su Muger Margarita con dos hijos hasen quatro – fran. co de Nacion Ocam, y su Muger con tres hijos que hasen Cinco – Manuel de Nacion Chaquan y su Muger Ynes con tres hijos hazen cinco = Joseph de Nacion Ocam, y su Muger Anttonia con dos hijos que hasen quatro – Pedro de Nacion Putai y su Muger Andrea con su hijo hazen tres – Pedro de Nacion Cotujan, y su Muger Estefania con una hija hazen tres.

Figure 5. Transcript from the Sacramental Records at Mission San Bernardo showing the types of information to be obtained from such records (After Saltillo Archives transcripts on file. Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin).

records show a few core groups, such as the Apache and Comanche (with their respective internal divisions) who, because of their military and strategic importance, obfuscated the presence of groups politically weak and with few members. Compared to the array of groups predominately found in the Lower Pecos Archeological Region in the early historic period (Wade 1999a), very few native groups originally present can be traced to modern times. Most of the groups we were able to identify entered the modern territory of Texas during the later part of the eighteenth century.

During the later years (ca. 1800-1880), the vast majority of the documentation comes from the records of the Texas and United States military departments operating in Texas and Oklahoma and from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Again, the documentation is imperfect. The letters, reports, and other handwritten documents were penned by individuals with variable knowledge of specific Native Americans and equally variable knowledge of the geography of Texas. Through time, their knowledge of both improved and one is able, with some precision, to pinpoint some Native American camps and their occupants. Certainly, Robert Neighbors, the Commissioner for Indian Affairs in Texas, and most of his agents were quite well informed; they were personally acquainted with many of the Native American chiefs and bands in the state, and traveled widely to meet and parley with them. A few military personnel had similar knowledge of the geography, albeit somewhat less familiarity with specific tribes. On the other hand, the documents show the weaknesses of the Texan and American system when dealing with Native Americans. Estimates of their total numbers varied widely (Figure 6), ranging from rough statements to specific head counts of those individuals residing on the two small reservations in north central Texas (see Appendix 3). Similar difficulties can be identified in the government's ability to determine which tribe was where and with whom they were traveling. This problem was exacerbated by the government's early decision to divide Native American from non-Native American settlements (BIA 1:124). An awareness that Native Americans frequently traveled through the Southern Plains, following the Pecos or other water sources en route to conduct raids in Mexico, is expressed in many documents as a distant but constant concern of settlers and military officials alike (cf. BIA 1:163). Because Native American and non-Native American populations were largely segregated until quite late, and because the area of the Amistad NRA had only a handful of Anglo-American or Hispanic settlers prior to 1875, the amount of data directly related to these lands is limited and often must be inferred.



Additional Census Roll of Comanche Indians members of the Tan-ni-sa Band of Penetrakers removed & located temporarily on the Indian Reservation on the Main Brazos River provided by the United States in pursuance of the Legislature of the State of Texas approved July 5th 1854 since the 31st March 1855

No of Families	Names of Heads of Families	No of Males over 12 yrs	No of Females over 12 yrs	No of Males under 12 yrs	No of Females under 12 yrs	Total No of Males	Total No of Females	Grand Total	
27	Separated from the	2	5	4	2	6	7	13	
30	Ah. Look	2	3	1	"	3	3	6	
31	Peahom-me-hah	2	6	1	"	3	3	6	
32	Pa-ra-coot-coots	1	3	2	1	3	4	7	
33	Pahkee	1	1	"	1	1	2	3	
34	Tuck-ne-pa-a	2	3	"	"	2	3	5	
35	Tah-pa-che-ah	1	3	"	1	1	4	5	
36	Tah-Cop	3	1	"	"	3	1	4	
37	Wants	2	3	1		3	3	6	remains on from 1853
38	Quan-ah-kite	1	3	3	2	4	5	9	"
39	Tuffy Pa-ra-coot	1	3	2		3	3	8	"

The above Statement is correct
R S Neighbors
Special Agent 2d

Sup Bellknap
June 20th 1855

Figure 6. Copy of the census taken in 1859 at the Upper or Comanche Reserve (Redrawn from the files of the Bureau of Indian Affairs 3:246).

THE PRACTICE OF ETHNOHISTORY AND THE BIASES OF ITS PRACTITIONERS

Ethnohistory has been described by Washburn (1961:33) as "a method of approaching knowledge" about the changes that occurred in the lives of native peoples all over the world during and after the colonial period (for a discussion of the history of the concept and the practice of ethnohistory see also Baerreis [1961], Leacock [1961], and Sturtevant [1966]). As a practice, ethnohistory relies, almost exclusively, on documents written by the very people who colonized native populations. The biases that permeate these records are compounded by the historical processes of selection of subject matter and the vagaries of archival recording, maintenance, destruction, and availability of particular records at various archival repositories. Thus, the records available to today's researcher are themselves the result of historical processes that include intrinsic biases that should be always kept in mind.

There are other aspects of ethnohistoric research that must be carefully weighed by the researcher and the reader. First, any ethnohistoric project both benefits from, and is hampered by, each researcher's viewpoint, his or her conscious or unconscious preconceived notions, and his or her previous research interests and exposure to specific historical periods and subjects. Modern researchers also have to deal with the difficulty of accessing some archives. For example, it is quite possible that some documents relevant to this study are only housed at European archives. Since travel to access distant archives is not practical, some relevant data may be missed. On the other hand, often the problem is not access to a specific archive but locating particular documents amongst hundreds of uncatalogued microfilms. Many archives cannot afford the expense of expert individuals who can read, catalogue, and (hopefully) transcribe or translate old, torn, faded, and sometimes barely legible documents. If the archival repository *does* have such an individual, it is unrealistic to expect that such professional be versed on *all* aspects of the various historic periods, and, at the same time, be able to recognize the relevance of all documents. Given these attendant problems, what the historical researcher finally uses as evidence in any given project reflects multiple biases. Researchers try to minimize this intrinsic pre-selection process by opening various avenues of research, widening the field of procurement and doing hit-and-miss runs on archival boxes and microfilm drawers. If all this sounds like a long litany of potential biases and some less than scientific methods, that's because it is.

In this project, we have relied heavily on archives at the Center for American History and the Nettie Lee Benson Library Archives of The University of Texas at Austin. It is appropriate to state that these two repositories have excellent collections even though they present many of the problems mentioned above. We have also used the archives of the University of Texas at El Paso, Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, the very excellent collection of the Zimmerman Collection at the University of New Mexico, and the Saltillo Municipal and State Archives. We would have liked to explore further the Zimmerman Collection and the Saltillo Archives but time constraints made that difficult. Moreover, the Saltillo Archives are in the process of being relocated, making some of their data unavailable. Without wanting to sound pedestrian we wish to underscore the difficulty of exploring and profiting from the collections housed in any given repository during a visit of a few days. An archive is like a marriage partner: it takes a lifetime to know.

To reiterate, the practice of ethnohistory is an intrinsically biased process. It reflects the biases of the recorder, the compiler, the archivist, and the modern researcher. This biased process is, in a very real sense, intertwined with the history of the documents. The effects of these biases can only be minimized by the awareness of the problem and by an overt attempt to make that problem explicit to readers for their independent evaluation.

SUMMARY OF AGENCY AND TRIBAL CONTACTS

In conformance with the scope of work for this study, contact was made with a number of Native American tribes in May 1998 (Appendix 4). The list of tribes included those tribes known to have had a substantial presence in Texas in the nineteenth century, or tribes that the authors' (Wade 1998; Kenmotsu 1994) previous research indicated may have been present in or close to the Amistad NRA during the nineteenth century. These contacts were made through letters, signed by the Amistad NRA Superintendent. The letter explained the purpose of the study and its timeline, and requested acknowledgment of whether the tribe was interested in participating in the study. A copy of the scope of work and details about the Amistad NRA were included with the letter. The following tribes (and addressees) were contacted:

Wichita and Affiliated Tribes (Mr. Gary McAdams, President)
Kiowa Tribe (Mr. Billy Evans Horse, Chairman)
Comanche Tribe (Mr. Keith Yackeyonny, Chairman)
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma (Mr. Henry Kostzuta, Chairman)
Tonkawa Tribe (Mr. Don Patterson)
Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma (Mr. Marshall Grover, President)
Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas
Fort Sill Apache Tribe
Caddo Indian Tribe (Ms. Stacy Halfmoon, NAGPRA Coordinator)
Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma (Mr. Ricardo Salazar, Chairman)
Ysleta del Sur Pueblo
Seminole Nation of Oklahoma

Only two of the tribes contacted responded (Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma and Apache Tribe of Oklahoma [formerly the Kiowa Apache Tribe]), and both indicated that they wanted to be consulted on the outcome of the study. Although only two responded, the completed research indicated that, as suspected, most of the groups contacted had an historic presence in the region of the Amistad NRA. The Pawnee could not be documented to have been in the region at any time. As the evidence stands we cannot include the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, but, given their affiliations with a number of Apache bands, we do not exclude the possibility that they were affiliated (on the problem of Ysleta del Sur see Gerald [1974, particularly pp. 29-48]). Although references to the Caddo in the Amistad NRA are tenuous, they are sufficient to continue to include them as well. Therefore, with the exception of the Pawnee, each of the tribes will be given a copy of the present report with its appendices, and they will be contacted during Phase 2 of the study.

At the conclusion of the ethnohistoric review, we realized that several additional tribes and groups were historically present in the macro-region and/or in the micro-region and should be contacted. In the United States, these are the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, the Prairie Band of Potawatomi, the Poarch Band of Creek, the Mescalero Apache Tribe, the Jicarilla Apache Tribe, the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council, the Muscogee Nation, the Cherokee Nation, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee, the Alabama-Coushatta Tribes, the Absentee Shawnee Tribe, the Eastern Shawnee Tribe, the Kickapoo of Kansas, the Delaware Tribe of West Oklahoma, and the Delaware Tribe of Indians. Two other groups to be contacted continue to reside in Mexico. These are the Seminole Maroon in Nacimiento, and the Kickapoo in Muzquiz. Rather than send these groups and tribes a copy of the May 1998 letter, they will be sent a copy of the present study along with a cover letter explaining the study and indicating that they will be contacted during Phase 2 of the study.

Finally, several Native American organizations have recently formed in Texas. While none of these organizations is federally recognized, they are mentioned here because all have submitted letters of intent to be federally recognized and one or more may have lineal descendants (as defined under NAGPRA) from historic groups who were affiliated with the lands of the Amistad NRA. Thus, they may have cultural or historical ties to the Amistad NRA. These are the The People of LaJunta (Jumano/Mescalero), Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Tap Pilam-the Coahuiltecan Nation, Comanche Penateka Tribe, and the Tribal Council of Carrizo/Comecrudo Nation of Texas. Each of these groups is also listed in Appendix 5.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS DOCUMENT

In the remainder of the report, the reader will find an ethnohistoric review of the information about specific tribes with associations to Amistad NRA or to nearby lands, including a synopsis of the data pertaining to each group associated with the Amistad NRA. Our review is based on the archival data compiled during this contract. That chapter is followed by an archeological review that attempts to summarize the archeological material from the Lower Pecos Archeological Region (the micro-region) in relation to the ethnohistorical record. In the final chapter, we summarize our conclusions for the Native American groups in the United States and in Mexico with historical ties to the Amistad NRA. Management recommendations for additional research needs are also provided in the final chapter.

The text is followed by an annotated bibliography of published sources pertinent to the historical tribes associated with the Amistad NRA region. This bibliography includes not only a summary for each reference but also our evaluation of its relevance to the NRA and the accuracy of its data. Where appropriate, direct quotations from the reference are provided in order that the reader may experience the content of the original text. Finally, a series of appendices have been placed on the CD-ROM in the packet attached to the last page. Appendix 1 is a requirement of the NPS contract, while several others (Appendices 2-4) provide supporting documentation, particularly Appendix 4. Appendix 4 contains chronological lists of Native American groups encountered by one or more Europeans. The list includes the names of the individual groups encountered, where, any statements about the groups, and the documentary reference. Appendix 5 lists the Native American federally recognized tribes that were consulted at the initiation of this effort, and Appendix 6 contains information from several pertinent early American travelogues. Appendix 7 contains a list of archeological sites in the region that contain archeological materials that date after A.D. 1200. In preparing these appendices, we sought to find ways to present some of the original documentary data in a manner that could be easily accessed in the future by appropriate park management and other officials. Electronic copies of these data have been provided to the Amistad NRA. In accord with our contract, any data in this report that has not been previously published by the authors or is not in the process of being published by the authors is the property of the NPS. These data may be used with their consent or that of the Texas Department of Transportation.

NOTES

1. See Levine and Merlan (1997), Fish et al. (1994), Rushforth and Upham (1992) for discussion of problems associated with movements of aboriginal groups away from (read 'abandonment') lands they previously occupied.

2. Here the term "ethnic" follows Barth (1969:16), who states that ethnic can be used to acknowledge distinct groups where each holds "a systematic set of rules [that] governs . . . social encounters" with other groups.

Chapter Two

Ethnohistory, 1535–1750

INTRODUCTION

Ethnohistory relies on documentary material to describe and study groups that lack written history (Trigger 1986; Washburn 1965). It is, however, employed in a broader sense to document and trace the histories of a variety of distinct groups that may or may not lack written history. The NPS defines ethnohistory as "a methodology for obtaining culture-specific descriptions and conducting analyses within a historical framework" (NPS-28 [1997:167]). Elsewhere, the same NPS directive states that it is a "systematic description (ethnography) and analysis (ethnology) of changes in cultural systems through time, using data from oral histories and documentary materials" (NPS-28 [1997:181]). Regardless of which definition is employed, the primary tools for conducting ethnohistoric research are the same: oral histories and documentary materials.

Tracing the original inhabitants of modern Texas is difficult because the ethnohistoric data on them are thin. As a result, our understanding of the human landscape over the past 400 years is poor. The Spanish were the first to arrive and describe what they saw. While their descriptions are important, they saw only pieces of the human landscape and those pieces varied through time. They described modern Texas and much of northern Mexico as "*la tierra adentro*" or "*el interior*"—a vast physical landscape, poorly known and little traveled. Throughout the history of Spanish Colonial rule, the geographic boundaries that defined the Texas territory changed markedly, yet most of the modern territory of Texas was still considered part of the Spanish Province of Coahuila (see Weber 1992).

When the Spanish first passed through the macro-region in the early 16th century, they found a large, environmentally diverse landmass occupied by a wide variety of native groups (Wade 1998; Kenmotsu 1994). By 1600, Spain knew that agriculturalists (the Caddo) lived in villages in the far eastern parts of the state and that other agriculturalists resided in the area where the Conchos River of Mexico joined the Rio Grande (known as La Junta de los Rios). Elsewhere, they met coastal groups who were able fishermen dining on the fish and shell fish of the bays and the Gulf of Mexico and feasted on large inland patches of prickly pear cactus whose fruit (tunas) provided another important food resource (Pupo-Walker 1992; Chipman 1987). By this early date, Spaniards had also met some of the hunting and gathering peoples who occupied the area we define as our macro-region, and who traveled the margins of the Pecos River and the Rio Grande (i.e., our micro-region). Over time, the Spanish would learn that *la tierra adentro* was home to a sizable number of other hunting and gathering groups, and some of those groups became well acquainted with the Spanish newcomers. Most, however, maintained their distance. Prior to the late seventeenth century, Spaniards found little economic incentive to explore or become better acquainted with the physical or cultural landscape of modern Texas. South of the Rio Grande, the situation was not much different. Settlements throughout the seventeenth and early



Figure 8. Map of the Republic of Texas in 1836 (courtesy Texas Department of Transportation).

of either. In this chapter, we describe the macro- and micro-regions and their environments, offer brief comments on the events that affected the cultural landscape prior to 1881, and finally describe the Native Americans cited in the documents who made up that cultural landscape. Our descriptions focus on Native Americans who can be identified in the micro-region or are thought likely to have been in the micro-region; we also provide our interpretations of the affiliations of those groups with the Amistad NRA. Research completed during Phase 2 of this study or research conducted in future years may arrive at different conclusions. The summary below and the descriptions we offer are based on our completed ethnohistoric research.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Micro-Region

As discussed in the preceeding chapter, the environment of Amistad NRA and its immediate surroundings are what we call the *micro-region*, and, for consistency, the micro-region equates to the Lower Pecos Archeological Region. The Lower Pecos Archeological Region is defined as that zone "from the greater mountainous area to the west, the Edwards Plateau north and east, and the mesquite savannah of south Texas" that surrounds the confluences of two major rivers—the Pecos and the Devil's—with the Rio Grande (Bement 1989:63-65). As such, the micro-region consists of an area that encompasses all of Val Verde County and parts of adjacent Terrell, Crockett, and Edwards counties. It also extends ca. 100 miles south into Coahuila, Mexico (Turpin 1991:2).

The environment of the micro-region is dominated by three river systems—the Rio Grande, the Devils, and the Pecos—that have down cut through a rugged, relatively flat uplift of Cretaceous limestone. South of the Rio Grande on the Mexican side of the river, a number of smaller streams flow north and northeast into the Rio Grande, but none are of the magnitude of the Pecos or Devils rivers, nor do they travel the distance of either of those streams from their headwaters. Historically, the three major rivers have been called a variety of names. The Rio Grande, which begins in the snowmelt of Colorado's Rocky Mountains and flows south through a relatively flat desert in southern New Mexico and western Texas until its flow is replenished by the Conchos River of Mexico, has been called Guadalquivir, Rio Bravo, and Rio Bravo del Norte. The Pecos, flowing south from eastern New Mexico, has often been called Salado for its high salt content and the Puerco for its turbulent, muddy water. Finally, the spring-fed Devils River, originating in the streams and springs of the southwestern Edwards Plateau, was formerly known as Rio Diablo or Rio San Pedro. The latter confluences with the Rio Grande a short distance above Amistad Dam while the confluence of the Pecos with the Rio Grande is some miles upstream, but also within the Amistad NRA (see Figure 1).



Figure 9. Rockshelters along the Rio Grande (Photograph courtesy Texas Historical Commission).

In places, each of the three rivers is confined to relatively narrow channels that have been deeply incised into the limestone strata. The Devils is incised near its mouth; northward, the incising is less pronounced. Downcutting along the Pecos and Rio Grande, in contrast, has been substantial. Where incised, each of the drainages has high bluffs overlooking steep cliffs. Rockshelters, with spectacular vistas of the canyons and tablelands that define the region, have been carved into these cliffs (Figure 9). Some of the rockshelters were occupied intermittently throughout prehistory; others were used to create magnificent, world-renowned polychrome art panels (Figure 10). This art is restricted to the Lower



Figure 10. Example of polychrome rock art found in the Lower Pecos, site 41VV79 (Photograph courtesy Texas Historical Commission).

Pecos Archeological Region and is one of the defining features of that archeological region (Turpin 1991). Above the incised drainages, stretches a rolling, albeit dissected, tableland. West of the Pecos, the tablelands are known as the Stockton Plateau (Bryant 1975:3). These same tablelands are also found south of the Rio Grande and extending southward to the Sabinas River in Mexico, which flows southeast out of the Sierra Madre Oriental (Gerhard 1993:326; Bryant and Riskand 1976). Emory (1987:72), traveling south of the Rio Grande in 1854, described that portion of the micro-region as: "an arid, cretaceous plain, covered with a spinose growth similar to that on the Texas side." East of the Pecos and surrounding the Devils, the area is part of the Balcones Canyonlands, a subset of the Edwards Plateau region (Ellis et al. 1995). Since the southern boundary of the Lower Pecos Archeological region is somewhat vague, we use the Sabinas River (Mexico) as the southern boundary of the micro-region and the eastern boundary south of the Rio Grande to be an arbitary line from the confluence of the San Rodrigo River (of Mexico) south to the modern town of Sabinas, Coahuila. Water is scarce throughout these tablelands and is largely held in small or large karst features (Gerhard 1993:331; Bryant and Riskind 1976:4).

The climatic regime of the micro-region is semi-arid, characterized by low annual rainfall and high evapo-transpiration rates (Gerhard 1993:331; Golden et al. 1982; Bryant 1975). Rainfall, however, is highly variable with a recorded high of 37 inches in 1914 and a low of 4 inches in 1956. Most rainfall occurs during the summer months of July, August, and September, with spring being the driest period of the year. Summer and, at times, spring rains usually arrive in the form of high intensity, albeit localized, thunderstorms. Flashfloods—such as the disastrous event that impacted Del Rio in the winter of 1998—are not unknown. Temperatures are temperate with hot summer temperatures averaging 98°F and mild, dry winters averaging 53°F. Because of consistently high summer temperatures, the evaporation rate on the tablelands of the micro-region is quite high, and the available surface water on those tablelands is minimal. In contrast, rains recharge local springs and *tinajas* and can significantly increase runoff in the deep canyons during the summer heat.

Given its climatic regime, the vegetation in the micro-region is today dominated by xeric succulents and thorny scrub (Diamond et al. 1987; McMahon et al. 1984). Nonetheless, the dominant plant communities in the micro-region vary somewhat from north to south. In the northern and western portions of the micro-region—the washes and alluvial drainage of the Pecos River and its associated tablelands, including the Stockton Plateau and the lands south of the Amistad NRA—the vegetation is dominated by the Mesquite and Juniper Brush shrub community. As Bryant (1975:2) noted, this vegetation is "almost desert-like in composition." Fourwing saltbush, creosote, lotebush, pricklypear, tasajillo, agarito, yucca, sotol, catclaw, Mexican persimmon, shin oak, sumac, sideoats grama and other grasses, are found in association with these two plants. Saltcedar, a non-native species, is also part of the community. To the east, the northern reaches of the Devil's River drainage are within the Balcones

Canyonlands (Ellis et al 1995). There the vegetative regime is known as the Mesquite-Juniper-Live Oak Brush. Plants commonly associated with the regime include sumac, cacti, yucca, sotol, catclaw, lechuguilla, Mexican persimmon, and a number of grasses, and the regime is nearly identical to the Mesquite-Juniper Brush community (McMahon et al. 1984:10; Bryant 1975:2). The heart of the micro-region, however (i.e., the area of the Amistad NRA), is a short grass and shrub savanna whose vegetation type is characterized by the Ceniza-Blackbrush-Creosotebush Brush community (Dering 1999; McMahon et al. 1984:8). These species predominate along the river as well as on the slopes of its terraces north and south of the river and also on the slopes of its tributaries. Other prominent species in this plant community include guajillo, lotebush, mesquite, Texas prickly pear, palo verde, goatbush, yucca, sotol, desert yaupon, catclaw, kidneywood, allthorn, and a variety of desert grasses (Diamond et al. 1987; McMahon et al. 1984).

Most soils throughout this micro-region are shallow and calcareous, having largely formed through decomposition of the underlying limestone bedrock (Golden et al. 1982). However, some soils, found on stream terraces and valley fills, are deep. Of these deeper soils, those in the vicinity of the Amistad NRA (the Olmos-Acuna-Coahuila and Jimenez-Quemado series) formed in old alluvium over caliche and limy earth, and are present on ancient stream terraces that are now found in uplands throughout the micro-region (Gerhard 1993:329; Golden et al. 1982:11-12). Other deep soils consisting of recent fine-grained alluvium (e.g., the Dev, Lagloria, Rio Diablo, Rio Bravo, and Reynosa) are on the narrow terraces adjacent to the modern streams and rivers in the region. Prone to flooding, these continually aggrading deposits exhibit little soil development even though they can exceed 15 meters in depth. Individual flood events, such as the one that occurred in 1954, can leave in excess of 50 cm of new alluvium on these narrow terraces (Gustavson and Collins 1998:19-26). Flint—a resource that was frequently accessed by the prehistoric and historic Native Americans who lived in the region—is commonly present in the massive limestone exposed throughout the micro-region.

The summer rains in the micro-region provide water to the deep protected drainages. As a result, the incised canyons have greater floral and faunal diversity than the tablelands (Dering 1999). Oaks, little-leaf walnut, mesquite, native pecan, and hackberry are present along the rivers as well as near major springs. A number of cacti (such as agarita, prickly pear, and tasajillo) are abundant in the micro-region, and short and mid grasses and forbs are also found in moderate quantities ell. These include Mexican sagewort, Texas cupgrass, sideoats grama, hairy grama, red grama, perennial three-awn, and slim tridens (Golden et al 1982:6).

Macro-Region

The environment surrounding the Lower Pecos Archeological Region is similar to the micro-region, but exhibits gradual changes to the east, north, west and south. This broader area, our macro-region (see Figure 4), as noted in the first chapter, is made up of all or parts of the Edwards Plateau to the north, the Rio Grande Plains to the southeast, the Gulf Coastal Plains to the south and southeast in Mexico, the Basin and Range geography to the southwest and west, and the Southern Plains to the northwest. These physiogeographic regions are environmentally diverse. However, they are included here because the Native Americans who occupied or moved through the micro-region between A.D. 1650 and 1880 also traveled, lived, hunted, and/or carried out a variety of activities in those regions. European encounters with these groups were far more frequent outside of the micro-region and the documents relating to those encounters are often the ones that mention their presence in the micro-region. At the same time, historic documents define the complex, sometimes rapidly changing,

network of relationships among these groups. In order to better judge the numbers of Native Americans moving through the micro region, the timing of those movements, the ethnic associations of the individuals in the groups, and, to the extent possible, the motivations and agendas of the people moving north/south through the micro-region, we considered it necessary to expand our research to cover this larger area that we call the macro-region. In fact, it is our opinion that to adequately understand the Native American affliation with the Amistad NRA, it is *essential* to be familiar with Native American movements and activities in the macro-region. Below is a cursory review of each of these physiogeographic regions; we refer the interested reader to more detailed studies of each, beginning with the references we employed.

The area known today as the Rio Grande or South Texas Plains lies east of the micro-region (McMahon et al. 1984; Arbingast et al. 1973). Also known as the Mesquite Chaparral Savanna or Middle Nueces Zone, these plains have a semi-tropical climate dominated by a strong airflow from the Gulf of Mexico. Temperatures are warm to hot much of the year, ranging from over 100° F in the summer to the thirties in the winter (Norwine 1995). As shown in Figure 4, the region is drained by the Nueces River, originating in the Balcones Canyonlands of the southern portion of the Edwards Plateau. This drainage, together with its tributary the Frio River, flows largely to the east across a rolling to flat topography dissected by intermittent streams. Vegetation is highly varied, with a mix of woody and grassland species within the savanna environment. Dominant species include mesquite, blackbrush, lotebush, ceniza, guajillo, allthorn, Texas prickly pear, various gramas, purple threeawn, and Texas lantana (McMahon et al. 1984:11-12). Fauna is equally varied and includes the species of the micro-region, as well as those typically associated with the Edwards Plateau and the Gulf Coastal Plain.

North and west of the Rio Grande Plains is the Edwards Plateau physiographic region. This region is characterized by thick layers of uplifted Cretaceous sedimentary rock whose eastern and southern boundaries are known as the Balcones Fault zone (Bureau of Economic Geology 1977). Rainfall in the region varies from 21 inches annually in the southern portions to 30 in the northeastern portion. The vegetation on the Edwards Plateau is dominated by juniper, oak, and mesquite in the parklands with some pinon pines and an understory of mesophytic grasses and shrubs (Bryant 1975:1-3). As one moves west, this vegetative pattern gives way to a Mesquite-Juniper community in association with sumac, prickly pear, tasajillo, agarito, and a variety of dispersed grasses and succulents (McMahon et al. 1984:10), typically present in the mesas and hillsides that dominate those portions of the Plateau. The southwestern margins of the Plateau are known as the Balcones Canyonlands, and are defined by a series of prominent, stream-carved canyons. Elevation in this portion of the Plateau drops from ca. 2,300 feet amsl at Rocksprings in Edwards County to 1,000 feet at Amistad NRA (Bryant 1975:1). This elevational change is accompanied by a drop in annual precipitation, coupled with a corresponding change in vegetation. Thus, the juniper/oak/mesquite parklands of the central portion of the Edwards Plateau give way to oak-juniper savannas with an understore of threeawn and muhly grasses to the south (Bryant 1975:2; McMahon et al. 1984:17, 19).

The Southern Plains, situated northwest of the Edwards Plateau and north of the micro-region, are a southward projection of the Great Plains. They are characterized by a large and relatively flat, elevated tableland where "there are no natural features more than 10 or 20 meters high to break the apparently endless monotony" (Bamforth 1988:131). Water here is only seasonally available in small pluvial lakes and in thousands of small deflation basins, known as playas. Vegetation throughout the tablelands is dominated by short and midgrasses (Diamond et al. 1987:210-211). Shinoak and redberry juniper are some of the few arboreal species, present in places along the margin of the plains, although

hackberry, willow, and cottonwood can also be found near reliable water, such as the Pecos River. The Pecos marks the western and southern boundaries of this physiogeographic region. Historically, the dominant faunal species on the Southern Plains were pronghorn antelope, deer, bison, jackrabbit, kangaroo rat, kit fox, and badger. However, the three larger foraging species (pronghorn, deer, and bison) were subject to considerable variation in their numbers due to annual variability in forage (Bamforth 1988:63).

Moving to the south and west, the Basin and Range Physiogeographic Province is quite large and encompasses most of the Trans-Pecos of Texas as well as much of the southwestern United States. The province is defined by broad, north-south trending valleys (some inward draining) that are bordered by small mountain ranges. In the macro-region the valleys are higher in elevation (ca. 3,800 feet amsl) than the elevations in the micro-region (ca. 1,300 feet amsl at Langtry, Texas) (Bryant 1975:4). This province also extends south of the Big Bend of the Rio Grande into Chihuahua and western Coahuila (Gerhard 1993:327) in a roughly northwest to southeast projection. The ranges in the northwestern portion of western Coahuila are relatively small. As one moves south, their elevations rise and the ranges are more closely spaced. Eventually, they come together to form the Sierra Madre Oriental of Mexico. Floral resources in the portion of the province just to the west of the Pecos and south of the Southern Plains are generally part of the Desert Grassland community (Diamond et al. 1987:204-205). Dominant species include lechuguilla, creosotebush, grama and other grasses, scrub oak, mountain mahogany, mesquite, creosotebush and sotol. In places, large grasslands (e.g., the Marfa Plains) are present, known as the Tobosa Black Grama Grasslands (McMahon et al. 1984:4), and, at high elevations in the small ranges, woodland floral communities can be found as well (Diamond et al. 1987:207). Faunal resources include deer, skunk, mountain lion, raccoon, jackrabbits, cottontail rabbits, raptors, snakes, toads, and a variety of birds.

The Bolson de Mapimi, located on the eastern edge of the Basin and Range Province and our macro-region, is part of the broader Chihuahuan Desert Physiogeographic Province. The Bolson is south of Big Bend and the Rio Grande canyonlands and east of the Rio Conchos/Rio Florido. An inward draining basin that tilts north and east, most of its scarce surface water is found in lakes that are intermittent and, thus, often unreliable (Gerhard 1993:330; Griffen 1969:1-3). Outside of the Rio Nazas, water is available in the Bolson only seasonally except for a narrow band along its border with the Rio Grande. Floral resources are not abundant, and generally mirror those of the Basin and Range province in the Trans-Pecos region. The aridity of the region, as well as its lack of important mineral deposits, were recognized by the Spanish early in their occupation of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, causing them to generally avoid or ignore these lands. It is singled out here because, as Griffen (1969:1) notes, the Bolson "served as a convenient refuge area for disaffected natives." While Griffen was concerned with the period prior to 1750, there is ample evidence that the Bolson continued to serve as a refuge area through the nineteenth century (cf., Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:229).

In summary, we intensively researched several archives for documents dealing with a micro-region that corresponds to the Lower Pecos Archeological Region (Hester et al. 1989; Turpin 1991). This region includes the lands of the Amistad NRA and the tablelands that surround it. We were also concerned also with a larger geographic area that we call the macro-region. The macro-region is an arbitrarily defined zone that includes portions of the Rio Grande Plains to the east-southeast, the Edwards Plateau to the northeast, the Southern Plains to the northwest, and the Basin and Range geography that lies to the northwest, west, and south-southwest. The Basin and Range physiography continue to the south of the Rio Grande, eventually becoming the Sierra Madre Oriental, and is bordered on the east by part of the Gulf Coastal Plains. This larger macro-region (see Figure 4) was

defined because documents related to the Native Americans who occupied or moved through the micro-region between A.D. 1650 and 1880 were often described during encounters with those groups outside of the micro-region. Therefore, the macro-region was defined to capture these data.

Native Use of Resources

Prior to leaving this section on the environment, a few additional comments are warranted because the construction of the Amistad Dam and Reservoir in 1969 altered the environment of the area under study. The environmental changes caused by the completion of the Amistad Dam and Reservoir together with the inevitable consequences of the historic agricultural and animal husbandry practices considerably modified the distribution of prehistoric, protohistoric, and even early historic resources. Since the analysis of the environmental changes that occurred in the area is beyond the scope of this study, the following comments focus only on some of the resources that impacted the lives of the earliest native peoples in the micro-region.

Native Use of Faunal Resources in the Micro-Region

The panoply of faunal resources utilized by native groups was undoubtedly vast, but the recorded evidence stresses the importance of deer and, most importantly, buffalo. The evidence is quite overwhelming for the presence of vast herds of buffalo immediately north of the Rio Grande in Kinney, Maverick, Uvalde and Val Verde counties between the 1670s and the early 1700s. At that time, it appears that buffalo were most prevalent in those areas between late November and late May. Because of their presence, several native groups, who lived part of the time south of the Rio Grande, traveled north of that river to hunt and establish *rancherias* in the area (see Wade 1999a). Other groups, who appear to have inhabited areas immediately north of the Rio Grande, also hunted buffalo within the narrow corridor between the Nueces and the Rio Grande rivers as well as in the Rio Grande Plains. There is evidence that resource competition, particularly access to buffalo herds, caused serious conflicts among native groups before the beginning of the eighteenth century (see Wade 1999a, 1999b).

After the 1720s, the buffalo range was altered somewhat. Frequent travel by the Spanish along the established routes near Del Rio and Eagle Pass and south of the Edwards Plateau appears to have disrupted the normal patterns of the buffalo herds and led them to disperse slightly northward and perhaps west of these routes. For example, Berroteran (AGN 1729), during an attempt to find passage from Coahuila to La Junta de los Rios, noted the presence of Apache in the micro-region (see Appendix 4). When approached, the Apache said that they were in the area to hunt buffalo. However, the historical documentation on the Apache and, later, the Comanche indicate that buffalo continued to be present between the Rio Grande and the Nueces rivers (Wade 1998:349-352, 358-360). Prior to 1780, the importance of the buffalo as a material and social resource for the Apache, the Comanche, and other native *norteño* groups cannot be overemphasized. Most conflicts between these groups that were reported by the Spaniards took place during buffalo hunts (*carneadas*) (Wade 1998:349-351, 359-360). Moreover, the importance of the buffalo for these native groups as a multi-faceted resource is well known (e.g., Kavanagh 1996; Ewers 1985).

Thus, within the micro-region, annual or biannual access to the animals provided native people with far more than meat: it supplied marrow, fat, rendered fat, pelts, sinews, glue, containers, and other byproducts. Given these various uses, the difficulty or ease with which a group could locate and hunt the buffalo had profound implications for a group's material life. It also deeply affected their social life because it fostered (or forced) some groups into alliances with other groups, putting

a premium on friendships and enmities (Wade 1998:388-391). Importantly for this study, the presence of buffalo in the micro-region encouraged certain Native American groups to travel to and/or exploit the micro-region.

Native Use of Floral Resources in the Micro-Region

The evidence in the documents for the use of floral resources in the micro-region is abundant, but the details about specific resources are often scarce. Unlike resources on the hoof, stationary vegetable resources are far easier to control and exploit. The most frequently mentioned resource is the prickly pear and its fruit, the tuna. Depending on the physical location, the pricklypear was the resource of choice between June and November. Other resources often mentioned are mescal, roots, roots of reeds, and nuts.

The importance of these resources is often detected through indirect means. For example, the records of the 1670s (Wade 1999a, 1998:405) indicate that some conflicts occurred because native groups crossed resource boundaries in the micro-region, and some of these conflicts were over the pricklypear. There are several other instances of recorded alliances and war coalitions being made during pricklypear gathering season in the macro-region (Portillo 1984:157-159; Cabeza de Vaca 1971:55-56). In 1683, Juan Sabeata (Wade 1998:412; AGN 1683) specifically said that the groups who were allies of the Jumano utilized the nut resources in their lands, generally located to the north in the macro-region along the tributaries of the Concho River of Texas (Kenmotsu 2001). From these statements, it is clear that members of the Jumano coalition (some of whom were from the micro-region) were given the right to access those resources and that such right was part of the privileges and responsibilities shared by the members of their coalition. From these and other examples, it is apparent that floral resources served as both subsistence and social resources and that alliances and coalitions were closely tied to particular gathering seasons.

Through time, the use of floral resources by native groups continued to be mentioned in the historical records. As late as 1856, Assistant Surgeon General Wyllie Crawford (1856:392) stated that native people often lived for days solely on pecans. Native Americans and Anglo-Americans alike used these resources for other purposes. The reports of the Army Surgeon in the information compiled for the United States on the military forts in the Rio Grande area (Head 1855:349-353; Perin 1856:360-363) mention the use of agave (maguey or *Agave Americana*) as a cure for scurvy. Several experiments with positive results were made using agave juice as a cure for scurvy, a disease that afflicted the soldiers. Perin (1856:363) described the manner in which the agave plant was prepared, noting that the juice of the maguey was said to be very rich in saccharine and capable of sustaining a patient for days. In 1854 Byrne (1855:58) also described the preparation and use of the maguey plant by the Apache:

> The lower and sound portion of the plant (not the root) is divested of all the leaves, stalk, &c., then placed into a hole dug in the ground, covered completely with earth to the depth of an inch, and over all there is built a good but slow fire. It requires from twelve to eighteen hours to cook it thoroughly; when cooked thus it is extremely pleasant to the taste, and is a capital substitute in the absence of all other vegetables; indeed, it is the only diet of this nature that these Indians (sic) possess. The other way of cooking it is to pound or mash it up, and boil it until it becomes thick. This is also very palatable and nutritious.

Crawford (1856:392) mentioned the use of wild lamb lettuce (*fedia radiata*) and pokeweed (*phytolacca decandra*) as other cures for scurvy. Given these data, it seems reasonable to assume that plants such as the agave provided native groups with tasty, nutritious food probably high in vitamin C

since the juice of the plant was the preferred remedy for scurvy by American army doctors.

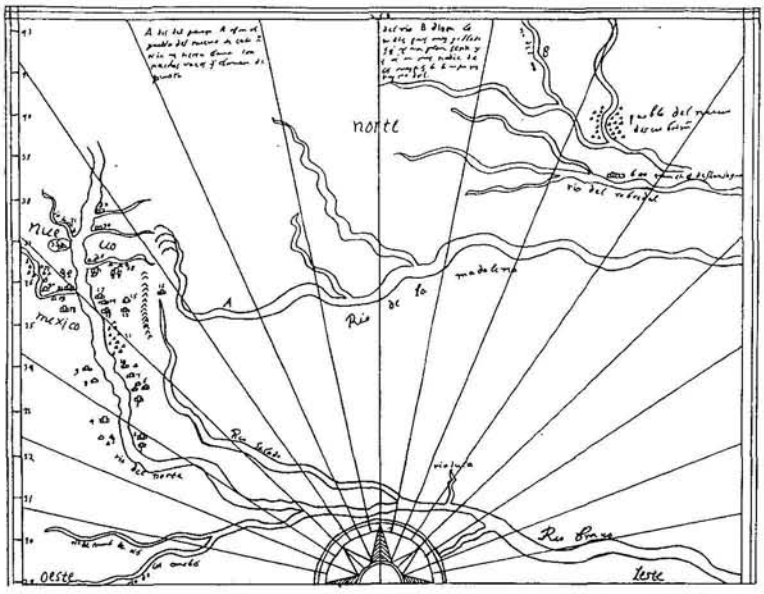


Figure 11. The general area of Texas, New Mexico, and southern Oklahoma on a map drawn ca. 1602 by the Spanish cartographer Enrico Martinez from information obtained from a member of the Onate's explorations of those lands (traced from the original as depicted in Wheat 1957:83, map 34).

SUMMARY OF NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY (1535-1750)

The history of native groups in Texas began at a time when the modern territory of Texas did not exist, politically, as a separate province of New Spain, and when Spanish and American awareness of the physical and cultural geography of the land was sketchy (Figure 11). To counteract the modern tendency to visualize the geographic expanse of Texas with its present political boundaries, it is necessary to conceive of the Texas territory in the 1670s as the eastward continuum of the province of Nueva Vizcaya and the frontier lands of the incipient province of Coahuila (then Nueva Extremadura, see Gerhard [1993:328]). For the Spaniards of the late seventeenth century, the Rio Bravo del Norte (Rio Grande) marked the boundary of a vast wilderness that stretched east of New Mexico. On the other hand, archival documents indicate that the micro-region was the theater of intensive interaction between native populations (Wade 1999a). This interaction involved extensive buffalo hunting and considerable south-north traffic across the Rio Grande at preferred river crossings. Although the actors changed from 1535 to 1750, some of these patterns of interaction continued and specifically involved the lands of the Amistad NRA.

The historical records that relate to the modern state of Texas began with the shipwreck of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions (1528-1535), and continued with the expeditions of Coronado (1540), De Soto-Moscoso (1542-1543 in Texas), Chamuscado-Rodriguez (1581-1582), Espejo-Luxán (1582-1583) and Castaño de Sosa (1590). Those travelers and expeditions saw different pieces of the modern territory of Texas and acquired different perspectives of it. Most were just passing through on their way to somewhere else. From Cabeza de Vaca, Espejo, and Luxán, however, it is possible to learn some important information about the macro-region's environment and some details about the native peoples. Castaño de Sosa (1871) entered the micro-region and passed through the Amistad NRA, but the evidence he provided about native groups is quite sparse except for his brief statements about the Despeguan or Tepeguan groups met near the Val Verde-Crockett County line.

As the evidence stands, therefore, it is not until the records from the mid-seventeenth century from the areas of Saltillo and Monclova that important early information about Native American groups in the micro-region began to be available. These records clarify the relationships and interactions between several of these groups, their modes of subsistence and the reasons that led to the trips north of the Rio Grande by Fr. Manuel de la Cruz (1674), Fr. Francisco Peñasco (1674), and the Bosque-Larios expedition (1675). They refer specifically to the micro-region and also to Amistad NRA.

Below, we provide a brief summary, highlighting such relationships or key historical events that held ramifications for the individual groups that occupied and/or used the micro-region, beginning in the 1670s and continuing at specific key points in time.

Narrative of Events 1673-1675
(Wade 1998:38-139, 1999a, 1999b)

In 1673, Fr. Larios and other Franciscan friars established several mission settlements for a large number of natives groups in northern Coahuila on the southern fringe of the micro-region. These settlements were in response to the friars' desire to convert the natives as well as the natives' wish for settlements. Not surprisingly, both the native groups and the friars held different expectations of what the settlements would be like and how they would operate. Lack of adequate food supplies, disease and the need to procure sustenance led several of the native groups to repeatedly abandon the settlements. On one of those occasions, in March 1674, Fr. Larios ordered Fr. Manuel de la Cruz to travel to the north side of the Rio Grande to contact the Gueiquesale and the Bobole. Fr. Manuel de la Cruz crossed the Rio Grande a short distance below modern Del Rio and traveled eastward for three days (see discussion of this trip in Wade [1999a]). While on that path, Fr. Manuel and his five Bobole companions were intercepted by a native who warned them not to continue in that direction because the Ocane-Patagua and the Catujano were determined to capture the friar. Fr. Manuel hid in an arroyo until his Bobole scouts had located the Bobole rancheria. He then veered northward and reached the Bobole rancheria where he learned that the Gueiquesale were about 20 miles further inland. While at the Bobole rancheria, Fr. Manuel was visited by Don Esteban, the Gueiquesale spokesperson, who, having learned of the predicament of Fr. Manuel, was accompanied by 99 of his warriors, prepared for war. Later reports from Fr. Manuel and Don Esteban indicate the conflict also involved the Ervipiame and their allies and that one of the reasons for the conflict was that Fr. Manuel was trespassing into Ervipiame's lands. Whatever the real reasons for the animosity, it appears that it began before Fr. Manuel's trip and continued into 1675.

Soon after Fr. Manuel's arrival, native scouts reported that enemies were approaching, intent on war. The combined force of 147 Gueiquesale and Bobole warriors, accompanied by Fr. Manuel, proceeded to the locale where the battle took place. The Gueiquesale-Bobole party was victorious, killing seven people and capturing some women and children. The Ervipiame and their allies took flight hiding in the place the local natives called *Sierra Dacate*. After the battle, the victors returned to the Bobole rancheria and then joined the remainder of the Gueiquesale rancheria. Together, they returned to the mission settlement of Santa Rosa de Santa Maria near the Rio Sabinas, north of Monclova, Mexico, ca. 130 miles south of Del Rio.

The exact determination of Fr. Manuel's route is hardly without problems because the friar provided scant details. However, it is possible to state that, in all likelihood, he crossed the counties of Maverick, Zavala, Uvalde and Kinney—all immediately east of the Amistad NRA but still within the micro-region (Figure 12). Fr. Manuel described the country he traveled through as beautiful plains with abundant buffalo and watercourses teaming with fish, turtles, and crayfish. The reports of the Franciscan friars in 1674-1675 leave no doubt that these native groups had individual populations who were as small as perhaps 100 individuals and as large as 500 individuals or even more.

Several months later, in May 1674, Fr. Larios ordered Fr. Francisco Peñasco to travel to the north side of the Rio Grande to persuade another group, the Manos Prietas, to return to Santa Rosa. The Manos Prietas had left the area of Santa Rosa to hunt buffalo north of the Rio Grande. Fr. Peñasco crossed the Rio Grande and found the Manos Prietas about 10 miles north of that river, well

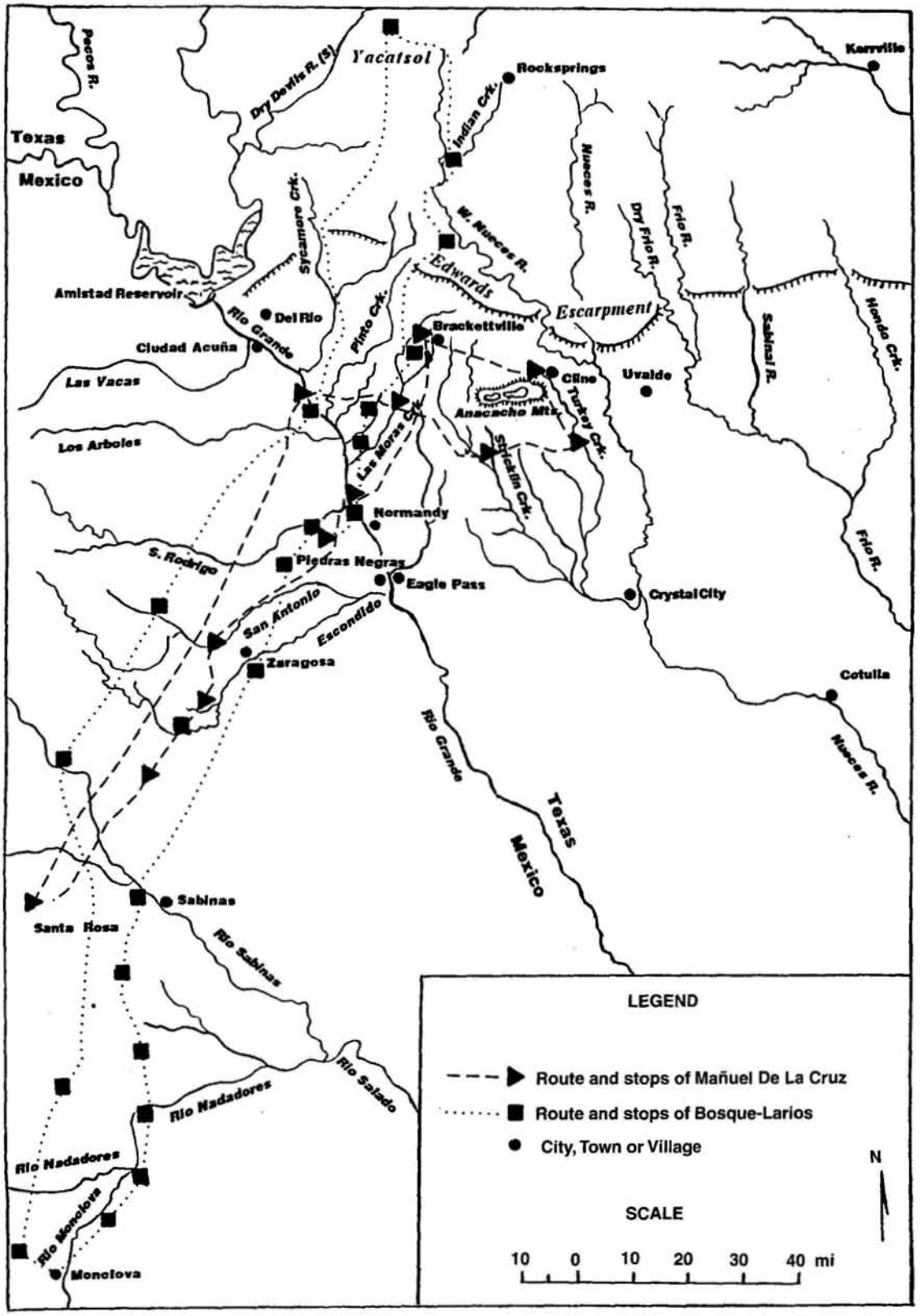


Figure 12. Estimated routes of travel for the journeys of Fr. Manuel de la Cruz and the Bosque-Larios expedition, based on interpretation by Wade 1998:38-139 (Courtesy Texas Archeological Society).

provisioned with buffalo meat. While with the Manos Prietas, Fr. Peñasco was told about another group, the Yorica, who were located 20 miles further inland. Fr. Peñasco then contacted the Yorica, who responded that they were not interested in leaving "their" lands where they had plenty of food to eat. Fr. Peñasco sent a second ambassador to make an offer of settlement, which included oxen and seeds to plant. Persuaded by this offer, the Yorica returned with Fr. Peñasco and the Manos Prietas to the settlement of Santa Rosa.

Despite valiant efforts on both sides, the mission settlements of Santa Rosa and San Ildefonso enjoyed only limited success. The flimsy structures of Santa Rosa were burned sometime in June or July of 1674. Following this event, the native groups congregated elsewhere in the surrounding micro-region. Several spent part of the year north of the Rio Grande in the counties immediately surrounding modern Amistad NRA. It should be noted that because the friars followed the native groups as they shifted from place to place in search of localized food resources, the friars continued to congregate many groups in several areas and to establish temporary settlements in the area of modern Coahuila and our micro-region.

In November 1674, Don Antonio Balcarcel de Ribadeneyra y Sottomayor took possession of his post as Alcalde Mayor of the city named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, later called Monclova. Balcarcel planned to establish several pueblos for the native groups, particularly for the Bobole, the Gueiquesale, and the Catujano. Balcarcel's intent to establish settlements was fortuitous for the native groups. It tapped into the attempts made in Saltillo by some groups (since at least 1658) to do exactly this (Wade 1999a:58). Among the groups involved in these early efforts to establish autonomous native settlements were the Jumano.

However, Balcarcel appears to have been unprepared for the overwhelming number of native groups who wanted to profit from the offer for settlement. Balcarcel did not have the resources to establish pueblos for all who wanted to settle and was unable to obtain further help from the Spanish Crown for that purpose. He established only one pueblo for the Bobole and the Gueiquesale: the pueblo of San Miguel de Luna near modern Monclova. In an effort to stem the movement of groups into Monclova, Balcarcel ordered his lieutenant Fernando del Bosque, together with Fr. Juan Larios, to travel to the north side of Rio Grande to survey the land, count the people, and tell them not to move into Monclova, but to wait in their lands until the King decided if he would grant their request for settlement.

At the end of April 1675, Fernando del Bosque and Fr. Larios traveled to the north side of the Rio Grande where they met native groups who were living in the area. Several groups complained about difficulties in traveling to find the buffalo herds and to visit their kinfolk. Among the groups who complained were the Ape (Jeapa), Bibit (Mabibit), Geniocane, Jumee, and Yorica. The Bagname and the Siano (Sana) were probably in the same situation. However, other groups who were living in the area and were allied with the Gueiquesale seemed not to experience these difficulties, perhaps because the Gueiquesale and their allies controlled access to strategic areas such as the edge of the Edwards Plateau and the plains south of the Plateau's escarpment.

Bosque ordered all the groups north of the Rio Grande to stay in their lands and to remain at peace. He pointed out that there were serious conflicts among them. The Gueiquesale and their allies were at war with the Geniocane; the Yorica, Jumee and Bibit were at war with the Arame, the Ocane and their allies, and the Bobole were at war with the Ervipiame. Similar comments were made by Balcarcel in a letter he wrote to the Audiencia de Guadalajara a few months later (Wade 1999a:43). Balcarcel made it explicit that these conflicts resulted mainly from differences of opinion about access to resources, particularly buffalo. In 1674 Captain Elizondo, at the bequest of Fr. Larios, had made similar statements. According to Elizondo, native groups defended their access to buffalo herds by the force of arms.

During his trip (see Figure 12), Bosque traveled the micro-region through Kinney and Edwards Counties, northeast of the Amistad NRA. All the native groups he encountered were living in that general area. Table 1 shows the groups who, at this time, lived north of the Rio Grande or appear to have spent most of their time in that general area. Some of these likely lived within the Amistad NRA. These groups appear not to have spent much time south of the Rio Grande. The Yorica were living north of the Rio Grande when they were first encountered. Although the Yorica joined other native groups near Monclova at the request of the friars, they continued to spend time north of the Rio Grande. Some of their members may have remained north of the Rio Grande. Other groups such as the Bobole and the Manos Prietas stayed mostly south of the Rio Grande although they spent a considerable amount of time hunting buffalo north of the Rio Grande.

Table 1. Native groups living north of the Rio Grande in in the 1670s.

Bagname	Catujano
Ervipiame	Geniocane
Gueiquesale	Jumee
Mabibit	Ocane
Patagua	Siano
Teaname	Terecodam
Xoman	

Four main points emerge from the records of this early period, which relate specifically to the area of the Amistad NRA and the micro-region:

1. The area of Maverick, Kinney, Edwards, Zavala, Uvalde, and Real counties, and the southeast corner of Val Verde County were the focus of intensive interaction between native groups who lived south and north of the Rio Grande. Some specific groups formed coalitions and battles were fought between different coalitions, apparently because of problems relating to trespass or access to resources, particularly the buffalo.

2. The evidence indicates that some buffalo herds traveled south from the Southern Plains through a narrow corridor between the western Nueces and Devils rivers. These herds appear to have reached the Rio Grande valley around January and to have remained in the area until late May. Bamforth (1988) notes that this type of herd dispersion prevailed throughout most of the bison range south of the Great Plains. Several native groups were reported to have hunted in the Rio Grande valley during the early period. Conflicts between native groups sprang from access to buffalo in the lands where they could be hunted.

3. It appears that some coalitions of groups, such as the Gueiquesale and their allies, were attempting to displace other coalitions of groups such as the Ervipiame and their allies during the early period. It is not yet clear whether these conflicts were pitting groups from south of the Rio Grande against groups north of the Rio Grande.

4. The area of Del Rio was a favored river crossing point; it continued to be a favored crossing through time.

1680-1690

The decade between 1680 and 1690 provides several disjointed pieces of information about native groups in Texas in general and the area of the micro-region in particular. During this period, several key events affected both colonizers and the colonized. As the decade progressed there was a shift in

the Spanish presence in northern New Spain. During the Great Northern Revolt (see Hadley et al. vol. 2 1997:13), Spain temporarily lost New Mexico in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and the New Mexican officials established headquarters in exile at El Paso. At the same time, the northeastern frontier (later known as Coahuila) was moved north of the Rio Grande when Alonso de León crossed the Rio Grande to check on the reported French presence on the Gulf Coast and to establish the first military and religious Spanish outposts within Texas territory. These two seminal events made the Rio Grande between El Paso and modern Brownsville the fulcrum of the activities relating to Texas.

The threat posed by the French to the uncolonized Texas territory unraveled with the departure of Sieur de la Salle from the Matagorda area, his murder, and the destruction of the French settlement on the Texas Gulf Coast (1685-1687). Intentionally or not, some native groups had done the Spanish a favor by destroying the French settlement. Thus, the documents from this decade show very clearly the intensive interaction and information exchange between native groups inhabiting the macro-region of the Rio Grande, the Spanish at Monclova, Saltillo, Parral, and El Paso, and the native groups occupying Central and East Texas. Each group acted on such knowledge.

1691-1721

At the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish frontier was moved *de facto* to East Texas and later withdrawn to San Antonio. The establishment of the Presidio de San Juan Bautista in 1701, and the move of the missions of San Francisco Solano, San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo north to the Rio Grande, made the area to the southeast of Del Rio (part of the macro-region) the center of Spanish military and religious activities in Texas. Those activities brought or attracted several native groups who may or may not have been previously associated with that portion of the macro-region. These groups (Apache, Ape, Catujano, Ervipiame, Jumano, Jumee, Manos Prietas, Mescal, Mesquite, Ocane, Pachale, Pacuachiam, Papanac, Paragua, Pasti, Saesse, Teimamar, Terocodame, Tilijae, Xarame and Yorica, among others) moved in and out of the missions: some because they needed temporary protection, others because they were genuinely attracted to settlement life, and still others because they wanted to profit from the trade opportunities that the proximity of the Spanish provided.

The attractiveness of certain Spanish goods, particularly horses, made any Spanish settlement a magnet for native groups. But, as important as the trade in goods was the trade in information. This was vital to native groups. Information about Spanish activities and troop movements had to be obtained at the principal hubs and information centers of settlements: presidios and missions. Natives in missions and presidios acquired knowledge about Spanish customs, language, expeditions, military campaigns, and supply convoys. They also became closely acquainted with the leading figures in the church and the military. In their essential roles as guides, informers, translators, advisers, and soldiers, native individuals held a good measure of control over what the Spanish knew and how they acted on that knowledge. Until the 1720s and the post-Aguayo period, the Rio Grande area with its presidios and missions continued to be the primary link with the Spanish settlements north of the Rio Grande and the main point for resupplies.

While the Spanish were becoming acquainted with groups native to the macro-region, the human landscape was in a state of flux. During this period, a powerful newcomer—the Comanche—was moving into the region north and northeast of Santa Fe (as early as 1706) and would eventually dominate the Southern and Rolling Plains regions of Texas (Kavanagh 1996; Kenmotsu et al. 1994). One result of the Comanche intrusion into the state was that Apache groups, believed to have occupied the Southern Plains when the Spanish first arrived, were pushed south and east into the macro- and

micro-regions, in turn affecting the native groups who had occupied those regions (Wade 1998; Kenmotsu 1994).

After the fiasco to colonize East Texas and bring Caddoan groups out of French influence and into the fold of the Spanish (1689-1694), the eastern Spanish frontier, in real terms, returned to the Rio Grande. Most of the information we possess about native groups in Texas during the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth century comes from the Rio Grande settlements and the expeditions that crisscrossed the territory of Texas during those decades. The Ramon (1716) and Aguayo (1718-1722) expeditions represented a reversal of this pattern. In fact, the political and financial commitment of the Marques de Aguayo to the project to settle Texas led to the enduring establishment of Spanish settlements in East Texas and in San Antonio.

1722-1750

With the establishment of the settlements in East Texas and San Antonio, the Spanish frontier moved to the heart of Texas (see Figure 4). With the move of Native Americans from Mission San Francisco Solano to San Antonio and with the presidios in East Texas and San Antonio fully operative, the relevance of the area of the Rio Grande to the Spanish, including areas of Amistad NRA, was diluted for several decades. During this time, the missions of San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo did not have large numbers of natives (see Appendix 1), and the Rio Grande Presidio became a way station rather than the hub it had been previously.

The documents indicate that, by the onset of the 1730s, the East Texas Caddoan groups were interested in maintaining a relationship with the Spaniards, but only under certain conditions which did not include the acceptance of mission life. Thus, in 1731, three missions previously established for the Caddoan groups were moved to San Antonio: Mission Nuestra Señora de la Puríssima Concepción de Acuña, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada. The addition of these missions, the development of San Antonio's military and civilian settlement, and their progressively increasing self-sufficiency diminished the reliance on the Rio Grande presidio for supplies and military support. Although the Rio Grande presidio continued to provide some support to the new settlement and was the stopping point for all the traffic in the macro-region between New Spain north and south of the Rio Grande for some time, San Antonio became the new administrative and military focus even though Los Adaes remained the capital.

Against this background, the ethnohistoric data show that certain Native American groups either inhabited or used the micro-region and the Amistad NRA during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Table 2). Some of these groups were first mentioned and encountered in the area immediately north or south of the Rio Grande area during the late 1600s, and several remained in and around the Amistad NRA through the mid-1700s. During the later period, most of the individuals from these groups were recorded as members of the three Rio Grande missions: San Bernardo, San Francisco Solano, and San Juan Bautista. These groups include the: Ape, Catujano, Ervipiame, Jumano, Jumee, Manos Prietas, Mescal, Mesquite, Ocane, Pachale, Pacuachiam, Papanac, Paragua, Pasti, Saesse, Teimamar, Terocodame, Tilijae, Xarame, and Yorica. Of these groups, the following were first mentioned or encountered north of the Rio Grande in the vicinity of the Amistad NRA: Ape, Catujano, Ervipiame, Jumee, Mescal, Mesquite, Ocane, Saesse, Siano (Sana), Teimamar, Terocodame, and Yorica. It appears that the Yorica, Catujano and Tilijae should be primarily associated with the north side of the Rio Grande because, as of this date, the first known records indicate that these groups and their allies inhabited areas north of the Rio Grande. It is likely that members of all these groups

remained in the area, but chose to be outside of the influence of the missions and constituted a nucleus of fluctuating population. One of the strongest indications that this was the case is the frequent recording of marriages between mission natives and individuals shown to be of the same ethnic group, but who were registered as gentile (non-baptized), often without a name.

The records show other native groups who inhabited or used the micro-region, but their names do not appear in the registers of the Texas missions during the period of the late 1600s or later. These groups include: the Bagname, Bibit, Cacaxtle, Cibolo,[2] Gediondo, Machome, Pacpul, Pinanaca, and Teaname. Some may have become incorporated into other groups who had higher populations and enjoyed more influence. Others may have had too few members to survive ethnically and culturally.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century some groups appear to have shifted their activities north of the Rio Grande (i.e., Ervipiame, Mescal, Mesquite, Teimamar, and Xarame), while others appear to have remained in the area of the Rio Grande (i.e., Ape, Gueiquesale, Jumee, Ocane, Pachale, Pacuachiam, Saesse, and Yorica). This shift was undoubtedly a result of the move of Spanish activities to the area of San Antonio and the Gulf Coast. As discussed above, the Rio Grande settlements lost their centrality with the establishment of the missions and presidio in San Antonio. Fortunately, the Sacramental Records of the various Texas missions provide some continuity to the movements and fate of some native groups (see Appendix 2). A comprehensive review of all the Sacramental Records may provide further clues about the processes of amalgamation between groups.

During the initial centuries discussed here, the Jumano stand out as the group who appear to have had a more extensive geographic range of activities (see Kenmotsu 2001). If we include the encounters recorded for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (see Table 2) that range is unparalleled. However, this impression may result from the lack of recorded information about other groups for the same period of time, or because the particular mode of life of the Jumano was conducive to plural encounters and unusual visibility. Within the area of northeastern Coahuila and Texas, the Cibolo and the Ervipiame (see Table 2) appear to be close seconds in terms of the range of their activities and visibility.

The Jumano also exemplify another aspect of Native American history. By the early 1600s, certain areas, such as the Bolson de Mapimi, located southwest of the Amistad NRA, had begun to "serve as a convenient refuge area[s] for disaffected natives" (Griffen 1969:1). Some of those groups were native to the area; others came from long distances. As these events took place, resident native groups in the area found they had to seek an accommodation with the disaffected groups who had pushed in or find themselves at odds with the newcomers. In some cases, the native groups who had occupied the landscape prior to these types of shifts were decimated by wars (cf. the Masame [Kenmotsu 1994:338]). In other cases, native groups determined that wars were not the solution and eventually joined larger groups as a means of survival. The latter solution was chosen by the Jumano. At first, the Jumano fought the Apache, but later became their allies. Finally, in the mid-eighteenth century, the Jumano are listed as "Apaches Jumanes" indicating that they had 'become' Apache (Kenmotsu 1994:328).

Individual Native Groups 1535-1750

In this section, we summarize cultural information on individual native groups who appear in the historical records for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and were connected with the Amistad NRA and our micro-region. Most of the earliest groups disappeared from the ethnohistoric record long before the Anglo American settlement of the Lower Pecos region where the Amistad NRA is situated. Often, their names were listed in Spanish documents as a phonetic rendition of their actual

Table 2. Native Groups who inhabited or used the Amistad NRA during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Native Grp.	Year	Month	Location	County
Apache	1683		N and E Pecos River	Upton
Apache	1684		N and E Pecos River	Upton
Apache	1690s		N & W Colorado River	
Apache	1691		West of the Tejas	
Apache	1702-1704		Mission Solano	
Apache	1704		request peace in El Paso	
Apache	1712		La Junta de los Rios	
Apache	1717		W Colorado River	
Apache	1719		Missouri River to Red River	
Apache	1722-1723		raids S of San Antonio	
Apache	1723		N San Saba	
Apache	1726		Nueces River	
Apache	1729		border lands of Mansos	
Apache	1732		N San Saba	
Apache	1736		attacks at San Antonio	
Apache	1737		attacks at Rio Grande	
Apache	1739		near San Saba	
Apache	1741		asked for missions	
Apache	1743		displaced by Comanche	
Apache	1743		at war on Rio Grande	
Apache	1743		Ypandi near Bejar	
Apache	1745		N San Saba	
Apache	1746		asked for missions	
Apache	1748-1749		Guadalupe River rancheria	
Apache	1749		Peace Treaty San Antonio	
Apache	1750		San Juan Bautista Rio Grande	
Apache	1750		Mission S. Lorenzo-Coahuila	
Apache	1753		San Saba	
Apache	1753		Rio Grande	
Apache	1755		San Antonio & at Rio Grande	
Apache	1755		San Saba	
Apache	1757		San Saba	
Apache	1757		Tejas attack Apache on the Colorado	
Apache	1761		Upper Nueces	
Apache	1762		Upper Nueces-10 different divisions	
Apache	1764		San Juan Bautista	
Apache	1764		Upper Nueces - smallpox	
Apache	1767		Las Moras Creek	
Apache	1767		San Fernando de Austria	
Apache	1767		Rio Grande rancherias	
Apache	1770	4	Julimenos & Apache on the Rio Grande	
Apache	1773	11	Delaware Mountains (?)	
Apache	1773		O'Conor's Treaty with Lipan	
Apache	1775-1976		San Saba	
Apache	1776		S. Pedro River-tributary of the Pecos	
Apache	1776		Guadalupe Mnts, Sierra Blanca & Pecos	
Apache	1787		Mescalero at El Paso & E of Pecos	
Apache	1787		Sierra del Carmen	
Apache	1787	12	Hunting on S. Pedro River	
Apache	1788	4	Lipan at San Antonio	
Apache	1788	7	Nueces River	
Apache	1788	11	Pecos River	
Apache	1789	8, 12	Piedras Negras	
Apache	1789		Frio River	

Table 2. *(Continued)*

Native Grp.	Year	Month	Location	County
Apache	1790	4	Guadalupe Mountains	
Apache	1790	10	Nueces River	
Ape	1675	5	SW Edwards Plateau	Maverick
Ape	1686	5 and 6	SW Edwards Plateau	Maverick
Ape	1686-1687		Guerrero & Del Rio	Val Verde
Ape	1689		S Rio Grande near Guerrero	
Ape	1690		S Rio Grande near Guerrero	
Ape	1693		S Rio Grande near Guerrero	
Ape	1700		San Juan Bautista	
Ape	1706		San Juan Bautista	
Ape	1708		San Francisco Solano	
Ape	1708		San Juan Bautista	
Ape	1726		Coahuila	
Ape	1734-1772		San Juan Bautista	
Bagname	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Bibit (Mabibit)	1674	5	SW Edwards Plateau	
Bibit (Mabibit)	1675	5	Las Moras-Cow Crks	
Bobole	1673		Saltillo	
Bobole	1674		Kinney County	
Bobole	1674-1975		Sabinas River and Monclova	
Cacaxtle	1663		N Rio Grande	
Cacaxtle	1665		N Rio Grande	
Cacaxtle	1674-1675		N Rio Grande	
Cacaxtle	1693		S bank Rio Grande	
Catujano	1674-1675		S Rio Grande near Sabinas River	
Catujano	1674-1675		N Rio Grande	
Catujano	1690-1698		Mission Candela	
Catujano	1722		Mission Candela	
CanoCatujano	1726		Mission Candela	
Catujano	1734		Mission Candela	
Cholome	1640-1645		Conchos River (Mex)	
Cholome	1726		Pecos River	
Cibolo (Sibolo)	1688-1691		Lower Rio Grande and Pecos	
Cibolo (Sibolo)	1690-1691		Sonora	
Cibolo (Sibolo)	1716	5	Colorado River (headwaters)	
Cibolo (Sibolo)	1726		Coahuila	
Cibolo (Sibolo)	1726		N. Vizcaya	
Ervipiame	1674	5	ca. Edwards County	
Ervipiame	1675		N Rio Grande-Edwards Plateau	
Ervipiame	1688		N Rio Grande	
Ervipiame	1692-1693		Monclova area	
Ervipiame	1698		NW Monclova	
Ervipiame	1706		San Francisco. Solano	
Ervipiame	1708		N Guerrero	
Ervipiame	1716-1717		W Trinity River	

Table 2. *(Continued)*

Native Grp.	Year	Month	Location	County
Ervipiame	1716	5	NNE Colorado River	
Ervipiame	1716	5	near S Gabriel River	
Ervipiame	1716	5	Colorado River (headwaters)	
Ervipiame	1717		Presidio del Norte	
Ervipiame	1718		Presidio del Norte	
Ervipiame	1721-1722		San Antonio area	
Ervipiame	1747		Rancheria G/S Gabriel	
Ervipiame	1784		San Antonio Valero	
Gediondo	1683-1684	1 to 6	NE Pecos River (ca. Iraan)	Crockett
Geniocane	1675	5	Sycamore Crk	
Gueiquesale	1674		Sabinas & Rio Grande	
Gueiquesale	1674		SW Edwards Plateau	
Gueiquesale	1675		Monclova & N Rio Grande	
Gueiquesale	1675		N Monclova	
Gueiquesale	1706-1707		San Francisco Solano	
Julime	1656		La Junta de los Rios	
Julime	1683-1684		La Junta de los Rios	
Julime	1692		La Junta de los Rios	
Julime	1706-1707		San Francisco Solano	
Julime	1716	5	Colorado River (headwaters)	
Julime	1716	9	Colorado River	
Julime	1726	3	Nueva Vizcaya	
Julime	1750		Road to Rio Grande	
Julime	1770		Rio Grande	
Jumano	1583		Pecos River	
Jumano	1590		Upton	
Jumano	1629		ESE Santa Fe	
Jumano	1632		Concho River area	
Jumano	1650		Concho River area	
Jumano	1654		Concho River area	
Jumano	1658		Saltillo	
Jumano	1673		Saltillo	
Jumano	1674-1675		Monclova	
Jumano	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Jumano	1683-1684		Concho River & La Junta	
Jumano	1686		SW El Paso	
Jumano	1687		some at La Junta	
Jumano	1688		N Rio Grande	
Jumano	1689		Pecos River	
Jumano	1689		S Rio Grande	
Jumano	1690		S Rio Grande	
Jumano	1691		Guadalupe River (upper)	
Jumano	1692		some at Parral	
Jumano	1693		Guadalupe River area	
Jumano	1693		some at Neches River	
Jumano	1706-1707		San Francisco Solano	
Jumano	1710		San Juan Bautista	
Jumano	1718		South end S Plains	
Jumano	1734-1772		San Juan Bautista	

Table 2. *(Continued)*

Native Grp.	Year	Month	Location	County
Jumano	1773		E side Pecos River	
Jumee	1674		N and S Rio Grande	
Jumee	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Jumee	1706		San Francisco Solano	
Jumee	1708		San Juan Bautista	
Machome	1686		SW Edwards Plateau	
Machome	1691		S Rio Grande	
Manos Prietas	1674		N Rio Grande	
Manos Prietas	1675		N Rio Grande and Monclova	
Manos Prietas	1675		Monclova area	
Manos Prietas	1678		Monclova area	
Manos Prietas	1706		San Francisco Solano	
Manos Prietas	1716		Colorado River	
Mescal	1686		SW Edwards Plateau	
Mescal	1689		S Rio Grande	
Mescale	1690		S Rio Grande	
Mescale	1691		S Rio Grande	
Mescale	1693		S Rio Grande	
Mescale	1699		San Juan Bautista	
Mescale	1700		San Juan Bautista	
Mescale	1701		San Juan Bautista	
Mescale	1706		San Juan Bautista	
Mescale	1708		San Juan Bautista	
Mescale	1716	5	NNE Colorado River	
Mescale	1716	5	San Gabriel River area	
Mescale	1716	5		
Mescale	1700-1718		San Francisco Solano	
Mescale	1734		San Juan Bautista	
Mescale	1772		San Juan Bautista	
Mesquite	1675		N Rio Grande	
Mesquite	1707		San Francisco Solano	
Mesquite	1708		E Rio Grande near Guerrero	
Mesquite	1716		Colorado River area	
Mesquite	1716		San Jose and Solano	
Mesquite	1716		San Francisco Solano	
Mesquite	1716	9	La Junta de los Rios	
Mesquite	1726	8	San Antonio	
Muruame	1690		San Marcos River	
Muruame	1700-1718		San Francisco Solano	
Muruame	1708		E Rio Grande near Guerrero	
Ocane	1674		SW Edwards Plateau	
Ocane	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Ocane	1691		Comanche Creek	
Ocane	1693		S Rio Grande	
Ocane	1698		Mission San Francisco Valadares	
Ocane	1703		San Bernardo	
Ocane	1706		San Bernardo	

Table 2. *(Continued)*

Native Grp.	Year	Month	Location	County
Ocane	1708		San Bernardo	
Ocane	1722		San Bernardo	
Ocane	1726		Coahuila	
Ocane	1734		San Bernardo	
Pachale	1701		Mission Dolores	
Pachale	1701		San Juan Bautista	
Pachale	1708		San Bernardo	
Pachale	1726		Nueva Vizcaya	
Pachale	1727		Mission Dolores	
Pacpul	1691		Comanche Creek	
Pacpul	1707		N Rio Grande	
Pacpul	1726		Coahuila	
Pacuache	1674-1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Pacuachiam	1686		SW Edwards Plateau	
Pacuachiam	1690		Frio River or Hondo River	
Pacuachiam	1691		Frio River	
Pacuachiam	1693		Comanche Creek	
Pacuachiam	1703		San Bernardo	
Pacuachiam	1706		San Bernardo	
Pacuachiam	1708		San Bernardo	
Pacuachiam	1709	4	Nueces River	
Pacuachiam	1716		Paso de Francia	
Pacuachiam	1718-1719		Rio Grande and Leona Rivers	
Pacuachiam	1726		Coahuila	
Papanac	1675		N Rio Grande	
Papanac	1690		Nueces River	
Papanac	1691		Frio River	
Papanac	1700		San Francisco Solano	
Papanac	1706-1707		San Francisco Solano	
Papanac	1708		N Rio Grande missions	
Papanac	1722		San Bernardo	
Papanac	1734		San Bernardo	
Paponaca	1703		San Bernardo	
Paragua	1704-1707		San Francisco Solano	
Paragua	1707		Between Frio and Leona Rivers	
Paragua	1708		Eastern Rio Grande	
Paragua	1784		San Antonio Valero	
Pasti	1707		Nueces River	
Pasti	1708		Eastern Rio Grande missions	
Pataguaque	1674-1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Pinanaca	1674		S Rio Grande	
Pinanaca	1675		S and N Rio Grande	Maverick
Puyua	1707		N Rio Grande	

Table 2. *(Continued)*

Native Grp.	Year	Month	Location	County
Saesse	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Saesse	1707		San Francisco Solano	
Saesse	1708		N Rio Grande missions	
Sanaque	1690		S Rio Grande	
Sanaque	1708		E Rio Grande	
Sanyau	1690		S Rio Grande	
Siano	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Teaname	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Teimamar	1674-1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Teimamar	1704-1707		San Francisco Solano	
Teimamar	1716		Central Texas	
Teimamar	1718		Presidio del Norte	
Teneimamar	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Terocodame	1675		SW Edwards Plateau	
Terocodame	1688		SW Edwards Plateau	
Terocodame	1700		Rio Grande missions to west	
Terocodame	1706-1708		San Francisco Solano	
Terocodame	1720		Coahuila	
Terocodame	1726		Coahuila	
Tilijae	1675		Edwards Plateau	
Tilijae	1690		Mission La Caldera	
Tilijae	1706		San Juan Bautista	
Tilijae	1734		San Juan Bautista	
Tilpayay	1686		Edwards Plateau	
Tilpayay	1690		Medina River	
Toboso	1700-1708		San Juan Bautista	
Xarame	1701		N Sabinas River	
Xarame	1701		San Juan Bautista	
Xarame	1708		San Francisco Solano	
Xarame	1709	4	Frio River	
Xarame	1714		San Juan Bautista	
Xarame	1717		Presidio del Norte	
Xarame	1718		Presidio del Norte	
Xarame	1726		Coahuila	
Xarame	1784		San Antonio Valero	
Xiabu	1689		S Rio Grande	
Yorica	1674		N Rio Grande	
Yorica	1675		Monclova area	
Yorica	ca. 1686		SW Edwards Plateau	
Yorica	1690		S Rio Grande	
Yorica	1691		S Rio Grande	

Table 2. *(Continued)*

Native Grp.	Year	Month	Location	County
Yorica	1700		San Juan Bautista	
Yorica	1706		San Juan Bautista	
Yorica	1708		San Juan Bautista	
Yorica	1710		San Juan Bautista	

name or the meaning of their native name was translated into Spanish. For each native group, we offer a list of the phonetic variations of the same name.[3] The summary also includes the principal locations where each group was reported within the modern territory of Texas and the group's known associations. The listing of a group's allies or enemies is restricted to those groups who were reported north of the Rio Grande or immediately south of it (see Table 2). The Apache, *senso latu*, are included in this summary even though the temporal span of the Apache presence in Texas extends well beyond 1750. Similarly, the Yorica and Ervipiame presence in Texas extended well after 1750. The cultural summary for the Apache and Ervipiame presented here includes only material gathered until 1750; their activities after 1750 are found later in this chapter. The summary for the other native groups includes all the cultural material that could be gathered by the authors for each group. Many of the details for the dates reported below are found in date order in Appendix 4. Data are included from both the macro- and micro-regions.

Apache

(1680s through ca. 1750)
(Wade 1998:418-423)

Early Names Used for Apache Groups:

1683-84: Apache

1691: Apache, Sadammo, Caaucozi, Maní

1710: Jila, Fahanos, Necayees (AGI 1710)

1732: Apaches, Ypandi, Yxandi, and Chenti

1743: Ypandi; *alias* Pelones

1743: Ypandes, Apaches, and Pelones or in the language of the same northern Indians [sic] Azain, Duttain, and Negain (AGN 1723)

1745: Ypandi, Natagé

1749: Ypandi, Natagé

Principal Area in Texas:

1683-84: north of the Pecos River (north of Crockett Co.)

1690s: traveled south to the Colorado River but were located north and west of that river

1691: west of the Tejas (Caddo)

1702-1704: six baptismal records at Mission Solano

1704: request peace at El Paso (AHP 1704A)

1712: small bands present in La Junta de los Rios (AGI 1716)

1717: Apache attack west of the Colorado River

1719: Gov. Olivares places them from Missouri to Red rivers and west to New Mexico (BA 1719)

1722-1723: several attacks near San Antonio and on the road between this town and the presidio on the Rio Grande

1723: five Apache groups near the San Saba

1726: Apache attack Sana and Pacuache on the Nueces River

1729: Apache bordered the lands of the Mansos near El Paso (AHP 1649D)

1732: Spanish attack very large Apache rancherias north of San Saba

1736: Apache attack Native Americans at mission in San Antonio (AGN 1736)

1737: Attack the Rio Grande mission to steal horses (PI. v. 32)

1739: Spanish attack Apache possibly near San Saba

1741: Ypandi wish to settle on the Guadalupe River

1743: Comanche said to displace Ypandi (*alias* Pelones) from their lands

1743: Apache at war on the Rio Grande; attack others on the road between San Antonio and the Rio Grande

1743: Pelones said to be living the farthest from Béjar while the Ypandi were the closest to the Presidio (AGN 1743)

1745: Spanish attack Ypandi and Natage 80 leagues north of San Saba

1746: Ypandi ask for missions

1748-49: Spanish attack Apache hunting on the Guadalupe River; Spanish make two other punitive expeditions to other locations

1749: Ypandi and Natage establish peace agreement with Spanish

1750: Apache "Chief" Pastellano requests mission at San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande

Principal Group Associations:

1688: Enemies of the Ervipiame, Jumano, the Tejas and their allies

1691: Friends with the Salinero; enemies of the Caynaaya, Choma and Cibola

1716: Request peace with the people of La Junta and the Spanish

1723: Trade horses to the Caddo in East Texas

1726: Enemies of the Sana and Pacuache

1732: Friends of the Jumano

1743: Enemies of the Comanche

Cultural Information: The cultural information available for the Apache during the early part of their presence in modern Texas is very scant and some of what was recorded by the Spanish reflected their observations on the various Apache divisions in other areas of New Spain. In 1542, while in the Texas Panhandle, Coronado encountered groups of individuals hunting buffalo and using travois pulled by dogs to transport their belongings. Most authors agree that these individuals, whom Coronado called Querechos, were Apache. Several of the subsequent encounters between the Spanish and the Apache, within the territory of Texas, took the form of hit-and-run attacks by the Apache and provided little recorded information about their cultural behavior. Nevertheless,

from the start the Spanish military commented extensively on the excellent horsemanship of the Apache and on the courage displayed by their warriors in battle.

In 1691, when Teran de los Rios encountered several native groups in the macro-region near the Guadalupe River, Fr. Massanet (Lino Canedo 1968:241) called attention to the size and unusual workmanship of the horse saddles they were using. When questioned as to the provenience of the saddles, they proudly stated that they had obtained them as spoils in their battles with the Apache that took place in the western portion of the macro-region. During this encounter, Fr. Massanet also commented that the Apache were very able warriors and that they used both defensive and offensive weapons (Lino Canedo 1968:242). In 1721 the Apache delivered an unmistakable ultimatum to the Marques de Aguayo when they stuck their arrow points and shafts in the soil of San Antonio. These shafts had pieces of red cloth attached to them and were interpreted by the local natives to mean a declaration of war (AGN 1721b). Events such as these marked the adversarial relationship that the Apache in Texas would continue to have with the Spanish. In 1723, Captain Nicolas Flores (AGN 1724) led a punitive expedition against the Apache. Apart from a large number of Apache captives, horses and mules, his expedition also collected saddles, bridles, knives, and spears, which indicates that some of the war spoils were coveted for their value and not simply as curios.

The first information about Apache dwellings came from the Spanish military reports following punitive expeditions against the Apache in Texas. In 1732, Bustillo y Zevallos attacked them in the macro-region north of the San Saba area (AGN 1733a). The native informers reported that the Apache were living in very large rancherias composed of tents. Later reports on the Apache refer principally to their conflicts with the Spanish and do not mention the type of dwellings used by the Apache.

The information on the subsistence practices of the Apache is also poor. Prior to 1700s, the Apache are supposed to have been foragers who hunted buffalo and deer. We also know from Berroteran's 1729 expedition that they hunted buffalo in the micro-region in the early eighteenth century (Ayer 1729). In later times, they were part-time horticulturists who relied heavily on buffalo and deer hunting.

Not much is known about the social organization among the Apache groups that lived in Texas in the early period. However, the various Spanish punitive campaigns led to many peace initiatives and Apache women acted as peace brokers and initiated the negotiations toward peace agreements. At times, women and children also participated in battle. After the first peace encounters male leaders who represented specific groups took over the negotiations. The spokespersons for different Apache subdivisions followed the advice or obeyed a *Capitan Grande* who was often chosen from one of the groups (i.e., in 1745 the *Capitan Grande* of the Ypandi and Natage was a Natage). The Apache had influential shamans at least in the 1760s (Wade 1998:350; Tunnell and Newcomb 1969:171). The Apache kept Spanish captives as well as captives from other native groups.

Ape

(Wade 1998:430-434)

Some Name Variants: Aba, Ara, Gaapa, Hape, Hipe, Iape, Jeapa, Xape, Xiapoz, Xapoz.

Principal Area in Texas:

1629: Near Pecos and Colorado rivers

1670: In Saltillo area

1674: North and south banks of the Rio Grande between the area of Guerrero and Del Rio

1683-84: West central Texas

1686: Southwestern Edwards Plateau

1708: Mission San Juan Bautista

1734-72: Mission San Juan Bautista

Principal Group Associations:

1629: Xumana

1670: Ervipiame, Yorica, Mescale, Bobole, Ocane, Catujane, and 11 others

1674-1675: Catujano, Yorica, Jumee and Mabibit

1683: Jumano

1686: Jumene, Mescale, Pacuachiam and Yorica

1689-1691: associated consistently with Jumene, Mescale and Yorica

1706: Machome

1708: Yorica, Mescale, Hume (AGI 1708)

Cultural Information: The Ape often located their dwellings near watercourses. Their dwellings were generally covered with grass (*zacate*), but those they prepared for guests were covered with buffalo skins. They frequently moved their house within a 2.6 to 7.8 mile radius. The Ape subsisted by hunting buffalo (at least part of the time), and by gathering prickly pear, roots, and nuts. They made buffalo jerky, prepared buffalo hides and skin rafts in which they could cross the Rio Grande. As a group associated with the Jumano the Ape probably gathered nuts in the Concho River area in Texas.

The Ape had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions with other groups and probably strove to have at least 100 warriors. After battles, they cut the heads of vanquished enemies and displayed them on poles. No women were mentioned as being present at peace talks with the Spanish. The Ape had close contact with the Spanish in New Mexico (1620s) and with Jean Gery (late 1680s). They probably learned about European military tactics and weapons from the Spanish and Gery. It is stated (AGI 1708) that they were from "*tierra adentro*."

The Ape were members of the Catujano/Tilijae coalition and as such they may have had two or three female mating partners. These female partners were shared with the brother of principal partners (brother and brother-in-law). Agreements were sealed with celebrations that included a 24-hour *mitote* (dance). The dancer who outlasted everyone else was considered the most valiant. One of the spokespersons of the Tilijae was named *Balient* (Valiant). The killing of a member of the group was avenged and the revenge included ritualized cannibalism and the drinking of an enemy's blood. Most conflicts with other groups resulted from trespassing over resource areas, particularly areas with prickly pear tuna, roots, and buffalo. These data also apply to the Bibit, Jumee, Mescale, and Yorica as members of the Catujano-Tilijae coalition.

Bagname

(Wade 1998:57, 437)

Principal Area in Texas: SW edge of the Edwards Plateau (*Sierra Dacate*); hilly country.

Principal Group Associations:

1675: Bobole and Siano (probably Sana). The Bagname and the Siano were said to be kin

Cultural Information: Very little is known about the Bagname. They had spokespersons that represented the group and acted as ambassadors and they entered into large and small coalitions. The women accompanied men on their peace initiatives. Eighteen Bagname warriors came to Monclova to see the Alcalde Mayor, Antonio Balcarcel, to request settlement. It is possible that the number of warriors that visited Balcarcel indicates that a larger number of groups were being represented. Most other native delegations that visited Balcarcel had no more than one or two warriors representing each group.

Bibit

(Wade 1998:442, 600-602)

Some Name Variants: Vivit, Mabibit.

Principal Area in Texas: Southwestern Edwards Plateau; Maverick County, Texas.

Principal Group Associations:

1674: Catujano. This alliance included the Ape, Jumee, Mescale and Tilijae.

1675: Ape, Bobole, Jumee and Yorica

1683-1684: Jumano.

Cultural Information: The Bibit entered into large and small coalitions and had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. When Fr. Larios and Fernando del Bosque visited them on the Edwards Plateau and counted the people of the Bibit and Jumee they did not mention young females; it is possible that the Bibit and the Jumee practiced female infanticide (Wade 1998:443). The Bibit hunted buffalo. See Ape for cultural information pertaining to the Catujano coalition members.

Bobole

(Wade 1998:444-451; Griffen 1969:155-160)

Some Name Variants: Babol, Bobol, Babora, Babor, Babel, Baboram, Babori, Baburi, Bobo, Bovol, Pagori.

Principal Area in Texas: Southwestern Edwards Plateau; Maverick County, Texas.

Principal Group Associations:

1670: Catujano

1673: Tetcora, Cuaguila in Parras archives

1674-1675: Jumano and Yorica

1674-1675: Gueiquesale

1675: Bagname, Bibit, Geniocane, Jumee and Yorica

Cultural Information: The Bobole located some of their rancherias near watercourses and their dwellings were round huts surrounded by straw (*zacate*) and covered with buffalo pelts that were treated to be impermeable to water. They had rancherias on both sides of the Rio Grande and frequently crossed the river northward to hunt buffalo. They subsisted on buffalo, deer, fish, mescal roots, prickly pear tuna, small nuts, and acorns. Children of both sexes gathered wild fruits. The Bobole defended access to buffalo herds by the force of arms. They moved every three or four days to look for food and divided into smaller groupings in times of disease or food scarcity. The information on their social organization and role assignment shows that they had spokespersons that represented the group. The Bobole performed roles as couriers, interpreters and guides. As a sign of land possession the Bobole pulled grass, dug dirt, and watered the earth. This information may also apply to the Jumee, Manos Prietas, Mescale, Pinanaca, and Teimamar.

Cacaxtle

(Wade 1998:457-459; Campbell 1988:173-184)

Some Name Variants: Cacastle, Cacage, Caikache, Kaikache, Kankacche, Carcache, Caicache.

Principal Area in Texas: North bank of the Rio Grande

Principal Group Associations:

1674: Gueiquesale

Cultural Information: The Cacaxtle were living in the micro-region on the north side of the Rio Grande in 1655 when they were attacked by a Spanish force commanded by Fernando de Azcué. In this battle, the Bobole aided the Spanish against the Cacaxtle. Most of the information we possess about the Cacaxtle comes from the reports on this battle. To defend themselves the Cacaxtle built defensive structures made of tree trunks, tree branches, and prickly pear pads. During the battle an elderly woman played an important ceremonial role by playing a flute to incite the warriors.

Catujano

(Wade 1998:466-469)

Some Name Variants: Catujane, Catuxane, Catuxano, Canocatujano.

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s: North of the Rio Grande; Edwards Plateau area
1690s: Southwestern Edwards Plateau
1710: Mesa de Catujanos
1722: Rio Grande missions
1726: Rio Grande missions

Principal Group Associations:

1670: Cuahijos

1674: Ape, Bibit (Mabibit), Jumee, Pachaque, Mescale and Tilijay

1674-1675: Ervipiame, Ocane and Pataguaque

1674-75: The Catujano were the principal spokespersons for the Catujano-Tilijae coalition that included the Ape, Bibit, Jumee and Mescale, among others

1675: Mesquite

Cultural Information: The Catujano generally resided in the micro-region north of the Rio Grande. They had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors, and entered into large and small coalitions where they were the principal spokespersons for a large coalition of groups. The information presented above for the Ape (see Ape) was said to pertain to the Catujano proper and their allies (Wade 1998:407-408).

Cholome

(Wade 1998:472-3; Kenmotsu 1994:288-290)

Some Name Variants: Chalome, Zolome, Chocolomo.

Principal Area in Texas:

1640s: Conchos River above modern Presidio, Texas; North of the Rio Grande

1683: Pecos River

1685: La Junta de los Rios (AHP 1685Da)

1691: Near the headwaters of the Guadalupe River

1693: Rio Grande above La Junta

Principal Group Associations:

1640-1645: with 45 nations in rebellion along the Conchos River drainage (Mexico)

1688: Suma, Mamite, Concho, Chisos, Chichitame

1691: Cibolo and Jumano

1712: Julime

1726-1728: Coyame (AGI 1726-1728)

1748: Apache, Suma, Nataje (AGN 1748)

Cultural Information: Although most of the information on the Cholome indicates that this nation was more closely tied to the region south of modern Presidio (Kenmotsu 1994:288-289), the Cholome were found in the micro- and macro-regions at times. When present, they located some of their rancherias near watercourses and in wooded areas. Their dwellings were described as huts made of grass (AGI 1751) or as *jacales* (Madrid 1992:26). The Cholome subsisted by hunting and gathering. They ate seeds and the tuna of the prickly pear, but by 1747 were living near Presidio where they planted corn, pumpkins, and beans (Madrid 1992:27). They used small saddles and stirrups obtained in wars against the Apache (1691). They also prepared a parade for the Spanish (after the fashion of Spanish military parades) in 1691, during which they used Spanish religious symbols and banners with saints. The Cholome served as couriers for the Spanish.

Cibolo

(Wade 1998:473-477; Kenmotsu 1994:298-301; Griffen 1969:166)

Some Name Variants: Sibolas, Civolas, Sivolitos, Xibulus, Sivoporame, Sipopolas, Sibopora, Sipopolames, Sopolame, Sipulames; cited in documents from the Parras archives between 1642 and 1671.

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s: Lower Rio Grande possibly in the area of Langtry, Texas

1684: La Junta de los Rios

1688: Big Bend to east of Pecos River

1693: "They live in a rancheria that typically . . . spends part of the year between the Rio Grande and the Nueces River" (AGI 1693)

1715: La Junta de los Rios

Principal Group Associations:

1670s: Jumano, Ape

1680s: Jumano, nations of La Junta, Tejas (Caddo)

1691: Cholome, Toboso, Concho, Hape, Mescal

Cultural Information: The Cibolo were had close connections with the Jumano and often traveled to the Tejas (Caddo) to trade and to visit. They hunted buffalo and had conflicts with native peoples located on the Rio Grande, northward of their rancherias. These conflicts were over buffalo hunting rights. The Cibolo also performed roles as couriers, informers, and traders.

Ervipiame

(Wade 1998:484-489)

Some Name Variants: Hervipiames, Yerbiapames, Barbipianes, Berttipanes, Chivipanes, Cibipane, Irripianes, Jerbipiam, and at least 77 other variations (Campbell 1988:138).

Principal Area in Texas:

1674-75: SW Edwards Plateau

Rio Grande missions (early 1700s)

1710s-1720s: Central Texas and San Antonio area

1720s: San Antonio missions

1730s: Brazos and Trinity rivers

Principal Group Associations:

1670s: Conchos

1674-75: Ocane, Pataguaque, Catujano and possibly Arame Enemies of the Ape, Bacopora, Bobole, Gueiquesale and Yorica

1688-1689: allied with the Tejas, the French, and possibly with the Jumano and the Terocodame

1716: Mesquite

1730s: Bedai, Agdoca (Deadose), Mayeye

Cultural Information: The Ervipiame located their rancherias near watercourses. They provided their guests with housing and these dwellings were made of tree branches, very spacious and located at a distance from their own rancheria. The Ervipiame hunted buffalo and deer and recognized either social and/or territorial boundaries that led them to conflicts over buffalo hunting rights. They traded in buffalo and deerskins, foodstuffs, and other unspecified items. The Ervipiame had shamans who provided directives for their behavior toward the Spaniards and other native groups. Such directives led the Ervipiame to engage in warring activities. The Ervipiame probably kept dogs and had European-made batons used by their leaders as early as 1675.

Gediondo (Parugan)

(Wade 1998:490-491)

Some Name Variants: Jediondo, Hediondo

Principal Area in Texas:

1683-84: East side of the Pecos River in Crockett County

Principal Group Associations:

1683-84: closely associated with the Jumano

Cultural Information: The Gediondo provided their guests with dwellings made of reeds and, at least once, prepared an elaborate reception for the 1684 Mendoza-Lopez expeditionary party. During this reception they used guns and horses, and displayed a large, well-made wooden cross, decorated with red and yellow paint. It appears they recognized and venerated the symbol of the cross. They hunted buffalo and in 1684 were using the surround method.

Geniocane

(Wade 1998:491-493)

Name Variants: Giniacane, Heniocane

Principal Area in Texas:

1675: Edwards Plateau; valley of Indian Creek

Principal Group Associations:

1675: none specified

At war with the Gueiquesale

Cultural Information: The information about the Geniocane is very scant. When they were visited by the Bosque-Larios expedition their rancheria was located in an arroyo between some hills in the

micro-region north of the Rio Grande. The area had many grapevines and the Geniocane may have manipulated the growth of grapevines by pruning the stock.

Gueiquesale

(Wade 1998:495; Griffen 1969:160)

Some Name Variants: Coetzale, Gueiquesal, Gueiquechali, Quetzal, Quesale, Huyquetzal, Huicasique.

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s: Edwards Plateau (1674-1675)

1707–62: Monclova

Principal Group Associations:

1674: Cacaxtle, Manos Prietas, Pinanaca, Saesser, Teimamar and Teneimamar

1674–1675: Bobole, Colorados, Babiamare, Jumano, Manos Prietas

At war with the Ervipiame, Geniocane, Ocane and Pataguaque (see *Patagua*)

1675: Cacaxtle, Manos Prietas, Pinanaca, Saesser and Teimamar

1687: Manos Prietas, Colorados, Baborizagames, Cabezas

1690-1717: Cabezas

Cultural Information: The Gueiquesale located some of their rancherias near watercourses in the southern portion of the micro-region. Their dwellings were described as round huts surrounded by straw (*zacate*) and covered with buffalo pelts that were treated so as to be impermeable to water. The Gueiquesale subsisted on buffalo, deer, fish, mescal roots, prickly pear tuna, small nuts, and acorns. They prepared buffalo jerky. The Gueiquesale defended access to buffalo herds by the force of arms. Children of both sexes gathered wild fruits. The Gueiquesale moved every three or four days to look for food and would split into smaller groups in times of disease or resource scarcity. As a sign of their possession of land they pulled grass, dug dirt, and watered the earth. When the Gueiquesale had guests they embraced them and the women welcomed them with a dance. Gueiquesale males used deerskin strips to protect their sexual organs and employed hide shields. At least for warring engagements, the Gueiquesale warriors decorated their arms and chests with streaks of red, yellow, and white. On their heads some used crowns made of mesquite leaves and others wore crowns of *estofiate silvester*, a medicinal herb. Above the floral crowns the warriors wore beautiful feathers. In some cases, attacks took place at sunrise. The Gueiquesale named arroyos, hills and mountains. Some of this information may also apply to the Bobole.

From 1673 through 1675, the Gueiquesale were represented by Don Esteban, an influential spokesperson who controlled a large coalition of native groups. The Gueiquesale kept and traded individuals who had been captured. Some of these captives were young Spanish males while others were young males from other native groups.

Julime

(Kenmotsu 1994:320-322; Campbell 1988:143)

Some Name Variants: Xulimes, Hulimes, Geulimes, Chulimes, Jeulimes.

Principal Area in Texas:

1656: La Junta de los Rios (Julime said to be governor at that time)

1680s: La Junta de los Rios

1706-1707: Mission Solano

1716: La Junta de los Rios and Colorado River

1750: Rio Grande Road

Principal Group Associations:

1640s: Toboso and others;

1650s: Concho and Salineros in the general region of Parral (AHP 1656A)

1680s–1700s: Cibolo, Chisos, Chichitame, Osatayolicla, Cacalote, Cholome, and Toposome (AGN 1683; AHP 1684Aa, 1684Ab, 1685Db, 1712A)

1683 –1684: Jumano and others

1708: Gavilanes

Cultural Information: The Julime were first mentioned as a nation residing just to the south of La Junta de los Rios and later as part of a rebellion at Parral in which they were aligned with the Tobosos and six other nations against the Spanish (Kenmotsu 1994:320-324). In the ensuing decades, the Julime were often mentioned as part of the nations living south of Parral, but occasionally they were found in regions to the north and east, including areas within the macro-region. By the eighteenth century, the Julime were identified in a large gathering of various nations on the upper Colorado River of Texas (AHP 1716A). In the earliest documents, they are described as foragers (AHP 1645A). However, by the late seventeenth century, they were sowing corn and wheat (AGN 1683).

Jumano

(Wade 1998:506-519; Kenmotsu 1994:324-332, 2001)

Some Name Variants: Chome, Humano, Juman, Xumano, Xume, possibly Xoman.

Principal Area in Texas:

1583: Pecos River

1629: Salinas Pueblos (New Mexico)

1629: Pecos River

1632, 1650, 1654: Concho River drainage (Texas)

1670s: Southwestern Edwards Plateau and Colorado River

1680s: Concho River drainage

1683-84: Pecos River

1690s: Eastern edge of Edwards Plateau

1690s: Upper Guadalupe River

1730s: Near Humanas pueblos of New Mexico

Principal Group Associations:

1583: nations of La Junta de los Rios

1629, 1650s: Salinas or Humanas Pueblos (New Mexico)

1673: Bobole, Contotore, Obaya, Tetecore and some of the Momone

1674-1675: Bobole, Gueiquesale and Terocodame

1683-1684: Gediondo, Julime and Ocane (many other groups not included in Table 2)

1686: Ape, Jumene, Mescale, Pacuachiam and Yorica

1688-1689: Cibolo, Ervipiame, and Terocodame

1689-1691: Ape, Chome, Mescale, Cibola, Cantona (Canohatino), Catqueza, Caynaya, and Yorica

1650s to the early 1700s: Enemies of the Apache

1720s: Friends of the Apache

Cultural Information: The Jumano had shamans who provided directives about the movements of the group. They also had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions. For example, in 1683-1684 the Jumano had alliances and trade relations with over 36 native groups. During this same period the Jumano traveled to La Junta de los Rios but appear to have resided in the Concho River area in Texas. From 1688 through 1689 the principal captain of the Jumano was also the captain of the Cibolo.

The Jumano located their rancherias near watercourses. Their dwellings were described as huts covered with grass. The Jumano provided dwellings for their guests and these dwellings were covered with buffalo skins. They hunted deer and buffalo, fished, and gathered nuts. The Jumano used shields, had some guns and horses, at least since 1683, and may have had fishing gear. The Jumano *may have* spoken the same language as the Bobole, Contotore, Obaya, Tetecore, and some of the Momone. The Jumano began to trade with the Spanish by at least the 1620s. They served as interpreters, couriers, guides, informers, and traders. Some Jumano traveled extensively within the modern territories of Coahuila and Texas. By the eighteenth century, the Jumano began to affiliate with the Apache. As Kenmotsu (1994:324) noted: "The term 'Apaches Jumanos' was used . . . at San Juan Bautista in 1729 (AGN 1729), and four years later testimony was taken about whether the soldiers had committed crimes against the Apaches, Pelones, Jumanes, and Chenttis (AGN 1733a). At approximately the same period of time, several reports place the Jumano to the east of Pecos Pueblo, typically in hostile actions similar to the Apache hostilities." During the next few decades, the association of the Jumano and the Apache appears to have solidified and the term "Apaches Jumanes" is found with increasing frequency in the documents. Based on these and other accounts, Kenmotsu (2001) concludes that, after years of seeking a solid alliance with the Spanish without success, the Jumano turned to the Apache as a viable alternative.

Jumee

(Wade 1998:520-521; Campbell 1988:142; Griffen 1969:161)

Some Name Variants: Hume, Lumi, Xumee, Xumez, Yumi.

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s: Southwestern Edwards Plateau

1680s: Southwestern Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1674: Catujano, Bajare, Pachaque

1674-1675: Ape, Bibit, Catujano and Yorica

1680s: Jumano

Cultural Information: The Jumee located some of their rancherias near watercourses in the micro-region.[4] Their dwellings were round huts surrounded by straw (*zacate*) and covered with buffalo pelts that were treated so as to be impermeable to water. The Jumee hunted buffalo and deer and made jerky. They probably moved every three or four days to look for food and they may have divided into smaller groups in times of disease and food scarcity. The Jumee were closely associated with the Bibit, the Ape, and the Yorica (see descriptions of the Ape, Bibit, and Gueiquesale).

Machome

(Wade 1998:522-523)

Name Variants: No reliable information.

Principal Area in Texas:

1690: Southwestern Edwards Plateau

1706: South bank Rio Grande

Principal Group Associations:

1689-1691: Ape, Jumano, Mescale and Yorica

1706: Ape, Mescale, Yorica and Yomine (Chomene?)

Cultural Information: The Machome were at least part-time buffalo hunters in the micro-region. As a group associated with the Jumano, the Machome probably gathered nuts in the Concho River area in Texas and may have been one of the groups involved with Jean Gery.

Manos Prietas

(Wade 1998:524-526; Campbell 1988:146; Griffen 1969:162)

Some Name Variants: None known. The Spanish name means Black Hands.

Principal Area in Texas:

1674-75: Southwestern Edwards Plateau and north bank of the Rio Grande

1675: San Francisco de Nadadores

1716: Colorado River

Principal Group Associations:

1674: Gueiquesale

1674: Peace celebration with the Yorica

1675: Gueiquesale

1687: Gueiquesale

1687: Cabezas

1688: Terocodame

Cultural Information: The Manos Prietas resided in some rancherias near watercourses in the micro-region north of the Rio Grande. Their dwellings were round huts surrounded by straw (*zacate*) and covered with buffalo pelts that were treated to be impermeable to water. They subsisted on buffalo, deer, fish, mescal roots, pricklypear tuna, small nuts, and acorns. They made buffalo jerky. The Manos Prietas divided into smaller groups in times of disease or to look for food. They prepared celebrations and dances for their guests and exchanged bows and arrows to solidify peace treaties. The Manos Prietas decorated their bodies for welcoming ceremonies and peace celebrations (see Gueiquesale).

Mescale

(Wade 1998:528; Campbell 1988:147-148;
Griffen 1969:162)

Some Name Variants: Miscale, Mixcal.

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s-1690s: Edwards Plateau

1716: Little River area

Principal Group Associations:

1674: Bibit (Mabibit)

1674-1675: member of the Catujano coalition

1688-1689: one of the groups connected with Jean Gery

1689-1691: Ape, Jumene and Yorica

1693: Ape

1706: Ape, Yorica and Yomine (Chomene?)

1738: Malaguita, Pampopa, Sijame

Cultural Information: The Mescale often located their dwellings near watercourses and these dwellings were covered with grass (*zacate*). The Mescale provided their guests with dwellings

covered with buffalo hides. They subsisted on buffalo, deer, fish, prickly pear, roots and nuts. They made jerky, prepared buffalo hides, and made skin rafts. As a group, they frequently associated with the Jumano, and likely gathered nuts in the Concho River area in Texas. The Mescale moved every three or four days within a radius of 2.6 to 7.8 miles, and may have divided into smaller groups to look for food or in times of disease.

The Mescale had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions and probably strove to have at least 100 warriors. After battles they cut the heads of vanquished enemies and displayed them on poles. The Mescale had close contact with Jean Gery, the French survivor of the La Salle colony, and probably learned about European military tactics and weapons from him. The Mescale may have had other characteristics similar to the Catujanos or Tilijae, as they were members of that coalition (see Ape).

Mesquite
(Wade 1998:531-533)

Some Name Variants: Misquit, Bioy, Biay

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s: Southwestern Edwards Plateau
1716: San Francisco Solano
1716: Little River
1720s-1760: San Antonio missions

Principal Group Associations:

1675: Catujano
1716: Ervipiame

Cultural Information: The Mesquite resided principally in the macro-region, between San Antonio and the Nueces River, and located some of their rancherias near watercourses. They prepared dwellings for their guests and these dwellings were made of tree branches and were quite spacious. Guest dwellings were erected at some distance from the main rancheria. They hunted buffalo and deer in the micro-region, and used the skins of those animals in trade. They also traded in food and other unspecified items. They probably kept dogs.

Muruame
(Wade 1998:534-535)

Some Name Variants: Moroame, Muruam

Principal Area in Texas:

1691: Said to live near the Guadalupe River
1708: San Francisco Solano

Principal Group Associations:

1691: friends of the coastal natives groups from the Bahia del Espiritu Santo; enemies of the Jumano and Cibolo

Cultural Information: Not much is known about the Muruame, but Campbell (1988:149) believes that they resided north of the Rio Grande and slightly east of Guerrero. The Muruame were kept as captives by the Jumano and the Cibolo and probably other groups. Young Muruame males were offered to the Spaniards as gifts. On more than one occasion the Muruame performed roles as guides to the Spanish.

Ocane
(Wade 1998:536-538)

Some Name Variants: Acana, Acanis, Ocan, Ocam, Ocana.

Principal Area in Texas:

1674-75: Edwards Plateau
1691: Comanche Creek
1728: San Antonio missions

Principal Group Associations:

1675: Probably allied with the Arame, Catujane, Ervipiame, and certainly with the Pataguaque
Enemies of the Ape, Bibit, Bobole, Gueiquesale, Jumee, and Yorica
1683-1684: Jumano
1691: Pacpul
1698-1708: Pachale
1698-1708: Pachale, Pacuachiam
1703: Pacuache, Paponaca
1728: Siaguan
1730s: Catujano, Pacuache

Cultural Information: The Ocane located some of their rancherias near watercourses in the southern part of the micro-region.

Pachal (Pachale)
(Wade 1998:553-554)

Some Name Variants: Paxchale, Pacal, Pacgal, Pachan, Pachat, Pachol, Pacuchal, Paischal, Patcat, Patchal, Paszchal.

Locations in Texas:

1689: between Del Rio and the Frio River

Principal Group Associations

1698-1708: Ocane

1698-1708: Pacuachiam

1722: Canna, Manico, Paac, Ocana

1732: Terocodame

Cultural Information: The Pachal were briefly mentioned in a series of documents, but by the early eighteenth century were last settled into mission life.

Pacuache

(Wade 1998:545-546, 1999a)

Some Name Variants: Pacuase

Principal Group Associations:

1674-1675: Catujano;

1766: Mission in Coahuila

Pacuachiam

(Wade 1998:544-546)

Some Name Variants: Pacuasian, Pacuaxin, Pacuazin, Paguachi, Paquasian.

Principal Area in Texas:

1690-91: Frio River

1693: Caramanchel (modern Comanche) Creek

1716: Northeast of Rio Grande missions

1717-19: east of Comanche Creek; others near Leona River

Principal Group Associations:

1686: Ape, Jumene, Mescale, Yorica

1691: Papanac

1698-1708: Pachale, Ocane

Cultural Information: The Pacuachiam rancheria on the Frio River was located in a clearing, which was surrounded by abundant mesquite and several arroyos. They hunted unspecified animals. At least on one occasion (Aguayo Expedition), the Pacuachiam were employed as goat herders. The Pacuachiam had close contact with the Frenchman Jean Gery and probably learned about European military tactics and weapons from him.

Pacpul
(Wade 1998:543-544)

Some Name Variants: Pacpole, Pacup

Principal Area in Texas:

1691: Comanche Creek
1707: N bank Rio Grande

Principal Group Associations:

1691: Ocane

Cultural Information: The Pacpul performed roles as guides, interpreters and couriers.

Papanac
(Wade 1998:549-550)

Name Variant: Papanaque

Principal Area in Texas:

1690: Nueces River
1691: Frio River

Principal Group Associations:

1675: Catujano
1691: Pacuachiam

Paponaca
(Wade 1998:550)

Some Name Variants: Papanaca, Papan, Papanico, Paponal

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s: Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1675: Catujano
1703: Ocane and Pacuache

Note: the Paponaca, Panaque, and Papanaque are not the same group (see Wade 1998:550).

Paragua
(Wade 1998:551)

Some Name Variants: Patagua

Principal Area in Texas:

1707: The Paragua had three rancherias between the Frio and the Leona rivers
1708: San Francisco Solano

Pasti
(Wade 1998:554)

Principal Area in Texas:

1707: Nueces River
1708: east of the Rio Grande missions and north of the Rio Grande

Pataguaque
(Pataguac)

Principal Area in Texas: Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1674-1675: Ervipiame, Ocane

Pinanaca
(Wade 1998:559-561)

Some Name Variants: Desorejados, Sinorejas, Surdos.

Principal Area in Texas:

1674: South bank of the Rio Grande
1680s: Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1674: Gueiquesale, Saesser, Teneimamar and Tiltic y Mayo
1675: Teneimamar, Saesser
1675 and 1687: particularly close to the Bocora
1687: Bocora, Gueiquesale and Manos Prietas
1720: Cabezas

Cultural Information: The Pinanaca had spokespersons that represented the group and acted as ambassadors, and entered into large and small group coalitions in the micro-region. The Pinanaca women welcomed guests with a feast. The Pinanaca hunted buffalo and often divided in groups in order to look for food. Children of both sexes gathered wild fruits.

Puyua
(Wade 1998:563)

Principal Area in Texas:

1707: North bank of the Rio Grande

Principal Group Associations:

1707: Pacpul

Saesser
(Wade 1998:567-568)

Some Name Variants: Ciaesier, Saesse, Siaexer, Siansi, Xaeser

Principal Area in Texas: Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1674-1675: Gueiquesale
1675: Pinanaca, Teneimamar

Cultural Information: The Saesser hunted buffalo and resided on both sides of the micro-region, often in the vicinity of Del Rio (Campbell 1988:165).

Sanaque
(Wade 1998:570; Johnson
and Campbell 1992)

Some Name Variants: Sanac; Sanague

Principal Area in Texas: South bank Rio Grande

Principal Group Associations:

1690: Ape, Jumene, Mescale, Yorica.

Sanyau
(Wade 1998:570)

Principal Area in Texas: South bank Rio Grande

Principal Group Associations:

1690: Ape, Mescale, Chomene, Sanaque, and Yorica

Cultural Information: The Sanyau hunted buffalo.

Siano (Sana?)
(Wade 1998:509, 571)

Principal Area in Texas:

1674: Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1675: Bagname and Bobole.

Teaname
(Wade 1998:573-574)

Principal Area in Texas:

SW Edwards Plateau
Dry Devils River

Principal Group Associations:

1675: Teimamar, Terecodam and Xoman

Cultural Information: The Teaname resided within the micro-region, likely within the immediate vicinity of the Amistad NRA. They had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors, and entered into large and small coalitions. They were willing to change their traditional hunter-gather mode of living to benefit their children and grandchildren. The Teaname hunted buffalo and prepared buffalo hides which were used for bedding and covering. They used and rendered animal fat. The Teaname offered foods to the Spaniards in a gift-giving ceremony.

Teimamar

Name Variant: Temmanar

Principal Area in Texas:

1670s: Southwestern Edwards Plateau
1675: Dry Devils River

Principal Group Associations:

1673-1675: Gueiquesale

1675: Teaname, Terecodam and Xoman

1704-1708: Terocodame

1716: Ervipiame, Mesquite

Cultural Information: The Teimamar had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions and were willing to change their traditional hunter-gather mode of living to benefit their children and grandchildren. The Teimamar located their rancherias near watercourses within the micro-region. They provided their guests with dwellings made of tree branches that were quite spacious. Guest dwellings were set up at some distance from the rancheria. The group subsisted on buffalo, deer, fish, mescal roots, prickly pear tuna, small nuts, and acorns. They made jerky and prepared buffalo hides which were used for bedding and covering. The Teimamar traded in buffalo, deerskins, other food as well as other unspecified items. They used animal fat and rendered animal fat. They may have used fishing gear and probably kept dogs. The Teimamar offered foods to the Spaniards in a gift-giving ceremony.

Teneimamar

(Wade 1998:578)

Name Variant: Teneymama

Principal Area in Texas: Southwestern Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1674-1675: Gueiquesale

1675: Pinanaca and Saesser

Cultural Information: The Teneimamar had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions with other groups. The Teneimamar hunted buffalo within the micro-region.

Terocodame

(Wade 1998:579-581; Kenmotsu 1994:362-363)

Some Name Variants: Tereodam, Terelodame, Tereoodan, Terodocodame, Hirquodame, Hyroquodame, Hyroquodame, Iedocodame, Perocodame, Terrodan, Toxocodame.

Principal Area in Texas:

1675: Edwards Plateau

Dry Devils River

Principal Group Associations:

1674-1675: Gueiquesale

1675: Teaname, Teimamar, and Xoman

1688: Ervipiame, Jumano and Manos Prietas

1706-1718: Julime, Jumano, Manos Prietas, Xarame

Cultural Information: The Terocodame had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions with other groups. The Terocodame were willing to change their traditional hunter-gather mode of living to benefit their children and grandchildren. They hunted buffalo in the micro-region, prepared buffalo hides that were used for bedding and covering and used animal fat and rendered animal fat. The Terocodame offered foods to the Spaniards in a gift-giving ceremony.

Tilijae

(Wade 1998:583-584)

Some Name Variants: Alijae, Teloja, Filijayes, Tilixai, Tilijay.

Principal Area in Texas: Southwestern Edwards Plateau (Never actually mentioned as having been encountered there).

Principal Group Associations:

1674-1675: Catujano

1675: Ape, Jumee, and Pachuque; also possibly the Geniocane, Mabibit, and Yorica

1690: Catujano

Cultural Information: The Tilijae had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions with other groups. The Tilijae hunted buffalo. As members of the Catujano coalition, the Tilijae may have had two or three female mating partners. Female partners were shared with the brother of the principal partner (brother and brother-in-law). These groups sealed agreements with celebrations that included a 24 hour *mitote* (dance). The dancer who outlasted everyone else was considered the most valiant. One of the spokespersons of the Tilijae was named *Balient* (Valiant). Most conflicts resulted from trespassing over resource areas, particularly prickly pear tuna, roots, and buffalo. The killing of a member of the group was avenged and the revenge included ritualized cannibalism and drinking an enemy' s blood.

Tilpayay

(Wade 1998:584-585)

Principal Area in Texas:

1686: Southwestern Edwards Plateau

1690: Medina River

1708: Rio Grande missions

1720s: Nueces River valley and west of Guerrero

1730s: San Antonio Missions

Principal Group Associations:

ca. 1686: Ape, Chomene, Mescale, Pacuachiam, and Yorica

Cultural Information: The Tilpayay had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors. They entered into large and small coalitions with other groups. The Tilpayay were at least part-time buffalo hunters and prepared buffalo jerky. They moved frequently within a radius of 2.6 to 7.8 miles. The Tilpayay probably strove to have at least 100 warriors. Following conflicts the Tilpayay cut the heads off of vanquished enemies and displayed them on poles. The Tilpayay had close contact with the Frenchman Jean Gery and probably learned about European military tactics and weapons from Gery.

Xarame

Name Variant: Jarame

Principal Area in Texas:

1701-1708: Rio Grande

1709: Frio River

1714-1718: Rio Grande

1784: San Antonio

Xiabu

(Wade 1998:596; Kenmotsu 1994, see Cibolo above)[5]

Name Variant: Ijiaba

Principal Area in Texas: South bank Rio Grande (1689).

Principal Group Associations:

1689: Ape, Jumano, and Mescale

Cultural Information: The Xiabu resided in the micro-region and had dwellings covered with grass (*zacate*). They also provided their guests with dwellings covered with buffalo hides. They were at least part-time buffalo hunters, prepared buffalo hides, and made buffalo jerky. The Xiabu moved frequently within a radius of 2.6 to 7.8 miles. They probably strove to have at least 100 warriors. They cut the heads of vanquished enemies and displayed them on poles. The Xiabu (or Ijiaba) had close contact with the Frenchman Jean Gery and probably learned about European military tactics and weapons from him.

Xoman
(Wade 1998:597)

Principal Area in Texas: Southwestern Edwards Plateau; Dry Devils River

Principal Group Associations:

1674-1675: Gueiquesale

1675: Teaname, Teimamar, Terocodame

Cultural Information: The Xoman hunted buffalo and prepared buffalo hides which were used for bedding and covering. They also used animal fat and rendered animal fat. The Xoman offered foods to the Spaniards in a gift-giving ceremony. It should be noted that it is possible that the Xoman were not the Jumano but rather a group associated with the Jumano.

Yorica
(Wade 1998:591-596)

Some Name Variants: Coerce, Giorica, Hiorica, Lorica, Orica, Yourica.

Principal Area in Texas: 1674–1687: SW Edwards Plateau

Principal Group Associations:

1674: alliance with the Bobole and the Manos Prietas;

1675: The people closely connected with the Yorica appear to have been the Mabibit and Jumee. These two groups and possibly the Ape were said to be "their people." Close alliances with the Ape, Bobole, and Gueiquesale and at war with the Ervipiame, Ocane and Pataguaque. It is not clear if the Yorica were members of the Catujano-Tilijae coalition

ca. 1686: Ape, Chomene, Mescale, Pacuachiam and Tilpayay

1690: Ape, Chomene, Mescale and Sanyau

1691: Ape, Chome, Mescale and Yorica

1706: Ape, Mescale and Yomine (Chomene)

Cultural Information: The Yorica were first identified in the southern part of the micro-region. They had spokespersons who represented the group and acted as ambassadors, and entered into large and small coalitions They were at least part-time deer and buffalo hunters. They made jerky, gathered wild fruits like the tuna of the prickly pear and moved every three or four days to look for food. The Yorica probably strove to have at least 100 warriors. They cut the heads of vanquished enemies and displayed them on poles. The Yorica kept captured individuals (at least young males) to trade or give as gifts. The Yorica had close contact with Jean Gery and probably learned about European military tactics and weapons from Gery. If the Yorica were members of the Catujano-Tilijae coalition, then they may have had characteristics associated with the members of that coalition (see Ape).

NOTES

1. The province of Nueva Vizcaya approximates the modern Mexican state of Chihuahua.

2. The Cibolo can be generally associated with the lands of Big Bend National Park (Kenmotsu 1994:298-301), but often traveled long distances in the company of the Jumanos.

3. In part these variants are provided because many (cf. Hickerson 1994) have mistaken the different names as distinct groups; they are provided to facilitate future research. The reader should note that Spanish orthography was not codified in the earliest periods. Words and names are variously spelled by different transcribers. An additional problem is one of the early twentieth century translation of selected documents which both systematically and unsystematically misspell the names given in original documents. While we have tried to correct these mispellings and transcription errors, it is likely that we have failed to correct them all.

4. The name Jumee (also Hume, etc.) appears in documents related to the region of Durango, Mexico, almost a century earlier (Kenmotsu 1994:316). It is unclear if the documents refer to a single nation that relocated or to two separate nations.

5. For another interpretation, see Kenmotsu (1994:298) who considers the Xiabu to be the Cibolo, a groups that resided in the area of Big Bend National Park and was closely associated with the Jumano.

CHAPTER THREE

Ethnohistory, 1750–1880

By 1750, substantial changes were taking place in the northern frontiers of the Spanish Colonial world and those changes affected native groups. The eastern and southern portions of Coahuila were systematically settled by the Spanish during this period, and native groups found their access to lands and resources more and more tightly confined to western portions of the province (Chipman 1992). This trend of encroaching settlement and restriction continued throughout the Mexican, Texan, and United States jurisdictions over the micro- and macro-regions. Aware of the impact of these restrictions on native groups, Texas and, later, the United States each flirted with the possibility of providing permanent reservations for selected native groups in Central and west Central Texas, but this was a passing notion, lasting only a few years (Freeman 1997). By 1859, undeeded land was so greatly diminished that Native American access to resources was confined to lands east of El Paso and west of Fredericksburg, but over the next decade even that resource area diminished. After the Red River Indian wars of the 1870s, the Native American presence in the state was nearly non-existent. In November 1877, Captain Nolan of Fort Concho reported: "'I here interviewed Some of the Settlers as to when Indians were last seen in this Vicinity . . . [and] they informed me that none had been Seen in the last three Years'" (quoted in Brown et al. 1998:31).

Below, we provide a brief summary of each of these periods and how Native American groups were affected. Appendix 4 provides additional documentation, including notations of which native group was where and when, along with the citation for the source. Because of the efforts to co-exist with, settle, and/or remove Native Americans in Texas in the nineteenth century, notations for that period are more extensive than for the earlier centuries. Neither this chapter nor Appendix 4 is intended to be exhaustive. Rather, they are intended to be the foundations for our recommendations and a basis for discussions with Native American groups during Phase 2 of the study.

SUMMARY OF NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY (1750–1880)

1750–1799

The changes during this half-century centered on boundary and jurisdictional shifts that reflected Spain's efforts to colonize more firmly its northern lands. Thus, Spanish settlement south of the Rio Grande gradually increased, as did the region's population. Despite efforts to accomplish the same goals north of that river, however, settlements there remained few, widely dispersed, and with small populations. By the close of the century, the potential threat of encroachment by Britain and/or the United States drove Spanish leaders to view their northern provinces as a defensive line to prevent loss of lands to the south.

By 1750, the Province of Texas was understood to be the lands east of what we call today the Balcones Escarpment and north of the Medina River, extending to the Gulf Coast and Sabine River on the east and north to the Red River (Jones 1996:38). Thus, Texas during these years can be included in our macro-region but its boundaries were east and north of the micro-region. Within its boundaries, settlement and colonization concentrated along an arc from San Antonio to Los Adaes, and Spain was never able to effectively control the lands or natives north or west of that arc. In fact, with the transfer of the capital of the province from Los Adaes to San Antonio in 1773, Spanish settlement and presence in the eastern part of the province gradually diminished with the exception of one villa—Nacogdoches—founded in 1779. To the south, the boundary of the Province of Coahuila included the western portions of the Sierra Madre Oriental and extended north to the northern bank of the Rio Grande from just south of San Juan Bautista to just west of modern Big Bend National Park (Weber 1992:207, and Map 10). These lands include the southern portion of the micro-region.

Because the boundaries between these provinces were ill defined, jurisdictional problems arose during these years. For example, the establishment of the San Saba Presidio and mission raised the legal question of whether the portion of the macro-region west of San Antonio should be under the jurisdiction of the Province of Texas or Coahuila. The debate centered on legal jurisdiction as well as military responsibility over maintenance of presidial duties, and was complicated by the potential silver mining interests in the region. The debate was never fully settled by the time the Spanish withdrew from San Saba in 1769 (Wade 1998:308-309, 346, 350; Weber 1992:187-191). Settlement patterns within the two provinces reinforced this debate. Although the villa of San Fernando de Austria (later called Aguaverde [modern Zaragosa]), Coahuila, was established in the 1750s in the southeastern portion of the micro-region to assist in protection of settlements and ranches north of Moncolva, those efforts promoted little additional migration to the northern parts of the province (Jones 1996:24-29). Several large *latifundios* (land holdings) were either granted or accumulated much of the land in the portion of the micro-region south of the Rio Grande. Privately held, those holdings also limited settlement and resulted in Coahuila becoming "an agrarian and pastoral frontier" (Jones 1996:37), with population increases prior to 1800 largely occurring in the urban centers of the province. For example, by the end of the century, Saltillo had a population in excess of 8,000, whereas prior to Saltillo's annexation to Coahuila in 1787, the entire population of the province was only 8,319. Given these patterns, the river was treated as a *de facto* border. After the withdrawal of troops from the San Saba, Spanish settlement of the region west of the Camino Real and north of the river became essentially non-existent, adding to the perception that the river itself was a border.

The Spanish population of Texas was even lower than the northern reaches of Coahuila in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1790, the entire Hispanic population of Texas was ca. 2,510 (Weber 1992:195). Not only did the population of Texas contrast with the population of Coahuila, other aspects of Texas differed from its sister colony. Many of the differences related to the fact that Texas had come to be viewed as a defensive bastion, positioned to reject British and American encroachments, and Spanish residents of the province consisted largely of soldiers or others who worked on behalf of the military (Weber 1992:195). Jones (1996:55) has noted that, for residents of Texas:

> Social life and everyday life . . . were influenced by the extreme isolation of the province, the spare population, the presence of Indian and foreign threats, and the need for improvisation because of restrictions. The settler's life revolved about his work and his family.

A defining change throughout both the macro-and micro-regions during these years resulted from the 1766-1768 inspection tour of the military installations of New Spain by the Marques de Rubí. During the tour, Rubi visited the various military installations in Texas, including the Presidio de las Amarillas (on the San Saba) and the Apache missions on the Nueces River. As a result of his visit, Rubí saw Texas in pragmatic and military terms: revenue poor and too costly to protect. He recommended a series of changes and many were implemented by the Crown, including the withdrawal of Los Adaes as the seat of government for the Province of Texas. In fact, after recommending the final dismemberment of the Spanish installations in East Texas, Rubí went so far as to suggest the complete resettlement of San Antonio to the Rio Grande (Jackson and Foster 1995:183; Weber 1992: 187-191, 204). While this did not occur, San Antonio did become the new capitol of the province and East Texas was largely abandoned.

Despite such changes, "Native Americans continued to assert their own claims . . . [and] successfully maintained their political and spiritual independence" (Weber 1992:203). In part, Native American success resulted from a Spanish/French alliance. By the mid-eighteenth century, France and Spain were allied against England. This alliance operated in Texas despite the fact that each had competing interests in the province. The alliance, along with Spain's desire to maintain her northern defense in Texas, created a unique, uneasy truce in Texas that worked, over the years, to "undermine Spanish missionary efforts in Texas," giving Native Americans a choice between missionary efforts to pacify and christianize them or trade in guns and ammunition that allowed them to resist life on Spanish missions and Anglo-American reservations (Weber 1992:196).

Native groups encountered north or south of the Rio Grande could be either friend or foe, depending on the particular time of the encounter and whatever the current agreement was between that group and the Spanish. This was particularly true for the various Apache divisions who often concluded their own peace agreements with the military commanders in Coahuila or in Texas. Sometimes individual chiefs had their own agreement with a specific Spanish commander (Hadley et al. 1997:193). When Apache individuals of a particular division or band were encountered by military with whom they enjoyed a treaty, they were greeted peacefully. If they encountered a military party outside the area covered under their treaties, they were treated as enemies (Wade 1998:346, 349-351; Moorhead 1968). With the powerful military alliance between the Spanish and the Comanche in the late 1760s, the Apache in Texas found themselves more frequently treated as the enemy (John 1991; John and Wheat 1989). That alliance and an endless chain of localized peace agreements with various Apache groups, as well as relentless military campaigns (led principally by Hugo O'Connor, Jacobo de Ugarte, and Juan de Ugalde), kept the area in flux and the native groups on the move.

Within the macro-region, the supply corridor between San Antonio and the Rio Grande was the theater of many skirmishes (cf. QA 1750). Native groups needed and coveted the horses and other goods that moved along that route. The tempo of these conflicts increased over time with the presence of the Apache. Later native groups often designated in the documents (e.g., ICC 1974:42) as Norteños (Comanche, Wichita, Waco, and Tonkawa) kept these conflicts alive. Since settlement in the micro-region was almost non-existent, the Native Americans involved in the raids along the supply corridor or in the raids on settlements in Coahuila often withdrew via those lands. For example, in 1758, the friars at the Rio Grande mission reported that the Natage, Pelon, Mezcalero, Ypandi, Come Nopale, and Come Cavallo had come, arriving from the northwest (QA 1756). Elsewhere, a map from 1766 by LaFora show the Lipan and Natagee in the region of the mouth of the Pecos (UTEP, special collections), and another from 1773 indicates that the Apaches Lipans, Apaches Jumanes, Apaches Natajes, and Apaches Mescaleros occupied that same region (AME 1773).

By 1750, the involvement of the military garrison of the Rio Grande intensified, first with the establishment of the Presidio de San Luis de las Amarillas and the Apache mission at San Saba (1757) and the conflicts that emanated from the creation of those two frontier outposts, and later with the creation of the two Apache missions on the Nueces River (1761-1762). Thus, the presidios close to the micro-region—Rio Grande, Santa Rosa, and later Aguaverde—played a crucial role in the punitive campaigns against various native groups, principally the Apache, the Comanche, and their various divisions who operated in the micro-region (Wade 1998:345).

1800-1846

The first half of the nineteenth century was one of turmoil and revolution across the macro-region. The period began with the Mexican War for independence from Spain, continued with the Texas Revolution, and ended with the entrance of Texas into the United States. Not only were the events of the period confused, the archival materials throughout this and the next period are vast. The interaction between new, emerging European nations in North America with the many native groups in the micro-region, as well as with groups extending to the Southern Plains was so complex that it requires that the researcher keep a score card to know who was where and at what time.

In the first decade of the century, the short love affair between Spain and the budding government of the United States, which had been several decades in the making, fell apart. As Bannon (1990:214) notes, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 underscored for Spain the necessity of maintaining the provinces of Texas and New Mexico as defensive frontiers of a shrinking empire. The French threat was replaced by the American menace, and, in 1806, Spain again sought to defend its eastern border by reestablishing the post of Los Adaes and reinforcing its military presence at Nacogdoches. Spain feared the continuous move of Anglo-American settlers westward after the Lewis and Clark, Pike, and other expeditions had fired the American imagination and fueled the greed for land. Not only did those events affect Spanish settlements, the westward expeditions heralded a watershed for native groups west of the Mississippi River and gave impetus for Native Americans who were being dislodged from lands to the north and east to push south in greater numbers. Thus, large Comanche camps were reported on the San Saba and Colorado rivers in 1808 (Kavanagh 1996:137 and Table 4.1), and the Kiowa were pushing towards the northern edge of the Red River as early as 1790 (ICC 1974:42). By this time, Comanche were also beginning to travel to and from Coahuila, often through the micro-region (Kavanagh 1996:173). Through time, the numbers of disaffected Native Americans using the micro- and macro-regions would grow.

While these events temporarily deflected attention from the Rio Grande area, the unrest south of the river that started with the revolt led by Father Miguel Hidalgo in September 1810 spread to the north, making the Province of Texas a theater for conflicting political interests. When the insurgents finally won in 1821, Texas, whose citizens counted among the leadership of the revolution, had been deeply affected. Says Weber (1992:299): "In its last years as a Spanish Colony, Texas lay in ruins." Its Hispanic population was counted at less than 2,000 and Nacogdoches was "nearly expired."

The rebellion in Mexico set the stage and created untold difficulties in Texas both for the Spanish settlers and for Native Americans. Weber (1992:235), writing about the ensuing difficulties with the Native Americans, states:

> When rebellion in Mexico [in the 1810s] diverted resources away from the frontier and made it difficult for Spanish officials to continue to buy peace or offer a steady supply of trade goods, hard

> won alliances [with Native Americans] began to disintegrate. On the northeastern frontier in particular [e.g., our macro-region], the intermural quarrels between Spanish royalists and Spanish insurgents, both of who solicited the Indians' aid, made Spaniards undependable allies in the 1810s. Indians, themselves, then, became less predictable.

Thus, in 1815, the Comanche killed a native residing at Mission Nuestra Senora del Refugio (MA 1815), and the Quicha living at La Tortuga (near modern Mexia) were believed to be conduits of trade goods and information to the French, Comanche, and Tahuacano (LA 1819). In his *Memoria*, Padilla (LA 1819) wrote that the Comanche had taken deliberate advantage of the turmoil in Mexico. Describing them as quite wealthy, he stated that the wealth of the Comanche divisions came from raids that they had made after 1811 on the isolated northern ranches of Coahuila, a time when that region was distracted by the revolution. These and other events exemplify the uneasy alliances with individual chiefs or native groups.

After the war for independence, Mexico contended with intense internal dissension. It found itself unable to cope with the increasing pressures brought to bear on its Texas territory by a motley array of Europeans and Anglo-Americans determined to make a home for themselves in Texas by seeking and winning land grants that further reduced the land available to resident and immigrant Native Americans. During these years, native groups were played against the various factions and against other native groups. As early as 1821, the governor of Texas stated that the Cherokee, Choctaw, Miami, and Kickapoo (Figure 13) should be encouraged to settle "in the country of the Comanche" as a barrier between that tribe and the East Texas settlements (BA 1821). Some chiefs of the Cherokee accepted this challenge (Everett 1990:27, 29, 71), and for several years Richard Fields, a Cherokee diplomat, led their negotiations with Mexico, traveling to San Antonio and Mexico City. By 1826, a small band of Cherokee aided the citizens of Laredo by guarding their northwestern flanks (e.g., the micro-region) from marauding Native Americans (LA 1826). When the community of Dolores was established 34 kilometers east of modern Del Rio in 1836, Shawnee and Cherokee aided in its protection and sustenance (Kenedy 1925). Eventually, however, the Texas Cherokee were unable to reach agreement with Mexico and turned to a new group of insurgents: the Texans, who were then embattled with Mexican troops for their independence (Everett 1990:71). In 1836, the Texas Republic signed a treaty with the Cherokee as well as with the Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, Quapaw, Choctaw, Biloxi, Ioni, Alabama, Caddo of the Neches, Tahocuttake [sic



Figure 13. Drawing of Kickapoo ca. 1828 (Courtesy of the Gilcrease Museum, Oklahoma).

Tawakoni], and Unataqua [sic Nadaco], giving them title to land north of the Camino Real in modern Cherokee, Angelina, Nacogdoches, Rusk, and Smith counties (Everett 1990:71-73).

After the revolution, Mexico did not immediately lose interest in the lands north of the Medina, and again courted Cherokee, Caddo, and other Native Americans as a means to encroach on the new republic (Everett 1990:90, 109). A small contingent of these tribes aligned themselves with Mexico, most traveling to places south of the Rio Grande, including the southern portions of the micro-region. The majority of each tribe, however, tried to maintain their lands in East Texas despite on-going problems with the new Republic of Texas. Ultimately, they failed to reach accord with the Texans, and their lands—situated within the rich northeastern portion of the Republic of Texas—were repossessed by the Republic in order to allow the Anglo-American newcomers to establish ranches (Everett 1990:109). After their lands were repossessed, these Native Americans were either pushed further west or relocated to Indian Territory to rejoin their kin (Himmel 1999; Everett 1990:109). Nonetheless, the efforts of the Cherokee and other resident and immigrant Native Americans in Texas to negotiate with Mexico resulted in their travel to and from northern Coahuila prior to 1840 (Tanner 1999). Some of these families settled at Musquiz, San Fernando, and elsewhere in the micro-region.

Despite all the turmoil, and largely because of that turmoil, these 10 years solidified the Apache/Comanche tension in the macro- and micro-regions. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Apache—particularly the Lipan and Mescalero—were prominent residents of the micro-region. They alternately sought peace or war with the provinces of Coahuila and Texas (Hadley et al. 1997; John and Wheat 1989; AM de Monclova 1821). Late eighteenth century maps as well as descriptions by officials with long years of service on the northern frontiers strongly suggest the Lipan, Natagee, and possibly Faraon Apache considered the lands along the Pecos, between Toyah Creek (modern Reeves County) and the mouth of the Pecos to be their homelands:

> Llaneros occupy the plains and deserts lying between the Pecos River and the Colorado . . . . It is a very populous tribe, which is divided into the three categories: Natages, Lipiyanes, and Llaneros . . . . They border on the north with the Cumanches, on the west with the Mezcaleros, on the east with the Lipanes, and on the south with our line of Presidios. [The Lipanes] is probably the most populous of all the Apache tribes, and for many years it has lived in peace on the frontiers of Coahuila and Texas. It is divided into two branches, known as upper and lower . . . . The Lipanes border on the north with the Cumanches, on the west with the Mezcaleros, on the south with the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, and on the east with the frontier of Texas (Merino quoted in John and Wheat [1991:163-164]).

After 1811, Comanche raids in Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya increased (LA 1819), even though the Comanche considered the headwaters of the Brazos, Colorado, and Red rivers, and the Southern Plains, to be their homelands. By 1838, Lt. Irion reported that the Comanche "claim all territory north and west of the Guadalupe Mountains to the Red River to the Rio Grande" (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 1:44). Two years later, 300 Comanche tipis were found at Las Moras spring near modern Brackettville (BIA 1840 1:143). Reports from archives in Coahuila confirm the Comanche raids to the south. For example, in 1842, officials at San Buenaventura reported that 500 had crossed the Rio Grande (in the vicinity of the Amistad NRA lands) and raided Nacimiento (AM de San Buenaventura 1842). Chiefs Moechucope (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:6) and Pochanaquarhip (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:110), in separate statements in 1844 to Sam Houston, both claimed all the land west of a line from the Rio Grande to San Antonio, and Chief Pah-hah-yuco (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:6) informed Houston that his men were "catching buffalo" near the mouth of the Pecos. Clearly, then, the micro-region was also commonly used by the Comanche during this half century. As the Comanche intruded—raiding in the micro-region

and, at times, hunting buffalo there (e.g., Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 3:43, 85; AM de San Buenaventura 1842)—the Mescalero tended to be found with greater frequency in the Bolson de Mapimi while the Lipan often were encountered on the headwaters of the Nueces (BIA 1847 reel 1:42), Cibolo Creek in Bexar County (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 3:14), and elsewhere in the micro- and macro-regions. At the same time, the Lipan were often counted among the residents of northern Coahuila, west of the area of Piedras Negras and within the micro-region (cf., AM de San Buenaventura 1838, 1843), some at peace, others at odds with the Mexican settlers. Together, these data indicate that, while the Apache continued to occupy the micro-region, the Comanche swept through it in large raiding parties and also, in statements to the officials of the newly organized Republic of Texas, claimed to own it.

1846–1880

Soon after Texas joined the United States, two lines of Army forts were established along its frontiers: one was a north/south line along the western frontier; the other was an east/west line established along the Medina/Nueces rivers. The latter line held for only two years, until the Mexican-American War again made the Rio Grande a river of contention (e.g., Stegmaier 1996). With the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848), the river regained its status as a natural and political border, even though the perception of the Rio Grande as a demarcating boundary may not have been held by the native groups who crisscrossed its waters. Nevertheless, the history of the Rio Grande as a contested boundary since the beginning of the colonization period affirms the pivotal role of that physiographic feature in the political fate of the State of Texas.

During this same period, efforts were made to identify a safe route for non-Native Americans traveling from San Antonio to California. Initially, the route ran north of the micro-region, traversing the San Saba and Llano rivers (Riemenschneider 1996; Jones 1996). By 1849, however, a route approximating modern US 90 led travelers from San Antonio to Uvalde through San Felipe Springs (modern Del Rio), then west-northwest to Fort Stockton. A large quantity of travelers used this southern route to California and the gold fields (Myers 1999a:28) over the next few years. While there is no evidence of non-military settlements along the route until 1859, land speculation related to San Felipe Springs resulted in platting of land there by 1849 (Myers 1999b:49). A decade later, General Bliss, enroute to Camp Hudson, reported that a family named Johnson lived at the springs and suggested that a small Mexican community was present on the south side of the river (Myers 1999a:30). In 1870, a community of 160 Hispanic and Anglo-American residents were living at "San Felipe" (later called San Felipe del Rio and eventually shortened to Del Rio) and the first of the canals that make up the modern canal network had been dug. Crops irrigated by the canals were bought by the wagon trains using the trail to and from San Antonio (Myers 1999a:31).

When Texas entered the union, the United States agreed that undeeded lands would be owned by the state, not the federal government. Texas had amassed large debts during the Texas Revolution and its years as a Republic, and these lands could be sold to recoup those debts (Anderson 1976:6-7). Moreover, its citizens had no burning desire to become the next Indian Territory, its lands used as reservations for immigrant Indians. These facts notwithstanding, state and federal officials alike recognized that Native Americans resided within its borders and would need to be accommodated in some fashion. Once Texas became a state, the initial response to accommodation was the north/south line of forts. After the 1848 treaty, Anglo-American settlements along the Camino Real between Laredo, San Antonio, and East Texas increased. Those settlements pushed many Native American groups—particularly the Comanche and Apache, and to a lesser degree northern Native Americans

(Kiowa, Wichita, Waco, Tonkawa, Taovaya, etc.) who often hunted on the Southern Plains and/or raided in northern Mexico—to the west of the north/south line of forts. This line was established to divide "Indian" land from land granted to the Anglo-American and Hispanic newcomers. At the same time, the land west of the forts was regarded as a corridor through which Native Americans were allowed to travel. Since the lands of the Lower Pecos were west of the line, the line encouraged Native American passage through the Lower Pecos.

Gradually, the line of forts moved further west, and Fort Clark (1852), Fort Lancaster (1855), and Fort Stockton (1859) were established as settlement crept westward. Two outposts of Fort Clark—Camp Hudson and Camp San Felipe—were established in 1857 to better defend travelers and mail along the San Antonio to California route. Closed during the Civil War, Camp San Felipe was re-activated as Camp del Rio in 1876 to protect the citizens of San Felipe del Rio from raids by Native Americans and Mexicans (Cooper and Cooper 2000:18). Camp records indicate that the post was situated ca. one-half mile from the springs but no structures were built until 1880. Seminole Maroon scouts usually manned the camp, living there for months at a time until it was closed in the late 1880s (Myers 1999a:37).

Some Anglo-Americans, however, believed that reservations were needed in addition to the forts, and that they should be established on undeeded lands, preferably in rural areas away from the Comanche/Apache corridor west of the north/south line of forts. These efforts had actually begun in 1845 with the unsuccessful effort of the Republic of Texas to establish a reserve for the Lipan and Tonkawa during the Republic of Texas era (Himmel 1999:88-90). While many agreed that reservations were needed, crafting legislation for reservations that would not be viewed an infringement on state or private rights was not facile. A letter from Pryor Lea (BIA 1852 1:1084-1087), the principal lobbyist for reservations, to his brother Luke Lea, then the Indian Commissioner in Washington D.C., expresses the general concerns and fears extant in Texas at that time:

> Austin, Feb. 17, 1852
>
> My dear brother,
>
> The Legislature adjourned last night and some of my favorite measures have been successful. Among them is the "Joint Resolution Concerning Indian Boundaries" of which a copy herewith [is attached]. I leave this morning for home, consoling myself, that my time and money have not been spent in vain, in connection with this measure. True, I had some other measures more local and personal, but the Indian subject engaged my unremitted attention, as occasion offered, during the last six weeks of the Session. You cannot imagine the difficulties which have attended this subject because it seems to you, no doubt, that every person in Texas ought to realize the necessity for some such negotiation. But there are habits of thought, among a large proportion of Texans, in relation to the United States government, and Indians, and Lands, which it were difficult to explain, yet they must all be compelled with great prescience and some deference. I conferred with Gov. Bell, Gen. Ford, Major Neighbors, and too many others to be enumerated. When I began, the difficulties and doubts seemed to have precluded hope or effort. Many agreed that something should be done but there is no plan. The gentlemen named and some others readily co-operated, and as soon as the sentiments of members were sufficiently consulted, I prepared a Resolution which was introduced by Gen. Ford, of the Senate, who gave to it particular attention in that body, as did Maj. Neighbors, in the House, until it was passed on the last day of the Session, precisely as it has been prepared. Some of its particulars may seem unnecessary, but it was indispensable to state them specially, in order to obviate current objections. From these particulars, and the foregoing remarks, you may infer the points of difficulty in future. Not only must the terms of negotiation be well adapted to the circumstances and prejudices of the Indians, but of the Texans, also, whose public sentiment must yet be formed, in conformity with the best practicable terms, and the formation of this public sentiment must not be left as a business of every body, with the usual consequences of such cases. It

> will be necessary to take time by the forelock, and give early direction. You may soon expect a communication from the Governor, who has manifested a right spirit on this subject.
>
> Your brother,
>
> Pryor Lea

The resolution (see below) that Lea referred to was quite simple. At the same time, however, it created a framework that allowed the legislature to deed land for the two reservations in north Central Texas. Planning for a third—for the Lipan and Mescalero Apache on the Pecos River—was undertaken, and the land was even surveyed, but the reservation was never created.

Joint Resolution Concerning Indian Boundaries

> Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Texas, that the Governor be authorized to conduct negotiations, with the Executive authority of the United States, concerning an Indian Territory in the northern part of the State, for the use of the Indians, who were of the State, according to its present limits at the date of Annexation; and also, concerning other bounds for some small tribes; and that, in such negotiations, the following particulars be observed—
>
> 1, the sovereignty, domain, and contracts of the State shall be respected,
> 2, private rights shall be regarded, so that, if interfered with, just compensation shall be made therefore,
> 3, the Terms, that may be stipulated, shall be subject to ratification or rejection by the Legislature.

Of the two reservations Texas eventually did create, the first, known as the Lower Reserve, was established in 1854 for ca. 800 of the Ioni [Hainai], Caddo, Tawakoni, and Waco (BIA 1854, 2:890). A year later, approximately 200 Tonkawa also settled on the Lower Reserve (BIA 1855, 3:205). The second, known as the Upper Reserve, was established for some 200 of the Penataka Comanche in 1855 (BIA, 1855 3:31). The latter reserve was situated on the Clear Fork of the Brazos, in modern Jones County. The Lower Reserve was south of Fort Belknap on the Brazos River in the vicinity of modern Newcastle in Young County. The person who spearheaded the reservation effort in Texas was Robert Neighbors, a former major in the army of the Republic and member of the Texas House of Representatives (BIA 1853, 2:385-386) who was considered one of the most knowledgeable individuals in Texas with regard to Native Americans. He served as the primary Indian agent both for the Republic and the United States.

The reservations were unsuccessful. The initial two years were plagued by drought (BIA 1855, 3:319), reducing the ability of the Native Americans living there to grow crops and requiring Neighbors to increase his annual budgets. However, external pressures seem to have been more important to their failure. During the years the reservations struggled to survive, west Central Texas gradually was being settled by Anglo-Americans who failed to distinguish between the reservation Comanche and the non-reservation Comanche. The latter continued to raid in Texas and Mexico (BIA 1859, 4:1226), and their raids angered settlers, providing fodder for legislative action to encourage their removal from Texas. By 1858, the Penataka Comanche on the reservation were being harassed by non-reservation Comanche and their allies, the Kiowa (BIA 1858, 4:683), a situation that made life even more difficult for residents of the reservation. By 1859, Neighbors and his two Indian agents bowed to the difficulty of protecting the tribes settled on the Lower Reserve. A letter to Neighbors from Leeper, the Indian agent on the Comanche Reservation, summarized the concerns:

> The more familiar I become of the wants and necessities of these people [Penateka Comanche] the more thoroughly I am convinced of the propriety and justice of your [Neighbors'] conclusion repeatedly and long since expressed in reference to them, that the only appropriate place for them to

> settle and learn the arts of civilization was upon Indian Territory near the Wichita Mountains, where they would have a country to roam over at will upon which to herd and collect their animals and other goods (BIA 1859, 4:1228).

Shortly thereafter, Neighbors received permission to relocate the remaining residents of the reserves to Indian Territory. In the end, then, the reservation period in Texas was over five years after it began.

During the period that Texas flirted with the reservation system, as well as later, the number of reservations in Indian Territory increased to accommodate new immigrants to those lands. Many became the home of tribes whose original territories were on the eastern seaboard and/or the Great Lakes region of the United States. Among these were the Creek, Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo, Delaware, Shawnee, and Potawatomi. In the 1850s, some individuals in each of those tribes became dissatisfied with life on the reservation. Many, such as the Seminole, were forced to share lands with groups that had arrived in Indian Territory two or three decades earlier and that had already settled on the prime lands (Mulroy 1993:38-40). Starvation and dissatisfaction raged. The settled groups coveted as slaves the African-American members of the newly arrived groups, increasing the resentment. While most members of these groups remained and negotiated their future with both Indian agents and other Native Americans, some sought their future in Texas or Mexico. During this same period, Native Americans who resided on or close to the Red River (Tawakoni, Tonkawa, Wichita, Taovaya, etc.) found themselves pushed in multiple directions (Wright 1986). Some accepted reservation lands in Indian Territory; others moved south into west Central Texas and/or Mexico. In 1850, a band of Tawakoni camped 20 miles below Laredo (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 5:82). Adding to this milieu, Mexican officials were continuing to recruit Native Americans to defend their northern settlements and ranches in Coahuila and Nuevo Leon from Comanche, Mescalero, and Kiowa raiders (cf., Winfrey and Day 1995 vol. 5:171; CMO 1851a). Even the Lipan were recruited. Luntzel, a German who served as an interpreter for Indian agents in Texas, reported that the Lipan residing near San Fernando (in Mexico) had been invited there by the Mexican government (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 5:170).

One Seminole chief, Wild Cat, was particularly restless under this regime and sought other means of freedom. As early as 1850, he was on the Llano River first with the Lipan, then with the Comanche (BIA 1850, 1:519); still later that year, he was on the Pecos again with the Lipan (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 3:124), reportedly seeking friendship with each. In July of that same year, he also asked permission of the Mexican government to relocate to Coahuila with the "mascogos" (AM de Nava 1850). The following year, 18 Seminole families arrived at Monclova Viejo (CMO 1851a). Over the next several years, additional Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Cherokee Black, Creek and Creek Negroes, Caddo, and other groups would move to northern Mexico to obtain lands in return for protecting those borderlands from the raiding Lipan and Comanche. Members of at least two of these tribes (Seminole Maroon and Kickapoo) continue to reside in ethnic communities approximately 50 miles south of the Amistad NRA to the present day. Each is discussed more fully below.

The migration of Native Americans to Mexico and their subsequent employment to guard the northern limits of Coahuila, along with the push of Caddo, Ioni, Anadarko, Keechi, and other native and immigrant groups to the San Saba, Colorado, Brazos, and Llano rivers of west Central Texas did not affect the use of the micro-region by the Comanche, Lipan, and Mescalero. Crossings at Eagle's Nest (modern Langtry), the mouth of the Pecos, and Del Rio facilitated their access to either side of the border. In 1848, Mexican soldiers under Jesus de la Garza attacked a Lipan camp located on the northern bank of the Rio Grande at the mouth of the Pecos (AM de San Buenaventura 1848). In 1851, the Seminole Maroon and their allies chased Lipan and Comanche warriors from the Lower Pecos to

the Bolson de Mapimi (Mulroy 1993:68, 73). These Native Americans were again encountered on the Pecos (in the vicinity of the Amistad NRA) in 1853 (BIA 1853, 2:104-106), 1854 (BIA 1854, 2:710), 1855 (Swanson n.d.:51, BIA 1855, 3:144, Fort Clark Post Returns 1855, MC617-R213), 1856 (Swanson n.d.:70; BIA 1856 3:493; Fort Clark Post Returns 1856), 1860 (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:138-139), 1867 (Swanson n.d.:173, 179; Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:177, 229), 1873 (Swanson n.d.:237-238), 1875 (Crimmins Collection; Mulroy 1993:124; Swanson n.d.:287), 1876 (Swanson n.d.:276, 305), 1877 (Crimmins Collection; Swanson n.d.:316, 319), 1878 (Swanson n.d.:323; US Army, Pecos District, 5:92), and 1881 (Mulroy 1993:131). These and other encounters with native groups, particularly the Comanche, Lipan, and Mescalero, in the vicinity of the micro-region indicate that it remained an area used by those Native Americans. Some of them even resided there while performing duties at Camp San Felipe.

The Red River Indian Wars of the 1870s, and the increasing pressure of the U.S. Army to pacify or remove non-reservation Native Americans from Texas from the 1860s to 1880s resulted in a greatly diminished presence of organized tribes in Texas. Today, only three reserves exist within the state. The Alabama-Coushatta, originally from lands to the east of Texas, reside on a small reservation in Polk County in East Texas. Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso County is the home to the Tiguas, members of the Isleta Pueblo who left New Mexico in the turmoil of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. Finally, a small number of Kickapoo occupy a 20 acre reserve south of Eagle Pass. None of these are tribes originally native to the state.

The lands of the Amistad NRA were not heavily traveled by Europeans during the late nineteenth century. Few settlers lived in the region of the Lower Pecos prior to 1875, and, even after that date, it was sparsely occupied prior to the arrival of the railroad in the mid-1880s (Zertuche 1985), a time well after the enforcement of the removal order that sent native groups north to Oklahoma. During the period from 1750 to 1880, the deserted and desert-like lands of the Lower Pecos, which had not yet attracted Anglo-American or Spanish settlement, gradually became a corridor of travel for Native Americans. In these years, much of the oversight of the region fell to Fort Clark and its small outposts. With the arrival of the railroad in 1882, Del Rio became the county seat of a new county (Val Verde) that was formed from portions of Pecos, Kinney, and Crockett counties.

In summary, given the movements and wars, the immigration of Anglo-American, Hispanic, and African-American groups into Texas, and a series of ever-changing political agendas, the ethnohistoric record of the Lower Pecos is dim. Our knowledge of which Native American groups have historic ties to which part of the state is, at best, imperfect. In this study, we largely rely on Spanish and English documents. While those documents offer remarkable insights into the native groups that can be tied to the Amistad NRA, their imperfections must be acknowledged. Each reflects the biases of its author, including whatever limited knowledge the author may have had of the Indians, their lifeways, and/or the environments of the Lower Pecos, Trans-Pecos, and South Texas. Such problems are detailed in greater length in the methodology section of the first chapter. The bulk of the available documents related to the Native American presence in the region largely ends after 1880. Interviews that will be conducted in Phase 2 of this affiliation study may offer new and/or supporting data. On the other hand, memories of a past in a far off land that has not been seen in over 100 years may be as dim as the ethnohistoric record.

Individual Native American Groups, 1751-1881

Below we list individual tribes with specific or possible ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA. Each group is described in greater detail than the descriptions of native groups in the preceding section

because these groups generally represent the modern tribes that may be affiliated with the lands of the Amistad NRA. Additional details on these groups are arranged chronologically in Appendix 4, and population estimates are listed in Appendix 3. While some of the tribes have clear ties to these lands, others are noted because they may hold ties to the land, but the evidence is equivocal. Nonetheless, their use/occupancy of the region will be explored during Phase 2 of the study and may clarify some of the ties. A few are concluded not to hold ties to the Amistad NRA, but are included here because they have, at times, been thought to have ties to the region.

Alabama-Coushatta

(Alabamu, Aliba-ama; Alibamu, Atilama, alba'lmo, Coste, Acoste, Costehe, Coosada, Conshata, Couchati, Conchaty, Coasati, Koasati, Quassarte)

The Coushatta and Alabama nations are two of the Muskogean-speaking groups of the southeastern United States. While some of their respective tribes reside today in Louisiana and Oklahoma (Wright 1986:29), members of the two tribes moved separately into the northern portion of East Texas in the first decade of the 19th century. (Other members of each tribe moved separately into Oklahoma, and others reside today in Louisiana.) Over the next twenty years, both groups moved south toward the Gulf of Mexico, establishing fixed villages with large rectangular buildings placed around a plaza, similar to those they had occupied to the north and east. The villages of the one tribe were situated in close proximity to villages of the other tribe, and there was close communication among them. By the 1850s, members of both groups settled on a small grant of land in Polk County, Texas, and have come to be known as the Alabama-Coushatta (Hook 1997:29-32). In 1853, the Texas Secretary of State wrote to Indian Commissioner Robert S. Neighbors and stated that they were among the only tribes that could be regarded as "Texas Indians" (BIA 1853, 2:274).

The Alabama-Coushatta cannot be definitively associated with the Amistad NRA lands, but they can be placed in both the macro- and micro-regions during the mid-nineteenth century. Their association with the micro-region relates to efforts of Mexico to recruit a variety of Native American tribes, particularly Muskogean-speakers including the Seminole, Shawnee, Alabama, and Coushatta (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 1:125-127; AGEC 1831a). Their efforts to recruit Native Americans came on the heels of visits of several Native American groups to Monclova (Everett 1990:114). The purpose of those visits by the Cherokee and others was to seek Mexican support of their efforts to hold title to lands in East Texas. Since, at that time, disaffected native groups from Mexico as well as a number of Apache groups were raiding northern Mexican settlements, the Mexican government recognized a mutual need and sent officials to those Native American groups to seek their assistance in controlling the "wild Indians" south of the Rio Grande. Mexican emissaries traveled through Texas as early as 1842 (Everett 1990:113-115), and it was during this trip that the Alabama and Coushatta of East Texas were contacted. Subsequent to the pleas of the Mexican emissaries, the Alabama and Coushatta visited with the residents of the Brazos Reserve from time to time (BIA 1857-1859, 4:1099). Since individuals from that reserve were sometimes found well to the south of the reserve (Dressel 1837 [referenced in microfilms]), it is possible that the Alabama and/or Coushatta traveled with them, either within the macro-region or even south into the micro-region. Despite these facts, we found no evidence that the contacts prompted their removal to Mexico, and more definitive proof of their association with the Amistad NRA would be needed prior to contacting them.

Anadarco

(Nadaco, Anadahko, Anadarko)

The Anadarco were once a distinct part of the Caddoan confederacy, and were first encountered north of Nacogdoches by the De Soto expedition in 1542 (Kenmotsu et al. 1993). At that time Spanish diarists said that they were called the Nadaco. When the Caddo ceded their lands in the early 1800s and moved west to the Brazos River near Fort Belknap, the Anadarco were among them (Wright 1986:32). Over the years, however, they made tenuous alliances with a variety of northern tribes. Hence, in 1844, they were camped with the Comanche on Pecan Bayou, near the Colorado River (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:23). Two years later, when the Caddo, Comanche, Tonkawa, Kichai (Keechi) and other tribes signed a treaty with the United States (Wright 1986:32), the Anadarco were among the signators. At the time of the signing, they were living in the macro-region in a village on the Brazos River, maintaining agricultural fields but also hunting buffalo in the Rolling Plains to the west of the village, likely near Pecan Bayou.

The general region of their village on the Brazos became, in the mid-1850s, the area where the Texas legislature established the Brazos Reserve for the Anadarco, Caddo, Tonkawa, Tawakoni, and Kichai (BIA 1853-1854, 2:681). For several years, these tribes attempted to establish villages, agricultural fields, and a settled lifestyle. Non-sedentary Native Americans and Anglo-American settlers made these efforts difficult and, in 1859, the Anadarco and the other reservation residents were relocated to Indian Territory. Placed at the Wichita Agency, they were initially listed among the Wichita Affiliated Tribes but in later years again counted among the Caddo population on the joint Wichita-Caddo reservation (Wright 1986:34).

The documentary data do not provide much indication that the Anadarco had ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA. Although friends with the Tonkawa and some of the Wichita groups, and a part of the Caddo nation, there was no evidence that they journeyed to Mexico or to the Lower Pecos. On the other hand, the Anadarco did, at times, serve as scouts for the Texas and United States armies (BIA 1857-1859, 4:132). That work may have led them to the lands of the Lower Pecos since the river crossings in the Lower Pecos were frequently used by Apache, Comanche, and other Native Americans raiding in Mexico—the very groups the army was pursuing. Given this history of scouting and given their close ties to some of the groups (Tonkawa, Comanche, etc.) who can be documented in the micro-region and with whom they may have intermarried, it is recommended that, as part of the Caddo, they be contacted to determine if they have knowledge of specific ties to the Lower Pecos.

Apache

(Apachu, Apaxches, Natagee, Natajee, Nataxe, Lipan, Mescalero, Querechos, Azain, Duttain, Negain, Pelones)

The Apache are Athapascan speakers who moved south out of the northern Plains and Canada during the Late Prehistoric period. Scholars dispute the route and timing of the migration (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988), but there seems to be fairly clear evidence that the Querechos that Coronado (1864) met on the Southern Plains in 1541 were Apaches. In 1601 Oñate (1871) used the term *Apachu* to refer to a nation located on the Southern Plains of New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. Either prior to or shortly after that notation, the Apache divided into eastern and western groups, with the eastern Apache groups generally occupying the lands and areas of the macro-region and north throughout much of the Southern Plains. Over time, these and other documents also make clear that subdivisions of the Apache existed. It is not entirely clear, however, if these subdivisions were an artifact of their movement

to the south where separate bands occupied different regions, or if the subdivisions were a long-standing tradition.[1] Eventually some Apache division names began to take precedence over the variety of earlier appellations. Thus, the names Mescalero, mentioned as early as 1725 (Rivera 1945:67), and Lipan were maintained, while Pelones, Natagees, and Fararones were less frequently used and eventually disappeared from the documentary record.

Documents indicate that the eastern Apache groups began a gradual move south toward the Rio Grande and beyond during the late seventeenth century, primarily as a result of the southern push of the Comanche (Gunnerson 1974:23-25; Kessell 1979:371-401). In 1683-1684, the Apache were pushing the Jumano and their allies southward into the northern edge of the micro-region, and, at the same time, were actively engaging the Spanish in El Paso (AGN 1680, 1684a, 1684b). A few years later, documents written by Spanish military officers with years of experience on the northern frontiers and familiar with both the geography and the native groups living in the macro- and micro-regions, convincingly place the Apache in the area of the Amistad NRA by the eighteenth century. Joseph de Berroteran (Hadley et al. 1997:214), a military officer in Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, wrote that the Apache and Cholome Indians "came from the Rio Puerco [Pecos] where it joins with the Rio del Norte [Rio Grande]." Elsewhere (Hadley et al. 1997:199), he warned government officials that, if the presidios on both sides of the Rio Grande were not maintained, the Apache would control the Rio Grande from El Paso to San Juan Bautista. While control of these lands may or may not have been under their domain, his statements clearly indicate the presence of the Apache along the Rio Grande throughout the micro-region in the first half of the eighteenth century. Joseph de Urrutia, another military officer with years of experience on the northern frontier, confirmed Berroteran's statements, writing in 1733 that the Apache resided along the Pecos, frequently traveling east and west along the Rio Grande (Dunn 1911:266).

Through time, descriptions of specific Apache subdivisions support the presence of the Apache in the macro- and micro-regions. One document written by a Jesuit priest, who had spent considerable time on the northern frontier (AGI 1710), placed the Jila (Gila or western) Apaches in Sonora, the Apaches Fahanos (Faraone) north of the Rio Grande on the Pecos River in the area of the Stockton Plateau, and the Apaches Necayees (Nataje) east of Pecos Pueblo in the Southern Plains. By 1729, however, the Natagee had apparently pushed further south. Spanish maps (JPB 42:1729) call the Pecos, near its confluence with the Rio Grande, the "rio salado o del Natagee" (meaning the "Salty River or the River of the Natagee people"), indicating their presence in the micro-region by this time (see Figure 7). Both the Natagee and Mescalero were said to reside on the Pecos and Rio Grande, to the southwest of the Lipan (Dunn 1911:203). A year earlier, the Lipan were found on the San Saba (Dunn 1911:202). By 1750, the Lipan continued to be encountered on the San Saba River, as well as the Rio Grande and the Medina rivers (Dunn 1911: 202).

During the eighteenth century, the Apache began to align themselves with native groups, including the Jumano and Tonkawa, with whom they previously had hostile relations (AGN 1691). At first, those relations were tentative, but, over time, reports of the Apache seeking peace with either the Spanish (Ayer 1714) or native groups (AGI 1726-1728) increased. Their peace efforts with the Spanish resulted in the establishment of the disastrous Spanish mission at San Saba and, later, the two missions on the Nueces River, all during the mid-eighteenth century. The ensuing 130 years were tumultuous as the Apache variously sought accommodation or war with the armies of Spain, then Mexico, Texas, and finally the United States. By the late nineteenth century, some Apache bands had settled in northern Mexico while those in the United States were placed on a series of reservations. The Fort Sill Apache Reservation in Oklahoma mostly held displaced Chiricahua Apache (part of the western Apache) although a few individual Lipan also resided on that reservation. The Mescalero



Figure 14. Lipan Apache as drawn ca. 1828 during the Berlandier expedition (courtesy Gilcrease Museum, Oklahoma).

Reservation in New Mexico became the home of the Mescalero as well as a large portion of the remaining Lipan (Figure 14). Today, the New Mexican reservation is considered the "official" home of both the Lipan and the Mescalero. In contrast, the White Mountain Apache in Arizona are largely descended from the Gila Apache while the Jicarilla Apache of the Southern Plains descend from the Faraones. Nonetheless, it is likely that a few Lipan also settled with each of the latter branches of the Apache (Michael Darrow, personal communication, 1999).

When the Apache were first encountered by the Spanish, they were described as hunters and gatherers with a focus on bison hunting. In 1686, the Apache were still described as "the owners of all the buffalo plains" (Paredes 1962:475), and Fray Neil (AGI 1710) affirmed this in 1710, stating that the Apache considered their land to be along the Rio Colorado where they hunted buffalo (see also AGI 1716). Throughout the eighteenth century, documents suggest that the Apaches turned to trade in horses. For example, in 1723, an Apache woman testified (AGN 1723) that a Spanish horse herd had been stolen to take to a trade fair (*cambalachi*), and the Apache trade in horses with the Caddo was substantial (Gregory 1973). In the eighteenth century, however, the Apache also practiced agriculture: "Each [Apache] captain went to where he lives . . . . They each sow corn and beans near where the Spaniards live" (AGN 1723). While sporadic, these efforts to grow corn continued, often focusing on the area of the Toyah Creek confluence with the Pecos River in modern Pecos County, Texas (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 3:184-189) somewhat to the north of Amistad NRA and just north of the micro-region. When the Texas legislature briefly flirted with the idea of establishing a third reservation, largely for the Apaches, the area they considered for the reservation was along this same Toyah Creek because the Apache had a long association with that area of the Trans-Pecos and their small corn fields (BIA 1853-1854, 2:681).

The Apache, particularly the Lipan and Mescalero, had a major presence in the Amistad NRA and the micro-region (Figure 14). It began with their movement to the south and east, out of the Southern Plains, a movement that was caused by the Comanche drive into those same plains. The move, and their affiliation with the Pecos River, can be well documented in the early eighteenth century and

continued throughout the historic period. By 1729, Barriero, a Spanish cartographer, placed them on the Rio Puerco [Pecos] (JPB 42). Berroteran (Hadley et al. 1997:214), one of the most experienced military commanders in northern Mexico during the eighteenth century, stated in a retrospective that the "Apaches of the Rio Pecos" leave from that river to cross the Rio Grande. He further reported that he had met a party of Apache just south of the mouth of the Pecos during his 1729 expedition. Berroteran also noted that in earlier decades Apache had resided in the Bolson de Mapimi, just to the south and west of Amistad NRA through much of the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the second half of the eighteenth century and after their mission on the San Saba was destroyed, the Apache ranged from the Bolson de Mapimi to the Rio Grande to the Nueces. In 1772, 300 Lipan Apache attacked haciendas and pueblos in Coahuila (Moorehead 1968:34), evidence of their presence in the micro-region. A Spanish military map dated 1773 continued to call the Pecos River the "Salado o rio del Apache del Nataje que la Fora lo llama del Pecho y Danville de los 7 Rios," meaning "the Salty River or river of the Nataje Apache whom [Nicolas] la Fora calls the Apache of the Pecos and whom Danville calls the Apache of the Seven Rivers" (AME 1773). On that same map, several other Apache groups are shown in or close to the micro-region—the Apaches Jumanes just north of the Lipanes and on the east side of the Pecos, with the Natajes and Mescaleros depicted on the west side of the Pecos. Two years later, Ugarte also demonstrated their presence in the micro-region. He traveled north of Monclova some 740 miles in an effort to force the Apache away from Coahuila (Moorehead 1968:38). He failed to find them anywhere except northwest of San Juan Bautista on the Rio San Pedro or Devils River. Although the Mescalero were often cited in the Bolson de Mapimi, part of the macro-region, by the late eighteenth century they were increasingly documented in the micro-region, and Spanish armies repeatedly found them between the Rio Sabinas, Piedras Negras, and the mouth of the Pecos (Moorehead 1968:207, 235, 255), either alone or in the company of Lipan, Lipiyan, or other Apache bands. Based on these and other sources (see Appendix 4), the Apache were clearly present within the micro-region throughout the eighteenth century.

The Apache presence in the Amistad NRA region continued unabated during the nineteenth century. Pike's 1804 map shows the Mescalero Apache immediately west of the Pecos on the Stockton Plateau (Texas State Archives). The same year, Manuel Merino, a prominent government official in Chihuahua, issued a report on the Apache that supports their presence in the micro-region. He (John and Wheat 1991:148) wrote that the Apache nation "inhabits the vast empty expanse living between 20 and 38 degrees of latitude and 264 and 277 degrees of longitude . . . to that of La Bahia del Espiritu Santo." Elsewhere, Merino (John and Wheat 1991:162-163) described the territories of the various subdivisions:

> [The Faraones] are still quite numerous. They inhabit the mountains lying between the Rio Grande del Norte and the Pecos, maintain a close union with the Mezcaleros, and make war on us. The two provinces of New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya have been and still are the scene of their incursions. In both provinces they have made peace treaties various times, but have broken them every time, with the exception of a rancheria here or there whose faithful conduct has obliged us to let them settle at the presidio of San Elcerio [San Elizario]. They border on the north with the province of New Mexico, on the west with the Mimbreno Apaches, with the Mezcleros on the east, and on the south with the province of Nueva Vizcaya . . . [The Mezcaleros] generally inhabit the mountains near the Pecos River, extending northward to the edge of the Cumancheria. They approach that territory in the seasons propitious to the slaughter of bison, and when they do this, they join with the Llanero tribe, their neighbors . . . . These Indians usually made their entry through the Bolson de Mapimi whether they are going to maraud in the province of Coaguila or in that of Nueva Vizcaya . . . . They border on the west with the Faraon tribe, on the east with the Llaneros, and on the south with our frontier of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila. Llaneros occup the plains and deserts lying between the Pecos and the Colorado . . . . It is a very populous tribe, which is divided into three

> categories: Natages, Lipiyanes, and Llaneros . . . . [The Lipan] is probably the most populous of all Apache tribes, and for many years it has lived in peace on the frontiers of Coahuila and Texas.

The Apache maintained a presence in northern Mexico in subsequent decades, but the Lipan and Mescalero were often cited in the region of south and Central Texas, particularly on the Nueces River (Wallace n.d.:232; Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:166; BIA 1853-1854, 2:106), the San Antonio and Guadalupe river areas (Winfrey and Day 1995, vol. 3:14; BIA 1:43), and the Colorado River (cf., Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 3:85; BIA 1847-1853, 1: 76). More importantly for this study, their presence on the Pecos River can be well documented (BIA 1847-1853, 1:104; Wallace n.d.; Sjoberg 1953; Moorehead 1968), including in the area of Toyah Creek's confluence with the Pecos (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 3:124). By 1853, their association with Mexico was sufficiently pronounced that Neighbors, who normally was well informed, concluded that the Lipan were not native to the new state of Texas, but "were intruders from Mexico . . . They crossed the Rio Grande into Texas after the revolution in 1836" (BIA 2:283). In the same document, Neighbors stated: "a party of Muscaleros [sic] and Lipans who reside on the Pecos,[2] have been induced to proceed to the Apache camp [in the Guadalupe Mountains]." These types of statements—associating the Apaches with the Pecos River and the Amistad NRA—continued for some time (e.g., Winfrey and Day 1995, vol. 5:170; BIA 2:669, 681, 890; Crimmins Collection). As late as 1877, they were still considered to be the dominant native group residing on the Pecos River and east to Fort Clark (Crimmins Collection). Buckelew, who was taken captive by Indians, stated (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:229) that his captors took him to a Lipan camp on the Pecos River (within the micro-region). When half of the Lipan in that camp moved south of the Rio Grande, the other half of the group stayed on the Texas side in the lands that they told him they had long occupied.

The evidence, then, documents the Apache presence in the micro-region and in the Amistad NRA from as early as the beginnings of the eighteenth century and continuing into the late nineteenth century. The specific subdivisions that appear to have the greatest affiliations with the Amistad NRA are the Mescalero and Lipan. From this history, then, the Apache—particularly the Apache on the Mescalero Reservation where both the Mescalero and Lipan were placed—have a very close affiliation with the lands of the Amistad NRA. The dispersal of a few Lipan with the various other Apache branches, however, indicates that the White Mountain, Fort Sill, and Jicarilla Apache may also have ties to the area. In addition to their presence in the Amistad NRA beginning in the early eighteenth century, the Apache affiliation with the Jumano gives them even greater cultural ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA. As noted above, they were enemies with the Jumano during the seventeenth century when the Apaches began to push into the territory south of the Southern Plains that had long been held by the Jumano (AGN 1683). Initially, the Jumano sought the protection of the Spanish as a deterrent to the Apache push. When the assistance the Jumano sought did not materialize, the Jumano name began to be linked (as it was on the Barriero map) with the Apache (see also Kenmotsu 2001; Dunn 1911:248). The historical links of the Jumano to the lands along the Pecos River (as noted in the preceding section) including the Amistad NRA, give the Apache one of the deepest roots with the region.

Apache Tribe of Oklahoma

(also Kiowa Apache, Kaskaia, Ga'taqka, Cataka, Gatacka, Ka-ta-ka)

The Apache Tribe of Oklahoma is discussed separately from the other Apache groups (see above) because they were formerly known as the Kiowa Apache and only officially named the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma in 1972. Their former appellation as the Kiowa Apache results in others including them as a band of the Kiowa (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988). However, like other Apache groups, the Apache

Tribe of Oklahoma are Athapascan speakers who moved south out of the northern Plains and Canada during the Late Prehistoric period. Scholars dispute the route and timing of the migration (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988), but generally agree that some Athapascan speakers were present in the Southern Plains by A.D. 1400. The Apache Tribe of Oklahoma believe that their band may have been one of the earliest arrivals in the south (Alonso Chalepa, personal communication 2001). By 1600, the Apache had divided into eastern and western groups, with the eastern Apache groups generally occupying the lands and areas of the macro-region and north throughout much of the Southern Plains. Over time, documents describe a number of subdivisions of the eastern Apache (cf. Rivera 1945:67). It is not entirely clear, however, if these subdivisions were an artifact of their movement to the south where separate bands occupied different regions, or if the subdivisions were a long-standing tradition.

Eventually, some Apache division names began to take precedence over the variety of earlier appellations. One of the appellations found in the document is "Ka-ta-ka," an early version of the name Kiowa Apache (Thomas 1935; Wedel 1961). Researchers believe that the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma allied themselves to larger, more powerful tribes as a means to survive in unsettled times. Thus, in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century documents, the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma were closely linked to the Kiowa, and seem to have operated as a band of that nation. Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988:12) state that most documents fail to distinguish between the two, even though the Kiowa speak a Tanoan language (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:11; Mayhall 1971:12, 154-156). Hence, when Kiowa were mentioned in historical documents, Kiowa Apache were likely to have been present as well.

The Apache Tribe of Oklahoma affiliation with the lands of the Amistad NRA is linked to their association with the Kiowa who were in the Lower Pecos Archeological Region at various times. By the 1820s, the Kiowa were found raiding into the macro-region in South and Central Texas (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:14-15; Mayhall 1971:57), usually in consort with the Comanche (NMA 1810). When the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma were encountered on the Canadian in 1823 by the U.S. Army, they said that they had been in the macro-region hunting near the "'Rio Brassis and the Rio Colorado of Texas'" (quoted in Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:14; see also Mayhall 1971:57). It is possible that they were in the company of the Kiowa, who were frequently found on the rolling plains during the nineteenth century (Mayhall 1971).

During this period, the Kiowa also passed through the micro-region going to and from Mexico (see below) and may have had members of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma with them. In the 1850s, the Kiowa presence in the area of the lands of the Amistad NRA became more pronounced. Statements about their raids, south into northern Mexico, were made by knowledgeable individuals (BIA 1847-1853, 1:340, 565). During those years, the Kiowa were often part of the cohort in Comanche raids (BIA 1854-1857, 3:551, 4:132; Wallace n.d.:394). After 1860, the Kiowa (and thus, the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma) were less frequently in the micro-region. Notable exceptions occurred in 1860, 1872, and 1873. In 1860, a member of a Kiowa band on its way to raid in Mexico was killed while attempting to steal horses near the Pecos River (Mayhall 1971:189). Then, in 1872, a Kiowa/Comanche raiding party attacked a government wagon train at Howard Wells near the Devils River, and another Kiowa/Comanche band traveled to Mexico below Eagle Pass. On their return via the Devils River, they encountered an Army scouting party that killed two of their members (Mayhall 1971:286).

Another aspect of the history of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma also argues for their presence in the Amistad NRA: collection of peyote. Peyote was important to the tribe, and the Rio Grande represents the northern-most limits of the plant's growth. As Boyd (1998:235) notes, the Comanche and Kiowa were reported to have collected plants along the Rio Grande and Pecos River. It was and

is important to the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma whose members continue to access it in the general region. Elder members of the tribe note that their fathers and grandfathers also traveled to and from the micro-region to collect peyote (Alonso Chalepa, personal communication, 2001). Based on this background, the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma was present in the micro-region and within the lands of the Amistad NRA. They need to be contacted in Phase II of this study.

Caddo

The Caddo were native to East Texas, residing there from at least the ninth century (Story 1982) and maintaining their presence in the region until forced out in the nineteenth century. Long time agriculturists, the Caddo were the southwestern-most expression of the mound builders of the eastern United States. They were divided into several subdivisions or confederacies (see Story 1982) that acted with considerable independence. Although native to the areas of East Texas, pestilence, wars with European and native immigrants, and political difficulties squeezed the Caddo into smaller and smaller apportionments of their original territory. Eventually, in 1854, they entered the 'Lower Indian Reserve' a short distance south of Fort Belknap seeking a mechanism to accommodate their concerns with the land acquisition policies of the incoming Anglo American settlers. There, they were able to maintain their independence for approximately five years. In 1859, the Bureau of Indian Affairs determined that it could no longer protect and preserve intact the various native groups on the reserve. The 244 Caddo remaining on the reservation left, journeying to Indian Territory to find a new homeland. Today, the Caddo have their tribal complex and headquarters in Binger, Oklahoma.

The association of the Caddo with the lands of Amistad NRA is tenuous and merits further discussion with the tribe. The earliest date of the Caddo in the micro-region is not known at this time (Tanner, personal communication, 2000). However, in 1838, twenty Caddo warriors traveled to Matamoros to escort Cordova and Mexican soldiers from that city to the Trinity River to help secure their lands (Smith 1993:136; Everett 1990:90). A year later, approximately fifteen Caddo families traveled to the region of Nacimiento, Mexico, ca. 50 miles south of Del Rio (Tanner, personnel communication, 2000) in the company of the Cherokee, Seminole, Seminole Maroon, and Kickapoo. Mary Inkanish (quoted in Carter 1995:280-282), an elderly Caddo, recalled some of these events in an oral interview in 1929:

> They started to Mexico in the spring. They stopped along the way to make crops. During the late summer of the second year smallpox caused the death of several of their number. The graves covered a large area. This created a fear among the group and the greater part of them returned to Texas and Indian Territory. Those who returned to Texas went to Big Arbor [near Waco] . . . . They made two crops [in Mexico]. After two years they moved to another town named "navia" [Nava]. The third year they went to another place and made another crop. Here she had the smallpox. Then they drifted back to Texas.

Since she was a child at the time, her knowledge of the route to and from Mexico was sketchy but she recalled that the party crossed the river No-aces and also believed they had crossed the Pecos. Although most of the Caddo eventually returned, a few were later found with the Lipan on the Rio Grande and Atascosa rivers (Smith 1995:136; Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:166). These sporadic forays into Mexico, just to the south of the Lower Pecos, suggest that the Caddo may have ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA. Confirmation or denial of this affiliation should be sought during Phase 2 of this study.

Cherokee

(Chariquita, Cheroquis, Chiraquies, Chalakki, Chalaque)

The Cherokee are one of the Muskogean speakers of the southeastern United States who were moved into the area of Texas and Oklahoma during the early nineteenth century (Figure 15). Originally from the Ohio River valley and the modern states of Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and Kentucky (Perttula 1993), the Cherokee had a long and somewhat bloody history with the United States prior to the movement of some of their nation into Indian Territory in the 1830s (Wright 1986:64-66). As early as 1807, the Cherokee visited Nachitoches, and by 1813, several large Cherokee groups were camped on the Trinity River below Nacogdoches (Perttula 1993; Everett 1990). A few years later, they occupied a series of villages on the upper Neches and Angelina Rivers and by 1833 those villages held a population of ca. 800. That same year, Duwali (a prominent Cherokee chief) traveled to San Antonio and later to Monclova to cement the Texas Cherokee's already warm relationship with the Mexican government (Everett 1990:65). Believing they held title to the lands they occupied, dissention erupted when newly arrived European immigrants began to push for their removal from Texas as early as 1834. During the Texas Revolution, some Cherokee fought for the Mexican army. In fact, between 1833 and 1840, a small group of Cherokee warriors actively traveled with and fought alongside the Mexican army as part of their efforts to obtain title to the lands they occupied in East Texas. Thus in 1838, Julian Pedro Miracle traveled from Matamoros to the Trinity River in the company of 34 soldiers, 72 Mexicans, and 20 Cherokee and Caddo (Everett 1990:90). Most eventually left the state, and in 1845, a single village, located at the confluence of the Bosque and Brazos rivers, was the only remaining locale in Texas with Cherokee. A few years later, most of those families had relocated to Indian Territory.

The ties of the Cherokee to the lands of the Amistad NRA are similar to those of the Caddo, and three separate aspects of their history merit their inclusion in this affiliation study. First, Indians called Chiraquies and Cariticas were found in the macro-region in the vicinity of Laredo (LA 1826) and along the Colorado River (Berlandier 1828) during the early nineteenth century. Little information is provided in either account, although, in the former, Gutierrez de Lara stated that the Chiraquis were assisting the Mexicans by fighting hostile Indians around the Laredo area. This fits with statements about the activities of the Cherokee assisting the Mexican armies a few years later (Everett 1990:90). Moreover, the group name (Chiraquis) used in the document is a variant of the name Cherokee (Everett 1990) and their chief was Ricardo Fields, a prominent Cherokee. Thus, it is likely that these individuals were from the villages



Figure 15. Tahchee, a Cherokee leader who lived in Texas in the 1820s (courtsey Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma).

settled in East Texas during those years. Their presence aiding the Mexicans this far south is not unusual. Small bands of Shawnee and other northern groups are also known to have hunted and journeyed through the micro-region, specifically through the lands north and just east of the Amistad NRA. Mexican settlers on both sides of the Rio Grande encouraged their presence as a deterrent to raiding Apache and Comanche bands, as did the Mexican government (Everett 1990:90; LA 1819). Thus, it is possible that the Cherokee also traveled through the micro-region during this time frame.

Second, the Texas Cherokee, seeking to obtain title to lands in East Texas, allied themselves to Mexico as early as 1831 (AGEC 1831b, 1831c). After the Mexican defeat by Texian forces in 1836, some 80 Cherokee chose to travel south to join Mexican forces ranging between San Antonio and Matamoros (Everett 1990:109). Over the next three years, many of these individuals settled with their families west and northwest of Monclova, some living in San Fernando where the prominent Cherokee chief Sequoyah found them in 1842 (Everett 1990:114). In 1845, a charge was made at San Fernando de Rosas that Cherokee had stolen horses from Mexicans (AM de Guerrero 1845). One Cherokee descendant in Austin (Margie Caballero, personal communication, 2000) has noted that her Cherokee ancestors relocated to northern Mexico in the nineteenth century, and today most family members reside in the Yucatan. Finally, the Cherokee were a slave-owning nation prior to the Civil War. This aspect of their history also links them to the Amistad NRA. Some of their slaves, known as Black Cherokee, sought their freedom by moving south away from their "owners" and out of Indian Territory in the company of Seminole and Seminole Maroon, traveling to the Llano River and then on into Mexico where they resided with the Seminole Maroon in Monclova (Mulroy 1993:56). Black Cherokee likely intermarried with the Seminole and Seminole Maroon. Moreover, it is likely that some of the Black Cherokee assisted the Seminole Maroon when they patrolled the area of Amistad NRA for the Mexicans, and US Army documents (Swanson n.d.:215) show that they later assisted the Seminole Maroon scouts at Fort Clark (see discussion under Seminole Maroon, below). The latter maintain a presence in the micro-region to the present day, and it is feasible that the Black Cherokee do as well.

None of these pieces of information proves that the Cherokee have ties to the Amistad NRA. On the other hand, their presence in the micro-region, particularly with the Seminole Maroon, their work as scouts at Fort Clark, and the small but important set of citations documenting several northern groups traveling close to the Amistad NRA, indicate ties to the area. It is recommended that during the Phase II studies an effort be made to solicit further information on their affiliation (or not) during interviews with the Seminole Maroon in Mexico and possibly with the Cherokee in Oklahoma.

Comanche

(Yamparika, Cumanchu, Hoo-ish, Lenaywosh, Yucaanticas, Yampuccos, Cochetacah, Nocanne, Nooah, Noconie, Tennaha, Tenawish, Penetaka, Kosoteka, Numunu, Kwahada, Pahahnaxnu, Yappahtuckkah, Mutsane, Tuttsahkunnahny, Wieahnu)

The name Comanche was first used in 1706 by Ulibarri. He reported that the *caciques* (chiefs) of Taos had told him that the Utas and *Comanchus* were about to raid their pueblo (Kenmotsu et al. 1994:24; Kavanagh 1996:178). By 1719, the Wichita were reporting that the Comanche resided near the confluence of the north and south forks of the Canadian River (John 1975:216-217), and by the 1740s this group of newcomers were pushing into North and Central Texas, forcing their Apache rivals south and east (Kavanagh, personal communication, 1993; John 1975:258-303). Their desire and intent to dominate these regions was made clear with their 1758 attack on the San Saba Mission—a mission that had been established for the Apaches (Hadley et al. 1997, Vol. 2, pt. 2:513; QA 1758).



Figure 16. Comanche as drawn ca. 1828 during the Berlandier visit to Texas (Courtesy of Gilcrease Museum, Oklahoma).

In 1786, the Spanish negotiated a treaty with the Comanche that called for a joint Comanche-Spanish war with the Apache, thereby formally recognizing the Comanche claim to the Southern and Rolling Plains south of the Arkansas River (Kavanagh 1996:66; Figure 16). Four years later the Comanche established peace with the Kiowa, a tribe with which they would be allied with for the next century (NMA 1810).

The Comanche in Texas were sometimes known by one of a series of names of large, multi-family groups loosely associated with distinct parts of the land over which they ranged, known as Comancherĺa. Each group came to be known by the name affiliated with that distinct Comanche band (e.g., Kotsoteka, Penateka, etc.). Membership in the large bands, however, often changed (Kavanagh 1996:49). Individuals, nuclear families, or extended families would split from the larger group as a result of internal rivalry, some forming their own large bands (Figure 17) elsewhere on the Southern Plains under new leadership. Given this tendency to split and reform, some late nineteenth century bands (and names) had a very limited history as a cohesive group.

Kavanagh (1996) places the Comanche in Central Texas (the macro-region) as early as 1743 when three Comanche were seen in San Antonio. Over the next 40 years, they were noted in this region with increasing frequency, and by 1786, they controlled a major portion of what is today Texas. Their lands stretched west of San Antonio, north to the Plains and perhaps south as far as the Rio Grande. Those lands included our micro-region. Despite control of such a vast territory, their primary territory remained the Southern and Rolling Plains of Texas and Oklahoma. The Comanche presence to the south of these lands centered on their raids into South Texas and the Mexican states south of the Rio Grande. Those raids were frequent and often more than one band was raiding at any given time. For example, in 1840 three large groups of Comanche crossed the Rio Grande in three different locales—Guerrero, Coahuila, and above Lampazos. They also hunted in the micro-region. In 1844, Chief Pah-hah-yuco (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:110) claimed to Sam Houston that his men were "catching buffalo" near the confluence of the Pecos with the Rio Grande. Such raids and hunts often took them through the lands of the Amistad NRA (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 1:24, 44), but the reports do not indicate that they resided there.



Figure 17. Comanche village in Texas, women dressing robes and drying meat. By George Catlin (Courtesy, Smithsonian American Art Museum).

The decade of the 1850s brought changes to this pattern. Although the Comanche continued to raid into Mexico (Winfrey and Day 1995, vol. 3:124; BIA 1847-1853, 1:800) and along the western settlements of Central Texas (Wallace n.d.:295-299), many of their raids took them slightly west into Chihuahua via the Big Bend (Campbell and Field 1968). At the same time, one large band—the Penatakas—began to reside year round in the area of the confluence of the Clear Fork of the Brazos with the Brazos River (the northern portion of the macro-region). As a consequence, that band was settled on the 'Upper' Reserve, an Indian reservation in this same area of modern Throckmorton County during the period 1855–1859 (see Freeman 1997). Throughout this brief reservation period, those Comanche residing on the reserve earnestly attempted to establish farms and grow cotton, corn, beans, and other crops. However, the Penataka found the effort difficult. They had to deal with drought and the non-reservation Comanche (often called the Northern Comanche in official correspondence) who tried to induce them to rebel (BIA 1847-1859, 4:132). When the reservation period ended, the Penataka Comanche moved north, some to the reservation near Lawton, Oklahoma, others to join the Northern Comanche and several tribes in the Red River wars of the 1870s. By the late 1870s, however, regardless of their band, all Comanche were settled on the reservation in Oklahoma.

Comanche ties to the Lower Pecos are not as strong as the ties of the Apache, but they are nonetheless substantial. The evidence indicates that the Comanche used the micro-region: a) to take advantage of natural crossings of the Rio Grande that were well removed from Anglo-American settlements; and b) to exploit important resources. With regard to the latter, Boyd (1998:234) notes

that peyote in the United States is largely restricted to the margins of the Rio Grande and that the Comanche and Kiowa "collected peyote along the margins of the Rio Grande and Pecos River." With regard to the former use of the micro-region, in 1847, the Comanche informed Neighbors that the Lipan were gathering at the mouth of the Pecos because they had personally seen them at that location (BIA 1847-1859, 1:153-172). Their statements demonstrate their own movements through the Lower Pecos. Later the same year, Buffalo Hump (a Penetaka chief) confirmed those statements when he informed Neighbors that some of his band had crossed the Rio Grande at the mouth of the Pecos in an attempt to seek revenge for attacks made on them in a previous visit to Mexico (Wallace n.d.:326). A few years later, Wild Cat's Seminole and Seminole Maroon forced Comanche and Lipan raiding parties out of the border region, after finding those Native Americans just to the south of the mouth of the Pecos (Mulroy 1993:76). During the signing of the 1867 peace treaty on the Arkansas River, Ten Bears of the Yamparikas stated: "I know every stream and very wood between the Rio Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted and lived over [all of] that country" (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:271). His statements were verified when the Comanche were seen during an Army scouting expedition along the Pecos in the region south of Fort Lancaster (Crimmins Collection). The notes completed by Bullis and his Seminole Maroon scouts also provide additional substantiation of their presence in the Amistad NRA (Mulroy 1993:124). Those notes stated that the army crossed the Pecos about a mile from its confluence with the Rio Grande and that they were traveling on "an Indian trail." The army marched about six miles southeast to a cave (called Painted Cave). From there, they continued to the Eagle's Nest crossing (e.g., Langtry), where they found another Indian trail that they followed. Shortly thereafter, they found the Comanche moving a herd across the Pecos. A battle ensued, and in subsequent years, the crossing of the Pecos came to be known as the Bullis crossing (41VV1428). This incident and the other data collected during this study (see Appendix 4) indicate that the Comanche were present in the micro-region and clearly have an affiliation with the lands of the Amistad NRA.

Creek

(Today known as the Muscogee Nation; Crik)

The Creek were one of the first Muskogean speaking tribes to establish trade relations with British agents in the early eighteenth century. Long time residents of the eastern United States, they were forcefully moved to Indian Territory in the 1830s at the close of a series of long wars with the United States (Wright 1986:135).

The ties of the Creek to the lands of the Amistad NRA are similar to those of the Caddo. Their ties relate to the fact that the Creek, prior to the Civil War, were a slave-owning nation. When Wild Cat moved to Mexico with Seminole and Seminole Maroon, some of the Black Creek, dissatisfied with their slave status, moved with them. They traveled to the Llano River and then on into Mexico (through the micro-region), where they joined the Seminole Blacks in Monclova (Mulroy 1993:56). In the late nineteenth century, a number of Black Creek served as part of the Detachment of Seminole Negro Indian Scouts attached to Fort Clark. Says Porter (1996:205):

> There were three distinct periods in the unit's personnel history during its active combat years (1870-81). From 1870 to 1872, almost all were Black Seminoles or Black Creeks recently arrived from Mexico. From 1873 through 1877, about half of those who enlisted were state-raised blacks. From 1878 to 1880, most who joined had Mexican names. Nevertheless, of the one hundred or so men serving at one time or another from 1870 to 1881, abouth two-thirds were either Black Seminoles or Black Creeks.

Finally, in 1870 a band of Black Creek, under the leadership of Elijah Daniel, were found camped on the Nueces Rim in Uvalde County, just outside of the micro-region. That band enlisted with the Seminole Maroon scouts attached to Fort Clark in 1871.

While this does not prove that the Creek have ties to the Amistad NRA, their presence in the micro-region, particularly with the Seminole Maroon, suggests that they likely do. It is plausible that the Black Creek intermarried with the Seminole Maroon and, given the long Maroon history in Coahuila (see below), the Creek may have adopted Seminole Maroon ethnicity. At times, the Seminole Maroon joined border patrols that took them into the region of the Lower Pecos. As the Black Creek were with them, they too would have traveled the region. They also accompanied the Seminole Maroon during their work as scouts for the U.S. army at Fort Clark (see Seminole Maroon, below). Again, those scouting patrols frequently operated in the lands of the Amistad NRA. Thus, it is recommended that during the Phase II studies an effort be made to solicit further information on their association with the Amistad NRA during interviews with the Seminole Maroon in Mexico. In the event that some Black Creek may have returned to Indian Territory, it is also recommended that the Creek in Oklahoma be consulted during that phase.

Delaware

(Lenape [meaning "our man in Delaware"], Loupe [wolves in French], Leni-lenape, Minsi, Unami, Unalachitigo)

As part of the Algonquian-speaking tribes of the northeastern United States, the Delaware were residents of southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware during early Colonial times (Wright 1986:146-147). In the various Indian/European wars of the early eighteenth century, the Delaware chose to take a neutral stance, a stance that angered their native allies. As a result of this unpopular position they began moving away, first into the Ohio River valley, then to Kansas and Missouri, and, by the early nineteenth century, onto the Shawnee reservation in Kansas. During this errant period, small groups of Delaware moved into the Indian Territory (Wright 1986:150) and to Texas (Perttula 1993; Anderson 1990). As early as 1817, 30 Delaware were encountered on the Red River and in 1826 they were again seen in the region, in the area of Cuthand and Delaware creeks in Red River County (Perttula 1993). By 1837, the Delaware and Shawnee population in Texas had increased to 500. In the 1840s the main force of Delaware in Texas were situated slightly west in Fannin and Red River counties. By 1851, however, few remained and only 63 were known to live in the state. These Delaware were placed on the Brazos Reserve with the Caddo and several Wichita groups. When the reserve was closed in 1859, the Delaware moved with the other Native Americans living there to Indian Territory. Today, descendants live in Caddo County, Oklahoma, near Anadarko.

While the Delaware did not reside for a long period in Texas, they played a key role as scouts for the Texan and later United States armies. Indian Agent and Commissioner Robert Neighbors (BIA 1847-1853, 1:139) and military leaders alike (BIA 1853-1854, 2:752) gave them high praise for their work as scouts. In Fredericksburg, they were sufficiently well liked by the German settlement that they were allowed to establish a small village north of the town on a league of land that was deeded to them (BIA 1853-1854, 2:182). Three of their leaders, Jim Conner, Jim Ned, and Jim Shaw, were often cited in the documents as individuals who were particularly singled out as interpreters and/or scouts between 1840 and 1859.

As with other Algonquian tribes, the Delaware's ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA are unclear. In their capacity as scouts, they certainly entered the Lower Pecos lands (i.e.,the micro-region).

Moreover, a few traveled with Wild Cat and his Seminole bands to seek their future in northern Mexico, a short distance below the Amistad NRA lands and within the micro-region (BIA 1853-1854, 2:111). As late as the late 1860s, a few were found living at Musquiz with the Kickapoo, Lipan, Seminole, Potawatomi, and Mescalero (Mulroy 1993:110; Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:283). Thus, they are included here because they traveled through the micro-region with various scouting tribes and a few actually traveled there under the leadership of the Seminole and Seminole Maroon. Phase II should seek to clarify their affiliation (if any) with the Amistad NRA.

Ervipiame

(Berttipanes, Chivipane, Cipipane, Eripiames, Hierbipiane, Hyerbipiame, Irripianes, Yerbipiame, Yrbipia, Hurbipame)

As noted above in the section devoted to the Native American groups affiliated with the Amistad NRA from 1600 to 1750, the Ervipiame were first identified in the region in the 1670s, allied with groups south (Concho) and north (Ocane, Catujano, etc.) of the Rio Grande. The Ervipiame, however, are one of those groups that maintained ties with the micro-region in both time periods. The initial discussion above dealt with the early period; here we deal in greater detail with the later years.

The Ervipiame appear to have been among the first groups to move north from the Coahuila/ South Texas area, and their presence in east Central Texas (the macro-region) was noted in documents as early as 1707 (SA 1689-1736; Tous 1930:14), typically in the area between the Brazos and Colorado rivers. Nonetheless, this movement to Central Texas was gradual, and in 1708, Fray Espinosa stated that they were again located close to the San Juan Bautista mission, attempting to recruit other native groups to revolt with them against the Spanish (AGI 1708). Yet another account places them on the headwaters of the Colorado River at about this same period of time, and states that they were among the Julimes, Zivolas, Buejolotes, Chizos, Gavilanes, and Tripas Blancas—nations generally residing in the macro-region, west of the Pecos River (AHP 1716A). These large groupings of disgruntled natives (often called rancherias grandes) were not uncommon on the Spanish Colonial frontier, typically consisting of both local and non-local natives who joined forces to survive in uncertain times (Hadley et al. 1997). Together, these data indicate that the Ervipiame maintained an off-again/on-again presence in the Amistad NRA region for at least the period 1700-1750. Always hunters and gatherers, they subsisted on buffalo, deer, and other wild game, as well as on a variety of vegetal foods.

Their efforts to maintain their residence in the micro-region were not successful, and after several failed attempts to establish their dwindling numbers in a mission, some apparently opted to join with another, larger group: the Tonkawa (Newcomb 1993:26). They did so in the company of their long-time allies the Mayeye and Yojuane, initially as part of what appears to have been another rancheria grande on the Red River in the 1770s, north of the macro-region. The rancheria was made up of the Mayeye, Yojuane, Ervipiame, and Tonkawa, and was situated close to a Taovaya village. Given their association with this rancheria, their amalgamation with the Tonkawa is not surprising. While not native to Texas, the Tonkawa (see discussion below) had become one of the Native American groups present in Central Texas by the 1650s. A century later, they were part of the cultural landscape of Central Texas, even participating with the Comanche in the attack on Mission San Saba. The presence of the Tonkawa, in relatively substantial numbers in the macro-region, would have brought them into contact with the Ervipiame. Propinquity, in addition to shared hostility toward the Apache, similar hunting and

gathering subsistence practices, and the joint need to establish alliances would have predisposed the two groups toward friendship. Over the next several decades, these two groups interacted together. As a result of their relocation to this region and their on-going alliance with the Tonkawa, the Ervipiame became a subdivision (clan) of the Tonkawa by the early 1800s (Newcomb 1993:26, 29). The early association of the Ervipiame with the micro-region, therefore, leads to a conclusion that the Tonkawa hold an affiliation with the Amistad NRA. This is discussed further under the Tonkawa subheading below.

Iscani

(see Wichita below)

Keechi

(Kichai, Kitsash, Kecha, Quidehais, Quichi, Quitxix)

While some researchers consider the Keechi to have been one of the Caddoan-speaking bands of the Wichita Tribe (e.g., Wright 1986:164), the actual language of the Keechi never has been fully defined and is generally thought to be more closely related to Pawnee than to Wichita (Chafe 1993). Newcomb (1993:30) summarizes their early history:

> When first known to Europeans [the Keechi] inhabited an area adjacent to the Red River valley in North Central Texas. Hughes (1968:247-255) has suggested their association with the prehistoric archeological materials known as the Henrietta Focus, but Rohrbaugh (1982) has persuasively argued that the prehistoric origins of the Kichais lie to the north in the Arkansas River basin. Their linguistic affiliation [with the Pawnee language of the Caddoan family] supports this contention.

Despite their early connection with the Pawnee, it is generally agreed that by the early eighteenth century the Keechi had moved south and were living on the Red River in Texas. During the period between 1772 and 1830, they moved further south to the Trinity River, where they occupied a number of villages and had an estimated population of 300 (Perttula 1993:176). In 1840, the Keechi were occupying the terraces of the Brazos River northwest of Comanche Peak. They remained in this general area (part of the macro-region), eventually settling on the Lower Reserve with the Caddo and several Wichita groups. Throughout this period, they were closely affiliated with one or more of the Wichita bands, including the Taovaya, Iscani, Waco, Tawakoni, and the Wichita proper, and eventually settled with those bands as part of the Wichita and Affiliated tribes when they removed to Indian Territory in 1859.

Any affiliation of the Keechi to the lands of the Amistad NRA would be tenuous. However, they are mentioned here because in 1854 they were among the tribes gathered at Fort Belknap, and some of those tribes were known to have at least traveled to the Rio Grande within the micro-region (BIA 1853-1854, 2:366). Since traveling Native American groups nearly always included members of more than one ethnic affiliation, the Keechi may have also traveled to the Lower Pecos. Moreover, later that same year, Indian agent Hill told Neighbors that they were one of the tribes that had hereditary ties to all of Texas. Although Hill was incorrect, it suggests that they were intimate with much of Texas and may have been more widely traveled than the documents indicate. While these individual documents do not clearly place the Keechi on the Lower Pecos in the micro-region, they do suggest that they may have affiliations with the region and that they should be contacted during Phase II of this study.

Kickapoo

(From Kiwigapawa; Kikapu, Quikapoo)

The Kickapoo are one of the Algonquian-speaking tribes that originated in the region of the Great Lakes, specifically in Illinois (Wright 1986:166). Agriculturalists, the Kickapoo also hunted buffalo on the Plains. By treaty in 1819, they ceded their lands in Illinois, some moving south to Missouri and Kansas. In later years, some of the Kansas and Missouri Kickapoo relocated to Oklahoma. However, other Kickapoo moved as far south as Texas and aligned themselves with the Cherokee who were then occupying East Texas (Wright 1986:167). By 1828, 110 families were reported in Red River County, and Stephen F. Austin's map of 1829 shows them on the upper Trinity River (Perttula 1993:168). In 1834, the Comandancia General de Coahuila and Texas reported they had made a peace treaty with the Comanche (AGEC 1834). They continued to be documented on the Trinity through 1838. In 1839, the Texas Kickapoo retreated to Indian Territory. They remained in these northern lands until 1850 when they were again in Texas, this time traveling to Mexico with Wild Cat, the Seminole leader (Mulroy 1993:56; AM de Nava 1851). Traveling through the region of Fort Clark and then Eagle Pass, 572 Kickapoo settled at Tuillo near modern Guerrero, Coahuila in the southern part of the micro-region (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 5:50-51).

Relations among the Seminole and Seminole Maroon were uneven during the Kickapoo's stay in Mexico, however. At first the Kickapoo participated in joint efforts to repel the raids of Comanche and Apache but, in 1851, when returning from raids against the Comanche, they absconded with the horses that the combined group had taken from the raid and crossed the Rio Grande into Texas without the Seminole (Mulroy 1993:68; CMO 1851b). This move generally soured the remaining ties they may have had with the Seminole. Later that year, most of the Kickapoo (see Figure 13) in Mexico returned to Oklahoma, passing through the Lower Pecos Archeological Region into the San Saba drainage and then on to Indian Territory. Juan Manuel Maldonado (CMO 1852) reported that a group of Kickapoo "had robed horses of the Seminoles and six steer of Colonal Maring Rodrigues, evading detention by crossing the frontier in the area where the Arroyo de la Vaca [(Pecos River] and the Rio Grande confluence." There, the Kickapoo allied themselves with other Algonquian-speaking tribes in Indian Territory. Later, in 1857, one of the Indian agents reported that a camp of Kickapoo dissidents had moved southwest and were on the Double Mountain Fork of the Brazos River in Texas (BIA 1857-1859, 4:114). The band continued to be monitored by the Texas Indian agents, and in the late 1850s and 1860s, Kickapoo were again noted in the southern part of the micro-region (AM de Nava 1857; AGEC 1865; AM de Morelos 1867). By 1867, Kickapoo from Musquiz were again aiding Mexican armies (AM de Monclova 1867).

The association of the Kickapoo with the lands of the Amistad NRA began with the 1850-1851 movement of Kickapoo into Mexico. During that period, they traveled through the micro-region prior to turning southeast to Fort Clark. For most Kickapoo, their stay in Coahuila lasted only about two years before they returned to Indian Territory. However, as noted above, a few remained and another group of Kickapoo came to the region in 1866 when Mexico granted 8,676 acres to the Kickapoo and Potawatomi. Unlike the earlier Kickapoo who briefly resided in Mexico, these individuals came from the Kansas Kickapoo, a band who had enjoyed a long relationship with the Potawatomi. The Kickapoo/ Potawatomi band settled on land located at Muzquiz in Coahuila. This land is in the southern part of the micro-region and on the headwaters of the Sabinas River. They generally remain there to the present day. Goggin (1951) notes that the various groups of Kickapoo in Oklahoma, Coahuila, and Kansas maintain relatively frequent communication and continue to visit each other to the present day. Yet another group of Kickapoo moved south to Mexico in the late 1890s, attempting to obtain

additional land near Muzquiz (Goggin 1951:316). The Mexican government denied their claim. Some of these individuals returned to Oklahoma, others were reported to have moved to Chihuahua. The Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas, who own a small reservation on the Rio Grande just south of Eagle Pass, descend from the Kickapoo who moved to Musquiz from Kansas and maintain ties with that community in Coahuila (Goggin 1951).

Other links of the Kickapoo to the lands of the Amistad NRA date to 1870s. In 1873-1874, U.S. troops attacked Kickapoo near Remolino (AM de Guerrero 1873). Then, in 1875, the commander of the Rio Grande reported Kickapoo near the crossing of the Rio Grande at the Pecos confluence (AM de Morelos 1875). In 1878, Captain Kennedy of the U.S. Army, Pecos District, reported that his scouting party had found 'wickeyups' (U.S. Army, Pecos District 5:92). The structures were seen amongst a copse of trees at Geddes Spring on the Devils River. A grave was also present. Kennedy stated in his field notes that: "It is assumed that the location had been a resting-place of the Kickapoo who had crossed the head of the Concho in their move from Mexico in 1871." Together, these statements indicate that the Kickapoo have affiliations with the lands of the Amistad NRA.

Kiowa

(also Ka'i gwu, Caygua, Caigua, Kioway, Kinway, Padouca)

The Kiowa are a northern Plains tribe that moved south into the Southern and the Rolling Plains, a movement that was relatively late.[3] The Kiowa, like other Plains tribes, were semi-nomadic, moving in relatively large groups and frequently in the company of one or more tribes with whom they were allied. By the early eighteenth century the Kiowa were living in the area between the Platte and Kansas rivers, and from there they slowly began to move further south, eventually becoming associated with the lands north of the Canadian and Red rivers in Texas and Oklahoma (Mayhall 1971:14, 221). In the late eighteenth century, a few captive Kiowa were identified in New Mexico, likely captured during Spanish or Apache forays to the Arkansas River valley where the two groups were then located. Over the ensuing decades, they began to raid south into the macro-region, allying themselves with the Comanche and other groups, but not moving from their primary residence along the Arkansas River.

The Kiowa affiliation with the lands of the Amistad NRA is not as strong as that of the Comanche or Apache groups, but the documentary evidence indicates that they were in both the macro-region and the Lower Pecos Archeological Region at various times. One early report that appears to document the Kiowa in the macro-region is a list of the various groups that were present at Mission San Antonio de Valero in 1784 (QA 1784). The list of names largely indicates groups typically found in Central and South Texas, but also includes the Yutas (Ute) and a group called the Sciaguas. While the name may be an aberration of one of the many groups from Coahuila, its spelling, together with the presence of the Ute, suggest that the name is a variant of the word Kiowa (Caigua). A few years after this meeting (in 1790), this tribe reached an agreement with their allies, the Comanche, to remain north of the Red River while the Comanche would remain to the south of that river (ICC 1974:42).

By the 1820s, however, the Kiowa were again found raiding into the macro-region in South and Central Texas (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:14-15; Mayhall 1971:57), usually in consort with the Comanche (NMA 1810). As the nineteenth century continued, the two groups (Comanche and Kiowa) were often encountered in the Southern and Rolling Plains regions of Texas. For example, they fled to the Llano Estacado when smallpox broke out among many of the Plains tribes in the winter of 1840 (Mayhall 1971:172). Josiah Gregg's 1844 *Map of the Indian Territory, Northern Texas and Mexico,*

showing the Greater Western Plains depicts all of the Texas Panhandle as well as Central Texas to be the territory of the Comanche and Kiowa (Gregg 1844). When the Kiowa Apache were encountered on the Canadian River in 1823 (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:14; see also Mayhall 1971:57), it is assumed that the Kiowa were also present. The Kiowa were again found on the southern edge of the Southern Plains in 1834-1835 and 1866-1867, on the headwaters of the Brazos and Colorado rivers in 1841, and raiding settlements and forts between Shackleford and Menard counties during the 1860s (Mayhall 1971).

Throughout this period, they also passed through the micro-region going to and from Mexico. Although the Kiowa signed a treaty with the Mexican government at Camp Mason in 1835, they apparently felt that the treaty was voided by the Texas Revolution since, by 1840, they were again raiding in the micro-region in both Texas and Mexico (ICC 1974). Later, in 1844, the Texas Indian commissioner was told that while the Kiowa lived well to the north, when the leaves fell, they would be found in the vicinity of San Antonio (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:45). Neighbors reported encountering them in 1847 and 1848 between Pecan Bayou and the San Saba, stating that, with their allies, "they number [sic] 5,000 strong."

In the 1850s, the Kiowa presence in the area of the lands of the Amistad NRA became more pronounced (Figure 18). During the Butler/Lewis peace commission of 1847, statements about their raids south into northern Mexico were made by knowledgeable individuals (BIA 1847-1853, 1:340), as well as by Neighbors in 1848 (BIA 1847-1853, 1:565). A map in the National Archives shows that the Kiowa and Comanche continued to be the principal tribes ranging from the Rio Grande to the Red River and between the Pecos and Laredo (Wallace n.d.:369), including the Lower Pecos Archeological Region. During those years, the Kiowa were often part of each cohort in Comanche raids (BIA 1854-1857, 3:551, 4:132; Wallace n.d.:394). In 1858, a large party of Kiowa camped just outside the Upper Reserve in Texas, trying to induce Ketumsie and his Comanche to rebel (BIA 1857-1859, 4:681). Failing in that mission, they attacked a wagon train near Fort Lancaster in Crockett County (BIA 1857-1859, 4:674). Their presence in the southern regions of Texas (including the Amistad NRA area) waned in the succeeding decades. After 1860, the Kiowa appear to have rarely ventured into the micro-region, remaining further to the north in the lands for which they are better known. Notable exceptions occurred in 1860, 1872, and 1873. In 1860, a member of a Kiowa band on its way to raid in Mexico was killed while attempting to steal horses near the Pecos River (Mayhall 1971:189). Then, in 1872, a Kiowa/Comanche raiding party attacked a government wagon train at Howard Wells near the Devils River, while another Kiowa/Comanche band traveled to Mexico below Eagle Pass. On their return via the Devils River, they encountered an Army scouting party that killed two of their members (Mayhall 1971:286). Turpin (1989) believes that this battle is immortalized in the rock art at 41VV327, a site located on a tributary of the Devils River and within the micro-region. Another aspect of Kiowa history also argues for their presence in the Amistad NRA: collection of peyote. Peyote was important to the Kiowa, and the Rio Grande represents the northernmost limits of the plant's growth. As Boyd (1998:235) notes, the Comanche and Kiowa were reported to have collected plants along the Rio Grande and Pecos River. Based on this background, the Kiowa were present in the micro-region and within the lands of the Amistad NRA. While their presence appears to largely date prior to 1860, they need to be contacted in Phase II of this study.

Lipan

(See Apache, above)

Mescalero

(See Apache, above)

Muscogee

(See Creek, above)

Potawatomi

The Potawatomi represent another of the Algonquian-speaking tribes who have ties to the Amistad NRA. Their original territory was along the eastern shores of Lake Michigan. As a result of Iroquois and Anglo-American movement to the west during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Potawatomi gradually moved south from Lake Michigan, splitting into several bands (Wright 1986:215). By the mid-nineteenth century, Potawatomi bands were residing in Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas. Shortly thereafter, a small enclave, known as the Citizen's Band, relocated to central Oklahoma and, while the majority of the band soon followed, a small group remained in Kansas allied with the Kickapoo (Wright 1986:216).

The association of the Potawatomi with the lands of the Amistad NRA is relatively late. This tribe originated in the same general area as the Kickapoo and had a long-time connection with that Native American group, both in the Great Lakes region and on their reserve in Kansas. After the Civil War, the Kickapoo from Kansas, along with some of their Potawatomi friends, migrated, in part, to Coahuila and the southern part of the micro-region. Hence, while the Potawatomi are not mentioned in any of the documents that we accessed for the early period of Kickapoo in Coahuila, they are mentioned among the Kickapoo at Muzquiz in 1866 (Mulroy 1993:109) and 1868 (Mulroy 1993:110). Since the Kickapoo who went to Mexico in the 1850s with Wild Cat and his Seminole were part of the Oklahoma Kickapoo, it is unlikely that any Potawatomi were among that group. Instead the Potawatomi who relocated to Coahuila in the 1860s were accompanying their friends, the Kansas band of the Kickapoo (Mulroy 1993:109). Situated so close to the Lower Pecos, it is feasible that the Potawatomi also traveled through the Amistad NRA lands on their journey(s) to and from Indian Territory, in an effort to avoid the growing Anglo-American settlements between Eagle Pass, Uvalde, and San Antonio. Since the Kansas band of Kickapoo continued to travel to and from the Muzquiz area, it is likely that the Potawatomi are also affiliated with the region. Phase II of this present study should seek to better understand the presence of the Potawatomi in the region.

Seminole

(from the Spanish Cimarron, meaning "runaway" or "maroon, i.e., a person of color")

The Seminole are Muskogean-speakers whose name was first applied in 1765 to the Alachua group of Upper and Lower Creek (Figure 19). These Creek had, for some time, been moving southward to escape the English. In northern Florida, at that time part of the Spanish colonies, they



Figure 19. Noco-Shimatt-Tash-Tanaki, Seminole Chief in 1854 (Illustration courtesy Texas State Historical Association; original in Emory 1987:52).

found a homeland. There, they created a buffer for the Spanish against the English settlements to the north (Mulroy 1993:6-8). In that location, their ranks gradually swelled as Creek and other dissidents fled south. These groups established a "loose organization of towns enjoying a great deal of local autonomy and displaying a large measure of cultural diversity" (Mulroy 1993:7). While they came from different language groups, eventually all came to speak the same language, use a communal land system, and enslave other Native Americans and African-Americans who were required to offer a levy to their chiefs. Over time, the subservient towns came to enjoy a degree of autonomy (except for their annual levy) while acting as consorts to the Seminole in their activities. Both Seminole and their slaves had similar lifeways and lived in "cabins of palmetto planks lashed to upright posts and thatched with leaves" (Mulroy 1993:19).

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, two Seminole wars with the United States altered the course of history for this Native American group and their allied African-American communities. While the Seminole leaders agreed at the end of the first engagement to remove to Indian Territory under that act, their 'slaves' the Seminole Maroon (see below), did not favor relocation. When relocation lagged, a second war ensued. The second war was costly to both sides and took place after the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (Mulroy 1993:27). This second Seminole war, ending in 1842, cost the United States in excess of twenty million dollars, but also resulted in the requirement that the Seminole and their Maroons move to Indian Territory. When they arrived at Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, however, they were not given a separate reservation as they had expected, but were placed on the Creek reservation because they spoke the same language. The Seminole resented this inclusive decision; they had enjoyed their freedom from the Creek for nearly a century. Over time their resentment grew. Because they were not assigned to their own reservation and were unable to grow crops on their own land, starvation raged (Mulroy 1993:39). Seminole leaders expressed dissatisfaction with the situation. Their dissatisfaction resulted in the division of the Seminole into two main factions: one that remained in Indian Territory and another that left in May 1850 to seek a future in Mexico. It is the latter group that may have ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA.

Led by Wild Cat, a charismatic leader of the Seminole, about 172 Seminole, along with a number of Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo, Creek Black, and Cherokee Black arrived in northern Coahuila, in June 1850, ca. 50 miles south of Del Rio and within the micro-region (Mulroy 1993:56; AM de Nava 1852). Since Mexico had invited the Seminole to settle in their northern lands to help repel Comanche, Apache, and other Native American groups, Wild Cat's people, and especially the Seminole themselves, expended a fair amount of effort to rid their adopted land of these "wild tribes." These efforts placed them in and close to the lands of the Amistad NRA. For example, in early 1853, they patrolled the border from Eagle Pass to the Laguna de Jaco in the Bolson de Mapimi, forcing hostile tribes to move north of the Rio Grande (Mulroy 1993:76; CMO 1852). The Seminole continued to try to fulfill this role for their host country from 1854 through 1857. During this period, they patrolled the vicinity of present Del Rio (BIA 1853-1854, 2:614; Mulroy 1993:87) even pushing them as far north as Bandera (Mulroy 1993:79). However, the Seminole Maroon and Kickapoo were less diligent in those military efforts. There is also some evidence that Wild Cat may have been involved in efforts to organize forays from Mexico into Texas, crossing the Rio Grande southwest of Fort Clark and traveling northeast below that installation:

> I learn that large bodies of Indians are assembling on the west [south] side of the Rio Grande, consisting of Lipan, Muscaleros, Comanches, and etc., under the Seminole chief 'Wild Cat" and that they are likely disturbing our frontiers (Neighbors to Manypenny BIA [1853-1854, 2:793]).

Neighbors noted in his report that Wild Cat was, at that time, in the vicinity of San Fernando, Coahuila.

With the death of Wild Cat a few years later, and the establishment of lands for the Seminole in Indian Territory in 1859, the reasons these Seminole traveled so far from their relatives were gone. As a result, 50 began a return trek to Indian Territory in 1859 (BIA 1853-1854, 2:111; Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 5:329) and, by 1861, nearly all Seminole had returned north (Mulroy 1993:89). Given this background, the Seminole presence in the lands of the Amistad NRA was between the years 1850 and 1861, and likely consisted of intermittent forays into the region to convince "hostile" tribes to push north of the Rio Grande. While this is not the strong presence the Apache had in the micro-region, it was certainly real and they should be contacted during Phase II.

Seminole Maroon

(Seminole Negro, Indian Negro, Seminole Black, Seminole freedmen, Afro-Seminole, Black Muscogulge, Indios Mascogo)

Like the Seminole, the Seminole Maroon are Muskogean-speakers who developed as a unique ethnic group in the southeastern United States. However, unlike the Seminole, these peoples are descended from freed or escaped slaves who made their way to Spanish Florida. There they adopted the Muskogean language, established settlements separate from the Indian Seminole villages, and prospered. Although they were "enslaved" by the Seminole, "Seminole slavery typically translated only into the giving of a small annual tribute to the Indian leader" of the Seminole town (Mulroy 1993:2). When the Seminole were forced to relocate to the Indian Territory in the late 1830s and 1840s, the Seminole Maroon accompanied them (Mulroy 1993:37).

For the Maroon, however, Indian Territory was particularly unsettling. They were placed near Fort Gibson in the area occupied by the Cherokee and Creek nations. At that time both nations owned slaves. This fact led to hostilities. Not only did some members of both nations seek to enslave the Seminole Maroon but also some of the Creek Black fled to the Maroon. The situation was further complicated when the Seminole, who had yet to receive their own allotted lands and were destitute,

tried to win favor with the Creek settlers by selling their "slaves" to the Creek (Mulroy 1993:37-40). Hence, when several Seminole and Seminole Maroon leaders proposed moving to Mexico, the Seminole Maroon agreed to relocate south to Mexico. Mexico had sent emissaries among these and other tribes as early at 1843 (Mulroy 1993:52) to recruit native tribes from Texas and the Indian Territory who would actively repel the Apache, Comanche, and other tribes who were actively raiding south of the Rio Grande.

In the spring of 1850, 234 Maroon, some 200 Seminole, around 100 Kickapoo, and some Cherokee and Creek Black (and possibly some Caddo) began their trek under the leadership of Wild Cat, a Seminole chief (Mulroy 1993:55; AM de Nava 1850). The trek took a relatively south-southwestern course, moving from southeast Oklahoma, arriving on the Llano River in May 1850. There they established a temporary village to plant corn and to await Wild Cat's negotiations with the Mexican authorities. The following month, Wild Cat had garnered 70,000 acres for them, located between 50 and 90 miles south of modern Del Rio (Mulroy 1993:56). Within the southern portion of the micro-region, then, the Seminole settled at San Fernando de Rosas (modern Zaragosa), the Seminole Maroon at El Moral or Monclova Viejo, and the Kickapoo at Tuillo (modern Guerrero).

Over the next two decades, the Seminole Maroon gradually distanced themselves from the Seminole and Kickapoo. First, they distanced themselves physically to avoid slavers from Texas. In the later part of 1850 they moved to Nacimiento, then to Parras in 1859, and finally back to Nacimiento and other locales in 1870 (Mulroy 1993:78, 88, 111). Second, social distance was achieved by gradually dropping out of the retaliatory military actions against the Lipan, Comanche, Kiowa, and other Native American nations who were at that time raiding between Laredo and the Big Bend area. Although they were accomplished fighters, the Seminole Maroon apparently chose not to fight (Mulroy 1993:110). Finally, when the Seminole decided to return to Indian Territory in the 1861, the Seminole Maroon refused to accompany them because the United States continued to allow slavery (Mulroy 1993:89).

With the abolishment of slavery and the renewed presence of the U.S. Army in the region in the 1870s, the Seminole Maroon ventured out of Parras to Nacimiento and other parts of northern Mexico. Soon, they began working with the U.S. Army at Fort Duncan and later at Fort Clark where they served as scouts for the next 40 years (Figure 20). Although the Seminole Maroon had been invaluable to the Army during the decades that they served, their jobs were terminated in 1914 and they were told to abandon their homes on Las Moras Creek near Fort Clark (Porter 1996:209; Mulroy 1993:169). Rather than return to the Indian Territory, a body of Maroons returned to Nacimiento while the others moved to nearby Brackettville (AGEC 1880). Both populations maintain their identity today (Mock 1994).

Given this history, the Seminole Maroon affiliation with the lands of the Amistad NRA is stronger than that of the Seminole, largely because of their continued presence in the region. While they did not reside in the Amistad NRA, they certainly spent time in it. As early as 1854, Seminole and Seminole Maroon chased the Comanche and Mescalero Apache, who were raiding along the Rio Grande from Eagle Pass to Big Bend, to Chihuahua (Mulroy 1993:76; BIA 1853-1854, 2:793). In 1856, the Maroons again patrolled the Rio Grande from Del Rio to the Big Bend country for their adopted homeland (Mexico), pushing the Comanche, Kiowa, and Tonkawa north of the river (Mulroy 1993:83). The Seminole Maroon repeated this effort when Lipan Apache stole their horses in 1858, recapturing the horses on the Rio Grande (Mulroy 1993:87).

During the same time period of time, the Seminole Chief (Wild Cat) elected to attack settlers on the Medina River with the help of the Lipan and Tonkawa (BIA 1853-1854, 2:614), and the next year attacked a band of Texas Rangers near Bandera (Mulroy 1993:70). It is likely that the raiders crossed



Figure 20. Seminole Maroon Scout Charles Daniels, in uniform with wife Mary and daughter Tina (courtesy Jerry Daniels, the University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio).

the Rio Grande in the vicinity of the Amistad NRA to avoid Fort Clark. While it is unknown if Maroon were present in these two raids, it is possible that they were since they mixed freely with the Seminole during Wild Cat's leadership in Mexico.

After the Civil War, the Seminole Maroon were courted by the U.S. Army as scouts. At first, a few families moved to Elm Creek, just north of Fort Duncan (e.g., Eagle Pass). Then, in 1872, nearly all Seminole Maroon moved to Fort Clark. During the period that they served at Fort Clark, a number of their engagements took them through or into the lands of the Amistad NRA. In 1875, the scouts took part in a battle with the Comanche at the Eagle's Nest Crossing (Mulroy 1993:124), and in 1877, they trailed a party of Comanche from Gillespie County to the mouth of the Pecos (Mulroy 1993:124, 129). In later years, this crossing was known as the Bullis Crossing and has been recorded as site 41VV1428. The Seminole Maroon, in yet another activity, assisted in establishment of a wagon road from Uvalde to the Pecos that roughly followed the trajectory of modern US 90, crossing through the Amistad NRA lands from east to west. And, as a last, perhaps fitting chapter on their involvement with these lands, the Seminole Maroon trailed the Lipan from the Devil's River to the Mouth of the Pecos, then into Mexico. That was in April of 1881, and the ensuing battle was decisive and represented one of the final major raids of Native Americans into Texas (Mulroy 1993:131). Given these events, an affiliation of the Seminole Maroon with the region of the Amistad NRA can be documented. It is recommended that groups in both Mexico and Brackettville be contacted during Phase II of the study.

Shawnee

(Shawun, Shawunogi, Shawano)

Part of the Algonquian-speaking tribes of the northeastern United States, the Shawnee lived along the southeastern seaboard during early Colonial times (Wright 1986:241), but later migrated slightly north to form an alliance with the Delaware. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Shawnee participated with the Potawatomi and other tribes in a variety of wars and/or treaties. During this period, they began moving, first into Kansas and Missouri, and, by the mid-nineteenth century, onto a reservation in Oklahoma along with some of their old allies, the Delaware (Anderson 1990:232; Wright 1986:150, 244).

Shawnee are shown on the Sulpher River of Texas on the 1828 Teran map. Known as the 'Absentee' Shawnee, they had settled south of the Red River in 1822 (Anderson 1990:233). Over the next decade, the Shawnee traded in Nacogdoches and San Antonio, often in the company of the Delaware, Cherokee, and Kickapoo. In 1832, they attacked a large Comanche band at Bandera Pass (Anderson 1990:234). Recognizing that this tribe had knowledge of the geography of Texas and knowledge of other Native Americans, the Shawnee (along with the Delaware) were frequently chosen as scouts for the Texan and United States armies, and from 1840 to 1860 the two groups were "virtually omnipresent on the Texas frontier" (Anderson 1990:247).

While only a small number of the Shawnee or the Delaware resided for a long period in Texas, several aspects of their history give them possible affiliation with the lands of the Amistad NRA. First, in the early 1830s members of the ill-fated Villa Dolores colony stated that the Shawnee hunted game and beaver for pelts on the Rio Escondido and at Las Moras Creek (Kenedy 1925:411-418) just east of the micro-region. Because of their skill and because of the colony's fears of Native American attack, they were hired as hunters for the colony. While there are no statements in the documents that these duties actually took them to the Devils or Pecos rivers, they were in close proximity to the micro-region and the possibility that they were in

those drainages cannot be ruled out. Second, in 1838, Jack Hays, a Texas Ranger, encountered them on the Pecos and traveled with them to the Rio Grande in a joint pursuit of Comanche (Anderson 1990:242). This journey was through the micro-region. Additionally, their role as scouts for the Texan and later United States armies suggests that they traveled through the Amistad NRA area. Although General Smith accused them of waging war against Texas in 1842 (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 1:125-127), the proof was not forthcoming and they instead served as scouts and interpreters for long periods and were praised by Indian Commissioner Neighbors (BIA 1847-1853, 1:141). In Fredericksburg, the Delaware were allowed to establish a small village north of the town on a league of land that was deeded to them (BIA 1853-1854, 2:182), and it is likely that some Shawnee were among them. When the Delaware entered into the Lower Pecos lands as part of their duties, the Shawnee may have accompanied them, given their earlier presence in south Texas. Finally, some Shawnee traveled with Wild Cat and his Seminole bands to northern Mexico, a short distance below the Amistad NRA lands (BIA 1853-1854, 2:111). As noted in the discussions of the Seminole and Seminole Maroon (see above) it is likely that these groups traveled through the micro-region, again linking the Shawnee with the region. We, therefore, recommend that the Shawnee be contacted in Phase II of this study.

Taovaya

(See Wichita below)

Tonkawa

(Teucarea, Tancoa, Tancagues, Tanquaay, Taucohoe, Titskanwatits, Tonk)

The Tonkawa resided in North, Central, and, to a lesser extent, South Texas after the mid-seventeenth century and remained there until several relocations forced their removal to Indian Territory in 1859 (Newcomb 1993; Johnson and Campbell 1992). There is, however, a common misconception that they were native to these regions (cf. Hickerson 1994:203; Newcomb 1961:133-152; Sjoberg 1953). The misconception stems from Bolton's (1910) brief summary of this tribe and his statement that they were indigenous to Central Texas. His more widely read book *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (Bolton 1915) continued to convey this interpretation and other researchers have erred by continuing this misconception. Research by Newcomb and Campbell (1982), Newcomb (1993), Johnson and Campbell (1992), and Prikryl (2001), has shown that they were actually from north central Oklahoma.[4]

In 1601, the Wichita-speaking Aguacane who lived on the Arkansas River called the Tonkawa the Tancoa (Onate 1871). At that time, they lived north of the Arkansas in a number of large villages. By the late seventeenth century, they were called the Tanquaay and were listed among the enemies of the Caddo of East Texas despite their close relationship with other Caddoan speakers. Their hostilities with the Caddo were eventually resolved, and, during the subsequent century, they were often mentioned in documents as being with that Native American group. During the late eighteenth century, they were often with one of the various Native American groups in Central Texas, ranging from the Red River to the area of present Waco (Newcomb 1993:27-29), and, at times, even further south in the macro-region. For example, they were among the hostile forces that attacked the San Saba mission along with the Comanche and Caddo (Hadley et al. 1997:513). Their alliance with the Caddo, Tawakoni, and other Wichita-affiliated tribes was a long one. Much of what we know of the Tonkawa during this period comes from documents written by De Mezieres who visited them on several

occasions in the 1770s, often in their camps just south of the Red River. He estimated their population at ca. 500 (see Newcomb 1993:28). During his visits, they generally were located on or near the Brazos River in the Waco area, but were known to move through a larger portion of North and Central Texas. Described as hunters and gatherers living in tents, they hunted buffalo and deer both to eat and to obtain the animal skins that they traded (Figure 21).

During the late eighteenth century, the Tonkawa absorbed several other Native American groups. These groups became clans with the larger Tonkawa nation (Newcomb 1993:29). These groups included both Caddoan-speaking Native Americans like the Yojuane and groups from other linguistic stock such as the Mayeye, Sana, and Ervipiame nations. Unlike the Tonkawa, some of these nations were native to Texas: the Mayeye were residents of east-Central Texas (Campbell 1988:73) on the fringe of our macro-region. However, the Sana were originally cited in the Lower Pecos and the micro-region (Johnson and Campbell 1992), as were the Ervipiame and Yorica (see discussion above).



Figure 21. Photograph of Sergeant Johnson or "Wears-Beads" from the late 1860s. Born in Texas ca. 1825, War Chief Johnson took part in the Comanche wars of the 1860s and 1870s (Courtesy Southwestern Collection, Fort Griffin file, Texas Tech University).

At the close of the eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the Tonkawa gradually moved south, displaced by the Comanche and Wichita (Newcomb 1993:28). In 1819, Padilla (LA 1819) reported that they often traveled to the margins of the Guadalupe, San Marcos, Colorado, and Brazos rivers. By the early nineteenth century, the Tonkawa were also found with increasing frequency along the eastern and southern margins of the Edwards Plateau in the company of the Lipan Apache. During the period of the Republic of Texas, the Tonkawa "serve[d] as valuable scouts and able fighters for the Anglo-Texans, [and] they also served as shock troops in the war of terror between the Anglo-Texans and their American Indian enemies"

(Himmel 1999:83). The Tonkawa military assistance did not prevent an overall reduction of their territory on the Colorado River in Central Texas and the macro-region, but it did afford them a measure of protection that enhanced their ability to survive Texas' entrance into the United States. Neighbors, the Texas Indian Commissioner, reported finding a camp of Tonkawa on Cibolo Creek in 1845 (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:166), and later stated that they lived between the San Antonio and San Marcos rivers (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 3:14). However, they continued to maintain a presence on the Brazos River as well, attacking the Tawakoni on that river in 1851 (BIA 1847-1853, 1:800) and frequently approaching the area of Bernard's Trading Post (BIA 1853-1854, 2:755).

The years from 1851 to 1856 saw great shifts in their territories as well as in their associations with other tribes. In 1852, the Tonkawa were at Fort Mason for a number of months, along with a group of Lipan and Mescalero Apache (BIA 1847-1853, 1:1048). They also maintained a village on the Colorado River during those years, in the general area of Pecan Bayou, but on more than one occasion were driven away by other (usually Comanche) tribes (BIA 1847-1853, 1:1070; BIA 1853-1854, 2:194). In contrast, they were with the Comanche near the old San Saba mission in 1854 (BIA 1853-1854, 2:274). In this same year, they attacked several German families and fled to the Nueces River, then to Fort Inge and then to Fort Clark. They remained in this general area for over a year while Neighbors and the Texas legislature sought to establish a reserve for the use of several tribes including the Tonkawa. During that same year, Army personnel at Fort Clark reported that this nation was starving, and provided them beef when they could (BIA 1853-1854, 2:614, 793). During this period, the Tonkawa were variously reported on the Nueces, Frio, Sabinal rivers, and, less frequently, on the Pecos River, usually in the company of the Lipan. While in that area, the Tonkawa attempted to raise corn until they were finally driven away by the Comanche (BIA 1853-1854, 2:622). Finally, in mid-1855, the Tonkawa were assembled at Fort Clark to make their way to the Brazos Reserve with an Army escort (BIA 1854-1857, 3:240). They remained on the reserve, enjoying some success in growing crops until the reserve was forced to close in 1859. At the close of the reservation, they moved north to Indian Territory and today live in the vicinity of Tonkawa, Oklahoma, although some settled near Sabinas in northern Coahuila in the 1880s (Johnson 1994:378).

The association of the Tonkawa with the lands of the Amistad NRA is based on three separate aspects of their history. First, when they resided in the vicinity of Fort Clark and Fort Inge they were especially close to the Lipan, who traveled those lands with regularity. It is probable that the Tonkawa traveled to the Amistad lands with their Apache friends. Seminole scouts reported routing a group of Lipan and Tonkawa north across the Rio Grande in 1857 through territory that would have included the micro-region (Mulroy 1993:57). Second, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, the remaining members of the Ervipiame, Yorica, Mayeye, and Sana nations apparently joined the Tonkawa, organizing themselves into clans (Newcomb 1993:29). Three of these nations (Ervipiame, Yorica, and Sana) had close ties to the Lower Pecos (as well as other parts of South Texas). In turn, this conveys an additional tie of the Tonkawa to the Amistad NRA lands. Finally, during and after the Civil War, some members of the Tonkawa returned to South and Central Texas where they were regarded as renegades until finally, in 1879, they were gathered at Fort Griffin for their return to Oklahoma (Wright 1986:251), although some returned to northern Coahuila, near Sabinas, in the 1880s (Johnson 1994:378). Given their historical movements in central and south Texas, it is possible that they again traveled in the micro-region along the Lower Pecos during this final period of their stay in Texas, further cementing their ties to this region. However, we would add the caveat that this final presence is speculative and should be part of the discussions with tribal members during Phase 2 of this study.

Tawakoni

(Tahuacano, Tawacarro, Touacaro, Tawakome)

The Tawakoni frequently were cited in letters, manuscripts, and diaries dating to the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century as residents of Central and north Central Texas. They were one of the Caddoan-speaking groups that moved into Texas during those years and eventually became a subdivision of the Wichita Tribe (Newcomb 1993:7). In the mid-sixteenth century, however, they apparently resided well to the north near the great bend of the Arkansas River. A populous village described in the accounts of the Coronado expedition to the Plains was called Teucarea (Coronado 1864). Newcomb (1993:7) and Wedel (1988:121) believe that this name is synonymous with Tawakoni.

Their next contact with Europeans was in the eighteenth century when they were repeatedly visited by a string of French traders, first on the Arkansas and later on the Red River in the vicinity of Wichita Falls County, Texas (Newcomb 1993:33-34). At about this same time, some of their people moved to the vicinity of the Trinity River and, by the 1770s, some were living in villages along the Brazos River near modern Waco. In the early nineteenth century they continued to reside in this area as well as around La Tortuga near modern Mexia, Texas (Newcomb 1993:41). At times, they traveled south of the Waco area, such as in 1829 when they raided Berlandier near San Antonio. Nonetheless, the Tawakoni maintained their residence in and around the Waco area, even entering the Brazos Reserve where they resided side by side with the Waco, another Caddoan-speaking group (BIA 3:205). When the reserve was abandoned in 1859, the Tawakoni traveled north to Indian Territory and settled with the Wichita as part of the Affiliated Tribes.

Given their history, the Tawakoni, one of the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, do not appear to have any direct ties to the Amistad NRA. Given the amount of movements of Native American peoples in Texas during the period, however, it is recommended that they be contacted during Phase 2 to solidify this conclusion.

Waco

(Adeco, Huanchane, Houecha, Honecha, Hueco, Huico, Huick, Wacco, Wakko)

The Waco are today a part of the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes and have long been closely linked with that Native American group (Wright 1986:253-255), particularly with the Tawakoni. Some researchers (Newcomb 1993:42; John 1982-1983) believe it possible that the Waco were once a large band of the Tawakoni based on the fact that a prominent chief in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century was named Awakahea (or Awahakei). Following the death of this chief in 1811, the Tawakoni dispersed and the band remaining in the vicinity of modern Waco retained, according to those researchers, the name 'Waco.' Wedel (1988:8) and Wright (1986:254), however, suggested that the Waco were a distinct Wichita band as early as 1601 during Onate's acrimonious visit to their villages in 1601. Their conclusions are based on the fact that Adeco and Huanchane were among the names used for the various groups described in the documents.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Wichita tribes, including the Waco, had moved south into Texas and were residing in a series of villages on the Red River—some in fortified villages (Bell et al. 1967:80-95). There, they engaged in active trading with the buffalo-hunting Comanche to the west and with the enterprising French to the southeast in Louisiana (Newcomb 1993:35-36; Gregory 1973). By 1779, the Waco and other Wichita affiliated groups were found in the vicinity of Waco. It is generally believed that the Vinson archeological site (41LT1) was a Waco or Tawakoni village (Smith 1993:73-75). Historic maps dating from the late eighteenth through the mid nineteenth centuries (Figure 22)

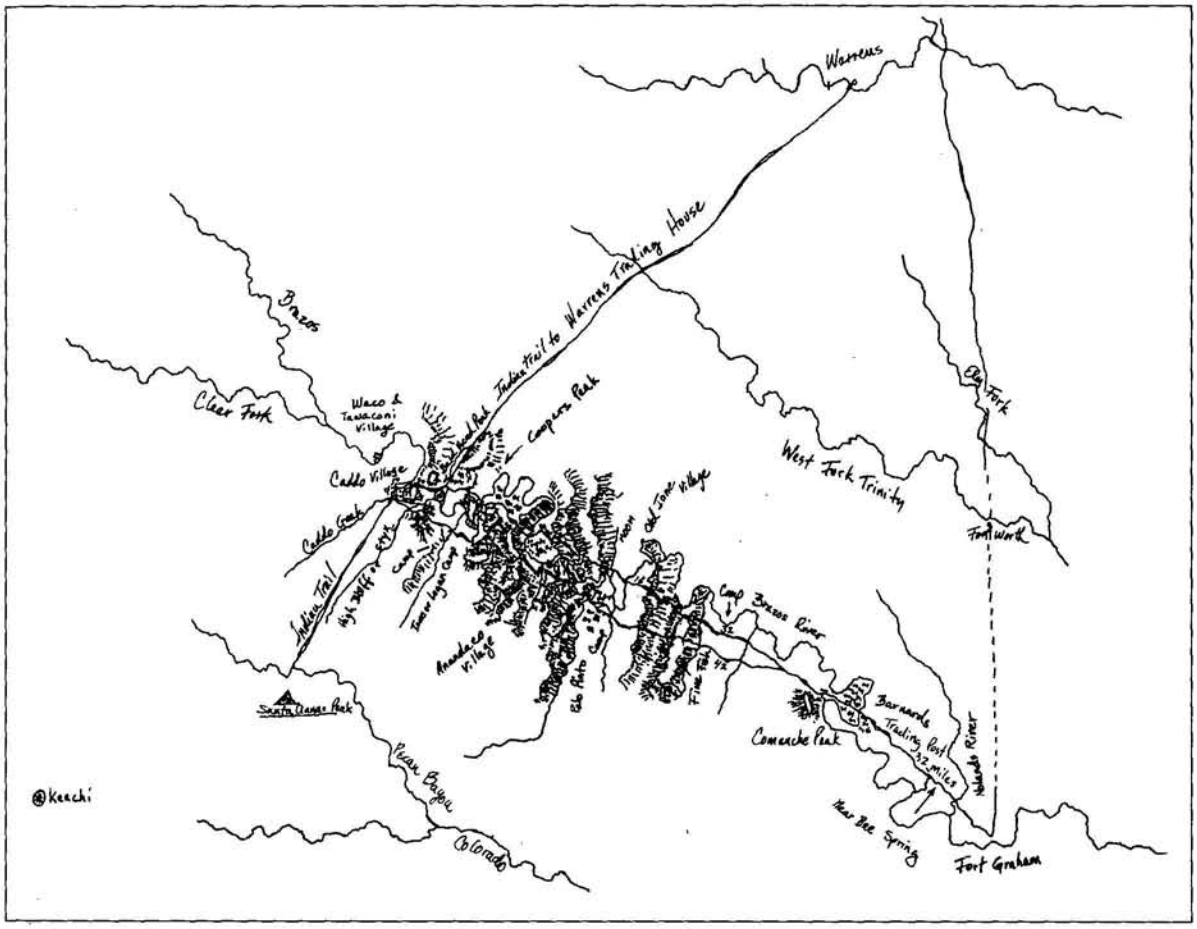


Figure 22. Map from 1851 showing historic Caddoan-speaking villages on the Brazos River (After Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin).

show a series of Waco villages along the Brazos River and its tributaries in the general area of modern Waco and the northeast edge of the macro-region. Like the other Wichita groups, the Waco grew corn, melon, and beans although they were also known to hunt buffalo and deer during the winter and spring. Their established presence in the state resulted in the 1853 pronouncement by the Secretary of State that they were one of the "Texas Indians" (BIA 1853-1854, 2:274).

In 1855, the Waco were among several tribes that moved onto the Brazos Reserve, a small reservation established by an act of the Texas legislature and under the jurisdiction of the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA 1854-1857, 3:205). There, adjacent to their Tawakoni friends, they successfully raised corn and other crops until 1859 when the unrest caused by Anglo-American encroachment forced them to relocate along with the other tribes to a new reservation in Indian Territory (BIA 1857-1859, 4:1099). Once there, they became part of the Wichita Affiliated Tribe.

The association of the Waco with the lands of the Amistad NRA is tenuous and needs to be verified through oral interviews and continued research. As early as 1842, General Smith (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 1:125-127) informed the state that they were among several tribes (Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, Coushatta, and Keechi) that had been persuaded by the Mexican government to wage war against Texas. While there is clear evidence that some of the other groups, such as the Kickapoo, did so, the evidence for the Waco is weak. Moreover, the only other Wichita band among

the named tribes is the Keechi, a tribe that they knew and had friendly relations but rarely acted with. On the other hand, in June 1849, Neighbors (BIA 1847-1853, 1:430) reported that the Waco were among a large group of Wichita, Lipan, Comanche, and Apache that had been through the Lower Pecos region as an avenue to raid northern Mexican ranches. Neighbors made this report after traveling the region. These travels, plus his superior knowledge of both Indians and the geography, suggest that some Waco may have at least traveled through the Amistad NRA. They should be contacted during Phase 2 of this study.

Wichita

(Paniassas [Black Pawnee in French], Panipique, Ousita, Ouatchita, Quychita)

The Wichita are another of the Caddoan-speaking groups that imigrated into Texas in the historic period. Originally from the Arkansas River valley of Kansas and Oklahoma, they include a number of sub-divisions such as the Waco, Taovaya, Tawakoni, Yscani, and the Wichita proper (Wedel 1988:2). These groups were first visited by Europeans in 1541 during Coronado's journey to the Plains and in 1601 by Onate; both were seeking Quivera (or Quivira). At that time, Wedel (1988:5, 15), who has done extensive study of the Wichita, believes that they were living east of the Great Bend of the Arkansas where they practiced "horticulture . . . supplemented by extensive bison hunting." By the early eighteenth century, La Harpe was reporting some Wichita sub-divisions living near modern Tulsa but it is difficult to determine which sub-divisions had moved south and which remained in the area of the Great Bend (Wedel 1988:22). While they continued to raise crops, their hunts were now facilitated by use of the horse.

Although several of their close relatives—the Taovaya and Tawakoni—had established villages on the Red River in the vicinity of modern Montague County in the early 1750s, the Wichita did not arrive until 1765 (Newcomb 1993:35). There the Caddoan-speaking tribes began to serve as a link in the French trading network that led from the Plains to their villages to the French in Natchitoches. Despite a relatively lucrative trade that resulted in a series of letters and reports documenting the trade, few of these contain mention of the Wichita, suggesting that they remained somewhat to the north of the primary villages. Some of their warriors, accompanied by Taovaya, did, however, raid in San Antonio in 1784.

In 1844, some Wichita were living among the Tawakoni in the villages on the Brazos near Waco (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:48). A few years later (1849), Neighbors (BIA 1847-1853, 1:154) found a camp of 550 warriors under the Comanche chief Santa Anna 40 miles downriver from El Paso. The Wichita were among the groups named. While this might suggest they were extending their geographic range, this may instead indicate the presence of dissidents since they were not mentioned south of the Red River until 1854. In that year Indian agent Stem found the Wichita chief Ko-we-a-ka chief near Fredricksburg and reported that they (the Wichita) were on an expedition against the Lipan residing in Mexico (BIA 1853-1854, 2:384). The agent, familiar with most of the native groups, also noted that the Wichita had not previously been reported raiding that far to the south. Nonetheless, Neighbors (BIA 1853-1854, 2:762, 749) reported that by that date they were raiding as far south as Fort Inge and Fort Mason and that they had been with the Waco when they attacked a homestead on the Medina River below San Antonio, all within the macro-region. Apart from the raids to the south, another Indian agent (Hill) reported (BIA 1853-1854, 2:862) that they continued to be more closely connected with regions to the north of Texas:

> I have not been able to discover any well founded claim for the settlement of these people in Texas, nor do I learn that they desire it. On the contrary, from the best information that I have been able to obtain, they claim a home north of the Red, in the vicinity of the Wichita Mountains from early and long occupancy.

An affiliation of the Wichita with the lands of the Lower Pecos and the Amistad NRA is tenuous. Originally from lands well to the north of Texas, they did not arrive on the Red River until the late eighteenth century. Although they moved south, the Wichita maintained an association with the Wichita Mountains throughout the remainder of the historic period. Nonetheless, they did raid south into Texas where they are documented to have been present into at least the area of Fort Inge, and some settlements in northern Mexico felt their sting. Thus, it is possible they do have some affiliation with the Amistad NRA and should be contacted during Phase 2 of the study.

Yojuane

(Yuhuanica, Huhuanica, Diujuan, Iojuan, Jojuan, Uojuan, Yacovane)

Another of the Caddoan-speakers from the Arkansas River area, the Yojuane were first noted by the Spanish in the diary of the 1601 Onate expedition in which they were called the Yuhuanica (Newcomb 1993). Over the ensuing century, the Yojuane apparently were among the first of these groups to move south as the Espinosa/Olivares/ Aguirre expedition encountered them in 1709 on the Colorado River in modern Bastrop County (Campbell 1988:63-64). During the remainder of the eighteenth century, the Yojuane frequently were found on the Brazos, Colorado, and Trinity rivers (our macro-region), often in the company of the Coco, Cantona, Simaomo, and Mayeye. There they continued to hunt bison and other meat; fish, roots, tubers, and fruits were also mentioned among their food resources (Newcomb 1933:19).

The Yojuane appear to have not hunted with great frequency on the Southern Plains prior to the mid-eighteenth century. This was likely due to their antipathy with the Apache. When the attack was made on the Apache's mission at San Saba in 1758, the Yojuane were among the list of attackers, along with the Tonkawa, Comanche, and others (Newcomb 1993:20). Some Yojuane were captured in the Spanish response to the attack and these captives led the Ortiz Padilla force to the Red River. By the late eighteenth century, the Yojuane were more frequently encountered with the Tonkawa, and by the end of the century became one of the Tonkawa clans at about the time that their population dipped to ca. 100 individuals (Newcomb 1993:29). Because they joined the Tonkawa, their individual name is not found in the documents related to the lands of the Amistad NRA. While it is likely that the Yojuane were present in the region sporadically, that presence occurred after becoming a clan of the Tonkawa, and it is recorded under the latter name.

Yorica

(See Tonkawa above)

Yscani

(Aguacane, Ascani, Iscani)

The Yscani are another of the Caddoan-speakers who were first visited by the Onate expedition of 1601 in the Spanish search for Quivera. According to Newcomb (1993:9), at that time they were living in north central Oklahoma. While the Spanish called them Escanjaques, "their collective name for themselves was Aguacane" (Newcomb 1993:8; Newcomb and Campbell 1982). They lived in a number of large villages and their population reached several thousand. Like the Wichita, with whom they always have been closely linked, they both grew corn and other crops and hunted buffalo and other animals on the Plains.

At some point in the late seventeenth century, the Yscani and the other Wichita tribes (Taovaya, Tawakoni, and Wichita-proper) began moving well south of the place where they were found in 1601. The move seems to have been prompted by pressure from the Pawnee and Osage from the north and by the promise of French trade and bison to the south (Newcomb 1993:33-39; Wedel 1988:5-24). Benard de la Harpe and Claude-Charles Dutisne each visited their villages in 1719, then located close to modern Tulsa. By the 1750s, a fortified Taovaya village (the Longest site) was situated on the Red River just across from Montague County, Texas, and an Yscani village (known as the Upper Tucker site) was situated on the south side of the river. In 1760, Yscani and Tawakoni villages (described as separated by a single street) were located on the Sabine River and on the Trinity River during the following decade. Newcomb (1993:41) believes that the long time Yscani friendship with the Tawakoni resulted in the coalescence of the Yscani with the Tawakoni in the late 1770s and that, after this date, the Yscani name is seen very infrequently in documents. Hence, the relationship of the Yscani to the lands of the Amistad NRA would be subsumed under that of the Tawakoni.

Ysleta del Sur Pueblo

The Ysleta del Sur Pueblo is located southeast of downtown El Paso, a city that has grown to surround this southern enclave of Tigua Indians. Originally residents of the Isleta communities situated to the north along the Rio Grande in what is modern New Mexico, the Tigua were moved south out of their homes during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. They arrived in two distinct groups, one in 1680 and another in 1682, and were initially settled close to Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe del Paso, in modern Juarez. However, by 1685, the Tiguas were moved southeast of Guadalupe and a pueblo established just for them, eventually called Ysleta del Sur, as it was south of their old home in the Isleta pueblos of New Mexico. Although many Tigua returned north in subsequent decades, Ysleta del Sur remained a viable pueblo and continues to the present day.

Ysleta del Sur Pueblo has close ties to the lands of New Mexico where their ancestors resided and where relatives continue to reside today. However, their presence in El Paso, which has been a melting pot of multiple ethnic groups since the Spanish first established the settlement, led to frequent intermarriage between Tigua and non-Tigua. Marriage books from the several missions in the El Paso area record intermarriage with Piro, Manso, Suma, Apache, and others as early as 1707 (Gerald 1974). Infrequently, Tigua married Juman (i.e., Jumano). These marriages, as well as a few with Mescalero Apache, may indicate an affiliation with the Amistad NRA. We would note that marriages with Jumano, Lipan or Mescalero Apache were rare whereas marriages with Piro, Suma, or other groups that were more commonly present in the El Paso area were recorded on a regular basis. More frequently, the Apache, including the Jumano Apache, were viewed as hostile to both Spaniards and the Native Americans of the El Paso area. Apache conflicts with the Tigua were well known (Greenberg 1998:223-225). Given their Apache conflicts and given the association of the Jumano with the Apache as early as 1720 (see Jumano, above), the affiliation of the Tigua with Amistad NRA is unclear. Nonetheless, we recommend that the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo be contacted during Phase 2 to determine if they have information about any affiliations with the Amistad NRA.

NOTES

1. A later description by Manuel Merino (John and Wheat 1991:148) in 1804 states: "They can be divided into nine principal groups . . . . The names by which the former are known in their language . . . . Vinienctinen-ne, Sagatajen-ne,

Tjusccujen-ne, Yecujen-ne, Yntugen-ne, Sejen-ne, Cuelcajen-ne, Lipanjen-ne, and Yutaglen-ne. We have replaced these naming them in the same order: Tontos, Chircagues, Gilenos, Mimbrenos, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Nabajoes, all of them under the general name of Apaches."

2. Here Neighbors was referring to the area of the Pecos in the Amistad NRA.

3. We are aware of linguistic evidence for their relationship to Tiwa- and Tano-speakers in New Mexico (Hale and Harris 1979:171). However glottochronologists generally conclude that the languages have been separated for at least 2,600 years, a period of time too old for further consideration here.

4. It should be noted that the history of the Tonkawa on their tribal web page tends to follow Bolton's summary of their early history.

Chapter Four

Archeological Sites

The Amistad NRA is situated within an area known as the Lower Pecos Archeological Region (see Figure 4), our micro-region. The region is dominated by the drainages of the Devils and Lower Pecos rivers, and includes all of Val Verde County as well as the southern portions of Crockett and Sutton counties, eastern Terrell County, and western Edwards and Kinney counties. The region also stretches south of the Rio Grande into Coahuila, but its southernmost extent is poorly known due to the very limited archeological explorations that have been reported for the area (Labadie et al. 1997; Turpin 1991:2). Pecos River rock art, the defining characteristic of the region (see Figure 10), is known to extend at least 90 miles south of the Rio Grande (Sayther 1998:90), indicating that the archeological region continues this far south into Mexico.

The Lower Pecos and our micro-region are further defined by its aridity. As described in the preceding chapter, it is part of the Chihuahuan Desert Biotic Province and its low growing, xeric, and thorny plants dominate the landscape. Across the area, rolling tablelands are deeply dissected by the Rio Grande, Pecos, and Devils rivers and their tributaries. Steep cliffs, formed during the eons of down cutting, frame the sides of these drainages. Rock shelters are found in these cliff faces and some have remarkable accumulations of deep, stratified archeological remains and/or contain the spectacular polychrome pictographs for which the region is well known (see Figure 10).

These same cliffs, however, have proven an impediment to travel (Figure 23). Berroteran (Hadley et al. 1997:200; Ayer 1729), a presidial commander who traveled through the area in 1729—one of the few Spaniards to do so—provided one of the most eloquent descriptions of this impediment:

> In [1729, I traveled] from the presidio of San Juan Bautista, along the course of the Rio del Norte . . . by way of the watering hole of Santo Domingo and the San Rodrigo, San Antonio, and San Diego de las Vacas rivers. Having gone as far as the last without finding a ford across it, I turned back along the south bank and traveled for two days to return to [the Rio Grande]. After crossing to the north bank [likely near Del Rio], I walked for four or five days, slowed by the lack of water for either horses or men. I saw that it was necessary to travel [west] along the south bank because the mountains on the north side impeded our passage . . . . I sent our seven Indian scouts to search the hills and mountains for water holes and a route by which we could continue our march. After seven days, two of them returned with the news that they had found neither a watering hole nor a route, and that they had not had anything to drink for two days. They had seen water, but at such a great depth that it took them four days to find a way to get down to it.

Similar problems were experienced by the Castaño de Sosa party that set out from Monclova (then Villa Almaden) in July of 1590 seeking a new route to New Mexico (Sosa 1871). Although the party crossed the Rio Grande with little difficulty, likely in the region of Cuidad Acuna and Del Rio, their



Figure 23. Cliff in the area of the Rio Grande within the Amistad NRA (photo courtesy Texas Department of Transportation).

route north through the lands between the Salado (Pecos) and the Devils rivers was exceedingly difficult (Sosa 1871:197-204). Despite multiple tries, they found few places where horses or men could cross the Pecos and no place where the wagons could negotiate a crossing, forcing them to remain east of the river. Other than the river, the expedition members found that water was scarce to non-existent; near the river, it had to be hauled up in containers.

Another notable aspect of these two journeys was the few Native Americans seen in either journey. The Sosa (1871:196) party met some natives (called Jocome) on the Rio Salinas, well to the south of the Rio Grande but during the month of difficult travel north, as they paralleled the Pecos, none were encountered. Instead, only a few signs (*rastros*) of Native Americans were seen from time to time. Berroteran (Ayer 1729) did encounter Apache in the region, but, even then, their total number was quite small and, when asked if they knew of other natives in the area, the Apache replied that they did not. As will be shown, the archeological data from the Lower Pecos has a similar paucity of material from the Late Prehistoric and Historic periods. The scarcity of Native Americans seen by the two expeditions may reflect a cultural reality. On the other hand, the paucity of native groups in the Lower Pecos in 1590 and 1729 may be coincidental. In each case, the Spanish were present only for brief periods of time and neither party was especially familiar with the terrain or the native groups. Since the Native Americans of the region were hunters and gatherers, they simply may have been occupied elsewhere. It is equally feasible that the native groups deliberately tried to avoid the Spanish. Castaño de Sosa is believed to have been involved in the native slave trade (Labadie 1994:11-18). While serving as Lieutenant Governor of Nuevo León, he likely had hunted for slaves in this general region. Any Native Americans aware of Sosa's history would not have wished to provide an opportunity for him to hunt them again as slaves. Berroteran was a Spanish presidial soldier and the natives in the general region in the early eighteenth century were generally hostile to the Spanish (Kenmotsu 1994:203). In sum, the scarcity of Native Americans encountered in the region in 1590 and 1729 may or may not accurately represent the quantity of people living in the region.

In the remainder of this chapter we present an overview of the archeology pertaining to the last 1500 years of Native American habitation in the Lower Pecos Archeological Region, our micro-region. The discussion begins with a summary of the Late Prehistoric and Historic periods. It is followed by a summary of known sites in the micro-region that contain artifacts and/or rock art that are believed to date to these periods and, when possible, a guess about the groups responsible for those material remains.

OVERVIEW OF THE ARCHEOLOGY

Several overviews of the archeology of the Lower Pecos have been completed by Turpin (cf. 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1995), who has a long history of research related to the archeology and rock art of the Lower Pecos. Other recent summaries relevant to this affiliation study include those by Bement (1989) and Mehalchick and Boyd (1999). Regardless of which summary the reader selects, he/she should recognize that the Late Prehistoric period for the Lower Pecos is poorly known and the Historic period is even less well known. With the completion of the analysis of data from the 1999 Field School of the Texas Archeological Society, held at the Amistad NRA and focused on these periods, it is likely that new information on these two periods will be revealed (Collins et al. 2000).

Turpin (1991:33-37) divided the Late Prehistoric period into two phases. She assigned the name Flecha to the oldest phase since it is during this time that the bow and arrow (*flecha* means arrow in Spanish) made their appearance in the archeological record of the Lower Pecos. She dates the Flecha phase from A.D. 630-1500 based on the presence of arrow points in Stratum 2a at Arenosa Shelter. A hearth, present in this stratum, has been radiocarbon dated and calibrated to A.D. 619-673 (Turpin 1991:36, and Table 1.12; Dibble 1967:30). Given the presence of Scallorn arrow points in the same stratum, she marks this as the beginning of the Flecha phase. Scallorn arrow points are generally regarded as one of the diagnostics of the early portion of the Late Prehistoric in Central and adjacent parts of Texas (Prewitt 1995:83-173; Turner and Hester 1985:169). In the micro-region, unstemmed arrow points are sometimes considered to be in association with these stemmed points (McClurkan 1966), and Turpin (1991:35) believes that unstemmed points dominate the Late Prehistoric assemblages south of the Rio Grande (for a slightly different view, see discussion of these unstemmed points below). It is not uncommon to find Ensor dart points also present in the same excavated stratum with diagnostics (Scallorn and others) from the Flecha phase. Since Ensor points are part of the inventory of the preceding Late Archaic period, Turpin concludes that their presence with arrow points indicates that there was temporal continuity and that the new technology was not adopted unilaterally. Bement (1989:59, and Table 1) lists Perdiz, Toyah, and Livermore arrow points as index markers of the Flecha phase possibly because Perdiz arrow points were also recovered from Stratum 2A at Arenosa. However, Dibble (1967:34) noted that this stratum was mixed, and most researchers (Mehalchick and Boyd 1999; Turpin and Robinson 1998; Johnson 1994) would place those diagnostics, along with Cliffton (Perdiz performs) and Harrell arrow points with the final portion of the Flecha phase, e.g., A.D. 1300-1500. Turpin (1991:35, 1995:550-552) assigns a variety of site types to the Flecha period, including ring middens, crescentic scatters or piles of burned rock, and cairns. Cairns have been interpreted to represent mortuary features (Turpin 1982:148, 160), but the only one that has been investigated in the micro-region (41VV364) did not have human remains.[1] A new weaving technique (mats made of threaded and twined bulrush) was also introduced during the Flecha phase (Turpin 1995:550).

The Red Monochrome rock art style is considered another aspect of this phase as it contains human figures carrying bows and arrows (Turpin 1991:35, 1986). Unlike the earlier, more abstract, polychrome figures in the rock art of the Lower Pecos, these human figures are full bodied and represented by a naturalistic form painted in hues of red and orange (Kirkland and Newcomb 1967:81). Some human figures have arrows protruding from them, suggesting that warfare was not unknown. Although the major concentration of the known Red Monochrome sites is located near the mouth of the Pecos River, some of these paintings have been recorded as far west as the Big Bend region and as far northeast as the Dry Devil's drainage (Turpin 1995:551; Jackson 1938:239). It is not

known if the quantity of these sites near the mouth of the Pecos reflects a cultural phenomenon or simply a lack of intensive archeological investigations elsewhere. Bement (1989:68) speculates that:

> the appearance of such a fully developed art style [indicates] the intrusion of an outside group. The relative scarcity of sites with this style [however,] may indicate that the intrusive group inhabited the area for only a short time.

While we agree with the broad outline of the Flecha phase, we take a slightly more conservative approach to several aspects of it because the data are not clear-cut. First, the integrity of the archeological assemblages at many sites dating to this phase has often been compromised. Of those sites that have been radiocarbon dated to the period A.D. 630 to 1500 (see Turpin 1991:Tables 1.2 and 1.12 for list of dates), not all have yielded diagnostic arrow points while others have yielded a variety of projectile point styles from Archaic through the Late Prehistoric period. For example, Turpin (1991:36, and Table 1.12) uses the calibrated Stratum 2A date from Arenosa as the beginning date for the Flecha phase. The date, based on the principal investigator's (Dibble 1967) assessment of its context, seems reliable. Recovered with it, however, were Perdiz, Cliffton, and Harrell arrow points—diagnostics typically associated with absolute dates several centuries later (cf., Mehalchick and Boyd 1999; Johnson 1994). Moreover, Dibble (1967:34) stated that this deposit was mixed, indicating that, while the date is valid, individual artifacts may or may not be related to each other. In another example, a second core Flecha dates comes from stratum D at the Sotol site (41CX8) in Crockett County where at least one plain brownware sherd was recovered. Ceramics are nowhere common in the Lower Pecos, but they are considered one of the diagnostics of the subsequent Infierno phase (Turpin 1991:37). This same stratum at the Sotol site also contained two Garza, one Perdiz, and one Fresno arrow points—again, diagnostics that would fit more comfortably in time periods after Flecha. Similar confusion exists regarding the unstemmed points recovered from two rock shelters in northern Mexico: La Calsada (NL 103, Nance 1992) and Cueva de la Zona de Derrumbres (NL 92) (McClurkan 1966). Nance (1992:69-71, 171) has typed the unstemmed points at these two sites as Fresno, Toyah, Starr, and miscellaneous unstemmed points (Table 3; see also Appendix 7) and Turpin (1991:35) concludes that they represent Flecha phase materials. Again, Fresno and Toyah, the two dominant arrow point types recovered from the sites, have been associated with absolute dates or archeological assemblages that range from A.D. 1300-1790 (Johnson 1994; 1969; Kenmotsu 1992; Creel 1990; Tunnell and Newcomb 1969). Moreover, Fresno arrow points are also typologically quite similar to Guerrero points, which Turpin and Bement (1988:77) place in the ensuing Infierno phase. Given these factors, the presence at the Sotol site of a sherd and arrow points that are often associated with occupations dated to the Infierno phase, suggests that either the stratum was mixed or that the dates for the Flecha and Infierno phases need some adjustment. We suspect both.

Table 3. Arrow Points from Two Rockshelters in Northern Mexico.

Site	Provenience	C14 Date	Misc. Arrow Point	Fresno	Toyah	Perdiz	Cliffton	Starr	Soto	Talco
NL 92	Zone 3	–	–	48	7	2	–	2	1	1
	Zone 5	–	–	5	13	–	–	–	–	–
NL 103	Unit 1-2	580 B.P. ± 140 B.P.	6	29	11	–	–	14	–	–

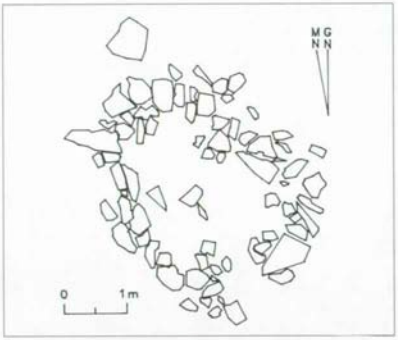
Features typically associated with the Flecha phase present yet another problem. Turpin (1991:35) opines that cairns, ring middens, and crescentic piles of burned rock "consistently date to the Flecha or later periods" based on their presence in sites that have yielded Scallorn points and because some sites with cairns have radiocarbon dates within the Flecha phase. However, the evidence suggests that these features may date to other time periods as well. Only one cairn in the micro-region (41VV364) has been excavated and it yielded one Perdiz, one Scallorn, and two dart point fragments (Turpin 1982:154), suggesting that it may date to any of several chronological periods. Assuming that the cairn at 41VV364 was erected no earlier than the most recent diagnostic (Perdiz), then this cairn tenuously does date to the Flecha Phase. That said, most other sites with cairns have not yielded any projectile points. Like cairns, crescent and ring middens may date to several periods. Some clearly date to the Flecha phase, and outside of the micro-region, Kenmotsu (1993) has identified several in the Guadalupe Mountains that are attributed to the Mescalero Apache. Hester (1989:61) and Shafer (1986) believe they began to be constructed prior to the Flecha phase. Moreover, in surrounding regions, crescent and ring middens have been dated to both the Late Archaic and Late Prehistoric periods. For example, at O. H. Ivie Reservoir, most annular (ring) middens dated to the Late Prehistoric period, but a Late Archaic point (Pandale) was recovered from the ring midden at 41RN169, and an Early Archaic (La Jita) point was recovered from a ring midden at 41RN3 (Lintz et al. 1993:214, 328). Crescent middens in Sanderson Canyon (Terrell County) typically yielded Late Archaic points such as Ensor, Frio, and Paisano (Shafer 1971), as did the ring middens reported by Moore (1983) from Musk Hog Canyon, situated in Crockett County. While these data do not prove that ring middens date to Archaic times, they are sufficient to question a universal assignment of these features to the Late Prehistoric. In sum, it seems premature to assume that all cairns, ring middens, or crescent middens relate to Late Prehistoric and Historic period occupations of the micro-region.

Turpin (1991:36-37) calls the subsequent time period the Infierno phase, beginning around A.D. 1500. She believes that the phase ended around 1700 and separates it from the Historic period, which she initiates at 1600, implying that groups exhibiting characteristics of each of the two phases resided side by side for the better part of a century. More recently, the end date of the Infierno phase has been extended to 1780 (Mehalchick and Boyd 1999:153; Turpin and Robinson 1998:86), although the only absolute dates obtained for sites assigned to this temporal period are those of the upper component at the San Felipe Springs site (Mehalchick and Boyd 1999). Turpin (1991:37-38) associates this phase with an archeological assemblage consisting of "small stemmed arrow points, steeply beveled end scrapers, prismatic blades, and plain brown ceramics" that are typically found on high promontories and often contain stone circles or cairns. Arrow points assigned to the phase include Perdiz, Toyah, Livermore, Sabinal, Bonham (rare), Infierno, Fresno (Guerrero?), and Starr. Dorso end scrapers also date to this phase (Bement and Turpin 1987). Turpin does not assign any rock art to this phase.

The phase is named for the type-site, the Infierno Camp (41VV446), which Dibble recorded in 1974 and mapped in 1976 but did not report. It was recently investigated as part of the 1999 field school of the Texas Archeological Society (Collins et al. 2000). During the latter effort, three clusters of features were identified and mapped at the site. The north complex contained 44 wickiup rings (i.e., small stone enclosures of less than 3 m in diameter), six tipi rings (discontinuous rings of stones that measure from 3-10 m in diameter), and seven burned rock features. The middle complex contained 56 wickiup rings, one tipi ring, one burned rock feature, and one unburned circular stone pavement. Twenty-four wickiup rings were recorded in the south complex, but more are believed to be present. The artifactual material recovered by Dibble and additional material observed during the 1999 investigations at Infierno Camp is sparse, but includes a few small arrow points, small blade flakes,

abrading tools, and a few plain potsherds. Turpin (1982:167) considers the Infierno phase intrusive into the Lower Pecos, largely due to its "radically different features and artifact assemblage." Collins et al. (2000:12) do not speculate on the arrival of new groups but do note certain distinctions when Infierno assemblages are compared to earlier archeological assemblages: "the striking . . . low-frequency of burned rocks on [the Infierno Site] compared to most sites in the Lower Pecos region—evidently [represents] an indication of a contrast in subsistence technology" from earlier periods.

A few other Infierno phase sites have been investigated, including several investigated during the 1999 Texas Archeological Society field school (Collins et al. 2000), the upper component at the San Felipe Springs site (Mehalchick and Boyd 1999), and another site near Live Oak Creek (Turpin and Bement 1988). At the latter site, Turpin and Bement (1988) excavated the most intact of several stone rings recorded at the site (Figure 24). The site is situated on a bank of Live Oak Creek with little soil cover and consists of several burned rock middens and five stone features. Feature A, the excavated ring, consisted of a "double ring of 71 large blocks . . . 2.5 meters in diameter" with a southeasterly opening or break in the ring. Like most stone rings (Collins et al. 2000; Oetelaar 2000:45-49), few artifacts (n=27) came from the excavation of the ring, and they consisted of burned and unburned secondary and tertiary chert flakes. Artifacts diagnostic of the Infierno phase were recovered elsewhere on the surface of the site and include a brownware sherd, a Guerrero point, Sabinal point, a stemmed arrow



a



b

Figure 24. Stone ring (Feature A) excavated at the Tonto or Live Oak Hole site (41VV828) by Turpin and Bement (1988): a, plan view; b, photograph of plan view (Courtesy of the Texas Archeological Society).

point, and a dorso scraper along with several dart points. The lack of diagnostics or other material recovered from the ring clouds the chronological placement of this or other stone rings.

Although stone rings of this size have yielded diagnostics of the Infierno phase (Collins et al. 2000; Turpin and Robinson 1998), at least one ring structure (41VV1099) that has been investigated can be dated to the Late Archaic (Wayne Bartholomew, personal communication 1991). The site is located on a high saddle overlooking a tributary of Deadman's Canyon, and sits on bedrock with no soil cover. It consists of a single stone ring (measuring approximately 2 m in diameter) with a sparse scatter of lithic reduction debris and a Paisano dart point. The dart point and the lithic debris are all from the same lithic source material. Some flakes even re-fit onto a core, also recovered at the site. Fully mapped and collected, but not yet reported, the site appears to represent a small Archaic period camp where one and possibly more dart points were manufactured. There is no evidence that the site (or the ring) was used for a signal fire or that it was used during the Late Prehistoric. Stone rings elsewhere are also not restricted to the Late Prehistoric or Historic periods (see Oetelaar 2000:44; Davis 1983). Nonetheless, Turpin and Bement (1988) assign the excavated ring at 41VV828 to the Infierno phase on the basis of surface-collected artifacts found elsewhere at the site, the integrity of the stone ring, and the historic pictographs at the nearby Live Oak Hole site (41VV169).

Dibble (1978) first outlined the Infierno phase because he believed that the pottery in the Lower Pecos was distinct from the pottery found to the north and northeast. That pottery is known as Leon Plain and it is one of the diagnostic artifacts of the Toyah phase. While Turpin and Robinson (1998:91) assert that "the Infierno phase is roughly contemporaneous with, but not an extension of, the Toyah Phase of central and south Texas," a summary of the Toyah phase by Johnson (1994:187-277) suggests to us that this archeological construct fits well with the archeological data from the Infierno phase. As Johnson points out, the Toyah phase was a Late Prehistoric to early Historic phase that swept across most of Texas south of the Southern Plains, extending into the Lower Pecos, Trans-Pecos, and Central Texas regions between A.D. 1300 and 1780. Using data from a series of well reported, excavated sites, Johnson (1993:271) argues that the material culture of this phase is distinct from earlier horizons in South and Central Texas and portions of the eastern Trans-Pecos, appearing "abruptly in the archeological record." The Toyah phase appeared at a time (ca. A.D. 1300) when climatic conditions prompted buffalo to migrate south (Johnson 1994:258). This was also a time when there is some evidence of a growing trade between Plains buffalo hunters and the pueblos of eastern New Mexico (Kenmotsu 1994, 2001; Spielmann 1982). The Toyah material culture—well made arrow points manufactured from blades and flakes, end scrapers, perforators, knives, and plain pottery—was "well adapted for the hunting and processing of buffalo" (Johnson 1994:271). Perdiz arrow points, informal knives and scrapers, dominate the lithic toolkit at Toyah sites as well as a variety of tools (end scrapers, perforators/drills, and points) fashioned from flakes, along with Harahey and Covington beveled knives, and a blade technology. Other arrow points are sometimes present on Toyah sites, including Livermore, Harrell, Garza, Soto, Fresno (or Guerrero?), Bonham, and Sabinal. Ceramics from Toyah phase sites are few, but often exhibit vessel smoothing using a wide stick, beveled rims, application of a thin wash to vessel interiors, and frequent use of bone temper (Johnson 1994:269). Through careful examination of excavated Toyah complex sites and an analysis of the Buckhollow site, Johnson hypothesized other Toyah traits. These include the evidence that the Toyah folk did not restrict their diet to bison or deer, but rather "gathered, killed, grew, and ate . . . what comestibles were locally available, and in what season of the year its people found themselves" (Johnson 1994:262). Groups generally consisted of small or extended family households, and group mobility appears to have been limited. Distinguishing between a "classic" Toyah phase in Central Texas and other areas to

which the Toyah culture spread, Johnson (1994:279) places the Lower Pecos on the margins of the spread. He believes the spread was likely the result of both migration of non-resident groups south from the Plains and "conversion" of local residents to a Plains tool kit that allowed their participation in a regional interaction network that focused on bison hunting.[2]

These traits fit well with the evidence from the Lower Pecos (the micro-region). The material from the final centuries of the Flecha period and from the Infierno Phase—Perdiz arrow points, beveled end scrapers, prismatic blades, bone-tempered ceramics—is unlike the material of the earlier part of the Late Prehistoric. However, they mesh with the material from Toyah sites (cf. Johnson 1994; Creel 1990). Recently, Mehalchick and Boyd (1999:152-157) conclude that the Infierno Phase is a regional variant of the Toyah phase. Their conclusion is based on their work at the San Felipe Springs site (41VV444) in modern Del Rio and on comparisons of their data with Turpin's (1991; 1989, 1982; Turpin and Robinson 1998) work and data from nearby sites. They identified a Late Prehistoric component post-dating A.D. 1300 at the springs. This component "is distinguished primarily by Cliffton and Perdiz points, ceramics, and formal scrapers" (Mehalchick and Boyd 1999:152). Their case is strengthened by their ceramic analysis. Seven sherds from San Felipe were subjected to petrographic analysis (Robinson 1999) and compared to petrographic results of other Infierno sherds from the Lower Pecos sites and from sites 41RG26, 41FL1, 41CX9, and Mission San Lorenzo de Santa Cruz (Turpin and Robinson 1998). The results are striking and "indicate that the Infierno Phase plainwares are essentially identical (with only minor variations due to local production) to the bone-tempered pottery manufactured by Toyah people across south and central Texas" (Mehalchick and Boyd 1999:153). They also point out that the beveled end and side scrapers from Infierno sites are defining characteristics of the Classic Toyah phase as well and commonly attributed to bison hunters. Similarly, Perdiz arrow points (and their preforms, e.g., Cliffton), present in Infierno sites, predominate in Toyah phase sites, and two and four-beveled knives are present in sites of both phases. Bison remains, while not ubiquitous on Infierno sites, are nonetheless, sometimes present in Late Prehistoric deposits (Collins 1969:1-11), and Spanish documents of the late seventeenth century indicate bison were present in the region at that time.

Differences between the sites associated with the Infierno versus the Toyah phases include the lack of structural remains on Toyah phase sites and the presumed chronological differences between the two phases. Mehalchick and Boyd (1999:154-155) propose that the former difference is likely a sampling factor, and believe that the dating distinction (A.D. 1300-1650 for Toyah versus A.D. 1500-1780 for Infierno) relates to the deflated surfaces on which many Infierno sites have been found and the lack of any absolute dates for Infierno. Thus, as Mehalchick and Boyd (1999:155) remark, Johnson's dates for Toyah are based on a relatively precise chronology, but the age assessment for Infierno "is largely speculative." Still, two calibrated radiocarbon dates (Mehalchick 1999) from the Toyah zone at San Felipe Springs (neither was from feature context) date between A.D. 1295 and 1450 and suggest that the date of A.D. 1500 for the initiation of the Infierno phase is too late. Mehalchick and Boyd (1999:157) conclude by stating:

> The evidence is far from conclusive, but there are two equally plausible explanations. The Infierno Phase may represent a distinctive but intrusive Protohistoric Plains culture sharing many lifestyle and material culture characteristics with the Toyah Phase, or it may be little more than a continuum or late (after A.D. 1500) variant of Toyah in the Lower Pecos.

Given the contrast between the features and artifactual assemblage of the Infierno phase and earlier occupations, Turpin (1995:553) has stated that the "Infierno people clearly came into the Lower Pecos region late in prehistory," and goes on to associate these remains with "native northern Mexican people

traveling en masse to the mouth of the Pecos River for annual bison hunts." Presumably she was referring to the large groups of Native Americans encountered by Fray Manuel de la Cruz, Fray Juan Larios, and Lieutenant Fernando del Bosque who traveled to and from the Rio Grande during the late 1600s. These Spaniards encountered relatively sizable groups both north and south of the river (Wade 1999a). However, as we noted in the preceding chapter, many of those groups resided north of the Rio Grande, some from areas close to the river (e.g., Catujano, Tereodam, Gueiquesale), while others (e.g., Geniocane, Sana, Bagname, Xoman, Yorica) were from regions well to the north of the river (Wade 1998, 1999a; Kenmotsu 1994). Hence, during the closing years of the Infierno phase, there is documentary evidence that while some native groups traveled north, other Native Americans were moving south through the Lower Pecos. The documentary evidence, however, does support Turpin's belief that their journeys to and from the Lower Pecos were to hunt bison.

In summary, we, like Mehalchick and Boyd (1999:157), find the similarities between the Classic Toyah phase artifactual assemblages and the Infierno phase artifactual assemblages too close to discount. Moreover, we find that the documentary evidence shows: (1) the presence of bison herds in and close to the Lower Pecos by at least A.D.1650 (Wade 1999a, 1999b); (2) the hunting of bison in the area by resident and non-resident groups; and (3) the territorial conflicts between those resident and non-resident groups as each sought greater access to the bison herds (Wade 1999a). Together, these data suggest to us that the Infierno phase reflects either, as Turpin (1982:167) noted, the artifactual assemblage of new groups moving into the Lower Pecos with their technology, or Toyah phase groups outside of the Lower Pecos influencing the technology of local groups. The timing of this change has yet to be fully worked out, but radiocarbon dates associated with Perdiz, beveled knives, and dorso end scrapers at sites like 41VV260, 41VV67, and 41VV444, suggest that it may have been as early as A.D. 1400. While bison hunting was not their exclusive economic endeavor, the Infierno tool kits show that it was an important one. Like Mehalchick and Boyd, we believe that these sites, and the Infierno phase, represent a regional variant of the Toyah phase.

In contrast to the Infierno phase, Turpin (1991:38) believes that archeological sites during the Historic period "consist largely of rock art panels with little or no accompanying occupational debris." Her exceptions are a few scattered metal arrow points and an occasional gunflint, or sites related to the military activity in the region, such as 41VV1428, the Bullis Trail site. She finds evidence of two periods in the historic rock art, with the first one beginning ca. A.D. 1600 and ending in the early 1700s. She dates the second period of historic rock art from the mid-1700s to the latter half of the nineteenth century. This legacy is depicted in the rock art at a few sites that contain drawings of structures that appear to be missions with crosses on their roofs, pictorial elements that are dramatically different from the rock art of earlier periods. Crosses are often present at these sites as well, and may be linked to the mission-like structures, although crosses are also present in the complex art of earlier periods. Other elements assigned to the early historic rock art are anthropomorphs that appear to be from the historic era. One such figure is present at Vaquero shelter (41VV77; Figure 25); this figure is described as a grandee by Turpin (1988:52). The individual is drawn with European-style clothing in a naturalistic style (see costumes in Boucher [1987:278-284]). Other anthropomorphs assigned to the early historic rock art have rectangular bodies, some with v-necks, crosses, and ears.

We fully endorse Turpin's distinction between early and late historic pictographs in the microregion. However, we tentatively suggest that the early pictographs may relate to the Infierno phase. That is, Turpin's dating of these early historic scenes has parallels in the documentary record of the seventeenth century. In 1658, in Saltillo, some Babane and Jumano individuals requested that the Spanish establish mission settlements for them and their allies (Wade 1999a:30). Kenmotsu (2001)



Figure 25. Figure with European-style dress at Vaquero Shelter (41VV77) (photograph courtesy of Texas Historical Commission).

describes the similar attempts of the Jumano elsewhere to entice the Spanish into establishing other missions in their lands along the Pecos and Concho rivers. Those efforts date to the seventeenth century and were an attempt to prevent Apache encroachment of their lands. In addition, Wade (1999a) points out that there were a variety of Native American coalitions on both sides of the Rio Grande during that century and each coalition sought to maintain their access to the bison herds in the region. Finally, in the 1670s, settlements and missions were established south of the Rio Grande. While their success was equivocal, Spanish priests and missions were central to the effort as were administrative and military leaders. Hence, we tentatively suggest that some of the early historic rock art in the Lower Pecos is related to these events, perhaps recording the requests for missions, missionaries, and settlements.

In contrast to the early historic pictographs, rock art panels from the late historic period exhibit realistic drawings of bison (which are rarely, if at all, present in the Archaic period art of the region), suggesting either that bison were present in greater numbers than previously, or that they were accorded importance in the lives of the artists. These rock art panels contain figures and elements that are drawn in the Plains Ceremonial and Biographic styles (Keyser 1987:45-48). They often contain pictographs with horses, occasional bison, and human-like figures (often with muskets/rifles, etc.) (Figure 26). Some of the human-like figures wear leggings and long flowing headdresses. They also carry shields or have shields located close by; others have Spanish or United States army issued hats, robes, or other European garb. Turpin (1995, 1988), following Jackson (1938) and Kirkland and Newcomb (1967), recognizes these action scenes as ones that relate to the presence and activities of Plains (perhaps Comanche and Kiowa) tribes in this region.

As Turpin (1988) and we (see Ethnohistoric Review) have noted, by the early eighteenth century Spanish interest in the micro-region waned, allowing intrusion of Plains tribes who were being displaced from these lands. That change appears to be reflected in the rock art of the Lower Pecos. Although Turpin (1988:54) suggests that the change began as early as 1650, documentary evidence (see Wade 1999a; AGI 1682-1683) indicates that it is more likely to have begun around 1730 (see Appendix 5). Documents prior to that date mention the presence of a variety of native groups in the northern Coahuila and west central Texas regions, but Plains tribes were not among them. By 1729, however, the Barriero map calls the Pecos the "Rio Salado o del Natagee" (see Figure 7) and several Apaches were found south of the Rio Grande that same year (Ayer 1729). Apache presence in the Lower Pecos continued throughout much of the nineteenth century. By 1756, documents note that the Comanche were beginning to travel south to the San Saba River, then southwest through the Lower Pecos into Coahuila (QA 1756:227), and subsequent documents (e.g., Wallace n.d.:322; Swanson n.d.:267) indicate that the Comanche continued to access these lands. Unlike the Apache, however, the Comanche used the Lower Pecos as a route of travel during raiding excursions, but generally resided to the north (Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol.1:24-25, and Vol. 2:110). Other Native Americans in the Lower Pecos during the nineteenth century include the Kiowa, Seminole, Kickapoo, Cherokee, and Shawnee.



Figure 26. Rock art panel at site 41VV485, Dolan Springs showing a bison over a human figure with a musket. (Photograph courtesy of The University of Texas at Austin, Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, site files).

THE SITES

For this study, we reviewed the site forms for Val Verde, Edwards, Crockett, Kinney, Sutton, and Terrell counties to identify the sites dating from the final part of the Flecha phase, along with sites dating to the Infierno Phase and the Historic period, i.e., those years dating after A.D. 1200 that span the final decades of the Late Prehistoric as well as the Historic periods. We reiterate that it was necessary to include this broad time frame because it is not possible to distinguish archeologically between sites of the late portion of the Late Prehistoric and the early part of the Historic period. It should also be noted that *all* sites from Edwards, Crockett, Kinney, Sutton, and Terrell counties were

reviewed to identify and include sites of the period of concern even though not all of the land base of these counties can be included in the micro-region. This was because, outside of Crockett County, these counties have so few recorded sites that the time needed to selectively search for only those sites present in the micro-region did not seem warranted.

The data on the sites were obtained from research in site files of the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory (TARL) at The University of Texas at Austin with the assistance of Don Wade, and from the Historic Sites Atlas, a joint effort of the Texas Historical Commission, the Texas Department of Transportation, and the Federal Highway Administration. Appendix 7 provides a listing of these sites, and Table 4 summarizes that data. Since few of these sites have been subjected to subsurface investigations, any site with materials considered diagnostic of these two periods—Perdiz, Toyah, Livermore, Garza, Fresno (Guerrero?), Bonham, Sabinal, Infierno, or metal arrow points, historic rock art, or pottery sherds—was included in the list of sites. Sites with dorso end scrapers also were included since Bement and Turpin (1987), Turpin (1991), and Mehalchick and Boyd (1999) consider these artifacts to be part of the Infierno tool kit. Sites with no artifacts diagnostic of the period after A.D. 1200, but had radiometric dates that fell into this time period were also included. Because Turpin believes cairns and stone rings to be diagnostic of Late Prehistoric or Historic periods occupations, sites with those features were included whether or not they had artifacts diagnostic of these periods. Burned rock middens and ring middens were included only if artifacts or radiocarbon dates from those periods were present. Finally, sites with European features or artifacts were included when those remains were believed to be associated with historic Native Americans.

Table 4 shows a wide disparity in the number of sites recorded. In Val Verde County, over 1,890 archeological sites have been recorded whereas, combined, only 1,842 have been recorded in the other five counties. Most of the sites recorded in Val Verde County are located within or in close proximity to the Amistad NRA, and the majority of these were recorded as a direct result of the archeological studies completed prior to the construction of Amistad dam or during subsequent cultural resource studies undertaken by the Amistad NRA to better manage the rich array of sites under their jurisdiction (Labadie 1994). The recent field school of the Texas Archeological Society (Collins et al. 2000) has augmented those studies in the Amistad NRA. Two other studies that added a sizable number of sites

Table 4. Sites in the Lower Pecos with Features, Artifacts, Radiocarbon Dates, or Rock Art Post-Dating A.D. 1200.

County	Total Sites Recorded	Total Sites with Relevant Data	No. with Arrow Points*	No. with sherds	No. with rock art **	No. with C14 dates	No. with Tipi/ Wickiup rings or cairns	No. with European Artifacts
Crockett	865	16	1	1		11	1	2
Edwards	187	3	1	2				
Kinney	133	10	1					9
Sutton	73	None						
Terrell	584	17	6	1	3	4	5	
Val Verde	1891	138	52	12	20	10	55	6
Totals	3733	184	61	16	23	25	61	17

* See Appendix 7; only sites with Perdiz, Cliffton, Toyah, Guerrero/Fresno, Garza, Harrell, Livermore, Sabinal, or Bonham were included.
** Includes only sites with rock art assigned to historic periods.

to the county's total are: 1) the dissertation research completed by Saunders (1986); and 2) the survey of the Dolan Springs Wildlife Management Area, a property of Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (Turpin and Davis 1993). Sites in the other counties were largely recorded during small CRM efforts (cf. Shafer 1971) or by the efforts of avocational archeologists. The higher quantity in Crockett County reflects the large number of sites recorded by the 1976 field school of the Texas Archeological Society in and around Musk Hog Canyon (Moore 1983). The low number of sites in each of the other counties is due to the limited archeological investigations that have taken place in those counties.

One of the striking aspects of the Late Prehistoric and Historic period sites is their remarkably low number (see Table 4 and Appendix 7). In each county, they represent less than 8 percent of the total sites recorded. On the other hand, because most sites have only been subjected to surface survey, it should not be surprising that most have not yielded chronologically diagnostic artifacts, rock art, or military paraphernalia, and only a rare few have been radiocarbon dated. Thus, we caution that the total number of recorded sites in the micro-region that date between A.D. 1200 and 1880 may or may not be accurate. Only 184 sites contain materials that date from the later part of the Late Prehistoric (ca. A.D. 1200-1500) or Historic Indian (A.D. 1590-1880) periods, representing 4.9 percent of all sites recorded in these counties. The highest percentage of sites with materials dating between A.D. 1200 and 1880 is in Kinney County, where they constitute 7.52 percent of the recorded sites, most of which are sites that were occupied by Seminole Maroon in the 1872-1881 period (Mock 1994). The remaining four counties have even lower proportions with 7.2 percent in Val Verde County, 2.9 percent in Terrell County, 1.6 in Edwards County, and 1.8 percent in Crockett County. Sutton County, with only 73 total sites recorded in the entire county, has no sites that contain materials from the relevant periods. Together, these 183 sites underscore the need for both additional archeological survey and controlled subsurface investigation, and support the assertion of Mehalchick and Boyd (1999:157) that there are sampling biases that affect the database.

Keeping in mind these biases, some tentative trends are suggested by the data. First, arrow points (n=60 sites) or tipi /wickiup rings and/or cairns (n=61 sites) are the most commonly recorded site materials and these are diagnostic of the A.D. 1200 to 1880 time span. Sites with arrow points diagnostic of these periods (Late Prehistoric and Historic Indian) were mostly recorded in Val Verde County (n=52 sites). Perdiz is the diagnostic arrow point most often recorded at Val Verde County sites, being present on 49 of the 52 sites. Of the 49 Val Verde County sites with Perdiz only 11 contained other arrow points (including Toyah, Harrell, Garza, Fresno, or Infierno) diagnostic of these periods, while only three sites with other arrow points failed to include Perdiz. Another trend is that while 61 sites contain one or more types of arrow points, only 16 sites contain pottery sherds. Many of these same sites contain dart points, rock art, or other materials that are characteristic of earlier periods.

Sixty-one sites contained tipi/wickiup rings and/or cairns. Most (n=43) did not contain any artifacts or rock art dating to the relevant time periods. Since these features may or may not all date to this time period (as noted above), and since only a few of the sites with tipi/wickiup rings and/or cairns (n=17) had diagnostics dating from A.D. 1200 to 1880, the total number of sites that were included in this category may be inflated. Fifteen sites with rings (41VV398, 404, 409, 446, 635, 649, 869, 1723, 1724, 1860, 1875, 1876, 1881, 1884, and 1889) are located in or close to the Amistad NRA, most within or adjacent to Seminole Canyon State Park. Turpin (1994) has interpreted these features as loci where signal fires were built, but further examination of this interpretation is sorely needed and other hypotheses are possible. Seventeen of the 61 sites have cairns. Of these, only five did not also contain tipi/wickiup rings.

The number of rings present is not recorded on eight sites. On the remaining 53 sites, the number of stone rings varies somewhat but most have relatively few rings. Forty-five sites (one in Crockett County, three in Terrell County, and 41 in Val Verde County) had one to five rings. One of the sites with a single ring is 41VV880 on Dolan Creek, a site believed to represent the remains of a U.S. Cavalry site, possibly associated with the 1857 engagement between the U.S. Army and the Comanche (Turpin and Davis 1993:7). Three sites with tipi/wickiup rings and/or cairns had six to 10 rings (one in Terrell County and two in Val Verde County). The remaining three sites with rings all have in excess of 100 rings; no cairns have been reported at any of the three. All three sites are in Val Verde County, and two (41VV1723 and 41VV1724) overlook the Rio Grande while 41VV446 overlooks Seminole Canyon just a short distance north of the Rio Grande. Both 41VV1723 and 41VV1724 are described as containing several hundred tipi/wickiup rings, along with a number of hearths, and mortar holes. Recent recording of Infierno Camp (41VV446) shows more than 140 tipi/wickiup rings at that site. Perdiz and Infierno arrow points were recorded at the Infierno Camp along with several sherds. No arrow points were recovered at 41VV1723 or 41VV1724, although at least one sherd was found at 41VV1723.

Interestingly, the presence of these three sites (41VV446, 1723, and 1724) with over 100 tipi/wickiup rings on or close to the Rio Grande, conforms to some of the archival information that place large groups of Apache and Comanche camping on or close to the Rio Grande during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Table 5 lists those reports and their sources. Together, the reports demonstrate the presence and affiliation of these Native Americans with the Amistad NRA. As we noted in the opening chapter, however, the reports indicate that these groups moved frequently within the Amistad NRA and the micro-region and were often present in the macro-region as well.

Given these reports, it is tempting to conclude that the three sites with over 100 tipi/wickiup rings represent Apache or Comanche encampments since these Native Americans are known to have been present in the area, in relatively large numbers, intermittently, for a long period of time. Moreover, they are known to have erected small, conical structures at their camps (Kavanagh 1996; Merino in John and Wheat 1991:150), and tipi/wickiup rings have a long history in the northern Plains regions from which they migrated (Oetelaar 2000). Nonetheless, the data are insufficient to prove that sites 41VV446, 41VV1723, or 41VV1724 are the remains of Apache or Comanche camps, and several factors cloud any such conclusion. First, in 1875 and 1876, large numbers of Comanches were reported present at the Eagle's Nest crossing of the Rio Grande near modern Langtry. The 1875 report even documents an engagement of the Comanche with Bullis and his Seminole Maroon scouts at the mouth of the Pecos. Nonetheless, no sites with tipi/wickiup rings or with U.S. military artifacts have yet been recorded in or close to Langtry (see Appendix 7). Second, several reports refer to a popular crossing at the mouth of the Pecos. Again, no sites with tipi/wickiup rings or military artifacts have been recorded at the mouth of the Pecos. The closest site with tipi/wickiup rings is 41VV446 (Infierno Camp), located ca. two miles east of the confluence of the Pecos with the Rio Grande on the eastern side of Seminole Canyon and ca. one mile north of the Rio Grande. To date, however, no reported artifacts from 41VV446 are of military origin. A brass trigger guard and beveled end scrapers were recovered from the Old Saloon ruins (41VV544), a site situated in Seminole Canyon. The closest site reported to date that compares to the reports that Comanche and Apache crossed at the mouth of the Pecos is 41VV1428, Bullis Crossing. Supporting evidence that this may indeed correspond to the crossing at the mouth of the Pecos is the presence of another site close to Bullis Crossing that is believed to be a U.S. military camp from 1875. This is 41VV1651,which contains historic U.S. military artifacts and features from the late nineteenth century and is believed to have been one of the encampments used by Bullis and his Seminole Maroon scouts (see Crimmins Collection; Swanson n.d.:209-210).

Table 5. Reports of Apache or Comanche Camping on or Crossing Lands of the Amistad NRA.

Date	Observation	Source
1753	In a memoir, Berroteran wrote that the Apache and Cholome Indians "came from the Rio Puerco [Pecos] where it joins with the Rio del Norte [Rio Grande]."	Hadley et al. 1997:214
1763	200 Lipan were reported to be on the Rio Puerco, near Mission Candelaria.	QA 1763
1766	British Museum map places the Lipan just west of the confluence of the Devils River with the Rio Grande.	UTEP, special collections
1766	Same British Museum map places the Natagee at the confluence of the Pecos River with the Rio Grande.	UTEP, special collections
1773	Military map of Nueva Espana places the Apaches Lipanes just east of the confluence of the Pecos River with the Rio Grande. The same map places the Apaches Jumanes & Apaches Natajes slightly north of the Lipanes and on the east side of the Pecos, while Apaches Natajes & Mescaleros are shown on the west side of the Pecos.	Archivo Militar de Espana
1804	Zebulon Pike's map of New Spain shows the Apaches Mescaleros on the Pecos River.	Texas State Archives, map collection
1804	In his description of the Apache occupation of New Spain, veteran Merino wrote: "'[The Lipanes] is probably the most populous of all the Apache tribes, and for many years it has lived in peace on the frontiers of Coahuila and Texas. It is divided into two branches, known as upper and lower . . . . The Lipanes border on the north with the Cumanches, on the west with the Mezcaleros, on the south with the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, and on the east with the frontier of Texas.'" He includes the confluence of the Pecos with the Rio Grande in the large region.	Wheat and John 1991:163-164
1844	Moechucope's letter to Houston stated that some of Pah-hah-yuco's band (Comanche) were on the Pecos near the Rio Grande.	Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 2:6-8
1847	Buffalo Hump took several hundred warriors across a ford at the mouth of the Pecos in order to raid Mexican ranches.	Wallace n.d.:322
1848	Mexican soldiers under Jesus de la Garza attack a Lipan camp on the northern bank of the Rio Grande at the mouth of the Pecos	AM de San Buenaventura 1848
1848	Comanche report to Neighbors that the Lipan are camped at the and mouth of the Pecos in relatively large numbers.	BIA 1847-1853, 1:162; Winfrey Day 1995, Vol. 4:229
1851	Seminole Maroon chased Lipan and Comanche warriors from the Lower Pecos to the Bolson de Mapimi.	Mulroy 1993:68, 73
1853	Addicks finds Lipan on Puerco [Pecos]; takes them to Nueces where they can grow corn.	BIA 1853-1854, 2:106
1854	Lipan and Mescalero were reported to have "moved their camps to the waters of the Rio Grande near the Pecos [from the Nueces] owing to sickness in their band and some deaths."	BIA 1853-1854, 2:710
1855	Captain Elliott of Fort Clark attacked Comanche in "tall cane" on the Pecos after they returned from trading with Mexico.	Swanson n.d.:51
1855	Neighbors requests funds to bring in Apache & Comanche groups who "inhabit the country west of the Pecos River and east of the Rio Grande."	BIA 1854-1857, 3:118

Table 5. (Continued)

Date	Observation	Source
1857	Engagement of U.S. Army with Comanche at a bluff overlooking the Devils River which is believed to be at Dolan Springs.	Turpin and Davis 1993:7
1867	Buckelew stated that he was taken to their camp on the Pecos River. Later their camp moved south of the Rio Grande, although about half stayed on the Texas side. They "camped about on the Pecos at different places and in different parties for about six months" including at the mouth of the river.	Winfrey and Day 1995, Vol. 4:229, 259
1869	Mackenzie's men engaged about 100 Lipan and Mescalero ca. 50 miles above the mouth of the Pecos; the Apache fled down the river and crossed into Mexico.	Swanson n.d.:179
1873	Mackenzie reported that Lipan raided from the Lower Pecos to below Fort Clark.	Swanson n.d.:237-238
1875	Scouting party travels along the Pecos, crossing it about a mile from its mouth, following "an Indian trail" and then marching six miles to Painted Cave where they saw signs of Indians. Then they traveled to Eagle's Nest crossing where they found a trail of horses. They followed the trail back to the mouth of the Pecos where they found Comanche trying to herd the horses.	Crimmins Collection; Swanson n.d.:209-210
1876	Kickapoo & Lipan state that they cross the Rio Grande at San Felipe Springs (Del Rio) to avoid the army at Eagle's Nest.	Swanson n.d.:305
1877	Seminole Maroon trail Comanche and Lipan from Gillespie County to the mouth of the Pecos.	Crimmins Collection; Porter 1996:200
1881	Seminole Maroon trail Lipan across the Devils River to the mouth of the Pecos and into Mexico.	Mulroy 1993:131

In sum, despite some tantalizing evidence, it is not yet possible to know if these three sites, with their large numbers of stone rings, represent the remains of Apache or Comanche encampments in or near the Amistad NRA. Since 100 percent archeological survey of the Amistad NRA was not undertaken prior to inundation of the reservoir, since sites from the period A.D. 1200 through 1880 tend to yield few artifacts, and since more recent settlements at Langtry and elsewhere may have destroyed or masked earlier components, it is not clear if we will ever be able to associate specific reports of Native American camps with specific sites.

Painted Cave (41VV7, also called Castle Canyon) is one of the few sites that can be associated with specific historic reports. The site is mentioned in an 1875 report (Crimmins Collection; Swanson n.d.:205). It was also mentioned in an 1849 report of Captain French who was conducting a reconnaissance of routes from San Antonio to El Paso (Jackson 1938:231). Located on a tributary of the Devils River, the site consists of several rock shelters fronted by a burned rock midden. The rock art is present in several of the shelters and dates from the prehistoric era, but also from historic times (Greer 1966:17-18; Jackson 1938:238). The latter consists of a mission-style structure and a possible Spanish figure, but horses and cows are also present (Greer 1966:17-18). Excavations at the site recovered Perdiz, Toyah, and Harrell arrow points as well as material from Archaic occupations.

Several sites in the micro-region also can be related to historic military activities. In addition to 41VV1428 (Bullis Crossing) and its associated camp site (41VV1651) mentioned above, 41VV795 is

an historic crossing of the Rio Grande known as Dweese's Crossing or Dweese's Vega (*vega* means trail in Spanish). Seven of the 11 sites in Kinney County included in Table 4 and Appendix 7 represent house sites of the Seminole Maroon settlements on Las Moras Creek at Fort Clark, and another is a ditch they excavated to improve the irrigation of their fields. Yet another site (41KI19) is the Seminole Indian Cemetery with graves of both Seminole and Seminole Maroon families from 1872 to the present. The other eight sites with historic military remains are: two sites (41VV841 and 41VV405) with possible gun flints; Snake Springs (41VV880) where the 1857 battle between the Comanche and the U.S. military occurred; Baker's Crossing (41VV424) of the Devils River near Camp Hudson (dating to ca. 1857); Howard's Well (41CX273) where the 1872 Kiowa battle with the U.S. Army was fought; and Howard's Stage Depot (41CX774), dating from the 1870s.

Several rock art sites are also considered relevant to the present study. In all, 22 sites contain Historic Period rock art (Table 6). Although some of the 22 also contain rock art or artifacts diagnostic of Archaic periods, few contain arrow points or sherds, and, hence, support Turpin's (1991:38) assertion that rock art is the only evidence of the use of the micro-region by Native American groups during the Historic period. Historic era rock art sites in Val Verde County (n=19) can be generally divided into early and late periods, and many of these are in or close to the Amistad NRA. The three Terrell County sites all contain historic rock art from the late period, but one site (41TE9) also has some panels with the early style. The early Historic period rock art sites depict mission-like square or rectangular structures with steep, pitched roofs and crosses extending skyward. Others exhibit human figures that are thought to represent soldiers or priests. Some of the latter are associated with individual crosses and/or hands.

Eight sites in Val Verde County contain rock art from the early part of the Historic period. Vaquero shelter (41VV77) is located in Seminole Canyon State Historical Park in a shallow overhang. The early artwork here depicts a mission and three crosses (Figure 27). Other mission structures are depicted in rock art panels at 41VV7 (described above), 41VV343, and 41VV570. The mission-like structure depicted at 41VV570 is the only historic rock art at the site; the remainder of the rock art at the site appears to be prehistoric. At 41VV343, a panel with the mission-like structure also contains a horse carrying a man whose hat appears to be that of a priest (Figure 28). Site 41VV343 is located on the Dolan Creek Ranch, north of the Amistad NRA. Located just outside the boundaries of the Amistad NRA on lands owned by Texas Tech University and known as Rattlesnake Canyon, 41VV180 is one of a series of rock art sites in a narrow canyon. The site was recorded some years later as 41VV205 and named Missionary Shelter; it is, however, the same site as 41VV180. Today, the site is almost completely faded, but when first recorded by A.T. Jackson, it held a missionary-like figure pierced by a cross (Figure 29). The artwork also contained several crosses and a horse drawn in a boat-like style. One of the figures drawn in a rock art panel at 41VV327, a shelter on the Hussie Miers Ranch outside of the Amistad NRA, appears to be a Spanish soldier holding a musket. In addition to this Spanish-like individual, a Native American on a horse is shown. However, the native and horse appear to represent a latter style (discussed below), perhaps suggesting that Turpin's (1989) identification of the European as a Spaniard is erroneous. Site 41VV339, on this same ranch, depicts several horseshoes, horses with Spanish ring bits, and riders who have been impaled with spears (Figure 29).

One site in Coahuila should be mentioned with these four early historic Indian rock art sites: the Cruz Electrica site near Musquiz, Coahuila (Sayther 1998:90-91, and Figure 3). The dominant artwork at the site consists of a cross approximately one meter tall surrounded by a zigzag line (giving it the appellation "*electrica*"). Seen alone, the cross might not be considered historic. However, beneath one arm of the cross is a human figure wearing a tank-like garment that extends to its knees and has wide

Table 6. Historic Era Native American Rock Art Sites in the Micro-Region.

Site Number/Name	Early or Late style	Description of historic era artwork
41TE9, Meyers Spring	Early, Late	Horses, weapons, horned headdress figures (late)
41TE10	Late (?)	One figure, a possible horse
41TE330, Jackson's site 59	Late	Plains petroglyphs, including tipis, travel signs, arrows, bison, human figures, horse tracks, possible guns
41VV7, Painted Cave, Castle Canyon, Jackson's site 96	Early, Late	Mission-like structure and possible Spanish soldier (early); cows and horses (late)
41VV18, Jackson's site 99	Late	One realistic human figure
41VV72, Seminole Waterhole	Late	Feather headdresses; bow and arrow
41VV77, Vaquero Shelter, Jackson's site 89	Early, Late	Mission structure and Spanish grandee (early); riders on horses with long horn cattle (late)
41VV78, Painted Cave (also 41VV573)	Early	People with bows & arrows
41VV169, Live Oak Hole	Late	Man on horse, man with hair, bison
41VV180, Rattlesnake Canyon, Missionary Shelter, (also 41VV205)	Early, Late	Probable priest, crosses (early); horse (late)
41VV202	Late	A single bison
41VV211	Late	Called "historic Indian"; no other data
41VV226, Caballo shelter	Late	Galloping horse with bridle & reins, but no saddle
41VV327, Hussie Miers	Early, Late	Spanish figure with musket (early); Indian on horse (late)
41VV328, Hussie Miers Ranch	Late	Several horses with mounted figures, all wearing Plains style headgear
41VV339	Early, Late	Some horses with Spanish ring bits (early); horseshoes, horsemen impaled by spears (late)
41VV343, Caballero Shelter	Early, Late	Mission-like structure (early); horse carrying man wearing a hat (late)
41VV400	Late	A human figure in a realistic style; two bison or long horn cattle
41VV485, Dolan Springs	Late	A single bison, a man with a gun (a metal arrow point was also found at the site)
41VV570, Hackberry Crossing, Malone Ranch Petroglyph	Early	Mission petroglyph
41VV666, Bailando Shelter	Late	Early Plains style figures
41VV910	Late (?)	Site form says "historic pictograph," but no other data
41VV1088, Shield Shelter	Late	Several elements that have been interpreted by Turpin and Davis (1993) as Plains-like shields



Figure 27. Mission and three crosses drawn at Vaquero Shelter (41VV77) (Photograph courtesy Texas Historical Commission).



Figure 28. Mission structure at site 41VV343 (Photograph courtesy The University of Texas at Austin, Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, 41VV343-C10).

sleeves. Its arms are raised above its head and the figure is wearing a hat that appears similar to those worn by seventeenth century Catholic priests. This is the only rock art panel identified to date in northern Coahuila that contains this early style of historic rock art. Whether the large cross also dates to the same time period is unclear.

As noted above, we believe these early style historic rock art panels relate to the period prior to 1750. Spanish priests began to invest time and interest in the region by the 1670s, and several missions were established in or close to the micro-region during this period. While most failed, the sites represent, in our opinion, expressions of the Native American interest in these institutions.

The bulk of the rock art in the micro-region is of the Plains Biographic style (Keyser 1987), found at 18 Val Verde County sites. Elsewhere in the micro-region these sites are restricted to three sites in Terrell County. No other sites in the micro-region have been recorded that contain these examples of later period rock art, although three have been recorded and reported from south of the river (Labadie et al. 1997; Turpin 1987). Whether the paucity of sites reflects a bias of archeological sampling or reflects the fact that, as Berroteran found in 1729, the area around modern Del Rio had few occupants but was consistently used as a favored crossing of the river, is unclear.

This late group of historic Indian rock art sites frequently contain one or more horses and/or cattle with horns. Some of the horned animals depict bison. According to Turpin (1986) these pictographs represent scenes showing hostility and aggression. Sometimes the horses in these scenes are riderless; sometimes they carry Anglo riders. In other cases, the riders are Native American, often with Plains-style clothing and/or headdresses (e.g., 41VV327 as described in Turpin 1989). Lances, bows and arrows, muskets, and shields are among the other elements drawn in these scenes. Only three sites have illustrations of bison, and at least one of these (41VV485) is especially life-like in its depiction. Within



Figure 29. Missionary and church-like structure at site 41VV180 (Photograph courtesy The University of Texas at Austin, Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, 41VV180-23).



Figure 30. Riders impaled with spears at site 41VV339 (Photograph courtesy Texas Historical Commission).

the Plains Biographic Style, Keyser (1987) has chronologically subdivided the art work. The earliest generally date from 1775 to 1830, and a later, more refined, style of this art dates from 1830 to 1860. In the former, humans are typically square bodied with a v-neck, and horses are drawn like boats with stubby legs and often exhibit little or no neck (Keyser 1987:52). Change to a more realistic representation occurred as a result of Native American exposure to early Anglo-American artists (Bodmer, Catlin, etc.). As a result, horses exhibited rounder bodies, longer legs, necks, and hooves. Often horse trappings (reins, bridles, and saddles) became more carefully detailed, as well, and humans were depicted as rounder and less rigid figures (Figure 30).

Five Val Verde County rock art sites contain scenes that can be associated with the Plains Indian Biographic Style (Turpin 1989; Keyser 1987; Parsons 1987); several additional sites of this era have been recorded in Coahuila (Turpin 1987). Two of the sites (41VV18 and 41VV910) are inadequately described. Site 41VV18 is A.T. Jackson's site 99, located on the Devils River, just outside the lands of the Amistad NRA. The site is described in the TARL site files as "a possible historic Indian pictograph," and has a human figure drawn in a realistic style. The site form for 41VV910 indicates that the site is located under the waters of the reservoir and that it too contained an historic pictograph but no additional details were provided. A single bison is present at 41VV202 in the Devils River drainage, close to Amistad NRA. The drawing could be from any period since bison were present during several mesic intervals (including the historic era, see Ayer [1729]). However, it is presumed here to represent the final period of Indian rock art since its lifelike proportions best fit the Plains Indian Biographic Style (Keyser 1987:54), and likely the latter portion of that period. Finally, 41VV485 contains another bison that is quite lifelike, as well as a man with a musket (see Figure 26).

The Hussie Miers site (41VV327), is one of the more well known of the late Historic Indian rock art sites. Five panels are present at the site and each has drawings that match the latter style of the Plains Biographic art with more realistic humans, often with weapons and horses depicted with longer necks, hooves, tails, and manes and led via reins. The humans either wear native garb with long headdresses or are United States soldiers in military attire. "Turpin believes these panels are Plains combat autobiography style . . . commemorating the exploits of a single individual who defeated . . . all foes" (Labadie et al. 1997:18).

Finally, several additional sites from Coahuila should be noted. The first is the Caido Site, located just south of the Rio Grande in Coahuila, and described and recorded by Labadie et al. (1997). Uniquely, the site appears to contain both early and late styles of Plains Biographic style art. In the early depictions (Panel B), the artwork includes small tipis, individuals attired in what appear to be loincloths, and several individuals with headdresses and lances. In the later effort (Panel A), individuals are shown in larger format, mounted on horses, and with "conspicuous symbols of individual achievements in warfare" (Labadie et al. 1997:29). Given the style, the authors concluded that the latter panel was likely drawn in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, they speculated that one of the mounted horsemen in Panel A (with long, red, decorated hair) can be related to the Hussie Miers site "hero" described above. Other examples of the Plains Biographic style are present in pictographs in central Coahuila at Los Alamos, La Tinaja de Acebuches (Sayther 1998:93-5) and at Arroyo de los Indios (Turpin 1987).

SUMMARY

As we have attempted to show in the preceding pages, the archeological data corresponds with some of the documentary data. The earliest documents strongly suggest that the region was populated by groups of hunters and gatherers who relied on local resources. In our opinion, some of these may represent the Toyah-folk described by Johnson (1994:187-277). Although some documents suggest that the population was low, others indicate the presence of groups with as many as 100 to 500 individuals or more. The documentary evidence also suggests that bison were present in the region by A.D. 1650. Later documents continue to note the presence of bison, and substantiate the presence of Apache and Comanche in the Lower Pecos. While the documents indicate they moved frequently, the Apache were present from at least the mid-eighteenth century, according to the documents, and maintained their presence until the mid-nineteenth century, residing throughout the lands of the Lower Pecos as well as in northern Mexico. In contrast, the Comanche, while present from time to time, appear to have used the Lower Pecos as a travel corridor, traveling to and from Mexico where they raided for horses and other material objects, then consistently returning to their northern homelands.

Contrary to the documentary data, few sites dating after A.D. 1500 have been identified and even when the data from the period A.D. 1200 to 1880 are included, the total number of sites remains low: 184 sites. Given the fact that over 3,700 sites are recorded in the five counties considered, the total number of recorded sites dating to the late periods is markedly small. The rock art for the same periods is similarly sparse (n=22). The artwork can be divided into an early missionary (or Spanish) period and a later (or Plains Indian) period. Infierno Camp (41VV446) with its multiple tipi/wickiup rings, certainly demonstrates that large groups of historic Native Americans did occupy the region. Unfortunately, this is the only one of three such large sites that has been recorded to date. While the three sites support the notion that large groups occupied the region, either their occupation was infrequent, or their stay was sufficiently brief that their camps have gone undetected, or both.

NOTES

1. It should be noted, however, that several cairn burials have been investigated in Reeves County and northern Chihuahua (Mallouf 1987:5-9). The latter was accompanied by Perdiz arrow points; the former was accompanied by Livermore arrow points. However, Mallouf's (1987:5-6 and Table 1) synthesis of scientifically investigated burials throughout the Big Bend region reveals that only the Las Haciendas burial in northeastern Chihuahua was of a cairn type.

2. While this hypothesis is the one Johnson favors, the reader should note that he also recognizes that others are feasible (Johnson 1994:187, 277-281).

Chapter Five

Summary and Recommendations

Our contract with the NPS called for us to identify federally recognized tribes with possible ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA (see Figure 1) in Val Verde County, Texas. This study was undertaken as part of a long-term commitment of the NPS to manage its resources with care as well as with respect for the communities having historical associations with those resources. However, because Native American communities left these lands long ago, and because our knowledge of the tribes that once occupied those lands is, at best, imperfect, the study focused on the data contained in Spanish and English handwritten documents. These documents are far from unbiased descriptions of the past; we tried to be mindful of the pitfalls of such research (cf. Galloway 1992:178-195). Despite those problems, the information contained in primary documents is important, relevant, and unique, and, therefore, critical to understanding which tribes might have historical ties to the recreation area.

Published travel accounts, congressional reports, and, to some extent, secondary and summary data were also employed in the study. The latter sources were evaluated against the primary documentation to ensure we were not adopting modern misconceptions or misinterpretations of facts or documents. Travel documents, congressional reports, and other various materials reviewed yielded additional information, often about flora and fauna or about policy issues or decisions that affected the relevant native groups during the historic period.

Archeological data from the Lower Pecos Archeological Region (see Figure 4) were also employed. However, the archeological data are sparse. Only 183 of the sites recorded in the micro-region contain archeological materials or rock art diagnostic of the period A.D. 1200 to 1880 (see Appendix 7). Many of these sites contain a few pieces of native-made pottery post-dating A.D. 1300 or small arrow points that date after A.D. 1200. In three important ways, however archeological data support some of our findings. First, the data show that the groups using the region continued to maintain a hunting and gathering subsistence base. Second, the low number of sites indicates that either the number of people occupying the region was small or that their residence there was brief, thereby limiting the amount of material discarded during their stays. Finally, the rock art from the final periods first contains depictions of Spanish priests and mission-like structures, and later is historic Plains Indians artwork that parallels the sequence of historic Native American use of the region found in the documentary evidence.

The knowledge we acquired from primary documents was combined with a variety of historical and archeological summaries that have been completed for the region. The analysis and synthesis of this documentation, plus the information gathered from the list we compiled of the archeological sites with materials dating to historic periods, has provided data about the early residents and/or travelers through the region. From these data, we were also able to identify a number of federally recognized tribes having

historical ties of varying strength to the Amistad NRA. The research also yielded information about a few other non-federally recognized groups that have ties to the lands of the recreation area. In the remainder of this chapter, we summarize our findings about the modern Native American tribes that can be affiliated with the recreation area. This summary is followed by a series of recommendations for Phase 2 of this study and for other affiliation studies undertaken by the NPS.

AFFILIATION SUMMARY

A number of Native American tribes have historical ties to the land of the Amistad NRA (Table 7). The ties vary widely from one group to another and are clearly related to their historical presence in the region and/or to their historical association with Native American groups who had earlier historical ties to Amistad within their tribe. Thus, the Tonkawa—whose original homeland was well to the north of Texas but moved into North and Central Texas in the mid-1600s—hold close historical ties to Amistad for several reasons. First, they were occasionally present in Nueces, Frio, Sabinal, and Pecos River drainages during the 1840s and 1850s. While the reports of their travels through the lands are not abundant, it is clear that they passed through the region infrequently. Second, when they were found in these lands, they were usually in the company of the Lipan and/or Mescalero Apaches. Each of these Apache groups had strong ties to the Amistad NRA area, and, in traveling together, it is likely that the Tonkawa became acquainted with at least some, if not all, of the geography within the NRA. Finally, the Tonkawa hold strong ties to Amistad because of the Yorica, Ervipiame, and Sanan nations began residing with the Tonkawa during the mid-eighteenth century, eventually becoming clans of that tribe (Newcomb 1993). Since those nations that were among the various groups that can be associated with the Amistad NRA during the period 1600-1750, their subsequent ties with the Tonkawa strengthen the affiliation of the Tonkawa to the region.

As noted, the ties of the Apache to the Amistad NRA are substantial. The historical presence of the Apaches in the region can be documented as early as 1729 when Berroteran's scouts found them

Table 7. Federally recognized tribes affiliated with or possibly affiliated with the lands of the Amistad NRA

Wichita and Affiliated Tribes	Tonkawa Tribe
Seminole Nation of Oklahoma	Alabama-Coushatta Tribes
Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas	Kickapoo of Kansas Tribal Council
Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma	Comanche Tribe
Fort Sill Apache Tribe	Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
Mescalero Apache Tribe	White Mountain Apache Tribe
Jicarilla Apache Tribe	Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma
Caddo Indian Tribe	Muscogee (Creek) Nation
Poarch Band of Creek Indians	Cherokee Nation
United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians	Delaware Tribe of Indians
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	Delaware Tribe of West Oklahoma
Absentee-Shawnee Tribe	Ysleta del Sur Pueblo
Eastern Shawnee Tribe	Prairie Band Potawatomi Tribal Council
Citizen Potawatomi Nation	

hunting buffalo just south of the mouth of the Pecos. Within a few decades, they were being distinguished in the documents as Mescalero and Lipan. Their presence along both sides of the Rio Grande continued through ca. 1881, and some may have settled in northern Mexico at the close of the historic era.[1] Because the Lipan largely joined the Mescalero on their reservation in southern New Mexico, Mescalero ties to Amistad are the strongest of the Apachean ties. On the other hand, some members of the Lipan are reported to have settled among the Fort Sill Apache Tribe, the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, and the Tonkawa Tribe. They may have also settled among the White Mountain Apache in Arizona and/or the Jicarilla Apache Tribe in New Mexico. Thus, all Apache tribes may have some level of affiliation to the Amistad NRA.

The Comanche and their long-time allies, the Kiowa, also can be documented in the region of the Amistad NRA, although less frequently than the Apache and typically they used the land to travel to/from their forays in Mexico. The Seminole—some of whom settled for a while south of the Amistad NRA—became the *de facto* border patrol along the Rio Grande for the Mexican government during the 1850s. These patrols briefly took them to the lands of the Amistad NRA, giving them ties to those lands. Similarly, the Kickapoo traveled through the region serving as border patrols, and later they passed through the Amistad area in at least one of their moves back to Indian Territory. Today, some of the Kansas band of Kickapoo reside in Muzquiz, Coahuila, and their members frequently travel to and from their small reservation near Eagle Pass and the Kickapoo lands in Oklahoma.

The ties of the remaining groups are more diffuse. The Caddo, Waco (part of the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes), the Anadarko (one of the Caddoan tribes), the Alabama-Coushatta, the Cherokee, the Muscogee (Creek), the Tawakoni, and the Wichita tribes have some presence in northern Mexico, just to the south of the Amistad NRA.[2] A few of their members were noted at times among other tribes traveling to and from Mexico and we conclude that they likely passed through the lands of the Amistad NRA. The Delaware, and occasionally their allies the Shawnee, were employed as scouts during the nineteenth century and their travels to gather information or to lead military parties required familiarity with the lands of the Lower Pecos, and thus with the area of concern. It is not known, however, if their travels resulted in their camping or residing on those lands. Finally, we found no direct evidence that the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo had ties to the region, but, given their affiliations with a number of Apache bands, we do not exclude the possibility that they may have ties to the area and have left their name in Table 7. Phase II of the study should include contact with all of these tribes to seek to confirm or refute their association with the lands or resources at Amistad NRA.

Finally, two groups with special ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA are noted: the Seminole Maroon and the Kickapoo of Muzquiz. The Seminole Maroon and the Kickapoo accompanied Wild Cat and his Seminole band to northern Mexico in the 1850s. The initial group of Kickapoo subsequently left Mexico and returned to Indian Territory. After the Civil War, however, another small group of Kickapoo returned to Mexico with a few Potawatomi allies. They remain there to the present day. Travel between Muzquiz, Mexico, their small reservation near Eagle Pass, and the main Kickapoo reservation in Oklahoma is still common. This placement, the presence of at least one of their camps on the Devils River in 1871, and their travel through the region indicate that they can be associated with the Amistad NRA. Unlike the Kickapoo, the Seminole Maroon never returned to Indian Territory and still maintain a presence just south of the mouth of the Pecos. During those years, they sometimes assisted the Seminole in the border patrols undertaken to repel Apache and Comanche raiders from the north, giving them ties to the lands and resources of the recreation area.

However, their closest ties are the result of their work—between the years of 1871 and 1911—as scouts for the U.S. Army at Fort Clark and, to a lesser extent, at Fort Davis. These years of service required that they travel through and become familiar with much of the Lower Pecos region,

as well as with most of the Trans-Pecos of Texas. Descriptions of their travel through the region and of a few battles fought with various tribes during those efforts tie them to these lands. Since they do not reside in the United States, they are not federally recognized, but they are included in the lists provided in Appendix 5.

In addition to the federally recognized tribes that might hold historical ties to the lands or resources of the Amistad NRA, several Native American organizations may have members who are lineal descendants (as defined under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, 25 U.S.C. 3001) of historic groups who were affiliated with Amistad. These groups have recently formed. They are: The People of LaJunta (Jumano/Mescalero), Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Tap Pilam-the Coahuiltecan Nation, Comanche Penateka Tribe, and the Tribal Council of Carrizo/Comecrudo Nation of Texas. Each is listed in Appendix 5 with contact names and addresses.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Phase 2 should contact each of the tribes listed above in Table 7, as well as the Seminole Maroon. In addition, several non-federally recognized groups (The People of LaJunta (Jumano/Mescalero), Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Tap Pilam-the Coahuiltecan Nation, Comanche Penateka Tribe, and the Tribal Council of Carrizo/Comecrudo Nation of Texas) merit receiving some type of communication. Although they cannot be described as affiliated because of their lack of federal recognition, each group's oral history may include some association with the area. The initial focus of the contacts with those tribes whose ties were noted as unclear should be to verify the associations with the Amistad.

2. Primary documents are essential (required) to accurately identify the native groups associated with a particular region and to define the nature of that association, and should continue to be the foundation of the research for affiliation studies.

3. The NPS should consider mechanisms to improve their ability to share knowledge between park units and/or to conduct research on the broad contextual landscape of the sixteenth through the late nineteenth centuries. Studies similar to the present one have been completed for several park units in the southwestern region of the country (e.g., Brandt 1997; Levine and Merlan 1997; Esber et al. 1997) and it is anticipated that more will be completed in future years. The NPS has been a leader in these affiliation studies. Few federal agencies and no state agencies in Texas have initiated these types of studies (see Freeman [1997] and Kenmotsu et al. [1994] for exceptions). However, we offer the notion that the park-unit-by-park-unit approach to the work may not be the most economical use of funds or knowledge. On the one hand, we fully agree that this is an important—indeed essential—type of study. It is mandated by Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended; it will be a key element in ensuring that the agency meets the intent and spirit of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act; and, it is a way to ensure that constituent groups are identified and have the opportunity to be contacted and offered the opportunity to comment on significant decisions that will be made by individual part units in the future.

   On the other hand, the whole is more than the sum of its parts. That is, many of the original documents that must be reviewed for Gran Quivira National Monument, Pecos National Monument, Lake Meredith National Recreation Area, Big Bend National Park, and others, are the same



Figure 31. Dancing figures from 41VV7, Castle Canyon site (Courtsey The University of Texas at Austin, Jackson 1942:235, Figure 198).

ones that must be accessed for the Amistad NRA. The reasons for this are twofold. First, European settlement of New Mexico, northern Mexico, and Texas was intimately related. The early thrust of settlement was clearly directed toward Santa Fe as a supplier of hides, food, and other resources as well as to the mining communities in northern Mexico. Contact with native groups to the east—on the Southern Plains, Lower Pecos, and Trans-Pecos—was undertaken as part of that larger Spanish political agenda. Later, Spain's attention was directed toward re-occupation of New Mexico (after 1680) and then toward holding the French at bay in Louisiana. Decisions for all of these endeavors emanated from Mexico and Spain. Consequently, the activities at the Salinas Missions, Santa Fe, and Parral, were influenced by the activities at Saltillo, La Junta de los Rios (Presidio, Texas), San Juan Bautista, and San Antonio, and elsewhere in northern New Spain (John 1975). Similarly, the contact made by the Texan and United States governments with Indians was broad based and directed toward maintaining a north-south line that divided Indian from non-Indian areas (BIA 1847-1853, 1:42).

The second reason that the same documentary evidence is applicable to many park units is that Native American occupants of these regions were intimately related. As shown in studies by Wade (1998), Kenmotsu (1994), and Griffen (1969), among others, the groups who occupied these regions interacted with each other on a regular and systematic basis. Knowledge of the actions being undertaken by the Spanish in any one place in northern New Spain quickly spread among the various native groups (Figure 31). Similar rapid spread of information through a wide range of Indian tribes can be documented for the nineteenth century, as well (cf. Mulroy 1993), and intermarriage was frequent (Kenmotsu 1994).

In sum, this frontier was an interconnected whole and actions taken by Native Americans or Spaniards (later Mexicans or Americans) affected a wide region and all natives. The current park-unit-by-park-unit approach dissects the history into arbitrary bits that may distort reality. Multiple researchers accessing the same documents is not efficient. At minimum, multiple researchers investigating the same subject increase the overall dollars expended. Further, it may affect the overall understanding of groups affiliated with any single park unit. In other words, while the study is essential, the dissection itself has likely introduced further biases into the ethnohistoric record for individual park units. A research effort to integrate the various studies already completed for the NPS would be timely and economically efficient. Furthermore, such research would provide the NPS with a unique understanding of the history of native groups within the lands under NPS purview as well as a record of the pioneering research activities of the National Park System.

NOTES

1. Note, however, that while the terms Mescalero and Lipan are the most prominent in the documents, other names are given to Apaches who occupied the Lower Pecos, including Natagee, Pelones, Apaches Jumanes, Azain, Duttain, and Negain.

2. Note that some of these individual groups have split into several federally recognized groups. Each of these groups is listed.

Annotated Bibliography

Bamforth, Douglas B.

1988 Ethnohistory and Bison on the Southwestern Plains: a Minor Correction to Turpin. *Plains Anthropologist* 33:405-408.

In this article, Bamforth responds to an earlier article by Turpin (1987, below), stating that she made two significant errors in her article. First, she used Espejo's account of the 1582 expedition that he led to New Mexico and back to Mexico. This account is largely conjecture (see Kenmotsu 1994); additionally, the Espejo expedition never entered the Lower Pecos region discussed by Turpin. Second, her interpretation of the density of bison in the Southern Plains does not, in his opinion, fit with the relative scarcity of bison that can be supported by the grasses on these plains nor with the scarcity of archeological evidence to support such a claim.[1]

Berlandier, Jean Louis

1980 Journey to Mexico During the Years 1826 to 1834. Translated by Sheila M. Ohlendorf, Josette M. Bigelow and Mary M. Standifer, Vol. One. The Texas State Historical Association, Austin.

Berlandier was a botanist who received his training in Geneva in the early nineteenth century. Subsequent to his graduation from the Geneva herbarium, he was selected by the Swiss to travel to Mexico to collect floral samples and detail the natural history of that country, particularly the central and northeastern portions. Over a several year period, Berlandier made a number of travels to various parts of the country, often in the company of others. Both he and several of the others kept journals, diaries, and/or wrote short reports of their work. One of his fellow travelers in 1828-1829 was Lt. Jose Maria Sanchez y Tapia whose watercolors of Native Americans are featured in several illustrations in earlier chapters of this report.

While most of this volume deals only with Mexico, the final chapters contain a few pieces of information relevant to the Amistad NRA. They are provided below.

p. 262: "The two tribes who most commonly frequent [Laredo] are the Lipans and the Comanches, who come to camp on the banks of the river."

p. 267: "The waters of the Rio Bravo become troubled after receiving those of the Pecos River and they remain so more or less according to the changeable terrain through which they flow."

p. 268: "During our sojourn in Laredo the Lipans, then at peace, arrived according to their noble custom to pay a visit to the presidio. Before making their entrance they sent messengers to General Bustamante to announce their arrival . . . . They are taken bread and the required bottle of mescal,

which for them is the symbol of friendship. Later on when I was at Bexar, Comanches arrived and the same ceremonies of reception were observed."

p. 269: "The Lipans live almost constantly at war with the Comanches, and the dispute over the herds of bison, which constitute the principal food of these indigenes, increases the hatred which is so easy to arouse in them. The former, although more courageous and more warlike than the Comanches, are forced to yield to numbers . . . . The Lipans are the best Indian horsemen, and their skill promptly places them beyond the reach of their adversaries."

p. 271: "The route which leads from Laredo to Bexar is generally little frequented and not very safe; the Lipans and the Comanches infest it at every step."

Boyd, Carolyn E.

1998 Pictographic Evidence of Peyotism in the Lower Pecos, Texas Archaic. In *The Archaeology of Rock-Art*, edited by Christopher Chippindale and Paul S. C. Taçon, pp. 232-247. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

In this short but concise chapter Carolyn Boyd makes a convincing case for the association between prehistoric rock-art motifs and peyote practices. Using three independent lines of evidence, she focuses primarily on 41VV124, the "White Shaman" rock-art panel located near the confluence of the Pecos River with the Rio Grande. After a detailed formal analysis of the pictographic elements of the panel, Boyd uses ethnographic evidence from the Huichol in northern Mexico to relate, by analogy, elements depicted in the panel with precise details of the procurement, collection, and use of peyote by the modern Huichol. Boyd researched the mythic connections between peyote, deer, and maize among the Huichol, and then reviewed the environmental and ecological relationships that may have fostered similar ritual practices among the prehistoric populations in the Lower Pecos/Rio Grande area. Boyd also discusses the archeological and archeobotanical evidence that substantiate her analogy and interpretation. Apart from the innovative character of the research and conclusions, Boyd makes some statements that are pertinent to the present study.

p. 232: "In this analysis, examinations and analyses of the pictographs were conducted to determine spatial variability and patterns in motif association."

p. 234: "Peyotism in the United States is recognized as having its origins in northern Mexico and southern Texas along the Rio Grande . . . the northernmost reaches of the natural growth-range of peyote. During historical times, various Indian groups such as the Comanches and the Kiowas and tribes from Oklahoma journeyed to the Lower Pecos region to harvest peyote for ceremonial use. The Comanches and the Kiowas reportedly collected peyote along the Rio Grande and Pecos River."

p. 237: "Specific elements of the Pecos River Style rock art are analogous to specific elements in the Huichol ritual peyote pilgrimage."

p. 238: Boyd indicates that the elements of the panel suggest that the panel should be read from left to right.

p. 244: "Insight into prehistoric art can be gained when the results of a formal analysis are combined with ethnographic analogy and assessed within the context of environmental and archaeological evidence."

Brown, Maureen, Jose E. Zapata, and Bruce K. Moses

1998 *Camp Elizabeth, Sterling County, Texas: An Archaeological and Archival Investigation of a U.S. Army Subpost, and Evidence Supporting its Use by the Military and "Buffalo Soldiers."* Archaeological Survey Report, No. 267. Center for Archaeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio.

Partially situated within the right of way of US 87, Camp Elizabeth (properly known as the Camp of the North Concho) was mitigated by the University of Texas at San Antonio under contract to the Texas Department of Transportation. Using both archeological and archival investigations, the researchers detail the history of that camp, which was intermittently occupied during the 1860s and 1870s, largely by Buffalo or Black soldiers. Selected parts of the archival documentation are relevant to this study:

p. 23: "Camp Johnston was established March 15, 1852, on the south side of the North Concho River at latitude 31°30' and longitude 100°51'."

p. 31: "In March 1872, Major Hatch, 4th Cavalry reported that Lieutenant Hoffman had sighted a party of about 150 men, believed to be from the reservation near Ft. Sill. These were reported as divided and operating in San Saba, Lampasas, and Llano counties, and may be the war party that left the reservation."

p. 31: "The ensuing reports indicate that the Ft. Concho troops were rarely required to engage the Indians . . . . [Captain Nolan stated:] 'November 11, 1877 . . . I here interviewed Some of the Settlers as to when Indians were last seen in this Vicinity . . . [and] they informed me that none had been Seen in the last three Years.'"

p. 43: "In August 1870, Major Aenas R. Bliss, 25th Infantry, enlisted a special detachment of black Seminole scouts from a group that had recently arrived at Fort Duncan from northern Mexico. These people represented a portion of the mixed-blood Seminole and black population that had fled to Mexico during 1849 and 1850 to escape American slave traders. They had originally been well received by the Mexican government but eventually had been neglected. An offer of scouting jobs and protection tendered by Captain Frank W. Perry had prompted about 100 to relocate to Fort Duncan, under subchief John Kibbetts. In the following three years, other groups from northern Mexico joined them, raising the black Seminole population to approximate 180 . . . . Fifty scouts were organized as a unit and served for nine years under Lt. John Bullis."

Chipman, Donald E.

1987 In Search of Cabeza de Vaca's Route Across Texas: An Historiographical Survey. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91(1):127-148.

In this article Chipman reviews and assesses the routes for Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca's trek through Texas between 1528 and 1535 proposed by several researchers. Starting with Bancroft's first musings about Cabeza de Vaca's trek, Chipman illustrates the different versions of the route, and places each particular version of the route and its respective author in historical context. He concentrates on the interpretations of the route and not on the quality or reliability of the translations used or prepared by the various researchers who studied the route. Chipman finally considers the route interpretations of Alex Krieger and T. N. Campbell and T. J. Campbell and the contributions these authors made to the problem.

p.142: "Alex D. Krieger's route interpretation meets the criteria of thoroughness and objectivity."

p.144: Chipman noted that Krieger's "route interpretation for the portion of the overland trek that lay near the Texas-Mexico border is essentially a refinement—an important refinement, to be sure—of that [route] advanced by Davenport and Wells in 1919."

p. 147: For Chipman, the Campbells' contribution "was essentially new in that they went through all the relevant primary Spanish documents with a fine tooth-comb and sorted out all information about each named Indian group. The synthesized Indian data were used, along with terrain and biotic data, as criteria for their route evaluation. The Campbells disagreed with Krieger regarding the location of the Land of the Tunas which Krieger locates south of the Atascosa River about 30 to 40 miles due south of San Antonio. The Campbells located the tuna fields near the Nueces River, west and northwest of Corpus Christi Bay." Chipman, like the Campbells, recognized that we may never be sure of the exact route of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions but the work of these researchers has provided the best approximation as of this date.

Dunn, William Edward
1911 Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750. *Texas Historical Association Quarterly* XIV:198-274.

Dunn's text for this article was his master's thesis at Stanford University. Fluent in Spanish, he used a large number of documents from Mexican archives pertinent to Spanish/United States borderland studies that had been transcribed by Bolton in the first decade of the twentieth century. Documents from the Bexar and Nacogdoches archives were also employed. Copies of the documents used by Dunn are now housed at Stanford as well as at the Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

The focus on the Apache was undertaken because Dunn recognized that the Apache/Spanish interaction east of New Mexico was an important ingredient in the subsequent history of Texas but had been largely ignored by American historians prior to his study. He was particularly keen on the events that led to the development of Spanish missions for the Apaches on the San Saba and Nueces rivers. In the study, Dunn carefully segmented the Apaches into the bands that the Spanish had recognized and he provided considerable detail on his interpretation of the territories that distinct bands occupied. While some of our interpretations may differ from his, his work is impressive and much of it stands today. The following excerpts from his study are pertinent to the Amistad NRA:

p. 201-202: He defines the "Apaches de Oriente" (a term frequently seen in early Spanish documents) as those east of the Pecos River of New Mexico and Texas.

p. 202: "The Lipan, when first known to the Texans, lived far to the northwest of San Antonio, on the upper reaches of the Colorado, Brazos, and Red rivers, but gradually they moved south before the advancing Comanches, until by 1732 they made their home in the country of the San Saba, Chanas (Llano), and Pedernales. About 1750 some of them established themselves on the Medina, and others pushed on to the Rio Grande."

p. 203: "The Natages and the Mescaleros lived far to the southwestward, in the country of the Pecos and on the Rio Grande. These Eastern Apaches were not numerous, but were led by petty chiefs, which made it difficult to deal with the tribes as wholes."

p. 203: Father Massanet stated, "'The Apaches form a chain running from east to west, and wage war with all; with the Salineros alone do they maintain peace.'"

p. 204: "In the instruction given to Governor Alarcon, in 1718, for the planting of [San Antonio], he was cautioned to be on his guard against the Apaches, and was told to organize the neighboring tribes in a defensive alliance against them."

p. 205: "Aguayo . . . wished to make friends of the Apaches, and as he journeyed from San Antonio to eastern Texas he erected several crosses, in order, as he said, 'to exalt the cross in the midst of so much idolatry, and to leave signs of peace to the Apaches Indians.'"

p. 208: "The fact that they [the military under Captain Flores] went northward five days [pursuing Apache who attacked the presidio at San Antonio in August 1703] before entering the Lomeria and that they returned by way of the San Xavier (San Gabriel), where Father Pita's remains were found, would indicate a generally northward direction . . . . Since they were 19 days returning and traveling 130 leagues, the air-line distance from San Antonio could hardly have been less than 200 miles. This would put the place where the battle occurred somewhere in the region of Brownwood, perhaps."

p. 209: "The Spaniards wished, among other things, to use the Apaches as a bulwark against the French and their Indian allies (the Comanches in particular), and to prepare the way for the development of trade between New Mexico, Espiritu Santo, and eastern Texas, and so strengthen the Spanish hold upon that vast territory."

p. 213: "Father Hidalgo, who was missionary at San Antonio de Valero [in 1723] supported his brother priest. To the latter's statement he volunteered to add his own opinion. The Apaches, he said, could have been converted long before if the presidios had been managed rightly."

p. 217: "Almazan to the viceroy [a document]: Declaracion del Yndio Geronimo. In his declaration made before [the governor], Geronimo stated that he was a native of Rio de Santa Helena, near Fresnillo, and that he had been left an orphan at an early age. While working for a merchant as driver, he had been captured by Tobosos, who kept him for a year, and then traded him to the Apaches in exchange for deer skins, because an Apache chief fancied that the resembled a son of his who had been captured by the Spaniards in an assault upon Rio Grande."

p. 220: "Up to this time very little distinction, if any, was made between the different Apaches tribes, but all were included . . . under the generic name of Apaches . . . . Domingo Cabello, who was governor of Texas in 1784 and who wrote an historical sketch of the Apaches, says that at the time . . . they lived along the Rio Del Fierro, 300 leagues 'from the province of Texas.' The Rio del Fierro seems to be the Wichita. According to Cabello's Statement, the Apaches lived in that region until about 1723, when they were defeated by the Comanches . . . in a nine days' battle and forced to seek safety in flight. Going southward, they chose as their new home the region between the upper Colorado and Brazos rivers."

p. 221: "The range of the Apaches extended much farther south, it is true. During the buffalo season, they were accustomed to move their camps to the southeast, between the middle Colorado and Brazos rivers, where the buffalo were the most numerous."

p. 222: "If [Flores] was correct in his estimate [in 1723] the total population of this [Apache] rancheria could not have been less than eight or nine hundred."

p. 228: "Joseph de Urrutia, writing on July 4, 1733, wondered at [an] alliance between the Apaches and the Jumanes and Pelones because, he said, the Apaches were formerly the enemies of these other tribes and would not admit them to their friendship. This alliance with other tribes may indicate that the Apaches were no longer as independent as they had been and that the Comanches were pressing hard upon them."

p. 232: In 1733, Bustillo traveled northwest of San Antonio (likely in the vicinity of San Saba) and attacked Apaches camped there in four rancherias. He stated that they included the Apaches, Ypandis (Lipan), Ysandis, and Chentis.

p. 236: In Bustillo's report of the campaign, "he declared that there were 37 tribes along the road [from San Antonio] to New Mexico bearing the name Apache."

p. 236: "On November 26, 1732, the viceroy had asked why the Apaches always succeeded in their attacks upon San Antonio . . . . In answer to this, Captain Almazan made a statement . . . explaining that the Apaches confined their raids almost entirely to the presidio of Bexar because of its proximity to their homes . . . . Not only were the Apaches hostile to San Antonio . . . but recently two other tribes, the Yxandi and the Chenti, had joined them."

p. 241: "In 1736 . . . . Fray Francisco de Rios . . . was returning from San Antonio to Rio Grande . . . . At a place called El Atascoso, some 14 leagues from San Antonio, they were attacked by a number of Apaches."

p. 241, ff4: "In a letter of June 6, 1735, Don Blas de la Garza Falcon, governor of Coahuila, to the Archbishop of Mexico, an account is given to the effect that the Apaches were frequenting the territory around Saltillo and Monclova."

p. 251: In 1745, "Captain Urrutia went northward from San Antonio, crossing the Colorado River about 70 leagues away. Ten leagues north of this river they found a rancheria of Apaches, 'commonly called Ypandes' (Lipans), whose tents were scattered over a wide area."

p. 253: "In March 1746, "a campaign was being planned by the captains of Rio Grande and Sacramento presidios to punish the Tobosos and the 'Apaches Jumanes,' who had been very annoying."

p. 254: "In 1748 [Apaches] attacked [the San Xavier mission] four times, the fiercest assault being made on May 2, when 60 Apaches appeared at the mission."

p. 255: "These Apache raids, which had continued so long, now became less frequent, due apparently to increased pressure from the Comanches."

p. 256: Pelones, a subdivision of the Apaches, living near the Caudachos [Red] River were forced to give up their lands.

p. 266: "Urrutia says: 'The Natages Indians, reputed among the Indians of the north as true Apaches, lived on this occasion not far from and to the west of the Ypandes. They are fewer in number but prouder and more overbearing than the rest, and their chief man was captain of the Ypandes . . . . The body of these Natages comprises in itself the Mescaleros and Salineros Indians . . . . Their own country [that is, of the Natages] is on the said Rio Salado [Pecos?], where they enter into the jurisdiction of Conchos. The Ypandes, as they are intimate friends and relatives, also go as far as the Rio Salado in the months of June and July, and then in the autumn all go down together to the San Saba, Xianas [Chanas, Llano], Almagre, and Pedernales rivers . . . . The Natages, Santa Ana also said, troubled the Rio Grande country as far west as El Paso, although they numbered less than 100 warriors.'"

p. 267: The Ypandes were located closest to Bexar. "The Ypandes were said to be identical with the Pelones, being referred to [in 1743] as Ypandes alias Pelones."

Emory, William H.

1987 *Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior.* Second edition, Texas State Historical Association, Austin.

The effort to establish a permanent boundary between Mexico and the United States was a long and politically difficult enterprise. Emory was not the first to lead the effort, but he proved to be the

successful individual and one who seemed particularly suited to the task. Certainly he was an individual of considerable energy whose writings in these recently re-published volumes suggest that he found great excitement and delight in seeing, studying, and learning about the poorly described lands of West and west central Texas. The volumes are a marvel of information on the native flora and fauna along with geologic descriptions that are quite detailed. To a lesser degree, they provide information about Native Americans, as shown in the following excerpts:

p. 10: Emory arrived in El Paso in 1851 and stated that he considered the area from El Paso to Brownsville to be "a vast extent of country, uninhabited by civilized races, and infested by nomadic tribes of savages."

p. 11: "Although the Rio Bravo, from El Paso to its mouth, has been frequently mapped, it will surprise many to know, that up to the time when I commenced the survey, by far the largest portion of it had never been traversed by civilized man."

p. 24: Emory returned to El Paso December 30, 1853 for the final effort on the boundary survey. After traveling from Indianola to San Antonio and then to El Paso, Emory stated that the party "did not see an Indian on the route, although in front and in rear of us they were committing depredations along the whole road."

p. 39: "That portion of [the boundary] which is formed by the Rio Bravo, below the mouth of the San Pedro, or Devil's river of Texas, makes a boundary, which in the absence of extradition laws, must always be a source of controversy between the United States and Mexico."

p. 43: "The igneous protrusions which occur . . . are traced from the San Saba mountain, by the head of the Leona, to Santa Rosa, in Mexico . . . . At Santa Rosa the Spaniards had sunk extensive shafts and made a tunnel . . . which was not completed when the revolution of 1825 [sic] broke out; since then . . . the country . . . has been a prey to the incursion of banditti and Indians, and at this time Wild Cat and his band of Florida Indians are settled near there."

p. 58: "Having now given the general view of the country on the American side of the first section of the boundary, I will ask the reader to ascend with me the Rio Bravo along the boundary, where I will describe in detail all that is worth noting as high as the mouth of the Rio San Pedro, or Devil's river . . . ."

p. 72: "Before leaving the mouth of the Rio San Pedro to ascend the Rio Bravo, I will take a rapid view of the country on the Mexican side . . . . The eastern slope of these mountains forms portions of the States of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas. The area between the Rio Bravo and the bases of these slopes is an arid, cretaceous plain, covered with a spinose growth similar to that on the Texas side."

p. 74: "Having organized a party, and made all preparations at San Antonio, Texas, we proceeded on the road to El Paso, and followed it as far as the Pecos Springs. At this place I determined to leave the road and strike for the Rio Grande, as directly as the nature of the country would permit. Owing to its character, and the necessity of taking wagons along, our route, as shown by the map became somewhat circuitous."

p. 74: "No water, except what collects in the gullies during heavy rains, until you reach King's Springs. This is a large spring of water, deep and clear . . . . While the main part encamped there, a reconnaissance was made in a southwesterly direction for nearly sixty miles, when it was found impracticable to proceed further. The course lay towards the "Los Chisos' mountains."

p. 75: "Numerous trails from the Pecos and the Escondido here unite [along Independence Creek] and form a large broad one, running south to the Rio Grande; there are unmistakable signs of their constant use. Leaving the creek, we ascended the contiguous hills and rose upon a high plain, over which we traveled forty miles, following the guidance of the Indian trail; this was deeply marked although it is difficult to make an impression on the surface . . . . The plain where the main party encamped, and where we first struck the river, made a gradual descent to the water. Here was the first break in the canyon [of the Rio Grande], and the crossing being fordable, formed an accessible pass for the Indians into Mexico. This ford [is] known as the Lipan crossing . . . . The Lipans often visited us here, and made themselves useful as guides."

p. 76: "We had, fortunately, struck the only place, as our examinations afterwards proved, where we could possibly reach the river with our wagons; the route was a circuitous one, in all 140 miles from the Pecos springs."

p. 78: "The Pecos is more deserving of its other Mexican name, 'Puerco,' for it is truly a rolling mass of red mud, the water tasting like a mixture of every saline ingredient."

p. 81: "Comanche Pass, on the Rio Bravo, the most celebrated and frequently used crossing place of the Indians, was found to be just below this Bofecillos range; here broad, well-beaten trails lead to the river from both sides. A band of Indians under the well known chief Mano (hand) crossed the river at the time of our visit; they had come, by their own account, from the headwaters of Red River, and were on their way to Durango, in Mexico—no doubt on a thieving expedition."

p. 84: "On a high mesa of gravel, some sixty feet above the level of the river bottom, is situated the old Presidio of San Vincente [south of the Big Bend], one of the ancient military posts that marked the Spanish role in this country, long since abandoned."

p. 86: "The relations between the Indians of this region and several of the Mexican towns, particularly San Carlos, a small town twenty miles below, are peculiar, and well worth the attention of the both United States and Mexican governments. The Apaches are usually at war with the people of both countries, but have friendly leagues with certain towns, where they trade and receive supplies of arms, ammunition, &c., for stolen mules . . . . It seems that Chihuahua, not receiving the protection it was entitled to from the central government of Mexico, made an independent treaty with the Comanches, the practiced effect of which was to aid and abet the Indians in their war upon Durango."

p. 86: "'Bajo Sol' is the title assumed by a bold Comanche, who, as his name signifies, claims to be master of everything under the sun . . . . I have never seen the villain or heard his name on the American side . . . but I did meet one of his lieutenants, who, I have not doubt, was in all respects a worthy disciple . . . . He called himself 'Mucho Toro,' and represented himself as a Comanche, but he was evidently an escaped Mexican peon. It was in the fall of 1852, in making a rapid march across the continent, escorted by only 15 soldiers under Lieut. Washington, as we approached the Comanche Springs after a long journey without water, that we discovered grazing near the spring quite 1,000 animals, divided into three different squads. As we approached we could see with the naked eye a party of 30 or 40 warriors drawn up on the hill overlooking the spring . . . . The party were Kioways and Comanches, returning from a foray into Mexico with nearly 1,000 animals. 'Mucho Toro,' the chief of this party, who spoke Spanish well, stated he had purchased his animals in Mexico, and that he was but the advanced party of several hundred warriors, who were close behind him . . . . The next day, when crossing the dividing ridge between the Comanche and Leon

springs, we discovered the dust rising from the trail which crossed our road as far as the eye could reach, leaving no doubt of the truth of Mucho Toro's statement, that his was but the advanced party of 'Bajo Sol's' four hundred men. The following summer we found that such a party had passed out of Mexico over this road."

Freeman, Martha Doty
1997 *A History of Camp Cooper, Throckmorton County, Texas.* Aztec of Albany Foundation, Inc., Albany, Texas.

Freeman is a respected historian who frequently works with archeologists (and happily, we might add). Over the years, Freeman's efforts to document the historical events and background of various regions of Texas have been substantial. This report, privately funded by the Summerlee Foundation under a grant to the Aztec Foundation, a group interested in the history of the region where Camp Cooper is located, represents one of her efforts.

Camp Cooper was the United States Army military camp that was assigned to protect and keep watch over the "Upper Reserve" for the Comanche in Texas at the same time that it was to act "as a staging ground for scouting expeditions against hostile, non-reservation Indians" (p. 14). This reservation was established on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River by an act of the Texas Legislature in January 1856. Like the reservation, the camp was short-lived, continuing as a post to protect the Native Americans only until 1859, but then continued as an outpost for the armies of the Confederate and later the United States. It was abandoned in 1874.

p. 21: "On January 2, 1856, in bitterly cold weather, officers and men of the Second Cavalry established the newest of Texas' federal military installations in a wide band of the Clear Fork of the Brazos River . . . . [T]he post was intended to protect the Indians and agents recently settled on the 4-league Comanche Reserve."

p. 21: "Camp Cooper never became the impressive permanent fort that engineers with Department of Texas envisioned."

p. 26: Neighbors wrote to the commander of Fort Belknap that Northern Comanches were at the reserve making it difficult for him to protect the southern Comanches.

p. 27: "On December 4, 1855, Special Orders No. 126 . . . directed that four companies of the Second Regiment of Cavalry would 'take post at or near the Indian Agency in the Comanche reservation.' . . . In the meantime, the Second Cavalry . . . arrived on December 27, 1855 . . . After several days, four companies under Major W.I. Hardee left Belknap and reached the Clear Fork where they established camp."

p. 29: "In June, [1856 General Robert E.] Lee left Camp Cooper [to campaign against Sanaco's Comanches] . . . . Over a distance of approximately 1,600 miles, the troops 'swept down the valleys of the Concho, the Colorado, and the Red Fork of the Brazos to the San Saba country and Pecan Bayou' but encountered only a few Indians before returning to Camp Cooper."

p. 37: "Neighbors believed that the raids [just west of Camp Cooper] had been carried out by Kickapoos, Nokonis, Kiowas, and other tribes."

p. 44: "The fracas at old Camp Cooper was followed by raids on Givens' ranch during which Indians drove off a number of his cattle. About the same time, James Buckner . . . reported that Indians identified as Kiowas had killed four men and driven off cattle."

Goggin, John M.
1951 The Mexican Kickapoo Indians. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7:314-327.

While conducting ethnographic research on the Seminole Maroons of Nacimiento, Coahuila, Goggin spent several days among the Kickapoo in nearby Musquiz. This brief report contains a summary of the data that he acquired during that visit.

Noting that the Kickapoo were originally situated in western Wisconsin but forced southward—first to Illinois, then Missouri, then Kansas, then Texas, and then Mexico—during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he describes their lifeways on the 7,000 hectares of land that they populate at the headwaters of the Rio Sabinas. Their houses are in small fenced plots and consist of several rectangular mat-covered structures surrounded by carefully swept yards. At the time of his visit, they grew their own vegetables and fruits, hunted for wild game, and sold their baskets and other products in nearby Mexican markets, particularly walnuts, chile piquin, and oregano. The following comments are pertinent to the Amistad NRA affiliation study:

p. 315: "[They] relinquished their lands by treaty in 1819 for a tract in southwestern Missouri . . . . [I]n 1830 they requested land in Kansas . . . . This was granted by treaty in 1832 and most of them moved to Kansas. Apparently not all the Kickapoo moved to the Kansas reservation, for a number are [sic, were] reported in Texas. These were joined in 1837 by several hundred members of the Kansas group. However, shortly thereafter these Kickapoo, along with Shawnee and Delaware Indians, were forced out by the Texas, and in 1839 they [moved to Oklahoma]."

p. 315: "[T]hese Kickapoo came into contact with Coacooche (Wild Cat), the celebrated Seminole war leader who . . . was greatly dissatisfied with life under United States supervision. Under his leadership a substantial number of Kickapoo and Seminole made their way to Coahuila in 1848. Two years later a delegation from these Indians went to Mexico City endeavoring to obtain a gift of land. Here a treaty was signed granting their request in return for a promise of aid against the Apache and Comanche who raided northern Mexico. After moving around, the group settled near its present location."

p. 315: "[I]n 1862, the Mexican [Kickapoo were] reinforced by other Kickapoo from the Canadian River. Several years later some left Mexico, and eventually a small group reached the Kansas agency in 1870."

p. 315: "The Kickapoo in Coahuila . . . prospered, and not only successfully fought the Apache and Comanche but also raided across the Texas border for horses and cattle." [See our summary in the Ethnohistoric Review above for another view.]

p. 316: "[I]n 1873 . . . Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie disregarded international law and followed the [Kickapoo] deep into Mexico where he killed or captured all . . . present in their main village. Later in the same year a civilian commission also went to Mexico endeavoring to bring back . . . the Potawatomi and Kickapoo. Most of the former tribe removed, and some of the latter, leaving 280 Kickapoo in Coahuila."

p. 316: "[In the late 1890s,] a number moved south to Mexico where they attempted to obtain land near . . . Nacimiento . . . . [T]he Mexican Government refused them permission, . . . although they were allowed to obtain other land if they wished. Some returned to Oklahoma while others apparently moved to Chihuahua."

p. 316: "Throughout all the time from 1870's to the present, there was constant intercourse between the Oklahoma and Coahuila groups, and people circulated freely from one group to the other."

p. 317: "Every year some Oklahoma people visit the rancheria . . . which lasts several weeks to a couple of months."

Gunnerson, James H. and Dolores A. Gunnerson
1988 Ethnohistory of the High Plains. Colorado State Office, Bureau of Land Management, Denver.

James and Dolores Gunnerson have conducted many years of research into the historic and protohistoric Native American groups occupying the Southern and High Plains of Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and New Mexico. This small publication is devoted to those tribes occupying these regions. Funded as a series of overviews on the archeology and ethnography of this vast region where the Bureau manages thousands of acres, it presents the information on selected tribes that occupied the area in the nineteenth century. Information from earlier centuries is also presented, but it is much briefer in detail and scope. Because the overview is small, the amount of detail is limited. Important events and dates, when known, are presented, but in-depth discussion is not. Moreover, the sources quoted are rarely from original sources. (Certainly, the Gunnersons have done original documentary work, but such was apparently beyond the scope of their contract.) The tribes discussed that have relevance for the Amistad NRA are: the Apache tribes, Kiowa and Kiowa Apache tribes, and the Comanche Tribe. A few pertinent notes are included below:

p. ix.: "[N]ative occupation of the Central High Plains can be summarized as follows. The area . . . in south central Colorado, was dominated throughout the historic period by Utes who joined with Comanche Bands after 1706 to make forays onto the plains. The Central High Plains per se, was dominated by Apaches during the 1500s and 1600s . . . . In the early 1700s the Apaches continued to dominate the Central High Plains but Utes and Comanches moved into the [region]. By the middle of the 1700s, the semisedentary Apaches were forced to abandon their villages . . . . At the beginning of the 1800s . . . tribes from the north challenged the Comanches and by 1820 Arapahos, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Kiowa Apaches had spread south to the Arkansas River . . . in substantial numbers."

p. ix.: "By the middle of the 1800s, the colorful, exuberant, horse-nomad way of life on the plains had reached its zenith and was already beginning to deteriorate."

p. ix.: "Alliances among the tribes of the plains often shifted; sometimes being allies, sometimes as enemies . . . . Kiowa Apaches, for example, functioned as a band of the Kiowas from before 1700, probably before 1680. This was so much the case that when Kiowas are mentioned after that date, one can be reasonably sure that the Kiowa Apaches were also involved. Likewise when the Apaches are mentioned along with the Kiowas, they were the Kiowa Apaches."

p. 1: "Of the . . . tribes that lived on the Central High Plains after European contact, . . . the Apaches are best known . . . [because they] (1) dominated the major part of the [region] (2) . . . some, if not most of the Apaches in this region lived in semipermanent villages, and (3) these Apaches had contact . . . with Spanish New Mexicans."

p. 1: "The previous homeland of the Southern Athabascans was almost certainly west-central Canada."

p. 2: "Ethnohistorical evidence indicates that the Apacheans arrived in the southwest as nonceramic, bison-hunting nomads . . . . Such people would not have left easily identifiable archeological sites . . . ."

p. 7: "In 1801, the Spanish learned that there were 'Nations of the north' moving toward New Mexico. Among these nations was one that spoke the same language as the Jicarilla and considered

themselves to be of the same people. These, of course, were the Kiowa Apache who had been separated from other plains Apaches for a century and who had been living with the Kiowa, another of the Nations of the North . . . . The Spanish were afraid that if these newcomers joined with their Apache kinsmen, it would create a serious threat."

p. 7: "Except for the Kiowa Apaches, who lived farther east on the plains, the Jicarilla are the only Apaches to occupy any part of the Central High Plains after about 1800."

p. 11: "The Kiowa have no close linguistic relatives, but they are remotely related to Tannoan speakers of the Pueblo Southwest. The earliest documentary data has them living in the Black Hills that matches tribal traditions (Mooney 1898:153). Probably before 1700, the Kiowa were joined by Apachean speakers, most likely those known to New Mexicans as the Palomas."

p. 11: "Between 1706 and 1730, the central plains Apaches were forced south and southwest by pressure from the Comanches on the west, and by the Pawnee with French guns . . . from the east."

p. 11: "The Kiowa Apaches, few in number, were cut off from their relatives to the south about 1719. They joined the Kiowa for protection. Although the Kiowa Apaches retained their own language, they functioned as a separate band of the Kiowas."

p. 11: "The Kiowa name for themselves is Ka'I gwu. The Spanish version, usually Gaygua or Caigua, was very similar . . . . They were commonly referred to by the Pawnee name Ga'taqka; Lewis and Clark called them the Cataka in 1805, while La Salle called them Gatacka about 1682. In a treaty with the government, made jointly with the Kiowa in 1837, their name was given as Ka-ta-ka."

p. 11: "In 1733 about 100 families of Genizaro Indians, from various tribes, petitioned the New Mexican government for permission to establish their own settlement at the site of the then abandoned Sandia Pueblo. In addition to the Caiguas (Kiowas) the group also included Jumanos (Wichitas [sic]), Pananas (Pawnees), Apaches, Tanos, and Utes. All had lived in various Spanish and native settlements, essentially as slaves (SANM I, No. 1208; Twitchell 1914 I: 353)."

p. 11: "In the early 1790s the Kiowa still lived in the Black Hills region."

p. 11: "In the [report] . . . prepared from Lewis and Clark's information . . . it is obvious that the Wetepahatoes lived with the Kiowa, and were, therefore, probably Kiowa Apaches."

p. 12: "Lewis and Clark stated that: 'The most probable conjecture is, that being still further reduced, they [Padoucas] have divided into small wandering bands, which assumed the names of the subdivisions of the Padoucas nations and are known to us at present under the appellation of Weteoagaties, Kiowas . . . Katteka, . . . who still inhabit the country to which the Padoucas are said to have removed.' They also noted that some Padoucas traded with New Mexico."

p. 14: "Major Long also met a part of Kaskaias or Bad Hearts [Kiowa Apaches] on the Canadian River about 168 miles east of Santa Fe [in 1823]. They had been hunting near the 'sources of the Rio Brassis and the Rio colorado of Texas, and were now on their way to meet Spanish traders, at a point near the sources of the river [Canadian] we were descending' (James 1823 II:103)."

p. 29: "The Comanches, along with various other Shoshonean speakers, call themselves Numa whereas the name Comanche was applied to them by the Spanish. Mooney gives names applied to the Comanches by various tribes and the names used to designate sub-bands of the Comanche. Unfortunately, he equates the Padouca with Comanche, a common error that has been perpetuated. The Padouca were plains Apaches. This name was most commonly used to indicate the Kiowa Apaches."

p. 29: "By about 1739 the Comanches were in control of most, if not all, of what is called the Central High Plains."

p. 30: "During the last half of the 1700s, the Comanches were an equally serious threat on the Texas frontier, frequently appearing as far southeast as San Antonio de Bexar. Raids were common on European settlements."

p. 32: "The 1814 Lewis and Clark map (Wheat 1954:II: map 316) shows the Li-h-tan Band (Comanches) in the Rocky Mountains, extending south into the Rio del Norte . . . drainage west of the headwaters of the Arkansas River."

p. 33: "Captain Randolph Marcy led another expedition in 1855, this time to explore the Big Wichita River and the headwaters of the Brazos . . . . Of the Indians, he stated that the most populous tribe in Texas was the Comanches and that they were divided into three major groups. The Southern Comanches ranged primarily within Texas, between the Red and Colorado Rivers. The Middle Comanches, consisting of the "No-co-nies and Ten-na wees" bands, [spent winters in Texas and summers to the north]. The Northern Comanches, whom Marcy considered much wilder than the others and responsible for most of the Comanche raids into Mexico, wintered on the Red and wandered widely during the summer."

Hadley, Diana, Thomas H. Naylor, and Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller (compilers and editors)
1997 *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, a Documentary History. Vol. 2, Part 2: The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor, 1700-1765.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

This book is part of a publications series of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW), a project of the Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona for collecting, storing, and editing Spanish colonial documents. The DRSW has been an enormous effort to collect, archive, and make available documents related to the Spanish empire in the southwestern United States. The museum has collected (in paper and/or microfilm) an abundance of material related to Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, Nuevo Mexico, Nuevo Leon, Taumalipas, Nuevo Santander, and Texas. The material is from Mexican, Spanish, and United States archives and consists of copies of original documents, transcriptions of original documents, and selected maps. Recently, efforts have been undertaken to publish selected parts of these materials. In all cases, the publications contain both transcriptions of original documents and their translations. Introductory material for each document/translation assesses the veracity of the statements in that material and its historical setting.

Previous volumes in the series dealt with material and events tangential to Texas. The present volume consists of documents related to Nueva Vizcaya, specifically the Bolson de Mapimi, and the regions surrounding it—Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, and Texas. As such, it provides some documents not previously translated as well as some that were published in the past, but which merited updated translations. Readers will recognize several of the documents related to Texas, such as de Leon's effort to identify the location and threat of the French, as well as the material related to the East Texas missions. However, the material related to Nuevo Leon, the Bolson de Mapimi, and Parras is no less important, but it is much less well known to researchers concerned with the early history and ethnohistory of Texas. Never intended to contain all of the important documents, the volumes offer a range of materials that provides information on important aspects of the regions covered and their history, and are intended to represent various points of view on that region.

The Spanish for all transcriptions (as in the translations) is modernized, allowing readers to focus on the content rather than old script. In each case, the authors expended considerable effort to accurately transcribe/ translate texts using authoritative copies of each document. Each document is presented in both Spanish and English, and both were reviewed by native speakers as well as scholars who have conducted extensive research in Spanish archives. The transcriptions and translations are generally excellent and the volume is of enormous value in understanding the sequence of events and their outcome.

As a cautionary note for Texas researchers, the authors' knowledge of native groups east of Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo Mexico is both limited and erroneous. Since no reference is provided for these interpretations, the reader cannot verify the attribution. Moreover, footnotes and maps contain major errors that will perpetuate inaccuracies (some are from the legacy left by Bolton while others are of the authors' own making) that ignore recent published revisions that clearly refute the conclusions. For example, Taracahitan linguistic affiliations are given to a variety of nations (p. 10) who may or may not be affiliated with this language group (much less native speakers of Taracahitan). Elsewhere, (p. 361) the Sana, Emet, Too, Mayeye, Huyugan, and Cumercai are stated to be a "delegation of the Tonkawan tribes," a statement that ignores recent research showing that the Tonkawa are recent (mid to late seventeenth century) immigrants into Texas from the north. Some maps also contain errors. For example, the figure on page 308 shows Mission San Joseph de los Nazonis in East Texas as south of Purisima Concepcion even though on page 421 Pena states that "the San Joseph de los Nasonis mission . . . is eight leagues *north* of Concepcion." These errors suggest that the authors are not familiar with the works of Campbell (1988), Johnson and Campbell (1992), Kenmotsu (1994), Wade (1998) or others. In defense of the authors, Thomas Naylor died during the project, leaving Ms. Hadley the daunting task of completing the work. The deficiencies in assigning Native Americans to specific regions and the general failure to identify the appropriate native group may relate to this unexpected event. Regardless, much of the data are relevant to this study and are excerpted below.

p. 13: editors note (these 'editors' notes refer to the editors of the Hadley et al. volume): "During the twenty-year period initiated by the Pueblo Revolt in Nuevo Mexico, the northern portion of the central corridor became a *tierra de guerra.* No part was immune from conflict."

p. 13: editors note: "The new military philosophy of the Enlightenment, as expressed in the Bourbon reforms, did not officially make its way to New Spain's northern frontier until the second quarter of the 18th century with Pedro de Rivera's famous inspection tour."

p. 13: editors note: The "'flying companies' of highly mobile mounted troops would have the flexibility to respond quickly and efficiently as events required. The policy makers called for an increase in offensive warfare, the regularization of the employment of Indian auxiliary troops, and the instigation of civilian militias."

p. 19, ff 2: "Mapimi was subject to frequent attack . . . . It was entirely or partially abandoned between the years 1616 and 1617, 1654 and 1661, 1683 and 1687, and 1703 and 1711."

p. 43: editors note: "The largest Indian groups in the immediate vicinity of La Zarca [15 leagues south of Cerro Gordo] were the Salineros, most likely speakers of a Uto-Aztecan language. The Tobosos, who occupied the area north of the Salineros and who also frequented the region around La Zarca, were the most feared enemies of the Spanish during the seventeenth century. Other Indian groups mentioned in the area were the Cococlames, Nonoxes, and Laguneros, evidently allies of the Salineros."

p. 84: In a report of Ladron de Guevara, 1739, he stated, "The valley of Pesqueria Grande is eight leagues from the city of Monterey and eight leagues from the . . . valley [Santa Catalina]." Today, the small community is known as Garcia.

p. 84: Ladron stated that halfway between Monterey and Saltillo, the road passed through a narrow canyon "called La Ronconada y Cuesta de los Muertos. The site is 60 to 80 leagues from the homeland of the Toboso and Gavilan Indian nations who reside in the uninhabited area between the provinces of Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya."

p. 85: editors note: "Las Salinas is today known as Salinas Victoria and in the valley of El Carrizal. San Pedro Boca de Leones is today Villaldama and located 86 km northwest of Monterrey [Ladron]."

p. 89: editors note: "San Gregoria de Cerralvo is today Cerralvo, 80 km northeast of Monterrey [Ladron]."

p. 101: Ladron stated: "[The province of Coahuila] contains three presidios, one of which is in the capital itself. Another presidio was established in 1736 with the name of Sacramento, but as late as 1738 it still did not have a specific location due to the diverse opinions that arose after its founding." ff. states: "The presidio of Sacramento was established at Agua Verde in 1737, but was moved south in 1739 to Santa Rosa in the Sabinas Valley."

p. 101: "The other presidio, named San Juan Bautista del Rio Grande del Norte . . . ."

p. 101: "The province [of Texas] has a good climate and an abundance of wheat, corn, beans, grapes, and cotton, but it has few cattle because Indians of the Toboso and Gavilan nations invade its borders."

p. 126: editors note: "By the 1760s, Apache attacks had intensified to such a degree that many haciendas, including the Aguayos' hacienda of Joya . . . between Saltillo and Monclova were abandoned."

p. 167: editors note: "Captain Joseph de Berroteran knew the intricacies of the northern frontier like few other Spaniards. Of Vizcayan origin, Berroteran entered the military early in life and quickly attained prominence as a local military leader and landowner. His family became so well known in northern Chihuahua that the mountain range now known as the Sierra del Carmen bore the name Berroteran until the late 18th century. During the early 1720s, Berroteran received his first appointment as captain at the presidio of Mapimi. Within a few years, he was transferred to the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, where he became captain vitalicio (captain-for-life), a position he still held when the presidio was suppressed in 1751 . . . . By 1748, the year in which the following document was written, his 35 years of service had given him a detailed knowledge of the lands and peoples of the region."

p. 170: "When Berroteran received the order to write a report on the condition of the northern frontier in October 1747, he had spent most of the preceding 18 years campaigning against hostile Indians in all parts of Nueva Vizcaya and in neighboring provinces as well. He was in a position to provide his superiors with valuable information that could not be obtained from other sources. In his report, Berroteran continually emphasized his unequaled knowledge of the frontier . . . . Berroteran realized that complete military or spiritual conquest of the nomadic indigenous groups who migrated southward to inhabit that desolate, inhospitable area was next to impossible. Instead, he acted to establish a negotiated peace backed by the force of arms. This required a balancing act for which Berroteran was uniquely suited. As captain-for life of the presidio of Conchos, he served as protector

of haciendas and settlements on the desert frontier to the east of the Camino Real that linked Chihuahua with Mexico City. At the same time, however, he was the well-known compadre of at least one prestigious Apache leader and acted as middleman for trade and gift giving with several other unconquered indigenous group[s] that had recently migrated into the area."

p. 188: Berroteran: "In the year 1726, during . . . March, the news arrived that the . . . Indians had advanced as far as the presidio of El Paso with the Apaches and Cholomes who come from the Rio Puerco where it joins with the Rio del Norte from its confluence with [the Conchos?]. They [the first group of Indians] came from Coyame . . . which is 8 to 10 leagues away from the junction of the Rio del Norte and is numbered among [the pueblos of La Junta de los Rios].

p. 189: Berroteran: "all these troops were to reconnoiter the banks of the Rio Del Norte [from San Juan Bautista] as far as its junction with the Rio Conchos."

p. 191: ff. states "Ordinance 187 of the Reglamento of 1729 states that the captains of the presidios from El Pasaje to Conchos should attempt to suppress the Cocoyome, Acoclame, Tripa Blanca, Terocodame, Zizimbre, Chiso, and Gavilan nations."

p. 193: Berroteran: "In 1740, the last missing Indians were reduced to the pueblo of Conchos. In that same year fifty presidial soldiers, a number of settlers who enlisted at the villa of San Felipe el Real, 100 Indians from La Junta del Rio del Norte and 50 more . . . participated in subduing the general uprising of Fuertenos, Mayos, [and others] . . . . In the year of 1741, after the 12 Indians mentioned had returned from the expedition with their families, they left the pueblo of Conchos for the vicinities of Saltillo, Parras, and Coahuila, where they supported themselves by committing murders and robberies at the borders. In their last [attacks] near the presidio of Sacramento, also known as Santa Rosa, they captured [an Indian woman] . . . . I had given orders to Pascual, one of the Apache chiefs, to investigate . . . . [H]e came upon the aggressors in the Sierra Mojada."

p. 194: Berroteran: "On February 12 [1743] at the site of Venado, about twenty-five leagues east of the presidio of Conchos [the Indians were captured by Pascual and a squad of Berroteran's men]."

p. 194: Berroteran (arguing against the proposal before the Crown to close northern presidios): "Everything related up to this point sufficiently demonstrates the past and present need in Nueva Vizcaya for its respective presidios with their captains and soldiers . . . . The brief intervals of respite that the savage, pagan Indians permit this realm to enjoy . . . should be regarded prudently as periods of convalescence from a bad illness and preparation for another more serious one threatened by the Apaches, who have penetrated frontiers . . . . With these [presidios] eliminated, the Apache Indians would have completely free access to the more than 180 leagues that stretch from the presidio of San Jose del Paso to that of San Juan Bautista del Rio Grande."

p. 200: Berroteran (describing his trek from Monclova to Conchos along the Rio Grande): "In [1729, I traveled] from the presidio of San Juan Bautista, along the course of the Rio del Norte . . . by way of the watering hole of Santo Domingo and the San Rodrigo, San Antonio, and San Diego de las Vacas Rivers. Having gone as far as the last without finding a ford across it, I turned back along the south bank and traveled for two days to return to [the Rio Grande]. After crossing to the north bank [in the vicinity of modern Del Rio], I walked for four or five days, slowed by the lack of water for either horses or men. I saw that it was necessary to travel along the south bank because the mountains on the north side impeded our passage . . . . I sent our seven Indian scouts to search the hills and mountains for water holes and a route by which we could continue our march. After seven days, two of them

returned with the news that they have found neither a watering hole nor a route, and that they had not had anything to drink for two days. They had seen water, but at such a great depth that it took them four days to find a way to get down to it."

p. 203: Berroteran: "From the junction of the Rio Conchos and the Rio Del Norte to the presidio of San Juan Bautista, there is no place along the reach of either river where a presidio can be built, because pasturage is scarce and the mountains and hills provide no open spaces."

p. 478: editors' note: "Captain Urrutia mounted a campaign during the winter of 1739 that attacked a rancheria in the vicinity of the San Saba."

p. 511: editors' note: "Fray Molina's account [of the San Saba massacre] is significant to presidial history for several reasons. It closes the chapter on Apache depredation in the province, which up to this point had constituted the only serious internal threat, and marks the first confrontation of Spaniards in Texas with the Comanches and Wichitas."

p. 515: Molina: "I went to the courtyard and saw with true wonder and fright that all that could be seen anywhere were Indians armed with rifles and dressed in the most hideous clothing . . . . [T]hey had adorned themselves with the skins of wild beasts, the tails of the animals hanging and dangling from their heads, deer antlers, and other embellishments of various animals; some had plumes on their heads."

p. 518-519: Molina: "I think it is impossible for the Apache Indians to settle down and establish residence on the Rio de San Saba or for many leagues around it . . . . [T]hey are not protected [from the northern tribes] . . . . It is known that they live far away and nearer to our settlements on other rivers."

Hagan, William T.
1976 *United States-Comanche Relations The Reservation Years.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

As his *Preface* indicates, Hagan's project was "[T]o trace the order of the Comanches in the reservation years." The book systematically plots the development of the United States policies vis-à-vis the Plains tribes since the 1860s. Hagan notes the difficulties of separating the policies and documentation that affected the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache. He states:

p. xiv.: "The Comanche experience even differed somewhat from that of the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches, the two tribes party to the same treaties as the Comanches and sharing the same reservation with them. However, these Indians were so closely related in the reservation period that it is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to separate the Comanche story from that of the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches."

p.xv: "During the reservation period the agent was not only the key individual in implementing the policies conceived in Washington, he also originated most of the documentation upon which the historian must depend in attempting to reconstruct the relations between the United States and the Indians. Unfortunately, the Indian side of the story is much more difficult to recapture. Documentation in the usual sense is almost non-existent, and Comanche family traditions suffer from the same distortions that family pride and present concerns inflict on white oral history."

On the social organization of the Comanche in 1867, Hagan (p.8) writes: "The term tribe could not then with any accuracy be applied to the Comanches. At any given time they might be found scattered over a region that stretched from western Oklahoma and the central part of Texas westward to the

vicinity of the Rio Grande . . . . The band was the basic political unit of the Comanche and in 1867 there were said to be at least nine . . . . Estimates of the number of the Comanche varied widely, from as low as 1,800 to over 20,000. The actual figure probably was around 3,000, although no one could be sure."[2]

Hagan dedicates a good deal of space to the early treaties negotiated between the United States, Texas and some Comanche groups and provides some maps showing the land game that was played with these treaties (maps. 2, 3, and 4, on pp. 22, 40, and 41, respectively). Hagan also recognizes the extent and importance of the Comanchero trade as well as the trade in captives and their ransom practiced by the Comanche, the Kiowa, and the Kiowa-Apache (pp. 24-25, 44-46), which took them from New Mexico to Mexico and across the Rio Grande into Texas.

As the title indicates, Hagan's book concentrates almost exclusively on the reservation period and the late 1800s, thus providing little to elucidate the period of Comanche presence in Texas of greatest concern to this affiliation study. However, the book provides vast information on archival sources for the period and has a good bibliography.

Hester, Thomas R., Stephen L. Black, D. Gentry Steele, Ben w. Olive, Anne A. Fox, Karl J. Reinhard, and Leland C. Bement

1989 *From the Gulf to the Rio Grande: Human Adaptation in Central, South, and Lower Pecos Texas*. Research Series No. 33, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

This is one of a series of archeological overviews produced under contract to the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers under the direction of Larry Banks. The monograph deals with the area bounded by the Gulf of Mexico on the east, the Edwards Escarpment on the north, the Pecos River on the west, and the Rio Grande on the south. Given the vast and diverse nature of this region, the monograph is segmented into smaller sub-regions with overviews completed by different authors. The summary of the Lower Pecos Canyonlands (as the Amistad NRA was called within the volume) was authored by Leland C. Bement; the senior author, Thomas R. Hester, completed the historic Native American summary.

Bement begins by describing the history of archeological investigations in the region, most of which occurred prior to 1980, and then classifies sites according to a combination of their physical location (terrace sites, rockshelters, etc.) and cultural material (lithic procurement, stone alignments, kill sites, burial sites, etc.). This discussion is followed by a description of the material culture (lithic artifacts, plant artifacts, etc.) and followed by brief descriptions of the chronological framework for the Lower Pecos. The latter is quite brief, employing the phase sequence first proposed by Turpin and Bement in 1985, but, as of the present, still untested.

The concluding section suggests avenues for future research, and is, perhaps, the most significant. It identifies specific research topics on chronology and other issues that do indeed need to be sorted out for the region. However, the chapter is too brief to offer new insights. It generally continues to characterize the lifeways of residents of the Lower Pecos as one that was stable, and based on adequate exploitation of desert succulents and supplemented with bison during specific epochs (i.e., the Paleoindian and the final portion of the Late Prehistoric/Early Historic).

Hester's chapter discusses the historic Native Americans of the Lower Pecos as part of the larger, generalized group of hunters and gatherers who occupied South, coastal, and south central regions of Texas. While this discussion has elements of the stable, static populations implied in the chapter by Bement, Hester received his bachelor's degree under Thomas N. Campbell and William Newcomb, the foremost ethnohistorians in Texas. Thus, his chapter recognizes that the region was home to an

amazing number of small, diverse groups "each with a distinctive name, and with territories (often shared with other groups) used for hunting, plant food gathering, and fishing" (p. 79). While other summaries of the historic period have mentioned the variety of native groups and the works of Campbell, few others have used these materials in a report for an archeological audience and have encouraged archeologists to employ Campbell's data. Relevant information from Hester's chapter for this Amistad NRA study follow:

p. 79: "Coahuilteco is the label first used in the 19th century to refer to a language attributed to numerous hunting and gathering groups in southern Texas and northeastern Mexico . . . . [R]esearch by . . . Campbell (1975, 1977, 1979, 1983) and Ives Goddard (1979) has demonstrated that . . . other languages besides Coahuilteco were present in the region."

p. 79: "Little is known about specific groups [but we do know that] the Coahuiltecans lived in small groups, each with a distinctive name, and with territories used for hunting, plant food gathering, and fishing. They were semi-nomadic, moving across the landscape, sometimes overlapping into territories of other [groups], and camping at preferred locales for a few weeks at a time."

p. 80: "Many groups would congregate in those areas where [prickly pear fruits] could be found in abundance. Seasonal movements were also keyed to the availability of certain animals, especially bison that came into south Texas during the fall and winter. Social and political organization appears to have been minimal. The family was the basic social unit; there were no tribes or chiefs except for those leaders that might be chosen for certain activities."

p. 82: "Goddard (1979) suggests that at least four other languages . . . are known from the south Texas region. These are Comecrudo, Cotoname, Solano, and Aranama . . . . The Solano language is linked to a group (or groups) who were at Mission San Francisco de Solano in 1703-1708 [modern Guerrero, Coahuila]. It is possible that the Terocodame group spoke this language."

p. 82-83: "In the early Historic period, the Spanish recorded identifiable Tonkawa groups ranging into south Texas to hunt bison . . . . However . . . the Tonkawa did not move south of the Red River into Texas, until the middle to late 17th century . . . . Though they were largely hunters and gatherers, they apparently sometimes placed more emphasis on bison-hunting."

p. 83: "In the 1600s-1700s the Lipan Apaches moved into Texas from their homeland [north of Texas] . . . . The emphasis in their way of life [while in Texas was] raiding, and it is likely that they were disrupting the culture of the Coahuiltecans as much as the Spanish mission system."

p. 83: "In the lower Pecos, there are mid to late 18th century accounts of Apaches hunting bison . . . . They often traded deer and bison pelts in such far-flung areas as Saltillo, Coahuila, and Victoria . . . . No one has yet been able to recognize any distinctive archeological remains of the Lipan Apaches. Their campsites of the 18th and 19th centuries cannot, at present be identified."

p. 83: "The public often links archeological specimens . . . to [the] Comanche. In reality, however, the Comanche are fairly late intrusive peoples who came into Texas after the beginning of the Historic period . . . . [T]hey pushed the Lipan Apache into central and south Texas."

p. 84: "It has been impossible to identify their [Comanche] archeological traces."

p. 84: Other intrusive groups mentioned are the Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Mescalero Apache, Cherokee, Delaware, Caddo, Seminole, Pawnee, and Kickapoo.

Hickerson, Nancy Parrott
1994 *The Jumanos Hunters and Traders of the South Plains.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Hickerson is a linguistic anthropologist by training. Her interest in the Jumano grew from an interest in the Kiowa who speak a Tanoan language, a language family that is well represented in the eastern Rio Grande pueblos of New Mexico. Because some members of the Tanoan speakers lived in what early Spanish chroniclers called the "Jumanos" pueblos, she concluded that these people were all related but that some were the nomadic occupants of the Southern Plains while others were the sedentary eastern Tanoans living in the pueblos.

This book is easy to read, but, in the opinion of both Kenmotsu and Wade, has serious flaws (see *Plains Anthropologist* review of the publication by Kenmotsu [1995]). For example, Hickerson employed few documents to support her thesis. The documents she did use were translated several decades earlier and add little new insight to the study of these natives. It is not clear why other documents that would have shed light on their ethnic and cultural affiliations were researched. Second, Hickerson fails to consider archeological data in a meaningful way. For example, she concludes (p. 217-218) that Perdiz arrow points are widely found throughout Texas because the Jumano acquired them at La Junta de los Rios (modern Presidio, Texas) and distributed them across the land during trading events. This conclusion cannot be supported. A large volume of data conclusively demonstrate that Perdiz arrow points were manufactured by many groups using local lithic resources (see Johnson 1994). Other conclusions (Jumano as long-distance traders of turquoise, salt, and other goods; Jumano as breeders of livestock that they pastured on the Plains; etc.) are equally insupportable. There is no archeological evidence that trade was either extensive or substantial. There is also no evidence that native groups in Texas bred livestock in large quantities on the Southern Plains or elsewhere.

Another flaw is her tendency to offer statements of fact absent references to support them. For example, (p. 100), she considers the area around Palo Duro Canyon to have been an Jumano base camp as it was ideal for access to buffalo and had good water. No citations are offered; instead it appears that this area is chosen because it meets all the ecological requirements for a base camp. While we agree that the ecological requirements for base camps are present in this area, many other areas also meet the same ecological requirements. Since the archeological investigations of that park and nearby Lake Alan Henry have failed to identify any evidence of Jumano occupation in this locale and since there is documentary evidence that places them further to the south, we find her argument spurious.

The book is included in this annotated bibliography because it is likely to be read by some readers. While readers will have to make their own evaluations, we felt compelled to note that the differences between her conclusions and ours are substantial. The major point on which we agree is that the Jumano were a distinct group who were important players in the events of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Hook, Jonathan B.
1997 *The Alabama-Coushatta Indians.*Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

Hook is a Cherokee who has worked and lived near the small Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation in Polk County, Texas. His long time interest in these people and his doctoral research led to the present publication. While much of the book deals with recent twentieth century history and the current situation of the Alabama and Coushatta living on this Texas reservation, he also provides some details of their earlier history.

Today, the two groups are blood kin, but they formerly derived from distinct Muskogean-speaking groups. The Coushatta were located near and on an island in the Tennessee River, whereas the

Alabama were situated along the Mississippi River in present-day Mississippi. Each lived in relatively sizable towns subsisting on wild plants and animals, agriculture, fishing, and trading. By the late eighteenth century they were moving east and/or south, largely into Spanish Louisiana.

p. 29: "The Coushatta . . . moved in 1802 to a site 80 miles south of Natchitoches on the Sabine River. There they numbered about 200 men."

p. 30: "By 1805 the Alabamas had settlements on the Angelina River, Attoyac Bayou, and the Neches river. A combined population of Alabamas and Coushattas in 1809 within 70 miles of Nacogdoches was estimated to be 1,650 people."

p. 31: "In 1830 Alabama Indians lived in three communities in what became Tyler County, Texas . . . . The majority of the approximately six hundred Coushattas lived in three towns."

p. 32: "In 1854 the Alabamas received a grant of 1,280 acres in Polk County from the Texas legislature . . . . [I]n 1859 the Alabamas allowed the [Coushattas] to join them on their reservation."

Howard, James H.
1984 *Oklahoma Seminoles: Medicines, Magic, and Religion.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

This volume covers the medicinal and herbal remedies of the Oklahoma Seminole, showing how these remedies are woven into the fabric of the religious and daily life of these people. It is based on ethnographic and archival research among the Seminole. The portion of the volume germane to the present study deals with the brief history presented in the preface and chapter one, and in the description of the mortuary practices of the Seminole.

p. 3: "[T]he trivial name, Seminole, is a modern historic artifact, coming from the Spanish cimarron meaning 'wild." It referred originally to the fact that these Indians had moved into the wild, unoccupied territory, and were thus distinguishable from both the missionized Florida Indian remnants at Saint Augustine and also the main body of the Creeks. Since the Muskogee language has no "R" sound, the Spanish "Cimarrones" became to the Indians "Simalones," soon changed to "Seminoles," their present name."

p. 6: "As early as 1700 many blacks had arrived in Florida, mostly runaway slaves from the Carolinas . . . . These escaped slaves became essentially free under the Semilones [sic], who tended to treat them more humanely than did the British colonists. In most instances the blacks established their own towns, separate from those of the Seminoles. These towns were made up of both free blacks and slaves."

p. 13: "The first group [of Seminoles] removed to the west, 116 captives, arrived in the Indian Territory in June, 1836. From that time until 1843, Seminoles and Seminole Negroes in groups ranging from a dozen or so to larger parties numbering in the hundreds were on various occasions transported to the west."

p. 246: "Even today, traditional Seminoles prefer to bury their dead in family cemeteries, most often with small wooden grave houses erected over the graves. These cemeteries, with their groups of grave houses, can be seen here and there in Seminole County, a reminder of the strength of native tradition."

p. 246: "A Seminole woman is always buried in new clothing. Favorite old clothes are also placed in the casket as well. A man is buried in his best clothes, not necessarily new. A jar of sofki is often put in the casket to nourish the deceased . . . . Cigarettes are also put in . . . . Just before it is lowered into the grave, the lid of the casket is unscrewed."

p. 247: "The Seminole bury their dead with the feet to the east. At the west, near the head, a small wooden stake is driven into the ground, and a few feet west of it a small fire is kindled."

p. 248: "Willie showed me a number of Seminole grave houses . . . . They are all about three and a half feet high, made of a wooden frame to which an asphalt shingle roof has been attached. The sides are made of upright palings with spaces in between so that one can look through. Inside is the mound of the grave. I also noticed wreaths and in one or two a box containing some favorite items of clothing and objects."

John, Elizabeth A. H.

1975 Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Drawing on her graduate studies, Elizabeth John wrote this impressive tome on the interaction of the various ethnic groups in the Spanish borderlands of modern Texas and New Mexico for the general public. The effort grew out of her belief that while the history of interaction among various European-American groups had been told, their relationship to and their interaction with various Native American groups had not. The tome is impressive for both its breadth and its scholarship. John (personnal communicaction, 1997) has noted that the published version, while large, was reduced by the publisher to a size manageable to the lay public. Even in its reduced state, however, the volume is impressive, affording the reader a clearer vision of the unique relationships that sprung up between various newcomers and responsible head men in individual tribes. Moreover, those relationships demonstrate the unique agendas of specific native groups. Hence, unlike monographs that focus on specific Eurocentric ideas or programs, John shows that the situation was more fluid. Similarly, she demonstrates that decisions made in Europe affected, in a very direct way, the lives of Native Americans in this portion of the Spanish Borderlands. Specific passages that relate to the Amistad NRA are:

p. xiii: "By painful trial and error, Indian and Spanish communities evolved toward peaceful coexistence in eighteenth-century New Mexico and Texas. Santa Fe and San Antonio were seats of lively interaction among Indian allies come to trade and to talk, to nourish the bonds of brotherhood."

p. 1: "[S]perimposed on the multiplicity of Indian worlds were the Spanish provinces of New Mexico and Texas and the French province of Louisiana. Measured on the European scale of empire, none of the three ever amounted to much, but they unleashed forces of change that transformed the lives of Indian peoples throughout the arena."

p. 46: "Five times Onate repeated the ceremonial acceptance of Pueblos vassals: twice for clusters of pueblos east of the Manzanos, presumably the Tompiro and Jumano peoples." [See Jumanos in the Ethnohistory chapter for an alternative view.]

pp. 54-55: "Apache raids were an old problem to Pueblos, long antedating Spanish occupation. Indeed, the Spaniards had understood that their relatively easy initial acceptance by the Pueblos stemmed partly from the Pueblos' desire for allies against the Apaches."

pp. 59-60: "The basic unit of Apache life was the extended family: parents, their unmarried sons, their daughters, and their daughters husbands and children. They camped together under the leadership of the head of the family, essentially a self-sufficient unit. Several family groups usually remained together within a limited territory . . . . Apache organization was extraordinarily fluid.

The dissatisfied could easily shift to another local group or band. Nomenclature was fluid, too. Local groups and bands were often known by the name of a noted leader or some feature of their territory. As leadership changed or people moved, old names often fell into disuse and new names emerged. Most persistent were names derived from cultural traits, such as Mescalero or Jicarilla, but the actual composition of these groups must also have shifted considerably during the turbulent seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

p. 193: "Increasing turmoils so beset the Jumanos and Cibolos that in mid-summer 1692 Juan Sabeata rode to the Julime pueblo on the Conchos to seek help."

p. 194: "That was the Jumanos' last stand against the agressors from the north [the Apache]. Sometime between 1700 and 1718 the Jumanos of the plains gave up the struggle against the Apaches and threw in their lot with their former enemies so completely that they came to be known as Jumano Apaches."

p. 258: "The first encounter between the fleeing Apaches and the Spaniards of Texas was as accidental as it was fateful. About 1720 a few Apache explorers ventured through Elotes Pass, northwest of San Antonio, and stumbled upon two settlers from the presidio, out looking for missing horses. The settlers . . . approached them, only to be attacked."

p. 259: "Two days after the raid [of August 1723, Captain Flores] left Bexar with 30 soldiers and 30 mission Indians, determined to track the raiders to their rancherias.

Five weeks and 330 miles later, he found a camp of some 200 Apaches, probably in the vicinity of modern Brownwood."

p. 264: "Growth made San Antonio at once more attractive and more vulnerable to Apache raiders. The herds of the Canary Islanders, pastured north and west of the presidio, and those of the new missions downstream freshly tempted raiders. The mission congregations, chiefly composed of Coahuiltecan groups long plagued by Apaches, drew to the San Antonio Valley the pursuit of old vendettas."

p. 265: "[A prisoner in 1731] readily identified the arrows of Apaches, Pelones, and Jumanes, and he assured his captors that all three nations were very numerous and very warlike. Old Joseph de Urrutia, now stationed in Bexar, was amazed to hear of those groups allied: in the 1690s he had known the Jumanes and Pelones to be among the fervid enemies of the Apaches. That they should now combine forces against the Spaniards was indeed alarming."

p. 287: "Even as Apaches moved to the Medina and looked to the shelter of Spanish presidios, their enemies gathered on the prairies. In mid-July 1750, four Tejas brought to the San Gabriel missions the rumor that the interior nations were assembling to campaign against the Apaches . . . . The great campaign did not occur. Perhaps the Apaches' new rapprochement with the Spaniards gave their enemies pause. Still the Apaches could not feel entirely safe, even on the Medina. In April 1751 some of them moved southward to the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, in the jurisdiction of Coahuila rather than Texas."

p. 294: Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros "founded a mission for Lipans in Coahuila in December 1754 . . . . Mission San Lorenzo, near the presidio of San Fernando de Austria, seemed successful at first, but, when other duties called Fray Terreros away, the Lipan neophytes lost their enthusiam for the experiment. In October 1755 they burned the mission and fled."

p. 339: "The Taovayas occupation of former Apache territories angered and alarmed their old enemies. Lipan raiders harried the new villages, then scurried south to take refuge in the shadow of the

Spanish frontier. Their certain expectation of vengeful pursuit made the Lipans reluctant to settle at the San Saba mission when it was established for them in 1757, and their fears proved quite justified."

p. 349: "Of the dozen-odd nations involved in the San Saba atrocity, the council targeted for the punitive campaign only the virtually unknown Wichitan and Tonkawan bands. Tejas has undoubtedly played a major role, but war against those long-time vassals of the Crown was unthinkable. Comanches had attacked, too, but their formidable reputation and their roving existence ruled out a campaign against them."

p. 360: "El Gran Cabezon [a Lipan chief] flatly refused to settle on the San Saba [in 1761]. The earlier tragedy there, the alarming proximity of Comanches and Nortenos, and their continual horse thefts from the presidio convinced the chief that the area would never be safe for Apaches . . . . He would consider settling on the upper Nueces River . . . a rugged area known well to Apaches but not yet penetrated by Comanches and Nortenos. El Gran Cabezon set three conditions: more soldiers than ever before must be detailed for a big buffalo hunt; the daughter of . . . the big chief of the Natages must be returned to her people from captivity somewhere in Nuevo Leon; and soldiers must accompany the Apaches on their campaigns against the Comanches during the prickly-pear season."

p. 362: "The Lipans' enemies were not slow to find them. In March 1762, Comanches destroyed a Lipan rancheria in a canyon near San Lorenzo . . . . As many as a dozen bands established some tie with the missions at El Canon, though the stable core was limited to the four bands of El Gran Cabezon, El Turnio, Teja, and Boruca."

p. 363: "In June, 1762, [Taovayas] made several raids on the horse herd at San Saba."

p. 363: "Nortenos scored heavily agains the Lipans in the San Antonio sphere that summer [1762]. They attacked a rancheria on the Frio River . . . destroyed another on the Guadalupe River . . . and killed more than forty Apache hunters on the Colorado River."

p. 379: "[In 1770,] the deadly Osage onslaught drove many Indians to retreat in despair. The Tawakonis, Iscanis, Tonkawas, and Kichais fell back toward the presisios of Bex and La Bahia."

p. 410: "While visiting the Tawakonis, de Mezieres also contacted the Tonkawas, who ranged between the Trinity and Brazos rivers. By 1772 they had absorbed the kindred Yojuanes and Mayeyes."

pp. 439-440: "much of the difficulty centered upon the Bolson de Mapimi, a rugged mountain and desert badlands running southward from the Rio Grande between the Sierra Madre Occidental of Coahuila on the east and the Conchos Valley on the west. The northward-moving Spanish frontier . . . [left] it a sanctuary of indio barbarso, how chiefly Mescalero and Natage Apaches, who made it their base for raids into Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and even southward."

p. 444: "The first two campaigns of young Galvez [in 1770] were extraordinarily successful. On the autumn campaign he led about 135 frontier soldiers and Indian allies from Chihuahua to the Pecos River, where he surprised an Apache camp."

p. 446: "Keen to carry warinto the Apache sanctuaries, O'Conorcombinedthe dirve into the Bolson de Mapimi with a search for new sites on the Rio Grande for the presidios of San Saba and Cerro Gordo. In 1773 he launched a campaign from Santa Rosa presidio in Coahuila."

p. 501: "Croix . . . presented 16 points for discussion [in 1777] . . . . It was a formidable questionnaire:

1. How long has the Apache tribe . . . been known on their frontiers and since when have they made war on us?

7. What favorable or adverse results ought to be inferred from the delivery of five Mescalero Indians which the Lipan chief, Poca Ropa, made in the general campaign?

pp. 502-503: "The [1777] Monclova council's most important service was to clarify . . . the numbers and locations of the various eastern Apaches . . . . [T]heir consensus was the best information available to Europeans at that time. They knew Lipans now as residents of both sides of the Rio Grande, under shelter of the presidios of San Juan Bautista, Monclova, and Santa Rosa de Aguaverde, though part of them withdrew sometimes to the Upper Nueces Valley. The Natages sometimes camped with their Lipan relatives, but they tended to live on the plains near El Paso and New Mexico. The Mescaleros lived in the mountains in and near the Bolson de Mapimi."

pp. 535: "The [Lipans] were especially shocked in the spring of 1779 when Coahuila's Governor Ugalde joined with the Mescaleros to wage war against the Lipans."

p. 613: "[In 1779] the badly crippled, demoralized Lipans fell back into the region between the presidios of Bexar, Rio Grande, and La Bahia, and the seacoast . . . . Their eastward flight from the Comanches carried the Lipans within easy reach of Cocos and Mayeyes."

1988 The Riddle of Mapmaker Juan Pedro Walker. In *Essays on the History of North American Discovery and Exploration*, edited by Stanley H. Palmer, pp. 102-132. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

John commonly employs historic maps in her research and Juan Pedro Walker, a prominent mapmaker of the early nineteenth century who drew several authoritative maps of early Texas, intrigued her. As she (p. 102) notes in this paper, his story is important to understanding the mapping of the trans-Mississippi West and Texas as it informs us that the mapmaker has a role in the "*event* of discovery." Walker was born in an English and French family in Spanish New Orleans, giving him an early introduction to languages. By the age of 17, Walker was beginning a career surveying with American surveyors along the Mississippi River. He went on to study in Pennsylvania but kept close ties with certain surveyors and family friends. Those ties led him to the conclusion that his future lay with the Spanish, largely in the Spanish province of Texas.

p. 102: "Most early explorers could only make crude sketchmaps . . . . Succeeding maps would develop greater detail . . . . But no area could be mapped with any precision until measured by surveyors . . . rarely undertaken until issues of boundaries became urgent."

p. 116: "Walker . . . had precisely the cartographic skills so desperately needed in the Internal Provinces. It appeared that he could capitalize upon his skill by honoring the commandant general's request that he locate in Coahuila rather than Texas."

John, Elizabeth A.H., and John Wheat (editors & translators)

1989 *Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain by Jose Cortex, Lieutenant in the Royal Corps of Engineers, 1799.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

John is an ethnohistorian with a long-time interest in the interaction of Spaniards and natives. While conducting research at the British Library she identified documents by Lieutenant Cortes that she anticipated were of considerable interest to individuals doing research on the Spanish Borderlands and/or on Apache Ethnohistory. Believing that additional documents might be found, she doggedly

followed the trail of Cortes' documents. Once compiled, she had them translated by Wheat and added her own preface and epilogue.

The documents are, indeed, quite revealing and any researcher of the Apache presence in the Spanish Borderlands should review them. Cortes was an astute observer of Apache and other Native Americans throughout the northern frontier where he was stationed as part of his years in the elite Royal Corps of Engineers. In addition, he appears to have conducted his own documentary research of earlier writings by priests, soldiers, and others. The result is a report that presents a great deal of information on the Apache. Their internal divisions, lifeways, movement, subsistence, and other aspects are detailed within the report, providing substantial fodder for understanding their unique and complex place in the history of Texas and much of the Southwest. The following excerpts have relevance for the Amistad NRA:

p. xvii: "[P]roper names . . . are presented as they appear in the manuscript. Retaining the disparate spellings serves the purposes of ethnohistorical and linguistic analysis by demonstr4ating in original context the many forms that Indian nomenclature takes in the documentary record. It is essential in this instance because the overwhelming confusion of Cortes regarding Texas Indians resulted from the wildly varied spellings that he found in his documentary research."

p. xix: "The Apaches whom Cores observed most closely were Chiricahuas."

p. 10: "Cortes, like most of his contemporaries, confused the Red and Canadian rivers [and his hand-drawn map contains these confusions] . . . . All Texas rivers between the San Antonio and the Red are shown running sharply north-south, reflecting another common misconception that was not corrected until another officer in the Spanish service, Juan Pedro Walker, began mappin ght Interior Provinces in the next dacade [e.g.,1810s]."

p. 49: "The Spanish know as Apache nations the Tontos, Chiricaguis, Gilenos, Mimbrenos, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Navajos. All of these tribes are called by the generic name Apaches, and govern themselves independently of one another."

p. 52: "The Faraones also constitute a very large group and are believed to be a branch of the Xicarillas. They inhabit the mountains between the Rio Grande del Norte and the Pecos. They are bounded on the west by the province of New Mexico, on the north by the same province, on the east by the Mexcaleros, and on the south by part of the frontier of Nueva Vizcaya.

The Mescalero nation inhabits the mountains adjacent to the Pecos River, on either side, extending south to the mountains that constitute the top of the Bolson de Mapimi, and ending in that area on the right of the Rio Grande. Its terminus on the west is the Faraones tribe, on the north the vast territories of the Cumancheria, on the east the land of the Llanero Indians, and on the south the desert of the Bolson de Mapimi.

The Lipanes form one of the most considerable nations among the savages in northern New Spain. They extend over a vast territory, whose boundaries to the west are the lands of the Llaneros, to the north the Cumancheria, to the east the province of Cohaguila, and to the south the left bank of the Rio Grande del Norte, the settlements and presidios of our frontier in Cohuguila being on the right bank."

p. 56: "The language spoken by all the nations called Apache is one and the same."

p. 57: "This is a natural trait which they practice often with the continual movement in which they live, transferring their rancherias from one place to another for the purpose of finding new hunting and the fruits necessary to their subsistence."

p. 58: "Their huts, or jacales, are circular, made of tree branches, and covered with horse, cow, and buffalo hides. But the Mescaleros, Lipanes, and many of the Llaneros have tents made of well-cured and very clean skins."

p. 77: "When the natural or violent death of an Apache occurs . . . the cadaver is usually carried to a gully or to a handmade grave. There they toss it, cover it with stones, shout in distraught voices, and view that site in eternal horror. They feel the same about the place where he died, from which they immediately strike their rancheria, never to locate it there again, nor even in its vicinity."

p. 82: "The Cuanche nation is without a doubt the most populous one known among those bordering upon our farthest provinces of North America. It lives on vast and beautiful lands to the east of the province of New Meixico, and consists of our groups known by the names of Cuchanticas, Jupes, Yamparicas, and Orientales."

p. 83: "The Taucana, or Tuacana, group is settled on the western bank of the Rio de los Brazos de Madre de Dios . . . . It has no more than 130 warriors . . . .

p. 83: The Tancagues [Tonkawas], who, together with the Yocobanes and Mayeses, form a small nations, live most of the year in the territory next to the Tuacanas on the northern part between the Trinidad and Brazos rivers."

1991 Views from a Desk in Chihuahua: Manuel Merino's Report on Apaches and Neighboring Nations. ca. 1804. *Southwest Historical Quarterly* 94:139-175.

As noted above, John and Wheat have independently and together conducted a great deal of research into the Spanish Colonial experience in Texas and the greater Southwest. In this article, they focus on a Spanish document by a prominent Spanish bureaucrat (Merino) knowledgeable about Apaches and other natives in Texas. The article was unexpectedly encountered in a Paris archive and gives Merino's overview of the Apaches in the early nineteenth century. The article provides the contextual background of the era from the Spanish point of view and the following excerpts are pertinent to the Amistad NRA study:

p. 140: "Assiduous study of the indigenes paid off most handsomely in the 1780s when Comanches in Texas . . . agreed to the Spanish alliance that had been the crown's objective for two decades. That alliance would be the linchpin of a network of Indian alliances essential to the development—indeed, the survival—of the northern frontier provinces."

p. 140: "Once reasonably confident of the Comanche alliance, Spanish policymakers concentrated next on the widely distributed Apaches, who had always comprised the most complex of the crown's problems on the northern frontier. Again, the first requisite was to know them. Hence, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought significant new reportage, focused principally on Apaches, but also sketching many other peoples on the periphery of the Apacheria, including those of Texas."

p. 141: "With his succinct presentation of the most current understanding then available in Chihuahua, Merino's report stands out in the series for its uniquely accurate, comprehensive treatment of the indigenes of Texas."

p. 146: "The rough draft [of the document by Merino] shows that Merino's initial intent was to report only on the Apaches."

p. 146: "Occasionally, the rhetoric indicates that Merino was less sympathetic toward the Apaches than either Cordero or Cortez. Perhaps the alarming encounter of Croix's retinue, en route from San Antonio to

Chihuahua on March 1, 1778, with a howling horde of six hundred Natages, Mescaleros, and Lipans, had made Merino forever leery of Apaches. He also had, at Chihuahua in the 1790s, ample opportunity to observe the many peaceful Apaches visitors who streamed to the headwaters of the commandancy general and occasionally, a few Apache captives being shipped to Mexico City as incorrigible. Apaches leaders came ostensibly to confer with the commandant general or to petition for gifts or for redress of grievances, but many of the visitors came only to enjoy the hospitality of the headquarters and satisfy their curiosity. Their demands on the commandant general's time and the retinues of warriors and women and sometimes children added up to considerable administrative and economic nuisance."

p. 148: Apaches: 1804: "This nation inhabits the vast empty expanse living between 20 and 38 degrees of latitude and 264 and 277 degrees of longitude . . . to that of La Bahia del Espiritu Santo which is 17 leagues from the bay of San Bernardo, in Texas."

p. 148: "'They can be divided into nine principal groups . . . . The names by which the former are known in their language . . . . Vinienctinen-ne, Sagatajen-ne, Tjusccujen-ne, Yecujen-ne, Yntugen-ne, Sejen-ne, Cuelcajen-ne, Lipanjen-ne, and Yutaglen-ne. We have replaced these, naming them in the same order: Tontos, Chiricagues, Gilenos, Mimbrenos, Faraones, Mescleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Nabajoes, all of them under the general name of Apaches.'"

p. 148: "'Today they do not constitute a uniform nation in their customs, habits, and preferences . . . . The number of Apaches has no relation at all to the territory which they inhabit, there being great empty stretches.'"

p. 150: "'There are rancherias of 80 or a 100 families, or of forty, twenty, or lesser numbers. But these same families fall apart the moment some dispute arises among those who constitute them . . . . Every man has 2, 4, or 6 wives, the number of them corresponding to that of the jacales which make up his horde or camp.'"

p. 150: "'Their huts, or jacales, are circular and made from tree branches and covered with horse, cow, or bison hides. Some, those few, have tents made of the latter type of hides. In the ravines of the mountains the men hunt large and small game, ranging as far as the nearby plains. They take it back to the rancheria, where it is the women's role to prepare what they eat. They also process the skins, which later serve various uses, especially their clothing.'"

p. 152: "They move their rancherias as soon as their food sources and pastures for their animals start getting scarce.'"

p. 152: "'The rancherias thus united occupy the most rugged mountain canyons, whose gorges made it difficult to approach the sites of their camps . . . . On these heights those who act as a sentinels during the gathering place . . . it is their responsibility to observe any approach and give the corresponding alarm. No fires are ever lit at those elevated sites, and the aforesaid role of the sentinel is entrusted to Indians with the sharpest visions.'"

p. 153: "'The signal to begin the beating and to tighten the circle is given through smoke signals. They set the grass afire, the animals flee, and since they find no escape, they fall into the hands of their clever adversaries. The Apaches conduct this type of hunt only when the hay and grass are dry, but in the rainy season, when they cannot set fires, they set up their encirclement against rivers and arroyos.'"

p. 153: "'The bison hunt is called a carneada. It requires time and defensive measures, because they will carry it out in lands adjacent to enemy nations. It is peculiar to the Mescalero, Llanero—or Lipiyan—and Lipan Apaches . . . .'"

p. 154: "'The Apaches' offensive weaponry consists of a lance, bow, and arrows, which they carry in a quiver of mountain lion or other animal skin while their defensive armour is a leather jacket or shelf . . . . Among the Mezcaleros, Lipiyanes, and Lipanes there are some forearms, but because of a lack of animation as well as a means of repairing them when necessary, they value them little."

p. 157: "'The war between the Apaches and the Comanches, and others known under the general name of Tribes of the North . . . is carried on vigorously by the tribes having closest [territories], that is, the Faraones, Mezcaleros, Llaneros, and Lipanes.'"

p. 157: "'One puff of smoke sent from a height and repeated in succession is a sign to prepare to turn back the enemy forces which are close by and have been spotted, or whose tracks are recognized. Every rancheria that sees the signal answers with another made in the same manner. A small puff from a mountainside means that they are seeking their people. Another in reply from mid-slope of some height means that they are there and that the others may approach freely. Two or three small puffs from a plain or canyon, made in succession in the same direction, announce that they wish to parley with their enemies. A reply is made in the same fashion. Along these same lines they have other signals which are commonly understood by all the Apache tribes.'"

p. 162: "'[Faraones] are still quite numerous. They inhabit the mountains lying between the Rio Grande del Norte and the Pecos, maintain a close union with the Mezcaleros, and make war on us. The two provinces of New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya have been and still are the scene of their incursions. In both provinces they have made peace treaties various times, but have broken them every time, with the exception of a rancheria here or there whose faithful conduct has obliged us to let them settle at the presidio of San Elceario. They border on the north with the province of New Mexico, on the west with the Mimbreno Apaches, with the Mezcleros on the east, and on the south with the province of Nueva Vizcaya.'"

p. 162/163: "'[Mescaleros] generally inhabit the mountains near the Pecos River, extending northward to the edge of the Cumancheria. They approach that territory in the seasons propitious to the slaughter of bison, and when they do this, they join with the Llanero tribe, their neighbors. They call upon them and the Faraon Apaches to help invade our settlements. These Indians usually made their entry through the Bolson de Mapimi whether they are going to maraud in the province or Coaguila or in that of Nueva Vizcaya . . . . We . . . estimate the number of Mescalero men able to bear arms at more than 300 . . . . They border . . . on the west with the Faraon tribe, on the east with the Llaneros, and on the south with our frontier of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila.'"

p. 163: "'Llaneros occupy the plains and deserts lying between the Pecos River and the Colorado . . . . It is a very populous tribe, which is divided into the three categories: Natages, Lipiyanes, and Llaneros . . . . They border on the north with the Cumanches, on the west with the Mezcaleros, on the east with the Lipanes, and on the south with our line of Presidios.

p. 163/164: "'[The Lipanes] is probably the most populous of all the Apache tribes, and for many years it has lived in peace on the frontiers of Coahuila and Texas. It is divided into two branches, known as upper and lower . . . . The Lipanes border on the north with the Cumanches, on the west with the Mezcaleros, on the south with the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, and on the east with the frontier of Texas.'"

p. 169: "'The Cumanches nation lives in tents on the plains of its frontier from the northeast to the southeast. It is divided into four branches known by the names of Cuchanticas, Jupes, Yamparicas, and Orientales, the latter being the one closest to Texas.'"

p. 170: "'The Cumanches constantly harass the Apaches, especially the Mezcaleros, Llaneros, and Lipanes when they go on their hunts for bison.'"

p. 172: "'To the northeast and east-northeast of San Antonio de Bexar, near the several rivers which flow between the Guadalupe and the Savinas, live the Indian tribes known under the generic name of Northern. Their names are the following: Taguayaces, Guachitas, Taguacanas, Yzcanis, Flechaso, Tancagues, Nabedachos, Quitchas, Texas, Horcoquizas, Cocos, Mayeyes, Nadacos, Naguadacos, Nacisis, Nacogdoches, Nazones, Ayses, Saisitos, Adayes, and Vidays. A conservative estimate would put the number of men in the 21 tribes at 7000.'"

Kavanagh, Thomas W.

1996 *Comanche Political History, an Ethnohistorical Perspective 1706-1875.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Drawing from a large number of historic documents from Spanish archives (primarily the Bexar archives but also archives from Saltillo, Mexico, as well as military and other archives in the United States), Kavanagh presents an authoritative history of the Comanche that focuses on their political structure and political economy. With his perspective that "tribes" represent groups that surface during episodes of competition, dissolving when conflicts end, the Comanche are shown as active participants in their world, both reacting and acting to the events that shaped that world.

In the volume, Kavanagh documents the geographic domains of the various Comanche bands from the earliest part of the eighteenth century to their entry into their reservation in Oklahoma in 1875. Prior to 1740, his documentary evidence places the Comanche in Colorado and north of the Red River. Despite their northern location, he recognizes that they frequently traded with Taos and other northern Rio Grande pueblos and hence traveled well to the south of those regions. By mid-century, the Comanche had made peace with the Wichita, facilitating their trade with the French in Louisiana and movement to the southeast.

Kavanagh places Comanches in central Texas in 1743 when three were seen in San Antonio. Over the next 40 years, they were cited more frequently. Between 1786 and 1820, they controlled a major portion of what is today Texas, largely the lands west of San Antonio, stretching north to the Plains and perhaps south as far as the Rio Grande. Despite control of such a vast territory, Kavanagh concludes that their primary lands were the Southern and Rolling Plains of Texas and Oklahoma. Their presence to the south of these lands, in his opinion, focused on raiding into South Texas and the Mexican states south of the Rio Grande. For example, in 1835 over 500 Comanches crossed the Rio Grande in the region of Big Bend, and in 1840 three large groups crossed in three places—Guerrero, Coahuila, and above Lampazos. With the influx of settlement in the areas of central, coastal, and east Texas, the Comanches continued to maintain their homelands west and north of San Antonio, frequently raiding into the area of northern Mexico and the area of Amistad, but not residing in those lands.

p. 136: Map 4 & Table 4.1: Place camps of Comanches along the Colorado River. Two are on a northeast flowing tributary, [likely the Concho]. One was the Camp of Tocinaquinte, found there on January 7, 1788 by Mares; the other was the camp of Cordero, present at that location April 12, 1808, as described by Amangual.

p. 145: "In his [1805] report on the encounter, Alencaster [Gov. of New Mexico] noted that the Yamparikas, who had 'formerly lived to the north,' were now to be found on the Rio Colorado 'near . . . the Conchos . . . .' [L]ater reports show that some Yamparikas were indeed as far south as the Colorado River of Texas; as early as 1787, Paruanarimuco, the Jupe and Hamparika 'lieutenant

general' was on the Canadian. Furthermore, although it is possible that they were related to 'Namboricas' reported in the same general area twenty-five years earlier, the intervening years provide no direct evidence of the presence of any but Kotsoteka Comanches in the area."

p. 173: According to Burnt who lived among the Comanches (ca. 1817) on the Colorado River, "[t]he Yamparacks, numbering about eight hundred warriors, were located on the headwaters of the Colorado, although they sometimes 'extend[ed] their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio Del Norte.'"

Kelley, J. Charles

1986 *Jumano and Patarabueye Relations at La Junta de los Rios.* Anthropological Papers No. 77. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

J. Charles Kelley was reared in the West Texas landscape that had been occupied by the Jumano and Patarabueye several hundred years ago. Intrigued by these native groups and spurred by discussions about them with Frances Scholes and other scholars, their relationships became the subject of his 1947 dissertation at Harvard University. It was published, unabridged, by the University of Michigan in this monograph. The report represents a seminal source for any scholar working to unravel the Late Prehistoric or early Historic sequences of the peoples and their relationships across the vast region from the Southern Plains to the Lower Pecos to the Trans-Pecos of Texas. See Hickerson (1994), Kenmotsu (2001, 1994), and Wade (1998) for variations on his interpretations.

The small volume describes the results of Kelley's review of several important Spanish documents that describe the places they visited, the locations occupied by native groups and Kelley's survey of specific locales in and around Presidio, Texas and Ojinaga, Mexico that were the likely villages mentioned in the documents. He further describes the historical data that he obtained for the Jumano and Patarabueye, concluding (unlike certain earlier scholars) that they were distinct groups. From these data, he briefly outlined a series of chronological foci (now phases) based on the documents, surveys, and excavations that he had conducted in the Presidio Bolson. While the Presidio Bolson is at some distance from the Lower Pecos, Kelley's discussion of the Jumano—a group occasionally identified in and near the Lower Pecos (our micro-region)—represents one of the early attempts to resolve the "Jumano Problem." He was also the first to recognize that they were distinct from the villagers known as the Patarabueye. The following excerpts contain information pertinent to the Amistad NRA:

p. vii: "[I]t became clear that the Jumanos and the Patarabueyes must be regarded as distinct groups. The documentary evidence was confirmed by excavations which . . . were [conducted] . . . at the Millington site . . . and at the Loma Alta site."

p. ix: "More than one researcher has continued to confuse the Jumanos and the Patarabueyes."

p. xi: "The archeological approach to the Jumanos problem is only in its initial state . . . . Much work remains to be done in Texas . . . in the vital areas of the Concho River and the small tributaries of the Pecos River, such as Toyah and Comanche creeks, purportedly strongholds of the Jumanos."

p. 2: "Further study of the Jumano problem is important for [several] reasons. First, to clarify the extremely muddled picture of protohistoric and historic cultures of Texas and northwest Mexico, references to the Jumano Indians must be separated from references to other groups erroneously called Jumanos . . . . Second, the Jumano Indians appear to be of anthropological interest and importance.

They emerge in the seventeenth century . . . as ethnic links between the outposts of Southwestern and North Mexican culture on the west and Southeastern culture on the east."

p. 5: "According to [Pichardo], the Jumano Indians were the native occupants of the San Clemente River area (possibly the upper Colorado River of Texas), . . . living to the south of the Tabayaces (Taovaya-Wichita) and west of Indians known to the Spaniards as the Jumanas . . . . They were friends and neighbors of the Tejas and the Quiviras, and of the Julimes of the Rio del Norte near La Junta, but were enemies of the Apaches. They had friendly relations with the Spaniards at La Junta, where they also received religious instruction, and with the French in south and east Texas. During the late seventeenth century they were led by an Indian named Juan Sabeata. Pichardo noted that the term Jumano was sometimes mistakenly applied to other tribes, such as the Panipiques (Pawnee?) [sic, Wichita] on the Arkansas River."

p. 6: "Unfortunately, Pichardo's work was unwittingly ignored by later scholars, who did not immediately rediscover many of the facts he noted."

p. 9: "Scholes's thesis regarding the use of 'Jumano' in connection with tattooed Indians is completely convincing, and is accepted . . . . It will be shown, however, that there did exist a specific Indian group known to the Spaniards and the French, to other Indian groups, and probably among themselves as well, as Jumanos or some variation thereof . . . and that the Jumanos, as such, were ethnically distinct from the Patarabueyes of La Junta, though culturally, politically, and possibly linguistically related to them."

p. 13: "[In] the Espejo expedition of 1582-1583, Luxan . . . applied the name [Jumano] to an Indian group encountered on the lower Pecos River, in the vicinity of Pecos, Texas. The rancherias of this group were scattered along a southern tributary of the Pecos, apparently Toyah creek [Hammond and Rey 1929:124-125]. They are accepted as the original and true Jumanos [in this dissertation]."

p. 21: "From 1632 to 1654, Indians known as Jumanos were found on the 'Rio Nueces' of west-central Texas, where they had a more or less permanent focus of settlement . . . . The Jumanos of 1632, 1650, and 1654 were obviously the same group, since they were found in the same location, under the same name, apparently had the same general cultural characteristics, the same political relations, and reacted to the Spaniards in the same way in each instance."

p. 37: "[F]rom 1675 to 1693, references were frequently made to a Jumano group near the Rio Grande from the vicinity of the Devils River south to near Eagle Pass and below the Rio Grande in Coahuila. This group may have been a detached division of the Jumanos, but there is a possibility that it may have been an entirely different and unrelated group. In 1675 . . . probably on the Devils River above Del Rio, Fernando del Bosque, Fray Juan Larios, and Fray Buenaventura were visited by a group of Indians, including the Xomans (Jumanos?)."

p. 39: "In general, the Jumanos . . . of the Eagle Pass-Devils River region seem to be a division of Jumanos as far as the historical evidence is concerned . . . . [but] several items would seem to indicate that they represented at most only a distant branch of the main group. Their associations were slightly different; . . . Juan Sabeata was not mentioned by name . . . . Also, in 1675, the groups said that they . . . had not seen Spaniards . . . . The range of this particular group seems to have been from the present-day Nueces River . . . on the east, the Devils River on the north, to the Rio Savannas of Coahuila on the southwest, and the Tercodame territory around Eagle Pass on the southeast."

p. 41: "After abandonment of Texas by the Spaniards in 1693 and following its reoccupation in 1716, the Jumanos seem to have remained in their old range but to have changed their political affiliations, slowly shifting from a deadly enmity toward the Apaches to becoming their friends and allies and eventually coming to be known themselves as 'Apaches Jumanes.'"

p. 95: "Components of the Toyah Focus [Phase] are known from the Trans-Pecos area, the Pecos River, the Llano River drainage, the middle Colorado River, and the Brazos River in Hill County, Texas."

p. 107: "The Toyah [Phase] is almost exactly the complex required to satisfy the criteria of Jumano archaeological culture . . . . The diagnostic point type, Perdiz . . . is also the dominant point type of the Frankston Focus, the prehistoric culture of the Hasinai Indians with whom the Jumanos maintained trade relations . . . . The complex belongs chronologically to the later prehistoric and early historic periods, although actual instances of the occurrence of historic artifacts in Toyah Focus components are rare and not too well documented. The requisite type of culture is present, and the geographical range of the Toyah [Phase] is very nearly identical with that of the Jumanos."

Kenmotsu, Nancy Adele

1994 Helping Each Other Out, a Study of the Mutualistic Relations of Small Scale Foragers and Cultivators in La Junta de los Rios Region, Texas and Mexico. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, The University of Texas at Austin.

J. Charles Kelley's 1949 dissertation (see above) argued that the La Junta de los Rios region—the small valley where the Conchos River of Mexico empties into the Rio Grande—might be distinct from a larger Native American group known as the Jumano where the occupants practiced cultivation. Utilizing the data from Parral and other Spanish archives, Kenmotsu argues that Spanish documents convincingly demonstrate that the two were separate nations, thereby avoiding the long held, and confusing, notion that a single nation participated in both types of subsistence practices. The Jumano were mobile foragers occupying the area of the Pecos River just south of the Southern Plains, possibly extending into the Amistad NRA. These foragers were distinct from the small-scale farmers, known as the Patarabueyes, who occupied La Junta.

Her thesis is based on the view that all small scale societies interact with a variety of other nations, and that such interaction is part of a strategy to survive pestilence, war, newcomers, and good times and bad. The study focused on the documentary and archeological evidence that these historic groups ("nations" in the palaver of the Spanish) "helped each other out." Evidence was found to indicate that the nations in La Junta interacted on a regular basis with the nations to the south along the Conchos River of Mexico. Less frequently, they interacted with the Jumano and other nations to the north and west of their valley. At the same time, Kenmotsu found evidence that their interaction with nations to the north and northeast of La Junta increased during the eighteenth century.

p. 1: "I . . . argue that between A.D. 1500 and 1750 archeological and ethnohistoric data indicate there existed mutualistic interaction between foragers and horticulturists at La Junta de los Rios . . . . It has long been hypothesized (see Bolton 1911; Forbes 1980; Griffen 1979; Kelley 1986; among others) that the cultivators [who] lived at this locale often interacted with mobile foragers during this period of time. The foragers have been termed the Jumano. The cultivators are known as the Patarabueyes."

p. 23: "[R]esearch . . . indicates that many nonhierarchical societies interacted with each other at La Junta de los Rios, including the Jumanos and Patarabueyes, but also . . . thirty or more other

groups. Some of these societies were foragers; others were cultivators . . . . The evidence that foragers and cultivators interacted in La Junta de los Rios to the mutual benefit of both is abundant. Food, other goods and services, and information as well as offspring were documented as payment for the interaction."

p. 50: "Mergers, common among Plains Indians after 1820, typically occurred between groups that relied on each other for protection of their territories and their populations."

p. 59: "Archeological evidence for the region is both scanty and speculative. While a number of sites for the La Junta region have been identified (Kelley 1986), few have been excavated . . . . Firm archeological data from the region are also limited because the results of several significant excavations have not been published . . . . Despite these limitations . . . there has been considerable speculation about the culture history and activities of the groups identified there by the early Spanish entradas. For example, the Spanish noted that the Patarabueyes lived in settled groups and grew corn (Espejo 1871a). This has been generally accepted by most researchers, but very little archeological documentation of that description has occurred. The other group described . . . the Jumanos, has been the subject of [a wide variety of theories] for several generations."

p. 116: "The various Apache bands . . . are known to have constructed small pueblos in the northern Rio Grande valley [by the 1700s] . . . Plains settlements were less substantial, consisting of tents . . . and they spent only a part of their year in the short-grass country . . . wintering with sedentary village tribes on the margins of the Plains."

p. 121: "[T]he Apache became 'trade friends' of the people of Pecos pueblos where 'they could live throughout the winter in sheltered places and trade products of the buffalo for corn' (Gunnerson 1974:7)."

191: "Documentary information from the early [Spanish] contact . . . has made it clear that the residents of Coahuila and the Bolson de Mapimi were hunters and gatherers who did not manufacture pottery."

p. 217: "The documents . . . indicate that the people of La Junta de los Rios were surrounded by a number of hunting and gathering nations with whom they were friends, including the Pazaguates/ Cabris, Conchos, Caguates, Tobosos, and Jumanos."

p. 225: "Settlements in Coahuila date to the late 16th century, beginning with the founding of missions in the southern portions of the province . . . . Expansion in the province was not as swift nor on the scale of the expansion taking place in Nueva Vizcaya, owing to the more limited discoveries of silver strikes in this province. However, two factors promoted the push . . . . First, the efforts of Father Juan de Larios to convert natives near the Rio Grande . . . . In the early 1680s, a second factor promoted permanent settlement in northern Coahuila and Texas: the threat of French settlement."

p. 226: "The Bolson de Mapimi effectively cut communication along the northeastern portion [of Coahuila] . . . . Not only was it an area that received little settlement, very little exploration of the bolson occurred prior to the 18th century."

p. 232: "The Bosque and de Larios expedition reached the Rio Grande in May 1675 where they encountered the Bibit and Jume (Hume) Indians (SFG 1675)."

p. 237: "The Jumanos are sometimes listed among [the natives at La Junta]. Yet, the diaries of both Mendoza (AGN 1683b) and Retana (AGI 1688) clearly indicate that while the Jumanos visited La Junta, they resided northeast along the Pecos River, in the approximate region where Espejo and Luxan had

encountered them in 1583. That locale was the general area that they had occupied when they were visited by Juan de Salas in the late 1620s (Posadas 1982). Other confirmation of the Jumano heartland on the Pecos was provided by Massanet . . . traveling from Monclova to east Texas in 1690, [who] stated (1957:361) that the Jumanos together with the Cibolos and Caynayas . . . at the Guadalupe River (near modern New Braunfels) had 'their land [on] the terrace of the Rio Grande; they are adjacent to the Salineros Indians who live on the terraces of the Rio Salado [Pecos].' He also mentioned that the Jumano territory bordered on the lands of the Apaches with whom they were at war.

"Otermin wrote that the Jumanos were close friends of the natives of the La Junta area (AGN 1683a), and his statements are verified by the testimony of the Jumano chief, Juan Sabeata (AGN 1683a). While awaiting the arrival of a new Governor, Sabeata and his people spent time in the Presidio Bolson, helping build a series of temporary chapels requested by Father Lopez (AGN 1689-1778). These reports give evidence that the Jumanos maintained a relationship with the nations of the Presidio Bolson in the 17th century, much as they had in the 1580s, but lived in the region between the Pecos and Conchos rivers of west-central Texas (AGN 1683a, 1683b, AGI 1688). Moreover, they did not confine themselves to travel to/from La Junta. Early in the century, they were most frequently cited at the Humañas pueblos in eastern New Mexico (Posadas 1982). Later, the Jumanos were frequently encountered by the Spanish in El Paso (AGN 1683a), in east Texas (AGI 1688), in central Texas along the east edge of the Balcones escarpment (Massanet 1957:256), along the lower Pecos River (SFG 1674), and in Coahuila (Leon 1909:322). In each of these encounters, the Jumanos were accompanied by one or more other nations, some of whom were also cited at La Junta.

"It has been hypothesized (Bolton 1908; Kelley 1986:87, 1955; Forbes 1959; Hickerson 1994) that the Jumano were a nomadic tribe that frequented La Junta de los Rios, living for short periods of time in or close to the pueblos of the sedentary Patarabueyes. The present research fails to support that hypothesis. Although friends of the La Junta nations, they were not commonly cited in La Junta until after the Pueblo Revolt, and then only sporadically. By this time, the eastern Humanas pueblos with whom they had interacted for many years were abandoned (Posadas 1982) and the Apache were pressuring the Jumanos south. Prior to this date, the Jumanos were never cited among the La Junta natives."

p. 220: "When first encountered by the Spanish, [the Apaches were] located on the Southern Plains of New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. Oñate (1871a) was the first to use the name Apache. During the 17th century, the eastern Apache began a gradual move south toward La Junta de los Rios and beyond. A mid-17th century document from Parral states that the Apaches were already bordering the lands of the Mansos (AHP 1649D). In 1683-1684, they were pushing at the Jumanos and their allies in the region of the Pecos River in west-central Texas, and were actively engaging the Spanish in El Paso (AGN 1680, 1684a, 1684b; Kessell and Hendricks 1992:327). In 1704 and 1710, Apache chiefs were reported to have requested peace in El Paso (AHP 1704Ab; NMA 1710), but in 1710 Fray Juan Amando Niel (AGI 1710), a Jesuit with considerable experience in the northern frontiers, reported Apache raids just east of the Rio Florido. He subdivided the Apache into several bands, with the Jila (Gila) Apaches in Sonora, the Apaches Fahanos (Faranos) north of the Rio Grande on the Pecos River in Trans-Pecos Texas, and the Apaches Necayees (Natajes) east of Pecos Pueblo (AGI 1710).

"Governor Olivares (BA 1719) describes the land of the Apache as that region between "the Missouri River and the Colorado River (Red River) of the Caudaches to the hills of New Mexico . . . from the Gran Quivera [to the south]." Twenty years later Berroteran (AGI 1746a) stated that Apache Norteños were attacking most areas east of the Conchos River, while others were occupying La Junta and Santa Cruz to the south of La Junta."

p. 273: "In 1729, for the first time the term 'Apaches Jumanes' was employed (AGN 1729a). Four years later testimony was taken about crimes against the Apaches, Pelones, Jumanes, and Chenttis (AGN 1733 . . . BA 1734)."

p. 276-277: "Bacarame: The first known mention of this nation was in the writings of Fray Juan de Larios in the 1670s when he encountered them in the region north of the Sabinas River and south of the Rio Grande (SFG 1673). Also known as the Bacorame, Bacora, Bacaran, Bacaranan, Bascoran, Bocora, and Bocore. Bosque's expedition of the 1670s encountered this group on the Nueces River of Mexico south of Del Rio, and by the early 1700s some were part of a small rebellion near Monclova, and others were living close to San Francisco Solano on the Rio Grande (Solano Registers; SA 1700) . . . . In 1700, they joined the Tobosos, Jumanos, and Ervipiames (SA 1700) in an uprising in Coahuila."

p. 279: "*Bibit*: Also known as the Mabibit, this nation appears to have been located in northern Coahuila and southern Texas, near Del Rio (Griffen 1969:164). It was identified in relatively few documents reviewed for this dissertation, but was named by Larios (SFG 1674) and Bosque (Portillo 1886:117-121) in this general region."

p. 280: "*Bobol*: This nation (also Babor, Babel, Babola, Baboram, Baburi, Bobo, Boboram, Bovol, and Pagori [Campbell 1988a:132]) . . . is mentioned in documents from the 1630s and continued to be identified in various mission registers until ca. 1760s. In 1673 they went from Coahuila to Parral with a Franciscan priest to seek peace (AHP 1673Aa). In 1675 (SFG 1675), they were situated north of the Rio Grande, somewhere in the vicinity of the Val Verde or Maverick counties. Later, in 1683, a nation called Babori was present with Juan Sabeata near the Pecos River (AGN 1683b). In later years, they were noted to be present near Monclova (Campbell 1988:132).

It should be noted that Griffen (1969:155, 156) separates the Boboles into more than one group, listing the Boboles as present in northern Coahuila from ca. 1670 to 1688. In contrast, he associates the Babol (also Babola, Babora, Baborimama) with central Coahuila from the 1630s to 1673. However, Campbell (1988a) links the names as variants of the same people. Since Campbell's work employed more comprehensive archival documentation, his conclusion that they are the same nation is followed here."

p. 280-281: "*Cabezas*: This nation is generally associated with the southern part of the Bolson de Mapimi from the 1640s to the 1690s (Griffen 1969:3, 157) . . . . In the 1690s, the Cabezas were settled at the Parras Mission. However, efforts to missionize them began as early as the 1630s when at least 30 families were placed at Tizonaco, a mission town that was occupied by the Salineros (AGN 1645). By 1644, the Cabezas had left Tizonaco, and from then until the 1690s they were frequently cited as participants in the various rebellions of Nueva Vizcaya . . . . At one point their land was described as the same as the land of the Toboso and situated close to the land of the Salineros (AGN 1645). Another account states that the region of the salines "is the land of the Cavezas and Salineros" (Calderon 1645).

Griffin (1969:157) believes that there were two Cabeza nations, one native to the general region of Parras/Tizonaco and the other, later in time, in the region of San Juan Bautista near Eagle Pass. Campbell (1988a: 133-134) does not, however, distinguish between the two. He (Campbell 1988a, 1988b) has documented that several southern Coahuila nations, including Cabezas, moved north in an effort to survive the northward push of the Spanish, and concludes that 'by 1700 the Cabezas were represented only by remnants that had survived the extensive Spanish-Indian hostilities of 17th-century Coahuila.' Campbell's conclusions are followed here."

p. 285: "*Casqueza* (also Cacaste, Caicache, Cascastle, Cocaxtle, Kankac, among others): This nation was encountered by De Leon and Masanet (1957) with the Jumanos in the large rancherias situated near the Guadalupe River along the Edwards Plateau of Central Texas (Masanet 1957:360-361) . . . . Their territory was the region from Guerrero north along the Rio Grande (Campbell 1988:176, figure 11). A large number was massacred by the Spanish in 1665."

p. 287: "*Catujano*: Campbell (1988:136) places the Catujanos (also Catuxan, Catuxzan, and Cotujan) in far northeastern Coahuila based on documentary information that dates as early as the 1650s. Noted as leaders in testimony related to the uprising of nations from Coahuila and Nuevo Leon in the 1670s (AHP 1670A), the Catujanos were subsequently cited in the memorial of Larios (SFG 1674), and from a multitude of other documents from Coahuila after 1675. They continue to be associated with this region through most of the Colonial Period. Between 1703 and 1770, Catujanos are listed in the mission registers of San Bernardo, San Bernardino, and San Miguel de Aguayo (Campbell 1988:136)."

p. 290: "Chisos: [T]he Chisos lived just east of the Presidio Bolson, and south of the Rio Grande, a land that bordered the territory of the Tobosos (Medrano in Naylor and Poltzer 1986:423; AHP 1653Bb). In the 1650s, they were generally found in the region of Parral, but this appears to have been a temporary residence caused by raids of their rancherias by the Tobosos (AHP 1655Ab). In the rebellion of 1684, the Chisos played a prominent role, and at that time many of this nation were residents of La Junta de los Rios (AHP 1684Aa, 1684Ab) . . . Trasviña Retis (Ayer 1714), in 1714–1715, stated that one of the perils of travel to/from La Junta had to pass through the land of several rebel nations, one of which was the Chisos who lived east of the Conchos River.

The Chisos appear to have been a relatively large nation, subdivided into bands that sometimes acted independently and sometimes acted in consort with the other bands . . . . Known Chisos bands were the Chichitames, Osatayoliclas, Cacalote, Cacuytattomes, Batayolicla, Ostayolic, Osatabay, Quescepayoligla, Cacuitatome; probable Chisos bands include the Simimbles, Coxocome and Tunmamar (AHP 1684Aa; AGI 1702; Griffen 1979:30-36). Some documents only cite the name Chisos, especially in the early 17th century; other documents cite the name Chisos together with one or more of the bands names."

pp. 293-297: "Cholomes: The name Cholome (also Zolome, Chalome, Chocolomo) first appeared in the 17th century, beginning in the 1640s with their involvement in a widespread rebellion (AHP 1645Aa, 1645Ab). While less frequently mentioned than the Conchos, the Cholomes were sporadically noted in documents throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. They are one of the nations listed at La Junta de los Rios in testimony given in 1685 (AHP 1685Da), and in 1778 Escalante (1962:316) stated that they were still among the residents of La Junta. In 1688 testimony was taken from a Cholome on a ranch 50 leagues north of Parral (AHP 1688Cb) and west of the Conchos. Masanet (1968:241; 1957:340) encountered Cholomes near the Guadalupe River south of modern Austin in 1691 with a large party of other nations under the leadership of Juan Sabeata, but in 1693 Juan de Retana reported that they were located on the Rio Grande just down river from the Sumas (AHP 1695Aa). Interestingly, when Mendoza (AGN 1683b) traveled down the Rio Grande in 1683, he encountered the Suma, but never mentioned the Cholomes. Trasvina Retis (Ayer 1714) and Beasoain (AGI 1715b) clearly placed them at San Pedro, a village on the Conchos, just south of Cuchillo Parado, at La Cienega (a marshy region several leagues west of Cuchillo Parado), and up the Rio Grande from La Junta. These locations seem to still hold in the uprising of 1726 when Cholomes were associated with Coyames, Cuchillo Parado, and La Junta or upriver from La Junta (AGI 1726-1728).

Griffen (1979:31) considered the Cholomes to have been the same as the Pazaguates and Cabris from the 1580s, and Kelley (1952, Figure 1, 1986:61-62) favors this interpretation, placing them between La Junta and Cuchillo Parado, and north of the Julimes. Kelley's interpretation is based on the account of Trasvina Regis who traveled to La Junta in 1715 and encountered the Cholomes several days down the Conchos from San Antonio de Julimes (Ayer 1715). Forbes (1959:112) believed the Cholomes of the 17th century were "geographically and ethnically" equivalent to the Otomoacos of the 1580s expeditions and that they extended up the Rio Grande from La Junta. Although the general territory assigned to the Cholomes by Forbes (1959:112) is accepted here as part of the homeland of the Cholomes, their link to the Otomoaco is not. It should be noted that Forbes did not access the Parral documents of the mid 17th century (e.g., AHP 1645Aa, 1645Ab) that contain information about this nation.

Here, the interpretation of Griffen and Kelley is favored with some modification. While the Cholomes were encountered north of the Julimes in 1715, Trasvina Retis (Ayer 1714) stated that the main concentration of Cholomes lived several leagues west at a cienega. Subsequent documents, and Trasvina Retis' notes from his journey home, indicate that this cienega was the pueblo names Coyame (AGI 11726-1728) . . . . These and one other incident support the notion that the Cholomes territory extended to the Rio Grande northwest of La Junta."

p. 298-299: "Cibolos: The territory of the Cibolos (also Sibolas, Sibolos, Cibolas, Civola, Sivolitos, Xibulu) is generally believed to have been north of the Rio Grande, east of La Junta de los Rios, and south of the region occupied by the Jumanos on the Pecos River (Griffen 1979:32; AGI 1693). Griffen (1969:166) says they are also the Sivoporame (Sipopolas, Sibopora, Sipopolames, Sopolame, and Sipulames) cited in documents from the Parras archives between 1642 and 1671. Miguel, the Cibolo chief in the late 1680s, testified that his land was 'of the other part [e.g.,north] of the Rio Grande where there are many . . . cibolos [buffalo]" (AGI 1693). In 1655, Medrano stated that the Cibolos were found to the north of the Tobosos (Naylor and Polzer 1986:422), further substantiating their placement north of the Rio Grande. They were, however, also cited as one of the resident nations at La Junta in 1684 (AHP 1684Aa), again in 1688 (AGI 1688), living at La Junta in the large pueblo of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe in 1715 (Ayer 1714), and at San Antonio de los Puliques in 1747–1748 (Madrid 1993:52-60; AGN 1748a). Despite this association with La Junta, it is clear that they were only part time residents. Five Sibulos came to La Junta in 1687 and informed the priest, through interpreters, that 'they lived with another nation adjacent to the Tejas.' . . . [I]nterpreters were still needed for this nation in 1688, even by the priests at La Junta (AGI 1688). In 1689, they were among the five nations de Leon encountered between Monclova and the Rio Grande (AGI 1689), and in 1690, Masanet (1957:360-361) recorded their presence on the Guadalupe River near modern New Braunfels. Documents related to the 1726 rebellion indicate that the Cibolos at that time lived just east of La Junta (AGI 1726-1728). These varying accounts suggest that the Cibolos were associated with La Junta, but not permanent residents . . . . The word Cibolo means buffalo, and the Cibolos appear to have been so named because they hunted these animals on the margins of the Southern Plains (AGI 1693)."

p. 315: "*Hapes [Apes]*: First mentioned by Benavides (Ayer 1965) as a close neighbor of the Jumano, and residing near the Pecos and Colorado rivers in 1629, the Hapes were subsequently listed in testimony about assaults on Saltillo (AHP 1670A) in the company of the Ervipiames, Yoricas, Mescales, Boboles, Ocanes, Catujanes and 11 other nations from Coahuila and Nuevo Leon. A few years later, Fray Juan de Larios (SFG 1674) cited the Hapes as one of the followers of the Catujanes under the leadership of Juan Miguel, suggesting that, by the late 17th century, they were found near the Rio Grande, and perhaps living just south of that drainage, well to the south of the location where

they were encountered in 1629. Campbell (1988a:142) has concluded that they were pushed south by the Apache. However, they appear to have not been fully settled in Coahuila in the late 17th century. In 1683 Juan Sabeata, the Jumano chief, lists them as one of the nations (Jeape) living with the Jumano in west-central Texas along the Pecos River (AGN 1683a)."

p. 327: "There is some evidence that, through time, the Jumano were pushed out of [their] territory. Fray Juan de Larios (SFG 1674) placed the Jumanos near the Rio Grande. A year later the Spanish encountered the Xoman (Jumano), Teroodan, Teaname, and Geimamar on the Ona (i.e., Salty or Pecos) River north of the Rio Grande . . . . In 1686 they were among the nations at the mountain Sacatsol (literally "noses of stone"), north of the Rio Grande in south central Texas (Masanet 1911:256), and in 1689 Leon found the Jumanos (Jumenes) in a sizable camp of 85 huts with 490 people located four days journey south of the Rio Grande (Leon 1909:322). Two years later, the Jumanos were identified in the company of the Mescales, Oricas (Yoricas), and other groups south of the Rio Grande (SFG 1691), and one month later in charge of a large camp (ca. 2,000 individuals) of Cibola, Cantona (Canohatino), Calome, Catqueza, and Caynaya near the Guadalupe River in central Texas (Masanet 1957:360; Hatcher 1932:15) . . . . They were present in the Guadalupe/San Marcos River region in 1692 . . . (SFG 1692), and were also encountered by Salinas Varona (1968:287, 298) in the same region in 1693 and in the vicinity of the San Marcos River during his return trip. In one case, it is stated that the homeland of the Jumano was on the Rio del Norte (Masanet 1957:362). In the 1692 document, the wording differs slightly. "The Jumano nation of the Rio del Norte Salado" suggesting Masanet was speaking of the Pecos River, which fits better with other data (AGI 1693). In 1688, Retana met Sabeata several days journey northeast of La Junta, and Sabeata expressed pleasure "to see the Spanish in his territory" (AGI 1693). A priest from La Junta also indicated that the Cibolos and Jumanos "resided near the Tejas" (AGI 1693)."

p. 328: "The term 'Apaches Jumanos' was used . . . at San Juan Bautista in 1729 (AGN 1729a), and four years later testimony was taken about whether the soldiers had committed crimes against the Apaches, Pelones, Jumanes, and Chenttis (AGN 1733). At approximately the same period of time, several reports place the Jumanos to the east of Pecos Pueblo, typically in hostile actions similar to the Apache hostilities (Kessell 1979)."

p. 362: "*Terocodames*: This nation is mentioned with a number of variants of this name, including Hierquodame, Hyroquodame, Hyroquodame, Iedocodame, Perocodame, Teocodame, Terrodan, Texocodame, and Toxocodame (Campbell 1988:166). [It] was first cited by Fray Juan de Larios (SFG 1675) as one of the nations encountered in the region of the Rio Grande above San Juan Bautista. Throughout the early 18th century they continued to be cited in the general vicinity of the Rio Grande from Eagle Pass to the west (SA 1700). They appear to have occupied a region north and south of the Rio Grande in this general area, although by ca. 1720 were generally found to the south near Parras (AGN nod.). During the uprising of 1715-1716, they were somewhat to the north of Parras, but still south of the Rio Grande (AHP 1716Aa). It is Campbell's (1988:166-167) conclusion that Apache incursions pushed them south in the early 18th century, where they participated in various wars in Coahuila. They disappear from the records after the 1780s."

p. 364-365: "*Tobosos*: The Tobosos occupied much of the Bolson de Mapimi (Griffen 1969, especially his Figure 2), ranging from the tip of the Big Bend south to the region occupied by the Salineros and Cabezas and east of the Chisos. In the 1640s, the Spanish pursued the Tobosos into the heart of their territory: 'to their final [e.g.,most northern] rancherias, near the Rio Grande del Norte' (Alegre 1959:25). Several documents note that they were situated ca. 80 leagues from Parral (AGN

1645; AHP 1645Ab; Alegre 1959:25) . . . . By 1655, Medrano stated that the land of this nation "was close to the Conchos, Nonojes, Acoclames, Totoclames, Julimes, Chisos, Ocomes, and Gavilanes (Naylor and Polzer 1986:423). Since many of these nations had a more southerly territory, either the Tobosos also had rancherias well to the south of the Rio Grande, or they had begun to move south by the mid-17th century."

p. 365: "The Tobosos were also a problem for the missionized Indians in Coahuila and Nuevo Leon. In 1700 a report from San Juan Bautista stated that the Tobosos had raided a rancheria of the Sitames because the latter were friends of the Spanish (SA 1700). A decade later they continued to harass the natives of these missions (AGI 1708a, 1708b) . . . . Griffen (1969:63-64) noted that the Tobosos were deported in the 1720s, and generally disappear from the documents by 1730 . . . . [They] were the cause of the dissolution of the mission on the Rio Salado (Pecos) in 1748, but by 1750 were believed to be completely extinguished (SFG 1750)."

p. 371-372: "*Yoricas*: As Campbell (1988a:171) has noted, the "Y" beginning this name is often misread. They have been identified as the Corece, Giorica, Giorna, Gorica, Goxica, Hiorna, Hiorica, Lorica, Orica, Torica, and Yoxica. Their territory was centered on northern Coahuila, just south of the Rio Grande where they were first mentioned as one of the rebel nations in a large gathering in Coahuila (AHP 1670A), and later encountered by Fray Juan de Larios (SFG 1674) under the leadership of Juan de la Cruz, a Bobole chief. The Jumano were also said to be under his leadership. The following year, they are encountered by Larios and Lt. Bosque a short distance north of the Rio Grande in the company of the Hapes (Portillo 1886:117), and in 1686 they were identified north of the Rio Grande near the prominence named Dacatsol (Masanet 1957:254), believed to be in the general vicinity of South Texas. Later, in 1700, they settled at Mission San Juan Bautista (AGI 1708a)."

p. 405: AHP (1704Aa): Diego, an Acoclame told General Retana that 'the Acoclames were part of the gathering of gentile (heathen) nations that took place last year where the Rio Grande and Salado [Pecos] confluence.' Apparently there were many nations present and the purpose was to make peace among themselves in order that they could unite against the Spanish."

p. 405: AHP (1716Aa): Around 1716 Captain Ramon, of Texas and Nuevo Leon, went to the headwaters of the Colorado River to apprehend rebels. He found 'a large gathering of Indians of the nations Julimes, Escomeagamos, los de Guejolote, Coboloas, Ervipiames, Chisos, Gavilanes, Tripas Blancas and others.' He noted that all were part or full time residents of Texas."

Keyser, James D.

1987 A Lexicon for Historic Plains Indian Rock Art: Increasing Interpretive Potential. *Plains Anthropologist* 32:43-71.

Northern Plains rock art, especially art from the Late Prehistoric-Historic periods, is dominated by realistic drawings of humans and animals. Through the use of archival documents, hide paintings, oral accounts, and drawings as well as archeological data, Keyser sets forth a chronology of rock art styles, moving from the static, rigid, carefully executed figures of the Late Prehistoric period to the realistic art work of the Protohistoric and Historic periods where horses, humans, weapons, and tipis were employed to depict scenes. This latter style has often been called the "Biographic" style "because it recorded actual events important in the lives of individuals and groups."

Keyser's material has been applied to the Amistad NRA (see Turpin, below) because some rock art in or adjacent to the Amistad NRA depicts horses or bison with humans often in multiple panels.

Given the fact that some Plains tribes moved south into Texas during the Historic period, Turpin has concluded that the iconography ascribed to the artwork in the northern Plains applies to the sites in the Lower Pecos. The reader is urged to note the dates associated with specific art forms.

p. 44: "Biographic art . . . most often consisted of detailed action scenes showing combat and horse-raiding."

p. 45: "The initial change, which occurred in the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods (ca. A.D. 1600–1750), was a gradual transformation of a static, individualistic art to a more action-oriented, documentary art. Then, after A.D. 1750, concurrent with the change in Plains warfare patterns and status acquisition systems, Biographic art quickly developed . . . [and] came to function primarily as a means of documenting individual accomplishments and recording important events."

p. 45: "Ceremonial art was drawn between approximately A.D. 1000 and 1700 . . . . Characteristic motifs . . . were usually carefully executed as single glyphs or small groups of loosely associated figures . . . . Humans are also often accompanied by well-drawn items of material culture such as weapons, headdresses, and decorated shields. Anthropomorphs are typically shown in front view with upraised arms and/or weapons [and most have a v-neck]; animals are shown in profile."

p. 45: "During the Protohistoric period (ca. A.D. 1625-A.D. 1775) a transition took place . . . in that action scenes were added . . . [including] combat and battle scenes, and a few men riding horses or holding guns."

p. 48: "[ca] A.D. 1775 . . . the earliest examples of true Biographic art used Ceremonial art motifs (e.g.,v-neck humans, boat-form horses), but few of these panels occur. Replacement of motifs by simpler designs coupled with population movements of the Shoshone (the artists responsible for much Later Prehistoric Period Ceremonial art) . . . out of the Northwestern Plains and the immigration of Algonkian and Siouian speaking groups explains the rapid transition from Ceremonial art to Biographic art motifs."

[Authors' note: In other words, the Ceremonial Art with V-neck humans and boat-form horses represents the typical style of Comanche groups; the Biographic style, by inference, remained in the Northern Plains.]

p. 48: "Biographic art consists . . . of detailed action scenes involving . . . groups of figures with stylistic conventions indicating death, movement, and the passage of time . . . [quoting from Ewers 1968:7-8] 'The men's . . . legs are relatively short and bent at the knees. Hands and feet are small and lack definition. No attempt was made to portray clothing. Notice that the mounted warriors do not straddle their horses—either they have no legs at all or both legs are shown on the near side of the horse. The horses, too, have neither eyes nor mouths, and their upper legs are thick, while the lower legs are mere lines.'"

p. 48: "Between 1830 and 1850 some Northwestern Plains Indians had begun to develop more realism in the Biographic art styles. One primary cause for this stylistic evolution was the exposure of upper Missouri River Indians to the sophisticated portraiture of early white artists."

p. 48: "Replacement of . . . the Shoshone (the artists responsible for much of the Late Prehistoric Period Ceremonial art) out of the northwestern Plains and the immigration of Algonkian and Siouian speaking groups explains the rapid transition."

p. 48: "Between 1830 and 1850 some Northwestern Plains Indians had begun to develop more realism in the . . . style . . . . The effects of . . . exposure to [Anglo] portrait art are readily discernible in the paintings . . . and [in the] rapid spread of realism throughout Plains Indian representational art."

p. 52: "Horses are second only to human figures as the primary components of Biographic art . . . . The earliest horses were boat-form depiction's dating prior to A.D. 1775 [and] associated with V-neck humans, shield bearing warriors, and rectangular body humans."

p. 54: "Mature style horses are the hallmark of Early Biographic art. They originated between A.D. 1775 and 1800 . . . [and] are characterized by elongated bodies, necks, and legs and flowing manes and tails . . . . After approximately A.D. 1835 Plains Indians began to draw horses in a more realistic style with rounded, three-dimensional bodies, realistic hooves, and more naturalistic anatomical detail."

p. 58: "Rifles and pistols were drawn frequently in Biographic art . . . . Like guns, bows and arrows were frequently drawn in Biographic art." Swords, coupsticks and lances were also depicted.

p. 61: "Headdresses with horns and feathered trailers were common in Biographic style rock art . . . . Feather-and-horn bonnets were badges of membership in warrior or police societies in many Plains tribes."

p. 63: "In many combat scenes . . . the victor was . . . indicated by the postures of the participants or the placement of weapons . . . . Victorious warriors . . . were always shown leaning . . . toward the enemy . . . . Losers were shown falling over, doubled over . . . or recumbent."

Labadie, Joe, Kathy Labadie, Terry Sayther, and Deborah Stuart
1997 A First Look at the El Caido Site: A Historic Rock Art Site in Far Northern Coahuila, Mexico. *La Tierra* 24:14-32.

Joe Labadie is the archeologist at the Amistad NRA and has a serious interest in the archeology of the region. Given the significance of the region's rock art, he and his wife have been especially diligent in recording and documenting the rock art. This particular site is located ca. one mile south of the Amistad NRA and is one of the few recorded south of the river that contain historic period designs. In addition to describing the site, this article also provides a welcome summary of the historic period rock art in the region. It notes that El Caido (The Fallen) contains images that "clearly point to a Northwestern Plains influence which date to sometime near the close of the 19th century" (p. 29). These images are part of the Plains Biographic style that developed after A.D. 1850 (see Keyser 1987 above), and, in the authors' opinions, may be linked to the rock art at the Hussie Miers site (41VV343) described in Turpin (1987 below). Hence, the images may be part of the artwork of the Comanche and Kiowa tribes.

p. 14: "Research on rock art in the Lower Pecos region began with A.T. Jackson."

p. 14: "For the past 20 years, Solveig Turpin has been the driving force behind the discovery, documentation, and preservation of rock art sites [in the Lower Pecos region]."

p. 14: "Jackson and Kirkland . . . realized that historic images could be divided into two broad temporal groupings: an early Spanish Colonial period followed by a later period dominated by motifs more commonly associated with southern Plains groups. The later Plains-influenced rock art has been termed Plains Biographic style by James Keyser (1987)."

p. 14: "[H]allmarks of the Biographic style are depictions of action scenes composed primarily of humans, weapons, and tepees that are representative of actual events important in the lives of individuals and groups."

p. 18: "Turpin (1986) asserts that pictographs attributable to later Plains influences are typified by scenes depicting hostility and aggression . . . . Major pictograph sites for this time period include . . . the Hussie Miers site."

p. 19-29: The summary of the two panels at the site make it clear that the humans are either on horses or on foot and most have shields and lances, muskets or hatchets, long and flowing headdresses or no headdresses at all, and one has a long, braided hair style, while another holds a saber and a rifle. The horses are simple with elements that appear to depict warfare.

p. 29: "There are distinct differences between [the two panels] . . . . It seems safe to interpret these differences as an indication that the two panels were created by two different people perhaps representing two different groups."

p. 29: "There are numerous depictions among both panels that clearly indicate a Northwestern Plains influence in these images."

Lancaster, Jane F.
1994 *Removal Aftershock: The Seminoles' Struggles to Survive in the West, 1836-1866.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

This slim volume focuses on the historiography of the Seminole, particularly those who lived in Oklahoma and, to a lesser degree, the Seminole and Seminole Blacks who moved to Mexico during the mid-nineteenth century. Lancaster employed a wide range of original archival sources to complete the study. As a result, the study speaks authoritatively of Native Americans who were originally settled along the eastern seaboard of the United States, but were forced to move to Indian Territory beginning in 1836. The preface, chapter 1, and chapter 5 are pertinent to the Amistad NRA study.

p. xiii: "The Seminoles' most difficult struggle in their first years in the West was a constant battle to maintain their tribal identify and retain their tribal lands by avoiding submergence in the much larger Creek tribe."

p. xiv: "A major portion of the Seminoles were 'runaways' from the Creeks."

p. xv: " After the United States government ordered the blacks returned to the Seminoles, a few distraught Seminoles allied with some blacks, and both left Indian Territory and sought freedom in Mexico. Providing a military colony there, they received land grants in return for their services in the Mexican army."

p. 80: "In October 1849, less than two years after the Mexican War and as the slavery issue sizzled in the United States, Wild Cat [a Seminole leader] led his followers out of Indian Territory and started toward Mexico. He was seeking a pleasant land without Creek domination and with freedom for blacks . . . . During [the next decade], both Indian and black men served in the Mexican army in order to maintain possession of their land . . . . By 1858 they began a return to Indian Territory . . . although some blacks chose to remain in Mexico."

p. 85: "The Indian and black migrants led by Wild Cat and Gopher John spent several months in Texas as they made their way to Mexico. They camped on land between the Brazos and Colorado rivers, where they planted corn and made contact with other Indian tribes."

p. 85: "In May 1850, Special Indian Agent John Rollins met Wild Cat on the Llano River, where he headed about 250 Seminoles and Kickapoos."

p. 86: "Wild Cat . . . camped with about seven or eight hundred Seminoles, Lipans, Wacos, and Tonkawas on the Llano in West Texas in July 1850 . . . . [He] spent considerable time that summer attempting to assemble as large a military colony as possible. He contacted Comanches, Caddoes, Wacos, and Kickapoos about joining him in Mexico . . . . The Caddoes, frightened by such news,

divided into small groups and moved down the Brazos River until Wild Cat returned to Mexico . . . . About two hundred young [Kickapoo] warriors [from the area near Fort Arbuckle] accepted his offer of pay from Mexico and his promises of money and booty from the Comanches. But by the fall of 1851, these Kickapoos were persuaded by their chiefs to return to Indian Territory."

p. 87: "The problems that Mexicans had on their northern frontier made it an opportune time for Wild Cat to ask them for permission to settle in their country. Even prior to the Mexican War, the Mexicans had lost much property and many lives in Indian raids . . . . [T]he south Plains tribes . . . had robbed the country of horses and mules needed for transporting troops and drawing the supply trains. These Indians and the Apaches had burned thousands of bushels of grain in northern Mexico."

p.89: "But Wild Cat's colony was also a liability on the border in the early 1850s. Because the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been in effect only a few years, a cunning chief with a strong Seminole settlement that included blacks from the United States appeared potentially dangerous. Therefore the . . . Indians and blacks [were provided with] a different land grant, and they moved to Musquiz, a new rich land in the Santa Rosa Mountains, just northwest of Santa Rosa . . . . In July 1852, Wild Cat and his party received other grants in Durango and Nacimiento."

p. 90: "[In the fall of 1854] an army officer reported that there were 318 people, including the Indians and from fifty to sixty blacks, in the military colony near Santa Rosa . . . Of the 183 warriors in the group, 82 had enlisted in the Mexican army . . . . The women and children cultivated the land near Santa Rosa, where the Indians and blacks had cabins, gardens, horses, cattle, and mules."

p. 91: "By the 1850s, from three to four thousand fugitive slaves valued at more than $3.2 million had located in northern Mexico. The Seminole black colony included runaways from Texas."

p. 93: "Wild Cat's death [in 1857] had great effect on the remaining Seminoles in Mexico . . . . The band began a gradual migration back to Indian Territory between 1858 and 1861."

p. 95: "The Indians were permitted to take their own property, but items that belonged to the Mexicans had to be returned . . . . By 25 August 1861, the remaining Mexican Seminoles had gone . . . . Some blacks chose to stay south of the Rio Grande."

La Torre, Felipe A. and Dolores L. La Torre
1976 *The Mexican Kickapoo Indians*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

The La Torres conducted ethnographic fieldwork among some Kickapoo near El Nacimiento, Mexico in the 1960s. While their primary focus was on the modern residents, some historical information is provided in the volume.

Wisconsin is the Kickapoo native territory, but by 1765, some members were settling on the Mississippi River near Saint Louis, a part of Spanish Louisiana at that time. As white settlement moved into those areas, the Kickapoo moved further west, and by 1832, various groups of the tribe were scattered in a broad band from Wisconsin to Texas. At that time, according to the La Torres, 300 were settled on the Sabine River under Chief Mosqua.

With the hostilities of the Lamar administration towards Native Americans during the early years of the Republic of Texas, small groups of Kickapoo moved south and some can be documented in Matamoros in 1839. Some of these entered the Mexican military and were stationed close to Morelos, near the Rio San Antonio ca. 50 miles south of Cuidad Acuna. More Kickapoo moved to

Mexico in the company of Wild Cat, a Seminole chief, and a large body of Seminole. Soliciting land to establish a colony, they were granted ca. 70,000 acres south of Cuidad Acuna. This residency did not last, however, and eventually many members defected to the United States; a few moved further south to Morelos. In the early 1860s, the Seminole abandoned their lands in the vicinity of El Nacimiento and Muzquiz and the Rio Sabinas. When a larger group of Kickapoo moved south from Indian Territory (ca. 1864), they occupied the lands left by the Seminole. Over the next 40 years, their occupation of Morelos, El Nacimiento, and Muzquiz varied from lows of less than 100 to over 500. Importantly, however, their subsistence was based on part-time farming and part-time marauding of ranches in South Texas, presumably in the region of the Amistad NRA as well as areas to the east and south. Cattle, horses, and other goods obtained during various raids were sold in Mexico.

Lea, Pryor

1852 *Letter to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington.* Bureau of Indian Affairs, Texas Agency, Roll 1, pp. 1084-1087, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

Familiar with the inherent difficulties with Indian affairs in Texas, Pryor Lea, a legislator in the Texas legislature, spent substantial effort in developing a "Joint Resolution of Indian Boundaries." The resolution was quite brief, but authorized the governor to negotiate with the tribes to establish "an Indian territory in the northern part of the state." Importantly, the resolution only concerned itself with the Indians who were "of the state," suggesting that newcomers would have to establish their claims with other states. The resolution also respected private property, so that claims could not be rendered against such property.

p. 1: "Some of my favorite measures have been successful. Among them is the 'Joint Resolution concerning Indian boundaries . . . .' You cannot imagine the difficulties, which have attended this subject, because it seems to you, no doubt, that every person in Texas ought to realize the necessity for some such negotiation. But there are habits of thought, among a large proportion of Texas . . . which were difficult to explain."

p. 1: "I conferred with Governor Bell, Gen. Ford, Major Neighbors, and too many others to be enumerated."

p. 2: "Some of its particulars may seem unnecessary, but it was indispensable to state them specially, in order to obviate the current objections."

La Vere, David

1998 *Life Among the Texas Indians: The WPA Narratives.* Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

La Vere culled oral accounts of Native Americans that are housed in the Indian-Pioneer Histories at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City. These oral histories were gathered by staff of the Works Progress Administration working on the Indian reservations in Oklahoma in the 1930s. His work concentrated on those Native Americans or their parents who had come to Indian Territory from Texas in the late nineteenth century. "Actual documented words of Indian peoples from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are relatively rare, so in this book they get their chance to tell their stories" (p. xi). The Indians represented in the book are Comanche, Kiowa, Caddo, Wichita, Tonkawa, and Lipan Apache.

It should be noted that much of the period just prior to 1846 (when Texas entered the Union) is cursory and should not be used as an authoritative guide. Errors include such statements as "The

Tonkawas—characterized as thieves and beggars by the Texas who misread Tonkawa culture of asking for gifts and the status a man gained from stealing from non-kin—were despised by the Texans" (p. 28). Nonetheless, La Vere, an historian, employed a surprisingly large volume of archeological reports and/or books. These books and reports lent him sufficient information that he avoided many of the pitfalls seen in other works completed by historians.

Several Native American tribes of concern in this work are pertinent to the Amistad NRA. However, because the time frame of the oral histories is relatively late, much of the material is too late (e.g., 1890s) to affect the period of time when these tribes would have been present in the lands of the Amistad NRA. Selected passages provide some information about Texas, and to a lesser degree the Amistad NRA.

p. 59: "The Apaches gave the Seminoles trouble when in the midst of their wanderings after they had been forced to leave their homes. They were never satisfied in their new country . . . under their new leader, Wild Cat."

Mayhall, Mildred P.
1971 *The Kiowas.* Second edition, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

An anthropology professor at The University of Texas at Austin, Mayhall amassed a collection of documents from military and other archives from the United States and Mexico to document and trace the history of the Kiowa Tribe. The bulk of her documentation was from military archives of the United States as well as the material collected by Mooney in the 1890s. Called the "Caiguas" as early as 1735 by the Spanish in New Mexico, Mayhall opines that the Kiowas were pushed south from the northern plains in the 18th century, but did not reach Texas until relatively late in that century. Even then, their presence in Texas was sporadic. In 1802, the Lewis and Clark expedition noted their presence well to the north on the Platte River and they were found there again in 1803 when Zebulon Pike passed through that region. In 1835, they were living on the headwaters of the Arkansas, Canadian, and Red rivers, and, according to Mayhall, "this was the area they continued to occupy until reservation days."

Their presence in Texas largely centered on raids and/or travel to Mexico to trade. Those raids were not frequent, but were far from their primary lands, extending from Corpus Christi to Arizona and south to Chihuahua, Durango, Tamaulipas, and Santa Rosa, Mexico.

Moorhead, Max L.
1968 *The Apache Frontier, Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769-1791.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Moorhead sought to examine in detail the relations of the Spanish with certain Native American tribes, particularly the Apache and Comanche. This work describes his understanding of the historical context that surrounded the decision of the Spanish to turn away from their relatively long-standing alliance with the Apache and, instead, seek a partnership with the more powerful Comanche of the Southern Plains. That decision was codified in the enunciation in 1786 by Viceroy Bernardo de Galvez, and it fell to Jacobo Ugarte, military commander of the Provincias Internas and former governor of Coahuila, to put the program into place in the Provincias Internas. Drawing heavily from archival sources, Moorhead sought to avoid much of the ethnocentric bias that had been shown by some writings of his predecessors. He was not always successful, but discerning readers should be able to overcome the places where his bias comes through. On the whole the book is informative, well-researched, and provides information useful to the Amistad NRA.

p. 3: "The Gran Apacheria, as the Spaniards sometimes called it, was 750 miles in breadth—from the 98th to the 111th meridian—and in some areas as much as 550 miles in depth—from the 30th to the 38th parallels. The main range of the Apaches was what we now call the desert Southwest, but when they were bent on plunder or revenge, they extended their murderous raids deep into what are now the Mexican states of Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora." [His map shows them extending from just west of San Antonio to the Del Rio area, along the Rio Grande, and north to the Southern Plains.]

p. 5-6: In 1796, Cordero (a military commander) named the various Apache tribes: in the west were the Mimbrenos, Navahos, Gilenos, Chiricahuas, and Tontos. The easts were the Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros (Natagees, Lipiyanes, and Llaneros proper), and Lipanes.

p. 15: After Rivera's 1724-1727 tour of the presidios, a 1729 reglamento required increased efforts to pacify native groups. This policy held until the Marques de Rubi's 1768 inspection. "Rubi proposed a single outer line of defense to restrain the marauding invaders. He identified the Apaches as the only really implacable enemy on the entire frontier."

p. 26: "The Bolson de Mapimi . . . gave the Apaches easy access to the centers of population and a secure asylum from pursuit by the troops . . . . To the north, just beyond the Rio Grande, ranged the Lipan, Pipiyan, Natagee, Llanero, Faraon, and Mescalero Apaches."

p. 34: "In May of 1772 . . . more than 300 Lipan Apaches . . . attacked the haciendas of Sardinas, Posuelos, and San Miguel, the ranchos of Los Menchacas and Santa Gertrudes, and the pueblos of Nadadores and San Buenaventura."

p. 36: "O'Conor's campaign of 1772-73 was directed against the invading Mescalero Apaches, who were hiding out in the desolate Bolson de Mapimi. It was successful in dislodging them from this basin, in driving them northward, and in achieving even more notable results in neighboring Nueva Vizcaya."

p. 37: In the spring of 1775, O'Conor launched a multi-faceted effort against the Apaches. "For his part, Ugarte was to prepare . . . 325 men from his three presidios . . . . With this force . . . [he] was to march northward beyond the Rio Grande to the former site of the presidio of San Saba, veer westward to the Pecos River . . . and then to continue up the Pecos."

p. 38: October 2, 1775, 70 miles upriver from the San Juan Bautista, "an Apache chieftain with two warriors approached [Ugarte's] camp, but he turned out to be Cabello Largo, the principal chief of the Lipanes, with whom O'Conor had solidified a peace the year before and to whom Bucareli had sent the title "General of the Lipan Apaches . . . . Other Lipan chiefs—Poca Ropa, Boca Tuerta, El Cielo, El Flaco, Panocho, Rivera, Javielillo, Pajarito, and Manteca Mucha . . . . Reconnoitering the upper reaches of the San Pedro, a tributary of the Pecos,[3] the troops sighted Indians on December 22 . . . . Except for eliminating three Apache warriors [on the San Pedro], inducing the other hostiles to flee westward, and reconnoitering a large amount of territory along the Pecos River, Ugarte had nothing to show for the march by approximately 188 men of approximately 740 miles."

pp. 40-41: "Some [Apaches] seem to have eluded Ugarte's army and hidden out in the mountains north of the Rio Grande, for their raids into Coahuila were resumed shortly after the troops returned from the campaign." O'Conor campaigned against the Apaches in 1776, pushing them to the Guadalupes and along the Colorado River. Over 300 families of these Apaches were slaughtered by the Comanches.

p. 64: Ugarte was appointed Comandante-General for the Provincias Internas.

p. 125: "Ugarte was to exploit the existing discord between the Apaches and the Nations of the North and that among the separate Apache tribes themselves, reviving especially the bloody conflict that formerly existed between the Mescaleros and the Lipanes."

p. 129: "Nueva Vizcaya . . . was frequently invaded—from the northwest by the Gila Apaches and from the northeast by both the Mescaleros and Lipanes."

p. 200: The Eastern Apaches 1779-1787: "In the southern mountains of New Mexico, between the Rio Grande and the Pecos River, were the Yntajen-ne, whom the Spaniards called Faraones. Driven southward by the Comanches during the early part of the 18th century, the Faraones had left . . . their tribesmen behind in the Jicarilla Mountains . . . . To the east of the Faraones ranged the Sejen-ne, or Mescaleros, who inhabited the Mountains near the Pecos River and extended northward on both banks of that stream as far as the Comanche range . . . . During Ugarte's administration, there were eight main bands of Mescaleros, the chieftains of which were Bigotes, El Bermejo, Cuerno Verde, Montera Blanca, El-lite (El Quemado), Daxle (shoe), Gabie-choche (Alegre or Happy), and Yeo-Indixle (Volante or Ligero).

"The Cuelcanjen-ne, or Llaneros, were the Apaches occupying the plains and sandy stretches between the Pecos and the Colorado River of Texas. They were bordered by the Mescaleros on the west, the Lipanes on the east, the Spanish settlements of Coahuila on the South, and the Comanches on the north. Actually, three lesser tribes were included under this denomination: the Llaneros proper, the Lipiyanes, and the Natagees . . . . The principal war chief of the Llaneros . . . was the great Lipiyan warrior Picax-ande-Instinsle . . . (the Bald One). El Natagee, probably of the tribe of the same name was also a prominent chief.

"The easternmost group of the Apache nation, immediately beyond the Llaneros, was the Lipanjen-ne, or Lipan tribe." Upper Lipans were north of the Rio Grande; lower Lipans were south of the Rio Grande.

p. 207: "Each winter when the Mescaleros migrated northward to hunt buffalo, they were in mortal danger of encountering [Comanches]."

p. 235: 1787: Ugalde had some Mescaleros rounded up on the Rio de Sabinas. Others were at Presidio el Norte.

p. 242: The Eastern Apaches 1788-1791: Ugarte discovered that the eight chiefs reported by Ugalde as present on Rio Sabinas were just warriors, not chiefs.

p. 246: Some Mescalero chiefs, realizing that the Spanish were arguing, "had taken advantage of the revolt to steal horses and head along the Colorado River to the Guadalupe Mountains."

p. 253: Various Mescalero bands went to Santa Rosa to apologize for their attacks. Ugalde sprang a trap; some people were taken while others went to El Paso. Result: Ugalde was permitted to pursue Mescalero in a large campaign.

p. 254: "The campaign lasted more than 300 days, and was deadly, but so exhausted troops & horses, that no follow up campaign was possible."

p. 255: "Ugalde's forces attacked Lipiyan and Mescalero camps at the Piedras Negras crossing of the Rio Grande on August 20, 1789, and others between San Saba and San Antonio on December 29 . . . . [On] January 9, 1790, a large body of Mescaleros, Lipiyanes, and Lipanes . . . [were] set upon by an overwhelming number of . . . the Nations of the north, [and by] Ugalde's troops, with the support of 140 Comanches." The attack took place at the Arroyo de la Soledad on the Rio Frio west of San Antonio.

p. 257: With a new viceroy, Ugalde's campaign was canceled and his command surrendered.

p. 258: By May, 1790, Mescalero, Faraon, and Natagee Apaches were in the vicinity of the Sacramento/Guadalupe Mountains. In June, "Volante, Alegre, and the lesser [Mescalero] chief Joseph . . . were encamped with their bands on the Conchos River [of Mexico] . . . . Bigotes el Bermejo and Montera Blanca were in the Sierra Rica, and Cuerno Verde and El Natagee were in the Sierra del Carmen."

p. 267: "While the Mescaleros from El Norte were on their buffalo expedition in the late fall of 1790, they had discovered a large number of Lipanes butchering buffalo on the bank of the Nueces River . . . . Then, on December 10, as the Mescaleros and their military escort were returning from the hunt, they were joined at the Colorado River by Chief El Natagee and his family." El Natagee stated that the rest of his band was in the Sacramento Mountains.

Mulroy, Kevin

1993 *Freedom on the Border the Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas.* Texas Tech University Press, Lubbock.

This book presents an in-depth and carefully researched study of the Seminole Maroon (sometimes called Seminole Black or Mascogo), tracing their ethnic establishment in Florida through their successful settlement in Nacimiento, Coahuila. Today, they exist as separate, equal, and related communities in Nacimiento, Brackettville, Texas, and Oklahoma. Mulroy employed a variety of Spanish and English documents to trace their initial settlements of escaped and freed slaves who were affiliated with the Seminole communities along the eastern seaboard. The Seminole were groups of immigrant Lower Creek bands who were driven into Florida by various wars during the eighteenth century. As Africans escaped the Spanish and English colonies, they found that they would be allowed to settle in their own towns as "slaves" of the Muskogean-speaking Seminole. Slavery under the Seminole system, however, consisted of a requirement to assist their confederacy in war when needed and to pay a type of tax. The result was an ethnogenesis of the Seminole Maroon who lived close to and affiliated with the Seminole but were not fully equal to them.

When the Seminole were forced to relocate to Indian Territory, the Seminole Maroon moved with them. Later, when Wild Cat, a charismatic Seminole leader, moved to Mexico to escape enslavement by the Creek, he took with him Seminole, Seminole Maroon, and even a sizable group of Kickapoo. There each settled in their own community and these communities were loosely affiliated, and, overtime, became independent. Although most Seminole returned to Oklahoma in 1861 and the Kickapoo population fluctuated, the Seminole Maroon have maintained their presence in northern Mexico to the present day, and it was not until after the Civil War that any agreed to cross the border.

Seminole Maroon did participate in the final decades of the Indian Wars, as scouts for the United States Army. That era ended after the Mexican American War and at that time some returned to Nacimiento, others stayed in Brackettville, and a few moved to Oklahoma. The following excepts provide an overview of the Maroon and their presence in or close to the Amistad NRA:

p. 2: "Seminole slavery typically translated only into the giving of a small annual tribute to an Indian leader. Whether enslaved or free, these Africans lived apart from the Indians in remote settlements under their own leaders and controlled virtually every aspect of their own daily lives."

p. 2: [D]efining Africans associated with the Seminoles proved to be perplexing . . . to army officers and other United States officials . . . . Were they blacks, or black Indians?"

p. 3: "[T]o the maroons, the [Texas/Mexico] border continued to represent the line dividing enslavement and freedom until 1865. Only after slavery had been abolished north and east of the Rio Grande did they consider recrossing the river."

p. 27: "Already suffering . . . from . . . the drought of 1831, the Seminoles seemed ready to listen to offers of a tract of their own in the West . . . . The principal men signed a provisional removal treaty on May 9, 1832 . . . . [and] signed an agreement on March 28, 1833, at Fort Gibson . . . . Under the terms of the two treaties, the Seminoles agreed to settle among the slaveholding Creeks in the West and become a constituent part of that tribe."

p. 40: "The treaty [of 1845 between the Creeks, Seminoles, and the United States] proved to be disastrous for both the Seminoles and the maroons. As Wild Cat had feared, the Seminoles . . . had only minority representation in the Creek council, and their interest would be subjugated to those of the larger group . . . . Deeply dissatisfied . . . . Wild Cat began to seek a viable and attractive Seminole alternative."

p. 47: "Throughout 1847 Wild Cat continued to complain . . . and by early 1848, he was advancing the idea of a confederation based in the Creek country. A band of Kickapoos that had settled on the Canadian near the Seminole agency furnished him support. During January and February, Seminole and Kickapoo visited the Texas tribes promoting the scheme. The Texas Indian agent reported that these enjoys had threatened or otherwise sought to induce every tribe within his jurisdiction to remove to the Indian Territory."

p. 52: "Wild Cat . . . [developed] his plan to remove from the Indian Territory and establish a confederation on the Mexican border. As early as 1843, an emissary of the Mexican government had visited the Creeks in the Indian Territory . . . . During his exploring, hunting, trading, and diplomatic trips to the southern plains, Wild Cat had become familiar with the southwest territories as far as the Rio Grande and with the Plains Indian relations with Mexico. In 1849, moreover, Creek agent James Logan reported that Wild Cat had acquired and thus 'owned' a Mexican boy kidnapped earlier by the Comanches."

p. 52: "In . . . 1846, Mexico passed a law providing for the establishment of 'military colonies, composed of Mexicans or aliens, or both, along the coasts and frontiers as the government shall designate, especially to restrain the incursions of savages.'"

p. 53: "Wild Cat maintained his contacts with the southern plains tribes and further promoted the confederation during 1849. On March 6, . . . he met with a band of Southern Comanches at the Seminole agency."

p. 54: "In the face of more raids by slavers, the maroons hurriedly gathered together their belongings, and . . . around November 10, 1849, the allies, numbering around 200, hastily quitted the Seminole country . . . . The emigrant Indians and blacks were represented in approximately equal numbers and included some 25 Seminole families, . . . a few dissatisfied traditionalist Creeks, 20 Seminole maroon families, and several families of Creek and Cherokee blacks."

p. 55: "The allies traveled slowly, hunting and fishing as they went . . . . At the end of May 1850 . . . the emigrants had traveled . . . to the southwest, John Rollins, the Indian agent for Texas, reporting that he had met Wild Cat and his party on the Llano. The Indians and maroons had encamped there and planted small patches of corn."

p. 55: "While his supporters raised a crop on the Llano, Wild Cat explored the region and visited Indian bands in the area to promote his Mexican colony . . . . Despite all his efforts with the tribes of

the southern plains and borderlands, however, Wild Cat succeeded in persuading only a band of around 100 Southern Kickapoo to join his enterprise."

p. 56: "On June 27 [1850] . . . he signed an agreement with [the] . . . inspector general of the eastern military colonies, in San Fernando de Rosas, present day Zaragoza. The followers of Wild Cat were assigned . . . about 70,000 acres in Coahuila; half at the headwaters of the Rio San Antonio and some fifty miles southwest of present-day Ciudad Acuna, and half at the headwaters of the Rio San Rodrigo . . . . They were to help prevent further incursions by raiding bands of Comanches and Lipan and Mescalero Apaches."

p. 56-57: "In early July, . . . the maroons and Seminoles hurriedly abandoned their crops on the Llano and set out for Mexico. At Las Moras Springs, later site of Fort Clark, the emigrants came across the encampment of a military train bound for El Paso . . . . Wild Cat and his party [were allowed] to proceed to Eagle Pass."

p. 62: "By early July [1850, an additional] 180 armed maroons . . . were en route for Coahuila . . . . The blacks split into parties of between forty and eighty and made their way across the southern plains towards the border . . . . Comanches attacked several of the Seminole black parties while they were traveling through Texas."

p. 64: "on his return journey through Texas, Wild Cat visited the Caddos, Wacos, and Comanches in an attempt to persuade them to join him in Mexico"

p. 67: "The Seminoles settled at La Navaja, and the Kickapoos at Guerrero. The maroons remained at El Moral, some distance from the Seminoles."

p. 68: "In the fall [of 1851], the Southern Kickapoo leaders . . . rode to Mexico from . . . Indian Territory and persuaded almost the entire Kickapoo faction to return with them."

p. 70: "[I]n late 1851, Mexican officials agreed to the removal of the maroons and Seminoles farther into the interior to the Santa Rosa Mountains, northwest of . . . present Muzquiz [due to American/Texas slave expeditions]. The government promised them a land grant at the Hacienda de Nacimiento at the headwaters of the Rio San Juan Sabinas."

p. 87-88: "Seminoles . . . entered into a treaty with the Creeks and the United States [in] . . . 1856 that resulted in the creation of a separate and independent Seminole Nation . . . . The Mexican Seminoles' main reason for remaining outside the Indian Territory thus had been removed . . . . On February 17, 1859, Chief Lion, 13 men, and 37 women and children set out for the new Seminole Nation."

p. 88: "[A]round 100 Seminoles remained in Mexico. The Mascogos had no wish to return to the Indian Territory. A separate Seminole Nation meant little to them . . . . Mexico suited the maroons. They had their liberty and had become fairly prosperous. This was more than they could hope for if they went back to the Indian Territory."

p. 88: "On March 23, [1859], the state government . . . ordered that since they were the principal target of filibusters, the maroons should remove from the border to the Laguna of Parras, some 300 miles to the south."

p. 107: "By the fall of 1861, all of the Seminoles . . . had returned to the Indian Territory, and most of the 350 maroons were living at . . . Parras . . . . For several years . . . the Mascogos helped defend the devastated Laguna [de Parras] against Apache depredations and received scalp bounty as compensation. Although they were adept Indian fighters, the constant raids depleted their numbers and disrupted their settlements."

p. 108: "In 1864, French commanders . . . ordered the maroons to return to Nacimiento . . . . The main body of Mascogos remained at the Laguna . . . until later 1870, however . . . . The Kibbetts group returned to Nacimiento to find that all of the Southern Kickapoos with a population of around 950 . . . had settled there."

p. 109: "In October 1866, the Kickapoos and Potawatomies were granted . . . 8676 acres which had been . . . abandoned by the Seminoles and Mascogos in 1861."

p. 111: "By 1870, . . . the Seminole maroons living on the border . . . had split into four main groups. John Horse and the main body of 150 were still based at Parras; John Kibbetts and 100 others were residing at Nacimiento; several families had moved to Matamoros; and the Elijah Daniels band had settled in Texas."

p. 112: "As the Mascogos prepared to leave Nacimiento . . . the secretary of war responded . . . that the services of the blacks could be of use to the military . . . as Indian scouts."

p. 115: After serving at Fort Duncan for a period, "the entire party removed to Fort Clark by horse and wagon under military escort in early August 1872."

p. 121: "Following the Remolino campaign, Indian raids in West Texas abated noticeably . . . . By 1880, the remaining Mexican Kickapoos had abandoned their war with Texas, given up plunder as a means of support, and returned to hunting and agriculture."

p. 133: "During the 1870s and 1880s, the maroons became the subject of a fierce . . . wrangle within the United States government . . . over who had authorized their return to Texas and which was responsible for their upkeep and ultimate removal to the Indian Territory . . . . [E]ach began to deny responsibility."

p. 152: "[S]everal parties of Seminole maroons . . . would choose to return independently to Coahuila or the Indian Territory. These people had grown tired of broken promises, of fighting, . . . of threats, of poor prospects for their children."

Parsons, Mark L.

1987 Plains Indian Portable Art As A Key to Two Texas Historic Rock Art Sites. *Plains Anthropologist* 32:257-274.

Parsons, who has long held an interest in rock art, interprets the rock art from two sites in the Texas Panhandle (following Keyser [1987], see above). Like Keyser, he considers rock art to be a short hand that uses conventions and ideographs to denote special events, battles, name glyphs, and dreams. His two sites are Mujeres Creek in Oldham County, and Verbena in Garza County. While both of these sites are well north of the Amistad NRA, the article is included here because it is frequently cited by researchers who interpret historic Indian rock art of the Lower Pecos. Moreover, it is an insightful discussion of the meaning of a number of elements present in Plains rock art panels. Cattle, horses, and guns are depicted in the Mujeres Creek panel along with a number of anthropomorphs.

Porter, Kenneth W.

1996 The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-seeking People. Universide Press of Florida,Gainesville.

Porter conducted extensive research on the Black Seminoles or Seminole Maroon (see Mulroy above), beginning in the 1940s when he conducted oral history with a number of elderly members of

the Nacimiento, Mexico, Del Rio and Brackettville, Texas communities of that Native American group. He also researched a number of historical documents that placed the oral histories into their historical context. After his death in 1981, Alcinoe M. Amos and Thomas P. Senter edited and updated his efforts to tell the story of the Black Seminole, particularly his efforts to tell the story of one of their charismatic leaders in the nineteenth century, John Horse. The following are relevant to the Amistad NRA affiliation study:

p. xiii: "'Our people lived in Texas for over one hundred years. Before that we were in Mexico, where some of us still live, and before that we were in Oklahoma, and even earlier than that in Florida. And Before that, we came from Africa . . . . In all our travels we have never lost an awareness of our identity and a pride in our freedom, because it is our freedom that makes us different. [quote by Miss Charles Emily Wilson, Black Seminole, Texas, 1992]."

p. 7: "There was no group in Florida that would resist annexation more than the Black Seminoles. The Spaniards would forfeit self-rule and the tribes-people their land. But the Black Seminoles would simultaneously lose their independence, their homes, and their freedom."

p. 97: "The Seminoles soon discovered that the land [in Indian Territory] was not available. The Fort Gibson treaty had set aside the region between the Canadian River and its north fork, extending west to the branches of the Little River for their settlement. But the Creeks already occupied that location. So the Seminoles remained camped around Fort Gibson."

p. 118: "The Creeks claimed almost all Black Seminoles, alleging that either they or their ancestors had fled from the Creeks before the Florida conflict. The Indians also said that they owned those blacks whose parents had escaped from Georgia and South Carolina plantations to Florida when the Seminoles were still considered part of the Creek Confederation because the Creeks had been required to pay for those runaways."

p. 127: "By now [1849], Wild Cat and John were prepared to the Territory [for Mexico]. The Seminole chief apparently planned to unite his disgruntled followers—including blacks—with other allies, such as tribespeople from Texas and then move to Mexico where slavery no longer existed."

p. 128: "The . . . groups [of Seminole Maroon and Seminole] moved south for about a month and then, when reunited, went into winter quarters in Texas. They stayed on Cow Bayou, a branch of the Brazos River. A large number of Kickapoos camped close by."

p. 129: "The emigrants next rested near the Llano River. Early in April, it was reported that 'Wild Cat . . . with about 20 Seminole warriors, 20 or 25 negroes, and the usual number of women and children' were close to Fredericksburg, Texas. About 100 Kickapoo warriors camped nearby."

p. 129: "On May 15, 1850, Wild Cat and what seemed like '2,000 men, women, and childred' visited William Banta, a settler near Burnett, Texas . . . . A few days later, Wild Cat went to Fort Croghan."

p. 131: "Wild Cat realized that the odds were against them. So they hastily gather their belongings and rode toward Mexico [from Las Moras Spring] . . . . The fugitives apparently traveled two days before arriving at the Rio Grande. Then men crossed it, according to one account, near the 'Lehman's ranch, across from Moral [Mexico], above Eagle Pass.' The women and children reached the river at a ford 'between Eagle Pass and Del Rio, that they called San Felipe the.'"

p. 137: "'When we cam fleeing slavery, Mexico was a land of freedom, and the Mexicans spread out their arms to us.'" [quote of John Horse]

p. 139: "On March 3, 1851, in El Paso de la Navaja, Captain Nokosimala, representing Wild Cat and accompanied by the interpreter August Factor, was given land near the colonia of Monclova Viejo. It was across from Del Rio and close to Guerrero below Piedras Negras. The Seminole grant was called La Navaja."

p. 146: "As they became more settled, the Mascogos were forced to lear some Spanish. But they did not abandon either the Creole of their ancestors or the Seminole language . . . In addition, most of the blacks and some Indians were given or assumed Mexican names, either during baptism or for reasons of convenience . . . . Yet in nearly every case, the Black Seminoles also retained their American names. More over, they kept their own dialect for use among themselves. They still do so to this day, in both Mexico and Texas."

p. 150: "Black Seminole oral history, in both Texas and Mexico, stresses that there were at least three separate groups that formed their community. The first were the Black Seminoles proper—those who originally followed Wild Cat and John Horse to Mexico. They also included a few Black Creeks.

The second element came from individuals who joined the colonists independently, primarily blacks already in Mexico. Most were runaway slaves from Texas . . . . But this category also included Mexicans and Indians, such as the Neco family, who were said to be Biloxi. Those who intermarried with the Black Seminoles were gradually assimilated and eventually became regarded as part of the Mascogos.

The last group included the majority of the Black Creeks . . . who emigrated to Mexico independently and later joined the . . . band."

p. 180: "By the fall of 1871, . . . 20 more men were recruited [into the Seminole Black scouts]. Nearly all were from the Elijah Daniels band of Black Creeks, who had been living and working at the Griffin ranch on the Nueces River in Uvalde County. . . . A few of the new recruits were Black Seminoles from the Matamoros/Brownsville group."

p. 181: "On September 1, 1871, Bullis and four black troopers . . . of the Ninth Cavalry's M Company encountered a group of 'some 25 or so Indians driving several herds of cattle, near Fort McKavett, Texas.'"

p. 182: On May 17, 1873, "after a forced march of approximately 80 miles [through Coahuila, Mexico], . . . the 400 or so men struck the Lipan, Mescalero, and Kickapoo settlements near Remolino, Mexico."

p. 187: "On December 10, 1873, 41 men of the Fourth Cavalry, under Lieutenant Charles L. Hudson, and the six soucts based at Fort Clark encountered a raiding party of nine Kiowas and 21 Comanches near Kickapoo Springs, Texas. The warriors, who lived on a reservation near Fort Sill, Indian Territory, had been marauding on both sides of the [Rio Grande]. In the ensuing battle, nine hostiles, including the favority son of Kiowa chief Lone Wolf, were killed. The dead also included one of his nephews."

p. 193: "On April 25, 1875, the most distinguished and best remembered exploit of the Seminile Scouts took place. Early that day, [they] struk a fresh trail made by about 75 horses. They followed it to the Eagle's Nest Crossing of the Pecos and spotted a faiding party just as the hostiles were fording the river to the western side."

p. 194: "The last Black Seminole action with Shafter's command was on November 2, 1875. Troops led by Lieutenant Andrew Geddes and including Black Seminole scouts and buffalo soldiers from Companies G and L of the Tenth Cavalry, struck some hostiles camped approximately 60 miles above the mouth of the Rio Grande at a place called Shafter's Crossing. After killing one warrior, they captured four Apache women and one boy."

p. 197: "Of the various Apache bands, the Lipans and Mescaleros troubled Bullis and his men the most. The Lipans were based in Mexico, while the Mescaleros alternated between their New Mexico reservation and the Lipans' territory. Both bands enjoyed easy access, both coming and going, across the border. Mexico's weak central government was unable to stop their raids; but Mexican authorities became outraged when American forces repeatedly invaded their country, chasing hostiles who preyed on Texas.

In early February 1876, Sergeant William Miller boldly infiltrated a camp 'of Comanches, Apaches, Mescaleros, and Lipans' in Mexico. The mixed blood Seminole scout stayed with them for five days to learn their plans. Then he slipped away and returned to Fort Clark. After Miller's daring exploit, Lieutenant Bullis and his men . . . entered Mexico several times . . . in pursuit of marauders."

p. 198: "On July 19 the scouts left their base camp on the Pecos River. They were part of an expedition . . . sent across the border to punish Lipan warriors who had killed 12 Texans."

p. 200: "[I]n pursuit of marauding Apaches, the troops trailed the warriors for more than two weeks in January. They covered 200 miles, penetrating deep into Mexico. Although the men found and destroyed a 'hastily abandoned camp in the Santa Rosa Mountains,' they returned to Texas empty handed.

During March 1877 Bullis and the scouts tracked and located several bands of hostiles. Then in April they 'for a party of Indians at the Rio Grande about 10 miles above the mouth of Devil's River.' The Black Seminoles 'run them over the Rio Grande.'"

p. 202: "In mid-October 1877 Bullis left Fort Clark with 37 men to hunt the renegades. The unit rode along the Rio Grande to the Pecos River. On the 21st, two Seminoles scouts reported that they had found a recently deserted camp with many tracks going south."

p. 205: "There were three distinct periods in the unit's personnel history during its active combat years (1870-81). From 1870 to 1872, almost all were Black Seminoles or Black Creeks recently arrived from Mexico. From 1873 through 1877, about half of those who enlisted were state-raised blacks. From 1878 to 1880, most who joined had Mexican names. Nevertheless, of the 100 or so men serving at one time of another from 1870 to 1881, about two-thirds were either Black Seminoles or Black Creeks . . . . Overall, the unit's make up justified its official title: the Detachment of Seminole Negro Indian Scouts."

p. 206-207: "A year later, the Seminole scouts fought their last Indian battle, marking the final significant hostile raid in Texas. On April 14, 1881, a small Lipan band killed a woman and a boy at an isolated ranch at the head of the Rio Frio . . . . Almost two weeks after the attack, Lieutenant Bullis was ordered to pursue them.

'The Indians did their dirt at Uvalde,' declared Julia Payne some 60 years later . . . . Despite . . . the time that had elapsed, the Black Seminoles located the Lipan spoor on April 17. They tracked them 'over the rugged, precipitous mountains and canyons of Devil's River, [into Mexico].'"

Riemenschneider, Larry

1996 Head of the Concho Stage Station (41IR95). *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society* 66:145-154.

In 1993, the Concho Valley Archeological Society began archeological survey on the Rocker B ranch under an agreement with the ranch owner, the Texas Scottish Rite Hospital for Children. Riemenschneider became interested in one of the first sites recorded: the Head of the Concho Station. The station is located in the northwest corner of Irion County, Texas on a terrace of the Middle Concho

River and served a stage stop on Butterfield and San Antonio-El Paso trails. This report provides information on the structural remains at the site, including remains of the guardhouse, a nearby military outpost, and the station itself, as well as ruts of the probable old stagecoach and wagon roadbed.

More importantly for the present report, Riemenschneider presents a nice summary of a series of private stagecoach mail lines that crossed Texas. The first of these lines was established in 1851 as a result of a mail contract signed by the Postmaster General with a Henry Skillman to cover the route between San Antonio and Santa Fe, New Mexico. By 1858, the "Santa Fe portion of this line was only a branch of a much larger endeavor" (p. 145) and a more direct route to San Diego, California moved the main branch to become a San Antonio to El Paso route. The initial route of the line traveled roughly west from San Antonio, crossing the Devils River, turning northwest at Del Rio along the east side of the Pecos, and then turning west at Comanche Springs (modern Fort Stockton). Known as the Lower Route, a series of stations were erected along its path and were used by the mail drivers, stagecoach riders, the military, and others. In 1868, the Lower Route to Comanche Springs was replaced with a route traveling northwest out of San Antonio to Fort McKavett and on to the Head of the Concho station, then southwest and west to Comanche Springs. In addition to the east-west route, John Butterfield, contracting for the mail between St. Louis and San Francisco, established a line traveling southwest from Colbert's Ferry on the Red River north of Fort Worth to the Pecos River, where it turned northwest following the Pecos River to the modern New Mexico line and then turned west to El Paso.

p. 147: June 17, 1868: "Nearly 30 Comanche attacked the Head of the Concho station" and it was generally believed that ca. 150 Comanche warriors were in the country beyond the station.

p. 147: "During the summer of 1870 a war party [of Comanche] chased the El Paso stage into the Head of the Concho station . . . . Less than two weeks later, the Comanche attacked the station and captured some of its stock."

p. 147: "[T]he Comanche . . . repeatedly attacked the Head of the Concho station in June 1871. No records of further attacks were recorded until 1875, when the Head of the Concho station was attacked twice in one week."

Sjoberg, Andree F.
1953 Lipan Apache Culture in Historical Perspective. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 9:76-98.

This article is concerned with the culture of the pre-reservation Lipan Apache. Using primary and secondary information, it provides a brief history of the group. Initially undifferentiated in the historical records from other Apache, she opines that the Lipan moved south and east into the Llano Estacado in the eighteenth century and were living on the San Saba by 1732. Unable to withstand a series of Comanche attacks along the San Saba and the Nueces, they relocated to South Texas and Coahuila during the latter half of the century. A few were also reported at the San Antonio missions between 1762 and 1817. Still others moved to eastern and southeastern Texas. At times, the Lipan in Coahuila, the Bolson de Mapimi, and the area west of the Pecos were known as the Upper Lipan; those living to the south on either side of the Rio Grande were known as the Lower Lipan. [Authors' note: This conclusion conflicts with Moorhead above.]

The Lower Lipan, initially friends with the Texans, were pushed back to Mexico by the late 1840s. In the ensuing years, Sjoberg concludes that the Lipan fragmented into a number of small groups. During the period 1850-1876, the groups variously aligned with the Kiowa Apache at Fort Sill, the Tonkawa at Fort Griffin, the Mescalero in southern New Mexico, while others remained in Coahuila and Chihuahua.

p. 78: "In 1762 two more missions, Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria and San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, were founded on the upper Nueces River, now the principal habitat of the Lipan. At one time, almost a thousand Indians were sheltered here; another two thousand were said to be encamped about the headwaters of the Nueces. These establishments . . . were abandoned within only a few years because of repeated attacks by the Comanches and other[s]."

p. 79: "In the Mexican Revolution, many joined the Royalists; but when this side began to lose, they switched to the Republicans and fought with them over much of northern and eastern Texas."

p. 79: "In the 1830s, . . . the Upper group generally sided with the Mexicans. On the other hand, most of the Lower group joined the Texans . . . . However, in the 1840's, after Flacco's death, the Lower group became estranged from the Texans and soon moved back into extreme western Texas and across the Rio Grande to Mexico."

p. 80: "By 1865, some had moved northward to Indian Territory, where they eventually joined the Kiowa Apache at Fort Sill. Others were found in 1876 with the Tonkawa Indians at Fort Griffin in northern Texas. In 1884, these two groups were removed to Oklahoma and the following year permanently settled at the Oakland Agency. A number of Lipan were still living in southwestern Texas, west of the Pecos River, in the 1870's. Some of these joined the nearby Mescalero Apache and in 1879 were found with them at the Mescalero Agency in southern New Mexico. Those in Coahuila and Chihuahua remained there during the next few decades . . . . Finally, in 1905, the few survivors in Mexico were removed by the United States Government to the Mescalero Reservation."

Smith, F. Todd

2000 The Wichita Indians: Traders of Texas and the Southern Plains, 1540-1845. Texas A&M Press, College Station.

Smith provides an archival history of the Kiowa, and considers his efforts to represent an update of Bell, et al. (1975) and John (1975). Seeking to correct several mistaken assumptions ("the Wichitas were misunderstood by Americans" page I), he stresses their abilities to identify and cultivate effective trading partnerships with a remarkable array of partners, despite a number of adversities. In the course of this work, he traces those partnerships over a 300-year period, beginning with their early history in the Central Plains of the United States and continuing until shortly prior to their removal to a reservation in Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma).

The strength of this book lies in the period after A.D. 1770, the period for which Smith seems to have more closely evaluated the individual documents that he reviewed. To be sure, this is the period that has the greatest quantity of documents as well as the period that has received the greatest study by historians of Texas. Nonetheless, Smith provides greater detail about the Kiowa during these years. In contrast, his summary of the earlier years of the Kiowa seem, at times, cursory and often reliant on secondary sources. Moreover, since he rarely takes advantage of archeological data for these early years, he sometimes offers statements of fact about the lifeways of the Kiowa as if those statements were verified. Despite these shortcomings, Smith's book is relevant to the present study.

p. 1: "About thirty-five hundred years ago, ancestors of the people know today as the Wichitas, Kichais, Pawnees, and Arikaras first moved out of the forests of eastern North America and settled in the river valleys that track through the Great Plains."

p. 3: "Wichita death customs consisted of several quickly performed rituals. Since the grass lodges were considered sacred places where no one should die, the Wichitas isolated people on the verge of

death in a hastily constructed tepee . . . . The body was then buried in a shallow grave, usually located on a hilltop near the village"

p. 8: "[In the sixteenth century] the Wichita . . . lived in numerous villages located northeast and east of the Great Bend of the Arkansas River in present-day Kansas . . . . The Tawakonis, on Cow Creek and the Little Arkansas River; the Taovayas, about eighty miles northeast on the Cottonwood River; and the Guichitas [Wichita], eighty miles south of theTaovayas on the lower Walnut River. A related tribe, the Kichais, lived farther down the Arkansas near the mouths of the Verdigris and Neosho Rivers."

p. 14: "[In 1682,] emissaries from the 'Isconis' were among the many groups of Indians who met Juan Dominguez de Mendoza and his party as they explored through West-Central Texas."

pp. 28-30: "Although the Wichitas had had little contact with the Spaniards of Texas, in 1758 they joined a group of 2,000 Norteno warriors in an attach on the mission at San Saba."

p. 31: "Ortiz Parrilla and his force headed north from San Antonio in mid-August and on October 2 [1759] surprised a Tonkawa village on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River. The Spaniards and their Indian auxiliaries attacked the Tonkawas, killing 55."

p. 36: "[O]n May 27, 1760, a leading Tawakoni met Calahorra at Mission Nacogdoches . . . . The Tawakoni headman also . . . vowed to return to Nacogdoches in the summer and lead Calahorra to the Tawakoni-Iscani villages on the Sabine River."

p. 38: "The Wichitas and their allies quickly discovered the El Canon missions [for the Lipan]. In early 1762 Norteno warriors made three separate raids on Lipan camps near the Nueces. To the dismay of the Tawakonis, Taovaya men also attacked the Spanish troops at San Saba."

p. 42: "Taovayas and Tawakonis had foined with Tonkawa and Comanche raiders to force the Spaniards to finally abandon San Saba in the spring of 1768. Captain Rabago and his depleted garrison took refuge at El Canon, which, due to unceasing Norteno pressure, was also devoid of Lipan inhabitants."

p. 49: "[I]n April [1770], a group of Tawakonis killed three Spanish soldiers at Bexar and made off with a drove of horses."

p. 53: "In another move certain to make the Spaniards uneasy, the Wichitas obtained new allies in their war against the Osages and Apaches. These allies were about 100 apostate Xaraname Indians who had recently fled the Spanish mission, Espiritu Santo . . . . The Xaranames took refuge near the Tawakoni village on the Trinity and, using their knowledge of the area, assisted the Wichitas, as well as the Tonkawas and Bidais, in horse raids upon Espiritu Santo."

p. 53: "Face-to-face discourse with the Spaniards began in the spring of 1772 when five Taovayas, led by Chief Quirotaches, traveled to San Antonio to meet with Governor Ripperda . . . .The Taovayas held talks with Ripperda for three weeks before concluding their visit on April 27."

p. 54: "Before leaving for the Guichita settlement farther up the Brazos, de Mezieres summoned the Tonkawas and the Xaranames to the Tawakoni village on the Trinity . . . . Taking leave of the Tawakonis, de Mezieres, along with the other Wichita chiefs, proceeded to the Guichitas, who welcomed them to their village a few days later. The Guichitas sent for the Taovayas, and when they arrived, accompanied by 500 Comanches, the parties held a conference."

p. 66: "The Kichais, whose village between the Neches and the Trinity was perhaps the closest of the Wichitas to Bucareli, broke in two as a result of the disease . . . . The main body of the

Kichais . . . moved to the RedRiver and settled in a village about 100 miles north of Natchitoches . . . . Between 100 and 150 Kichais, rather than move east with the rest of the tribe, elected to relocate slightly westward and settled just east of the Tinity River in present-day Houston County."

p. 74: "The Lopan Apaches obtained access to weapons through the Tonkawas, who had ties with illicit traders along the Gulf Coast. The Texas Wichitas responded to this treat in December, 1782, by breaking up a Lipan-Tonkawa trade fair that had been convened on the Guadalupe River."

p. 77: "On July 8 [1784], 15 Taovayas killed and scalped two San Antonio residents . . . . A week later a few Taovayas and Guichitas broke into the governor's own stable and stole the two best horses."

p. 81: "In order to celebrate the peace and coordinate anti-Apache activities, 37 Taovayas, Guichitas, and Tawakonis traveled to San Antonio in January, 1786, to meet with Governor Cabello and some Comance chiefs. The governor . . . sent the Wichitas and Comanches on an unsuccessful campaign against the Lipans. A few months later, however, the Tawakonis, led by Quiscat's son . . . joined a group of Tonkawas to destroy a Lipan village on the Colorado River . . . . This victory forced the entire Lipan Apache tribe to retreat southwestward to the Nueces River."

p. 84: "In December, 1787, . . . about 150 Tawakoni, Taovaya, and Guichita warriors attacked Zapato Sas's [Lipan] village on the headwaters of the Frio River and made off with all 600 of the Apaches' horses."

p. 87: "[O]n January 9, 1790, a combined Spanish-Norteno force inflicted a severe defeat upon the Apaches at Soledad Creek, west of San Antonio."

p. 88: "In January, 1791, Wichita warriors, accompanied by Comanches, Tonkawas, and Xaranames, successfully attacked a Lipan village on the Colorado River. The war party returned home through Bexar."

p. 112: "By the 1820s the Taovayas had settled in four different villages : two were situated on the Red about 100 miles above the old Panis Pique villages near the mouth of the Wichita River, while the other two were established to the south on the Brazos River [west of modern Fort Worth] . . . . One group fo Tawakonis, the Wacos, established themselves as an independent tribe during this period . . . on the west bank of the Brazos in what is now downtown Waco." [Authors' note: this discussion of the Waco does not conform to Wedel's conclusions.]

p. 124: "Two different American militia groups made attacks on the Tawakonis the following month. Led by Lipan Apache scouts, . . . 100 men from Austin's colony discovered a Tawakoni hunting camp near the mouth of the San Saba River in August, 1829 . . . . The next day . . . Captain Henry Brown with 30 men from DeWitt's colony . . . tracked one group of Tawakoni hunters west to the headwaters of the San Saba and killed three of them. Returning home, they encountered another Tawakoni party and killed five or six warriors near Enchanted Rock."

p. 141: "On November 3, 1837, 18 Texas Rangers . . . encountered a group of Cherokees and Kichais near the mouth of the Clear Fork of the Brazos."

Swanson, Donald A.

n.d. Fort Clark, Texas: A Bootstrap on the Nueces Strip to Headquarters of the Military District Nueces. Manuscript on file in the library of the Texas Historical Commission, Austin.

A visit to Brackettville, Texas, led Mr. Swanson to inquire about the history of the adjacent Fort Clark and its springs. Becoming intrigued by what he learned, Swanson researched historic military

documents from the Library of Congress, the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, and other sources. His effort was considerable and resulted in an unedited manuscript (typewritten) of ca. 500 pages, all related to Fort Clark, the military who occupied, built, and maintained the fort, and the Native Americans and local settlers who were affected by the developments at the facility. The manuscript is sometimes difficult since pagination repeats itself within the tome and the author concentrated on giving as close to a day-by-day account of each year as possible. Nonetheless, it is a remarkable compilation of documentary information. Some of the information has been included in Appendix 5.

Thomas, Alfred Barnaby

1982 Alonso de Posada Report, 1686: A Description of the Area of the Present Southern United States in the Late Seventeenth Century. Vol. 4, The Spanish Borderlands Series, The Perdido Bay Press, Pensacola.

In the late seventeenth century, Spain, concerned about French interest in lands north of the Rio Grande, requested information about the Indians who occupied or dominated regions exterior to Santa Fe. Alonso de Posada, a priest who had served on the northern frontier, was one of the individuals chosen to write a series of reports about the regions and the native who occupied those regions.

The brief reports provide a summary of Posada's information about the Indians to the east and southeast of Santa Fe, including some of the Indians of concern to the present report. However, because this is a summary and because Posada did not visit many of the places that he mentions, the reader should verify the information presented. Posada's information should not be dismissed out of hand. He likely reported what he knew or believed, and he appears to have read some of the reports of priests who had traveled east or southeast of Santa Fe to visit groups of interest to this affiliation study (e.g., Jumanos). However, he personally did not travel to those regions, and each researcher must evaluate and verify the information that is gleaned from the report.

p. 6: "What maps Father Posada relied upon for his discussion of lands . . . is unknown."

p. 9: "The original report of Father Posada has never been found."

pp. 23-24: "In the past year of [16]84 Maestro de Campo, Juan Domingues de Mendoza went [to La Junta de los Rios] . . . . The Rio del Norte, continuing to the east and somewhat to the shouth, is joined at a distance of 10 leagues by another river called El Salado [the Pecos River]. It also has its origins in the mountains of New Mexico which face southeast and give it the name of Rio Salado."

p. 26: "This river they call the Rio de los Nueces [Concho] . . . . In its vicinity there are many wild cows which they call buffalo . . . . To this place in the year 1632 went some soldiers of New Mexico and with them Father Friar Juan de Salas and Father Friar Diego de Ortega. Finding there the Indians of the Jumana nation friendly and who also showed an inclination to become Christians, the Spaniards and Father Fray Juan de Salas returned to the villa de Santa Fe. They left there with the Indians in that place Father Fray Juan de Ortega."

p. 26: "In the year 1650 Captain Hernan Martin and Captain Diego del Castillo with other soldiers and some Christianized Indians set out from the villa fo Santa Fe at the order of General Hernando de la Concha . . . . [T]hey arrived at the above –mentioned place on the Rio de las Nueces [Concho River] and the nation of the Jumanas. There they remained more than six months . . . . During this period . . . they took out of the river a quantity of shells, which, having been burned, yielded some pearls."

p. 27: "These captains marched down the river to the ast with declination to the south through the nations they call the Caytoas, Escanjaques, and Ahijados. After having traveled some fifty leagues, they arrived at the boundaries of the nation which they call the Texas."

p. 36: "[T]here is a nation which they call the Apacha which possesses and is owner of all the plains of Cibola. The Indians of this nation are so arrogant, haughty, and such boastful warriors that they are the common enemy of all nations who live below the northern region . . . . Their central dwelling place is the plains of Cibola, bounded on the east by Quivira with whom they have always had war, and have it now; with the nation of the Texas who bound them on the same side and with whom they have always had war."

p. 37: "From the east to west on the southern side, the Apacha border on the following nations: beyond the Texas with the nation of the Ajijados, the nation of the Cuytoas, and the Escanjaques in a district of fifty leagues. These nations are those which were living along the Rio de las Nueces and the Apacha nation had driven them back to the Rio del Norte, aover a district of some one hundred leagues . . . . Beyond those nations is that of the Jumanas, with the rest of those which were mentioned at the juncion of the Norte and Conchos rivers. Likewise the Apacha nation has cornered them in the said spot and have driven them from the Rio de las Nueces by their warlike hostility."

Turpin, Solveig Astrid

1982 The Archeology and Rock Art of Seminole Canyon: A Study in the Lower Pecos River Region of Southwest Texas. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, The University of Texas at Austin.

Seminole Canyon—now a state park and listed as an historic district in the National Register of Historic Places—contains a number of well-know rockshelters and overhangs that contain fine examples of the spectacular rock art of the Lower Pecos region. Several of these rockshelters are among the few that have received intensive archeological excavation, contributing to the culture history of the region. Prior to her dissertation, archeologists had mostly focused on either the archeology or the rock art. In contrast, Turpin used both to provide a refined view of the region's past.

While the majority of both the archeology and the rock art in the region are from the Archaic period, Turpin does include some data on the historic period. The best of that data comes from the rock art with its panels of mission-like structures, humans with missionary-like garb, horses, some bison, and Plains-like natives with flowing, feathered headdresses.

Given the slim database, Turpin draws from other sources for analogies to re-create the lifeways of the residents of Seminole Canyon. A frequent cited source is Griffen's study of the Bolson de Mapimi, an extremely arid desert bolson located south and west of the Rio Grande from the Amistad NRA. While there is nothing inherently wrong in that analogy, some confusion emerges when she links the residents of the Amistad NRA as part of the "desert tribes" that were studied by Griffen. [Note that even Turpin, p. 237, recognizes some difficulty with this analogy.] Griffen's study was specific to certain nations in the Bolson de Mapimi. Given the turmoil among these refugees (caused by Spanish Colonial policies), his conclusions about band size and cultural traits may or may not have a bearing on the residents of the Amistad NRA.

On the other hand, an important outgrowth of her study has been the recognition that the old theory that the natives of the region maintained a static Archaic tradition until Spanish intrusion is unlikely. The rock art can be subdivided into quite distinct traditions and those traditions may or may not support the notion of static cultural traditions.

Turpin, Solveig A.
1984 Smoke Signals on Seminole Canyon: A Prehistoric Communication System? *Plains Anthropologist* 29:131-138.

Noting the presence of hearths on the canyon rim or small benches overlooking Seminole Canyon, Turpin speculates that they represent "remnants of . . . a signaling system." Her speculation was initially based on five sites (41VV84, 403, 411, 412, 413) that contain hearths constructed of naturally available limestone blocks and sit on exposed bedrock with a nearly unrestricted view of the canyon. Artifacts are few to non-existent at the sites and none had diagnostic artifacts. Additionally, the hearths did not appear to have been intensively burned and none contained "buried charcoal, ash, or fuel fragments." During an intensive survey of Seminole Canyon, led by Turpin, several additional hearth sites (41VV601-606) in similar topographic settings were identified, and Turpin believed that they provided sufficient evidence that the speculation should be published as a hypothesis for future consideration.

The article is included in this annotated bibliography because Turpin speculates that the hearth features are proto-historic and uses disparate notations in Spanish and English documents that remark on the use of signal fires by Native Americans. While we do not dispute the use of fires, we suggest that the hypothesis is largely untestable and should be carefully scrutinized before employed to assign function to these features. First, even Turpin (p. 137) admits that it is unlikely that the sites were used concurrently. Second, the documentary data available for the use of the signal fires in the Lower Pecos is non-existent. Finally, similar hearths with Archaic period diagnostics have been recorded in similar topographic settings. Those sites also contain stone rings and sparse lithic scatters that suggest that they functioned as small wickiups where brief stays necessitated a hearth to provide warmth, light, and/or a loci for cooking a few meals (Bartholomew, personnel communication, 1989).

Turpin, Solveig A.
1986 Arroyo de los Indios: A Historic Pictograph in Northern Coahuila, Mexico. *Plains Anthropologist* 31:279-284.

This is a descriptive article about an historic Native American pictograph site located immediately south of the mouth of the Pecos River, just across the border from the Amistad NRA. Importantly, Turpin notes that the artwork consists of humans as shield bearers and horsemen along with a number of horses, all drawn in the Biographic style of the Plains tribes. Turpin speculates that one of the combat figures "bears a remarkable similarity to the hero of a autobiographical combat painted on the walls of a tributary to the Devil's River 60 kilometers northwest of Arroyo de los Indios" (see Turpin 1989 below). From this, she concludes the art to have been produced by the Apache.[4] Pertinent statements are provided below:

p. 280: "Horses are a major theme in three scenes. Thick-bodied steeds with delicate legs . . . . The riders are hourglass figures, shown frontally, their legs blending with the body of the horse . . . . The human figures are crude representations . . . armed with lances or clubs and shields . . . . Feathers and horned headdresses adorn the pedestrian figures but the horsemen are hatless."

p. 282: "The pictographs at Arroyo de los Indios are, like the majority of historic art in this region, individualistic. The now-faded black and red equestrians conform to the classic Early Biographic Plains art described by Keyser (see above)."

p. 283: "The armaments of the warriors, lacking rifles but replete with shields and lances, might suggest an early historic age for the pictographs or the importance of coup counting in traditional society."

Turpin, Solveig A.
1987 Ethnohistoric Observations of Bison in the Lower Pecos River Region: Implications for Environmental Change. *Plains Anthropologist* 32:424-429.

In this article, Turpin notes the mention in certain documents of bison in the Lower Pecos during the Spanish Colonial and Anglo-American periods. From this she advances the proposition that the bison represent *prima facia* evidence that a mesic interval occurred between A.D. 1582 and 1850. She employs secondary (e.g., relating to Castano de Sosa) and tertiary sources (a 1955 master's thesis), many of which are decades and centuries apart, and some of which do not relate to the Lower Pecos region (Espejo's travels in the 1580s). As a result, her interpretations are problematic and only included here because many researchers use this article as a reference. See Bamforth above.

Turpin, Solveig A.
1989 The End of the Trail: an 1870s Plains Combat Autobiography in Southwest Texas. *Plains Anthropologist* 34:105-110.

Turpin interprets the rock art of 41VV327 (the Hussie Miers site) as an example of Kiowa or Comanche rock art. Located just north of the Amistad NRA, on a tributary of the Devil's River, the site contains a variety of rock art styles. Prominent among them are panels from the Red Monochrome, a Late Prehistoric style that is found throughout the Lower Pecos Archeological Region, and five scenes of figures (some on horseback) with long rope-like hair, rifles, and what may be shields. In three of the scenes, a figure in European military dress is present, carrying a rifle. Turpin, using information from Keyser's (1987) study of Plains Indian art, concluded that the scenes were drawn by Plains Indians and date to the 1870s, a period when the United States military were forcing the remaining Native Americans in Texas into reservations in Oklahoma.

While Turpin is certainly correct that the panels represent Plains Indian art, the reader should recognize that she intended this as the only interpretation. Others are feasible. For example, she reads the panel left to right, concluding that the initial battles involved competition among rivals or tribes that subsequently became battles with the United States Army. In fact, left to right is an ethnocentric trait, and the panels could be read another way. For example, right to left could be interpreted as representing the long struggle with the Army that eventually ended with intertribal warfare.

Regardless of their interpretation, these historic rock art sites are important in this study, documenting a visible presence of Plains tribes in the Lower Pecos during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Careful analysis of the figures and their attributes may even make it possible to argue, as Turpin does, that they are from a specific tribe.

p. 105: "The Hussie Miers sites is one of four rock art sites .... All are ... painted on the bleached surface of a steep cliff under shallow overhangs devoid of cultural debris. The panels overlook a permanent water hole and a grassy plain."

p. 105: "These darker red historic figures are crudely drawn and conform to no defined style of the Plains or the Lower Pecos region."

p. 106: "The protagonist is distinguished by his long ornamented hair, perhaps braided .... that reaches to the ground whether he is afoot or mounted. His shield bears from two to four horizontal bars and his long lance is festooned with feathers or other decorations. The lance floats above his head and ... may function as a name glyph."

p. 106: "All combatants in . . . two scenes wear what appear to be loincloths tied with long sashes. This conventional native dress is found at two other Lower Pecos historic pictograph sites—Myers Springs (41TE9) and Bailando Shelter (41VV666)—as are the queue-like hairstyles of the two antagonists."

p. 106: "The horse is drawn in classic early Biographic style with elongated body, narrow head and hooked hooves . . . . The soldiers are distinguished by their belted jackets and spiked helmets . . . . Prussian-influenced formal dress uniforms, including spiked helmets were not adopted until 1871."

p. 108: "Two possible inspirations for the Hussie Miers memorial are the battle of Howard's Well fought on the Pecos River in 1872, and the confrontation at South Kickapoo Springs in December of 1873. Losses on both sides fostered a desire for revenge, justifying the slaughter of the Kickapoo by the U.S. Military at Remolino in Mexico . . . and the united Indian attack of the buffalo hunters at Adobe Wells in the Texas Panhandle. Howards Well, 41CX773, figured prominently in early attempts to establish travel routes through arid West Texas . . . . [T]h spring was one of the few permanent water sources between the Pecos and Devils rivers."

p. 108: "On April 20, 1872 . . . . Companies A and H of the Ninth Cavalry found the . . . remains of Gonzales' wagons; the drivers lashed to the wheels while still alive and burned . . . . There can be little doubt that the attackers were a Kiowa raiding party, led by Big Bow. Reports of the battle identify White Horse . . . and Tau-ankie, son of the great Kiowa chief Lone Wolf . . . . Nevertheless . . . the U.S. Military attributed the massacre to Kickapoo and Apache."

p. 109: "The battle of South Kickapoo Springs, fought in December of 1873, again saw conflict between Kiowa and Comanche raiders and the U.S. Military. While scouting, . . . the Forth Cavalry . . . came across a herd of Indian ponies near South Kickapoo Springs, only 20 miles west [sic, east] of the Hussie Miers site . . . . [T]he troopers intercepted the returning [Comanche-Kiowa] raiding party . . . . In the ensuing encounter, nine of the hostiles were killed. Among the casualties were Tauankia, Lone Wolf's son . . . Lone Wolf's grief was so intense that he and his warriors returned to Texas to try to recover the bodies of his son and nephew . . . . [P]ost commanders set out to intercept Lone Wolf's party. Arriving at the battlefield shortly after the Kiowas, troopers from Fort Clark pursued them, forcing them to abandon the bodies "in a cleft high on the mountainside' where they may remain to this day."

p. 109: "The Kickapoo . . . preferred to raid in southern Texas, passing through the Lower Pecos region to circumvent Fort Clark and Fort Duncan . . . . Fort Clark, just 25 miles south of South Kickapoo Springs, was established squarely athwart a major branch of the Comanche Trace to deter raiding parties from north of the Red River. Favored crossings of the Rio Grande included Las Vacas, at the mouth of the Devils' River near modern-day Del Rio, just south of the Hussie Miers Site."

Turpin, Solveig A. (editor)

1991 *Papers on Lower Pecos Prehistory.* Studies in Archeology 8, Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, The University of Texas at Austin.

In a laudable effort to publish papers on the Lower Pecos Region that would otherwise be unavailable to the archeological community, Turpin has brought together a group of researchers whose specific inquiries into the archeological record of this region has been important, but narrowly focused. These inquiries include an analysis on the Langtry points from Arenosa Shelter, evidence of the introduction of threaded and twined matting in the region, and isotopic analysis of the Late Archaic diet.

While most of these studies are beyond the present inquiry, the overview of the radiocarbon chronology of the region (by Turpin) is pertinent. It not only presents the radiocarbon record of the Late Prehistoric and the Historic periods, but also describes Turpin's summary of the phases within those periods. She is one of the few researchers actively publishing on this region. Therefore, her discussion of these periods should be considered by other researchers:

p. 17: Figures 1.2 and 1.4, presenting the radiocarbon dates from the region, indicate that several dates have been assayed from the late portion of the Late Prehistoric and the Historic periods, of which 15 were calibrated.

p. 35: The Late Prehistoric period is characterized as the period dating from 1320–450 B.P., and relates to Dibble's Flecha Period, Story's Period VII, and Shafer's Comstock Interval. "The Flecha period . . . signals the adoption of the bow and arrow . . . . It is, however, very difficult to sequence the various arrow point styles identified in the region . . . . The change in technology and economic strategies implies the introduction of several other intrusive traits. A new approach to parietal art . . . shows human beings carrying bows and arrows . . . . Another imported trait is the change in mortuary customs [with] cairn burials on high promontories . . . . Ring middens . . . are another site type that consistently dates to the Flecha or later periods."

p. 36: "Many dry rock shelters, the favorite subject of intensive archeological analysis, lack substantial Flecha period deposits and the uppermost strata are often highly disturbed."

p. 36: The final period of the Late Prehistoric is the Infierno phase first defined by Dibble. "Only one [calibrated radiocarbon date] is relevant to the cultural phenomena that define this period."

p. 37: "The hallmark of the Infierno phase is a tool kit composed of small stemmed arrow points, steeply beveled end scrapers, prismatic blades, and plain brown ceramics. The artifacts are tightly associated with stone circles that are presumably the remnants of pole supports for hide or brush huts. These sites characteristically are found on high promontories adjacent to a reliable water source. A casual observer would align the Infierno phase with the Toyah phase of Central Texas because of the superficial similarity in the index artifacts when there are major differences between the two."

p. 37: "The Infierno phase is assumed to be protohistoric, largely because the ceramics . . . are very similar to one type recorded at the Apache mission of San Lorenzo . . . . By far the majority of the radiocarbon dates that fall within the projected span of the Infierno phase were derived from hearths and ring middens."

Turpin, Solveig A. and Michael W. Davis
1993 The 1989 TAS Field School: Devils River State Natural Area. *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society* 61:1-58.

Texas Parks and Wildlife Department acquired a large ranch (ca. 22,000 acres) at the upper end of the Amistad NRA in the late 1980s. Recognizing the potential for archeological sites on what was intended to be a state natural area, this agency of the state contracted with the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory of the University of Texas to undertake an archeological survey as part of a Texas Archeological Society Field School. The university employed Turpin to direct the field school, aided by Davis. While not a comprehensive survey, 239 sites were recorded. This article represents the report of the survey. Unfortunately, the information is of limited value for the present project. Sites are

described as types (hearths, burned rock middens, caves, rock shelters, etc.) with little chronological data or interpretation. Nonetheless, some sites were identified as historic and some data are relevant to the Amistad NRA effort to identify tribes with associations to the region:

p. 5: The Flecha phase is shown to date between 1,320 and 450 years B.P.; the Infierno phase dates from 450 to 250 years B.P.

p. 6: "Spanish forays into the Lower Pecos River region were often hurriedly launched pursuits of raiding Indians rather than colonizing expeditions. The area was not thoroughly explored or mapped until after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico in 1849. Immediately after this peace accord was signed, American surveyors and engineers went into the field to map the border between Mexico and the United States [see Emory, above] . . . . The leader of one of the first American expeditions, famed Texas Ranger Jack Hays, gave the Devils River its English name—the Spanish had called it the Rio de las Lajas [?] . . . —and later the San Pedro (Hayes commented that it more likely belonged to the Devil . . . . Despite Hayes's unfavorable opinion of this route, they forged ahead with a road leading northward from San Felipe Springs (Del Rio) along the Devils River, then westward to the Pecos and on to El Paso. The San Antonio-San Diego mail route was established in 1853 . . . and, in 1853, Fort Clark was established squarely athwart the Comanche Trace; in 1857, Camp Hudson was built overlooking Bakers Crossing, a major ford of the Devils."

p. 6: "When the Civil War intervened, the redirection of military force opened the way for the intrusive Plains Indians, who regularly traveled through the Devils River country to raid the settled villages and ranches of Coahuila."

p. 6-7: "The war behind it, the U.S. Army turned to the task of pacifying the west, and several notable battles were fought on the Devils River, but their locations are only conjectural. One confrontation between the Second Cavalry and Comanches took place in 1857 on a bluff overlooking the Devils River (Fehrenbach 1983:426-427); military buttons and other accouterments found in Snake Springs Canyon at the base of Yellow Bluff near Dolan Springs are attributed to that battle."

p. 7: "In 1881, the Southern Pacific Railroad opened the way for settlement, bringing goods and providing the means for getting products to market."

p. 11: "Shield Shelter, 41VV1088, has only on composition—a circle encompassing 27 to 30 crescents and surrounded by a wavy line . . . . Symbolically, the semicircular elements may represent horseshoes contained within a circular corral or moons enclosed within the sun (Turpin 1991). The Plains-like theme and the metaphorical range of this panel suggest that it is historic or protohistoric in age, produced by an artist from one of the intrusive groups that traveled through the Lower Pecos region between 1700 and 1885."

p. 23: "Support for [the historic Indian] age assignment can be found in two other pictography panels . . . . At 41VV343, a Spanish colonial scene, complete with church and mustachioed caballero, overlooks . . . Dolan Creek . . . . Directly above Dolan Springs, at 41VV485, three scenes pair bison and human figures . . . . In one . . . the bison is upright and has human feet, suggesting that it is a dancer. In another, the human is armed with a flintlock . . . the third scene is blurred beyond possible decipherment. In the same vicinity, a metal arrow point was collected by the landowner."

Wade, Maria F.

1998 The Native Americans of the Texas Edwards Plateau and Related Areas: 1582-1799. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, The University of Texas at Austin.

Wade completed her dissertation under the tutelage of T. N. Campbell. It was Campbell who chose the principal area of study because, as he put it, "we know next to nothing about the peoples that inhabited the Edwards Plateau." In 1972, Campbell stated (1989:5) that we would never know how much information existed about native populations until we systematically searched the archival records. That premise guided Wade's work. Although the dissertation centers on the area of the Edwards Plateau, Wade actually uncovered documentation from Saltillo and Coahuila that related directly to the events and groups who became the center of the entradas of Fr. Manuel de La Cruz (1674), Fr. Francisco Peñasco (1674), and the expedition of Fernando del Bosque and Fr. Juan Larios (1675). These early trips to the modern Texas territory occupy the first chapter of the dissertation. The second chapter deals in detail with the expedition of Juan Dominguez de Mendoza and Fr. Nicolas Lopez from El Paso to the San Saba area in Texas. The subsequent chapters deal with the events in Texas from the beginning of the colonization effort by Alonso de León until 1799.

Wade's dissertation makes several important points. First, it argues that the specific characteristics of the culture of the native groups in the areas studied and the nature of the archival documentation about these groups requires that the small or subtle events become the focus of research. She proposes a theoretical model (Chapter 2) that uses as its visual metaphor the construction, structure and perception of structure of a real ceramic mosaic. On the nature and importance of the micro-events, she (p. 28) states:

> No culturally relevant ethnohistory of these native groups can be attempted if the archival information is not systematically scrutinized, at a high-resolution level, for subtle events. These micro-events have to be fished out, laboriously analyzed and connected, in order to perceive a possible pattern. Otherwise one will produce an ethnohistory of native groups that tells us more about the Europeans than about the native populations.

The last statement reflects the essence of the second important point stressed throughout Wade's work: the conscious attempt to look at the documents and the events from a native point of view.

The third important point is Wade's systematic attempt to rely solely on original documents, translating them and often providing the original Spanish text in order that other researchers can compare both versions and, if they so wish, challenge her interpretation. The fourth and last point is the multidisciplinary character of the work, which engages several subfields of anthropology but also history, ethnohistory, geography, Native American studies, and borderlands issues. The work was geared to provide information and serve researchers in all those fields.

In the course of her work Wade identified six central findings: four patterns and two issues (p. 4-12).

> Pattern 1. Since at least 1658 native groups in Coahuila and Texas organized themselves in multi-ethnic coalitions and requested settlement in autonomous pueblos. This movement to settle was initiated prior to the Franciscan effort to establish mission-pueblos;
>
> Pattern 2: Native groups aggregated in coalitions of different size and scale: some coalitions were organized at a micro-social level and involved two or three groups while others were organized at a macro-social level and involved a large number of groups. Two important social mechanisms relating to these patterns are: first, the acquisition of dual-ethnicity by individuals of some Native groups, and second, the influence of *ladinos* who acted as cultural mediators between Europeans and Native Americans.

Pattern 3: The importance of certain faunal and floral resources and their environmental distribution to the subsistence and social well being of Native groups;

Pattern 4: The control and dissemination of information by Native Americans. Wade discusses the importance of coalitions and *ladinos* in the information trade. She states (p. 8):

> The complete dependence of the Spanish on the Native information networks raises questions about reverse acculturation and about the dissemination of European cultural information and items of material culture beyond the traditionally documented boundaries of European contact.

As mentioned above, Wade further identified two central issues. The first issue relates to the movement of Apache groups into modern Texas territory. Wade considers the sociocultural differences between Apache groups and other Native groups who inhabited Texas before the Apache moved into this territory, and acknowledges that the research done on the Apache has been insufficient to understand what really happened when the Apache became entrenched in Coahuila and Texas. She (p. 398) stresses:

> Questions about the Apache have been answered by using Spanish reports produced at later times (1770s-1790s). Spanish officials were fair reporters, but very poor retrievers of the information they had accumulated. Furthermore, they often took the short summary and the broad stroke approach to review and report on historical events.

The second issue relates to the geographic location of specific native groups encountered by Spanish expeditions to the Edwards Plateau and the relationship between those historical locations and archeological sites. Wade identified 21 Native groups that inhabited and used the area of the Edwards Plateau between the 1670s and the 1690s. Regarding the Mendoza-Lopez expedition to the Concho River area in Texas, and the Spanish archival evidence issued prior to the expedition, Wade (p. 10) states:

> It is now possible to link the ethnohistoric and the archaeological records and identify one group, and possibly two more, who lived in the Concho River drainage. Archaeological investigations in the general area have provided several radiocarbon dates that fall within the time frame for which solid archival documentation exists to confirm the presence of the Jumano, and possibly two other groups, in the Concho River drainage of the Edwards Plateau.

The two other groups mentioned by Wade are the Arcos Tuertos or Arcos Fuertes and the Gediondo or Parugan (p. 395). Concerning the relationship between these three native groups and the Toyah Phase. Wade (p. 395) states:

> The Toyah Interval [sic, phase], which spans the period 1600-1650 through 1700, places some of the Native groups, particularly the Jumano proper, within the spatial and temporal grid postulated for the Toyah folk. This does not mean that the Jumano proper, or the groups affiliated with the Jumano, are connected with the archaeological material culture kit that characterizes the Toyah Interval. Alternatively, if they are not, we should find other identifiable material culture expressions that diverge from the Toyah pattern and can be associated with the Jumano and their affiliated groups.

Wade's dissertation includes some valuable research tools. She provides three digitized colored maps that include part of northeastern Coahuila, the Rio Grande, including the Amistad Reservoir Area, and most of the modern territory of Texas. Map 1 shows her interpretation of the routes of all the major expeditions that entered the modern Texas territory since 1674 through 1767, the location of late prehistoric and some historic archeological sites, and the relationship of these expeditions and sites to major geographic and physiographic features. Map 2 uses the various diaries of the principal Spanish expeditions into Texas to locate the presence of deer and buffalo as reported by

the expeditionary diarists. Map 3 uses the same sources of information to locate some of the most important floral information.

The dissertation also includes several appendices. Appendix B lists all the cultural material collected by the author and a few other researchers that apply to 181 Native groups. Wade makes no claim that this appendix is exhaustive. For a summary of Wade's findings on the groups connected with the Amistad NRA see "Ethnohistoric Review, Cultural Summary—1670s-1700s."

Wade, Maria

1999 Unfolding Native American History: The Entrada of Fr. Manuel de la Cruz and the Bosque-Larios Expedition. *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society* 70:29-48.

Wade uses her translations of 16 documents written between 1650 and 1680 to look at Native American cultural behavior during the Spanish colonization of the micro-region. The documents relate to the 1674 entrada of Fray Manuel de la Cruz and the events that preceded that entrada, and the expedition of Alferez Fernando del Bosque and Fray Juan Larios (Bosque-Larios expedition) in 1675. Both expeditions traveled north of the Rio Nadadores, crossing the Rio Grande in the region between modern Del Rio and Eagle Pass. Wade provides a map (p. 41) showing her interpretation of their routes. The map shows that the 1674 entrada crossed the Rio Grande close to Del Rio, between the confluences of Sycamore and Pinto creeks, continuing in an easterly line to Las Moras Creek, the Anacacho Mountains, and then turning west to the vicinity of modern Brackettville. On its return, the party forded the Rio Grande at the confluence of Las Moras Creek. The 1675 expedition traveled north to cross the Rio Grande at Las Moras Creek, then moved still further north to the Balcones Canyonlands of the Edwards Plateau, generally following the western Nueces River to the drainage of the Dry Devils River. The Bosque/Larios expedition then turned south, crossing into the Sycamore Creek drainage and fording the Rio Grande between Sycamore and Pinto creeks. Because these expeditions and the events surrounding them dealt with the native groups that occupied the micro-region, Wade's article is especially pertinent to the affiliation study for the Amistad NRA.

p. 30: "This article focuses primarily on the events that preceded the Bosque-Larios expedition, and discusses how those events were shaped by the actions of particular Native groups and their spokespersons. The picture that emerges from the Spanish archival documentation pertaining to this stream of events . . . indicates that the majority of the groups involved had considerable populations, were organized in broad multi-ethnic coalitions, and controlled sophisticated information networks . . . . The evidence also indicates that some Native groups controlled and defended specific geographic areas and the harvesting of resources within those land areas."

p. 30: "In March 1658, Miguel de Otalona, War Captain and Judge in Saltillo, heard testimony from army personnel and the citizenry of Saltillo relative to a request made by four Babane and Jumano individuals to establish a pueblo of their own . . . . Testimony . . . shows that the request made by the Babane and Jumano argued that the *encomenderos* of Saltillo rounded up Natives in Coahuila . . . . Some of the witnesses testified that they had been in the province since 1618. They stated that that they had known the Babane and the Jumano for a long time. It appears that these Native groups may have been in the area at least since the 1620s."

p. 31: "Don Lacaro stated that he would get the Bobole and their allies . . . to come . . . and 'state their needs as [the] kin that they all were since they understood each other in a mother language and were all natives of the province of Coahuila . . . .' Don Lacaro included in the group of petitioners the

Bobole, Baias, Contotore, Tetecore, and half of the Momone. Two other very large groups were also joining: the Guequechale and the Tiltic y Maigunm."

p. 32: "[In a deposition of 1673], Antonio Balcarcel . . . attested that he had personally talked with the Native representatives. He stated that all together the 24 nations mustered about 3,700 warriors and about 12,000 people."

p. 33: "[In January 1674,] Captain Elizondo joined Fr. Larios and several Native Captains at San Ildefonso de la Pas, 14 leagues north of the Sabinas River. On January 28th, according to Elizondo, he was visited by the Captains of the Gueiquechale, Bobole, Manos Prietas, Pinanaca, Obaya, Babaymare, Zupulame, Omomome, and Xicocoge. Fr. Larios, on the other hand, states that they were visited by the principal 'leaders' of the Guequechale, Bobole, Xicocoge, Obaya, Xiupulame, Manos Prietas, Bacorama, Omomome, Baniamamar, and later by the Mescale, Jumee, Cabeza, Contotor, Tetecora, Bausari, Manos Coloradas, Teimamar, and others."

p. 33: "Fr. Larios stated that [these Natives] lived on mescal, tuna, small nuts and oak acorns, fish, buffalo, and deer. Their dwellings were round huts surrounded by straw and covered with buffalo pelts . . . . Some of their people were on the Rio Grande, 20 leagues (52 miles) from San Ildefonso, hunting and jerking buffalo meat."

p. 34: "In a letter dated September 15, 1674, Fr. Larios . . . confirmed that between January and February 1674, the friars had established two mission settlements . . . : S. Ildefonso de la Paz, located 14 leagues (36.4 miles) north of the Rio Sabinas, 20 leagues (52 miles) south of the Rio Grande and over 70 leagues from Saltillo; and Santa Rosa de Santa Maria, located 80 leagues (108 miles) north of Saltillo [and near the Rio Sabinas] . . . . The two mission settlements were established principally for the Gueiquezale and the Bobole, but in them were aggregated 32 different Native groups."

p. 34: "When Fr. Larios arrived at Santa Rosa and realized that the Bobole had left the settlement, he asked Fr. Manuel to find them and persuade them to return to the pueblo . . . Fr. Manuel wrote a letter describing his trip to the north side of the Rio Grande . . . . After crossing the Rio Grande, Fr. Manuel traveled eastward for three days and arrived near a mountain which the Natives called *Dacate*, a word that in Castilian meant noses."

p. 35: "The following day they all departed . . . . Together they reached the Rio Grande . . . . This crossing had in the middle of the river a sandy island with two beautiful beaches on both sides of the island."

p. 37: In December, 1674, Fr. Larios sent a report to his superiors describing the lack of food and other supplies at the mission settlements.

p. 38: "The Bobole coalition . . . included the Bobole proper, the Xicocosse, Jumane, Bauane (Babane), Xupulame, Yorica, Xianco cadam, Yergiba, and the Bacaranan . . . . [T]he Bagname, Bibit, Geniocane, Gicocoge, Jumee, and Yorica are mentioned [elsewhere] as allies of the Bobole in 1675 (Portillo 1984:106). The Gueiquesale coalition . . . included the Hueyquetzale proper and the Manos Prietas, Bacoram, Pinanacam, Cacaxte, Coniane, Ovaya, Tetecora, Contotore, Tocaymamare, Saesser, Teneymamar, Codam (Oodam?), Guiguigoa, Eguapit, Tocamomom, Huhuygam, Doaquioydacam, Cocuytzam, Aquita doydacam, Babury, Dedepo, Soromet, and Teymamare (Larios 1674a). The third coalition . . . included the Mayo, Babusarigame, Bamarimamare, Cabezas, Bauiasmamare, Colorado, Pies de Venado, Igo quib, and Toque . . . . The fourth and last coalition . . . included the Catujano proper, the Bahanero, Cacahuale, Toarma, Masiabe, Mameda, Mabibit, Milihae, Ape, Pachaque, Tilyhay, Xumez, Carafe, and Mexcale (Larios 1674b)."

p. 39: "Some of the Catujano groups (Ape, Jumee, and Bibit or Mabibit) seem to have had a closer relationship with the Bobole, likely via the Yorica. This series of interlocking ties within the micro- or macro-coalitions reflects the particular and timely concerns of each group."

p. 40: "On April 30th [1675], Balcarcel ordered . . . Bosque and . . . Larios to travel from the Rio de Nadadores to the Sierra Dacate and other areas that might be convenient to visit. They were to take possession of the lands, record information on the environment, and county the peoples they encountered . . . . In fact, however, their primary objective was to stem the flow of Native groups into the Monclova area by promising them the establishment of pueblos in their lands."

p. 40: "The Yorica and Jeapa [Ape] . . . sent emissaries to their people, the Mabibit . . . and the Jumee, to join them along the way to greet the Spaniards."

p. 42: "It appears that the native word Dacate denoted the southwest edge of the Edwards Plateau . . . . The Bagname captains . . . declared that they came from a mountain range (sierra) which in their language was called Dacate.

p. 42: "The Bosque-Larios party returned to Monclova. North of the Rio Grande between Sycamore Creek and Pinto Creek . . . Bosque met the Bobole, who were hunting buffalo. During the return trip Bosque found several other native groups between the south bank of the Rio Grande and Monclova."

p. 42: "[In his report], Bosque stated that he had traveled the land north-south and east-west and realized that it was divided into three major coalitions, or three divisions . . . each with a great number of people. The most bellicose, but the least numerous, was the following of Don Esteban, consisting of all the peoples that had been counted . . . . These groups had many conflicts among themselves. They killed each other, ate each other, and kidnapped each other's children, as they themselves stated."

p. 43: "By July 3, 1675, Balcarcel realized that there were too many conflicts and too many people at S. Miguel de Luna. He ordered the Ape, the Bobosarigame, the Catujano, and the Manos Prietas to leave the pueblo for their own lands."

p. 43: "On November 20, 1675, Balcarcel . . . counted the people in the town of Monclova and stated that there were eight Spaniards and 232 natives. The rest of the people had left to hunt and eat buffalo. Thus, most of the people at Monclova were on their winter buffalo hunt on the north side of the Rio Grande."

p. 44: "The events that began to unfold in 1658 and continued through 1675 make it abundantly clear that certain Native groups and particular individuals took the initiative to promote the idea of autonomous and multi-ethnic settlements in order to escape the actions of encomenderos and counteract the populations erosion being experienced by certain ethnic groups."

p. 44: "Despite the Yorica's early refusal, Fr. Penasco offered them . . . corn to plant and cattle to eat. This offer led the Yorica to move from the north side of the Rio Grande to the south side in May 1674. One year later, in May 1675, when the Yorica and their allies, the Jeapa, Jumee, and Mabibit, were encountered by Bosque, they complained about the difficulty to travel freely, obtain food resources, and visit their kin. It appears that the move they made in 1674 cut them off from their kin and produced loss of territory and resources. The case of the Yorica is probably not unique."

p. 45: "It has been frequently assumed that the groups who inhabited the southern and western portions of the Edwards Plateau had small populations . . . . The smallest stated individual group population belongs to the Geniocane, with 188 people."

Wallace, Ernest

n.d. The Habitat and Range of the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians before 1867. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University, Lubbock.

This extensive and lengthy manuscript was completed by Wallace for the U.S. Department of Justice during the Indian Claims Commission. Wallace completed a number of publications related to the Native Americans in the Southern Plains and all drew heavily not only from his historical research, but also from the Spanish and English documents related to their history for the last 300 years. It was, therefore, logical that he would have been requested to provide information to the Commission.

Like the present study for the Amistad NRA, much of the concern of the Commission was about boundaries of native territories and how, or if, those boundaries changed through time. Therefore, Wallace relied heavily on original documents. Moreover, the types of documents that he accessed were extensive. Wallace drew on selected Spanish documents, Congressional papers, papers and journals of the Texas legislature, as well as from newspapers, military reports, and papers of the Indian Affairs offices in Washington, D.C., and Texas. Accounts of captives, both published and unpublished were used as well. In addition to these data, Wallace took advantage of previous research by other historians and anthropologists, and even sought their opinion on his work.

Wallace divided the material into sections that are based on his interpretation of the gradual southern movement of the three tribes and the overlapping territories of each. Although he gives a brief history of their northern origins, the manuscript really beings with the Comanche appearance in the Spanish documents of New Mexico in 1707 and continues through the final treaties with that tribe at the end of the Civil War. The Comanche were given more extensive treatment, in part due to his belief that their activities influenced the other two.

While his work is certainly of considerable value to this and other studies, researchers should recognize certain flaws. First, many documents cited were previously translated, transcribed, and/or published. Any flaws that they contain remained unevaluated in his work. Second, he drew heavily from first hand accounts with the various tribes. While this is commendable, some of these were the biased accounts of Wilbarger, Marcy, and several other individuals who claimed greater first hand knowledge of the three tribes than they actually possessed (see Kavanagh 1996:25-26). For example, Marcy recommended himself to lead the Red River expedition by claiming intimate knowledge of the Comanche. Kavanagh noted that, in fact, Marcy had only met briefly with the Comanche on one occasion prior to making this claim. Finally, as with any research, the reader must carefully evaluate previous interpretations made by others.

Keeping in mind these cautions, Wallace's report shows an impressive sum of careful research. Not only does the report meticulously and carefully scrutinize and interpret a remarkable volume of data, it provides a wealth of citations that afford researchers an excellent guide for the documentary study of Native Americans during the period 1750-1867. It is unfortunate that it has never been published, and has only sporadically been used by other researchers. Given his extensive knowledge, his interpretations of Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache territories must be given considerable weight. The following quotations from the manuscript relate to specific data on territories and Wallace's interpretation of the actual range of each of the groups.

p. 222: "The first Anglo-Americans in Texas were not seriously troubled by the Comanches. They were located mainly outside the territory ranged by the Comanches . . . . [The Comanches] did, however, with the beginning of troubles in 1835 [the Texas Revolution], step up their raids against the Texas enough to create alarm."

p. 223: "As the Texans and the Mexicans moved eastward toward San Jacinto, the Comanches found an unprotected frontier at their mercy.

p. 224: May 9, 1836, "Several hundred Comanches and Kiowas attacked Parker's Fort on the Navasota River."

p. 226: In 1837, "Cherokee Chief Bowl was commissioned by the Texas government to visit the Comanches . . . . Bowl visited Comanche villages on the extreme western branch of the Brazos and on the headwaters of the Wichita and Red rivers . . . . He failed to find the principal chief, but stated that in this vicinity he found parties returning from both the Texas and Mexican frontiers."

p. 228: Irion wrote Houston in 1837 that the Comanches "claimed . . . all the territory north and west [sic, east?] of the Guadalupe Mountains, extending from the Red River to the Rio Grande."

p. 231: By 1838, one Comanche band "had pushed down into the region and was sharing the Hill Country with the Lipans."

pp. 234-235: "The raid on the Guadalupe River [at Gonzales] in the fall of 1838 terrified the settlers on the west side of the river . . . . Possibly one explanation for the Comanche drive into the outlying settlements of the Texans was the outbreak of hostilities between them and the Lipans and Tonkawas."

p. 236: "[The Comanches] continued . . . to retain undisputed possession of the San Saba region. By February [1840] they had taken over control of the area around Uvalde, Texas"

p. 248: While in the vicinity of Tierra Blanca during the Palo Duro expedition of 1841, one diarist noted, "'this is a Great thoroughfare for the Indians in Crossing the Llano Estacado as there was at Least 20 Horse Trails Cut in the solid lime Stone Rock as we advanced up the creek . . . . the Indian Trail in this valley is the largest trail we found on the Plains. I think it is the Main Route from the Head of Red River across the Llano Estacado to the Pecos River.'"

p. 295: "The Comanche invasion of the lower Rio Grande [by the late 1850s] is attributable partially to Neighbor's removal as Indian agent. He had kept in close contact with the Indians, and by persuasion and reprimand had induced them to keep the peace."

pp. 300: 1853: "A band of Tenawa captured Mrs. Wilson and her two boys [near Fort Phantom Hill] and rode away with them in a northeasterly direction . . . . Mrs. Wilson made her escape by hiding in a hollow cottonwood tree . . . until recovered by New Mexican comancheros . . . . They took her with them to Pecos."

pp. 300-301: J. H. Byrne, diarist of the 1854 Pope expedition wrote of Apaches while at the mouth of the Delaware River at the Falls of the Pecos.

p. 301: "At Mustang Springs, on the Great Comanche War Trail . . . the expedition met a party of Kiowas returning to their own country with a large number of horses taken on a raid in Mexico . . . . Byrne noted in his diary that this trail is a very broad and deep one, and that it was evidently in constant use by Indians on their forays into Mexico."

p. 302: "Pope [another diarist] did point out . . . that the immense tablelands to the west of the Pecos and the mountains between the Pecos and the Rio Grande had been from time immemorial in undisputed possession of the Apaches."

p. 304: "By 1853, the Penatekas were spending most of their time farther west than in previous years, largely along the upper headwaters of the Brazos and Colorado rivers."

p. 313: "The frontier line of 1855 may be roughly drawn through the counties of Grayson . . . Gillespie, Kendall, and Bexar, thence southeast to San Patricio. All the country west of it was virtually held by the Comanches and the Kiowa allies."

p. 320: "By 1861 the subject tribes were finding it more and more difficult to invade the Mexican frontier. Game had almost disappeared from their southern hunting grounds . . . . The Texans, meanwhile, had pushed their frontier westward beyond north-south line through Uvalde, Kerrville [sic], Brownwood, Palo Pinto, Jacksboro, and Henrietta, and they had forced the Penatekas from the state."

p. 321: "Although Mexico was never the habitat of either of the three subject tribes . . . the practice of raiding along the Rio Grande and in the country to the south of that stream had come to be well fixed during the 'twilight' years of Spanish rule."

p. 322: "For a number of years Buffalo Hump made regular raids into Mexico. In 1846 he brought back one thousand head of horses and mules besides a number of prisoners, a quantity of money and a great deal of other plunder. With six or eight hundred warriors, he crossed the Rio Grande near the mouth of the Pecos in August, 1847, openly boasting that he intended to raid in Chihuahua, Parras, and the surrounding country."

p. 325: "The most southern route [into Chihuahua, used by the Indians] crossed the Rio Grande between the old presidio of San Juan and the mouth of the Pecos, and led to the fertile plains . . . in the valleys of the San Bartolomo."

p. 398: "The subject tribes were not a factor of great importance during the Civil War . . . . [B]oth the North and South made overtures to the Indians."

p. 439: "An account of the treaties of the Little Arkansas would be incomplete without taking into consideration Charles C. Royce's study of 'Indian Land Cessions in the United States,' since it is generally accepted as the official and authoritative work on the subject . . . . For some of his boundaries the date would be the determining factor [in assigning the boundaries], while in at least one significant area he is in error. On the northwest his Los Animas . . . River, although subject to argument, represents as fair a boundary as it is possible to draw. Immediately southward from the head of the Purgatorie a more accurate boundary would be a line extending from the Head of the Purgatorie to the head of the Canadian, south of Raton Pass, thence down that stream to the Big Bend in the vicinity of Tucumcari, then southward to the Pecos at Bosque Redondo . . . . From the Bosque Redondo southward to central Val Verde County the Pecos was the recognized boundary by both Indians and whites. This is substantiated, almost without exception, by the reports of travelers and explorers who crossed the region. A line connecting the Pecos in central Val Verde County with the upper Devil's, Moras, Nueces, Seco, Frio, and Medina rivers and the Balcones Escarpment line just west of San Antonio would be a fairly accurate delineation on the south. Although the Apaches were found frequently to the north of this line, the Comanches were almost as frequently south of it after 1836, but always on a raiding expedition and not one instance of a village south of that line has been discovered."

Zertuche, Diana S.
1985 *The Spirit of Val Verde.* Taylor Publishing Company, Dallas.

This small volume contains a history of Val Verde County. Largely taken from newspaper accounts, the book also contains a variety of assorted data on the region including a number of oral histories about various families who settled there since 1875. While it has only a brief review of the Native Americans in the region, its value lies in documentation of recent history.

p. 5: The first county seat was Brackettville. When the railroad came through Del Rio in 1882, citizens felt the latter would better represent their needs and moved the county seat to this locale.

p. 17: Ciudad Acuna was called 'Las Vacas' in 1883 and Del Rio was called Las Sapas or El Alto.

p. 21: Del Rio and its springs were a stop on the San Antonio to San Diego mail route.

Zintgraff, Jim and Solveig A. Turpin

1991 *Pecos River Rock Art, A Photographic Essay.* Sandy McPherson Publishing Company, San Antonio.

Zintgraff is a professional photographer whose fascination for the spectacular rock art in the Lower Pecos Region dates to 1952. Over the decades he has photographed and variously studied the designs in the rockshelters, making the region well known to artists and others. A permanent exhibit at the Witte Museum in San Antonio focuses on the prehistory of this unique region. Many of his photographs are the backdrops for that exhibit, bringing the exhibit alive for the viewer. This slim volume, with text that presents Turpin's interpretation of the designs, contains a selection of his views of a number of the most well known sites. Important as a photographic essay, the volume does not offer new insights into the historic Indians of the region.

NOTES

1. See Wade (1998 and 1999 below) for alternate view of bison presence in the South Texas or Rio Grande Plains.
2. See Kavanagh (1996 below) for another view on the Comanche population levels.
3. Note that this is in error. The San Pedro is known as the Devil's River, not a tributary of the Pecos.
4. See Keyser above who believes that this style of rock art developed after the Apache arrived in the micro-region.

References Cited

References cited in the appendices are included in the references provided below. Some of the archival materials utilized in the preparation of this report are preserved in the collections listed below. Individual reports, letters, proceedings, and the like are cited with their original titles. No authors are cited for some of these materials because most citations represent a grouping of letters, reports, queries, and other written material relating to a specific topic and authored by a variety of individuals. Where individual authors are cited, they appear in the references under the author's last name.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville (cited as AGI)

Archivo General de la Nación (cited as AGN)

Archivo General del Estado de Coahuila (cited as AGEC)

Archivo del Hidalgo de Parral (cited as AHP)

Archivo Militar de Espana (cited as AME)

Archivo Municipal de Guerrero (cited as AM de Guerrero)

Archivo Municipal de Monclova (cited as AM de Monclova)

Archivo Municipal de Morelos (AM de Morelos)

Archivo Municipal de Nava (cited as AM de Nava)

Archivo Municipal de San Buenaventura (cited as AM de San Buenaventura)

Bureau of Indian Affairs (cited as BIA)

Edward Ayer manuscripts collection, on file at the Newberry Library, Chicago (cited as Ayer)

Bexar Archives (cited as BA)

Colonias Militares de Oriente (cited as CMO)

International Claims Commission (cited at ICC)

Laredo Archives (cited as LA)

Matamoros Archives (cited as MA)

New Mexico Archives (cited as NMA)

Saltillo Archives (cited as SA)

San Francisco el Grande Archivo (cited as SFG)

AGI

1693 General Juan Fernandez de Retana Capitan del Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos por su Magestad Y Justicia Mayor de esta Jurisdiccion por quanto a Llegado a me Noticia se Halla en la Mision San Pedro de Conchos, dos Relixiosos que an Benido de la Junta del Rio del Norte. Audiencia de Guadalajara 76-4-11. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q136.

1708 Certificación de Fray Isidro de Espinosa. Audiencia de Mexico, 62-2-29. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q146.

1710 Testimonio de los Auttos fhos sobre la Sublevacion y Alzamiento de los Yndios Sumas; de las Misiones de Santiago de la Zienega del Coyame, y Junta de el Nortte. Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-12. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q137.

1713 Respondido Aparte un Poco Mas de una Foxa de Papel en Octubre 14, 1713, por Don Juan Joseph Massony, fiscal. Audiencia de Mexico 61-6-7. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q146.

1714 Respuesta Fiscal. Audiencia de Mexico, 61-6-7. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q146.

1716 Cartta y Informe por el Capellan Fray Andres Ramires. Audiencia de Mexico, 61-6-7. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q146.

1726-1728 Testimonio de los Auttos fhos sobre la Sublebacion y Alzamiento de los Yndios, Sumas; de las Misiones de Santiago de la Zienega del

Coyame, y Junta de el Rio de el Nortte. Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-12. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q137.

1751 Testimonios de los Autos Fechos en Orden al Derroteo de Campaña del Paso Don Juan de Ydioaga. Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-30. Transcript on file, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, box 2Q137.

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APPENDIX 1

Native Groups Mentioned in Records at Mission San Juan Bautista

Groups Found in Record	Possible Groups	1734	1772
Achoj			X
Apache		X	
Borrado			X
Caveson	Cabeza	X	
Campacuas	Tanpacoas		X
Chaguan	Siaguan	X	
Chapamo			X
Ervipiame		X	
Jalamo	Xarame		X
Maraquita	X		
Maurb	Mabibit?	X	
Mescale		X	X
Pachana		X	
Pachasa	Patzan	X	
Pacsatal	Pacoa+Ataxal		X
Pacua		X	
Pampopa		X	X
Pastaluc		X	X
Payaya		X	X
Pita			X
Pomuzeno			X
Sijame			X
Teja		X	
Tilijae		X	
Timamar		X	
Tuisoni			X
Yugana			X
Patocal			X
Cachsaputal			X

Note: X means group was present

APPENDIX 2

Native Groups Mentioned in San Antonio Missions' Records

Groups Found in Record	Other Name/ Association	Source	1720s	1740s	1750s	1760s*	1770s+
Pampoas	Pampopas	San Jose Papers I p.6	X				
Pastias	Pastia	San Jose Papers I p.22	X	X			
Jarame	Xarame	San Jose Papers I p.23-24	X				
Pamaya		San Jose Papers I p.23-24	X				
Payaya		San Jose Papers I p.23-24	X				
Suliejames	Sulujam	San Jose Papers I p.28-29	X				
		San Jose Papers I p.30,36					
Mesquite		San Jose Papers I p.97		X			
		San Jose Papers I p.147					
Camamas		San Jose Papers I p.147					
Cacames		San Jose Papers I p.147					
Canas	Canu	San Jose Papers I p.147					
Aguastallas	Aguastaya	San Jose Papers I p.147					
Xuanaes		San Jose Papers I p.147					
Paxalates	Pajalate	S. Jose Papers p. 247					
Pacaos	Pajalat?	S. Jose Papers p. 247					
Sanipaos	Pajalat?	S. Jose Papers p. 247					
Sciquipiles	Pajalat?	S. Jose Papers p. 247					
Borrados^	Pajalat?	S. Jose Papers p. 247					
Manos de Perro	Pajalat?	S. Jose Papers p. 247					
Tacames	Pajalat?	S. Jose Papers p. 247					
Lipan		San Jose Papers II p. 239					
Borrados^		San Jose Papers I p. 262 & II pp. 73, 78, 119, 239, 267					
Taguayas		San Jose Papers II p. 267					
Ais	Eyeish	San Jose Papers II p. 120					
Cujane		San Jose Papers II p. 267					
No Native Affiliation Given				95			
No Native Affiliation Given				49			
No Native Affiliation Given, 1755					194		
No Native Affiliation Given, 1758					281		
No Native Affiliation Given, 1768						350	

* *Solis: Groups that had been or were at San Jose*
\+ Morfi repeated Solis' information
^ The documents indicate two separate groups that the Spanish called "Borrados"

APPENDIX 3

Estimated Population of Selected Native Groups, 1834–1905

Native Group	Date	Count*	How Obtained	Source
Anadarko	1851	114	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1855	137	Count when placed on Brazos Reserve	Hill report, BIA, reel 3:205
	1858	235	Count taken at Brazos Agency, 12/58	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 4:1186
	1901	214	Census taken in Indian Territory	Wright 1986:31
Caddo	1834	500	Based on general information, all were in Nacogdoches	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
	1851	161	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1852	548	Based on data sent to Lea; includes Anadarko & Ioni	Lea report, BIA, reel 1
	1855	160	Count when placed on Brazos Reserve	Hill report, BIA, reel 3:205
	1855	550	Count taken at the Brazos Reserve	Hill report, BIA, reel 3:243
	1858	244	Count taken at Brazos Agency, 12/58	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 4:1186
	1880	538	Census taken at reservation in Indian Territory	Wright 1986:48
Lower Comanche	1851	700	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1851	1,200	Indian agent's report from Abilene	Stem to Schoolcraft, Wallace n.d.:299
	1852	860	Based on data sent to Lea; includes Kiowa in this count	Lea report, BIA, reel 1
	1852	400	Number who came to Fort Johnson under Ke-ta-masie	Capron report, BIA, reel 1
	1852	300	Number who came to Fort Johnson under Sha-na-co	Capron report, BIA, reel 1
Upper Comanche (later, Southern Comanche)	1817	800	Number of Yamparika warriors estimated by Burnet who lived among them	Kavanagh 1996:173
	1851	1,500	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1852	15,160	Based on data sent him	Lea report, BIA, reel 1
	1855	177	Count taken when placing other tribes on Brazos Reservation (includes only Catemse's [Ke-ta-masie] band)	Hill report, BIA, reel 3:205
	1855	227	Includes the above count + 50 new arrivals	Hill report, BIA, reel 3:243
	1859	382	Based on census taken of Comanche on the Upper Reserve	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 4:1083
Comanche (general)	1834	10,000	Based on general reports; 9500 around Bexar; 500 on Brazos	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
	1880	1,390	Census taken at reservation in Indian Territory	Wright 1986:119
Ionies [Hasinai]	1851	63	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
Keechi	1851	38	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1852	437	Based on data sent him; includes Tawaconi, Waco & Wichita	Lea report, BIA, reel 1
Kickapoo	1834	800	Estimate from general information; all in Nacogdoches	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
	1850	100	Number estimated camped on Llano, moving to Mexico	Mulroy 1993:55
	1873	60	Number found at village attacked by Mackenzie at lodges Remolino	Mulroy 1993:119
	1905	283	Number of Mexican Kickapoo allotted land in Indian Territory	Wright 1986:167
Lipan	1852	395	Based on data sent him	Lea report, BIA, reel 1
	1853	400	Based on data sent him	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 2:200
	1873	50	Number found at village attacked by Mackenzie at lodges Remolino	Mulroy 1993:119

Native Group	Date	Count*	How Obtained	Source
Mescalero	1804	300 warriors	Estimate from Merino in Chihuahua	John and Wheat 1991:163
	1852	600	Based on data sent him	Lea report, BIA, reel 1
	1853	1,500	Based on data sent him	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 2
	1873	50 lodges	Number found at village attacked by Mackenzie at Remolino	Mulroy 1993:119
Seminole	1850	200	Number estimated camped on Llano, moving to Mexico (including Maroons)	Mulroy 1993:55
	1875	2,438	Census taken at Union Agency in Indian Territory	Wright 1986:228
Seminole Maroons	1884	234	Number living at Las Moras Creek	Mulroy 1993:162
	1914	217	Number living at Las Moras Creek	Mulroy 1993:169
Shawnee	1851	70	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1891	563	Count of Absentee Shawnee on Potawatomi Res.	Wright 1986:241
	1891	63	Count of Eastern Shawnee at Quapaw Agency	Wright 1986:241
Tawakoni	1834	500	Based on general information; 300 at Bexar, 200 on Brazos	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
	1851	141	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1855	115	Count when placed on Brazos Reserve	Hill report, BIA, reel 3:205
	1858	204	Count taken at Brazos Agency, 12/58	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 4:1186
	1894	126	Count listed on tribal roll	Wright 1986:246
Tonkawa	1852	240	Based on data sent him	Lea report, BIA, reel 1
	1853	600	Based on data sent him	Neighbors, BIA, reel 2:200
	1855	239	Based on actual count	Neighbors, BIA, reel 3:175
	1858	258	Count taken at Brazos Agency, 12/58	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 4:1186
	1887	85	Count taken in Oklahoma; included some Lipan	Wright 1986:250
Waco	1834	200	Based on general information, all on Brazos Res.	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
	1851	114	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890
	1855	87	Count when placed on Brazos Reserve	Hill report, BIA, reel 3:205
	1858	171	Count taken at Brazos Agency, 12/58	Neighbors report, BIA, reel 4:1186
	1874	140	Census at Wichita Agency	Wright 1986:254
	1894	37	Census at Wichita Agency	Wright 1986:254
Total Indians in Texas	1,834	15,300	Estimate	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
	1851	3,952	Obtained using oral informants & Delaware Scouts	Hardin to G. Deas, BIA, reel 1:890

* unless otherwise noted, count represented total population in Texas

APPENDIX 4

Native American Groups In and Around Amistad NRA 1600–1914

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1673, April	Jumano, Babane	Saltillo	Don Marcos, a Juman, appeared before General Echeberz y Subica in Saltillo to request settlement in a pueblo. Don Marcos was accompanied by his brother, Don Lacaro Agustin, a Juman, and by Don Marcos, a Babane.	Wade 1999a:31
	Jumano, Babane	Coahuila	"Don Marcos [stated] that there were only three people left of his group. Those who sent him to request a pueblo were the Bobole and their allies...who lived in the province of Coahuila and Valley of the Buffalo.□ Captain Menchaca, a veteran who had lived in Coahuila, also stated that he knew these natives and others with the same language & customs.	
1674 Jan	Bobole, Geuiquechale, Titlique, Mayhuam	70 leagues north of Saltillo & north of the Sabinas River	Fr. Larios arrived at a rancheria of the Bobole, Gueiquechale, Tiltiqui, and Mayhuam and other allied groups.	Wade 1999a:32
	Bobole, Geuiquechale, Catujano, Patagua, Ocane	Sierra Decate [possibly the Anacacho Mountains]	Fr. Manuel witnessed a battle between the Bobole, Gueiquechale, Catujano, and the Ervipiame and their allies. After the battle, the natives show the priest the area of the battle. They gave names of streams, hills, etc., indicating they knew the area well.	Wade 1999a:34
	Bobole	Turkey Creek, Maverick County	Fr. Larios encounters the Bobole camp on Turkey Creek.	Wade 1999a:45
1674 May	Manos Prietas, Giorica	4 leagues north of the Rio Grande & 50 north of Santa Rosa	Fr. Penasco finds the Manos Prietas at this location. They inform him that the Giorica live another 20 miles north.	Wade 1999a:36
1674 Nov	Gueiquesale	north bank of the Rio Grande	Fr. Larios states his intention to travel to visit this nation living north of the Rio Grande.	Wade 1999a:38
1675 May	Yorica	Santa Rosa	Fr. Penasco persuades Yorica to move south of the Rio Grande to Santa Rosa. By May, they complain they lack the food that they had in their lands north of the Rio Grande.	Wade 1999a:44
1689	Jumene	4 days south of Rio Grande	Leon found Jumenes in large camp at this location.	Leon 1909:322
1690-91	Chiso, Concho, Tapacolme, Cibolo, Tepehuan	Sonora	In his 1751 report on the Indian problems of northern New Spain, Berroteran reports on use of these nations to quell the Tarahumara revolt of 1690-91.	Hadley et al. 1997:333

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad NRA (1600–1699)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
	Cocoyome, Acoclame	Sierra Mojada	Berroteran states that they were encountered in this area by a small troop of soldiers.	
1690	Mexcale, Yorica, Chomen, Sanaque, Sanyau & Api	Texas	Manzanet letter to viceroy states that these nations live in Texas.	Hadley et al. 1997:333
	Pacciqui, Pastaluc, Paac, Patchal, Panpanaca, Chaguane, Piaauam, Patsau, & Patau	Nueces River	States that these nations live on this river.	
	Sampanale, Pacuachiana, Putaay, Manico, Geyer, & Ataxal	Rio Hondo	States that these nations live on this river.	
	Tilpayay, Cauya, Semoman, Saracoam, Pulacmam, & Anxau	Rio Medina	States that these nations live on this river.	
	Tohaa, Toho, Emat, Cavas, Sana, Panasiu, Apaszam, Manam	Guadalupe River	States that these nations live on this river.	
	Chaguantapan, Muruam & "other nations of which I was told but did not see"	San Marcos River	States that these nations live on this river.	
	Apache	San Marcos River	States that the Apache come that far, and that they are the enemies of the Tejas [Caddo].	
1693	Sumane [Jumano?]	San Francisco de los Tejas, Neches River	Mazanet wrote that "un indio que se llama Juan Pablo, de nacion de indios mexicanos, el cual siendo nino cautivaron en el Parral los indios sumanes y lo llevaron para los Tejas en donde ha estado hasta ahora, y al parecer sera de edad de mas de 40 anos." [An Indian named Juan Pablo of the nation of Mexican Indians, who had been captured by the Sumanes Indians in Parral when he was a child and they took him to the Tejas where he has been until now, and he appears to be 40 years of age. (authors' translation).]	Hadley et al. 1997:333

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1700–1719)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1700	Yorica, Jape, Mescale	San Juan Bautista [Guerrero, Coahuila]	These nations were listed as those associated with the mission in the testimony of Feliz Sanches.	SA 1689-1736
1701	Mahuane, Pachale	Mission Dolores, 8 leagues from San Juan Bautista	Fray travels here & finds the priest with these Indians.	AGN 1701
	Mescale, Xarame	10 leagues N of the Sabinas River	Same priest finds these nations at this locale.	
	Mescale, Xarame, Pachale, Chaguane	San Juan Bautista	When he dedicates this mission, 150 people from these nations attend.	
1706	Acoclame, Zisemble	Confluence of Rio Bravo with the Rio Salado [Pecos]	Diego, an Acoclame, testifies to Cap. Juan de Retana that his people went to this area when the Zisembles asked them to go; there they made peace with the heads of the gentile nations so those nations would help them make war.	AHP 1704A:171-216
1707	Apache	El Paso	Presidial captain states this nation continually plagues this presidio.	NMA 4:48-61
1707	Apache	Sante Fe, El Paso	Valverde y Cosio (gov. of New Mexico) states "the vast Apache nation" lives near these environs.	Hadley et al. 1997:245
1708	Yerbipiame	San Juan Bautista	Fray Espinosa writes report on mission stating that this nation is nearby trying to get mission Indians to revolt.	AGI 1706
	Miscale, Yorica, Xape, Jume	San Juan Bautista	Espinosa says that the mission was established for, and has a population of, these nations; they had built small houses; they had a total population of ca 100 families.	
	Ocanque, Paquasian, Pachale	Mission San Bernardo	Espinosa says that this nearby mission is for these nations, "some of the Paysanes and others of the Rancheria of the Pazaguales;" population of ca. 300; also mentions that they originated in "tierra adentro" which here seems to mean to the north; usually ca. 100 live at mission at any one time; the rest come and go as they are wont to do; only the Paquasianes are consistently at the mission.	
	Jarame, Siabane, Payoguane	Mission San Francisco Solano	Mission that is located in same valley as the above mission. It was built for these nations; they number ca. 300; it was moved 16 leagues away from here in 1705.	
	Terocodame, Mamare, Tripas Blancas, Piedras Chicas, Julime	San Francisco Solano	In its new location, these are the nations living at the mission; they number ca. 400 people.	
	Toboso	San Francisco Solano	Says that the Toboso, who are hostile, come to the mission from time to time.	
1708	Xarame	San Francisco Solano	Fray Diego de San Buena Ventura states that this nation was the original one for which the mission was founded.	AGI 1706
	Texocadame, Tripas Blancas	San Francisco Solano	Says the Texocadame have also been there for ca. 2 years; the others come from time to time.	
	Toboso	San Francisco Solano	Says they live in the vicinity & make war on all other nations.	
1709, April	Pacuasiane	Nueces River	Diary of Father Antonio de Buena Ventura on his trip from San Juan Bautista to the Tejas states that he met 3 of this nation on this river; they were hunting rats.	AGI 1709

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1700–1719)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
	Jarame, Pacuasiane	Frio River	At the Frio River crossing, he found 20 of these two nations.	
	Payaya	Medina River	A few of this nation were seen at this river crossing.	
	Payaya, Pampoa	between the Medina & San Antonio rivers	Several members of these nations encountered at the San Marcos River crossing. Cantona pleaded for the priest to come to them.	
	Siupane, Chaulaamae, Sijame	Rio San Pedro	Found a large rancheria of these nations (over 500) at the San Pedro spring (modern San Antonio).	
	Yojuane, Simono, Tusombi	San Marcos	Found Captain Cantona with 40+ members of this nation at the San Marcos River; the captain pleaded for the priest to come to them.	
1710, Oct	Apache	El Paso	Capt. Balverde receives 2 Apache, gives them gifts & says they must keep the peace or there will be war.	NMA 4:228-243
1710	Jumano, Yorica, Chapama	San Juan Bautista, Rio Grande	A note, written by Fr. Francisco Hidalgo to Espinosa, states that members of these nations baptized or married by him this year at the mission.	QA 1710
	Catujane	La mesa de los Catujanes	A note, written by Fr. Francisco Hidalgo to Espinosa, used the phrase "la mesa de los catujanes", implying that there was a place of this name located relatively close to San Juan Bautista.	
	Toboso	San Juan Bautista, Rio Grande	Fr. Francisco Hidalgo, writing to Espinosa, noted this group was bothering the mission & its environs.	
1710	Apache farano	east of El Paso	Padre Juan Amando Niel, in a regional summary, states that this nation lives east of El Paso.	
	Apache necayee	Pecos Pueblo	He also states that this band of Apache trade with the Pecos pueblo residents, implying that they live to the north of the fahano.	
1711	Apache	Cerro Hueco, to east of El Paso	Joseph Vargas testified that the salines in this vicinity are in the "lands of the Apaches."	AHP 1711A:429-436
1712	Baborigame	Rio Nazas, Bolson de Mapimi	Leaders of this nation plead with governor to allow them to settle in these lands.	AHP 1712A:3-95
	Gavilan	San Juan Bautista	One leader states that the natives of this mission joined the hostile Gavilan, suggesting that that nation is also nearby.	
	Baborigame, Acoclame, Gavilan, Coahuileno	Coahuila	Variable testimony with one individual stating that the Gavilanes & Baborigames are both from Coahuila; others state that they have joined together, but not all the natives are from Coahuila; one says that the Baborigames understand the languages of the other 3, but were from elsewhere.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1700–1719)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1714	Jarame	San Juan Bautista, Rio Grande	Fr. Francisco Hidalgo, writing to Capt. Diego Ramon, states that he had sent for the Jarame and 3 had come; they would enter the mission w/in 8 days; they had been residing in Nadadores vicinity.	QA 1714
1715, June	Nations of La Junta, Apache	Rio Colorado & Laguna de las Perlas	Trasvina Retis questions elders at La Junta about the region & learns that the Apache that had been bauptized at La Junta; several days later, the Apache (Don Antonio) arrives from the Rio Colorado area.	Ayer 1715
1715	Cocoyame, Chiso, Zizimbre, Acoclame	Cerro Gordo	A Cocoyame woman states that the nations "with which her own is associated and allied are the Acoclames, Chisos & Zizimbres."	Hadley et al. 1997:54
	Cocoyame, Acoclame	Sierra Mojada & Sierra Canula	She later states that both nations live in these mountains (the border between Chihuahua & Coahuila) & live by hunting deer & raiding; they do not cultivate.	Hadley et al. 1997:55
	Chiso, Zizimbre	Sierras de Las Encinillas & Agua de Mayo	She states that those 2 nations live in these mtns (at the west extreme of the Bolson de Mapimi) & live by hunting deer & raiding; they do not cultivate.	Hadley et al. 1997:55
1715	Cocoyame, Chiso, Zizimbre, Acoclame	Cerro Gordo	A Cocoyame states her nation is friendly with these nations; she confirms above locations where all live.	Hadley et al. 1997:57
1715	Cocoyame	Cerro Gordo	Cocoyame woman states that her nation is led by "an Indian by the name of El Capitan. He inherited the position from his father."	Hadley et al. 1997:58
	Chiso, Zizimbre, Acoclame, Cocoyame	see above	She states that "the four nations customarily meet each year during the dry season to hold a conference and plan their strategies, and then they disperse."	
1715	Cocoyame, Chiso, Zizimbre, Acoclame	Cerro Gordo	Another Cocoyame woman states "that the four nations custmarily hold an assembly each year for trade. They exchange the things that they have with one another, and then discuss their opinions about everything of importance." She also verified the homes of the four nations.	Hadley et al. 1997, vol. 2, pt 2:60
1716	Apache, Yojuane, Chuiupane, Chana	East Texas	Captain Ramon, after arriving here, notes that these nations are the enemies of the Texas (Caddo).	AGN 1716a
1716, May	Ervipame, Mescale	2 days travel NNE of Colorado River	One of each nation came to the Spanish camp at this locale, and said that their rancheria was close by.	AGN 1716b
1716, May	Bozale (not a group)	Carrizo Creek	Espinosa, in his diary, states that Bozole took several horses to carry them to their rancheria.	Tous 1930:6
	Paragua	Arroyo Hondo	Espinosa states that they found 3 rancherias along the Hondo.	Tous 1930:7
	Mesquite	Colorado River	A Mesquite Indian arrives and tells Espinosa that his nation and others are residing on the Colorado.	Tous 1930:8

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1720–1749)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1721	Sama [Sana}	Between the 2 branches of the Brazos River	The Pena diary of the Aguayo expedition states that a Sana told them that the rancheria grande was in this location, above the Camino Real.	AGN 1721
1721	Acoclame & Cocoyame	Atotonilco	Berroteran's report of 1751 describes these nations had made war because of prodding of the Coahuilenos. Further states that the Coahuilenos had prodded " in order to keep the Coahuileno women, whom they desired for themselves, to replace those who had been taken in previous campaigns."	Hadley et al. 1997:185
1723, Aug	Apache	San Antonio	Apache raid stock of the presidio; Captain Flores pursued them and found their rancherias 130 leagues northwest of San Antonio.	Dunn 1911:206
1725	Apache	All points on the frontier	Gonzales, writing from San Antonio, states that they are attacking all points of the frontier, indicating widespread Apache rebellions.	AGN 1725
1725	Apache, Pharaone, Jicarilla, Natajee, Gila, Mescalero, Conina, Quartelero, Paloma	east of Santa Fe	Rivera's diary notes that these nations are enemies of the pueblos & of the Spanish.	Rivera 1945:67
	Payaya	below the Medina River	Diary states that an arroyo south of the Medina River is known as the Arroyo "de los Payayas" because this is where they regularly reside.	Rivera 1945:111
	Mezquite, Payaya, Aguastaya	San Antonio	Diary states that a small pueblo of these nations is a league from the San Antonio presidio	Rivera 1945:111
	Malleye	between Guadalupe & Colorado rivers	They encountered this nation here & stated that this was their general habitation.	Rivera 1945:114
	Cibolo, Canoscatujane, Pacoche, Ape	Mission San Bernardino de la Candela	Located 29 leagues S of San Juan Bautista, Rivera found these nations gathered at the mission.	Rivera 1945:126
1725, Jan	Apache, Mesquite, Paquasin	Medina River	Apache kill a Mesquite on the upper Medina and attack the Paquasian on the upper Nueces.	Dunn 1911:218
1726	Apache	La Junta de los Rios	The Apache, stated Rivera, were repulsed when they tried to attack this peaceful area.	AGN 1726
1726	Apache & Cholome	El Rio Puerco (Pecos)	In Berroteran's report of 1751, he states, "The Indians(illegible) con los apaches y cholomes del rio puerco, donde se le da al rio del Norte, desde su junta con el de para arriba hasta el presidio de El Paso." ["The Indians (illegible) with the Apache and Cholomes who are of the Rio Puerco, in the vicinity where this river joins with the Rio Grande, and continuing from this joining to the presidio of El Paso."]	Hadley et al. 1997:214
1736, March	Tarahumare, Chizo, Concho, Tovoso, Taquitatome	Presidio de conchos	Rivera's diary states that these nations live in the pueblo close to the presidio.	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
	Xiximine, Xixie, Tubare, Berroxio, Tharahumare, Nuri, Tepehuane, Babo, Arigame, Atapabonda, Concho, Chizo, Otaquitatome, Suma, Jocome, Mesquite, Cacalote, Paxalame, Maramete, Julime, Tapalcolme, Poarame, Hopome, Sibulo, Pulica, Sisimbre	Nueva Vizcaya	Same diary states, in a gen'l summary, that these are the nations that live in the province.	
1726, Aug	Payaye	Medina River	Rivera's diary states that they passed an Arroyo named for this group.	Berlandier tapes, reel 1

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1720–1749)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1726, Aug	Terocodame, Pacpole, Caequite, Ocane, Ape, Payaguane, Sibulo, Canoscartujane, Pachoche, Colorado, Oyaya, Toboso, Sixame, Siyangualla, Pita, Sadujane, Signase, Paguasin, Pajalatome, Carrizo	Coahuila	Rivera's diary states that these Indians inhabit the province but do not number more than 815. Then goes on to say that they stay in missions part of the year; part of the year they go to their parcialidades.	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
1726, Aug	Bocarro, Xarrambe, Gualaxise, Borrado, Pelone, Pomama, Salaya, Malabaco, Pitasiajuile, Guachinochile, Talaguiche, Alarapa, Pajaltoe	Nuevo Leon	Rivera's diary states that these Indians inhabit the province but do not number more than 700. Then goes on to say that they stay in missions part of the year; part of the year they go to their parcialidades. The mountain called Tamalipais is the most infamous place for hostile Indians.	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
1726, Aug	Mesquite, Payaya, Aguastaya	San Antonio	Rivera's diary says that they encountered these nations in this locale.	Berlandier tapes, reel 1
1727, Nov	Pita, Pajalve	Mission Ntra. Sra. de los Dolores de la Punta	Fr. Miguel Sevillaro de Paredes states that 12 families of these two nations remained at the mission.	QA 1727
	Pauzane		He also states that ca. 100 Pauzane are located 40 leagues due east, on the north bank of Rio Grande.	
	Pacoa		He states that ca. 300 Pacoa are 30 leagues to north of Rio Grande.	
	Toboso		He states this nation attacked the mission in 1714.	
1728	Comanche	Southern Plains	Rivera's report gives a general summary of this nation. It is described as more fierce than any other and moving to the south.	Rivera in Velasquez 1982
1729	Toboso	Lampazos Mission	Fr. Paredes, countering Rivera's recommendations, states that the Toboso attacked Lampazos mission	QA 1729
	Apache	San Juan Bautista, Rio Grande	He states that Indios Apaches captured an Indian from mission in 1726; the same Apache beat up another recent convert of the mission in 1727.	
1729	Apache	Lower Pecos	Barriero map of Coaguila y el Nueva Espana; Pecos is called "Rio Salado o del Natagee" indicating their presence in this area.	JPB 42, 1729 Bryan collection
	Acodame, Tripas Blancas	Rio Sabinas, headwaters	Same map shows these two nations in this location.	
1729, April	Apache	Rio Grande, south of the mouth of the Pecos	Berroteran encountered this nation south of the Rio Grande.	Ayer 1729
1730	Apache	Bolson de Mapimi	Berroteran, writing in 1751, states that, in this year, "more than four hundred Apache have overrun the area, penetrating close to our frontier settlements."	Hadley et al. 1997:191
			The Apache were under a Chief Pascual who had made peace with Berroteran.	
1731, Jan	Apache	El Camino Real	Apache attack soldiers on the road between San Antonio & the Rio Grande Presidio.	Dunn 1911:225
1731, Sept	Apache	San Antonio	Apache attack the San Antonio presidio, taking horses.	Dunn 1911:225
1733	Kiowa, Jumano, Apache, Ute, Tano, Panana	Sandi Pueblo	Former slaves from these nations request permission to establish their own settlement at an abandonded pueblo.	Gunnerson & Gunnerson 1988:11

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1720–1749)

Date	*Native Group*	*Location*	*Notes*	*Source*
1733	Apache, Chenti, Ypandi	San Saba River	Bustillo finds these nations along the river and attacks them.	Dunn 1911:225
1733-1738	Sizimbre, Cocoyome & Coahuileno	Nueva Vizcaya	Berroteran's 1751 report states that it was during these years that they made their first invasion.	Hadley et al. 1997:191
1737		Sabinas River	Mission San Fernando de Austria established at this location.	
1739	Indians	Monterey	Report by Ladron de Guevara on Nuevo Leon states that various nations of barbarous Indians had once inhabited this territory.	Hadley et al. 1997:83
	Toboso, Gavilane	uninhabited area between Coahuila & Nueva Vizcaya	Location where these nations live; frequently invade both of these regions.	
1741	Apache	uninhabited area between Coahuila & Nueva Vizcaya	Berroteran states that in this year he gave orders to Pascual, one of the Apache chiefs" to hunt for fugitives from Conchos. He found them in the Sierra Mojada.	Hadley et al. 1997, vol. 2, pt 2:83
1745	Ypande	Colorado River, 140 miles west of San Antonio	Urrutia found the Apache in this location, stating that they are "'commonly called Ypandes (Lipanes).'"	Dunn 1911:251
1745, June	Ypande	San Antonio	350 Ypande and other Native Americans attack San Antonio.	Dunn 1911:252
1746, March	Toboso, Apache Jumane	Coahuila presidio	Spanish plan an attack on these two nations because of the raids they had been raiding mission and presidial settlements.	Dunn 1911:253
1747	Apache	San Antonio	Gen. Don Melchor de Medianvilla writing to Fr. Alonso Girado de Terrenos, states that Apache are located north of San Antonio; later states that "Apachi" nation is plaguing travel on El Camino Real from San Antonio to east Texas; still later he states that Indians of Rancheria Grande (near proposed San Javier Missions) tell him the Apache killed 5 of their gathering.	QA 1747
	Anaiz, Mayeye, Vidaiz, Salinero, Eripiame (Yripiamo), Deadoce, Yojuane	Milam County area	He also states these nations are located in vicinity of proposed San Javier Missions.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1750–1799)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1750	Apache	San Antonio	Memorial of Fr. Mariano de los Dolores states this nation comes nearly every day with pelts, buffalo, dried meat & etc.; they have been marrying the Indians of San Antonio.	QA 1750a
	Ypandi (Ypani), Nataje, Julime	El Camino del Rio Grande	Fr. Franciso Silva & others were killed on this road; the Ypandi came to advise Spanish of it; states that Nataje & Julime went to avenge their deaths.	
1750	Apache	Apache territory	Fr. Benitto Francisco, states that the Apache territory stretches from Coahuila to the eastern part of Nueva Viscaya, to north of the French Quaudachas, to east of the province of Texas and west to the province of New Mexico. Also states that the land north of San Xavier is unpopulated.	QA 1750b
1750	Apache	San Xavier missions in Milam County	Father Benito Fernandez de Santa Ana wrote that one Apache chief was Captain Boca Comida.Footnote notes that in 1759, a Lipan ca. 20 years old, was living in San Antonio & listed as "son of the old Captain Boca Comida."	Hadley et al. 1997:485
	Apache	San Antonio	Fray Diego Martin Garcia wrote to Father Benito that theApache nation came here with 100 people. He reported that Boca Comida "and the others were now ready to come to Guadalupe with all of their people to live in a mission." They also noted that many had died in March 1749 of smallpox.	Hadley et al. 1997:486
	Apache	Rio Pedernales	Father Benito noted that the "Rio Pedernales constitutes a necessary crossing point that enables the Apaches to come and go from San Antonio to their land. There is no other pass or trail, except for the Puerto de la Bandera, and that one is inferior to the Pedernales."	Hadley et al. 1986:489
1753	Kiowa, Comanche	20 miles N of Santa Fe	A captive at Santa Cruz is questioned. She states that she was captured by Comanche from her native Kiowa village which was in New Mexico.	Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:11
1754	Pamaque	Coahuila	Complaint from San Juan Capistrano that Mission Vicarron is converting Pamaque in Coahuila although they are from Texas and should be left in Texas. Pamaque = "people of the south" or "people from below"	QA 1754
	Orejone	San Antonio	Letter states this was the founding nation at San Juan.	
	Pausane	Vicarron	Letter states this was the founding nation at Vicarron.	
	Pamaque	San Antonio	Letter states that had long ties w/Orejones; they intermarry & speak the Orejon language; they are cited in mission registers from 1733-1735.	
	Piguique	San Antonio	This nation was present at San Juan from 1747.	
	Tenipajuai	Vicarron	Tenipajaui present at Vicarron from 1743; said to be one of the Pamaque nations.	
	Tenipajuai	Vicarron	Letter states this nation is a nacion of the Pamaques.	
	Sarapjone		Letter states this nation is a nacion of the Pamaques.	
	Camasqua		Letter states this nation is a nacion of the Pamaques.	
	Tagnaguane		Letter states this nation is a nacion of the Pamaques.	
	Biayane (Viayame)		Letter states this nation is a nacion of the Pamaques.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1750–1799)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1756	Yuta, Comanche	San Saba	A report of priests based on interviews with natives who have come to San Francisco states that San Saba is the entry into Coahuila of these nations who live to the north.	QA 1756
	Natage, Pelone, Mezcalero, Ypandi, Come Nopal, Come Cavallo	Rio Grande Missions	In 1755, these Apache nations came here to ask for peace.	
1758	Comanche	San Saba	Testimony on the attack on San Saba states that a Comanche chief was one of the principals; Tejas, Tangangue, and Vidae were some of the other participating nations	QA, legado 6,
1758	Comanche, Tejas, Tancague and others of this northern land	San Saba	Col. Ortiz Parrilla wrote, "I am writing to promptly notify your reverences of the□treacherous cruelty perpetrated by [these] heathens" on the Apache nation.	Hadley et al. 1997:513
	Apache	San Saba	He states that the Apache need to stay far away and that they are now residing on rivers far away from here.	
1763	Lipan Apache	Rio Grande Missions	Report written at the mission states Lipan have been present here for a year; 300+ in population. Their leader is Cabeson; some other Apache are at this mission under Supato Borado & El Boruca.	QA 1763
	Lipan Apache	Rio Puerco, Candelaria	Mission N.S. de la Candelaria had another 500+ Lipan with Tumeo as captain; it is said that Lipan number ca. 2,000.	
1766	Lipan	Del Rio	Map from the British Museum shows the Lipan where the San Rodrigo confluences with the Rio Grande, just west of Del Rio.	UTEP, special collections
	Natagee	Pecos River	Same map shows this nation at Pecos confluence with the Rio Grande.	
1770s	Wichita	Brazos, Red, & Wichita rivers	Athanase de Mezieres reports Wichita living along these rivers in north-central Texas.	Gunnerson & Gunnerson 1988
1772	Mescalero	Bolson de Mapimi	O'Conor wages campaign against the Mescalero in the bolson.	Moorehead 1968:34
1772, May	Lipan	Nadadores & San Buenaventura	300 Lipan attack Nadadores & San Buenaventura, along with a number of haciendas in Coahuila.	Moorehead 1968:36
1773	Apache Lipan	Pecos River	Military map of Nueva Espana, showing this group northeast of conf. of Pecos/Rio Grande. The Pecos is called the "Salado o de Apaches del Nataje que la Fora lo llama del Pecho y Danville de los 7 Rios." ["The River of Salt or of the Apaches of Nataje which La Fora calls the River of Perch and Danville calls the River of the Apaches of Seven Rivers"]	Archivo Militar de Espana (personal copy w/ Kenmotsu)
	Apache Juman	Pecos River	The map shows this group just north of Apache Lipane on the east side of Pecos.	
	Apache Nataje	Pecos River	The map also shows this group to north of Apaches Lipanes, east side of Pecos.	
	Apache Nataje & Mescalero	Pecos River	This nation is shown on same map on west side of Pecos.	
1773 June	Mescalero	Mouth of the Pecos River	Spanish cross the Rio Grande at this location to accost Mescalero. 12 leagues north of the confluence, they engaged the Indians in a battle.	AGI PI, vol 22:405

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1750–1799)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1775, Oct	Apache	Rio San Pedro (Devils River), Rio Grande	Ugarte encounters Apache 70 miles up the Rio Grande from San Juan Bautista and eventually routes them from the Rio San Pedro.	Moorehead 1968:38
1778	Natage, Mescalero, Lipan	Road between Chihuahua & San Antonio	Croix's party is attacked by 600 warriors of these Apache bands.	Marino in John & Wheat 1991:146
1780		San Fernando de Austria	Mission Agua Verde is moved to this location.	
1784	Yervipiame, Paragua, Supxame, Xararame, Szama, Payaya, also some Yuta, Sciagua, Tov, Tamique	San Antonio de Valero	Fr. Jose Francisco Lopez report describing which nations were at which mission; reported that there were 52 people at mission; most spoke Spanish as they had intermarried with mulatos & mestizos & were now called Coyote.	QA 1784
	Paxalate, Sciqulupile, Sampao, Pacao, Tacame, Borrado, Manos de Perros	Mission Concepcion	He states that Paxalate were erroneously called Paxalache; the Paxalate language is most common; pop. is 71	
	Pampepa, Pavtitas, Borrado	Mission San Jose	Their population was 138 at this time.	
	Pamaque, Orejone, Marahuimayo	Mission San Juan	Their population was 58 at this time.	
	Pacao, Borrado, Marahuito	Mission Espada	Their population was 57 at this time. the Red; Comanches could be found to the south	
1787	Mescalero	Sabinas River, Presidio del Norte	Ugalde finds Mescalero between these two locations.	Moorehead 1968:235
1788, Jan	Comanche	San Sabà River	Mares encounters camp of Comanche at this locale under leadership of Tocinaquinte	Kavanaugh 1996:137, and table 4.1
1788, March	Comanche	Brazos River	Mares meets other Comanche in this vicinity under the leadership of Sofais (Chiojas) & Quenarecante	Kavanaugh 1996:137, table 4.1
1789, Aug	Mescalero, Lipiyane	Piedras Negras, San Antonio, San Saba	Ugalde attacks these two groups in these three locations.	Moorhead 1968:255
1789, Aug	Mescalero, Lipiyan, Lipan	Frio River	Other Spanish troops, together with the Comanche, attack these three Apache bands along the Frio River.	Moorhead 1968:255
1790	Kiowa, Comanche	Red River	These two tribes agree to co-exist; Kiowa above the Red; Comanche to the south.	Transactions, ICC 1974:42
1790, fall	Mescalero, Lipan	Nueces River	The Mescalero, on their fall bison hunt, find the Lipan butchering bison on the Nueces River.	Moorhead 1968:267

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1800–1829)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1804	Apache	20-38 degrees latitude & 277 degrees longitude to La Bahia	Merino's report states that the Apache occupy all of this area.	Merino in John & Wheat 1991:148
1804	Apache, Mescalero	Pecos River	Z. Pike's map of New Spain (taken from data he obtained in his travels) shows these groups living west of Pecos [note that the western margins of this map contains a number of errors]	Texas State Archives, map collection
1805	Comanche	North of the San Saba, Llano, & Colorado rivers	Map is mostly of Bolson de Mapimi in Coahuila, and while it does not give names of any native groups in that region, it in contrast, does show "Comanches" at several loci to the north; none are shown on the Pecos.	Juan Pedro Walker map, Ctr. for American Histor, UTA
1805	Comanche	Colorado River near Concho River	Yamparikas reported to be in this area, according to the Gov. of New Mexico.	Kavanagh 1996:145
1806, Aug	Apache	El Paso	Report states that they took oxen from Ysleta, and other pueblos; returned same several days later.	NMA 1806
1808, April	Comanche	San Saba River	Amangual encountered a camp of Comanche under Cordero's leadership on the San Saba.	Kavanagh 1996:137, Table 4.1
	Comanche	Colorado River	Amangual encountered another camp of Comanche on the river above its confluence with the Concho.	Kavanagh 1996:137, Table 4.1
1808, May	Comanche	Colorado River	Farther up the Colorado, Amangual encountered the Yamparika.	Kavanagh 1996:137, Table 4.1
1810, July	Apache Jaraon y Mescalero	Sacramento Mtns	Letter states that these 2 Apache groups inhabit these mountains; in March, a letter states that the Cumanche were fighting them in this same locale; their chiefs were Queques & Cordero.	NMA 1819
1810, July	Caigua, Cuampe, Xicarilla, Cumanche		Letter states that these nations are friends.	NMA 1810
1815	Comanche	Mission Refugio, 41RF1	Death records of the mission indicate that one native of the mission was killed by Comanche near the mission.	
1817	Comanche	Colorado River, Rio Grande	Burnet (who lived among them) states that they lived on the Colorado but, at times, they traveled to the Rio Grande.	Kavanagh 1996:173
1819	Quicha	La Tortuga to the N 50 lea.	Padilla's report on the Indians of Texas; says Quicha often go to Natchitoches to trade; often have Anglos in their villages as they are a conduit to Comanches & Tahuacanos; population was 800 at that time.	LA 1819
	Comanche	the vast region to the north	This nation spends only 10-12 days in a locale; bands are Yamparica, Yucantica; pop. was 6,000 at this time.	
	Lipan	Frontiers of Coahuila to San Antonio to the lands of the Texas	This region was their home during times of peace; pop. was 700; currently friendly w/ the Comanche; many Apache girls marry Comanche.	
	Tancahue	Margins of the Guadalupe, San Marcos, Colorado & Brazos rivers	Their travels extended to this area; pop. was 500	
1823	Kiowa Apache [Kaskaisa]	Canadian River, Brazos River, Colorado River	Major Long met party of Kiowa Apache on the Canadian, 168 miles east of Santa Fe. They said they had been hunting near the source of the Brazos & Colorado rivers.	quoted in Gunnerson & Gunnerson 1988:14

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1800–1829)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1825	Lipan	Laredo	J. B. Guitierrez de Lara letter stated that this nation has been robbing goods from Laredo residents; Castro & Cojo, chiefs, have tried to halt same but rival chiefs (Nollaro & El Marrongo) encourage same	LA 1825
1825	Lipan	Houston	Stephen F. Austin gives passport to travel in Texas to Huan Novale, Lipan captain	Winfrey & Day 1995, vol 1:23
1826, May	Chiraquies	Laredo	J. B. Guitierrez de Lara writes a letter stating that they assist w/ guarding citizens; chief is Ricardo Fields.	LA 1826a
1826	Lipan, Mescalero	Santa Rosa	J. B. Guitierrez de Lara letter states that these nations are both at Santa Rosa.	LA 1826b
1828	Pacuache	Rio Grande, N of San Juan Bautista	River crossing on Berlandier map with notation "Paso de Pacuaches" & shows the trail continuing NNW to "Plaines"	Berlandier tapes, Reel 1
1828	Lipan	Border between Texas & Coahuila	His report on Indians of Texas states that Lipan were beginning to farm near border towns; pop. was 150 families.	Berlandier tapes, Reel 1
	Lipan del Plains	Plains (southern?)	States they lived with the Charitica, and that they speak each other's languages; pop. was ca. 100 families.	
	Comanche	Bexar	They "live along the Llanos, San Sabas, Colorado, Brazos, & other rivers;" wintering near Bexar, moving north during summer.	
	Charitica	Colorado River, towns from Coahuila to El Paso	The Charitica moved south in ca. 1810, after a long history of war with the Comanche. Their name means "Dog eaters."	
	Lipan, Comanche	Laredo to Bexar	States that these 65 leagues are "infested with" these nations in times of war.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1830–1839)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1830	Comanche	Panhandle to Austin	This region said to be the territory of Comanche.	Transactions, ICC
1833	Shawnee	Las Moras Creek, Rio Escondido, Villa de Dolores	Shawnee hunters are hired by settlers at the Villa to obtain game for the villa; Shawnee are subsequently found on Las Moras Creek.	Kenedy 1925:411-418
1835	Kiowa	Camp Mason	Treaty with Kiowa made at this location	Transactions, ICC
1836	Comanche	Headwaters, Brazos & Red rivers	Chief Bowles states he found this nation in this region; they were returning from the Texas & Mexican frontiers.	Wallace n.d.:236
1837	Comanche	Mexico	Report of Standing Commission on Indian Affairs called the Comanche "the natural enemy of Mexico.;" later the report said they "occupy the western part of Texas."	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 1:24
	Lipan, Karankawa	Mexico	They are said to be part of the Mexican nation.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 1:25
1837	Cherokee, Comanche	Brazos headwaters	Cherokee Chief Bowles goes to meet with the Comanche in this location; Comanche state that they just returned from Mexico.	Wallace n.d.:226
1838	Lipan	Live Oak Point	Treaty made with this tribe; Huelgas de Castro is chief.	Winfrey & Day 1995 vol. 1:30-42
1838, March	Comanche	West Texas	Lt. Irion to Houston: "The limits designated by the Comanche will include...Colorado as low as Bastrop;" "They claim all the territory north and west of the Guadalupe Mtns to the Red River to the Rio Grande."	Winfrey & Day 1995 vol. 1:44
1838, spring	Lipan	San Antonio & Nueces River	Castro, Lipan chief, reports Lipan will soon leave Hill Country to go to the Nueces.	Wallace n.d.:231-232
	Lipan	Rio Grande	Castro reports that some Lipan are raiding on the Rio Grande.	
	Comanche	Blanco to San Saba Rivers	Castro reports the Comanche share this country with Lipan.	
	Lipan	Hills west of San Antonio	Castro reports some Lipan hide from Comanche in these hills.	
1839	Seminole, Caddo, Bolux, Kickapoo	Mexico	Sec. of War's report that these groups had contracted to work w/ Mexico and that many were scouting for the Mexican Army south of Acuna.	BIA 1:144
1839	Lipan	San Saba	Texans from Bastrop, in the company of Lipan, went to San Saba to attack Comanche.	Crimmins Collection
1839, Jan	Comanche	upper Colorado, San Saba valley	Capt. Moore campaigns against Comanche here.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 1:57
	Comanche	San Gabriel	Moore went to their camp, but found they had moved.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1840–1849)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1840	Kiowa	Fort Sill	Arapahoe & Cheyenne protest the Kiowa moving south of their territory; Kiowa noted to raid into Texas & Mexico for horses.	ICC 1974
1840	Comanche	Turkey Creek, Las Moras Spring	Capt. G. T. Howard, Texas Ranger, and a group of 200 men travel from San Antonio to Uvalde, Turkey Creek, and Las Moras Spring in pursuit of Comanche; 300 tipis seen, but the men were all raiding in Mexico.	BIA 1:241
1840	Comanche	San Antonio	Comanche often come here to seek peace.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 1:101
1840, Feb	Comanche	Uvalde	Col. Karnes wrote in newspaper that Comanche lived in the vicinity.	Wallace n.d.:237
1840, Oct	Comanche	Colorado River, upstream from its confluence with the Concho	Moore finds Comanche village at this locale with 60 families, 125 warriors; he kills 130.	Wallace n.d.:242
1841 spring	Comanche	Llano River, confluence with Johnson ford	Ben McCulloch finds a small band of Comanche in this area.	Wallace n.d.:244
1841 fall	Comanche	Enchanted Rock	Hays encounters band of Comanche in this area.	Wallace n.d.:244
	Comanche	Frio River	Hays finds another band of Comanche in this locale.	
1841 Sept.	Indians	Llano Estacado near Hereford	Diarist of Palo Duro expedition states that this area is a trail for Indians traveling to Pecos River in New Mexico	Wallace n.d.:248
1842	Kickapoo, Waco, Shawnee, Delaware, Coushatta, Keechi	Mexico/Texas	Smith, in a letter to Anson Jones, states that Mexico is convinced these tribes to wage war against Texas.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 1:125-127
1843	Comanche, Kuyawa	Texas Panhandle	Rufus Sage reported that the area was swarming with these tribes.	Gunnerson & Gunnerson 1988:15
1843	Comanche	Clear Fork of the Brazos	Comanche sign a treaty with Texas.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 1:210
1843	Seminole, Seminole Maroon	Ft. Arbuckle	Mexican emissary visits these tribes to pressure them to move to Mexico.	Mulroy 1993:52
1843	Comanche, Delaware	Matamoros	Houston tried to find the Comanche, but his Delaware guide says that they are not on the Brazos. Instead they are in Matamoros. Later, an Anadarko says that they have left Matamoros (due to smallpox) & gone to the Canadian.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 1:254
1844	Indians	Nueces River	Indians attack Texas Rangers on the Nueces near Uvalde.	Swanson n.d.:8
1844, March	Comanche	Pecos & Rio Grande	Moechucope letter to Houston: his people are scattered; he was on Clear Fork of the Brazos, Pah-hah-yuco with his band was on Salt Plains, Ark; some of latter band have gone to Pecos & Rio Grande. Many of his own band were on Rio Grande to "catch mustangs." In the letter, he stated that he wanted a line from Comanche Peak to San Saba to Rio Grande; everything above Rio Grande & west of line would be for the Comanche.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:6-8
1844	Ioni, Anadarko, Comanche	Colorado River at Pecan Bayou	Watson to Houston: he found these tribes in this locale.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:23
1844	Kiowa	San Antonio	Watson states to commissioner that they live far to north but when leaves fall, they will be near San Antonio.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:45

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1840–1849)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1844	Quychita (Wichita)	near Waco	Tawakoni chief reported that some were living with them; also called Tawehash.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:48
1844, June	Comanche	Guadalupe	Western to Houston reporting attack by Comanche near the Pinta trail.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:72
1844	Comanche	"from edge of the mtns on the prairie to San Antonio then on to the Rio Grande where the town is of that name"	Pochanaquarhip to Houston stating what he wanted to be the eastern dividing line for his people "to hunt buffalo" and for them to reside; said that the letter of Western to Houston lied. Because of this disagreement, the line could not be part of the treaty.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:110
1844, Dec.	Lipan	near Goliad	Green to Weston stating that few Lipan were found near here.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:150
	Lipan	Rio Grande	Green stated that most of the tribe were here, stealing meat.	
1845	Lipan, Caddo	Boregas Creek on Atascosa River, also Frio River	Neighbors stated he found Lipan camping here with some Caddo with them, along with 50 Comanches who stated that they had fought in Matamoros; Lipan stated that they had found Comanche on Frio River & brought them to Boregas Creek.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:166
	Tonkawa	Cibolo Creek	Neighbors reported he found the Tonkawa here.	
1845	Comanche	Little River, Austin, Rio Grande	Comanche request to move past Austin to Rio Grande.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:216
1845, Jan	Comanche	Colorado to the Guadalupe rivers	Pah-ha-yuco stated that his band ranged between these rivers.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:172
1845, Jan	Comanche	Corpus Christi	Western to Roasting Ear, Delaware chief, stating that Comanche were here.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:181
1845, Feb	Lipan	Bosque River	Neighbors located the Lipan there.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:197
1845, May	Seminole	Indian Territory	Wild Cat, Seminole Chief, is introduced to Comanche chiefs.	Mulroy 1993:46
	Seminole, Kickapoo, Caddo, Lipan, Tonkawa	Cow Creek, Brazos River (south of Waco)	Wild Cat journeys to this area with the Butler/Lewis peace commission; there they meet these other nations.	
1845, July	Comanche	San Saba River	Comanche spent 2 months here; states that others are on Clear Fork & still others are bringing horses from Laredo.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:284
1845, Aug	Comanche	Garza County	Comanche killed someone in this area.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 2:235
	Lipan	Victoria & Bexar	Lipan present in this area.	
1846	Kiowa	Canadian to the Arkansas Rivers	Butler & Lewis report that the Kiowa number ca. 4000 and live between these two rivers.	Gunnerson & Gunnerson 1988:15
1846, Feb	Tonkawa, Lipan	San Marcos to San Antonio Rivers	Neighbors to Western, natives content to stay between these rivers; Lipan plant corn on the Cibolo.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:14
1846, Mar	Comanche	Prairies	Comanche have returned to their prairies	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:31
1846	Lipan	Rio Grande	Comanche tell Neighbors that the Lipan have crossed Rio Grande & gone to headwaters of Colorado.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:43

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1840–1849)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1847	Comanche	various	David G. Burnet, ill with consumption, had spent 2 years with them. In 1847, he wrote his account of that time, saying that Comanche ranged from Colorado River to Red River and west to Colorado headwaters. Yamparack were north and west of Colorado River Tenawa were south of Yamparak (10,000-12,000 total).	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:85
	Comanche	Chihuahua	Comanche war on Mexican here; have a Mexican who is their chief.	
	Mescalero	Rio Puerco	The Mescalero were found here; Seratick [?] were above El Paso	
1847	Comanche	west of Austin	Neighbors, BIA, stated that they are 70 miles to the west; others are on Clear Fork of the Brazos. In August, they attacked a party of surveyors north of Fredericksburg because the surveyors were encroaching into Comanche territory.	BIA 1:21-22
	Lipan	50 miles s of San Antonio	Lipan attack travelers on Laredo Rd; report states that Lipan had resided on the Rio Grande and Nuaces [Nueces] during past summers.	
1847	Comanche	Rio Grande to the Canadian	Report of Butler & Lewis stated that the Comanche lived throughout this region, often wintering on the Brazos or Trinity.	BIA 1:40-43
	Yampeucco	Texas Panhandle	A division of the Comanche living between Canadian & Red.	
	Hoo-ish		Ca. 400, live in southern portion of their territory.	
	Cochetacah	Brazos River	ca. 2,000, living on upper Brazos.	
	Nooah	Colorado & Brazos rivers	ca. 1,500, living between Colorado & Brazos.	
	Nocannee	Rio Grande to Colorado rivers	ca. 1,750 between the Rio Grande & Colorado.	
	Lenaywosh		2,800, living in the timber (cross timbers?).	
	Muscaleree	Mexico to San Saba	This tribe recently allied with the above band, but had been living in Mexico; now planting corn on San Saba.	
	Quewa	San Antonio	ca. 700, residing here.	
	Kioway	Rio Grande	Although Kiowa main residence is to the north, they have often traveled to Mexico.	
1847	Comanche	Fredericksburg	Comanche present there.	BIA 1
1847	Comanche	Rio Grande to Mexico	Comanches command this country, said Neighbors	BIA 1
1847	Comanche, Kinway, Lipan & Mescalero	San Saba to Pecan Bayou	Neighbors stated that these nations were there; they number ca. 5,000	BIA 1:114
1847	Comanche, Apache	San Antonio/Laredo Road	Neighbors stated that these nations have been attacking along these two roads.	BIA 1:130
1847, Jan	Muscalero, Essiquita, Senetaka & others	Rio Grande, Headwaters of Colorado River	J.P. Henderson writes to Marcy that ca. 10,000 of these nations crossed the Rio Grande & are camped on headwaters of Colorado River.	Winfrey & Day 1995, Vol. 5:23-24

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1840–1849)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1847, Jan	Lipan	Rio Grande, Headwaters of Colorado River	J.P. Henderson writes to Neighbors; states that Lipan were also with the above groups in this movement.	Winfrey & Day 1995, Vol. 5:24-26
1847, Aug	Comanche	Mouth of the Pecos	Buffalo Hump took several hundred warriors across the ford at this location; they intended to raid in Mexico.	Wallace n.d.:322
1847, Sept	Comanche	Mexico	Neighbors reports that Buffalo Hump in Mexico w/ 6-800 warriors.	Wallace n.d.:326
	Comanche	Rio Grande at Puerco [Pecos] River	Neighbors states Buffalo Hump "crossed the Rio Grande at the mouth of the Pueco□he desired visiting Chihuahua, Parras, and surrounding country□for revenge for the defeat of a party of Comanches near Parras by Missouri volunteers."	
1847, Sept	Lipan	Pecos	Rollins to Brooke stated that some came to Fredricksburg, but others were on the Pecos where they grew corn.	Winfrey & Day 1995 vol. 3:124
	Comanche	Mexico	Rollins stated that had been on Rio Grande to avenge their dead and to seek food.	
	Kickapoo	Fredericksburg	Rollins told them that the Kickapoo would have to leave the town.	
1847, Nov	Comanche	Mexico	Neighbors noted the Comanche had returned from campaign in Mexico; they brought mules & horses from their raids in that country.	BIA 1:153-172
1847, Dec	Comanche	San Saba	Neighbors reported 5-6000 Comanche resided in this area.	BIA 1:231
	Mescalero	San Saba	A few Mescalero were with the Comanches.	
1848	Comanche, Yamparika, Kiawa, Mescalero	Chihuahua	Delawares go to upper prairies, and they return to Neighbors with the information that these tribes plan raids to Chihuahua in spring.	BIA 1:134
	Lipan	Rio Grande & mouth of Pueco [Pecos]	Comanche tell Neighbors that they are there	
1848, Jan	Seminole, Kickapoos	Texas	These two tribes travel to Texas to meet with other tribal chiefs, seeking alliances.	Mulroy 1993:47
1848, April	Lipan	Head of the Guadalupe	Neighbors reports that the Lipan are camped there	BIA 1:190-200
1849, Mar	Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Southern Comanche	Ft Gibson	Southern Comanche visit Seminole & Seminole Maroon at the agency.	Mulroy 1993:53
1849, June	Comanche, Lipan, Apache, Waco, Wichita	Pecos & Rio Grande	Neighbors had explored both rivers; Mexico had reported trouble; found that 550 warriors under Santa Anna had been 40 miles below Presidio del Norte, opposite el Carlos ranch; US soldiers attacked Comanche at Santa Rosa.	BIA 1:391-392
1849, Nov	Apache	Fort Leaton, Chihuahua	J. Van Horne in El Paso reports to George Deas in San Antonio that Apache reported near the fort. He also noted that reports also place them in Chihuahua where they were attacking settlements.	Winfrey & Day 1995, Vol. 5:50-51

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1840–1849)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1850, Feb	Tawakome	Laredo	W.W. Hudson (Ft. McIntosh) writes J. H. King that this tribe was present 20 miles south of Laredo.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:80-82
1850, May	Lipan	Llano, 200 miles from Austin	Rollins finds the Lipan growing corn & squash here. He stated that all Lipan speak Spanish.	BIA 1:244
	Kickapoo	Llano, 125 miles from Austin	Kickapoo w/ Wild Cat (Seminole) were at this location.	
	Comanche	Llano, 50 miles from Austin	70-80 Comanche were in a camp at this location.	
1850, May	Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo	Llano, 125 miles from Austin	In their move to Mexico, these nations establish a temporary settlement to grow corn in this area.	Mulroy 1993:55
	Creek, Cherokee Black	Llano, 125 miles from Austin	Some disaffected members of these tribes were present too.	
1850, May	Comanche	Bolson de Mapimi	Gen'l Brooke to W. Scott stated that many Comanche went to this bolson, and from there, they foray to Chihuahua & Coahuila.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:119
1850, June	Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo	Rio San Antonio to Rio San Rodrigo	Wild Cat signs agreement with Mexicans for 70,000 acres in this area of Coahuila.	Mulroy 1993:56
1850, July	Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo	Las Moras Creek, Fort Clark	Wagon trail allows them to pass through on their way to Mexico.	Mulroy 1993:56
1850, July	Seminole, Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo	El Moral, north of Eagle Pass	When Army will not let them enter Mexico, they go up Rio Grande to El Moral & cross at night.	Mulroy 1993:56
	Seminole	San Fernando de Rosas	The Seminole settle here (now Zaragosa).	
	Seminole Maroon	El Moral or Monclova Viejo	The Seminole Maroon settle here.	
	Kickapoo	Tuillo	The Kickapoo settle here (now Guerrero).	
1850, Aug	Indians	Beaver Lake, on the Devils River	Indians attack teamsters and military at this location.	Swanson n.d.:25
1850, Sept	Lipan	Pecos	Rollins to Brooke stated that some came to Fredericksburg, but others were on the Pecos where they made corn.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:124
	Comanche	Mexico	Rollins stated that the Comanche had been on Rio Grande to avenge their dead and to seek food.	
	Kickapoo	Fredricksburg	Rollins told the Kickapoo that they would have to leave Fredricksburg.	
1850, Oct	Caddo, Waco, Comanche, Seminole	Brazos Reserve, Upper Reserve	Wild Cat visits them, trying to persuade them to move to Mexico with him and his Seminoles.	Mulroy 1993:64
1850, late	Seminole, Seminole Maroon	Muzquiz, Nacimiento	These two nations moved to these locales to avoid slavers.	Mulroy 1993:70
1850, Dec	Seminole	Fort Duncan	Deas orders Hardee to arrest negros who are crossing Rio Grande to join Seminole (Wild Cat).	Crimmins Collection
1850, Dec	Comanche, Caddo, Waco, Lipan, Quapaw, Tawakoni	Military posts on Colorado & Llano	Treaty made these military posts serve as boundary lines.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:134

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1850, Dec	Comanche, Caddo, Waco, Lipan, Quapaw, Tawakoni	Llano River & line of posts on Colorado	1850 Treaty stipulates that the signators would agree to not go below a line running west from the Llano River to the Colorado River and not east of a line of posts on the east side of the Colorado.	BIA 1:321
1851, Jan	Comanche, Lipan, Waco, Tawacono	San Saba & Clear Fork	Standiford's report stated that these tribes had been on San Saba; many Comanche were also found on Clear Fork of the Brazos.	BIA 1:726
1851, Feb	Seminole	La Navaja, Mexico	Seminole settle at this locale.	Mulroy 1993:67
	Seminole Maroon, Kickapoo, Lipan, Comanche	Laguna de Jaco	These two tribes patrol the border from Pecos River to this location in Bolson de Mapimi; they repel Lipan & Comanche, recovering 100 horses.	Mulroy 1993:68
	Kickapoo, Seminole Maroon		As they return home, the Kickapoo steal the 100 horses from the Seminole Maroon, taking them across Rio Grande to Texas.	
1851, May	Comanche, Lipan, Muscalero	Camp Johnston	The Hardee report of his travel to Camp Johnston for the purpose of meeting with these three tribes. Comanche chiefs Ketumese & Cariwah came, as did Buffalo Hump. The Lipan, under Chi-wito & Chi-po-tico came too. They acknowledged that their people had been below the line agreed to in the 1850 treaty, and that "returning from Mexico was no excuse as they had no right to be in Mexico."	BIA1:861
	Upper Comanche	Clear Fork of the Brazos	Comanche chiefs tell Hardee that Upper Comanche are camped along this stream.	
1851, June	Waco, Tawaconi village	north side of Brazos River, south of Clear Fork	Major Libbey's Map of the "Route to the Indian villages on the upper Brazos" shows the locations of these villages.	Crimmins Collection
	Keechi village	north side of Brazos on and Indian Trail	Major Libbey's Map of the "Route to the Indian villages on the upper Brazos" shows the locations of this village.	
	Caddo village	s side of Brazos at Caddo Creek	Major Libbey's Map of the "Route to the Indian villages on the upper Brazos" shows the locations of this village.	
1851, Aug	Lipan, Comanche	Llano River	Letter of Hardin to G. Deas, states that these tribes are camped on the Llano River.	BIA1:890
	Comanche	Clear Fork of the Brazos	Letter also states that the Comanche bands are led by Pahayhuka & Ichanacho. The bands live here during winter; in summer they hunt buffalo or make war to the south.	
	Mescalero, Apache	Great Bend of Rio Grande	Letter states that these tribes are presently in that location.	
1851, Sept	Kickapoo	Oklahoma	Most of the Kickapoo return to Oklahoma from Mexico.	Mulroy 1993:68
1851, Sept	Lipan	Concho River	John Connor (Delaware) writes from Fort Mason that Lower Comanche claim that upper Comanche robbed the Lipan who were camped on the Concho. Chicito & Chepata were the chiefs there.	BIA 1:800-802
	Comanche	San Saba, 15 miles above its confluence with the Colorado	162 lodges w/ ca. 6 people each are present; all belong to Buffalo Hump & Tecumsa (Comanche).	BIA 1:810-818
	Comanche	Little River	Connor states that Yellow Wolf is camped w/ 10 lodges on this river.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
	Tonkwai, Tawacona	Brazos	Connor states that Tonkwai attacked Tawacona at this locale.	
	Muskalero	North of the Rio Grande	Muskalero chief (Tomas Ipano) claimed to live north of the Rio Grande; Comanche & Mexicans attacked their camp. It has 10 lodges with ca. 5 people each.	
	Kickapoo	Colorado River, 5 miles above its confluence with the San Saba River	Connor states that this is where they are camped.	
1851, Sept	Mescalero	Presidio del Norte	Capt Skillman reported severe drought, nearly no Indians except the Mescalero are found in the area.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:141
	none	Pecos/Rio Grande	Skillman had gone the mouth of the Pecos but was unable to find any Indians.	
1851, Oct	Mescalero, Lipan, Comanche	San Saba	In negotiations of these tribes w/ US agents (Rogers), papers noted that only Southern Comanche attended; Rogers stated that Indians must not cross the Rio Grande; Katumpsa, Comanche chief, stated that they needed a new boundary line; Ceacheneca [Feather], Comanche chief agreed; Chiquito (Lipan), & other chiefs agreed. The treaty did not set forth new line, but re-confirmed the old one from 1846 treaty.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:143
1851, Nov	Comanche	Texas	Stem, Indian agent near Abilene, states the Penatekas Comanche live year round in Texas.	Wallace n.d.:299
1851, late	Seminole, Seminole Maroon	Muzquiz & Nacimiento	These groups move to these locations to avoide slavers.	Mulroy 1993:70
1852, March	Comanche	Concho River	A.J. Lee, stationed on the Concho, writes General Howard that he has had daily contact with people of Buffalo Hump, Yellow Wolf, Ketumsee, & Sanico.	BIA 1:927
1852, April	Comanche	Fort Mason	Major Merrill report to L. Lea states that he spoke with Catumse & his party who came to Fort Mason.	
1852, June	Comanche, Lipan	San Saba River	Lee report to San Antonio states that these two groups were encountered on the San Saba River.	BIA 1:951
	Comanche	Fort McKavett	Katamuse's band of ca. 300 present at Fort McKavett.	
1852, July	Comanche, Lipan	Fredericksburg	Citizen petition to Gov. Bell claims that these tribes camped 8 miles away from Fredericksburg; requests they be relocated to the Llano River.	BIA 1:980
1852, Aug	Lipan	Fredericksburg	H. Capron (Indian Agent) traveled here to determine the extent of Lipan "uprising;" wrote to Howard saying that it was minor & he would move them to near Fort Mason.	BIA 1: 984
	Muscalaro	Fredericksburg	Capron wrote that this tribe was also present at Fredericksburg under Chief Jose Maria Flores.	
1852, fall	Comanche, Kiowa	Comanche Springs	Emory's party comes across Mucho Toro's party with their herd of 1000 animales that they had stolen in Mexico.	Emory 1987:86
1852, Sept	Lipan, Comanche	Llano River	G.T. Howard requests that both tribes be removed from this location	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:127-128
1852, Sept	Comanche	Between Ft Mason & the Concho River	Capron to Gen'l Howard report states that he found them in this area.	BIA 1:1070

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
	Comanche	Fort Johnson (see Brown et al 1998:23,for location on north Concho river)	9/3/52, Sha-na-co, Ke-ta-masie, Ke-car-a-wa, Tosh-a-wa, Pi-a-ti-quah, Mono-qui-tes, & Piau-haut-son arrived at Fort Mason with 700 people. Capron told by chiefs, "Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancestors roamed in indisputed possession, free and happy."	
	Lipan, Muscalero, Tonkwas	Fort Mason	When Capron ret'd with 150 Comanche, a delegation of these tribes met him	
1852, Nov	Comanche	west of Llano River	Removal of Indians to west of Llano going well for white settlers, poorly for Indians who can no longer sell hides, etc. at markets	BIA 1:1074
1852, Dec	Indians	Old San Saba tank	Howard to Luke Lea states he has sent word to "residential Indians" in Texas to meet him at this location.	BIA 2:88
1853, early	Seminole	Laguna de Jaco	Seminole repel "wild Indians" in this place, part of Bolson de Mapimi.	Mulroy 1993:76
1853, Jan	Lipan impersonators	50 miles south of San Antonio	Capron letter to Luke Lea, federal Indian Commissioner, states that attack by "Lipans" was likely a group of Anglo-Americans that dressed as Indians.	BIA 2:91
	Lipan	San Saba	Same letter notes that he had visited the Lipan on the San Saba only a few weeks ago.	
1853, Feb	Lipan	San Saba?	Capron letter to Luke Lea states that military took action against the Lipan as a result of misunderstanding; the attack on Anglos by Lipan impersonators. Some Lipan killed, some women/children captured, tribe scattered, mules & horses, clothing, & "wampum" taken; camp burned.	BIA 2:121
1853, Feb	Lipan	Puerco River; Nueces River at White Bluffs	Addicks writes to Major Howard: "I overtook the Lipans on the waters of the Puerco, in a northwest direction from [Fort Inge], distant about 150 miles." He took them to White Bluffs on the Nueces River.	BIA 2:106
1853, March	Lipan	Devil's River	Howard letter to Luke Lea stated that "A message has been transmitted to me from [illegible], a Lipan chief, now encamped at the upper crossing of the Devil's River." He had 90 warriors with him.	BIA 2:104-105
1853, March	Lipan	Nueces & Llano rivers	Howard to Luke Lea: Lipans found on the Llano, but were moved to the Nueces where they were cultivating soil.	BIA 2:111
	Seminole, Delaware, Quapaw, Shawnee	Llano River	250 individuals from these nations stated to be at this location; they are scheduled to leave in May.	
	Apache	El Paso	Howard states that letters from El Paso indicate constant depradations in that area, committed by Apache.	
1853, April	Lipan & other tribes	Llano River	Howard's letter to G.W. Manypenney states that ca. 350 Indians are at this location; many are Lipan.	BIA 2:117
1853, July	Delaware	75 miles nw of San Antonio (Freder-icksburg)	Neighbors letter to Charles Mix says that in 1848 Delaware set up their village near this German settlement; in 1853, John Connor of their tribe was given a league of land.	BIA 2:182

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1853, July	Indians	Salt Lake (Sal del Rey?)	Lt. Hartsoff of Ft. Brown verifies that 16 Indians from Mexican side of the border stole cattle from here. "These Indians have no fixed place of residence but move on the Mexican bank of the River from Reynosa to a little below Mr. Neal's house. They subsist entirely by theft." Notes that the leader is half Mexican; half Indian.	BIA 2:554
1853, Aug	Muskalara	Pecos River to El Paso	Neighbors states that these and other Indians live in this region.	BIA 2:194
	Kickapoo	Rio Grande	He states that these Indians trade as far as the Rio Grande	
	Tonkawa	Colorado River	He states they reside there, but are frequently driven off.	
	Lapan	Head waters of the Nueces	He notes the Lapan are present here, cultivating corn.	
	Comanche	Prairies	The Comanche consider this their area of occupation.	
1853, Sept	Mescalaro, Lipan	Fort Clark & vicinity	Howard writes Manypenny that he has "collected these tribes & states that "these Indians belong to my district."	BIA 2:126
1853, Sept	Lipan, Muscalaro	Old Spanish Mission site (San Saba)	Howard's report states that when he arrived at Fort Clark the Lipan & Muscalaroes were there to greet him. He says that they are settled 60 miles above the El Paso road at the old Spanish mission.	BIA 2:241
1853, Oct	Lipan, Muscalaro	Old Spanish Mission site (San Saba)	These nations live at this site.	BIA 2:262
1853, Oct	Comanche, Coshatta, Waco, Karankaway, Tonkeway	Texas	Secretary of State for Texas writes Neighbors to say that only these tribes can be regarded as "Texas Indians."	BIA 2:274
	Cherokee, Lipan, Caddo, Choctaw, Delaware, Keechi, Kickapoo, Seminole, Shawnee, Tiwaconi & Wichita	outside Texas	Same letter states that these nations are immigrants into Texas.	
1853, Nov	Lipan	Mexico, Texas	Neighbors report to Manypenny states that: "The Lipans are intruders from Mexico□.They crossed the Rio Grande into Texas after the revolution in 1836 and have remained in Texas since that time."	BIA 2:263
1853, Nov	Comanche	Fort Chadbourne	Neighbors to Manypenny describes his trip to this fort where ca. 800 Comanche were present; their leader was San-a-co.	BIA 2:303
	Comanche	Rio Grande City	Comanche reported to have crossed the river at this location, killing 2 Mexicans & taking horses.	
	Comanche	San Saba vicinity	Comanche reported to have killed 3 men near here.	
	Apache	Guadalupe Mtns	Ft. Phantom Hill report by Sibley states that Apaches live in & close to these mountains.	
	Muscalaro, Lipan	Pecos River	He states, "Under my direction, a party of Muscalaros & Lipans who reside on the Pecos, have also been induced to proceed to the Apache camp [in the Guadalupes]."	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
	Ten-a-wish, Noconie	Brazos headwaters	Has been told that these Comanche bands are at that location.	
1853, Oct	Mescalero, Lipan	60 miles W of Ft. Phantom Hill	Sibley's report states that a Mexican boy, scalped in an attack on a wagon, claimed that the attackers were Lipan & Mescalero because they had shouted that he was "Nacaye! Nacaye!, meaning Mexican! Mexican! in the Lipan language.	BIA 2:311
1854	Apache	Delaware River's confluence w/ Pecos	Diarist of the Pope expedition states that they found Apache in this location.	Wallace n.d.:301
1854	Kioway, Comanche	Rio Grande, Laredo to Red River	Map in National Archives shows these nations inhabiting these regions, including Devils, River, & Mustang Ponds.	Wallace n.d.:369
	Apache, Lipan, Jicarilla, Mescalero	Texas/New Mexico border	Same map shows these nations west of this line.	
1854, Jan	Comanche	Brazos, headwaters	Quarterly report of Neighbors to Manypenny says that the Comanche are presently in this locale.	BIA 2:710
	Lipan, Mescalero	Pecos/Rio Grande	These nations were on the Nueces, but 12/20/1853, they "moved their camps to the waters of the Rio Grande near the Pecos owing to sickness in their band and some deaths."	
1854, Jan	Delaware	Fort Mason	Report states that most of the tribe is at Fort Mason under Chief Jim Shaw, although a few are at Fort Phantom Hill.	BIA 2:728
1854, Feb	Comanche	Clear Fork of the Brazos	Stem writes that the Comanche are present here.	BIA 2:372-373
	Wichita	Fredericksburg, Fort Gates	He also states that he found Ko-we-a-ka, their chief & his men, on an expedition against the Lipan; reports that they have raided as far south as these locales.	
1854, Spring	Seminole, Comanche, Mescalero	Chihuahua	Wild Cat's Seminole chase the other nations to Chihuahua.	Mulroy 1993:76
1854, Mar	Comanche	Clear Fork of the Brazos	Stem report to Lea that this area has a long history of being their "winter rondevous." It is less frequently used now that forts have been erected, but is still a "favorite resort." Southern Comanche are under Sanaco, Pah-a-yu-ko, Ca-tum-sio, Buffalo Hump & others; Northern Comanche are the Ta-no-coe, No-co-ne, Yam-pa-rick-a.	BIA 2:384
1854, Mar	Apache	Mouth of the Delaware river w/ Pecos	Byrne, diarist on railroad expedition states that Indians in this area are all Apache; page 302, another member of party states that the tablelands west of Pecos had always been territory of Apache.	Wallace n.d.:300
	Kiowa	Mustang Springs, 41MT2	Same expedition met Kiowa returning from raid in Mexico. Informant states this spring is on the Comanche War Trail.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1854, March	Kickapoo	Fort Belknap	Major Merrill reports to Neighbors that they have killed the Kickapoo who killed Stem. The band lives N of the Red. Report of pursuit by Lt. Palfry states that Polecat (See-kah-qua) & Thunder (Pee-a-twa-tuck-ah) were responsible & were killed by other, peaceful Kickapoo.	BIA 2:752, 813-814
1854, March	Lipan	Nueces River Headwaters	Jose M. Gonzales, Chair of a committee in Laredo that presented a report "Report of the Late Outrages of the Indians in this Vicinity." Report states that Lipan often camped on headwaters of Nueces.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:161
	Lipan	Fort Inge	Same report states Lipan are fed at the fort; Chepita was one of the Lipan chiefs recognized at the fort.	
1854, April	Comanche, Tonkaway	San Saba "near the old fort [presidio]"	Report of Capron to Gov. Manypenny on trip to remove Indians; states that he found these tribes together there; Tonkaway' were told to go to Fort Mason.	BIA 1:755
	Comanche, Kickapoo	Mexico	He stated that he is aware that the Comanche send war parties to Mexico to obtain mules & horses. Comanche told him 'Kickapoo had recently stolen their horses.	
1854, April	Comanche	Ft. Chadbourne	Neighbors travels to the fort and finds a small group of Comanche there.	BIA 2:762
	Comanche, Delaware, Caddo	Ft. Phantom Hill	Most of the Southern Comanche were found here, under Sanaco, Katumise. Delaware are under Jim Ned. Caddo are also present.	
	Tahwaccano, Waco	Ft. Belknap	He found these tribes here under Chief Aquaquash.	
	Wichita	Ft. Inge, Fort Mason	Although the Wichita live N of the Red, he states that they raided this month to these places.	
	Lipan, Muskalero	Rio Grande	Last winter Neighbors rec'd word that these tribes gave notice that they wanted to cross the river & live in Mexico.	
1854, April	Waco, Wichita	Medina River, 20 miles SW of San Antonio	Neighbors writes that these nations were among the war party that massacred the Forresters.	BIA 2:749
1854, April	Tonkawa	Barnard's Trading Post on Brazos	Barnard reports that 7 "Tonks" are in the vicinity of the post.	BIA 2:755
1854	Lipan	Laredo	Report states the Lipan are robbing citizens of Laredo.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:183
1854, April	Waco, Keechi, Tawaccanno	Ft. Belknap	Stem reports that these nations "formerly occupied villages on the Brazos, not far from this fort." Some are moving to Red River.	BIA 2:366-7
	Wichita	Red River	The Wichitas, who speak the same language & are initimately associated & comingled with the above 3 bands live N of the Red River. Now they plunder into Texas.	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1854, April	Lipan, Tonkawa	Nueces River	Neighbors letter to Gov. Pease re: the Laredo problems. He states that a German citizen (Luntzel) is camped with the Lipan on the Nueces, near Fort Inge; Tonkawa also present. He states that none were involved in the Laredo problem.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:170
	Lipan	Pecos	He states that another group of Lipan have "always resided on the Pecos." In January, that group crossed the Rio Grande at the request of the Mexicans & settled near San Fernando & may have been the ones who committed the Laredo crimes.	
	Comanche	Chihuahua	San-a-co, principal chief of the Southern Comanche told Neighbors that Chihuahua authorities made similar arrangment with northern Comanche & many were now in Mexico; these same group of Comanche were reported to be "depredating on the state of Coahuila & the Lower Rio Grande."	
1854, May	Tonkahua	Fort Inge, Bosque River	Neighbors reports to Gov. Pease that Tonkawa who had robbed on the Bosque were delivered to Fort Inge by their chief; same party killed a German on the Llano River.	BIA 2:680
	Lipan	Nueces River	Jeff Davis, Sec. of War writes McClelland, Sec of Interior, about why Lipan had to be placed at this locale; his concern comes from P. Smith, Gen'l in Corpus, who says this was strategic mistake.	
1854, May	Lipan, Tonkawa	Ft. Inge	Howard states that most Lipan & "all of the Tonkawa" are assembled here. Lipan chief is Chicita.	BIA 2:793
	Lipan, Comanche, Muscalero, Seminole	Rio Grande at Las Moras Creek	He says, "I learn that large bodies of [these] Indians are assembling on the West side of the Rio Grande□under the Seminole chief 'Wild Cat'." Later states that the assembly is in the vicinity of San Fernando.	
1854, May	Lipan, Seminole	Ft. Inge	Howard reports & investigates attack on the Medina with aid of Castro, Lipan chief. Chiquita, another Lipan chief, is temporarily arrested at the fort, but through him, they learn that the attack was precipitated by Wild Cat, the Seminole chief. Chiquita is released.	BIA 2:614
	Tonkawa, Seminole	Bosque River	Neighbors reports that some of these nations attacked a settlement here; Placido, Tonkawa chief, returned them to Ft. Inge for punishment; subsequently, Howard suspects that these Indians assisted the Seminole in the Medina attack.	
	Seminole	Mexico, s of Del Rio	Wild Cat's camp of Seminole is reputed to be in this area.	
1854, May	Tonkawa, Lipan	Fort Inge	Pease requests that Neighbors keep the Lipan & Tonkawa in the neighborhood of Fort Inge.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:181-182
1854, June	Lipans, Mescalaro	Piedra Pinta near Ft. Clark	Howard reports that these tribes are camped here.	BIA 2:622
	Tonkawa	Nueces headwaters	Howard says that the Tonkawa are camped at this locale. Goes on to say that "all expressing great desire to be located permanently and together. Either on the headwaters of the Lympia' near Rose Pass or the Nueces as formerly recommended by me, there being vacant land at both."	

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
	Lipan, Tonkawa	Ft. Inge	He reports that due to danger, they have abandoned their fields and gone to the fort.	
1854, June	Comanche, Lipan	Ft. Inge vicinity	Howard states that the Comanche frequently attack in 'this area. Then says that Lipan killed the Comanche chief Yellow Wolf.	BIA 2:627
1854, July	Lipan, Tonkawa	Ft. Clark, Nueces valley, Frio & Sabinal rivers	Luntzel, interpreter for Lipan & Tonkawa, states that they sometimes go to Ft. Clark, but that Howard had told him to leave the Lipan in the Nueces valley, but to take the Tonkawa to another area closeby when they arrived. He did so; they stayed ca a month; then began moving to Frio & Sabinal valleys. When Howard returned, he put them back on the Nueces, allowing them to roam west from the Nueces & north of the El Paso Road occasionally.	BIA 2:640
	Comanche	Nueces vicinity	Lipan found their trail going to the south; after informing the army at Ft. Clark, they assisted as guides.	
1854, July	Lepan, Tonkeway	Ft. Clark, Ft. Inge	Clements reports that these tribes are close to the forts; He spoke with Chief Chekeetin (Lipan) & Chief Placido (Tonkawa).	BIA 2:647
1854, July	Seminole, Seminole Maroon	Bandera	Texas Rangers found these nations and engage them in a small battle.	Mulroy 1993:79
1854, Aug	Comanche	Red to Colorado rivers	Marcy report states that Penateka lived in this region.	Wallace n.d.:310
	Comanche	Fort Phantom Hill	He further notes that in the Clear Fork valley near this fort he had seen "'numerous remains of old Comanche camps throughout the valley, showing that this has for many years been a favority resort for them.'"	
1854, Sept	Comanche, Waco, Tawacone, Keechi	Ft. Belknap	Hill to Neighbors reports that Comanche are hostile to the other tribes who = ca. 300 & have hereditary claim to Texas.	BIA 2:862
	Wichita	Red River	States, "I've not been able to discover any well foundedclaim for the settlement of these people in Texas, nor do I learn that they desire it. On the contrary, from the best information that I have been able to obtain, they claim a home N of the Red, in the vicinity of the Wichita Mtns from early & long occupancy."	
1854, Sept	Mescalero Apache	west of Pecos	Marcy reported to Neighbors that these were the only indians in the vicinity; had done "planting" between Horsehead Crossing & La Junta [Presidio].	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:184-9
1854, Oct	Southern Comanche, Lipan, Caddo, Ioni, Waco, Tah-wac onoe, Tonkahoa, Muskelero	Texas	Neighbors to Mix (new Commissioner) says that reserves will be for these native groups; pop = ca. 3,500. They are hemmed in by white settlement on the south by northern Comanche & Kioway on north. Because both sides attack them, they are compelled to carry on something like an armed neutrality with both on account of the scarcity of game in the area where they reside.	BIA 2:890
	Mescalero Apache	Pecos River, Dona Ana	BIA should consider putting them in one of these locales "where they now reside."	
1854, Oct	Lipan	Mexico	Capt. King (in 1855) stated that while he was at Fort Clark, the Lipan went from Ft. Clark to Mexico in October, 1854.	BIA 3:310

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1854, Nov	Comanche	Medina River	Howard reports that the Comanche committed the Medina River attack. They did not use guns; only lances & shields. They traveled N to Bandera Pass; on the way, they stole horses from Quhe settlement.	BIA 2:899
1854, Nov	Tonk	Nueces River	Howard reports that he has just returned from their camp of 400 & they are ready to emigrate to the Brazos Reserve.	BIA 2:699
	Lipan, Mescularoe	Nueces River	These tribes do not want to go to the Brazos; they have an offer to live in Mexico. "They have always claimed as their home the country between here & El Paso." Then goes on to state that the Lipan have all gone to Mexico, but that he has moved "my Indians" to the Nueces valley, 20 miles above the El Paso road."	
1854, Nov	Lipan	Mexico	Howard reports to Neighbors that the Lipan are in Mexico.	BIA 3:19, 42, 305
	Tonkawa	Nueces valley	He states that this tribe is in the Nueves R. valley, 20 miles above the El Paso road. Letter from Maj. Crittendon confirms this location, stating that this is the San Antonio to Ft. Clark road. Rolf, in 1855 [roll 3, p. 305] confirms presence of Tonkawa here from 6/54 to 3/55.	
1854 Dec	Comanche	Clear Fork of Brazos	Neighbors to Manypenny states that a few of the Southern Comanche are here.	BIA 3:67
	Waco, Cado, Southern Comanche	Ft. Belknap	He states that these tribes are presently close to the fort; all are disposed to moving to reservations.	
1854, Dec	Caddo, Waco, Ioni, An-dah-ko	Brazos, below Ft. Belknap	Marcy letter to Manypenny states that these tribes are currently at this locale and that the ideal place for their reservation would be at this locale.	BIA 2:681
	Lipan, Mescalero Apache	Pecos River	Same report states that these tribes will not likely remove to the Brazos. Says that he & Neighbors have some concerns, however, about leaving their on them present lands west of the Pecos "some 300 miles from the lands that we have reserved for the Comanches." Goes on to note that the land from the Presidio del Norte (La Junta) to the Horsehead Crossing of the Pecos is "where the Mescalero have planted corn for several years."	
	Mescalero	Toyah Creek	The report concludes that this would be the best place for their reserve.	
1855	Apache	Las Moras Creek	US troops fight the Apache at this location.	Stillman 1990:167
1855	Apache, Comanche	50 miles above mouth of the Pecos & between the Pecos & Las Moras Creek	Apache & Comanche are encountered in this area.	Stillman 1990:137-190
1855	Lipan, Comanche	El Sal Del Rey	Hard bought the ranch & fenced the salt lake because in 1850 Comanche had robbed him of horses; subsequently Lipan & Comanche had attacked the same location.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:260-2

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1855	Jumano	Texas	Bandelier states: "I have found a trace (since I finished the second part of this report), dating as late as 1855. They were then living in Texas, not far from the Comanches and their characteristic disfiguration of the face by incisions that they afterwards painted, was noticed by my informant, who traded with them 35 years ago. Whether the Julimes are not Jumanos, I cannot determine; there are□indications to that effect and it may be possible to find traces of the Julimes yet in Chihuahua by Orosco y Berra included the language among the lost idioms."	Bandelier 1890, Vol. 3:245
1855, Jan	Comanche	Pecos River	Captain Elliott attacks Comanche in "tall cane" on the Pecos; states that they had been trading in Mexico.	Swanson n.d.:51
1855, Jan	Comanche	Clear Fork of the Brazos	Neighbors to Manypenny, an expanded version of the 12/1854 report; states that a small party of the Southern Comanche were camped on the Clear Fork, ca. 15 miles downstream from the location of the proposed reservation.	BIA 3:90
	Comamche, Tah-wac-carro, Caddo, Waco	Ft. Belknap	1000 - 1200 of the Southern Comanche are camped at this place. A large party of the remaining tribes was also found at this fort.	
1855, Jan	Apache, Comanche, Muskalero Apache	West of the Pecos	Neighbors requests funds to bring in Apache & Comanche who "inhabit the country west of the Pecos River & east of the Rio Grande." These groups include the No-conie & Ten-a-wish Comanche bands & Muskalero Apaches.	BIA 3:118
1855, Jan	Comanche	50 miles S of Ft. Belknap	Stem at Belknap letter to Cap. Calhoun at Chadbourne states that Sanaco's camp is 50 miles S of Belknap; Ketimsi's camp *is* "15 miles further." [His statement implies the camp is to the south, but this a dry area; see next entry].	BIA 3:144
1855, Jan	Comanche	Ft. Belknap	Howard (at Belknap) writes to Neighbors, that Catumse remains with the rest of the Southern Comanche at the Caddo village.	BIA 3:147
1855, Feb	Comanche	Red River	Hill at Belknap to Neighbors writes that Northern Comanche are above Red River, including Tanawish, No-co-ni, Yamparico, & Cocho-ti-ca bands.	BIA 3:152
1855, March	Comanche	North of the Red	Due to military action, Southern Comanche have fled north to join with the Northern Comanche.	BIA 3:141
	Comanche	Clear Fork Reseve	Indian agent was able to put ca. 180 Comanche on the reserve.	
	Waco, Caddo, Ioni, Tahavaccarro	Ft. Belknap	These tribes remain at the fort. Population is ca. 800.	
1855, April	Tonkawa	Fort Clark	Capt. King letter to Howard states that the Tonkawa came to Ft. Clark before going to Nueces.	BIA 3:48
1855, April	Tonkawa	Nueces Valley	Neighbors states that they are in this location; Placido is the primary chief, Oqueeh is secondary chief.	BIA 3:157
1855, April	Tonkahua	Nueces Valley	Neighbors, in an angry report to Manypenny, states that Tonkawa fled the Nueces because they heard about the military party coming from Ft. Clark.	BIA 3:175

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
	Lipan, Mescalero	Mexico	He states that these tribes are south of the Rio Grande.	
1855, April	Caddo	Brazos Reserve	Hill's report describes where he placed each tribe; Caddo were placed near southeast corner on northern bank of Brazos, Te-nah is chief.	BIA 3:205
	An-a-dah-co		An-a-da-co are placed 1.5 mi west of Caddo, on northern bank of Brazos; Jose Maria is chief.	
	Waco, Ta-wac-carro		These tribes are placed 4 mi. northwest from Anadahcos, 1 mi N of river, east of Salt Fork; Aquaquah is Waco chief; O-che-las is Ta-wac-carro chief.	
1855, June	Comanche	Clear Fork Reserve	Neighbor's report says more Comanche are returning south & he is putting them on the reserve.	BIA 3:240
	Tonkawa	Ft. Clark	Tonkawa are assembled here to begin their trek to Brazos Reserve.	
1855, July	Mescalero	Eagle Spring	Troops from Fort Clark kill 13 Mescalero at this spring.	Ft. Clark post returns, MC617-R213
1855, July	Seminole, Seminole Maroon	30 miles from Bandera	Texas Rangers engage these groups in a battle at this location.	Mulroy 1993:79
1855, Sept	Comanche	Clear Fork Reserve	Neighbors annual report states that the Comanche are on the reserve.	BIA 4:319
	Anadahko, Caddo, Waccos, Tahwaccano, Tonkahua	Brazos Reserve	He also reports that these tribes are on the Brazos reserve.	
	Seminole, Lipan	Mexico	The only depredations in Mexico this year were undertaken by these two tribes.	
1855, Sept	Comanche	San Antonio, Ft. Belknap, Leon River	Neighbors to Mix reports some roving bands of this tribe have been seen in these places.	BIA 3:382
1855, Oct	Lipan, Seminole	west side of the Rio Grande	Neighbors writes that an investigation found that there is a large group of these Indians "organized" in this area. He stated that he had requested information of Mexican officials at Piedras Negras, but to no avail.	BIA 3:387
1855, Oct	Comanche	Mexico	Baylor writes that the Southern Comanche learned of the raids of the Northern Comanche into Mexico; they want the same right.	BIA 3:410
1855, Oct	Apache, Comanche	Live Oak Creek and Pecos River	Apache and Comanche were reported to be present in these drainages.	Stillman 1855:135
1855, Oct	Apache	Live Oak Creek	Apache attack military on the headwaters of the creek.	Stillman 1855:159
1855, Nov	Indians	west of Pecos	Rufas Doane & J. F. Crosley wrote to Senate saying there are so many Indian attacks that they could not name the specific groups.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 3:259

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Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1856, Jan	Comanche	Camp Cooper, Throckmorton County	This camp established 1/56.	Freeman 1997:27
1855, Feb	Lipan, Muskalero, Apache of the Guadalupes	West side of the Pecos	Neighbors writes Manypenny informing him of the Joint Resolution of the Texas Legislature, stating that land west of the Pecos could be found for a reserve for these tribes. His wording implies that the "Apache of the Guadalupes" are distinct from the other two bands of Apache.	BIA 3:492
1856, Jan	Comanche	West of the Colorado	Neighbors states that Upper Comanche have stolen horses in this area.	BIA 3:533
1856, April	Comanche, Kiowa	San Antonio	Neighbors confirms that these two tribes were responsible for an attack near San Antonio. [Upper Comanche were involved, not the Comanche of the reserve.]	BIA 3:551
1856, April	Indians	Turkey Creek, near headwaters of the Nueces	Fort McIntosh soldiers track Indians to this locations, but do not identify ethnic group.	Swanson n.d.:68
1856, May to Oct	Seminole Maroon, Comanche, Kiowa, Tonkawa	San Vincente to Big Bend	Maroon patrol, and push the other tribes north of the Rio Grande.	Mulroy 1993:83
1856, May	Indians	Devils River	50 warriors attack Fort Clark soldiers while soldiers are on manouvers along the Devils River.	Swanson n.d.:68; Fort Clark post returns NA. MC617R213
1856, May	Comanche	Clear Fork Reserve	Baylor reports that Buffalop Hump arrived along with some of Katumsie's band. All are destitute. Iron Sides, chief of the Yonawis band (Northern Comanche) came in, visited, and will soon bring his band.	BIA 3:570
1856, June	Comanche	Ft. Chadbourne	Neighbors reports that Sanaco & braves killed Pony Express rider near this fort using rifles & bows/arrows.	BIA 3:675
1856, Aug	Indians	Langtry	Capt. Oakes of Fort Clark surprises three "bands" of Indians at this location. He notes that the location is a good crossing of the river and is popular with Indians.	Swanson n.d.:70
1856, Dec	Mescalero	Rio Grande, south of Fort Clark	Soldiers from Ft. Clark attack Mescalero at this location.	Swanson n.d.:68
1857	Comanche	Devils River	Comanche battle the Second Cavalry on the Devils River; Turpin & Davis believe that the battle was at/near Dolan Springs.	Turpin & Davis 1993:6-7
1857, Jan	Kiowa	Howard's Well on the Pecos	Sixty Indians attack the Army express as it traveled from Fort Davis to Fort Clark.	AGO list, 1/1837 - 1/1891:18
1857, July to Aug	Seminole, Lipan, Tonkawa	Rio Grande	Seminole patrol the region & push the other tribes back to the north.	Mulroy 1993:85
1857, Nov	Comanche, Kioway	Mail road to el Paso	Neighbors writes that these nations are raiding the travelers along the mail road.	Wallace n.d.:394

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1857, Dec	Kickapoo	Brazos River, headwaters; Headwaters of Leon River	Ross' quarterly report states that a party of surveyors saw a Kickapoo camp at this location. Goes on to say that these Indians have made trouble before. Ca. 300 came into Texas & went to junction of Double Mtn Fork & Brazos. Several went on foot to head of Leon River, killed two men, & stole horses & then returned to Oklahoma.	BIA 4:114
	Noconie	San Saba mouth	Same report says Noconi stole 110 horses, then returned to Oklahoma Territory.	
1857, Dec	Kickapoo	Double Mtn Fort	Leeper states that 300 Kickapoo came to Texas; a small party cont'd to Leon River; the remainder steal horses & drive them to Oklahoma.	BIA 4:116
1858, Jan	Comanche	Pecan Bayou	T.C. Frost to H.Runnels states that he believes that the Indians at this location are Comanche.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:210
1858, Jan	Comanche	Pecan Bayou	Neighbors confirms that the Comanche are on Pecan Bayou and also on the Leon River.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:215
1858, Jan	Noconie, Kioway	Pecan Bayou & Colorado River	Neighbors original report says these Indians stole 110 horses. Uses the report to complain to Washington that the Indians in Oklahoma are not under control & they continue to depredate in Texas.	BIA 4:132
	Anadarko, Kickapoo	Leon River	The Anadarko trailed the Kickapoo north to Oklahoma & reported their attacks to Neighbors.	
1858, Mar	Mescalero, Seminole, Seminole Maroon	Del Rio to Monclova	Lipan steal Seminole horses; other Seminole follow & recapture the stock on the Rio Grande.	Mulroy 1993:87
1858, June	Comanche	Brazos Reserve	Leeper reports that he allowed Ketumsie & K-Kara-way to visited the reserve; Indians on both reserves want to halt "wild tribes."	BIA 4:481
	Yamparico	Colorado River	He also reports that "a Mexican of the Yamparicos Band" came to reserve & said that they had been on this river.	
1858, Aug	Kioway	Upper Reserve	A large party of these Indians are camped "within 3 miles of Captain Givens ranch on Paint Creek" per Capt Van Camp at Camp Cooper.	BIA 4:681
1858, Aug	Northern Comanche	Upper Reserve	Leeper reported that Santa Anna came to the reserve; he had No-co-new with him. Ketumsie asked them to leave.	BIA 4:683
1858, Sept	Northern Comanche, Kioway, Apache	near Ft. Davis	Neighbors reports attack by these natives on a wagon train near Fort Davis, then they attacked a train near Fort Lancaster. They have also stolen horses "from our citizens between the Colorado and Brazos Rivers."	BIA 4:674
1858, Dec	Comanche		Neighbors reports that Ketumsie's brother is head of a band known as Ko che ta kes (buffalo eaters) & are the same band that was attacked by Capt. Ford, in the spring of 1858.	BIA 4:839
1858, Dec	Indians	Pecan Bayou	Gov. Bryan is informed by Charles Williams that Indians stole 160 horses from him last October.	BIA 4:879

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1850–1859)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1859, Jan	Seminole	San Antonio	Neighbors reports that their chiefs stopped while "on their route to Mexico for the purpose of moving back to their nation."	BIA 4:1112
1859, Jan	Lipan	Frio, Sabinal, & Secco rivers	H.T. Richarz to Gov., stating that these Indians came from Mexico to attack whites because the citizens had killed some of their tribe. Believes that Fort Inge & Fort Clark too far away to help.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:302
1859, Feb	Seminole	Eagle Pass	Ca. 50 Seminole leave Mexico to return to Indian Territory.	Mulroy 1993:88
1859, Feb		Both Reserves	Neighbors recommends that all Indians be moved to Indian territory; they are not safe in Texas because Anglos fear them and want them removed.	BIA 4:1226
1859, Feb	Comanche	Clear Fork of the Brazos	Pino-cha-man left the reserve to visit Baylor; when Leeper told him to return to his reserve, he did.	BIA 4:1228
1859, Mar	Siminole	Eagle Pass	51 Siminole crossed the Rio Grande from Mexico & are camped on the US side.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:329
1859, Mar	Seminole Maroon	Parras	Maroons are told to move south to Parras to avoid slavers.	Mulroy 1993:88
1859, June	Comanche	Wichita Agency	Sec. of Interior agrees the Comanche should go to Wichita Agency.	BIA 4:1079
1859, July	Lipan	Frio & Nueces rivers	Capt. Henry writes Gov. Runnels that the Lipan are between these two rivers.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 5:353
1859, Dec	Alabama-Coushatta	Brazos Reserve	Ross reports that a band came to visit the Indians on the reserve.	BIA 4:1099

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1860–1869)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1860	no name	Pecos River	R.W. Black, Indian agent, says Indian problems would be less if Texas would carve up the Pecos river.	Winfrey & Day 1995 vol. 4:138-9
1860	Lipan	Mexico	Report mentioned a Lipan camp in Mexico.	Winfrey & Day 1995 vol. 4:143
1860	Kickapoo	Near Eagle Pass	Kickapoo encountered on the bank of the Rio Grande.	Winfrey & Day 1995 vol. 4:144
1861, Jan	Comanche	Chalk Bluff on the Nueces River	Comanche kill Anglos at this location.	Wallace n.d.:402
	Comanche	Hamilton Co., Lampassas, Kenney Co	Comanche raid in these areas also.	
1861, Mar	Seminole	Nacimiento	More Seminole move to Indian Territory from Nacimiento.	Mulroy 1993:89
1861, summer	Lipan, Mescalero	Resurreccion	These tribes attack this small Mexican town; Fort Clark soldiers unable to render much aid.	Swanson n.d.:152
1862	Southern Kickapoo	Nacimiento	This group of Kickapoo relocates to Mexico from Indian Territory in order to avoid the Civil War.	Swanson n.d.:96
1864, March	Kickapoo	Little Concho	600 Kickapoo found camped here; when Army notified, Kickapoo fled to Nacimiento.	Swanson n.d.:141
1865, Jan	Kickapoo	Mexico	Another band of Kickapoo arrive in Mexico	Swanson n.d.:157
1866	Lipan	Mexico	L.B.C. Buckelew captured & taken by Lipan to Mexico.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:226
1866	Kickapoo	Mexico, Bandera	Kickapoo took a captive to Mexico from Bandera.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:228
1866, Oct	Kickapoo, Potawatomi	Nacimiento	Mexico grants these groups 8,676 acres and they settle there; given to them when the Maroon are in Parras although the same land had been given to Maroon previously.	Mulroy 1993:109
1867	Lipan	Near Uvalde	Lipan were encountered at this location.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:153
1867	Kickapoo, Lipan	Medina County	Richarz complained about these groups to governor.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:167
	Kickapoo	Santa Rosa	He also complained that Kickapoo were often found here; they are also often near Monclova, 25 miles south of Piedras Negras.	
1867	Apache	Guadalupe Mtns	A report states that they stole cattle, mules, etc in El Paso and took them to Guadalupes.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:169-73
1867	Indians	Rio Grande	Richards complained again to Governor, stating that they "have taken advantage of the absence of troops from Fort Inge and Fort Clark being on scout to the Devil's River & Pecos river." They had crossed the Rio Grande in 3 places.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:177
	Lipan	Between Ft Inge & Ft Clark	He reported that the Lipan lived in this area until 1858 when they left.	
1866	Kickapoo	Rio Hondo/Rio Sabinal	Kickapoo attacked Anglos on Rio Hondo & fled to Rio Sabinal in Mexico, near Santa Rosa.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:262-3

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1860–1869)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1867	Lipan	Pecos River	Buckelew stated that he was taken to their camp at this location; in Jan, 1867, they moved south of Rio Grande; about half stayed on the Texas side; the other half scattered along the southern side. He also stated in his deposition that they "camped about on the Pecos at different places and in different parties for about 6 months." When they went to the Rio Grande, they went "up" the river; their camp was near "a Mexican town called San Vecenti."	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:229, 259
1867, July	Comanche	Rio Grande to the Arkansas	Ten Bears of the Yamparikas at the Arkansas peace states that "'I know every stream and every wood between the Rio Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted and lived over that country.'"	Wallace n.d.450
1868		Pecos near Ft. Lancaster	Bridge over the river is constructed to improve the road.	Swanson n.d.:171
1868	Lipan	Zaragosa	Indian agent (Wynkoop) reported Lipan were friends with Mexicans in this town.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:271, 273, 281
	Kickapoo, Lipan	Musquis	Wynkoop also notes they are friends with Mexicans in Musquis, but the Kickapoo destroyed the Lipan camp near Zaragosa; he stated that the Kickapoo have 2 camps, one at Musquis, another to the south near Saltillo. The Coahuila governor confirms Kickapoo presence near Musquis.	
1868	n/a	Camp Hudson	This camp, used to protect the Lower Road to El Paso, was abandoned in this year.	Swanson n.d.:170
1868	Lipan, Mescalero, Kickapoo	Santa Rosa, Pecos River, Fort Clark	These Indians noted to travel from Mexico to ranches near Fort Clark to steal horses & mules; they usually follow the Pecos or Devils River	Swanson n.d.:173
1868, May	Lipan, Kickapoo	Nataji	This is listed as a place where the Kickapoo had killed 5 Lipan.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:287
1868, June	Kickapoo, Seminole, Potawatomie, Lipan, Delaware, Mescalero, Muscogu (Maroon)	Muzquiz	These nations are said to live in this vicinity & Brown of Texas is sent to seek their return to Indian Territory to prevent their raiding into Texas.	Mulroy 1993:110
1868, Sept	Kickapoo, Lipan, Seminole, Potawatomie, Delaware, Mescalero	Musquis	Brown to Mayor of Musquis stated that these groups were living close by.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:283
1868, Sept	Lipan, Mescalero	Presidio of Rio Grande	Kickapoo returned to Musquis & reported that they had killed both Lipan and Mescalero in the Apache camp.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:286
1869, Jan to April	Kickapoo	Bexar, Frio, Uvalde, Zavala, Medina & Atascosa Cos.	Kickapoo have stolen horses in these counties; 16 people have been killed.	Swanson n.d.:176
1869, June	Lipan, Mescalero	100 miles above mouth of the Pecos	Mackenzie's men engage these tribes; the tribes flee down the river and the Army is unable to capture them.	Swanson n.d.:179

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1870–1879)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1870	Seminole Maroon	Parras	150 are living here under John Horse.	Mulroy 1993:111
	Seminole Maroon	Nacimiento	100 living here under John Kibbetts.	
	Seminole Maroon	Matamoros	Several families of Seminole Maroon moved to Matamoros.	
	Seminole Maroon	Texas	Elijah Daniels band had settled in Texas.	
1870, Jan	Indians	Pecos River, below Fort Lancaster	Soldiers on patrol see Indians, but unable to identify their ethnicity.	Swanson n.d.: 183
1870, June	Comanche, Lipan, Mescalero	15 miles NW of Piedras Negras	US Counsul in Piedras Negras states that these natives live 15 miles to the northwest and often raid in the US.	Consul Dispaches, MC, M279, reel 1
1870, July	Seminole Maroon	Fort Duncan, Elm Creek	One Seminole Maroon group move to here with permission of Army & will become scouts. For the next 5 years, more & more Maroon crossed to assist the scouts. However, the Maroon at Parras largely returned to Nacimiento.	Mulroy 1993:113
1870, Oct	Kickapoo	Fort Inge	Kickapoo begin attacking in Uvalde area & travel to the upper Nueces.	Swanson n.d.:188
1870, Dec	Kickapoo	Mouth of the Devils	Kickapoo, found in vicinity of Fort Clark, were chased by soldiers to this location where they crossed into Mexico.	Swanson n.d.:188
1871, May	Kickapoo	Uvalde area	Kickapoo are reported to have stolen 100 horses here.	Swanson n.d.:202
1871, June	Apaches	Pecos to Llano Estacado	Lt. Col. Shafter found Apache throughout this region.	Crimmins Collection
1871, July	Kickapoo	Mexico, Red River	Col. Reynolds letter requested to move the Kickapoo to where the remainder are on the Red River.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:332
1871, Fall	Black Creeks	Fort Clark, Nueces River	Black Creeks of Elijah Daniels' band, were recruited to enlist in the U.S. Army Scouts, to serve at Fort Clark.	Porter 1996:180
1872, Mar	Comanche	San Saba, Lampasas, & Llano counties	Major Hatch reports seeing 150 Comanche & believes that they are "operating" in these three counties.	Brown et al. 1998:31
1872, June	Seminole Maroon	Fort Clark	25 scouts & families moved to this fort.	Mulroy 1993:115
1872, July	Creek Negro	Fort Clark	Five Creek Negro enlist as scouts at Fort Clark.	Swanson n.d.:215
1872, Aug	Seminole Maroon	Fort Clark	All Maroon moved here with families; they are settled on Las Moras Creek.	Mulroy 1993:115
1873	Seminole Maroon	San Felipe Springs	Seminole Maroon reported to camp here, at times.	Swanson n.d.:223
1873	Comanche, Seminole Maroon	Lower Nueces	Lt. Hudson left Fort Clark w/ Seminole Maroon to scout for the Comanche who had been raiding in area.	Crimmins Collection
1873	Kickapoo, Lepan	80 miles from Ft. Clark	Mackenzie w/ 25 Seminole scouts attacked camp of these 2 nations.	Crimmins Collection
1873, April	Kickapoo	Dolores Ranch, 8 mi. s. of Ft. Clark	Kickapoo raided this ranch.	Mulroy 1993:118

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1870–1879)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1873, April	Kickapoo, Mescalero Apache, Lipan	Howard's Well, Nueces Valley	Seminole Maroon & Army find Mescalero & Lipan at this locale; one officer killed.	Mulroy 1993:118
1873, May	Kickapoo, Lipan	Lower Pecos, Las Moras Creek	Mackenzie reports that these tribes raid in the Lower Pecos and south of Fort Clark. He follows them to the Quemado crossing and follows them 60 miles into Mexico.	Swanson n.d.:237-238
	Mescalero	Zaragosa	Mackenzie reports that the Mescalero were then in Zaragosa.	
1873, May	Kickapoo, Mescalero Apache, Lipan	Remolino	Mackenzie's cavalry attacked these nations in retaliation for the April raids.	Crimmins Collection
1873, May	Seminole Maroon	Remolino	They were the scouts on this expedition.	Mulroy 1993:117
1873, July	Kickapoo, Potawatomi	Coahuila	75 individuals agree to go to Indian Territory.	Swanson n.d:253
1873, Aug	Kickapoo	Muzquiz	317 Kickapoo leave Muzquiz for Indian territory.	Mulroy 1993:121
1873, Nov	Kiowa	South Kickapoo Springs	Kiowa are sighted at the springs, riding to Mexico.	Swanson n.d.:256
1873, Dec	Seminole Maroon, Kiowa, Comanche	Kickapoo Springs	Seminole Maroon scouts with Captain Hudson sight and engage Kiowa and Comanche near Kickapoo Springs. Kiowa chief, Lone Wolf's son was killed in the battle.	Porter 1996:187
1874, April	Kickapoo	Loewr Pecos, Rio Grande	Army reports say that Kickapoo are using several of the crossings to raid Texas.	
1874, Aug	Seminole Maroon, Tonkawa, Lipan	Fort Clark	Members of these were all scouts for Mackenzie at this date.	Mulroy 1993:122
1875	Comanche	Pecos River	Bullis reported scouting trip along Pecos to find any Indians; after several days, Army crossed Pecos about a mile from the confluence w/ Rio Grande on "an Indian trail" and marched ca. 6 miles SE to a cave (called Painted Cave) where there was a spring; no fresh Indian sign, "but pleanty of old;" then they traveled to Eagle's Nest crossing; there they found a trail of ca. 75 horses; they followed it & found Comanches trying to move the herd across the Pecos.	Crimmins Collection
1875, April	Seminole Maroon, Comanche	Lower Pecos (Eagle's Nest Crossing)	Two Seminole Maroon risked their lives to save Lt. Bullis during a fight with Comanche at this location.	Mulroy 1993:124; Porter 1996:193
1875, May	Seminole Maroon, Comanche	Fort Clark, Nacimiento	Some Seminole Maroon return to Mexico because of poor rations at Fort Clark.	Swanson n.d.:280
1875, Aug	Kickapoo	Nacimiento to Oklahoma	ca. 115 travel from Nacimiento area on their way to Indian Territory; the remainder of the Kickapoo stay in Mexico. (see September 1878 entry below.)	Swanson n.d.:286
1875, Oct	Comanche	Eagles Nest (Langtry) & Howard's Well	Army follows recent sign of Comanche from the Eagles Nest crossing of the Rio Grande (Langtry) to Howard's Well.	Swanson n.d.:287
1875, Nov	Seminole Maroon, Apache	Shafter's Crossing of the Rio Grande	Lt. Geddes and his scouts attacked Apaches at this crossing 60 miles above the mouth of the Rio Grande.	Porter 1996:194

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1870–1879)

Date	Native Group	Location	Notes	Source
1876	Lipan, Kickapoo	Del Rio	These nations are said to be crossing the Rio Grande at San Felipe Springs to avoid the army at Eagles Nest Crossing.	Swanson n.d.:305
1876, April	Lipan	Kinney, Uvalde, & Val Verde counties	Army reports indicate that from April through June, raids by the Lipan were common; the Lipan were stated to be using the Eagles Nest crossing of the Rio Grande.	Swanson n.d.:275
1876, May	Kickapoo	Fort Clark	Army documents show the Kickapoo to be raiding in the area of Fort Clark.	Swanson n.d.:295
1876, July	Seminole Maroon	Mouth of the Pecos	Shafter and the scouts establed a base camp in this locale.	Porter 1996:198
1876, Aug	Lipan	Zaragoza	A Lipan village was found here; it was destroyed by Bullis.	Mulroy 1993:126
1877	Indians	Pecos River	Bullis left Ft. Clark on Indian trail; "this trail was found ca. 70 miles above the mouth of the Pecos River."	Crimmins Collection
1877	Lipan, Comanche, Seminole Maroon	Mouth of the Pecos	Maroon scouts trail Comanche & Lipan from Gillespie Co to the mouth of the Pecos; later the crossing is known as Bullis Crossing.	
1877, April	Indians	San Felipe Springs	Army reports an engagement here; all escape.	Swanson n.d.:316
1877, June	Lipan	San Felipe Springs	A party of Lipan cross the Rio Grande here and travel to Camp Wood in Edwards County.	Swanson n.d.:319
1877, Sept	Lipan, Mescalero	mouth of Las Moras Creek	These Apache are reported to frequently use this crossing of the Rio Grande.	Swanson n.d.:321
1877, Oct	Mescalero	Eagles Nest crossing	Bullis pursues Mescalero to this crossing.	Swanson n.d.:323
1877, Nov	Seminole Maroon, Apache	Pecan Springs near headwaters of the Devils River	Bullis and the Seminole Maroon meet here and then trail Apache south to Mexico along the river.	Porter 1996:203
1878	Lipan	Santa Rosa	Gen'l Ord to Chicago wrote that the Lipan were in a camp here for over a year.	Winfrey & Day 1995 Vol. 4:402
1878, June	Apache	Sierra Blanca	Carpenter, a scout, finds "a large rancheria□and there were many signs that it has been much frequented by the Apaches."	US Army, Pecos District, reel 5:62
1878, Sept	Kickapoo	Devils River south	Near a dry lake marked on maps, about 3 miles to the south, a scouting party found wickiups in clumps of timber near a tinaja. It was known as Geddes Spring in 1875. Also found an Indian grave. Capt. Kennedy states that he assumed the place to have been a resting place of the Kickapoo who had crossed to the head of the Concho in their move from Mexico in 1871 (see August 1875 entry, above.)	US Army, Pecos District, reel 5:92
1879. Oct	Seminole Maroon	Pecos River, at Pena Blanca	Seminole Maroon traveled with Bullis to identify a wagon road crossing of the Pecos	Mulroy 1993:129

Appendix 4: Native American Groups In and Around Amistad (1880–1914)

Date	*Native Group*	*Location*	*Notes*	Source
1880	Kickapoo	Muzquiz	By this date, the few remaining in Mexico have given up raiding; they pursue agriculture & hunting.	Mulroy 1993:121
1881, April	Lipan	Head of Frio River	They attack the McLauren Ranch; kill 2; rob the ranch & return to Mexico.	Mulroy 1993:130
1881, April	Lipan, Seminole Marron	Devils River & mouth of the Pecos	Scouts trail the Lipan across the Devils to the mouth of the Pecos and into Mexico. The ensuing battle was known as the final major raid into Texas.	Mulroy 1993:131; Porter 1996:207
1884	Seminole Maroon	Las Moras Ck	Maroon laid off by Army; as a result some move to West Texas; others to Mexico; others stay in Brackettville.	Mulroy 1993:162
1892	Seminole Maroon	Nacimiento	Mexico reaffirms Mascogo (Seminole Maroon) title to land at Nacimiento.	Mulroy 1993:172
1914	Seminole Maroon	Las Moras Ck	Maroon told by the Army to quit their settlement here.	Mulroy 1993:169

APPENDIX 5

Native American Consultations

In accordance with the terms of contract number 1443PX700094C12, we identified certain federally recognized Native American tribes that could potentially have historical ties to the land of the Amistad NRA at the beginning of the contract period. A letter was prepared and signed by Superintendent Sontag, and sent to each of the tribes listed below.

Federally Recognized Tribe	Tribal Contact	Address
Wichita and Affiliated Tribes (including Waco, Keechi, Tawa-koni)	Mr. Gary McAdams, President	P.O. Box 729 Anadarko, OK 73005 405/628-2561
Kiowa Tribe	Mr. Billy Evans Horse, Chairman	P.O. Box 369 Carnegie, OK 73015 405/654-2300
Seminole Nation of Oklahoma	Mr. Jerry Haney, Principal Chief	P.O. Box 1498 Wewoka, OK 7488440 405/257-6287
Ysleta del Sur Pueblo		P.O. Box 17579, Ysleta Stn. El Paso, TX 79917
Caddo Indian Tribe	Ms. Stacy Halfmoon, NAGPRA Coordinator	P.O. Box 487 Binger, OK 73009 405/656-2344
Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas	Mr. Kendall Scott, Chairman, Business Committee	P.O. Box 972 Eagle Pass, TX 78858
Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma	Mr. Ricardo Salazar, Chairman	P.O. Box 70 McCloud, OK 74851 405/964-2075
Fort Sill Apache Tribe	Ruby H. Darrow, Chairperson (Michael Darrow, NAGPRA Coordinator)	Route 2, Box 121 Apache, OK 73006 405/588-2298
Tonkawa Tribe	Mr. Don Patterson	P.O. Box 70 Tonkawa, OK 74653 405/628-2620

Apache Tribe of Oklahoma	Mr. Henry Kostzuta, Chairman (Mr. Alonzo Chalepah, NAGPRA Coordinator)	P.O. Box 1220 Anadarko, OK 73005 405/247-9493
Comanche Tribe	Mr. Keith Yackeyonny, Chairman (Ms. Phyllis Attocknie, NAGPRA Coordinator)	P.O. Box 908 Lawton, OK. 73502 405/492-3751
Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma	Mr. Marshall Grover, President	P.O. Box 470 Pawnee, OK 74058 918/762-3621

At the conclusion of the study, we found that the associations of the above groups with the lands of the Amistad NRA are variable. Strong ties are held by many of these tribes. However, there was no evidence of the Pawnee in the Amistad NRA area. Moreover, we found no direct evidence that the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo had ties to the region, but, given their affiliation with a number of Apache bands, we do not exclude that possibility.

The research also indicated that several additional tribes, not on the above list, also have strong historical ties to the lands of the Amistad NRA. Among these, the Mescalero have the strongest ties. Other tribes may have ties to these lands as members of their group passed through and/or resided nearby for a period of time, particularly during the mid-nineteenth century. In addition, certain Native Americans with ties to the Amistad NRA, such as the Kickapoo, divided into separate federally recognized tribes. Each subdivision should be contacted during Phase II. At the conclusion of the ethnohistoric review, we realized that several additional tribes and groups were historically present and should be contacted. In the United States, these are the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, the Creek Nation, the Cherokee Nation, the Alabama-Coushatta Tribes, the Shawnee, and the Delaware.

Below is a list of these groups:

Federally Recognized Tribe	**Tribal Contact**	**Address**
Jicarilla Apache	Mr. L. Atole, President	P.O. Box 507 Dulce, NM 87528 505/759-3242
White Mountain Apache Tribal Council	Mr. Ronnie Lupe, Chairman	P.O. Box 700 Whiteriver, AZ 85941 602/338-4346
Mescalero Apache Tribe	Ms. Donna McFaddin, HTPO	P.O. Box 227 Mescalero, NM 88340 505/671-4494
Kickapoo of Kansas Tribe		Route 1, Box 157 Horton, KS 66439 913/486-2131
Cherokee Nation	Joe Byrd, Principal Chief	P.O. Box 498 Tahlequah, OK. 74464 918/456-0671
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians		P.O. Box 455 Cherokee, NC 28719 704/497-2771

United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee		P.O. Box 746 Tahlequah, OK 74464 918/456-9462
Alabama-Coushatta Tribes	Joe Bergen, Tribal Administrator	Route 3 Box 640 Livingston, TX 77351
Delaware Tribe of West Oklahoma	Lawrence Snake, President	P.O. Box 825 Anadarko, OK 73005 405/247-2448
Delaware Tribe of Indians	Curtis Zunigha, Chief	108 S. Seneca Bartlesville, OK 74003 918/336-5272
Absentee Shawnee Tribe	Larry Nuckols, Governor	2025 S. Gordon Cooper Shawnee, OK 74801 405/275-4030
Eastern Shawnee Tribe	Nelis S. Captain, Chief	P.O. Box 350 Seneca, MO 64665 918/666-2435
Poarch Band of Creek Indians		HCR 69A, Box 85B Atmore, Al 36502 205/368-9136
Muscogee (Creek) Nation	R. Perry Beaver, Principal Chief	P.O. Box 580 Okmulgee, OK 74447 918/287-1128
Citizen Potawatomi Nation	John A. Barrett, Chairman	1901 S. Gordon Cooper Dr. Shawnee, Ok. 74801 405/492-5272
Prairie Band Potawatomi Tribe		P.O. Box 97 Mayetta, KS 66509 913/966-2255

At least two groups that should be contacted reside in Mexico. These are the Seminole Maroons in Nacimiento, and the Kickapoo in Muzquiz, some of whom also reside near Eagle Pass. Rather than send these groups and tribes a copy of the May 1998 letter, they were sent a draft of the present study along with a cover letter explaining the study and requesting any comments they wish to provide. Again, telephone communication was made and any comments received will be addressed in the final document.

Finally, several Native American organizations have recently formed in Texas. While none of these organizations are federally recognized, they are mentioned here because some members of these groups have spoken with one of us (Kenmotsu) and stated that they may have among their members lineal descendants (as defined under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, 25 U.S.C. 3001) of historic groups who were affiliated with the lands of the Amistad NRA. These are the The People of LaJunta (Jumano/Mescalero), Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Tap Pilam-the Coahuiltecan Nation, Comanche Penateka Tribe, and the Tribal Council of Carrizo/Comecrudo Nation of Texas. Each of these groups has submitted a letter of intent to petition the Bureau of Indian Affairs for federally recognized tribal status. We recommend that each be contacted during Phase II.

Non-Federally Recognized Group	Contact	Address
Lipan Apache Band of Texas	Chief David Ortiz	109 Cliffort Court San Antonio, TX 78210
Tap Pilam-Coahuiltecan Nation	Mickey Killian, Historian	P.O. Box 100113 San Antonio, TX 78201 210/349-3541
The People of LaJunta (Jumano/Mescalero)		Jose Antonio Acosta 2111 Beverly Odessa, TX 79761
Comanche Penateka Tribe	George H. Salazar	724 E. 11th Street #17 Houston, TX 77008
Carrizo/Comecrudo Nation of Texas	Juan B. Macias	5319 E. 6th Street Lubbock, TX 79403

Appendix 6

Travel Literature

1820s–1830s
Letters from an Early Settler of Texas by William B. Dewees, compiled by C. Cardelle

Most of the material relates to the area of Red and Brazos rivers. In September 1822, a 1000-plus party of Camanche (sp) came to the Brazos River and brought dried buffalo meat, deerskins, and buffalo robes to trade for beads, sugar, etc. They seemed to have the Mexicans under their control because they made the Mexicans stand back whenever the Americans wanted to trade (p. 36).

1830s
Comanche Bondage: Beales's Settlement and Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative, by Carl Coke Rister

The book presents first a summarized history of the Dr. John C. Beale's Dolores Colony on Las Moras Creek confluence with the Rio Grande, then the narrative of the captivity of Mrs. Horn and her children by a Camanche (sp) group. This group attacked the members of the colony on April 14, 1830, while they were on their way to the Texas coast with the intention of returning home. The colony lasted one year and was a deep disillusionment. In fact, the Dolores colony had been attacked before by the Camanche (sp). Mrs. Horn indicates that the attack was one of the main determinants of their final decision to leave the area. The captivity narrative includes interesting cultural information on Comanche daily practices, as well as practices relating to medicine, childbirth, menses, and the chores of women (pp.188-198). Most of the environmental information confirms the reports of William Kenedy (see below). Mrs. Horn, however, states that one of the reasons their crops failed was the fact that in many places the land around La Moras Creek was covered with leaching salts (p.119).

1833
Texas, by William Kenedy

Settlement of Villa de Dolores on the Rio Grande at Las Moras Creek. Flora noted include live oak, white oak, elm on Las Moras Creek. Stream dried up in hot seasons. Villa de Dolores on the left bank of stream. Shawnee hunted beaver for pelts on the Rio Grande. Beaver also on Las Moras & lots of fish. Colonizers left June 17, 1833. No other natives mentioned.

1835–1861
The Evolution of A State or Recollections of Old Texas Days, by Noah Smithwick

Important information on Native Americans, especially Comanche. Not fully applicable to Amistad. Confirms leadership of Lipan "chief" Castro in 1838. Mentions his son Juan Castro. Use of sumac leaves for mixing with tobacco leaves for smoking is described (p. 180).

1837–1841
Diary of Gustav Dressel, Texas History Center Film 803.31

In general, not applicable to Amistad NRA, but discusses Cushadees, Bidais, Caddas, Alabamas and Lippans (sp) trading skins and game for lead, powder, cotton, and blankets. Dressel had partnership in a shop which sold cotton and beads to Natives, often in exchange for skins and medicinal herds such as sassafras and sarsaparilla (frames 30-31). Cushatees (sp) hunting bear on the Brazos during these years.

1850–1853
Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents, by John Russell Bartlett (Boundary Commission)

Lipan stated to range from Zacatecas to the Colorado. They remain in the Bolson de Mapimi in winter. He saw "Indian sign" near the Pecos but no natives.

1853
Eagle Pass, Life on the Isthmus v. III, by Cora Montgomery

General and mostly pedestrian information about life at Fort Duncan in the 1850s. Description of physical appearance and some activities of Seminole 'chief' Wild Cat. Wild Cat was accompanied by his cousin Crazy Bear and the interpreter Gopher John, a full-blooded black individual. The author states that Wild Cat traveled the border area for over six months to convince other Native groups to cease hostilities against settlers (pp. 73-76). The author commented that Wild Cat "might be converted into a permanent and powerful safeguard if the government would assign his band a home and rations" (p. 119). She also stated that "[T]he Indians have no longer homes or families in the wide band of unsettled country that borders the whole length of the navigable current of the Rio Bravo down to its mouth" (p. 141). Later she commented that the Mexican authorities had signed a formal treaty with the Seminole. She stated: "A beautiful location about thirty miles above Eagle Pass was assigned to this people (Seminole) after converting them one and all into full and entire citizens of the 'golden republic' by a quick, simple and satisfactory process of naturalization rather peculiar to Mexico" (p.145). The Seminole were aided by some Lipan.

1853
A Journey Through Texas, by Frederick Law Olmstead

Description of Fort Inge on the Leona. Lipan, Tonkawa, and Mescalero camp at the head of the Leona. About 100 people recently brought there by the Indian agent (p. 288-290). Lipan leaders were Castro and Chiquito. Olmstead refers to an official estimate of 20,000 natives, but thinks only about 12,000 actually present. In July 1856 there were 1,540 people of various groups. Traveled to San Fernando (Mex). Saw Mescalero, Lipan, Tonkawa, and Comanche. Saw no Native Americans west of San Fernando. States that the mouth of the Pecos was still unexplored. Recent campaigns against Lipan who had retreated there (e.g., the Pecos) had almost exterminated them (p. 451-2).

1854
Notes Taken During the Expedition by Capt. R. B. Marcy

Most of Marcy's notes do not apply to the Amistad NRA Project. However, his information stresses that many groups traveled through the Cross Timbers and Red River areas to trade. Reference to a party of Seminole who had traveled 150 miles to the Texas 'side' to buy whiskey (p. 70-71). Most of the information provided refers to the Choctaw and the Chickasaw on the reservation.

1855
Wanderings in the Southwest in 1855, by J. D. B. Stillman

Jacob Davis Babcock Stillman was a New York physician who visited Texas in 1855 and served as a physician at Fort Clark. His report includes good environmental information for the areas north and west of San Antonio. Lipan attacked a settler on the Leona June 30, 1855 (p. 113). Stillman traveled frequently through the areas of Las Moras and San Felippe (sp) Creeks. Recorded Texas quail, mullet, and pricklypear on the San Felipe Creek (p. 123). Stated that the mustang grape grew along all the streams and attained a very large size (p. 123). Recorded outlaw parties of men hunting Native Americans (p.100). Traveled to the Pecos and to Beaver Lake, a natural lake on the Devil's River, in extreme Val Verde Co. Recorded prong-horned antelope near Live Oak Creek 15 miles southward of the Pecos (p. 135). Camanches (sp) and Apaches in the area of Live Oak Creek and the Pecos in October 1855. Good descriptions of the flora (pp. 138–139). Stillman states that there were no buffalo in the area anymore. The Natives had to go hunt buffalo further to the north. Participated in a battle which took place near the headwaters of Live Oak Creek. The Natives were well mounted and had shields, bows and arrows, lances and a few guns. The battle took place near hill that runs parallel to the creek. On the highest part of the hill Stillman reported the presence of 'Indian graves' (p. 159-160). The description of the battle is very interesting because of the tactics of the attackers. After the battle there were items of apparel and arrow points strewn over the ground. Stillman states that the troops followed the tracks of the attackers and decided they were Apache.

1860s–1870s
On the border with Mackenzie, by Capt. R. G. Carter

Most of the material not applicable to Amistad NRA. Detailed information on military campaigns against the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache, but particularly against the Quahada on the Llano Estacado and at Adobe Walls. The book includes anecdotal and incidental information about the army and their families; not much is said about Native groups. Chapter XVI includes information about General Mackenzie's raid into Mexico. The raid was led from Ft. Clark but included troops from several frontier forts (400 men). The military attacked Native villages near the Santa Rosa Mountains, Mexico. These villages included Kickapoo, Lipan, Potawatami and Mescalero (p. 431). The raid aimed at stopping the attacks these groups were making on Texas settlers. Mackenzie was particularly interested in destroying the home base of the Kickapoo and the Apache (p. 433). The US troops were aided by the Seminole (p. 437). It is not known how many Natives were killed. The author states that apart from the Kickapoo and Lipan villages they had raided there was another Mescalero village at Zaragoza, Mexico (p. 449). The raid took place on May 19, 1873 (p. 463, see also present report—Fort Clark entry).

APPENDIX 7

Archeological Sites with Radiocarbon Dates, Rock Art, Arrow Points, or Sherds Post-Dating A.D. 1200

Appendix 7: Archeological Sites with Radiocarbon Dates, Rock Art, Arrow Points, or Sherds Post-Dating A.D. 1200

Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41CX5	Dunlap	670B.P. +/- 80, 630+/-90, 540+/-100; ash pit; slab lined basin								X	dart points	
41CX8	Sotol	400B.P.+/-60, 370 +/-60		x	x		x	x			Sherd	
41CX121		410B.P. +/-60										
41CX125		BRM; 520B.P. +/- 69										
41CX126		Hearth; 620B.P. +/-60										
41CX131		290+/-60, 290B.P. +/-50, 170B.P. +/-50										
41CX136		400B.P. +/-60										
41CX162	Sotol Site	489B.P. +/-70, hearth										
41CX209										metal arrow point		
41CX216		520B.P. +/-60, 730B.P. +/-60, 520B.P. +/-50; BRM								x		
41CX217		660B.P. +/-60, BRM									dart points	
41CX273	Howard's Well											1872 Battle of Kiowa against military wagons
41CX774	Howard's Stage Depot	Standing walls										Dates to 1870s
41CX781										x	Dorso Scraper	
41CX825		Tipi ring										
41ED10		4 BRM									Sherds	

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41ED54		Lithic scatter; shelter									1 misc. sherd; dart points	
41ED145		Lithic scatter								Sabinal		
41KY16		Lithic Scatter									daub, bottle	possible Seminole Maroon camp
41KY17		Lithics										possible Seminole Maroon camp
41KY18												possible Seminole Maroon farm
41KY19		Cemetery										Seminole Scout Cemetery, 1872 present
41KY68		Historic House foundation, chimney									glass, chert	Seminole House site
41KY69		Ditch										Probable Seminole ditch
41KY72											lithics, mussel shell	Probable Seminole site
41KY73		Lithic scatter	x				x				dart points	
41KY74		Lithic scatter	x								dart points	
41KY133	Brooks Cemetery											1880-1930 Cemetery
Coahuila	El Caido		Plains like rock art									
??	South Kickapoo Springs											1873 battle between 4th Calvary and Comanche/ Kickapoo
NL92	Cuevade la Zona de Derrumbres	Shelter		x	x			x		Starr, Soto, Talco, 3 misc.		
NL103	La Calsada	Shelter			x			x		Misc.; Starr		
41TE9	Meyers Spring		horses, weapons, horned headress									
41TE10		Pictograph	one figure, may be horse									
41TE61		740B.P. +/-90, 640B.P. +/- 90; 490B.P. +/-60, 450 +/-90, 390 +/-60, 360+/-80. 300 +/-60: hearth										
41TE97		Shelter								1 Livermore		

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41TE119		Shelter & ring midden									Pottery	
41TE138		8-10 stone rings								x		
41TE147		1 stone ring									dart points	
41TE307	Wroe Ranch	630B.P. +/-110, 570B.P. +/-70										Burial
41TE165		1 limestone ring							x			
41TE320		2 BRM						?				
41TE330	Jackson's site #59		Plains petroglyphs (tipis, travel signs, arrows, bison, humans, horse tracks; possible guns)									
41TE374		3 BRM, hearths		x							dart points	
41TE530		BRM								1 Bonham	dart points	
41TE540										1 Sabinal	dart points	
41TE549		BRM								1 Bonham	dart points	
41TE550		BRM								1 Sabinal	dart points	
41TE581		Stone ring										
41VV7	Castle Canyon, Painted Cave	Rockshetlers w/ midden	Pictographs (horses, mission, riders)	x	x					x		
41VV8		open midden, 2 caves		x								
41VV9		midden									sherd	
41VV11	Javalina Bluff	BRM, open scatter		x						Bonham	12 sherds (Leon Plain)	
41VV18	Jackson site 99		Possible historic Indian									
41VV21		BRM		x				x				
41VV31		Shelter, talus		x								
41VV34		open scatter		x								
41VV44		BRM		x								
41VV46		BRM, open scatter		x								
41VV54		Rockshelter		x							dart points	

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41VV72	Seminole Waterhole		Bow & Arrow; Red Monochrome figures; feather headresses									
41VV77	Vaquero shelter; Jackson's site 89	overhang	Historic Rock Art (site form calls it Apache) w/ mission & 3 crosses									
41VV78 & 573	Painted Canyon	BRM, overhang	People with bows & arrows in Red Monochrome style									
41VV82	Coontail Spin	Shelter; 600B.P. +/- 190									Sherds	
41VV87	Perry Calk	690B.P. +/-50, 590B.P. +/-60; shelter			x				X	Cliffton	dart points	
41VV99	Arenosa	A.D. 619-673, shelter Stratum 2A		x	x	x			x	Cliffton		
41VV107		Shelter with midden		x								
41VV109	Javalina Cave	Shelter		x								
41VV113	Shumla Cave	Shelter		x								
41VV142		rockshelter		x								
41VV169	Live Oak Hole		Man on horse, Man w/ hair, bison [Turpin dates rock art to 1700-1775]									see VV827, 828, 844
41VV180/ 205	Rattlesnake Canyon/Miss-ionary Shelter	canyon wall	Mission like figures, one w/ arrow piercing him, crosses, horse									
41VV187	Parida Cave				x							
41VV188	Devil's Mouth			x	x						Sherds (thin sections done)	
41VV189	Damp Cave	Shelter			x							
41VV191	Centipede Cave	A.D. 1043-1270		x	x					Bonham, Cliffton	dart points	
41VV202			Bison pictograph									
41VV211			Pictographs, no description, but site form says "historic Indian"									

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41VV215	Mosquito Cave			x	X							
41VV216	Zopilote Cave			X						Livermore		
41VV226	Caballo shelter		Horse pictograph; galloping; has bridle & reins, no saddle									
41VV233	Lewis Canyon		Red Monochrome							Guerrero		"Discrete Geometric glyphs" are considered Late Prehistoric per Turpin & Bass (1999:4)
41VV257	Hodge	710B.P. +/-80										
41VV259	Langtry Sotol Pit			x								
41VV260	Cammack Sotol	625B.P. +/-185; BRM; burial		x	x					Cliffton, Soto, misc.		Radiocarbon assay was taken from burial
41VV264	Devil's Rockshelter			x								
41VV301	Nopal Terrace			x								
41VV327	Hussie Miers		Indian on horse; Spanish figure w/ musket									
41VV328	Hussie Miers Ranch		Several horses w/ mounted figures w/ Plains style headgear									
41VV339			Horseshoes, horsemen impaled by speers; horses have Spanish ring bits									
41VV343	Caballero Shelter		Church & horse carrying man w/ hat									across from 41VV869, and near 41VV485
41VV347		BRM			x							
41VV364		3 cairns; above Black cave; one cairn excavated		x					x	Scallom	Dart points	
41VV365	Black Cave Camp	Beveled end scrapers, beveled knives, prismatic									Sherds	near 41VV446
41VV366		One cairn overlooking Presa Canyon									Almagre	
41VV367		Shelter, carins		x								

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41VV369		Stone ring above Presa Canyon										
41VV374		Two cairns										
41VV398		Cairn, stone ring, beveled end scraper								Infierno		
41VV401		Rock wall, dry-laid										
41VV402		Lithic scatter		x							Dart points	
41VV403		rock circle & 5 cairns										likely same site as 41VV404
41VV404		1 stone ring										
41VV405											Gunflint of native origin	
41VV407		Stone rings & cairns									Langtry, Frio	
41VV409		Two stone rings		x								
41VV411		Stone ring, 2-3 course high										
41VV412		Stone hearths/stone alignments?										
41VV413		Stone hearths/stone alignments?										
41VV422	Techo Bajo	740B.P. +/-60									Dart points	
41VV423				x								
41VV424	Word's #1; Baker's Crossing			x							Sherds of clay pipe; two other sherds also	Camp Hudson established near here in 1857; pipe sherds are of native manufacture
41VV428		Stone circle										
41VV433				x								
41VV444	San Felipe Springs			x						Cliffton	Sherds; Dorso End scrapers	Location of Camp San Felipe 1857-1861; Camp del rio 1876-1896
41VV446	Infierno Camp	140+ features; 124 wickiup rings; 7 tipi rings; blade reduction. little		x				x			Sherds	
41VV448				x								
41VV449		Stone Ring										

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41VV450		Cairns, two rings								Scallorn		
41VV485	Dolan Springs		Pictograph w/ bison and man w/ musket							Metal arrow point		Near 41VV343
41VV537				x								
41VV544	Old Saloon Ruins	Artifact scatter with prehistoric & historic materials, including brass trigger guard, beveled end scrapers								x		in Seminole Canyon
41VV570	Malone Ranch		Mission petrograph									
41VV597		Possible rings & cairns, BRM		x							thumb-nail scrapers	
41VV600		Eight cairns, one ring										
41VV607		Four rings										
41VV613		Four possible rings, BRM									dart points	
41VV620	Seminole Sink	Radiocarbon from cremation 390B.P. +/- 80; other radiocarbon 470 +/-150; cremation, burials										
41VV627		BRM, one ring, one possible cairn										
41VV632		two rings; 2 stone alignments									dart points	
41VV635		Six rings		x	x			x				
41VV649		Six rings						x				
41VV655		Two rings										
41VV661		AD 1290 (660+50 b.p.)		x	X						One sherd	
41VV662	Brite Terrace	Hearths, 660+/-50 B.P.		x							Sherds	
41VV665				x								
41VV666	Bailando Shelter		Rock art with "early Plains" style; also has Red Monochrome figures									

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41VV736	Buck King Cave			x	x	x						In Satan's Canyon
41VV773		One ring										
41VV778		Two rings										
41VV792		One cairn										
41VV795	Dweese's Crossing or Vega	Old river crossing of Rio Grande; wagon ruts										
41VV821		One ring, BRM									dart points	
41VV827		2 stone circles, BRM									Ensor	
41VV828	Live Oak Creek	BRM, 4 tipi rings								Guerrero, Sabinal	1 sherd, bifaces, Dorso end scraper; dart points	near Hussie Miers site, near waterhole
41VV841		5 burned rock middens; 5 BRM; 2 hearths							x		possible gun flint, dart points	in Seminole Canyon, also has Archaic material
41VV844	Robertson Camp	Stone features, disturbed								x	dart points	
41VV869	Dolan Creek	BRM								misc. arrow points	Sherd, 4 arrow points, 13 dorso end scrapers, dart points	
41VV880	Dolan Creek	Stone ring (possible tipi ring with central hearth or US Calvary tent remains), BRM	Caballero pictograph site								Military buttons & other historic materials, possible gunflint	Turpin & Davis (1993: 12) assign this to the 1857 battle at Snake Springs, base of Yellow Bluff
41VV910			Historic pictograph site form does not describe the pictograph									
41VV915		Shelter	Pecos River rock art	x							dart points	
41VV930	Skyline Shelter	Shelter		x						x	dart points	
41VV1043				x								

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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41VV1088	Shield Shelter		Pictograph: circle with ca. 30 crescents & wavy lines, Turpin and Davis (1993:11) believe this a Plains Indian type of symbol of horseshoes within a corral or moons enclosed in the sun, ca. 1700-1885									
41VV1124		One cairn										
41VV1131		One ring; hearth										
41VV1160		One cairn										
41VV1165		BRM		x							dart points	
41VV1207				x								
41VV1217				x							dart points	
41VV1274		3 stone circles, BRM									dart points	near Pecos high bridge
41VV1277		3 long piles of rock curving out from canyon rim, end scrapers										
41VV1288		2 (possibly 3) stone rings on bed rock, 3 m. diameter								x		
41VV1312		3 BRM		x						x		
41VV1366		1 Dorso end scraper, BRM, hearth										
41VV1406		Shelter		x								
41VV1428	Lt. Bullis trail	used in 1875 w/ Seminole										
41VV1457		Shelter		x								
41VV1651		Possible army camp near Bullis Trail, 2 linear rock features (possible tent outlines), 2 mortar holes									lithics, mussel fragments, historic ceramics, ca. 1875	
41VV1697		Hearths		x							dart points	

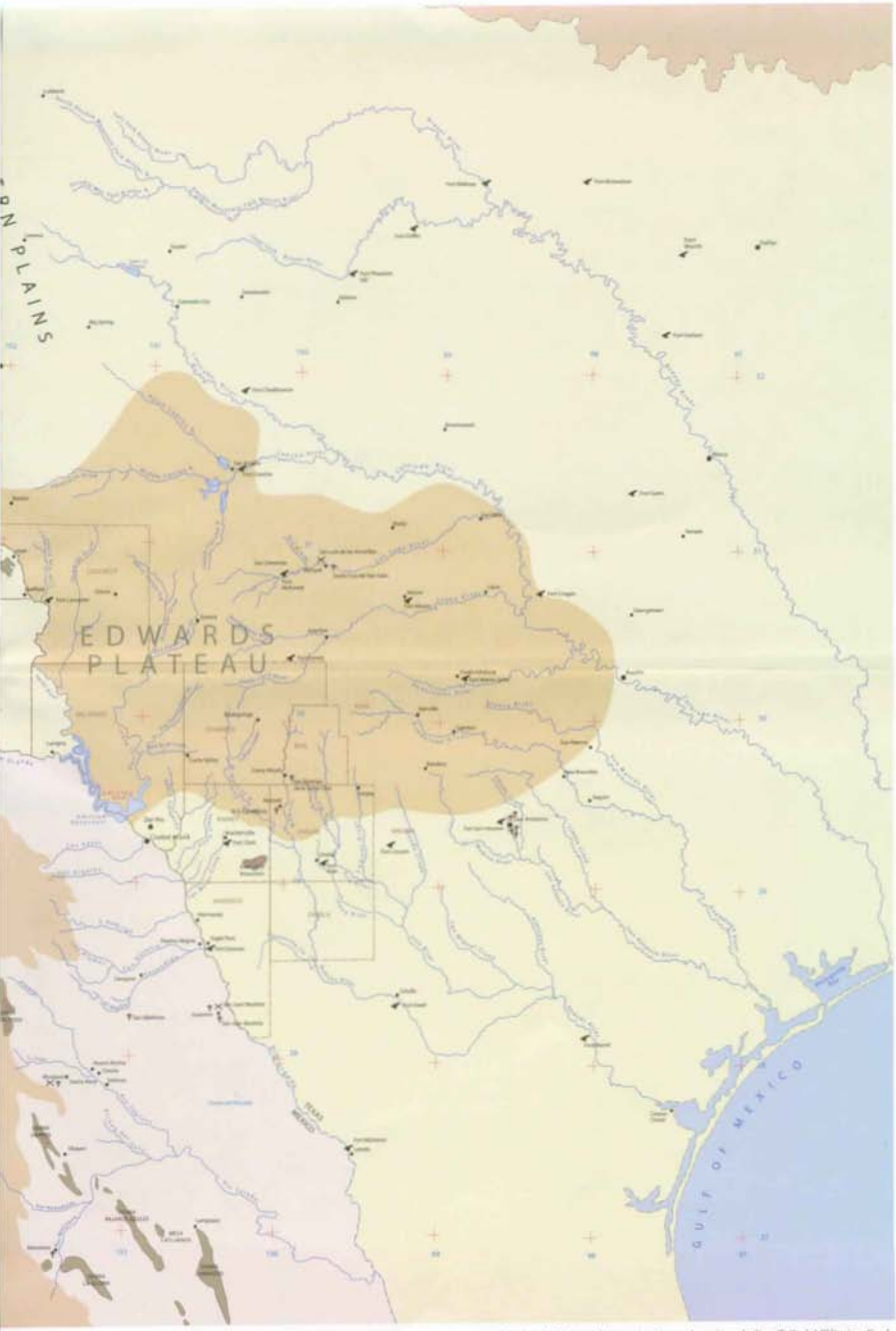
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Site No.	Site Name(s)	Radiocarbon Dates/ Features	Rock Art	Perdiz	Toyah	Harrell	Garza	Fresno	Infierno	Misc. Arrow points	Other Diagnostic(s)	Comments
41VV1723		Tipi & Wickiup rings (several hundred); mortar holes; hearths									Sherds	
41VV1724		Tipi & Wickiup rings (several hundred); mortar holes; hearths										
41VV1778		Alternatively beveled knife, BRM									dart points	
41VV1781				x (?)							dart points	
41VV1794		Shelter	Rock art (no style)							x		
41VV1800		Cairn 3 m long & 1 m wide										
41VV1812		Rock alignment										
41VV1818		4 cairns								Sabinal, Guerrero (?)	Dart points, blades, mussel shell, awls, thumbnail	near 41VV1800
41VV1860		Possible rock circle										
41VV1875		Possible wickiup, 3 hearths										
41VV1876		Possible rock alignment										
41VV1881		2 possible wickiups, 5 hearths										
41VV1884		Possible wickiup										
41VV1889		Wickiups, 25 hearths										

x = present
BRM = burned rock midden



Figure 4. The geographic macro- and micro-regions considered in this study.


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