Anthropological Report on the
Cúelcahén Ndé: Lipan Apache of Texas

By

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Co- Edited by

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The Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. General Council Chairman commissioned Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas, Ph.D., Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. Tribal Anthropologist on June 30, 2001, to research and publish an anthropological report on the Lipan Apache’s known as the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass).

Subsequently, the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. Elders Committee commissioned Daniel Castro Romero, Jr., Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. General Council Chairman on June 30, 2001, to assist and provide the research on the Lipan Apache lineal descendants known as the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass).

The Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. Elders Committee reviewed and accepted the projects findings on May 1, 2004 and has produced the publication of the “Anthropological Report on the Cúelcahén Ndé: Lipan Apaches of Texas.”

The anthropological report documents and outlines; 1.) Origin, 2.) Migration, 3.) Survival, 4.) Genealogical, 5.) Historical, 6.) Anthropological, 7.) Traditional Homeland, 8.) Military Activities, 9.) Political Activities and 10.) Lipan Apache Sovereign Rights and Revitalization of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc.

It is the official position of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. General Council that the Anthropological Report on the Cúelcahén Ndé: Lipan Apaches of Texas satisfies the criteria set forth in 25 C.F.R. 83 of the Office of Federal Acknowledgment’s requirements in this tribes bid in becoming a federally recognized Native American tribe in Texas.
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- The Late Meredith Magoosh Begay - Granddaughter of Lipan Apache Chief Magoosh. Traditional oral historian on the Tú é siné Ndé (Tough People of the Desert) and Tas stëé be gliü Ndé (Rock Tied to Head People) Lipan Apache Creation and Coyote Stories. Lipan Apache Elders Committee President of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico.

- Ruth “Lucy” Smith - Granddaughter of Lipan Apache Chief Antonio. Traditional oral historian on the Tas stëé be gliü Ndé (Rock Tied to Head People) and the Zuá Zuá Ndé (People of the Lava Beds) Lipan Apache Peyote Songs and Stories. Lipan Apache Elders Committee Vice-President of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico.

- Rafael Mendez - Grandson of Lipan Apache Mendez. Petitioner US Court of Claims Docket 22C. Lipan Apache Elders Committee Elder of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico.


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ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT STATEMENT

Cúelcahén Ndé - Lipan Apache of Texas

Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas, Ph.D.

Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. 2004

Daniel Castro Romero, Jr., M.S.W.

This study documents the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas and their survival. The study provided the data for two main findings. First, Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters are ancestors of Chief Cuelgas de Castro and the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas are his descendants. Second, Cúelcahén Ndé are historically and culturally affiliated with Native American anti-colonial alliances in south Texas and northeastern Mexico that constitute a historical context, through which the Lipan Apache shared in the religious use of peyote in mitote with its traditional neighbors and transmitted this tradition that became the foundation for the Native American Church. In all, this study documents the origin, migration, survival, and revitalization of the Cúelcahén Ndé - Lipan Apache of Texas.
INTRODUCTION

RECOVERING APACHE HISTORY IN TEXAS

This study recovers the history of the origins and migrations of the Apache nations of Texas and focuses on the Cúelcahén Ndé through documentary and oral history. A central social fact of Apache history in Texas is the historical reality of their enmeshment in the Spanish colonial experience. In this study, I present historical and anthropological data that shows significant continuity between prehistoric and colonial Texas Indians with the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas with specific relationship to the sacred geography of the region.
APACHE SOCIAL HISTORY

Native American people in the land today known as Texas share significant aspects of culture and history with Native American societies on both sides of the Rio Grande. An important part of this has been human travel and migration back and forth across the Rio Grande for thousands of years. In this study, I focus on data regarding Apache buffalo hunters who left historic and anthropological traces from the Black Hills in South Dakota to Zacatecas, Mexico and from New Mexico to Louisiana.

My intention is to recover Apache social history east and south of New Mexico for survivors and to provide leads for seeking out Apaches in Texas, Mexico, and Louisiana who were separated from their families on the Mescalero Apache Indian Reservation in New Mexico. Spanish borderlands and Mexican history in the late nineteen and early twentieth century often present obstacles due to their cultural and political bias against Apache people and Native Americans in general resulting in historical accounts that have consistently expressed ancestral Native Americans of Texas as valued cultural symbols. Spanish borderlands writers romanticized Spanish achievements in Texas and the U.S. southwest in which Native Americans were usually cast as obstructions if not outright villains with respect to Spanish endeavors. Similarly, Mexican historians before 1910 refused to recognize Native Americans as historical subjects in their own right and relegated Native American, African, and other actors to the margins of history, if they were mentioned at all. Mexican history before 1910 amounted to a celebratory Spanish colonial history comparable to Spanish Borderlands history in the U.S.

After 1910, historians in revolutionary Mexico looked to re-invent their history by rescuing an Indian past and freeing it from the judgment of colonial and liberal historians who had submerged it for three centuries of Spanish domination. However, the Cultural Revolution in art, history, and education that followed the popular revolution led by Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa in Mexico incorporated the Indian, but only as exhumed and celebrated remains in the famous ruins of monumental architecture. Meanwhile, living Mexican Indians were slated for assimilation in the name of progress. As a result, Mexican historians found contemporary Mexican Indians to be insignificant, and turned their attention to the producers of urban Mesoamerican civilizations (Carmack Gasco, and Gossen 1996).
However, Mexican historians and anthropologists at least admitted that Mexican Indians existed. In contrast, the reports presented in Hester (1991) for the Ethnology of the Texas Indians, shows that twentieth century historians and anthropologists involved in Texas Indian studies believed in the cultural extinction of Texas Indians. In all, by the late twentieth century, historians in Texas and Mexico produced mutilated histories of the Spanish colonial north based on the principles and narratives that served their respective nationalities.

Addressing the research problem of mutilated Native American history in Texas and Mexico is at the heart of the recovery of Apache history east of New Mexico. In short, this problem is can be summarized as a cultural bias by which the words used to describe the past often do not reflect the data upon which they are based. Resulting histories based on pro-Spanish colonial bias tell a history in which Native American are marginalized and often dehumanized, objectified, and vilified. Examples of this are Spanish borderland histories written by Bolton (1915), Castañeda (1936-1950), and Dunn (1911) before 1950. A similar pattern emerges in later anthropological and historical literature on Texas Indians by Newcomb, Jr. (1961; 1969) and Weddle (1968). More recently, Elizabeth John (1975) attempted to address this bias with regard to general Texas Indian and Thomas Schilz (1987) attempted an historical revision and redress of Lipan Apache history in Texas. However, their dependence upon secondary sources and uncritical acceptance of Lipan Apache as a viable identifier obstructed an understanding of the possibility of the survival of Apache and other Native Americans in modern Texas. Although I appreciate the efforts of these researchers, my focus is to present an Apache history of Texas by taking a critical approach to previous data and interpretations in the light of incoming evidence and more sophisticated methods of analysis in order to produce more accurate representations of the past.

In sum, in this book I recover a history of the origins and migrations of Apache in Texas. Interpretations of the past in Texas based in Spanish Borderlands theory, Texas History, Roman Catholic historiography, and archaeology demonstrated a concern for invading and immigrant groups, often in a narrative vein of manifest destiny. These official, popular, and established histories of Texas are susceptible to a critical analysis that points out racist and dehumanizing narrative tactics used in telling Indian history as a story of “squaws” and “savages.” In contrast, I include oral tradition and a more careful inspection of primary sources in detailing Apache history in Texas.
THEORY OF THE RECOVERY OF NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER HISTORY

In my study of the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas, I discuss historical, archaeological, and linguistic data as aspects of an integrated set of points that constitute a foundation for reconstructing aspects of the Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter past. Particularly, my study focuses on the cultural ancestry and heritage of the Cúelcahén Ndé, or “People of the Tall Grass.” Overall, I present evidence that the Cúelcahén Ndé descend from plains buffalo hunters who are believed to have called themselves Ndé for at least 1,000 years before Spanish arrival (Campbell 1997). My concern is to trace a line of Ndé buffalo hunter survival from prehistoric origins to the ethnographic reality of the Cúelcahén Ndé identity conserved in the Castro oral tradition in order to recover a specific lineage of the past of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters.

I employ an origins and migrations framework to interpret Ndé buffalo hunter history. Based on patterns evident in historical material and ethnographic data, I have find that the Ndé (Apache) experience in Texas was characterized by the social stress of Spanish, French, Mexican, and Anglo invasions, forced acculturation, removal, and disenfranchisement. Moreover, I integrate this general model of Ndé buffalo hunter historical experience with a cognizance of bonds of cultural and historical continuity forged with prehistoric, colonial, and modern Texas Indians. However, before going any further, it is necessary to define the terminology that I use in this report.
WHO ARE THE NDÉ?

Ndé is one of the self-identifiers signifying “the people” for a language family of Native Americans who settled from Alaska to Mexico before 1650 (Campbell 1997; Begay 2002). I prefer to use Ndé in place of Apache or Athapaskan as a general term in order to distinguish this study from Spanish Borderlands and Texas Indian studies, which have used the term to vilify the Apache in Texas (Dunn 1911). In order to make this separation clear, I use Ndé as a synonym for Apache, or Southern Athapaskan when I discuss general issues or make new interpretations based on previous research. However, when I discuss primary documents I use the specific terms employed by the writers. In addition, there are other more rigorous reasons for which I use the term Ndé. Ethnographically, Ndé is the way that the Castro oral tradition refers to one another at family gatherings and is one of the ways that they refer to themselves in their oral tradition.

This is corroborated by two separate sources. First, Meredith Begay, a Lipan Apache and member living on the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico reservation also refers to herself and her band as Ndé, thus verifying its ethnographic reality among people known as Lipan Apache. Second, three detailed military reports produced in O’Conor (1777), Cordero (1796), and Cortés (1799) include the suffix “Ndé” or “-ne” as common to the Apache groups represented in their own language. By integrating this ethnohistoric data with Lipan Apache oral traditions from Texas and New Mexico, I have found that the name of Chief Cuelgas de Castro a direct ancestor of the Cúelcahén Ndé according to the Castro oral tradition reflects the Hispanicization of “Cuelcahen Ndé” in the name “Cuelgas de.” In all, Ndé are people previously written about as Apache or Southern Athapaskan and Ndé is a more accurate term based on ethnographic and linguistic considerations that avoids many of the derogatory connotations of Apache.

1. Dené is a dialect variant preferred by speakers of the Navajo language in the U.S. and some northern Athapaskan speakers living in Canada (Palmer 1992).
WHERE DID/DO NDÉ LIVE?

Before reporting the results of this study, my use of the terms Apachería and Gran Apachería deserve mention for clarification. Apachería is a Spanish colonial term used to denote Apache territory, while Gran Apachería referred to a vast expanse of land recognized by Spanish colonials as pertaining to Apaches del Oriente (Eastern Apache) and Apaches del Poniente (Western Apache).

Seeing these as two branches of Ndé settlement in the region known today as the Southwestern United States, the region between the Rio Grande and Pecos Rivers of New Mexico constituted borderlands between Eastern and Western Ndé as conceptualized by Spanish colonials. Methodologically, I use the term Apacheria to represent an area of Ndé Rancherías (settlements) and buffalo hunting territory.

Theoretically, I apply the terms Apacheria and Gran Apacheria to demonstrate change on territory that translated into the restriction of physical and social spaces of the Ndé buffalo hunters.
Origins and migrations is an approach in which journalists and scholars bring oral tradition together with historical and social science frameworks in order to recover the Indigenous past of people self-identifying as Chicano or Mestiza (Anzaldúa 1987), Xicana (Castillo 1994), Raza (Rodriguez 1998), Chicano Indian, and Mexican American (Menchaca 1993; 2001). Although, a number of these writers do not formally invoke origins and migrations theory, my grouping of this work is based on their common concern for recovering the past of Native American people with Mexican cultural affiliation.

Overall, this study recovers Cúelcahén Ndé ancestry by tracing data points on a line of evidence from prehistoric Ndé buffalo hunters through primary accounts of the Querecho, Vaquero, Apache, and Lipan Apache that established Cúelcahén Ndé in south Texas and northeastern Mexico. Finally, the last segment of the Cúelcahén Ndé migration saga is picked up by the People of the Tall Grass descendents of Chief Cuelgas de Castro in 1792, who now bring it forward into the present. In this study I document, oral tradition carried by survivors of the Cúelcahén Ndé who identify their descent from Chief Cuelgas de Castro, a Lipan Apache leader documented in records from Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Chihuahua.

My approach contrasts from Menchaca’s (2001) focus on racial formations in their emergence and operation, and instead achieves a detailed resolution of archeological and historical data for outlining historical and cultural continuity of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters with the Cúelcahén Ndé in order to follow up on Menchaca’s interpretation of Weber’s (1992) recommendations for the study of Mexican American Indigenous history.

Weber posits that post-Boltonian Anglo-American historians have begun to find historical value in the view introduced by Mexican American historians that many Mexican Americans are part of the indigenous peoples who have historic roots in the Southwest. According to Weber, this area needs to be further researched in order to write a more accurate history of the Southwest that does not focus solely on the Spanish elite, but rather examines the social relations between “meztizos” and the colonized Christian Indians.

Once this history is reconstituted, it can then be contested, perhaps revised, and eventually accepted as historical fact. [Menchaca 2001: 18] Of importance to mainstream historiography, my intention is to address a lack of accuracy in understandings the Native American past of Mexican Americans. When I first discussed my interest in recovering the past of Indigenous peoples of Texas with Menchaca, she suggested that I look into historical data regarding the multitude of rancherías mentioned in primary documents. The importance of this suggestion cannot be overstated as the ranchería history of Apache buffalo hunters and the many peoples historically and culturally affiliated with them provides the bulk of data necessary to construct an origins and migrations sequence for the Cúelcahén Ndé. Ranchería is a Spanish colonial term used to refer to specific Native Americans encampments and sometimes semi-sedentary garden plots. Zaldívar use of this term in 1598 clarifies this usage.

“There are numerous Indians in those lands. They live in rancherías, in the previously mentioned tents made of hides. They always follow the cattle, and they are as well sheltered in their pavilions as they could be in any house.” [Zaldívar 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 403 - 404]

In short, I use the term ranchería as a synonym for non-permanent Indigenous settlement in contrast to more sedentary settlements of Pueblo, Caddo, and other crop planting nations. Second, Carlos Castañeda, a leader of the Chicano Indio community called Grupo Tlaloc in Denver, Colorado (Maestas 1998) criticized Vigil (1980) and Rodriguez (1998) writings on the Indigenous past of Chicanos as being too general and repetitive to be of practical use to people interested in pursuing their ancestry. We discussed the importance and difficulty of bridging the gap between the Indigenous history of Chicanos and the specific oral traditions and genealogies of families. At the end of the discussion, Castaneda’s words were, “It’s about time somebody did that.” I trace much of the inspiration and direction for these studies to the conversations like these, in which the specific detailed documentation was indexed as necessary to outlining the origins and migrations of Indigenous American traditions. I also had a comparable conversation with Thomas Hester, who encouraged research that closed the gap between historical Native American groups in Texas and their surviving descendants.
Hester introduced me to Campbell’s (1988) work suggesting that surviving Indians passed into the lower economic levels of Mexican society and as of 1981 descendants still lived in Mexico and Texas.

If correct, this summation complements a similar pattern found by Poyo and Hinojosa (1991) in San Antonio during the 1700’s. Although, numerous research interests have contributed to the formulation and completion of this study, the driving force has been the recovery efforts of the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas.
METHOD: HISTORICAL SURVEY TECHNIQUES

The historical method that I have found most useful in achieving this goal is based upon modern land survey practices used to verify geographic positioning for mapping and construction. Similar in conception to the means by which survey crews set real world coordinates for constructing roads, buildings, and utility lines, the historical survey techniques that I employ verifiable data points that can be evaluated through independent data collection. For this reason, it is necessary that secondary sources including full translations provide detailed citations for fellow researchers and other readers to follow the data trail to the primary source. I found that this was the only way in which to evaluate previous research with conflicting claims. Because many researchers irresponsibly cite material and paraphrase primary historical accounts, as well as linguistic and archaeological reports, the form of survey that I am suggesting sets up a means for research accountability and verification. In application, I adapt the concepts of control point, set point, and line used in land survey to my recovery of previously reported data for utilization in building historical and geographical frameworks and sequences outlining the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé. Control points are verified as to their location in terms of three-dimensional global coordinates.

Either these points are known through previous surveys and checked, or they are resurveyed by verifying an absolute location with respect to two sets of three independently located points, each set mutually verifying the other. For instance, a road can be surveyed with respect to horizontal orientation and vertical grade by setting an origin point and an end point to find various points along the road to set the shoulder, centerline, or barricade.

Similarly, in following historical lines of evidence, historical data can be seen as data points by which a continuous line of evidence can be seen as a road leading into the present. By verifying the existence and quality of the data and comparing independent lines of evidence provides a method for detailing Cúelcahén Ndé history made up of four parts.

1. Primary sources of historical, archeological, and linguistic data are surveyed with reference to independent evidence and accepted or rejected as control points. Whether suitable or not, explicit reasons for the acceptance or discard of control points are explicitly given.
Other historical data are verified and qualified with respect to lines of evidence made up of control points. For instance, Tierra Blanca archaeological material provides an artifact inventory highly comparable to independent written accounts of Querecho buffalo hunters written by Coronado in 1541. Thus, cross-referencing historical data with independent lines of evidence, such as other archaeological, historical, linguistics, and oral history data provides greater certainty in setting points and extending lines of evidence. With regard to the matter at hand, Cúelcahé Ndé oral history and tradition emerge from various lines of evidence that outline and define the origins and migrations of an Ndé buffalo hunting nations that emerged as Lipan Apache in English language documents.

2. Once a line is set and qualified by data collection it can be incorporated in sequences useful in evaluating incoming evidence.

3. I discuss statements made by chroniclers and historical actors that the chronicler represents in his writing as part of social understandings evident in the text, in order to include people, conditions, and processes that chroniclers were socially aware of, but did not specifically encounter.

I call these suggested historical data social facts, in reference to Emile Durkheim who is usually credited with the application of the social fact in the social sciences (Bohannen and Glazer 1988). I use the concept of the social fact as a specific form of historical inference taking advantage of the social reality of Native American people and processes in the awareness of Spanish chroniclers that would otherwise be historically silenced.

A good example of my use of social facts as practical historical inferences is Fray Mazanet’s (1692) statement that Apache rangers constituted a barrier to Spanish travel to east Texas using the northern road crossing the San Antonio River. Although, the chroniclers of the expedition did not encounter Apache, the awareness of their threat constituted a social reality strong enough to constrain the 1689 expedition led by Governor Alonso de León. Although, we do not know the exact location of Apache in central Texas, we do know that their existence was taken as a given that imposed very real restrictions upon the movement of Spanish colonial agents through central Texas in 1689. In sum, the historical method I use conceptually applies land survey techniques for data collection and integration into lines of evidence documenting the past of the Cúelcahé Ndé.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In this bibliographical note, I explain my evaluation of historical sources that is based on a continuum of quality from sources that provide direct access to primary documents to paraphrased descriptions with minimal or arbitrary citations. Between 1999 and 2003, I familiarized myself with Spanish Colonial archives in various collections at the University of Texas at Austin, Bexar County Archives, and Our Lady of the Lake University.

While the archives are available, unlimited time and money to survey them is not. Therefore, secondary sources are helpful, but must be classified in order of their analytical clarity with respect to my study. Beals suggested a similar approach in his monograph, The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1750.

“Ideally, it would be advisable to publish the original Spanish text with a translation for every reference made, but such a task, particularly in a preliminary paper, was out of the question at this time.” [Beals 1932: 94 - 95]

Although I cannot publish full Spanish texts and translation, I quote extensively.

Sources that provide direct access to primary documents allow for greater access to historical data disentangled from researcher interpretations, while sources, which paraphrase primary documents and provide minimal or arbitrary citations embed historical data within perspective and narrative constraints consciously and unconsciously employed by the writer. The continuum I present here critically addresses the utility of sources in constructing and sequencing lines of evidence.

Keep in mind that this evaluation is focused on individual works and not the authors themselves because historians may publish straightforward translations and problematic interpretations throughout their career. For example, Dunn produced excellent transcripts and working translations of Spanish accounts, however, his synthesis of this material in “Apache Relations in Texas” is entrenched in Bolton’s anti-Apache and celebratory Spanish history and reads like a racist diatribe using terminology such as “squaw” and “savage.” Not only is this dehumanizing, but also detrimental to Dunn’s (1911) capacity to uncover Apache history.
I do not reject interpretation. However, I critically discuss epistemology of the approach of scholars who have produced historical and anthropological knowledge about Apache buffalo hunters by reference to their access to data sources and an interrogation of underlying biases, analytical categories, and narrative tactics. My positionality and underlying bias is driven by a concern for the Indigenous past of Texas with a secondary emphasis upon Native American history including the history of Pueblos Indígenas de México. In addition, I integrate oral traditions of contemporary survivors and thereby emphasize primary reports and social facts concerning Indigenous nations and peoples. This is in contrast to Spanish Borderlands and Texas History that privilege a concern for colonial or modern geo-political nations, institutions, and boundaries. Finally, my narrative structures data around a concern for Native American developments related to the origins and migrations of Cúelcahén Ndé.
EMERGENCE OF THE CÚELCAHÉN NDE

Historical data reviewed for my study of origins and migrations is applied to the following hypothesis. If an origins and migrations sequence can be constructed for the descendants of Lipan Apache Chief Cuelgas de Castro, then the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas emerge from Lipan Apache who did move to the Mescalero Apache Indian Reservation in New Mexico, but who maintained an Ndé identity and oral tradition in Texas and California into the twenty first century.

To test this hypothesis I integrate oral tradition with documentary history, anthropology, linguistic, and archaeological data in order to detail an origins and migrations sequence for the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas from their roots as prehistoric Ndé buffalo hunters through the social upheavals for Native Americans brought upon by colony and nation building in the Americas since 1492 to the present day. Map 1 on page 22, provides a graphic representation of the origins and migrations framework detailed in the following five chapters.
THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This book narrates origins and migrations for Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters from prehistory to their emergence as Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas.

In Chapter 1, “Ndé Origins: Buffalo Hunters,” I trace the prehistory of Ndé buffalo hunters by integrating oral tradition with historical, linguistic, archaeology, and other anthropological evidence to compare.

Chapter 2, “Mounted Ndé Buffalo Hunters,” discusses changes for Ndé buffalo hunters brought upon by the adoption of the horse and their initiation into Spanish cycles of slavery and violence. This sets up a discussion of the role of Ndé buffalo hunters in the Great Northern Wars. Important migrations during this period are the extension of Ndé to the Rio Grande near El Paso after 1650, and the expansion of settlements to the Middle Conchos River in Texas in 1684, and reports of mounted Ndé rangers in east central Texas between 1689 and 1700.

Chapter 3, “Apachería del Oriente,” outlines a historical geography of Apache buffalo hunters from the Platte River to the Rio Nazas in Zacatecas between 1706 and 1723 as an extension gains won in the aftermath of the Great Northern Wars.

Chapter 4, “Apachería de los Llanos,” discusses the emergence of the Apache de los Llanos in Coahuila and north of the Rio Grande in light of developing relations between Ndé on the San Saba and Spanish colonials in San Antonio between 1724 and 1749. This chapter also presents evidence that the Apache de los Llanos are the Cúelcahén Ndé, an Ndé (Apache) buffalo-hunting nation involved in the emergence of the Lipan Apache.

Chapter 5, “Emergence of the Cúelcahén Ndé,” discusses the Apache missions in Coahuila and Texas that provide historical data calling into question the assumption that the Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters present at the San Saba mission in 1758 and 1759 were Lipan Apache. The San Saba and San Antonio missions represent the first historical correlation with the Castro Oral Tradition and state that San Saba was the birthplace of Chief Cuelgas de Castro, a key figure in the emergence of the Lipan Apache in English language documents of the 1800’s. In light of this, I present historical data from San Saba and San Antonio pertaining to Apache and Lipan Apache between 1716 and 1770.
Chapter 6 includes a survey of Spanish military reports between 1771 and 1799 that confirms Culcahendé territory in west Texas between the Concho River and Coahuila. In the 1790's, the historical record overlaps with the Cúelcahén Ndé oral history, which remembers Cuelgas de Castro’s birth in 1794 at San Saba. In the remainder of Chapter 6, I incorporate the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition. In all, Chapter 6 compiles three independent lines of evidence constituted by the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition, documents written between 1812 and 1873, and oral history given by Meredith Begay (2002) from the Mescalero Reservation that support two findings. The Cúelcahén Ndé, also known as the Llanero Apache, maintained an integral territory between the San Saba and Pecos rivers. The Cúelcahén Ndé culturally and historically affiliated with Mexican and Mexican American settlements survived genocidal purges attempted by the military, police, and militia forces of Mexico, Texas, and the U.S.

In all, Chapter 6 confirms Cúelcahén Ndé survival and challenges the anthropological and historical belief that all remaining Lipan Apache arrived from Mexico in 1904, destined for the Mescalero Reservation through the joint efforts of Father Migeon, a priest at Tularosa, New Mexico and Agent James A. Carroll (Opler 1975; Robinson 2000). This study reports the Cúelcahén Ndé as a distinct segment of the Lipan, distinct from those reported by Opler (1975) among the Mescalero, Kiowa Apache, and Tonkawa tribes. Therefore, Lipan Apache on the Mescalero Apache and other reservations cannot be the only surviving descendants of the Lipan Apache of Texas. This chapter clarified the terminology, methods, and theory that I employ in my study of the emergence of Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas. This study of the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé confirms continuity between a Mexican American clan and traditions of Mexican and Texas Indians historically and culturally affiliated with Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters. In this chapter, I also laid out the method based on modern land survey techniques that I used to evaluate historical data. Similar to survey crews who set real world coordinates for constructing roads, buildings, and utility lines, I establish control points constituted by specific events, locations, and practices verifiable by independent data.

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Once control points are set, they can be presented in chronological sequences useful for tracing lines of evidence that show historical and cultural continuity through archaeological, historical, and ethnographic data. In all, I interpret this data as evidence supporting a hypothesis of cultural continuity between prehistoric, colonial, and modern Texas Indians and the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas.
CHAPTER 1 NDÉ ORIGINS: BUFFALO HUNTERS

This chapter traces the prehistoric and historic origins of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters with probable links to Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas ancestry. Oral tradition, early historical reports, American Indian historical linguistics, and archeological reports form an integrated knowledge base for discussing the origin of Ndé buffalo hunters known as Eastern Apache. Based on the understandings that the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas are descended from people known as Lipan Apache buffalo hunters I analyzed early historical writings regarding buffalo hunters known in primary sources as Querecho, Teya, Vaquero, and Apache between 1541 and 1601 and discuss these in light of linguistic and archaeological evidence regarding Ndé buffalo hunters and their relations. The bulk of the material that I present through this book is historical. Therefore, I will go over linguistic and archaeological evidence in the first part of this chapter and then begin the historical discussion that continues until Chapter 5, when it is integrated with the Castro oral tradition that comprises the majority of Chapter 6. In this chapter, I use an integrated database to compare multiple lines of evidence in regards to their utility for explaining data the origin of Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas.
Castro oral tradition states that the people came from far northern origins (Romero, Jr. 2000) and the Magoosh oral tradition stated that the first tipi was put up far to the north (Begay 2002). Earlier recording of Lipan Apache oral tradition by Morris Opler (1940) reported that Lipan Apache speakers told of a northern origin from which Lipan Apache came out of the forest and onto the plains. These understandings taken from the oral tradition are in general agreement with the suggestion made in American Indian Historical Linguistics that the Athapaskan language has its origins in northern Canada and Alaska following the argument that the greatest concentration of members of a given language family should represent an important origin point for that language and the ancestors of the speakers (Campbell 1997). According to this theory, Lipan are related by language and other cultural similarities to other Southern Athapaskan known politically as American Indian Apache and Navajo nations. Following this logic, American Indian Historical Linguistics suggests that the homeland of Apachean speakers is in western Canada with their Northern Athapaskan relatives, Map 1, p. 22. In all, oral tradition and linguistic evidence agree with a northern point of origin for Ndé buffalo hunters or their culture, Map 2, p. 23. However, according to Meredith Begay (2003) a keeper of the Magoosh oral tradition, although the first tipi was established far to the north, the true origin of the Lipan Apache is the Sierra Madre Mountains in Mexico.

If there are alternative origins for the Lipan Apache to the north and south as demonstrated by the Magoosh oral tradition, the Castro oral tradition, and the oral tradition documented by Opler (1940), then Lipan Apache oral traditions appear to have multiple frameworks for explaining their origins not so different from discourse regarding Athapaskan origins in the southwestern U. S. For example, Jack Forbes (1994) presents three points of historical data in which Ndé (Apache) and Dine (Navajo) state that they preceded Puebloans in eastern New Mexico.
Map 1  Nde Speakers of North America

This map shows the extent of Nde settlement. Areas marked Apacheria are discussed in the paper. Nde buffalo hunters lived on the Central and Southern Plains and shared a language with other Apache and Navajo peoples and have close linguistic ties with Athapaskan speakers in Canada and Alaska. Athapaskan speakers generally call themselves “Nde” or “Dene.” Therefore, in this study the use of Nde is preferred.
Map 2  Nde Buffalo and Caribou Hunters

Rivers and Coastlines

This map shows the overlap of Nde buffalo hunters with Nde Caribou hunters. Areas marked Apacheria run parallel to buffalo migrations.

Map completed by Enrique Maresas July 2002. Copyright 2002 Enrique Maresas. All rights reserved.
Fray Benavides (1996) stated that the Pueblo Indians were opposed when they entered northeastern New Mexico by the “... native inhabitants of this whole land, that is, from the huge Apache nation.” Sotomayor stated that the Apaches “... always say that they are the natives of that settled land, or at least that they went to it first before those others [the Pueblo tribes] populated it ...” and Torquemada made a similar statement. Based on this evidence, Forbes (1994: XVII-XIX) made the point that oral tradition challenges a linguistic reckoning of ethnicity, that is reductionist, by presenting cultural and historical evidence suggesting that Athapaskan were in the southwest in the 1200’s.

“Anthropologists tend to treat the Athapaskan-speaking peoples primarily as a group whose essence rests upon a linguistic basis, forgetting that ethnicity involves far more than language. Most people today would probably not identify their language as being the same as their ethnic identity or ethnic history (since English often is spoken in place of the Sioux, Cherokee, German, or Chinese of their grandparents).” [Forbes 1994: XIX]
REJECTING 1525 AS AN ENTRY DATE FOR NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS

I challenge 1525 as an entry date for Ndé buffalo hunters onto the Southern Plains by re-examining the evidence. First, there is little reason to believe that Cicuye respondents identified the Teya who attacked the Pueblos in 1525 as Ndé. Second, even if the Cicuye oral history did intend to identify the Teya as Ndé, this has nothing to do with the presence or absence of Apache on the Southern Plains because of the apparent ignorance of the Cicuye people regarding the buffalo plains and its people. I offer an alternative interpretation based on cultural and historical evidence of Ndé buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains before 1500.

Dolores Gunnerson (1956) popularized the notion that Apache did not enter the southwest and Southern Plains until 1525, based on a reported invasion of the Eastern Pueblos in New Mexico. This notion, however, is not based on sound documentary, linguistic, or material evidence. Rather, it is based on a Spanish report of oral history from Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo. In 1541, Pedro de Castañeda (1596) learned that Teya invaded the Galisteo pueblos and Cicuye (Pecos) sixteen years before, circa 1525. Castañeda heard this from Cicuye natives who said that the Teya had come in large numbers from the north and destroyed some of the Pueblos. The Teyes besieged Cicuye but failed to dominate them, so instead made friends with the surviving Pueblos. Castañeda qualified this identification by saying that the Cicuye used the term Teya, as a general identifier for brave people; similar to Chichimeca in Nahua usage, or “brave” in Anglo American usage. Although Castañeda met Teya in 1541, these were friends of Cicuye (Pecos) who camped nearby during the winter.
As far as I can tell, the following reported oral history documented by Castañeda (1596) is the extent of positive evidence for a 1525 N'dé buffalo hunter entry.

“Farther on there was another large pueblo completely destroyed and leveled . . . covered with numerous stone balls as large as jugs of one arrobas . . . as if the stones had been hurled from catapults or guns with which an enemy had destroyed the pueblo. All that we could find out . . . was that some sixteen years before some people called Teyas had come in large numbers to that land and had destroyed those pueblos. They besieged Cicuye but could not take it because it was strong. Before leaving the land, they made friends with all. They must have been powerful people who must have had war machines to batter down the pueblos. The natives of Cicuye could not tell from which way the invaders had come except to point to the north. As a rule, these people call the Teyas brave people, just as the Mexicans refer to the Chichimecas or Teules. The Teyas whom the army met . . . were known by the people of the towns as their friends. The Teyas often go to the latter’s pueblos to spend the winter, finding shelter under the eaves, as the inhabitants do not dare to allow them inside. Evidently, they do not trust them, although they accept them as friends and have dealings with them. There are seven other pueblos by the side of this road in the direction of the snowy sierra. One of them had been partly destroyed by the previously mentioned people . . .” [Castañeda 1596 in Hammond 1940: 257 - 258]
According to a quasi-linguistic argument presented by Gunnerson (1974) the Teya must have been Apache because Jemez and, by extension, Pecos speakers identified Apache with names comparable to Teya. However, based on the primary report and Castañeda’s explanation of the context of the term “Teya,” the Teya of 1525 may have had no more in common with the Teya camped outside Cicuye in 1541 then that they were both brave people. In conclusion, the Teya may have been any number of “braves” from the north. So my question remains: without the leap of faith required to believe that Teya were Apache is there any reason to believe in a 1525 entry date? No.

However, even if the Teya were Apache, why should a 1525 attack on eastern Pueblos restrict the Teya from having been in the area before the invasion? There are none that I can see. Moreover, from all accounts, and by their own admission Pueblo people were not especially knowledgeable about the Plains to the east or north in 1540. In support of this, El Turco, Xabe, and Isopete, Native guides for the expedition to Quivira were Indigenous to the plains and not the Pueblos (Hammond 1940). So another question arises, why should a Pueblo report carry so much weight in determining the entry date for Apache on the Southern Plains? It should not.

Nevertheless, the theoretical sway of this notion has legs in American Indian Historical Linguistics, as synthesized by Lyle Campbell (1997). Aside from Gunnerson’s (1956) notion, a 1525 Pan-Athapaskan entrance in the area flanking the Rocky Mountains south of Wyoming is based on glottochronology presented by Hoijer (1962, 1971).

Interestingly, although Campbell (1997) derided the use of glottochronology for deriving chronology in his general synthesis of American Indian Historical Linguistics, he accepted Hoijer’s glottochronology as acceptable evidence upon which to construct his historical linguistic sequence for the Apachean sub-category of his Eyak-Athapaskan Language Family.
In short, my research shows that evidence tying the Teya to Apache buffalo hunters and using 1525 as a strict entry date for Ndé buffalo hunters into the Southern Plains is questionable to say the least. Therefore, I reject 1525 as an entry date for Ndé buffalo hunters south of the Arkansas River.

In sum, evidence from Lipan Apache oral traditions, history, and linguistics all have multiple frameworks for explaining Ndé buffalo hunter origins. The point that I have focused on is that although often assumed, I have found little reason to believe that Ndé (Apache) and Dineh (Navajo) arrived in New Mexico, Arizona, and the Central and Southern Plains as a single group. Nevertheless, based on comparisons of material, social, and linguistic attributes a distinction can be made between Eastern Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunting and Western Ndé (Apache) and Dineh (Navajo) intermontane and desert subsistence (Opler 1983). Based on this distinction, ethnographic knowledge of a high degree of environmental cognizance and competency in their Southwest U.S. homelands suggests either that ancestral Western Ndé and Dineh have been in the region far longer than previously believed or that they arrived through an intermontane route and blended northwestern woodland and Puebloan subsistence practices with those carried from Northern Athapaskan origins. Similarly, environmental cognizance and competency suggests that Eastern Ndé buffalo hunters arrived through a plains route east of the Rocky Mountains by following the buffalo.

This framework explains the lack of Plains traits among Navajo and some western Ndé and the well-tended gardens reported in Spanish writings of the time. It also explains the migration of Ndé buffalo hunters following bison into Texas, the Gulf Coast, and areas south of the Rio Grande instead of adapting to a non-buffalo hunting lifestyle like the Dineh (Navajo) and Mountain Ndé (Apache) west of the Rio Grande. In the following section, I present various lines of evidence that challenges the belief that Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters did not arrive in the Southern Plains and the Southwest U.S. in 1525 (D. Gunnerson 1956; Wilcox 1981).
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER ARCHAEOLOGICAL ORIGINS

Archaeological evidence demonstrates three data sets indexing Ndé buffalo hunter origins. Tierra Blanca sites in the Texas panhandle suggest geographic origins for Ndé buffalo hunters, continuity between caribou hunting and buffalo hunting among Athapaskan speakers suggest cultural origins for Ndé buffalo hunters, and Pan-Native American cultural traditions of buffalo hunters and plant food collectors suggest shared cultural origins with Texas Indians for Ndé buffalo hunters.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER SHELTER AND FOOD PRODUCTION ORIGINS

More than just language ties Ndé (Apache) people to Northern Athapaskan people, they also share a cultural heritage rooted in hunting caribou and buffalo, living in conical houses, and participation in Native American bow and arrow and hot rock cooking traditions provide bases for understandings origins of Ndé buffalo hunter shelter and food production.
TIPI ORIGINS

Gunnerson (1987: 31) compared the form and function of two house structures that have been used for at least 5,000 years in North America. Gunnerson (1987: 31) suggested that conical shelters made entirely from wood used by Caribou hunters in the north are similar to the movable homes made of hides stretched over poles used by buffalo hunters that have become known as tipis. Archaeological evidence has associated tipis with bison kill sites throughout the Great Plains in the form of stones arranged in a circle. Commonly referred to as tipi rings, these stone circles most likely represent the material traces of tipis used by buffalo hunters (Kehoe 1961; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988).

Moreover, these stone rings are comparable to the method reported for Querecho and other buffalo hunters to anchor down their tipis. Archeological sites dated to the centuries leading up to the historic period tipi rings continue to represent the preponderance of archaeological sites on the Central Plains and appear to have been left by people who were culturally similar to the buffalo hunters of the early historic period, the Ndé who lived on the Llano Estacado in eastern New Mexico and the Texas Panhandle (Gunnerson 1987; Hughes 1991). In short, archeological and historical data does not exclude Ndé buffalo hunters from the Southern Plains before 1500, rather it suggests their presence.
HOT ROCK COOKING ORIGINS

Archeological material pertaining to the last 10,000 years of Native American life in Texas shows cultural continuity in the preparation of plant foods with what is known about Lipan Apache bell-shaped ovens and archaeological features called burned rock middens (Sjoberg 1953; Opler 1974).

In reference to this food preparation technology, Richard Stark (1997:124-126) stated, “. . the development of a hot rock cooking tradition is viewed as one manifestation of a major technological, demographic, and climate boundary in the history of the Americas.” This trend eventually led to a lifestyle in which plant use became increasingly important. The Castro and Magoosh oral traditions recall living in the mountains and deserts of northeastern Mexico and southern Texas and preserve knowledge of these foods and their preparation. They include collection and cooking of sotol and yucca, as well as chayote and nopal tuna. This is consistent with prehistoric, colonial, and modern Texas Indians (Campbell 1988; Foster 1995; Hester 1991; Maestas 2003).
CARIBOU AND BUFFALO HUNTING ORIGINS

According to (Gunnerson 1974: 127), Athapaskan techniques of hunting herd animals appear consistent in caribou and buffalo hunting. The use of tipis implies the use of dogs for their transport comparable to reports of Querecho buffalo hunters in the 1500’s was known to be Ndé (Apache) (Gunnerson 1974).

Querecho settlements described in the 1500’s consisted of tipis near buffalo herds (Coronado 1541a). These descriptions are highly comparable to Tierra Blanca archeological sites comprised of material culture that include tipis, separate hunting camps and family settlements, and bison kill sites in Texas (Spielmann 1983). Gunnerson (1987: 35) found comparable features and artifacts corresponding to this period have been found on the Plains from Wyoming to the Texas panhandle and found that hunting blind technology is dated to the Archaic Period (6,000 B.C. – 500 A.D.) on the Central Plains and neighboring Rocky Mountains. Zaldívar described Vaquero hunting blinds in the following statement from 1598.

“They kill them at the first shot, with amazing skill, while hiding in brush shelters built at the watering places, as was witnessed by all those who went there. The sargento mayor and his men spent fifty-four days on this trip and returned on November 8, 1598 . . .” [Zaldívar 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 404]

Northern Athapaskan people known as Sarcee and Chippewyan hunted caribou in historic times and were the southernmost caribou hunters following a subsistence tradition maintained by most of the inland Athapaskan speakers north of Lake Athabasca (Oswalt 1966). Sarcee, today is spoken by people northwest of Edmonton and Chippewyan, is spoken in Manitoba near the Hudson Bay (Campbell 1997). Both Sarcee and the Chipewyan homelands are in the northern Great Plains and suggest possible origins from Ndé buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains (Loring 1987).

Sarcee and Chipewyan peoples shared a plains herd hunting lifestyle Ndé buffalo hunters. Before the arrival of the Europeans, Plains Apache hunters centered their economy and culture on the buffalo (Bison bison), while the Sarcee and Chipewyan hunted caribou on the tundra and in the boreal forest, Map 3, p. 34. After 1750, Sarcee hunted buffalo after forming an alliance with Blackfeet (Vickers 1994).
This map shows the origins and migrations of Nde south of the Canadian River. In the 1600s, Nde buffalo hunters mounted horses and became known as Apache de los Llanos in Texas and established a rancheria between the Rio Grande and Colorado rivers of Texas and would be referred to as Cuelcajen Nde. In the 1800s, Chief Cuelga de Castro led Cuelgahen Nde to various strongholds in south Texas and northeastern Mexico.
NATIVE AMERICAN BOW AND ARROW TECHNOLOGY ORIGINS

Bow and arrow technology appear in the archeological record after 200 A.D. and constitutes another Pan-American tradition used and developed in the lives of Ndé buffalo hunters. Before this, Native Americans hunted with atlatls and darts observable archeologically as larger projectile points, while late bow and arrow technology is observable as smaller projectile points. Among bison hunters of the Northern Plains, the emergence bow and arrow technology has been categorized as the Avonlea phase (Gunnerson 1987; Vickers 1994). Avonlea tools have been found from western Canada to northern Wyoming (Roll 1988: 247). Kehoe and McCorquodale (1961) established that Avonlea points are triangular and side-notched of small to medium size found in the northwest plains and are considered the earliest small points in the northwest Plains by 460 A.D. Gunnerson (1987: 269) extended this understanding by stating that these points are cruder than the delicate triangular points dated on the Central Plains between 900 and 1500 A.D., but could be the points from which these evolved.

The emergence of the bow and arrow played an important role in the development of triangular arrow points necessary to Ndé buffalo hunter subsistence (Gunnerson 1968), such that the similarity of these points throughout the great plains makes distinction between different producers difficult if not impossible to substantiate. Wood (1971) describes a site near Limon, Colorado that shows important comparisons with Dismal River archaeology.

“Stone tools from the site can . . . be duplicated in most Dismal River sites, but for that matter, they could also occur in almost any other Late Prehistoric or Early Historic complex in the High Plains . . .” [Wood 1971: 82]

Implied in this is that widespread similarity in stone tools on the Great Plains makes lithic style typology unreliable for including or excluding Native American nations and tribes as prehistoric producers of archaeological sites. Although technological similarity restricts attempts at ethnic identification, it also provides important data regarding technological comparability for Ndé as buffalo hunters that uniquely bridge the gap between historical and archaeological evidence. Zaldívar described Ndé buffalo hunter bow and arrow technology in 1598.

“. . . weapons consist of slings and very large Turkish bows . . . arrows with long bone tips, although only a few, as the flint is better for killing the cattle than the spear.” [Zaldívar 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 403 - 404]
Similarly, in 1602, Juan de León gave a similar description that reported an arsenal common to Southern Plains in reports of Aguacane and Quivira warriors.4

“All carried bows and arrows, leather shields, and war clubs with a stone at the end like a hatchet, and a strap for the wrist. They brought tallow and fat, which they gave us willingly, so it seemed, and the governor gave them in return hardtack, tobacco, and some trifles, with which they went away well pleased.” [Hammond and Rey 1953: 852]

In all, archaeological evidence demonstrates three data sets indexing Ndé buffalo hunter origins. I discussed the first two in this section on Ndé buffalo hunter shelter and food production.

First, archaeological and ethnographic data complement one another when integrated into a theory of cultural continuity between caribou hunting and buffalo hunting among Athapaskan speakers and second, bow and arrow and hot rock cooking form bases for understandings the integration of Lipan Apache in Pan-Native American cultural traditions of buffalo hunters and plant food collectors. The third data set refers to archaeological data pertaining to Tierra Blanca Complex sites in the Texas panhandle strongly suggest Ndé buffalo hunter presence by 1450, and perhaps as early as 1400 A.D.

4. Aguacane, were called Escanjaque by the Spanish who also visited a Ranchería Grande that is thought to be the equivalent of Quivira visited by Coronado in 1542. In either case, it is fairly certain that the Aguacane and Escanjaque survive today as the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes (Appendix A).
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS ON THE SOUTHERN PLAINS

Archaeological evidence for Ndé buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains is often highly contested. Even amidst all of this, the Tierra Blanca Complex has consistently been associated with Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters since its excavation in 1930 (Boyd 2001; Gunnerson 1987; Hoffman 1989c; Holden 1931; Hughes 1969; 1991; Hughes, Hood, and Newman 1978; Katz and Katz 1976; Riley 1997; Spielmann 1983). In a recent review, Boyd (2001) briefly referred to the accepted understandings that Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters were identified by chroniclers of Coronado’s journey to the southern plains as Querechos. The focus of Boyd’s (2001) article was that it dealt with interpretive difficulties arising from attempts to associate the Teya with the Garza Complex and with historical Native American tribes and nations. In contrast to the ambivalence with which he treated data that correlated the Teya and Garza Complex with a specific people, Boyd (2001) glossed that people identified as Querechos in 1541 and 1542 were Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters and produced the Tierra Blanca Complex.

In addition to constituting evidence of Ndé buffalo hunter origins, the Tierra Blanca Complex includes trade material shared with Galisteo and Pecos Pueblo assemblages dated between 1450 and 1750. These trade vectors between Tierra Blanca sites and the New Mexico Pueblos are corroborated in Spanish reports written between 1541 and 1601 about Querecho and Vaquero, both Spanish names for Ndé buffalo hunters east of the New Mexico Pueblos. In this section, I discuss the Tierra Blanca Complex as a source of archaeological origins for Ndé buffalo hunters and as a source for understandings their economic relations with Plains Villages in the Southern Plains and Pueblos in Eastern New Mexico.
SOUTHERN PLAINS BUFFALO HUNTERS AND PUEBLO ECONOMIC RELATIONS

My discussion of archaeological categories on the Southern Plains highlights specific findings that are key to our understandings of economic relations between the Pueblo World and buffalo hunters who produced Tierra Blanca, Wheeler, and Garza assemblages. Ceramic seriation for buffalo hunter sites on the Central and Southern Plains and Eastern New Mexico provides evidence for a pottery producing Ndé (Apache) culture historically affiliated with Ndé buffalo hunters who would become known as Lipan Apache in Texas. This is of general importance because Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters are identified in primary documents as the dominant bison product-trading partner for the eastern New Mexico Pueblos between 1541 and 1725. Based on the identification of one or more of the Wheeler, Garza, and Tierra Blanca archaeological categories with Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters, an increase in trade items to and from the Galisteo and Pecos Pueblos represents an intensification of economic relations.

In order to present the evidence for this finding, I begin with a general discussion of Ndé buffalo hunter pottery that leads to a literature review of the Tierra Blanca Complex, the Garza Complex, and the Wheeler Phase. Based on this literature review, I suggest a framework based on an integration of historical, archaeological and other cultural knowledge for understandings economic relations between the Pueblo World and Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER POTTERY

Inquiry into Apachean Ceramics has developed for over fifty years of archaeological description and analysis. Metcalf (1949) initiated analysis based on a theory of three recognizable and discernable pottery types. Lovitt Stamped, Lovitt Plain, and Lovitt Micaceous found in Dismal River sites in Nebraska, near the Platte River. Dismal River Aspect assemblages correlated in composition and location with French and Spanish reports of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters between 1675 and 1725. Later, Gunnerson (1960) developed a synthetic theory of Apache archaeology based on artifact similarities of gray of Micaceous pottery\(^5\) and a distinct micro blade technology comparable to Apache sites in eastern New Mexico. Just before this, Wedel (1959: 441 - 444) added Scott Micaceous and Scott Plain as ceramic types from western Kansas to the growing Apache ceramic seriation. After a decade of research, Gunnerson (1969) named Ocate Micaceous and Cimarron Micaceous as comparable variations of Apache pottery in eastern New Mexico. In 1985, Baugh and Eddy (1987) interpreted similarities between Tierra Blanca Plain, Dismal River, and early Jicarilla pottery to index a general category of Eastern Apache ceramics (Baugh and Eddy 1987). Thus, Tierra Blanca is a Texas form of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter pottery. Soon after, Wedel (1986) constructed a ceramic seriation based on similarities in raw material, style, and production technique involving pottery made by Ndé buffalo hunters, potters from the Taos and Picuris pueblos, and their modern descendants. Ceramic seriation is an archaeological means of analyzing ceramic material culture whereby pottery is categorized by recognizable type and then set along a chronological sequence. For instance, Tierra Blanca Plain, dated between 1450 and 1650, was made in the Texas panhandle using a mica temper in a minimal or non-decorative style by means of the coil technique developed by Puebloan people (Spielmann 1983). Using the diagnostic tools of gray plain ware pottery with mica temper and similarities with Dismal River material, archaeologists in Colorado reported over 70 Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter sites between 1975 and 1995 (Brunswig, Jr. 1995). In all, Apache ceramic seriation based on Micaceous plain gray ware has grown to encompass findings in Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado that span the time period 1450 – 1700 A.D., sometimes referred to as the proto historic, Map 4, p. 40.

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5. Micaceous pottery is made using mica temper and represents a distinctive form of pottery shared by Apache and Pueblo Native Americans in northern New Mexico and the Southern Plains.
Map 4  Nde Archaeology

This map shows archeological groupings of material culture thought to represent Nde buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains placed in general geographic areas discussed in Chapters 2-4.

Map completed by Frinique Maestas. July 2002. Copyright 2002 Frinique Maestas. All rights reserved.
In addition, according to reports of the history and archaeology of Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz in present day Camp Wood, Texas, Lipan Apache lived in the mission between 1762 and 1767 (Newcomb, Jr. 1969). In the archaeological report, Tunnell (1969: 79, 118, 126) identified a stone pipe and a unique dark gray plain ware, as being of Lipan Apache artisanship that Tunnell stated was comparable to Dismal River Aspect material culture. In addition, he commented that four triangular points were also comparable to Dismal River material, but also on their similarity to San Antonio mission points.
TIERRA BLANCA PHASE

Tierra Blanca Complex artifacts were first found in the summer of 1930 during a Texas Tech archeological excavation (Holden 1931). Hoffman (1989c), Hughes (1991), and Baugh (1994) agree that Tierra Blanca pottery is most likely associated with Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters based on historical and cultural similarities, and are comparable to Dismal River Aspect material culture. Summarizing sixty years of research, Jack Hughes (1991: 36) equated the Tierra Blanca complex with Apache (Ndé) buffalo hunters and noted that 1450 is 75 years earlier than the commonly believed entry date of 1525 (D. Gunnerson 1956; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971; Wilcox 1981). Hughes explained that all Tierra Blanca sites are associated with a local tradition of ceramics described as a thin, dark, and faintly striated called Tierra Blanca Plain. Hughes (1991) described the ceramic tradition as pottery made with local materials using a Puebloan method of coiling and scraping rather than a Plains Village paddle-and-anvil technique. According to Habicht-Mauche (1986: 181 - 183), Tierra Blanca pottery is highly comparable to Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo pottery produced at the same time.

Baugh and Eddy (1987) interpreted similarities between Tierra Blanca Plain, Dismal River, and early Jicarilla pottery in their attempts to formulate a general category of Eastern Apache ceramics (Baugh and Eddy 1987). In all, the Tierra Blanca Complex characterized by Ndé pottery constitutes important data on Ndé buffalo hunter origins in Texas and their economic relations with the Pueblo World.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archaeological Category</th>
<th>Geographic Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheeler Phase</td>
<td>Western Oklahoma and Texas Panhandle</td>
<td>1400-1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tierra Blanca Complex</td>
<td>Texas Panhandle</td>
<td>1450-1650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cojo Phase</td>
<td>Northeast New Mexico</td>
<td>1450-1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perdido Complex</td>
<td>Southern Colorado</td>
<td>1450-1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taos, Picuris, Jicarilla Micaceous</td>
<td>Northeast New Mexico</td>
<td>1550-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismal River Aspect</td>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>1675-1725</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For example, Gunnerson (1969) traced Taos Micaceous to contemporary traditional pottery traditions of Jicarilla Apache, Taos, and Picuris Pueblos and Apache made Ocate Micaceous pottery east of the Rocky Mountains in New Mexico circa 1600 A.D. Archeological reports on material dated between 1400 and 1750 A.D. include miraculous ceramics believed to have been left by Ndé buffalo hunters in New Mexico Cojo sites, Colorado Perdido sites, and Texas Tierra Blanca, Garza, and Wheeler sites (Gunnerson 1968, 1987; Habicht-Mauche 1986: 184 - 185; Hughes 1991).

Referencing sites near Limon, Colorado, Wood (1971) extended the scope of this seriation of Ndé pottery in his statement that:

“... pottery from the pithouse village suggests relationships with putative Apachean pottery from along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.” [Wood 1971: 53]

Habicht-Mauche (1986: 176 - 177) comparative analysis of plain gray Pueblo-style miraculous pottery in Tierra Blanca, Garza, and Wheeler pottery finds the pottery and sites they come from, highly comparable to Dismal River material culture. Gunnerson’s (1969, 1987) later synthesis associated Tierra Blanca and Dismal River material with Cojo and Perdido material from New Mexico as Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter sites. Table 1, p. 43 and Map 4, p. 40 illustrates these relationships.
TIERRA BLANCA PHASE SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Hughes (1991) described Tierra Blanca sites as semi-sedentary Ndé (Apache) settlements made up of jacal⁶ villages on sheltered terraces and tipi ring sites on valley and canyon rims dated between 1450 and 1700. This archeological description of separate village and hunting encampments compares well with primary reports of separate hunting and planting areas used by Xicarilla, Sierra Blanca, Carlana, Penxaye, Cuartelejo, and Paloma Apache buffalo hunters between 1696 and 1719 (Thomas 1935). With respect to structures, the Tierra Blanca site (A264) in Deaf Smith County, Texas includes architectural remains of a tipi ring, a semi subterranean slab-lined circular structure, and a small arbor type structure (Spielmann 1983: 259; Hoffman 1989c; Holden 1931).

Comparable descriptions are also general to Ndé buffalo hunters who would become known as Lipan Apache in English language documents from Texas (Sjoberg 1953). Primary reports describe Ndé buffalo hunters using each of these types of structures. Tipis are ubiquitous in reports about Lipan (Sjoberg 1953), an arbor is documented as a structure built for an intertribal ceremony held with Kickapoo in 1864 between the Pecos River and the Rio Grande (Dennis 1925), and semi-subterranean slab foundations were recorded for Apache Pueblos in Kansas and New Mexico (Gunnerson 1987; Hoffman 1989c; Baugh 1994).

In all, Habicht-Mauche (1986), Hoffman (1989c), and Hughes (1991) provided comparable syntheses of sites attributed to Ndé buffalo hunters dated between 1450 and 1725, which are distributed over eastern Colorado, New Mexico, Kansas, Oklahoma, and the Texas panhandle. Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters who produced the Tierra Blanca Complex.

⁶ A jacal is a house made of sticks with a thatched roof with the walls often covered in adobe.
THE WHEELER PHASE AND THE GARZA COMPLEX

Although archaeologists have generally agreed to the identification of the Tierra Blanca Complex as Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters, they were not the only buffalo hunters to leave remains on the Southern Plains between 1450 and 1700 A.D. The Wheeler Phase and the Garza Complex are two other archaeological manifestations of buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains that pose formidable challenges in attempts to attribute them to known Native American nations and tribes.

Nevertheless, a pattern shared by the Tierra Blanca Complex, the Garza Complex, and the Wheeler Phase is that they all date between 1400 and 1700 A.D. and demonstrate an economic change in production for people living on the Southern Plains. This change is based upon an understanding of an earlier Plains Village period characterized of drought conditions, mixed subsistence, and substantially less dependence on buffalo hunting (Blakeslee and Hughes 1997: 19 - 22). Geographically, Tierra Blanca sites have been identified in the Texas Panhandle north of the Red River, the Wheeler Phase covers areas of Oklahoma adjacent to the Texas panhandle, and the Garza Complex covers the lower section of the Texas panhandle south of the Red River (Hoffman 1989).

Overall, Garza and Wheeler assemblages have been interpreted as material evidence of intensification of buffalo hunting and buffalo hunters trading produce and pottery for bison products with the eastern Pueblos of New Mexico (Spielmann 1983: 259; Habicht-Mauche 1988). In reference to the Texas panhandle, Schroeder stated:

“When production of local pottery ceased in some areas on the High Plains, or horticulturalists were replaced by non-pottery making nomads, about 1450, Pueblo trade ware dominated hunter-gatherer sites in the Texas panhandle.” [Schroeder 1994: 303]

While many archaeologists eschew attempts to attach archaeological categories with named Native American, groups (Boyd 2001), other researchers use archaeological data to build frameworks for understandings Native American origins and migrations (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988; Hughes 1991; Kenmotsu 2001; Schroeder 1975). Boyd (2001) did an excellent job of problematizing the notion that Garza Complex sites were produced by the Teya reported on Coronado’s expedition and that these Teya could have been Apache, Wichita, or Jumano.
Similarly ambiguous, the Wheeler Phase in Oklahoma is dated 1400 and 1700 A.D. (Drass and Baugh 1997: 183) and has been attributed to Ndé buffalo hunters (Metcalf 1949) or Caddoans who would later become various Wichita Nations (Drass and Baugh 1997). Metcalf (1949) argued that Wheeler Phase ceramics are most comparable to Dismal River pottery, and therefore were produced by Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters. If accurate, the Wheeler Phase dated between 1400 and 1700 A.D., would constitute the earliest Ndé buffalo hunter archaeological manifestation on the Southern Plains. Gunnerson (1987), Hoffman (1989), and Hughes (1991) accepted Metcalf (1949) identification of Wheeler Phase assemblages with Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters, albeit, with reservations. More recently, however, Drass and Baugh (1997) attributed Wheeler phase sites in western Oklahoma to ancestral Wichita peoples, thus forming a key element in their theory of Caddoan cultural continuity on the Southern Plains. Based on my own review of the literature, it is clear that the Wheeler Phase represents buffalo hunters who had trade relations with the Pueblo World. Metcalf’s (1949) observation that Wheeler Phase pottery was produced using Pueblo coiling techniques coupled with Habicht-Mauche (1986) finding that it is a form of Micaceous gray plain ware is strong evidence for cultural affiliation with Ndé buffalo hunters and against affiliation with Caddoan speaking Plains Villagers. Moreover based on three points of independent evidence, primary historical reports, identification of Wheeler Phase pottery production as Pueblo style, and the identification of Wheeler Phase pottery as a form of Micaceous gray plain ware Ndé buffalo hunters continue to be the most likely candidates for producing the Wheeler Phase. Significantly, no evidence has been found to argue for a Wichita, or other Caddoan-speaking bison trade with the Pueblos of New Mexico between 1450 and 1700 A.D.

In sum, archaeological evidence exists for a ceramic seriation of pottery characterized by mica temper, plain style, gray color, and production using the Puebloan coil technique. Importantly, ceramic seriation index Ndé buffalo hunter pottery types found in the Texas Panhandle, eastern New Mexico, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska that covers the period between 1450 and 1725 A.D. and demonstrates material and style continuity with historic and contemporary Jicarilla, Taos, and Picuris Micaceous pottery (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971). This presents archaeologists throughout the region with an important diagnostic tool for discerning Ndé buffalo hunter archaeological material. The following subsection examines trade networks on the Southern Plains based on archaeological evidence.
According to Schroeder (1994) and Spielmann (1983), Ndé buffalo hunters entered Pueblo trade networks at an opportune time, in which the Mogollon-Hohokam southern trade zone declined. Studies of ceramic distributions and sequences outline a southern trade network integrating Paquimé (Casas Grandes), the Jornada Mogollon, and the Great Basin that declined on the Southern Plains after 1450 (Schroeder 1994). After 1450, a change in trade focuses from the Mogollon-Hohokam to the buffalo hunters of the Southern Plains in assemblages at the Galisteo and Pecos Pueblos. For example, Alibates dolomite tools and bison bone were found in greater quantities in Cicuye (Pecos) dated 1450 and 1750 A.D. assemblages than all other Pueblo excavations combined (Spielmann 1983: 259; J. Hughes 1991). This increase in Alibates dolomite and bison bone frequency at Cicuye (Pecos) demonstrates the shift in the trade focus from Southern trade route partners to an emergent Southern Plains bison product trade alliance (J. Hughes 1991; Schroeder 1994: 300). Tying this trade specifically to the Tierra Blanca Complex, Spielmann (1983: 265 - 268) interpreted that the proximity of Tierra Blanca sites to the Alibates flint quarries, and absence of other artifact horizons dated to the same time, is evidence that these buffalo hunters controlled the Alibates flint source north of Amarillo after 1450. Based on the theory that Ndé buffalo hunters produced the Tierra Blanca Complex was, it follows that Ndé buffalo hunters entered Pueblo trade networks at the time that commerce with the Mogollon-Hohokam southern trade zone declined. Further evidence of this is Habicht-Mauche (1986: 181 - 183) finding that Tierra Blanca pottery is highly comparable to Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo pottery produced at the same time. Boyd (2001) recently contributed to this framework by pointing out that during the 1400’s and 1500’s, the Tierra Blanca and Blackburn sites of the Tierra Blanca Complex have “. . . ceramic assemblages dominated by intermediate glaze wares manufactured in the Galisteo Basin.” However, it must be pointed out that the Pecos and Galisteo Pueblos are less than 25 miles apart and tied into a common political economic milieu in Spanish colonial relations and apparently in late prehistoric as well.

7. The mines are site marked by the Alibates Flint Quarries National Monument on the Canadian River at Lake Meredith in the Texas Panhandle.

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Based on this understandings, it should be understood that Galisteo and Pecos trade pottery found in Tierra Blanca sites corroborates the material reality of these relations and is complemented by obsidian and turquoise artifacts, originating in New Mexico, in the Tierra Blanca sites (Spielmann 1983: 265 - 268; Habicht-Mauche 1986: 175 - 178). Based on this evidence, Ndé buffalo hunters who produced Tierra Blanca sites engaged in a trade alliance with the Galisteo and Pecos Pueblos between 1450 and 1700 A.D.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER HISTORICAL ORIGINS

Early accounts compiled by Hammond (1940) and Hammond and Rey (1953; 1966) taken together with archaeological knowledge of the Texas panhandle confirm that the Querecho, Vaquero, and Apache are Athapaskan speakers and produced a host of archaeological horizons between 1400 and 1725 A.D., Map 4, p. 40. Taking this a step further, Spanish chronicles give a series of descriptions of Ndé buffalo hunters.

In short, Querecho, Vaquero, and Apache buffalo hunters in the Texas Panhandle are a historical origin for Ndé buffalo hunters and constitutes a data point that can be used as a control benchmark. From this control point, descriptions can be used to detail the historical origins for Ndé buffalo hunters from the first reports available that were written by chroniclers who traveled with Coronado in 1541 - 1542 A.D. In addition to being, the first Ndé buffalo hunters, Querecho are the best-documented example of the foot bound Native American buffalo hunting tradition that spanned North America for at least 11,000 years. In the 1540’s, chroniclers of the Coronado expedition identified Querecho buffalo hunters in the eastern foothills of New Mexico and adjacent Southern Plains. Querecho, Vaquero, and Apache were undoubtedly Ndé (Apache) with most references referring to buffalo hunters. However, people identified as Teya have not been conclusively tied to a later historic nation or tribe. However, one of the earliest and most common ethnicities tied to reports of the Teya is Apache (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988). I also include some discussion of the Teya, because although they have not been proven to be Ndé buffalo hunters, this remains a possibility.8

However, I focus on aspects of cultural affiliation through comparison based on general description in primary reports that refer to both the Querecho and the Teya. In addition, I open this discussion of Ndé buffalo historical origins by presenting the historical origins of the buffalo that many have come to call the American Bison and some understandings about their presence on the Southern Plains.

8 Other historical buffalo hunters believed to have been the Teya are the Jumano (Riley 1997) and Wichita (Vehik 1992).
BUFFALO HISTORICAL ORIGINS

In the 1530’s, Cabeza de Vaca was probably the first Spaniard to see buffalo in Texas, eat their meat, and see buffalo coverings and footwear.

“Here also they come up with cows; I have seem them thrice and have eaten their meat . . . and are found all over the land for over four hundred leagues (1,000 miles) . . . On this who stretch . . . people subsist upon their flesh.” [Bandelier 1922: 94]

Carter (1992) explained that bison came to the Southern Plains in the winter not just to escape the cold but also to follow the richer grasses in Texas. Bison remains dated to the 1400’s have been found on the coastal plains of the Texas near Alice and Corpus Christi and earlier in the region toward San Antonio and San Angelo (Hester 1986; Cargill 1996; Quigg 1997).

These areas form a brief outline of buffalo migratory routes that are of tantamount importance when dealing with the origins and migrations of buffalo hunters. In the case of Ndé buffalo hunters, a southern migratory route of the buffalo traced their historical path from the Southern Plains to the Texas Gulf Coast and south of the Rio Grande. However, historical reports of buffalo hunting in south Texas did not begin until 1575.
BUFFALO HUNTER HISTORICAL ORIGINS

Cabeza de Vaca and others reported buffalo products and saw the animals. However, not until Coronado’s expedition was a buffalo hunting lifestyle reported. In 1540, Coronado left Culiacan with a large expedition to find riches to the north suggested by people traveling with Cabeza de Vaca’s and Fray Marcos de Niza (Bandelier 1922). By 1541, Coronado instigated hostilities with Pueblo Nations in New Mexico and subsequently led an expedition onto the Southern Plains. Before the saw actual buffalo hunters, he received reports of buffalo hunters living in straw houses between Acoma and the Tiguex Pueblos near present day Albuquerque. Hammond called this report, “Discovery of Tiguex by Alvarado and Padilla.” Alvarado reported going to Acoma (Coco) Pueblo from the Zuni Villages and from Acoma, continued east to the Rio Grande and contacted more than eighty Tiguex Pueblos. The report went on to say:

“There are in this province seven other pueblos, uninhabited and in ruins, belonging to the Indians who daub their eyes, and about whom the guides told your Lordship. They say that they border on the cattle, and that they have maize and straw houses.”

[Hammond 1940: 183]9

Although Hammond (1940: 183) footnoted Hodge’s belief that these settlements pertained to the Teya, the Alvarado and Padilla account does not specify these buffalo hunters as Teya. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the four characteristics of horticulture, straw houses, painted eyes, and proximity to the buffalo, tie these people to the “people of the cows” reported by Cabeza de Vaca in 1535 to have been living in the La Junta de los Rios Grande and Conchos at present day Ojinaga, Chihuahua in Mexico.

The same characteristics affiliate these buffalo hunters with reports of Teya on the Southern Plains. Therefore, the first buffalo hunters reported on the Coronado expedition were based on second hand reports from Zuni and Tiguex Pueblo informants. However, the Querecho were the first people for whom we have ethnographic details of the buffalo hunting lifestyle, Map 5, p. 54.

QUERECHO 1541 PART I

Querecho were described by Coronado to be naked pedestrian buffalo hunters traveling with dog trains to trade at Cicuye (Pecos) who ranged the Llano Estacado from New Mexico to the Caprock Escarpment canyon lands of Texas.
Map 5  Nations in Early Spanish Reports

This map shows Nations reported in original Spanish writings and general geographic areas discussed in relation to Nde Buffalo Hunter history. Map completed by Enrique Maestas July 2002. Copyright 2002 Enrique Maestas. All rights reserved.
According to Coronado, the first encounter between Spanish and the Querecho people took place on May 10, 1541, on the grasslands of the Texas Panhandle.

“I came upon a ranchería of the Indians who follow these cattle. These natives are called Querechos. They do not cultivate the land, but eat raw meat and drink the blood of the cattle they kill. They dress in the skins of the cattle, with which all the people in this land clothe themselves, and they have very well-constructed tents, made with tanned and greased cowhides, in which they live and which they take along as they follow the cattle. They have dogs which they load to carry their tents, poles and belongings. These people have the best physique of any I have seen in the Indies. They could not tell me anything about the land to which the guides were taking me.” [Coronado 1541b in Hammond 1940: 186]

Based on the understandings that Querecho were Ndé buffalo hunters who produced the Tierra Blanca Complex, various lines of evidence converge upon this date and time to constitute a historical origin for Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters. Significantly, life conditions detailed as pedestrian buffalo hunters living in tipis carried by dogs has become a baseline description corroborated by millennia of archaeological data as the foundation of Native American buffalo hunting culture (Schleiser 1994).
TEYA 1541

The first people described in the act of hunting buffalo were the Teya living on the eastside of a region of nondescript grasslands thought to be the canyon lands east of the Texas panhandle plains marked by tributaries of the Canadian River, such as the Palo Duro River.

Coronado reported meeting the Teya who were enemies of the Querecho, but also buffalo hunters.

“For five days I went where they led me, until we reached some plains as bare of landmarks as if we were surrounded by the sea. While we wandered aimlessly over these plains, some mounted men who went out hunting the cattle met some Indians who were also out hunting and who are enemies of those I met at the previous ranchería. They belong to another nation of people called the Teyas. They paint their bodies and faces and are large people of very fine appearance. They live like them and follow the cattle.”

[Coronado 1541a in Hammond 1940: 186]
Coronado made general comments about both the Querecho and Teya.

“In these plains, among the cattle, two types of people were found... called Querechos and the other Teyas. They are well built, and are painted: they are enemies of each other. They have no settlement or occupation other than to follow the cattle, of which they kill as many as they want. They tan the skins, with which they clothe themselves and build their tents. They eat the meat of the cattle, sometimes raw, and they also drink the blood when thirsty... Their tents are in the shape of pavilions. They set them up by means of poles which they carry for the purpose. After driving them in the ground they tie them together at the top. When they move from place to place they carry them by means of dogs, of which they have many. They load the dogs with their tents, poles, and other things. They make use of them, as I said, because the land is very level. The dogs drag the poles. What these people worship the most is the sun. The hides of their tents are dressed on both sides free from hair. The cattle and deerskins that they do not need and the meat dried in the sun, they trade for maize and blankets to the natives at the river.” [Relación 1541 in Hammond 1940: 292 - 293]

Coronado’s general description matches earlier reports of only the Querecho as pedestrian buffalo hunters living in tipis carried by dogs. In addition, similar to reports of the Teya, both groups are reported to paint themselves and trade with the Pueblos.
QUERECHO 1541 PART II

Juan Jaramillo, a member of Coronado’s expedition to the plains, wrote an original report that includes a description of the Querecho.

“At the beginning of the plains of the cattle we met . . . Querechos by the people of the terraced houses. They did not live in houses, but carried some poles with them which they put together at their camping places in order to make a sort of shack which they used as houses. They fasten these poles at the top and spread them at the base covering the whole thing with cattle hides which they carry along. These tents they used as homes . . . they satisfy all their human needs from the cattle, for from them they obtain their food, clothes, and footwear. They are men who wander from place to place as it suits them.” [Jaramillo 1541 in Hammond 1940: 300]

Of ambiguous authorship, but unquestionably a report from Coronado’s expedition, the “Relacion Postrera de Cibola,” details a lack of horticulture and use of bison products in all aspects of Querecho everyday life.

“Traveling many days over these plains the Spaniards came to an inhabited ranchería with about two hundred homes. The houses were made of tanned cattle skins, white, and built like pavilions or tents. These Indians live or sustain themselves entirely from the cattle, for they neither grow nor harvest maize.” [Relación 1541 in Hammond 1940: 310]

In all, reports from chroniclers of the Coronado expedition to the plains in 1540 and 1541 of Querecho and Teya are the first descriptions of buffalo hunters in their homelands and their ways of life. However, reports of the Querecho are distinct in the emphasis made on a nearly exclusive buffalo hunting subsistence characterized as pedestrian buffalo hunters who lived in tipis carried by dogs.¹⁰

¹⁰ Although it is though that an exclusive buffalo subsistence is biologically impossible, it should be remembered that whatever the chroniclers saw lead them to emphasize this fact.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER ORIGIN CONCLUSIONS

Based on an integration of lines of evidence from Lipan oral traditions with linguistic, archaeological, and historical data Ndé buffalo hunter origins are embedded in a buffalo hunting tradition that spanned North America for over 11,000 years. Specifically, Ndé buffalo hunters reported as Querecho people followed buffalo herds in the eastern foothills of New Mexico and adjacent Southern Plains of the Texas Panhandle. This correlates with the Tierra Blanca Complex, an archaeological manifestation found in the same geographic region, dated between 1450 and 1700 A.D., and constitutes a control point for Ndé buffalo hunter origins. Correlating Querecho and the Tierra Blanca Complex Ndé buffalo hunters provides a framework for understandings aspects of a political economy in which, Ndé buffalo hunters engaged in a trade alliance with the Galisteo and Pecos Pueblos, just southeast of Santa Fe, New Mexico. This has a number of important implications for understandings the political economic scene that Coronado stepped into in 1541 in which Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters in Texas had stronger ties to the Pueblo World, than to the world of Caddoan Plains Villages.

Based on this understandings of Ndé buffalo hunter origins I trace their migrations into south Texas and northeastern Mexico where the Cúelcahén Ndé emerge before 1771 and become known as Lipan Apache in Texas. Both the identification of Querecho as Ndé buffalo hunters and the integration of various lines of evidence into an understandings of economic relations with the Galisteo and Pecos Pueblos provide a framework for understandings the ways in which pre-colonial economic alliances became a foundation for Native American challenge and resistance to Spanish colonial efforts that I refer to as Anti-Colonial Action (ACA). The following chapter presents evidence that Ndé relations with Spanish intruders between 1541 and 1601 were non-hostile in comparison to the warfare Coronado experienced among Pueblo villages, the Aguacane, and Quivira near the Arkansas River in northern Oklahoma.

This analysis of the relationship of Ndé buffalo hunters to Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) and is useful in that it provides a framework in which, most if not all, of the disparate historical data pertaining to Ndé buffalo hunters makes sense.
Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) rejected the first Spanish invasion of New Mexico and the Southern Plains in 1542. Interestingly, Ndé buffalo hunters did not take action against the Spanish at this time. While Wichita, Tiguex, Zuni, and Corazones warriors drove Coronado from their homelands, the Querecho provided the Spaniards with refuge (Hammond 1940). Coronado was ultimately driven from New Mexico and Spanish expeditions did not make another formal entrance until 1581.\textsuperscript{11} Not until the 1600’s would Ndé buffalo hunters engage in ACA. However, most other nations impacted by the Spanish invasion were not as tolerant. The first subsection of this chapter deals with historical origins of ACA with regards to the Spanish invasion of North America and the second subsection discusses the historical origins of antagonistic relations between Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters and the Spanish.

\textsuperscript{11} I say undocumented because Obregón’s synthesis of early colonial enterprise on the northern frontier suggests that Spanish slaving expeditions may have entered the region between 1542 and 1581 (Cuevas 1924).
ANTI-COLONIAL ACTIONS (ACA)

In addition to warfare, Indigenous people employed a number of other Anti-Colonial Actions (ACA). Feigned or ambivalent conversion to gain access to Spanish outposts as targets for trading and raiding was one common example. Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) trade, war, and accommodation common to both the Gran Chichimeca of the 1500’s and the Gran Apachería of the 1600’s and 1700’s that becomes evident and patterns Ndé (Apache) relations with the Spanish. An important result of ACA and warfare was Spanish gift giving.

I interpret this as a form of tributary accommodation paid to Indigenous nations considered unconquerable through conventional war. After 1601, Ndé buffalo hunters and their allies became identified as nations unconquerable through conventional war. Thus, began a sad history of Spanish colonials apprehending Ndé buffalo hunters for slavery, missions, and other forms of forced labor. Spanish policy for dealing with their Native American enemies extended the violence and abuse of the Gran Chichimeca and created an area soon known to be the Gran Apachería. In the Gran Apacheria, ACA and warfare became common Native American adaptations that productive specific forms of cultural affiliation with their allies.
GRAN CHICHIMECA

After initial Spanish success in central Mexico between 1521 and 1540, military incursion against the guerrilla warriors of the Gran Chichimeca, north of Tula and south of the Rio Grande, resulted in disaster. Menchaca (2001: 73 - 74) presented an excellent synthesis of the Chichimeca Wars. In the first defensive war, Zacateco and Tecuexe forces led by Tenamaxtle and Citlacotl, with their Caxcan forces successfully drove the Spanish back in the Mixtón War in 1541 and 1542. After a collapse of the coalition in late 1541, the remaining fragmentary Chichimeca forces suffered slow defeat until Tenamaxtle returned to challenge Ibarra’s invasion spurred on by an Indigenous challenge to Spanish authority with a renewed Chichimeca military force and the following statement.

“Surely you must be insane, or you must want us to kill you, if you think that we will give you our land and not defend it, who do you think you are, and who has asked you to come here?” [Menchaca 2001: 75]

Reentry of Tenamaxtle’s forces resulted in a Spanish retreat and a reconsideration of the entire colonial enterprise north of Guadalajara until they regained territories as far as Culiacan and Durango in 1591 (Powell 1952). However, the Spanish were still limited in their northern advance until 1598 when they instituted paternalistic authority and tributary accommodation in the form of gift giving administered by missions and presidios (Naylor and Polzer 1986).

During the 1500’s, Ndé were not particularly hostile to Spanish colonials. Prior to 1609, Ndé buffalo hunters, known to the Spanish as Querecho, Vaquero, and Apache were non-hostile and even provided refuge to the colonials. Important to understandings the anti-colonial wars of the 1500’s, is the recognition that all of them were instigated by first contact, better characterized as Spanish intrusion, or even invasion.

12 Hackett (1937, I: 90 - 121) presented a number of documents specifying the regional differences of the Chichimeca War. A Royal Cedula from 1562 tells of difficulties with Zacatecos and Guachichiles near the Mines of Zacatecas. Gonzálo Lopez told of similar problems with Indigéna near Culiacan and Nueva Galicia (Jalisco) in 1567, “scattered over the mountains and deserts.” Ibarra reported on the unrest of the Chichimeca in Durango and Nueva Vizcaya. Hackett (1937, I: 157) also presented a letter in which the king of Spain suggested the mission strategy to Viceroy Villamanrique in 1566.
Once seen in this light, the Coronado Wars of 1541 mark the first Pueblo counteroffensive, in which Ndé buffalo hunters played a neutral role and subsequent Spanish invasions north of Santa Barbara resulted in failures similar to those in the Gran Chichimeca. Evidence that Spanish colonials made this connection were chroniclers who referred to Corecho and their Pueblo allies as Chichimecos. In 1583, after traveling east to the edge of the plains, the Espejo expedition returned west and crossed the Rio Grande where they approached Acoma where they encountered people Espejo identified as Querecho, described as warlike, living in the mountains, and trading with the Pueblos.

“In the adjacent mountains . . . the natives there were numerous and warlike. The mountain dwellers, who are called Querechos, came down to serve the people in the towns, mingling and trading with them, bringing them salt, game (such as deer, rabbits, and hares), dressed chamois skins, and other goods in exchange for cotton blankets and various articles accepted in payment.” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 224]

Manuel de Luxán and Espejo in separate reports described meeting mountain dwelling people between Zuni and Hopi identified as Corecho and Chichimeco.

“. . . there were over twelve thousand Indians in the province, armed with bows and arrows, and many Chichimecos, who are called Corechos.” [Luxán 1582 in Hammond and Rey 1966: 189]

This example is important because it relates Querecho buffalo hunters to a more general category of Indigenous people that would be identified as Apache in Spanish accounts. Spanish use of the term Querecho for mountain dwellers who carried on comparable economic relations with Acoma and Hopi pueblos that are comparable to those maintained by Querecho buffalo hunters with Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo, is the strongest evidence for tying the Querecho and Corecho reported by Espejo and Luxán in 1583 to the Querecho reported by chroniclers of the Coronado expedition in 1541.

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Therefore, it is clear that colonial expansion brought the pattern of Anti-Colonial Action and warfare from the Gran Chichimeca north of the Rio Grande and initiated conflict that resulted in the comparable historical conjuncture known as the Gran Apachería, Table 2, p. 65.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Location 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Location 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1520</td>
<td>Mexica led by Kuauhtemok</td>
<td>Mexiko Tenochtitlan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1541</td>
<td>Zacateco led by Tenamaxtle</td>
<td>Region north of Central Mexico</td>
<td>Mixtón War</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1541</td>
<td>Cibola and Tiguex Pueblos</td>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>Quivira</td>
<td>Oklahoma and Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1545-1591</td>
<td>Chichimeca led by Tenamaxtle</td>
<td>Zacatecas</td>
<td>Cuauchichil</td>
<td>Monterrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>Acoma and Mountain Querecho Ndé</td>
<td>Acoma, New Mexico</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>Concho and Jumano</td>
<td>La Junta de los Rios</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Ndé, Jumano, or both</td>
<td>Trans-Pecos Texas and</td>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Acoma and Jumano</td>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>Xixime</td>
<td>Southern and Western</td>
<td>Nueva Vizcaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601</td>
<td>Aguacane/Escanjaque</td>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-1603</td>
<td>Acaxee</td>
<td>Southern Nueva Vizacaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BUFFALO HUNTERS SOUTH OF THE CANADIAN RIVER 1581-1600

This section discusses the historical origins of antagonistic relations between Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters and the Spanish. First, I present descriptions of buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains reported between 1581 and 1600 A.D. to show cultural continuity between descriptions of Querecho, Apache, and Vaquero buffalo hunters. Based on this cultural continuity, Querecho buffalo tradition would be known after 1581 as Vaquero and Apache buffalo hunters who ranged south of the Canadian River and along the Pecos River of New Mexico. Descriptions of unidentified buffalo hunters seen in 1581 suggest that Ndé (Apache) followed buffalo as far south as the Pecos River in Texas and wore buffalo and deerskins (Hammond and Rey 1966).
BUFFALO HUNTERS REPORTED ON THE RODRIGUEZ EXPEDITION 1581

In 1581, Fray Agustín Rodriguez organized an expedition and gained the services of Commander Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado as its leader. On the military march between La Junta de los Rios Grande and Conchos, near present day Ojinaga, Chihuahua, the expedition met the Amotomanco people near the Rio Grande, at a place called Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. Hernán Gallegos, one of the chroniclers of the expedition reported that after traveling some thirty-five miles along the Rio Grande they reached the Valley of Carnero and found an abandoned settlement with large rams horns littered about. At this point, the Amotomanco guides refused to go further because of a fear of enemies. Before abandoning the Spanish, the Amotomanco held a mitote comparable to others from the Rio Conchos to the Rio Grande, where they presented the Spanish with gifts.

Two days later, the Spanish came across another group of settlements, in which the people again gifted the Spaniards, this time with macaw feather headdresses (Gallegos 1582a in Hammond and Rey 1966: 78 - 80). I include this brief discussion to show the contrast between the hospitality given to the Spanish by people along the Rio Grande in contrast to the distinct attitude of the buffalo hunters further north.

Of interest to the Spaniards were reports of mineral ores brought to the Pueblos by buffalo hunters who lived in tipis and traded with the Pueblos. Intent upon finding the sources of the ore and the buffalo, the Spaniards set out for the plains. However, they could not convince any of the Pueblo people to guide them because of their fear of the buffalo hunters. On the seventh day of wandering across the plains, the Spanish followed the Pecos River south of Anton Chico, New Mexico until they approached a settlement of tipis. Before arriving in the encampment, the Spanish were challenged by over four hundred warriors.

“We came upon a ranchería on this river in which we found fifty huts and tents made of hides with strong white flaps after the fashion of field tents. Here we were met by more than four hundred warlike men armed with bows and arrows who asked us by means of signs what we wanted. We replied that we were coming to visit them and that they were our friends; but they were intent upon fighting us with their arrows . . .” [Gallegos 1582a in Hammond and Rey 1966: 89]
This encounter marked a significant change in relations between buffalo hunters and Spanish explorers south of the Canadian River. Gracious hospitality from the Natives living further south and west, contrasted with the cool and cautious response of these buffalo hunters.

In 1581, two actions on the part of the Spanish gained amnesty, if not friendship, among the buffalo hunters. First, the sign of the cross was used as a peace offering and was reciprocated by the buffalo hunters. This suggests either an Indigenous pre-Hispanic usage of a similar sign, or more likely, a diffusion of this practice from people to the south and west of the plains.¹⁴

“. . . we made the sign of the cross with our hands in a token of friendship . . . they too, made the same sign . . . they welcomed us to their land and rancheria.” [Gallegos 1582a in Hammond and Rey 1966: 89 - 90]

Although accepted at this point, the Spaniards were not necessarily trusted, demonstrated by the report that no buffalo hunter volunteered as a guide. Out of desperation, the Spaniards kidnapped one of the hunters who to lead them to buffalo grounds that called Los Llanos de San Francisco near the lower fork of the Canadian River. I interpret these buffalo hunters as Ndé (Apache) due to their cultural similarity with Querecho and Tierra Blanca data. Three data support this argument. First, the buffalo hunting range that the hunter was familiar with extended from the Pecos south of Anton Chico to the Canadian River and coincides with both the Tierra Blanca Complex and the Texas Panhandle plains where Coronado found the Querecho. Second, Gallegos (1582a) distinguished between these non-painted buffalo hunters and the striped people of the Galisteo Pueblos and settlements further south.

Third, Gallegos (Gallegos 1582a) reported dog traction and exclusive use of tipis for shelter. In all, although these buffalo hunters were not specifically named are more comparable to the Querecho reported by Coronado’s party, than to the Teya. Thus, I believe that this male hunter was possibly the first Ndé captive taken by the Spanish.

¹⁴. The use of the sign of the cross as a peace offering is different from the peace offerings made by buffalo hunters during the Coronado expedition, which consisted of raising an open palm to the sun and saying, “Teya, Teya.” Although, often indexed as a form of solidarity against Apache, there is no reason to believe that such enmity existed until the end of the 1600’s.
Importantly, the Ndé buffalo hunters responded to this violation with anger and only after proving they were competent buffalo hunters, were Spanish soldiers befriended by the buffalo hunters who previously treated them with trepidation.

“We spent the day in this ranchería . . . They described the entire region where these herds roamed, but not one native wished to come along with us . . . since we found no buffalo after two days . . . We went back to the rancheria . . . in order to get an Indian guide, either willingly or by force, to take us to the buffalo. This purpose was accomplished; we went to the said rancheria, seized an Indian, bound him, brought him to camp, and handed him over to our leader . . . The Indian we had taken as guide from the rancheria we now sent ahead, well laden with meat and very happy because he had seen us kill the buffalo . . . After leaving us he told of what he had seen us and how we killed the buffalo, and other things. In view of this the whole rancheria which he had left behind, and from which we had taken the guide by force, came to meet us peacefully. The inhabitants said that they wanted to take us to the buffalo and would lead us to a place where there were many herds . . .” [Gallegos 1582a in Hammond and Rey 1966: 89 - 92]

After returning to Mexico, vice regal authorities interrogated members of the expedition, and a number of testimonies were taken. Among them, Bustamante detailed the path taken by the Spanish onto the Plains from the Tiguex Pueblos (Puaray) near Albuquerque, New Mexico and onto the Llano Estacado to see the buffalo. Although his description matches well with those given for the Querecho by members of Coronado’s party, Bustamante, like Gallegos, described, but did not identify the buffalo hunters (Bustamante and Gallegos 1582a in Hammond and Rey 1966: 95). A significant difference between chronicles of the Rodriguez-Chamuscado expedition and earlier descriptions is that maize was specifically reported as one of the items carried on the backs of dog(s); whereas chroniclers of Coronado’s expedition stressed that, the Querecho did not eat maize. This correlates with archeological features of the area showing the use of maize among producers of the Tierra Blanca Complex (Spielmann 1983).

In the previous Chapter I, presented evidence that supports an understanding that Ndé buffalo hunters produced the Tierra Blanca Complex.\footnote{Map 4, p. 39 for locations of Tierra Blanca, Dismal River, and Scott archaeological categories.} Therefore, we can extend our understandings of Ndé buffalo hunters as people who engaged in the maize trade for bison products in historical documents from 1582.
OBREGÓN’S SYNTHESIS OF 1584

In 1584, Baltasár de Obregón reviewed various reports and wrote a synthesis of the state of discovery and colony in New Mexico in 1584. In this synthesis, Obregón is the first to use the term “Vaquero” to describe the people mentioned in Bustamante’s report of the Chamusacado Expedition in September 1581 when the party traveled on the Pecos River.

“From this place (the Pecos River), they marched four leagues down the river. At the end of this distance they saw a column of smoke and marched toward it, discovering a ranchería of vaquero Indians having over five hundred huts and tents of tanned cowhide almost like those of Castile. The vaquero Indians were so disturbed that in a short time four handsome and brave warriors equipped with bows and arrows came out to meet them ready for battle.” [Hammond and Rey 1928: 303]

Obregón shows that by 1584, if the buffalo hunters that the 1582 party met were Ndé, then writers who entered New Mexico with Oñate used Vaquero as a synonym for Ndé buffalo hunters.

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16. “Cronica comentario o relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de N.E. y del Nuevo Mexico,” Baltasar Obregón (1584), Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 1-1-3/22. This document was translated, edited, and annotated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (1928) in Obregón’s History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America.
While most Spanish expeditions entered New Mexico from the western colonies of Nueva Vizcaya, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa left from Nuevo Almáden, today known as Monclova, Coahuila. According to Hammond and Rey (1966), it is not clear exactly who wrote the report. On July 28, 1590, Miguel, a Native interpreter from Caqualco who lived among the Cacuare (Caguate) on the Rio Conchos for fourteen years, led Sosa and one hundred and seventy, women, and children from Monclova to resettle in New Mexico. Until the party reached the Rio Grande, Sosa attempted to establish a colonial relationship with Native people he came across. However, by 1590, Natives of northern Coahuila had been victimized by Spanish slave raids from mines near Nuevo Almáden (Monclova), Cerralvo, Santa Barbara and San Bartolomé. Possibly a slaver himself, Sosa was met by Native resistance in the form of civil protest, horse stealing, and the abandonment of settlements before the Spanish arrived.

After crossing rough terrain for the better part of October, the Sosa’s colony arrived near present-day Sheffield, Texas near the portion of the Pecos River that crosses US Interstate Highway 10. On October 30, 1590, the colony traveled along the Pecos River between Sheffield, Texas and Toyah Creek and passed several deserted rancherías before finding Natives with dogs carrying packs hiding in the marsh. The Sosa report states,

“They saw some natives who were traveling . . . and brought back four persons, the rest fled and hid in the marsh. These natives had with them some dogs laden with packs, as is the custom in that region, a novelty none of us had ever seen before. The men returned to camp with the four Indians . . . We at once released the two Indian women with all their goods, holding the two men until the lieutenant governor arrived . . . He saw the Indians and spoke to them, but there was no one who could understand them . . . They left with all their possessions, including a dog whose load consisted of two hides tied with a rope and fitted with poitrel and harness.” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 257 - 258]

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17. Sosa was left in charge of the mining outpost of Nuevo Almáden founded by Luis de Carbajal earlier in 1590 and who was arrested by order of the inquisition. Carbajal was the founder of Nuevo León and the mines of San Gregorio (Cerralvo) in 1573 (Bolton 1908: 283).

18. Carbajal was also reputed to have engaged in slaving expeditions into Texas (Wade 1998).
The fearful behavior of Natives found hiding in the marsh may be attributable to earlier Spanish slaving raids. However, it may also be part of the mutual caution practiced by buffalo hunters in contested territory. Seeing Trans-Pecos Texas as contested territory between Apache and Jumano buffalo hunters by 1590 may explain the diversity of lifestyles and languages described in the Sosa report. The Sosa report states,

“... we traveled on and camped for the night at a place the Indians attacked Juan de Vega with arrows... reaching an impassable spot... they saw a group of Indian men and went toward them. We all began to talk to the group by signs, some from one side of the river and some from the other. Our men drew away from the Indians, but Juan de Vega, himself a Native, lagged behind. Some of the Indians, seeing that he was alone, seized him, took some ropes away from him, threw him into the river, and shot him with three arrows. The next morning a large number of natives appeared, and the lieutenant governor tried in every way to get them to come to the camp, but to no avail.” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 258]

Afterwards, Native Americans raided Spanish livestock resulting in soldiers killing a number of the stock rustlers (Hammond and Rey 1966: 258 - 259).19

Forbes (1960: 71) suggested that Sosa entered the Seven Rivers Valley of New Mexico, well known in 1650 as Faraón territory. This interpretation is supported by documents of the 1620’s indicating that this area was home to Vaquero, a name used to describe Npé buffalo hunters before they became known as Faraón. On November 20, 1590, smoke alerted the expedition to Native people ten miles (four leagues) away.

“We also saw a column of smoke on a mountain four leagues away, which some of the men wanted to investigate; but the Lt. Gov. would not allow it, apparently fearing that some harm might be done to the Indians... we had not interpreter for these natives... Some of the soldiers were displeased because he did not allow them to go out immediately and get Indians to serve as guides.” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 260]

19. On November 3rd, the party passed a large deserted ranchería (Hammond and Rey 1966: 259). From the Sosa expedition’s trajectory this may have been the present-day site of Red Bluff Lake where the Pecos River crosses the Texas-New Mexico border. Adding credence to locating this point of the journey, the abandoned settlement was described as covering a large area on a plentiful marshland, which would describe the area before it was developed into a modern lake.
Most likely, the fire was in the Delaware Mountains or Antelope Ridge, both undeniable landmarks when facing west on the Pecos River near the Texas-New Mexico border. The next passage supports this route interpretation by highlighting a sharp change in the direction of the Pecos River to the west.

“. . . we left this place, where the river turned sharply toward the west, and we came upon a very large corral used by the Indians for enclosing cattle . . . where the sierra came to an end . . .” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 261]

The report also tells about wildlife management and/or animal husbandry in the form of a corral found among the remains of buffalo hunters in West Texas in 1590. Numerous interpretations have been proposed to explain the Native corral mentioned in the Sosa report. 20

Further north, probably near present-day Roswell, New Mexico, the party passed another large abandoned ranchería (Hammond and Rey 1966: 262). By this time, Sosa became desperate for local guides and interpreters and unleashed Spanish soldiers to seek out Natives by all means necessary, but to no avail;

“. . . instruction to make every effort to find some Indians and to bring one or two back to camp . . . Lares and Mancha . . . reported that they had not found, and could not find, any people or traces of people . . . should keep on looking for Indians . . .” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 263 - 264]

20. Hammond and Rey (1966: 261) suggest that this was a deer and antelope corral following Hill’s (1938) ethnological relation with similar Navajo practices. Forbes (1960) suggested that the corral was used for horses. I make the following argument. The original writer used of the term ganado and it appears that the Spanish were not clear on the pastoral relationship between the buffalo hunters and the buffalo at the time. For example, Marcos Leandro stated that there is a great number of “ganado civoleño” (Forbes 1960: 99), thus understanding the buffalo to be ganado. This makes it possible that the writer alluded to the buffalo as ganado, especially when we remember that 1590 is probably too early for Native American raising of European origin stock.
During the first days of December 1590 in the badlands near Ft. Sumner, the colony once again subsided on local mesquite beans until they arrived in grasslands some thirty miles north where the Sosa expedition came across tracks of people near a section of the plains that had recently been burned.\textsuperscript{21}

The tracks led toward Pecos Pueblo and were most likely left by Querecho Ndé buffalo hunters, the principle trading partners of Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo (Hammond and Rey 1966: 265).\textsuperscript{22}

A simplistic view that Trans-Pecos Texas was exclusively Jumano territory in the 1590's, alluded to by Kenmotsu (2001) and Wade (1998) is not evidenced in original Spanish reports. Rather, primary reports index a diverse cultural and linguistic reality with attendant political economic complexity for Trans-Pecos Texas. In sum, Jumano almost certainly lived in the area in 1591.

However, the Sosa report suggests that Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters may also have been present. Further evidence supporting this interpretation are reports of Native attacks along the Pecos River just south of the New Mexico-Texas border.

\begin{itemize}
\item This is the first direct report of Native American wildlife or grassland management by use of fire of which I am aware.
\item After beginning a war with Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo that resulted in general hostility and attrition on the part of Pueblo Nations against the Spanish, Sosa retreated south where he was arrested by Captain Juan de Morlete and escorted to New Spain.
\end{itemize}
NDÉ AND JUMANO FASHION STATEMENTS

Because this book is concerned with tracing the cultural and historical past of the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas, whether or not Ndé (Apache) and Jumano can be traced back to the Querecho and Teyas of Coronado is not as important as the historical fact that in the last phase of Jumano history, they joined in alliance, missions, and other settlements with Ndé buffalo hunters. As this history continues, the specifics of this will become clear. However, a separate line of evidence constituted by similarities between Jumano and Ndé clothing styles and ornamentation, ACA (Anti-Colonial Action), and the religious use of peyote in mitotes.

All of these elements are striking examples that suggest close historical association and possibly amalgamation of the Jumano by Ndé buffalo hunters after 1750. Based on the understandings that the Querecho are almost universally recognized as Ndé buffalo hunters (Boyd 2001), some retrospective statements can be made. Although it may be unclear as to whether Ndé buffalo hunters painted themselves in 1541, their descendants certainly did, by the time Cordero described them in 1796 (1796 in Matson and Schroeder 1958: 340). Therefore, if the Teya were not Ndé, they undoubtedly influenced the cultural heritage of Apache buffalo hunters as people who adorned themselves with paint.

This is only the first example used to build an ethnological argument that relations between people known to Spanish chroniclers as Apache and Jumano constitute over at least three centuries (1450 through 1750 A.D.) of historical and cultural affiliation of Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache with Ndé, Jumano, and other Indigenous people of Texas and northeastern Mexico.

Gallegos described the Rodriguez expedition of 1581 to the plains in a separate report given to the viceroy in Mexico City.

“The Spaniards found there also a rancheria of naked Indians who followed the cattle and killed them for meat. These Indians carried their food and other necessary supplies on pack dogs which they breed for this purpose.” [Gallegos 1582a in Hammond and Rey 1966: 136]
In this brief statement, the buffalo hunters were reported to breed their own pack dogs. They are described as naked, similar to the Natives further south and distinct from Pueblo people to the west. This last attribute is distinct from the Teya reported by members of the Coronado expedition to have worn clothing. Gunnerson (1974) synthesized much of the documentary material referring to Querecho and Vaquero Apache ancestors shared by the Lipan and Jicarilla Apaches.

Multiple lines of evidence demonstrate that Lipan and Jicarilla are more closely related to one another than other modern Ndé nations. Campbell (1997) synthesized evidence from American Indian Historical Linguistics and reported that comparative analysis demonstrated a recent division of these two groups. Another line of evidence, oral history and traditions recorded from Lipan and Jicarilla Apache interlocutors, is mutually comparable and even identical in many respects (Opler 1938, 1940). History and material culture correspond in such a way that they strongly suggest that both Ndé peoples appear to have emerged from buffalo hunters who were known as Querecho in the 1500’s and Vaquero Apache in the 1600’s (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1971; 1988; Gunnerson 1974).

Moreover, Lipiyan-Ndé, historically considered part of the Llanero band of the Jicarilla Apache were mentioned as part of a group reported as “Cuelcahe Ndé” by O’Conor in 1777 (Cutter 1994). By the time of their emergence as the Xicarilla, Ypandé, Cúelcahén Ndé (Llanero), and Apaches Lipanes, all of these buffalo hunters made the transition from naked pedestrian buffalo hunters augmenting their hunting with a trade relationship with the Pueblos to Apache de los Llanos who had become clothed and horse mounted buffalo hunters.

In 1541, chroniclers of Coronado’s journeys encountered the Teya, described as distinct from the Querecho in that they wore clothes. The following is a description given of women’s dress. In his translation of Castañeda, Winship (1922: 71) wrote of the cultural significance of Teya dress style, saying that the women’s dress included a “San Benito” common in Mexico (New Spain).

“...women are well treated, and through modesty they cover their whole body. They wear shoes and buskins of dressed skin ... [they] wear blankets over their short underskirts, all of skins, with sleeves tied at the shoulders. They wear a sort of short tunic over their underskirts, with small fringes reaching to the middle of the thigh ...” [Castañeda 1596 in Hammond 1940: 239 - 240]
In December of 1582, Diego Luxán described Otomoanco, whom Obregón identified as Jumana, with female dress styles as “. . . deerskin bodices resembling scapularies to cover breasts and other piece as skirts” (Hammond and Rey 1928; 1966: 161). In the cold, they would also wear a buffalo cloak over this.

These descriptions match well with dress styles reported for Lipan women from descriptions written after 1730. Compare the above description of the Teya in 1541 with the following excerpt from Cordero.

“. . . women’s dress is likewise of skins; but it is distinguished by the use of a short skirt, tied at the waist, and loose about the knees; a shirt or coat which is drawn over the head and hangs to the waist covering the breast and shoulders and leaving the sides open; shoes like those of the men, and no covering on the head; their hair, tied in the form of a chestnut, they keep usually in a bag of deer, buffalo or otter skin . . . ornaments on neck and arms are strings of deer and antelope hoofs, shells, fish-bones [spines] and the roots of sweet smelling herbs.” [Cordero 1796 in Matson and Schroeder 1958: 340]

Components reported for dress styles for Teya and the Apache of Cordero’s report are also consistent with Buckelew’s report on the Lipan Apache of 1866 as well as Sjoberg’s (1953) anthropological treatment of the Lipan Apache (Banta 1911; Dennis and Dennis 1925). Therefore, clothing styles of Apache de los Llanos reflect the incorporation of Teya components suggesting integration or convivial relations (John 1975; Davis 1996; Ewers 1997: 140 - 141). This relationship is even more suggestive when we remember that the Apache de los Llanos appropriated the Jumano buffalo hunting and settlement range between the Pecos and Colorado Rivers between 1680 and 1686 and that by 1733, the Jumane were considered part of an Ndé alliance.

Juan de León (1602) described tailored clothing styles among for Vaquero Apache men who approached Oñate’s party. As well as going naked, Ndé buffalo hunters wore jackets and capes. This passage also shows that the Ndé came forward to trade with Spanish, as a prospective trade partner and pro-actively pursued this business opportunity.

23 According to this report, Lipan in Southwest Texas used buffalo intestines as drinking containers and along with the people white wolves also followed and subsided on the buffalo.
After traveling about forty leagues (one hundred miles) over similar country the Spaniards met, the Indians called Vaquero Apaches. When the latter saw the Spaniards, they approached them in groups of about twenty. They wore a sort of buckskin jacket which reached to the knees, and some wore dressed buffalo skins like capes or blankets. [León 1602 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 852]

This Apache weaponry appears common to reports of the Southern Plains armament carried by Aguacane and Quivira warriors.24 León’s (1602) report provides more ethnographic details regarding the manner in which the Apache traveled. One woman led the dogs, which were followed by the other women and children, while the men traveled to one side in battle formation scouting for game and enemies.

“. . . their rancherías . . . consist of small tents made of tanned hides which they pitch and dismantle very easily; they pack them on small dogs like ours, which have sores from their packs. When they travel, an Indian woman leads the way, followed by the laden dog; then the other pack dogs follow in single file, followed by the women and children . . . men travel at a distance to one side, within sight, in battle array, scouting for the enemy, or for game such as buffalo or deer. They never stay long at . . . one place, because they always follow the cattle.” [Ibid: 853]

Over the course of the seventeenth century clothing styles changed for Apache buffalo hunters who became more wealthy and developed distinctive attire characterized by jackets, pants and boots for men and San Benito blouse and skirt combination for women. This description approximates the description of the Teyas in 1541.

24. Aguacane, were called Escanjaque by the Spanish who also visited a Ranchería Grande that is thought to be the equivalent of Quivira visited by Coronado in 1542. In either case, it is fairly certain that the Aguacane and Escanjaque survive today as the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes (Appendix A).
Accepting that the Teya were Jumano buffalo hunters this evidence suggests that as the Apache replaced the Jumano (Eastern Jornada Mogollon) as primary traders among the Pueblos and eventually adopted similar to their trading predecessors dress styles.  

Other cultural affiliation between the Jumano and Lipan are that men cultivated corn, beans, and squash in small quantities compared to Pueblo horticultural production. Apache de los Llanos would continue to dress in this manner until the 1870’s constituting an important cultural affiliation between Jumano Nations and mounted Apache buffalo hunters of the Cibola plains in the late 1600’s (Davis 1996; Norall 1988). The purpose of this discussion is to index dress style similarities and buffalo hunting observable in archaeological and historical data to establish the material reality of long-standing relations between people known to Spanish chroniclers as Apache and Jumano. Therefore, similarities in Jumano and Ndé clothing styles and ornamentation, ACA (Anti-Colonial Action), and the religious use of peyote in mitotes are examples of historical and cultural affiliation spanning at least three hundred years (1450 through 1750 A.D.) and possibly resulted in the amalgamation of the Jumano by Ndé buffalo hunters after 1750.

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25. Otherwise, it may appear as if the clothed Teya of the Texas Canyonlands in 1541 were actually a variant of the naked Apache buffalo hunters on the flat plains, which is another possibility.
An unauthorized party led by Captain Francisco Leyba de Bonilla traveled to New Mexico and the Southern Plains in 1593. This small party began in the Valley of Santa Barbara in present-day Chihuahua and visited the Pueblos of New Mexico and the buffalo hunters over the course of a year’s time. While seeking out settlements on the Southern Plains, the party was wiped out.

The journey to the plains in 1593 resulted in Leyba’s murder by Captain Antonio Gutierrez de Umaña. Apparently, all the other members of the party died except Jusepe, the only survivor about whom documentation has survived. We also know the route of this expedition because Jusepe led Zaldivar to the buffalo plains and followed Leyba’s route.
NAHUA JUSEPE AMONG NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS

A Nahua interpreter baptized Jusepe this survivor was from Culhuacan, a surviving city of predominately Nahua speakers north of Mexico City. After the failed expedition of 1593, Jusepe lived with Vaquero buffalo hunters and eventually made his way back to the Rio Grande Pueblos. Upon his return to the Pueblos, Oñate found Jusepe and took him to San Juan Bautista where he was interrogated and from which the official document relating his testimony in 1599 was taken. Jusepe’s report is the only direct evidence available telling of the events and conditions of this journey and the Native people encountered.

“Some of them became lost on the plains of the buffalo because they got separated from one another. Only this witness [Jusepe] and another man came to an Indian ranchería, where they killed his companion. This witness escaped and in another ranchería nearer this place he was taken prisoner and remained there for a year with the Apache and Vaquero Indians.” [Gutiérrez 1599 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 418]

Testimony taken from Juan de León in 1602 reported Jusepe’s stay with the Apache buffalo hunters differently. Rather than being their captive, León portrayed the Apache as Jusepe’s rescuers and benefactors.

“. . . Apache Indians are the ones who wander over the plains and follow the buffalo to get tallow, fat, meat, and hides . . . Apaches rescued and took care of him, and he lived for a time among them . . . the governor made the trip on the basis of Jusepe’s stories.” [León 1601 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 852]

Regardless of the nature of the visit, this is the first report of a Spanish speaker living with Ndé buffalo hunters and resulted in Jusepe becoming a multilingual interpreter who was a Native speaker of Nahuatl from Culhuacan. In all, Jusepe communicated in Spanish, Ndé, and a sign language used on the Southern Plains.
Jusepe was one of two Native interpreters, the other being Juan de Caso Barahona, recruited by Umaña to serve on the Leyba expedition. During Oñate’s tenure as governor of New Mexico Jusepe, also known as, Jusepillo was the Spanish speaker most knowledgeable about the Apache buffalo hunters and the Southern Plains and no plan or journey was made regarding the plains that did not depend on his knowledge and guidance.

“Asked what information there was of other provinces and discoveries, the witness said that he did not know of other provinces, nor was there any other knowledge of them except what was told by an Indian named Jusepillo.” [Oñate 1601 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 652 - 653]

In addition, Oñate was familiar with the expedition, which Jusepe survived because he had been sent to capture and arrest Captains Leyba and Umaña, as part of the implementation of a policy geared toward stopping Spanish slavers such as Carbajal, Leyba, and Umaña (Hammond and Rey 1953: 46, 59, 174, 190).

On April 30, 1598, Oñate declared the Spanish Imperial intention to take possession of the lands of New Mexico in a statement that laid out a rationale of conquest justified by promoting Christian salvation among the Natives. In return, the Spanish military and colony would prepare the land for missionary conquest and maintain legal order for the benefit of all. Oñate made this statement of possession just south of present-day El Paso and Ciudad Juarez. Upon reaching the Rio Grande, the party traveled north along the river where they encountered people, thought to be ancestral Manso, near El Paso. Oñate learned that these people ranged down in front of the Organ Mountains and settled along the Rio Grande to La Junta de los Ríos (Hammond and Rey 1953: 315). Although accepted by other Native American nations, there was no mention of Vaquero, Apache, or Querecho participants in the “Acts of Obedience and Vassalage.” (Oñate 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953).

In September 1598, Jusepe joined the nascent Spanish colony after spending some five years among the Vaquero Nation (Hammond and Rey 1953: 324). Most likely, Jusepe’s arrival spurred Oñate to send Zaldívar and 60 soldiers to the buffalo plains with Jusepe as their guide. Overall, Zaldívar’s report shows that the 1590’s was a dynamic period in which Ndé buffalo hunters developed new political economic relationships.27

Towards the end of the October 1598, Zaldívar, guided by Vaquero guides and Jusepe went to visit the Vaquero buffalo hunter in the Texas panhandle where the rancherías were full, and the buffalo innumerable (Hammond and Rey 1953: 403). Presumably, due to the efforts of Jusepe as navigator and interpreter, this was the first Spanish expedition on the Southern Plains that did not become lost. In addition to direct guidance, Jusepe provided direct information and verbal translation that made details intelligible that had been limited by sign language on previous expeditions. For example, the report tells of a large trading party of Vaquero returning from Picuríes and Taos where they traded buffalo products for horticultural produce, ceramics, textiles, and Chichiquitillos (precious stones).28

Once near the plains, four buffalo hunters approached Zaldívar’s party while they were fishing the Gallinas River southeast of Las Vegas, New Mexico. In contrast to Jumano gifting the Spaniards, the Spaniards were the ones giving Vaquero buffalo hunter’s gifts.

27. Kenmotsu (1994), Wade (1998), and (Brooks 2002) provide detailed analyses of Native American political economy in the 1500’s and 1600’s in this region.

28. Chiquitillo is a Nahua word denoting jade or other precious stone. In the New Mexico context this is usually taken as a reference to turquoise.
Also distinct is that these Ndé buffalo hunters initiated contact, rather than waiting for the Spanish to enter their settlement.

“. . . Four Vaquero Indians came to meet them. The Spaniards gave them food and gifts. One of them arose and shouted to many others who were hiding, and all came to where the Spaniards were. They are sturdy people and fine bowmen. The sargento mayor gave presents to everyone and reassured them. He asked them for a guide to the cattle and they furnished one willingly.” [Zaldívar 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 398]

Taking a proactive approach to the Spaniards, three buffalo hunters came out to alert the expedition that people in the nearby settlement were concerned about the intrusion. Zaldívar responded to this by going to the ranchería with Jusepe as his interpreter. However, before the two walked a mile towards the ranchería, many Natives came out to meet Zaldívar and Jusepe offering their friendship. Zaldívar presented them with gifts and they invited him to their ranchería.
Zaldívar returned to his own camp to sleep, and at dawn, many Natives brought pinole\textsuperscript{29} to the Spanish camp. The Spaniards gifted the buffalo hunters again and Zaldívar notified them that Governor Oñate would punish those who were not loyal to the Spanish Crown. The Vaquero in turn made a request for help against the striped Xumana to which Zaldívar made a general response that his mission was to establish peace among all of the Natives.

\textit{``... Three Indians came out from a ridge... their ranchería... was one league from there, and that they were very disturbed at seeing us in their land. In order that they should not be further excited if many people went among them, the sargento mayor with only one companion visited their ranchería, telling the three Indians through his interpreter, an Indian named Jusepillo, one of those who had been brought by Umaña and Leyba... About three-quarters of a league from his camp, numerous natives came out to meet the sargento mayor, in groups of four and six, asking for his friendship. Their custom is to extend the palm of their right hand toward the sun and then to turn it toward the person who friendship they seek... The sargento mayor presented them with gifts... They insisted that he go to their ranchería... He went there and visited with them in great friendship, returning to his camp late at night. The next morning at dawn many Indian men and women came out to meet him with gifts of pinole. Most the men went about naked, but some wore skins of buffalo, and others blankets. The women wore a sort of chamois breeches, and shoes or boots, after their own custom. He gave them some presents and told them through the interpreter that the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, had sent him to tell them that he would favor those who remained loyal to his majesty and would punish those who did not. All were left at peace and very pleased. They asked him for aid against the Xumanas, which is the name they give to a nation of Indians who are striped like the Chichimecos. The sargento promised them that he would try to establish peace among all... as this was his object in coming to their land.''}

\textsuperscript{[Zaldívar 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 399 - 400]}

\textsuperscript{29}. Pinole is a type of sweetener, with a honey or sugar base. This suggests that by 1598, Nde buffalo hunters either produced or traded luxury items such as pinole.
Vaquero Ndé buffalo hunters in New Mexico used the term Xumana to refer to Jumano buffalo hunters and tried to bring the Spanish into alliance against them. When the expectations alluded to in this description are examined, Zaldívar, most likely expected loyalty from the Ndé buffalo hunters who appear to have expected reciprocity in the form of an alliance against the Xumana.

After this encounter, the party spent the night at the Canadian River where the party found a ranchería with fifty red and white tipis tanned to perfection. From this visit, the report adds the most detailed description of Apache de los Llanos and women are, said to be responsible for training and managing the dogs for smooth travel.

“. . . (Zaldívar) spent the night by that river, and the next day, on his way back to camp, came upon a ranchería of fifty tents made of tanned skins which were very bright red and white in color . . . round like pavilions, with flaps and openings, and made as neatly as those from Italy. They are so large that in the most common ones there is ample room for four individual mattresses and beds. The tanning is so good that even the heaviest rain will not go through the skin, nor does it become hard . . . when it dries it becomes as soft and pliable as before . . . The sargento mayor bartered for a tent and brought it to camp. And even though it was so large . . . it did not weigh more than fifty pounds. To carry these tents, the poles with which they set them up, and a bag of meat and their pinole, or maize, the Indians use medium-sized, shaggy dogs, which they harness like mules. They have large droves of them, each girt around the breast and haunches, carrying a load of at least one hundred pounds . . . It is both interesting and amusing to see them traveling along, one after the other dragging the ends of their poles, almost all of them with sores under the harness. When the Indian women load these dogs they hold their heads between they legs, and in this manner they load them or straighten their loads . . . they travel at a pace as if they had been trained with fetters.” [Zaldívar 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 400 - 401]

According to the report, Jusepe and the Vaquero guides apparently retraced the steps of Leyba and Umaña as they crossed a number of their campsites and found Vaquero rancherías all along the way (Ibid: 403). This presents an interesting contrast with abandoned rancherías along the Pecos reported in the fall of 1591. Critical points in the report of Zaldivar’s journey to the buffalo plains detail the distinct quality of relations formed with the Spanish by Vaquero buffalo hunters when compared with the Jumano, and other native peoples. I take the position that Vaquero Ndé buffalo hunters engaged Zaldívar’s party as equals or subordinate.
For example, although Zaldívar made his intentions clear, he did not enact “obedience and vassalage” upon the Vaquero. 30 There was no mention of Vaquero, Apache, or Querecho accepting obedience and vassalage to the Spanish Crown (Oñate 1598 in Hammond and Rey 1953). By 1601, Spanish chroniclers described Ndé buffalo hunters as independent nations with autonomous trade relations with various Pueblos bordering on the Cibola plains. Marcos Leandro made it clear that Ndé (Apache) were not Spanish subjects in 1601 by stating that:

“... a nation of Indians outside of the law [not subject of the Crown of Spain] who are called Apaches and also are called the Vaqueros by the Spaniards since they live in the plains of Civola [Cibola] where they say there is a great number of Ganado Civoleno [buffalo]; these said Indians bring to the settlements hides of the buffalo which they kill, meat, and fat and they trade it with the settled people for maize.” [Leandro 1601 in Forbes 1960: 99]

Velasco, a leader of the New Mexican missions, wrote that the Spaniards alienated nations that had previously been friendly, including Ndé buffalo hunters. Lost the good will of the Picuríes, Taos, Pecos, Apaches, and Vaqueros, who have formed a league among themselves and with other barbarous nations to exterminate our friends. [Velasco 1609 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 1089]

These statements demonstrate three points: First, Vaquero Apache dominated the buffalo trade in 1601. Second, the Cibola plains represented the land base recognized in colonial documents as pertaining to the Vaquero Apache buffalo hunter nation. Third, documents report that Vaquero and Apache engaged and affiliated with in Anti-Colonial Action in 1609, Map 6, p. 88.

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30. I use the verb enact, because the process of claiming Indigenous nations as subjects of the Spanish crown was a specific action referred to as an “Acta” (Hammond and Rey 1953: 20 - 30). Significantly, neither Zaldívar nor Oñate attempted to perform this action upon the Vaquero Ndé buffalo hunters.
This map shows relations between Nde buffalo hunting nations and various Pueblo nations discussed in Chapter 3: Quinia Apache with Taos, Apache de los Llanos with Picuris, and Vaquero Apache with Cicuye. Note the line of Pueblo Buffalo Traders from Taos to Amotomanco (La Junta de los Ríos).

Map completed by Enrique Mestas. November 2002. Copyright 2002 Enrique Mestas. All rights reserved.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER BEFRIEND SPANISH REFUGEES

This notion that Ndé buffalo hunters perceived the Spanish as equals or subordinates is supported by Rodriguez’s testimony that Oñate found refuge with the Apache while caught between Escanjaque enemies to the east and Tiguex enemies to the west. “(T)he Vaquero Apaches . . . welcomed us peacefully and shared with us what they had . . .” (Rodriguez 1602 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 869). Moreover, this makes the point that primary accounts show that Apache were far from the most hostile Natives that the Spanish dealt with before 1602. Actually, Ndé buffalo hunters provided refuge from danger and hunger for colonials fleeing for their lives on more than one occasion before 1602.

In his report, Oñate (1601) stated that all Vaquero lived in tipis and roamed the llano until he was told that they had a pueblo with fifteen plazas. Various documents between 1540 through 1630 documented the diverse life ways for Ndé buffalo hunters known as Querecho, Vaquero, and Apache. They engaged in buffalo hunting, trade at the Pueblo and Spanish markets, fruit and vegetable gathering, dog traction, tipi life, earth ovens, and tending gardens (Thomas 1935; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988).

This correlates with archaeological material from Tierra Blanca sites inferring that Ndé buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains between 1450 and 1650 were flexible in their use of various forms of architecture, pottery, horticultural produce, and communal hunting practices of bison in late prehistoric times (Spielmann 1983). This is comparable to the diversity of material culture documented for Plains Apache, known in some documents as Apache de los Llanos between 1650 and 1800 (Gunnerson 1968; 1987; Hoffman 1989b; 1989c).31

31. “Apaches de los Llanos,” has been rendered as Plains Apache in most translations of reports. For the purposes of documenting continuity between Nde buffalo hunters ancestral to the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas, I retain the term “Apache del los Llanos” in order to emphasize the link to the Cúelcahén Ndé led by Chief Cuelgas de Castro.
In addition, Tierra Blanca material suggests Ndé buffalo hunters in the Texas Panhandle to have engaged in the maize trade for bison products, a description also given in historical documents from 1582. Only after 1601, do Spanish colonials in New Mexico began attributing hostility and enmity to people that they called Apache.

Apache\textsuperscript{32} was first used as an identifier for Native Americans living in an area bounded by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains (Sierra Nevada) of Colorado and Picuris Pueblo was first used by Oñate in the following statement, Map 6, p. 88.

“To Father Fray Francisco de Zamora, the province of the Picuries, together with all the Apaches from the Sierra Nevada toward the north and east, and the province of Taos, with its neighboring pueblos and those that border upon it and those of that cordillera on the bank of the Rio del Norte.” [Hammond and Rey 1953: 345]

Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988: 3) argued that Oñate used the term Apache to refer to Ndé buffalo hunters who had peaceful relations with the Spanish and the Pueblos. Original reports, characterized relations between Apache de los Llanos and the Pueblo and Spanish villages as peaceful in contrast to hostile relations between the Spanish and the “apachu de nabajo” and the Cuarechos in league with Acoma. Importantly, Oñate equated Querecho with Apache and distinguished those living in the mountains near Picuris and Jemez from the Apache de los Llanos, translated by Hammond and Rey (1953) as Plains Apache.

\textsuperscript{32} Morris Opler believed that the term “Apache” originated with the word apachu, a plural form of the Zuni word for Navajo (Campbell 1997). Schroeder (1962) suggested that “Apache” derived from a term used in the Rio Grande Pueblos, because Oñate still had not encountered the Zuni when he first used the term Apache. Gunnerson (1974) suggested that Apache derived from Mapachtli, the Nahua term for raccoon and bandit.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS DECLARED SPANISH COLONIAL ENEMIES

In 1609, Francisco de Leoz, the royal notary and accountant made a formal report to the King that associates the land of Cíbola, and the meat and cheese of the buffalo with the Vaquero.

“...many inland tribes come to the land of Cíbola to buy meat and cheese from the Vaqueros, it is to be assumed that if gold or silver existed it would be found among them and would be used in trading.” [Leoz 1609 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 1072]

This statement also suggests that by 1609, the word Cíbola represented Vaquero Ndé buffalo hunting territory, rather than the Pueblo Villages that had been associated with the Seven Cities of Cíbola in the 1500’s. On the political front, Velasco understood violence in New Mexico to be Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) to be executed in large part by Apache efforts to impede colonial power, systematically reject Spanish authority, and ridicule colonial efforts.

Viceroy Velasco appointed Don Pedro de Peralta as governor and captain general of New Mexico to replace Oñate. Peralta relocated the capital of the province to Santa Fé in 1610 and established the settlement based on a strict Spanish political model.33

Velasco’s new policy defined Apache as a dangerous and generalized pool of enemies to the Spaniards and their colonial plots.

“...as some of the pueblos and nations are on the frontiers of the Apaches, who are usually a refuge and shelter for our enemies, and there they hold meetings and consultations, hatch their plots against the whole land, and set out to plunder and make war, therefore, it is desirable to congregate the dispersed.” [Velasco 1609 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 1089]34

33. By 1620, Santa Fe was home to 50 colonial families (Hammond and Rey 1953: 1089).
34. “Instructions to Don Pedro de Peralta, who has been appointed Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Mexico in Place of Don Juan de Oñate, who has Resigned the Said Offices, March 30, 1609,” Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, legajo 27.
Velasco detailed his thoughts of Apache enmity in another document represented Apache resistance as a political and ideological bloc that included enemy pueblos, on the other side of which existed a refuge for enemies of the Spanish and a stronghold from which to attack and plot Anti-Colonial Action (ACA).

Hence, the structure of Indigenous defense had already coalesced into a form of Apache and apostate rebellion that framed ACA until the end of Spanish occupation in 1821. Over two hundred years earlier, ACA and signs of rebellion were in full effect and promoted an ideology encouraging Native American hostility against the Spanish, leaving little doubt that Ndé were public enemies in 1609.

“All the hostile tribes surrounding the nations among whom the Spaniards are now settled think that the Spaniards are scoundrels and people who are concerned only with their own interests. Many times . . . hostile natives have selfishly persuaded the peaceful Indians . . . [to] throw off the heavy Spanish yoke because . . . no benefit can come to the friendly natives from association with the Spaniards . . .” [Hammond and Rey 1953: 1094]35

EARLY ANTI-COLONIAL ACTION CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I discussed the historical origins of antagonistic relations between Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters and the Spanish. Indigenous people of North America employed a number of Anti-Colonial Actions (ACA), through trade, war, and accommodation. Spanish colonial expansion brought the pattern of Anti-Colonial Action and warfare from the Gran Chichimeca northward past the Rio Grande. Before 1601, Ndé buffalo hunters conducted amicable relations with the Spanish, but after 1601, Ndé buffalo hunters and their allies became identified as nations unconquerable through conventional war. Although Spanish colonial perceptions and designations changed, descriptions of Querecho, Apache, and Vaquero buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains reported between 1581 and 1600 A.D. show significant cultural continuity. However, the end of the 1500’s was a dynamic period in which Ndé buffalo hunters developed new political economic relationships. For example, Vaquero Apache dominated the buffalo trade and hunting territory adjacent to Pecos Pueblo. Ndé buffalo hunters perceived the Spanish as equals or subordinates and provided refuge from danger and hunger for colonials fleeing for their lives on more than one occasion before 1602. However, after 1601, Spanish colonial leaders depict Ndé buffalo hunters as enemies. The next chapter shows how these Ndé buffalo hunters adopted horses and became mounted buffalo hunters enmeshed in Spanish colonial slavery and war.
CHAPTER 3 MOUNTED NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS

This chapter reviews data on Ndé buffalo hunters, chronicled in primary Spanish accounts of the 1600 after they become known as Apache. To recap the last chapter, Ndé buffalo hunters are part of a hunting tradition that undoubtedly descended from big game hunting of the Pleistocene and the Native American caribou and bison hunting of the past 10,000 years. Historical documents and archeological material pertaining to the Southern Plains shows evidence of trade between Ndé buffalo hunters and Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo that began circa 1450, or earlier. Cautious and non-hostile relations characterized Ndé buffalo hunter contacts with Spanish colonialists in the 1500’s, however in 1602, Spanish reports expressed a paranoia steeped in the fear that Apache influence could turn the Pueblo Villages against them. This paranoia grew into a well-founded hysteria by the end of the seventeenth century, when Ndé (Apache) allied with other Indigenous peoples to drive the Spanish from their northern colonial range skirting the Rio Grande Valley. This chapter details the induction of Ndé buffalo hunters into the Spanish slave trade and discusses roles played by various Ndé buffalo hunting nations in Anti-Colonial Action and its intensification into full-scale warfare by the end of the 1675.
ANTI-COLONIAL ACTION AND WARFARE 1600’s

I find the Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) framework helpful in examining Indigenous resistance to Spanish colonialists because Indigenous offensives are taken into account as part of an infrastructure of resistance that made pueblo and mission revolts possible.

This framework is based on the historical theory that a line of evidence is formed by the social fact of broad historical and cultural affiliation among Indigenous people who shared subjection to Spanish colonial intervention. Based on my introduction of the concept of Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) in Chapter 2, I analyze ways in which Ndé (Apache) facilitated Pueblo and mission rebellions that culminated in the Great Northern Revolt as general unrest from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of California.36

Armed resistance from rancherías, Pueblos, and missions was enjoined by Native American nations that rejected colonial occupation. Therefore, the widespread Indigenous resistance of the late 1600’s is accurately represented as a series of Great Northern Wars. For example, Ndé buffalo hunters south of the Canadian River emerged as Apache de los Llanos, often associated with Faraón Apache first mentioned in 1675. Most likely, Apache de los Llanos supported the Faraón in the Great Northern Wars, such as the 1680 Pueblo Revolt and the Manso Wars in El Paso. Important historical consequences of Anti-Colonial Action and Warfare after 1675 became a basis for Ndé territorial expansion and the formation of alliances that would be important to Cúelcahén Ndé in the following centuries. By 1730, Ndé buffalo hunters known as Apache de los Llanos in New Mexico and west Texas emerged in San Antonio as part of an alliance of Ndé (Apache) and Jumano buffalo hunters in Texas and northeastern Mexico. In the latter half of 1771, the Cúelcahén Ndé emerged in historical records and in 1812; the Lipan Chief Cuelgas de Castro emerged to become the central figure in the history of the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas.

36. Such an interpretation is strongly supported in the work of Apache scholars, such as Forbes (1960), Opler (1974), and Ray (1974), as well as in the detailed military analysis of Apache fighting techniques written by Williams and Hoover (1983).
NUEVO LEÓN AND COAHUILA 1586-1640

The Great Northern Wars were a key factor in the emergence of the Faraón and Ndé expansion into Coahuila and Texas to engage in Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) along with Cuauchichil, Toboso, Tepehuan, and other Chichimeca nations, Table 3, p. 97.
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<td>Plains and Mountain Ndé</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In many ways, the Gran Apachería of the 1600’s resembled the Gran Chichimeca of the 1500’s, Table 3, p. 97 and is one of the bases for historical and cultural affiliation between Ndé buffalo hunters and Indigenous Peoples of Mexico (Pueblos Indígenas de México).

Saltillo, Coahuila was formally established in 1586. However, Cuauichichil resistance slowed colonial progress in Nuevo León until 1590 (Davis 1950: 76). As Alessio Robles (1938) explained, Cuauichichil resistance was an extension of the Chichimeca Wars, Table 3, p. 97. Once the Spanish realized that they could not succeed through direct warfare, they turned to more accommodative measures including gift-giving and establishing missions. The Spanish colonial machine used these tactics in its northward invasions. The first mission in the region was established and ended in 1607 when the Quamoquane martyred Fray Martín de Altamira on the Rio Nadadores between Monclova and Cuatro Ciénegas, Coahuila. Moreover, slave raids and the establishment of labor camps (congregas) brought the wrath of Cuauichichil led by Chief Huajuco in 1624 (Davis 1950: 130 - 132). As in New Mexico and Texas, Anti-Colonial Action in Coahuila and Nuevo León originated with colonial violence. During the 1600’s, Cuauichichil's were led by Chief's Cilavan and Zapalinamé in the east near Monterrey, while Toboso and other Indigenous alliances conducted ACA west of Monclova, to subject Spanish colonials to constant attack (Alessio Robles 1938: 112). By the 1640’s, an anti-colonial Toboso alliance intensified and threatened Spanish colonies in Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1644; 1645; Table 3, p. 97.)
Two actions on the part of the Spanish gained amnesty, if not friendship, among buffalo hunters in 1581. The sign of the cross was used as a peace offering and was reciprocated by Ndé buffalo hunters south of the Canadian River, while the use of the cross suggests either an Indigenous pre-Hispanic usage of a similar sign, or more likely, a diffusion of this practice from people to the south and west of the plains.

“...we made the sign of the cross with our hands in a token of friendship... they too, made the same sign... they welcomed us to their land and rancheria.” [Gallegos 1582a in Hammond and Rey 1966: 89 - 90]

Testimony given by Juan Rodriguez regarding the Oñate expedition to the plains in 1601 echoed previous testimony regarding Vaquero Ndé and Pueblo relations adding that Apache traded with Pueblos for corn, cotton blankets, and tobacco, which he called piciete. Some 100 miles, further the party met the Escanjaque, named by the Spanish because this was the word used in their initial peace overture37 Martinez, also on the expedition, reported,

“...Indians whom we called Escanjaques, because they received us peacefully by stretching their hands towards the sun and placing them on their chest saying, “escanjaque,” which was their sign of peace... Some were covered with tanned hides of the Cibola cattle and shaped like the tents of the Apaches... They have the same characteristics as the Apaches, but are larger and more robust than the Mexicans... The women paint like Chichimecas...” [Martinez 1601 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 841]

In addition to their relations on the Southern Plains, Ndé buffalo hunting nations maintained relations with specific Pueblo Villages that provided colonial traders the opportunity to buy into pre-existing trade networks and acquire buffalo products necessary for survival on the Southern Plains. In 1617, Spanish colonists in New Mexico traded peacefully with Vaquero Ndé (Apache) at Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo (Scholes 1936: 145).

37. Miguel, a Tancoa a prisoner taken by Oñate’s men on the retreat from Quivira told the Spanish that the people they called Escanjaque were actually the Aguacane (Appendix A).
In a report given to Salmerón (1626), Natives from the Great Settlement that Oñate visited in 1601 chided the Spaniards for taking a roundabout route (Milich 1966). The Quivira (Wichita) stated that the road through Taos and the land of Captain Quinía was preferable. 

“So that, according to what they said, one should go through Taos and through the lands of the great Captain Quinía through those plains.” [Gunnerson 1974: 70]

Spanish expeditions traveling east always met with Vaquero Apache on the Rayado trail that began at Taos and followed the Red River from the Rio Grande to the Canadian River. Quinía Apache rancherías dotted this region and the people living along it were Ndé that by 1626 had settled in the Ponil Canyon region, separate from the Vaquero Apache on the Llano to the east. Gunnerson (1969) correlated this historical data with the Cojo phase material found in Ponil Canyon.

D. Gunnerson (1974: 70) found that the Mescalero Ndé word for Jicarilla was “Kinya-Indé” and that Dené (Navajo) use Kinya to distinguish the Jicarilla from the Dené because they live in Pueblo-style houses. Kinya, recorded in primary accounts as Quinía, may have distinguished these Ndé from Ndé buffalo hunters who lived on the plains and sheltered themselves with tipis, known in Spanish as Apache de los Llanos. This strongly suggests that sometime before 1626, ancestral Jicarilla known as Quinía distinguished themselves from Apache de los Llanos. Cojo phase archaeological sites dated to 1650 that associate Ndé (Apache) pottery with Pueblo-style homes support this interpretation (J. Gunnerson 1969). Therefore, by 1626, three distinct groupings of Ndé buffalo hunters emerge in primary historical accounts and are verified by independent data.

38. This suggests that hostilities between Apache de los Llanos and Quivira Wichita living on the Great Bend of the Arkansas still had not begun in 1626.

39. J. Gunnerson (1969) documented a number of sites in the Ponil Canyon dated to the 1600’s that correspond with the emergence of Jicarilla Ndé in the area.
Based on both archaeological and historical data, the Southern Plains was home to three distinct Ndé buffalo hunting nations. Furthest north, Quinía Apache in Ponil Canyon maintained relations with Taos Pueblo. Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters just north of the Canadian River focused trade, convivial, and allied relations with Picuris Pueblo, while Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters south of the Canadian River maintained comparable relations with Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo. As Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988) historicized the Jicarilla Apache experience, I seek to sequence a similar survival history for Ndé buffalo hunters who moved to Texas and emerged as Cúelcahén Ndé and whose ancestors were known as Vaquero Apache in the 1600’s.
VAQUERO APACHE CIRCA 1630

Fray Alonso de Benavides presented an ecclesiastical survey of New Mexico in the 1620’s and a political geography of New Mexico and the Southern Plains, Map 7, p. 103. Benavides (1996: 1) reported that Toboso, Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Tomite, and Suma engaged in Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) and waged warfare between the Rio Grande and Concha River. One tactic was to destroy horse herds. According to Benavides, Apache del Perrillo lived 80 miles north of El Paso, Texas near the Jornada del Muerto in New Mexico. Benavides reported that once he entered Apache del Perrillo territory east of the Rio Grande, he did not meet the Rio Grande again until he arrived at the Piro Pueblos near San Marcial, New Mexico.40

Benavides reported that north of the Apache del Perrillo and on the west side of the Rio Grande, the Gila Ndé (Apaches Xilas) lived south of Albuquerque and were and associated with Senecú, a Piro Pueblo. Benavides (1996: 2) reported that the Apaches Navajos lived west of the Rio Grande and north of the Gila, and interpreted the name Navajo to mean “big planted fields.” Benavides stated that the Navajo lived in rancherías that extended west of the Rio Grande for over one hundred miles. Benavides (1996) wrote a report on “The Vaquero Apaches of the Buffalo Herd,” and described them as a block of buffalo hunters ranging to the north on the east side of the Rio Grande and two hundred and seventy miles east, Map 7, p. 103. According to Benavides estimate, Ndé buffalo hunters extended to the Arkansas River of eastern Colorado and well into the northern reaches of the Colorado River of Texas. Importantly for Ndé buffalo hunter history in Texas, Benavides’ 1630 writings strongly suggest that Ndé buffalo hunters had driven Jumano buffalo hunters from eastern New Mexico to Trans-Pecos Texas and south of the Rio Grande by the 1620’s. This saga of Ndé and Jumano conflict continues to play a key role in the Ndé buffalo hunter past in Texas.

40. Based on this information, Benavides’ route headed due north skirting the San Andres Mountains and the Jornada del Muerto in the Tularosa Basin near the Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge and the Mescalero Reservation.

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Map 7  Apacheria circa 1630

1626-1649

This map illustrates the survey made by Fray Benavides in 1630 discussed in Chapter 3. The 1630s mark the first reports of both Nde buffalo hunters mounted on horses and their first retaliation against the Spanish for slave raids on their rancherias.

Map completed by Enrique Maestas November 2002. Copyright 2002 Enrique Maestas. All rights reserved.
Benavides (1996) stated that in the 1620’s, Vaquero Apache lived primarily from buffalo hunting and used pack dogs to travel with their families. Conspicuously absent are references to the use of horses by Ndé buffalo hunters. This evidence calls into question Forbes (1960) belief that Apache adopted horses soon after 1609. Benavides (1996) descriptions suggest strong continuity with life ways characterized by foot bound buffalo hunting and travel in the 1620’s. However, in comparison to earlier descriptions, the dog trains had grown to match a growing volume of trade with Pueblo villages and Spanish colonies.

“. . . and the tents are pulled along by dogs harnessed up with little packsaddles. These are medium-sized dogs, and they are accustomed to using five hundred dogs in a line, one in front of another. The people carry their merchandise along, which they trade for cotton rope and for other things that they need.” [Benavides 1996: 75]

Benavides (1996) told a story of various unnamed captains of the Vaquero who traveled to Santa Fé to see a statue of the Virgin Mary and resulted in the first attempt to establish a mission for the Vaquero (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945: 92). Although a report of optimism, Benavides also wrote that before the end of his commission in 1629, Governor Felipe Sotelo (Zotylo) solicited an unidentified mounted Native American raiding party to take slaves in an attack that resulted in the death of an important captain of the neophyte Christian Vaquero Apache ranchería.

This Christian ranchería was subsequently destroyed.

“In order to get slaves to send off for sale in New Spain, he sent for a gutsy Indian captain-an enemy of the visiting group of Vaquero Apaches-to bring him whatever he could catch. This emissary from hell hit upon going to the hamlet of the primary captain, who had given his word to the Virgin that he would become a Christian along with all his people. The emissary fought with this man and killed him, along with many other people, as he had taken a number of Indian warriors along with him. The emissary brought a number of captives to the governor that he did not wish to get, due to the disturbance it would cause . . . All of this caused the whole province to rise up in revolt . . .”

[Benavides 1996: 77]

Apparently, enemies of Vaquero Apache worked in complicity with Spanish colonial officials to perpetrate a slave raid that destroyed an Ndé buffalo hunter ranchería and in 1629, may have precipitated the first reported Ndé buffalo hunter retaliation against the Spanish.
In addition to direct warfare, Spanish colonial policy provided for the appropriation of Indígena to be impressed into missions. Indígena is Spanish for Indigenous people. Spanish colonial reports identify Indígena as Bozale, Gentile, yndio/yndia, and Ladino depending on the degree to which they integrated Spanish culture into their comportment.

A mission in Spanish colonial New Spain was a funding arrangement to pay for food, materials, and military personnel to protect and raid villages for potential mission dwellers. This money was also expected to pay for gifts to entice Indigenous people into entering missions. Often, a mission settlement consisted of the Native people’s usual rancheria with a jacal or other simple structure for the priest to live, and perhaps a church made of similar material. If the mission became moderately successful, the Mission Natives provided the labor to construct the stone and adobe structures and facades that enchant tourists throughout the Spanish missionary range.

In exceptional cases, such as Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz established on the Nueces for the Lipan Apache in Texas during the 1760’s, desires for making a political statement of military force and commitment resulted in permanent structures before the mission was well established. Another important term used to classify Indígena is “apostate” (apostate), meaning that they escaped or were fugitives from apostolic missions. Important to the historical of Anti-Colonial Action, most Native Texas alliances and joint settlements had representatives and leaders who were apostate Indígena. Ndé often became mainstays of these operations because of their long and sordid history with the Spanish. In all, Benavides’ marked his departure from New Mexico in 1630 with a document describing the enmeshment of Ndé buffalo hunters in patterns of violence and slavery that escalated into warfare and eventually predicated the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico.
COLONIAL INTERFERENCE IN THE NDÉ CICUYE TRADE

As the seventeenth century wore on, colonialists abused their trade relations with Ndé buffalo hunters and began enslaving Apache people. While Apache slavery opened up a new market for colonialists, it disrupted economic relations between Ndé buffalo hunters and Pueblo villagers. In the 1630’s, Governor Francisco de la Mora y Ceballos gave official permits for taking Native children captive to be impressed into perpetual slavery (Kessell 1987: 94). In a document listing the crimes Governor Luís de Rosas was accused of in New Mexico between 1638 and 1639 A.D., Rosas is reported to have given knives to Pecos (Cicuye) to trade with Vaquero Apache of the Llano Estacado of New Mexico and Texas.

After the Franciscans subverted Rosas trade schemes, they accused him of massacring Apache rancherías on the plains and capturing their people for sale in Nueva Vizcaya and initiated hostility between the Franciscans and the various governors that would continue throughout the century.41

Cicuye complained that these crimes were detrimental to their livelihood while the Apache reportedly “remained with hatred and enmity towards the Spaniards.” (Forbes 1960: 132). During the following harvest, Ndé retaliated by destroying large amounts of the food stores shared by the Pueblo and colonial villages (Gutierrez 1991: 112). An important point to realize is that before Spanish arrival, Pueblo and Ndé complemented one another’s subsistence surplus. Thus, a trade of buffalo products for horticultural produce served both sides. However, the Spanish arrived and disrupted the trade with war and disease that must have taken its toll on the native labor force, especially in the Pueblo villages. Later colonization brought some Spanish goods, but also a relatively unproductive colonial populace that became dependent on Native American production. It is obvious from reports that these conditions bred contempt and enmity on all sides (Scholes 1936 - 1937; Hackett 1923 - 1937, III).

41. Under Governor Luís de Rosas, Franciscan missionaries retreated to Santo Domingo Pueblo for sixteen months in 1640, abandoning all of the other missions. To secure provisions, the Franciscans ordered raids against the governor and his allied Pueblos (Gunnerson 1974: 87).
Most likely, it was this sorry state that was the source of Cicuye complaints and Ndé buffalo hunter hostility. Exacerbating this situation, by 1640, Ndé buffalo hunters and Spaniards engaged in a war initiated by a series of Spanish slave raids into the Cibola plains of the Vaquero Apache. The year 1639 marked a period of revolt among the Jeméz and Taos, as well as Navajo and other Ndé.

Reportedly, this included the Vaquero Apache in a raiding roundabout, in which Ndé and Pueblo rangers raided the governor’s stores while the governor’s soldiers raided the missions and Pueblos (Forbes 1960: 133 - 134; Gunnerson 1974: 88). A general rebellion broke out among Taos, Jemez, and other Pueblos in 1639 that cost the Spanish a large amount of livestock and resulted in entire Pueblo villages leaving their homes to establish joint Rancherías with the Ndé (Hackett 1923 - 1937, III: 110 - 111). In 1639, Taos people escaping Spanish abuse moved to live among the Apache de los Llanos where Ndé and Taos established the Anti-Colonial Action stronghold called El Cuartelejo. According to Escalante, sometime between 1661 and 1664, Spanish forces went out to retrieve the Taos people who had left in 1639.

Ndé captives became important to the Spanish slave trade and “Expeditions were constantly being organized for . . . seizing Apache captives to be sold as slaves in New Spain” (Scholes 1936 - 1937, XI: 99). Spanish colonists unlawfully seized Apache who came to visit and trade with the Pueblos. According to Forbes (1960), a famine in 1658 brought Ndé buffalo hunters into the pueblos in 1659. When they arrived, Governor Lopez de Mendizabal sent men to take them captive and enslave them. Moreover, Captain Andrés Hurtado (1661) testified that all the governors past and present engaged in slave raiding. After 1660, Ndé engaged in the lucrative slave trade as partners, as well as victims. According to Fray Alonso de Posada (1686), who chronicled his experience in New Mexico between 1650 and 1665, a Sierra Blanca Apache trading party arrived in Pecos with captive Wichita children from Quivira to trade for horses. This signaled a change from Salmerón’s 1626 report of free passage on the Southern Plains between New Mexico and Quivira to a road that had been integrated into the Spanish slave trade (Forbes 1960). By 1660, Ndé and Pueblo mistrust of the Spanish resulted in a change in Ndé travel and trade practices.

42 These reports come from Father Silvester Vélex de Escalante’s 1778 written version of reported oral history about the 1639 - 1640 abandonment of Taos reproduced in Ralph Twitchell’s (1914, II: 279) edited translations of various Spanish Archives.
Ndé traders no longer brought their families and dog trains into the Rio Grande valley, but instead Ndé traders brought their merchandise to the eastern Pueblos of Cicuye (Pecos), Picuris, and Taos. Spanish traders responded by seeking out Apache de los Llanos on the plains (Garcia 1660 in Hackett 1923 - 1937). Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that the decades between 1626 and 1660 represent a political economic transition in which Ndé buffalo hunters developed horse skills, became enmeshed in the slave trade of New Spain, and had already extended their range to southern Kansas or eastern Oklahoma.\footnote{43}{Gunnerson (1974: 95) suggested that these hostile relations between Nde and the Wichita and Caddo nations to the east grew into the Norteño alliance of Texas in the 1700’s.}
Spanish enslavement of Ndé buffalo hunters occurred alongside a horse driven Ndé expansion of hunting and settlement territory. Overall, these social changes resulted in violence that escalated into a series of Great Northern Wars that stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to the Bay of California at the end of the 1600’s. Historical and anthropological understandings of Native American slavery has progressed significantly from Spanish borderlands apologist frameworks that often justified slavery and genocide as “just desserts” for Indigenous people who did not gracefully accept Spanish colonial paternal kindness.44

More than just exposing the historical bias of this framework, Forbes (1960) and Spicer (1960) detailed the Native American slave trade as a set of powerful intercultural processes that drew Native and colonial people into cycles of violence.45 Gutierrez (1991) added to this understanding of Native American slavery on the Spanish colonial frontier by uncovering complex convivial relations emergent in the historical practices of constituting honor and status for New Mexican villagers. Recently, Menchaca (2001) established the historical reality that the African slave and Native American slave trade were intertwined in colonial economies. Moreover, they resulted in convivial relations between Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans and the emergence of Mexican Americans. Grounded in Meillassoux’s (1991) Anthropology of Slavery, Brooks (2002: 3) described details of the emergence of American Indians and Hispanics in New Mexico from the crucible of the various forms of captivity and slavery in Captives and Cousins.

“Native and European men fought to protect their communities and preserve personal repute yet participated in conflicts and practices that made the objects of their honor, women and children, crucial products of violent economic exchange.” [Brooks 2002: 3]

44 Dunn (1911), Bolton (1915), and Castañeda (1936 - 1950) for examples of this framework in constructing Spanish borderland histories in Texas, and Weber (1992) for a critical treatment of this historiography.

45 I refer to Greymorning (2004: XXII) for his precedent in using Native and Indigenous peoples as proper nouns in order to define as people awaiting people who arrive into an area as part of colonial and invasionary enterprises.
Although I agree with Brooks (2002: 31) overall thesis, I reject his assertion that “indigenous and colonial practices joined to form a slave system,” if by saying this he is inferring that Native American and Spanish agents were equal contributors to the slave trade.

In contrast, historical evidence shows that while the Spanish slave trade intensified between the West Africa coast and New Spain after 1527, Castañeda reported only three slaves among the New Mexican pueblos and even these three men from the Plains appeared castaways stranded far from their lands. El Turco, Ysopete, and Xabe were the only possible slaves and these were presented to the Spaniards with no clear reference to being movable pieces of wealth.

Two Towa, Bigotes and Cacique were mentioned as slaves, however, it is clear that Coronado’s men enslaved these two (Castañeda 1596 in Hammond 1940). As for the Ndé buffalo hunters, there is no report of slavery at all until 1629, after they had become enmeshed in the Spanish colonial slave trade. Moreover, a pedestrian buffalo hunting subsistence would not seem to benefit from slavery, because enslaved people would be unfamiliar and recalcitrant mouths to feed.\(^{46}\) In all, Spanish colonial slavery was a violent intervention in Native American life in New Mexico and not an institution recognizable to Ndé and Pueblo peoples prior to the Spanish invasion. Important in this is that slavery became a condition of life for Ndé buffalo hunters after the sixteenth century and a social change that had much to do with subsequent Ndé migrations and Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) and their affiliation with Native peoples of Coahuila and Nuevo León. This defines the origin of colonial slavery as a European institution.

Based on this origin, contrasting reports of slavery in the 1500’s to those of the 1600’s show a development of the colonial slave trade and the scope and power of transformations levied on the inhabitants of the Southern Plains and New Mexico. In 1541, Tiguex held three captives from plains villages to the east. By 1630, Native American slaves in New Mexico outnumbered their owners three to one.

\(^{46}\) However, a different understanding must be considered for the Aguacane (Escanjaque) of Oklahoma, a buffalo hunting society where captives were taken and kept, Appendix A.
Until Benavides’ reports of 1630 and 1634, there was no mention of captives among the Querecho, Vaquero, or Apache. Yet by the 1660’s, Sierra Blanca Ndé captured Quivira children to trade for horses.

Twenty years later, Spanish colonial slavery resulted in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt and numerous other Native American offensives.

“From the colony’s very start, New Mexicans became dependent on Indian slaves for most of their basic needs and as a form of capital. In 1630 Santa Fe counted a Spanish population of 250, served by 700 Indian and mestizo servants and slaves. As early as 1633, Fray Estevan de Perea complained that Indian children were being snatched from their parents . . . and placed in permanent slavery. By 1680 half of all domestic units had at least one Indian slave, and some households counted as many as 30. Even the ascetic friars kept household slaves.” [Gutierrez 1991: 104]

It is clear that the Spanish initiated Native Americans into a slave trade trafficking thousands of Indigenous people between the Mississippi River and the Great Basin and from the Arkansas River to Mexico City.47 Thus, it is inaccurate to characterize the seventeenth century as anything other than a hundred years of raids, revolts, and slavery. As the 1600’s drew to a close in New Mexico, a growing economy spurred by the slave trade brought about not only a cycle of violence, but also initiated new blood ties, as well as affluent, and fictive kinship ties.48 Scholes (1977) characterized the emergent political economy as one in which Ndé buffalo hunters became prized captives to be enslaved and traded between dignitaries and households. Scholes (1977) indexed reports that Ndé also voluntarily intermarried and lived among Pueblos, Meztizos, and Spaniards as family members and neighbors.

47 Menchaca (2001: 60) pointed out that Spanish traffic in Malinké from Africa impressed into slavery slowed after the 1660’s. Interestingly, this is precisely the period when Native American enslavement intensified north of the Valley of Mexico. Menchaca (2001: 76) documents this for the Gran Chichimeca and this study does the same for the Gran Apacheria.

48 This has only begun to be examined by scholars such as Gutierrez (1991), Menchaca (2001), and Brooks (2002).
Scholes (1977) presented data demonstrating that before 1680, there had been an historical transformation of Indigenous peoples into members of Native American nations (naciones de indias) and citizens (sujetos del rey) of the Spanish Empire. Within the colonial social structure, people found it advantageous to hold multiple memberships and, similar to conditions in New Spain, generations of Meztizos emerged who negotiated new social, political, and economic boundaries for themselves and others.\(^{49}\)

Scholes’ (1977) reported Apache living in Spanish colonies, Spaniards becoming Apache chiefs, Apache living in Pueblo Villages, and Pueblo communities abandoning their homes to live with the Apache de los Llanos show all evidence of this. Apparently, Ndé agitation brought the inability of soldiers and friars to protect the Native Americans accepting vassalage and conversion into resolution, thus bringing sovereignty into question because protection was guaranteed in return for vassalage and obedience. Anti-Colonial Action rejecting Spanish sovereignty became visible as constant insurrection between the Rio Grande and Pecos rivers in New Mexico. Natives with missions temporarily convinced of their fealty to Spain were shaken in that belief in the middle of the 1600’s when they became enmeshed in complex cycles of violence and accommodation.

In all, mounted Ndé, documented as Apache de los Llanos, entered the slave trade between 1626 and 1660 and traveled across the plains to bring back captives from Quivira, Texas, and settlements to the east.

\(^{49}\) León-Portillo’s (1990) theoretical treatment of the transformation of Nahuas into Ladinos. Many of the same social political mechanisms operated in New Mexico and the Southern Plains.
After 1630, violence escalated and Spanish slaving expeditions alienated most frontier nations, thus enmeshing Ndé, Toboso, and Jumano in a massive slave trade.\(^{50}\) By 1640, slavery brought various nations into military alliances and convivial relations on both sides of the Rio Grande (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1645; 1649; Paredes 1640).

War between Ndé buffalo hunters and Spanish colonialists before 1675 can be characterized in the two ways. First, relations became increasingly violent over the course of the 1600’s, instigated by Spanish enslavement of Ndé buffalo hunters. Second, Ndé buffalo hunters and Pueblo villagers forged military alliances, ideological resistance, and convivial relations that galvanized forces evicting the Spanish colonial apparatus from New Mexico in 1680.

\(^{50}\) Making his way back to Mexico in 1583, Espejo tracked south of La Junta de los Ríos and met “an old Toboso Indian. The people had fled having taken warning from the captives that had been seized there (Hammond and Rey 1966: 211).” This fear of Spanish slavers among the Toboso is likely an important part of their hostility toward the Spanish in the following centuries is also demonstrated by Lúxán’s (1583) note of the Joboso and the similar report of their fear of reported by Luxán on the journey south.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS IN THE GREAT NORTHERN WARS

The Great Northern Wars and Ndé expansion were intertwined with a horse-mounted Ndé (Apache) diaspora. After 1640, mounted Ndé engaged in voluntary diaspora towards areas removed from Spanish purview and were subject to involuntary diaspora away from these areas as captives in the colonial slave trade. In 1672, Ndé buffalo hunters attacked during a year of crop failure that led to Pueblo abandonment and refusals to provision the colonials. Joined by ladino Indígena escaped from the missions, Ndé buffalo hunters and other Indigenous nations continued a tradition of periodic Native American offensives and revolts (Forbes 1960). Between 1672 and 1680, tension erupted in Native American offensives thrusting the Spaniards from New Mexico. According to Menchaca (2001: 92), Tlaxcalteco and Mestizo fought alongside Ndé and Pueblo in 1680.

Governor Trevino’s 1675 persecution of Pueblo religious leaders exacerbated hostile relations between Pueblo villages and Spanish colonials (Bowden 1975). In 1679, Spanish chroniclers cried witness to Ndé subterfuge in turning the Pueblos against them in unified Native American resistance (Archivo General de Indias 1679a). Chief Juan declared one of the chief grievances against the Spanish was the treacherous enslavement of Vaquero buffalo hunters by Francisco Javier when they had come to peacefully trade at Pecos Pueblo.

Declaring the 1680 Pueblo Revolt with words reminiscent of Tenamaxtle a century and a half earlier, Chief Juan demanded that the Spaniards leave New Mexico or die and turn over all Indigenous captives to the freedom fighters, including the Native Mexicans, Table 4, p. 115.

“... many meztizos and Tlaxcalans sided with the rebels (Forbes 1994: 179, 181). In particular, many Tlaxcalans from Santa Fe conspired in the ambush and attack. They helped the Pueblos burn Santa Fe and force the colonists to retreat (Forbes 1973; Prince 1915: 88). Governor Otermin also reported that many meztizos chose to remain among the Pueblo Indians.” [Menchaca 2001: 92]
TABLE 4 EARLY GREAT NORTHERN WARS: 1671 - 1686

1671  Cualiteguache led Chichimeca against Mission San Antonio de los Llanos

1675  Faraón Ndé attacks on Spanish and Allied Pueblos in New Mexico

1680-1700  New Mexico Pueblos, Toboso, Concho, Tarahumara, Chizo, Suma, Manso, Janos, Julime, and Ndé between New Mexico and Sonora to Texas, and Nueva Vizcaya

1684  Apache and Salinero vs. Spanish and Jumano alliance between Colorado and Concho rivers

1685  Nations against Spanish included the Toboso, Ervipiame, Gavilan, Bausiorigame Mission Revolts between Coahuila, Nuevo León, Nueva Vizcaya, and Texas

1686  Ndé expansion warfare against Quivira, Texas, Pawnee, Jumano, Ute, Spanish, and others at the Gran Apacheria

The 1680 Pueblo Revolt confronted the Spanish with Pan-Native American solidarity and resulted in colonial abandonment of Santa Fe. It is not clear what part Vaquero Ndé played in colonial affairs until the emergence of the Faraón Apache in 1675. Between 1672 and 1680, Ndé reportedly caused the abandonment of six pueblos southeast of Santa Fe, including those called the Jumano Pueblos (Scholes and Mera 1940). In 1680, Taos, Picuris, and Acho Apache warriors killed colonists living in their lands (Hackett 1923 - 1937, I 98).
EMERGENCE OF THE FARAÓN NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS

Faraón Ndé (Apache) were key insurgents in precipitating the 1680 Pueblo Revolt that empowered them and to an eastern expansion into central Texas that removed both Spanish and Native American competition in the west Texas buffalo range by 1686. Prior to the 1700’s, Ndé east of the Pueblos were generalized as Vaquero Apache, Apache Ciboleño, or Apache de los Llanos (Posada 1686). Although Pueblo involvement in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt has been well established by Hackett (1942), Bowden (1975), and Kessell (2002), who relegated Apache a minor role in the event, Forbes (1960) and Brooks (2002) argued that Ndé buffalo hunter Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) and warfare were necessary to both its initiation and success.

Ndé buffalo hunter expansion probably did not predate 1650 when a Spanish expedition revisited a Jumano village near the Colorado River in Texas (Wade 1998). Most likely in reference to the 1650’s and 1660’s, Posada (1686) pointed out that the Apache of the Cíbola plains made efforts to maintain peaceful relations with the Spanish because of the importance of stability for their economic trade interests. However, by the 1670’s, Ndé tolerance of colonial abuse reached a boiling point. According to Forbes (1960), Navajo raided between Santa Fe and El Paso west of the Rio Grande between 1675 and 1680 and Apache de los Llanos and in 1675.

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51. Vaquero signifies buffalo hunter and is used by Benavides (1996). Ciboleño identifies something or someone to be part of the buffalo plains, and llano refers to the grasslands and was used in the “Testimony of Marcos Leandro, July 30, 1601,” Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México 26, reported in Forbes (1960: 99). Both of these terms used together in a coherent political geography of the region presented by Posada (1686).
Juan de Miranda stated that Apache de los Llanos lived among the Pueblo anti-colonial forces organized around Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo and that Spanish troops prepared to go to war against them and identified the Ndé buffalo hunters as “Apaches llamados Paraonez” who ranged between Cicuye and El Paso.52

Apparently, Pharaones Apaches raided the eastern side of New Mexico in 1675 and complaints of their depredations were common in New Mexico well into the following century. By the time of Vargas reconquest of New Mexico in 1692 (Kessell and Kendricks 1992), mounted Ndé buffalo hunters had already driven Spanish colonials from the eastern Apachería of Texas.

Faraón Ndé led this movement to systematically reject Spanish claims of sovereignty in their lands. The 1680 Pueblo Revolt signaled Ndé buffalo hunter expansion into Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, east into Texas, and south of the Rio Grande. Thus began Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter historical relations with Mexican and Texas Indians.

52. “Letter of Juan de Miranda, January 5, 1675,” in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Spain, 19258 is reported in Forbes (1960: 171).
NDÉ AFFILIATION WITH INDÍGENA OF COAHUILA AND NUEVO LEÓN

After 1650, Spanish colonials subjected Ndé, Toboso, and Jumano to the slave trade of New Spain based on their status as unconquerable nations southeast of Santa Fe (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1645; 1649; Scholes 1977). Between 1684 and 1730, Ndé rangers increased the range of their attacks on Spanish outposts to Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Nueva Vizcaya and settled in rancherías in the Bolsón de Mapimí (Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997). Ladrón de Guevara’s (1739) report details evidence of Apache offensives in Nuevo León and various documents relating to the establishment of the presidios at El Pasaje do the same for Coahuila (Tribiño, Vargas, and Vedoya 1742; Menchero 1747; Arriaga 1759). Berroterán’s (1748) report documents the extension of Ndé ranging in Nueva Vizcaya. Ndé rangers developed Anti-Colonial Action south of the Rio Grande in coordination with the Toboso. I interpret this as a continued tradition of Anti-Colonial Action reaching back to the Tepehuan Wars of 1616. In addition to Anti-Colonial Action with the Toboso in Coahuila, Ndé formed social political alliances with the Suma, Jano, Jocome, and Spanish near El Paso (Posada 1686; Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1691).

Although Indígena in Coahuila and Nuevo León did not constitute a united front against the Spanish, as did Pueblo Revolt forces in New Mexico, the constant pressure of Toboso warfare and mission revolts due to plague, pestilence, famine, and slavery occupied Spanish forces (Tables 3 - 4. Appendix B). Exacerbating the problem, Spanish buffalo hunters engaged in commercial hunting. Fray Salazar (1700) reported buffalo meat in the northern Coahuila Mission area and Spanish hunting them for their tongues and tallow. Espinosa stated directly that buffalo became scarce because of Spanish hunting practices (Canedo 1964: 764).

Apparently, Spanish abuse of the buffalo herds for their tongues, hides, and tallow noticeably reduced their numbers and debilitated Indigenous subsistence practices. Mission life also appeared unhealthy, often concentrating Indigenous populations and thus, setting them up for plague, famine, and pestilence. In addition, the Spanish presence itself instigated conflicts between Indígena. Indígena forces either fought for the Spanish or against them or in either case, took heavy casualties. In 1671, Governor Alonso de León fought against Cualiteguache, an Indígena of Mission San Antonio de los Llanos south of Matamoros on the Mexican Gulf Coast who organized six hundred Chichimeca warriors who killed a military officer and thirty-eight shepherds before taking the livestock.
Although León retrieved thirteen thousand sheep and twenty horses and is celebrated in the text, the Valley of San Antonio was reportedly free of Spanish settlement in 1689 (Chapa and Foster 1997: 91, 141, 142). An important aspect of history yet to be recovered is the establishment and destruction of missions in Coahuila and Nuevo León (See Appendix B). I found direct evidence for thirty-seven missions in Coahuila and Nuevo León between 1670 and 1737. Appendix B provides a historical breakdown of these mission regarding the establishment, membership and destruction. Many of these missions did not last long. This is no surprise, seeing as though they were established at the height of the Great Northern Wars.

An historical consequence of the mission system was that Spanish chroniclers became more familiar with the Indigenous peoples of Coahuila. Important to the present study are cultural continuities between these groups and life ways documented for Ndé reported in Texas and northeastern Mexico. For example, while generalized plant collecting and hunting subsistence focused on mescal and mesquite in the southern areas, Indigenous nations to the north hunted buffalo near the Rio Grande. Notably, Ndé in the region became known as Natagé, meaning mescal eaters, or more directly Mescalero.

Another important continuity is the use of peyote in ceremonial gatherings reported as mitotes (León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961). Apparently, Ndé buffalo hunters moving into the region and living among its Indigenous peoples, learned to use this sacred medicine in mitote. In the next section, I trace the historical documentation of Ndé buffalo hunters south of the Canadian River that emerge as Apache de los Llanos to establish a ranchería on the Rio Florido (Concho River) in Texas by capitalizing upon their newfound power after 1680.
APACHE DE LOS LLANOS IN THE GREAT NORTHERN WARS

Faraón Ndé appears to have emerged from Apache de los Llanos living south of the Canadian River who had their primary trade relations with Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo. Trade between buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains south of the Canadian River who produced Tierra Blanca, and possibly Wheeler sites (Metcalf 1979; Hoffman 1989b), have been associated archaeologically with a trade network between Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo and numerous buffalo hunter sites between the Canadian and Brazos rivers in the Texas panhandle dated between 1450 and 1650 (Spielmann 1983). In 1675, the first historical report of Faraón as Apache de los Llanos highlighted their alliance with Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo.

In the 1700’s, the Faraón and Apache de los Llanos increased their roles in resistance and attrition levied upon colonials from El Paso south to La Junta de los Rios and northwest to the Rio Florido (Concho River), and the San Saba River in Texas (Mendoza 1684; Niel 1710; Retis 1715).
MOUNTED NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS SETTLE IN WEST TEXAS 1682-1686

After the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Apache de los Llanos moved into western Texas and established a base near San Angelo on the Rio Florido (Concho River) from which to remove both Spanish colonials and buffalo hunters allied with Chief Juan Sabeata of the Jumano and Zibolo. Ensuing from the Great Northern Wars, violence, and retaliation between Apache and Spaniard instigated increasingly effective Anti-Colonial Action. Somewhat removed from the Spanish who restricted to El Paso and their tenuous colonial footholds in Coahuila and Chihuahua between 1680 and 1692, anti-colonial forces made up of mounted Ndé and other buffalo hunters expanded their settlement and range south to Santiago Paposquiaro (1686) and La Junta de los Ríos, Map 8, p. 122.

In 1682, a Jumano prisoner taken during the 1680 Pueblo Revolt told Governor Otermín that Vaquero Apache living five hundred fifty miles east raided horses in Sonora (Arizona) and traded them with Gila Apache to the northwest (Otermín 1682). Seeing that the Jumano informant spoke from a state of captivity in El Paso, and the distance from El Paso to San Antonio is approximately five hundred fifty miles, Ndé ranging activities approached San Antonio. Based on earlier reports and Barriero’s 1728 map, Vaquero horse traffickers had rancherías bordering San Antonio, Texas (Thomas 1935: 80-81; Jackson and Foster 1995: 126).

In 1684, Ndé buffalo hunters pushed the Jumano alliance out of Trans-Pecos and western Texas between Menard and Fort Stockton. In addition to this victory, various Ndé offensives were carried out on the Spanish refuge at El Paso (Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 327).
Map 8  Mounted Nde Buffalo Hunters

Balcones Escarpment — Rivers and Coastlines

1675-1704
This map illustrates the Nde buffalo hunter diaspora during the Great Northern Wars. This map reclects Posada’s 1686 reports and others that show the eastward expansion of Nde buffalo hunters.

Map completed by Enrique Mendez November 2002. Copyright 2002, Enrique Mendez. All rights reserved.
Leading up to the confrontations in Texas, Chief Juan Sabeata led Mendoza (1684) to the Jumano settlement on the San Saba River near Menard, Texas in 1683. On January 17, 1684, Jediondo people closely aligned with Sabeata voiced concern about Apache attacks on their homes north of Sheffield, Texas and the Pecos River (Wade 1998: 181 - 182). The next day, Sabeata and other Native American leaders asked Mendoza to fight with them against the Apache, to which Mendoza agreed. In early February 1684, while hunting buffalo south of the Concho River in Texas, Ndé (Apache) raided the Jumano horse herd.

“The hostile Apaches stole nine animals, seven from the Jumana Indians, and the others, a horse and a mule, from the chief and Ensign Diego de Luna, respectively. Because of carelessness these animals joined those of the Indians. It was not possible to follow them because of the great advantage which they had . . . We remained here four days because we were awaiting some spies, who brought us news, saying that they had discovered a ranchería of hostile Apaches.” [Bolton 1908: 335]

Following the Middle Concho, the expedition arrived south of the present site of San Angelo where Sabeata reported an Ndé ranchería nearby. Although Mendoza (1684) doubted the veracity of the report, Wade (1998) explained that dissembling on his part might have been motivated by his unwillingness to pursue the Ndé. Subsequently, a power struggle ensued between Mendoza and Sabeata, whereby Mendoza accused Sabeata and his followers of misleading the troops. In the end, Mendoza expelled Sabeata from the expedition.

Wade (1998) interpreted Mendoza’s expedition as a Jumano buffalo hunt escorted by Spanish feigning false intentions of attacking the Apache de los Llanos infringing on Jumano alliance territory.

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53. Sheffield, Texas is south of the intersection of the Pecos River with US Interstate Highway 10.

54. When Mendoza and Lopez made their report to Mexico City they stated that 75 Nations had asked for aid against the Apache, and 66 of them lived north of the Rio Grande and 9 of them lived at La Junta (Wade 1998: 222).
Wade’s (1998) interpretation appears to be an attempt to extricate Mendoza’s inner motivations from his text. A by-product of this psychologizing is the reasoning away of an actual Ndé presence in west central Texas by narrating the Mendoza expedition of 1684 as an opportunistically hunt.

Wade (1998) constructed the key power struggle to have emerged between Sabeata’s and Mendoza over his failed promise to fight the Apache, an activity conflicting with Mendoza’s desire to complete a successful buffalo hunt.

Wade (1998: 206) may be correct in her position that Mendoza and the Ndé engaged in mutual avoidance despite Sabeata’s attempts to instigate confrontation. Nevertheless, Sabeata’s efforts to lead the joint expedition to the San Angelo area clearly imply that Ndé buffalo hunters had a ranchería near San Angelo just south of the Middle Concho River. After all, this route is not exactly the most direct and well-watered route from the Pecos River to Menard, Texas. Once on the San Saba, Mendoza reported three Apache attacks and three attacks carried out by Salinero rangers.55

“On the 1st day of May of the year 1684, we set out from this place . . . because of my not being able to sustain the great war which, from the north, the common enemies, the Apache nation, have made upon us. They . . . attacked us three times by night and by day . . . last night they wounded a soldier, inflicting upon him three arrow wounds, besides other injuries which the Apaches have caused . . . From the west the bandit Indians of the kingdom of La Bizcaia, whom they call the Salineros, with great boldness made by night three attacks upon the aforesaid camp, and killed in the field two friendly Indians . . . of the Jediondos nation.” [Bolton 1908: 338]

55. Mendoza’s report suggests that these Salinero warriors came from Nueva Vizcaya and associated them with Salineros who Kenmotsu (1994: 142) indexes from the southern area of the Bolsón de Mapimi. These natives had been in armed resistance since at least their collusion in the Tepehuan war fought between 1616 - 1618 against the Spanish (Archivo General de Indias 1616). If these were Tepehuan, this alliance may have foreshadowed the reports of Apache in Santiago Paposquiaro (1686) south of the Bolsón de Mapimi.
The existence of an Ndé ranchería south of the Colorado River is key to the present study and calls into question Wade (1998: 154) summation that Apache may have ranged all of Texas “. . . to hunt, to trade, to fight, or to steal . . .” but that Apache did not move “. . . into Texas en masse and for permanence; not at that time anyway.” The error of this notion becomes clear once the Mendoza (1684) report is interpreted as a successful military operation carried out by Ndé and Salinero warriors to drive the Spanish and Jumano alliance from the buffalo plains of west central Texas.

In short, Mendoza walked into contested territory between the Jediondo ranchería near Sheffield and an Ndé ranchería near San Angelo and was eventually driven away from the Jumano ranchería near Menard in 1684 by joint Apache and Salinero forces. Within a decade, Mazanet (1691) claimed that the Salinero lived on the Pecos River, suggesting that the 1684 episode precipitated an eviction or absorption of the Jediondo by the Salinero.

“The said nations the Choma [Jumano], Cibola, and Canaya, are Indians living in the country along the banks of Rio del Norte [Rio Grande]. They border on the Salineros Indians who live on the banks of the Salado [Pecos], a river that runs into the Rio del Norte. They also border on the Apaches and fight wars with them. The Apaches live in a chain from east to west. They are at war with all the nations around them except the Salineros with who they have peace.” [Author’s translation of Masanet 1691]

If the Salinero were Tepehuan it is significant that Ndé coordinated attacks with Tepehuan warriors, thereby continuing a tradition of military success against Spanish forces on both sides of the Rio Grande since at least 1650 (Kenmotsu 1994: 142). However, since Mendoza (1684) never actually saw nor met a single Salinero, he may have been mistaken.

It is possible that Mendoza’s reported Salinero were Salinero Apache who would be known as Mescalero reported in the same area in 1745 (Opler 1981: 389). Supporting this interpretation, Trans-Pecos Ndé, likely Faraón, may have become known as Salineros after leading Spanish colonials to salt deposits between the Rio Grande and Pecos rivers between 1680 and 1696 (Kessel and Hendricks 1992: 327). My interpretation of the expulsion of Jumano from the San Saba River of Texas concludes that it took place between Mendoza’s buffalo hunt of 1684 and Posada’s authorship of his chronicle in 1686.
Alluding to a connection between the expulsion of the Jumano from the San Saba River in Texas, Posada (1686) reported that Ndé also drove the Jumano from their Pueblos in the Salinas area east of the Rio Grande that now form the ruins of Gran Quivira National Monument. In sum, it appears that by 1684, Apache de los Llanos most likely affiliated with the Faraón Ndé buffalo hunters south of the Canadian River established a ranchería on the Concho River in Texas near San Angelo, and by 1686 had expanded to San Saba.

More important to tracing a Cúelcahén Ndé ethnohistory than Mendoza’s procurement of buffalo products for besieged Spanish colonial remnants at La Junta, and perhaps El Paso, is that Mendoza’s (1684) report alluded to an Apachería in the San Angelo area on the Concho River.

The tension of Mendoza’s insincere agreement to attack the Ndé resulted in alienation of Sabeata’s alliance from the Spanish and resulted in the Ndé consolidating a territory reported to pertain to the “Culcahendé” (Llanero Apache) by O’Conor in 1777, the “Cuelcahen ne” by Cabello in 1784, and the “Cuelcajen Ndé” by Cortes in 1799. This same territory was judged by Opler (1975) to be a region jealously guarded as the home of Llanero and Lipan after 1850 (Opler 1975). My interpretation emphasizes the social fact that Mendoza and the Spanish were marginal to the establishment of the Apachería of Ndé buffalo hunters between San Saba and the Pecos River in western Texas.
APACHERÍA DEL ORIENTE 1686

Posada’s (1686) geographical description provides a baseline for comparison with other descriptions of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters. According to Posada (1686) all of the Cibola plains, referred to as the “llano de Cibola” and “llano ciboleño” constituted the territory of Apacha (sic) buffalo hunters who were the common enemy of all surrounding nations between New Mexico and the Wichita on the Arkansas and the Tejas. Moreover, Posada (1686) explained that Ndé buffalo hunters on the llano traded with Pecos (Cicuye) Pueblo, carried on warfare and mutual slave raiding with the Tejas and Wichita, and had driven the Jumano alliance from the Colorado River of Texas. He also reported that Ndé buffalo hunters were at war with the Suma and Manso, and with the Ute.

“. . . the Apacha nation possesses and controls all the plains of sibola . . . Indians of this nation . . . are the common enemy of all the tribes below the northern regions (immediately surrounding New Mexico). They have struck fear to all other tribes and have overrun ruined and cast most of them out of their own lands . . . Its center (that of the Apacha nation) is the plains of Sibola. This nation is confined on the east by the Quiviras (in southern Kansas) with whom they . . . have been continually at war . . . also border on the Tejas nation with whom they have always had war . . . the Apache nation . . . has not only kept its boundaries (inviolate) but has invaded those of the other nations . . . in the town of Pecos a camp of Apacha Indians entered the town to sell hides of antelope and leather and brought with them some captive Indian children from Quivira to trade for horses . . . on raids in Quivira or Texas, they agree . . . that . . . they had killed important captains and many ordinary Indians . . . all the inhabitants of those lands . . . dressed in skins (gamuza) . . . the Apacha nation borders . . . the Texas, the Ahijados, the Cuytoas and the Escanjaques in a fifty league district . . . Since these are the ones that live along the Nueces River the Apacha nation has caused them to retreat to the district of the Rio del Norte, a district of little less than one hundred leagues. After these nations there comes the Jumuna tribe and the other mentioned at the Junta de los Rios Norte and Conchos. These also (the Apacha) dispossessed from their lands by the Nueces River and cornered in said spot due to the hostility of war. They also sustain a war with the Desumanas, Sumas, Mansos and others that are living between the Junction of the Norte and Conchos rivers on the banks of the Rio del Norte to the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe (Present Ciudad Juarez) . . . The Yutas nation . . . are fond of the Spaniard, are well built, brave and energetic, for only these (Yutas) carry on campaigns against the valiant Apachas with a courage equal (to the courage of the Apachas) . . . they do not retreat without winning or dying...The Apacha nation continues along the Sierra Blanca, which is father on, in the mountains north of New Mexico. Continuing from west to east in a northerly direction these (Apachas) are bordered by the Quivira nation at a distance of fifty leagues. These (the Quiviras) are on the other side of that Grande River (here the Arkansas) which rises in the Sierra Nevadas . . . The Apachas are also at war along the frontier they share with the Quiviras. All the mountain ranges . . . within and surrounding New Mexican provinces are considered by the Apachas as their property. The Apachas are so constantly at war with them that usually the Spaniards carry arms. They attack the Indian pueblos from previously prepared ambushes killing the men atrociously and carrying off the women and children as legitimate captives of war. They usually destroy their enemies’ cornfields and steal Spanish horses day and night wreaking all other damages their fierce pride can plot. The Indians of this nation who live in the eastern province of New Mexico have and have always had particular care in maintaining peace with the Spaniards in order that they might have commerce with them, having an outlet for their dressed skins and hides.” [Tyler and Taylor 1958: 300 - 303]
Since first contact in 1541, Spanish chroniclers reported Querecho and Vaquero Apache as segments of a nation occupying the foothills, canyons, and plains east of Taos, Picuris, and Pecos Pueblos. As shown above, Vaquero Ndé operated an extensive trade system from the Southern Plains to the Rio Grande Pueblos. Apparent from Posada’s (1686) report is the geographic understandings that Ndé buffalo hunters established a land base recognized by colonial administrators in New Mexico as the “llano de Cíbola” and “llano ciboleño” that I render into English as the Cibola plains. Before mounting horses, Ndé settled and ranged along the Pecos River south of Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo and east at least as far as the canyon lands of the Texas Panhandle, Map 4, p. 40. From this original territory, mounted Ndé buffalo hunters enforced their borders and expanded their territory, known as Cibola, or the buffalo plains, Map 8, p. 122. Immediately following the establishment of this settlement, Ndé buffalo hunters became a concern in Spanish and French documents dealing with Texas, Coahuila, and areas of French influence north of the Red River.

In the next chapter, I trace Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter migrations, as they become a powerful social and military force in Texas and northeastern Mexico. Tracing this emergence and its historical consequences recovers the origins and migrations of the Cuelcahén Ndé from the generalized history of Lipan and Mescalero nations. My study focuses on Ndé buffalo hunters in the Apacherías of Texas and northeastern Mexico, specifically the Apache delineated by Forbes (1994: XXII) as, “Pelones, Natages, southern Mescaleros, and the Apaches of Pasqual and El Ligero.”
PUEBLO REVOLT AFTERMATH

Spanish reports historically verify Ndé buffalo hunter occupation of the Llano Estacado as Querecho in the 1500’s and Vaquero Apache in the 1600’s. By 1630, Apache represented a united front made up of various independent nations in the wars against other Native American nations, as well as against the Spanish (Posada 1686; Benavides 1996). It was only during the period from 1680 through 1720 that internecine raiding and warfare between various Apache Nations is reported. Prior to this, the recognition by the Spanish that the Apache constituted a united front appeared true in the practice of Apache warfare. However, even though such internecine raiding and warfare was reported the picture of Ndé buffalo hunter relations in the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt continued to reflect long-standing alliances with Pueblos, particularly Cicuye (Pecos).

Father Ayeta reported Apache and Pueblo hostility after 1680 and began a tradition of exaggeration and hyperbole of Apache hostility. More than ever, economic considerations tempered Apache enmity against the colonials and their allies and the vast new territories that opened up to them in their mounted diaspora.

For example, Hackett (1942, II: 308) reported that after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, not a single Pueblo had been destroyed or even substantially damaged. Another statement complicating the nature of Ndé buffalo hunter relations with Spanish colonials after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt is the “Declaration of Fray Juan de San Joseph, July 28, 1688,” explaining that Vaquero Apache came to Pecos to organize trade fairs with Spanish and the Pueblo traders.56 Continuing to demonstrate Ndé buffalo hunters at the center of Spanish and Native American enmity in New Mexico, when Vargas arrived in Santa Fé on September 13, 1692, he was verbally challenged by a Pueblo leader who accused the Spaniards of treachery in their relations with Apache who they offered peace and “then hunted them down and killed them (Espinosa 1940: 82).”

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After Vargas returned to New Mexico, familiar patterns returned in the wake of a new wave of Spanish colonization. In 1691, Don Luis, a leader of Tewa, Tano, and Picuris Pueblos reported that Pecos and Taos Pueblos along with Faraón Apache allied against them.

Vargas followed up on this with a visit to Cicuye, where the Pecos people warned him that they preferred to move to Taos or live with the Apache, presumably their Faraón allies, rather than surrender to the Spanish. When Vargas actually met the Faraón, they warned him of the treachery of other Ndé and Pueblo villages allied against him. True to their intention of January 1693 when a large host of Pueblos formed an alliance against Vargas, Pecos Pueblo and the Faraón abstained, probably because of their trade interests (Forbes 1960: 250). This is another example of the split between Faraón allies of Cicuye, south of the Canadian River, from Ndé buffalo hunters north of the Canadian River and allied with Taos.

In the end of January 1693, a fight between soldiers and Ndé driving fourteen horses from a horse raid in Santa Fe resulted in the capture of one of the raiders. The captive identified himself as coming from the Red River north of Taos and came along with Ndé from south of Santa Fe who were probably Faraón (Kessell and Hendricks 1992). In the so-called reconquest, Ndé rangers coordinated attrition and attack against the Spanish from both northern and southern regions of New Mexico, suggesting a close Ndé Anti-Colonial alliance that appeared unimpressed by Vargas. It is also clear that while the Faraón hesitated to declare hostile intentions against Vargas by joining overt alliances, they were willing to raid Spanish resources as needed. This marks the beginning of Ndé rangers using Spanish colonies and outposts as supply stations from which to extend their settlement, hunting, and raiding ranges. For this reason, I refer to the mounted Ndé scouts and warriors as rangers. Just as ambivalently hostile relations tempered by trade interests characterized Ndé relations with Vargas south of the Canadian River, Acho Ndé mirrored many of these tactics north of Taos.

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57. Although Forbes (1960) is criticized for his inaccurate use of the concept and terminology dealing with the Jumano, his treatment of the Faraón Apache has lasted the test of time.
Vargas (1696) official campaign journal reported that his party met Apache de Acho near the mountain refuge a few miles north of Taos Pueblo in 1694, and that these Ndé received the governor with friendship. Acho Ndé traded with Taos people and stated that they wished to remain neutral between the Spanish and the Pueblos, being interested in trade relations with both parties. However, during the same year, Acho raided Spanish horses from a camp on the Chama River in 1694 (Espinosa 1942: 169). South of the Canadian River on May 2, 1694, Governor Ye of Pecos escorted a Faraón Chief to meet with Vargas. The chief bestowed buffalo products upon Vargas and requested a trade fair at Pecos when the maize ripened. The Faraón Chief stated that his people captured children from Quivira to trade for horses.

After the visit, both Governor Ye and the Faraón chief left to plant their fields (Forbes 1960: 255 - 256). Two points of significance appear in this report. First, this 1694 document was the first written report of planting among the Ndé buffalo hunters that was not tied to a Pueblo Ranchería. Second, the Faraón reported that they raided Quivira for captives, much the same as the Sierra Blanca had in 1660 (Posada 1686). This constitutes a possible origin for Cancy rangers reported on the Red River and in eastern Oklahoma by French writers, who described them as mounted raiders who take captives and war spoils to trade with the Spanish in New Mexico. These examples described a recognizable method of operations that matches with Vargas (1696) description of Ndé hostility toward Spanish colonial forces, and thus demonstrated a subtle aspect of Ndé Anti-Colonial Action consistent with reports from Texas and Coahuila.

In May 1695, Apache de los Chipaynes trading at Picuris reported that white men defeated a “Conejero Ndé” ranchería far to the east (Espinosa 1942: 227 - 229). Later in September, the Chipayne returned and convinced the Spanish that the French were coming to the Cibola plains and causing the Apache to retreat. On October 4, 1695, two Chipayne said that white men came to the bank of a river seven nations beyond them and made war on the Quivira people. However, this is not an eyewitness account because the Chipayne said that they did not see this themselves, but only knew of it by way of people from other nations who are their slaves taken in war (Gunnerson 1974: 121). Thus, 1695 provides evidence of the intensification of warfare between Ndé buffalo hunters and the Plains Village people of the eastern prairies.
In March of 1696, friars left Pecos because they said that one ranchería of Faraón Ndé settled at Pecos and another camped on the river nearby. The priests stated that this caused the Pecos people to act in a way that made them fear for their lives (Espinosa 1942). In July, Pecos people feared Spanish reprisal and planned to seek refuge with Faraón Ndé in Piedra Blanca, a pueblo built by Pecos people before they established Cícyue (Forbes 1960: 267). It is not clear whether the Pecos refugees actually followed through with the plan. Nevertheless, many Picuris abandoned their village to live with Ndé buffalo hunters in October 1696 (Ulibarri 1706). These Ndé claimed to be friends of Taos, Picuris, Pecos, and the Spaniards. Judging from this incident these Ndé must have been those of Quartelejo. Before the Picuris could reach the Cibola plains, Vargas hunted them down in an operation in which the Spanish killed two Ndé and took eighty-four Pueblo and Ndé prisoners. Nevertheless, approximately eighty Picuris reached El Quartelejo in Scott County, Kansas. This may have been the same Pueblo Ranchería that served in the 1640’s and 1660’s as a refuge for Taos people fleeing Spanish abuse (Thomas 1935: 53 - 59). Adding a historical archaeology component to the evidence, Wedel’s (1940) reassessment of the Cuartelejo site in Scott County, Kansas found Pueblo style architecture, but found the material culture most comparable to Dismal River sites that he had studied in Nebraska. Thus, Wedel (1940) correlated the site with Ndé buffalo hunters. This suggests that although Pueblo villagers lived with Ndé buffalo hunters, the material culture of the Pueblo ranchería reflected Ndé practices, rather than those of the Picuris or Taos.

After 1700, Spanish chronicled more detailed identification of Ndé buffalo hunters. On June 28, 1700, the governor of New Mexico ordered that Miguel Gutierrez’s head placed on a pike at Taos Pueblo as a warning to the “apaches de la xicarilla” not to shelter fugitive colonists (Hackett 1931 - 1946). In 1702, the Cabildo of Santa Fe congratulated Cubero on his pacification of the Apache de Acho, Apache de Jicarilla, Apache de Trementina, Apache de los Llanos, and Faraón Apache (Espinosa 1942: 337). This list of Apache identifiers appears to have replaced the generalized usage of Vaquero Apache and implies not only an increasing familiarity of Spanish writers with intricacies of Ndé identity, but also a successful transition to the lifestyle of mounted buffalo hunters with a significant expansion of territory.

In 1704, Faraón Apache warriors probably killed Vargas (Espinosa 1942: 354). In lists given by various sources in 1704 Ndé nations reported by a Tewa informant from Santa Clara Pueblo were Xicarilla, Navajo, Acho, Trementina, Limita, Xila, and Faraón.59

In all, Faraón appear to have emerged from Apache de los Llanos living south of the Canadian River who had their primary trade relations with Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo. Trade between buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains south of the Canadian River who produced Tierra Blanca, and possibly Wheeler sites (Metcalf 1979; Hoffman 1989b), have been associated archeologically with a trade network between Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo and various sites between the Canadian and Brazos rivers in the Texas panhandle dated between 1450 and 1650 (Spielmann 1983). Faraón and Apache de los Llanos had a alliance with Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo. In the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Apache de los Llanos removed Spanish and Jumano competition for the buffalo lands of the Rio Florido (Concho River) and San Saba River in Texas.

In short, Apache de los Llanos, Faraón Ndé, and Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo forged a benchmark alliance of Pueblo and Ndé buffalo hunters on the edge of the Cibola Plains that included Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) in the form of joint military operations, ideological resistance, and convivial relations.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Empowerment of Ndé buffalo hunters through horses and their value as captives and enemies brought them into violent confrontation with the Spanish. In the wake of the Great Northern Wars, eastward expansion resulted in the settlement in west Texas by Ndé buffalo hunters known as Apache de los Llanos to Mendoza (1684), thus marking colonial realization of Apache ranging throughout a Gran Apachería stretching from the Platte River (Nebraska) to Santiago Paposquiaro (Durango, México) until 1725. A central argument in the next chapter is that mounted Ndé formed a southern anti-colonial alliance with Jumano, Toboso, and other hostile Indigenous nations of south Texas and northeastern Mexico in the 1700’s. This anti-colonial alliance was an important site for the emergence of the Cuelcahen Ndé ancestral to Chief Cuelgas de Castro in 1812, the central figure in the Cuelcahen Ndé oral tradition.
CHAPTER 4 APACHERIA DEL ORIENTE

Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters changed from pedestrian buffalo hunters in the 1600’s only marginally interested in the Spanish, to mounted Apache rangers, the archetypical Spanish colonial nightmare in the 1700’s. Posing a constant threat to Spanish settlements and instigating rebellion among the Pueblos since before the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Ndé buffalo hunters used the intransigence spurred by the revolt as a springboard to expand into Texas. During the period of the Great Northern Wars (1671 - 1715), Ndé established range and settlement territory in the southernmost buffalo range on both side of the Rio Grande referred to as the Apachería del Oriente (Eastern Apache Territory). Mounted Ndé buffalo hunters ranged from the Platte River to Santiago Paposquiaro by 1700, Map 8, p. 122. One segment of this diaspora, Apache de los Llanos, emerged from the Cibola (buffalo) plains adjacent to Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo where Ndé buffalo hunters maintained economic ties since 1450. Apache de los Llanos settled on the Conchos River near San Angelo by 1684 and were reported on the San Saba River near Menard by 1686. A century later, Native American and Spanish reports located the Cuelcahen Ndé in reports between 1771 and 1799. After the turn of the century, Spanish refer to Ndé buffalo hunters as Apaches Llaneros and Apache de los Llanos buffalo hunters with territory between the Edwards Plateau and the La Junta missions. In 1812, Lipan Apache in Texas led by Chief Cuelgas de Castro, the central figure in the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas oral tradition.
NATIVE AMERICAN BATTLE LINES AND SPANISH INTRUSION

Ndé buffalo hunters clashed with Native American competitors, as well as Spanish and French colonial expansion in Texas. This section outlines the fluid territories that resulted from conflicting claims to land and water for buffalo hunting, trade routes, horticulture, and settlement. Spanish intrusion heralded a realignment of political economic players and forces in the southern buffalo plains with implications for the mining colonies south of the Rio Grande. Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters ranged this territory and eventually displaced Jumano traders and struggled with the Tejas, Wichita, Comanche, Spanish, French, and other nations for the buffalo hunting grounds and trade routes that spanned Texas and northeastern Mexico (Foster 1995).

A particularly significant Ndé migration for this study was that of the Apache de los Llanos south of the Canadian River to the Concho River and San Saba rivers in western Texas because according to Cúelcahén Ndé oral history, these Ndé buffalo hunters were their ancestors. Evidence establishing this historical site of Ndé settlement is given in Mendoza’s (1684) report and Posada’s (1686) synthesis. Mendoza stayed with the Jumano on the San Saba in 1684, which Posada called the Rio Nueces, in 1686. Wade (1998) traced Mendoza’s route using the data in his “diario and derrotera” and located his final destination and site of Apache and Salinero attacks near Menard at San Saba. Therefore, if Posada’s report, Mendoza’s chronicle, and Wade’s route estimate are accurate, than Apache de los Llanos established their territory on the San Saba River near Menard, Texas between 1684 and 1686.

Expulsion of Jumano buffalo hunters from this area was one of a number of documented relations between Indigenous leaders and roving nations that existed in an interesting ambivalence with respect to Spanish colonials. Jumano frequented trade routes traveled between the Rio Grande Pueblos Villages and the Tejas Asinai on the Angelina River in Texas, and possibly farther (Foster 1995). Ndé pressure pushed the Jumano and their allies from west Texas into the area between the Colorado River east of Austin and the Rio Grande. Apparently, Jumano and allied buffalo hunters remained active in central Texas in the 1690’s before moving to the Rio Grande in the 1700’s (Appendix B).
While the Spaniards were in disarray following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, mounted Ndé settled an eastern frontier. By 1686, Ndé displaced Jumano on the San Saba near Menard, Texas. Based on this understandings and historical data, battle lines had already been drawn between Ndé buffalo hunters and other Native Americans before the Spanish colonial advance entered Texas in the late 1680’s. In contrast to west central Texas, Sabeata reported areas east of San Antonio to the gulf coast and up the Neches River to the Tejas as a route of trade fairs safe from Apache incursion in 1689. So, although Ndé were a deep-seated concern for the Jumano and their allies on the Edwards Plateau, such was not the case for the Texas coastal plain and black land prairies up to east Texas. Primary accounts written between 1690 and 1720 provide a record of three multi-national alliances associated with specific regions of Texas.

1. South of the Wichita living between the Arkansas and Red rivers, ranging to the Brazos lived the Kichai, Naoydiche, Yojuane, and Tonkawa. The Ervipiame most likely settled in this region between their mission revolt of 1700 and contact with Governor Alarcón (Appendices A and B).

2. South of this region between the Brazos and Colorado rivers, lived the Sana, Cava, Catujana, Toho, Tohaha, and Emet (Ríos 1932: 56) (Appendix B).

3. South of the Colorado River, lived people who have been misleadingly generalized as Coahuiltecan (Hester 1998), included numerous native language speakers that did not speak Coahuiltecan as a native language such as the Sana, Pamaque, and the Catqueza of Capitan Nicólas (Johnson and Campbell 1992) (Appendix B).

60. Sabeata’s testimony taken at Parral on April 10, 1689 (Hackett 1923 - 1937 II: 260 - 262).

61. Jumano associated with Chief Juan Sabeata, certainly pertained to Jumano buffalo hunters who frequented La Junta de los Ríos Grande and Conchos and were educated and missionized in Hidalgo del Parral in Chihuahua (Appendix B).
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS AND THE SAN ANTONIO ROAD TO THE TEJAS

All of the nations listed above were associated with Jumano trade routes (Foster 1995: 24-25). Upon the Spanish entrance into Texas, many of these nations scrambled for alliance and support against Ndé domination of the buffalo lands of west Texas and on both sides of the Rio Grande. The response and reaction of other nations including colonists from Mexico form geographic outlines of Ndé ranger activity. These outlines can be seen as boundaries of the Cibola plains over which Ndé ranged broad territories to hunt, trade, raid, and scout for preferable settlements. Once on horseback, Ndé raiders expanded and established strongholds, but not unchallenged. On July 16, 1688, an Ervipiame named Diego de León, made the clear statement that Ndé rangers had entered lands north of the Colorado River in Texas associated with a French, Tejas, and Ervipiame alliance (Appendix B).

Until 1691, no Spanish road existed through San Antonio. Following a coastal route to avoid the Apache, Alonso de León kept to the southern coastal route in 1689 and 1690 and crossed the San Antonio River between Floresville and Karnes City before continuing on to Cuero (Appendix B).

Fray Mazanet’s entries make it clear that a chief reason for sticking to this southern route was because the Monte Grande post oak belt served as an effective cover against mounted Apache attack (Foster 1995: Maps 4 and 6). In 1690, Fray Mazanet recommended the Guadalupe River as a base for establishing a mission among the Tejas. He explained that east Texas was accessible by an Indian road protected from Apache attack, stating that there were northern and southern roads from the Paso de Francia near Guerrero, Coahuila on the Rio Grande. Of the northern road he stated,

“De este Río de San Marcos va el camino derecho a los tejas para el norte, aunque los apaches suelen llegar hasta él, y dichos apaches son enemigos, así de los tejas como de los españoles; otro camino se aparta para los tejas y es para el nordeste, éste es el más por el mucho monte que hay y distancia. Las naciones que viven inmediatas a los tejas: oir el poniente están los apaches; para el norte están los cadodachos . . . muy unidos con los tejas.” [Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 339]
Mazanet located the Apache on the northern road to the Tejas in 1690, which passed through San Antonio and followed the northern edge of the post oak belt of central Texas to the Colorado River at the trade center on Monument Hill in La Grange. Fray Casañas living with the Tejas Asinai gives further evidence of the Apache presence in northeast Texas and in 1691; he said that war had already occurred between the Tejas and Apache, called Sadammo (Gómez Canedo 1968: 53 - 54, 161). The southern route skirted the post oak belt to the Guadalupe River near Cuero and followed the trail of Emet, Cava, Toho, and Tohaha rancherías to the trade fair site in La Grange.62 Once at the trade fair site, both a number of routes crossed the Brazos, Navasota, and Trinity rivers before arriving at the Tejas villages where San Pedro Creek meets the Neches River. In short, Mazanet’s 1690 report that Ndé barred Spanish use of the northern route through San Antonio to east Texas constitutes a social fact observable in colonial efforts to avoid the route through San Antonio (Foster 1995).

“...Massanet said the Tejas chose this more eastern route because it put the protective and heavily timbered Monte Grande, the thick woods north of the road, between them and their mounted enemies, the Apache. They preferred the lower route along which De León had found a hunting party in 1690 and Salinas had seen several Tejas encampments in 1693.” [Foster 1995: 113]

In 1691, Governor Domingo Terán de los Ríos (1692) and Mazanet took the northern route. On June 13, 1691, Ríos named the site of a large Papaya Ranchería, San Antonio de Padua located near San Antonio, Texas. However, Mazanet reported that it already had a name: Yanaguana. Although, this meeting provided a foundation for the establishment of the Presidio and Mission San Antonio de Valero, the Tlaxcalteco Agustín de la Cruz was the first Spanish speaker to visit San Antonio describing it as the home of peaceful villagers (Menchaca 2001).63

62. Foster (1995: 100 - 101) explained, “De León had named the present Colorado River the San Marcos when he first crossed it in 1690.”

63. Menchaca (2001: 103) uncovered a primary document stating that Fray Olivares “sent Agustín de la Cruz, a Tlaxcalan neophyte, to explore present San Antonio and the current Texas Coahuila border (Bagá 1690: 96).” Although a Spanish road did not pass through San Antonio in 1691, a Native American from Tlaxcala acting in the capacity of a Spanish colonial agent visited the area before 1689. I cite another copy of this document as Bagá (1689).
Further north on the Guadalupe River, Ríos met three thousand people of various nations associated with an anti-Apache alliance. These warriors rode horses obtained in a successful raid on an Apache ranchería. In a religious procession on the summer solstice, the Indígena presented themselves behind their leaders in four columns. Together the expedition and the Jumano alliance shared in an elaborate feast and parade of goodwill (Foster 1995: 58 - 59).

In all, this clearly indicates concern in central Texas regarding Apache encroachment in 1691, as well as the entrenchment of a Rio Grande Jumano alliance between the Hill Country and the Tejas. Indigenous buffalo hunters in Texas, such as the Jumano sought alliance with the Spanish prior to 1693. For example, Hidalgo (1710) reported that Spanish soldiers joined the Texas in a campaign against the Apache north of the Colorado River in Texas in August 1692. This likely refers to the efforts of Joseph de Urrutia (1733) who self-reported his work in allying the Cantujana (Cantona), Toho, and Emet with whom he lived from 1693 until 1700 against the Apache. Also in the 1690’s, while Hidalgo (1716) was among the Tejas, Apache attacked a Spanish party sleeping in their territory, for which Spanish forces later retaliated by killing one hundred thirty-six Apache. In 1703, Felipe Mendoza emerged from the wilderness of east Texas and followed the Rio de la Empalisada (Missouri River) and trekked west across Arkansas and into Texas where he came to the lomas (hills) of the Apache. Fray Casañas also reported in 1691 that Apache called Sadammo lived west of the Tejas.

However, by 1693, Jumano and other nations realized the impotence of Spanish protection and aid. This likely explains the subsequent hostility of nations who had been previously friendly to the Spanish and subsequent threats made by Jumano near Coleto Creek in DeWitt County. Reported to have formed an alliance with the Toboso against the Spanish, Jumano threatened Captain Salinas Varona with war (Foster, Jackson, and Brierley 1993).

In the face of this threat, Salinas took the southern route with the supply train and returned to the Rio Grande by way of the San Antonio road, apparently more concerned with Apache, than the Jumano alliance. Renewed Spanish colonial activity between the Rio Grande and the Neches River followed two routes.

64. Although Hatcher (1932) believed that Mendoza’s Santa Sicilia corresponded to Santa Cecilia, Texas Weddle (1968) effectively argued that the Santa Sicilia was more likely the Brazos River.
The southern route passed through the coastal plains of the Guadalupe River and the northern road through San Antonio de Valero to the Tejas on the Neches and Angelina rivers vulnerable to Apache attack. Gregory (1973) presented archeological data demonstrating that the Ndé may have been protecting a trade route over which they traveled to maintain horse-trading and slave raiding with the Tejas. During Spanish colonial expansion in Texas, Ndé buffalo hunters held the Spanish in a vise between Coahuila on the south and the Colorado River on the north. Moreover, Jumano and other buffalo hunters organized against the Ndé in central Texas during the 1680’s and 1690’s appear to have emerged in Anti-Colonial Alliance with Ndé (Apache) in the 1720’s and 1730’s. Similar to Ndé Anti-Colonial Action in New Mexico during the 1600’s, Spanish presidios, missions, and settlements in Texas were hemmed in on all sides by mounted Ndé who used them as supply posts and strongholds in wars against northern nations. In all, between 1691 and 1718, the Spanish established tenuous footholds along the north and south Jumano trade routes that had become the San Antonio and Bahia roads or “camino reales” from the Rio Grande to the Tejas.65

At the end of this period, Fray Hidalgo (1716) reported Apache in northeast Texas.

“The three arms of the stream which become Rio de Misuri unite at the pueblo of the Panni to form this river which they say is as large as La Palizada. These Indians form a buffer against the Apaches and they have bitter wars with them. The Pannis are considered greater warriors than the Apaches and they have taken a great number of prisoners from them which they have sold to the French. The latter buy them and keep them as slaves.” [Hatcher 1927b: 60]
ANTI-COLONIAL ACTION IN TEXAS AND THE PELÓN NATION

In 1707, an international settlement called the Ranchería Grande was reported where the Nueces River intersects Interstate Highway 35 near Cotulla, Texas. Alarcón sent Ramón to deal with insurgent Indígena escaped from missions in Coahuila and Nuevo León in March 1707. Weddle (1968: 75) interpreted Fray Espinosa’s statement to mean that Ramón had to capture Indígena for Mission San Juan Bautista because of the damage caused by the smallpox outbreak and that Ramón’s expedition was a captive taking expedition. Whatever the case, Ramón (1707) took his party to the Nueces River northeast of Carrizo Springs and found an Indígena who died after receiving baptism and final rites. Following the Nueces River south, Ramón met Indígena reporting that the Pacque Nation was responsible for unrest in the area. The Indígena led Ramón to his ranchería where Indígena joined Ramón in his search. On March 17, 1707, some thirty-four joined Ramón stating that they were opposed to the insurgents and their plans to attack the Spanish. After establishing a base camp, the Indígena prayed for three days while Ramón sent out scouting parties who were paid in tobacco and food. Castillo interpreted the scouts’ reports that insurgents gathered downstream.

On March 23, 1707, sixteen Pasti people came into the camp to inform Ramón that the raiders of the Río Grande missions were ladino members of the Pelón nation escaped from missions. Following up on this intelligence, Ramón attacked a group of small settlements southeast of the Nueces River. People taken captive during this operation informed Ramón that three of the five men killed in the Spanish attack were ladinos from the Ranchería Grande that was nearby, where stolen Spanish horses were brought to the people of that land. Ramón sent thirteen soldiers to the Ranchería Grande where twenty-six warriors challenged them and taunted them in Nahuatl.

66. Ramón translated the word Pasti as Chamuscado, meaning singed or charred. Fray Espinosa (1717), present in 1707 located the Paxti between the Río Grande missions and the Tejas.
After Sergeant Guerra killed five of the bowmen and the rest fled to the wood, the soldiers arrived at a rancher a made up of fifteen jacales roofed with horsehide’s. Guerra took captives back to Ramón, who sent an elder man back to invite the rebels to enter or return to the missions. A number of Indígenas escaped and on March 29, 1707, two men returned and apologized to Ramón on behalf of their chief and explained the source of hostility to the Spanish. They explained that one of the men from San Bernardo Mission had left the mission to take part in a ceremonial gathering (mitote general) organized by Indígena escaped from the missions and the Pelón nation, both responsible for depredations throughout the region. In the end, Sevillano (1727) reported that five hundred Indígena followed Ramón back to the missions.67

The Pelón nation may have been Indigenous to the area. Although sparse, the evidence that exists is intriguing, but does not provide a coherent identity for people called Pelón. In 1649, León described the Pelón as one of the nations between Cadereyta and Cerralvo in Nuevo León near the Sierra Papaguayos. Chapa reported the same location for the Pelón Nation and referred to them as Calvo to whom de León made twelve expeditions. Chapa also reported a 1676 Pelón uprising that included horse stealing during the governorship of Domingo de Pruneda (León, Bautista Chapa, and Sánchez de Zamora 1961). Joseph de Urrutia (1733) claimed that the Pelón participated in offenses against the Apache, in east central Texas between 1693 and 1700.

In 1706, Cuartelejo Apache buffalo hunters reported that they heard that a sea existed three days beyond the Pelón across dunes of fine sand (Thomas 1935: 73 - 75). This could very well have been the sand sheet of South Texas and the Pelón nation may have been living nearby.

67. This incarnation of the Ranchería Grande on the Nueces River in South Texas may be directly related to later settlements north of the Colorado River established by Ervipiame fugitives of the mission system and refugees from their homelands in Coahuila, see Appendix B, but clear evidence is still lacking. Similar to the Ervipiame Ranchería Grande, this Ranchería Grande was made up of an alliance of gentiles and apostates escaped from missions in Coahuila.
After 1707, reports of Pelón almost exclusively refer to mounted Ndé rangers surrounding San Antonio. Two implications arise from these reports. First, the Pelón Nation shared a vocation for stealing Spanish horses as part of attempts to organize anti-colonial alliances with Ndé rangers. Second, Pelón rangers from Nuevo León may have constituted part of an early southern Apache alliance, first reported in San Antonio in 1733 (Almázan 1733; Bustillo 1733). This would suggest that the Pelón were later incorporated into the Ipandé subdivision of Apache in Texas. The correlation of Pelón rangers with an early southern Ndé alliance is dependent on Apache being in the area by the early 1700’s. Ndé are reported in Santiago Paposquiaro (1686) with Anti-Colonial Toboso, and are reported to have entered into alliance and convivial relations with Indígena in the La Junta district by 1710 (Niel 1710). If Ndé rangers coordinated Anti-Colonial Action with the Toboso, what would keep these mounted rangers from doing the same with Pelón rangers to the northeast?

Finally, the resumption of Apache hostilities in El Paso in 1707, after over a decade of peace and cooperation represents the proverbial smoking gun indexing the emergence of a southern anti-colonial Apache alliance (El Paso 1707). Similar to Ndé rangers, Pelón raided the Rio Grande Missions, possessed horses, and fomented rebellion with Indígena from the missions, Map 9, p. 145.
This map illustrates the consolidation of Nde buffalo hunter territory and the beginning of the contestation of this Apacheria del Oriente by Ute, Comanche, and colonial interests and signals the movement of Nde into the southernmost buffalo range. Jumano associated with the Wichita are probably distinct from the southern Jumano.

Map compiled by Enrique Martinez. April 2003. Copyright 2003 Enrique Martinez. All rights reserved.
EASTERN NDÉ DIASPORA IN THE EARLY 1700’s

This section outlines what is known about the eastern Ndé diaspora and ranging activities in the early 1700’s. Ndé migration from the Southern Plains to southern Texas and northeastern Mexico went along with the transition of foot bound Vaquero Apache to horsemen. This horse driven Ndé diaspora is documented in Spanish punitive raids and French trade expeditions on the Cibola plains. This diaspora-stimulated trade in European goods, Native American bodies, and horseflesh also resulted in an involuntary diaspora of Ndé captives sold and gifted throughout the Spanish Empire. Mass killing and captive taking are well documented for the entire eighteenth century and constitute a powerful form of violence on the Southern Plains lasting until the end of the buffalo herds and the transformation of Native American buffalo hunters to hunted Indians, reservation Indians, and citizens of the state in which they lived.
ULIBARRI 1706

Ndé buffalo hunters reportedly lived in Pueblo-style houses and maintained horticultural produce on both sides of the Rio Napestle (Arkansas River) in Colorado and Kansas in the early 1700’s. In July 1706, General Juan de Ulibarri (1706) went to El Cuartelejo and brought back 64 Picuris who abandoned their pueblo in 1696 and were reportedly held captive by Ndé buffalo hunters. Earlier in the same year, Fray Alvarez reported that 300 Picuris had already returned of their own free will (Hackett 1923 - 1937, III: 374).

Beginning in Santa Fe, Ulibarri traveled to Picuris where he picked up guides and received the first mention of Comanche allied with Ute rangers in New Mexico. After leaving Picuris, Ulibarri met “Yndios de las Naciones Conexeros,68 Acho, and Rio Colorado” who warned that the Penxaye, Flecha de Palo, Lemita, and Nementina (Trementina) lived further east. This indexes a distinction between Apache de Acho and Rio Colorado living between the Taos Valley and Ratón and Ndé buffalo hunters further east toward the Sierra Blanca were dangerous.

Thomas (1935: 263) stated that the Sierra Blanca Mountains separated the Canadian (Vermejo) River near Raton and the Purgatoire River in Trinidad, Colorado. The foothills of this range were also called the Sierra Blanca. To the east, the (Sierra Blanca) Ratón Mountains transitioned into the volcanic plains and canyon lands marked by “El Serro de la Xicarilla (Capulin Volcano) in northeast New Mexico.” Therefore, “El Serro de la Xicarilla” constituted a monument marking “La Ranchería de la Xicarilla” in 1706. Although, the U.S. National Park Service renamed the site, “Capulin Volcano National Monument,” the location is clearly marked on Miera’s map of 1778 between the Canadian and Cimarron rivers of northeast New Mexico.

68. In 1696, Apache de los Chipaynes reported that white men defeated a Conejero Nde ranchería far to the east (Espinosa 1942: 227 - 229). This report of a French and Pawnee alliance reportedly destroying the Conejero Ranchería east of New Mexico in 1696 that may have precipitated the presence of the Conexero Nde among the Apache de Acho and Rio Colorado near Taos.
In the volcanic plains between the Sierra Blanca (Raton Mountains) and La Xicarilla, Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunting nations identified as Xicarilla, Flechas de Palo, and Carlana came down from the Sierra Blanca and claimed to follow Chief Ysdalnisdael and Chief Ucate.

“Yndios...de las naciones Xicarilla, flechas de palo, y Carlanas de la Sierra Blanca suxetos a distintos capitanes, y el muy principal un coxo a quien llaman Ysdalnisdael.”
[Ulibarri 1706: 361]

Moving north, from La Xicarilla, Ulibarri passed the Xicarilla Volcano in the vicinity of Sugarite Canyon State Park to arrive at a river where Penxaye Ndé cultivated corn, beans, and squash along its banks that Thomas (1935: 34) identified as the Upper Purgatoire River near Trinidad, Colorado (Thomas 1935: 34). North of the planted fields, Ulibarri (1706) found individual Penxaye Ndé on the Napestle (Arkansas River) who reported Ute and Comanche attacks. Although D. Gunnerson (1974: 206) asserted that La Jicarilla corresponded to Taos Valley, the Ocate River that she identifies with Chief Ucate flows to the eastern foothills of the New Mexico Sangre de Cristo range and leads out to the volcanic plains. Moreover, Ulibarri clearly identified the Ndé (Apache) closest to Taos Valley as Conexeros, Acho, and Rio Colorado, suggesting that “la ranchería de la Xicarilla” that Ulibarri visited was at the foot of the Sierra Blanca (Raton Mountains). Thus, Ulibarri’s report provides an outline of Ndé settlement from the Red River Valley north of Taos to the Sierra Blanca (Raton Mountains) and the volcanic plains north of the Canadian River, Map 9, p. 145.

On the north side of the Napestle (Arkansas River), the guide lost a trail of grass markers he thought had been left by Ndé buffalo hunters. Trying to orient themselves, a scouting party in eastern Colorado happened upon Tachichichi, an Apache settlement between the Arkansas River near Lamar, Colorado and El Quarteleojo near Scott City, Kansas. While feasting on maize and buffalo meat, Ulibarri learned of warfare between the Quarteleojo Ndé and the Pawnee and Jumano. After feasting, the Chief told Ulibarri (1706) that warriors from Tachichichi had been to Sanasesli ranchería near the Great Bend of the Arkansas, where they killed a bald white man and a woman and took a rifle and other French artifacts. On the following day, a contingent from El Quarteleojo arrived with reports that the Picuris were dispersed throughout various rancherías to the east. Don Lorenzo, the leader of the Picuris, was said to be in the large ranchería that had the French items.
On August 4, 1706, Ulibarri gave a young man named Yndatiyuhe, seventh brother of six other chiefs, a gold-headed staff of command symbolizing his authority as Capitan Grande of all Apachería.

“Y auiendo dispuesto cargasen algunas talegas de maiz que traian y a las mugeres y niños nos despedimos y salimos a la buelta de nuestro biaxe dho (dicho) dia Viernes treze auiendoles antes dado el baston de Cappn Capitán de toda la Apacheria a el qe por tal le tenian todos, que es un Yndio moso de buen cuerpo y rostro llamado en su lengua yndatiyuhe, hermano de otros seis Cappnes llamados los dos mas principales el uno, Yyastipaye, y el otro Dauilchildildice . . . “ [Ulibarri 1706: 74]

Ndé buffalo hunters may have presented this staff to the Spanish in San Antonio in 1723 (Dunn 1911: 209).

After the ceremony, the Spaniards demanded that the Apache turn over all of the apostates living with them, to which the Apache agreed. The next day, on August 5th, Ulibarri (1706) sent soldiers to collect Picuris people in rancherías called Nanahe, Adidasde, and Sanasesli located over one-hundred miles further east (forty leagues). After holding a ceremony marking the occasion, the Spaniards demanded that the Apache turn over all of the apostates living with them, to which the Apache agreed. Chief Ysdelpain leader of the Sanasesli received Captain Naranjo and Don Juan Tupatú, but Ulibarri did not visit the ranchería. In his conversations at El Cuartelejo, Ulibarri learned that the Pawnee lived on the Sitascahe, most likely the Republican or Platte River, and that many tribes trade with whites on the Nasatha, Mississippi River. In addition, Ulibarri learned that the Pawnee and the Cuartelejo engaged in slave raiding from which the Ndé sell Pawnee captives to the Spanish in New Mexico and the Pawnee sell the Ndé captives to the whites on the Mississippi.

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69. Attention should be given to the similarity between the name Ysdelpain, the name of the chief of Sansesli Rancheria, and Yyastipaye, the second principle chief in command after Yndatiyuhe. An intriguing phonetic similarity is apparent in the name Yyastipaye and the names Chipayne, Chipaine, Chilpayne, Ipaynde, Lipan-nde, all reported nations associated with the Lipan.

70. From Scott City, Kansas just south of the Ladder fork of the Smoky Hill River, 100 miles east takes one to the rancheria of Sanasesli between the Napestle (Arkansas River) and the Smoky Hill vein of the Kansas River.
On the way back to New Mexico, Ulibarri (1706) met with Ndé chiefs in the Jicarilla rancherías said to be under the command of Chief Coxo, who they met on the way to El Cuartelejo. Ndé buffalo hunters who had gathered in the Valley of the Xicarilla reported that Ute and Comanche raiders attacked a Carlana/Sierra Blanca ranchería and a Penxaye ranchería while they were in El Cuartelejo with Ulibarri.\textsuperscript{71} In all, Ulibarri (1706) found that horticultural Ndé buffalo hunters living in regions north of the Taos Valley and the Canadian River were being raided by groups different from those contending with Ndé further east on the Arkansas River. Specifically, Carlana Ndé (Sierra Blanca) in northern New Mexico, and Penxaye Ndé, between the Upper Purgatoire and Arkansas rivers in southern Colorado, were harried by Ute and Comanche forces. Meanwhile, Pawnee, French, and Jumano were of similar concern to Ndé of Tachichichi, Quartejeo, Nanahe, Adidasde, and Sanasesli east on the Arkansas River, Table 5, p. 151 and Map 10, p. 152).\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{71} Following the understanding gained from tracing Ulibarri’s excursion, this would mean that Ute and Comanche attacked Apache rancherías from the volcanic plains east of Ratón, New Mexico to the Purgatoire and Arkansas Rivers in southern Colorado.

\textsuperscript{72} The Jumano probably refers to Wichita plains villagers associated with Quivira, which the Nde (Apache) Sanasesli likely displaced from the Great Bend of the Arkansas to the confluence of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers in Oklahoma.
TABLE 5  WARS OF THE APACHERÍA DEL ORIENTE 1688 - 1726

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Ervipiame reported allying with the Tejas and the French to destroy an Apache ranchería in east central Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1693-1700</td>
<td>Tejas alliance with Joseph Urrutia against Ndé in East Central Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Pawnee and French attack Conejero Ndé east of New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>Ute and Comanche attacks on Penxaye Ndé in Southern Colorado, Tachichichi, Quartelejo, and Paloma Ndé attack French in Kansas, and Pawnee and Jumano attack Quarteleho Ndé in Kansas and Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Tejas and French defeat 200 Apache on the Colorado River in Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>Apache attacked French and Spanish south of the Colorado River of Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>Faraón attack Jicarilla and Ute and Comanche attack Xicarilla, Sierra Blanca, and Penxaye in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado and Ute drove Cuartelejo from western Kansas and eastern Colorado Jumano, Pawnee, and French alliance attack Paloma in Kansas the Padouca fight Pawnee in Kansas Kansa, Oto, and Missouri fight Caney in Kansas the Tawakoni, Nabedache, Yojuane, and Tonkawa fight Caney Ndé in Oklahoma the Caney Ndé cross Oklahoma to fight Padouca Ndé in Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>Paloma and Escalchufine Ndé attack Comanche on Arkansas River the Karankawa Revolt took place at the Mission Nuestra Señora de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 10   Apacheria del Oriente Under Attack

1718-1730

This map illustrates the contestation of the Apacheria del Oriente by Pawnee, Ute, Comanche, and colonial interests and signals the beginning of formal Nde and Spanish relations in San Antonio. Nde, Jumane, and Toboso form an anti-colonial alliance.

Map compiled by Enrique Maestas April 2003. Copyright 2003 Enrique Maestas. All rights reserved.
In 1719, New Mexican settlers decried Ute and Comanche depredations and Governor Antonio de Valverde y Cosio organized a war party against them. Valverde (1719) found a number of Ndé buffalo hunter nations in disarray because of warfare leveled against them by Utes, Comanche, Pawnee, Jumano, and French northeast of Taos Pueblo. Governor Valverde’s party left from Taos and followed the Ulibarri’s trail from Taos Valley to the Sierra Blanca (Raton Mountains) and La Xicarilla, both rancherías that had been destroyed by Ute and Comanche forces. Before Valverde arrived, Chief Coxo (Ysdalnisdael) left to seek an alliance with the Dineh (Navajo) west of the Rio Grande. Valverde continued east and found Chief Carlana’s Sierra Blanca Ndé ranchería on the north fork of the Canadian River east of Des Moines, New Mexico. Valverde reported planted fields and irrigation canals near the campsite where he received presentations of cooperation from Carlana and Jicarilla Apache who visited the governor in separate groups, Map 10, p. 152. According to Captain Felix Martinez, La Xicarilla, the volcanic plains, and the Sierra Blanca, the mountains separating the volcanic plains from the Napestle (Arkansas River), were distinct.

“...Martinez explained, “...the Sierra Blanca, where the Apaches Carlanas, our allies, are ranching or settled, is between the Rio Napestle and La Jicarilla, twelve leagues to the north and runs east and west, and that on the eastern extremity is where the Canceres are, allied with the French...” [Thomas 1935: 171]
Martinez explained that the Sierra Blanca stand between La Xicarilla and the Napestle (Arkansas) River and are located southwest of the plains to the east. Martinez also affirmed a border between the Sierra Blanca Ndé and the Canceres (Kansa) nation, suggesting that Sanasesli Ranchería on the Arkansas River in Kansas was still present in 1724 when Bourgmont met Padouca on the Little Arkansas near Little River, Kansas with Kansa from the Missouri River (Norall 1988: 63).

On September 21, 1719, in southern Colorado on the Purgatoire River Valverde (1719) found Ndé living in adobe homes near their cornfields saying that the Comanche were killing their people. Later that day, Ndé (Apache) from La Xicarilla and the volcanic plains east of Ratón, New Mexico, offered their military service to Valverde through the words of an elder woman on horseback. The next day, Valverde headed east to the Cimarron and Carrizo Rivers near the Comanche National Grassland in southern Colorado. Nearby, Ndé gardeners tended their fields and lived in nine adobe homes, one of which was decorated with a Christian cross. Chief Carlana presented himself and told Valverde that he had come with half of his people from the Sierra Blanca to seek help from the Jicarilla to defend themselves from Comanche and Ute attacks.

In his report, Chief Carlana added that Chief Flacco had already left the area and established a refuge toward which half of the Sierra Blanca Apache had gone.

“. . . he (Chief Carlana) answered that he had come fleeing from his country the Sierra Blanca, with half of his people, to get the help of the Apaches of La Jicarilla. The rest of his people, he said, had gone for protection farther into the land of Apaches whom Chief Flacco governed, because of the continual war that the Ute and Comanche enemy made upon them.” [Thomas 1935: 114]

This statement identified Chief Flacco as an Ndé (Apache) leader who had already established rancherías by 1719 and that half of the Sierra Blanca chose to join him. If the “land of Apaches whom Chief Flacco governed,” (Thomas 1935: 114) was among Apache settlements reported in Texas may have been the Cancy Apachería on the Red River, the Ipandé Apachería between the San Saba and the headwaters of the Colorado River in Texas, or the Apache de los Llanos between the Pecos and Colorado Rivers of Texas.
On September 26, 1719, Valverde returned to the Purgatoire River near Trinidad, Colorado where they weathered a snowstorm. On the next day, Chief Carlana rode into camp with sixty-nine mounted warriors and began a war ceremony that lasted until the next day. Afterwards, he offered to scout for enemy Ute and Comanche warriors. Moving north, Valverde set up camp on Apishapa Creek near Aguilar, Colorado where Chief Carlana scouts reported Comanche and Ute returning from attacking Carlana rancherías. Continuing north, the party entered Comanche territory in Huerfano County and passed through canyon lands and foothills of the Southern Rocky Mountains of Colorado to the Rio Napestle (Arkansas River). Following the Napestle east past Rocky Ford, Colorado the Spanish hunted buffalo, but did little to pursue the Comanche to the disappointment of Chief Carlana and the other Ndé.

On the night of October 11, 1719, ten Quartelejo Apache warriors arrived from western Kansas to help Valverde pursue the Comanche and reported that their people had congregated further east on the Napestle River. The next week, Valverde hunted buffalo, while the “Calchufine Ndé” had gathered together with the Quartelejo for protection and to meet Valverde. On October 21, 1719, over a thousand Ndé buffalo hunters camped on the north bank of the Rio Napestle across from Valverde’s camp. On the following day, a chief of the “Paloma Ndé” whose rancherías were east of El Quartelejo arrived, after being shot in a fight with French, Jumano, and Pawnee who had driven the Paloma from their lands (Thomas 1935: 126 - 132). Viceroy Valero implied that Calchufine were the same as the Paloma Ndé (Apache) driven from their lands by nations to the east called the Cancer (Kansas), Pawnee, Cadodacho, and Texas. Similarly, Valero reported that Utes from the west drove Cuartelejo from their rancherías in western Kansas and eastern Colorado. Seven years later, Paloma and Escalchufine Ndé (Apache) brought captives to New Mexico taken in battle against Comanche forces (Rivera 1727), thus verifying that Ndé forces continued to fight Comanche for the Southern Plains between 1706 and 1726.

74 Reports noted this as a good deer hunting area, as well as, territory contested by Comanche (Thomas 1935: 118).

75 Thomas (1935) presented this historical data from “Autos sobre lo consultado por los Governadores del Parral y Nueva Mexico en razon de los designos de los Franceses de internarse en aquellos Paises,” Archivo General de la Nación, Historia, Tomo 394, Documento XX, pp. 27.
In all, Valverde’s (1719) report shows that Ndé buffalo hunters northeast of Taos migrating east from the Sierra Blanca, which constituted a departure point for Ndé going to eastern Apacherías, including one governed by Chief Flacco. In the following section, I present data reporting mounted Ndé rangers before 1725 in four territories. French reports located the Cancy Ndé between the Arkansas and Colorado rivers and the Padouca Apachería north of the Arkansas River.

Moreover, Spanish reports located Apache de los Llanos between the Pecos and San Saba rivers, and a southernmost range between the Rio Grande and the Rio Nazas. Based on this analysis, I propose an early historic range for Mounted Ndé buffalo hunters that I call the Apachería del Oriente.
APACHE, CANCY, AND PADOUCA

In this section, I discuss conclusions based upon cross-referencing primary accounts regarding Ndé (Apache) in French and Spanish reports between 1715 and 1724. The purpose of this is to provide a political geography of the Apachería del Oriente during the period in which Ndé buffalo hunters emerge as Apache in reports by colonials at San Antonio between its founding (1716 - 1718) and 1723 when Captain Flores led a massacre against an Apache ranchería on the Colorado River near Brownwood, Texas.
During 1715, Fray Ramirez received an Ndé (Apache) chief who had traveled to La Junta from his rancheria five days north, in order to request a priest for his people. His land was described to be “llanos” and this man was described as the Capitan General of the Apache who accepted baptism from Don Antonio de la Cruz, governor of the Julime, and received the baptismal name, Don Antonio Apache.

Once this was completed the priests invited General Antonio Apache de los llanos to bring his people twenty-four miles north of La Junta where they could receive the benefits of the mission. However, at the moment General Apache received a horse, clothing, and a toll from the friars.

“Capitán General de los Apaches que benia con su gente a ayudar a los del Norte contra Jizinllos y sauiendo entrab Padre vino solo a Bezar . . . la mucha // atencion que ponian a quanto yo habalaba asistio a todo lo rreferido el Gouern.or. Apache y sin averle ablado a el en particular otro dia de maniana entro a visitarme y me pidio por Dios nuestro Señor el agua del Santo Baptismo . . . fue su Padrino el Gouernador de Julimes se le puso por nombre D.n. Antonio de la Cruz . . .”

“. . . D.n. Antonio Apache para yr a ver su gente que tenia en vn paraje distante del norte ocho Leguas asegurando (de su motivo) que en yendo yo, o otros Padres // a viuir alla que el y toda su gente que eran muchos se cendrian a viuir, a dichos Norte Junto al ultimo Pueblo rio avajo y que el y los suyos defenderian a los Padres de Jiximbles y otros cualquiera enemigos que los del norte eran Mugeres palabras formales de dicho apache, quede gozoso de tan buenas muestras de resien Baptisado y le di Vn Cauallo, que tenia de mi vso vnos calsones blancos y vna Toalla.” [Ramires 1713]

“Ramires mentioned Mexcalera (Mescalero) Apache, as enemies who had killed a Spanish captive and lived west of La Junta, and contrasted General Antonio Apache de los llanos to the Mexcalera who accepted baptism and lived on the Concho River of Texas.”
“La entrada que hize con dos Yndios solos a la Junta de Zumas, Chinarras, Jotames y Cholomes porque la hize por Dios y por caridad de sacar los guesos de la Española cautiba que mataron (avnque no fue possible hallarlos con yr a la Mexcalera donde la mataron y dexaron tirada con andar dos dias en su busca).” [Ramires 1713]

“Esta noticia que Nro D.n. Antonio Apache al boluerse a su tierra hizo Ynstancia a llebarme alla, y a su otro Padrino el Gouernador de Julimes, Diciendo ibamos seguros que en cinco dias llegaríamos a Tierra que esta en vnos llanos, muy Grandes donde ay Vbas gordas y arboles de fruta de los españoles y vn Rio donde ay muchas Conchas y perlas como dos que trahia y tiene oy Nuestra Señora del Rosario en l mission de su finesa no entiendo son de buen porte Dize mas dicho Apache que en menos de vn dia llegaríamos desde su Cassa a vn Rio Colorado que lueze mucho con el sol y que todos los años bienen los Españoles con // los Yndios Jananas y lleban mucha tierra de aquella . . .” [Ramires 1713]

General Apache is said to live on the river that the Spanish had visited while it was home to the Janana (Jumano). This river rich in fruits, shells, and pearls was almost certainly the Concho River in Texas.

“. . . el Yndio Apache que Baptizo avia distante de dha Junta cinco dias de Camino . . . embiaba los religiosos...que en su rancheria estaua la efermedad de las Viruelas . . .” [Trasuiña Retis 1715: 39]

However, nothing came of Antonio Apache de los Llanos intention to return to take a priest back to his land because smallpox struck his ranchería. Just prior to this, Retis (1714) reported that seventy families of Apache reported an outbreak of measles (sarampion). In all, this primary report locates Chief Antonio Apache de los Llanos Ndé ranchería on the Concho River in Texas. This interpretation is bolstered by independent evidence provided by Niel (1710) that the Fahano (Faraón) lived in Trans-Pecos Texas and the Necayees (Natagé) lived east of Pecos Pueblo and north of the Fahano (Faraón). Based on this evidence, the terms Faraón and Apache de los Llanos appear to have been identifiers used by Spanish writers to refer to Ndé living between the Pecos and Colorado rivers of Texas. This designation almost certainly originated in Ndé as Cuelcahen-Ndé, and would become re-hispanicized as Apaches Llaneros by 1777.
APACHE ON THE COLORADO RIVER 1715-1717

San Denis (1715), a French trader with Spanish political connections set out for the Rio Grande missions and presidio from Natchitoches with a small group of Tejas warriors in 1715. Upon reaching the Colorado River, two-hundred warriors presumed to have been Apache attacked, but were defeated and brought into peace negotiations. According to Fray Agustín Morfí,76 “Governor Cadillac provided 10,000 francs worth of merchandise for San Denis to leave with the Natchitoches on the banks of the Red River in 1713.” The French had been in alliance with the Natchitoches, since 1701, which resulted in many of these Natives setting on the Mississippi near the Colapisas [Acolapissa].

Penicault, an interpreter, convinced the Natchitoches to follow San Denis, to which the Colapisas reacted by setting out in pursuit and killing seventeen Natchitoches and capturing many of their women. Afterwards, surviving Natchitoches joined San Denis at Biloxi where they set out in September 1713. Passing the village of the Tonica, San Denis persuaded their chief to join him with fifteen of his most skillful hunters. Continuing west, the party arrived at Natchitoches on an island in Red River just over one-hundred miles (forty leagues) northwest of its confluence with the Mississippi, today known as the city of Natchitoches, Louisiana. Once in Natchitoches, San Denis persuaded other Indians to join him and distributed tools and seed to the Natchitoches. After spending the winter in Natchitoches, San Denis chose twelve Frenchmen from among those who had followed him and a few Indians, and marched twenty days to the Texas on the Angelina River. Eventually San Denis arrived at the San Juan Bautista settlement. Based on San Denis’ reports, Governor Alarcón warned travelers of Apache attacks between the Rio Grande and the Tejas (Hoffman 1935).

76. Fray Agustín de Morfí, a native of Galicia, came to America in 1752 and served as Chaplain to Croix, Commandant General of the Provincias Internas.
Meanwhile, in Fray Espinosa’s (1716) proposal for missions on the San Antonio River, the seventh reason Espinosa gave in favor of his plan was to support the presidio and mission complex stationed in east Texas, in which he specifically referred to the grave danger presented by the Apache.

“Lo septimo: que mantener Presidio en los Natchitoches, y en los Cadodachos, no poblando la Bahia del Espiritu Santo, no puede ser impedimento para las introducciones que se temen y puede ser de grave perjuicio la pueblen (?) los Franceses por que si se les agregasen los Yndios de la costa, y en especial los Apaches, pudieran con facilidad impedir las Misiones que se fundaren en el camino y conseguir se pierda, lo que se gastare en la Provincia de los Texas.” [Espinosa 1716]

Further evidence supporting an Apache threat in Texas before the Spanish established San Antonio, is provided by the following events. On June 10, 1716, Espinosa (1717) and Ramón (1717) met Chief Juan Rodriguez and the Ervipiame in the Ranchería Grande between the Little and Little Brazos rivers where they meet the Brazos River from the west, Map 9, p. 145. After returning, Ramón called a council of war regarding the need for military support in Texas due to the combined threat of the enemies of the Tejas named as Apache, Yojuan, Ervipiame, Chana, and their allies.

“... que por razón del corto numero de Soldados, no se podia salir al reconocimiento de tierras, y Naciones: p que tasadamente havia para poner ocho en las Misiones, para la guarda de la Cavallada, y Presidio, y que regularmente solia haver enfermos como lo estaba experimentando, havendose muerto uno, hallandose cercado por la parte del Norte de Yndios enemigos de los Texas, como eran los Apaches, Jojuanes, Hiervipanes, chanas, y otros agregados, con que segun ello era moralmente emposible, se pudiese conservar lo puesto, ni menos dilatar la conquista.” [Junta de Guerra y Hacienda 1716]
Perhaps this represents an early southern alliance led by Ndé against the northern alliance brought together by the Tejas. Nevertheless, historical data demonstrates changing alliances for the Ervipiame with respect to the Spanish and the Tejas between 1698 and 1716 (Appendix B). Apache’s were also a threat between the San Antonio and Colorado rivers. Apache were reported to have threaten the Papaya, Sana, and Pampopa nations.

“... y que servirian de Maestros a los que pretendia recoger en el referido parage de las Naciones payayas, Sanas, Pampoas, y confinantes que vendrian a componer un Pueblo de tres mil a quatro mil Yndios cuyo fue esto estaría como 25 o 30 leguas de la Bahia del espiritu Santo, confinante por la parte del Norte con los Apaches, se le havian de poner diez Soldados para el resguardo de sus Persona, en el interin recogia las Naciones permitiéndose algunos vecinos, si huviese dandoles agues y tierras; pus en el referido Rio de San Antonio cavía una Provincia entera...” [Junta de Guerra y Hacienda 1716]

On April 8, 1717, 70 mounted Apache attacked San Denis (1717) escorted by Captain Domingo Ramón (1717) south of the Colorado River of Texas. After surrendering twenty-three mules and a Spanish mulatto woman, the party found refuge in a Papaya Ranchería ten miles south (Espinosa 1717). Based on their geographic and political manifestation, these Apache are likely associated with the Ipandé and Pelón associated with the Colorado River of Texas. In sum, numerous data provide evidence supporting an Apache presence and threat in the San Antonio area since 1690, and continued until the Spanish established a horse herd and presidio between 1716 and 1718.
CANCY NDÉ ON THE RED RIVER

Cancy in French documents and reports refer to Ndé rangers feared between the Arkansas and Red rivers, and apparently as far as the Tejas east of the Trinity River. In 1719, Bernard de la Harpe entered Oklahoma by following the Red River northwest from Natchitoches, Louisiana and along its bend into Arkansas.

He remained in a Canicon village on the Red River southeast of Ouachita National Forest in northwest Arkansas and sent Sieur Du Rivage with ten Frenchmen and eight Native American auxiliaries to find roving tribes among the buffalo plains in Oklahoma to the west (Lewis 1932:36). On his return, Du Rivage brought two Quidehais (Kichai) traveling with Naouydiche, Joyvan (Yojuane), Huanchane, Huane (Yojuane), and Toncaoye (Tonkawa) who told of a skirmish with the Cancy (Appendix A).

According to Native reports, Cancy lived two-hundred miles west on the Red River. This would place them in Oklahoma, north of Wichita Falls, Texas. Du Rivage reported long standing hostilities between the Cancy and the Kansas, Oto, and Missouri nations to the east. The Cancy reportedly lived in tipis carried by dogs, wore clothing, and carried sword, but not firearms. The report references a Cancy military advantage over their adversaries due to large herds of good quality horses (Lewis 1932). All of these characteristics suggest an Ndé buffalo hunter identity because Ndé were the only group reported to have had the combination of large horse herds, Spanish trade items, and dog traction in 1719. The nature of the Cancy Ndé presence is clear in the avoidance demonstrated by Natives and French officers when La Harpe and his guides avoided a mounted party of 60 Cancy warriors south of Eufala, Oklahoma.

A Naouydiche (Nabedache) led La Harpe past the Cancy to the chief of his nation, and on the return, La Harpe saw fifty Cancy following a buffalo herd south of the Canadian River and took great care to avoid them (Lewis 1932: 53). Continuing on his mission, La Harpe met a Touacara chief with mounted Maouydiche scouts who presented him with a Spanish horse. These natives guided La Harpe along the Arkansas River towards Ponca City where he encountered villages of a Wichita confederacy comprised of Touacara (Tawakoni), Maouydiche, and the people following Chief Taojas (Taovaya) and Chief Oscanis (Iscanis).
The Touacara held a Calumet ceremony and gave La Harpe an eight year-old girl taken from the Cancy. The Touacara said that they had eaten seventeen Cancy in a recent feast. The social fact that this Wichita confederation took Ndé captives with extreme prejudice implies a hostile northeastern barrier to the Ndé where the Arkansas and Canadian rivers meet (Lewis 1932: 48).

In 1719, two French parties engaged Panis (Pawnee) and Osage people who reported Padouca buffalo hunters in the west (Lewis 1932). The Touacara also told La Harpe that the Padouca carried on war with the Pawnee because they barred them from the Spanish, and that Cancy crossed western Oklahoma to fight the Padouca (Lewis 1932: 48 and 49). Hostility between Cancy and Padouca as two segments of Ndé buffalo hunters is comparable to warfare between Faraón and Ndé in La Xicarilla. Moreover, Faraón trading Wichita captives in New Mexico suggests that the Cancy may have been Faraón ranging east.77

77. Further evidence of this is La Harpe’s map of 1720 the “Nacion des Canzi” made up of 8,000 hommes south of the Canadian River and north of the Red River where he established a colonial base of operations among the Naoydiche (Wheat 1957: 67).
PADOUCA NDÉ ON THE ARKANSAS RIVER

Identification of the Padouca bred an academic controversy between scholars believing them to be Apache and others believing them to be Comanche. My contribution to this controversy is to organize the evidence regarding the Padouca mentioned in French reports from 1719 and 1724 and discuss them with respect to contemporary reports in New Mexico and Texas. Students of Apache prehistory and history such as Forbes (1960) and Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1971; 1988) found convincing evidence that Padouca were Apache. However, John’s (1975) Indian history interpreted the Padouca as Comanche, presumably following Newcomb, Jr. and Field (1967: 249, 254). Yet neither, John nor Newcomb, Jr. and Field, addressed the Padouca’s reported horticultural activity. Moreover, Newcomb and Field (1967: 254) indexed Wedel’s (1959: 77-78) expertise to substantiate their argument that the Padouca were Comanche. However, Wedel stated that Siouan speakers used the word to identify Comanche in the 1800’s and the French used the term to identify Plains Apache in the 1700’s. Seeing as though, the period in question is 1719 to 1724, it should be clear that the Padouca reported by La Harpe and Bourgmont were Apache. Moreover, the Vermale map of 1717 clearly marked the west central plains as the “Pais des Apaches ou Padoucas orientaux.” (Wheat 1957: op. 63). Nonetheless, John (1975) went on to weave the identity of Padouca as Comanche into her narrative of the French economically marginalizing the Apache and providing the Comanche with the tools to end the residence of Apache buffalo hunters on the Southern Plains. Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988: 29) lamented Mooney’s (1896) mistaken and uninformed correlation of Padouca with Comanche. A lamentation I echo, regarding the repetition of the error by Newcomb and Field (1967), and in turn by John (1975).
In order to aid this clarification, I analyze the source of historical data on the Padouca. Claud Charles DuTisne journeyed from Kaskaskia, Illinois to visit Pawnee near Tulsa, Oklahoma in the spring of 1719 and learned that just as the Osage wished to block the Pawnee from French trade and the Padouca barred them from trade with New Mexico, the Pawnee wanted to bar the Padouca. DuTisne reported that the Padouca village was fifteen days from the Pawnee village and the people dressed their horses in leather armor (Lewis 1932: 58).

Bourgmont’s 1724 report presented the Padouca as semi-nomadic buffalo hunters living from hunting, trading, and planting. They had a great deal of horses from direct trade relations with the Spanish, a market Comanche would not secure until 1750 (Norall 1988: 157 - 158). Governor Almázan of Texas, reported trade between the Apache and the French of Natchitoches, through which they obtained knives, guns, and ammunition (Archivo San Francisco del Grande 1724). Also in 1726, Bustamante reported Ndé escorting French to New Mexico.

“It is also to be remembered that those with whom the French live have long muskets and carbines made in their lands [France] and visit frequently this kingdom, being attracted here by the virtue of the union and commerce which they have with the Apaches who bring them to these regions.” [Thomas 1935: 258]

In 1727, Padouca Apache escorted a Frenchmen in search of Laitan (Comanche) (Thomas 1935: 256), suggesting that the French still had not met the Comanche.

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79. San Denis (1717) reported the Apache practice of covering their horses in leather armor.

80. Gunnerson (1974: 222-230) made it clear that Comanche were not allowed to openly trade with the Pueblos and New Mexican colonial settlements until the 1750’s, and were known to the French as Laitane and Naytane.
Although John’s (1974) historical formulation makes more sense if Padouca were Comanche, most cultural evidence points to their identification as Ndé buffalo hunters. First, the peace signal of throwing a robe or blanket is consistent with Lipan Apache practices (Banta 1911; Sjoberg 1953; Norall 1988: 140). Second, these buffalo hunters valued and traded turquoise suggesting a more intimate relation with the Pueblo economic sphere, than has yet to be documented for Comanche in 1724. Moreover, Padouca dressed in tied leather boots adapted from Spanish footwear were thought to have been around the Spanish for a long time (Norall 1988: 75 - 77). Third, Bourgmont’s chronicle emphasizes a semi-nomadic Padouca lifestyle hinging on a predictable trade cycle with New Mexico and possibly even San Antonio, Texas. Fourth, Padouca grew a small amount of maize and focused on squash production. This last point indexes Ndé horticultural rancherías similar to those described by Ulibarri in 1706 and is antithetical to Comanche being buffalo hunters and raiders without the vulnerability of garden plots.

81 The dress style described by Norall (1988: 75 - 77) ties the Padouca into an Apache and Jumano buffalo hunter style of dress that was known to distinguish these most southern buffalo hunters from the Comanche and other Plains buffalo hunters just emerging onto the Central and Southern Plains, see “Ndé and Jumano Fashion Statements.”
DISMAL RIVER ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeological evidence corroborates this interpretation because Dismal River material attributed to Ndé buffalo hunters had been found in Nebraska and Kansas and dated between 1675 and 1725. Characterized by five-post dwellings similar to Navajo forked stick hogans, bell shaped earth ovens, and typical pottery Dismal River material is found from the Great Bend in the Arkansas to the Black Hills (Hoffman 1989c; J. Hughes 1991).

Moreover, other archeological data sets often associated with Dismal River material approximate the locations of Apache rancherías in original Spanish reports of the early 1700’s. Scott Focus sites near the Arkansas River were reported by Wedel (1940) to be affiliated with Dismal River and the Stinking Water Focus sites along Platte and Republican rivers in Nebraska were associated with Dismal River by Champe (1946; 1949). Comparable sites in northeastern New Mexico reported by Gunnerson (1968) yielding comparable dates include Pueblo style flat roofed houses and stone tipi rings. These sites are dated between 1650 and 1750, a period of intense diaspora for Apache de los Llanos after integrating a mounted force of hunters and warriors into their buffalo hunting lifestyle. This change resulted in Ndé buffalo hunter dominance of areas in the eastern prairies from south of the North Platte in western Nebraska bordering Pawnee villages to the east. El Cuartelejo in western Kansas and Padouca visited by Bourgmont in October of 1724 were both documented sizable Ndé populations with archeological counterparts. El Cuartelejo is associated with the Scott Focus and the Padouca are associated with Dismal River material (Hoffman 1989b; J. Hughes 1991 and Map 4, p. 40)

San Denis provides Independent historical data in his statement that Apache is a vulgar name for people properly known as Padoca. He also describes them as living and ranging (Andan Guerreantes) from New Mexico to the Mississippi and to the Missouri River, and known by the people from the Tejas to the Rio Grande.

“Yndios Apaches en nombre vulgar Y En el propio Padoca q. son enemigos de las demas naciones Y de españoles, Y franceses . . . .que ocupan mas de quatrocientas leguas en las que tienen esparcidos sus Pueblos, Y Casas Y andan Guerreantes desde adelante del nuevo Mexico hasta El Misipi, y los Ylinois por el rio Mitzuri Y que esta noticia la a oido a los Yndios del camino de tejas al Precidio . . .” [San Denis 1717]
In sum, original documents chronicling Bourgmont’s encounter with the Padouca in 1724 coupled with Dismal River archaeological evidence provide evidence of cultural, economic, and subsistence practices consistent with what is known about Apache buffalo hunters at the time and distinct from anthropology of the Comanche. The depiction of the Padouca as horticultural and semi-nomadic people who dressed in ways characteristic of the adaptation of Spanish colonial clothing to a Native American plains lifestyle lead to a conclusion that either the Padouca were Ndé, or the Comanche had adopted many Spanish cultural elements in 1724 not reported at any other time in Comanche history.
STORMS BREWED IN NATIVE AMERICAN WORLDS

Overall, historical data regarding Ndé settlement and range east of New Mexico between 1684 and 1725 challenges John’s (1975) paradigm of “storms brewed in other men’s worlds” that represented Native American people and nations as pawns caught in European webs of colonial intrigue. In contrast, the Apachería del Oriente during these years to have been a region of storms brewed in Native American worlds where European opportunists were drawn into regions in which they constituted inferior military and social forces.

For example, Mendoza was run out of western Texas by Apache de los Llanos and Salineros in 1684 after being drawn into a contestation of Ndé buffalo hunter claims to the territory by Jumano Chief Juan Sabeata. Statements and actions recorded by Mendoza (1684) are evidence of Ndé settlements south of the Colorado River and aggressive Ndé Rangers from the Concho River in western Texas to the San Saba River where they contested Jumano and Spanish buffalo hunter claims.

Five years later in 1689, Spanish caravans traveled along the southern edge of the post oak belt southeast of San Antonio for fear of Ndé rangers along the northern trade route to the Tejas that passed directly through San Antonio (Mazanet 1690). These examples strongly suggest that Ndé had settlements south of the Colorado River and aggressively ranged between the Austin areas from 1690 to 1715, Ndé rangers challenged colonial travel to the San Antonio River from both the Rio Grande and Colorado Rivers (San Denis 1715; Espinosa 1717; Ramón 1717; Alarcon 1718; Urrutia 1733).

Ulibarri and Valverde found themselves enmeshed in ambivalent and ineffective alliances. French officers hid from Caney Ndé rangers in Oklahoma in 1719, forged a peaceful trade pact between Padouca Ndé and French partners to the east, and reported mounted Caney warriors raiding the Tejas near the Angelina River in Texas. Related to this, John (1975: 383) found that 1720 was marked by the French inciting Native American slave wars.
Although Spanish and French colonials were noticeable, Native American nations had more important matters with which to concern themselves. Revolledo summarized the state of affairs in 1724 to the effect that Jicarilla, Cuartelejo, and Sierra Blanca fought a defensive war against Ute and Comanche invaders from the north, Pawnee, and Kansas in the northeast, all of who were supplied and aided by the French (Thomas 1935: 205). Rivera (1724) explained that Cuartelejo Apache did not want to be converted, but wanted the protection of the Spanish against the Comanche and that Jicarilla Apache moved into Taos Pueblo to avoid Comanche attacks. In all, after the 1680, Pueblo Revolt and the expulsion of the Spanish from most areas north of the Rio Grande, nations on all sides of the Ndé acquired horses and those in the north acquired French guns and ammunition.

Thus, a push of increasing numbers of mounted buffalo hunters rolled north and east, instigating a series of contested borderlands Pawnee-Apache border on the Platte River in Nebraska, the Kansa-Apache, on the Kansas River in Kansas, and Wichita-Apache borders where the Arkansas River and Canadian rivers meet in Oklahoma, and the Tejas-Apache border on the Trinity River of Texas.\(^{82}\)

In contrast, south of the Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas and Coahuila, the turn of the eighteenth century signaled a turn from hostility to alliance for buffalo hunting nations speaking Jumano, Coahuiltecan, Sana, Pamaque, and other anti-colonial forces further south, such as the Toboso and Gavilán in Coahuila (Weddle 1968), and Tepehuan Salinero in Santiago Paposquiaro (1686). Importantly, 1684 marks the beginning of Apache de los Llanos cultural affiliation with Indigenous people of south Texas and northeastern Mexico.

\(^{82}\) Barreiro’s map of 1728 is probably the most inclusive map of the Apache del Oriente showing an Apache range from the Rio Grande in New Mexico to the Trinity River at the borders of the Osage and Tejas (Jackson and Foster 1995: Plate 1).
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTERS SURROUND AND CLAIM SAN ANTONIO

Mission San Antonio Valero was established between 1716 and 1718 on the San Antonio River based on the decision to move the Mission San Francisco Solano along with its personnel and resources to the San Antonio River (Appendix B). Nevertheless, presidial support preceded the mission and presumably is the basis for Joseph Azlor y Virto de Vera, the Marqués de Aguayo’s (1724) report that Apache had been raiding the Spanish horse herd at San Antonio since 1715.  

Families of the soldiers settled near the presidio and Mission San Jose was established in 1720, but the Villa of San Fernando de Béxar was not established until the Canary Islanders arrived in 1731 (Campbell and Campbell 1996). Moreover, Aguayo, the Governor of Coahuila y Tejas documented existing Ndé claims to San Antonio before its establishment. After leaving this position, Aguayo (1724) wrote a report dated February 26, 1724, and included proposals for the reduction of the Apache, who had challenged the Spanish at San Antonio since 1715 by stealing their horses.

“Por ultimo haz el a propuesta al Se.a. de que se intente la reducion Celos Apaches procurando atraenlos de paz y sino se consigue ese medio . . . que no solo hasta aora la han repugnado sino que nos han echo hostilidades desde el año de quinze en que se Poblo la Prov.a. de Thexas Segunda vez con el Presidio de San Antonio, y del zentio de los Thexas para guarezen las Missiones de Yndios estauan los caminos . . . Continuaron la Guerra intentando Rouan la Cavallada diferentes vezes estando yo en San Antonio . . .” [Aguayo 1724: 45 - 46]

83. It will be seen that this pattern was repeated on Cibolo Creek in the 1730’s with similar results.
After receiving these reports, Aguayo offered peace to the Apache and it was rejected. Instead, the buffalo hunters shot two arrows into the ground in front of the presidio with red cloth hanging from them. Interpreters told Aguayo that this was a declaration of war, obviously for San Antonio.

“... mi soldados con los Apaches dieron por Respuesta con su clara explicacion de Senas (aseftando sus flechas hacia todas partes fuera de su tierra) es queria Guerra con todos; y en otra occasion que vineiron Zerca De Sn Antonio, se hallaron flechas suias clauadas en el suelo, y trapos Encarnados puestos en palos en forma De vanderas; cuias señas comunicadas con nros Ynterpretes dijeron que Eran para Yntimarla Guerra a los Españoles.” [Aguayo 1724: 46]

Aguayo (1725) verified that not only did Apache rangers constitute a social fact of resistance to Spanish colonial settlement in San Antonio, since 1715, but Ndé also laid formal claim to the area and declared war on the Spanish. In all, Ndé buffalo hunters clearly preceded Spanish claims to San Antonio.

Between 1720 and 1722, the Aguayo expedition made an extravagant show of force by tracking five-hundred soldiers and several supply trains from Saltillo and the Rio Grande presidio and missions (Appendix B). The caravan passed through San Antonio on the way to the Tejas and took excursions to the Bahia del Espiritu Santo (San Antonio Bay) and the Brazos River near Waco (Foster 1995). Suggesting the effectiveness of resistance to Ndé expansion south of the Colorado River in Texas, their only mention on this expedition referred to Apache control of the Lomería Grande (Hill Country) to the west, as the expedition crossed the Colorado River near Austin (Santos 1981: 39). In May 1721, Aguayo reported an Apache attack close to the Presidio San Antonio (Santos 1981: 34), and Aguayo’s soldiers fought with Apache south of San Antonio on the road to Coahuila (Monclova) in response to an attack on a pack train (Peña 1722: 10 - 16). In early April 1722, an Apache raiding party took horses from a ranch in Coahuila. Immediately, Captain Flores and ten men chased them and brought back the horses along with the heads of four of the thieves, along with their spears and shields. Soon after, on April 22, 1722, Flores was given command of the Presidio at San Antonio (Aguayo 1725: 72). This example establishes the existence of a colonial system that rewarded the killing of Apache in San Antonio.
However, in the years of Captain Flores’ command, Ndé violence escalated on all sides of San Antonio. A friar was killed in the escalation of hostilities between Ndé and their enemies near the Brazos River in 1723. Apaches are reported to have killed Fray Joseph Pita while he hunted buffalo between the San Xavier and Brazos rivers. Almázan (1724) also stated that the Apache, at peace with the Bahía presidio since its installation on the Guadalupe River close to its mouth at San Antonio Bay, instigated war with the mission it was stationed to protect in 1724.

This shows an eastern extension of Apache range to the Texas Gulf Coast by 1724. Cabello (1784: 104 - 105) reported that in 1723 two men from San Antonio met a band of Apaches at a place called Puerto de los Elotes, 20 miles from the presidio. While searching for strayed horses, the men saw the Indians approach, but did not anticipate any danger from them. However, the Indians attacked them and killed one of the men, but the other escaped on horseback. Flores sent a scouting party to the site of the attack and found the Spaniard’s body scalped and shot through with many arrows.

“Puesta en practica la determinacion de los Lipanes, y Apaches despacharon sus exploradores, los que el Año de 1723; se introdujeron en estas cercanias por la parte del Noroeste por un parage qe llaman el Puerto de los Olotes á 8: Leg.s distante de este Preo en el que se hallavan dos Vezinos de él, que se havian transferido en busca de Vnos Cavallos que les faltavan, y aunque// Vieron la partida de Yndios, sin embargo de no ser conocidos, se acercaron á ellos ceyendo fuesen de la Vmanidad de los que Existian en estos Territorios; pero en breve experimentaron la Ynumanidad de los Forasteros, los que atacandolos Mataron al vno, lo que Visto por el otro Libró su Vida en la Ligeresa de su Cavallo, y llegando á este Preo dio parte de esta Nobedad á Dn Nicolas Flores y Valdes que hera el Capn que le Mandava . . . el qe Ymmediatamente hiso Salir á vn Alferes, y 15; Ombres los que aunque se tranfiriéron á dho Parage, no hallaron álos Enemigos, y sola del Cadaber quitada la Cabellera y traspadado á Chusasos, aviendose llebado el Cavallo, y demas aperos de el Defunto al que Retiraron para darle Sepultura.” [Cabello 1784: 105]

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84. However, it was the Karankawa who evicted the presidio and resulting in its relocation upstream on the San Antonio River in Goliad, Texas (Foster 1995: 158).

85. This is probably near the present town of Helotes, Texas.
In all, regarding the presence of Ndé (Apache) in San Antonio before the establishment of a Spanish colony, Aguayo made the earliest direct report of Apache raiding the horse herd set by Spanish colonials initiating expansion into San Antonio in 1715. However, fear of Apache on the northern Jumano trade route that crossed the San Antonio was documented as early as 1690. Although not officially founded until 1718, the earliest missionary work at San Antonio did not begin until 1716.

A similar discrepancy can be said of Dunn’s (1911: 211) statement that Apache did not habitually range below the old San Antonio road in the early 1700's, due to its contradiction of primary documents reporting Ndé raids on the Rio Grande colony and Ndé trade with the Toboso. Dunn (1911:202) also contradicted his own assertion in his statement that Apache raided two supply trains between San Antonio and Monclova in 1718.

Importantly, the wars for San Antonio between Ndé and Spaniard mark a change from the widespread hostility characteristic of the Great Northern Wars to more effective Anti-Colonial Alliances that eventually played a key role in permanently driving the Spanish from Texas and Mexico, Table 6, p. 184. In addition to a lack of clarity regarding the beginning of Ndé buffalo hunter presence in San Antonio, the problem of ethnic ambiguity regarding Spanish identification of Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas creates substantial confusion. In the following section, I address the issue of ethnic ambiguity by reviewing primary literature referring to Ndé and Spanish relations in San Antonio in 1723.
On August 17, 1723, Ndé raiders took eighty horses from the corral adjacent to the San Antonio presidio. Flores (1723a) set out after the Apache two days later. On September 24, 1723, Flores came upon two-hundred Ndé near Brownwood, Texas and began a six-hour battle resulting in the death of 34 Apache and their chief, twenty women and children taken captive, and the retrieval of two-hundred horses. Four eyewitness accounts from soldiers stated that Flores attacked an innocent Apache ranchería and killed and captured the people while they tried to escape and Fray Gonzalez accused Flores of illegal enslavement of the captives (Archivo San Francisco el Grande 1724).

Returning to San Antonio, Flores interrogated a forty-year old Ndé woman captive who told him that her people raided the Spanish at San Antonio to trade the horses and slaves with other Spaniards to the north and in “canbalachi,” Native American trade fairs (Flores 1723a). The Ndé woman stated that Apache chiefs wanted to be friends with the Spaniards and Flores sent her as an ambassador with a promise to release their captives if the chiefs came to make peace. She was given a horse on October 7, 1723 to carry the invitation to the Capitan Grande who lived far to the north. She returned on October 29, 1723 with an Ndé chief, his wife, and three others who stayed in San Antonio for three days. The chief presented a gold-tipped staff to Flores and said, “Dios! Dios!” Flores (1723a) reported that the Ndé woman diplomat explained that the Capitan Grande gave this staff to the chief traveling with her during a war council of five unspecified Apache Nations. The delegation left November 1, 1723, promising that five chiefs would consider the peace accords (Aguayo 1724; Almázan 1724).

The gold-tipped staff was likely the staff of command given to the young Chief Yndatiyuhe in 1706, who Ulibarri (1706: 52) recognized as Capitan Grande of the Gran Apachería. Capitan Grande Yndatiyuhe’s brother’s name Yyastipaye phonetically resembles Ysdelpain, the name of the Capitan of Sansesli Ranchería, suggesting an origin for Capitan Ysdelpain north of the Arkansas River.
Yyastipaye and Ysdelpain show an intriguing phonetic affinity with terms used to document Ndé nations after 1706. When Ndé, the general Apache word for people, is added to Yyastipaye or Chipayne the results are yyast-Ipayndé and ch-Ipayndé, even more comparable to Yyastipaye and Chipayne. All of those reported in New Mexico documents were associated with Apache de los Llanos of Cibola and the Ndé north of the Canadian River in New Mexico between 1695 and 1715.

Comparably, Ypardé, Ipardé, and Lipan-Ndé are all groups reported in documents relating to San Antonio beginning in 1732 and continuing to the present. Reports of the Bustillo Massacre of 1732 constituted the first written use of Ypardé, also called Pelón, both thought to be ancestral Lipan Apache.

Fray Arricivita wrote an account of this incident and added that the Apache divided into five groups, each one going in a different direction. Flores’ men followed one of the groups to a large ranchería and massacred the people. Flores returned with a captive woman that Fray Gonzalez believed would coerce the Apache to make peace who after some difficulty was able to gain possession of this woman.

86. Chipayne is reported to Vargas as living east of New Mexico and west of Conejero Apache in 1695 (Espinosa 1942: 227). Chipaynes and Chipaine were the focus of Hurtado failed punitive expedition in 1715 and identified as the Trementina and Lemita. In the report leading up to this mission Don Geronimo, Lieutenant. Governor of Taos, stated that all of these were Faraon raiders (Thomas 1935: 80, 98). Chilpaines were mentioned by Velez Cachupín (1754) as a subordinate group of the Carlana in New Mexico that range into Texas. Hence, they are also, like the Lipan, Apache de los Llanos ranging between Texas and New Mexico.
In trying to communicate with the woman, Gonzalez learned that one of the other women spoke Spanish. With an interpreter, Gonzalez gave a message of peace to the first woman explaining that the Spanish were there to help the Apache to resist their enemies and become Christians. The woman promised to return in twenty days with smoke signals to give notice of her approach. Arricivita also narrated a report of the Ndé woman’s experience back among her own people. Arriving at her ranchería, she found five-hundred warriors preparing to retaliate against San Antonio. Her message precipitated a five-day war council that concluded with the Capitan Grande declaring an intention to make peace and chose his brother to reciprocate with the colonials at San Antonio with his wife and three others.

Soon smoke signals were seen from San Antonio and when the Ndé diplomats came before him, the Capitan Grande’s brother presented a staff of command and a buffalo skin painted with an image of the sun, which Arricivita asserted that the Ndé worshiped as God. The visitors stayed three days and left with a promise to return with a decision as to whether they would accept missions. Even in 1792, Arricivita could not find documentation of this peace accord and proposed mission (Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 26 - 30).

Dunn reported that Geronimo, an orphaned Indígena of the Rio de Santa Helena near Fresnillo in Zacatecas had been captured by the Toboso and traded to the Apache for deerskins. Geronimo escaped to San Juan Bautista and reported that the Apache were assembled to attack San Antonio. Geronimo reported that on March 14, 1724, he escaped from captivity during an Apache horse raid on the corral of Presidio San Juan Bautista. After his escape, Geronimo reported the raid to the Spaniards who recovered the horses. During his time with the Ndé, Geronimo reported that they had friendly relations with Jumane and Toboso people. Just before his escape, Geronimo saw the arrival of the Indian woman who told them of the Spaniards’ invitation. Because of this, Geronimo believed that the Ndé decided to postpone their plans to attack San Antonio in order to secure the release of their women and children.

87. I could not verify Dunn’s (1911: 211) citation, “Declaracion del Indio Geronimo que andaba entre los Apaches recibida en el Presidio del Rio ge. Por el Genl. D. Blas de la Garza Falcón, 1724.” However, its historical data of 1724 is the earliest mention of an Ndé-Jumane-Toboso anti-colonial alliance, and make it noteworthy.
However, according to Geronimo, the Capitan Grande promised to attack San Antonio after their relatives had been secured. A similar story told by Fray Santiago de la Cruz, another captive of the Ndé, said that the Capitan Grande gave the staff of command to the chief who came to San Antonio in late October 1723 (Archivo San Francisco el Grande 1724).

In December 1723, thirty Ndé warriors arrived in San Antonio and witnessed an argument between Fray Gonzalez who wanted free their relatives and Captain Flores who demanded a commitment of peace from the Apache before returning the prisoners (Almázan 1724: 16 and 17). According to soldier testimony, Apache warriors agreed to stay so that children could be reunited with their parents, but Flores rejected this and thereby insulted the Apache to the point that they left a young girl (Archivo San Francisco el Grande 1724).

In doing so, one of the warriors said, “Take girl!” interpreted by the soldiers as a scolding given by the Apache to the Spanish for their desire for child captives. This delegation reported that only four of the five chiefs wanted to conclude peace with the Spanish. Although Dunn (1911: 221) referred to the five Apache units as tribes, Spanish reports referred to them as five nations. Reports specify that these five nations confederated together under the authority of a Capitan Grande. Based on the presentation of the gold staff of command I argue that this Capitan Grande was related to Yndatiyuhe who received Ulibarri and the staff of command in the Apachería near the Arkansas River of Kansas in 1706.

Then in 1724, during his time with the Ndé, Geronimo reported that they had friendly relations with Jumane and Toboso people. This association of the Ndé (Apache) in contact with the Spanish at San Antonio included the Jumane of the Rio Grande, the Ipandé of the Colorado River, and the Yxandi and Chenti on the San Saba. A fifth group mentioned was the Apache, who I interpret as Apache de los Llanos, as they were also called. In conclusion, I find that an Apachería del Oriente, or Ndé buffalo hunter settlement and range, encompassed territory stretching from the Arkansas River in Kansas to areas south of the Rio Grande. Documents pertaining to Ndé and Spanish relations in San Antonio in 1723, suggest that the region from the headwaters of the Colorado River in Texas panhandle to the Rio Grande council under the governance of a Capitan Grande, and recognized the authority of a gold-headed staff of command.
Based on the knowledge that Ulibarri gave the only gold-headed staff of command reported in the northern provinces in 1706 to Capitan Grande Yndatiyuhe, this strongly suggests that Ndé negotiating with Flores at San Antonio in 1723 represented a large and confederated group of Apache buffalo hunters living between the Arkansas River and San Antonio that had maintained the sovereignty recognized for nearly thirty years.88

In all, the gold-headed bastón (staff) of command presented to Flores was likely the same one given to Capitan Grande Yndatiyuhe in 1706. Although, silver and even copper bastones (staves) were mentioned in other reports, this is the only mention of a gold bastón, symbolizing Spanish recognition of an overarching territory.

Seeing as though the use of the office and title of Capitan Grande continued, it is likely that the same Chief recognized by Ulibarri in 1706, or one of his brothers, conserved the system of authority symbolized by the gold staff of command. This provides evidence of political stability in the eastern Apachería between 1706 and 1732 in spite of territorial upheavals.

88. An important Apache nation of this confederation documented as Ypande, Ypandi, Ipande, Ipandi, and Lipan may have taken its name from Capitán Yyastipaye, who may have been Capitán Grande at the time. Whether or not Capitán Grande Yndatihuye still held the staff of command, or passed it to his older brother, this constitutes an important step in clarifying Lipan origins. Perhaps this is what Dunn (1911: 222) meant by his statement that among the Apache, “the principal ones were the branch that later emerged as the Lipan.”
CHAPTER SUMMARY

By 1700, the Apacheria del Oriente stretched from south of the Rio Grande to the Platte River and from New Mexico to Trans-Pecos Texas. Forces leveled against Ndé buffalo hunters, while damaging did not appear to affect the eastern Apacheria del Oriente as a whole.

Historical data shows that French and Spanish slave raids and massacres were far more damaging in New Mexico and Texas in the early 1700’s, then Ute, Comanche, and Pawnee pressure as asserted by Dunn (1911), Bolton (1915), and Thomas (1935). Taken as a whole, reports of Ndé between 1700 and 1727 suggest that Ndé buffalo responded to native and colonial offenses and advances by extending their settlement and range southward. Once in the south, Ndé buffalo hunters became involved in Anti-Colonial Action and established strongholds south of the Rio Grande. Apache de los Llanos translates into its Ndé form of Cúelcahén Ndé as the ancestral origin of Lipan Apache Chief Cuelgas de Castro, and therefore the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas. This culturally and geographically affiliated them with the Lipan who used Remolino on the Rio San Rodrigo until the Dia de los Gritos (Mackenzie’s Raid) in 1873, and thereafter, survived as the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas into the present.
CHAPTER 5 APACHERÍA DE LOS LLANOS

This chapter traces the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé to their emergence in a Native American report to Bernardo de Galvéz in 1771 as Culcogendi and locates them in the Apachería de los Llanos between the Rio Grande and San Saba rivers with their most frequent mention on the Rio Florido (Conchos River) in Spanish colonial documents. Moreover, I present evidence that the term Lipan was not used in the documents until 1760 and provide evidence that the Ndé buffalo hunters at the San Saba mission in 1758 and 1759 Apache de los Llanos and show the consequences of falsely assuming a one-to-one correspondence between the Ipandé and Lipan Apache that obscures the emergence of the Lipan Apache from a diversity of Ndé buffalo hunting nations between the Rio Nazas and the Colorado River of Texas, one of which was the Cúelcahén Ndé, or Llanero Apache.

Although it would have been preferable to analyze a full compilation, transcription, and translation of the documents used, I reviewed points made by Dunn (1911), Bolton (1915), and John (1975) in light of the original documents they cited and others that they did not. My critical reading develops a more accurate understanding of the origins and migrations of Ndé buffalo hunters in Spanish accounts. Interspersing this discussion with translations and renditions of original documents clarifies many of the suggestions made by students of Apache history in Texas. For example, Wade (1998) pointed out that although students of Apache history and anthropology in Texas uncritically assumed that Lipan Apache were the key group dealing with the Spanish at San Antonio after 1720, primary documents list a number of Apache Nations with only one of them being the Ipandé, an Apache nation strongly with direct ancestral relations to the Lipan Apache.

In my review of primary and secondary literature, I found that although surviving Ipandé likely became Lipan Apache, not all Lipan Apache emerged from the Ipandé. This chapter introduces the “Cuelgashen Ndé” as another Ndé (Apache) nation involved in the emergence of the Lipan Apache, particularly the Cúelcahén Ndé, the ancestors and descendants of Chief Cuelgas de Castro.
Primary reports show that the Jumane took part in Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) with the Ndé, and therefore are historically and culturally affiliated with the Cúelcahén Ndé and Lipan. Data from Coahuila index a number of other nations taking part in ACA, including the Pelón that made up a culturally diverse alliance. Berroterán (1729) in western Coahuila, Bustillo (1733) in San Antonio, and Falcón and Múzquiz (1735) in eastern Coahuila reported a southern anti-colonial alliance led by, but not restricted to, Apache, Jumane, and Pelón nations.

Before and after San Antonio became a Spanish colony, Ndé raided supply caravans between the Rio Grande and the San Antonio area and attacked Spanish and French colonials entering the Colorado River region south of Austin. In April 1724, Ndé raids commenced upon the Mission de San Antonio Valero (Almázan 1724). In short, Apache in Texas and New Mexico were still recognized as a monolithic hostile force (Auditor 1724; Table 6, p. 184 and Map 11, p. 186). 89

89. In New Mexico, Faraón Ndé were the primary antagonists in continuous attacks throughout the 1700’s. Similarly, Apache raids were constant on San Antonio.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Tripas Blancas led by Chief Dieguillo destroyed Mission de Santa Rosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Nadadores in Coahuila and raided Mission San Buenaventura and Toboso destroyed Mission San Miguel on Rio Sabinas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Pampoas Mission Revolt at Rio Grande Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Ndé Apache, Ypandé, and Pelón and Council of Five Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>San Antonio, Rio Grande, and Coahuila colonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722-1724</td>
<td>Toboso attack missionaries between Saltillo and Rio Grande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>Ndé and Suma on the Rio Grande near El Paso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726-1729</td>
<td>Ndé, Cibolo, Jumano on the Trans-Pecos Texas, El Paso, La Junta de los Rios, and Cuchillo Parado, Coahuila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td>Ndé, Jumane, and Pelón on the San Antonio, Rio Grande, Monclova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>Apache, Chenti, Yxandi, Ypandé, and Jumane in San Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>Ndé, Jumane, and Pelón and allies at Coahuila and Despoblado and Cabellos Colorados at San Antonio and El Cibolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td>Ndé in San Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>Ndé ranging to the Rio Nazas at Bolsón de Mapimi, Zacatecas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>Ndé defeat Governor Pruneda in Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1744</td>
<td>Ndé and Jumane alliance at Santa Rosa in Coahuila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Ipandé and Natagé in San Antonio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Apache of Chief Pascual at Zacatecas and La Junta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>Apache of Chief Ligero at La Junta and El Paso and Apache and Suma at El Paso and San Juan Bautista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749</td>
<td>Ypandé and Apache make peace in San Antonio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 11  Nde Migration South of the Rio Grande

Rivers and Coastlines

1730-1750

This map illustrates the migration of Nde buffalo hunters south of the Rio Grande. Notice that Chief Pascual spans an area from the Rio Nazas to the Texas llano. In 1777, we learn that Pascual is the Chief of the Culcahende, the Tall Grass People.

Map completed by Enrique Mestas April 2003. Copyright 2003 Enrique Mestas. All rights reserved.
Documents written by Vicente Rodriguez (1770; 1775a) stated that a southern anti-colonial alliance, including Ndé (Apache), effectively drove the Spanish colonials from La Junta to Chihuahua in 1724. At the same time, Ndé and Jumano rangers engaged in joint raids on the Rio Grande missions. Jumano rangers were also feared as a part of anti-colonial alliances in 1726, such as with the Suma in El Paso and Ndé and Cholome between El Paso and La Junta (Archivo General de Indias 1726 through 1728, Map 10, p. 152. In the following decades, Cholome Apache would associate with Chief Pascual, the Ndé leader with whom Hugo O’Conor (1977) identifies the “Culcahe Ndé.” Cholome, also called Cholome Apache and Jumane, and are part of the historical genesis of the Cúelcahen Ndé because both are associated with the “Culecajen-Ndé” led by Chief Pascual, Anti-Colonial Action in Texas and along the Rio Grande, and a well-organized alliance including, but not restricted to, Ndé (Apache) nations.
NDÉ, PELÓN, AND JUMANE ANTI-COLONIAL ALLIANCE

This sets the stage for a discussion of an Anti-Colonial Alliance in Texas and northeastern Mexico region made up of Ndé, Jumane, and Pelón that shows a historical shift in Indígena engaging in Anti-Colonial Action during the 1720’s and 1730’s. Toboso, Gavilán, Tripas Blancas and other Indigenous nations engaged in earlier Anti-Colonial Action against the Spanish were disappearing from the records. In their place emerged an anti-colonial alliance made up of Ndé, Jumano, and Pelón in some form of collusion with the Indígena of the missions. Governor Falcón and Captain Múzquiz refer directly to this alliance in 1735.

“. . . Sacram.to. en la Vertientes, del dicho rio, del Norte, a la pte, de arriba de el, y que pueda servir de antemural, y defensa contra las barbaras naciones que tanto infestan los r.s. Domíniños, con muertes, y robos, por lo numeroso, de q se componen las Naciones de Jumanes, Pelones, Apaches, y otras Naciones aliadas, rebeldes, a la r.l. Corona tenemos ambos, a dos Gov.or. y Cap.n. mandados . . .” [Falcón and Múzquiz 1735: 116]

By 1715, there is evidence of convivial relations, implying intermarriage and fictive kinship such as that of Apache and Julime at La Junta de los Ríos between Governor Antonio de la Cruz de los Julimes and Capitan General Antonio Apache de los Llanos (Retis 1715). By the 1720’s, Ndé buffalo hunters established Anti-Colonial Alliances for joint raiding and warfare in Texas and Coahuila among the Jumano, Pelón, and others with whom they had previously been at odds. This alliance would eventually form joint settlements south of the Rio Grande important to the Culcahe Ndé of Chief Pascual and a century later for Chief Cuelgas de Castro of the Lipan Apache.
AS FAR AS SALTILLO AND PARRAS

From 1720 until 1732, Spanish campaigns against Anti-Colonial forces intensified and success at the expense of the Toboso who had already been decimated by at least a century of Anti-Colonial warfare against the Spanish. Meanwhile, the more powerful Anti-Colonial Alliance of Ndé (Apache), Jumane, and Pelón struck with impunity. Aguayo punished the Toboso in 1720 and Falcón attacked them three times between 1721 and 1722 (Canedo 1964). The last one reputedly ended Toboso incursions in Saltillo. Yet, in 1732, Governor Manuel de Sandoval led a campaign against the Toboso at Arroyo de La Babia between the Rio Grande and the Santa Rosa mountains (Canedo 1964).

In response to unrest on the northern frontier, Captain José de Berroterán gathered soldiers and Indígena from various missions in the Rio Conchos region of present day Chihuahua to investigate the restless natives in Coahuila. Berroterán marched to San Juan Bautista by way of Presidio Mapimi and arrived on March 15, 1729, where he waited for a detachment from Monclova.

Attempting to aid Berroterán, Muzquiz (1729) reported that the Gavilán alliance maintained a superior military position in their mountain strongholds in the Santa Rosa Mountains and have destroyed a number of expeditions. Muzquiz then proceeded to establish a base geography for northwestern Coahuila. Eighteen miles west of Mission San Juan Bautista in the Valle de Circumsición, Muzquiz surveyed the Valle de Santo Domingo, and thirteen miles north, San Rodrigo Spring.90

90. The San Rodrigo River approximates the site of the Lipan and Kickapoo village massacred by Colonel Mackenzie in 1873 and a key segment of the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition.
Further, along the Rio Grande, canyon lands stretched on both sides of the Pecos River (Del Rio, Texas) and marked terrain southward from the Rio San Diego to the Burro Mountains. South of these mountains, the Arroyo de la Babia flowed from the western edge of the Burro Mountains to the Santa Rosa range, which cradles present day Ciudad Melchor Muzquiz. Múzquiz (1729) identified the enemy in these regions as “Apaches, Jumanes, and Pelones nations, which molested the presidios of San Antonio Valero and San Juan Bautista.”

By April 1, 1729, the expedition reached the Pecos River without finding a trace of the enemy. A messenger arrived the following day to report that Saltillo and Parras had been attacked resulting in several deaths and the loss of many horses. Seven days later, Berroterán’s (1729) scouts led him to a small band of Pacuache hunting buffalo that the scouts had reported were Apache. He realized that the scouts had detained him from providing aid to the Coahuila settlements and effectively helped his party to waste their provisions. This strongly suggests that the raids on Saltillo and Parras carried out in 1729 were completed in coordination with Jumane, Pelón, and Ndé, as well as the Indígena taken along by Berroterán as scouts. At a loss about how to proceed without Indigenous guidance, Berroterán followed the scouts to the region that today is the International Amistad Reservoir. By the end of April, he realized that he would never make it to La Junta de los Rios with the provisions remaining, so he aborted the mission. Afterward, Ndé attacks intensified on the Rio Grande colonies. Presidio del Rio Grande del Norte, I found “. . . subjected to the continued warfare which the Apaches are making on it . . .” (Falcón 1734 in Weddle 1968: 204)

Berroterán’s failure to stem the tide of these raids illustrates the effectiveness of the southern anti-colonial alliance in taking advantage of Spanish weakness in Coahuila and Chihuahua.
SAN ANTONIO

Apache in San Antonio represented a distinct extension of Ndé buffalo hunters related to that are related to the Cúelcahén Ndé by virtue of the historical incorporation of the Cuelcahen Ndé in the Lipan Apache led by Chief Cuelgas de Castro sometime between 1799 and 1812. For this reason, it is important to follow the history of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters in their relations with both Texas and Coahuila. Although no Ndé attacks were reported in San Antonio for much of the summer of 1731, an Ndé captive warned of a large attack realized on September 18, 1731.

At noon, mounted Apache took sixty horses from Presidio San Antonio. Arricivita explained that this captive had evidently come from a punitive expedition undertaken by Governor Bustillo and Fray Vergara against the Ndé (Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 32). Captain Almázan sent six soldiers in pursuit and followed with less than thirty soldiers. When Almázan arrived, he found the six advance scouts fighting forty mounted warriors. Upon joining the battle, Almázan found himself surrounded by five-hundred mounted Ndé warriors. These warriors advanced on the small Spanish force in the shape of a crescent moon that surrounded them and constricted. Just when the Spanish were on the verge of being killed, the warriors broke off the attack and rode off. Almázan considered it a miracle that the Apache did not destroy San Antonio.

The captive Ndé who warned of an impending attack identified arrows retrieved from the battle of September 18, 1731, as belonging to Apache, Pelón, and Jumane (Bustillo 1733). Therefore, even in San Antonio, the anti-colonial alliance of Ndé, Jumano, Pelón, was known and feared.

91. By 1733, a new set of alliances between Native Americans in Texas had been forged. Bustillo (1733) identified Apache, Pelón, and Jumane as enemies of Tejas, Yohuane (Yojuane), and nations in east Texas. This appears to be the flipside of the Tejas, Wichita, Comanche, and Ranchería Grande confederated against the Apache.
Almázan wrote that he needed far more than the one-hundred soldiers at his command to campaign against the Apache, because the five-hundred warriors who attacked San Antonio on September 18, 1731 was only a small fraction of Ndé forces. He whined that he could not convince settlers to fight because there was no promise of acquiring slaves and apparently eked out implicit permission from the viceroy to take captives so long as they were exported to other provinces for conversion (Apaches 1731). However, Bustillo became Governor of Texas in 1730, and on October 22, 1732, it was he who led the first punitive expedition against the Ndé on the San Saba.
Cultural diversity is demonstrated in historical data from Bustillo’s massacre of the San Saba Ranchería in 1732. Bustillo (1733) reported that he proceeded with stealth so as not to alarm Ndé near San Antonio, thus establishing the social fact that Ndé established settlements near San Antonio in 1732. Testimony given by veterans present in 1732, confirmed that the Bustillo Massacre took place on the San Saba River (San Saba 1756). Once at the San Saba River, Bustillo’s force attacked four rancherías made up of eight-hundred warriors from the Apache, Ypándé, Yxandi, and Chenti nations.

After a five-hour battle, the Spanish drove the Apache out of their ranchería after killing two-hundred people and taking thirty captive women and children. Again this single attack, like the Flores Massacre, was far more damaging than any reported for the Comanche or other Native American enemy of the Ndé. Therefore, bolstering the argument that Spanish punitive expeditions were chiefly responsible for driving the Ndé south. On the return journey to San Antonio, mounted Ndé harried the Bustillo party and retrieved some of the horses. Returning on December 22, 1732, Bustillo learned that Apache raided San Antonio in his absence and was urged to hold the captives for negotiating peace instead of distributing them for sale or use.

Almázan (1733), Bustillo’s predecessor, explained that Yxandi and Chenti had recently allied with the Ypándé and Apache and set their rancherías together on the San Saba. Apache women informants reported a large Jumane nation as part of the Apache alliance that was not present because they lived to the south.

These women also told Bustillo (1733) that the Ypándé, also known as the Pelón Nation, had their ranchería, the largest of all the Apache alliance, still further to the north. The Ndé oman reported that the Ypándé/Pelón ranchería was three-hundred sixty miles northwest of San Antonio (Pérez et al 1732).92

92. This locates the Ipande/Pelón ranchería northwest of Abilene at the headwaters of the Colorado River in the general vicinity of Snyder, Texas. Fifty years later, Cabello (1784: 107) added details about the Bustillo Massacre, such as a report that 1700 people had been present in the settlement and that 500 were buffalo hunting at the time of the massacre. Cabello also stated that the Apache defensive force was described as well disciplined and courageous.
Updating Dunn’s (1911) history of Apache buffalo hunters in Texas, the Bustillo massacre is the second report of Apache on the San Saba. The first was the joint attack made by Ndé and Salinero on Mendoza and the Jumano in 1684.³³

In 1732, this ranchería did not belong to either the Jumane or the Ipandé, but was identified with Apache, Chentis and Yxandis, while Jumane were reported in the south. Apache women informants clarified the relation between the Jumano and Apache as an alliance to wage war on the Spaniards and not necessarily an assimilation of the Jumano by the Apache “. . . se incorpora con la de los Apaches para venir a darnos Guerra.” (Bustillo 1733). Including the Jumano, it is likely that this war council of five Apache Nations is similar to the one reported in 1723. Scholars of Texas Indian history highlight 1732 as the year that five nations of the Apache alliance revealed themselves as Apache, Chenti, Yxandi, Ypandé, and Jumane (Dunn 1911; Newcomb and Campbell 1969; Wade 1998). However, this must have only represented a portion of the Ndé in Texas at the time because an Ndé diplomat informed Bustillo (1733) that thrity-seven Apache nations lived between New Mexico and Texas.

Moreover, it should be remembered that Ndé and Toboso alliances had been reported south of the Rio Grande since 1649. While on the north side, Almazán (1733) and Bustillo (1733) agreed that the Ndé targeted San Antonio because it was near their homeland, while Bahía on the Texas Gulf Coast and Los Adaes in east Texas were out of the Ndé range in 1733. Over a decade later, Terreros (1746) gave an account of the Bustillo Massacre of 1732, and explained that the attack was executed as punishment for the attacks that Apache, Yita, and Tatasgonia made on the Mayeye, Bidais, Salinero, and Ervipiame, evidently referring to joint military action on their part.⁴⁴

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³³. Opler (1981) identified Salinero Apache as Natagé in Trans-Pecos Texas in 1745 who he believes would become known as Mescalero Apache. Apparently this belief is based on the notion that Mendoza (1684) may have been mistaken and the Salinero may have been Apache.

⁴⁴. Although not mentioned again in connection with Apache, Yita and Tatatsgonia were mentioned by Hidalgo (1716), Rivera (1727) and Lafora as Indigenous nations between the Tejas and San Antonio (Foster 1995: 268).
Thus, providing further evidence that Ndé buffalo hunters integrated Indigenous nations through alliance, rather than annihilating them. This is also illustrated in statements reported for Ndé women who explained that the ranchería at San Saba did not belong to Ipandé per se, but rather was home to Apache, Chenti, and Yxandi in convivial relations with Ipandé who maintained a much larger ranchería to the north.
SPANISH BEGIN TO DISTINGUISH NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER NATIONS

Over the course of the 1700’s, Spanish chroniclers increased their understandings of distinctions between Ndé buffalo hunting nations (Map 9, p. 145 and Map 11, p. 186).

Whereas between 1675 and 1728, Spanish colonials in New Mexico identified Ndé buffalo hunters between the Pecos and Colorado rivers of Texas as Apaches de los Llanos and Faraón (Pharaones) (Barreiro 1728), Spanish colonials in the 1730’s in San Antonio may have known these Ndé as Apache, Yxandi, and Chenti (Apache 1731). This interpretation is bolstered by independent evidence provided by Niel (1710) that the Faraón (Fahano) lived in Trans-Pecos Texas, and the Natagé (Necayees) lived east of Pecos Pueblo and north of the Fahano (Faraón). Meanwhile, Chief Antonio Apache de los Llanos lived in a ranchería 5 days travel north from La Junta de los Rios. In all, primary reports refer to Ndé living between the Pecos and Colorado rivers of Texas that are distinct from Apache ranging and settling between the Colorado and San Antonio rivers. The Ipandé and Pelón were reputed to be the largest nations north of the Colorado River, the Jumane were the largest nation of the Apache alliance near the Rio Grande. In all, the settlers in San Antonio reported that the enemy nations were the Pelón, Jumane, Chenti, Yxandi, Ypandi, and Apache.

After the Bustillo Massacre of 1732, Spanish consciousness regarding ethnic differences between various Apache nations in Texas introduced the ambiguity of using Apache as both a general term for Ndé in Texas and a specific term referring to a particular nation distinguished as “true” Apache by Santa Ana (1746). Jumane Apache although not present were said to be an allied nation, but not part of the Apache (Ndé) people.

By 1733, the Pelón were usually assumed to be Apache, even though the evidence suggesting this is far from unequivocal. Historical data suggests that the Pelón were a non-Ndé segment of the southern alliance that bears a number of similarities with historical data concerning the Jumano.
Similar to the Jumano, Pelón from central Coahuila were associated with reports of
mitote ceremonial expression and peyote religion, missions, and Anti-Colonial Action in Texas
and Coahuila (León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961). Like the Pelón, the Jumano disappear from
historical data by 1715 and subsequently one of two nations affiliated with the Ndé (Apache)
emerge carrying the same name after 1725 (Archivo General de Indias 1726 - 1728).

Seven Ndé (Apache) chiefs settled rancherías in 1734 along the Rio Grande and heralded
a surge in horse raids throughout Coahuila. Governor Blas de la Garza Falcón (1738) reported
that Apache and Jumane rangers took horses from both Spanish and Tlaxcalteca settlers while he
continued to fight Toboso from Monclova. Ordered to address the Apache problem in the north,
Falcón set out to meet Captain Joseph Antonio de Eca y Múzquiz at San Juan Bautista and found
most of the settlements abandoned due to hostile Indigenous forces. On December 16, 1734, ten
mounted and armed Apache attacked Indígena from Mission Peyotes (Villa Unión, Coahuila).
Soldiers stationed at the mission pursued the Apache until they realized that they were faced with
a force of seventy well-armed and mounted rangers.

A few days later, the Apache were seen again, but Falcón (1738) and Múzquiz continued
preparations for their expedition, which did not depart until early January 1736, and even then,
the expedition was aborted due to heavy snowfall.95 Taken alone, historical data from San
Antonio shows that the Jumane were a linguistically and culturally distinct part of a southern
anti-colonial alliance with the Ndé. However, when data from colonies on the Rio Grande and in
Coahuila are considered, they index a number of other nations, including the Pelón, as nations
making up a culturally diverse alliance with Ndé buffalo hunters to engage in Anti-Colonial
Action.

95. The only tangible result of this expedition was the establishment of Presidio Sacramento
in 1737 on the Rio San Diego, near Jiménez, Coahuila. Within two years, Presidio
Sacramento was moved to Valle de Santa Rosa near present day Múzquiz in 1739
Taken together, Berroterán (1729) in western Coahuila, Bustillo (1733) in San Antonio, and Falcón and Múzquiz (1735) in eastern Coahuila report an anti-colonial alliance led by, but not restricted to, Apache, Jumane, and Pelón nations throughout the 1720’s and 1730’s. In all, greater resolution of Ndé buffalo hunter nations in Texas and their anti-colonial alliances is possible due to the increased distinction made in Spanish reports regarding Ndé buffalo hunter activity in south Texas and northeastern Mexico.
Two points defining Anti-Colonial Action stand out in reports of Apache relations with colonials at San Antonio between 1733 and 1738. First, Ndé challenged Spanish authority and their right to settle in the San Antonio region. Second, as in New Mexico, even amidst war maneuvers Spanish continued to trade with Ndé for buffalo products and salt. On January 4, 1733, Bustillo released two women, an Ypandé and an Apache, to carry letters inviting Ndé leaders to negotiate peace. In early February, one of the woman messengers returned with three warriors and the message that the Capitan Grande was preparing to come to San Antonio with other Ndé chiefs and people to resolve peace. However, on March 27, 1733, two Spanish soldiers escorted an Ndé trading party four miles from the San Antonio presidio where two-dozen Ndé warriors killed the soldiers (Vergara 1733; San Fernando 1733; Bustillo 1733). In interpreting this violence, it should be remembered that the last significant meeting between Ndé rangers and Spanish colonial forces was the Bustillo Massacre resulting in over two-hundred Ndé casualties. So, rather than savagery, to which Dunn (1911) attributes the attack, this is an example of Ndé boundary maintenance.

After this incident, Ndé raids continued, but with less frequency and violence than those conducted between 1724 and 1733. During the rest of 1733, although Ndé frequently raided the livestock of the settlement and terrorized the citizenry with their presence, this went on with only a handful of colonial deaths and much terror. In response to the terror, Joseph de Urrutia became captain of the presidio of San Antonio on July 23, 1733. In 1734, documentation of Apache in the San Antonio area centers on the exploits and prosecution of Chief Cabellos Colorados, a leader reportedly related to the Ndé Capitan Grande (Perez 1738).

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96. Ndé made fires all around San Antonio, effectively blocking the roads to both the Rio Grande and the Tejas missions. However, no personal attacks are mentioned.

97. Urrutia was also made general of a Native American alliance of the Cantujana, Toho, and Emet with whom he lived from 1693 until 1700. While living among them, Urrutia reportedly engaged in warfare against the Apache and the hope of the Spanish in San Antonio was that he would rekindle this alliance and produce dependable allies (Urrutia 1733). However, no known reports mention this hope becoming a reality. Perhaps Urrutia could not overcome the defection of the Jumano to the southern alliance.
In 1734, upon concluding a trade in buffalo products, Cabellos Colorados captured two Spaniards outside of San Antonio and rode off with them (Urrutia 1738). Between 1734 and 1736, Ndê carried on peaceful trade with San Antonio with customary raids on the livestock but no personal attacks on the citizenry or Indígena living in the missions (Apaches 1738).

According to Dunn (1911: 243), while the amount of livestock and materials taken in Ndê raids remained constant between 1733 and 1738, Apache raids on San Antonio became more desperate and deadly after 1736. For example, Ndê raiders took forty horses from Mission Espada and one of the horses left behind in their escape was identified as belonging to Cabellos Colorados, resulting in colonial animosity towards this leader. In September 1737, Ndê took over one-hundred horses kept at El Cibolo, just north of Karnes City, some forty miles from San Antonio and approximately half the distance between the San Antonio and Bahía (Goliad) presidios (Thonhoff 1992).

On December 2, 1737, Ndê rangers drove more than three-hundred hundred horses away from San Antonio. On December 11, 1737, Urrutia twenty-eight soldiers to capture Cabellos Colorados and seven other Apache camped near Floresville. Once captured, Urrutia (1738) recognized the wife of Cabellos Colorados as the Capitana (woman chief) who had led a trading party into San Antonio in late September (Apaches 1738). On January 21, 1738 a woman messenger released by Urrutia returned with sixteen horses to exchange for the sixteen prisoners and relayed a promise from the Capitan Grande to bring more horses soon. Looking outside the walls of the presidio, Urrutia saw a large horse herd at a distance, toward which he sent scouts who returned with the report that over one-thousand armed Ndê warriors lie in wait. Reportedly, the Ndê force camped outside the presidio for five days, but could not bait Urrutia to leave the presidio walls (Apaches 1738). The entire episode ended in October 1738 with renewed Ndê raids and the deportation of Cabellos Colorados to Mexico City, along with the members of his raiding party and the Capitan Grande’s two-year old daughter (Apaches 1738).

98. Half the distance from El Cibolo, near Karnes City, places Cabellos Colorados base camp in the vicinity of Floresville in 1737.

99. The use of the term Capitana suggests that the Spanish and Nde recognized this woman’s authority as a leader. Moreover, successful raids in San Antonio were undertaken by a small group of Apache and that women may have been raiders as well.
Cabellos Colorados’ case highlights terror resulting in hysteria in San Antonio that served as an effective form of social control on the part of Ndé raiders that resulted in successful raids and minimal casualties. In effect, Cabellos Colorados acted as an agent for the Ndé to utilize San Antonio as a supply base. The consistent statement that Ndé rangers made in claiming land and livestock outside the walls of the presidio and missions as their own supports this argument.

Thus, whether the Spanish provided gifts or Ndé forcibly took the goods, I suggest that the outcome appeared to be a form of tribute paid to the Ndé who acquired quantities of livestock with or without colonial permission. This is directly comparable to the way in which Spanish colonials treated Pueblo villages in New Mexico. Such a framework explains attacks made on members of the colony daring to leave the shelter of the military and religious complexes, as Ndé made it clear that they considered San Antonio and the surrounding areas to be their territory. Ndé systematic control over this territory is further evidenced by reports of Native Americans, as well as French and Spanish colonials fearing Ndé rangers (Lewis 1932; Mazanet 1691). Thus, historical data shows that Ndé ranged their territory in ways comparable to the Texas Rangers, U.S. Cavalry, and U.S. border patrol.
Caught in a new center of the Ndé range, Joseph Urrutia was inadequately equipped to defy their mounted rangers and communicated this to his superiors, hoping that they would recognize the need to provide greater military resources to San Antonio. Like Almázan before him, Urrutia (1738) requested special permission to make a slave raid against an Apache ranchería and underwrite the expedition by selling Ndé captives in the slave trade.

Based on this, Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana (1740) president of the San Antonio missions was correct in accusing Urrutia of unscrupulous slave raiding. Later testimony recalled that this slave raid struck a ranchería on the San Saba River near the site of the Bustillo Massacre of 1732 (San Saba 1756). Importantly, Joseph Urrutia’s punitive expedition marked a transition in Spanish military operations. Instead of massacres, such as those committed by Flores and Bustillos, after 1739, subsequent attacks were slave raids. In 1740, Joseph Urrutia died and was succeeded by his son Thoribio Urrutia. Although Apache raids preoccupied the colonialists at San Antonio at this time, Dunn (1911: 250) stated that they did not impede the growth and development of the town.

In November 1741, the Ypandé Chief Cuero de Coyote came to San Antonio to ask Thoribio Urrutia (1741) for permission to settle near the Guadalupe River over fifty miles from San Antonio and aid against the Tejas who attacking them with firearms. Notwithstanding this good faith, Thoribio Urrutia set out on a punitive campaign against the Ndé in 1742 (Santa Ana 1743). Justifying the operation, Urrutia cited the possible wealth represented by El Almagre mineral deposits on the road to the Ndé rancherías near San Saba (Dolores 1750b). Bolton (1915: 84) figured that El Almagre was in the vicinity of Moore Peak between Honey Creek and the Llano River west of Marble Falls. Within a year of Thoribio Urrutia’s (1741) written resolve to attack the Apache, Fray Santa Ana (1743) wrote a proposal to establish missions on the San Saba that would address the problem of Ypandé horse raids experienced on the upper road to the Tejas. Under Governor Winthuisen, 1743 marked the first time colonials saw Comanche raiders near San Antonio. Morfí explained that the Comanche followed the Apache to San Antonio, and engaged in more frequent and severe depredations than the Apache (Chabot 1952: 294).
The year 1743 also marked the rout of more than two-hundred Spanish soldiers, led by the Governor Juan García de Pruneda of Coahuila, by Ndé (Apache) forces. Although it is not known where this conflict took place, it reportedly ended in Pruneda’s complete defeat.  

In a possible follow up to this attack, Alessio Robles (1938: 557) reported that a joint Apache and Jumano force attacked Santa Rosa on June 7, 1744, thus making the bold statement that Coahuila and Nueva Extremadura, even protected by the Sacramento¹⁰¹ and San Juan Bautista presidios, were not safe. Capitalizing on this military superiority, by 1746, Jumane ranged to Saltillo and Monterrey (Terreros 1746: 3).

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¹⁰⁰ Kerlérec reported the death of 100 soldiers, and the loss of most of the horses and equipment. This historical data is presented in Kerlérec’s “Projet de Paix et d’Alliance avec les Cannecis et les avantages qui en peuvent résulter, envoyé par Kerlérec, gouverneur de la province de la Louisianne en 1753,” Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, III, No. 1.

¹⁰¹ Although originally established at the confluence of the Rio San Diego on the south bank of the Rio Grande (Falcón 1738), Sacramento presidio was moved in 1739 to the Valley of Santa Rosa at the headwaters of the Rio de Sabinas, the site of Ciudad Melchor Muzquiz, Coahuila.
SLAVE RAID ON SAN SABA AND NDÉ ATTACK SAN ANTONIO

Ndé (Apache) raids decreased between 1733 and 1743 in San Antonio (John 1975: 275). However, Spanish offensives against Ndé rancherías increased. Urrutia conducted a slave raid on an Ndé ranchería at San Saba made by fifty soldiers supported by an equal number of Indígena from the San Antonio missions in April of 1745. Santa Ana (1746) reported that most of the warriors were absent, thus making it easier for the Spanish force to take a large number of captives.

Again, like the operation completed by Urrutia’s father, Santa Ana depicted the venture as nothing more than a slave raid, and an antagonistic one at that, seeing as though one of the captives was the daughter of the Ipandé chief. However, Santa Ana had his own uses for the girl.

“I have in my possession a charming girl, the daughter of the principal chieftain of the Ipandés, she is about seven years old. I have already baptized her and will not give her up until her father submits to royal authority. The present captives from the recent entry, which includes several valuable hostages of the Natagés, will help very effectively in allaying the unrest of these provinces . . . I am absolutely determined to undertake the conversion of the Ipandés and Natagés. Your lordship may order that I be given from the royal treasury what is needed . . . delivered to me the Apache people captured in this and the previous campaigns, in order that they may help me as guides to attract the others. The northern Indians are at present quiet, but it is only a suspension of hostilities due to the fact the big Ipandé chief, father of the Indian girl held in this mission, has not come down yet. In addition to this girl, we have her cousin and an older woman with a girl two years old and another child, a boy of about five. This woman, who is not over thirty years of age, is also from the house of the chief. She assures me that he will certainly come to see me, that there is no question but that the Ipandés who number about 160, want the mission, but that the Natagés have always corrupted them . . .” [Arricivita 1792 cited Santa Ana in Hammond and Rey 1996: 34 – 37]
Arricivita presented this excerpt from Santa Ana’s 1745 report to the viceroy to explain that the Ipandé are the largest nation of Apache and have long asked for missions. Arricivita added that Urrutia traveled to the Salado River, over two-hundred miles from San Antonio where Santa Ana confirmed that the Apache, Ipandé, and Natagé live in that land, suggesting that Urrutia met with Ndé buffalo hunters between San Antonio and the Pecos River.

Immediately after the slave raid of 1745, four Ndé women brought a message to Santa Ana and Urrutia, notifying them that raiding would begin again. Santa Ana’s petition for Apache missions explained that Apache had been peaceful and willing to enter a mission, but became hostile once they realized that the Spanish would not fulfill their promise to establish missions.

“. . . la nación apache . . . la Segunda vez que pidieron mission, desde el mes de junio hasta el 10 o 12 de mayo del siguiente año, no se vió una sola escuadra que hiciese el menor daño en toda la provincia y bajando a la mission de mi cargo repetidas veces lo mas florido de ambos sexos, insistían en que yo subiera a su país a poner mision; ofreciéndome sus niños para que las bautizara. Más por ultimo, viendo que a tan largo tiempo no se proporcionaban los rudimentos de lo que esperaban y pedían, formaron juicio de que los españoles rehusaban la paz, y que solo el capitán y el padre la deseaban. Y en esta inteligencia aquella porción de indios que se han conocido más beneficiados, remitieron un recado o correo, por cuatro mujeres, de que ya rompía la Guerra y se asaltaría la caballada del presidio; dandome a entender que harían otro tanto con lo que pertenecía a aquella mission en donde yo vivía, y que no dejase de avisar al capitán para que se previsiese. Con las mismas cuatro mujeres subí al presidio, y poco menos de lo que llevo dicho le dijeron al capitán, el que dando las providencias posibles no bastaron para impedir el robo de la mayor parte del situado, dejando al mismo tiempo evidentes señas de que pudieron y no quisieron hacer otro tanto en lo que pertenecía a la dicha mission.” [Santa Ana 1750 in Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 493]

After this declaration, Ndé rangers killed nine people from the settlement and raided all of San Antonio except Mission Concepción (Santa Ana 1750).
According to Arricivita, on June 30, 1745, three-hundred fifty Ypandé and Natagé families laid siege to San Antonio.\textsuperscript{102} Women, children, and elders all participated in this attack. The siege began at night on Presidio San Antonio, but was pre-empted by a boy’s call to arms.

Soon after the attack began, soldiers fought the Apache families without support until 100 Indígena from Mission Valero joined on the side of the Spanish.\textsuperscript{103} One company of Indígena from Valero went to attack the Apache at their camp and the other reinforced the Spanish defense. Then the Indígena from Valero joined by others from Concepción and some of the soldiers drove the Apache to the Medina River south of the presidio.

Once at this place the leaders talked with the Spanish reassuring the Ipandé chief that his daughter was being cared for and that all they wanted was peace. The Ipandé chief agreed, but was opposed by the Natagé chief.

\textsuperscript{102} Although Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita (1792) is technically a secondary source, he was an eyewitness to many of the events that he chronicled after becoming a Texas missionary in 1741. Even for events occurring before this date, Arricivita had intimate access to contemporary oral and written sources. Arricivita (1792) is the only source that directly mentions this attack and also identifies the two groups as Ipande and Nde.

\textsuperscript{103} One Indígena of Mission Valero was an Apache who joined his people as soon as the Valero reinforcements arrived.
“During the month of their defeat, they hid one night in the mesquite of a mountain in the neighborhood . . . They were noticed only by a boy who had gone out of the presidio . . . shouting . . . Three of the residents came out armed and . . . the Apaches saw that one of the their number . . . was killed, and also his horse . . . they began to lose their heart . . . even though they had already killed a resident . . . Splitting into two groups, they assaulted the presidio by another street . . . but the sergeant of the company and another soldier went out to meet them and stopped their march . . . a soldier had gone with all haste to the mission of San Antonio to ask for help . . . all the Indians . . . gathered for religious instruction and the horses . . . ready . . . one hundred of them leaving for the presidio . . . divided into two columns, one going toward the mountain where the enemies were in ambush. They attacked the Apaches and with such impetus and shouting that at the first discharge of the guns, they killed several and forced the other to withdraw. The other column attacked them with similar determination, routing and killing a few. Of the auxiliary Indians, only one was wounded . . . the Apaches took flight, the other [Indigena from Mission San Antonio] went back to the mission, changed horses, took provisions of powder and ball, and set out in pursuit . . . reinforced by the Indians of the mission of Concepcion, and the lieutenant and some soldiers also joined them. Traveling thus . . . they reached the locality of Buena Vista [Medina River] . . . an Indian who had been brought as a prisoner from the campaign (against the Apache) and who was a servant of the chieftain himself. He was a captive and a Christian, but he ran away with the Indians. As soon as the (Ipandé) chieftain saw him, he faced him and asked where the prisoners were, what had become of his daughter, and what was the aim of the Spaniards. The man replied that from the time the Spaniards had captured him, the father missionary had assured him that if the Apaches would submit to royal authority and agree to live in a town, they would return all their prisoners. This moved the chieftain to shed tears, to give up the campaign, and to order all his men to fall back, although his allies, the Natagés, were very much displeased . . . another Indian . . . came to the presidio, looking for his brother. All doubt concerning the visit was soon removed, for as soon as he saw the breeches his brother had worn, his tears verified his fear, as he realized that his brother was dead. He declared that the Apaches had retreated to their land because the auxiliary chieftains had become angry with having been deceived by being told there few people there when there were many. He said that the number of those who had come, including women and children amounted to 350. He explained the numbers up to one hundred as the best accountant would do, for he was very clever. He came from a town in the Paso del Norte district. [Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996: 34 - 35] 104

104 Hammond and Rey (1996: 334) asserted that this Paso del Norte referred to the Paso de los Apaches near the San Xavier missions.
Arricivita used the word Apache to identify the attackers until the end of the narrative when he distinguished the Natagé as a portion of the Ndé forces whose chief was disappointed with the other chief for calling off the attack in order to regain his daughter. However, we know that this other chief was the leader of the Ipandé, whose daughter Santa Ana (1746) held in captivity. In his language, Santa Ana represented the Ipandé and Natage as two segments of the Apache.

According to Santa Ana, after this incident two months of peace passed between Ndé and the colonials at San Antonio before an Ndé woman and boy came bearing a cross and gifts for Urrutia assuring him of their peaceful intention. By October 1745, Santa Ana (1746) reported that the Ipandé requested a mission three times and during January of the following year, he received five more requests for missions at San Antonio. 105 On January 26, 1746, the wife of an Apache chief and two boys requested a mission once again. A few days later a girl from the Ranchería Grande held captive by the Apache, was sent to San Antonio to herald the coming of two Apache chiefs on their way to conclude a lasting peace. The girl reported that the Ipandé wanted a mission and presidio, but the Natagé did not. Santa Ana identified the Ndé who had previously been on the Red River as "Apaches Pelones," and stated that by 1743 they had been displaced by the Comanche. 106

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105. Four Capitanes from the Yojuane, Deadoze, Mayeye, and Ranchería Grande came to request missions on the San Xavier River (Guemes y Horcasitas 1747; Valcarcel 1755).

106. However, both Fray Calahorra (1761) and Le Blanc (1758) reported that Apaches Pelones, also known as Seauttos still lived north of the Red River in 1758. This is a promising lead on the origins of the Naishan (Kiowa Apache) separated from the Gran Apachería by Comanche forces.
Fray Santa Ana came by this information in a joint slave raid and mission survey, as he accompanied Thoribio Urrutia on his first attack on the Ndé San Saba ranchería in 1745.\textsuperscript{107} Although the official purpose of the “visit” was to scout the area for a potential mission site and, if possible, to gain Ndé support for the idea, it was another glorified slave raid.

\textsuperscript{107} Upon his return, Santa Ana (1746) wrote about a battle of notoriety in Apache history, in which a large Ndé force defeated a small Comanche force with some difficulty. In the end the Ndé surrounded a single Comanche survivor who continued fighting to the bitter end and the Ndé spared this last survivor in order to serve as a warning to the Comanche. Although a nice story, neither this tale nor the famous nine-day war discussed earlier suggest the Comanche to be an irresistible scourge in comparison to the far more damaging Spanish massacres and slave raids on the San Saba, specifically those executed by Joseph and Thoribio Urrutia.
CHIEF PASCUAL AND THE CULCAHENDÉ

My approach to the problem of recovering a Native American history for Texas and northeastern Mexico is to sequence the development of an effective anti-colonial alliance part of the historical origins of the Cúelcahén Ndé, as they are documented through reports of Chief Pascual who is identified as their leader by Hugo O’Conor in 1777. Thus, Ndé anti-colonial alliances form an integral part of Cúelcahén Ndé ethnohistory.
The chronicle of Chief Pascual begins with Berroterán (1747) report that four hundred Ndé (Apache) led by Chief Pascual visited the Mapimi Presidio to request peace with the Spanish in 1730. Afterwards, Chief Pascual scouted the area near Presidio Mapimi for Berroterán. On one of these missions, hostilities from the Sierra Mojada killed one of his warriors. At Chief Pascual’s request, Berroterán equipped these Apache to take revenge on unnamed Indígena in the Bolsón de Mapimi sixty miles east of the Conchos Presidio. Notwithstanding Chief Pascual’s cooperation, Berroterán (1747) reported that Apache from the north aggressively ranged the region between El Paso and the Rio Grande Presidio and suspected Chief Pascual to have been involved in a series of murders on the Rio Nazas in 1746. This establishes Ndé ranging and settlement in southern Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya beginning in 1730. Vidaurri (1747) located Chief Pascual’s ranchería forty miles south of La Junta between the Rio Conchos and the Bolsón de Mapimi. Chief Pascual in an ambivalent relationship with the Spanish foreshadows the cooperative action of Chief Cuelgas de Castro with Mexican and Texas military officers and Texas Rangers.
CHIEF PASCUAL ON THE RIO GRANDE

Tribiño reported that Apache became prominent hostilities south of the Rio Nazas in the area of the Presidio El Pasaje, near present day Torreon, Chihuahua during the 1740’s.

“Informasteis en carta de 27 de septiembre del año proximo pasado [1742], ser cierta la necesidad que tuvieron de socorro y defensa, los naturals de aquel pueblo, y su distrito, contra hostilidades y vejaciones de los referidos indios, especialmente de los apaches que los afligían.” [Tribiño 1742 in Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 122]

In response, the Conde del Alamo reportedly drove Apache from this area and into the Bolsón de Mapimí in 1743. In addition, in 1747, Fray Menchero reported that an Ndé anti-colonial alliance invaded the missions at La Junta de los Ríos again.

“Junta de los Ríos, situaciones donde se hallan las misiones invadidas de los enemigos indios apaches y sumas . . .” [Menchero 1747 in Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 162]

However, the Marqués de Altamira (1747) reported that six missions between El Paso and La Junta de los Ríos received many new entrants from the Apache, Natagé, Faraón, Suma, and other nations. In sum, stemming from alliance and cohabitation of many Indigenous peoples, Ndé, Jumano, and other nations Indigenous to the Edwards Plateau and Coahuila in the 1600’s formed an effective Anti-Colonial Alliance in the upheavals of the 1700’s.


109. Notice that Altamira (1747) distinguished Natagé, Apache, and Faraon suggesting that the terms were ethnically specific. The missions were San Francisco, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, San Cristóbal, San Juan Bautista, Santa María de Redonda, and San Pedro Alcántara. Of those mentioned, all were Ndé speakers except for the Suma who began engaging in Ndé alliance, cohabitation, and hostility since the mid-1600’s (Posada 1686).
Chief Pascual emerged from this gathering of nations a man who would later be known as the leader of the “Culcahen Ndé.” Although Chief Pascual ranged northern Zacatecas in 1746, Captain Ydoiaga met with him north of the Rio Grande at the end of 1747. Madrid (1992) made an excellent annotated translation of Captain Commander Joseph de Ydoiaga’s (1748) attempt to get a handle on Native hostility in Coahuila and Chihuahua near La Junta de los Rios Grande and Conchos.

Ydoiaga (1748) left the Pueblo of the Julimes on the Rio Conchos south of La Junta de los Rios on November 12, 1747.110 North of the Julime Pueblo, Ydoiaga visited San Antonio de los Puliques where Pulique, Sibolo, and Pescado led by Don Bartholomé de Porras gathered for defense against Apache. Don Bartholomé told Ydoiaga that his people traded with Apache buffalo hunters, maintaining good relations and three-day trade fairs with 100 Apache families led by Chief El Ligero.111 When asked about Natagé, they reported that they lived far away and cut their hair short like friars.112 A Pulique reported another friendly Apache relationship with Don Pascual’s nearby ranchería and verified that these Ndé were the Apache who frequented Toboso lands (Bolson de Mapimi).

110. Ydoiaga (1748) marched three days south to a ranchería of Cholome made up of jacales where other nations gathered for protection against Apache rangers. After visiting this ranchería, Ydoiaga traveled north to La Junta de los Rios and received reports of uprisings due to his approach, by trusted Native allies led by Juan Antonio Principé. Two days later the expedition visited San Juan Baptista and El Mesquite, where Cacalote, Mesquite, Conexos, and Cholome gathered for defense from the Apache. Nearby in the Pueblo of Guadalupe, Síbolo and Pescados and Půliques similarly gathered (Madrid 1992: 27, 35, 36, 48 - 50).

111. Native reports also told of El Venado, a chief who lived north of the Rio del Norte between El Cajón and El Paso who was implied to have been an Apache-Cholome allied with another ranchería of Apache-Cholomes and Zumas and were declared enemies of the settlements because they stole horses and killed their people. After these attacks, 100 Natives from the pueblos near La Junta de los Rios, retaliated and the Apache Cholome attacks stopped. The attacks drove the Síbolo Nation from La Junta (Madrid 1992: 53).

112. This may be a reference to the Pelón Apache style of cutting their hair.
Uncertain of what to expect from Ydoiaga, Chief Pascual moved his people into the mountains before Ydoiaga’s arrival. Ydoiaga (1748) then charged a Native of San Antonio de los Puliques with inviting Chief Pascual to meet with him to offer reduction for his people.

“... ranchería of the Apache, Don Pascual,” with whom they were friendly, was accustomed to coming in frequently; and it remained close to these pueblos without doing them any harm... a few days previously they [the Apaches] had moved away when they learned about the entrada of these forces. Said Don Pascual is the same one who in past years visited the Presidio de Conchos several times in peace; and his people know all the ins-and-outs of the chain of presidios, as well as of the land of the Tobosos, having come and gone there frequently... they [the inhabitants of the pueblo] assured me that he was in an angry and brooding mood because, having entered into Acatita la Grande, he encountered the few Tobosos that remain, and they killed four Indian bowmen, and he could not find a way to avenge the wrong.” [Ydoiaga 1748 in Madrid 1992: 51]

Traveling southeast, Ydoiaga found the trail of Alonzo Baptizado, an Apache who lived with his family in San Antonio de los Puliques, but was at that time deer hunting with his sons. Soon enough, Alonzo visited Ydoiaga and was given sweet bread, meat, pinole, and tobacco. When asked about Chief Pascual, Alonzo Baptizado replied that he did not know where he had gone but that he would give him Ydoiaga’s message to bring his people to speak with the captain in full confidence. Searching for Chief Pascual, Ydoiaga (1748) found his ranchería near San Andres spring. ¹¹³

After this roundabout tour of west Texas, Ydoiaga set camp at La Junta on New Year’s Day of the year 1748. Two days later, Chief Pascual paid him a visit. After treating the Ndé leader to his hospitality, Ydoiaga conversed with Chief Pascual through an interpreter. Chief Pascual explained to Ydoiaga that he did not meet with him sooner because he was not certain of the Spanish captain’s intentions.

¹¹³ Madrid (1992) noted that this is the same name of a spring near Redford, Texas.
However, once the Pulique messengers assured him of a good reception he came immediately. Chief Pascual said that he hoped to bring his people along with Chief Lijero to discuss the possibility of settlement.

“. . . the Indian Captain named Don Pasqual was in this troop camp . . . received him with pleasure and had given him something to eat, he spent most of the rest of the time talking through an interpreter. And I asked him why, when having retired to the mountains at the time of my entry to these pueblos manifesting fear, he now came to see me with contentment, albeit alone. He said that it was true that he had retired with some fear, but when the Púliques gave him news of my message, he had tried to come to visit me with all confidence. He had not brought his family due to the lack of horses and the very cold weather. However... would return . . . and try to bring his people. He said he had sent someone to see his friend, the Captain Ligero . . . And in his presence, we would talk calmly about the point of the pueblo.” [Ydoiaga 1748 in Madrid 1992: 81]

Acquiring the commitment he wanted, Ydoiaga asked why he did not bring hides to trade with Berroterán. Chief Pascual replied that he did not have enough buckskin to trade and that he understood that Berroterán had been imprisoned.

“I asked him why he no longer went to the Presidio of Conchos with his skins as before to trade and to see his friend, Captain Berroterán. And he answered that he would have gone this past year if he had been able to make a good kill of deer from which to make the tanned buckskins. He inquired about said friend, and upon my telling him that he was well and had been traveling in Mexico, he expressed joy. He said he had been informed that he [Berroterán] had been imprisoned. And dissuaded that this was true, he bade farewell, looking very happy; and he left with meat and pinole that I ordered to be given to him for the road, also, tobacco to smoke.” [Ydoiaga 1748 in Madrid 1992: 86]

Although this meeting appeared to herald cooperative relations with Chief Pascual, the documents do not report that the meeting between the two Ndé chiefs and Ydoiaga ever materialized. Nearly a month later, Chief El Ligero visited Ydoiaga in San Juan at La Junta de los Ríos. From this meeting Ydoiaga learned through an interpreter that Chief El Ligero was an elderly man who led one-hundred fifty families. When asked about the Natagé and other Apache, Chief Ligero spoke of their wealth in firearms, buffalo meat, and horses.
In the end, Chief Ligero made it clear that his intention in visiting Ydoiaga was to gain a letter declaring his good standing with the Spanish so that soldiers and their Native auxiliaries in the area would not harm him when he came to trade in the settlements.

“On the first of February of 1748, the Captain Ligero visited me in this Pueblo of San Juan. He is an old man, and for that reason he has been granted the command of his ranchería, which he says is composed of one hundred fifty families. A son of his is a stutterer. All are heathens. Upon inquiring of him about the Nations of the Natajé and others, I was informed by means of an interpreter . . . that they were very far away; that they were very many and very handsome; that they had good weapons and many big harqubuses; that they had much meat of bison and deer, and a large horse herd—excellent for running. And due to these circumstances, they were reputed to be very wealthy among the rest of the nations . . . given flour, meat, and tobacco, he left in the afternoon to Los Puliques. He came to see me to become acquainted and to ask me . . . that I give him a letter so that neither the Indian captains nor the Spanish would do him any harm whenever he went to the lands with tanned skins, as he wanted to go in peace and to have amity with the Spanish and not cause them angry.” [Ydoiaga 1748 in Madrid 1992: 112 - 113]

Overall, the most important point is that Chief Pascual emerged from a gathering of nations in some form of anti-colonial alliance. Between 1730 and 1742, Chief Pascual is associated with the southern presidios of Mapimi and Conchos near the Rio Nazas. In 1747 and 1748, Chief Pascual is associated with the Pulique, Julime, Sibulo, Tecolote, and Venado near La Junta de los Rios.
Chief Ligero of the Ndé at El Paso, and an Apache named Alonzo Baptizado near La Junta de los Ríos.\textsuperscript{114}

Most importantly for this study, Hugo O’Conor identified Chief Pascual as the leader of the Culcahendé in 1777. And by tying Chief Pascual to the Culcahendé, and ultimately to Chief Cuelgas de Castro, the familiarity of this Apache nation with the land and politics south of the Rio Grande dovetails with Chief Cuelgas de Castro’s use of the region as a stronghold and refuge in the 1800’s.

\textsuperscript{114}. In addition, a number of points stand out in the historical data available in Ydoiaga’s (1748) report of the region. First, various nations settled between the Julime Pueblo and La Junta de los Ríos were autonomously dealing with Apache hostilities and responded to the Spanish intervention represented by Ydoiaga by manifesting uprisings against Spanish intrusion. Second, leaders and military forces of these settlements led Ydoiaga on an unproductive tour of the area showing him only abandoned settlements and possibly diverting him from their own settlements as well as those of the Apache whom they already had dealt with and were presently enjoying productive trade relations. Third, Chief Pascual’s report of Toboso signal the end of their dominance in the Bolsón de Mapimi. Fourth, Ydoiaga’s explicit need for interpreters demonstrates that the Ndé led by Chief Pascual, had a relationship with Spanish colonials, but were not significantly missionized or acculturated. Fifth, Native reports show that newither Chief El Ligero nor Chief Pascual pertained to the Natagé Ndé (Apache) in 1747. Finally, hostiles identified by Ydoiaga (1748) as “Apaches Cholomes” show geographic and ethnic continuity with “Apaches Jumanes” who attacked San Antonio in 1732. El Venado’s people were likely Apache Jumanes and this reference suggests that they were still generalized with Cholome and Sibolo, both members of the alliance led by Chief Juan Sabeata in the 1690’s (Madrid 1992: 53).
As stated above, chronicling the Culcahendé through reports of Chief Pascual is only part of the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé. The history of the Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters that would become known as Lipan after 1761 is the other portion. A relatively well-documented nation ancestral to the Lipan are the Ipandé, who were central to the original bury the hatchet ceremony from which the reconciliatory phrase, “let’s bury the hatchet” comes.

Domingo Cabello first reported the incident in 1784, thirty-five years after the event was said to take place. Although Cabello (1784) is the only account to refer the burial of a hatchet, a live horse, a bow, and six arrows in front of the Presidio of San Antonio to consummate peace accords between Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters and the colony of San Antonio in 1749, Santa Ana (1745), Morfí (1935), and Arricivita (1792) all refer to peace accords reached between the Apache and the Spanish colonials at San Antonio during the summer of 1749.

Santa Ana, like Arricivita, may have been present to witness the event. However, both missionaries, while in Texas at the time, had their attention and presence split between the missions of San Xavier and those at San Antonio. Although the narratives of Cabello (1784) and Arricivita (1792) flow nicely, only with the aid of Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller’s (1997) full translation and transcription of Santa Ana’s petition for Apache missions, is it possible to flesh out concrete components of the peace accords made in 1749.
URRUTIA’S SLAVE RAIDS IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1749

By 1740, Ypandé had moved into the Guadalupe River region fifty miles northwest of San Antonio atop the Balcones Escarpment and by 1750, the Ipandé settled on the Medina River thirty miles south of San Antonio (Dunn (1911: 265). On February 2, 1749, Urrutia left for San Saba with two-hundred men on a punitive expedition. On the road to San Saba, Urrutia found a small ranchería from which they took three old women and five children. Meanwhile, Apache raided Mission Concepción and stole many cattle.

In retaliation, Urrutia slave raided again in March, this time he found a larger Apache ranchería on the Guadalupe River while most of the men were hunting buffalo (Cabello 1749: 108). Urrutía’s slave raids appear to have been intended to bring the Ndé back to the peace table at San Antonio. After securing hostages, Urrutia released messengers to notify the chiefs of an offer to exchange all of the prisoners for the promise to live in peace and accept missions.

In Cabello’s (1784) version, two women and a man taken captive in the Guadalupe River slave raid were released in April 1749 to carry a message to their Capitan’s that in return for friendship and peace the Spanish would release all Ndé captives from San Antonio. In all, Thoribio Urrutia appears to have made preliminary slave raids on Ndé rancherías from San Antonio to San Saba in order to acquire captives as bargaining chips with which to entice Ndé (Apache) to the peace table.

115. Fifty miles northwest of San Antonio is on the Guadalupe between Comfort and Kerrville. Thirty miles southwest of San Antonio on the Medina River is near Castroville, Texas.

116. This may have been the Ypande rancheria of Chief Cuero de Coyote.
APACHE MISSION NEGOTIATIONS IN SAN ANTONIO

Santa Ana reported that soon after sending the messengers, they returned to tell the Spaniards of their decision to accept peace and missions. Between May 20, 1749 and the beginning of August, many Ndé came from the north including the Capitan Grande who retrieved the prisoners.

“En breves días dieron su respuesta los fronterizos117 todos, diciendo que entraban en el partido con mucho gusto . . . El mayo del 49. Desde el 20 de dicho mes hasta los principios de agosto que bajé para esta corte, entre otros muchos fronterizos que bajaron del norte, fue uno el capitán a quien se le entregó la presa; y este, con otros me aseguraron no faltarían a su palabra, con tan sólidos fundamentos que hube de creerlos . . .” [Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 494]

Comparably, Arrcivita (1792) reported that Apache mission negotiation in 1749 resulted in frequent visits and requests for missions by the Apache between March and August. However, according to Arricivita (1792), Fray Dolores did not want the Apache to relocate to San Antonio because he feared that they would incite unrest among the Indigena living in the missions, as in New Mexico. Dolores also feared the Apache mitote ceremonies, in which he implied the use of peyote. For these reasons, Dolores told the Apache to seek a suitable place for good farmland on the Guadalupe River.

“Remembering besides what had happened in Nuevo Mexico as a result of similar union, they had to prevent the neophytes from becoming contaminated by the wretched habits and diabolical ceremonies observed by the Apaches or by the dances and beverages that they use in their great fiestas.” [Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996: 42]

Nevertheless, Ndé maintained peaceful relations with San Antonio and Arricivita (1792) cited numerous examples of their good faith. Apache warned the Spaniards when Julime and Natagé rangers set in ambush along the road to San Juan Bautista. Apache returned runaway Indigena from missions, guided lost Spaniards back home, and did not take advantage of many opportunities to raid the settlers of San Antonio.

117. Santa Ana refers to the Ndé as “fronterizos,” presumably meaning people of the frontier.
Apache found a diseased Indigena on a riverbank and an orphaned three year old to the care of the San Antonio missions (Hammond and Rey 1996: 43 - 44). These examples suggest that during much of 1749, Apache and Ypandé rangers served and protected the colonial settlements in the San Antonio region.

Fray Morfí detailed relations between Apache and San Antonio, such that the “Lipan,” most likely Ipandé and Apache, sought peace as a means to offset the hostility of the Tejas, while the Natagé, removed from this conflict were not inclined towards peace with the Spanish.

“. . . at the close of May of this year [1750], some Lipans (sic)118 sent by Captain Coquin, who enjoyed the greatest authority among them, came to the presidio of San Antonio to warn Captain Urrutia that their kinsmen, the Natages, were already tired of so long a peace; that Captain Rico, whom all the Natages respected, would go on the warpath against the Spaniards in a few days. In return for the warning they had given . . . they [Apache] were now informed . . . the Texas were planning an attack on them . . .”

[Morfí 1935: 308 - 309]

Manifestation of Natagé warfare in collusion with Julime of the Anti-Colonial Alliance is almost certainly represented by Fray Morfí’s (1935, VIII: 35 - 47; IX: 3 - 4) report that sometime before the peace ceremony in San Antonio, Natagé Apache killed Fray Silva. Fray Arricivita detailed this incident as follows.

“. . . in the locality of San Ambrosio they attacked Father Fray Francisco Xavier de Silva . . . accompanied by eight Spaniards. The Indians were so numerous that they killed everyone . . . when the Spaniards went . . . they found . . . the bodies of two Indians, one of which had a rosary around his neck and was recognized as a Julime, and the other was a Natagé youth . . . It was also officially established that at the time of the murders . . . there were a large number of Ipandé Apaches at the mission and its environs . . .”

[Hammond and Rey 1996: 43]

118. This is an example of Morfí using Lipan, common in 1778 when he wrote his report, to refer to events in 1750 before Lipan was used. Even Arricivita (1792) employed the more historically accurate term “Apache.”
Taken together with Santa Ana’s (1750a) petition for Apache missions this challenges the representation of Apache as beggars dependent on the mission system constructed by Dunn (1911) and Bolton (1915). According to Santa Ana, not only did Ndé show a willingness to be catechized and live a mission life, they also contributed to the well being of the colony.

However, other members of the Anti-Colonial Alliance obviously had no compunctions about continuing their hostility. In August 1749, two other Ndé leaders sent envoys to San Antonio claiming that they were ready to settle in missions and were coming to San Antonio to wait for them (Cabello 1784: 110).
BURY THE HATCHET

Primary documents from Texas and Coahuila pertaining to the war and peace negotiations between 1745 and 1749 between Ndé and colonial strongly evidence that the Ypandé and Apache nations “buried the hatchet” in San Antonio in 1749. Geographically, the Ypandé were the immediate neighbors of San Antonio and kept rancherías between the Guadalupe and San Antonio Rivers on both sides of San Antonio judging from their ranging the area of El Cibolo just north of Karnes City, Texas on Cibolo Creek. The Apache however, came from further west near the Rio Florido (Concho River), which would locate them in the Apachería de los Llanos reported by Mendoza in 1684. Apache de los Llanos had apparently maintained fictive and affinal relations with the Julime of La Junta, and between 1715 and 1748 their settlement and range extended to the Rio Nazas in Zacatecas. Importantly, Chief Pascual, the leader associated with this expansion is known in 1777 as the leader of the Culcahendé, an Ndé self-identifier for Apache de los Llanos (O’Conor 1777).

Cabello (1784: 110) wrote that in the first days of August 1749, an embassy made up of the three messengers and a principle leader of the “Lipan” or Apache nation, but probably not a chief, presented themselves to Urrutia and Santa Ana. The party brought the message that two “Lipan” chiefs and two Apache chiefs camped on the Guadalupe River with two-hundred hundred people to make peace and retrieve their relations.

Although chronologically this appears to be the first use of Lipan, it is actually an anachronism because Lipan was not used in until 1761 and likely refers to Ypandé. Nonetheless, Urrutia gifted the envoys and invited the two nations to enter San Antonio.

“A principios de el Mes de Agosto de el mismo Año regresaron las dos Yndias, y el Yndio emisarios con otro de mucha distinction entre ellos participando se hallavan ála Orilla del Rio de Guadalupe cuatro Capitanes, los dos de la Nacion Lipana, y los otros dos de la Apache, con cien Yndios de Ambas . . . al Yndio Principal que avia benido con ellos, mui bien regalados, y obsequiados . . . digesen á sus Capitas y demas Jente entrasen quando quiciesen . . .” [Cabello 1784: 110]
Seven days later on August 15, 1749, Lipan Apaches and other Apache nations notified the presidio of their approach with smoke signals as agreed. On the following day, Urrutia and the missionaries gathered together the soldiers, settlers, and Indígena living in the missions to meet with the Ndé visitors.

The visitors entered the following day and spent the next two days feasting and attending mass. After the religious ceremonies, the Spanish began releasing the prisoners. On the morning of August 19, 1749, the Lipan Apache and Apache visitors gathered on one side of the plaza, while the colonials gathered on the other side. Ostentatiously, in the center of the plaza, a large hole was dug and filled with a hatchet, a horse, a lance, and six arrows. Around this peace offering two Lipan Apache chiefs, two Apache chiefs, and Urrutia danced around the hole three times, thus inspiring the Lipan Apaches and colonials to join together in a friendship dance mirroring their leaders.

As soon as the people finished dancing the people went back to their respective sides before quickly burying the peace offering.

“Estas se Autorizaron con la concurrencia de todos los P.P. Missioneros, Guarnicion, y Vezindario, que estavan en vna parte dela Plaza de este Preo, y en la otra los Capitanes Yndios, su Jente, y los Pricioneros, entre todos los que abrieron un Grande Hoyo en medio de la Plaza, en el que pucieron un Caballo Vibo; Una Hacha; Una Lanza, y Seis Flechas, y tomando de la Mano los Capitanes Yndios al de este Freo lo llebaron a que Viese el hoyo dandole tres Bueltas al Reendedor de él, lo mismo que hicieron Subsecibamente con los P.P. Misioneros, y Vesindario, fenecida esta Ceremonia, y Colocados en sus Respectives Puestos hicieron Vna Seña, y acudieron todos al Monton de Tierra qe avian Sacado de el hoyo, y echaron Sobre el Cavallo, Hacha, Lanza, y Flechas hta qe dieron los Yndios unos Grandes Alaridos, y Ntra Jente pronuncio por tres Vezes Vica el Rey.” [Cabello 1784: 111 - 112]

119. Although Cabello (1784) believed that Santa Ana freed all of the captives at this time, later documents report that women and children who had become the servants of the settlers and missions were not freed until November 28, 1749 (Urrutia 1752).
While Santa Ana did not mention the burial ceremony, he did write of the willingness and commitment to the missions shown by Ndé offering daughters to marry Indígena living in the missions, including Capitán Boca Comida’s niece.

“... siendo uno, el que las mujeres doncellas de dichos apaches se casasen con los indios libres de las misiones; y de estas repesticament recurrirán ellos antes o después de formarse su mission... que algunas doncellas entrando en su número una sobrina del capitán Boca Comida, harto agraciada, no querían, siendo libres, retirarse de su país, y lo mismo algunos mancebos, esperando la conclusion del concierto, a que no dieron lugar los padres misioneros, por no exponerse a previos inconvenientes que pueden resultar de esta misión.” [Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 494]

Arricivita (1792) also related this event, adding that young men were included and that the Ndé chief intended the marriages between Ndé and the Indígena of the missions be reciprocated. Although the friars rejected the proposal, the sentiment was gladly received by Indígena of the San Antonio Missions.

Santa Ana added that the Indígena of the missions were impressed and vouched for the Ndé, stating their belief that the Ndé friendship was genuine.

“El juicio que han formado los indios de las misiones, no obstante de ser antipodas antiquísimos de dichos indios. Dicen, pues; pensamos siempre que nunca serían amigos nuestros los apaches, ni llegarían a ser cristianos, más hoy conocemos que la amistad con nosotros les sale de corazón, y que dicen verdad el que quieren mission, y los padres los pueden creer. Este fundamento aunque nace del juicio de los indios, es para mi de Grande peso ...” [Santa Ana in Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 494]
AN ORDERLY EXCHANGE OF NDÉ POWER AND AUTHORITY

After this auspicious beginning, Santa Ana reported another gathering of Ndé chiefs and their people on the Guadalupe River between November 22, 1749 and November 24, 1749. An Apache Chief, given a hat and bastón (staff of command) by Urrutia, reported that Capitán Boca Comida and another chief were also ready to bring their people to live in a mission.

“El día 24 de noviembre vino con ciento de los suyos, fuera de los que el día 22 y 23 habían llegado, aquel capitán a quien el de este presidio dio el sombrero y bastón, y vuestra reverencia habló. Y después de exponer las causas de su demora . . . dijo: Que el capitán Boca Comida, y otro de la frente rompida, estaban y para venir a Guadalupe con toda su gente para estar en misón; que estaban todos contentos, y venían de Buena gana y con gusto.” [Santa Ana in Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 494]

Santa Ana reported that Urrutia had two captives for return to Capitán Boca Comida and took the opportunity to castigate the Spanish for their Apache slave raids and its negative impact on peaceful relations. Nevertheless, a message arrived from Capitán Boca Comida on November 28, 1749 requested a place for his people to set their ranchería because they were currently stricken with smallpox.

“El día de dicho noviembre llegaron unos correos del capitán Boca Comida, noticiando su inmediación, y preguntando del sitio para situarse con toda su gente, de la que mucha pequeña ha muerto de viruelas. Y por ultimo, de que el gobernador llevó dos presas de la pieza,120 a que añado que el Grande apego que tienen los españoles a las presas, harto conocido por los indios, impide no solo su comunicación sino también la eficiencia de la paz . . . ” [Santa Ana in Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 494]

120. “Presas” and “presas de la pieza” are both euphemisms for enslaved Native American captives.
Sadly, Boca Comida eventually succumbed to smallpox. Arricivita detailed relations between Fray Dolores and the new Ndé Capitan Grande who accepted the missionary’s rebuff gracefully.

“. . . the cancer from which the unfortunate man suffered, and which finally took him to his grave, made it impossible for him to travel through the land. So the one who took his place, and who in the assembly of the other chieftains had been declared as big chief with all the power that the former had, wished to attend to affairs of general interest as soon as he had finished his personal affairs. Following the peaceful aims of his predecessor . . . He showed himself before Father Fray Mariano in a pleasant mood and told him that he had only come to ratify the peace with the Spaniards in the name of his nation which the father himself had persuaded the Ipandés to accept; they were all very happy over the tranquility they enjoyed and were resolved to settle in a mission so that the fathers might take an interest in them . . . All agreed to observe the conditions of the peace and of the settlement that he had proposed. He was able to send them away after three days, they having agreed to return within a short time.” [Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996: 44 - 45]

When this passage is taken together with the chronicles of the leaders met by Ulibarri (1706) and Flores (1723a), an orderly exchange of power and authority can be seen that challenges Newcomb, Jr. (1969: 145) notion that “the Apaches were scattered over a tremendous extent of territory . . . and were so little organized in a tribal or political sense . . .” Instead, consistent policy was conserved between the leadership of Capitan Grande Boca Comida and his successor. Moreover, as in 1723, a Capitan Grande from the north handled negotiations, thus suggesting continuity of Ndé political practice between 1706 and 1749.  

121. This implies a continued Ndé political integration covering 40 years and surviving great turmoil. Ulibarri’s (1706) experience with the Capitán Grande is comparable with the exception that Chief Yyastipaye was removed far to the east rather than the north. However, geographic consideration suggests that Lipan Capitán Grande Boca Comida emerged from Ndé nations previously known as Pelón and Ypande.
NDÉ BUFFALO HUNTER IDENTIFIERS IN 1749

Together, this synthesis of reports on the peace between Ndé buffalo hunters and Spanish at San Antonio provide a superior report than any of the sources presented alone. Although Santa Ana’s contemporary report of the peace of 1749 does not have the drama of Cabello’s (1784) bury the hatchet narrative and Arricivita’s Apostolic Chronicle, it provides great insight into the sentiment and action of Ndé peace negotiations in San Antonio.\textsuperscript{122} Although I analyze and paraphrase to build expository arguments in ways similar to Dunn (1911) and Bolton (1915), I provide the actual reports referenced in order to avoid making explicit, and observable, how much of the narrative is derived from the material as opposed to my attitude and attendant theories.

For example, by comparing the identifiers used by Santa Ana (1750), Cabello (1784), and Arricivita (1792) a number of conclusions can be drawn about the identity of the Ndé buffalo hunters who set peace accords with Urrutia in 1749. Fray Santa Ana (1750), writing only one year after the event used on the terms Apache and Indio to identify the participants.

\textsuperscript{122} Santa Ana expressed knowledge that the Pedernales and Blanco River passes used by Ndé buffalo hunters were the only viable means of entry into the San Antonio valley from the Hill Country and Edwards Plateau (Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 489). Blanco Pass cuts between the Guadalupe and Medina river valleys and the Pedernales route into San Antonio from the northwest comes through the towns of Fredericksburg and Blanco before approximating the route of US highway 281 in San Antonio.
Cabello (1784) writing thirty-five years later identified the Ndé as the “*Nacion Lipana, y 
. . . Apache*” and used the term Yndio. However, Fray Arricivita (1792) writing forty-three years 
after the fact, used Apache and Indio in narrating the peace accords of 1749. Comparably, Fray 
Morfí (1778) described San Antonio in 1750 peace accords and used the terms Lipan and 
Natagé. Seeing as though, Cabello and Morfí were not even on the continent in 1750, the 
consistent use of Apache and Indio in the accounts Santa Ana and Arricivita who were involved 
in missionary activity in Texas 1749 are more accurate representations than the terms Lipan and 
Natagé. Based only on historical documents relating directly to the peace accords if 1749, 
Spanish colonials in San Antonio made peace with people identified as Apache, not Ipandé, not 
Natagé, and certainly not Lipan.

However, Arricivita (1792) did use the term Ipandé in describing negotiations for 
captives taken by Urrutia in preparation for the peace accords. For this reason, the two groups 
that made peace at San Antonio in 1749 are most likely the Apache and Ipandé, distinct from the 
Natagé who continued an Anti-Colonial Alliance with Julime from La Junta. Further evidence 
suggesting the validity of this interpretation, Fray Santa Ana (1745) identified a specific Ndé 
nation known as the “*_true Apaches,*” an identifier that I interpret to be short for “*Apaches de los 
Llanos.*” Chief Pascual was identified by Hugo O’Conor as the leader of the “*_Cucahe Ndé,*” or 
Apaches Llaneros, in 1777. Therefore, a geographic and historic affiliation of the Apache de los 
Llanos and Chief Pascual with the Julime and La Junta suggests a continuation of the 
relationship established by Chief Antonio Apache de los Llanos in 1715.
CHAPTER SUMMARY

Historical data show increasing diversity among Apache in the 1700’s especially as Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters extended their settlements and ranges south. This pattern is resolute in reference to Ndé buffalo hunters Chenti, Yxandi, Ypandé, Pelón and Apache de los Llanos, who emerge as part of an alliance in Texas with the Jumane. South of the Rio Grande, this pattern is more distinct in that Toboso, Gavilán, Jumane, Julime, and various Indigena from the missions joined the Ndé in joint military operations and convivial relations that stymied Spanish colonials. A line of evidence based on the conservation of identity and territory for the Cúelcahén Ndé, Tall Grass People of the Apache Nation, begins with the establishment of an Apacheria de los Llanos in 1684 and continued through Chief Pascual. In the next chapter, I trace the historical thread of the Cuelcahen Ndé to the emergence of the Culcogendi in a report made in 1771, by a Native American who had lived as a captive among the Ndé buffalo hunters south of the Rio Grande.
CHAPTER  6   EMERGENCE OF THE CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ

This chapter traces Cúelcahén Ndé history in Texas through the Apache mission period to present their first historic mention as the “Culcogendi” in a Native American report by a captive who had been rescued from the Apache living between El Paso and La Junta de los Rios in 1771. Beginning with a discussion of Cúelcahén Ndé and evidence for its usage, I analyze historical data that calls into question the assumption that the Ndé buffalo hunters at the San Saba mission in 1758 and 1759 were Lipan Apache, or even Ipandé. Rather, I find that the Apache at San Saba were related to the Apache de los Llanos, and therefore the Cúelcahén Ndé. Primary reports demonstrate a greater diversity in the emergence of the Lipan Apache than previously reported by Dunn (1911), Bolton (1915), Newcomb, Jr. (1961; 1969), Schilz (1987), and Wade (1998).
CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ

Acceptance of the Cuelcahen Ndé as one of the ancestral nations in the emergence of the Lipan Apache of the 1800’s amounts to theoretical space that can be partially filled by the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé. According to the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition, Chief Cuelgas de Castro was born near the San Saba River in the 1790’s. Chief Tacú (Chico) frequented this place, although his primary range apparently was closer to the Concho River. Another piece of evidence is constituted by the name Cuelgas de. Meredith Begay (2002) concurs with the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition, that “Cuelgas de” signifies the “People of the Tall Grass,” an Ndé (Apache) self-identifier that can be translated into Apache de los Llanos. Seeing as though this linguistic evidence is a cornerstone of the argument, my use of terminology deserves a review.

Ndé is a self-referent signifying “the people” for a language family of Native Americans who settled from Alaska to Mexico before 1650 (Campbell 1997). Ethnographically, Ndé is the term used by Cúelcahén Ndé to refer to one another at gatherings and is one of the ways that they refer to themselves in their oral tradition. Ethno historically, three detailed military reports produced in O’Conor (1777), Cordero (1796), and Cortés (1799) include the suffix “Ndé” or “-ne” as common to the Apache groups represented in their own language. Based on my research, “Cuelgas de” is a Hispanicization of Cuelcahen Ndé, thus pointing to a specific origin for the Cúelcahén Ndé as the Llanero, or Cuelcahen Ndé proper. In all, the use of Ndé in place of Apache or Athapaskan is more accurate in terms of ethnographic, historical, and linguistic considerations. I use the terms Apache and Athapaskan when they are used in primary reports.

123. Dineh is a dialect variant preferred by speakers of the Navajo language in the U.S. and Dene living in Canada (Palmer 1992).

124. The oral tradition carried by three survivors of the Castro line of the Lipan Apache identifies their descent from Chief Cuelgas de Castro, a Lipan leader documented in records from Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Chihuahua. In the decades immediately preceding Chief Cuelgas de Castro’s emergence as an important Lipan Apache leader in 1812, Spanish colonial records reached their greatest resolution regarding Apache buffalo hunter identity.
To recap the origins and migrations presented thus far. Tierra Blanca archaeological remains support an interpretation of trade relations between Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters in the Texas Panhandle south of the Canadian River and Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo.

Querecho (Ndé) buffalo hunters were first identified south of the Canadian River in the 1500’s. From the end of the 1500’s until well into the 1600’s, pedestrian Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters were reported as Vaquero, Apache de los Llanos (Plains Apache), and Vaquero Apache. Mounted Ndé buffalo hunters known as Apache de los Llanos settled and ranged west Texas between the Concho and San Saba rivers by 1686.

In 1714, Chief Antonio Apache de los Llanos forged relations with Governor Antonio de los Julimes at La Junta de los Ríos. In the 1730’s and 1740’s, Chief Pascual ranged south of the Rio Grande as far as the Rio Nazas in Zacatecas. In 1747, Ydoiaga reported that Chief Pascual and the Culcahendé had an ambivalent relation to the Apache Cholome (Jumano) at La Junta de los Ríos as well as to the Julime-Carrizo at La Junta de los Ríos (Madrid 1992: 53). After 1747, there is evidence showing that Chief Pascual established settlements north of the Rio Grande and by 1777, he was recognized as the leader of the Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters living between the Lipan on the east and the Apache of Chief Ligero in El Paso by Hugo O’Conor. This chapter analyzes documents from 1771, when the Culcogendi are first identified, in order to continue tracing the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé. North of San Antonio, this period is marked by attacks made by the Norteño Alliance and bungling of Spanish missions intended for the conversion of Ndé buffalo hunters. A number of these documents contain information about an Apachería between the San Saba and Concho rivers.
NDÉ PROBLEMS BEFORE 1750: COMANCHE OR SPANISH DEPREDATIONS?

It is clear from primary reports that Ndé territorial continuity in west Texas observably began with the establishment of an Apacheria between Trans-Pecos Texas and the San Saba River near Menard between 1684 and 1686 by Apache de los Llanos. Not as clear, are the primary reports upon which Dunn (1911) and Bolton (1915: 79) base their assertions that the migrations of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters to the Rio Grande circa 1750, were driven by Apache desperation to escape and evade Comanche attacks.

According to this Spanish borderlands and Texas Indian history, the Comanche were instrumental in making the Apache friendlier to the Spaniards and led to new proposals for missions (Dunn 1911; Newcomb, Jr. 1969). However, I find that prior to 1750, Spanish slave raids appear to have been far more devastating to Ndé buffalo hunters than Comanche attacks. I suggest that rather than historical accuracy, this framework indexes historiography Comanche hysteria, in order to pursue an apologist or hispanophilia history by diverting attention from Spanish aggression.125

Dunn (1911: 264) referred to “... a gradual migration of the Apaches southward in the face of the Comanche pressure, and just at the end of this period this movement was very much accelerated.” Yet, Dunn (1911) presented little evidence for Comanche harassment of Apache in Texas between 1723 and 1750. He did, however, detail six Spanish attacks on Ndé rancherías, with all but one taking place on the San Saba site near Menard. The first massacre, conducted by Flores in 1723, appears to have taken place near Brownwood, Texas and the last two slave raids completed by Thoribio Urrutia before 1750 were conducted on Ndé rancherías on the Guadalupe River not far from San Antonio. In light of his own evidence, it is surprising that Dunn (1911) did not point out that Spanish slave raids appear to have been far more disastrous for Apache than Comanche pressure before 1750.

125. Bolton (1915) made the inane statement that the Spanish engaged Apache in their missionary ventures because of the desire to expand into “the wide vacant space between San Antonio and Santa Fé.” How this buffalo range could possibly be a wide vacant space, when both Ndé and Comanche in the area militarily restricted Spanish activity for over 200 years, is beyond me.
According to my survey of original reports, the Spanish attacked Ndé rancherías in Texas eight times between 1723 and 1749. In short, historical data shows that Spanish warfare was far more devastating to Ndé buffalo hunters than Comanche warfare.

Governor Cabello stated in 1784, that the Apache lived on the Rio del Fierro, a river on the Southern Plains until 1723 when Comanche drove Jicarilla Ndé south after a nine-day battle. Bancroft (1890: 239) wrote of this battle, and along with Cabello (1784), probably gave it more significance then it merits.

“Early in 1724 the Yutas committed depredations at Jemes; and the Comanches attacked the Apaches at Jicarilla, forced them to give up half their women and children to save their lives and town, burned the place, and killed all but 69 men, two women, and three boys- all mortally wounded.” [Bancroft 1890: 239 cited “Letters of PP. Mirabel and Irazábal,” in Archives of Santa Fe, MS.]

Fray Mirabel wrote this report sometime between 1724 and 1727, so by 1784 when Cabello wrote his report, the nine-day war between Apache and Comanche had become accepted history and folklore. Cabello recounted this folklore as his evidence that Apache did not enter San Antonio until 1723 when the nine-day battle precipitated an Apache exodus southward.

“Al tiempo que en esta Proa de los Texas acaesia todo lo predicho se hallavan los Yndios de las Naciones Lipana, y Apache. Cituados á 300: Leguas de ella sobre los dilatados Campos de la Riberas del Rio de el Fierro que demora entre el Nor-Noreste, y el Noroeste; pero Viviendo con el Subsidio de Sufrir vna continua Grra que les davan la Numerosa, y feroz Nacion de los Cumanches, por cuyas Yncidiencias llegaron adarse vna Batalla tan reñida que duró Nuebe Dias viéndose aun en las faldas de la Gran Cierra de el fierro (de donde Nase el predicho Rio) los montones de Ozamentas, y aviendo perdidos los Lipanes, y Apaches se vieron Obligados á Abandonar su Patrio Suelo, y buscar su Seguro Asilo en donde no los persiguiesen sus Enemigos por lo que se dirigieron asia estos Territorios haciendo alto entre los Rios Colorado, y el de los Brazos de Dios que se hallan á 120: Leguas de esta Proa demorando al Noroeste.” [Cabello 1784: 104]
However, as is often the case, independent evidence provides more informed understandings. As shown above, Mendoza (1684) and Posada (1686) reported that Apache established a ranchería between the Colorado and Pecos rivers of Texas before 1700.

Therefore, Cabello’s (1784) suggestion, followed by Dunn (1911), that 1723 marked the beginning of Apache migration into Texas should be rejected. The nine-day battle was only one of many violent engagements between Ndé buffalo hunters and their enemies. Moreover, resulting in the death of sixty-nine men, this was not a particularly disastrous encounter when compared to Spanish and French massacres and slave raids.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Commander</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Dead/Captive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 1723 Flores Massacre</td>
<td>Brownwood</td>
<td>34 Dead 20 Captives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 1730 Bustillo Slave Raid</td>
<td>San Saba</td>
<td>No Data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 1732 Bustillo Massacre</td>
<td>San Saba</td>
<td>200 Dead 30 Captives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 1739 Joseph Urrutia Slave Raid</td>
<td>San Saba</td>
<td>Many Captives Taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 1745 Thoribio Urrutia Slave Raid</td>
<td>San Saba</td>
<td>Captives Taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 1748 Rabago y Therán Slave Raid</td>
<td>San Saba</td>
<td>Few Captives Taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 1749 Thoribio Urrutia Slave Raid</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>8 Captives Taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 1749 Thoribio Urrutia Slave Raid</td>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>46 Dead 169 Captives Taken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NDÉ RANCHERÍA ON THE SAN SABA RIVER

In the face of both Spanish slave raids and Comanche pressure, Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters near Menard maintained a well-documented settlement on the San Saba River in Texas between 1730 and 1750. Two other Ndé settlements north of San Antonio were a large Ypandé and Pelón ranchería near Snyder, Texas reported in 1733 and the hostile Apache force on the Arroyo de las Animas (Brushy Creek near Rockdale, Texas) from which Apache launched attacks upon the San Xavier mission complex between 1747 and 1755. After 1729, regular reports were made of Apache ranging along the Rio Grande and Nueces Rivers of Texas and Coahuila. While 1749 marked the beginning of peace in San Antonio, it also marked the beginning of a new round of Anti-Colonial Action and alliance near La Junta de los Rios in which Ndé (Apache), Suma, Cholome, and Chinarra formed an anti-colonial alliance (Archivo General Nación México 1748; 1749; Map 11, p. 186).

When taken together, historical data show increasingly diverse alliances in the 1700’s, as Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters expanded their settlement and range to the south. This pattern takes on its greatest resolution in the Native report that Ndé buffalo hunters between San Antonio and Santa Fe included thirty-eight different nations. Of these, only the Ipandé, Pelón, Chenti, Yxandi, and Apache are specifically mentioned in documents from Texas and Coahuila. Moreover, Toboso, Gavilán, Jumane, Julime, and various Indígena from the missions apparently partook of Ndé anti-colonial alliances in joint military operations and convivial relations south and west of San Antonio. A less violent manifestation of such alliance manifested in 1746 and 1747, when Ndé (Apache) led by Chief Ligero and Chief Pascual traded amicably with other Native American nations in the area. I see this as an extension of anti-colonial alliance led by Ndé and Jumano that forms a central pivot in the line of evidence presented in this study as the origins and migrations of ancestral Cúelcahén Ndé.
Along with reports on the colonial settlements of Nuevo Santander, Joseph Antonio Francisco de Juaregui Vrrutia, Governor of Nuevo León after Casafuerte compiled reports by missionaries and military officers regarding Nuevo León written between 1724 and 1737. Vrrutia reported that Toboso and Apache were joint threats to the mines at Boca de Leones (Villaldama, Nuevo León), Mission Santa Maria de los Dolores de la Punta (Lampazos), and the village of San Miguel de Aguayo near Monclova.

“Tobosos y algunos apaches- A disttancia de sies leguas, se halla el Real de Boca de Leones, que esta muy atrasado . . . Tobosos y algunos apaches- A distancia de tres leguas estta el Pueblo Nombrado San Miguel de Aguayo, que es de Yndios Tlascaltecos, y de Nacion alazapas . . . no pudieran resistir las ynbasiones que se ofresen . . . Tobosos Con Apaches- Siguese la Mision llamada la Punta, que es donde termina la Juridizion e dho R.no. es, de Yndios nuevamente reduzidos, estta muy adelantada . . . y por ultimo el que peores pareze que son, para Ynbaciones, Vrtos, Muertes a los yndios apostattas de Nra. Santta feé, que los Ynfieles . . .” [Vrrutia 1737: 98 - 100]

Ladrón de Guevara (1739: 102) published a brief compendium about conditions in Nuevo León and emphasized a general concern for Ndé depredations in the Hill Country, Trans-Pecos Texas, and the Southern Plains.

“Todo el tracto que de esta provincia de los Texas mira a la parte de su poniente y norte es muy dilatado, y habiitado de numerosas naciones de indios barbaros, siendo la de los Apaches los que causan algunos perjuicios que en ella se experimentan . . de distancia y demás, es constante se ha de encontrar con los terminus de la Nueva México, y con parte de los más retirados al norte de la Nueva Vizcaya.” [Hadley, Naylor, and Schuetz-Miller 1997: 119]

In 1738, José de Escandón successfully reduced the Sierra Gorda adjacent to the gulf coast east of Nuevo León. With missionaries from Zacatecas, Escandón took charge of colonizing the lands between Tampico and the San Antonio River, a region that would be called the Colonia de Nuevo Santander.
Between 1746 and 1747, Escandón surveyed the region between Tampico and the Rio Grande, calling this the Seno Mexicano, and sent Captain Bazterra to survey the region between the Guadalupe and Rio Grande rivers (Sotomayor 1889: 287 - 292).

In December 1748, Escandón brought three-thousand-two-hundred soldiers and settlers who were a mix of castas, civilized Indígena, and Spaniards who traveled from Querétaro through San Luis Potosí, and east to Nuevo Santander. So, at the same time that peace was attained with Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas in 1749, colonization south of the Rio Grande made great strides. By March 1749, more families from Coahuila and Nuevo León met him to settle Camargo and Reynosa. In that same year, Indígena on the Texas Gulf Coast chased off an attempt to settle at the mouth of the San Antonio River (Sotomayor 1889: 292 - 294).

Yet in 1750, settlement in the lower Rio Grande Valley began with the establishment of Revilla and Rancho de Dolores. Nineteen families from Camargo led by José Florencio de Chapa settled Mier in 1753 and in 1755, more settlers established the Villa de Laredo.¹²⁶ In all, there were twenty-three settlements with over six-thousand colonists. By 1754, several families of Borrado and Carrizo people joined the settlements as Indios agregados, but within four months, the Indígena withdrew and began raiding. Meanwhile, coupling these settlements with others south of the Rio Grande, Escandón reported six-thousand eighty-five colonists and established fifteen missions with two-thousand-eight-hundred-thirty-seven Indígenas (Sotomayor 1889).

After settlement, a stock economy developed that eventually reached the Nueces River and met the Ndé expansion, who also were extending their range and settlement territory. Caught between the hostility of the northern nations and the burgeoning Spanish colony of Escandón, Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters in Texas established themselves south of San Antonio and many entered Franciscan missions, albeit briefly.

¹²⁶ For the settlements led by Captain Borrego, Father Joaquin Saenz directed spiritual affairs (Prieto 1873).
NDÉ MIGRATION SOUTH AFTER 1750 AND APACHE MISSIONS

Stemming from peace accords achieved in San Antonio and San Juan Bautista, an Apache mission plan was set in motion. This was not the first attempt to missionized Ndé buffalo hunters. Aside from missionaries on the Cibola Plains near New Mexico in the 1600’s, six Apache baptismal were recorded at Mission San Francisco Solano between 1702 and 1704.127

Yet, it was only after taking captives in the Flores Massacre of 1723 to use as leverage, that Fray González took an interest in converting the Apache, and this only after seeing the damage they caused to his missions. However, friars González and Hidalgo found their missionary desires frustrated by the Spanish military (Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 26). Nevertheless, prior to 1750, two Ndé individuals were buried at Mission San Antonio de Valero. Rosa, an Apache woman, was buried in 1727 and Eugenio de la Asumpcion, an Ipandi man was buried in 1749 (Gabehart 1995). After 1750, Franciscan friars established missions primarily and often exclusively for potential Ndé (Apache) converts.

Until the 1770’s, providing missions for Native Americans in Texas was still a Spanish colonial priority. Between 1750 and 1767, Spanish colonials made several failed attempts to establish Apache missions. Nonetheless, the missions resulted in more intimate contact between the Ndé buffalo hunters and Spaniards and provided the colonials greater knowledge about the Apache world. Colonial documents from this time suggest that, Spanish intervention in the Apache World brought them into warfare with a northern alliance of Tejas, Wichita, and Comanche that devastated Ndé (Apache) rancherías and Spanish military forces.128

127. Baptismal, marriage, and burial records for missions San Francisco Solano, San Antonio de Valero, and Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña. Texas Catholic Archives, St. Edward’s University, Austin, Texas.

128. The nature of this warfare presented by Nathan and Simpson (2000: 53) explained that the real cause of the Spanish defeat on all frontiers…adoption of the Indians of European techniques of warfare: horses, armor, and firearms…Nothing else explains the success of the Apache and Comanche federations…” Although this may have been the case in the case of the Wichita encountered by Parrilla, Williams and Hoover (1983) presented convincing evidence that the Apache developed technology, tactics, and strategies for warfare that are distinct from those used by Spanish colonial forces.
After the Spanish aborted the Apache missions in 1771, Spanish reports of Apache became more detailed in systematic military reports.

In the chronicle of the rise and fall of Apache missions between 1750 and 1767 include data relating to a likely ancestor of Chief Cuelgas de Castro. This interpretation is strengthened by the central role of San Saba, ranchería, presidio, and mission, as the birthplace of Chief Cuelgas de Castro in the Cúelcahén Ndé oral history. Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. (2002) recounts oral history of a hiding space near San Saba in which the grandfather of Chief Cuelgas de Castro marked a stone with a broken arrow pointing down. Although the San Saba mission appears to be directly related to the Cúelcahén Ndé, their relationship to the Ndé buffalo hunters who frequented Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz and Mission Candelaria on the upper Nueces River does not have more than cultural and historical affiliation based on oral history and primary documents. Moreover, historical and anthropological data suggests that the Ndé associated with the San Saba and Nueces missions were somewhat distinct. Most pointedly, the use of the terms Ipandé and Lipan are absent in documentation of San Saba until after the Norteño attack of March 1758. Moreover, the Ndé leaders negotiating with Spanish at San Saba were distinct from those of the Nueces River missions. The following sections engage a chronological treatment of Franciscan missions intended for the conversion of Apache in Texas.
TWO MISSIONS NEAR THE RIO GRANDE

Chief Pastellano requested a mission in 1750 at San Juan Bautista and Friars took the Ndé he led to prepare a site for the mission. Later that night, Chief Pastellano and his people abandoned the idea (Rodriguez 1775a). Fray Dolores (1751) reported that this brief Apache mission experiment was located on the Rio San Rodrigo. Importantly, the San Rodrigo River at Remolino is the final historical documentation of the Cúelcahén Ndé stronghold upon which Ranald Mackenzie’s perpetrated his massacre in 1873, Map 13, p. 246.
Map 12  Apache Missions

1750-1770
This map illustrates the continued movement of the Apache south and their integration into Spanish missions in Coahuila and their expulsion from northern and central Texas by Comanche, Tejas, Wichita, and other buffalo hunting nations affiliated with the Norteno alliance.

Map completed by Enrique Maestas April 2003. Copyright 2003 Enrique Maestas. All rights reserved.
Written and oral history describes old mission ruins at the site of Remolino and may have been either a mission or presidio on the Rio San Rodrigo. Governor of Coahuila, Pedro de Rábago y Therán established San Fernando de Austria near present day Zaragoza, Coahuila on February 1, 1753, and President of the Rio Grande Missions, Fray Alonzo Giraldo de Terreros established Mission San Lorenzo for the Ndé buffalo hunters living in the area, Map 12, p. 244. Over a year later, Governor Therán (1754) reported that after making peace with colonials at San Juan Bautista, nine-hundred Natajé, Síbola, and Tucubante camped near San Fernando de Austria on June 3, 1754. The colony began with thirty-six people, but the anti-colonial alliance drove almost half of the settlers out, such that the colony had only twenty people when Fray Aguilar arrived in 1756. Vicente Rodriguez stationed a garrison of twenty-one soldiers nearby who periodically stayed at San Fernando amidst heavy raiding. Meanwhile, Terreros worked with Apache at San Juan Bautista before establishing the first Mission San Lorenzo in the Valle de San Ildefonso twenty miles away (Aguilar 1762). Although the Natagé are well known as one of the Apache nations of Trans-Pecos Texas, the Sibola were closely affiliated with Jumano Chief Sabeata in the 1690’s. The Sibola appear to have joined the Ndé (Apache) anti-colonial alliance with the Jumano, who almost certainly became feared as the Jumane, or Apache Jumane. As for the Tucubante, I am not aware of any other report of this nation, unless Tacopate listed by Chapa (1997) in the 1690’s as one of the nations that the Spanish abducted for forced labor in Monterrey, is a paleographic variant of Tucubante. Fray Terreros made plans for a mission with these three nations, which Rodriguez reported were relatives of those who had been in San Antonio.  Interestingly, Therán (1754) generalized all three nations as Apache, true only insofar as Natajé, Sibola, and Tucubante were all part of the southern anti-colonial alliance.

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129 This valley had been the location of Mission Solano 2, the only mission in the area with baptismal records of Ndé. Ndé children lived at Solano 2 after 1702 and perhaps until 1718 when Mission San Francisco Solano 2 moved to become Mission San Antonio de Valero.

130 Although a number of documents corroborate the founding of Mission San Lorenzo and its ethnic makeup, Terreros claimed that the Apache at San Lorenzo were the same as those at San Antonio since 1745. The citation trail ends at Dunn’s (1912) citation of “Summary of the Founding of the Mission of San Lorenzo,” Herbert Bolton Personal Manuscripts. Specifically, “Rodriguez to Bustillo, March 18, 1755.” Bolton (1915: 80) cited Dunn (1912) in reference to this historical data along with Archives in Saltillo. Therefore, this citation is not verifiable.
Map 13 Nde Strongholds in Northern Coahuila

Anti-Colonial Action in Coahuila north of Saltillo from the beginning of Spanish intrusion in the late 1500s can be analyzed in three phases. 1. Before 1680, Quem, Toboso, and Ovillan, engaged Chichimec Wars. 2. 1680-1725, Toboso, Enwifeima, and Ovillan led 85 nations in Great Northern Wars. 3. 1725-1750, Nde, Jururan, and Pemon took leadership of ACA and the mission system. 4. After 1750, thousands of Nde moved to Coahuila and reestablished strongholds, such as El Remolino, the site of Meskom’s Raid on May 18, 1873. During this period, Nde engaged in...
However, it is clear that more than just Ndé were involved with both this alliance and Mission San Lorenzo south of the Rio Grande. Therán reported that the buffalo hunters for whom Mission San Lorenzo was intended wanted the mission to be located on the San Rodrigo River, but the colonials did not trust the site after the aborted mission attempt with Chief Pastellano in 1750.

On December 21, 1754, two-thousand Indígena gathered and took formal possession of San Lorenzo. By March 1755, fifty Indígena lived in Mission San Lorenzo and within the month twenty-seven more entered including Chief El Gordo, Chief El de Godo, and Chief Bigotes, bringing the total to eighty-three by April. Francisco del Norte, an Ypandé, interpreted between the Spanish and the Apache. Once Mission San Lorenzo was established, Terreros went into retreat in Querétaro and Fray Martín García from San Antonio managed affairs. Fray García learned that the Apache had left San Antonio after Fray Dolores denied their requests for missions. This provides evidence that the Natajé, Síbola, and Tucubante were related to the Ndé known in San Antonio and that Fray García did not discern between the Natagé, Síbolo, Tucubante, Ypandé, and Apache.

Fray Gutiérrez Varona assumed missionary duty at San Lorenzo on June 18, 1755 amidst discontent and by October 4, 1755, the Indígena revolted and burned the Mission San Lorenzo (Rodríguez 1755; Andreu 1756).

“I had congregated a number of them during the past year 1755 in the neighborhood of the missions of the Rio Grande, with the object of establishing a mission for them, which was not done in order that they might be settled in their own lands, from which they were far away, and where it is now planned to establish them. In regard to this very settlement, the captain of the Rio Grande certifies legally that Father Fray Félix Varona, who served those Apaches as their minister, remained in it until October 4, 1755, and that they fled at midnight, leaving it deserted and depopulated. In spite of this, he continued to care for it in order “… to plant maize, beans, and other seeds that the Indians had left in the field.” [Terreros cited by Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 50]

In all, the earlier mission of Chief Pastellán’s Ndé buffalo hunters has circumstantial ties to the Cúelcahén Ndé by virtue of their affiliation with the Rio San Rodrigo, the site of Mackenzie’s Raid in 1873, Map 13, p. 246.
NDÉ AND CARRIZO ANTI-COLONIAL ALLIANCE AND PEYOTE

Mission San Lorenzo location in the Valle de San Ildefonso suggests a host of relations with the religious use of peyote, as it marks settlement in the peyote gardens, and close proximity to Mission Peyote and Mission Carrizo, both sites of reported religious use of peyote. In addition, Ndé, Julime-Carrizo, and Indígena of Mission Peyote and Mission Carrizo were all reported as part of the anti-colonial alliance. Manuel Rodriguez (1770: 57) explained that the Apache were not alone in their depredations, but were joined by the Julime-Carrizo in an anti-colonial alliance against which the Spanish had no defense.

Rodriguez wrote that the Carrizo were apostates from the Julime mission at La Junta de los Rios Grande y Conchos who allied with Ndé (Apache) rangers in their raids on Coahuila. In 1747, Ydoiaga reported that Chief Pascual, and the Culcahendé, had an ambivalent relation to the Apache Cholome (Jumano) at La Junta de los Rios as well as to the Julime-Carrizo at La Junta de los Rios (Madrid 1992: 53).

The present town of Zaragoza, Coahuila is in the Valle de San Ildefonso and is just north of Mission Peyotes, Mission Vizarrón, and Mission Carrizo. In an independent context, Ndé, Carrizo, Julime, Cholome, and Jumane were all associated with these three missions and therefore, lived in close proximity after the 1750’s. Thus, I interpret historical data on these four contemporaneous missions in the 1750’s as a gathering of Native American nations affiliated by anti-colonial alliance and the religious use of peyote (Appendix C).

For example, after a presidio had been established at La Junta de los Rios in 1755, the Carrizo moved to Coahuila and settled at Mission Vizzarón until they abandoned the mission and took all of its horses to join Apache in an anti-colonial alliance. Later, the Julime-Carrizo settled in Mission Carrizo located at a strategic entrance of the Lomerio de Peyotes and the valleys of the Rio Piedra Pinta that fed the lands of the missions of Peyotes and Vizarrón near present day Villa Unión, Coahuila, Map 13, p. 246. Lipan Apache and Carrizo nations are documented as important origin points in the religious use of peyote (Opler 1938a). Bringing the significance of this historical and cultural affiliation to the present study, Cuelcahén Ndé oral tradition includes an account of a “mitote ceremony” in 1954 near Three Rivers, Texas that included the religious use of peyote (Castro 1999).
APACHE APPROPRIATE THE SAN XAVIER MISSIONS

Although not an Apache mission, the San Xavier missions provide a prelude to Franciscan missions among Ndé buffalo hunters. Almost two-hundred miles due east of San Saba, Mission San Xavier was officially established in May 1748 between Rockdale and Cameron, Texas on the San Gabriel River. At the end of March 1747, Fray Dolores sent Eusebio Pruneda, a Spaniard, with twelve people from the Ranchería Grande (Ervipiamé) and Indígena from the San Antonio and Concepción missions to plant fields at Mission San Xavier on the San Gabriel River. Upon arrival, Deadose, Coco, and Yojuane were awaiting them. While this group began planting, twenty-two Coco buffalo hunters fought with Apache and learned that there were many Ndé rancherías on a nearby creek, called Parage de las Animas (Brushy Creek). Realizing the weakness of their position, the Indígena left San Xavier for the safety of the lower Brazos and sent word to Dolores (1747) that they would return when he provided protection.

In February 1748, Dolores (1750a) went to Mission San Xavier and by March, Lieutenant Galván arrived with thirty soldiers who found shelters built and fields tended with an increasing number of people in the mission. On May 2, 1748, sixty mounted Apache attacked the mission, but the mission residents held off the attack. However, two Indígena from the mission were killed on their return from securing buffalo meat.

131. Primary documents call the San Gabriel River the San Xavier River, a feeding tributary to the Little River but is an independent watershed that provides the water for Granger Lake.
The next day, a larger Ndé force arrived and ran off the horse herd. Over the course of 1748, at least two additional Ndé raids fell upon the mission (Dolores 1749a). However, even more damaging than Ndé attacks, was internecine warfare between secular and religious officials of the province.\textsuperscript{132}

Nevertheless, on May 4, 1748, Mission San Xavier was formally established with Ervipiame, Yoyuane, Tonkawa, Mayeye, Deadose, Bidai, and Akokisa people. In 1749, Tonkawa at Mission San Xavier were said to have attacked the Apache on the San Saba in 1748 before Pedro de Rábago y Therán’s raid during the same year (Dictamen 1749). In 1749, Melenudo Apache fought against the Yoyuane on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River near Abilene, Texas. Hence, the Yoyuane Nation may have constituted a boundary for the Ipandé and Pelón on the Brazos River on the edge of the Texas Panhandle in the 1740’s.\textsuperscript{133}

Apache hostilities continued (Arricivita 1792: 328 - 329), and as the 1750's commenced, Ndé rangers continued to raid the San Xavier missions, demanding that these missions and their financial aid be transferred to their benefit on the Guadalupe or San Saba rivers. Nevertheless, Governor Jacinto de Barrios y Jauregui (1751 - 1759) resisted Apache missions from the start. Even though, Fray Dolores (1749a: 115 - 117) promised an Ypandé mission on the Guadalupe River in 1749 Jauregui’s stance against Apache missions delayed the process. Meanwhile, at the San Xavier mission, most of the Indígena abandoned the missions by 1752, in large part due to a conspiratorial plot borne from internecine warfare between religious and military officials. Adding political will to the transfer of missions to the Ndé (Apache) was the prospect of silver west of Austin (Bolton 1915).

\textsuperscript{132} Fray Dolores (1749) and Governor Espriella (1749) opposed one another’s policies causing the mission to suffer and after Varrios’ inspection, ordered the soldiers’ families back to San Antonio.

\textsuperscript{133} This may be basis upon which Dunn’s (1911: 268) based his inference that the Melenudo may have been Pelón Apache.
And by 1755, 70 Ervipiame and Mayeye people were all that were left of the San Xavier missions (Andreu 1755). In all, a power triangle comprised of Ndé buffalo hunters, mineral prospectors with presidial support, and missionaries engaged in complex maneuvering that resulted in the colonial abandonment of the San Xavier missions in favor of a series of missions on the San Saba River near Menard, Texas for Ndé buffalo hunters.

Mineral speculation at El Almagre is thought to have been instrumental in the decision to divert funds from the San Xavier mission project among various Indigenous nations living between the Brazos and Trinity Rivers (Bolton 1915). Controversy regarding sexual abuses of the women of the colony reportedly demoralized the entire settlement. Important in this was the discord instigated by Fray Pinilla’s breaking of the seal of confession by gossiping about a woman’s confession.

However, a more immediate threat were Ndé rangers settled on Arroyo de las Animas (Brushy Creek) who drove the Indígena and Spanish to abandon the San Xavier missions and transfer its resources to the San Saba River. Spanish support of the Apache in the form of missions alienated the Norteño alliance,134 whose member nations became incensed by the Apache mission.

134. Central nations formally named as Norteños were the Asinai Tejas, Taovaya, Iscani, and Tawakoni nations. Auxiliary nations with ties to these central groups were the Kichai, Bidai, Atakapa, Deadose, and Akokisa. Auxiliary nations with previous ties to San Antonio were the Tonkawa, Yojuane, Mayeye, and Ervipiame. Comanche, although coordinated with Norteño forces, are distinct because they were undoubtedly the most powerful military force, had not had previous contact with Spanish Texas, and are often mentioned separately (Appendix B).
MISSION SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DE HORCASITAS

On August 20, 1756, Don Pedro Romero de Terreros agreed to underwrite the San Saba mission venture with the condition that Fray Terreros be charged with responsibility for missions north of the Rio Grande (Archivo San Francisco el Grande 1757). Colonel Parrilla, Fray Terreros, nine Tlaxcalteca families, and others met the presidial remnants of the San Xavier missions in San Antonio on December 22, 1756. From San Antonio, the colony visited the Mission San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas on the Guadalupe River near New Braunfels, Texas on January 25, 1757, where they camped with the missionary remnants of the San Xavier settlement, thus reuniting the entire settlement.

Included in this mission were fifteen elders and twenty-six children of the Apache Nation (Dolores 1748). Fray Francisco Xavier Ortiz, the missionary overseer, supported the San Saba mission after visiting the missions of San Antonio and San Juan Bautista. Ortiz’s explanation for the hesitation in establishing Apache missions refers to newly realized evaluations of Apache merit.

“A good understandings of the injustices with which many have sought to obscure the condition of the Apaches, their number, their peacefulness, and their conduct from the Father President of those [San Antonio] missions.” [Ortiz 1757 in Weddle 1968: 259]

Ortiz may also have been referring to misrepresentation such as Fray Vicente Santa María’s fictional report on the cannibalistic feasts of the Comanche and Lipan Apache, not comparable to eyewitness accounts of the period, nor reports from Spanish chroniclers with personal experience with these nations (Holden 1924).135

135. Telling is Santa María’s use of more words to compare the Comanche and Apache to the Egyptians, Romans, and Aztecs than on the practices themselves (Holden 1924).
APACHE, IPANDÉ, AND MISSIONS

Historical data available regarding Coahuila and Texas in the 1750’s demonstrates an important distinction between the relations enjoyed by San Antonio with the Ypandé and Apache, and Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) experienced by colonial settlements near San Juan Bautista in their dealings with the Natagé and Julime. Father Guardian Larrea reported to Viceroy Horcasitas that while Ipandé rangers served and protected the San Antonio colony, raiding intensified on the Rio Grande.

“...even though little care was exercised among the soldiers and residents of San Antonio in furnishing the Ipandés with firearms, ammunition, and other offensive weapons, they never experienced in all this territory that the Indians had caused any death, even though they met Spaniards in the mountains every day, or Indians from the missions, going in small groups... entries are more frequently made by the Indians from the missions... they (Ipandé) themselves return them to the mission when they know they are fugitives.” [Larrea 1754 in Hammond and Rey 1996: 53]

Colonial cognizance of this difference may have fostered the decision to focus missionary attention on the San Saba River, as an appreciative gesture to the Ypandé for “good” behavior voiced in other documents.

“...governor of Coahuila, don Pedro Rávago y Terán... should go personally to inspect the lands of the Apaches...we state that from the year 1749, in which the Apaches came peacefully to the presidio, town, and missions of the San Antonio River, we are very certain that they have not broken the peace in any way; on the contrary they have given unmistakable evidence on extraordinary occasions that it was fixed and permanent... particular events brought out...against them have not been proven to the present time to have been perpetrated by the Ipandés Apaches around San Antonio. It is more likely that they were committed by the Natagés or other Indians from Tulimes.” [Larrea 1754 in Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 54]

Ignacio Martinez (1755), a priest from Nuevo León, reported that Apache kept the peace since 1749, numbered five-thousand and were excellent tanners and woodworker’s. The Cabildo of San Fernando de Béxar (1755) also testified to peaceful relations with the Apache in 1753 and 1754. Ramos (1755) confirmed this peace and the beneficial trade carried on between the settlement and the Ndé buffalo hunters. Urrutia (1755) reported that during this period the Apache had been no trouble and that if settlers reported robberies, Apache leaders would return the animals.
NATAGÉ AND JULIME AKA JUMANE

These reports contrast, however, with reports of Natagé and Julime raiding on the Rio Grande (Ydoiaga 1748; Larrea 1754; Therán 1754). Larrea identified the Natagé and Tulime (Julime) as the raiders on the Rio Grande and concluded that peaceful relations between the Ipandé and San Antonio merited a mission on the San Saba. To this end, Larrea mentioned the peace of 1749 and forwarded the order for Therán to survey the San Saba River. Similarly, Arricivita (1792) reasoned that while Ypandé at San Antonio kept the peace, Julime and Natagé continued raiding. Thus, Natagé and Julime constituted an unaccommodating western arm of the Anti-Colonial Alliance in contrast to the Ndé buffalo hunters on the Concho, San Saba, and Pedernales rivers willing to accept missions.
CHIEF TACÚ AND CHIEF PINTAS

Apache and Ipándé were the two Ndé nations identified in the peace accords of 1749 in San Antonio and can be distinguished based on knowledge and information available at the time. Ipándé were the immediate neighbors of San Antonio and kept rancherías between the Guadalupe and San Antonio Rivers including El Cibolo just north of Karnes City, Texas on Cibolo Creek. Lipan Apache led by Chief Tacú (Chico), however, came from the west and had a refuge territory on the Rio Flordio (Concho River), thus locating them in the Apachería de los Llanos. I apply historical data from the Apache missions on the Rio Grande and San Saba rivers in the middle eighteenth century to outline the Apachería de los Llanos in west Texas as the homeland of Chief Tacú. Larrea identified the ranchería Aranda encountered on the San Saba in December 1753 as that of Chief Chico, whose native name was Chief Tacú.136

“As regards the number of Indians, the father says that they found only the ranchería of the chieftain, called Chico at San Antonio, and that there are about five hundred persons with him. Besides these Indians they came upon another rancheria of about one hundred people who, on being asked the same question, gave a similar answer.” [Larrea cited in Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 54]

After 1750, friendly relations held sway between Apache and Spaniard at San Antonio and Ndé at San Saba appeared to welcome Spaniards among them. Lieutenant Galván (1753) and Fray Miguel de Aranda surveyed the Apachería adjacent to San Antonio in June 1753, whereupon they crossed the Pedernales and Llano rivers to arrive at an Ndé ranchería on the San Saba. Kindly welcomed by the Ndé, the colonials were told that most of the people were hunting buffalo to the north and to the south toward the Rio Grande. Thus, Ndé still lived on the San Saba River and maintained a buffalo hunting range from the Colorado River to the Rio Grande in 1753. Galván (1753) reported mineral prospects and a favorable assessment of the Apache mission project.137

136. Castañeda (1938: 372, 375) referred to Chief Tacú as Chiquito and translated this as Shorty.

137. A month after Galván’s return, Miranda reported that Apache guided speculators interested in mines near their ranchería on the San Saba River (Patton 1970: 228).
Galván (1753) wrote that Apache explained that the San Saba ranchería was important because it straddled the buffalo range between New Mexico\textsuperscript{138} and the Julime at La Junta de los Rios and maintained a buffer zone that kept the Comanche at a distance.\textsuperscript{139}

Arricivita (1792) added that Galván and Aranda found Apache on the San Saba River who had constructed two irrigation ditches in preparation for the mission. On January 5, 1754, four-hundred-sixty-seven people with Chief Tacú returning to San Saba from San Antonio met Therán (1755b) on the Pedernales on the road back to San Antonio.\textsuperscript{140} Chief Tacú said that his people would gather for a mission on the San Saba. Two days later, Chief Pintas met Therán (1755a) at Puerto Viejo\textsuperscript{141} and said that he and his people would enter a mission on the San Saba. Chief Pintas reported that ten Apache chiefs were settled at the headwaters of the Rio Florido (Concho River), thus forming a barrier against Comanche encroachment and they would also send people to enter missions.

Although the Concho River did not become a mission locale, this report verifies its settlement as an Apachería no later than 1683 and confirms the existence of an intensively settled Ndé (Apache) ranchería near San Angelo, Texas between 1683 and 1754. Implying that this location equaled San Saba in importance and populace, Therán (1754) suggested that either spot could have supported a successful mission.

\textsuperscript{138} Thomas (1940: 108 - 143) presented Vélez Cachupín’s 1752 report that Carlana Plains Apache continued to provide buffalo hides to Natagé, Faraón, and Gila Apache who traded them for horses. The Faraón lived in the Manzano and Siete Rios mountain ranges in New Mexico.

\textsuperscript{139} Also in 1753, Governor Kerlerec reported to French colonial authorities that the Apache were the main obstacle to French takeover of Spanish holdings because of their hatred of the eastern and northern Indians and French. For this reason the governor suggested negotiating peace between the Apaches. Although not mentioned by Kerlerec (1753), Ndé had greater numbers than Spanish colonials in Texas in the 1750’s.

\textsuperscript{140} This meeting most likely took place on the Pedernales River near Fredericksburg, Texas.

\textsuperscript{141} Puerto Viejo was a passage through the Balcones Escarpment northwest of San Antonio known also as Puerto de Elotes and today known as Helotes, Texas.
Therán (1755a) explained that Apache although separated into many groups, spoke one language, except for the Jumano who were apostates from Junta de los Ríos. This all but confirms, that the Julime reported in Spanish chronicles from the Rio Grande River colonies were the same as the Jumano referred to in Spanish reports from the San Antonio River colonies.

In January 1757, two chiefs with five-hundred people described as Apache and Ypandé by Parrilla (1757) came to San Antonio and apologized for the absence of the Natagé, Mescalero, Pelón, Come Nopal, and Come Caballo nations. Although Castañeda (1938: 395) identified them as Lipan, Parrilla (1757) used Ypandé.

The Apache and Ypandé leaders promised that they would gather in the mission at San Saba, whereupon and took their customary tribute. Arricivita (1792: 369) reported that Parrilla gave silver-headed bastones (staffs of command) to an Apache and an Ipandé chief. Although the two Ndé chiefs accepted Spanish recognition of their sovereignty, they obviously did not accept vassalage. Regardless of colonial opinion at the time, the Spanish provisioning of the Apache was tantamount to paying tribute in the form of over two-thousand and six-hundred fanegas of maize, one-hundred and thirty-three cattle, and many more provisions over a seven-year period. Hence, Ndé buffalo hunters acquired all of this from Mission San Antonio without any risk to Ndé rangers or rancherías. ¹⁴²

Another means of acquiring colonial goods and services was to solicit a mission. Chief Tacú and Chief Pintas received resources from the Spanish in both of these ways and reported a large gathering of rancherías on the Rio Florido or Concho River in Texas before 1758. Afterwards, missions on the San Saba and Nueces rivers in western Texas were part of Ndé buffalo hunter history for the decade between 1757 and 1767.

¹⁴² Dunn (1914) cited the “Memoria de lo que se gasto en la pacificazion de los Apaches.” I could not verify this citation.
MISSION SANTA CRUZ DE SAN SABA

Chief Tacú (Chico) was the main representative negotiating for the San Saba missions and is key in this analysis because of his ancestry to Chief Cuelgas de Castro and his affiliation with the settlement and range of the Apachería de los Llanos between the Concho and San Saba rivers. My review of reports pertaining to Mission Santa Cruz de San Saba focuses specifically on its significance to Ndé buffalo hunters as further evidence that the Spanish treated Apache and Ypandé as distinct nations. Parrilla gathered three missionaries, nine Tlaxcalteca families, and one-hundred soldiers. In March, Parrilla (1757) moved the colony to the San Marcos River. After arriving on the San Saba River on April 17, 1757, messengers called the Apache to the mission, yet by May still none had gathered in the mission. Wade (1998) suggested that May was a key time of the buffalo-hunting season and that the absence of Ndé from San Saba resulted more from poor timing on the part of the Spanish, than Apache unwillingness. Fray Benito Varela set out to find them and walked to the garrison on the San Marcos River without seeing any Ndé buffalo hunters. At the garrison, Varela spoke with an Ndé woman who escaped from Tejas captivity. She reported that Tejas forces had driven an Ndé ranchería from the Colorado River (Arricivita 1792:369).

In May 1757, Chief Tacú (Chico) went to San Antonio where Fray Dolores scolded him and gave him maize and ammunition to help his people travel to San Saba and hunt buffalo. Chief Tacú explained that his people wanted revenge on Comanche and Indigéna from Mission San Antonio who killed Chief Casa Blanca’s brother and took four women captive. Afterwards, Chief Tacú together with a number of Ndé leaders set rancherías near the San Saba colony (Arricivita 1792: 370 - 372). By June 1757, three-thousand Apache camped on the San Saba and prepared for buffalo hunting and warfare against their enemies (Baños and Ximénes 1757). Arricivita (1792) confirmed this in the following statement.

“...they were urged insistently to state freely and clearly their aim and the real purpose for which they had come to that place. To the chiefs and the other Indians replied that their wish was to settle in mission towns, but that for the time being not all of them could congregate because many were out hunting buffalo and that they needed to keep together on account of danger from the Comanches, who were their mortal enemies...wanted to...campaign against this tribe, for which they asked the assistance of the soldiers.
[Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 61 - 62]
According to the same document, Terreros learned that Chief Tacú’s brother and sister contracted a disease, and that he visited them before they died, causing Chief Tacú to miss the mission council. His absence opened the door for Chief Casa Blanca to speak for the Ndé buffalo hunters at San Saba, who said that he did not think that they could change their nomadic lifestyle, but that they did want peace with the Spanish. When reminded of their commitment to settle in the mission, Chief Casa Blanca made it clear that he had never given his word to settle down and that his plans were to join other Apache and fight the Comanche. After Chief Tacú completed ceremonies for his dead relatives, he gathered three hundred people to settle in Mission Santa Cruz de San Saba. However, when asked to state his intentions by Fray Ximénes, he sorrowfully said that he must go to support his people in their fight against the Comanche and lead his people on a buffalo hunt. He promised that after these tasks were complete, he would settle in the mission.

Arricivita (1792) recognized that if Chief Casa Blanca settled his ranchería of 311 tents and two-thousand people on the San Saba River, he could not protect them from the Comanche, Tejas, and Norteño forces, against whom the one-hundred presidial soldiers never stood a chance. In July 1757, after a successful buffalo hunt, Chief Tacú visited the mission, but did not stay long. After September 30, 1757, even fewer Apache visited the mission, while rumors of an impending attack by the northern alliance increased.

A precipitating event that most likely occurred in 1757, Juan Leal stated that the “Texas, Comanche, Vidae, and Jujuan . . . had come [to San Saba] in search of the Apaches who had killed some of their friends and fellow-tribesmen near the Rio Florido [Concho River].” (Weddle 1964: 74). Leal’s testimony suggests that before the attack on Mission San Saba, the northern alliance made an earlier and unsuccessful attack on Ndé territory on the Concho River.

Thus, corroborating the claim that Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters held their borders between the Concho and Colorado rivers of Texas in 1757. Early in 1758, Norteño attacks on the San Saba River began. On February 25, 1758, Norteño rangers drove off fifty-nine horses from the presidio. On March 16, 1758, Texas, Norteño forces made up of Comanche, Tancague, Vidaí, Yujuan (Yojuane), and other warriors forced their way into the mission (Nathan and Simpson 2000: 44,58). So, before Spanish colonials completed a year of settlement on the San Saba River, the dream of an Apache mission had ended.
APACHE ESCAPE FROM MISSION SAN SABA

Ambiguous in the history of Mission San Saba is that secondary sources imply that not a single Ndé chose to enter Mission Santa Cruz de San Saba (Castañeda 1938; Dunn 1914). However, Fray Molina narrated the Apache escaping from the destruction of the mission by Norteño forces. Molina stated that the Apache neophytes hid in Terreros’ room guarded by soldiers and watched as the northern alliance prepared to burn the mission.

“They asked if there were any at the Mission; but, since the enemy had already declared their desire to kill Apaches, we had managed to shelter and conceal [the latter] in the quarters of the Father President, the entrance to which was protected by a constant guard of the soldiers.” [Molina 1758 in Nathan and Simpson 2000: 87]

Fray Molina and the other refugees, including the Apache, stayed in the room until noon. While the mission burned, the refugees moved from Terreros’ room to a room adjacent to the chapel and made it into the church just as the northern enemies came after them. Once in the church, two Apache and other survivors held off the attackers and remained there until midnight.

Apparently, in addition to the neophytes, there were “Apache Indians detailed for its protection.” (Morfí 1935:385).143 Weddle (1964: 82) stated that Ignacio, an Apache interpreter and his wife, and two other Apache escaped along with approximately twenty other refugees from Mission San Saba when Sergeant Flores arrived and engaged the Norteño forces. In all, between five and ten colonials were killed in the attack on Mission San Saba and at least four Apache escaped the carnage.

143. Although Castañeda translated Morfí’s (1935) description of the escape, he omitted it from his synthesis, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas 1519-1936 (Castañeda 1938: 405).
Fray Dolores’ reported from San Antonio after the San Saba attack, that Apache scouted for Norteño forces and brought Spanish survivors from San Saba.

“An Apache brought seven persons here by a hidden path. Another one, who was at the time with the fathers at San Sabá, saved two Spanish children, whom he kept in hiding. He entered the presidio carrying the smallest one on his back. Another brought in a woman, whose husband named Cardenas, had died on the way. He did it with such attention that he brought her on his horse, while he came on foot, providing for her support and comfort during the journey. And finally, they all eagerly wished to punish such savage boldness, offering themselves cheerfully to accompany the punitive expedition.” [Dolores cited by Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 70]

In addition to narrating the Mission San Saba attack, Molina also stated that it was well known that “. . . the home of the Apaches is far away, closer to our settlements along the rivers . . .” (Nathan and Simpson 2000: 91), apparently referring to Ndé rancherías on the Rio Grande and San Antonio River. So much has been written about the San Saba presidio and mission regarding its implications for Spanish Colonial history that the escape of four individuals from death at the hands of the northern alliance and the role of Ndé in rescuing Spanish colonials is either omitted or marginalized from most narratives (Dunn 1914; Castañeda 1936; Weddle 1964).

Even more critical, Cúelcahén Ndé oral history identified San Saba as the birthplace of Chief Cuelgas de Castro. However, even before this, Chief Cuelgas de Castro’s grandfather is reputed to have found a hiding place during the attack on San Saba and marked the territory with a lightning bolt symbol that matches the Cúelcahén Ndé war shield that is the icon of the Castro Family.
NDÉ RANCHERÍAS IN COAHUILA

Governor of Coahuila Angel Martos y Navarrete explained that thousands of Ndé (Apache) had just settled near the Rio Grande in March 1758, in his refusal to send reinforcements to Parrilla and Urrutia at San Antonio.

“Commandant of the Villa de San Fernando de Austria, Don Vicente Rodriguez, that the Apache Indians, in the number of 2,500, had solicited peace and that their plea had been granted in the name of his Majesty.” [Navarrete 1758 in Nathan and Simpson 2000: 24]

Navarrete noted that in March 1758, Ndé following Chief Pastellan set their ranchería at El Escondido, Map 12, p. 244.144

“. . . your letter of the twentieth of the current month (March) stating that an Apache chieftain named Pastellan has appeared before you (Guevara) armed with a passport from Lieutenant Don Vicente Rodriguez . . . promising that neither he nor his people will do us any harm . . . his people are now (March 23, 1758) encamped in the region known as El Escondido . . . Don Toribio de Guevara, Commandant of the Presidio of the Sacramento, reports that an Apache chieftain named Pastellan brought to him a similar request for peace, with assurances that they would nowhere do any harm . . . the banks of the rivers in the district under my command are now occupied by the tribe of Indians known as Apaches . . . Everywhere they foment disorder and continual brawling, but they claim that others are the aggressors and not they themselves.” [Navarrete 1758 in Nathan and Simpson 2000: 17, 24]

“Besides, they all work together. I am told that last week they made off with some of the horses from the outskirts of the town of Parras . . . soldiers passed through the (Indian) encampments and saw there many animals bearing several different brands, from Saltillo, Parras, and elsewhere, and even from this Province (Monclova).” [Nathan and Simpson 2000: 17]

144. According to Weddle (1968: 230 - 231), the Rio Escondido at this time joined the Arroyo de la Babia five leagues above the road from Sacramento (Múzquiz, Coahuila) to San Juan Bautista (Guerrero, Coahuila), still marked on an 1865 map presented in Alessio Robles (1938: 12).
Navarrete reported Ndé as part of an Anti-Colonial Alliance throughout Coahuila. In a letter dated March 24, 1758, Lieutenant Nieto clarified this by including the details that Apache, Cibolo, and Julimeño “. . . plot among themselves to harm us and to protect one another.” (Nathan and Simpson 2000: 13).

NDÉ RANCHERÍAS IN TEXAS

After 1756, the Rio Florido (Concho River) and Medina River rancherias became defensive refuges. Similar to the San Saba rancheria between 1723 and 1755, all three operated as staging areas for raids and warfare and as refuges for women and children during buffalo hunts and war.

Fray Dolores reported that Apache had moved to the Medina River in large numbers and that they agreed to send three squadrons to support the San Saba presidio (Nathan and Simpson 2000: 123 - 124). This may have been manifest in the nine Apache rangers reported by Parrilla who arrived at San Saba on March 27, 1758 and stated that they were under instructions from Fray Dolores to survey the state of Presidio San Luis de las Amarillas (Nathan and Simpson 2000: 99).

Parrilla identified the Apache of the San Marcos and Guadalupe rivers as Ipandé. Although Nathan and Simpson place Lipan in brackets next to Ipandés, there is no specific reason for assuming that Ipandé were any more than a portion of the three-thousand Apache camped near Mission Santa Cruz in 1757. Although Dunn (1914), Weddle (1964; 1968), Newcomb, Jr. (1969), John (1975), Schilz (1987), and Wade (1998) use Lipan as a synonym for Ypandé and Apache in writing the early history of Texas and Mission San Saba, Lipan is not used in the primary accounts until 1761 (Nathan and Simpson 2000). Only in documents from the Nueces River Apache missions of the 1760’s did the term Lipan emerge.

145 Terreros refers to the Indians of the Apache Nation (1746). Colonials south of the Rio Grande also refer to them as Apache or fronterizos. Parrilla (1760) refers to them as Ipande and the Apache Nation. As do the depositions of others at San Saba (1756). Molina (1758) refers to them as the Apache Nation. Juan Cortinas refers to them as the Apache Nation (1758).
CHIEF TACÚ AFTER SAN SABA

Juan Cortinas (1758) reported that an Apache woman escaped from a Comanche ranchería to San Saba on horseback, where she reported that Comanche forces attacked Chief Tacú’s ranchería. Providing further details, Arricivita (1792) stated that Comanche attacked Ndé hunting buffalo with Chief Tacú on the banks of the Rio Florido (Concho River) resulting in an unspecified number of casualties and nineteen captives taken by the Comanche. After the attack, Chief Tacú was said to have survived and escaped to San Saba.

“Three months had already passed after the trouble when he wanted to go with his ranchería to hunt buffalo. He pitched his camp on a hill by the Florido River and, when he was least aware, the Comanches attacked him. He found himself unexpectedly and completely surrounded and without other means of defense except flight. He gained his object during the disordered attack of the enemy, by abandoning his tents, arms, horses, and people. Some of the latter, Chief Chico himself included, came by different ways to seek refuge at the presidio of San Sabá, leaving behind a number of dead and nineteen prisoners . . . So we may very well say, by way of comparison, that his malicious silence was no less perfidious, and such cruel punishment well deserved.” [Hammond and Rey 1996, II: 71]

Parrilla arrived in San Antonio in October 1758 and invited Chief Tacú and several of his people to San Antonio, where friars attempted to convince the buffalo hunters to abandon their nomadic ways. In November, Yojuane attacked Apache near San Saba and in the middle of December, Comanche, and allied forces made up of eleven nations armed with rifles surprised 34 Apache and killed twenty-five of them (Cortinas 1758; Allen 1939). Afterwards, Parrilla referred to Chief Tacú (Chiquito) as a leader of a vagrant nation wandering in search of vengeance.

“Remite autos sobre el Nuevo examen echo del cap.n. chiquito, y ve su animo de reduz:n. consta q.e. este y los suios pretend.n. prim.o. la venganza contra sus enemig.s. q.e. estos son muchos, y les persig.n. que por eso andan bagant.s. el Capitan y su nas.n. que no se atreben à fijarse en Pueblo, sin castigar ant.s. sus contrar.s. q.e. para este se uniran Con los españoles. Y desp.s. cumpliran sus presas. Informan los Misiner.s. la utilidad de haz.r. la Camp.a. y respetar las arm.s. p.a. tempr de los enemig.s. y dar suges.n. á los pretendidos confederad.s.” [Parrilla 1758]
In sum, Chief Tacú was associated with visiting and requesting missions in San Antonio and he is also associated with family obligation to Chief Casa Blanca for attacks committed on the Colorado River for which the two Ndé chiefs retaliated with raids on the Asinai Tejas.

However, his refuge area was the Rio Florido (Concho River) near San Angelo, a location that he and Chief Pintas reported chiefs near the Rio Florido. Cabello’s (1784) knowledge of Parrilla’s expedition strengthens this affiliation when he mentions that Ndé women and children were camped with Ndé nations to the west.

From this data, Chief Tacú, Chief Pintas, and Chief Casa Blanca all associated with the San Saba mission, are associated with separate territories. Chief Pintas is reported along the Llano and Pedernales rivers west of San Antonio, Chief Casa Blanca is reported on the Colorado River east of San Saba, and Chief Tacú is associated with the Concho River west of San Saba. So, although Chief Tacú moved with a ranchería of five-hundred people that camped on the San Saba and visited San Antonio, his primary refuge was on the Concho River and hence in the Apachería de los Llanos, the territory of the Cuelcahen Ndé between the San Saba and Concho rivers in Texas.

This suggests an important hypothesis: If the Cuelcahen Ndé constitutes an Ndé buffalo hunter nation between nations known in Spanish documents of the late eighteenth century, then a region between the Lipan Apache and Mescalero territories should present identities other than Lipan Apache and Mescalero. After 1771, Cuelcahen Ndé emerges in military documents as the Ndé (Apache) nation associated with the territory between the Lipan Apache of San Antonio and the Texas coastal plain, the Faraón of the Pecos, and the Apache of El Paso. Chief Tacú’s association with this territory and the San Saba mission identifies him as a key in the origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé.
On January 3, 1759, a war council convened in San Antonio to address the Norteño and Apache threats. The Spanish military chiefs of the northern colonies decided to designate the Julime, Mescalero, Natage, Jatacosas, Jumano, and Ypandé nations to be Apache, and decided that only the Ypandé were friendly, in effect recognizing the rest as an anti-colonial alliance. However, in the report it is stated that at some time before 1759, the Apache acquired two-hundred-sixty French rifles. The Bidai trade with Ndé buffalo hunters may have begun. Parrilla stated,

“... que los Apaches lograron de proueharse de dosientos y sesenta usiles franceses, que les dieron los que oy son enemigos suyos, con mucha polbora, y Balas, y algunas Espadas ...” [Parrilla in Junta 1759: 183]

This represents the first report of Apache have firearms, however these two-hundred-sixty rifles were not mentioned in the San Saba hostilities, or those of the Nueces River. After the decisions had been made, people following Chief Tacú were called to the war council at San Antonio. When asked about entering a mission, an interpreter reported that Chief Tacú reminded the Spanish that they had long intended to enter a mission, but must fight a war of survival against their enemies. Specifically, Chief Tacú stated that he must lead an attack on the nations that had attacked them at San Saba and on the Rio Florido (Concho River) and offered an alliance to these ends. However, instead of a formal alliance with the Lipan for the punitive expedition led by Parrilla, Spanish Colonial leadership chose to hire a few Lipan scouts. On January 30, 1759, the war council ended and prepared to attack the Tawakoni, Tonkawa, and Wichita (Junta 1759).

146. August 1759 marked the death of King Fernando VI of Spain and in September Quebec fell to the British and ended the imperial presence of France in America. In October, King Carlos III landed in Barcelona and supported France against England in the 7 Years War by linking the two Bourbon thrones through the Family Compact. In 1760, Carlos III appointed Viceroy Marqués de Cruillas and began a series of events that would lead to greater militarization of the northern colonies (John 1975: 376).
On March 30, 1759, Norteño raiders took the horses and cattle from the San Saba presidial stockyards and killed twenty soldiers. Not an arrow was found, leading to the conclusion that this attack was completed entirely with rifles (Parrilla 1759a). The viceroy approved a military response answer to the attacks on San Saba in the form of an expedition of some four-hundred soldiers from Nuevo Santander, San Luis Potosí, Charcas, Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Texas, ninety-three Indígena from the missions of San Antonio and south of the Rio Grande, thirty Tlaxcalteca warriors, and one-hundred-thirty Ndé warriors (Parrilla 1759b).

Parrilla’s forces left San Antonio in mid-August, rested and restocked supplies at the San Saba presidio, and traveled northeast to the Clear Fork of the Brazos River where they raided a Yojuane village on October 2, 1759. After the battle ended, forty-five Yojuane were dead and one-hundred-forty-nine captured. Surviving Yojuane led Parrilla’s forces to a large Taovaya village with a moat and stockade flying a French flag. Apache and Yojuane scouts told Parrilla that he faced Comanche, Iscanis, and Tawakoni, banded together with the Taovaya at their village.

Four days later, Parrilla arrived at Spanish Fort, Texas on the Red River at the fortified Taovaya settlement. Although, bearing the brunt of the casualties, the Taovaya and their allies defeated Parrilla’s forces with munitions and organized rifle fire, tactics that reinforced mounted charges from Comanche and other Wichita forces. Overwhelmed, Parrilla retreated to San Sabá and abandoned two cannons to the Taovayas. According to Parrilla (1759a), the retreat to San Saba would have been more costly without Ndé rangers covering the rear and flanks of the retreating forces. Parrilla reported that the Apache did not risk the loss of life on the part of their warriors and took the largest share of livestock and captives.

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147. Late twentieth century identity of Native American people of Mexican descent in San Antonio corresponds to these three historical Texas peoples. Lipan and Apache maintain Ndé culture and identity, Coahuilteco maintain Mission Indian culture and identity, and Mexika maintain Nahua culture and identity associated with the Tlaxcalteca.

148. Parrilla (1759) reported that Ndé horsemen led an attack on a settlement that he believed associated with the San Saba attacks. Survivors of the attack fled to the Tonkawa. Parrilla did not identify the settlement. However, Newcomb, Jr., and Field (1967: 262) found that in 1786, Cabello learned from Miguel Peres that he had been taken captive by Lipan in the attack on his Yojuane village in 1759.
As Spanish colonial history goes, Parrilla’s expedition was a decisive Spanish defeat and marked the end of Spanish colonial expansion in Texas. However, for Ndé and Spaniard, it solidified their alliance and resulted in missions, gifts, and military escorts for Ndé buffalo hunts.

Dolores and Parrilla referred to these Ndé as Yndios Ypandés and Apaches, not Lipan Apache. Importantly, Parrilla (1759a) stated that Ypandé warriors left their women and children among Nattage, Mescalero, and Faraón to the west.

“Con fha de 23 de Octubre del año pros.e. pasado he recibido el informe q.e. con los demas Religiosos de esa Mision [San Antonio], me hase V.P. de las dilig.as. practicadas, á la averiguas.n. de la voluntad de los Yndios Ypandés q.e. comprende el gral nombre de Apaches . . . en esta al Coronel D.n. Diego Ortiz en castigo de los q insultaron esas Misiones . . . Dios g.de á V.P. m.s. a.s. Coautitlan 4 de Abril de 1759.” [Dolores 1760: 58]

“Sobre haber explorado á los Yndios Ypandés en Congregarse en aquellas.” [Parrilla 1759a]

This almost certainly refers to territories along the Concho and Pecos rivers, and documents Ndé buffalo hunter strongholds in the rugged terrain of west Texas and southeast New Mexico in 1760. In sum, an Apachería de los Llanos in western Texas on the Concho River was a central gathering place for at least ten Ndé nations during the 1750’s and in 1759, likely was a refuge for women and children of the one-hundred-thirty-nine Ndé warriors who assisted Parrilla in 1760. To the south, Ndé Chiefs Pascual and Ligero near La Junta held important relations with the Julimeña.
HISTORICAL EMERGENCE OF THE LIPAN

This section presents historical data pertaining to the Apache missions on the upper Nueces River in the 1760’s, known in the eighteenth century as El Cañon on the Rio San Joseph. Historical data suggest that Ndé (Apache) associated with San Saba and the Lipan Apache associated with the Nueces River missions were somewhat distinct. Most pointedly, the term Lipan or Lipan Apache is absent in documentation until July 12, 1761. To review the historical usage of Ypandé, the first use of Ypandé by reports dealing with the Bustillo Massacre of 1732. Thereafter, the friars Santa Ana (1746), Fray Dolores (1750a) and Larrea (1754) habitually used the terms Ypandé and Apache when referring to Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas. Parrilla (1759a) referred to Ndé buffalo hunters in central Texas as Ipandé and Apache and those to the west as Nattage, Mescalero, and Faraón.

In 1760, Captain Felipe Rábago y Therán took command of the San Saba presidio and Fray Jiménez became president of the Rio Grande missions. Together these two initiated new missions for Ndé buffalo hunters in the upper Nueces canyon lands north of Uvalde, Texas (Newcomb, Jr. 1969; Weddle 1968). In support of the Apache mission plan, Parrilla (1760) reported to the viceroy and fiscal that the territory between the San Antonio and San Saba rivers and further west constituted the Apache homeland.

“Para dar a conocer los fundamentos de este juicio que tengo formado debo asentar como innegable que todo el basto territorio que hai desde el rio de San Antonio hastta el de Sansaba; y aun mucho mas adelante es Patrria de los Apaches y assi esta circunstancia.” [Parrilla 1760: 108]

Following up on this intelligence, Therán sent an expedition to follow the Rio Florido (Concho River) from its headwaters to its confluence with the Colorado River in 1760 and another in 1761 that followed the Pecos River from McCamey to Pecos, Texas (Weddle 1964:153). On the second excursion, Therán (1761c) stated that he found a ranchería where the people acted as if they had never seen Spaniards before. Seeing as though Ndé rangers kept the Apachería de los Llanos free of Spaniards since 1684, it is probably not far-fetched to believe that these Ndé had never seen Spaniards in their lifetimes. This also may serve as a testament to the effective blockade that the Ndé buffalo hunters presented to Spanish colonial intervention on the Apachería in Texas and New Mexico.
In 1761, Felipe Rábago y Therán (1761a) first penned the identification of Ndé buffalo hunters as Lipan Apache. He also used the term Apache, as was common in other correspondence of the time that referred to Ndé buffalo hunters as Apache, Ypandé, or yndio. Ypandé previously reported to have settled on the Guadalupe River, were an Ndé nation pursuing peace with the colonials at San Antonio between 1745 and 1767. These were likely the Lipan Apache contacted for the mission on the Nueces River in El Cañon. Chiefs leading the negotiations and Ndé settlement at San Saba were distinct from those of the Nueces River missions, thus the Ndé at San Saba were probably not Lipan Apache. Nevertheless, El Cañon was formative in the emergence of the Lipan Apache in western Texas. Therán confirmed that the area between San Antonio and New Mexico was undoubtedly Apachería and Comanchería. Apache intermittently still visited the San Saba Presidio and Therán (1762a) reported that Comanche set a ranchería thirty miles north of the San Saba Presidio near Ivie Reservoir on the Colorado River just east of San Angelo, Texas. Therán (1761b) described a political geography in which the Colorado, Concho, and San Saba rivers near San Angelo and Menard, Texas constituted a borderland between the Apachería and Comanchería in 1761. Writing from San Saba, Therán was the first writer to use the term Lipan Apache and distinguished them from Apache.

“July 12: De algunos de los expresados ojos de agua, me avian dado Noticia los Yndios Apaches y Lipanes, dissiendome les quadrava Mucho para poblazon, y estos mismos . . .” [Therán 1761a: 15]

Like Parrilla, Therán provided military escorts for Ndé buffalo hunting.

“August 18: El Veynte y quarto del pasado [July] llegaron a este Presidio los principales Capitanes de la Nacion Apache y Lipan y me pidieron les diese soldados para salba guardia mientras yban a hacer su carneada a la cibola . . .” [Therán 1761b]

In sum, the range between San Saba and El Cañon was the region, which Therán identified with the Lipan and Apache in 1761 amidst diversity in the Apachería between the Concho River in Texas and the Rio Conchos in Chihuahua. Therán dealt with this diversity by identifying a western segment of Ndé buffalo hunters as Apache. However, between 1761 and 1763, Lipan became a generalizing identifier for Ndé buffalo hunters east of New Mexico.
During the years 1761-1763, the term Lipan Apache gained such currency in Spanish documents that it superseded all other words written to identify Ndé (Apache) between the Pecos River in New Mexico and San Antonio.

The year 1761, also marked increased Lipan Apache access to firearms through Bidai, Tejas, and other Norteño nations and probably had much to do with the increased militarization of the region that resulted in a more systematic means of gathering knowledge about Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters.
MISSION OF THE NUECES RIVER CANYONLANDS

Fray Ximénez and Fray Baños established Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz on January 23, 1762 when they gave Chief Cabezón possession of the land. Juan Antonio, a captive Lipan Apache, was the interpreter (Therán 1762b).

“Captain Cabezón . . . uprooted some grass, drew water, and watered the stones he had picked up. By means of the interpreter we learned it was symbolic of possession.”
[Rábago 1762a in Newcomb, Jr. 1969: 166]

On February 6, 1762, Mission Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria was established for Chief El Turnio to settle his people. In all, twelve Lipan Apache nations were associated with the San Lorenzo and Candelaria Missions. In 1764, a smallpox epidemic resulted in many deaths reflected in the archeological material showing a large proportion of women and children buried in the floor of the church of Mission San Lorenzo (Newcomb, Jr. 1969:186). Beginning with a period of unrest in the wake of the epidemic, the missions unraveled. Lipan Apache reported a vision of an old man who urged them to go to war against all their enemies including the Spanish.

149. Before Nde buffalo hunters settled in the upper Nueces River canyonlands near Camp Wood, Texas and Spaniards attempted to site a two Apache missions, Cacaxtle people known to range Texas and northeastern Mexico lived in the region. The region has also been associated with Jumano and Nde trade routes and buffalo hunting ranges between the Pueblos and the Caddo worlds, Map 1750-1775 (Campbell 1988: 176; Foster 1995). Pampopa and Sanipao as well as groups traveling upstream from coastal locations downstream on the Nueces River likely traveled the area (Appendix B). In 1665, Fernando de Azcúe led an attack with Bobol allies on an Anti-Colonial Alliance known to come from the north. After crossing the Rio Grande, the colonial forces attacked a Cacaxtle ranchería (Campbell 1988: 177). Although, Cacaxtle were absent from lists of the raiding nations on the Rio Grande by 1670, they are mentioned in 1693 along the coastal route from the Rio Grande to the Colorado River at La Grange.

150. In 1762, Carlos III joined France against England hoping to regain a French buffer against English expansion. Although France lost the war, France gave Spain New Orleans and western Louisiana, while Spain lost Florida and Minorca to England. In San Antonio, Thoribio Urrutia died in the winter of 1762 to be replaced by Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca.
El Turnio’s people abandoned Candelaria in September 1766 and in October 1766, 300 Tejas Asinai stole a herd of horses. Norteno forces laid siege to Mission San Lorenzo and Presidio San Sabá throughout late 1766 and the following, such that by summer 1767 Lipan Apache had entirely abandoned the mission.¹⁵¹

In all, by virtue of its inclusion in Cúelcahén Ndé oral history, San Saba is directly related to the Cúelcahén Ndé. However, a relationship to Ndé buffalo hunters who frequented Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz and Mission Candelaria on the upper Nueces River between 1762-1767 is not as direct.

¹⁵¹ An important factor in this was certainly the lag in mastery of firearms evidenced by Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters in Texas. While Pawnee, Comanche, Wichita, Caddo, and the rest of the Southern Plains became increasingly armed with rifles by the 1750’s, Ndé (Apache) are first noted to acquire rifles from the Bidai in 1768, four years before the date of the letter (Bolton 1914: 341).
APACHERÍA BETWEEN PECOS PUEBLO AND SAN ANTONIO

In 1763, Francisco Romero and his brother Miguel, both Indígena from Mission Pecos traveled along the Pecos River and arrived at a Lipan ranchería in the fall with Joseph Antonio Miraval. After staying for five days, twenty-three Comanche attacked the Lipan Apache ranchería and wounded Romero. Because Francisco could not return, he sent his brother Miguel Romero to report back to New Mexico. Three months later, Francisco Romero and Miraval followed the Pecos River to some sand dunes where they met the Pharos (Faraón), known in Coahuila and Texas as Mescalero. Soon, two Mescalero entered camp to report that the Spanish and Julime at El Paso killed their chief massacred their people. In the excitement, Romero and Miraval escaped to a Lipan Apache ranchería some five miles away where they were welcomed and sent to San Saba with a guide who took them to the ranchería of Chief Bigotes at Loma Pinta (Paint Rock), east of San Angelo on the Concho River (Castañeda 1939:187-190).

Following Spanish identification of Ndé buffalo hunters in 1763, the Lipan Apache were distinct from Natage, Pelón, Mescalero, and Faraón, while the Mescalero and Faraón were nearly indistinguishable. The Pelón were distinct from the Lipan Apache and more closely allied with the Mescalero. However, a Pelón chief became a Lipan Apache, as did the Natagé Chief Bigotes on the Concho River in 1764. This points to the possibility that although Natagé and Mescalero are close translations of Ndé and Spanish that signify Mescal people, they may not identify the same people in historical documents. In addition, 1763 through 1764 was a period of complex emergence, such that Cabellos Blancos, a Pelón, joined the Lipan Apache (Jimenez, Baños, and García 1763). In September, Chief Bigotes, a Natage chief who had also been at the first Mission San Lorenzo on the Rio Grande in 1754, reported a Tejas Asinai raid on a Frio River ranchería near San Antonio, in which his sister had been taken captive. The attack evidently sent him west, because in 1764, Chief Bigotes, who had been identified as a Natagé in 1754, was now identified as a Lipan Apache at Loma Pinta (Paint Rock) on the Concho River (Cancio 1763).

Thus, Lipan Apache ranged from the San Antonio to the Pecos River and may also have been people known as Natagé.

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152. In 1763, the Treaty of Paris confirmed the Mississippi River border between Spanish and English colonies. The crown assigned Louisiana to the Capitania General of Cuba under the Ministry of State instead of Ministry of Indies.
MILITARIZATION OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES

Spanish chroniclers produced reports of lesser utility for detailing specific ethnicities among the Apache up through the mission period. By the 1760’s, the northern colonies were in shambles. In the process of militarizing the Northern provinces, officers produced systematic reports. To address the “Yndios Barbaros” the Spanish instituted a new infrastructure. In 1765, Visitador General José de Gálvez recommended that the Marqués de Rubí formally inspect the military in the Northern provinces.
Rubí’s inspection began in the Valle de San Bartolomé from where he crossed the Bolsón de Mapimi before arriving in Saltillo and heading north through Monclova to the Rio Grande. Rubí stated that he had learned that the Apache had moved into the mountains to the south of Monclova, in place of Toboso forces.

“This towering Sierra Galán, which forms a cordillera with the Paiela, was the ancient refuge for the Toboso Indians, exterminated more than twenty years ago by the valor of the Vizcaya Captain Berroterán, but since repopulated by the Apaches. [Sierra El Colorado and Sierra Pinta] The Apaches raid along the Camino Real to Chihuahua, around the Rio Conchos and Julimes. Neither the captains of that jurisdiction nor of Coahuila contest them . . .” [Rubí in Jackson and Foster 1995: 102]

When Rubí arrived at San Saba, he judged San Saba to be useless and in need of removal or closure. He also identified the Lipan leaders responsible for raids in Texas and Coahuila as Boruca, Zapato Bordado, Casaca Colorada, Cabezón, and Canos. While Boruca, Zapato Bordado, and Cabezón were known from the Nueces River missions, Casaca Colorada, and Canos are names introduced by Rubí (Jackson and Foster 1995: 180). In the spring of 1767, Captain Luis Antonio Menchaca stated that Norteño and Apache ranged all the roads of Texas, such that he found himself helpless to muster an offensive (Vigness 1967). Fray Solís conducted an inspection of the Zacatecas missions that entered Texas in 1768. In the month of March, on his way to the mission at Cuero, Texas, he found Carrizo settlements just south of Laredo on the south bank of the Rio Grande, while on the north bank his escorts carefully avoided Apache and Lipan Apache north of the Rio Grande to the Nueces River near Corpus Christi.

Under these circumstances, O’Conor feared that the intensification of raiding in south Texas during the summer of 1768 signaled an Apache and Norteño alliance. However, on the other side of Texas, Natagé and Sierra Blanca Ndé (Apache) kept peace accords set on May 24, 1768 in New Mexico (Thomas 1940: 167 - 168).
THREE PRESIDIOS IN COAHUILA

In 1767, three presidios remained in Coahuila: Monclova, San Juan Bautista, and Santa Rosa Maria del Sacramento, this last still located near present day Ciudad Múzquiz. Although settlers in Coahuila hoped that these garrisons could protect them, Mescalero raids swept the entire province (Alderete 1768). In 1769, the garrison of San Saba relocated to the Nueces River at El Cañon under the command of Captain Manuel Antonio de Oca who made preparations to pursue the Mescalero into the Santa Rosa Mountains from both La Junta de los Rios and San Juan Bautista. In July, Manuel Rodríguez led troops from the Sacramento Presidio through the Bolsón de Mapimi to the Rio Grande near Big Bend National Park. Rodríguez found a raiding party, repossessed their herd of stolen mares and transported the horses to El Paso. In March of 1770, Rodríguez wrote that the Lipan Apache acquired firearms from the Bidai and other eastern nations gathered between the Rio Grande and San Antonio rivers to stage attacks upon the two presidios as well as other settlements on the Rio Grande, especially Laredo (Rodríguez 1770). Apparently, this had been going on for nearly ten years.

In early 1770, Ndé and Julimeño raided the Sacramento presidio and killed three people. Rodríguez captured three Julimeño warriors who were released from fear of retaliation and fear that the remaining Indígena of the mission would leave. The Spanish in Coahuila were evidently in a weakened position. In his report, Rodríguez (1770:58-59) stressed the need to establish the military line of presidios on the Rio Grande called for by the recommendations of Rubí. In all, Manuel Rodríguez attested to the reality of a continued anti-colonial alliance based chiefly on the strength of joint military operations carried out by Apache and Julime-Carrizo rangers in Coahuila, which undoubtedly was a manifestation of the Ndé-Jumano alliance that originated in the early 1700’s. This alliance is important in that Chief Pascual, and therefore the Culcahendé had close relations with the Julime, Cholome, and Síbolo. Moreover, the stretch of the Rio Grande occupied by the presidios was an important part of the settlement and range of the Cuelcahen Ndé.
CULGOHENDI 1771

The first written identification of the Cuelcahen Ndé came on August 6, 1771, when a Native American captive who had lived for a time among the Ndé on the western Rio Grande of Texas identified the Culcogendi as one of the nations against whom Bernardo de Galvés had gone to war. Croix reported that Lieutenant Colonel Bernardo de Galvés made three campaigns against the Apache. In the fall of 1770, Galvés led one-hundred-thirty-five soldiers from Chihuahua to the Pecos River where he surprised Apache camp killing twenty-eight and captured thirty-six. In May 1771, captive Apache served as scouts and helped Galvés pursue Gila Apache who had stolen horses from Chihuahua, but was defeated. He set out again in November 1771, but aborted the mission after he hurt himself. On August 6, 1771, the captive explained that the Lipan Apache, Nataje, Culcogendi, and Tisyeendis were the Apache nations against whom Galvés campaigned (García 1964:196).

Culcogendi is certainly a paleographic variant of Cuelcahen Ndé and Culcahendé. In sum, ancestral Cuelcahen Ndé were mounted buffalo hunters from south of the Canadian River called Apache de los Llanos, who entered Texas by way of the Pecos River and moved west to settle on the Concho River near San Angelo before 1684. Apache de los Llanos expanded to the San Saba River near Menard, Texas by 1686 and by the 1700’s, ranged and settled throughout Texas and Coahuila for buffalo hunting and Anti-Colonial Action. While east Texas buffalo hunting lands were contested by the Comanche, Wichita, Tejas, and other Indigenous nations, Ndé rangers established successful raiding and trading systems that excluded Spanish and Native American enemies from an Apacheria bounded by the San Saba and the Lomería Grande (Hill Country west of San Antonio) on the east and Trans-Pecos Texas on the west. Moorehead (1968) defined this area as the territory of the Llanero Apache, based on military reports written at the end of the 1800’s. Llanero Apache translates into Cuelcahen Ndé in Ndé languages the Spanish translation is Apache de los Llanos, which is usually translated as Plains Apache in English. The 1771 emergence of the Culcogendi in a primary document provides a historical origin for the Cuelcahen Ndé ancestral to the Lipan Apache Chief Cuelgas de Castro.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

After 1750, Ndé buffalo hunters settled in the southern buffalo range that the Spanish claimed as Nuevo Santander (south Texas and Tamaulipas), Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Nueva Vizcaya (eastern Chihuahua). At the same time, the Apache mission period brought the Spanish such devastating losses that they decided to fully militarize the Northern provinces. Militarization brought Spanish writers into greater intimacy with the Apachería del Oriente in Texas, southeastern New Mexico, and northeastern Mexico. In 1771, a captive who lived among the Apache of the western Rio Grande of Texas identified the “Culcogendi,” a variant of the Cuelcahen Ndé. Evidence presented shows that the Cuelcahen Ndé was an Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter nation involved in the emergence of the Lipan Apache. Technically, this finding is not in conflict with the findings of Opler (1975) that the survivors on the Mescalero Apache and other American Indian reservations are the only survivors of the Lipan Apache because I have recovered evidence of the survival of the Cúelcahén Ndé with origins that tie them to the Apache de los Llanos through Lipan Apache Chief Cuelgas de Castro. Meredith Begay (2002) clarifies the issue by referring to her own lineage from Chief Magoosh of the Lipan Apache proper as distinct from the lineage of the Cúelcahén Ndé through Chief Cuelgas de Castro, the sixth generation ancestor of Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.
CHAPTER 7  CHIEF CUELGAS DE CASTRO AND THE CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ

The origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé show Native American descent from the Cúelcahén Ndé band and its historical and cultural affiliation with Mexican and Mexican American history and culture. Tracing nearly five-hundred years of the past, I followed lines of evidence that tie Ndé buffalo hunters called Apache de los Llanos living south of the Canadian River in the 1500’s to the Cúelcahén Ndé with genetic roots identified by oral and written history as the Cúelcahén Ndé or People of the Tall Grass of the Great Apache Nation in their oral traditions, as well as that of the Lipan Apache of the Mescalero Apache Reservation (Meredith Begay 2002). I begin this last chapter by tracing the emergence of the People of the Tall Grass as an Apache buffalo hunter nation in Spanish military reports. In the documentary death knells of the Spanish colonies in Texas and Mexico, military writers consistently identified and located the People of the Tall Grass between the Lipan Apache on the east and the Mescalero and affiliated Apache nations on the west until 1799. Thereafter, I augment the historical record with the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition, which remembers Chief Cuelgas de Castro’s birth at San Saba in the 1790’s and follows the history of his descendants as they were persecuted and survived to carry their oral tradition into the twenty-first century embodied in Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. (Castro and Romero 2001; Castro 1999).

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154. Cuelgashen and “llano” translate into English as Tall Grass.
CUELCAHEN NDÉ AND THE MILITARIZATION OF THE PROVINCIAS INTERNAS

Mainly concerned with the Apache threat, colonial administrators opted to deal with the Apache threat by consolidating Spanish forces in a line that approximated the present day Mexico-U.S. border from the Gulf of California to the Gulf of Mexico (Santiago 1994).

After shifting from a colonial policy concerned with establishing missions to one concerned with establishing military control, a more specific terminology for Ndé (Apache) hostilities and their alliance with other buffalo hunters developed. In this section, I discuss this terminology in primary reports that show the changing character of warfare between Spanish and Ndé (Apache) as a more desperate and ruthless form that set the stage for more frequent Ndé (Apache) alliance and settlement with Indígena associated with missions and Spanish settlements and other buffalo hunters. This evidence shows that between 1770 and 1800, Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters re-established a territorial range between the Rio Grande and Colorado River in Texas while retaining their expanded territories south of the Rio Grande and on the coastal plain between San Antonio and Corpus Christi. Although knowledge of Ndé (Apache) political geography existed between 1770 and 1800, many contemporary and historical writers continued to group allied but autonomous Ndé buffalo hunter nations as Lipan Apache and Mescalero, Map 14, p. 284. This constitutes significant evidence that Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters together with other Texas Indians and Spanish colonial peoples represent Native American origins for Mexicano, Mexican American, and Chicano families and communities.
ESCALATING WARS BETWEEN NDÉ AND SPANISH FORCES

Hugo O’Conor began the militarization of the Northern provinces. Between 1772 and 1777, O’Conor formed a cordon of presidios and leading systematic attacks against various Apache nations.
This map illustrates the emergence of the Cuelcahen Nde, Tall Grass People. The following is a key for translating Nde into Apache nations. Vinni ettinen=Tonto. Segatehen/Sigil=a=Chiricahua. Tjuccuyen=Gila. Iccuhem=Mimbres. Sehen=Mescalero. Seicotisamende/Yntahen=Faraon. Cuelcahen=Llanero. Lipahen=Lipan. Yntahen=Navaho. The Cuelcahen have three subgroups: Lipian, Cuelcahen, and Natage (adapted from Cordero 1796; Cortes 1799; Begay 2002).

Map compiled by Enrique Maestas. April 2003. Copyright 2003 Enrique Maestas. All rights reserved.
By 1776, José de Gálvez instituted the Commandancia General de las Provincias Ynternas that included the California’s, Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, Coahuila, and Texas under Theodore de Croix who intended to wage all out war against Apache. Prior to 1772, casual and retaliatory raiding continued with intermittent cease-fires between specific Spanish settlements and Naciones de Yndios in the Northern provinces. No true lasting peace had ever been affected. After 1772, the Provincias Ynternas became a formidable tool for consolidating Spanish territory in a line that generally approximated the present Mexico-U.S. border. According to policy at the time, the Apache were to be given no peace and they were to be restricted north of the Rio Grande (Santiago 1994).

As a result, warfare between Spanish and Ndé (Apache) forces became more desperate and ruthless at the end of the 1700’s. Ndé chiefs gathered to discuss the removal of the Spanish and depopulated entire regions of the Northern provinces. Another impact of the warfare was residential and subsistence instability that evidently resulted in significant social integration and mobility, such that captives rose to become prominent leaders of their captors. This is likely, only the most ostentatious and noteworthy of a host of interrelations resulting in Ndé (Apache) alliance and cohabitation with Native American people and culture associated with missions and Spanish settlements, as well as other buffalo hunters.

South of the Rio Grande, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola became governor of Coahuila in 1769 and established a racket by which the Spanish raided Lipan Apache horse herds in Coahuila, and Ugarte looked the other way when Lipan Apache raided horses from Texas. However, by spring 1770, Ugarte began calling for reinforcements. Raiding had been ongoing and thousands of Ndé (Apache) just settled north of the Rio Grande, across from Mission San Juan Bautista, Map 13, p. 246. By July 1771, terrorized colonials had already fled their homes when Apache attacked the Santa Rosa presidio (Múzquiz, Coahuila).

Afterwards, Ugarte set out in futile pursuit, losing six-hundred horses (Moorehead 1968:28). Afterwards, Athanase de Mézières the lieutenant governor of Louisiana reported that Ndé returned to the Nueces and Leon rivers where they traded with the Bidai’s for guns and ammo (Bolton 1913, I: 260). Governor of Texas, Ripperdá (1771) reported from San Antonio that this translated into increased Apache, Comanche, Tonkawa, and Wichita raids.
MORE PEACES OF SAN ANTONIO

In October 1771, Tejas Asinai Chief Bigotes mediated peace between the Spanish and four Wichita nations, the Kichai, Iscani, Tawakoni, and Taovaya where they buried another hatchet in San Antonio. After the peace talks concluded in mid-October, Chief Bigotes left and met an Ndé (Apache) chief with one-hundred warriors to make peace treaties with the Tejas (Bolton 1914, I: 262 - 282). Afterwards, Apache raiding in San Antonio and Bahía increased. Spanish reports of a Bidai supply of firearms to the Apache expressed fear of the possibility of an Apache and Norteño alliance that could easily destroy them (Cabello 1784:97). This fear intensified after Chief Melchor of the Bidai visited Mézières on behalf of Apache lobbying for inclusion in the general peace accord of the Norteño nations. Mézières and Ripperdá dealt with this by convincing the Bidai and Tejas Asinai to ambush the Lipan Apache and end this trade in 1772.

Nevertheless, Schilz (1987) presented evidence of continuing trade between the Lipan Apache and the coastal nations of Texas throughout the 1770’s and became the source for growing cooperation between Lipan Apache, Tonkawa, Tejas Asinai, and even Indígena living in the mission on the San Antonio River in the 1780’s. According to Governor Cabello (1784), Indígena from the San Antonio missions served as spies and even stole livestock for Apache raiders.

South of the Rio Grande, Ndé buffalo hunters closely associated with the Julimeñó-Carrizo Nation at missions Peyote and Vizarrón and participated with them in the religious use of peyote (Stewart 1974: 215). In all, this historical data shows an increasing cultural and historical affiliation between Ndé buffalo hunters and Spanish colonial settlements on both the north and south of the Rio Grande.
After August 1771, a number of events impacted the land and lives of the Cuelcahen Ndé. In 1772, Governor Barrios of El Paso made a separate peace with Apache contrary to orders that facilitated Ndé movement through El Paso territory to Nueva Vizcaya (Santiago 1994:38). Also in 1772, King Charles, III ordered a defensive line of presidios along the Rio Grande as the Marqués de Rubí recommended. Although the cordon stretched from the Gulf of California to the Gulf of Mexico, the area of concern for this study is the six-hundred-twenty miles of the Rio Grande from La Junta de los Ríos to San Juan Bautista. In addition to Presidio San Juan Bautista, six presidios relocated to the banks of the Rio Grande. The San Saba presidio moved to San Fernando west of Eagle Pass, Texas and then to the border between Coahuila and Chihuahua to eventually become the Presidio San Vicente across the Rio Grande from Big Bend National Park.

The Santa Rosa presidio became Presidio Aguaverde on the Rio San Diego. The Cerro Gordo presidio became Presidio San Carlos across the Rio Grande from Lajitas, Texas. The Monclova presidio became Presidio Monclova Viejo on the Rio San Rodrigo near El Remolino, Coahuila. One other presidio, the Presidio de San Antonio Bucareli de la Bavia was newly established at the spring of El Babia to close the mountain routes to the Rio Sabinas in Coahuila.

The 1772 regulations restricted of all Lipan from areas south of the Rio Grande and all Apache from peace accords with the Spanish. In general, colonial intervention on the northern frontier shifted from a religious effort to a military one (Weddle 1968:307). Apache raids on San Antonio renewed in 1772 and Governor Ripperdá ordered Lieutenant Governor Mézières to rekindle enmity between Apache and Norteño nations. He did so by producing an ostentatious peace ceremony, again aided by Chief Tinhiquen from Kadohadacho to Natchitoches who brought three Taovaya chiefs with Comanche allies. In the spring of 1772, three Comanche women came to stay at San Antonio missions and in May, these women carrying a white flag led seven Comanche men into the mission to steal four-hundred mules and horses. Ndé rangers attacked the Comanche outside of San Antonio, killing the men and capturing the women. The Apache apparently gave or sold the three baptized Comanche women to the Spanish who sent them to Coahuila (Ursúa 1772).
About the same time, Apache raided the Taovaya village, which had by this time relocated from the Red River at Spanish Fort, Texas to the Sabine River. Ndé rangers took the Taovaya chief’s wife who was sold in Coahuila and then sent by the governor back to San Antonio (Bolton 1914, I: 322).

In July, Chief Josef Miguel, an Apache raised at Mission San Antonio de Valero organized an attack while Comanche held peace talks with the Spanish at San Antonio that killed three Comanche peace delegates and captured three women and a girl. Apache also killed Taovaya Chief Quirotaches and took his flag. Later, Chief Josef Miguel and another Apache entered Presidio San Antonio and were captured. In jail, Chief Josef Miguel attempted to talk a Kichai chief into allying with the Apache and promised many horses to Chief Sauto of the Tejas. Apparently, this behavior spurned Mézières to return to Nachitoches to break up the Bidai trade alliance with the Apache and prevent a similar accord between the Tejas and Apache.

When Mézières visited the Tejas Village of Chief Sauto he found Gorgoritos, the Bidai’s Chief and obtained a general accord to kill Apaches (Bolton 1914, I: 317 - 320). Meanwhile, Apache were on their way with many people to treat and trade with the Tejas and Bidai’s. In the end, by virtue of Spanish treachery, Tejas and Bidai’s organized an ambush on the expected Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters (Bolton 1914, I: 337 - 338). Apache stopped to hunt halfway to the Tejas, probably between Austin and La Grange, before seven leaders went to talk with Chief Sauto. At this meeting, Chief Sauto led an ambush that left three of the seven Ndé dead, but four returned to carry the declaration of war made by Tejas and Bidai’s against the Apache. The Spanish could only hope that this was the end of Apache-Bidai’s gun trade. After the ambush, a runner carried a message to San Antonio that Chief Sauto offered to attack the Ndé hunting buffalo on the Colorado River, but Ripperdá would not authorize any further attacks. This may have been because Viceroy Bucareli rejected the plot of Mézières and Ripperda to incite the Tejas alliance against Apache through economic pressure (Bolton 1914, I: 339) because of the problems that mounted buffalo hunters with firearms posed to the colonials.

Josef Miguel, was also known as Josef Grande, and was the father of Chief Jose Chiquito and grandfather of Chief Cuelgas de Castro.
In Rubí’s (1772) report a concern for the “... naciones del norte ...” is coupled with blaming the Apache for leading the Comanche to the Spanish. However, the Spanish fought the Comanche for almost as long as they had fought the Apache in defense of New Mexico. However, Indígena were far from a monolithic enemy to Spanish colonial people. For example, a citizen of the Villa de San Fernando de Béxar went to Atascoso Creek near Pleasanton to sell twelve pounds of gunpowder to the Lipan Apache. According to Fray Juan Botello, the citizen returned happy with the exchange.

This shows both the ambivalence of Spanish colonial life with regard to the Ndé (Apache) and the continuity of trade relations between Ndé buffalo hunters and colonials at San Antonio even in time of war. A number of military exploits in Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya show that Ndé buffalo hunters established strongholds in areas that would later become Spanish presidios and refuges for Lipan Apache, Kickapoo, and other buffalo hunters. On June 2, 1772, Vicente Ortega tracked Apache to a ranchería in the Laguna de Castro seventy-eight miles from Chihuahua in the Bolsón de Mapimi where he killed ten of the thirty-two people he found. On December 25, 1772, Spanish soldiers attacked an Apache Ranchería in the vicinity of Big Bend National Park where they killed three people and took a five year old girl captive. On January 21, 1773, O’Conor arrived at Villa San Fernando (Zaragoza, Coahuila) and found two Lipan Chiefs, Bigotes and Juan Tuertos asking for peace. Soon, Lipan Apache gathered at the confluence of the Pecos and the Rio Grande rivers in several large rancherías with over a thousand warriors. A week later, Lipan Chiefs Casaca Colorada, Panocha, and Zapato Bordado joined these encampments. In April 1773, O’Conor surveyed along the Rio San Rodrigo for a site for the Monclova presidio and marked the site for Presidio Monclova Viejo across the stream from many Lipan Apache encampments (Santiago 1994: 38 - 42).

These examples demonstrate that El Remolino, south of the Rio Grande on the Rio San Rodrigo was an Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunter stronghold by 1773. Between El Remolino and Big Bend National Park near a place called La Babia, Apache forces destroyed over 30 Spanish troops on August 1, 1773. O’Conor responded in September and October with four pronged Spanish attacks on the Bolsón de Mapimi that flushed out Apache in the region. After leaving the Bolsón, O’Conor refounded the Presidio Nuestra Señora de Belen y Santiago de Amarillas de la Junta de los Rios in October 1773.
Continuing the pressure, O’Conor took a cavalry raid to the foot of the Mogano Mountains between the Rio Grande and the Arroyo de la Babia on November 24, 1773 and November 25, 1773 that killed forty Apache before moving west (Santiago 1994: 55 - 58). Meanwhile, a Spanish assault on the Sacramento Mountains northeast of El Paso, resulted in forty Apache dead. Eight captives were taken and it was learned that he had attacked people of the Rancherías of Concha, Alonso, Siquilandé, and Cetocendé, who had guests from the Gileño, Nataje, Lipan Apache, and Cachugindé (Garcia 1964: 239).

Importantly, the Ndé (Apache) of this area were distinguished from the Nataje and Lipan, thus adding evidence to the hypothesis that there was at least one distinct nation between the Lipan and Mescalero Apache in the late 1700’s.

In addition, the other two examples show that Ndé settled near El Remolino before the establishment of Presidio Monclova Viejo and certainly before the coming of the Kickapoo into the area late in the 1800’s, Map 13, p. 246. By the end of this mission, O’Conor boasted that all of the Apache had been pushed between the Rio Grande and Colorado Rivers (Santiago 1994:69). However, this had been their territory since 1686 and in September 1775, Vicente Rodriguez reported Lipan in buffalo hunting camps on the San Saba River (Loyola 1775).

Thus, Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters in Texas had been pushed south of the Rio Grande by Norteño forces in the 1760’s and gained access to firearms through coastal nations of Texas, only to be driven back to the Apachería between the Rio Grande and Colorado rivers by 1775. This last movement evidently included a reoccupation of the San Saba River while retaining settlements south of the Rio Grande.
FROM CAPTIVES TO CHIEFS

In the summer of 1776, King Charles III appointed Teodoro de Croix governor and commandant general of the Provincias Internas and in the summer of 1777, Croix and Fray Agustín Morfí conducted an inspection of the Northern provinces. Upon passing Mission Peyotes on the Rio Piedra Pinta, Morfí reported that ranches in the area were abandoned due to Apache hostility. While visiting the Presidio San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande, Lipan Apache Chief Josecillo El Manso arrived.

Morfí reported that this chief had been captured by Lipan Apache from Mission Peyote as a child and as an adult had emerged as a feared Lipan Apache leader.

“The band of Josecillo el Manso . . . is Christian, a son of the Mission of Peyotes, who was captured by the Lipans when six or seven years old and was raised among them. Through industry and shamelessness he came to be a chief. He is very bold and has done great damage in the province, and makes much to-do over his having received the waters of baptism.” [Morfí in Weddle 1968: 341]

This historical data demonstrates the way in which, Ndé buffalo hunters are historically and culturally affiliated with the Indígena of the missions in Coahuila and Texas. Ndé buffalo hunter society was fluid such that people from diverse backgrounds could rise in the ranks to assume the mantle of leadership.

Evidently, there was social as well as genetic movement between Ndé and other buffalo hunters in the region. Moreover, the incorporation of Indígena of the mission also inserted aspects of Spanish colonial culture in Ndé buffalo hunter life. Seeing as though, all of the Ndé buffalo hunters living near the Rio Grande had regular contact with the Spanish after 1770, this is almost certainly a general characteristic of the region, Map 13, p. 246.

Over the course of the 1780’s and 1790’s, relations between Ndé buffalo hunters and Spanish military forces continued to escalate with notable victories and losses on both sides. Weddle (1968: 350 - 363) chronicles some, as does Castañeda (1942: 9 - 23) and, of course, Moorehead (1968) in his treatment of military history in The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769 - 1791.
Another general characteristic of the region was for Spanish colonial writers to generalize autonomous units into larger categories. Domingo Cabello y Robles, governor of Texas, wrote extensively on the groups based solely on reports and referred to the Ndé buffalo hunters of Texas as Lipanes, Apaches, and Mescaleros. His writings provide the context for his use of these terms and their deviance from the use of O’Conor, Cordero, and Cortés. In all, these three along with Cabello and to a less extent, Galvész’s information from the captive provide evidence of the historical conditions of existence for the Cuelcayen Ndé or Llanero Apache in Texas and northeastern Mexico during the late 1700’s

On January 20, 1778, 400 Ndé (Apache) arrived in San Antonio led by Chiefs Toyayo, Casusa, José Chiquito, Manteca Mucha, and Pato Blanco (Cabello 1779: 525). José Chiquito was considered an important war chief at the time and suggested that his people make peace with Tejas and other Caddo. According to Cabello, Chief José Chiquito asked him to make peace between the Lipan and Governor Ugalde. In spring 1780, smallpox wiped out Tonkawa leadership and El Mocho an Apache captured and raised by Tonkawa rose to leadership of the Tonkawa alliance in the Monte Grande between the Trinity and Colorado rivers. Chief El Mocho called a council of Tonkawa, Tejas, Ais, coastal nations, and Lipan Apache to discuss an alliance under his leadership. Although attending the council to discuss the alliance, José Chiquito, El Joyoso, and Manteca Mucho visit to the Tonkawa camp was just as much about dancing and trading buffalo robes and horses for guns. According to Cabello, José Chiquito carried the idea of alliance to the Mescalero chiefs Quemado and Volante and to the Llaneros and Jumanos. Again, Spanish documents show that the Llanero are referred to as a confederation of smaller autonomous units similar in scope as the Lipan Apache, Mescalero, and Jumano groups. Moreover, this suggests that José Chiquito had contact with the Llanero and was recognized by them as a chief (Schilz 1987: 27 - 30). In November and December of 1782, Ndé buffalo hunters brought two-thousand horses and mules to the Guadalupe River to trade for guns and ammo with Tonkawa, Bidai, Mayeye, Karankawa, Coco, Akokisa, and Caddo. However, Chief El Mocho’s alliance hinged on his demand to lead a force to drive the Spanish out of Texas.

156 However, not all of the Norteño nations were willing to make peace with the Apache and during the Guadalupe trade fair, Tawakonis, Taovaya, Wichita, and Iscani attacked Lipan Apache and Tonkawa hunting buffalo on the Colorado River (John 1975: 636).
After the Guadalupe River trade fair, Ndé buffalo hunters returned to Coahuila and the Davis Mountains to discuss Mocho’s plan.\textsuperscript{157} In all, Chief Jocecillo el Manso was an Indígena of Mission Peyote who may have originated among the Manso of the El Paso area was identified as a Lipan chief and Chief El Mocho, a captured Ndé (Apache) child raised among the Tonkawa became a chief of their nation that included Mayeye, Xarame, and others. Thus, social integration in Ndé buffalo hunter society allowed for considerable social mobility. Over the following four years, Juan de Ugalde, governor of Coahuila succeeded in setting the Lipan against the Mescalero, while Cabello engaged in similar machinations between the Comanche, Apache, and various Wichita nations (Moorehead 1968; Schilz 1987). In September 1786, Zapato Sas visited Cabello asking for peace, but was turned down and ordered to return to the San Saba River. Later that year, Rafael Martinez Pacheco succeeded Cabello as Governor of Texas and made peace with the Lipan Apache and gave them provisions set aside for other nations (Schilz 1987). This may have been one of the precipitating factors of the renewal of hostilities between the Comanche and Lipan Apache between 1787 and 1788 (Weddle 1968: 355).

In 1789, Apache wiped out a Spanish force under the command of Ugalde and although the famous Spanish officer would succeed at the Battle of Soledad in 1790, Lipan Apache devastation of Coahuila obscured the success of the attack. Over the course of the 1790’s, relations between Ndé buffalo hunters and Spanish colonists were complicated by the entry of Anglo American colonists. In 1790, Manuel Muñoz became the Governor of Texas and chiefs Jose Chiquito and Zapato Sas volunteered as Texas Militia. At the same time, Cherokee and Kickapoo groups began their entry west of the Angelina River where they traded pumpkins, corn, hogs, and European goods for the buffalo robes and meat of the Lipan Apache.

\textsuperscript{157} Meanwhile, other Apache and Tonkawa attacked missions and ranches in Texas, so Cabello called on Wichita and Comanche to destroy them. After a Taovaya attack instigated by Cabello, Jose Chiquito confronted Cabello about the hostility. Cabello demanded that the Lipan Apache not ally with Mocho, but Josef Chiquito rejected this and joined the Tonkawa on more raids in Texas. In 1784, the Taovaya attacked San Antonio and also ended the Norteño-Spanish alliance. Moreover, Cabello had Chief El Mocho assassinated and forcibly removed the Tonkawa to the Navasota River. Meanwhile, Josef Chiquito and Poca Ropa made overtures to the Tejas, Bidais, Coco, and Mayeye and received guns.
At about the same time, the Lipan and Tonkawa began trading with Anglo Americans. Samuel Davenport established a trading firm at Nacogdoches in 1790’s where he conducted trade through Caddo and Tawakoni middlemen for buffalo robes, hides, mules, horses, and pemmican for guns, whiskey, and other European goods.

In 1792, the Lipan reoccupied the Pedernales River and were joined by Tonkawas and Wichita who made peace with them. In 1793, Chiefs Canoso, Chiquito (Shorty), and Moreno had a disagreement with the herders of San Jose and were threatening to abandon their rancherías near San Antonio, while a band of Tonkawas had recently stolen ten head of cattle from the mission (Saltillo 5: 217 - 223). Over the course of the 1790’s, correspondence between Pedro Nava and Manuel Muñoz expresses that the Lipan led by Chief Zapato Zas were a constant threat to the Rio Grande Valley south of Laredo until his death. Nevertheless, in 1795, Lipan rangers retrieved cattle stolen from the Rio Grande missions by Comanche by following them to San Saba and of course took full advantage of Spanish hospitality in San Antonio (Schilz 1987).
CUELCAHEN NDÉ AND LLANERO APACHE

Bernardo de Galvés mistakenly generalized the distinct Ndé nations of the Nataje, Culcogendi, and Tisyendis as Lipan Apache and was corrected by a captive who had lived among them (García 1964: 196). Afterwards, military reports that mention the Cuelcahen Ndé, only identified the group as Llanero Apache, located them, and sometimes identified their leader. Cabello (1784) reported that Chief Jose Chiquito visited the Llanero Apache to report the news of El Mocho’s proposed alliance in 1782. Schilz (1987) finding that Jose Chiquito is the father of Cuelgas de Castro fits well with Jose Chiquito’s knowledge and concern for the Apachería between the San Saba River and the Llano (grasslands) of western Texas. However, the name “Cuelgas de Castro” still needs to be accounted for.

Why would a Lipan Apache chief’s son be named Cuelgas de or “Man of the Tall Grass.” The name ties him to the heritage and leadership of the Cúelcahén Ndé, a deduction that I resolved over the Summer 2002. When I called Daniel Castro Romero, Jr., an oral history keeper of the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition and leader of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas to share my discovery his response was that he had just returned with a tape recording in which, Meredith Magoosh Begay, Lipan Apache Elder and member of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico. Mrs. Begay is Lipan Apache of the “Tú é diné Ndé” (Tough Apache People of the Desert) had identified Romero, Jr. as Cúelcahén Ndé, when he told her his ancestor’s name was Chief Cuelgas de Castro. For this reason, I present a chronicle of the use of variations of spelling of Cúelcahén Ndé in the Spanish records between 1771 through 1799 as a historical basis for identifying Chief Cuelgas de Castro as a descendent of the historical and cultural heritage of the Cúelcahén Ndé. In all, this will present three independent sources of evidence to make this argument.

First, the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition carried by living descendants of Chief Cuelgas de Castro claim that the name “Cuelgas” means “moving among the grasses” in the Lipan Apache language.158

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Second, Meredith Begay, Tú sis Ndé” (Big Water People) descendent of Lipan Apache Chief Magoosh of the Texas and now living on the Mescalero Apache Indian Reservation has found significant continuity between her oral history and that of the Cúelcahén Ndé carried by Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. Third, Antonio Cordero’s (1796) Spanish chronicle identified the “Cuelcajen-ne” as “Llaneros,” which also means “those in the grass.”

This line of evidence is a body of military reports that report a consistent understandings of the existence and territory of people known as the People of the Tall Grass. Between 1771 and 1799, military Commanders or provincial governors wrote reports, which consistently identified and located the “Tall Grass People” as a significant Apache nation between Laredo and El Paso, Texas on both sides of the Rio Grande. The first written identification of the Cúelcahén Ndé came on August 6, 1771, when a Native American captive who had lived for a time among the Ndé on the western Rio Grande of Texas identified the “Culcogendi” as one of the nations against whom Bernardo de Galvéz had gone to war (García 1964: 196).159

Previously, Galvez identified those he pursued as Apache and Lipan Apache.

In 1777, Hugo O’Conor (1777) reported to Teodoro Croix, his successor as commandant of the Provincias Ynternas on July 22, 1777, in which he outlined a political geography for the Gran Apachería in which the “Culcahendé” were associated with the rancherías of Chief Pascual from west Texas and situated between the Faraón and the people of Chief Ligero in La Junta de los Rios.

“... 140. Los Apaches que consternan las Provincias de Sonora, y Nueva Vizcaya son conocidos por los nombres Chiricaguí, Gileños, Mimbreños, Mescaleros, Faraones, Rancherías de Pascual, y el Ligero, la de Alonso, la de el Capitán Vigotes, y el Natagé. Los tres primeros en Lengua Apache se llaman SigilaNdé, SenozeNdé, ChigueNdé, y las restantes ZetoseNdé, SelcotisaneNdé, Culcahendé, CachugiNdé, YncageNdé, SigilaNdé, y ZetozeneNdé.”

“... 141. Las tres primeras Naciones expresadas residen comunmente en las dilatadas, y asperas sierras de Chiricaguí, Gila, Mimbres, La Florida, Cerro Gordo, Sangre de Christo, Corral de San Agustín, Capulín, Corral de Piedra, la Sierra obsucura, la Blanca, la de el Sacramento, los Organos, Petaca, Sierra de los Ladrones, la de la Magdalena, la de Enmedio, el Ojo de Abeitía, Sierra de la Hacha, las Espuelas de Moquina, la Boca, Corral de Quintero, Mesas de Robledo, Sierras de el Paso de el Norte, Cerro hueco, Sn Nicolas, y otras varias que se hallan en frente de los Presidios de Sonora, y los tres de el Poniente de la Vizcaya. Janos, Sn Buenaventura, y Sn Fernando de el Carrizal, y las restantes Naciones abrazan todo el Terreno, que se halla al lado opuest de el Rio Grande de el Norte hasta el Colorado abrigándose de las Sierras que corren de Poniente al Oriente, llamadas la de Guadalupe, Mogano, Sierra Nevada, Chanate, la del Cornudo, la de le Ayre, Cola de el Aguila, Sierra del Diablo, y su cordillera hasta el Rio de Sn Pedro, de donde comunmente salen estos Yndios á cometen sus hostilidades, assi en la Provincia de Nueva Vizcaya, como en la de Coahuila, de modo Qe solo el Natagé es poco afecto a las Sierras, por cuio motivo se arrancha lo mas de el tiempo en las orillas de el Rio Colorado, y parages llamados los Arenales, y Pozos.” [Cutter 1994: 64 - 66; emphases mine]

160. Seeing that Natagé means Mescal eater in Nde (Opler 1981), it is easy to see why the Mescalero refer to Zetosende and the Natagé correspond to Zetozende. This also provides strong evidence that O’Conor set the Spanish names in corresponding order with reference to the Nde names.
In sum, O’Connor’s (1777) description allows for the reasonable inference that the four Spanish appellations for Mescaleros, Faraones, Rancherías de Pascual, y el Ligero correspond to Zetosendé, Selcotisanendé, Culcahendé, and Cachugindé. Thus, the Culcahendé live in the Rancherías of Chief Pascual. Cordero (1796) stated that the Spanish translate the original Ndé name of Cuelcajen-ne as Llaneros, or those of the plains.

In place of Ndé, Cordero places “-ne”, which represents people in Ndé languages.

“The Apache Nation . . . They can be divided into nine groups or principal tribes and various adjacent ones, taking their names now from the mountains and rivers of the region, now from the fruits and animals which are most abundant. The names they have for themselves are the following: Vinni ettinen-ne, Segatajen-ne, Tjuiccujen-ne, Iccujen-ne, Yntajen-ne, Sejen-ne, Cuelcajen-ne, Lipajen-ne, and Yutajen-ne, for which the Spaniards substitute naming them in the same order, Tontos, Chiricaguis, Gileños, Mimbreños, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Navajós, and all under the generic name of Apaches.” [Cordero in Matson and Schroeder 1957: 336]

I find the Cuelcahén Ndé are the historical descendants of the Apache de los Llanos of Texas who established territory along the Concho River in the 1680’s and settled the San Saba River in 1686.

“These Indians occupy the plains and sand places situated between the Pecos River, which they call Tjunchi, and the Colorado, which they call Tjulchide. It is a group of some strength, and is divided into three parts, that is to say: in the continual fights and bloody actions which frequently occur, especially in the season of the buffalo hunts. They attack, although infrequently, the Spanish establishments, uniting themselves for this purpose with the Mescalero and Faraon Apaches, with who they have a close friendship and alliance. They border to the north on the Comanches; on the west with the Mescaleros; and on the east with the Lipanes, on the south with the line of the Spanish presidios.” [Cordero 1796 in Matson and Schroeder 1957: 354 - 355]

Cordero (1796) provides a very exact location and relative political geography for the Cuelcajen Ndé between the Rio Grande, Pecos, and Colorado rivers of Texas. Cortés (1799) listed the Tontos, Chiricaguis, Gileños, Mimbreños, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Navajós as Apache.
Although copying Cordero closely, Cortés did not include a list of their original names. However, he added the information that the Llanero Nation was made up of Natajés, Liptiyanes, and Llaneros, which translates into Cuelcahen.

“The Llanero group is quite numerous, with many warriors. It occupies the great plains and deserts that lie between the Pecos and the left bank of the Rio Grande del Norte. This nation is divided into three categories, which are the Natajés, Liptiyanes, and Llaneros. They are bounded on the west by the Mescaleros, on the north by the Cumanches, on the east by the Lipanes, and on the south by our frontier in the province of Cohuaguila.” [Cortés 1799: 52]

By juxtaposing consistencies in the native report (1771), O’Conor (1777), Cordero (1796), and Cortés (1799) report remarkable consistency in their identification of Cuelcahen Ndé, or Llaneros, as shown in the table below.
### TABLE 8  CUELCAHEN NDÉ HISTORICAL DATA 1771 - 1799

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Native report (1771)</th>
<th>O’Conor (1777)</th>
<th>Cordero (1796)</th>
<th>Cortés (1799)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Culcogendi</td>
<td>Culcogendi</td>
<td>Culcahendé</td>
<td>Cuelcajen-ne</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Between Pecos</td>
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<td>and the Rio Grande</td>
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The “Cuelcajen-Ndé/Llanero Apachería” was located between the Colorado and Pecos River. The Lipan-Ndé Apacheria was east of this and included the San Antonio and Gulf Coast areas of Texas. The Sejen-Ndé/Mescalero Apacheria covered Trans-Pecos Texas and the region from El Paso to the Bolsón de Mapimi. The Yntajen-Ndé/Faraon Apacheria was between the Rio Grande and Pecos rivers north of El Paso. The Yntajen-ne (Natagé) were still distinct from the Sejen-Ndé/Mescalero and the Cuelcajen-Ndé/Llanero lived between the Lipan and Mescalero as a distinct nation, Map 14, p. 284.

Overall, three lines of evidence agree that Cuelgas de Castro is affiliated with the Cúelcahén Ndé, or Llanero Apache buffalo hunters. First, in the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition “Cuelgas” means, “moving among the grasses” (Castro 1999; Romero, Jr. 2000).

161 This area had been reported as Jumane range and settlement throughout most of the 1700’s, but reports of them faded by the end of the century when Cordero (1796) and Cortés (1799) wrote their reports.
1792-Present

This map illustrates the historical geography of Lipan Chief Cuelga and the historical range of his descendants to the present and their passing of their oral tradition from Modesto Castro, a son of Chief John Castro and grandson of Chief Cuelga de Castro, to his son Calixtro Castro to his son, Santiago Castro, and daughter, Santos Castro to her son Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. who has pursued their claim to recognition as state and federally recognized American Indians the Cuelgahen Nde Lipan Apache of Texas.

Map completed by Enrique Maestas April 2000 Copyright 2000 Enrique Maestas. All rights reserved.
Second, Meredith Magoosh Begay, Tú é diné Ndé (Tough Apache People of the Desert) descendent of Lipan Apache Chief Magoosh of the Texas and now living on the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico reservation has found significant continuity between her oral history and that of the Cúelcahén Ndé carried by Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. Third, Antonio Cordero (1796) identified the “Cuelcajen-ne” as “Llaneros,” which also means “Tall Grass People.” Between 1771 and 1799, military Commanders or provincial governors wrote reports, which consistently identified and located the Tall Grass People as a significant Apache nation between Laredo and El Paso, Texas on both sides of the Rio Grande. In all, two independent oral history sources correlate with written documents that identify the Cúelcahén Ndé (Llanero Apache) as Ndé buffalo hunters with settlement and range territory in Texas and northeastern Mexico from the Colorado River to the Rio Nazas.
CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ LIPAN APACHE OF TEXAS

To distinguish the general nation of the Cúelcahén Ndé or Llanero Apache form the specific segment that survived through the lineage of Chief Cuelgas de Castro, I use the term Cúelcahén Ndé to represent their survival in the family and oral tradition of Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. From this point forward, I intersperse the oral tradition in order to provide detail and context that is unavailable in the written record. However, the transmission of “Castro’s Oral History” should be mentioned for its anthropological import and to clarify the relations of the bearers of this tradition to it source.

The historical data will demonstrate and chronicle the use of variations in the linguistic terminology use by the Lipan Apache to identify their “son’s” was as a direct result of first European contact with the Spanish, who “Hispanicize” the prefix “Jr.” or “Sr.” respectfully to identify lineage.

In 2003, Meredith Magoosh Begay, President of the Lipan Apache Elders Committee of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico determined that Ramon Chiquito a past enrolled member of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New and Lipan Apache descendant was related to the Cúelcahén Ndé. Ramon Chiquito was documented as being one of twenty-eight Lipan Apaches from the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass) and the Tú é diné Ndé (Tough Apache People of the Desert) that were brought in the U.S. Military after McKenzie’s Raid on May 18, 1873.

The Castro oral history documents how the Cúelcahén Ndé identifies their “son’s” and young men’s name pronunciation using Spanish prefixes. The Castro Oral History identifies this throughout its genealogical history. Starting with Tacú, a.k.a. Chico, Chiquito was born 1715 in the Lipan Village on the banks of the San Saba River near in Menard, Menard, Texas and died 1780 in San Saba, San Saba, Texas.

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162 Begay, Meredith Magoosh, Digital recording of Granddaughter of Lipan Apache Chief Magoosh at the Lipan Apache Committee on November 15, 2003 in the Tribal Offices of the Mescalero Apache Indian Reservation by Enrique Maestas, Mescalero, New Mexico, 2003.
According to Cabello, Chief José Chiquito, a.k.a. Tacú, Chico was considered the most important war chief at the time. (Cabello 1779: 525). During the era of Tacú, a.k.a. Chico, Chiquito the linguistic terminology used by the Lipan Apache to identify their young men was hispanicized and the prefix “Grande” which in Spanish means “Big” or “Sr.” Chief José Miguel (Josef Grande).

Josef Miguel, a.k.a. Josef Grande was born 1735 in Menard, Menard, Texas (Lipan Apache village near the Mission Santa Cruz de San Sabá on the San Saba River near present day Menard, Menard, Texas); died 1795 in San Saba, San Saba, Texas. Again the linguistic terminology used by the Lipan Apache to identify their older or senor “Son’s” was “Hispanicize” as being “Grande” which in Spanish means “Large” or “Sr..” The Cúelcahén Ndé signed their first recorded treaty or compact agreement Spring of 1791. The Northern Mexican Provinces of Texas located in Laredo, Webb County, Texas. El Conde de La Sierra Gorda (Commander of the Northern Sierra Mountains) ratified this treaty on March 15, 1791. Josef Miguel, a.k.a. Josef Grande fathered Josef, a.k.a. Josef Chiquito.

Josef, a.k.a. Josef Chiquito was born 1755 in San Saba, San Saba, Texas (Lipan’s Field - Lipan Apache village on the banks of the San Saba and Colorado Rivers at Lipan's Field near present day San Saba, San Saba, Texas); died 1820 in Three Rivers, Live Oak, Texas (Lipan village on the banks of the Nueces River near present day Three Rivers, Live Oak, Texas). Again, the linguistic terminology used by the Lipan Apache to identify their young men was Hispanicize. Josef, a.k.a. Josef Chiquito had three sons; Seuge Castro, Lemmas Castro, and Cuelgas de Castro, a.k.a. Cúelcahén, Cuelgas, Castro, General Castro. As previously identified Chief Jose Chiquito visited the Llanero Apache to report the news of El Mocho’s proposed alliance in 1782.

Cuelgas de Castro, a.k.a. Cúelcahén, Cuelgas, Castro, General Castro was born in 1792, at Lipan’s Field (Lipan Apache Village) on the banks of the San Saba and Colorado Rivers near present day San Saba, Saba County, Texas and died in the year 1852.

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Seuge Castro was born in the year 1800, at Lipan’s Field (Lipan Apache Village) on the banks of the San Saba and Colorado Rivers near present day San Saba, Saba County, Texas. Seuge Castro witnessed the Tehuacama Creek Treaty on October 9, 1844, at Tehuacama Creek, Limestone County, Texas.  

Lemmas Castro was born in 1803, at Lipan’s Field (Lipan Apache Village) on the banks of the San Saba and Colorado Rivers near present day San Saba, Saba County, Texas. Lemmas Castro witnessed the Tehuacama Creek Treaty on January 16, 1845, at Tehuacama Creek, Limestone County, Texas.

Schilz (1987) finding that Jose Chiquito is the father of Cuelgas de Castro fits well with Jose Chiquito’s knowledge and concern for the Apachería between the San Saba River and the Llano (grasslands) of western Texas. Cuelgas de Castro had three traditional wives, Maria Castro one of wives had three sons: Simon Castro, Ramon Castro, and John Castro.


Simon Castro was born in 1818, in a Lipan Apache village on the banks of the Pecos Rivers near present day Sheffield, Pecos County, Texas and died on May 18, 1873 (Mackenzie Raid) at the Lipan Apache village on the banks of the Rio San Rodrigo near Remolino, Nuevo Leon, Mexico. On March 2, 1945, Robert S. Neighbors, Texas Indian Agent met with Simon and Ramon Castro and reported to Thomas G. Western. Simon Castro was document as filing a report at the Military Post Campo Cibolo, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas on May 30, 1845.166

Ramon Castro (Raymond Castro) was born 1810, at Lipan’s Field (Lipan Apache Village) on the banks of the San Saba and Colorado Rivers near present day San Saba, Saba County, Texas and is said to have died sometime after Mackenzie’s Raid. Ramon Castro signed the Tehuacama Creek Treaty on October 9, 1844, at Tehuacama Creek, Limestone County, Texas. 168 Ramon Castro gave testimony at Tehuacama Creek Council Meetings on August 27, 1845 through September 27, 1845, Tehuacama Creek, Limestone, Texas.


On August 27, 1845, Ramon and Simon Castro were at the Tehuacama Creek Council held at Tehuacama Creek, Limestone, Texas.\textsuperscript{169} On March 2, 1945, Robert S. Neighbors, Texas Indian Agent met with Simon and Ramon Castro and reported to Thomas G. Western.\textsuperscript{170} Simon Castro was document as filing a report at the Military Post Campo Cibolo, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas on May 30, 1845.\textsuperscript{171}

Ramon Castro had one son named was Ramon Chiquito, a.k.a. Chiquito, Little Captain, Capitan Chico. Ramon Chiquito was an enrolled member of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico. Ramon Chiquito was Cúelcahén Ndé who was documented as being one of twenty-eight Lipan Apache prisoners brought in by the U.S. Military after McKenzie’s Raid on May 18, 1873.

John Castro (Juan Castro) (Porfirio Castro) was born in the year 1812, at the Lipan village on the banks of the Nueces River near present day Three Rivers, Live Oak County, Texas and died in the year October 1, 1875 in San Juan, Willacy County, Texas. John Castro San Saba Treaty on October 28, 1851, San Saba, San Saba, Texas and was Texas Ranger between 1844 and 1852, San Antonio, Bexar, Texas.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{169} Winfrey, Dorman H., “Texas Indian Papers 1844 - 1845,” Volume 2, Document 300, pp. 334 - 344, August 27, 1845 Minutes of a Council Held at Tehuacama Creek: Ramon Castro Speaks, Assisted by George R. Nielsen, J. R. Patterson, Albert D. Pattillo, Texas State Library, Austin 1960


CASTRO ORAL TRADITION HISTORY KEEPERS

The following keepers received the oral tradition passed down from generation to generation. Oral history keepers are selected at the family reunion or when the elders of the family identified the need to pass on the oral traditions. Such events only happen if a member of the family was sick or near death.

CASTRO FAMILY ORAL HISTORY CEREMONY

Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. (2000) describes the context and ceremonial observance of passing the Castro Family Oral Tradition,

“Before entering the U.S. Army in 1980, I was given the entire Castro Family Oral History at the Castro Family Reunion on August 16, 1980 in Fresno, California. The traditional Castro Oral History tellers were Armando Castro Cavazos whose mother was Juanita Gonzalez Castro daughter of Lipan Apache Chief John Castro, Frank Vasquez Castro (Uncle) whose father was Albino Castro son of Calixtro Gonzalez Castro, Santos Peralez Castro (Mother) whose father was Modesto Gonzalez Castro son of Calixtro Gonzalez Castro, Paula Castro Cavazos (Aunt) whose mother was Juanita Gonzalez Castro daughter of Lipan Apache Chief John Castro and Porfiria Castro Cavazos whose mother was Juanita Gonzalez Castro daughter of Lipan Apache Chief John Castro.

Before attending this family reunion my mother insisted that I drive her to the reunion, so I reluctantly did so. Once at the family reunion all the appropriate greetings were done and I decided to sit and visit with my uncle Amanda Castro Cavazos. While I sitting with my uncle Amanda Castro Cavazos I noticed that, my mother was talking to all of the elders, aunts, and uncles. As they all talked, they were looking in my direction.”

“Just before the primary reunion dinner, my uncle Amanda Castro Cavazos blessed the food with a “grandfather plate.” Before the day ended, I noticed that all of the adults and family elders were sitting at the largest table. Once they sat down, my uncle Amanda Castro Cavazos came from behind me and tapped me on the shoulders with his fingers and I asked what can I do for you uncle. He said, listen. I could see that I was being elected for something, as I had seen this happen at passed family reunions. Next thing I remember my mother Santos Peralez Castro stood to my left and placed her hands on my shoulder and said, mijo, you have been chosen to lead this family, I turned and said, what! Mijo you have been chosen to lead this family and it was time for you to learn our traditional histories. As my mother had tears in her eyes, she said to me I wish to know all about my people since I cannot read or write. I turned to my mother saying, mom I will find our people and you will never again feel empty for our culture. I accept this position for you. She said, not for me but for your people. As I sat there in the middle chair, everyone from the family came to me to tap me on the shoulder and to hug me with their wisdom. That night my uncle Amanda Castro Cavazos started to recite the Castro Family History, I started listening and I asked for a pen to write these things down.”
“As was the case, the family reunion had sack lunch bags that I ripped into sheets of paper, I cannot remember the number of bags that were used, but the traditional oral history was being written down for the first time in memory. I listen for hours. I asked my uncle Amanda Castro Cavazos why me? Because we just know, among our people, we just know and you have been chosen. My time is short on this world, but I have faith that you will accomplish much for our people. Always remember the people, as he smiled at me before leaving. Sadly, three months later my uncle Amanda Castro Cavazos who was the primary keeper of the oral traditions died.” [Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. 2000]

In all the ceremonial observance of passing the oral tradition of the descendants of Lipan Apache Chief Cuelgas de Castro to Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. included making food offerings to the ancestors, formal selection and acceptance of the responsibility in the presence of the people of the nation, transmission of the oral tradition through touch and embrace, as well as formal oratory.

Importantly, all of this occurred during a traditional feasting of meat called a “carneada.” All of these practices are comparable to aspects of Native American ceremonial observance that are discussed in the following chapter.

Santos Peralez Castro shared more details on the context of the oral tradition at the Carneada held in Corcoran, California on April 12, 1999.

“My dad Modesto Gonzalez Castro always said do not forget your past. Tell your kids about who they are so that they can pass it on to their kids. He would always tell the stories of the past. I have told my son (Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.) these stories and he has been the first in our family to write them down for us not to forget. We made him our living history person, when anyone from the family comes to visit, they go to him to hear the history about their mother or father. You see Daniel is the first person in our family to have been educated, the day he went into the U.S. Army, all of my sisters and brother and other family members decided that he would be our voice. So he also was picked by other family members to preserve our people’s history, we are Apache, we are Lipan, and I am proud of my heritage.” [Santos Peralez Castro 1999]
Santiago Castro Castro (1995), whose father was Auerlio Castro and his grandfather was Manuel Castro and his mother was Julia Gonzalez Castro, whose father was Calixtro Gonzalez Castro, explained the oral history passed on to him and Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.’s responsibility.

“I have shared as much of our family history with Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. my nephew to write down for my grandchildren. We go everywhere to find new family members. We have been on the road traveling for more than four years to find all of our relations. Daniel is the only other person besides his mother who have the entire history of the Castro’s in their memory, he is like a walking book. He can tell you everything about our family and is not disputed by anyone what he says is true and not to be argued about. Daniel must do this for his people, that’s what we have given him on his journey of life, our prayers.” [Santiago Castro 1995]

Up until this point, Chapters 2 and 3 traced the prehistory of Ndé buffalo hunters across the plains to their historical buffalo hunting territories south of the Canadian River in eastern New Mexico and the Texas panhandle. Chapters 3 and 4 traced their historical involvement in early Spanish exploration, slavery, and warfare, as well as, the Great Northern Wars at the turn of the seventeenth century. As Apache de los Llanos, Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas established a range between the Pecos and Colorado rivers in Texas with important centers on the Concho River near San Angelo and the San Saba River near Menard. Over the course of the 1700’s, Ndé buffalo hunters identified as Apache de los Llanos, Cúelcahén Ndé, and Apaches Llaneros were associated with La Junta de los Rios, the Concho River (Rio Florido), and areas south of the Rio Grande.

Chief Antonio Apache de los Llanos visited La Junta de los Rios from a ranchería five days travel north in the grasslands. This would place him near the Concho River of Texas near San Angelo. Chief Pascual was reported to have ranged into southern Coahuila and maintained rancherías on both sides of the Rio Grande near the Rio Grande at Big Bend National Park in 1747. O’Conor also notes Chief Pascual to have led the Culcahendé in 1777. Chief Tacú, the primary chief of Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters involved in the San Saba mission, demonstrated a strong territorial connection to the Concho River (Rio Florido) in Texas in the 1750’s.
Schilz (1987) identified Josef Miguel, also known as Jose Grande, whose primary geographic range encompassed the region between the San Saba and Concho rivers, as the grandfather of Chief Cuelgas de Castro. In 1772, Chief Josef Miguel, an Apache from Mission San Antonio de Valero, also known as Chief Jose Grande, had a son who would become Chief Jose Chiquito who negotiated with the Spanish and would be known as Josef Castro (Schilz 1987: 26; 1999). Chief Antonio Apache de los Llanos, Chief Pascual, Chief Tacú, and Chief Jose Chiquito are all associated with this territorial and settlement range as well as an identity historically related to the People of the Tall Grass or Cúelcahén Ndé, Table 9, p. 314. I suggest that either Josef Castro was Cúelcahén Ndé himself, or that he married a woman of the Cúelcahén Ndé, for which his son was named Cuelgas de Castro on the San Saba River in 1792.173

173. Two possible sources for Castro are the Spanish Captain
**TABLE 9  CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ LINEAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief/Traditional Family Leader</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Apache de los Llanos (First Generation)</td>
<td>1665-1720</td>
<td>5 days north of La Junta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pascual Culcahendé (Second Generation)</td>
<td>1695-1778</td>
<td>Rio Nazas to West Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacú (Chico) (Chiquito) (Third Generation)</td>
<td>1715-1780</td>
<td>Concho to Colorado River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef Miguel (Grande) (Castro) (Fourth Generation)</td>
<td>1735-1795</td>
<td>Mission San Antonio Valero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>San Saba to Concho River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jose Chiquito (Fifth Generation)</td>
<td>1755-1820</td>
<td>Cerralvo to Concho River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuelgas de Castro (Sixth Generation)</td>
<td>1792-1852</td>
<td>San Saba to San Antonio to Frio River to Laredo, Tamaulipas to Candela,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coahuila to Carrisitos, Nuevo León to Fayette County to Cibolo Creek to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Austin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan (John) (Porfirio) Castro (Seventh Generation)</td>
<td>1812-1875</td>
<td>San Saba to Laredo, Texas to Remolino, Coahuila to Cerralvo, Nuevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>León to San Juan, Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calixtro Gonzalez Castro (Eight Generation)</td>
<td>1858-1935</td>
<td>Laredo, Tamaulipas to Rio Grande City, Texas to Matamoros, Tamaulipas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to Starr County, Texas to Beeville to Raymondville to McAllen, Texas to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pettus, Texas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chief/Traditional Family Leader</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dates</strong></td>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modesto Gonzalez Castro (Ninth Generation)</td>
<td>1909-1968</td>
<td>Beeville, Texas to Pettus, Texas to Orosi, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santiago Castro Castro (Tenth Generation)</td>
<td>1927-</td>
<td>Pettus, Texas to San Antonio, Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santos Peralez Castro (Eleventh Generation)</td>
<td>1944-</td>
<td>Pettus, Texas to Orosi, California to Hanford, California to Corcoran, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. (Twelfth Generation)</td>
<td>1962-</td>
<td>Hanford, California to Corcoran, California to Tacoma, Washington to Universal City, Texas to McAllen, Texas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Castillo Romero, III (Thirteenth Generation)</td>
<td>1985-</td>
<td>Hanford, California to Tacoma, Washington to El Paso, Texas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHIEF CUELGAS DE CASTRO

According to the oral tradition told by Santos Peralez Castro (1999), Cuelgas de Castro was born in 1792 near the San Saba River.

“Cuelgas de Castro was born to Lipan Apache Josef Chiquito and Maria in 1792 on the Lipan Apache village named “Lipan’s Field” located on a strip of land between the San Saba and Colorado Rivers of Texas. Today, Lipan’s Field is located in its original state just north of San Saba, Texas.” [Santos Peralez Castro 1999]

Schilz (1999) found that a chief referred to in the records as Chief Josef (Miguel) Grande fathered Chief Josef Chiquito who was the father of Chief Cuelgas de Castro. Two possible sources for the Castro last name in the late 1700’s are the Laguna de Castro 78 miles west of Chihuahua near the Bolsón de Mapimi where Cúelcahén Ndé were reported in August 1772 and Commandant Ramón Castro, was the military chief of Presidio Bahia del Espiritu Santo in 1792 and later became commandant-general of the Eastern Interior Provinces (Vial 1967: 169).

Twenty years past between Cuelgas de Castro’s birth at San Saba and the birth of Juan (John) (Porfirio) Castro, the son of Chief Cuelgas de Castro and Maria Castro, near Three Rivers, Texas in 1812 (Modesto 1965; Castro 1999; Romero, Jr. 2000; Castro and Romero, Jr. 2001). Chief Cuelgas de Castro is first mentioned in written history pertaining to his exploits with Chief Flacco in the early wars of Mexican Independence from Spain. On September 16, 1810, Fray Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla initiated “El Grito de Dolores” in Dolores outside Guanajuato, Mexico and a series of revolutionary movements developed in New Spain. Chief Cuelgas de Castro took part in one of these attempts at Mexican Independence in Texas from Spain led by José Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara and William Augustus Magee, who resigned as an officer in the U.S. Army to join Lara’s liberation of Texas. Magee was a follower of U.S. General James Wilkinson, and executor of his mentor’s policy to separate Texas from both Spain and Mexico to further U.S. ambitions. Chief Cuelgas de Castro attached his warriors to Samuel Kemper’s offensive on San Antonio (Jackson 1966; Schilz 1987; Schilz 1999). In all, Chief Cuelgas de Castro participated in early machinations that resulted first in the Independence of Texas from Spain as part of the Mexican Empire and federalist nation in 1821, and later in the formation of the Republic of Texas in 1836.
Cordero (1806) reported just previously that Lipan Apache acquired firearms from Delaware and Kickapoo on the Washita River with weapons that came from British and Anglo American stores. Five years later, Chief Cuelgas de Castro is mentioned in a letter written by Antonio Martinez, the last Spanish Governor of San Antonio, as one of the Apache chiefs who began attacking large groups of Spanish soldiers alongside Chief José Chiquito and Chief Young Flacco (Virginia 1957: 57 - 58). Later in 1817, José Chiquito is reported to have fought with horse hunters on the Frío and attacked San Antonio. This importantly associates Chief Cuelgas de Castro with his father Josef Chiquito.
In 1822, Chief Cuelgas de Castro, alongside Chief Yolcha Pocarropa, signed a treaty with General Anastacio Bustamante (1822) on the part of the Lipan Indians with the Empire of Mexico. The terms of the treaty were to forget past enmity, obey the laws of the Mexico Empire, return captives, furnish military aid against the Comanche, and gave the Lipan rights to all the wild horses of Texas. Afterwards, the chiefs were taken to Mexico City for a meeting with Generalisimo Yturbi and to attend his coronation as the Emperor of Mexico. Between 1822 and 1834, Chief Cuelgas de Castro is extensively documented in the Bexar Archives as an official representative of the Lipan. He also was called in to take responsibility for Apache transgressions. Reports of this aspect of the position and character of Chief Cuelgas de Castro are presented by Jean Berlandier in ways wholly consistent with his representation in the Bexar Archives between 1822 and 1834.

In 1824, inhabitants of San Juan de Allende, Coahuila complained of constant raiding of Lipans. When Chief Cuelgas de Castro was confronted about the raiding, he argued that he broke the agreement because the Lipan suffered from settlers robbing them of their horses (Guerrero 1856). In 1832, the Commandante of Lampazos reported that Chief Cuelgas de Castro and his people lived at the Laguna de la Leche near Candela, Coahuila. Forty unarmed men went to demand stolen horses from Chief Cuelgas de Castro who refused their claims and the posse left empty-handed (Vizcaya 1987: 56). In all, Chief Cuelgas de Castro spoke English and Spanish and negotiated effectively with the political and military chiefs of the Spanish and Mexican power structures.
Jean Berlandier’s descriptions of Chief Cuelgas de Castro further attest to this characterization.

“While the explorers were in Laredo a large party of Lipan Apache Indians rode into town. They were armed with lances, bows and arrows, and some guns, and were led by Chief Castro . . .” [Ewers 1969: 6]

“The Lipan Chief Castro, whom we saw at Laredo, was present in Mexico for the coronation of the late Emperor Iturbide . . .” [Berlandier 1969: 42]

Cuelgas de Castro had risen to prominence as the outstanding chief of this tribe before Berlandier met him in Laredo in February, 1828 . . . observed that he spoke quite good Spanish . . . and . . . was “the easiest chief for the military Commanders of the eastern interior provinces to communicate with, both for lodging complaints against crimes, and for seeing that the criminals are punished for their misdeeds.” [Berlandier 1969: 42]

Related to this service to the Mexican Empire, Romero, Jr. (Romero 2000) stated that according to Cuelcahen Ndé oral tradition, Cuelgas de Castro and Pocaropa became commanding officers in the Mexican Army and were given land for their loyalty to the Mexican Empire.

Written evidence of this relationship is a document in the Laredo Archives written by Francisco Fernandes that stated that Chief Cuelgas de Castro’s request to establish 100 families at Carrisitos was approved on May 29, 1835 and that the surveyor Luis Berlandier would document the land transaction (Wood 1998: 44).

Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition refers to the Battle of the Alamo of 1836 through the eyes of Chief Cuelgas de Castro who described how the Lipan Apaches were detained by the Mexican Army from approaching or participating to help the Alamo defenders, so instead they watched the destruction of the Alamo. Modesto Gonzalez Castro (1965) talks about the Alamo as told to him by his father Calixtro Gonzalez Castro.

“We were hunting, we were far, we return quickly, we witnessed smoke coming from the Alamo, we were forced by soldiers from entering the Alamo, we witnessed how the Mexican soldiers tossed and burned the bodies of the dead Texans into large fires, we lost family at the Alamo, we buried our dead.” [Castro 1999; Castro and Romero, Jr. 2001]

In 1838, U.S. Government Indian Commissioner Iron wrote that Chief Cuelgas de Castro was a salacious, shrewd and intelligent man who vowed eternal hatred for the Mexicans on January 8, 1838, while overseeing the signing of Live Oak Treaty located at present day Live Oak Point, Texas (Iron 1849). While the Republic of Texas was in its infancy, Chief Cuelgas de Castro's notoriety as a diplomat and leader grew.

Such was his fame that when dealing with territorial issues, Texas settlers called upon him to intervene politically and militarily. On March 6, 1838, Vice-President Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar wrote.

“Familiar with is fame as a Statesman and a Warrior, and confiding in his attachment to the American people, the Government of Texas is proud to receive General de Castro on terms of amity and friendship . . . It will therefore be the duty of General de Castro as the enlightened chief of a powerful nation to disseminate these important truths among his people, and to impress upon them the advantages of maintaining with this Republic amicable and social relations.” [Lamar 1838]

However, by 1839, Lamar had become president of the Republic of Texas and Samuel Hewes complained that Anglo families were being prevented from occupying Texas west of the upper Nueces by the Lipan and expressed mistrust of Chief Castro. Nevertheless, Lipan led by Chief Cuelgas de Castro and his son John Castro led forty Lipan Apache scouts to accompany Colonel John H. Moore and fifty-five Texans and twelve Tonkawa to attack on a Comanche settlement on the San Saba River on February 12, 1839.
Lipan Apache led by Chief John Castro ran off the Comanche horse herd, but being too small a party to handle the two or three thousand animals in the herd, the Comanche were able to retrieve over 300 horses and mount a resistance (Corkran 1964: 201). After an hour of fighting, Colonel Moore was forced to retreat. Resolved to complete the siege, Moore returned to San Saba in October 1840. The War Department of the Republic of Texas authorized Colonel Moore to enlist the Lipan Apache as scouts for another expedition against the Comanche in the San Saba River. Colonel Moore wrote a letter to General Castro on September 12, 1840, promising that the mistakes of the earlier campaign would not be repeated.

On September 26, 1840, Moore left Austin with two companies of citizen volunteers commanded by Captains Thomas Rabb and Nicholas Dawson, with ninety men, with an additional twelve Lipan Apache under General Cuelgas de Castro. The force set up the Colorado River about three hundred miles, to Colorado City, Texas.

The Lipan Apaches scouted ahead and found a large Comanche village. Moore attacked in the morning light, charged directly into the camp, and devastated the settlement (Corkran 1964: 240 - 243; Brown 1970, II: 182 - 183). The discourse between Colonel Moore and General Castro suggested that Moore was subordinate and took responsibility for the shortcomings that had resulted in failure during the earlier attack on the Comanche at San Saba.

Although Colonel Moore had met Chief Cuelgas de Castro in Fayette County in 1839, by the summer of 1841, Charles Guilbeau, the French interim Mayor of San Antonio complained that Lipan Apache settled on Salado Creek abused the populace of San Antonio with their drunken rows. In response, Guilbeau complained to Castro that he should not allow his Indians to devastate the property of the settlers. However, in 1842, Sam Houston was once again President of the Republic of Texas and made a request on behalf of the Lipan Apache Chief Castro.

“Castro, the Principal Chief of the Lipans, with several of his tribe, has been on a visit of business to the Executive, and is now on his return to his camp in the neighborhood of Austin.” [Williams and Barker 1942: 73]
On August 15, 1842, President Houston appointed James Grant, the Agent to the Lipan Apache (Williams and Barker 1942: 146). On September 1, 1842, a warm friendship was still evident in Houston’s writings.

“MY BROTHER: - We are far from each other; we have not shaken hands. I have heard from you. The message was peace and friendship. With your son, Antonio, I send my friends, Dr. Cottle and Dr. Tower, with my talk. They will make it to you.” [Williams and Barker 1942: 151]

Sending the letter from Houston to the Austin area, Houston also sent a letter to Castro and Flacco along with Antonio and the two doctors. In a letter dated March 28, 1842, President Houston wrote a poetic homage in honor of Chief Flacco (Williams and Barker 1942: 341 - 342).

His memory lived on and on January 8, 1838, a treaty was signed between the people of Chief Cuelgas de Castro and the Republic of Texas.

“A treaty of Peace and perpetual friendship between the Republic of Texas and the Lipan Tribe of Indians . . . Signed, Sealed and delivered in good faith at Live Oak Point by James Power on behalf of the Republic of Texas and by Cuelgas de Castro ruling Chief of the Lipan on this Eighth day of January in the year of the our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Eight . . .” [Winfrey 1959: 30 - 32]

Modesto Gonzalez Castro also told about the location of where the Live Oak Point Treaty signed by Chief of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas. Modesto Gonzalez Castro talks about one of many treaty signings by past family members as told to him by his father Calixtro Gonzalez Castro,

“The treaty was signed in a oak tree surrounded clearing just below present day Port Aransas, they once called it Live Oak Point. The treaty camp was located on the only flat area, which is now a park. After they signed the treaty we drank, ate, and received many gifts from the "coms" . . .” [Castro and Romero, Jr. 2001]
Castro and Romero, Jr. (2001) explain that “coms” is the word used to identify the Texas Indian Commissioners who were present at the treaty signing. According to the Cuélahéndê oral tradition, Modesto Gonzales Castro described a Lipan Apache camp on Cibolo Creek.

“Walking on foot for one hour in a southeast direction from where the “coms” meet our people, you will be near a burial site on a flat soft bluff or hill that overlooks the bend or curve in the Cibolo Creek. You will come to an area that is surrounded by oak trees with a small feeder creek facing north that meets the Selma and Cibolo Creeks. This area is a flat bluff or ravine that holds the remains of our dead facing to the east direction.” [Castro and Romero, Jr. 2001]

According to Castro and Romero, Jr. (2001), this burial site known as 41BX1270, and is located in the middle of present day Universal City Golf Course. Modesto Gonzalez Castro, always said, that the last person buried there was the infant of Cuelgas de Castro who died of the "cough", presumably whopping cough and the infant was about two years old.

A number of documents in the Texas Indian Papers compiled by Dorman Winfrey (1960: 150 - 160, 225 - 258) document Lipan camps on Cibolo Creek between 1844 and 1855.

“This ranchería was only known to the Lipan and trusted homesteaders and the location of the camp was never talked about among strangers. One reason for their silence was the fact that the Lipan Apache buried their dead at this site that was heavy guarded . . . 20 miles northeast from the Alamo Mission and was located below the Old Nacogdoches Road to Nacogdoches. The rancheria was located 5 miles from the Davenport Homestead on the Cibolo Creek across from the stream from the Friesenhan Homestead on the Cibolo Creek.” [Castro and Romero, Jr. 2001]
Friesenhan family oral tradition corroborates that Lipan Apaches, primarily the Castro family lived in this area and most of their children and grandchildren played and attended school together (Friesenhan 1999; Davenport 1998). In an undated letter, President Sam Houston declared that Chief Cuelgas de Castro died and that his son Chief John Castro assured Houston that the Lipan would continue to live in peace and friendship with the Texans.

“Know ye that John Castro, son of the late distinguished General Castro, of the Lipan tribe, has given renewed assurances of a friendly disposition entertained for the Texans by a people so long advised by his father; and whereas I wish to give an earnest of my confidence, I hereby render him this testimonial and enjoin upon him to maintain the promises which he has made.” [Williams and Barker 1942: 343]

In 1846, the United States annexed the Republic of Texas and President James K. Polk appointed the first two U.S. Indian Commissioners for Texas, Pierce M. Butler, and M. G. Lewis. Following the annexation of Texas into the U.S., a more focused and systematic war against the eastern Ndé (Apache) resulted in continued hostility and upheaval near the Rio Grande.

Castro and Romero, Jr. (2001) explained that before the Cúelcahén Ndé moved to El Remolino on the Rio San Rodrigo, a company of 100 U.S. Troops reached Chief John Castro’s camp on the banks of the San Saba River during the winter. The troops killed more than thirty in their sleep before Chief John Castro joined the Kickapoo and Mescalero in strongholds south of the Rio Grande.
After Chief Cuelgas de Castro died, his son Chief John Castro moved his people to Laredo, Texas. In 1855, the U.S. instituted a policy “. . . to search out and attack all parties or bands, to which depredations can be traced.” (Ray 1974:158). After refusing to settle at Fort Griffin, Chief John Castro grew tired of the Mexican, Texas Rangers, and U.S. Army raids on their rancherías (Ray 1974: 140 - 160). However, the movement south may have been interrupted by the Civil War and in 1866 provided an opportunity for the Ndé in Texas by which “. . . the frontier retreated over a hundred miles.” (Ray 1974:163). Unfortunately, Chief John Castro moved to Remolino on the Rio San Rodrigo. Although, Lipan had been reported living near Remolino, before Presidio Monclova Viejo was established in 1777 (Chapter 7, Map 13, p. 246) by 1873 the Kickapoo had a ranchería near the Lipan Apache ancestral stronghold. Chief John Castro settled his people in a joint settlement with the Kickapoo. On May 18, 1873, Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie led a force of 400 soldiers into Mexico to raid the Indian villages (Thompson 1986: 55 - 61).

“The incursion into Mexico of May, 1873 . . . to drive the Apache from Texas and to keep any Indians from Texas soil . . . Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Lipan, and Mescalero . . . migrated to Mexico or had been driven there by military action . . . Since Mackenzie’s plans for a strike against these very Indians had been made in strictest secrecy . . . On May 18, the very day on which Mackenzie destroyed the Indian villages.” [Opler 1974: 93]

“General Augur . . . peculiar account of the Mackenzie attack upon the Apache and Kickapoo is as follows: “On the 17th of last May Col Mackenzie 4th Cav Commanding at and about Fort Clark, received information that a fresh trail of depredating Indians was found leading toward the Rio Grande. He . . . followed it . . . and marching all night struck the Indian village on the morning of the 18th near Remolina, and killed nineteen braves . . .” [General Auger in Opler 1974: 95]

Clearly exhibiting the execution of a policy of genocide, the U.S. Government claimed to have slaughtered or captured virtually all of the surviving Lipan Apaches who were deported to the Mescalero Reservation later know as the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico Reservation in the Sacramento Mountains of New Mexico, which had been assigned to the Mescalero's in 1855 but not officially established until 1873.
EL DIA DE LOS GRITOS - THE DAY OF THE SCREAMS

However, Mackenzie’s Raid is also remembered at Castro family reunions as “El Dia de los Gritos,” the Day of the Screams. Before the primary dinner and family gathering could begin an offering of food and drink called the “grandfather plate” is taken to the fire pit and placed into the fire. The significance of this act was disclosed by Frank Vasquez Castro (1979), who said, “...we did this to remember the family we lost at Mackenzie Raid and for the lost souls in other tragedies.”

According to Romero, Jr. (2000),

“...the grandfather plate also welcomes the spirits of our ancestors shine their wisdom by placing food and drink at any event or family reunion. During these family reunions, the entire adult Castro population assembles and voices their positions and vote on which family member would be cooking at the next family reunion, as well as the place and time.” [Romero 2000]

Santos Peralez Castro (1999) detailed the oral tradition told by Modesto Castro who was son of Calixtro Gonzalez Castro in the 1920’s in Pettus, Texas. Calixtro Gonzalez Castro was born in the year 1858, in the City of Beeville, near the Medio Creek. In this segment, Calixtro explains the devastation and terror that he saw on May 18, 1873, El Dia de los Gritos and the story of the escape of John, Calixtro, Juanita, and Manuel Castro to conserve the oral tradition of the people of Chief Cuelgas de Castro. Once in the U.S., John Castro changed his name to Porfirio Castro.

Calixtro talked about the escape from Mackenzie’s Raid by hiding in a ravine where they watched as their family members were killed in their sleep. Calixtro remembered waking up to screams and seeing his family killed by soldiers who were running up to the tents and small huts and shooting into them without any regard to life.
Throughout his ordeal, he points out that the soldiers even killed innocent Mexicans who lived in the village and that the soldiers shot first and then asked questions later as a safe policy.

“Prior to the attack . . . it was the custom to dig large holes, large enough to hide a person by covering themselves with a large tumbleweed brush that was attached with a long rope . . . Calixtro and Manuel ran into one hole and cover themselves up. While Juanita and her baby brother Miguel, who was an infant, ran for the hole . . . a Mexican soldier had heard the baby crying while she held tightly to the rope holding the tumbleweed. However the soldier using his bayonet stabbed the tumbleweed repeatedly and in doing so stabbed the infant brother, stabbing him in the chest, killing him . . . “ [Santos Peralez Castro 1999]

“. . . But, Juanita held on tightly and in all the confusion, many of the village occupants had managed to escape by hiding in the ravine, since the soldiers did not bother to look for them because they were preoccupied with the killing the men and women. After the raid, they walked for days to San Juan, Texas across the Rio Grande from Reynosa, Mexico where they had family. Unknowing to them their father was alive, John Castro, who had managed to make it to the families rancherías in Reynosa, Mexico.” [Santos Peralez Castro 1999]

“In the raid John Castro lost his wife, brother, and a result John Castro, a.k.a. Porfirio Castro changed his name in an effort to hide his true name, as he was a wanted man by the U.S. Government disguise his identity and would continued to do so, till the day he died in San Juan, Texas.” [Santos Peralez Castro 1999]

Santiago Castro Castro stated,

“My father always talked about being a Lipan Apache who was from here in Texas and Mexico. He always talked about our people living among the Kickapoo Indians from the Rio Grande Valley. He always told us how he would change his last name from Castro to Gonzalez when the soldiers would come looking for the Indians, us . . . My father said, his father was from the Lipan Apaches who fled “Dia de los Gritos”, or Mackenzie’s Raid. My father said, that his father would drink to forget the the raid and the family that was killed. Especially, how he and his father John “Porfirio” Castro walked for weeks to reach McAllen, Texas. When they got to McAllen, Texas, they found only two other family members alive. My grandfather Manuel Castro would always repeat the same thing over and over, saying the soldiers are coming, they coming to get us . . . My uncle Calixtro Gonzalez Castro and my aunt Juanita Gonzalez Castro, they were all young, fled Mackenzie’s Raid.” [Santiago Castro Castro 1995]
According to Castro and Romero, Jr. (2001), Calixtro Gonzalez Castro would later state that his father John Castro had instructed them never to reveal that they were Lipan Apache or speak the Apache language out of fear that they would be hunted down and killed. In the year 2000, Romero, Jr. visited Valentina Castro Sambrano, the granddaughter of Calixtro Gonzalez Castro to verify the Castro oral tradition. According to Romero, Jr. (2000), Valentina’s version of the Castro Family History was not contaminated nor was her version influenced by other family members after moving away from Sinton, Texas to Lubbock, Texas in 1939.

She made it clear that she had not talked to other family members again until Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. met her on October 21, 2000 “... waiting over sixty years to hear from the Castro’s, my family . . .” (Sambrano 2000).

Valentina Castro Sambrano gave her version of the Castro Family History to Santiago Castro Castro and Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. Her mother was Felictia Castro, daughter of Calixtro Gonzalez Castro.

“My grandfather said it was said that a long time ago in the time of the killings. There was a day that I was not to forget the day of screams. My grandfather said that during the morning hours of May 1873, I do not remember the day but it was May, soldiers, Mexicans and Americans surprised the (Kickapoo) Ranchería and Lipan Apache (Rancheria) while the people were still asleep. Many woke up to the screams of women, men children being shot at and bayoneted to death. Juanita Gonzalez Castro, Calixtro Gonzalez Castro, and an unknown brother, ran to holes that were made by the men to hide the people. Juanita jumped into one of these holes and covered the hole with a tumbleweed brush. As Juanita held her brother on her chest and trying to keep him from crying by putting her hand over his mouth, a soldier came to the hole and stabbed his bayonet into the tumbleweed brush, the youngest brother was killed while on the chest of Juanita Castro, apparently the blade had cut through his heart. After this happen our people escaped to the Rio Grande Valley and lived in Cerralvo, Mexico for some time and then they moved to Valle Hermosa, Mexico. Some of our people stayed in and lived in Valle Hermosa, but many moved to Beeville, McAllen, and Raymondville, Texas to live in the old places, I am told.” [Valentina Castro Sambrano 2000]
GENEALOGICAL EVIDENCE OF CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ SURVIVAL

According to Santiago Castro Castro and Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. (2001), the Cúelcahén Ndé fled from Remolino to Cerralvo and returned to Texas in McAllen. As an adult, Calixtro Gonzalez worked in Rio Grande City and Starr County as a sheriff.

Another trace of his service to the state of Texas is a receipt from 1895 showing that Calixtro Gonzalez Castro had served as and received pay as a Texas Ranger in the Frontier Regiment "F" Battalion as an Indian Scout. Calixtro told his grandchildren that they were Ndé, a term of self-identification still used by the Cúelcahén Ndé today (Figures 1 and 2). The document in Figure 2, p. 331, suggests Calixto Castro may not have been able to write because J.A. Brooks wrote out his name and Calixtro set an “X” described as his mark. Calixtro Gonzalez Castro is also the father listed on the birth certificate of Modesto Gonzalez Castro in Beeville, Texas on January 25, 1909, Figure 3, p. 332. On February 24, 1945, Santos Castro was born in Pettus, Texas to Modesto Gonzalez Castro married Eusebia Esparza Peralez a lineal descendant of the Esparza’s (Alamo defenders), Figure 4, p. 333. On October 9, 1962, Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. was born of the union of Santos Castro and Daniel Ramon Ramirez Romero, Figure 5, p. 334.
State of Texas.

July 25th, 1892

I, CALIXTO CASTRO, hereby certify that

S. CASTRO

a

Leutn.,

Company

of Captain J. A. B. B. O. R. R. S. E. R. T.

was mustered into the State service on the

1st

day of

July

1892.

and is thus honorably discharged.

The said

S. CASTRO

has pay due him from

July

1st

to the present date.

There is due said

S. CASTRO

the sum of

FORTY

Dollars. He is indebted to

the State of Texas

Dollars, on account of

APPROVED.

Commanding Company.

Adjutant-General.

RECEIVED of

this

1892

Dollars, in full of the above account.

Signed in duplicate.

*Note.—When this Certificate is given without discharge, the line "and is thus honorably discharged" will be stricken out.
FOR VALUE RECEIVED, the within Certificate of Indebtedness is hereby transferred to:

[Signature]

who is authorized and empowered to receive all moneys in payment of the same.

[Signature]

C. F. Castro

Texas, 1880

Witness: ____________________________

REPRODUCED FROM THE HOLDINGS OF THE TEXAS STATE ARCHIVES
Figure 3 - Certificate of Birth for Modesto Castro
Figure 4 - Certificate of Birth facts for Santos Castro
Figure 5 - Certificate of Live Birth for Daniel Romero, Jr.

[Certificate Image]

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In total, four Cúelcahén Ndé are the descendants of six survivors of Mackenzie’s Raid who escaped to McAllen, Texas in May 1873. John (Porfirio) Castro, Calixtro Gonzalez Castro, Manuel Gonzalez Castro, and the two children, Modesto Gonzalez Castro and Juanita Gonzalez Castro and the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition originated with John (Porfirio) Castro the son of Chief Cuelgas de Castro who was the father of grandfather to all of the survivors. Santos Peraldez Castro and Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. are the daughter and grandson of Modesto Gonzalez Castro and the granddaughter and great grandson of Calixtro Gonzalez Castro. Santiago Castro Castro is the grandson of Manuel Gonzalez Castro and Valentina Castro Sambrano is the granddaughter of Calixtro Gonzalez Castro.
CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ CULTURAL SURVIVAL

The Cúelcahén Ndé is also a record of the continuity of Native American culture. This evidence is taken from recordings and transcriptions of oral tradition. The sources are listed in the Oral History and traditions in the front of the bibliography.

Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. related experiences with Modesto Gonzalez Castro.

“My mother Santos Peralez Castro believes that because they raised her as a Mexican, although she knows she is Indian and that in her mind still carries the stigma of being a savage or murderer. Santos however still remembers and cooks the Indian foods and how to identify the Apache names associated with the food item. Recently, I visited an old site in Pettus, Texas to examine some wild roots and vegetables used in the area by native Texans. When I asked her to identify the food items, I wrote them down and compared the pronunciation with Spanish to see if they pronounced it wrong and to my surprise, it was not Spanish. I continued to ask many questions that have lead me to fifteen years of research.” [Romero, Jr. 2000]

As a youth, Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. witnessed his grandfather performing the Deer Dance. Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. stated,

“I remember that in the morning my grandfather Modesto Gonzalez Castro would ask us little kids to go get pieces of wood and newspaper for his fire. You see he had an empty fifty-five gallon barrel that he used to make a fire. As a child, I was always around my grandfather who would always say in Spanish, “Soy Indio, Soy Apache.” As nightfall approached, my grandfather would start a fire by placing the sticks and newspaper into the drum. Once started the fire would burn all night. My grandfather would always wait for the fire to get very large and he would use the shadow or reflection made by the fire. Once started my grandfather would put his hands on each side of head and using four fingers pointing up to look like the antlers of a deer and would used the shadow of the fire to transform his likeness into a deer. Once grandfather had made his fingers look like antlers, grandfather would start to dance around the barrel of fire in a clockwise direction and would turn in all four of the directions while singing. I remember asking my grandfather why you cry when singing. He would say, “these are the old songs and I cry for my people.” I asked him, why is it called the deer dance? He said, it is the dance that our people called miyote. Why grandfather, I asked, he would simply say, it is our way to honor our past. We have always done things like this and I only know what I was shown. My grandfather said that this dance the deer dance was done with all of the people standing in a circle. They would dance side by side in a clockwise direction singing the old songs using sticks by pounding them together to make a drum sound. Grandfather would say that the fire and song was important to the ceremony. Always start your fire in the before the sun goes down, mijo. Always keep the fires going all night to ensure that the sun will rise. My grandfather would sing for hours and as kids, we went to sleep, but my grandfather would always show us the deer dance. After the all night, singing my grandfather would eat a big meal and would then sleep all day. The next morning I would ask him, grandfather can I sing your songs. He would simply say, they would beat us for speaking Indian and would start crying and walk away.” [Romero, Jr. 1980]
Santos Castro also spoke of this in Corcoran, California on April 12, 1999,

“My dad Modesto Gonzalez Castro would make this fire and sign and dance like a deer. He sometimes used to tie a rope or sting around his head and put sticks in on the side of his head so that he could look like the horns of the deer. He danced all night, signing different songs and then he would sit in front of the fire for hours looking into the fire. I think he was praying for good things to happen. The next day he would eat tamales, rice, and beans and then he would go to sleep.” [Santos Castro 1999]

In San Antonio, Texas on April 1995, Santiago Castro Castro said,

“. . . your grandfather Modesto Gonzalez Castro would eat the peyote while making a big fire in a circle. They would all eat the peyote and they would all singing and dance all night. He would also make and scratch pictures of animals or things on the ground. Many of the people who came to see what was going on would think he was a witch doctor and would called him “El Indio Loco”. [Santiago Castro 1995]

Santos Peralez Castro recalled a “miyote” held in 1956 that included the religious use of peyote.

“I remember my dad and mom calling it a miyote, it was a green cactus. I remember my mom and dad would invite their friends over, my mom used to cook lots of stuff. Before the invited got there, they would get a lot of corn, they used a lot of corn and we all would grid it and make tamales and tortillas from the corn and she would cook beans and rice. The friends used to make a circle and a big fire and they used to make a circle around the fire and all their friends were in the circle. All the friends use to make a circle, all the grow-ups would make the circle. They would all smoke this big pipe and pass it around the circle and to smoke it and after they smoked it they would pass a small basket and eat the peyote and they eat all night and would continue all night, singing and dancing till the next day. I remember the kids were not allowed in the circle and we would sleep all night and then wake up the next morning to eat, I remember.” [Santos Peralez Castro 1999]

At the turn of the twenty-first century, Daniel Castro Romero Jr., General Council Chairman of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. has been responsible for the social and economic needs of 1,200 tribal members nationally. Below is a listing and presenting of various civil and political achievements of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. of which the Cúelcahén Ndé are founding members.
On May 11, 1999, the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. submitted a letter of intent to the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research for federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe pursuant to 25 CFR 83, Figure 7, p. 339. On September 13, 1999, the City of Selma, Texas granted an Official Proclamation recognizing the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. descendants as living in the Selma, Texas region for an estimated 140 years, Figure 6, p. 338. Between 1998 and the present, Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. and I have worked to document the lineage of the Cúelcahén Ndé. In addition, Daniel has set the Cúelcahén Ndé on a course toward state and federal recognition as an American Indian tribe, Figure 7, p. 339.
OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION

CITY OF SELMA, TEXAS

WHEREAS, the early Selma settlers and the Lipan Apache Indians have lived together for over 140 years; and

WHEREAS, they lived together in peace and harmony along the Cibolo Creek area sharing a common sense of community; and

WHEREAS, a Chief of the Lipan Apache resides in our community today;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED the City of Selma proclaims Recognition of Heritage of the Early Settlers and the Lipan Apache Indians.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Corporate Seal of the City of Selma to be affixed this 13th day of September, 1999.

Harold Friesenhahn, Mayor

ATTEST:

Margie Lubianski
City Administrator
Figure 7 - Branch of Acknowledgement and Research

Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc.  
109 Clifford Ct., San Antonio, Texas 78210  
Email: lipanchief@hotmail.com

General Council  
Beneard F. Barcena, Jr.  Dave Ortiz  Robert Soto  
Tomas Tabares Ramirez  Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.

Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs  May 8, 1999  
Department of Interior  
ATTN: Branch of Acknowledgement and Research  
MS 2611-MIB, 1849 "C" Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20240

RE: FEDERAL RECOGNITION OR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Dear Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs:

As the General Council of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. we submit our letter of intent and petition for federal recognition or acknowledgment as outlined in 25 CFR 83.4.

This letter serves to notify the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research that the descendants of the Lipan Apache’s of Texas, who wish to establish themselves as a viable and sovereign tribal and/or nation of a Native American group.

Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.  General Council Chairman  
Bernard F. Barcena, Jr.  General Council 1st Vice-Chairman  
Robert Soto  General Council 2nd Vice-Chairman  
Tomas Tabares Ramirez  General Council Secretary  
Dave Ortiz  General Council Treasurer

A-3
CÚELCAHÉN NDÉ LIPAN APACHE IN TEXAS TODAY

On September 17, 2000, the Choctaw-Apache Community of Ebarb, Inc., proclaimed that the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc. shares a common heritage, culture, and kinship. The Choctaw-Apache Community of Ebarb, Inc. absorbed some of the Lipan Apache in the early 1800’s, Figure 8, p. 342.

On November 17, 2001, the recessed 77th Legislative of the Texas Senate passed and signed a Senate Proclamation 568 that recognized the contributions made by the “living descendants” of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc.

On June 24, 2002, the recessed 77th Legislative of the Texas Senate passed and signed Senate Proclamation 147 that recognized the contributions made by the “living descendants” of the Lipan Apaches, Figure 9, pp. 343-344.

In 2003, Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. has been the driving force behind the introduction of legislation geared at addressing the issues affecting the Native American in the 78th Texas Legislation Session. Such legislation included: House Bill 929 Relating to the protection of certain unmarked burials and associated human remains or funerary objects and to the creation of certain offenses concerning unmarked burials; providing criminal penalties, House Bill 1434 Relating to artifacts recovered from Native American burial sites, House Bill 1651 Relating to creating the position of Native American liaison, Senate Bill 301 Relating to creating the position of Native American liaison, and Senate Bill 1146 Relating to state acknowledgment of Native American tribes.
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This letter is in support of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas' grant proposal to the Administration for Native Americans. The Lipan Apache Band of Texas and the Choctaw-Apache Community of Ebarb, Inc., share a common heritage, culture, and kinship. The proposal which they have chosen to submit will ultimately benefit both groups, therefore,

The Tribal Council voted, in regular session on September 17, 2000, to assist the Lipan Apache Band on Texas in any way within our means in meeting the requirements of their grant proposal.

Signed by me this 04th day of October, 2000.

Tommy W. Bolton
Tribal Chairman and
Principal Chief
The Senate of The State of Texas

SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 147

WHEREAS, The Senate of the State of Texas proudly recognizes six generations of the Castro family, who today continue to honor their Native-American ancestry and their Texas roots; and

WHEREAS, The family traces its heritage back to Cuelgas de Castro, who was born in 1792 in a village on the San Saba and Colorado rivers; a Lipan Apache chief, Cuelgas joined forces with Stephen F. Austin and his settlers in the 1830s to protect his tribe against threatening Comanches; and

WHEREAS, During the period of Texas nationhood, Cuelgas proved himself a friend of the fledgling republic, joining ranks with the Texas Rangers under the command of John Coffee Hays and signing a peace treaty between his people and Texas; and

WHEREAS, John Castro, the son of Cuelgas de Castro, was born in 1812, near present-day Three Rivers, Texas; like his father, John was a leader, representing the interests of Indians on the Brazos Indian Reservation in the 1850s and serving as a captain in the Texas Rangers; and

WHEREAS, Calixtro Castro, the son of John Castro, was born in 1858, in Beeville, Texas; following the example of his father and grandfather, Calixtro joined the Texas Rangers, serving in the Frontier Regiment "F" Battalion as a teamster; he later became sheriff of Starr County; and

WHEREAS, Modesto Gonzalez Castro, born in 1909, Santos Peraldez Castro, born in 1944, and Daniel Castro Romero, Jr., born in 1962, are all 21st-century descendants of Cuelgas de Castro; over the years, the family has continued to honor both its Lipan Apache ancestry as well as its Texas roots; and
WHEREAS, With both a Native-American heritage and three generations of service as Texas Rangers, the Castro family members are indeed unique; their family history offers modern Texans a valuable perspective of life on the Texas frontier; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Senate of the State of Texas, 77th Legislature, hereby recognize six generations of the descendants of Cuelgas de Castro and the many contributions these individuals have made to the rich history of Texas; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be prepared for members of the Castro family as an expression of high esteem from the Texas Senate.

Madla

Bri. Patry
President of the Senate

I hereby certify that the above Resolution was adopted by the Senate on January 31, 2001.

S. Ling
Secretary of the Senate

Frank Madla
Member, Texas Senate
Recently, Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. of the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass) and Meredith Magoosh Begay of the Tú é diné Ndé (Tough Apache people of the desert) found important correlations between their oral traditions recorded in an interview taken on October 1, 2002,

“I am Meredith Begay, part Lipan, part Mescalero, I can tell the difference between the two languages Lipan and Mescalero. My great grandfather would always tell me about the names of the different bands of Lipan Apache in Texas. My grandfather would say, I am Tú é diné Ndé that means warrior of the mountains (Lipan) and Ndé means the Indian people (Lipan). The Cúel ca hén Ndé (High Grass or Living Things People) were called this because they lived in low land between the mountains and the Gulf of Mexico. The Tú é diné Ndé (Tough Apache People of the Desert) were called this because they lived in the desert and they would get their water that would hold in the yucca and the small holes found in the in the big rocks in the mountains. The Tú sis Ndé (Great Water People) were called this because they lived near the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico. The Tas steé be głuí Ndé (Rock Tied to Head People) were called this because they lived in they traveled through the desert and the men would tie a red bandana on their heads with a small flat rock under either side of the headband. The Buí gł̀ün Ndé (Many Necklaces People) were called this because they used to wear many necklaces around their necks. The Zuá zuá Ndé (Lava Bed people) were called this because they lived in the lava beds of New Mexico ad northern Texas long ago. They were the people who stayed behind after the people moved south to Texas. It is said, they promised the Creator to care for the lava beds because they were young mountains and they needed care.”

“I have heard about your work and I have received many calls about your work Daniel Castro Romero, Jr., many people ask me about you and your family. I have since checked and found that you come from a strong family and I tell them that you are from the Cúelcahén Ndé of the Texas and Mexican Lipans and that all Apaches must support you. What is your Lipan name Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.? Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.: My great grandfather called me Dit’ci and it means rock without blood on it. Your name means unblemished rock, it is said, zidi’i or pade cidit in Lipan. It is good to see that you have name, many people now days do not have a name. Among the Lipan, you are recognized by your name. In the old days a warrior would get his name for the deeds he did, like killing, or doing untold things for his people, always the people first. As the head of the Cúelcahén Ndé, I will call you Ndé Nant’ ān̓ means Lipan Bossman or headman of your people. Since I cannot name you chief until you have done a good thing for your people in getting them recognized.
The Lipan wore eagle feathers for ceremonies or special occasions, my great grandfather, its kind like a cap that did not hang down. My grandfather Chief Magoosh was in a parade in New Jersey and he wore a Lipan Apache ceremonial cap that had many feather, eagle feather, with about forty feathers . . . My great grandfather was born about the 1810, and he was a young man of about twenty years old when he fought at the Alamo.”

“I was told that the Lipan went north to the Kiowa, among the Kiowa Apache just like the Tonkawa after the Alamo. There was some Lipan who lived upon the Big Bend among the Kickapoo who lived among the duck and geese of the area, they live with us for protection. My great grandfather Magoosh always told us that the Lipan live in Zacatecas, Mexico and that many our people stayed behind and lived there. I was told that the some Lipan people lived outside of Reynosa, Mexico. Many of our villages in Mexico were surrounded by Mexicans, so a lot of our people live and learned the language of the Mexicans.” [Begay 2002]

Meredith Begay (2002) not only identified the Castro family history as pertaining to the Cúelcahén Ndé, but also made the cultural and historical affiliation between the Ndé (Apache) people and Mexican and Mexican American people clear.

Due to the colonial and post-colonial upheavals of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and northern Mexico, many Native American people shared their communities and homes with Mexican people and became the foundation for people known as Mexicano, Mexican, Raza, Mexican American, and Chicano. The following chapters of this dissertation discuss the implications of this important aspect of the development of Native American ceremonial observance and sacred geography in south Texas.
CHAPTER SUMMARY

The origins and migrations of the Cúelcahén Ndé demonstrate Native American descent from Ndé buffalo hunters with territory in Texas and northern Mexico. Known as Apache de los Llanos, Apache, Cúelcahén Ndé, and Llaneros these buffalo hunters are historically and culturally affiliated with Mexican and Mexican American history and culture. Over nearly 500 years, lines of evidence tie Ndé buffalo hunters called Apache de los Llanos living south of the Canadian River in the 1500’s to the Cúelcahén Ndé with genetic roots identified by oral and written history as the People of the Tall Grass of the Great Apache Nation.

Tracing the emergence of the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass) as Apache buffalo hunters in Spanish military reports shows the Tall Grass People between the Lipan Apache on the east and the Mescalero and affiliated Apache nations on the west until 1799. Thereafter, I augment the historical record with the Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition, which remembers Chief Cuelgas de Castro’s birth at San Saba in 1792 and follows the history of his descendants as they were survived to carry their oral tradition into the twenty-first century embodied in Daniel Castro Romero, Jr. (Castro and Romero 2001; Castro 1999). To distinguish the general nation of the Cúelcahén Ndé or Llanero Apache, form the specific segment that survived through the lineage of Chief Cuelgas de Castro, I use the term Cúelcahén Ndé to represent their survival in the family and oral tradition of Daniel Castro Romero, Jr.
APPENDIX A  
AGUACANE AND ESCANJAQUE

MIGUEL, A TANCOA, BECOMES A COLONIAL INFORMANT

Miguel, a Tancoa, lived among people called Escanjaque near the Ranchería Grande (Tzanao) on the Arkansas River in 1601 until he was captured by Spanish soldiers and brought to Mexico City for interrogation. According to Miguel, the correct name for the Escanjaque was Aguacane a nation, whose warriors captured him when he was twelve years old and carried him away from Tancoa, his true homeland. Miguel’s willingness to provide information about the Southern Plains greatly improved Spanish colonial understandings of the political geography of the region and is invaluable for those concerned with its early written history. Miguel used visual aids in outlining and describing the region, its peoples, and its commerce. Zaldívar interrogated Miguel, who made lines in the sand to clarify his statements, which Zaldívar copied onto paper.

“In Mexico, April 29, 1602, the factor, Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, ordered appropriate questioning of the Indian Miguel, who was brought to this city from the provinces of his land. Miguel proceeded to mark on the paper some circles resembling the letter “O” some larger than others; in a way easily understood he explained what each circle represented, and I (Zaldívar), by order of the factor, wrote in each one of the circles what the Indian said they represented, to make it clear. Then he drew lines, some snakelike and others straight, and indicated by signs that they were rivers and roads; they were also given names, according to his explanation.” [Valverde 1602 in Hammond and Rey 1953: 873]

In addition to providing a relative geography of the Indigenous peoples of the Southern Plains, this portion of the Valverde Inquiry of 1602 communicates some important aspects of life on the Southern Plains at the time of first personal contact with the Spanish in 1601.

First, the taking of captives was a part of Native American war and commerce on the Southern Plains for Indigenous peoples the Arkansas River between Arkansas City, Kansas and Ponca City, Oklahoma. Chroniclers of the Coronado expedition reported that Ysopete, Xabe, and a man known as El Turco came from the Southern Plains and guided Coronado’s expedition to Quivira. Similarly, Miguel had been a captive of the Aguacane (Escanjaque) who was taken from Tancoa as a young boy. Thus, it appears that the Spanish practice of raiding and taking captives fit into similar practices on the Southern Plains.
This is demonstrated by Miguel’s easily communicated narrative, in which he included his being taken captive by the Spanish as just another captivity episode.

“After making this picture map the Indian (Miguel) explained by signs the place where he was born, how he was taken prisoner and carried away by the enemy (Agucane/Escanjaque) to other lands where he grew up, how he came to fight the Spaniards and was taken prisoner. He told this in such a way that it was understood by all present, and as he spoke, by signs, I wrote it down.” [Hammond and Rey 1953: 873]

Miguel had an understanding of geography and diagramming intelligible to his Spanish interrogators. It should be noted that neither Miguel, nor other Natives of the Southern Plains appeared to be particularly impressed by the Spanish and their colonial ventures. Important to understandings Native American and Spanish relations in 1601, Valverde’s inquiry produced a cartographic collaboration between Miguel, Zaldívar, and Valverde with limited input by others who were present. Miguel constructed a cartographic diagram with kernels of maize on the ground that Zaldívar transcribed for Valverde. Once on paper, the map was brought to a table and the three men collaboratively derived a map based on Miguel’s knowledge of the people living on the Southern Buffalo Plains. Miguel identified turkeys to be common on the Southern Plains, but he was not familiar with chilchotes175 (turquoise).

175. Note again the Nahuatl word used in questioning, but also not that chalchihuites used to identify turquoise and jade during the sixteenth century had been altered to chilchotes.
RESEARCH REGARDING MIGUEL’S INTERROGATION

Two publications address the region described by Miguel as Plains Villages and hunting camps of various Caddoan peoples who lived among buffalo and hunted them. Newcomb, Jr. and Campbell (1983) presented a number of arguments locating and documenting Aguacane, Tzanoa, and Tancoa Nations and Peoples who lived in Kansas and Oklahoma in 1601. Over a decade later, Mark Warhus (1997) presented a Native American Studies perspective on Miguel’s map as “the oldest recorded Native American map (Warhus 1997: 24).” Warhus (1997) presents the world laid out in cartographic form by Miguel as an outline of economic and cultural networks forged over the course of some 14,000 years of Native American history.

In addition to these two publications, I discussed work in which scholars mentioned documentary and archeological evidence regarding the Southern Plains between 1450 and 1650. Newcomb, Jr. and Campbell (1983) attempted to clarify geography and history regarding Indigenous peoples of the Southern Prairies near the Arkansas River. Their analysis outlined Oñate’s 1601 route based on primary sources and ethnographic data given regarding the settlements mentioned and described by Miguel. The travelers met Vaquero Apache buffalo hunters who dotted their territory covering the next 300 miles along the Canadian River.

176. Oñate (1596) describes Escanjaque encampments and the Quivira Village as rancherías.

177. Caddoan languages include, the Caddo of Texas and Oklahoma in one large grouping and the Northern Caddoan, from north to south. The Arikara from the Missouri to the White River, the Pawnee from the Republican north to the Missouri River (O’Brien 1994), the Wichita on either side of the Arkansas River in the vicinity of the great bend, Kitsai between the Arkansas and Red rivers, this probably includes the Iscanis, Tawakoni, and Taovaya known in Texas history (Baugh 1994; Vehik 1994). Linguistic data is from Campbell (1997: 400).

178. The author exaggerates, as many maps had been drawn up among Nahuas and other Indigenous Mexican writers in the 1500’s. Some Indigenous cartographers used Native methods, while others emerged from Spanish Colonial cultural imposition in the form of religion and education. In this light, Miguel undoubtedly produced the knowledge, however Saldívar produced the text.
This would bring the party to sand dunes that Newcomb, Jr. and Campbell (1983:30) identified as the Antelope Hills east of the Texas Panhandle in Oklahoma where the Canadian River flows around a northerly bend.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ This area is just north of Black Kettle National Grassland in Western Oklahoma.
Miguel provided names corresponding with possible geographic places and national groups of distinct language and political organization. All of these groups carried on similar subsistence practices that included buffalo hunting and planting, as well as trade and raid relations. Zaldívar transcribed Miguel’s multi-media illustration of trade relationships, warfare, and language differences onto a piece of paper still visible today (Warhus 1997).

Regarding the content of the map, Newcomb, Jr. and Campbell (1983: 32) stated that “. . . Miguel’s map provides no directinal [sic] orientation . . .” This may be literally accurate because there is no arrow pointing north, nevertheless, relative locations present a consistent reckoning of north and south that evidently was collaboratively understood by Miguel and Zaldívar; especially seeing as though Miguel used maize kernels as distance markers. San Gabriel is in the lower right-hand corner giving a generally accurate southern starting point for the journey at the confluence of the Rio Grande and the Chama Rivers. Aside from a somewhat arbitrary marking of the path from New Mexico, a pattern continued in the setting of Grenada (Zuni), Somberete, Zacatecas, and Mexico at the bottom, the remainder of the map is quite accurate, Map 16, p. 353.

Miguel set maize seeds on the map drawn out by Zaldívar, to demonstrate distances between the various places he was familiar with, each kernel representing one day of travel. On the written map there is one river marked “. . . este es Rio . . .” and two rivers just marked “Rio,” one horizontal and the other vertical. After curving along an acute angle from the left side of the paper (west) to the center and up to the upper left (northwest), “este es Rio” meets the horizontal “Rio.” This curve matches surprisingly well with the path of the Salt Fork of the Arkansas as it joins the Arkansas River at Ponca City and veers northwest to its fork with Walnut River at Arkansas City, the site of the Ranchería Grande, marked on the map as Tzanoa, Map 16, p. 353. From the confluence of the Arkansas (Rio) and the Salt Fork of the Arkansas (este es Rio), a line is drawn toward the upper right hand corner that could be a part of the vertical “Rio” that orients the eight Aguacane rancherías. If this is the case, then the map also traces the northeastern curve of the Arkansas River downstream from Ponca City that continues a southerly course to Tulsa, Oklahoma. Building upon this observation the map becomes more intelligible.
For instance, Ya Huicache, where Miguel was raised is set on a road connecting it to Tancoa that he marked twenty-two days travel and Miguel marked the distance from Ya Huicache to the Ranchería Grande, marked on the map at Tzano, as fifteen days travel. Of additional significance for specifically locating the settlements and other areas of interest marked by Miguel on the map are the salinas, or salt deposits. If we accept Newcomb, Jr. and Campbell’s (1983) location of Tancoa west of the fork of the Salt Fork of the Arkansas and the Medicine Lodge rivers, primarily because of its proximity to the Great Salt Plains, then the distances and locations of the Ranchería Grande at Arkansas City and Aguacane at the confluence of the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers west of Tulsa take on relative accuracy on the map, Map 16, p. 353.

Following this interpretation, Miguel and Zaldivar positioned four Aguacane (Escanjaque) rancherías running from north to south on the west side of the Arkansas River downstream from Ponca City. On the east side of the Arkansas River are Ya Huicacha, Ahacache, Yu Huanica, and Ahac capan and on the Westside, Miguel identifies four more Aguacane rancherías. Cochizca is across the river from Ya Huicacha, Coch pane is across from Yu Huanica, Aguacane is at the lower (southern) end of the “Rio” just above a fork that is the meeting of the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers west of Tulsa, Oklahoma. Just south of this fork, Eguac apac is connected to Aguacane by a road. Of these eight Aguacane (Escanjaque) rancherías, only Cochizca has a byline stating, “esto no lo han visto españoles” meaning that the Spaniards had not seen this settlement, suggesting that they had seen the others (Newcomb, Jr. and Campbell 1983: 31; Warhus 1997: 24). According to the text written on the map, Miguel lived at Ya Huicacha after being taken from his native Tancoa when he was about twelve years of age. In his description of the various settlements of the area, Miguel located Tancoa twenty-two days travel from the Aguacane encampment labeled Ya huanica. Further west from Tancoa, Miguel then described Encuche, an amazing place with a lake of gold dust and probably an important component of the legend of El Dorado, to be forty-four days away from Tancoa. Miguel also located Tzanoa and Vyana, two new settlements thirty-six days apart from one another and presumably still in the region of Encuche. After Miguel reiterated his narrative about being taken captive from Tancoa by the Aguacane and then taken by the Spanish to San Gabriel and finally to Mexico City he reaffirmed that, the Aguacane and the people of the Quivira were commonly at war (Hammond and Rey 1953: 875).
In all, the eight Aguacane rancherías along with Tancoa and Tzanoa constitute points on the map made by Miguel and Zaldívar in 1601 that can be tied to geographic, material, and historical evidence indexing a political geography with implications for Native American history in Texas. My analysis of literature related to Miguel’s illustration of the Southern Plains in 1601 has established locations for Tzanoa at Arkansas City, Kansas, Tancoa near the Great Salt Plains State Park of Oklahoma, and the eight Aguacane rancherías on the Arkansas River between Ponca City and Tulsa, Oklahoma. The utility of this analysis is that it sets up an origin for buffalo hunting nations that played key roles in Texas.
ROVING NATIONS OF OKLAHOMA AND TEXAS

Nations introduced by Miguel in 1601, by virtue of their names and life ways appear to by culturally and historically affiliated with various buffalo hunting nations in Texas known in history as Tonkawa, Yojuane, Iscani, Tawakoni, and others. Ethnologically, a number of points stand out. First, Miguel implied that the Tonkawa had a mixed subsistence economy that including buffalo hunting and horticulture in 1601.

This is notably distinct from historical and ethnological representations of the Tonkawa as non-planting buffalo hunters (Newcomb, Jr. 1961). Newcomb, Jr., and Campbell (1983) identified the Escanjaque (Aguacane) as settlements of people who would become one or more of the Wichita subdivisions of the 1700’s; and Miguel and 11 eyewitnesses agreed that the Aguacane (Escanjaque) were buffalo hunters who did not plant nor harvest. This is a reversal of later ethnographic information on the Tonkawa who were known as people who did not cultivate and Wichita who were known as participants in mixed subsistence including buffalo hunting and horticulture, if not larger scale planting (Newcomb, Jr. 1961). However, I cannot discern the exact evidence they are indexing in arriving at these conclusions.

Phonetic similarities between ethnic terms used to identify the roving nations are remarkable. Look at the resemblances between Aguacane and the Tawakoni, later known as the Waco, the Escanjaque and the Iscanis, the Yu Huanica and the Joyvan, Huanchane, and Huane, the Ya Huicacha and Ahac cache with the Naouydiche, the Cochizca with the Quidehais and Kichai, and the Tancoa with the Tancaoye, Tancahua, and Tonkawa. These correlations strongly suggest that rancherías reported by Miguel in 1601 may have an ancestral relation to the roving hunters met in Oklahoma and northeast Texas when the Spanish arrive in the 1690’s.

Comparable to Miguel’s identification of the Yu Huanica in 1601, the Yojuane emerge in a report from the Tejas Asinai Mission San Francisco de los Tejas written in 1691 by Fray Casañas de Jesús María (Swanton 1942: 251). After 1700, variants of the name Yojuane appeared in reports from the prairie and post-oak belts of both northeast Texas and southeast Oklahoma. San Denis (1717) referred to the roving bands as “. . . caminantes.”
Espinosa (1717) reported a 1709 meeting with the Yojuane, Simomo, and Tusonibi nations with Chief Cantona on the Colorado River in Texas. In June 1716, Chief Juan Rodriguez, known by this time as El Cuilón, and the Ervipiame hosted a gathering of Pamaya, Payaya, Cantona, Mexcal, Xarame, Mesquite, and Sijame at their ranchería south of the Brazos River northeast of Caldwell, Texas.

On June 10, 1716, after this feast, Ramón (1717) called a council of war regarding the need for military support in Texas. He perceived a serious threat posed by the enemies of the Tejas, which he named as Apache, Yojuane, Ervipiame, Chana, and their allies (Ramón 1717).

Regarding the relationship of Tonkawa and Yojuane with mounted Ndé rangers north of the Colorado River, war between northern forces led by the Tejas, Wichita, and Comanche and southern forces led by the Ndé and Jumano resulted in tremendous territorial upheaval during the 1700’s. Afterwards however, many of these Indigenous nations shared relocation and reservation areas with Lipan Apache in the 1800’s. Taken as a whole, the buffalo hunters of the Southern Plains popularly known as Apache, Wichita, Tonkawa, and Caddo carried on intermittent trade, war, and convivial relations from 1601 until the U.S. American Indian reservation period. Presently, the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes (2000) as the Keechi, Tawakoni, and Waco taken a proactive stance in helping Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan to further their claims as an American Indian tribe and are a prime example of the survival of Texas Indians.
APPENDIX B  INDÍGENA OF COAHUILA, NUEVO LEÓN, AND TEXAS

In this appendix, I summarize the establishment and destruction of missions in Coahuila to establish a political geography of an area important to the ethnohistory of Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass).

First, this is important because a significant point in the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass) Castro Family oral history takes place on the Rodrigo River on the site of mission ruins. In 1873, Colonel Ranald Mackenzie massacred a Lipan Apache village on Mexican soil in violation of international law and human decency. Second, as, I explained in Chapter 3, the legacy of the Indigenous peoples of Texas and northeastern Mexico continues biologically and culturally in Mexican and Mexican American people living in the present. The missions and other settlements of Coahuila and Nuevo León are integral to this history. This appendix also follows up on this mission analysis by presenting historical data on the Ervipiame, Catqueza, Jumano, and Catujana, also known as Cantona. All three of these Indigenous nations traveled extensively between Coahuila and Texas with the Cantona furthest east and ranging Nuevo León, the Ervipiame first reported at the confluence of the Rio Grande and Pecos rivers, and the Jumano known from the New Mexico Pueblos to the Caddo Villages. Although receiving training in Spanish and catholic dogma south of the Rio Grande, historically documented segments of these nations migrated north into central and east Texas. In addition to providing greater historical context, these analyses address one of the problems I found in the recovery of Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass) Castro Family ethnohistory. Namely, such an approach must take into account not only the historical geography of the village massacred by Colonel Ranald Mackenzie in 1873, but also the centuries of military alliance and convivial relations that they shared with Indigenous groups in the region between 1650 and the present. Only in this way is it possible to understand the statements made by Spanish colonials in the face of Anti-Colonial Action leveled against them by the cooperative efforts of Ndé and others.
39 MISSIONS IN COAHUILA AND NUEVO LEÓN

In 1595, the Jesuits reported that they still had not established an effective missionary influence among the Irritila near the Rio Nazas in northern Zacatecas and only achieved this goal in 1598 at Parras in southern Coahuila (Alessio Robles 1938:46). Spanish chroniclers became more familiar with the Indigenous peoples of Coahuila over the course of the 1600’s and noted cultural components that are continuous with Lipan life ways in the following centuries. For example, while generalized plant collecting and hunting subsistence focused on mesquite in the southern areas, Indigenous nations to the north hunted buffalo near the Rio Grande. In both cases Indigenous, people traveled great distances to take advantage of these staple foods. Of noted importance was the use of peyote in ceremonial gatherings reported as “mitotes.” As Ndé buffalo hunters integrated into the region and lived among its Indigenous peoples, they too learned to use this sacred and medicinal plant (León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961).

Santiago del Saltillo settled in 1575, was not formally established until 1586. However, Guachichil resistance as far as Cerralvo, Nuevo León slowed colonial progress until the 1590’s (Davis 1950:76). As Alessio Robles (1938) explained, these offensives were extensions of the Chichimeca Wars. Once the Spanish realized that they could not succeed through direct warfare, they turned to more accommodative measures including gift-giving and establishing missions and through these tactics, the Spanish colonial machine once again moved northward. By 1580, Luis de Carvajal settled Ciudad de León, known today as Cerralvo and San Luis in 1581. After being destroyed by the Spanish Inquisition, Carvajal’s reportedly Jewish colony was recalled and by 1596 had been replaced by a colony named Monterrey by Diego de Montemayor.

Meanwhile, silver was found at Nuevo Almadén and a rush of prospectors settled the colony of Monclova, but by 1590, Castaño de Sosa led the colony to New Mexico. The first mission in the region was established and ended in 1607 when the Quamoquane martyred Fray Martín de Altamira on the Rio Nadadores between Monclova and Cuatro Ciéñegas, Coahuila. Moreover, slave raids and the establishment of labor camps (congregas) brought the wrath of Cuauchichil led by Chief Huajuco in 1624 (Davis 1950: 130 - 132).
Amidst the colonial activity, Native resistance continued and not for another fifty years would colonial progress be made. The following section outlines the missions of Coahuila by name, date, location, and membership. I have yet to find a reliable source that provides a working political geography of the missionary enterprise in Coahuila. Although historians such as Morfí (1778), Portillo (1984), Sánchez (1950), Weddle (1968), and Habig (1990) extensively discussed the subject, no one has synthesized the data into a format that provides who, what, where, and when with respect to the missions. Portillo (1984) is probably the best source available. However, it is brief and does not contain useful citations. Although Alessio Robles (1938) presented much of the pertinent information, it is widely scattered through book. Habig (1990) focused on the missions north of the Rio Grande and literally dodged the issue and made a section on the missions of Coahuila and Nuevo León conspicuous by its absence. Hence, a working outline of thirty-nine missions is offered here.

The first well-documented missions are known from Nuevo León.

1. Mission Nadadores was established between Monclova and Cuatro Ciénegas in 1607 (Alessio Robles 1938).

2. Mission Guadalupe de las Salinas was founded in 1636 in northeastern Nuevo León with people from the Malagueco Nation (Salinas 1990: 160).

3. Mission San Cristobal de Hualahuises was established in 1644 near Linares, Nuevo León (Salinas 1990: 160).

4. In 1646, Mission Santa Teresa de Alamillo was established for the Blanco Nation near Agualeguas, Nuevo León southwest of the Falcón Reservoir (Salinas 1990).

Alessio Robles (1938: 218 - 219) recounts a story said to have taken place in 1670 of Coetzale traveling to Guadalajara to retrieve a priest to catechize them. As the Coetzale approached the Rio Grande with Fray Juan Larios, Toboso warriors confronted the travelers and challenged them to a ball game with the head of Fray Juan Larios’ head as the prize.
Afterwards, Fray Juan Larios is reputed to have missionized Native Americans as far north as the Nueces River, such as the Sana speaking Cacaxtla. In addition to religious instruction, missions were intended to reduce Native American land use by concentrating them in small plots for horticultural subsistence.

This usually had disastrous impacts, concentrating people resulted in making them vulnerable to famines and disease. Hence, missions should be recognized as disease pools and partly responsible for depopulation. Another aspect of life in the area responsible for depopulation in Texas and northeastern Mexico was the integration of horses and firearms into Native peoples’ lives. The dispersal of horses facilitated by Apaches and Utes in the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 brought radical changes sweeping Native America west of the Mississippi. With many groups taking up the horse to hunt and raid, larger territories were ranged for game and goods. Because of the universal value of living Native people, captive taking became more frequent than killing by Spanish punitive expeditions. On all sides, captives were used as currency in peace negotiations and in regenerating decimated populations.

In 1670, Fray Juan Larios established the first mission in Coahuila 30 miles north of Monclova (Steck 1932). Because the geography was little known at the time, Larios’ religious instruction may have taken place anywhere between the Bolson de Mapimi and south of the Rio Sabinas (Salado) near Lampazos, Nuevo León. According to Kinsall (1995: 4) Larios’ efforts produced no less than eleven missions in northern Coahuila, which extended to the Nueces River in Spanish Colonial and Mexican political geography. Although, Larios did not all eleven missions, five of missions are well documented in 1673 and 1674. Wade (1998) further details the dispersed missionary activities of Fray Larios north of the Rio Grande in 1674 and 1675, Map 13, p. 246.

5. In 1673, Manuel de la Cruz established Mission San Buenaventura 52 miles west of Monclova with Cabeza, Contotore, and Bauzarigame people near present day Cuatro Cienegas, Coahuila (Martinez 1674).
6. In 1674, Fray Larios established the Mission San Francisco de Coahuila in Monclova and Mission in the Valle de San Ildefonso, today known as Zaragoza, Coahuila thirty-eight miles north of the Rio Sabinas at present day Muzquiz. Captain Elizondo reported that this mission had five-hundred and fifty-three people, not including those dying of smallpox or hunting buffalo near the Rio Grande. However, by August Fray Esteban Martinez (1674) found Mission San Ildefonso abandoned because the Indigena did not have food to eat and the Indígena moved the mission to Rio Sabinas near present day Muzquiz, reported in a letter written by Fray Lozano (1674) from the new mission called Santa Rosa Santa Maria y Valle de la Concepción.

7. Also in 1674, Larios established Mission San Francisco de Coahuila in Monclova (Baga 1689).

8. In the same year, Fray Lozano established Mission Santa Rosa de los Nadadores gathered Cotzales and Manos prietas, marked by the present day town of Nadadores (Portillo 1984) just east of Cuatro Cienegas.

In 1675, two missions were founded, one in Nuevo León and one in Coahuila.

9. Mission San Nicolas de Agualeguas was established in 1675 near the Santa Teresa mission in north of Cerralvo, Nuevo León (Salinas 1990).

10. Mission San Miguel de Aguayo was founded in Monclova in 1675 for Carrizo, Cacalote, and Pajarito nations (Salinas 1990: 160).

Two well-documented missions emerged over ten years later.

11. In 1687, Friars Hidalgo, Escaray, and Estevez traveled from Saltillo with two Tlaxcalteca who took them to Boca de Leones, near present day Villaldama, Nuevo León, and established Mission San Pedro for the Alasapa (Habig 1990; Alessio Robles 1938).
12. Also in 1688, Fray Massanet established Mission Caldera with Cantujano and Cacafe people and Hidalgo stayed there while Massanet went to visit the Tejas in 1689 (Habig 1990)\(^{180}\)

In addition to the Indigenous nations mentioned above, Bishop Santa Cruz stated that by 1676, Tlaxcalteca families settled among the Catujano at Candela and the Chichicale, Bobole, Salinero (Irritila), and Alazapa to the west in Mission Santa Rosa Santa Maria and Mission Nadadores. Many of these missions did not last long. This is no surprise, seeing as though they were established at the height of the Anti-Colonial Action in the late 1600’s, during a period of heightened Anti-Colonial Action on both sides of the Rio Grande (Hackett 1942; León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961; Chapa and Foster 1997). In 1690, the Boca de Leon mission was reportedly terminated, after excavation of the Minas de Boca de Leones, resulting the Alasapa returning to their original lifestyle (Weddle 1968: 12 - 13). Similarly, Bauzarigame rose up and destroyed the mission Larios established.

13. Prior to 1689, Juan Bautista Chapa reported Mission San Antonio de los Llanos to be one-hundred miles southeast of Monterrey, twenty miles before reaching the Rio Blanco in southern Tamaulipas. Cualiteguache, one of the Indígena of this mission organized six-hundred Chichimeca warriors who killed a military officer and thirty-eight shepherds before taking the livestock. Although Captain Alonso de León retrieved thirteen-thousand sheep and twenty horses and is celebrated in the text, this Valley of San Antonio was reportedly free of Spanish settlement in 1689 (Chapa and Foster 1997: 91, 141, 142).

14. Although only mentioned as a military outpost by Chapa, Governor Juaregui Vrrutia (1737) reported Mission Labradores to have been home to Malincheños, Serranos, Cadimas, Borados, y Pamoranos in his enumeration of missions in Nuevo León in 1737.

Between 1692 and 1697, only one mission was established amidst reports of hostile Indígena in Coahuila under Governor Gregorio de Salinas Varona.

\(^{180}\) This mission, also known as San Bernardino de la Candela, was established with Tlaxcalteca families and eventually became to town of Candela, Coahuila (Alessio Robles 1938: 371).
15. In 1692, Fray Manuel de la Cruz reestablished Mission Santa Rosa de los Nadadores with Toca and Colorado (Alessio Robles 1938).

However, in 1698 and 1699 Governor Cuervo y Valdez established several missions while continuing the Toboso War.

16. In July 1698, Cuervo y Valdez (1698a) established Mission San Antonio Galindo de Montezuma for 170 Alazapa, Espiagilo, Apinami, Exmalquio, and Cenizo in the Valle de Candamo, twenty-six miles north of Monclova where the Nadadores and Monclova rivers meet.

17. In November 1698, Cuervo y Valdez (1698b) established Mission San Felipe de Valladares Mission less than three miles east of Candela for 220 Acafe, Quejamo, Ocanie, Molia, Canoa, Patalo, Chantague, and Patacal.

18. On November 7, 1698, Cuervo Valdez and Captain Mendez Tobar met Christian and Gentile Indians at El Ojo de Agua de Lampazos. After seeing falling fifty spheres of light, they established Mission Santa Maria de los Dolores de la Punta. On November 12, 1698, a Chapel of straw was built on the branch of the Rio Sabinas that becomes the Rio Candela and the new mission was situated halfway between Mission Candela and the main stream of the Rio Sabinas (Canedo 1964: 752).

19. The next month on December 13, 1698 Cuervo y Valdez (1698c) reported that Mission del Valle San Bartolome de Jesus was established with 95 Chantaf, Pacoo, and Paiagua. However, Portillo (1984: 273 - 277) reported that Fray Lozano established the mission between the Rio Alamo and the Rio Grande in the Lomería de Peyotes with four Tlaxcalteca families and twenty families of the Quetzale Nation.

181. This mission has become the town of Lampazos, Nuevo León. The Rio de Sabinas followed the Sierra del Carmen southeast to the Arroyo de la Bavía, the north fork of which becomes the Rio de Alamos and the lower fork becomes the main course of the Rio de Sabinas that enter Nuevo León to become the Rio Salado
20. Fray Portoles (1699) reported that this mission was reestablished on January 2, 1699 as Mission Dulze Nombre Jesus de los Peyotes with Chantafe (Santaje), Pacoo, and Paiagua nations at the present site of Villa Unión, Coahuila twenty-five miles north of the Lomería de Peyotes.

21. Fray Nicolas de Ornelas reported Mission San Antonio de Padua de las Adjuntas settled Indígena from Guadalajara with Quetzale near the confluence of the Rios Monclova and Nadadores. Don Santiago and Don Pedrote were Captains of this mission led by Fray Baltasar Pacheco and Fray Juan Berbén (Alessio Robles 1938: 382).

22. Later in 1699, over two-hundred Ervipiame gathered to establish Mission San Francisco Xavier in the Valle de San Cristobal, also near Villa Unión (Cuervo y Valdez 1699a; Campbell 1988: 138).

23. On June 20, 1699, Cuervo y Valdez (1699b) sent Juan Martín Treviño from Monclova to establish Mission San Juan Bautista. Treviño passed Candela and Lampazos and arrived at the Valle de Santo Domingo on the north side of the Rio Sabinas, near present day Sabinas, Coahuila. On June 23, 1699, Treviño established the first Mission San Juan Bautista with 150 Chaguane, Pachale, Mescale, and Xarame (Galindo 1701). However, the Indígena revolted and took the livestock with them, leaving Fray Hidalgo to eat rabbits, snails, and rats.


By 1700, a mission road ran from Queretaro, passed through pasture lands to Saltillo, and continued northeast to Monterrey and then back northwest to Boca de Leones (Villaldama, Nuevo Leon) and on to Mission Dolores (Lampazos, Nuevo Leon) on the Rio de Sabinas. From this main waterway, the mission road crossed the San Diego River, the Santa Monica River, and entered the Valle de Circumsición (Guerrero, Coahuila). West of the mission road, Toboso ranged through Parral, Saltillo, and the Bolsón de Mapimi bordering on Nueva Vizcaya. Soon after, a series of missions revolted and were abandoned. On July 24, 1700, Ervipiame led by Don Tomas killed soldiers in Monclova, but paid a friendly visit to the Spanish on the Rio Grande. Sixteen of the Ervipiame visited Mission Peyotes and incited rebellion there and at the San Juan Bautista missions, resulting in the death of fourteen Paiague. As part of this Anti-Colonial Action, Ervipiame rebels from Mission San Francisco Xavier stole women and children from Indigena in the other missions, raided livestock, and killed people.  

Although established in the Circumsición Valley in 1700, Mission San Francisco Solano was abandoned by October 1702 due to water shortage.

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182. Ignacio, an Indian vecino from La Caldera, probably Tlaxcalteca, worked with four Moso Indigena to solicit support from nearby Indigena to attack Don Tomas and his Ervipiame. Once organized, the Indigena mission forces massacred the Ervipiame who had come to recruit them against the Spanish (Olivares 1700a: 48).
26. Amidst the upheaval Mission San Bernardo joined the other Rio Grande missions in 1702 with Ocané, Pacuache, and Pachale instructed by Diego Ramón and Fray Alonzo Gonzalez (Espinosa 1717; Canedo 1964: 846).

27. In 1703, Mission Solano relocated from the Valle de Circunsición to the San Ildefonso Valley near Zaragoza, Coahuila with Xarame from the Rio Grande site along with four-hundred Tercedammes, Tecmanare, Tripas Blancas, Piedras Chiquitas, Julime, Dedepo, and Gavilan (Canedo 1964).

Galindo (1701) reported two years before that the Tercedammes had been waiting for a mission near the Rio Grande. In 1708 and 1709, Toboso staged an offensive and incited the Indígena at Mission Solano to revolt (Arricivita 1792: 284 - 285). The following year, Mission Solano returned to the Rio Grande eight miles north of the Valle de Circuncision to the Valle de San Jose. After 1714, missions attended to the needs of Spanish settlement. For example, as San Antonio grew it expanded its single mission to include San José y San Miguel de Aguayo in 1720, and the missions of Purísima Concepción de Acuña, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada in 1731. Similarly, colonial enterprises on the Texas gulf coast were accompanied by Mission Nuestra Señora de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo in 1749 and Nuestra Señora del Refugio in 1795. However, these missions are well documented in Spanish Borderlands history of Texas (Weber 1990).

28. Espinosa (1717) reported that friars Joséph Diez and Pedro Muñoz established Mission San Miguel on the upper Rio Sabinas in 1714 to replace those destroyed by the Tripas Blancas on the Rio Nadadores the year before. However, Toboso forces destroyed this mission before 1715.

29. Espinosa (1717) also reported that Fray Margil de Jesús established Mission Guadalupe on the lower Rio Sabinas in 1715.

183 San Jose is still a small town in Coahuila near visible mission ruins (Weddle 1968: 55).
30. Also in 1715, Mission Nuestra Señora de la Purificación was established on the north bank of the Río Pilón near Montemorelos, Nuevo León for Cacalote, Naza, Pelón, and Tortuga nations (Salinas 1990:106).

31. Facing the Purificación mission and on the south bank, Mission Nuestra Señora de la Concepción was founded in 1715 for Borrado and Guajolote nations (Salinas 1990: 106).

32. In 1718, Mission San Francisco Solano moved to San Antonio River and become San Antonio de Valero.

33. Mission Nuestro Padre San Francisco de Vizarrón was founded September 5, 1736 adjacent to Mission Peyotes with the Pausane Nation (Archivo San Francisco el Grande 1736).

Jose de Escandón established a number of missions among the colonies of Nuevo Santander.

34. Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Cabezón de la Sal of San Fernando was established near San Fernando de Presas, Nuevo León in 1749 for nations associated with the Comecudo of Río San Fernando (Salinas 1990: 158).

35. Mission San Joaquin del Monte of Reynosa was established in 1750, seventeen miles up the Río Grande from Reynosa, at Reynosa Diaz, Nuevo León with nations came from areas along the Río Grande (Salinas 1990: 154).

36. Mission Divina Pastora de Santillana was established in 1749 in the Pilón valley near Montemorelos, Nuevo León for Aguatinejo, Cacalote, and Tortuga who guided Escandon in 1747.

37. Mission San Agustin de Laredo was established in Camargo in 1749 for the congrega led by Tareguano Chief Juan Antonio Viruela, leader of Tareguano made up of Borrado, Carrizo, Cotoname, and others (Salinas 1990: 155).
38. Mission Purísima Concepción of Mier was begun in 1753 but never became an official settlement. However, 132 Malagueco and Garza living in Mier had missionaries visit them.

39. Mission San Francisco Solano de Ampuero of Revilla was established in 1750 for nations near Revilla, Nuevo León (Salinas 1990: 154).

In all, I have listed thirty-nine missions in Coahuila and Nuevo León between 1636 and 1750, including the relocation of Mission Solano to the San Antonio River where it became Mission San Antonio de Valero.

At the end of this period, mission efforts were applied north of San Antonio on the San Xavier River for the Indigenous alliance called the Ranchería Grande, often represented by the Ervipiame, and on the San Saba River for Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters. The San Xavier mission debacle was followed by a number of brief Apache missions in Coahuila and Texas that lasted spanned the 1750’s and 1760’s. However, these missions are discussed in detail in the body of this study.
Spanish missions consisted primarily of Indigenous nations and were an important setting for subsistence and survival for Indígena in Texas and Coahuila. The following section discusses buffalo hunting nations that were engaged by colonial intervention on both sides of Rio Grande and had important relations with Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters, as well as the historical and cultural affiliation that came with sharing territory and colonial provisions in Texas and northeastern Mexico. Historical data presented here form a basis for arguing that Ndé and other southern buffalo hunters shared extensive historical, political, and cultural affiliation and comparability.
ERVIPIAMÉ

Ervipiamé were first mentioned as buffalo hunters near where the Rio Grande and Pecos rivers meet. First documented by Fray Manuel de la Cruz in 1674, Ervipiamé lived in the canyon lands of the Devil’s River near Del Rio, Texas. A western location is supported by their absence from the lists of Indígena from Nuevo León before 1689 by Alonso de León, Chapa, and Zamora (1961).

Balcarcel also received reports of an Ervipiamé leader who had been killed by Huequetzale who took a bastón (staff of command) of copper (Wade 1998: 486). Interestingly, on July 16, 1688, an Ervipiamé named Diego de León from a ranchería made up of Jumano and Ervipiamé in Coahuila, reported to Governor Alonso de León an alliance made up of his people with the Jumano, French, and Tejas wiped out an Apache ranchería (Portillo 1984: 184). This is a clear statement that Ndé rangers had entered lands north of the Colorado River in Texas by 1688 and that the Ervipiamé were already present as well. Therefore, they lived in Texas before they entered missions. Cuerbo y Valdez (1699) reported that the Ervipiamé peacefully settled in the Nadadores mission in 1693, fifty miles from Monclova on the Nadadores River (Cuerbo y Valdez 1699), near the town of that name. In the same document, Cuerbo y Valdez reported that Ervipiamé following Chief Joseph allied with the Spanish against the Toboso.184 Building on this alliance, over two-hundred Ervipiamé gathered with Fray Muñoz Montes de Oca to establish Mission San Francisco Xavier one-hundred miles northwest of Monclova between the Rio Grande and Sabinas Rivers in the Valle de San Cristobal, near Villa Unión (Cuervo y Valdez 1699a; Campbell 1988: 138).

184. This may reference the hostile meeting with Jumano and Tobosos reported by Salinas Varona on Salt Creek near Yorktown, Texas (Foster, Jackson, and Brierley 1993).
However, on July 24, 1700, Ervipiame led by Don Tomas killed soldiers in Monclova and visited the Spanish on the Rio Grande in friendship. Sixteen of the Ervipiame visited Mission Peyotes and incited a rebellion in which fourteen Payaye (Paiague) were killed. Nevertheless, the Ervipiame succeeded in fomenting rebellion at Mission Peyotes and Mission San Juan Bautista. Ervipiame rebels, apparently from Mission San Francisco Xavier reportedly stole women and children from Indigena in the other missions, raided livestock, and killed people during this time.

In response, Ignacio, an Indian from Candela (La Caldera), probably Tlaxcalteca, worked with four Moso Indigena to solicit support from nearby Indigena to attack Don Tomas and his Ervipiame. Once organized, the Indígena mission forces led by Ignacio massacred the Ervpiame who turned them against the Spanish (Olivares 1700b: 48). In a related incident, Fray Olivares (1700b) reported that Don Tomás, aka Chief Nicolás, Chief of the Catqueza known from Coahuila and Texas joined a military alliance with Ervpiame and attacked and killed two soldiers in an attack on the Rio Grande missions near Guerrero, Coahuila in December 1700. Afterwards, Ervipiame were recorded at Mission San Francisco Solano in 1706, but by 1708, they were reported as living north of Guerrero between the Rio Grande and the Tejas (Maas 1915: 36 - 37). This suggests that they may have been the Lados of the 1707 Rancheria Grande near Cotulla, Texas and therefore, allied with the Pelón.

Juan Rodríguez, an Ervipiame leader born around 1679 was converted to Christianity at Mission San Francisco Xavier near Muzquíz, Coahuila and probably participated in the mission revolt of 1700 (De la Peña 1722). On June 10, 1716, Espinosa (1717) and Ramón (1717) encountered Ervipiame hosting a gathering of nations at their ranchería south of the Brazos River northeast of Caldwell in Burleson County, south of the Brazos River in Texas.

Rodríguez was their representative known by this time as El Cuilón. Soon, Pamaya, Payaya, Cantona, Mexcal, Xarame, Mesquite, and Sijame arrived and joined the feast. After this meeting, Ramón (1717) called a council of war regarding the need for military support in Texas due to the combined threat of the enemies of the Tejas named as Apache, Yojuane, Ervpiame, Chana, and their allies. Perhaps this represents an early southern alliance led by Ndé against the northern alliance brought together by the Tejas.
If so, cooperative relations between Apache and Ervipiame at the 1707 Ranchería Grande between the Rio Grande and Nueces rivers may have been a part of this. Nevertheless, historical data demonstrates changing alliances for the Ervipiame with respect to the Spanish and the Tejas between 1698 and 1716.

In 1718, El Cuilón gathered as one of twenty-three chiefs representing nations between San Antonio and the Tejas who met Gov. Alarcón to pledge allegiance to the crown in 1718 (Hoffman 1935). Alarcón appointed Rodríguez governor and captain of all Nations between San Antonio and the Tejas. In 1721, Aguayo found the Ervipiame led by Juan Rodríguez near the Trinity River with the Bidai and Deadose and directed him to return the Ranchería Grande to the Brazos with a promise of a Mission in San Antonio (Santos 1981). When he entered Mission San Antonio Valero in 1722, El Cuilón was named governor and captain of the Ervipiame of the Ranchería Grande and sent from San Antonio to spy on the French in east Texas. El Cuilón returned on March 10, 1722, and Governor Aguayo granted him possession of Mission San Francisco Xavier de Nájera for fifty Ervipiame families from the Ranchería Grande, which at that time had been located on the Brazos River (De La Peña 1722).

In April 1724, Ndé raids on the Mission de San Antonio Valero, and may have victimized Ervipiame at nearby Mission San Francisco Xavier de Nájera (Almazán 1724). In 1726, 273 Xarame, Payaya, and Ervipiame remained after Sana, Magueye, and Muruabe left Mission San Antonio (Sevillano 1727).

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185 According to Castañeda (1936) Mission San Antonio Valero was established for local Indígenas, whereas previously the Xarami natives of the San Antonio area had been sent to Mission San Francisco de Solano for religious instruction. Morfi’s report that Mission San Antonio de Valero was founded in 1716 for Sanes, Vayes, and Vanos suggests that there may have been a nascent mission before receiving the resources of Mission San Francisco Solano (Castañeda 1935). Bolton reported that in 1719, 24 Xarames and Payayas as well as Cluetan, Junced (Juncal), Pamaya, Siguam, Sijame, Sumi, and Tercodame entered the mission (Hodge 1907-1910, II: 425). In 1726, 273 Xarame, Payaya, and Ervipiame remained after Sana, Magueye, and Muruabe left Mission San Antonio (Sevillano 1727). In 1740, Tacame entered Mission San Antonio to bring the total population to 261 (Santa Ana 1740). By 1762, 275 Xarame, Payaya, Zana, Ypande (Ndé captives), Coco, Tojo (Tou), and Karankawa lived in Mission San Antonio (Dolores 1762a: 164).
Although written a over a decade later, Terreros (1746) gave an account of the Bustillo Massacre of 1732, in which he explained that the attack was executed as punishment for the attacks that Apache, Yita, and Tastasgonia made on the Mayeye, Bidai’s, Salinero, and Ervipiame, evidently referring to joint military action on their part. Ervipiame and perhaps others fled to the Monte Grande (post oak belt) to establish the Ranchería Grande where they would ally and live with a wide array of groups on the San Gabriel River, just north of Austin. By 1745, the Ervipiame lived between the Brazos and the Trinity where they began an alliance with convivial relations with the Deadose, Mayeye and Yojuane in the Monte Grande (Big Thicket) (Bolton 1915: 144 - 148).

On May 4, 1748, Mission San Xavier de Horcasitas was formally, established with Ervipiame, Yojuane, Tonkawa, Mayeye, Deadose, Bidai, and Orcoquizac people. Fray Ortiz (1748) listed the following twenty-two groups who joined the Ervipiame in the Rancheria Grande: Acopseles, Anathague, Anchoses, Apapax, Atais, Atasacneus, Atiasnogues, Cancopenes, Caocos, Casos, Geotes, Hiscas, Lacopseles, Naudis, Pastates, Quisis, Tancagues, Taguacana, Taguaya, Tanico, Tups, Vidais (John 1975: 278). According to missions set on the San Xavier (San Gabriel) River were organized according to settlement affiliation.

Nations affiliated with the Ranchería Grande, such as the Mayeye, Ervipiame, Yojuane, and Tonkawa settled in Mission San Xavier de Horcasitas, Coco and Tops from the Texas gulf coast settled in Mission Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, and Bidai, Deadose, Akokisa, and Patiri from areas southeast of the Tejas Asinai settled in Mission San Ildefonso (Dolores 1752). In addition, nearby on the Arroyo de las Animas (Brushy Creek) intermittently settled an Ndé outpost reported to be made up of Apache and Pelón that preyed upon the missions stock and supplies. In the end, seventy Ervipiame and Mayeye people were all that were left of the San Xavier missions in 1755 (Andreu 1755). However, a number of the Indígena from Mission San Francisco Xavier recongregated on the Guadalupe River with Fray Dolores (1752) who he feared could not settle in the San Antonio missions.186

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186 Interestingly, however, Ervipiame burials in Mission San Antonio were most numerous and four burials pertaining to people of dual ethnicity documented in the 1730’s suggests that this was a period of extended residence for Ervipiame at the mission (Gabehart 1995).
In addition to the failed mission experience, Ervipiame shared other colonial experiences with Ndé east of New Mexico and both nations descended from buffalo hunters. Ervipiame and Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas are also both reported to engage in mitote peyote religion. Interestingly, while Ervipiame migrated north to become a segment of buffalo hunters in Texas north of the Colorado River they were said to be enemies of the Tejas by Ramón (1717). However, after this report, Ervipiame settled a Ranchería Grande, which became noted allies of the northern alliance led by the Tejas. Both Ervipiame and Ndé buffalo hunters sent delegations requesting missions from Urrutia in 1745 and 1746. This resulted in the San Xavier and San Saba mission projects and both of the missions ended in war and destruction.

Internecine warfare between the captain and the clergy and Ndé raids destroyed San Xavier by 1755 and the Norteño show of force coordinated by Comanche, Tejas, and Wichita forces and French military advisors crushed San Saba in 1758 and for most practical purposes, Spanish colonial power. Meanwhile, Ervipiame made up fifty-nine of the eight-hundred and eighty-three people recorded at Mission San Antonio Valero between 1721 and 1782, while Ndé (Apache) made up twenty. Other groups with larger numbers were the two-hundred and twenty-four Xana (Sana), one-hundred and four Coco (Karankawa), one-hundred Payaya, and forty-seven Xarame. Ervipiame presence at Mission Valero is recorded from 1722 until 1770 with most dates clustering between 1740 and 1760. They also are among the few ethnicities recorded after 1770. This period is also the heaviest period for Ndé documented in the mission Gabehart 1995).
CANTONA

Another group of nations banded in an alliance of this sort were nations associated with Capitan Catujana, also spelled Cantona. It appears certain that the Catujana, who were inducted into the Mission San Bernardino de la Candela in 1673 and who left their name on the mesa that rises above Monclova, Coahuila (Alessio Robles 1938: 269), were directly ancestral to the Cantona.

Campbell (1988:65) produced a synonymy analyzing the eighteen different spellings of the Cantujana, in which he demonstrated the merits of both an interpretation for shared identity and ethnic difference between the Cantona and Catujana. Kenmotsu (1994: 86 - 88) also discussed the likelihood of the Catujana of Coahuila being ancestral Cantona.

Wade (1998: 460 - 462) for a discussion of the Cantona with no reference to the Catujana. Interestingly, Urrutia (1733) reported that he stayed with Captain Catujana in central Texas between 1693-1700.

This chief of the Catujana is almost certainly the leader at the summer solstice procession of 1691 near San Marcos, Texas identified as Capitan Cantona by Fray Mazanet (1691).
CATQUEZA

The Catqueza were said to be the Native people of the land near present day San Marcos. Their leader, Chief Nicolás, also called Chief Tomás was raised in Parras in extreme southern Coahuila and was an excellent interpreter who spoke various Nahua languages, Spanish, and his native language. Like Sabeata, Capitan Nicolás was educated and catechized in Parral and Saltillo, after being raised ladino both left colonial life to lead among their people as buffalo hunters (Hatcher 1932: 57 - 58). Mazanet also provided information that “The Chomas are the same Indians who in Parral and New Mexico are called Jumanes [Jumares]. Every year they come to the headwaters of the Guadalupe River and sometimes as far as the Tejas [Techas] country. They come to kill buffaloes and carry away the skins because in their country there are no buffalos.” (Hatcher 1932:58-59)

Although the Cíbolo had their own Capitan in 1691, Pardiñas recognized Sabeata as the head chief of both the Cibolo and Jumano. Pardiñas reported that Cibolo traders operated from La Junta to the Tejas, but lived in rancherías on the north side of the Rio Grande downstream near the International Falcón Reservoir and hunted buffalo between the Rio Grande and Nueces rivers. (Hackett 1923-1937 II: 260)

The maintenance of this alliance into the 1700’s is evident from a report of June 10, 1716, in which Espinosa (1717) and Ramón (1717) encountered a group with an Ervipiame spokesman in Burleson Country near south of the Brazos. Soon, Pamaya, Payaya, Cantonaes, Mexcal, Xarame, and Sijame arrived and joined the feast. Second, at the end of 1716, a council of war was held regarding the need for military support in Texas due to the combined threat of the enemies of the Tejas named as Apache, Yojuane, Ervipiame, Chana, and their allies. Although bearing important similarities, the Jumano are a special case, which is discussed at length in the main body of this study because they also show the strongest historical and cultural continuity of the four groups analyzed with respect to Ndé buffalo hunters in Texas and northeastern Mexico.
Kenmotsu (1994) and Wade (1998) detailed the complexity of Native responses to Nδ and Spanish pressures on the La Junta de los Rios region. Both scholars reported Indigenous coalitions led by Ladino (Spanish speaking) leaders, such as Capitán Juan Sabeata of the Jumano and Capitán Nicolás of the Catqueza. Evident from the Cibolo war against the Michi and other groups north of La Junta on the Rio Grande in Texas, Jumano coalition members fought against other Native American nations as well as the Apache (Wade 1998: 473 - 476).

Importantly, in the case of the Jumano, members fighting against the Nδ in the Great Northern Wars became part of Apache coalitions against the Spanish by 1733. Chief Juan Sabeata and seven other chiefs traveled to El Paso in 1682 to invite the Spanish to visit them in their land between the Pecos and San Saba rivers. Governor Otermín suggested that they wait for Governor Jironza Petris de Cruzate in La Junta de los Rios. While waiting, Jumano with Chief Juan Sabeata built temporary chapels at La Junta de los Rios in 1682. Once Cruzate arrived, the new governor of post-revolt New Mexico met with Sabeata and learned that the Jumano leader had been baptized in Parral, Coahuila. According to Chief Sabeata’s reports, ten-thousand Jumano and Julime people awaited missionaries at La Junta de los Rios. Moreover, Sabeata reported that over thirty-five other nations were aligned with him against the Apache, including nations of Quivira and the Hasinai Tejas. All of this was part of Chief Sabeata’s agenda to organize a coalition of Native Americans from Texas, Coahuila, and Nueva Vizcaya that culminated in Spanish colonial history with Sabeata’s attempt to engage Mendoza’s (1684) troops in a war sponsored by a Jumano alliance against Nδ buffalo hunters in 1683 and 1684 (Archuleta 1685). Wade (1998) and Kenmotsu (1994) detailed a plethora of historical data in attempts to make sense of Sabeata’s social movement and comparable attempts by other Native Americans centered on the region of La Junta de los Rios and the Edward’s Plateau. In my estimation, Sabeata can be seen as one example of a number of similar leaders who led their people into coalitions and joint settlements to deal with the rapid and dangerous territorial upheavals caused by horse driven Native American expansion and Spanish colonial intervention in the region today known as Texas. Groups with which Sabeata associated in this way before the 1700’s were the Cibolo, Hasinai Tejas, Ape, Mescale, Yorica, Bobole, Cibola, Cantona, Cholome, Catqueza, Toboso, and others (Mazanet 1692; Foster, Jackson, and Brierley 1993).
Jumano with Sabeata also traded and lived with Patarabueye and Julime in pueblos and missions at La Junta de los Ríos. Three years later, Chief Sabeata celebrated a Christian procession albeit marking the summer solstice on June 19, 1691, near San Marcos. In this meeting, Chief Sabeata declared that many of his Jumano people had been baptized in Parral and El Paso (Hatcher 1932: 59). This group had recently taken horses from Apache and child captives from the Muruam.

By May 22, 1693, at least a faction of the Jumano allied with Toboso warriors confronted Governor Varona (1693) in northern Béxar County near San Antonio, Texas. Yet, Jumano met by Varona with the Cantona on June 23, 1693, near La Grange, Texas were tolerant of the Spanish.

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187 As well as interpreting complex relations for the La Junta area, Kenmotsu (1994: 18) found that “these patterns of interaction likely pre-date Spanish colonization.” Substantiating this argument, Kenmotsu (1994: 33) suggested that significantly comparable archaeological material in La Junta, the Pecos River area, and the Garza Complex indexes cultural affiliation for nomadic buffalo hunters who followed routes between La Junta and the Southern Plains from 1450 to 1700.
JULIME-JULIMEÑO-CARRIZO

The Julime are a nation so closely aligned with the Jumano that they are often indistinguishable. Moreover, their record of Anti-Colonial Action and Alliance show them to either be a separate nation with a nearly identical relation with the Apache and Spanish, they are one in the same nation with the Jumano being the buffalo hunting segment of the horticultural Julime, similar to the strategy of the Tejas Asinai and other with buffalo hunter extensions on the plains.

In the colonial record, the Julime have a long history of Anti-Colonial action south of the Rio Grande. In the 1640’s, Julime rebelled near Parral with six other nations and the Tobosos (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1644; 1645). In the 1650’s, Julime ranged the road to New Mexico with the Concho and Salinero nations north of Parral (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1656). After the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Jumano reported that the Julime were residents of La Junta and related by marriage and family to the Jumanos (Archivo General Nación México 1682). According to Governor Cruzate (1683), similar relations existed between the Julime and the Cibola, Chiso, Chichitame, Ostayolicla, Cacalote, Cholome, and Toposome nations. In addition, the Julime were sometimes allies of Tobosos, Cabezas, Salineros, and Colorados (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1645), and Fray Espinosa (1708) identified the Gavilán as a Julime nation, Map 13, p. 246.

Chief Montezuma, was a Julime nativistic leader in the 1684 rebellion (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1684). According to Fray Espinosa (1708) who spoke with Chief Montezuma the Julimes, Mamites, and Conchos came to La Junta de los Rios from the pueblo of San Christobal after the 1677 uprising and in the early 1700’s, Julimes lived at Mission San Francisco Solano near Eagle Pass. Escalante (1962: 317) also found that Julimes arrived at La Junta after the 1677 uprising and resented the Spanish for hanging two Julimes in Parral. Five years later, Trasuíña Retis (1715) reported that Julime occupied several pueblos from San Antonio de Julimes to the north, and their governor, Don Antonio de la Cruz, had been born in La Junta. In 1716, Captain Ramón (1716) identified Julimes in a large gathering on the upper Colorado River in Texas with Chief Juan Sabeata after a successful raid on Apaches. In 1720, the viceroy of New Spain expressed concern about the continued Julime rebellions La Junta de los Rios (Martínez 1720).
Kenmotsu (1994) presents documentary evidence showing their transition from non-cultivating subsistence to horticulture at La Junta de los Rios by 1684 when Mendoza (1684) and Sabeata described the Julime as maize and wheat planters and stated that Julime spoke Nahuatl (Mexicana) and in 1689, Chief Nicolas of the Julime translated for Jumano and Cibolo people for General Retana. But as the Julime emerged throughout Coahuila and Texas nearly a century after the first reports of the Jumano in the 1580’s on the Rio Grande of Texas and Chihuahua, the Carrizo emerge another century later in the same general location and have a direct historical tie to the Julime, Ndé, and their development of Anti-Colonial Alliance and the religious use of peyote (Appendix C).

In a letter dated March 24, 1758, Lieutenant Nieto clearly characterized the southern anti-colonial alliance by stating that Apache, Cibolo and Julimeño “...plot among themselves to harm us and to protect one another.” (Nathan and Simpson 2000:13) Nieto stated that the Apache settled on the Rio Grande, Moras, Piedra Pinta, San Diego, San Rodrigo, San Antonio, and Escondido Rivers, Map 13, p. 246. Today this approximates the territory between Ciudad Acuña/Del Rio where the Pecos River meets the Rio Grande and Laredo. Valcárcel noted that by April 1758, thousands of Ndé buffalo hunters settled in Coahuila (Nathan and Simpson 2000: 33).

Manuel Rodriguez (1770:57) explained that the Apache were not alone in their depredations on Coahuila after 1755, but were joined by the Julime-Carrizo in an Anti-Colonial Alliance against which the Spanish had no defense. The Carrizo were apostates from the Julime mission La Junta de los Rios Grande y Conchos who allied with Ndé (Apache) rangers in their raids on Coahuila.

After a presidio had been established at La Junta de los Rios in 1755, the Carrizo moved to Coahuila and settled at Mission Vizzarón until they abandoned the mission and took all of its horses to join in alliance with the Apache and their Anti-Colonial Alliance. Later, the Julime-Carrizo settled in a mission called El Carrizo that sat at a strategic entrance from the Lomerio de Peyotes to the valleys of the Rio Piedra Pinta that fed the lands of the missions of Peyotes, Vizarrón, and Carrizo near present day Villa Unión, Coahuila (Map).
In early 1770, the alliance raided the Sacramento presidio and killed three people. However, Rodríguez captured three Julimeño warriors who were, released from fear of retaliation from the alliance and fear that the remaining Indígena of the mission would leave. The Spanish in Coahuila were evidently in a weakened position.

In his report, Rodríguez (1770: 58 - 59) stressed the need to establish the military line of presidios on the Rio Grande called for by the recommendations of Rubí. In all, Manuel Rodríguez attested to the reality of a continued Anti-Colonial Alliance based chiefly on the strength of joint military operations carried out by Apache and Julime-Carrizo rangers in Coahuila, which undoubtedly was a manifestation of the Ndé-Jumano alliance that originated in the early 1700’s.

Importantly for the present study, this alliance establishes Ndé settlement and ranging activity in the strongholds of northern Coahuila that would be a place of key refuge for the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass). Also tying into my ethnologic inquiry into the origins of the religious use of peyote among the Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass) and the Native American Church, Rodríguez provided the earliest known documentation of joint settlement and ranging of Apache and Carrizo in the Lomerio de Peyotes and its adjacent missions. In all, the Ervipiame, Cantona, Catqueza, and the intriguing Jumano- Julime-Carrizo nations share a Texas and northeastern Mexico origin, as well as historical and cultural affiliation through language, the colonial experience, and Anti-Colonial Action.

In addition, the Jumano and Julime, while part of anti-Apache maneuvers in the late 1600’s, by 1730 both are associated with Ndé Anti-Colonial Action and are indexed in the Junta de Guerra y Hacienda held after the Norteño attack on San Saba and were identified as part of an allied front of enemies of the Spanish crown (Junta de San Antonio 1759).
BUFFALO HUNTERS OF CENTRAL TEXAS

Central Texas underwent immigration three times since Cabeza de Vaca’s visit in 1541. Looking specifically at reports dealing with Monument Hill in La Grange, Texas provides a cross-section of the complexity of Native American history in Texas. Native American people reported in Texas between 1689 and 1693 fall into two categories:

1. Native Americans only reported in Texas,

2. Native Americans who traveled from south of the Rio Grande to trade, hunt, and settle between the lower Guadalupe and Colorado rivers.
Governor Alonso de León (1690) led the first official Spanish expedition to cross Texas in order to contact the Tejas Asinai and evaluate the French threat posed by La Salle’s Fort Saint Louis.

León left Monclova, Coahuila and crossed the Rio Grande near Eagle Pass, Texas and traveled to the Guadalupe River near Cuero where he set up a base camp on Irish Creek (Foster 1995). From this base camp, León enlisted Native American scouts who lived north and east of the Guadalupe River to guide him to the Fort Saint Louis near Lavaca Bay and to Monument Hill. In all, Spanish officials led by Native Americans stopped near Monument Hill in 1689, 1690, 1693. Over the course of the 1700’s, the area was only, reported as a stop on Rubi’s military inspection in 1767 and Fray Solis’ religious inspection in 1768. In all, Monument Hill tells the tale of the change in Native American settlement between the lower Colorado and Guadalupe rivers just prior to the arrival of English speaking settlers in the region.

All Native American nations who welcomed León to Texas in 1689 were buffalo hunters or at least were, tied into the trade in buffalo products. Native American nations reported between the Guadalupe and Colorado Rivers during the years of 1689 and 1693, exclusive to Texas, were Emet, Cava, Sana, Toho, Tohaha, Na Aman, and Muruam. Native American nations of which individuals or settlements were reported on both sides of the Rio Grande between 1689 and 1693 were Tejas Asinai, Jumano, Saqui, Simaoma, Cantona, Cacaxtle, and Mescal. All of the Native American nations who had representatives on both sides of the Rio Grande were, known from missionary reports in Coahuila, Nueva Vizcaya (Chihuahua), and New Mexico. This does not include the Pacpul, Quem, Tlaxcalteca, and other Native American auxiliaries brought from the Rio Grande and Coahuila as guides and aids on Spanish expeditions.

Historical reports of Monument Hill and the Colorado River near La Grange began in April of 1689. Once León established his base camp on Irish Creek he spoke with an Emet guide and messenger who told him that the rivers between the Guadalupe and the land of the Tejas Asinai were flooded and that he could not take his caravan across. So on April 17, 1689, León enlisted an Emet runner to carry a message to the Tejas Asinai and the French traders in return for a horse.
Emet took the message and ran five-hundred miles in eight days. At least a biathlete, Emet ran and swam across the Colorado River near Monument Hill and continued to traverse the Brazos, Navasota, Trinity, likely following what would, later be known as the Bidai Trail to the farmlands of the Tejas Asinai and other Caddo of East Texas. After receiving a written reply from the French, he returned to Irish Creek to find that León still had not returned from Fort Saint Louis and so ran to meet him. Once near Lavaca Bay, Emet found that he missed León again so he ran back to the Irish Creek camp and gave León the message from the Frenchmen on April 25, 1689. Afterwards, Emet walked back to his village using his horse as a pack animal. Three days later, on April 28, 1689, a Sana guide led Alonso de León from his campsite on Irish Creek near Cuero to a Tohaha Village at Monument Hill where French and Tejas traders had come to meet with him (Foster 1995).

Although León (1690) reported that no less than thirty nations between the Rio Grande and the Colorado rivers that recognized Jean Gery, he only named eleven. This includes Sana, Emet, Cava, Toho, Tohaha between the Guadalupe and Colorado rivers and Quem, Pacpul, Jumano, Mescal, Hape, and Xiabu from the Rio Grande. Even including the Karankawa, this is only a dozen leaving nearly twenty more unaccounted for in his report. Adding to these twelve nations, the Tejas who became ubiquitous once the Spanish approached the Colorado River, Alonso de León reports thirteen Indigenous Texas buffalo hunters. León’s (1690) report on these thirteen nations form a coherent political geography of Texas buffalo hunters in 1689 and a glimpse of their social world. León returned in 1690 to establish a mission for the Tejas (Mazanet 1690). Mazanet’s letter to Conde de galve includes additional information not given in either León’s itinerary of Mazanet’s letter to Don Carlos de Siguenza presente in Bolton (1908). This time with Fray Damian Mazanet, León crossed the Coahuila plain to the Rio Grande and mentioned that the Mission San Salvador, Santiago Valladares, just outside Candela served Alazapas and Tacaguites. Parchaques and others live on the Rio Sabinas, twenty miles north, fifty-two miles further was the Rio Grande where they met the Mexcales, Yoricas, Chomenes, Sanaques, Sanuays, and Hape who also lived with Juan Jarri. Pacciquis, Pastalue, Paac, Patchal, Papanacas, Chaguanes, Paiauam, Patsau, and Patau lived on the Nueces River and lived at Mission San Francisco Solano and Mission San Antonio Valero (The Alamo). Sampanales, Pacuachianas, Putaay, Manico, Geyer, and Ataxal lived on the Frio River. Further north, the Tilpayay, Cauya, Semoman, Saracoam, Pulacmam, and Anxau lived on the Medina and San Antonio Rivers.
Mazanet describes the Guadalupe River as the most plentiful in buffalo and forage and home to the Tohaha, Toho, Emet, Cavas, Sana, Panasiu, Apaszam, and Manam (Na Aman). Closer to the Colorado River, Mazanet identified the Caguantapan and Muruam and other nations that he did not meet in the region adjacent to the portion of the road that the Apache ranged. The Tejas Asinai (Cenis) lived beyond the Colorado River and on the other side of them, the Cadohadacho had four villages on the Red River (Hadley, naylor, and Schuetz 1997: 331 - 337).

The expedition itself crossed the coastal plains, but this time he did not find any people between the Guadalupe and Colorado rivers. This appears to be because the people hid themselves away. The first natives contacted after crossing the Guadalupe River were a scouting expedition meeting with Tejas hunting buffalo on the east side of the Colorado River. One of them was given a horse to take a message back to his village, and he used the horse to carry his buffalo meat, but not to ride. On May 9, 1690, De León met a supply caravan led by Captain Francisco de Benavides and named Monument Hill, Jesus Maria y Joseph Buenavista. Fittingly, “buenavista” means good view. In his report, León recalled that this hill was near the Tohaha Village where he found the Frenchmen in 1689. This time, the Native American village was more diverse, made up of Toho, Emet, Tohaha, and other native peoples. There were undoubtedly people from south of the Rio Grande, as León found an interpreter who spoke the Mexican language.

This probably refers Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec and Tlaxcalteca people. More familiar with the territory, León collected French children who had been living with the Toho and found them tattooed all over their bodies in the manner of the people with whom they were living. After leaving Fray Damian Mazanet to establish missions among the Caddo of East Texas, León returned to the Colorado River on June 17, 1690, and met Cantona, Tohaha, Sana (Chaná), Cava (Cabas), Emet, and Toho. The addition of the Cantona is the first specific mention of a nation from Coahuila at Monument Hill. The Cantona had been impressed into Mission San Bernardino de la Candela in Coahuila and came to Texas after the mission revolts of the 1680’s. Therefore, in 1689 and 1690, the first Native Americans reported to live near Monument Hill hosted people from East Texas and south of the Rio Grande covered their entire bodies with tattooed markings (Mazanet 1690).
Guides from this ranchería led him west to a Toho ranchería near Palmetto State Park on the San Marcos River. After crossing the Colorado River, Tejas guided León to their villages, where he was welcomed with tamales and atole (porridge) made of maize demonstrating a more than cursory similarity to agricultural villages south of the Rio Grande. In June, León began the trek back to Coahuila and stopped at Buenavista (La Grange) on June 17, 1690, where he found Cantona, Tohaha (Thoagá), Sana (Chaná), Cava (Cabas), Emet, and Toho in a gathering. Among these the Cantona, stand out both because they were not mentioned before and also because they can be associated with an immigration of nations from Coahuila into the Colorado River region of Texas.

Following a lead on two captive French children, León (1690) followed the Navidad River south of Schulenberg and passed a Toho ranchería west of Columbus, a Coœ (Toho) ranchería in central Lavaca County, another Toho ranchería further south, and a ranchería of three-thousand Na Aman (Araname) near Morales, Texas. In all, León covered forty miles on June 19, 1690. On the following day, they found a ranchería of Caisquetebana near present Arenosa Creek who volunteered four guides to take them to the French children. The Caisquetebana took them as far as Chocolate Bayou that day. The following day, they crossed a prairie with buffalo to Placedo Creek (Arroyo de Canoas) before meeting two Natives on horseback coming from the Cascossi, or Caocosi (1), Nation that had the children. These two took the Spanish back to their Karankawa ranchería fifteen miles south of Chocolate Bayou at the head of San Antonio Bay where a fight over the ransom for the children began and ended with four Karankawa (Cascossi) and several of De Leon’s horses killed (Foster 1995: 44). León retreated with the children to Chocolate Bayou near Victoria, Texas and made his way back to Cuero. Afterward, he set back west to a Toho (Thoœ) ranchería near Pleasanton, Texas and went on to Coahuila. In all, León and Mazanet identified forty-five nations between Candela, Coahuila and the Red River in 1690, with forty-two of them in Texas and all but the Karankawa, buffalo hunters. On the coastal plain between the Atascosa River south of San Antonio and San Antonio Bay that include the Toho, Tohaha, Emet, Sana, Cava, Cantona, Na Aman, and Caisquetebana. The Cantona can be related to Anti-Colonial Action in Coahuila mission revolts, and the Caisquetebana are not mentioned in other documents of which I am aware. These eight nations, added to the Tejas bordering them on the north and the Karankawa (Cascossi) on the southern coast yield forty-five in all for 1690 and all of the nations mentioned east of the in 1689 are present in the 1690 reports. But dispersed over a much larger region, especially the Toho who were seen from Pleasanton to the coast.
1691

On the next expedition, Governor Domingo Terán de los Rios took the northern route to the Tejas by way of San Antonio. On May 27, 1691, Rios met Mescaleros, Yoricas, Chome, Parchacas, Alachome [Machome], and Pamais [Paman] who are all buffalo hunters who live between the Rio Grande and Rio Sabinas in Coahuila. Mazanet reported that at Comanche Creek, west of Crystal City, Quem, Pachul, Ocana, Chaguan, Pastaluc, and Paac, six nations visited Rios. Buffalo were everywhere and on the Frio River, Sanpanal, Patchal, Papanaca, Parchiqui, Pascuachiam, Aguapalam, Samampac, Vanca, Payavan, Patavo, Pitanay, Apaysi, and Patsau, thirteen nations in all visited Rios. On June 14, 1691, Rios arrived at Yanawana on the San Antonio River near Mission San Juan Capistrano where he encountered a large Payaya ranchería. The Payaya were first met as part of Juan Jarri’s (Jean Gery) entourage of buffalo hunters who traveled between the Sacatsol (Anacacho Mountains) and Guerrero, Coahuila south of the Rio Grande. Between 1689 and 1718 Payaya were reported in a range from Coahuila to the Colorado River near Austin and bordering on Ndé buffalo hunters. However, on June 19, 1691, Mazanet reported meeting three-thousand buffalo hunters near San Marcos, Texas. These came from at least six nations known from the Rio Grande buffalo range of the Jumano, Cibolo, Cantona, Catqueza, Chalome, and Chaynaya. Notice the presence of the Cantona among these immigrants or visitors. For this reason, I see the 1690’s as a period in which nations from Coahuila immigrated to Texas following trade routes and buffalo ranges. After a feast, Rios and Mazanet continued to the Colorado River where Choma brought horses that the soldiers had thought lost. Three days past the Colorado, Tejas guides retrieved the expedition and led them along the trade route that would become, known as the Bidai Trail from Navasota to the Tejas Asinai on San Pedro Creek. He found the Tejas Asinai devastated by epidemic disease and decided to visit the French fort at Port Lavaca. On September 2, 1691, Rios named a campsite Tres Cruces on Buckner Creek near Muldoon. Foster suggests that the name is derived from, the fact that it sits at the intersection of roads to Buenavista (Monument Hill in La Grange) from Cuero and the coast, San Antonio and Coahuila, and Nacogdoches. Governor Rios set out to Fort Saint Louis on September 5, 1691 and arrived three days later where he re outfitted the expedition for its return. Almost a month later, the expedition returned to La Grange and enlisted the services of Chief Cantona and three of his men as scouts to lead them to the Tejas as a stopping point for his reconnaissance of the Kadohadacho Villages on the Red River.
He arrived in late November and found the head village on the east side of the Red River in Arkansas. He returned on December 5, 1691, and found himself in winter weather at Mission San Francisco de los Tejas on San Pedro Creek. In dire straits, Rios chose a Tlaxcateco guide to lead them to Matagorda Bay. When they reached the west side of the Colorado River, the Cantona returned horses that Rios had asked them to care for on his march to the Red River. Once on the coast, Governor Rios and Captain Salinas Varona sailed into the gulf and left Captain Martinez to return the expedition to Coahuila. Naming thirty-five nations, in all, aside from the Tejas and Kadohadacho, nations encountered north of San Antonio in 1691 were a mounted group of buffalo hunters allied with Juan Sabeata and the Jumano. Coming from western Coahuila and Texas, the buffalo hunters herald the first historical immigration into the central Texas buffalo range (Foster 1995).
In 1693, Captain Salinas Varona left Monclova to supply the missionaries living with the Tejas Asinai. Soon after leaving, Varona met Yorica just north of the Rio Sabinas. Days later, on May 7, 1693, Varona met Cacaxtle, Ocana, and Piedras Blancas and gave them tobacco the day before reaching Rio Grande. On the next day, the came upon two large rancherias of Agualohe, one south and the other north of Rio Grande. On the way to the Nueces River, Pacuache warned of ambush by Jumano and Toboso at La Grange. On Comanche Creek, west of Crystal City, Tepacuache and Sacuache met Varona. On the Leona River there were more Pacuache. East of Karnes City, on Salt Creek, Jumana threatened the Spanish and while in convoy and that night, Varona found eight warriors stalking the camp who denied being Jumana, and so were thought to be Toboso.

By 1693, Native American settlements near Monument Hill developed dramatically. On May 26, 1693, Governor Gregorio de Salinas Varona camped on the upper Navidad River near a Sana Ranchería where he learned that Toho, Simaoma, and Mescal were gathered twelve miles southwest of Monument Hill on Buckner’s Creek near Muldoon, at Tres Cruces. Salinas Varona made his way to Monument Hill and met five Cacaxtle. After supplying the East Texas missions, Salinas Varona returned to Buckner’s Creek east of Muldoon a found Cantona hosting a trade fair with Jumano and Tejas Asinai on June 23, 1693. Moving west to Muldoon on the next day, Salinas Varona found Simaomo trading with Tejas Asinai. On the following day, June 25, 1693, Salinas Varona traveled to Gonzales on the San Marcos River and along the way came across a Sana village, a Saqui village, and a Muruam village. The Saqui were from Coahuila and provided Salinas Varona with a Spanish-speaking guide to take him to San Antonio (Salinas Varona 1693).

In addition to direct reports, a map prepared for De León’s reference prior to 1689 locates the Vida, Yadosa, Uadesa, Cassi, Sunni, Cadiatridi, Saco, and Aulto. Of these, the Vida were the Bidai and the Yadosa and Uadesa may later have been known as Ygdoce and Deadose. After arriving on June 8, 1693, Varona returned quickly to the Colorado River area. On June 24, 1693, outside La Grange on Buckner’s Creek a large gathering of Cantona hosted Jumano and Tejas Asinai in a trade fair, while just to the west at Muldoon, Simaomo meeting with Tejas Asinai. Moving west, Varona passed a Sana ranchería and met Saquita, one of whom turned out to be an interpreter and guide who could speak Spanish and offered to lead the Spanish to San Antonio.
In late June 1693, the expedition found a large Muruam village near the four corners of Fayette, Gonzales, Bastrop, and Calwell counties. Over one-hundred Muruam warriors came to meet the Spanish and they left with four horses. In July 1693, Varona traveled from San Antonio to Coahuila. Once on the San Antonio River he found two ranchería of Payaya, probably the same two Payaya Rancherías that Teran de los Rios found. On Hondo Creek near Moore, Texas Varona found more Payaya camped at pools of water. Once Varona reached the Rio Grande it was flooding and the Mescales, Apes, and Cacaxtle helped to ferry the Spanish and their equipment to the otherside. Not only are the numbers of nations being mentioned dropping, but the names of the nations mentioned are changing and so are their origins. Of a total of eighteen, thirteen of the nations mentioned are recognizable as buffalo hunters from near the Rio Grande. Only the Muruam, Payaya, Tejas Asinai, Toho, and Sana are buffalo hunters mentioned that were not immigrants or visitors from the southwest. Immigrants who had not been mentioned in the area before 1693 were Cacaxtle, Saquita, Simaoma, and Toboso.
THE 1700’s

In the 1700’s, most Spanish expeditions took the northern trail through San Antonio and San Marcos to cross the Brazos River near Bryan/College Station before following the Bidai Trail from the Navasota to East Texas. San Denis (1717) referred to various roving bands as “caminantes” who were first encountered in 1601 as the Aguacane, Tancoa, and others in west central Oklahoma (Appendix A). By the mid-1700’s, these bands had become village dwellers known as the Touacara, Tawakoni, Ouchita, and Iscani who had taken advantage of French military superiority in arms and tactics. By the time the Marqués de Rubí made his military inspection tour in 1767 and Fray Gaspar de Solís inspected the Zacatecas missions in 1768 the only Native Americans mentioned on the Colorado River were the Coco and Apache, nations that were not previously associated with the area.

However, of the nations associated with Monument Hill in the late 1600’s, the Tejas Asinai continued to play a key role in the Native American history of Texas in the 1700’s and the Cantona and Mescal from Coahuila became part of the Ranchería Grande between the San Gabriel and Brazos rivers; a region that replaced the lower Colorado River near Monument Hill as a Native American gathering center. By the 1800’s, Lipan Apache claimed the buffalo hunting lands in Fayette County with the Tonkawa bordering them on the north and the Bidai on the east until their removal in the wake of immigration from the United States (Sjoberg 1951; 1953).
APPENDIX C THE RELIGIOUS USE OF PEYOTE IN MITOTE BY LIPAN

In this appendix, I discuss cultural and historical evidence demonstrating that the religious use of peyote in mitote in Texas and northeastern Mexico has survived in the forms of the Native American Church and the miyote of the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas.
MITOTE

Mitote were seen almost immediately upon contact in Mexico and Texas, with primary Spanish reports developing the concept of the mitote, into a word denoting a Native American spiritual gathering. Cabeza de Vaca (1542) first reported one of these ceremonies as an “areito,” based on his experience of ceremonial gatherings of Indigenous people on the Caribbean Islands. However, subsequent reports by the Spanish described comparable ceremonial activity as mitote, based on comparable ceremonies observed in central Mexico. Mitote is a hispanicized Nahuatl word derived from MIHTOH-TLI, which is translated as “dance” by Frances Karttunen (1983: 147). A general similarity can by found in Native American ceremonial observance that was grasped early by Spanish chroniclers in their use of mitote as a general term referring to spiritual gatherings and festivities. Alonso de León wrote a chapter regarding the festivities and mitotes of the Indígena of Nuevo León. He describes this general form of mitote to be the most common and frequent pastime for the Indigenous people of northeastern Mexico.

They were said to serve all occasions from festivities to warfare and intensified in the summer months because food is more plentiful.

“La cosa más común y que frecuentan mucho los indios en esta tierra, es sus bailes y mitotes; los cuales sirven en todas ocasiones, porque ellos los hacen para sus regocijos; también para sus monipodios y alzameintos (rallies) y platicar enemistades y guerras con los españoles y otros de otras parcialidades. Hácenlos también para hacer las paces; y, como les sirven a tantos efectos, los hacen muchas veces. Y en particular el verano; porque, como a esa tiempo tienen las trojes, que Dios Nuestro Señor, proveedor general del mundo, les ha llenado de todos los géneros de frutas y comidas que en la tierra hay, y ellos usan; no se ocupan en otra cosa más que en sus bestialidades.” [León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961:24]
MITOTE IN THE 1500’s

Cabeza de Vaca began a trek across Texas near Galveston in 1528 on an island he called Malhado where people danced incessantly while eating blackberries for a whole month (Bandelier 1922: 68). Initially, Cabeza de Vaca found himself stranded on Galveston Island and exploited by Capoque or Han.

After meeting Oviedo, another Spaniard, Cabeza de Vaca moved on to live among the Mariame who held ceremonies under all circumstances where he observed,

“... even when famished do not cease to dance and celebrate their feasts and ceremonials ... best times are when “tunas” are ripe ... they have plenty to eat and spend the time dancing and eating day and night. [Bandelier 1922: 91]

After living with the Mariame Cabeza de Vaca moved south and lived with the Avavares between September 1534 and June 1535 (Campbell and Campbell 1988). When Cabeza de Vaca left the Avavares, they continued south and met the Maliacone who held a ceremony that included dancing and a feast of mesquite. At the end of the feast “... a group of women happened to come, that belonged to Indians from further on ...” (Bandlier 1922:128) After taking directions from these women, Cabeza de Vaca left to find this village without a guide. His group soon became lost and found that the women had followed them to guide them. The following afternoon, Cabeza de Vaca crossed a large river that carried gourds that had been hollowed out and filled with pebbles. It is thought, that this is the Rio Grande because these gourds must have been grown and prepared by agricultural villagers upstream. That night the Cutalchulches held a dance ceremony (Bandlier 1922: 129 - 130). South of the Rio Grande, Cabeza de Vaca’s group gathered an entourage that followed them to the villages on the Spaniard’s path. In each village, a ceremony was reported until he reached the ‘people of the cows’ in 1535, thought to have been near La Junta de los Rios Grande and Conchos at present day Ojinaga, Chihuahua in Mexico because of maize stores and reports of buffalo products.
Following up on the unintended reconnaissance of Cabeza de Vaca, various Spanish
explores witnessed *mitotes* between La Junta and El Paso later in the 1500’s. In 1581, Obregón
reported a rebellion among the “Rayados Chichimecos,” most likely stemming from slaving
expeditions (Hammond and Rey 1928: 273; Kenmotsu 1994: 36 - 37). In 1582, Fray Agustín
Rodriguez organized an expedition led by Commander Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado as its
leader. Hernán Gallegos’ provided the most detailed account of this expedition.

Leaving Santa Barbara and following the Rio Conchos in Chihuahua (Nueva Vizcaya),
the travelers met people, who referred to themselves as “Yoslli,” who Gallegos called Concha
and Raya nations who live in the same land, speak the same language, and call themselves
Yoslli. The chief difference between the two is that the Concha lived south of the Raya. After
crossing the San Pedro River, Concho guides led the expedition to the Cabris who speak a
different language and are painted with neat stripes, and are reported to have been cleaner and
clothed, suggesting that the Raya and Concha went naked. Slaving parties haunted the Cabris
living on the south bank of the Rio Grande and were afraid of being taken captive (Hammond
and Rey 1966: 278).

Gallegos’ reported Amotomanco lived at La Junta de los Rios, painted their bodies in
stripes, lived in pueblo-style homes, participated in buffalo subsistence, and carried “Turkish
bows” (recurve) and buffalo shields. Continuing on up the Rio Grande, Gallegos reported that
after traveling some thirty-five miles the Amotamanco guides refused to go further from a fear of
enemies. However, before abandoning the Spanish, the Amotamanco held a mitote.

“These people accompanied us at night and performed dances for us. Their nation has a
rhythm in its dances, resembling that of Negroes, produced by beating some skins
attached to a vessel in the fashion of a tambourine. After doing this, the dancers rise and
execute their movements, revolving to the rhythm of the music like clowns. They raise
their hands toward the sun and sing in the language, with the cadence of the dance, “ayia
canima.” This they do with much unity and harmony, in such a way that though there
are three hundred savages in a dance, it seems as if it were being sung and danced by
one man only, due to the fine harmony and measure of their performance.” [Hammond
and Rey 1966: 78]

188. Obregón said that the people at La Junta de los Rios called themselves Jumana
(Hammond and Rey 1928).
While other chronicles referred to general dancing and singing, Gallegos specifically referred to the disciplined movement and song executed in unison, comparable to Motolinía’s comments reported in Genin (1922) for Aztec dance in the 1500’s. This must imply a dance society in which movements were culturally reproduced and rehearsed under strict rules governing performance, a condition comparable to sacred movements in Danza traditions discussed below.

Following the Rio Grande to present-day El Paso/Ciudad Juarez, Gallegos reported that over one-thousand people lived in straw houses and ate mesquite and fish. These people carried on a three-day ceremony, that the Spaniards called a mitote.

“During the three days we spent among them, they performed their mitotes day and night, both dances of their own and others like those of the Mexicans.” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 218]

Diego Luxán reported that these people were called Tanpachoa (Hammond and Rey 1966: 168), most likely the Indigenous people of El Paso who would be named Manso in later documents. In 1582, Antonio de Espejo led an expedition of nine men from Santa Barbara following the northern route along the Conchas River. They passed through the settlements of the Conchos nation, the Pazaguantes and Joboso nations. All of these nations lived in straw houses and ate maize, but did not appear to grow it. Significantly, the Joboso feared Espejo’s party to be slavers, similar to Spaniards who had come before.189

The expedition followed the Conchos north until its confluence with the Rio Grande, which became popularly known as La Junta de los Ríos. At La Junta, Espejo identified the Indígena as Jumana and Patarabueye. However, Luxán provided more detail and stated that north of Julimes on the Rio Conchos in Chihuahua, Mexico, Concho people harvested gourd fields.

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189. Most likely, the Joboso is a spelling variant of Toboso, evident in the statement made by Espejo south of La Junta de los Ríos Grande y Conchos in September 1583 that “an old Toboso Indian. The people had fled having taken warning from the captives that had been seized there…” (Hammond and Rey 1966: 211).” This fear of Spanish slavers among the Toboso is likely an important part of their hostility toward the Spanish in the following centuries.
On December 2, 1583, two leaders came from La Junta de los Rios representing the Abriaches who spoke a different language than the Otomoaco and feared that the Spanish would enslave them. As they approached the Rio Grande, Espejo Juan Cantor, a Nahua who had been taken as an interpreter by Fray Rodriguez the year.\(^{190}\) Continuing to follow the Rio Conchos, on December 4, 1583, the party crossed into land of the Pazaguates who warned that further north, the Patarabueye prepared for war against Espejo.

Luxán explained that soldiers made up the name Patarabueye, as a derogatory term for the Otomoaco\(^{191}\) during a slaving expedition led by Mateo Gonzalez under orders from Captain Juan de Zubia of the Santa Barbara mines. Arriving at La Junta de los Ríos Grande y Conchos at Ojinaga, Chihuahua, Luxán’s description of the Otomoaco is nearly identical to Gallegos’ description of the Amotomanco, suggesting that they are spelling variant.

“...flat-roofed houses well arranged into pueblos... paint their faces in stripes... have corn and calabashes, game beasts and birds, beans, and many varieties of fish...” Hammond and Rey 1966: 216]

Luxán reported that the Otomoaco at La Junta de los Ríos raided and killed horses and the Chieftain of Otomoacos sent four representatives to meet with Espejo who agreed to go back to ranchería. Espejo reported that these people were distinct in that they wore buffalo skins in a distinctive fashion (Hammond and Rey 1966: 160). In Chapter 2, I discuss this as evidence for cultural affiliation between Ndé and Jumano buffalo hunters with implications for dress styles used by Lipan Apache in Texas, and therefore, Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass).

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\(^{190}\) Juan Cantor spent the year in the area and was the uncle of one of the interpreters and known by all others in the party. This suggests that interpreter and guide in the north was a viable profession for Nahua speaking Indígena from central Mexico and presents strong evidence for Nahua as a lingua franca at least as far as the Rio Grande in the 1500’s. Cantor was known for making music by whistling and convinced the Abriaches to return (Hammond and Rey 1966: 162).

\(^{191}\) Otomoaco is almost certainly a spelling variant of Amotomanco reported by Gallegos.
On New Year’s Eve in 1582, two-hundred Otomoaco held a mitote where they sang and danced around a fire. After the festivities, Espejo met Cacique Guaxi from the Caguate nation between La Junta de los Rios and El Paso who held a mitote of more than three-hundred singing and dancing in unison. The Caguate spoke nearly the same language as the Otomoaco. After antagonizing the New Mexico Pueblos for six months, Espejo’s party left Cicuye (Pecos) Pueblo in July 1583 and traveled down river on the Rio de las Bacas (Pecos River). Continuing south, the Spanish met Pataragueye hunters who led them back to La Junta de los Rios and were received with music and rejoicing.\footnote{Hammond and Rey (1966: 209) states that this portion of the journey took Espejo’s expedition into West Texas south of the town of Pecos, near Toyah Lake, Toyah Creek, and Toyahvale, near Balmorhea in Reeves County, Texas. This region has been archeologically documented as home to buffalo hunters thought to have been the Jumano (Hester 1986 and Wade 2000).}

“We met three Jumana Indians, who were out hunting, and we were able to understand them through Pedro, a Pataraguey Indian . . . that they would take us by good trails to the junction of the Rio del Norte with the Conchos, which is among the Pataragueyes . . . We left La Ciénega Salada on the eighth and went five leagues, three of them up a stream. We found many Jumana Indians from the ranchería of the people who were guiding us. They were on their way to the river, to the mesquite trees. We stopped by this stream, where the rancheria was situated. The Indian men and women, received us with music and rejoicing. As an additional sign of peace and happiness, a dance was held amid the tents of the Indian men and women.” [Hammond and Rey 1966: 209]
In 1584, Baltasár de Obregón reviewed various reports and wrote a synthesis of the state of discovery and colony in New Mexico in 1584.\textsuperscript{193} Obregón opens his synthesis with a report on the slaving expedition to New Mexico by Governor Francisco Ibarra made in 1563. On this enterprise, Obregón states that three-hundred Querecho people made up of entire families joined the Spanish after being summoned by a newly appointed ladino, meaning that Governor Ibarra dressed this ladino “Querecho” as a Spaniard and delegated authority to him.

This authority appears to have resulted in a gathering of Querecho families who commenced a mitote by singing and dancing around the Spanish camp (Hammond and Rey 1928: 202).

\textsuperscript{193} “Cronica comentario o relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de N.E. y del Nuevo Mexico” was written by Baltasar Obregón in 1584 and the original is located in the Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 1-1-3/22. This document was translated, edited, and annotated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (1928) in Obregón’s History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America.
MITOTE IN THE 1600’s

In 1616, a Tepehuan revolt erupted near Durango, Mexico. Captain Alonso Pacheco reported that mitotes and other dances in honor of a small and portable idol in the form of a cross were held throughout the villages surrounding this city. In Chapter 3, I presented evidence that Ndè rangers developed Anti-Colonial Action (ACA) south of the Rio Grande in coordination with the Toboso Nation, and thus, continued a tradition of ACA reaching back to the Tepehuan Wars of 1616. An important cultural affiliation of this Anti-Colonial Action and alliance are mitotes. Alonso de León, Juan Bautista Chapa, and Fernando Sánchez de Zamora (1961) compiled the Historia de Nuevo León in 1690 as a report and review of colonization in the region since 1649. In justifying the act of colonization León stated that in order to convince Indígena, even on the verge of death, to receive baptism, they must be told that in heaven there are many mitotes and food, thus plainly showing the attachment of the people to these spiritual gatherings.

“Pues para que algunos indios, enfermos, o puestos, por delitos, para ahorcar, reciban el bautismo; es necesario proponerles que han de ir al cielo, y que hay allá muchos mitotes y qué comer; con cuyo cebo lo admiten.” [León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961: 12]

According to León, after preparing for the feast by hunting and collecting food, water, and firewood. They prepared to dance in one or two circles around a bonfire. With feet in unison, elbows outward, and in a crouched position they danced. Keeping in synchronicity, they hopped forward in a step that appeared to drag the feet while keeping them close together. Dancing so close together they looked as if the people interlocked stomachs to butts and would continue for four to six hours. After a long darkness, people would sing and dance all night. In the morning, there would be a feast and a giveaway for the visitors.

“Y empiezan a bailar, indios y indias, en una o dos ruedas, en torno del fuego. Los pies muy juntos; los codos (elbows/knees) salidos y las espaldas medio agachadas (bent). Dando saltitos adelante, casi arrastrando los pies y tan juntos, que la barriga (stomach) del uno va topando (bump) en las nalgas del otro (close together); sin discrepar (changing) un punto el uno del otro, cuatro o seis horas (4-6 hours), sin cesar. Desde que está ya la noche obscura, cantando a su modo las palabras que quieren; sin tener sentido (w/o meaning), solo consonancia (consonants). Y van en ellas tan parejos, que no disuena el uno del otro; sino que parece una voz sola (sing as one). Entran en este corro todos los que quieren, algunas veces ciento, otras más y menos. En amaneciendo, como a las nueve . . . van repartiendo aquella comida y algunos cueros de venado; que es lo que ellos más estiman . . . y conforme la gente que hay, hace las particiones; y a cada uno, en la parte donde está . . .” [León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961: 12]
In 1675, Antonio de Balcarcel Rivadeneira y Sotomayor wrote an Informe regarding the state of Native America on the Rio Grande where it meets the Pecos River. His primary concerns were Ladino apostates, buffalo wars on the Rio Grande, and the Catujano and Tilijae. Sotomayor complained about trouble with ladinos, Spanish speaking Indígena, who were apostates of the missions. Such troubles culminated in general anti-colonial action best documented in its manifestation in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. The constant pressure of Toboso warfare and mission revolts due to plague, pestilence, famine, and slavery occupied Spanish forces and forced them Spanish to seek reprieve in the settlements of El Paso, Chihuahua, and Monclova.

Sotomayor reported that internecine warfare over buffalo on the Rio Grande near the Pecos River made it difficult and dangerous to colonize the area. However, he does not mention Spanish slaving and Spanish buffalo hunters engaged in commercial hunting exacerbating the problem.

Fray Salazar (1700) reported buffalo meat in northern Coahuila and also Spanish buffalo hunting for the tongues and tallow. Espinosa reported that buffalo became scarce because of Spanish hunting practices (Canedo 1964: 764). The point is that Spanish abuse of the buffalo herds for their tongues, hides, and tallow noticeably reduced their numbers and debilitated Indigenous subsistence practices regarding the Catujano and Tilijae, Sotomayor wrote about their internecine warfare, but what is of significance to this study is that the Catujano and Tilijae held mitote. This is important because the Catujano and Tilijae both become Texas Indians. Both nations originated midway east of Monclova, Coahuila and part of the Mission San Bernardino de la Candela/ Mission Caldera. The Catujano become the Cantona of central Texas between the Guadalupe and the Brazos rivers and the Tilijae became Indígena of Mission San Juan Capistrano, a place also known for its mitotes.

“... when they establish peace [agreements] they celebrate with a dance [called] the mitote. This dance goes on for twenty-four hours ...” [Wade 1998: 408]

194. Olivares (1700a) reported Ignacio, a Tlaxcalteco from Mission La Caldera.
Although, the term mitote was often used to refer to both peaceful and warfare ceremonies, this statement suggests that mitote should be reserved for peaceful ceremonial observance.

Between 1689 and 1693, a number of buffalo hunting nations previously known from reports and missions in Coahuila were encountered north of the Rio Grande. In three consecutive expeditions, successive governors of Coahuila, Alonso de León (1690) and Domingo Terán de los Ríos (1692) reported mitote with Jumano ten miles below the Rio Grande just southeast of Eagle Pass.

León (1690) reported Mescal, Xiabu, and Hape with the Jumano and Ríos (1692) reported Odoesmade, Momon, Yorica, Parchaca, Alachome, and Pamai. Just north of the Rio Grande Ríos found a mitote with Quem, Pachul, Ocana, Chaguan, Pastaluc, and Paac Indian nations near Crystal City, Texas and a mitote with the following thirteen nations on the Frio River: Sanpanal, Patchal, Papanaca, Parchiqui, Pascuachiam, Aguapalam, Samampac, Vanca, Payavan, Patavo, Pitanay, Apaysi, and Patsau (Foster 1995). On June 17, 1690, León (1690) arrived at Buenavista (Monument Hill) in La Grange, Texas where he found Cantonás, Thoagás, Chanás, Cabas, Emets, and Toós holding a mitote. It appears fairly certain that the Catujana, who were inducted into the Mission San Bernardino de la Candela in 1673 and who left their name on the Mesa de los Catujanos that rises above Monclova, Coahuila (Alessio Robles 1938: 269) were directly ancestral to the Cantona that nations associated with Capitan Catujana, also spelled Cantona.195 On June 19, 1691, Ríos (1692) met 3,000 Jumano, Cibolo, Cantona, Casquesa, Chalome, and Chaynaya who had gathered for a trade fair at Canaquedista, identified by Foster (1995) as San Marcos, Texas. Fray Damian Mazanet (1691) reported that the captain of the Cantona was one of four leaders in a procession performed for the Spanish that included Captain Juan Sabeata of the Jumano, captain of the Cibolo, and Captain Nicolás of the Catqueza.

195. Campbell (1988: 65) produced a synonymy analyzing the 18 different spellings of Cantujuana, in which he demonstrated the merits of both an interpretation for shared identity and ethnic difference between the Cantona and Catujana. Kenmotsu (1994: 86 - 88) also discussed the likelihood of the Catujana of Coahuila being ancestral Cantona. Interestingly, Urrutia (1733) reported that he stayed with Captain Catujana in central Texas between 1693 - 1700.
Governor of Coahuila, Gregorio de Salinas Varona approached the Rio Grande on May 9, 1693, and met Cacaxtle, Ocana, and Piedras Blancas. On the following day, Varona found two settlements of Agualohe, one on each bank of the Rio Grande near Eagle Pass, Texas (Foster, Jackson, and Brierley 1993).

On May 26, 1693, Varona learned from Sana scouts that Simaoma and Mescal gathered in a trade fair with Toos (Toho) at Tres Cruces, twelve miles southwest of La Grange on Buckner’s Creek near Muldoon (Foster 1995). Although the Spanish did not see this meeting, all the other trade fairs are described as mitote, showing evidence of ceremonial observance. After visiting the Texas, Varona returned to Buckner’s Creek and found Cantona, Jumano, and Tejas Asinai in a gathering referred to as a mitote. Varona left Fray Mazanet with the east Texas mission, but was forced to leave by the Tejas Asinai. After being lost for weeks in the Monte Grande between the Trinity and the Colorado rivers, Cantona rescued Mazanet, who eventually returned to Monclova (Dunn 1917).

In all, as shown above, the Jumano and Cantujana/Cantona were associated with mitotes in colonial documents from Coahuila and Texas, although English scholars tend to translate mitote as gathering and more recently trade fair (Bolton 1908; Foster 1995). Seeing as though mitotes were general forms of ceremonial observance for gatherings of various nations, reports of nations encamped or otherwise settled with mitote nations constitutes not just cultural affiliation but integration into a regional form of ceremonial observance. Moreover, as will be seen below, the Tejas Asinai and other Texas Indians continue to be associated with mitote and ceremonial dance societies in the 1700’s.
MITOTE IN THE 1700’s

In 1707, Governor Alarcón sent Diego Ramón (1707) to deal with insurgent Indígena who had escaped from missions in Coahuila and Nuevo León in March 1707. Following the Nueces River south in Dimmit County, thirty-four Assare joined Ramón and communicated their opposition to the insurgents and alliance with the Spanish through an interpreter named Castillo. After establishing a base camp, the Indígena held a three-day mitote. The next day, on March 23, 1707, sixteen Pasti\(^{196}\) people came into the camp and informed Ramón that the raiders of the Rio Grande missions were made up of ladino Indígena escaped from missions and the Pelón nation who lived in a Ranchería Grande (big settlement). Following up on this intelligence, Ramón sent thirteen soldiers to the Ranchería Grande who brought captives back to Ramón. In the following days, a number of Indígenas escaped and three days later two returned and apologized to Ramón on behalf of their chief and explained the source of hostility to the Spanish. They explained that one of the men from San Bernardo Mission had left the mission to take part in a ceremonial gathering (mitote general) organized by Indígena escaped from the missions and the Pelón nation, both responsible for depredations throughout the region. This incident also shows mitote to be a form of social integration for Anti-Colonial Action and alliance.

In 1709, Fray Isidro de Espinosa (1717) found a ranchería of five-hundred Siupan, Chaularame, and Sijame, all known from Coahuila, living in San Antonio and possibly tending irrigated gardens. Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares one of the founders of Mission San Juan Bautista (MSJB) also made this journey to the Colorado River south of Austin (Foster 1995), and wrote a letter that is part of a collection of papers dealing with general matters of missions in Texas that describes the mitote in ways that are similar to León in the previous century.

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\(^{196}\) Ramón translated the word Pasti as Chamuscado, meaning singed or charred. Fray Espinosa (1717), present in 1707 located the Paxti between the Rio Grande missions and the Tejas.
Olivares identified the mitote as a ceremony for preparation and victory in war that was general to the people of Texas and emphasized that mitotes are gatherings where people come together to dance and plan attacks.

“Usan de los Mitotes o bayles, quando quieren salir a la Guerra, o quando han conseguido alguna Victoria de sus enemigos: hacen este Bayle en circulo asidos de las manos de otros, en que mesclan varios abusos, y estos bayles son causa de las muertes que ejecutan unos con otros.” [Olivares 1716: 75 - 77]

On April 19-20, 1709, Espinosa and Olivares met Captain Cantona with Yojuan, Simomo, and Tusonibi on the Colorado River near Wilbarger Creek just north of Bastrop, Texas. On the return trip, they also met fifty nations in the San Marcos area (Foster 1995). Therefore, by 1709, the Cantona and other groups from Coahuila are still living in Texas, which has by now been associated with a common mitote practice generalized for Texas Indians by Fray Olivares.

In June 1716, a Tejas Asinai guided Captain Doming Ramón through the clearings of the Monte Grande to the Crossing Brazos and Little River (westside) where they found the Ranchería Grande made up of two-thousand Ervipiame, Mesquite, Pamaya, Payaya, Xarame, Sijame, Cantona, and Mescal, all of who were from Coahuila except the Payaya. Two years later, Governor Martín de Alarcón’s 1718 Expedition revisited the Ranchería Grande on October 1 - 3, 1718 near the Brazos River and passed several rancherías. This Ranchería Grande became an important settlement during the 1700’s and for Texas Indians that have been reported with regard to mitotes. In 1750, Fray Vicente Santa María chronicled the colonization of Nuevo Santander, which stretched southeast of San Antonio to Corpus Christi, Texas to along the Tamaulipan plains and mountains to Tampico, Mexico on the Rio Panuco, also known as La Huasteca. Although Santa María is surreptitiously best known for a cannibalistic among the Comanche and Lipan,197 his more conservative accounts of northeastern Mexico and south Texas add details to previous knowledge about mitotes in the region.

197. A cinematic interpretation of Cabeza de Vaca produced in Mexico just before 1992 dramatized Santa María’s Chapter 19 “The Horrible Mitote of the Comanches.” This fit of ignorance about the northern nations is reproduced in various forms and casts doubt on descriptions of cannibalism in general due to the obviously whimsical quality of the report.
In addition to reaffirming many of the points made by León regarding general aspects, Santa María reported that mitotes marked the start of summer food abundance and hunting with multinational gatherings in which issues of peace and war were discussed (Holden 1924 111-115). The only nation Santa María identified specifically with the *mitote* were Maratino living in southern Tamaulipas.

However, similar to León, Santa María emphasized the religious use of peyote and disciplined ceremonial dancing with a bonfire that lasts all night.

“At some six or seven hundred men are gathered there. They light a great bonfire, and in its heat the pieces of meat which they have prepared are put. The invited dancers and those who invited them form lices which are equidistant from each other. They beat a sort of measure with one foot, and with the other do a distorted step. They then arrange themselves in the form of a circle and dance around the bonfire as fast as they can, and get the meat. In fact, the dance which lasts all night without interruption is intermingled from time to time by some of the dancers making trips to the peyote which is placed at one side and served by the Indian women and the old men.” [Santa María 1750 in Holden 1924: 114]

In all, reports of *mitote* between 1530 and 1750 describe them as ceremonies for establishing peace and alliance, social integration, multi-national trade and council that are common during the time of abundant food harvest. Further, mitotes were consistently reported to mark the beginning of summer in Texas and northeastern Mexico. Importantly, both León and Santa María stated clearly that mitote is the word that Native Americans used for the ceremony and that the people called the medicine they took in the ceremony peyote. According to Arricivita (1792), Fray Dolores feared the Apache mitote ceremonies and the use of peyote. Arricivita wrote:

“At remembering besides what had happened in Nuevo Mexico as a result of similar union, they had to prevent the neophytes from becoming contaminated by the wretched habits and diabolical ceremonies observed by the Apaches or by the dances and beverages that they use in their great fiestas.” [Arricivita 1792 in Hammond and Rey 1996: 42]

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198. A related but distinct set of ceremonies for war instigation, declaration, and victory is sometimes associated with the *mitote* and that others set apart.
While Olivares (1716) generalized mitotes for all Texas Indians the true scope of this cultural affiliation would not be seen until Fray Gaspar José de Solís’ 1768 inspection of the missions led by Franciscans from the College of Zacatecas. After passing through Apache and Lipan territory, Solis arrived at the Mission Nuestra Señora de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo Bahía del Espíritu Santo and Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosario on the San Antonio River at Cuero, Texas in March 1768.

In the end, although reporting on the coastal missions of Texas, Solís made a general description of the mitote under which included all Texas Indians. I translate a portion of Fray Solis’ report to emphasize this.

“All are fond of the mitotes, but the Carancaguases love them the most. Mitotes can be funeral and festive, distinguished by the instruments and songs. In festive mitotes they play a small drum made with a hide stretched over a tortoise shell, gourd, or even a French pot, a cane pipe, and many ayacachitlís (rattles). Like in Mexico, they have little gourds (guajes) filled with pebbles, or corn, attached to a stick and keep the rhythm throughout the night. For the funeral dances they play a cayman [rasp attached to a gourd]. A leader lights a big bonfire and with horrible gestures and singing they dance around it day and night, until tired out, taking turns in the circle so it will not cease. Customarily they last three days and nights. The women do not take part in the funeral dances. They sit around in a circle in sight of the mitote and with their hair flowing on their shoulders, their heads inclined, they cry sorrowfully.” [Solís 1768]

At the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, Solís reported Taranames, Tamiques, Piquines, and Manos de Perro having begun to practice Spanish dances accompanied by a violin and guitar, in which they wore gaudy clothes and use palms, crowns, masks, and ayacastles (rattles). Yet, they still reportedly snuck off to the woods for their mitotes. Similarly, in his report of Mission San Jose y San Miguel de Aguayo on the San Antonio River, Solís found Pampoas, Mesquites, Pastias, Canamas, Tacames, Canas, Aguasallas, and Xaunaes also have a weakness for mitotes for which they go off into the woods to dance with pagans when priests were not watching.

This means that Indígena not living in the mission of San Antonio were still living in the woods in 1768. Further to the northeast, Captain Urjataña, leader of the Ais nation at Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Benavente de los Ais told Solis that they did not want to live at the mission. Priest at this mission reported that the Ais continued in their mitotes, and other dances. In all, by 1768, mitote was seen as a veritable Texas Indian revitalization movement that presented a counter-hegemonic obstacle to missionization.
This is emphasized in a 1787 document entitled Guidelines for a Texas Mission: Instructions for the Missionary of Mission Concepción in San Antonio, which warns that the Pajalaches and the Tacames do the dance of the Matachines on Christmas Eve and the procession of Corpus Christi and go on dancing at the entrance of the friary as long as the missionary allows. Another religious observance at Mission Concepción was All Souls Day. The missionary was also directed to permit mitotes “. . . when no superstition, no question of celebrating an enemy’s death, nor any sinful motive are present, then the mitote is not unlawful when done for mere diversion, because among the Indians it is the same as the fandango among the Spaniards.” (Benoist and Flores 1994: 37) At about the same time, among the Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters a mitote was held in honor of Ugalde a mitote was held at sunset. Juan de Ugalde stated that the mitote was a feast the Apache gave for their guests or those who came to visit. On June 4, 1788, Ugalde arrived at the Nueces River to visit the Lipan Apache as he had promised.

After 1790, the Spanish begin a gradual withdrawal in resources, if not effort, on the northern frontier. Priorities shifted southward and Texas documentation eventually became dominated by English language documents over the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, documentation continues into the present in documenting the legacy left by the mitote in the Native American Church religious use of peyote.

However, the mitote has another legacy that has arrived in the present. As Texas and Mexican Indians were chronicled and reported by writers their gatherings became generalized as mitote and as they gathered in multi-national congregations in missions, they evidently continued to hold mitotes, as did the Indígena living outside mission walls. Those within missions were acculturated through integration with Tlaxcalteca and other “civilized” Indígena, as well as other segments of Spanish colonial society, especially missionaries. As I stated earlier, Mission Bahía del Espíritu Santo was an example in which Indígena had begun to perform Spanish dances accompanied by a violin and guitar, in which they wear gaudy clothes and use palms, crowns, masks, and ayacastles (rattles). This type of colonial Native American cultural expression appears very similar to Danza Azteca and Conchero who refer to their Native American ceremonial observance as mitotiliztli. Moreover, mitote affiliated with the Catujana and Tilijae, who would both make the move to Texas by 1733, is also affiliated with Mission Candela associated with the Tlaxcalteca (Alessio Robles 1938), a nation reputed in the oral tradition in Danza Azteca were considered as an original root of the tradition (Maestas 1998).
After 1800 in Texas, English language documents referred to Native American dance as war dances with derogatory designations (Hatcher 1927a). This can be brought up to the current century in Santos Castro’s (1999) report that Cúelcahén Ndé Castro Family History referred to their feast, which included a dance procession and the religious use of peyote called a “miyote” in 1956. This clearly challenges the notion of cultural extinction maintained by Newcomb, Jr. (1961), Hester (1991), and Campbell and Campbell (1996). In all, primary sources refer to mitote in Texas and northern Mexico ceremonies held by, and for, multiple nations which always include sharing food and ritual practices around a fire that include singing and dancing for extended periods. Overall, groups reported to hold mitote ceremonies were in Texas before the arrival of the Spanish, such as buffalo hunters in Coahuila and Texas. Thus, mitote, as sites for the gathering of Native American dance societies can be identified in Spanish reports for Native peoples in Texas from the time of Cabeza de Vaca until the present.

They also were the site for the cultural reproduction and development of prehistoric and colonial Native American dance societies for Mexican and Texas Indians. Therefore, Texas Indian cultural continuity is supported by an analysis of Indigenous ceremonies referred to in colonial documents as mitote. These ceremonies as we will see often included the use of the medicine commonly called peyote.
RELIGIOUS USE OF PEYOTE

There is little doubt that the sacrament of the Native American Church originated among the ancestral peoples of northeastern Mexico and Texas. Peyote, as the sacrament is commonly called, is a Spanish and English reckoning of the Nahuatl word peyotl, that means from the heart as well as a name for the sacred cactus. Use of this sacred medicine for ceremonial and healing purposes came from the unique relationship that these ancestral people had with the Creator and the land. In original Spanish reports from Texas and northern Mexico, peyotl is often reported in conjunction with mitotes.

This section presents historical data showing that the cultural origin of the use of peyotl in the Native American Church is just one of a number of religious uses of peyote passed from Mexican and Texas Indians to American Indian tribes.

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199. Remí Simeón (1977) translated “peyotl” as “Planta cuya raíz servía para fabricar una bebida que sustitúa al vino…péricardio, envoltura del corazón.”
EARLY RELIGIOUS USE OF PEYOTE IN TEXAS AND NORTHEASTERN MEXICO

Although Newcomb, Jr. (1961: 41) stated that Texas Indians ate peyote “... dried, ground into powder, and used in a tea ...” he left out the easiest ways to eat the medicine. Which are to eat the fresh fruit and or to mix a water mush, also described by Spanish writers as “mesclado con agua” (mixed with water). Prehistoric evidence of peyote in south Texas exists at a privately-owned rock art site popularly referred to as “White Shaman”, near the confluence of the Pecos River and the Rio Grande. Although a facsimile of the mural is presented at the Witte Museum in San Antonio, the display omits an important component. The original site is at least twenty-five meters wide and five meters high next to a path and guarded by rock rattlesnakes. In the original paintings there are depictions of deer dancers with peyotes hanging off of their antlers. These figures belong to an archaic style that estimated to be 3,000 years of age. Other paintings in the area also depict peyote in association with crescent moon symbolism, but are in a later prehistoric style. As in Mexico, religious use of peyote associated with deer and dance symbolism in Texas goes back thousands of years (La Barre 1989). Although I would not go as far as to say that all religious use of peyote originated in Texas and northeastern Mexico as does Rueking, Jr. (1955:167), it is clear that its use within the context of the mitote, helps to establish the mitote as the direct ancestor of the Native American Church. To find the roots, we go again to the Island of Malhado and Cabeza de Vaca.

After escaping to the mainland, Cabeza de Vaca lived among the Charruco as a shell trader for six years and carried his goods inland. He explained that some of the shells were used to “cut a fruit which is like a bean, used by them for healing and in their dances and feasts.” (Bandelier 1922: 75)

Although, it is not clear what fruit this is, it is likely that he refers to peyote and not the “frijolillo” [mescal bean], a plant that has never been known for healing, unlike peyote. In Book 26, Cabeza de Vaca stated that the Mariame became drunk by a certain smoke for which they gave all that they had.

“... en toda la tierra se emborrachan con vn humo y dan quanto tienen por él.” [Pupo-Walker 1992: 269]
Newcomb (1961) and Sauer (1971) assumed that this was a reference to peyote, but provide neither evidence nor ethnographic comparison for smoking peyote. However, it is possible that Cabeza de Vaca did not understand what he was seeing and witnessed a mitote, in which tobacco was smoked and highly revered. Not understandings the relationship between the smoke and the affect he perceived of those partaking in the ceremony, he might have missed the peyote. The importance of peyote to the Quetzale people in Coahuila is made clear by Fray Juan Larios who named their mission Santo Nombre de Jesus de Peyotes, the first mission north of Monclova. The mission sat just south of the Lomería de los Peyotes (Peyote Hills) and Villa Unión, Coahuila, an area for which Fray Larios named the mission in 1673. Larios identified these hills as gardens for which Indians would take the medicine to use in their mitote and ceremonial dances (Steck 1932). In 1674, San Bernardino de la Candela was founded for Catujanos, Milijaes, and Tilijais, known for their mitotes (Wade 1998), and later becoming Texas Indians, Map 13, p. 246.

Over the next century, Julime would move into Coahuila and become known as the Carrizo Nation, which was famous for its role in transmitting the religious use of peyote to the Oklahoma American Indians in the 1800’s. After 1680, repercussions from the Great Northern Wars were being felt, and Chief Montezuma, a Julime nativistic leader, led a rebellion in 1677 (Archivo Hidalgo Parral 1684). According to Fray Espinosa (1708) who spoke with Chief Montezuma, the Julimes, Mamites, and Conchos came to La Junta de los Rios from the pueblo of San Christobal after the uprising and also lived at Mission San Francisco Solano near Eagle Pass. Escalante (1962:317) also found that Julimes arrived at La Junta after the 1677 uprising and expressed resentment toward the Spanish for hanging two Julimes in Parral. Decades later, Trasuíña Retis (1715) reported that Julime occupied several pueblos from San Antonio de Julimes to the north, and their governor, Don Antonio de la Cruz, had been born in La Junta. In 1716, Captain Ramón (1716) identified Julime in a large gathering on the upper Colorado River in Texas with Chief Juan Sabeata after a successful raid on Apaches. In 1720, the viceroy of New Spain expressed concern about the continued Julime rebellions at La Junta de los Ríos (Martínez 1720). Kenmotsu (1994) presented documentary evidence showing the Julime transition from non-cultivating subsistence to horticulture at La Junta de los Ríos by 1684 when Mendoza (1684) and Sabeata described the Julime as maize and wheat planters. In 1689, Chief Nicolas of the Julime translated between Jumano and Cibolo people for General Retana.
In the 1700’s, however, the Julimes and Julimeños would become part of an anti-colonial alliance that included the Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters. I suggest that this alliance was the foundation upon which the Lipan Apache oral tradition attributes the origin of their religious use of peyote came from the Julimes and also suggest that the religious use of peyote is another aspect of historical and cultural affiliation between Jumano, Julime, and Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters near the Rio Grande, specifically the Cúelcahén Ndé.

However, there was another connection to peyote and that is the Indígena living in missions near the peyote gardens, from Coahuila through Nuevo León and into Nuevo Santander. However, first it was the land of mitotes, in which León (1690) identified peyote as a diabolical beverage with which they become drunk in gatherings of invited guests. In León’s (1689) report he stated that the Indígena collected peyote and gathered around a fire to sing in vocables, play small gourds filled with stones from the ant mounds as rattles, dance, and hold giveaways in the morning.

“Desde prima noche hacen un fogón; para lo cual tienen gran cantidad de leña junta. Y empiezan a tocar unas calabacillas con muchos abujericos y dentro muchas piedrazuelas de hormiguero; y en unos palos de ebano y otros palos de otros, muy rayados, hondos, de forma que pasando recio otro palillo por encima de las rayas, hace un agradable sonido.”

“Desde que está ya la noche obscura, cantando a su modo las palabras que quieren; sin tener sentido (w/o meaning), solo consonancia (consonants). Y van en ellas tan parejos, que no disuena el uno del otro; sino que parece una voz sola (sing as one).”

“En amaneciendo, como a las nueve, les van repartiendo aquella comida y algunos cueros de venado.” [León, Chapa, and Zamora 1961: 24]

The practice of making rattles of gourds and ant stones, singing in vocables, and a giveaway in the morning are all traditions in the Native American Church. Alessio Robles (1938: 382) reported that Fray Nicolas Ornelas wrote a chronicle of missions in Coahuila that 20 Quetzale families settled at the Peyotes mission with four Tlaxcalteca families between the Rio Alamo and the Rio Grande in the Lomería de Peyotes. These people joined by the Chantaf in 1698, almost certainly held mitotes with peyote. Even south of Monclova, Fray Ornelas reported that Mission Santa Rosa de Viterbo Nadadores prohibited peyote. It is therefore possible to affiliate Indígena from missions to the religious use of peyote, especially when peyote gardens are in their homeland.
Cuervo y Valdez (1698c) reported that Mission del Valle San Bartolome de Jesus was established. After a mission revolt, Fray Portoles (1699) reported that this mission reestablished on January 2, 1699, as Mission Dulze Nombre Jesus de los Peyotes with 95 Chantafe (Santaje), Pacoo, and Paiagua nations at the present site of Villa Unión, Coahuila.

By 1700, buffalo hunters in Coahuila, which sought alliance with the Spanish in 1675 took a more desperate and hostile stance toward the European invaders. Fray Olivares (1700b) reported that Don Tomás Chief of the Catqueza known from Coahuila and Texas joined a military alliance with Ervipiame and attacked and killed two soldiers in an attack on the Rio Grande missions near Guerrero, Coahuila in December 1700. Sijame from Mission Peyotes and Tlaxcalteca from Caldera fought off the attackers (Olivares 1700b).

In 1709, Fray Olivares and Fray Espinosa traveled to Texas and made the first direct written reports of the religious use of peyote in Texas mitotes. Speaking of south Texas near the Rio Grande, but generalizing by stating, “... los yndios de la provincia de los tejas,” Fray Olivares (1716) informed the viceroy that he has not found idolatry among the Indígena and that they do not intoxicate themselves, but in their mitotes, they partake of a drink prepared with peyote that produced disturbed feelings, visions, and fantasies. Texas Indians identified by Espinosa (1717) in 1709 were Pacuache and Xarame near the Rio Grande, Payaya and Pampopa near San Antonio, Siupan, Chaularame, and Sijame in San Antonio, Sana at New Braunfels, Captain Cantona with Yojuan, Simomo, and Tusonibi near Bastrop, and fifty other nations at San Marcos. Fray Olivares (1716) suggested a voluntary quality to the religious use of peyote and unlike previous writers distinguished between alcohol intoxication and the effects of peyote.

In 1734, seven Ndé (Apache) chiefs settled rancherías near the Rio Grande missions and in 1735, the Toboso continued to attack Monclova, documenting both groups in the area. Also, Mission Vizarrón was founded near Mission Peyotes with the Pausane in 1736 (Archivo San Francisco el Grande 1736).

In 1743, Fray Casañas working in missions among the Tejas Asinai and other Caddo nations reported that the men and women of the Texas intoxicated themselves with peyote or frijolillo (Mesecal bean) (Hatcher 1927a).
In 1747, Captain Ydoiaga met “Yndios de Pelote” who reportedly lived northeast of the Cola de la Aguila (Eagle Mountains). If Enrique Madrid’s (1992) reading of Pelotero as “ball players” is correct, then it suggests survival of the Mesoamerican ballgame in West Texas in the 1740’s.\footnote{However, the only other reference to the Mesoamerican ballgame in Texas and Coahuila is an account of the origin of the Mission Peyotes, in which Toboso and Quetzale warriors played a ball game in 1670 for the prize of Fray Juan Larios’ head (Steck 1932: 7).}

However, I suggest that Ydoiaga’s use of the word “Peloteros” may have been intended to be “Pelloteros” as written by Espinosa (1716) in reference to the religious use of peyote. This would suggest that Indigenous people living northeast of the Eagle Mountains were known as “Peyote people,” and which correlates with the early range and use of the plant in Trans-Pecos Texas, as suggested by Marjorie Reagen, a high-school botany teacher in west Texas who stated that:

“The old settlers in Pyote [Texas] tell me that there was Peyote there 60 or 70 years ago [c. 1900], but the Indians came from the West [direction of Mescalero reservation] and gathered all of it. About 30 years ago one plant was found, and since then, none.” [Morgan and Stewart 1984: 272]

Arricivita (1792) stated that in August 1749, Fray Dolores feared Apache mitotes implied the use of peyote. Notice the similar use of the term diabolical beverage (diabólico brebaje) by León (1690) and Arricivita (1792).\footnote{However, this may not extend to all Apache, because in 1763, Jiménez, Baños, and García (1763) stated that the Lipan “do their dances (mitotes) in which they all get together to eat. They do not get intoxicated and hate all hard liquor. They do not use intoxicating herbs.”}

“Remembering besides what had happened in Nuevo Mexico as a result of similar union, they had to prevent the neophytes from becoming contaminated by the wretched habits and diabolical ceremonies observed by the Apaches or by the dances and beverages that they use in their great fiestas.” [Hammond and Rey 1996: 42]
In 1750, Fray Vicente Santa Maria wrote an historical account of the colony of Nuevo Santander (Holden 1924) in which he added some details to the religious use of peyote in the southeast near the Gulf of Mexico.

“The beginning of the summer . . . the abundance of the . . . wild fruits which they use and are the occasion for their gluttony and laziness, or the triumph of some battle over their enemies, are the motives which they propose for devoting themselves to drunkenness and dancing. The narcotic which produces the greatest effect is the peyote, which is a wild plant from who extract the liquor is made. This is prepared in great quantities, as is also meat garnered with fruits, and wild seeds. Then, they send their messengers to the friendly nation, as we have mentioned, telling them the day and the hour. These dances always take place on the darkest nights, in the most obscure places, and near the darkest mountain . . . from time to time by some of the dancers making trips to the peyote which is placed at one side and served by the Indian women and the old men. At the conclusion of a festival all are prostrate and asleep . . . some old man or woman . . . raising the voice in magical and spooky tone to which all give attention, he foretells the future, and explains to them the state of their death and misfortunes . . .” [Holden 1934: 114 - 116]

After over 200 years of documented mitote, the institution remains close to the earliest reports of Cabeza de Vaca (1542) and León (1690) and to contemporary practices in the Native American Church that included Native American oratory and peyote served, sans the dancing.

However, in contemporary Wirra (Huichol) religious use of hikuri (peyote) elder men feed people the medicine and dancing goes on during the night.
PEYOTE AND THE ANTI-COLONIAL ALLIANCES

Now that this chronicle of the history of the religious use of peyote has covered the aftermath of the Great Northern Wars resulting in Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters migrating into south Texas and northeastern Mexico (Chapter 2 through 6), we can pick up the story of the Julime Nation, referred to along with the Lipan Apache, as the source of the religious use of peyote among the people of Oklahoma and the people that a Lipan Apache credits with introducing the religious use of peyote to the Lipan Apache. Salinas (1990:92) found that an orphaned Carrizo girl was baptized at Mission Lampazos, just south of Mission Peyotes in 1715 and that they were marked on Barreiro (1728) map just north of Falcón Reservoir. After 1730, reports are common near Cerralvo, Revilla. According to Domingo Cabello, after 1750, the Lipan Apache made up a third of the total Apaches and lived between the Rio Grande and the Nueces rivers, while Apache made up the remaining two-thirds and moved further into Coahuila where they joined in alliance with the Julimeña Nation in the vicinity of the Mission Peyotes.

“Grande Liga, y Amistad con la Nacion Julimeña que estava cituada en la Mission de el Dulze Nombre de Jesus de Vizarron.” [Cabello 1784: 116]

The Julimeña most likely refers to the Jumane Apache reported in 1733 to be a southern portion of the Ndé alliance that continued after 1750.202 Manuel Rodríguez (1770: 57) explained that the Apache were joined by Julime in an Anti-Colonial Alliance in 1755.203 After a presidio had been established at La Junta de los Rios in 1755, moved to Coahuila and settled at Mission Vizzarón until they abandoned the mission and took all of its horses to join in an anti-colonial alliance with the Apache.

202. An interesting correlation with the Julimeña deals with their earlier identity as Jumano associated with the Zuma near El Paso. Rex Gerald (1974: 112-113) presented the document “State of the Mission of San Lorenzo el Real, Town of Zumas” that has not date but was most likely written between 1778 and 1779 that recorded peyote used in religious rituals.

203. These Carrizo were apostates from the Julime mission La Junta de los Rios Grande y Conchos who allied with Ndé (Apache) rangers in their raids on Coahuila and at this time were distinct from the Carrizo-Tuzan who lived near Laredo. However both Carrizo groups had ties to the Ndé anti-colonial alliance, mission residence, and the religious use of peyote.
Later, the Julime settled in Mission Carrizo that sat at a strategic entrance from the Lomerio de Peyotes to the valleys of the Rio Piedra Pinta that fed the lands of the missions of Peyotes, Vizarrón, and Carrizo near present day Villa Unión, Coahuila (Map13).

In 1762, the governor of Texas reported that Carrizo attacked in 1767 Solís reported that Apache lived on the Rio San Diego at the ruins of the original Presidio Sacramento and Julimeños lived at Mission Vizarron. To the southeast, Solís reported Carrizo south of the Rio Grande near Laredo and Apache on the north side ranging to Corpus Christi, Texas. Early written accounts of shared religious use of peyote associated with trade fairs were written in 1770. In January, Fray Lizarras reported,

“I have also frequently seen the Apache Indians go to where the Julimenos are to attend their fairs or exchange, but the Apaches also go to those places called Villas de Xegedo (Gigedo) and San Fernando and to the Missions Pellotes and Bizarron.” [Lizarras in Stewart 1974: 215]

Later that year, on April 14, 1770, Fray Lorenzo de la Peña reported that Apache and Julimeño held a mitote with peyote at Mission Peyote.

“All the rest of the day they waste in gambling, and most nights of the year they pass in dancing, drinking Pellotes (brew made of the peyote) and other drinks like patalillo which inebriate like the best wine. They make use of these drinks in their sorcery.” [Stewart 1974: 215]

From above we know that the Julimeño were also known as Carrizo and were associated with Mission Carrizo near Mission Peyote. To complicate matters, in 1774 and 1782, Carrizo-Tuzan, who Salinas (1990) assures are distinct from the Carrizo of Mission Carrizo referred to in the above passages, were accused of having a mitote with the Apache who were raiding in Nuevo León, however by 1790 they were allied with the Spanish against Lipan Apache and Mescalero rangers (Salinas 1990:93). Nevertheless, the Carrizo-Tuzan remained in the Laredo area until 1828, when Jean Berlandier learned that the Garza people near Roma, Texas called them Yemé and spoke a language thought to be Comecrudo.
After 1750 Ndé, Julime lived in close proximity were affiliated by anti-colonial alliance, and would later be the source of the expansion of the religious use of peyote north to Oklanoma and the Native American Church. Thus, it is likely that both the Western Carrizo and the Tuzan Carrizo engaged in ceremonial observance with the religious use of peyote and both shared mitotes with peyote with the Ndé (Apache).

The Jumano-Julime living near the peyote gardens of Coahuila and Nuevo León between Monclova and Eagle Pass certainly held mitotes with peyote with the Ndé and the Carrizo-Tuzan-Yemé living near the peyote gardens of Tamaulipas and Texas, southeast of Laredo also may have done the same. Either, or both, could be sources for an origin of the tradition that would emerge as the Native American Church in the late 1800’s.

However, in 1830, Jean Berlandier stated, “the coastal peoples, the谭ahues, the Lipans...still use their intoxicating plant in their feasts.” (Ewers 1969:62) In either case, according to the Anglo captive, Frederick Buckelew, the Lipan Apache shared a mitote with the Kickapoo in 1865 (Dennis and Dennis 1925). After a cautious approach, the Kickapoo arrived at a Lipan camp near the Pecos River and Chief Custaleta invited the Kickapoo to trade and together built a brush arbor left open at each end. The structure was meant to hold a dance accompanied by music made with smooth dry sticks struck together, rattles made of gourds and of long chains of disc bones, and a squat ceramic drum with deer hide stretched over it. The Lipan Apache shared with the Kickapoo that they had learned this ceremonial observance from the people who had been in that land before them. In the following chapter (Dennis and Dennis 1925: 113), Bukelew described a different ceremonial observance marking a lunar eclipse. After dark, they gathered in a circle around the same instruments and began a solemn ceremony of singing, in contrast to the celebration with the Kickapoo. Soon the moon faded and the ceremony continued until the moonlight returned. Undoubtedly, a mitote, the instrumentation of the ceremonies strongly suggests the religious use of peyote, as does the distinguishing characteristic of one ceremony for festivities and the other for more solemn occasions and the information that the Lipan Apache were transmitting this ceremony from the earlier people of the land to the Kickapoo newcomers.

204 This drum may refer to Kiowa tribal historian Guy Quitone’s statement that the Lipan drum is not a water drum, referring to an iron kettle with water inside and covered with hide and rope.
This also agrees with the time frame as just anticipating Kiowa Apache oral history claiming that they learned the religious use of peyote from the Lipan. The use of a brush arbor with open ends also agrees with oral history taken from Anotnio Apache, the “. . . only . . . Lipan man who had lived under aboriginal conditions . . .” by Opler (1938a: 271 - 279) to also include rattles and a short drum.

This is in addition to the fact that Antonio Apache claimed that the Julime, who had lived with the peyote first, taught the ceremony to the Lipan Apache. Salinas (1990:93) provided evidence of this in presenting Gatchet’s findings from 1886, in which the Comecrudo at Las Prietas in the lower Rio Grande valley shared a Peyote Dance, who Goddard believed is the language of the Carrizo. These are the historical data that document the religious use of peyote among the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apaches of Texas have indexed as the originators of the Native American Church.
EMERGENCE OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

After 1865, the religious use of peyote began to expand outside of Texas; (particularly among American Indian tribes in Oklahoma) to eventually be established as the Native American Church (NAC). As one scholar argued:

“Since the 1880’s it has been known that the Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Caddo, Wichita, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe of the southwestern region of the present state of Oklahoma have used Peyote in rituals.” [Stewart 1974: 211]

The adoption of the religious use of peyote by way of Comanche Chief Quanah Parker who learned a form of Native American ceremonial observance from the Lipan Apache is well known. This section briefly recapitulates this history in order as one form of the religious use of peyote in the U.S. in the late 1900’s.

A white man by the name of Clark advocated the religious use of peyote among the Comanche, whom he lived with. In a letter to the BIA agent at the time, Clark stated that the Quahadis Comanche led by Quanah Parker learned the *Wok-wave* from the Lipan Apache before 1878, when they had already established their religious use of peyote (Stewart 1974: 212). As to the circumstances of this teaching, McAllester identified Billy Chevatts as Chivato who lived among the Comanche since the late 1800’s. Herman Lehmann (1927), an Anglo captured by Apache in Texas in 1870 named Chiwat as a young warrior who was among those who captured him with a friend named Pinero. Calling himself Pa-na-ro, he identified himself as Lipan Apache and 57 years old in 1918, and said that he knew about peyote before any of the Oklahoma Indians did and first ate it in Mexico. He also claimed that his great-grandfather was the first Lipan to use peyote and years later it came to Oklahoma (Stewart 1974: 218). This would mean that peyote was not common in Oklahoma until after 1868 and that it emerged among the Lipan Apache as early as the late 1700’s.

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205. This agrees with reports that Tonkawa taught the religious use of peyote to Oto and Sac in 1876.
Early in the passage of peyote north, Andele Martinez from Las Vegas, New Mexico was captured in 1866 and watched the Mescalero who took him in a peyote tipi ceremony. Although James Mooney stated that the Mescalero passed the tradition onto the northern tribes (Stewart 1974: 219), he was probably uninformed.

Lehmann, also reported that the Lipan associated with Chiwat and Pinero held four day ceremonies with peyote, closer to the mitote described in Texas and northeastern Mexico. Cecil Horse, a Kiowa, reported in 1967 reported that Pinero and Chivato brought peyote to Oklahoma. Kiowa-Apache and Arapahoe agreed with this understandings. Nelson Big Bow, a Kiowa stated that “Quanah Parker brought Lipan Apache from Mescalero to run Peyote meetings.” These Lipan were identified as Chivato, Pinero, and Escaona and brought to Cache, Oklahoma by Quanah Parker. This passage of the religious use of peyote is believed by Bruno Nettl found that the style of Peyote songs was most similar to Apache and Navajo music (Stewart 1980: 189 -190). Weston La Barre (1989) explained that after the establishment of the religious use of peyote in Oklahoma, various tribes made their own interpretations of the ceremonial observance and some included Christian symbolism. Among those who syncretized the religious use of peyote with Christian beliefs and theology, the Union Church of the Winnebago, the American Indian Church Brother Association of the Osage, and the First-Born Church of Christ preceded the incorporation of a group of Oto, Kiowa, and Arapahoe who established the Native American Church in Oklahoma in 1918. From this beginning, the Native American Church has become one of the largest Native American religions in the United States and an important source of Native American cultural revitalization.

However, in addition to Native American Church religious use of peyote there is evidence for the survival of a mitote with peyote in the oral tradition of Santos Peralez Castro of the Cúelcahén Ndé in 1956 at Three Rivers, Texas. Moreover, it is clear that the Native American Church owes its existence to the mitote among Cúelcahén Ndé that constitutes a significant survival of Texas Indian culture that has had implications for the religious use of peyote for modern Native Americans.
The Cúelcahén Ndé oral tradition provides an example of the religious use of peyote by Texas Indians in a miyote that appears related but distinct from the form used by the Native American Church. Santiago Castro Castro (1995) said,

"Modesto Gonzalez Castro would eat the peyote while making a big fire in a circle. They would all eat the peyote and they would all singing and dance all night. He would also make and scratch pictures of animals or things on the ground."

Santos Peralez Castro recalled one of these “miyote” held in 1956 that included the religious use of peyote. Santos (1999) said,

“I remember my dad and mom calling it a miyote, it was a green cactus. I remember my mom and dad would invite their friends over, my mom used to cook lots of stuff. Before the invited got there, they would get a lot of corn, they used a lot of corn and we all would grid it and make tamales and tortillas from the corn and she would cook beans and rice. The friends used to make a circle and a big fire and they used to make a circle around the fire and all their friends were in the circle. All the friends use to make a circle, all the grown-ups would make the circle. They would all smoke this big pipe and pass it around the circle and to smoke it and after they smoked it they would pass a small basket and eat the peyote and they eat all nights and would continue all night, singing and dancing till the next day. I remember the kids were not allowed in the circle and we would sleep all night and then wake up the next morning to eat, I remember.”
CHAPTER SUMMARY

In Appendix C, I presented historical origins for the religious use of peyote in mitote. Although a generalized concept, “mitote” has both historical and ethnographic reality with clear historical and cultural affiliation to both the origins of the Native American Church and the “miyote” of the Cúelcahén Ndé Lipan Apache of Texas.
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