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TOWARDS A REVISION OF THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN PLAINS-NEW
MEXICO RELATIONS: LIPÁN APACHES AND SOUTHERN
PLAINS ECOLOGY, 1500-1720

by

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PLAINS ECOLOGY, 1500-1720

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1992

This study is dedicated to

David K. Carter

whose friendship has taught me the value of
curiosity, kindness, skepticism, and strength

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March 1992

ABSTRACT

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This study argues that the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Southern Plains-New Mexico region can be significantly revised if approached from an epistemology founded on William James's doctrine of radical empiricism. Such an epistemology seeks out empirical data and interpretations of that data from a variety of disciplines, and by casting a wider net, empirically and metahistorically, provides for a "more true" conception of the past. It is argued that previous interpretations of this history have missed a larger understanding of changes occurring in the region due to a variety of limiting perspectives, which has included interpretations imbued with

presentist, teleological, ethnocentric, or anthropocentric epistemologies. Focusing on the Lipán Apaches, this study uses historical documents, interpretations, and data amassed from anthropology and the natural sciences to reconstruct a more rich, full, and inclusive history of the region.

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Introduction

During the past hundred years, historical scholarship concerning the Southern Plains-New Mexico region has developed in a number of different directions. Initially, historians followed Frederick Jackson Turner's suggestion that western areas were significant for their impact on the development of United States' culture and institutions. These historians were followed by others who criticized the Anglo-centrism of this perspective and replaced it with one that emphasized the region's role in the development of a Spanish empire in the New World. More recently, a new generation of revisionists has criticized Euro-centrism in general and has chosen to use anthropological and sociological approaches which highlight the Native American and Mexican-American cultures in the region.

In seeking historical significance and scholarly relevance for their work, each of these generations of scholars has adopted a particular point of view concerning the region's larger role in the historical process. The epistemologies of these points of view often contained fallacious reasoning that included a presentism that imposed modern cultural values onto the past, as well as teleological thinking which attributed a priori meaning and progressive direction to historical processes. While these

fallacies dominated the thought of late nineteenth and early twentieth century historians and anthropologists, the late twentieth century witnessed a shift toward a relativistic paradigm which avoids the progressive bias of earlier work but replaces it with an even more aggressive presentism and parochial focus. More widespread in recent scholarship have been the problems associated with increased specialization, most notably that of increasingly limited perspective. This thesis proposes a more sophisticated method for analyzing history, one that seeks to avoid certain epistemological fallacies committed in the past and the narrowness that particularly characterizes historical thinking today.

While each generation has made a significant contribution to the body of factual knowledge about the region and its people, the implicit contradictions among various methodological and epistemological assumptions have prevented the emergence of a larger synthesis which would lead to a deeper understanding of the historical processes involved in the region's development. This study seeks to synthesize the scholarship concerning the Southern Plains and its peoples and along the way provide a corrective to the limited perspectives that have characterized Southern Plains scholarship.

Traditionally, historians have been driven by the reasonable epistemological assumptions that all events have causes, that the past helps explain the present, and that

there is a specific meaning that can be ascertained from the facts of the past. Not usually content with examining short spans of time, however, historians generally have taken a long chronological view of their subject. This macroscopic approach certainly applies to Plains-New Mexico studies, but there have been problems inherent in the approach which only recently have been addressed. Perhaps the most fundamental problem has hinged on the difficulty of keeping a broad perspective while also remaining attentive to processes in the region that were unique. For the first half of the twentieth century, establishing long-span history for the Plains-New Mexico area had not been done keeping the variables unique to the region in mind, but had been done from the perspective of Anglo-Americans or of Spaniards as seen by North Americans studying Spanish documents.

Except for archeologists and historical linguists,¹ most anthropologists have pursued research on the region using a set of values for considering time different from that used by historians. In addition, anthropologists, including archeologists and historical linguists, have used different sources of information than historians. Believing

¹ Admittedly, this is an awkward term; it should be taken to mean, specifically, linguistic anthropologists studying changes that have occurred in one or more languages over long periods of time. It does not mean linguists who have lived in the past. In the text, this term will be used interchangeably with its synonyms "glottochronologist" and "lexico-statistical analysts," terms perhaps even more confusing to the uninitiated, but nonetheless useful to understand.

that the study of living cultures gave scholars knowledge of "traditional" and "primitive" societies, ethnographers in the first half of the century approached the study of people from a microscopic, thinly sliced chronological perspective. This approach could be shaped in two ways: the "emic", which provided an "insider's" view of a particular culture, and/or the "etic", which involved an outside interpretation of the culture. Both ethnographical approaches suffered, however, from the constraints of considering narrow time-slices. They lacked the historical depth that could allow better understanding of changes, subtle or substantial, within a culture, or between cultures, over time.

Beginning in the 1920s with Alfred Kidder's work at Pecos and Leslie Spier's studies of Athapaskan language, archeologists and glottochronologists offered suggestive and insightful contributions to our knowledge of human life in the region, knowledge that was, and is, unobtainable through Spanish documents. As with other specialties, data and conclusions from these two research areas have been limited by specific goals that generally exclude moving outside the field: glottochronologists have stuck close to language studies and archeologists have retained a central concern with previously inhabited dwellings.

From the mid-1950s forward, there has been a move by historians and anthropologists to integrate the best of both disciplines. Known generally as "ethnohistory," the new

field which has emerged from these efforts has attracted a large following of scholars interested in understanding cultural change. Several of ethnohistory's practitioners have looked at the Plains-New Mexico region, with most attention being given either to New Mexico studies or to Plains studies, but little to both in conjunction. The few efforts to tackle both the Southern Plains and eastern New Mexico simultaneously have generally improved our knowledge of the region by revealing certain aspects of political and economic relations between Puebloans, Plains Apaches, and Caddoans, but historians have generally used anthropological knowledge as uncritically as anthropologists have used historical data. Moreover, there has been a belief among many ethnohistorians--as there has been among most historians--that history is anthropocentric, or human-specific. The flaw in this assumption becomes apparent when we consider environmental influences on humans as well as the impact that humans have had on the environment. This interactive process between man and nature was particularly important with respect to Native Americans.

Since its inception in the mid-1950s, ethnohistory has had among its practitioners scholars who have sought to allow for as many possible perspectives on a given topic as possible. Historian Wilcomb Washburn argued in 1960 that ethnohistory should share an epistemology with William James's pragmatism, which Washburn conflated with James's

radical empiricism and one of its corollaries, pluralism. Consistent with James's general position, the melding of synchronic anthropology with diachronic history should establish the value of beliefs and information on the basis of their relations with other elements in the context within which these beliefs and information occur. A single perspective--whether Spanish or Apache, linguistic or sexual--is epistemologically less satisfactory to this method, because a single perspective leaves less room for verification. More important, a single perspective binds knowledge to a limited sense of the past's reality. The historical processes involved in any region's development include a complex overlapping, convergence, and mixing of many disparate phenomena. The method adopted by the present study, a method suggested by radical empiricism, seeks to catch a glimpse of this complexity. In adopting this method, the epistemological position sought is one which permits standing back from any given perspective, comparing and analyzing each in relation to other points of view, and piecing together a broader and deeper assessment of the region under consideration.

For the Southern Plains-New Mexico region, the epistemological position sought entails taking advantage of many others' earlier work to reconstruct the region's past. The present study focuses on the Lipán Apache, their relations with others in the region, and ecological factors

that played a significant role in these relations. It will be argued that the Lipán and bison were central features of Southern Plains-New Mexico life in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Chapter One provides an historiographical overview and critical assessment of relevant fragments of the past hundred years' scholarship on Southern Plains-New Mexico history. It is followed by a chapter on ethnohistory, the "new Indian history", and development of the organizing perspective of this thesis.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five reconstruct several essential aspects of Southern Plains-New Mexico life and change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Chapter Three addresses Plains-Pueblo relations prior to Spanish contact, with particular emphasis on how the arrival of Apaches on the Southern Plains changed the structure of relations in the region. Chapter Three also examines Plains Apache subsistence strategies. The Lipán worldview is examined in Chapter Four. Beliefs in supernatural power pervade Lipán metaphysics, and the manner in which such power was handled individually and socially by Apaches constitutes the core of this chapter. Chapter Five explores ecological issues of the Southern Plains. These issues include bison ecology, forage availability on the Plains, the influence of climate on plant and animal life in the region, and the impact which the Little Ice Age may have had on Southern Plains-New Mexico life. Chapter Six concludes

the study with a summary of how the epistemology offered by this thesis affects historical interpretation, and suggestions will be made for future research.

This thesis contributes more than just an additional point of view on Southern Plains-New Mexico history. Indeed, it seeks to avoid presenting another parochial approach to the subject which is bound, as parochial views are, by a constraining epistemology. The thesis challenges basic assumptions underlying previous interpretations of Southern Plains-New Mexico history and offers a more catholic approach to the subject. The approach which this thesis adopts, while eschewing claims to objectivity and completeness of understanding, does claim to be a more helpful vehicle for making sense of historical developments in the region. Ranging as it does above points of view lodged in parochialism, this study seeks to carry out a dialogue between these various perspectives without partiality. In this sense, the study strives for objectivity, repudiates extreme relativism, advocacy, and presentism in history, while remaining committed to a need to know the region on its own terms.

Chapter One: Historiography

The present study will argue that, taken as a whole, the scholarly thought and methods dealing with Southern Plains Apaches have evolved into increasingly rich, complex, and historically accurate means for explaining Apache culture and history. The development of this scholarship can be traced from a somewhat strict "discipline approach" in the early part of the twentieth century, with the relatively new disciplines of history and anthropology guiding research with methodologies and data specific to their respective disciplines. Gradually scholarship began to shift to an interdisciplinary approach, which, at its best, emphasized the value of bringing to bear as much information as possible, from as many sources as possible, on Indian history.

The shift to an interdisciplinary approach shed new light on Southern Plains studies and made evident the benefits that other disciplines could offer historians. This seemed to imply that anthropologists were becoming more historical and historians more anthropological, but an ideal blending of the two has not materialized. In the same vein, historians doing research on Southern Plains topics have made little use of data from the natural sciences that

relate to environmental phenomena affecting human populations on the Plains.

Although an interdisciplinary approach has been taking root, most historians have continued writing about their subject within limited conceptual frameworks. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the difficulties involved in doing interdisciplinary work may be the central factor contributing to a lack of commitment to the interdisciplinary approach. And although it will be further argued that a full-scale conversion to an interdisciplinary approach should be neither expected nor excessively encouraged, it needs to be emphasized that there have been limitations to treatments of American Indian history in general and the history of New Mexico-Plains relations in particular. The basis for these shortcomings centers on the epistemological frames of reference that these studies have adopted.

The first stages of scholarly writing on Plains Apaches, between 1900 and 1950, progressed along several very different lines. Anthropologists were the first to deal with Plains Apaches in a systematic way around the turn of the century. Much of this work combined the use of sparse French and Spanish historical documents, nineteenth century American accounts, and ethnographic work. Frederick Hodge's description, discussed below, falls into this category. Historians such as Herbert Bolton soon addressed

the history of the Plains Apaches as it related to the development of New Spain's northern frontier. Bolton and others began scouring Mexican and North American archives for Spanish documents that revealed a rich history of the Spanish Borderlands.

Continued work in history and anthropology throughout the first half of the current century brought a growing knowledge to the general subject, but most of this knowledge remained only indirectly related to Plains Apaches. Almost every study of Apaches, for instance, dealt with western groups located in Arizona or southern New Mexico. When Plains Apaches were mentioned, it was usually in one of two ways. One context in which they were mentioned was when Spaniards crossing the Plains in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century had given accounts of them. The second context was eighteenth century Texas, when Spaniards had described the Apache groups who had been forced off the Plains and into central Texas by the Comanches. These two views of Plains Apaches remained cloudy and quite spotty until the early 1960s, when much research in anthropology and history finally came together. The 1950s and 1960s saw a considerable increase in the number of Plains Apache studies, which somewhat dissipated during the 1970s but has recently revived.

Hodge and Some Problems in Researching Plains Apache History

The degree of interest most scholars had in Apaches remained essentially unchanged throughout the first half of the twentieth century. In his 1906 publication, the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Frederick Hodge dealt with Apaches in much the same way that many scholars approached the study of Apaches. Under the entry for "Apache," 90% of the history section is devoted to the fifteen years between 1871 and 1886, when the Apache wars with the U.S. Army took place. The Lipán Apache are not even mentioned until the ethnography section of the article, and there only in connection with their "probable" ancestors, the Querechos and Vaqueros,¹ and with brief note of their near annihilation by the Kickapoo and the federal army in Mexico.² The "Lipan" entry similarly reflects scholarly habits. It is half the size of the entry for Jicarillas and one-fourth the size of the Chiricahua entry. The Lipán entry includes a short chronology that begins in 1757, the date that Spaniards built Misión San Sabá to protect Lipanes from then frequent and effective Comanche

¹ Throughout this study, the terms "Querecho," "Vaquero," and "Lipán" will be used interchangeably. These were terms used by Spaniards during respectively different eras to describe Southern Plains Apaches residing near the Canadian River.

² Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico Part I, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1965 (orig. pub. by The Smithsonian Institution, 1906), 63-67.

attacks. Hodge describes these Apaches during "various periods of the 18th and 19th centuries" as roaming "from the lower Rio Grande in New Mexico and Mexico eastward through Texas to the Gulf Coast."³ The reasons behind such disproportionate attention were several, and clues that Hodge provides to this imbalance also help explain the problems scholars have encountered when researching the Lipán.⁴

Like other Apache groups, the Lipán were extremely reluctant to submit themselves to Spanish, Mexican, or American pressure. Lipanes who lived on the Plains throughout the seventeenth century remained at a cautious distance from the Spaniards who settled New Mexico and generally resisted any Spanish efforts to subdue them. Trade was intermittent; tension and conflict were more common, however, particularly given the practices of some Spaniards of capturing Plains Apaches to be sold as slaves to work in New Mexico or the mines farther south. Most New Mexican Spaniards viewed Plains Apaches as barbarians who warranted little attention, and this further contributed to the distance between Southern Plains cultures and activity in New Mexico. The historiographical importance of this

³ Ibid., 282-285, 631-632, 768.

⁴ For an idea of Hodge's sources, see linguistic sections at the end of his entries for "Apache," "Chiricahua," "Jicarilla," "Lipan," and "Mescalero," Vol. I, 67, 284, 632, 769, 846.

cultural estrangement and distance between Spaniards and Plains Apaches is that it resulted in a dearth of information from the period about these people. Unlike the wealth of descriptions of New Mexican Pueblo Indians by Spanish missionaries and soldiers, there are less than a dozen recorded observations--all relatively brief--of Plains Apaches in the sixteenth century.

The Lipanes' forced migration south from the Plains in the early 1720s coincided with the early settlement of Spanish Texas. Lipán relations with Spaniards in Texas were contentious from the start. Lipanes frequently raided Spanish settlements, and the Spaniards usually responded, if somewhat feebly and ineffectively, with campaigns of retribution. Unfortunately for the Lipanes, they had earned the hatred of not only the Comanches but most of the northern and central Texas Indians as well. By the 1750s, desperate and with survival in mind, the Lipanes tried to get the Spaniards to protect them. In southwest Texas, the mission of San Sabá was built in 1756 for the purpose of both conversion and protection, but Comanches burned it down within months of its construction.

The plight of Lipanes after this time was a varied one, mixed with occasional conflicts and periodic alliances with Spaniards in Texas and Coahuila. From the 1790s into the early nineteenth century, Spanish influence on the northern frontier waned, and Lipanes even allied themselves

with Comanches for awhile. As Hodge correctly points out, they spent much of their time roaming both sides of the Río Grande from the Gulf of Mexico to west Texas.⁵ For the purposes of this paper, only one other significant period needs mention. The middle to late nineteenth century saw increased conflict between Lipanes and a continually strengthened Republic of Mexico. Worse still for the Lipán, the Republic, later the State, of Texas's Indian extermination policies led to killing almost every last one of these people.

As had been the case in the seventeenth century, there was, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, no long-lasting relation of amity between Lipanes and Whites. And like the seventeenth century, this affected the amount and type of information that was written about the Lipanes. There was a great deal more documentation that accumulated on them, but this apparently related to military records, and most of these records concerned military strategy, location of groups, and hostile or friendly actions of the Indians.⁶ While such military information can be of great use to historians, not much insight into Lipán culture can

⁵ Ibid., 768.

⁶ Evidence of there being few Lipán Apaches in missions can be found in T. N. Campbell and T. J. Campbell, Indian Groups Associated with Spanish Missions of the San Antonio Missions National Historic Park, San Antonio: Center for Archaeological Research, The University of Texas at San Antonio, Special Report no. 16, 1985, 16-17.

be gleaned from these documents. Moreover, the near annihilation of Lipanes in the late nineteenth century inevitably limited twentieth century ethnographic work on them. Finally, the 1905 relocation of Lipanes onto the Mescalero Reservation in southern New Mexico, and the apparent resulting diffusion of material and intellectual culture, confounded efforts in the 1920s and 1930s to know the Lipán culture.

The remainder of this chapter outlines the history of scholarship relevant to Southern Plains Apaches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with emphasis on the epistemological frameworks of this scholarship. The first portions of this section of the chapter concern early literature on Lipanes in Texas during the eighteenth century. This postdates the central concern of the present study, but it provides perspective on the chronologically backward direction in which writing on Plains Apaches developed. Throughout the chapter, attention will focus on how these studies affected the larger understanding of Plains Apache history. Special attention will be given to varieties of research methods and interpretations.

Spanish Borderlands Historians and Further Problems

Historical literature on early Southern Plains history grew out of work done on Spanish Borderlands history. Broadening Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis and

its application, Herbert E. Bolton coined the phrase "Spanish Borderlands" in 1921 to describe the area of Spanish influence in what is now the United States.⁷ Bolton saw the need to expand previous interpretations that viewed American history as shaped exclusively by Anglo American forces. Such a view, Bolton reasoned, gave an unbalanced and insufficient understanding of colonial history. Given Spanish exploration and settlement of the vast territory of the present southern U.S. between Florida and California, the Spanish impact on those regions could not be ignored. Bolton substantiated these suggestions with an impressive amount of research and writing, which began while he was teaching at the University of Texas and blossomed with his work at the University of California, Berkeley.⁸

Bolton and his students began the ongoing task of researching, interpreting, and translating Spanish documents pertaining to the Borderlands. Perhaps Bolton's most

⁷ Turner's frontier thesis is in Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in George Rogers Taylor, ed., The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History, 3rd ed., Lexington, Mass., 1972. The work from which Bolton's popular idea of the Spanish Borderlands comes is his The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. For discussion and comparison of Turner and Bolton, see David J. Weber, "Turner, the Boltonians, and the Borderlands," American Historical Review 91 (1986): 66-81.

⁸ A bibliography of Bolton's writings is in John Francis Bannon, ed., Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964, 333-341.

lasting and furthest reaching influence on Borderlands history lies in the graduate training of 104 PhDs, many of whom made their own scholarly contributions to the historiography of the Borderlands and trained still more historians. It is a curious fact, and one in no small part due to Bolton's influence, that such a sparsely populated and marginally important area of the Spanish Empire as the northern frontier, particularly what later became the American Southwest, had a considerable number of historians studying it.⁹

The initial decades of Borderlands research focused on the Spanish history of the region at the expense of research on Native Americans. Given that documentation was limited to Spanish sources, this is not surprising.¹⁰ Focusing on the development of Spanish institutions tended, however, to provide an unbalanced interpretation of the region's

⁹ Bolton himself realized that some historians took the importance of the Borderlands to extremes. David J. Weber notes that Bolton once accused some writers of "mistaking the tail for the dog," by suggesting that all of Spanish America could be understood by studying the Borderlands. Weber, ed., New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821, Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1979, xii.

¹⁰ Jack D. Forbes has similarly remarked on the problem of dealing with Indian history through Spanish documents. "Naturally enough," he wrote, "the history of the Southern Athapascans from 1540 to 1698 must be viewed for the most part through Spanish eyes. Thus it must always be borne in mind that the description of any event will be a description from the Spanish point of view and may not, therefore, be objectively true." Jack D. Forbes, Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, xxii.

history, and in ways similar to what Bolton had criticized the Turnerian perspective for having created. Historians' attention clearly centered on Spaniards, even though the events they described were in a frontier setting in which Indians made up the other half of that frontier. Literature on the history of the region remained lopsided for quite some time.

It should be stressed that Bolton did not perceive such an uneven interpretation of the Borderlands as ideal. In a 1906 letter to W. H. Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution, Bolton wrote of how, in the best of all possible worlds, he would approach Indian history:

My idea would be to examine minutely the location, culture and inter-relations of the tribes at the earliest discovery. This done, I should wish to trace out these relations with the Spanish and French (of Louisiana, who had great influence in Texas), and later with the Anglo-Americans; the effects of these relations upon the natives; inter-tribal relations and tribal movements during contact with Europeans and Americans; and finally, the removal of the tribes to reservations. It would be desirable to include a study of archaeological remains, but I do not suppose much could be done in this direction in the near future.¹¹

Significantly, and with the exception of archeological data mentioned above, Elizabeth John realized Bolton's ideal in her monumental study Storms Brewed in Other Men's World's, published in 1975. Her approach, however, broad as

¹¹ In "Editor's Introduction," Herbert Eugene Bolton, The Hasinai, Southern Caddoans as Seen by the Earliest Europeans, Russell M. Magnaghi, ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, 8.

it is, remains parochial because of its restricted treatment of Indian worldviews and its inattention to the region's environment. In short, the epistemological references for this approach are limited. Much of its parochialism can be attributed to a lack of information during Bolton's era and, as will be discussed below, a lack of grounding in the literature during John's.

Bolton and his students faced the daunting problem of dealing with an enormous geographical area filled with hundreds of different Indian groups at the time of Spanish contact. Most of these Indians had been forced by other Indians or Spaniards to migrate, to become incorporated into other groups, or to be eliminated over time in a process one scholar called "shifting for survival."¹² Researchers' methods for uncovering these developments were often limited to painstaking analysis of Spanish documents. Such was the case with Apaches on the Plains and in Texas. In uncovering this data on Indians, a Spanish political or economic perspective generally remained at the center of written histories. Notwithstanding the Spanish predominance, a general picture of seventeenth and eighteenth century Indians in general, and Texas Apaches in particular, slowly emerged.

William Dunn, one of Bolton's students at the

¹² Albert H. Schroeder, "Shifting for Survival in the Spanish Southwest," New Mexico Historical Review XLIII (1968), 291-310.

University of Texas, wrote the first systematic study of Apaches in Spanish Texas.¹³ In this lengthy 1911 article, Dunn outlines a history of Apache-Spanish relations in Texas from roughly 1718 to 1750. This article is also one of the most important studies on Texas Apaches in that Dunn's analysis and description has remained a standard for Texas Apache history. For that reason, an extended examination of it follows.

Dunn discusses the frequent Apache raids on Spanish settlements in Texas and the various campaigns launched by Spaniards in retaliation or for conciliation. Important for understanding Apache culture and Apache relations with non-Spanish groups, Dunn also includes a general account of Apache motivations for raiding. Apache raids in the 1720s and 1730s were generally carried out to acquire horses, goods, and slaves for trade with the French farther north. Dunn provides a similar sketch of the deep antagonism between Apaches and other Texas Indians. Throughout all but the last several years of the eighteenth century, Comanches were allied with many northern Texas Indians against the Apaches. Finally, Dunn offers a brief description of various Apache bands known to have operated in Texas. These included the "main divisions" of Ypandes (Lipanes/Pelones) and their close allies the Natages, both of which included

¹³ William Edward Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," Texas Historical Association Quarterly 14 (1911): 198-275.

bands of Ysandi, Chenti, Melenudos, Mescaleros, Pelones, and Salineros.¹⁴

Dunn furnishes some of the earliest Spanish descriptions of Apaches after their migration, forced by Comanches and their allies, from the Plains into regions just west and northwest of central Texas. The Indians forced to migrate to this area were the Ypandes (Lipán).¹⁵ Of all the Apache bands, the Ypandes lived closest to Spanish settlements and farthest north. They raided settlements most frequently and became the most important of Apache bands in Spanish-Apache relations in the first half of eighteenth century Texas. Dunn additionally points out distinctions between Ypandes and Natages (which comprised Mescaleros and Salineros). Writing in 1733, Joseph de Urrutia said that he knew the two groups to have been enemies between 1693 and 1700 but had become allies by 1733.¹⁶ This alliance probably resulted from Comanche and Spanish pressures on both groups. Though Dunn does not analyze the extent of this alliance, he quotes Toribio de Urrutia stating in 1745 that the Ypandes and the Natages, who lived to the west of the Ypandes, "are intimate friends

¹⁴ Ibid., 209, 267.

¹⁵ Dunn says Spaniards also called Plains Apaches "Pelones," which translates as "the balds." Scholars who have looked into the meaning of "Ypande" believe it derives from an individual's name. Ibid., 267.

¹⁶ Ibid., 266-268.

and relatives" who together frequently hunt bison near the Pecos River in June and July, and in the fall near the San Sabá and Pedernales Rivers. Santa Ana similarly observed in 1745 that "Ypandes...almost always live united with the Apaches [Natages]."17

Spanish descriptions of other Lipán (Ypande) cultural attributes which Dunn mentions include their possession of large numbers of horses and a desire to obtain more. They were said to be the least daring of the Apaches, to have numbered 166 warriors, and to have customarily divided into six or seven small bands, not exceeding forty or falling below twenty.18

A brief analysis of Dunn's article will serve to place into perspective certain issues of concern to almost all other writing on Texas Apaches of the eighteenth century as well as sixteenth and seventeenth century Southern Plains Apaches. Dunn's 72 pages of text deal almost exclusively with diplomatic relations between Spaniards and Apaches. Attention is given to inter-tribal relations, but these are kept within the paper's scope of outlining Spanish-Apache relations. Frequent mention is made of Apache desires to either raid, conduct war, trade, or "sue for peace," yet Dunn does not go beyond the Apaches' stated reasons for doing so; that is, he gives no cultural explanation for

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 267-268.

Apaches making the decisions they made. No clear sense of the Apache worldview is offered to explain, for instance, cultural reasons for Apaches raiding or trading.

An air of a priori assumption thus hangs over some of Dunn's explanations. Readers are left, for example, to assume that Apache desires for more horses than they could use were simply a reflection of some sort of universal human attribute of greed, waste, or barbarism that fits the reader's preconceived notions of human behavior. Alternative assumptions in hypotheses underpinning assessments of Apache "greed, waste, or barbarism," might suggest to readers that Apaches were subject to emotional and intellectual criteria for judging the world similar to the criteria to which Western readers of their history are subject. Apaches could on such assumptions be described as greedy, capitalistic pirates and hoarders, or more commonly, as the primitive, barbarous savages familiar in popular literature.¹⁹ Dunn makes no attempt to deal with these issues. Other writers interpreting Apache aggression similarly portray this behavior as a reaction to the Spanish mentality of conquest, subjugation, and incorporation. This view, while correct, is narrow. It does not account for how Apache behavior was in large part an outgrowth of their

¹⁹ For an important discussion of images of Indians held by White Euroamericans, see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian, Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

beliefs, traditions, rituals, social organization, and economy. It was against this cultural background that the Apaches reacted to Spanish intrusion into the Southwest.

In Dunn's defense, it should be pointed out that he was simply stating the facts as he understood them. Because historians at the time rarely concerned themselves with ethnographic material, it is not surprising that Dunn ignored it. Simply stating the known historical facts was considered sufficient. Indeed, Dunn's objectivity and his reluctance to interpret deeper Apache motivations and thought from a standpoint of blatant racist or ethnocentric bias is commendable. Nonetheless, it is significant that Dunn's interpretation, with its emphasis on diplomatic history, has remained the most widely accepted approach that historians studying Indians have taken. The diplomatic approach, however important and useful it is in explaining much of Indian history, can be supplemented and improved upon.²⁰

²⁰ Dunn followed up on his initial study of Apaches in Texas with research into the Mission of San Sabá. This was another diplomatic history, and served as a foundation for later, more detailed studies. William Edward Dunn, "The Apache Mission on the San Sabá River; Its Founding and Failure," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 17 (1914): 379-414. See also J. W. Hunter, Rise and Fall of Mission San Sabá, Menard, Tx, 1905; reprinted by The Frontier Times, Bandera, Tx, 1935; Lesley Byrd Simpson, ed., and Paul D. Nathan, trans., The San Sabá Papers, A Documentary Account of the Founding and Destruction of San Sabá Mission, San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1959; and Robert S. Weddle, The San Sabá Mission, Spanish Pivot in Texas, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964.

Some of the most significant contributions made by Spanish Borderlands historians have been their translations of Spanish documents. These translations, most of which were done in the 1930s and 1940s, have provided much of the basis for later studies on the Southwest. Particularly relevant for historiography on Plains Apaches, translations of first-hand accounts of early Spanish expeditions into the Southwest and across the Southern Plains give a wealth of information on the natural environment, the location of native groups, the habits of these people as seen through Spanish lenses, and the nature of relations between Spaniards and Indians at the time of contact.

As mentioned above, Spaniards infrequently made contact with Plains Apaches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Spaniards' penchant for meticulous record keeping, however, assured that the major Spanish expeditions were fully described. Most accounts of Spanish expeditions have been translated into English. Major expeditions onto the Southern Plains were those led by Coronado (1541), Chamuscado and Rodriguez (1581), Espejo (1582), Castaño de Sosa (1590), and Oñate (1599). After Oñate, Spaniards had more or less written off the Southern Plains as insignificant; the only Plains expeditions of the seventeenth century were slave raids. Fortunately, in addition to accounts of sixteenth century Plains expeditions, several other Spanish documents relevant to

seventeenth century Plains Apaches have been translated.

The translators and editors of most of these documents were Bolton students.²¹

Historical interpretations of the history of sixteenth

²¹ Bolton assembled and edited a collection of translations, many his own, of Spanish exploration narratives in Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908. For other translations relevant to the Southern Plains, see George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, trans., The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico, Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, IV, 1927; Oregon's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America, Los Angeles, 1928; The Espejo Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583, as Revealed by the Journal of Diego Perea de Luxan, Los Angeles: Quivira Society Publications, 1929; Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, Coronado Historical Series, II, 1940; Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628, Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, Coronado Historical Series, V-VI, 1953; Alfred B. Thomas, trans. and ed., After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935; Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, A Colony on the Move, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590-1591, Santa Fe: The School of American Research, 1965.

The above deal with Plains expeditions. Other translated documents of relevance to seventeenth century Plains Apaches include George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, trans. and eds., New Mexico in 1602: Juan de Montoya's Relation of the Discovery of New Mexico, Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1938; Peter P. Forrestal, trans., Benavides' Memorial of 1630, Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1954; Alicia Ronstadt Milich, trans., Relaciones (1538-1626) by Zarate Salmeron, Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, 1966; Alfred B. Thomas, trans. and ed., Alonso de Posada Report, 1686, Pensacola: The Perdido Bay Press, 1982.

Two eighteenth century Spanish reports are significant for their lengthy descriptions of Apache culture: Daniel S. Matson and Albert H. Schroeder, trans. and eds., "Cordero's Description of the Apache--1796," New Mexico Historical Review 32 (1957): 335-356; Elizabeth A. H. John, ed., and John Wheat, trans., Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain by Jose Cortes, 1799, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

and seventeenth century Plains Apaches proceeded piecemeal from several directions. More significantly, this interpretive analysis took place very late. Until the 1960s, translations of Spanish accounts of Plains expeditions remained, aside from a few narrative histories, essentially the only worthwhile sources for information on Apaches in the region.²² It was not until historians began paying more attention to anthropologists' work that the field of Southern Plains history significantly advanced. Not surprisingly, this development coincided with the formal introduction and early blossoming of the field of ethnohistory. Before the late 1950s, there had been little progress in historical scholarship on sixteenth and seventeenth century Southern Plains Apaches. Before ethnohistorians began approaching the subject, narratives of Spaniards who saw Plains Apaches first-hand were the only evidence considered by historians. Since Plains Apaches were usually encountered on the Plains, descriptions most often came from Spaniards who were part of expeditions that entered that region.

The picture given by these accounts presents not only an indication of the basic material culture, diet, economy, size of groups, and physical appearance of Plains Apaches as

²² The most significant and popular narrative history which included the Plains as part of its story was Bolton's Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949.

perceived by Spaniards in their midst; it also reflects how historians in the first half of the twentieth century perceived the Southern Plains and its inhabitants. This is useful for making comparisons with later scholarly developments.

Generally speaking, historians had broadly outlined the locations of various Plains groups and some of their cultural traits. Apaches had been called Querechos and Vaqueros by the Spaniards, and these Indians lived between five and ten days walk east of Pueblo Indian villages in New Mexico. South and east of the Querechos lay Jumanos, Teyas, and the Quiviran (Escanxaques) villages of west-central Kansas. Scholars have disagreed over whether the Jumanos actually lived south and east or southwest of the Querechos. Debate over who exactly the Teya and Quivirans were continued, and a consensus has yet to be reached in this controversy.²³

²³ Hodge and Bolton claim Jumanos were enemies of the Querechos and lived south and east of the latter. Thomas agrees, though with reservations. Bolton, "The Jumbo Indians in Texas," Texas State Historical Association Quarterly 15 (1911): 66-84; Thomas, After Coronado, 264. Dunn argues "the term 'Jumanes' was applied by the Spaniards to two distinct groups of Indians. Most commonly it applied to Indians living in southwestern Texas near the Rio Grande. But after the middle of the eighteenth century, at least, Jumane was a name applied in New Mexico to the Indians called in Texas the Taovayases--Wichita Indians...." Dunn, "Apache Relations," 268.

Archeologists Dolores Gunnerson and Albert Schroeder have also offered positions on this point. Both agree that Jumanos were not in the area east of Querechos. They disagree, however, over who the Teyas were. Gunnerson, following Harrington's linguistic analysis, believes Teyas

Traveling with the Coronado expedition, Castañeda described the Querechos in some detail. Encountered near the Canadian River about two weeks east of Pecos Pueblo, these Indians roamed the Plains on foot ("gypsy-like", according to Bolton) in search of bison, on which Castañeda and others in the expedition mistakenly assumed the Querechos subsisted entirely. Spaniards saw the first bison about a week east of Cicuique (Galisteo Basin) and after another two or three days they came upon immense herds. Four or five more days brought them in contact with Querechos. Bison supplied the Querechos with food, material for tipis, bone tools, and products for trade with Pueblo Indians. Over fifty years later Oñate explained that Pecos, Picuris, and Taos Pueblos were the main trading centers, where Querecho bison meat, hides, and tallow were exchanged

were Apaches; Schroeder sees them as Plains Caddoans. See Schroeder, "Shifting for Survival in the Spanish Southwest," 292; Gunnerson, "The Southern Athapaskans: Their Arrival in the Southwest," El Palacio 63 (1956), 351-352. Elizabeth A. H. John suggests the Teyas may well have been Caddoan. John, Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, 20.

Jack D. Forbes provides perhaps the most extensive study on the Jumano problem. Like Dunn, he argues that Spaniards confusingly used the term Jumano to designate more than one group. Forbes sees Jumanos on the eastern Southern Plains after 1700 as Caddoans. He regards Jumanos in southwestern Texas during the eighteenth century as Athapaskans. See Jack D. Forbes, "Unknown Athapaskans: The Identification of the Jano, Jocomo, Jumano, Manso, Suma, and Other Indian Tribes of the Southwest," Ethnohistory 6 (1959): 97-159.

for Puebloans' cotton blankets, pottery, and maize.²⁴

Spaniards also described Querechos as impressively healthy, and Coronado went as far as proclaiming their physique "the best...of any I have seen in the Indies."²⁵ The Spaniards regarded these people as gentle, friendly, animated and adroit at sign language. Querechos were also skillful at hunting and skinning bison. They used "medium-sized" dogs as beasts of burden harnessed with small travois to carry tipis, bison parts, and other gear.

In 1940 Alfred B. Thomas argued that Plains-New Mexican relations had several basic characteristics. First, Spaniards constantly needed to be on the lookout for Plains Apache attacks on Pueblos and corn fields. Second, Spaniards were unable to convert Apaches to Christianity. Thomas mentions a third trait of these relations as "ancient antagonisms between their [Spanish] charges and Plains Indians."²⁶ This antagonism was related to the second characteristic. But Thomas also states that these relations were not always hostile, for "trade encouraged by the governors and encomenderos brought the Plains Indians to the fairs, especially at Taos, out of which came occasions for

²⁴ Bolton, Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains, 246-247; Thomas, After Coronado, 7.

²⁵ Ibid., 246.

²⁶ Alfred B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940, 1.

attack."²⁷ Thomas here describes Plains-Pueblo relations as they existed after the occupation of New Mexico (after ca. 1615). He also claims that Lipanes inhabited the areas of southeast Colorado and northeast New Mexico.²⁸ The view Thomas presents of Plains-Pueblo relations does not apply to precontact and early contact periods, when relations between Plains Apaches and Puebloans were amicable and frequent. Moreover, Thomas's claim that Lipanes lived in southeast Colorado and northeast New Mexico can be challenged. Thomas's Lipanes were actually Jicarilla and other Apache groups in northeast New Mexico and southeast Colorado, whereas the Lipán regularly occupied territory near and about the Canadian River in the Texas Panhandle.

Prior to the mid-1950s, historians wrote little about seventeenth century Vaqueros beyond trade relations with Puebloans in the early part of the century, and their increasing hostility towards Spaniards throughout the remainder of that century. The Plains had ceased to be a strong concern to Spaniards except for occasional raids for slaves. Historians approaching the region thus seemed forced to turn their attention exclusively to the development of Spanish New Mexico. But even New Mexico received relatively little scholarly attention, much of the reason being a steady decline in Spanish success in New

²⁷ Ibid., 2.

²⁸ Ibid., 3-5.

Mexico up until the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.²⁹

Before turning to anthropology--in particular, the contributions of archeologists, linguistic anthropologists and ethnologists--the influence of Bolton and his students needs highlighting. Aside from their contributions to the development of an entire school of thought and the impressive amount of research they conducted on the region they called the Spanish Borderlands, a region previously regarded by historians as of peripheral importance to American history, the Boltonians also dominated the field of research and writing on Plains Apache Indians. For the half century between about 1910 and the mid-1950s, William Dunn's studies of Texas Apaches, as well as the translations and general context provided by Bolton, George Hammond, Agapito Rey, and Alfred B. Thomas, remained the most thorough work done by historians on Apaches who had inhabited the Southern Plains.³⁰ The significance of their contributions lies in

²⁹ An exception to this is France V. Scholes's work. See France V. Scholes, Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937; and Troublous Times in New Mexico, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942.

³⁰ Thomas published the first full-length book on New Mexico and Plains Indians relations. However, Thomas dealt almost exclusively with the late eighteenth century, and by then the previous structure and network of inter-group relations that had been in play in the region's sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been totally transformed. What Thomas does mention about Plains-New Mexico relations is told from a Spanish perspective. It is also a narrow perspective. Alfred B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778, Coronado Historical Series, Vol. 11, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

their staying power. Most scholars today doing ethnohistorical work on Plains Apaches lean on these basic contributions for useful information. Indeed the present study often refers to some of the earlier perspectives and employs the Hammond and Rey translations of documents related to the Coronado and Oñate expeditions in order to assess other interpretations and help reconstruct both environmental and social realities on the Southern Plains prior to and after 1600.

Anthropologists and Southern Athapaskans

Anthropologists' contributions to an understanding of sixteenth and seventeenth century Plains Apaches come from a variety of separate and distinct subdisciplines. Their work has brought fresh, useful, and needed dimensions to the study of Southern Plains Apaches. Knowledge gained prior to the 1960s from developments in archeology, ethnology, and linguistic anthropology eventually benefited historians of Southern Plains Apaches quite considerably. Archeologists studied once-occupied sites and dwellings of people who lived on the Plains, as well as the Southwest and Texas prior to and during Spanish contact. Ethnologists conducting interviews and studies of living cultures during the 1920s and 1930s provided further knowledge of surviving Apache groups. Linguists added still more information with their studies on Athapaskan language, which led to the

development of glottochronology as a field of study and the resulting knowledge of past Apache and Navajo connections to Athapaskans in Canada. These distinct areas of study remained relatively separate; simply too little was known to establish broader connections.

Linguistics and Archeology

Historical linguists' research of the 1920s and 1930s furnished evidence that Navajos and Apaches were linguistic relatives to British Columbia Athapaskans. Leslie Spier and his student Harry Hoijer additionally demonstrated that a method could be devised to calculate dates for the separation of Southern Athapaskans from their Canadian brethren. Although glottochronology remains controversial and inconclusive, when taken with other data it offers suggestive insights concerning Southern Athapaskan origins.

Hoijer argued that around A.D. 950-1000, for unknown reasons, separations occurred among the British Columbia Athapaskans. Three distinct southward migratory waves resulted at about that time. The groups included the ancestral Navajo/Western Apache/Mescalero/Chiricahua who led the migrations, followed closely by the Jicarilla/Lipán, and much later by the Kiowa Apache.³¹ This information placed

³¹ Harry Hoijer, "The Southern Athapaskan Languages," American Anthropologist 40 (1938): 75-87. The seven Athapaskan groups mentioned comprise recognized groups in the twentieth century from whom much of the linguistic data was collected to conduct Athapaskan glottochronological

a geographic origin for Southern Athapaskans and provided an indication of which groups separated at what dates, but it left open the question of how and when Athapaskans arrived on the Southern Plains. The debate over the migration route--whether west of the Rockies over the Great Basin, east along the Rockies and Plains, or through the mountains--remains open. Due mainly to the Plains Apaches' intimate familiarity with Plains ecology, hunting techniques, and lifeways suited to the region, most scholars side with an Athapaskan migration east of the Rockies.³²

studies.

Hoijer defines glottochronology (lexico-statistical dating) as "a means of establishing approximate dates of separation of contemporaneous languages known to be members of a single linguistic stock or family.... The method is based upon the discovery that languages apparently change at a uniform rate, and that this rate can be quantified by an examination of that portion of the vocabulary (or lexicon) of a language which expresses universal and essentially non-cultural meanings. Lexico-statistical methodology assumes that all languages must of necessity express certain items of meaning (indicative of cultural universals) and that all languages will express those items (or most of them) by simple words or morphemes which are part of the common, everyday vocabulary." Hoijer, "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages," International Journal of American Linguistics 22 (1956): 219.

For summaries of the development of Athapaskan language glottochronology, see Robert W. Young, "Apachean Languages," in Handbook of North American Indians Vol 10 (Southwest), Alfonso Ortiz, ed., Washington DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1983, 396; Isidore Dyen and David F. Aberle, Lexical Reconstruction, The Case of the Proto-Athapaskan Kinship System, London: Cambridge University Press, 1974, 294-351.

³² Two recent articles provide examples of differing interpretations and also include other, earlier theories: Richard J. Perry, "The Apachean Transition from the Subarctic to the Southwest," Plains Anthropologist 25 (1980): 279-296; and David R. Wilcox, "The Entry of

Notwithstanding the controversy surrounding the route of migration, archeological evidence suggests that Athapaskans arrived on the Southern Plains sometime between 1450 and 1550.³³

This early sixteenth century arrival date resulted from archeological research, but not from discovery of Apache sites. Given that Plains Athapaskans lived in tipis and not in permanent dwellings, and that these people were only semi-sedentary and frequently mobile, it is not surprising that they left little or no evidence of their existence on the Plains. Archeologists working on the protohistoric period in the Central and Southern Plains have thus concerned themselves mainly with Caddoan archeology.³⁴

Athapaskans into the American Southwest: The Problem Today," in David R. Wilcox and W. Bruce Masse, eds., The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest, AD 1450-1700, Tempe: Arizona State University Anthropological Research Papers No. 24, 1981.

³³ The 1550 date comes from Alfred Kidder, whose work at Pecos was done prior to historians establishing that the people Coronado encountered on the Plains in 1541 were Apaches. See Dolores Gunnerson, "The Southern Athapaskans: Their Arrival in the Southwest," El Palacio 63 (1956): 349-351; Christopher Lintz, "The Southwestern Periphery of the Plains Caddoan Area," Nebraska History 60 (1979): 178; Wilcox, "The Entry of the Athapaskans," 226-227.

³⁴ Waldo R. Wedel, "The Prehistoric Plains," in Ancient Native Americans, Jesse D. Jennings, ed., San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1978, 183-219. Dismal River Aspect sites on the Central Plains are attributed to Apacheans who adopted a mixed hunting and semi-horticultural way of life in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For discussion of the Dismal River Aspect (ca. 1675-1725) and its sites, see Waldo R. Wedel, Central Plains Prehistory; Holocene Environments and Cultural Change in the Republican River Basin, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986, 134-151.

The early sixteenth century arrival date for Athapaskans on the Southern Plains comes from work done in the Texas Panhandle as well as from Pueblo archeology.

Excavations supervised by Alfred Kidder at Pecos Pueblo strongly suggested some interesting developments in the exchange of goods between the Plains and Pecos around 1550. Included in this trade were tools characteristic of western Plains groups and stone from "the Amarillo country in the Panhandle of Texas."³⁵ Kidder argued that this exchange intensified over the next 100 years.³⁶ The Plains area Kidder described as "the Amarillo country" was Alibates flint quarry, a mile or so south of the Canadian River, where the Antelope Creek Focus thrived from about 1300 to 1450.³⁷

In perhaps the first Southern Plains study extensively to use both historical documents and archeological data, Dolores Gunnerson convincingly demonstrated connections between Pueblo descriptions of newcomer Querechos, known data on the Antelope Creek Focus, and the evidence Kidder

³⁵ Alfred Vincent Kidder, The Artifacts of Pecos, Andover: Phillips Academy, Papers of the Southwestern Expedition, No. 6, 1932, 43-44.

³⁶ Ibid., 44.

³⁷ See Alex D. Krieger, Culture Complexes and Chronology in Northern Texas with Extensions of Puebloan Datings to the Mississippi Valley, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1946, 41-74.

For theories as to what happened to Antelope Creek Focus people, see Lintz, "The Southwestern Periphery of the Plains Caddoan Area," 178-179.

had provided.³⁸ Perhaps more important for the present study are two general features of Gunnerson's study: (1) her exclusive focus on Querechos and Teyas, and (2) her interdisciplinary approach employing a variety of both anthropological and historical sources. The conjunction of the two allowed Gunnerson to address a wider range of issues and to use more information, thus giving more breadth to her analysis than was characteristic of previous Querecho studies.

Ethnography

Whereas the above discussion of archeological and linguistic research reflects an overriding concern with prehistory and protohistory, ethnographic studies in the first half of the present century that pertained to Athapaskans in general and Lipanes in particular centered on what is known as "the ethnographic present." A genre of the historical particularism instituted by Franz Boas, the ethnographic present is conceived as a slice of time, usually a generation or so, for which the ethnographer attempts to "scientifically" explain or reconstruct certain aspects of a particular culture.³⁹ Stated simply and

³⁸ D. Gunnerson, "The Southern Athapaskans," 347-351.

³⁹ Narrow chronological frameworks within which anthropologists kept their research during the first half of the twentieth century were standard. Marvin Harris has analyzed the enormous influence that Franz Boas's conceptions of "historical particularism" had on American

briefly, this was accomplished by systematically and meticulously accumulating data for a cultural group, by means of interviews, observations, etc., and then describing attributes of such things as the culture's kinship systems, social organization, material culture, ceremonialism, and metaphysical systems of belief at that particular point in time.⁴⁰ This view of the ethnographic present remained the epistemological starting point for ethnographers and

anthropological thinking--in ethnography, archeology, and anthropological theory. Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968, 250-253, 277-318, 676.

⁴⁰ For the first half of the twentieth century, ethnographers did not concern themselves with the histories of the people they studied; thus little effort was made to discern how long these cultures possessed their cultural attributes. Indeed, in the minds of many ethnographers, habits of thinking in terms of historical particularism had the effect of creating assumptions that the cultures under investigation were wholly "traditional," except for perhaps obvious western influences. This led to later controversies surrounding "historical upstreaming," the method of taking the ethnographic present of a twentieth century culture and placing it in an earlier historical milieu. As described by William Fenton, the method requires careful comparisons with the historical record to prevent anachronisms. See William N. Fenton, American Indian and White Relations to 1830: Needs and Opportunities for Study, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957, 21-22; Fred W. Voget, "Anthropological Theory and Iroquois Ethnography: 1850 to 1970," in Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies, Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun, eds., Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984, 347-354. Fenton looks at this from the anthropologist's perspective. For the historians' "downstreaming" view, see James Axtell, The European and the Indian, Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 10-12. See also discussion of Richard White's views on upstreaming below, pp. 86-87.

ethnologists for decades and cannot be overemphasized here. It was also the general framework within which much Apache ethnography was conducted in the early twentieth century.

Morris Opler and Grenville Goodwin were the two most influential ethnologists researching Apache culture in the second quarter of this century. Goodwin concentrated on a variety of Western Apache groups, while Opler studied the Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, and Lipán. Both had a strong interest in the richness and complexity of the cultures they studied, and they shared ideas about their projects until Goodwin's death in 1940.⁴¹ Unlike many of their ethnographer colleagues, Goodwin and Opler also had an interest--if somewhat limited--in the history of the people they studied, and they were at least cognizant of some of the more important general developments in Apache and Southwest history.⁴² Their sense of Apache history and their close associations with individual Apaches also made them keenly aware of the fact that there were important cultural differences between Apache groups. Though they

⁴¹ Grenville Goodwin, The Social Organization of the Western Apache, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, xiv-xvi.

⁴² For examples, see Goodwin, "The Southern Athapaskans," Kiva 4 (1938); Social Organization of the Western Apache, 63-96; Morris Edward Opler, "The Use of Peyote by the Carrizo and Lipan Apache Tribes," American Anthropologist 40 (1938): 271; Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1940, 1-3; "The Lipan Apache Death Complex and Its Extensions," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 1 (1945): 122-123.

acknowledged some basic commonalities among Apaches, Goodwin saw significant distinctions among Western Apache bands, and Opler recognized notable contrasts between eastern Apache groups.⁴³

From his ethnographic work on Lipán traditional narratives, Opler concluded that eastern Apache beliefs seem to diverge in ways that support Hoijer's lexicostatistical data: the Lipán belief system apparently more closely parallels that of the Jicarilla than the Mescalero.⁴⁴ This proved particularly significant given that the Lipán informants Opler interviewed had been living on the Mescalero reservation for thirty years prior to Opler's visits. Perhaps more noteworthy is the fact that bands of Lipanes had been in contact with Mescaleros in West Texas and Coahuila since the middle of the eighteenth century. Comparing their traditional stories, Opler persuasively suggested that the Lipán connection with Jicarillas goes back to the time "when ancestors of the Lipán and Jicarilla lived together until the beginning of the seventeenth century."⁴⁵ Lipán and Jicarilla beliefs diverged from

⁴³ Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apaches, 1-62; Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 2-10; An Apache Life-Way, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941; Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society, Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Public Fund, Vol. 5, Los Angeles: The Southwest Museum, 1946, 1-4.

⁴⁴ Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 2-3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

shared motifs as the Jicarilla came into increased contact with Pueblo groups in northern New Mexico. Jicarillas incorporated certain Pueblo ideas, rituals, and ceremonialism into their own fabric of experience. For example, Opler has suggested that the Jicarillas' traditions of Long Life ceremonies and rituals focusing on corn occurred after the division.⁴⁶

As mentioned above, Hoijer's linguistic analysis bears this out. Spanish accounts help little on the specific issue of Lipán-Jicarilla ties and separations. These documents, however, refer to numerous observed Apache bands and rancherías in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ranging from the western Central Plains in northern Colorado to the western and central areas of the Southern Plains.⁴⁷ Evidence can be found in Spanish and Pueblo testimonies pertaining to the length of time certain Apache groups resided in particular areas. Historians have apparently overlooked this information when trying to substantiate which groups were where on the Southern Plains.⁴⁸

It is interesting and significant that the places where Lipán and Jicarilla traditional narratives most

⁴⁶ Ibid., 5-6.

⁴⁷ See Thomas's map in After Coronado, 260.

⁴⁸ It should be noted that Opler's study also throws light on the migration route controversy. Lipán myths speak in numerous places of a characteristic of the Lipanes to "'hug' the mountains whenever possible, despite the apparent material adjustment to Plains life." Ibid., 4, 6.

closely resemble each other and differ from other Apacheans' beliefs are in their views of culture heroes, their terminology for fundamental religious and moral concepts, their descriptions of the underworld, and their belief in ghosts.⁴⁹ These are central aspects in the Lipán-Jicarilla worldview. Along with other characteristic Athapaskan beliefs, they will be addressed in more detail below as relevant variables in reconstructing Apache life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Trends after 1950 Relating to Southern Plains Apaches

Reflecting broader trends in American historiography that looked more closely at the nature of society, scholarship after 1950 on both Borderlands and Apache topics witnessed the growth of what can variously be called "ethnohistory" or "culture history."⁵⁰ Some historians have viewed ethnohistory as a marriage of ethnology and history.⁵¹ In Plains Apache studies, however, such a view

⁴⁹ Ibid., 3-4.

⁵⁰ For discussions of general trends in Borderlands history since the middle of the century, see David J. Weber, "Introduction" in New Spain's Far Northern Frontier. Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821, David J. Weber, ed., Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1979, xii-xvii; Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest; The Unbroken Past of the American West, New York: W. W. Norton, 1987, 253-258.

⁵¹ This is James Axtell's view, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. See Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America, New York: Oxford University Press,

is limiting and ignores the valuable contributions of archeologists and natural scientists. The present study holds "ethnohistory" to mean the collective and cross-disciplinary efforts of historians and anthropologists, as well as other scholars with pertinent information, to more fully explain cultures in the context of history. The remainder of this chapter will address ethnohistorical work related to Southern Plains Apaches before turning in the next chapter to the broader context of ethnohistory as practiced in the United States.

After 1950, historians and anthropologists interested in Apache history, archeology, and culture increasingly borrowed ideas from one another to fill in areas that the disciplines proceeding in their separate directions had not previously addressed. In a 1957 article, archeologist Charles H. Lange discussed Plains-New Mexican relations by synthesizing some of the earlier work of historians and archeologists. Lange mentioned Coronado's meeting with Plains Apaches before turning to the bulk of his study, Plains-Southwest relations from the late seventeenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. Lange's treatment of the Coronado encounter leaned on Alfred Thomas's interpretation, and archeological evidence centered on the

1981, vii, 5-10.

Central Plains and Wedel's and Kidder's work on that area.⁵² The article offered no new insight, but by employing an interdisciplinary approach, Lange exhibited how the two separate disciplines complement one another.

The first ethnohistorical attempt to deal exclusively with Lipán Apaches was Andree Sjoberg's article, "Lipan Apache Culture in Historical Perspective."⁵³ Relying solely on primary sources, Sjoberg's descriptions of Lipán Apaches in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries derived from Spanish documents and the accounts of early Anglo American travelers. Sjoberg points out that her "most fruitful sources were the almost unknown autobiographies of Frank M. Buckelew, who for eleven months during the years 1866-67 was a prisoner of those Lipán living in southwestern Texas and northern Mexico."⁵⁴ Sjoberg's study is important for its use of these documents to reconstruct Lipán economic, political, social, and artistic life in a period generations before Opler's ethnographies were conducted. The article depicts Lipanes well adapted to their southwest Texas environment. Sjoberg addresses seasonal bison and deer hunts, trading outlets, dietary habits, weaponry,

⁵² Charles H. Lange, "Plains-Southwestern Inter-Cultural Relations during the Historic Period," Ethnohistory 4 (1957): 150-173.

⁵³ Andree F. Sjoberg, "Lipan Apache Culture in Historical Perspective," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 9 (1953): 76-98.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

raiding, horses, arrangements for periodic resettling in other areas, and social customs and beliefs far more extensively than Dunn had in his histories of Texas Apaches. In addition, her work substantiates and extends the analysis of aspects of Lipán culture that Opler had only touched on in dealing with early Lipán history. She does not, however, deal with the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, the former being the period during which Opler argues the Lipanes had been intimately connected to the Jicarillas.⁵⁵

Sjoberg's study also provides details about Lipán culture in a period subsequent to the period being discussed in this thesis. It is tempting to project Sjoberg's conclusions into the seventeenth century, but assuming eighteenth century Lipanes were relevantly similar to seventeenth century Lipanes commits the historical and logical fallacy of anachronism, particularly if the assumption is not substantiated by evidence or reasonable justification. Nested in such an assumption are other assumptions, the most significant of which concern equating the historical circumstances of two periods and the environmental variables of two regions. To state the problem briefly, both the historical and environmental situations of the two periods presented separate and

⁵⁵ Sjoberg does nonetheless reiterate Thomas's claims about Lipanes living in southeast Colorado and northeast New Mexico, along with Jicarillas, at the time of European contact. Ibid., 76.

distinct realities to the Lipán. The Lipán created different strategies to deal with each period, for each demanded it. Sjoberg's study describes Lipanes as they had come to adapt to human and ecological circumstances after their arrival in central and southwest Texas, and they should thus be considered within this distinct historical context. The information in the article nonetheless provides some valuable insights that can be used, if approached carefully and with a proper regard for historical limitations.

Similar remarks can be made about other data uncovered in the 1950s. Albert Schroeder and Daniel Matson, for example, translated a Spanish account of Apache culture written in the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ In that account, Colonel Don Antonio Cordero, a Spanish soldier who knew the Apaches' language, described aspects of their shared and differing religious beliefs, their habits of cleanliness, diet, hunting techniques, kinship system and marriage traditions, dances, raiding and warring practices, smoke signals, and relations with other Indian groups. Cordero then gave separate accounts of various bands, including the Lipanes, which he described as "of gallant appearance, and much cleaner than all their compatriots." Like Sjoberg's study, the Cordero report needs to be seen in its historical

⁵⁶ Matson and Schroeder, "Cordero's Description of the Apache--1796," 335-356.

context. It will nevertheless be later indicated that although certain aspects of Cordero's account, as well as Sjoberg's, are inconsistent with what can be known of sixteenth and seventeenth century Lipanes, many aspects are in fact consistent.

Perhaps the most extensive ethnohistorical study of sixteenth and seventeenth century Athapaskans to come out of the 1950s was Jack Forbes's Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard.⁵⁷ Forbes covers the history of Athapaskans and their relations with Spanish influences in the Southwest from 1540 until the Spaniards reconquered New Mexico just prior to 1700. Forbes makes good use of anthropological materials in the introduction to establish general parameters of Athapaskan culture as distinct from the cultures of Canadian Athapaskans, and he also tries his hand at calculating the migration route of Athapaskans to the Southwest.⁵⁸ The remainder of the book relies almost entirely on Spanish documents. Forbes deals with Plains Apaches within the

⁵⁷ Jack D. Forbes, Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

Published two years after Forbes's book, Edward Spicer's Cycles of Conquest also provided an ethnohistorical approach, which addressed, among others issues, recurring themes of conquest in Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. Indian policies. Not concerned only with Athapaskans, Spicer covered all of the Southwest from the Spanish period up through the twentieth century, but he did not include the Lipanes. Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1962.

⁵⁸ Forbes, Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard, xi-xxi.

context of the broader picture of Spanish-Athapaskan relations.

Regarding the Querechos, Forbes asserts they were probably "either the Lipán or Jumano Apaches of later times or a group closely related to them."⁵⁹ Moreover, Forbes argues--unlike Thomas's claims of long-standing Pueblo-Apache enmities, and a Spanish-initiated trade between the two--that though some warfare occurred, relations between Pueblos and Apaches were generally positive. Forbes further points out that trade between Querechos and Pueblo peoples was rather extensive.⁶⁰

Forbes also mentions Plains Apaches on the Canadian River, which the Zaldivar expedition (part of the larger Oñate expedition) of September 1598 encountered and called Vaquero Indians. Spaniards among Oñate's expedition had described these Indians as carrying on frequent and amicable trade with Pueblo Indians at Pecos, Picuris, and Taos. Forbes uses previously unpublished documents when describing aspects of this trade.⁶¹ He also uses information Bolton had uncovered.⁶² Unlike Bolton and Thomas, Forbes stresses

⁵⁹ Ibid., 15. The Jumano problem surfaces again in this book. See footnote 24 above.

Following earlier works, Forbes also assumes the Teya, just east of the Querechos, were Apachean and hostile to Querechos. Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 24-26.

⁶¹ Ibid., 83, 98-100.

⁶² Ibid., 100.

the importance of this trade.⁶³

Another significant issue Forbes addresses is the Athapaskan acquisition of the horse beginning in the period from 1606 to 1609, and he notes that by 1620 "all of the Athapaskans in the New Mexico area must have acquired horses."⁶⁴ It was during this period (ca. 1617), Forbes argues, that Spaniards began using Pecos to tap into trade with Plains Apaches "who seem to have always preferred peace and commerce to war--at least in New Mexico."⁶⁵

Forbes brought a different understanding to Plains Apache activities than previously had been available. He established a long-term relation of Plains Apache commerce with Puebloans, particularly with Pecos. Forbes convincingly portrayed Plains Apaches as far more interested in this particular commerce than in warring on New Mexicans. He clearly showed the presence of Spaniards in New Mexico to be the primary reason behind later antagonisms between Plains groups and Puebloans. Moreover, he offers an account of sixteenth and seventeenth century Athapaskans that describes them as central figures and victims of Spanish meddling, meddling which produced most of the problems that arose during that time. Though Forbes gives a clearer sense of Plains Apache economic and diplomatic relations, he does

⁶³ Ibid., 107.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 110, 113.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 113.

not explore social and intellectual attributes of the culture, nor does he deal with its environment. As will be demonstrated in chapters to follow, intimate connections existed between Plains Apache beliefs, their significant regional diplomatic standing, and their environment, and these were important influences on their choices of action.

The volume of scholarship pertaining to sixteenth and seventeenth century Plains Apaches grew during the 1960s and 1970s. This writing built on previous work in history, anthropology, and archeology, but a general theme which characterized most of it was a continuing recognition of the value of interdisciplinary cooperation. Historians cited anthropologists, and vice versa, while each pursued their respective approaches.

A year after Forbes's study was released, W. W. Newcomb, Jr. published his The Indians of Texas.⁶⁶ Two chapters deal respectively with protohistoric Plains Indians and Lipán Apaches. Newcomb's ethnohistorical approach to the subject differs from Forbes's in being far more heavily culture-oriented than historically oriented. In his chapter "The Lipan Apaches," Newcomb makes use of historians' interpretations rather than primary documents to briefly examine the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, relying

⁶⁶ W. W. Newcomb, Jr., The Indians of Texas, From Prehistoric to Modern Times, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961.

on Bolton and Thomas for material on Querechos.⁶⁷ The remainder of Newcomb's early history of Plains Apaches pieces together archeological and linguistic data from Hoijer, Gunnerson, Wedel's early work, and others.⁶⁸ After outlining Lipán history, Newcomb spends the remaining four-fifths of the chapter discussing Lipán cultural attributes in the nineteenth century, the information for which he gathers mainly from Buckelew's captivity narration, Sjoberg, and Opler.⁶⁹ On the whole, Newcomb's discussion is useless to a study of the sixteenth century Plains Apache, unless one ties it into the chapter that precedes it, "From Foot to Horse."⁷⁰

In discussing the Plains Indians' transformation from the status of nomads to that of horse-mounted peoples, Newcomb follows ideas that issued from early twentieth century cultural anthropologists who categorized regions as "culture areas." People living in these particular regions apparently shared distinct economic and environmental circumstances that provided them with similar means and ways of subsistence.⁷¹ The Plains Culture is an example of

⁶⁷ Ibid., 106-108.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 104-106.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 109-131.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 85-101.

⁷¹ For discussion of culture areas from one of its most widely recognized and respected proponents, see Clark Wissler, Man and Culture, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1923,

this. Native groups on the Plains geared their existence toward bison hunting, and later adapted the horse to that way of life. Patterns of living developed in this context, including the use of tipis, seasonal migrations to hunt bison, and certain strategies for raiding and warring.⁷²

Many studies dealing with Plains Culture focus on research and analysis of bison behavior, the horse complex, and raiding strategies. Newcomb utilizes some of these studies in his chapter on cultural transformations brought about through the introduction of the horse onto the Plains.⁷³ His argument basically asserts that nomadic Plains people had a difficult life trying to follow and hunt bison on foot, particularly in times of drought, but horses changed all of this. Acquisition of the horse, Newcomb

61-63, 203-205. For a more recent assessment of this method for classifying cultures, see Irving Rouse, "The Strategy of Culture History," in Anthropology Today; An Encyclopedic Inventory, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953, 57-76.

⁷² Wissler, 68; Newcomb, 98-101.

⁷³ Newcomb's main sources for horses on the Plains include Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," American Anthropologist 16 (1914): 1-25; Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains, New York: 1931; Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses?" American Anthropologist 40 (1938): 112-117; "The Northward Spread of Horses Among the Plains Indians," American Anthropologist 40 (1938): 429-437; Frank Gilbert Roe, The Indian and the Horse, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. Newcomb's sources for bison are W. T. Hornaday, The Extermination of the American Bison, Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution, Pt II, 1887, 367-548; Frank G. Roe, The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in Its Wild State, Toronto, 1951.

claims,

touched off a series of revolutionary changes....[by] strengthening the economies and the military potential of Plains tribes. [Possessing horses] made a life primarily devoted to buffalo subsistence an easy and richly rewarding one. [Horses] rapidly transformed poorly-equipped hunters, who had likely lived a life of occasional feast and frequent famine, into rich, lordly nomads whose bellies seldom growled with hunger.... [It] also increased greatly the incentives for southern Plains tribes to be warlike.⁷⁴

Newcomb's conclusions about Plains Indian abilities and prospects for thriving in the region prior to the introduction of horses are obviously wrong. Accounts from the Coronado and Oñate expeditions indicate that, at least insofar as Plains Apaches were concerned, Plains Indians were quite proficient at bison hunting. Spaniards marveled at Querecho stalking and archery abilities. And as Forbes has noted, trade on the Southern Plains was live and healthy.

Newcomb gives no solid support for most of his claims. That the horse brought "revolutionary changes," which is the heart of his argument, appears to be conjecture on his part.⁷⁵ Some evidence lends an element of credibility to

⁷⁴ Newcomb, 97-98.

⁷⁵ Newcomb is not the only scholar to argue that horses revolutionized native cultures. For an argument which proffers that the Western, Chiricahua, and Mescalero Apaches experienced a technological and economic revolution, see Edward Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1962. Spicer does not, however, address Jicarilla or Lipán Apaches.

his claims about "occasional feasts and frequent famine," and he provides a brief description of the semi-arid, often harsh climate of the Southern Plains.⁷⁶ Newcomb correctly sees climate as a significant variable in human ecology on the Plains, but his analysis assumes that bison could not be found in times of drought and that Indians who did not pursue farming would starve. Neither was the case. Most important, Plains Indians were in no sense fragile creatures so acutely vulnerable to weather changes. Indeed, as will be argued, in direct contrast to Newcomb's assessment, Plains Apaches frequently feasted and only occasionally experienced famine.

After 1960, scholarship on Apaches flourished for the next thirty years. In a social and intellectual milieu more sensitive to issues of social and political equality among ethnic groups in the United States, the curiosity and drive to better understand cultural backgrounds stimulated individual efforts in and financial support of Native American studies. Indian Land Claims actions of the 1950s and 1960s also provided a wealth of information on Indian history and culture. Written originally as reports "to be used as evidence in legal proceedings to determine the aboriginal rights of various Indian groups to certain geographical regions or areas within the United States," these documents served as valuable recent scholarship on

⁷⁶ Newcomb, 96-97.

diverse Indian groups and tribes.⁷⁷ The designated method and approaches used were expressly ethnohistorical, and archeologists, historians, and ethnologists participated as experts and scholars.⁷⁸ For Apache Indians alone, twelve volumes covering various aspects of Apache history and culture were published in 1974.

The most relevant of these volumes to the present paper is Volume I, three reports submitted by Albert Schroeder on early Apaches and their neighbors. Of the three reports, the first deals most fully with those Southern Plains Apaches who came to be known as Lipanes.⁷⁹ Schroeder's objective in the first report is to review all of the archeological, linguistic, historical, and some of the ethnographic literature on Southern Plains Athapaskans in order to get a clear picture of what groups were where at what time, and occasionally Schroeder gives descriptions of Apache culture. To supplement the cultural material he uses, Schroeder also provides eighteenth century Spanish descriptions and nineteenth century Anglo American accounts of Apaches, but he does so with caution, noting their historical context and, like Forbes, the fact that these

⁷⁷ Publisher's Preface, Apache Indians I, New York: Garland Publishing, 1974, 7.

⁷⁸ David Agee Horr, "General Nature and Content of the Series," Apache Indians I, New York: Garland Publishing, 1974, 9.

⁷⁹ In the other two reports, Schroeder also deals with Lipán as they relate to Jicarillas and Mescaleros.

descriptions come from Apache enemies. In a similar vein, he warns that "recent ethnological studies of these people...are lacking in time depth."⁸⁰

Schroeder carefully and meticulously analyzes material having any bearing on these Indians up to 1700. Spanish expeditions across the Plains prior to 1610 receive the majority of Schroeder's attention. He convincingly explains how Apaches shifted geographical positions over time in response to changes in the region, particularly changes occasioned by the Spanish intrusion into New Mexico.

The Schroeder reports offer insights on a number of issues relevant to the present study. Schroeder makes use of climatological data to suggest drought impact. He attributes Apache aggression to historical situations rather than Apache "character," often citing the Spanish, Mexicans, and Americans as instigators of hostilities. Perhaps most important, Schroeder convincingly places Apache groups in certain geographical settings in particular periods. This geographical placement is significant given the fact that Schroeder also suggests that the Lipán were tied to Plains groups whose ancestors were Querechos.

Anthropology during the 1960s and 1970s contributed some of the most sophisticated studies on Apaches to date, as well as a more healthy outpouring of publications than

⁸⁰ Schroeder, A Study of the Apache Indians, New York: Garland Publishing, 1974, xxxiii.

historians produced. Ethnologists studied Apache beliefs and customs.⁸¹ Archeologists dug more deeply into precontact and postcontact Apache life.⁸² Linguistic anthropologists devised more sophisticated means for analyzing Athapaskan languages and glottochronology to better understand kinship systems among Proto-Athapaskans.⁸³ In addition, a bevy of cultural anthropologists interested in everything from ecology to economics added fresh insight and direction to knowledge about Apache history and culture.⁸⁴ The result was a growing pool of more refined scholarly data on Apaches. Much of this was pertinent to analyzing Plains Apaches of

⁸¹ Keith Basso is probably the most prominent in this group. See Keith H. Basso, "The Gift of Changing Woman," Bulletin of American Ethnology, No. 196, Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1966; Western Apache Witchcraft, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969.

⁸² James and Dolores Gunnerson have been most conspicuous in Apache archeology. See Dolores A. Gunnerson, "Man and Bison on the Plains in the Protohistoric Period," Plains Anthropologist 17 (1972): 1-10; James H. Gunnerson, "Plains Apache Archaeology: A Review," Plains Anthropologist 13 (1968): 167-89; "Apache Archaeology in Northeastern New Mexico," American Antiquity 34 (1969): 23-39; "Southern Athapaskan Archeology," Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 9, Southwest, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979, 162-169; Dolores A. Gunnerson and James H. Gunnerson, "Evidence of Apaches at Pecos," El Palacio 76 (1970): 1-6.

⁸³ Isidore Dyen and David F. Aberle, Lexical Reconstruction, The Case of the Proto-Athapaskan Kinship System, London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

⁸⁴ For a collection of such diverse work, see Keith H. Basso and Morris E. Opler, eds., Apachean Culture History and Ethnology, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A majority of historians, however, remained either unaware of this data or chose not to use it. The most exhaustive Southwest ethnohistory published during this period that addresses early Plains-New Mexican relations reflects this ignorance. It does, however, provide additional and helpful information on other issues.

Elizabeth A. H. John's Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds is a massive 800 page study of "the confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795."⁸⁵ John carefully details the diverse Southwest, Southern Plains, and Texas cultures and the profound changes they underwent due to contact with the Spanish and French over the course of 250 years. Archival documents from Texas, New Mexico, Mexico, and Spain constitute much of her source material; reliance on published, translated documents and studies by scholars of the Boltonian school comprises a second general body of material.⁸⁶ Occasionally John also uses anthropological sources, but she does so sparingly.

Though there are differences, in important ways John's approach parallels the efforts of Boltonians writing in the

⁸⁵ Elizabeth A.H. John, Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds. The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540-1795, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

⁸⁶ Ibid., xiv.

first half of the twentieth century.⁸⁷ As Bolton had written in the above-mentioned 1906 reference to what he believed should be the content of an ideal history of Indians, John similarly tells the story of precontact culture and inter-group relations. She also deals with the larger questions that interested Bolton involving how such relations worked out over time across a broad geographic expanse with the intrusion of the Spaniards and French.

If John is to be criticized, one might point to her uncritical reliance on twentieth century ethnographic data to describe precontact cultures. Her discussion of Apache culture, for instance, derives largely from work by Grenville Goodwin, LaVerne Harrell Clark, and Harold E. Driver.⁸⁸ What John takes from these sources is limited, focusing primarily on the economics and politics of Indian-White relations. Furthermore, she makes no attempt to justify (and it warrants justification) her historical upstreaming, nor does she make any effort to come to grips with the literature on precontact cultures.

John's study nonetheless provides interesting information that previous studies had tended to neglect. Her attention to occasional drought episodes experienced by Puebloans as well as her detailing certain epidemics among

⁸⁷ John concedes her Boltonian training in the preface. Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 61.

Puebloans leads us to note these important variables. Her descriptions of peace ceremonies give us a glimpse of Lipán ritual life, but they contain only superficial details. Facts pertaining to climate, disease, and ritual can be particularly significant when viewed from the standpoint of such issues as the Native American worldview, self perceptions, group perceptions, and attitudes toward others as factors contributing to social discontent. John does not address these latter issues.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion reveals that an increased understanding of Southern Plains Apaches has developed over the course of the twentieth century. This historiographical evolution has occurred in spurts as more information has become available. Initially, knowledge of Apaches in general was associated with late nineteenth century contact with Anglo Americans. This perspective, which embraced a conceptual context in which nineteenth century Apaches were opposed to Anglo American "progress," gave way to the Spanish Borderlands perspective. Bolton and his students researched the Spanish era of the Southwest. From their work came a clearer sense of Apaches through the writings of early Spanish expeditions into New Mexico in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and through the

writings of Spanish soldiers and missionaries in Texas. Nonetheless, in many ways the Borderlands historians merely substituted a Hispano-centric history for the earlier Anglo-centered one, with little attention being given to Indians outside of various issues in regional diplomatic history.

Archeologists, linguists, and ethnographers during the first half of the twentieth century provided new ideas and insights into precontact history and twentieth century Indian culture. Anthropological approaches, however, contributed little to the period between contact and the late nineteenth century. Archeologists remained devoted to the very distant past, while ethnographers enveloped themselves in the ethnographic present and usually assumed that the data gathered from twentieth century interviews and observations of Indians constituted a knowledge of "traditional" native culture.

By the 1950s, historians and anthropologists began learning from one another, and interdisciplinary approaches became more frequent. Out of this collective work grew increasingly effective methods for reconstructing the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Lipán Apaches. Anthropologists' and historians' shared interests notwithstanding, each group proceeded using its own respective methods, occasionally borrowing ideas from one another. The borrowing, it should be stressed, has appeared to be a mere gesture on the part of certain historians.

Constrained by their limited frameworks for conceiving the Southern Plains and eastern New Mexico, these scholars have missed a larger and deeper understanding of the history of the region.

The need to take more seriously both sides of the inquiry--anthropological and historical--is illuminated by the above historiography. For their part, historians of Indian history should read with care the anthropological literature bearing on their research. It is valuable information that can shed light on many issues, and with sixteenth and seventeenth century Lipán Apaches, anthropological materials become essential. As the following chapters will argue, material from natural scientists working in the areas of climatology, mammalogy, and botany also proves extremely helpful in reconstructing patterns of living on the Southern Plains.

Historians seeking a fuller understanding of the region than has heretofore been offered need to establish a conceptual nexus between as many aspects of relevant knowledge as is available about the Southern Plains, eastern New Mexico, and the humans who inhabited the area. As the above interpretation of scholarship on the region has revealed, providing bridges between disciplines allows historians access to information critical to evaluating the history of the area. The next chapter will furnish an epistemological means by which this can be done, and it will

do so with the general developments that have occurred
within ethnohistory and the "new Indian history" in mind.

**Chapter Two:
Ethnohistory, The "New Indian History",
and Radical Empiricism**

To place the present study's approach into perspective, an assessment of the assumptions underlying ethnohistory is in order. It will be shown that the development of ethnohistory has taken shape in several ways, and that the rise of the "new Indian history" has been, for historians, the culmination of this post-modern development.¹ By adopting techniques and models used in anthropology and sociology, interpretations of Native American history have become increasingly sophisticated and powerful. Anthropologists themselves have contributed substantially to ethnohistory's growing significance; however, a number of recent efforts within the "new Indian history" have remained entrenched in models and approaches which, though sophisticated and rewarding, have provided perspectives which, while fresh, are nevertheless parochial. The present chapter outlines some relevant epistemological problems attached to ethnohistory and discusses how a new historical epistemology can avoid the pitfalls of earlier

¹ The present study views the "new Indian history" and ethnohistory to be essentially identical in content; however, ethnohistory is practiced by both anthropologists and historians (and others), whereas the "new Indian history" is practiced only by historians doing ethnohistory.

work.

Cultural and environmental history reflect the need for greater attention to be paid to Indian history from the perspective of Indians and from the perspective of environmental realities these people faced. For the past forty years a growing number of ethnohistorians has stressed the problems inherent in a history told from a "White perspective". A bias of ethnocentrism has stunted efforts to better understand who Indians were, what they experienced, and what changes they underwent. Similarly, a bias of anthropocentrism clouds an understanding of the enormous impact of the environment on Native Americans. This paper contends that a thoroughgoing ethnohistory using a "radical empiricist" methodology can effectively speak to the problems of ethnocentrism and anthropocentrism.

From an ethnocentric point of view, Indians in historical writing remained for a long time simply backdrop material for what was viewed as the unfolding destiny manifest in European colonization and settlement of the New World. Summarizing the status of Native American history in 1938, Alban W. Hoopes noted that

The general and well-known histories of the United States have little to say concerning it [Indian history]. The aborigines tend to receive more attention in the regional histories--such as Parkman in the East and Hubert Howe Bancroft in the West--but, although these works share in popularity with the general histories, their geographical limitations preclude a sufficiently inclusive account of the

Indian....²

By the mid-1950s civil rights issues of the day and the publication of studies conducted for the Indians Claims Commission brought public and professional attention to the plight of Indians as well as a consequent interest to do something about the lack of Indian history. To some historians and anthropologists, it was evident that their two disciplines had much to offer each other. It was also becoming clearer to a growing number of historians that Indian history was heavily biased with respect to Indians when explaining what Indians had done and why they had done it. Which methods of analysis to use became an additional topic of debate as historians and anthropologists wrangled over, among other issues, whether historical documents, archeological findings, or ethnographic studies ought to be emphasized over the other two, or whether the three should be emphasized equally. Distinctions between ethnology, history, and ethnohistory were increasingly clarified.

Wrangling and the search for professional identity aside, both historians and anthropologists cooperated in shooting holes in old myths and traditional interpretations of Indians. Furthermore, scholars tried to better understand problems associated with previous writing on Native Americans as well as to more clearly conceptualize

² Alban W. Hoopes, "The Need for a History of the American Indian," Social Studies for Secondary School Teachers 29 (1938): 26-27.

certain methodological issues needing to be addressed by ethnohistorians.³ The dialogue of discussion and criticism between historians and anthropologists resulted in refined techniques and theories for approaching the past more broadly, more rigorously, and more deeply. One historian framed a method for conceiving ethnohistory which was highly suggestive, but the lesson offered was soon forgotten by most other ethnohistorians.

Focusing on the techniques of ethnohistory, Wilcomb Washburn argued that ethnohistory and William James's pragmatism have much in common. Washburn contended that ethnohistory should be viewed "not as a rigid discipline with fixed borders and strict entrance requirements," as some historians and anthropologists had at one time viewed it, but rather, as a "method of isolating the facts and perceiving them from from all sides."⁴ Washburn referred

³ For examples, see Stanley Pargellis, "The Problem of Indian History," Ethnohistory 4 (1957): 113-124; James C. Olson, "Some Reflections on Historical Method and Indian History," Ethnohistory 5 (1958): 48-59; David A. Baerreis, "The Ethnohistoric Approach and Archeology," Ethnohistory 8 (1961): 49-77; Eleanor Leacock, John C. Ewers, and Charles A. Valentine, "Symposium on the Concept of Ethnohistory--Comment," Ethnohistory 13 (1961): 256-280; William Brandon, "American Indians and American History," American West 2 (1965): 14-25, 91-93; William C. Sturtevant, "Anthropology, History, and Ethnohistory," Ethnohistory 13 (1966): 1-51; Wilcomb Washburn, "The Writing of American History," Pacific Historical Review (1971): 261-281.

⁴ Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Ethnohistory: History in the Round," Ethnohistory 8 (1961): 31-48.

to this as "history in the round."⁵

Washburn and other ethnohistorians claim that the lenses through which American historians have interpreted the facts about Native Americans have remained, from the Puritans' descriptions to early twentieth-century depictions of the Indian past, focused on one broad ethnic group, Euroamericans.⁶ When Indians were mentioned, they usually fit into a story that told of the gloriously unfolding pageant of the creation and building of the United States. This filiopietistic story was characterized by a teleological, rationalist, and almost deterministic portrayal of events. It was a traditional myth that viewed Indians as strange, foreign objects to use--or as obstacles to overcome--in hastening the inevitable progress of the expanding American or Spanish civilizations. Indians were rarely perceived as people with valid cultural beliefs and customs. As such, their history was deemed irrelevant, for

⁵ Ibid.. It should be noted that Washburn's comparison between ethnohistory and pragmatism is limited to the methodological side of pragmatism as set forth by William James. James applies the term "pragmatism" both to his theory of meaning and to his theory of truth. Washburn appears to be using the term to refer to James's theory of truth. See William James, "What Pragmatism Means" and "Pragmatism's Conception of Truth," in Ralph Barton Parry, ed., Pragmatism and Four Essays from The Meaning of Truth, Chicago: Meridian, 1955, 41-62, 131-153.

⁶ Two insightful studies on White's perceptions of Indians and the behavioral implications of those perceptions are Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian; and Richard Drinnon, Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980.

it conflicted with the Euroamerican view of a history of Whites' participation in creating an exceptional empire populated by superior people. Robert Berkhofer states this in even more basic terms:

Since Whites primarily understood the Indian as an antithesis to themselves, then civilization and Indianness as they defined them would forever be opposites. Only civilization had history and dynamics in this view, so therefore Indianness must be conceived of as ahistorical and static.⁷

The method which Washburn offers as a corrective to this traditional approach does in fact have much in common with William James's pragmatism. An elaboration of significant aspects of James's thought is in order, for it will provide the theoretical framework for the present thesis.

Pragmatism, Pluralism, and Radical Empiricism

James's pragmatic theory of truth was an application of his pragmatic method, which sought to understand the meaning of a given term or proposition through what the entertainment of that term or proposition led to in the entertainer's subsequent experience. James's concern was to understand the meaning of the term "true idea," and his inquiry accepted from the outset the traditional

⁷ Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, 29. Anthropologists at the turn of the century (and after) contributed to the ethnocentric conceptual fabrication of "the primitive" stereotypes. Some of the more influential works included Sir Edward Tylor's Religion in Primitive Culture, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958 (Orig. pub. 1873); and James Frazer's The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion, New York: Macmillan, 1951 (Orig. pub. 1922).

correspondence theory of truth's definition of "true idea" as one that "corresponds to" or "agrees with" reality. It should be pointed out immediately that it is precisely this theory of truth which has been implicit in the work of most historians. A true historical account has been taken to be one that "agrees with" the historical facts. James, however, while accepting the correspondence theory as a point of departure, felt that it was incapable of providing the base for a sufficiently worthwhile journey. The problem, he felt, with the "correspondence" or "agreement" formula is that it tells us too little, and his inquiry into the meaning of "true idea" became an inquiry into the meaning of the notion that "a true idea is one that agrees with reality."

James's pragmatic theory of truth incorporated the correspondence theory but went beyond it, chiefly by means of an original interweaving of correspondence with the coherence theory of truth, which holds that the nature and test of a true idea is that it is one which effectively "coheres" with other ideas which are true. A true idea, James concluded, is one which will mesh in a "satisfactory" way with the totality of the entertainer's experience, and he had in mind both intellectual and practical satisfactions.⁸ For an idea to mesh satisfactorily with an

⁸ The importance of applying caution when using James's ideas cannot be overemphasized. As Peter Novick has pointed out, historians have tended to play notoriously fast and

entire system of experience, two main conditions needed to

loose with James's pragmatism. In fairness, much of historians' misreading of James can be attributed to the language James himself used to convey his ideas. Nonetheless, historians, other scholars, and the general, educated public all-too readily appropriated catchy but misleading phrases like "cash value" which James had occasionally used to explain the satisfactoriness of true ideas. (Novick, 150-154)

After discovering how the general public, and even philosophers, had misinterpreted his pragmatism, James tried to meet the charge that pragmatism is simply an appeal to practical action. His critics, and many of his followers, he wrote, are

...so blind to the nature of the inquiry that, when Dr. Schiller speaks of ideas 'working' well, the only thing they think of is their immediate workings in the physical environment, their enabling us to make money, or gain some similar 'practical' advantage. Ideas work thus, of course, immediately or remotely, but they work indefinitely inside of the mental world also. Not crediting us with this rudimentary insight, our critics treat our view as offering itself exclusively to engineers, doctors, financiers, and men of action generally, who need some sort of rough and ready weltanschauung, but have no time or wit to study genuine philosophy. It is usually described as a characteristically American movement, a sort of bob-tailed scheme of thought, excellently fitted for the man on the street, who naturally hates theory and wants cash returns immediately."(William James, The Meaning of Truth, New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909, 184-185)

Whereas James's pragmatism has not always been clearly understood by historians, the potential difficulties in interpretation increase exponentially when dealing with his radical empiricism. At issue here is the attempt to understand one of humankind's most sophisticated explanations of the nature of reality. Bertrand Russell once claimed that James's radical empiricism was the most important original contribution to philosophy since Plato, and summarizing radical empiricism's significance in his own overall thought, James wrote, "I give the name 'radical empiricism' to my Weltanschauung."(William James, Essays in Radical Empiricism, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938 [1912], Posthumous, Ralph Barton Perry, ed.)

be observed. First, the idea must be in harmony with the deliverances of sense experience. This is the condition to which the scientist and the historian have given the most attention, and the device by which correspondence is made a part of the pragmatic conception of truth. Second, the idea must cohere with the entire body of the entertainer's ideas which have previously been accepted as true. This second condition is the device by which the coherence theory is made a part of pragmatism.

With the introduction of coherence as a test for and part of the nature of truth, the links between James's pragmatism and Washburn's "history in the round" start to become plain. Coherence brings with it the notion of degrees of truth. An idea is true to the extent that it coheres with an entire system of ideas already accepted as true, and all of the ideas within a given system are true to the extent that the system itself is rich, full, and inclusive. Ideas about Apache history, for example, will be true to the extent that they are part of a wide system of ideas encompassing a variety of perspectives on all relevant facts. Washburn's claim is that the ideas which well meet these requirements are more adequate, but in pointing to a link between his own thinking and that of James, he also suggests what James would have asserted, viz., that such ideas are in fact more true.

Washburn argues that there are important ties between

ethnohistory and James's pragmatism. He does not mention James's related doctrines of pluralism and radical empiricism, but he might well have extended his claim to include them, for the three strands in James's thought are importantly interconnected, and all are supportive of Washburn's position. James's doctrine of pluralism is captured in the following passage, in which he suggests that the notion of the real world constituting an "absolute unity" is at best an ideal but vacant reference point, and that we cannot finally get away from looking at that world through the lenses of a variety of alternative points of view.

Prima facie the world is a pluralism; as we find it, its unity seems to be that of any collection; and our higher thinking consists chiefly of an effort to redeem it from that first crude form. Postulating more unity than the first experiences yield, we also discover more. But absolute unity, in spite of brilliant dashes in its direction still remains undiscovered, still remains a Grenzbegriff. 'Ever not quite' must be the rationalistic philosopher's last confession concerning it. After all that reason can do has been done, there still remains the opacity of the finite facts as merely given, with most of their peculiarities mutually unmediated and unexplained. To the very last, there are the various 'points of view' which the philosopher must distinguish in discussing the world; and what is inwardly clear from one point remains a bare externality and datum to the other.... This is pluralism.... He who takes for his hypothesis the notion that it is the permanent form of the world is what I call a radical empiricist.⁹

The passage just quoted makes clear both the connections between James's pragmatism and his pluralism, and the ways

⁹ William James, The Will to Believe, New York: Dover, 1956 [1897], viii-ix.

in which his pluralism could be harnessed by the conception of ethnohistory that Washburn points toward. That conception of ethnohistory, however, could also, and perhaps more instructively, appeal to James's doctrine of radical empiricism for support.

James's classic definition of radical empiricism is as follows:

Radical empiricism consists first of a postulate, next of a statement, and finally of a generalized conclusion.... The postulate is that the only things that shall be debatable among philosophers shall be things definable in terms drawn from experience.... The statement of fact is that the relations between things, conjunctive as well as disjunctive, are just as much matters of direct particular experience, neither more so nor less so, than the things themselves.... The generalized conclusion is that therefore the parts of experience hold together from next to next by relations that are themselves parts of experience. The directly apprehended universe needs, in short, no extraneous trans-empirical connective support, but possesses in its own right a concatenated or continuous structure.¹⁰

There are a number of issues at work in this passage, most notably the question of whether we need to presuppose the existence of a world beyond all possible experience (the "trans-empirical world") to help account for the world which we do experience, but what is of importance here is James's insistence that relations between things are just as much objects of experience, and consequently just as real, as the things themselves. With respect to the discussion at hand,

¹⁰ William James, "Author's Preface to the Meaning of Truth," in Pragmatism and four essays from the Meaning of Truth, Ralph Barton Perry, ed., Chicago: Meridian, 1955, 199.

the relations between historical facts are as real as the facts themselves, and insofar as perspectives on facts can themselves be taken as facts, the relations between those perspectives are as real as the perspectives. They are, in short, part of the story, and while Washburn's "history in the round" would say that a less than complete rendering of the story is a less than adequate rendering, William James's position would be committed to saying that it is also less true.

Recent Trends in Ethnohistory

The radical empiricist's perspective on ethnohistory furnishes the means for appreciating the relations between facts as seen from the perspectives of all groups and individuals within an historical setting. Insofar as situations and events are viewed within the context of the historical actor's cultural perceptions, the ethnohistorian's job is to explain the events that transpire in relation to the actor's conceptual framework. By virtue of its willingness to give a systematic, balanced, and (to such an extent as is possible) objective treatment to both Indian and White history, ethnohistory provides a more cosmopolitan approach to its subject than that of traditional history. However, a radical empiricist's ethnohistory could be more cosmopolitan still, for it further distinguishes and attends to the relations between

various scholars' perspectives. A review and general analysis of some of the more prominent recent trends in thinking about ethnohistory will be useful for comparing radical empiricism's tenets with other epistemological standpoints and placing radical empiricism in a larger historiographical context.

One of the "high priests" among ethnohistorians, James Axtell, notes that a general consensus exists today among historians and anthropologists on what ethnohistory is and how it should be practiced.¹¹ Ethnohistory represents, for Axtell and apparently others, "the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture defined by ethnological concepts and categories.... [Ethnohistory's] purpose is to produce scholarly offspring who bear the diachronic dimensions of history and the synchronic sensitivity of ethnology."¹²

In a similar vein, Margaret Connell Szasz has written that ethnohistory is "a method which seeks to understand the complexity of change and continuity when two cultures interact."¹³ In his very recently published anthology of

¹¹ James H. Merrell, "High Priests and Missionaries," Reviews in American History (June 1989): 177-181.

¹² Axtell, The European and the Indian, 5.

¹³ Margaret Connell Szasz, "'Poor Richard' Meets the Native American: Schooling for Young Indian Women in Eighteenth Century Connecticut," Pacific Historical Review 49 (May 1980): 215.

American Indian history, Roger Nichols takes a more general, albeit more nebulous, position for approaching Indian-White history. He states that "a clear understanding of the [Whites' impact on Indians] demands an ethnohistorical approach that makes every effort to place the Native Americans at the center of the story."¹⁴

It can be noted briefly that of these three standpoints, Connell Szasz's most closely parallels a radical empiricist view of ethnohistory, even though her own work reflects a rather parochial approach. She leaves open the issue of the methods for obtaining a grasp on the "complexity of change and continuity" that comes with cultural interaction. Nichols, in his role as an anthology's mediating editor, provides a diplomatic, if vacuous, post-modern common sense demand, asking only that Indians be given a central place in a history that essentially concerns them.¹⁵ By contrast, Axtell attempts to more clearly limit ethnohistory to the projects of anthropology and history. Confining ethnohistory to these two disciplines, Axtell undercuts his apparent goal of gaining knowledge of the nature and causes of cultural change.

¹⁴ Roger Nichols, "Preface," in The American Indian: Past and Present, Roger Nichols, ed., New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1992, xiv.

¹⁵ For definitions of post-modern, see Margaret A. Rose, The post-modern and the post-industrial: A critical analysis, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 3-20.

In his most recent book, Richard White provides a general perspective of Indian history which echoes Nichols:

In writing this history of the pay d'en haut, I am practicing the "new Indian history." But as new histories age, they become, in part, new orthodoxies while surreptitiously taking on elements of the older history they sought to displace. This book is "new Indian history" because it places Indian peoples at the center of the scene and seeks to understand the reasons for their actions.¹⁶

White's language is interesting, and when viewed in conjunction with Nichols's statement, provides insight into the larger relations that ethnohistory and Indian history have with historical scholarship in general in the United States.

These two statements reflect a post-modern paradigm that has become "orthodox" in Indian history. Avoiding a lengthy discussion of post-modernism, the matter can be put in basic terms: ethnohistory's new historians have successfully overturned the "modern", traditional view of Indians, which placed Indians in the background of Anglo American history.

Supplanting the new for the old has not, however, come without problems. As with most disciplines and much of American culture, twentieth century thought has thrown into question the possibility of acquiring certainty in our understanding of the world. Beginning perhaps most notably

¹⁶ Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, xi.

with Carl Becker's 1931 presidential address to the American Historical Association, in which he extolled "Everyman His Own Historian," historians have tended to share Becker's brand of skepticism, though many have been finally reluctant to accept the prospects of a relativistic world.¹⁷

In conjunction with the bureaucratization of academe, the absence of absolute guidelines or direction for approaching a discipline or topic has helped feed an increased specialization within disciplines as well as the rise of post-modern arguments that not only acknowledge the relative nature of knowledge, but do so aggressively.¹⁸ In addition to advocating an extreme relativism, many of the most influential post-modern thinkers, particularly the deconstructionists, have attempted to level hierarchical relationships in bodies of knowledge. Jacques Derrida, for example, argues that deconstruction

attacks not only the internal edifice, both semantic and formal, of philosophemes, but also...its extrinsic conditions of practice: the historical forms of its pedagogy, the social, economic or political structures of this pedagogical institution.¹⁹

¹⁷ For discussion of Becker's influence in subverting historical objectivity, see Novick, That Noble Dream, 100-108.

¹⁸ For discussion of bureaucratization's effect on specialization and radically parochial thinking, see Russell Jacoby, The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe, New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1987, 13-26; 112-190.

¹⁹ Jacques Derrida, The Truth in Painting, translated by Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. For a general discussion of Derrida

Other characteristics of deconstruction have included its questioning of "exclusive or privileged orders of valorization" and the "authorial point of view".²⁰ As Christopher Norris claims, "Deconstruction is first and last a textual activity, a putting-into-question of the root metaphysical prejudice which posits self-identical concepts outside and above the disseminating play of language."²¹

The central problem with this "textual activity" is its solipsistic point of reference. From the radical empiricist's point of view, deconstruction creates anew, out of whole cloth, while ignoring consideration of an idea's accepted meaning or value in its context of relational ties to other meanings and values. On this view, though deconstruction may possess the ingenuity to hyperanalyze cultures-as-texts, often showing epistemological frailties in certain systems of thought or cultural assumptions, its creativity often tends toward superficial fabrication.

More important, deconstructionists tend to focus on issues related to a political agenda, issues that involve a perceived "oppression" of ideas or institutions. In the

and the rise of deconstructionism, see Hazard Adams and Leroy Searle, Critical Theory Since 1965, Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1986, 1-22.

²⁰ Rose, The post-modern and the post-industrial, 41.

²¹ Christopher Norris, The Deconstructionist Turn: Essays in the Rhetoric of Philosophy, London: Methuen, 1983, 6.

process of leveling values, however, they blithely overlook other constructive and positive cultural features and values in the "systems" they are attacking. In addition, they do not seem to understand the implications of their agenda, which appear to embody an almost nihilistic resolve to level all values, all interpretations of texts, cultures, and history to "just another perspective," at the same time as they advocate the "empowering" of society's underdogs.

The attempt to create a more egalitarian society is laudable; Derrida himself claims that his position carries ethical significance by emphasizing freedom and justice.²² Nonetheless, the leveling of values assumes that the project of trying to rationally understand the world is doomed from the start. Worse still, deconstruction has an insidious way of demeaning the human condition. Finally, it should be pointed out that deconstructionists appear to take advantage of the double-sided nature of the politics of epistemology, and in so doing often seek to impose their own brand of oppressive epistemology on others.²³

²² Adams and Searle, Critical Theory Since 1965, 19.

²³ For discussion of the politics of epistemology, see Morton White, "The Politics of Epistemology," Ethics 100 (Oct 1989): 77-92.

The politics of knowledge has recently received much attention. For discussion of the debate over "Political Correctness," see James Atlas, "On Campus: The Battle of the Books," The New York Times Magazine (June 5, 1988): 24-27, 72-74, 85, 94; John Searle, "The Storm Over the University," The New York Review, (Dec 6, 1990): 34-40; Gerald Graff, Barbara Herrnstein Smith, George Levine, John Searle, "The Storm Over the University: An Exchange" [responses to

Historians in general and ethnohistorians in particular have been riding the wave of this relativistic movement for the past several decades. Significantly, most have avoided the maelstroms and bogs of extreme relativism presented by deconstruction. Over the course of the past decades, the "new Indian history" has risen to become what Richard White recognizes as the new orthodoxy, a new paradigm for studying the Indian past. As with most paradigms, a thread of similarity binds a variety of perspectives and positions into a perceived union. In the case of the "new Indian history", a rejection of the previous Eurocentric paradigm, offered by Turnerians and Boltonians, has brought together a number of different strategies and perspectives for approaching the field.

Taken separately, many of these approaches provide important viewpoints on Indian history, but their visions remain obscured by limited perspectives. Taken as a whole, however, they offer material for the radical empiricist to help conceive "more true" ideas of the Indian past, ideas whose meanings are found in actively corroborating and analyzing these various perspectives in relation to each

Searle's Dec. 6 article, and Searle's response to responses], The New York Review, (Feb 14, 1991): 48-50; Edith Kurzweil and William Phillips, eds., "The Changing Culture of the University," Partisan Review 58 (Spring 1991): 185-418 [entire issue]; Dinesh D'Souza, "Illiberal Education," Atlantic Monthly (March 1991): 52-78; Eugene D. Genovese, "Heresy, Yes--Sensitivity, No," The New Republic (April 15, 1991): 30-35.

other. In other words, "more true" ideas or conceptions of Indian history presuppose a metahistorical accounting of the variety of historical perspectives on the subject, including the perceptions of both the historical participants and historians.

Some of the varieties of ethnohistorical writing have been treated above. The remainder of this chapter focuses on some of the more influential schools of thought within "the new Indian history". Though it might appear that the demands which radical empiricism places on the ethnohistorian are unreasonable and unworthy of pursuing, some historians have created concrete examples of what can be characterized as radical empiricist approaches to Native American history.

Richard White, one of the most respected ethnohistorians today, reflects in his own work some of the more significant developments that have occurred in the past decade in "the new Indian history". Between his last two books, Roots of Dependency and The Middle Ground, White has moved from using social science models to explain history to using a more sophisticated, more accurate method of analysis. In Roots of Dependency White employed a model based on dependency theory; The Middle Ground embodies the pluralism of the radical empiricist. It will be helpful to briefly explain the assumptions underlying dependency theory, for they are a part of important studies on

Southwest economic systems that relate to the present study.

White argues in Roots of Dependency that the most sophisticated defenses of dependency theory have come from Immanuel Wallerstein's theory of world systems, and from Third World scholars. At issue in both of the above is "the process by which peripheral regions are incorporated into the global capitalist system and the 'structural distortions'--political, economic, and social--that result in these societies."²⁴ For Wallerstein, the world economic system contains graded distinctions of capital accumulation and its accompanying power (usually stated in terms of nation-states), wherein "core regions tend to benefit significantly from international transactions while the peripheral regions become underdeveloped" as they are incorporated into the system.²⁵ White explains that the most significant criticisms of Wallerstein's world systems theory center on the model's imprecision, its frequent inability either to be open to empirical testing or to pass such tests when given, and its often reductionist assertions that ignore cultural issues.²⁶

Third World scholars who adhere to dependency theory

²⁴ Richard White, Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among The Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983, xvi.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

conceive of dependency "as a general context for historical inquiry," in which occurs

no single symptom of dependency, but rather a syndrome of social, political, and economic characteristics which deny some countries the ability either to expand or to be self-sustaining. Dependency thus has no single measurement but is instead an amalgamation of factors; empirical tests of the reality of dependency theory must take this into consideration. Dependency theorists emphasize a constellation of concepts: the extent to which economic activities within a region only reflect factors essentially controlled outside the area; the lack of economic diversification and choice; and domestic distortions--social and political, as well as economic--within affected societies.... It is the growth of this [historically derived] world system which affected the specific North American Indian societies under study here. The collapse of their subsistence systems and their integration into world markets brought increasing reliance on the capitalist core, lack of economic choice, and profound political social changes within their societies.²⁷

White implies in this passage an extensive assessment of his subject. Not surprisingly, his book presents an impressive array of data used to convey a complex story involving the large political, social, and economic forces of Euro-Americans interfacing, transforming, and eventually incorporating smaller Native American political and social units. Among other issues, White examines environmental variables, disease, and particular subsistence strategies that influenced the development of Choctaw, Pawnee, and Navajo history.

Although White intends to examine Choctaw, Pawnee, and Navajo cultures, he manages to provide only a sketchy sense

²⁷ Ibid., xvii.

of their rich intellectual heritage. The reason for this may lie in White's reluctance to employ the techniques of historical upstreaming, which he views as having a "bias toward continuity and a narrowed sense of context."²⁸

"Beyond that," White argues, "upstreaming seeks to remove the 'bias' of the historical record, and in doing so, distorts the historical record."²⁹ White's own bias in favor of change, however, appears uninformed by a scholarly literature which has acknowledged that all Indian groups share important features in their metaphysical beliefs. The point White misses in his bias favoring change is the basic conservatism in Native American thought. For many groups, these beliefs never greatly altered before the middle of the nineteenth century; beliefs among the remaining groups underwent significant change only as a result of momentous or cataclysmic changes in their lives.³⁰

White's Roots of Dependency is an important study in

²⁸ Personal correspondence with author, December 18, 1990.

²⁹ Ibid. White goes on to stress that "I think it is important for both white scholars and modern Indians, for a variety of cultural reasons, to stress cultural continuity, and they both, not surprisingly, find it. I am much more interested in cultural creation. Indian peoples have living, changing cultures. They have repeatedly reinvented themselves. I find this process far more interesting than the discovery of traditional roots."

³⁰ The literature on Native American beliefs is enormous and comes from a variety of disciplines, the most prolific on this topic being anthropology and religious studies.

the field of ethnohistory, but more relevant to the present thesis is the world systems approach adopted in Thomas Hall's Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880. A trained sociologist and anthropologist, Hall brings an interdisciplinary background to his study, which he rigorously applies to his study. Leaning on recent archeological scholarship, he reconstructs the prehistory of the Southwest, which he offers as "a model of pre-capitalist world-economy."³¹ Hall appears to avoid all but one of the pitfalls that White mentions above in reference to criticisms of world systems theory: reductionist assertions that ignore cultural issues. His study does not account for culture or society beyond economics and social structure. Hall conforms his pre-capitalist economic model to pre-capitalist social organization. For example, the core "state organizations" (e.g., the large civilizations in Mexico and Central America) have "extensive organization and clear political authority structures," and the peripheral and semi-peripheral "nonstate organizations" of band and chiefdom groups, respectively, possess "little more than nuclear families in more-or-less regular contact with other such families who share the same language."³² A similar model is used in the following chapter of the present thesis

³¹ Thomas D. Hall, Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989, 45.

³² Ibid., 27-30.

to describe the precontact Southwest, but as will be seen, with some important exceptions.

Hall argues that the "Mesoamerican Connection" between Southwest peoples and central Mexico formed a prehispanic world economy in which "Mesoamerican states were core areas; the Southwestern outposts, Casas Grandes, Chaco Canyon, Snaketown, and possibly others, were semi-peripheries; and the villages surrounding these trade centers and...neighboring nomads constituted the periphery."³³ Significant parts of this system collapsed prior to the Spaniards' arrival, and a new system emerged in the Southwest, one that Hall argues witnessed the incorporation of the Plains Apaches into the system.

The model Hall employs is sophisticated and as Hall makes use of it, generally very accurate. However, in dealing with the Southwest periphery, or as he puts it, the "periphery of the periphery," Hall's emphasis on social organization misses the character of the relations between

³³ Ibid., 46. Hall generally follows Timothy Baugh in his assessments of Pueblo-Plains relations. See Timothy Baugh, "Edwards I (34BK2): Southern Plains Adaptations in the Protohistoric Period," Studies in Oklahoma's Past, No. 8, Norman: Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, 1982; "Southwestern-Plains Interaction: A Processual View," paper presented at the 55th Pecos Conference, Pecos, New Mexico, August 1982; "Southern Plains Societies and Eastern Frontier Pueblo Exchange During the Protohistoric Period," Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 9 (1984): 156-167; "Southern Plains Macroeconomy: A Changing Frontier," paper presented at the Comparative Frontiers Symposium, Norman, March 1984; "The Southern Plains Macroeconomy: The Structure of Regional Exchange," Ms. on file with Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, n.d..

Pecos and the Plains. What escapes Hall is the fact that in the emergence of a new exchange system, Pecos became a dominant Pueblo on the eastern fringes not, as Hall contends, because it incorporated Apaches, but quite the opposite; Apaches had incorporated Pecos into a system centering on a newly created industry: bison biproducts.

The point to be stressed here is that Hall's world systems model does not account for this new industry and the Apaches' monopoly of it. Indeed, it appears Hall has no clue as to what was transpiring between Pecos and the Plains when he claims, "Trade relations with the Athapaskan bison hunters, and possibly others, were beginning to form, but hardly seemed to have stabilized. Whether they ever would have stabilized will probably remain a moot question."³⁴ As the next chapter will argue, trade with Plains Apaches had not only stabilized, it had become the predominant industry in the region, and would remain so for almost a century and a half. Moreover, and crucially, Apaches controlled this industry.

Radical Empiricism and Native American History

A more full "history in the round," one more in line with Washburn's and James's view, has been developing among a growing number of ethnohistorians. In his presidential address at the 1987 annual conference of the American

³⁴ Ibid., 47.

Society for Ethnohistory, anthropologist William Simmons expressed the matter succinctly:

I view ethnohistory as a form of cultural biography that draws upon as many kinds of testimony as possible--material culture, archaeology, visual sources, historical documents, native texts, folklore, even earlier ethnographies--over as long a time period as the sources allow. One can't do this without taking account both of local-level social history and the larger-scale social and cultural environments that affected that history. This kind of holistic, diachronic approach is most rewarding when it can be joined to the memories and voices of living people.³⁵

The framework Simmons marks off in the above passage reflects a radical empiricist bent, even though it fails to mention geographical and biological environments as variables in cultural biography.

A handful of historians in the "new Indian history" are doing the sort of well-rounded ethnohistory proposed in this chapter, and to which the radical empiricist can aspire. In the spirit of radical empiricism's multi-dimensionality, these historians can be divided into two groups. The first set is populated by historians whose works reflect a radical empiricist approach to their specific historical topics. The second set comprises historians who actively seek to distinguish the different methods and assumptions by which historians recently have been approaching Indian history, thus taking a radical empiricist's position toward the field of Indian history.

³⁵ William S. Simmons, "Culture Theory in Contemporary Ethnohistory," Ethnohistory 35 (1988): 10.

In other words, the first group writes histories that reflect catholic perspectives; the second concerns itself with metahistory. Both groups approach their projects by seeking out a broad range of relations that bear on the subjects at hand, but they do so in different ways. Important for the radical empiricist, however, the two in conjunction provide the necessary ingredients for a larger story, a "more true" story, than either taken separately.

Historians who have offered us examples of the first set--examples of broad and deep investigations of Indian history topics--include Neal Salisbury, Kenneth Morrison, Christopher Miller, and Richard White.³⁶ All four of these authors use a wide variety of historical, anthropological, sociological, philosophical, and scientific data to reconstruct the social, political, economic, conceptual, and environmental worlds of the people they study. The Indians in these works not only occupy a central place in these stories, they are people with worldviews that embody particular notions of time and space, moral and practical values, traditions, self-identities, and aspirations. On

³⁶ Neal Salisbury, Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982; Kenneth M. Morrison, The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984; Christopher L. Miller, Prophetic Worlds: Indians and Whites on the Columbia Plateau, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1985; Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

the basis of such beliefs, the Indians in these studies dealt with their own people, others, and the cosmos in specific ways. The authors describe and interpret historical events and changes that Indians experienced from the vantage point of such beliefs, because the authors recognize the primacy that worldviews have in motivating and steering behavior in history. In addition to attempting to capture the conceptual world of Indians, these historians have tried to place their subjects in an environmental context without reducing causation in history to sheerly environmental factors. They remain committed to knowing the past on the terms of the people and settings they examine, and in the process provide rich, complex historical accounts.

A second type of radical empiricist historian qualifies as such on the basis of his or her contributions to comparisons, categorization, and criticism of the activity of scholars doing Indian history. This metahistorical role, this historiographical accounting, occurs on several levels, beginning with book reviews. Book reviews, however, rarely provide the opportunity to survey an entire subdiscipline, though occasionally an extended review article manages to synthesize important trends in the literature.³⁷ The review process has traditionally tended

³⁷ For one example, see Reginald Horsman, "Well-Trodden Paths and Fresh Byways: Recent Writing on Native American History," Reviews in American History 10 (Dec 1982): 234-

to involve one orthodox historian reviewing another, a process which supports, compounds and further entrenches parochial perspectives if they happen to be, as they are at this time, perspectives of the orthodoxy.

One unorthodox critic who ambitiously takes issue with some established visions of the "new Indian history" is Calvin Martin. In the preface to his anthology of essays by scholars of the "new Indian history," Martin assumes a critical stance toward his contributors and, in Jamesian fashion, conceives the perspective of each essay as itself data with which to reckon. "I regard each essay," he writes, "including my own, as a primary source, to be scrutinized for its biases, tactics of persuasion, cogency of logic, evidence, and, ultimately, metaphysic."³⁸

In his introduction, Martin frames the criteria he uses to judge a perspective on Indian history, and in the epilogue he proceeds to apply these criteria to his contributors' essays. The basic questions Martin poses parallel questions that the present thesis has explored, and can be summarized in the following passage:

To what degree do these authors, or, for that matter, any of us who practice this craft, understand the worldviews of these two societies, Indian and white, which we presume to chronicle? To answer that question we must pose an even more fundamental

244.

³⁸ Calvin Martin, ed., The American Indian and the Problem of History, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, viii.

question--a question behind a question: What is the ontological, phenomenological, and epistemological agenda each of us brings to bear on the history of Indian-white relations?... And to what degree do those filters, prisms, and mirrors permit us to render these people as they comprehended themselves and construed the world? In sum, What is our metaphysics of writing Indian-white history, and how accurately does it convey the metaphysics of those individuals and groups of individuals we seek to describe?³⁹

Martin accuses "traditional" historians of "colonizing the Indian's mind" and in the process substantially misrepresenting Native thought. He views much of the writing on Indian-White history today as "a backwater both because of the unimaginativeness of its practitioners...and because it is sequestered there by the remainder of the profession, for whom it is largely irrelevant."⁴⁰ Martin claims that the primary obstacles to removing Indian-White history from this backwater lie in historians' (as well as anthropologists') unwillingness to deal with Indian worldviews, in materialistic theories that reduce those worldviews to products of social, technological, and environmental conditioning, and in the reluctance of historians to conceive of the Indian mental world as one that operates in significantly different ways, with fundamentally different priorities, than that of a Western

³⁹ Ibid., 6. Martin's contributors were asked to gear their essays to a personal, indirect response to one of Martin's previously published articles, "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History," Ethnohistory 26 (Spring 1979 [calendar year Winter 1981]): 153-159.

⁴⁰ Martin, The American Indian, 6-7, 9.

capitalist.⁴¹

Although Martin's own conception of Indian metaphysics is somewhat tenuous--his descriptions of timelessness, for example, lean on mysticism, Jungian archetypes and the notion of the Collective Unconscious--his underlying point is well taken. Historians need to employ a very different, more inclusive epistemology if they wish to make any pretense of telling a full story of Indian-White relations. Martin believes that historians should encourage comparisons and criticisms of their work, and his own entire project implies that historians need to become radical empiricists.

Conclusion

Having overthrown the old orthodoxy of traditional history, it appears that most historians of the Indian past have contented themselves with buttressing the new consensus and uncritically accepting it as the most viable point of departure. In doing so, however, they insulate themselves from the rest of the thinking world and remain committed to narrow versions of history. A wealth of knowledge awaits the historian who is willing to use it. The radical empiricist seeks this knowledge with all of its attendant problems in its attempt to fashion conception of Indian history which are "more true".

Implied by this approach is the need for

⁴¹ Ibid., 9-13.

ethnohistorians to become, as Allan Megill suggests that all historians become, intellectuals, able to move easily from one discipline to another. From the radical empiricist perspective, the intellectual's imperative to explore as many relations between facts and ideas as possible in one's own area of research is linked with the corollary imperative of understanding how one's work fits into the work of the community of scholars in one's own field, the community of historians, and the wider community of scholars in other disciplines. In discussing theoretical re-evaluations occurring in most disciplines today, Megill argues that

when disciplines become fragmented and when the cross-cuts between them begin to take on lives of their own, unity on the methodological level disappears. Perhaps the only way, finally, of holding together what once was seen (somewhat misleadingly) as a unified enterprise would be through sustained attention to the histories, sociologies, and rhetorics of historical study--that is, through examining precisely the diversities that have shadowed historiography from the beginning. In short, unity would come only at a reflective level--if it would come at all.... [In such a situation,] the hitherto professionally despised field of historiography or "historiology," would assume an important integrative role.⁴²

The present thesis contends that radical empiricism provides an epistemology that serves such an integrative role, while speaking both to various dimensions of historical study in general and to Indian history in particular.

It is important to emphasize that, the radical

⁴² Allan Megill, "Fragmentation and the Future of Historiography," American Historical Review (June 1991): 697.

empiricist's lofty vision of historians becoming intellectuals notwithstanding, the approach of radical empiricism appreciates the value of all historians' projects, narrow or otherwise. They furnish material for corroborating and verifying other perspectives as well as for establishing relations between ideas. In short, their perspectives are constituents and relations within the radical empiricist's province. If academe and the business of scholarship can be said to represent a particular form of culture, we do well to consider James's point that "real culture lives by sympathies and admirations, not by dislikes and disdains; under all misleading wrappings it pounces unerringly upon the human core."⁴³

The present chapter has addressed one aspect of the radical empiricist's agenda, locating one's work in relation to the work of a larger community of scholars. The present study conceives itself to be a component of the "new Indian history," but within a genre seeking a more inclusive understanding of the Indian past. Eschewing the ethnocentrism of traditional Indian history and the parochial standpoints and models inherent in most of the "new Indian history," this study views radical empiricism as a more effective epistemological point of departure for approaching the past on its own terms, while at the same

⁴³ Quote taken from John J. McDermott, The Culture of Experience: Philosophical Essays in the American Grain, Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1987, vii.

time engaging in a dialogue with other disciplines and historical perspectives. Admitting a dependence on other perspectives, including parochial ones, the radical empiricist nonetheless sidesteps the pitfalls of earlier work by avoiding their constraining conceptual systems for envisioning knowledge in general and Native American history in particular. The remainder of this thesis turns to the second object of a history using a radical empiricist orientation, an analysis of the historical subject itself: in this case, the history of Southern Plains-New Mexico relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

**Chapter Three:
Lipán Apaches and the Southern Plains Frontiers, 1500-1720**

Reminiscent of Bolton's desire for an Indian history that could ideally encompass a cultural matrix of inter-tribal and international relations, Willard Rollings has recently suggested that historians have too often focused on a two-sided, "dual frontier conceptualization" of frontier regions, thereby disregarding what most often actually existed, viz., "multisided frontiers." Central to Rollings' argument is the idea that "frontiers are cultural creations."¹ Where two cultures meet and interact one finds a frontier. The varieties of ways cultures interact with one another reflect culturally distinct beliefs, values, agendas and how well these attributes mesh with similar attributes in other related cultures. Understanding the nature of each intercultural nexus known as a frontier adds an important piece to the larger puzzle of broader, regional systems of alliances, trade, and social interrelations.

Bearing in mind this framework for conceptualizing the network of relations surrounding Lipán Apache history, the

¹ Willard Rollings, "In Search of Multisided Frontiers: Recent Writing on the History of the Southern Plains," in New Directions in American Indian History, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, 79-80.

present chapter addresses general aspects of Southern Plains life. Particular attention is devoted to Apache arrival on the Southern Plains, economic and political relations that developed, Plains Apache social organization and subsistence patterns, and several prominent archeologists' theories on the nature of Plains-New Mexican relations.

Sixteenth and seventeenth century Lipán Apaches lived in the north-central sections of what might be called the Southern Plains frontiers. They occupied a large geographic pocket nestled relatively comfortably between two major cultural groups. Pueblo Indians resided in villages to the west in New Mexico, while Caddoans, descendents of the westernmost extensions of the Hopewell Culture, held the southeastern Plains area. Approximately 300 miles separated these two large groups. It was into this "void" that many Southern Athapaskans had migrated by 1530; the gap, however, had not been entirely unpopulated prior to this time.

Plains-Pueblo Relations to 1500

To better understand the social, political and economic setting in which the Querechos found their niche, some broad Pueblo and Caddo circumstances prior to Athapaskan arrival on the Southern Plains need to be outlined. With respect to the Southwest and the Puebloans, archeologists have recently reasserted claims--and supported them with new evidence and convincing theory--that were made

in the 1960s and 1970s to the effect that the Southwest was once involved in a thriving commercial network that included most of Mesoamerica. Hohokam, Mogollon, and Anasazi were apparently on the northern periphery of this trade system which lasted, at its highpoint, from about A.D. 1000 to 1300, with major trade centers including Chaco Canyon (ca. A.D. 1000-1140) and Paquimé (ca. A.D. 1130-1300).²

The Mesoamerican connection was severed with the collapse of Paquimé. This collapse, combined with the disappearance of the Classic Hohokam, fragmented previous

² R. A. Pailes and Joseph W. Whitecotton, "The Greater Southwest and the Mesoamerican 'World' System: An Exploratory Model of Frontier Relationships," in The Frontier Vol. 2, William W. Savage, Jr. and Stephen I. Thompson, eds., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979, 105-118; Joseph W. Whitecotton and R. A. Pailes, "New World Precolumbian World Systems," in Ripples in the Chichimec Sea: New Considerations of Southwestern-Mesoamerican Interactions, Frances Joan Mathien and Randall H. McGuire, eds., Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986, 183-204; David H. Snow, "Protohistoric Rio Grande Pueblo Economics: A Review of Trends," in The Prehistoric Period in the North American Southwest, David R. Wilcox and W. Bruce Masse, eds., Tempe: Arizona State University, 1981, 354-360; Steven A. LeBlanc, "Aspects of Southwestern Prehistory: A.D. 900-1400," in Ripples in the Chichimec Sea, Frances Joan Mathien and Randall H. McGuire, eds., Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986, 106-118.

For earlier studies, see Albert H. Schroeder, "Unregulated Diffusion from Mexico into the Southwest Prior to A.D. 700," American Antiquity 30 (1965): 297-309; "Pattern Diffusion from Mexico into the Southwest after A.D. 600," American Antiquity 31 (1966): 683-704; Emil W. Haury, The Hohokam: Desert Farmers and Craftsmen, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1975, 351-353; J. Charles Kelly and Ellen Abbott Kelley, "An Alternative Hypothesis for the Explanation of Anasazi Culture History," in Collected Papers in Honor of Florence Hawley Ellis, Theodore R. Frisbie, ed., Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 2, 1975, 201-206.

relations and brought a period (ca. 1300-1450) of considerable diminution in the Greater Southwest's trade system. Several consequences resulted from these changes. Replacing the previous main north-south routes, new trade routes were created by 1450 along east-west lines extending from the Rio Grande Pueblos to Zuni and beyond, mostly southwest to the Yuman tribes. Also by 1450 another route leading south into Sonora from Arizona reestablished an earlier Mesoamerican connection. Due to these changes, political and economic patterns in the Southwest were realigned.³ Most relevant for the present study, Paquimé's collapse and the realignment of Southwest political and economic relations provided motivation for eastern Pueblos to start looking to the Southern Plains as a prospect for trade.⁴

Artifacts from several Plains Caddoan sites in northern Texas and western Oklahoma attest to a viable exchange of goods between Pueblo and Plains groups beginning about 1450. This exchange was one strand of a large network that extended east from the Rio Grande Pueblos, particularly Pecos and the Salinas Pueblos, to Teya Caddoans on the

³ Carrol L. Riley, "An Overview of the Greater Southwest in the Protohistoric Period," in Ripples in the Chichimec Sea, Frances Joan Mathien and Randall H. McGuire, eds., Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1986, 48-51.

⁴ Snow, "Protohistoric Rio Grande Pueblo Economics," 362-363.

Southern Plains in the Texas Panhandle and western Oklahoma.⁵ The trade route then branched northeast to Quivira, the Caddoan agricultural center in present west-central Kansas, and southeast along the Red River to east Texas and Louisiana as far as the Mississippi Valley.⁶ Puebloans exchanged turquoise, cotton shawls, obsidian, corn, bird feathers, tobacco, and pottery for Teya bison products and Alibates flint.⁷ During this period, eastern villages became the dominant commercial powers among the Pueblos. Other notable changes included ceramic specialization among the Pueblos, a contrast with the

⁵ These are the Teya that Bolton, Newcomb, John and others have viewed as one branch of the Jumanos. See Newcomb, Indians of Texas, 225-245; John, Storms Brewed, 78. For sources on the Jumano problem, see Chapter 1, footnote 20. Some scholars believe Teya once occupied the stone houses of Antelope Creek Focus villages along the Canadian River ca. A.D. 1150-1450, radically changing their subsistence strategies due to deteriorating climatic conditions and the first signs of intruding Athapaskans. See Albert H. Schroeder, "A Re-Analysis of the Routes of Coronado and Oñate in the Plains in 1541 and 1601," Plains Anthropologist 7 (1962): 2-22. For additional speculation as to Antelope Creek Focus origins and demise, see Christopher Lintz, "The Southwestern Periphery of the Plains Caddoan Area," Nebraska History 60 (1979): 173-179.

⁶ Timothy G. Baugh and Fern E. Swenson, "Comparative Trade Ceramics Evidence for the Southern Plains Macroeconomy," Oklahoma Anthropological Society Bulletin 29 (1980): 99-100; Timothy G. Baugh, "Southern Plains Societies and Eastern Frontier Pueblo Exchange during the Protohistoric Period," Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico 9 (1984): 158-160.

⁷ Baugh, "Southern Plains Societies and Eastern Frontier Pueblo Exchange," 158; Snow, "Protohistoric Rio Grande Pueblo Economics," 362; Katherine Spielmann, "Late Prehistoric Exchange between the Southwest and Southern Plains," Plains Anthropologist 28 (1983): 257-258.

earlier homogeneity of the regional black on white tradition. Pottery production became more common in Pueblos that had not previously spent much energy on this activity. Even more interesting, ritual life among Pueblos intensified during this period, expanding the need for ceremonial paraphernalia, which in turn sharpened exchange patterns and activities.⁸

Some archeologists argue that an important characteristic of these protohistoric Pueblo-Plains relations was an increased interdependency. Katherine Spielmann asserts that these relations were primarily based on "the trade of complementary foods--corn (carbohydrates) for bison meat (protein)." ⁹ In the process of trade, other items were exchanged. Spielmann shows that the exchange of durable goods was of two types: "(1) utilitarian items (both raw materials and finished objects) that are actively sought by the interacting populations, and (2) materials used for gifts (minor utilitarian or luxury finished objects, possibly some raw material)."¹⁰ Both Caddoans on the Southern Plains' eastern edges and Puebloans

⁸ Snow, "Protohistoric Rio Grande Pueblo Economics," 362-365.

⁹ Spielmann, "Late Prehistoric Exchange," 257. Dolores Gunnerson suggests a similar dietary need of Apaches to obtain Pueblo corn because the Southern Plains was "a region where vegetal food was not abundant." Gunnerson, "The Southern Athabascans," 347-348.

¹⁰ Ibid., 258.

to the west were sedentary horticulturalists. Plains hunter-gatherers provided these village peoples with bison meat in exchange for needed corn. Each thus possessed subsistence resources the other lacked. As Spielmann argues, "In a mutualistic relationship we are dealing with distinct cultures; distinct, different modes of adaptation; and different environments.... With hunter-gatherers present on the Southern Plains, the potential existed for mutualism to evolve with horticultural populations bordering the Plains."¹¹ Spielmann believes that such a mutualism based on the nutritional value of food items developed in the region.

Timothy Baugh advances a similar argument but employs models derived from Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory and ideas of Fernand Braudel.¹² Like Spielmann, Baugh demonstrates how distinct ecological variables were important in New Mexican-Plains relations, contributing to very different social, economic, and political structures. However, Baugh stresses social and political considerations more than Spielmann. In discussing the process by which the "Southern Plains macroeconomy" brought about a system of dependency, Baugh states:

¹¹ Ibid., 258, 269.

¹² Baugh's model can be distinguished from the models of Wallerstein and Thomas Hall by its emphasis on the "interaction" occurring in a relationship of interdependency, as opposed to the "incorporation" occurring in such a relationship.

The concept of dependency is social as well as economic in nature and requires an understanding of complementary and convergent systems. A complementary structure may be defined as that process whereby two or more societies employing dissimilar subsistence strategies form interactive components in a balanced or reciprocal economy. Such interactive components result not only in economic linkages but social and political ties as well. The formation of a complementary structure may lead to analogous social divisions which are defined as convergent or merging structures.... [Thus] the concept of dependency becomes one of the key principles underlying the development of the Southern Plains macroeconomy in the fifteenth century. Such mutually dependent relationships account for complementary and convergent structures which integrate cultural adaptations to different ecological niches within the same social system.¹³

Baugh sees the larger macroeconomy as a single social system of alliances based on economic reciprocity and redistribution.¹⁴ It linked social, economic, and political structures through an extensive and widely dispersed division of labor. The system continued operating well into the historic period, though with modifications.¹⁵

In the long wake of Paquimé's collapse, the Southwest was transformed into a network of relations distinctly different from what had existed prior to 1300. Pueblo

¹³ Baugh, "Southern Plains Societies," 161.

¹⁴ There is a fairly substantial literature on dependence and dependency. On the difference in meaning between the two, see Richard White, Roots of Dependency, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983, pp. xv-xix. Also see Jay Guricen, "The Importance of Dependency in Native American-White Contact," American Indian Quarterly 3 (1977): 16-36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 160-161. Elizabeth John briefly mentions this trading network, but she refers to Teya as Jumanos and as nonCaddoan. See John, Storms Brewed, 169-170.

villages shrank in number but grew in size during the period from 1300-1450. Eastern Pueblos, particularly Pecos and the Salinas Pueblos, eventually responded to the political and economic realignments by creating advantageous alliances with Teyas on the Southern Plains. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Pueblo-Plains alliances had evolved into a far-reaching system of interdependence stretching from the Southwest to the Mississippi Valley. Perhaps the most significant challenge to the system involved adapting to the Athapaskan intrusion into the region. Strategies chosen by Puebloans at Pecos and other villages to deal with the Athapaskans had the effect of disrupting established Plains-New Mexican relations. Caddoans were not pleased with these strategies.

Imposing Change on the System: Querechos and Pecos

As mentioned above, scholars date the Athapaskan arrival on the Southern Plains at sometime between 1500 and 1520.¹⁶ At this time, or very soon thereafter, Querechos laid territorial claim to lands along the northern part of the Canadian River near the previously inhabited Antelope Creek Focus. Querechos henceforth claimed these lands and territory stretching west toward Pecos and north onto the treeless Plains. They held these lands until Comanches displaced them in the early 1720s.

¹⁶ See above, Chapter One, pp. 35-38.

What lured or pushed the Querechos onto the Southern Plains, and why they chose to establish homelands along the Canadian River, is impossible to say with any certainty. Dolores Gunnerson claims that far larger than usual bison herds moved south into the area in the early 1500s, and she suggests this might be attributed to Athapaskans both following the herds and pushing them.¹⁷ Another possible reason for the migration south is related to Gunnerson's suggestion. The push-pull relationship of the bison hunter and his prey might well have been exacerbated by climatic conditions which created forage conditions that forced bison migration to more suitable pasture. A third, fourth, and fifth possible reason for the Athapaskan move south concern, respectively, Puebloans telling Apaches about the Canadian River Valley, Apaches stumbling onto the Canadian while on an extended hunt, and population pressures from Shoshoneans to the north. Whatever the reasons for the Athapaskans choosing to move onto the Southern Plains, the Querechos, as will presently be made clear, liked what they found along the Canadian and used the area as a base for their annual round. Perhaps the most significant result of the move was another realignment in the region's intertribal relations.

Several consequences followed from the Querecho move into the Canadian River area. It is unknown whether

¹⁷ Gunnerson, "Man and Bison on the Plains in the Protohistoric Period," Plains Anthropologist 17 (1972): 3, 6.

Querechos displaced Caddoans who may have been occupying the area. The abandonment of Antelope Creek by Caddoans by the late 1400s could have been a result of Athapaskan pressures, but this has not been supported by any solid evidence. Some archeologists believe a drought in about A.D. 1450 caused the exodus.¹⁸ What scholars do agree on, however, is that by the time of Coronado's arrival in 1541, Querechos and Caddoans to the east were hostile to one another. This hostility lasted until the nineteenth century.

It is most likely that Plains Caddoans resented the intrusion of people who came not only to live in an area very close to their own but also to hunt bison and tap into their established trading system. Querechos created trading relationships with Pecos, Picuris, Taos, and perhaps other Pueblos. Trade between Pecos and Caddoans dwindled soon after Athapaskans entered the region. Teyas, however, continued trading with Tompiro-speaking natives at the Salinas Pueblos until the demise of these villages in the early 1670s.¹⁹

An incident in the early 1500s lends support to the claim that Teyas were dismayed over Querecho commerce with Puebloans. One of Coronado's men reported a Pueblo story about Teyas attacking Pecos and the nearby village of Tano,

¹⁸ Ibid., 2. For discussion of theories surrounding the origins and demise of Antelope Creek Focus, see Lintz, "The Southwest Periphery of the Plains Caddoans," 173-179.

¹⁹ John, Storms Brewed, 78, 170-171.

located in the Galisteo Basin, around 1525.²⁰ It is probable that this attack was a retaliatory response to Pecos and Tano trade with the newcomers. As will be explained in more detail in the next chapter, though trading relations were characterized by friendship and the exchange of gifts, they were also of a contractual nature requiring relatively strict adherence. Given the strong likelihood that Pecos and Querechos were trading by 1525, this new relationship could very well have been perceived by the Teyas as more than just a threat to their relations with Pecos. It could have been interpreted as dishonoring a contract, which consequently brought a specific response: negative reciprocity.²¹

In addition to disrupting the old system, Querechos also occupied Teya hunting grounds. Tompiros noted that Teyas were highly territorial. It was said that Teyas "were a brave people who used many arrows and would kill any trespassers on their domain."²² There is no doubt that Querechos established camps on Teya domain. This, in conjunction with Querecho trade with Pecos, would seem to have warranted an appropriate Teya response.

Why Pecos would break such a contract poses the next

²⁰ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 258; Gunnerson, "Southern Athapaskans," 348.

²¹ The 1525 date may mark initial Querecho trade relations with Pecos.

²² Hammond and Rey, The Gallegos Relation, 267.

logical question. By 1525, Pecos was the wealthiest, largest and most powerful of the Rio Grande Pueblos. She was well fortified, relatively heavily populated, and confident of her position. Though Apaches and Navajos later proved a major problem to many Rio Grande Pueblos, it is unlikely that the pedestrian dog-nomads would pose a threat to Pecos's status or have much control over her actions in the sixteenth century. Indeed, no record of such Pecos anxiety, or record of its being dominated by Apaches, has been uncovered. It is very likely that Athapaskan contact and trade with Taos and other northern Pueblos impressed Puebloans, and the word spread that the new neighbors had something to offer that Teyas did not. A perceived advantage in trading with the Apaches rather than with the Teyas could have resulted from considerations ranging from an Apache desire for more frequent contact than the Teyas, a friendlier and better tempered cultural exchange, Apache superiority over Teyas in hunting skills, or superior quality bison products (e.g., more refined tanning or skinning techniques). Perhaps, unlike the Teyas who traded with people to the east, the Querechos could focus more attention on Pecos than the Teyas were willing or able to give. Furthermore, it could have been the case that Apaches provided better or more numerous gifts.

Another consideration with respect to these relations is that Athapaskans may have created an alliance with Pecos

that included their being a buffer between Pecos to the west and the Teyas to the east. This could have removed much of the threat the Teyas could muster in retaliation for a broken contract. Interestingly, by the time of Coronado's arrival in 1540, Teyas were apparently once again friendly with Pecos.²³ Teyas nonetheless remained hostile to Querechos for the better part of three centuries. Whatever the reasons for a Pecos-Querecho trade system, it remains the case that Puebloans and Querechos chose to create a strong alliance and a lively pattern of exchange.

Using Baugh's terms, a greater degree of complementarity allowed for a smoother convergence of structures. Pueblo-Athapaskan interests, attitudes, and goals overlapped and intermeshed better than Pueblo-Caddoan interests. Given that Teyas maintained strong relations with Salinas Pueblos, the newly created system of relations may well have been a village-specific phenomenon that met the interests of those Pueblos who chose to trade heavily with Apaches. Likewise, there were probably good reasons other Pueblos did not or could not make the choice to trade with Canadian River Apaches, foremost of which were geography and logistics.

From the fifteenth century until well into the seventeenth, Pecos Pueblo remained the largest and most prosperous of all Pueblo villages. Its people realized

²³ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 258.

their position and boasted to Spaniards of their strength.²⁴ Plains Apaches were friendly with Pecos throughout historic times.²⁵ Pecos acted as the major Pueblo trading center for Plains products, many of which were traded to other Puebloans for cotton and other surplus items not produced at Pecos. The four-story buildings at Pecos provided enough space to house over 2,000 people and store--in addition to their own resources--the bison hides, meat, fat, Alibates flint, and other items bartered from Plains Indians.²⁶ Trade in bison products was extensive, and from its vantage point of proximity to other Pueblos, its central location, and as "gateway to the Plains," Pecos was ideally situated for trade.²⁷ Taos and Picuris provided traditional markets for more northerly Apaches, probably Jicarilla forebears,²⁸ but Pecos was located much nearer to the heart of Rio Grande Pueblo activity. Equally relevant, Apaches on the Canadian River could have walked a shorter distance traveling to Pecos than to other Pueblos.

²⁴ Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo," 436; John, Storms Brewed, 18.

²⁵ Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 1094; Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo," 436.

²⁶ Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590-1591, Santa Fe: The School of American Research, 1965, 87-98.

²⁷ Kenner, New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations, 11; Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo," 431.

²⁸ John, Storms Brewed, 74.

Logistics alone thus made it easier for other Puebloans interested in bison products to travel to Pecos, as well as for Canadian River Apaches interested in Pueblo contact to travel to Pecos.

Querecho Social Life on the Southern Plains

Describing late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Querecho life with any degree of precision is a difficult task. Historical evidence is thin. Most historians lean on Spanish descriptions of Querechos and their relations with Puebloan groups. These accounts are helpful and necessary, but a great deal of material from other sources exists for historians' use. Employing this additional information enhances an understanding of Querechos, their environment, and their relations with others in the region. Because of similarities in language and custom, most Spaniards lumped Apaches into one huge nation of Indians that lived in smaller "rancherias".²⁹ Spaniards later came to make distinctions between the various groups, yet by 1796 they still viewed these smaller divisions as "tribes."³⁰ In many ways this conception of Apache social organization was correct, but important subtleties continued to elude the Spaniards, and these

²⁹ Hammond and Rey, Coronado Narratives, 186; Forrestal, Benavides Memorial, 41.

³⁰ Matson and Schroeder, "Cordero's Description," 336.

nuances were at the heart of Apache social organization.

The Spaniards' relatively simplistic view notwithstanding, anthropologists have refined our understanding of the dynamics and complexity of Apache culture. Although much of the basis for Athapaskan social organization has been shown to have deep historical roots which all Athapaskans to some degree or another share, variations in social organization between different divisions of Athapaskans appear to have stemmed from individual and group choices based on distinctly different experiences that, in turn, led to different strategies of subsistence and different principles for organizing kinship. Important variables contributing to differences in social organization included environment and relations with other cultures or groups.³¹ Although differences between Athapaskans developed, important qualities shared by all Athapaskans persisted.

Studies in historical linguistics and comparative ethnography have established that Athapaskans were traditionally organized into bands of varying lineage and

³¹ This train of reasoning generally follows the ideas of Julian Steward on cultural ecology. For a brief, lucid discussion of Steward's conception of cultural ecology, see Robert F. Murphy, "Introduction: The Anthropological Theories of Julian H. Steward," in Evolution and Ecology: Essays on Social Transformation by Julian H. Steward, Jane C. Steward and Robert F. Murphy, eds., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977, 21-25.

residence rules.³² The core of Apache society, however, was the family. Apachean social organization was based on the extended family with matrilocality. Each nuclear family had a separate dwelling, but several families ordinarily formed a cluster of tipis occupied by persons related by blood and marriage who constituted the basic cooperative unit. Women were lifetime members of this social group. Men, who entered it through marriage, were obligated to contribute to its support and defense. A respected elder of the group, often a shaman, acted as its spokesman, and the unit was usually associated with his name. A number of extended families in the same general area who together exploited the area's resources comprised the local group. Local groups that were in loose contact and could call upon one another for ambitious undertakings and emergencies constituted named bands.³³ Spaniards described the size of these bands as ranging up to 50 tipis

³² Dyen and Aberle, Lexical Reconstruction: The Case of the Proto-Athapaskan Kinship System, 419-421; Richard J. Perry, "Proto-Athapaskan Culture: The Use of Ethnographic Reconstruction," American Ethnologist 10 (1983): 722. See also Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apache, 1, 6; James W. VanStone, Athapaskan Adaptations: Hunters and Fishermen of the Subarctic Forests, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1974, 44-47.

³³ Morris E. Opler, "The Apachean Culture Pattern and Its Origins," Handbook of North American Indians 10 (Southwest), Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1983, 369; Dyen and Aberle, 231-232; Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apache, 6-8.

or 400 people.³⁴

In the sixteenth century, Apache men sometimes took more than one wife, but this depended on the man's ability to support his nuclear family comfortably. The practice, consequently, was probably confined to the wealthiest individuals. Plural wives often came from the same family, and were frequently sisters, or from families desirous of gaining an affinal connection.³⁵ Divorce was also possible.

One very important aspect of marriage among eastern Apaches was the prohibition of certain types of marriage, including a rigorous taboo on cousin marriage. This prohibition forced males "to eliminate as marital partners members of his own generation with whom he [could] trace consanguineal connection."³⁶ Some anthropologists believe that environmental and political circumstances created the demand for such restrictions. As Isidore Dyen and David Aberle explain,

The conditions of life of the Kiowa Apache, Lipan, at

³⁴ Schroeder, A Study of Apache, 218.

³⁵ Dyen and Aberle, Lexical Reconstruction, 232. Opler argues that the Lipán were not polygamous. He apparently bases this on twentieth century practices. However, Lipán legends mention polygamy, as does the historical record. See Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipán, 43 and 43 fn.; Sjoberg, "Lipán Apache Culture," 92. Most other Athapaskans allowed sororal polygyny. For examples, see Goodwin, Social Organization, 351; VanStone, Athapaskan Adaptations, 53; Basso, Western Apache Witchcraft, 17.

³⁶ Dyen and Aberle, Lexical Reconstruction, 232.

least some Jicarilla, Chiricahua, and Mescalero, then, seem to have involved expansion and organization, contraction and re-organization, dependence on fluctuating resources, mobilization for offense and defense in units of fair size--a whole series of factors that would tend to make an organization dependent on alliances through cross-cousin marriage ineffective and to undermine clans and descent groups if they were present. The conditions of life of the Navajo and San Carlos, on the other hand, involved a considerable agricultural dependency, greater fixity of group membership, and clan and descent group organization. The Navajo picture is modified by the increasing importance of herding, leading to more movement of families than in San Carlos.³⁷

Implied by such strategies for social organization is, in the case of the Lipán, a broad, loose network of kinship relations. Sixteenth and seventeenth century Querechos were thus thinly distributed over a great deal of territory, yet bound by the strength and elasticity of blood and marriage ties. This made for a very fluid society wherein the individual, though connected by kinship ties, possessed a greater degree of choice and autonomy than he would have in more tightly knit social systems like those of the sedentary, agricultural Pueblo Indians. Nonetheless, autonomy and power among Athapaskans was almost always something earned.

Among other facets of Plains Apache society were strict views concerning respect and honesty. Infidelity of a wife was treated as taboo, and, if caught, the woman's ears and nose were cut off.³⁸ Elders commanded the general

³⁷ Ibid., 234.

³⁸ Forrestal, Benavides Memorial, 42-43.

obedience and respect of others, unless they proved not to deserve it. Given that knowledge was deemed a particular form of power, the knowledge that elders held usually carried a wide range of practical and spiritual value for the group. In the same vein, a shaman's knowledge of the supernatural, medicine, and curing procedures was as highly regarded as the talents of a great leader.³⁹ On the less dramatic, though no less significant family level, children were obliged to respect their parents. Fray Alonso de Benavides commented in 1630 that Apache parents "teach and punish their children, in contrast to other [Indian] nations, who never punish them at all."⁴⁰

A keen regard for self-respect complemented the Apaches' respect for others. Spaniards frequently reported how Apaches esteemed individual honor. One of Coronado's men testified that the Querecho were "a gentle people, not cruel, and are faithful in their friendship."⁴¹ Benavides stated that Apaches "take great pride in telling the truth, and to be detected in falsehood is considered a disgrace."⁴² Courage in battle also lent substance to a

³⁹ Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 170, 207; Åke Hultkrantz, The Religions of the American Indians, Monica Setterwell, trans., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, 85-88.

⁴⁰ Forrestal, Benavides Memorial, 42.

⁴¹ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 262.

⁴² Forrestal, Benavides Memorial, 42.

man's honor and self-respect. Querecho courage was almost universally acknowledged by both Spaniards and others.

Animated behavior tempered this more serious side of Apache character. Obregon described sixteenth century Apaches as "lively." Writing of his 1598 encounter with Plains Apaches, Juan Montoya characterized them as a "robust people." Benavides compared Apaches to other natives and noted that "even in their manner of talking they differ from the other nations, for the latter speak slowly and in a low tone, while the Apaches seem to fracture their skulls with their speech."⁴³ Some Spaniards thought them equally animated in sign language. One of Coronado's men admiringly wrote of the Querechos, "These people were so skillful in the use of signs that it seemed as if they spoke. They made everything so clear that an interpreter was not necessary."⁴⁴ However, not appreciating spirited Apache pride and character, and indeed viewing such confidence as arrogance stemming from pagan barbarism, many Spaniards

⁴³ George Hammond and Agapito Rey, Obregon's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America, Los Angeles, 1928 (orig. pub. in Mexico, 1584), 305; Hammond and Rey, New Mexico in 1602: Juan Montoya's Relation of the Discovery of New Mexico, Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1938, 51; Forrestal, Benavides Memorial, 42.

Though Oñate's men perceived Puebloans in 1600 as "docile" (Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 851), the apparent low-toned slowness of speech described above by Benavides may well have been a consequence of Spanish conquest and oppression of Pueblo people. Benavides's 1623 arrival in New Mexico followed more than two decades of Spanish domination of the region.

⁴⁴ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 235.

wished to compress this vitality into its "proper" place. Native vigor tended to threaten, among other things, the Spaniards' ability to maintain social, military, and psychological authority.

Spanish insecurities about Indian strength aside, the booming sixteenth century Plains Apache economy and the structure of relations between Puebloans, Querechos, and Caddoans reinforced perceptions of Apache superiority and justified Apache self-confidence. Experience in the activities of intertribal politics and economics provided a significant part of any empirical explanation of Apaches' perceptions of their own superiority. Their mastery of hunting spurred further self-confidence. Moreover, by taking sixteenth century Apache philosophy into account, an important additional explanation for Apache confidence emerges. Attending to all of these phenomena--intertribal trade and diplomacy, bison hunting, worldview, and social organization--reveals the complex fabric of meaning and action in Querecho reality. Spaniards never understood these complexities, and neither have many historians.

Subsistence Strategies of Querechos

Contrary to the opinions of some that the Querecho diet consisted simply of bison meat or a combination of bison and corn, evidence shows that these people enjoyed a broader range of foods, acquired during seasonal Querecho

migrations. The Querecho migrations sought to combine Plains bison hunting, fruit and nut gathering near the Canadian River, and trading with Pueblos.⁴⁵ Locations for Querecho seasonal habitations corresponded to a yearly food cycle. This food cycle reflected an understanding of precisely when certain foods were best obtained and, just as vital, how to survive when these foods were unavailable or in short supply.⁴⁶ Bison hunting was, when possible, a year-round activity, though was most rewarding in the summer and fall. Various fruits and nuts ripened from late spring to early fall. Trade fairs in the summer, fall, and winter provided opportunity to barter for foods grown by Pueblo farmers. Late winter and most of the spring were comparatively lean months. During these months, foods preserved from fall resources and winter trade fairs sustained the Canadian River Apaches. Central to the food cycle, however, were bison.

⁴⁵ Antelope and bear on the Plains may have been additional sources of food. See William Brandon, Quivira: Europeans in the Region of the Santa Fe Trail, 1540-1820, Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990, 11; Jean Louis Berlandier, The Indians of Texas in 1830, John C. Ewers, ed., and Patricia Reading Leclercq, trans., Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1969, 46.

⁴⁶ Northern Athapaskans also engage(d) in seasonal migrations over relatively large land areas to take advantage of game hunting, fishing, and gathering plant foods. Studies that deal with Northern Athapaskan seasonal rounds include James W. VanStone, Athapaskan Adaptations: Hunters and Fishermen of the Subarctic Forests, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1974, 23-32, 37-42; Hugh Brody, Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981, 190-213.

Bulls stayed separate from cows most of the year. During the late spring and summer months, bulls congregated with cows for the rut. Herds were at their largest this time of year.⁴⁷ Sizeable herds and newly born calves provided hunters with more targets and tender veal. Because bison shed their thick coats in early summer and took most of the fall to grow them back, luxuriant bison robes and blankets highly prized by Puebloans and Apacheans were not yet available. Consequently, the summer hunts probably functioned to acquire meat, tools, and skins for clothing and tipis. Amenable weather also furnished the necessary time to tan hides, refine tools, and create clothing in the open air.⁴⁸

Meat, tallow, and other edible parts provided a substantial portion of the Plains Apache diet. These were eaten raw, cooked, or preserved in the form of jerked meat or pemmican. Meat was also regularly traded for Pueblo corn

⁴⁷ Spaniards who ventured across the Plains did so during the late spring, summer, and early fall months. The large numbers of bison they described were probably herds congregated for the rut.

⁴⁸ Admittedly, these activities could also have been performed in the comfort of a tipi in colder weather, and it would also have given people something to do. Tanning, however, was a messy process. Apaches in general were noted for their cleanliness, and Lipanes were considered the cleanest and best groomed of all Apaches. It is unlikely they would have dragged bloody carcasses into their homes. For Apache health and cleanliness, see Matson and Schroeder, "Cordero's Description," 338, 355; Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 186.

and other goods.⁴⁹

Although bison hunting served to sustain a crucial part of the Querecho diet and economy, it also served individual and social purposes beyond mere subsistence. Male and female roles stemmed in large part from the division of labor associated with the hunt, though this division was not rigid. Men generally hunted and manufactured the weapons and tools needed for the hunt, but they assisted women in other tasks.⁵⁰ Women were generally responsible for gathering plant foods, tanning hides, and caring for children while the men hunted or engaged other tribes in war. Women also gathered bison chips or wood for fuel and did most of the cooking. However, women sometimes participated in both hunting and warring. Similarly, the role of shaman was assumed by both males and females. In ceremonies where herbalism figured importantly, females often predominated.⁵¹ Women acquired their knowledge of plants in their frequent searches for other foods. As will be mentioned in the next chapter, gender divisions were also sharply evident in religious matters, particularly in

⁴⁹ Bolton, Coronado, 246; Schroeder, A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590-1591, 67.

⁵⁰ Plains Apaches used bows and arrows, lances, war clubs, and leather shields (the latter two items being reserved for combat). Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 852; Forrestal, Benavides Memorial, 53.

⁵¹ Opler, "The Apachean Culture Pattern and Its Origins," 370-371.

reference to issues of supernatural power.

Scholars have not recognized the variety of plant foods gathered by Plains Apaches. Instead, both historians and anthropologists have assumed the common "bison traded for corn" model, or the comparably simple "bison for Pueblo goods" model, as the basis for contact between Apaches and Puebloans. Spanish accounts provide a corrective to these scholarly misconceptions.

On their trek along the Canadian River in early July 1598, Oñate and his men reported the region to be rich in edible vegetation. After several days walking along the Canadian, Oñate wrote,

we found it green and delightful, bordered everywhere by vines and fruit trees, whereupon we came to realize that it was one of the best rivers that we had seen anywhere in the Indies.... Here we were met by some Indians of the nation called Apache.... They brought us some small fruit, black and yellow, which abounds everywhere along that river. These were the size of small tomatoes and gave every indication of being healthful, for although we ate them without restraint, no one suffered any ill effects.⁵²

After several days march farther east along the river, one of Oñate's men described how "wherever we went the land looked better," and added,

the land was also rich in fruits, particularly of infinite varieties of plums, as different in flavor as the ones that are cultivated in well-tended gardens in our own country.... In the more than one hundred and fifty leagues hardly a day passed that we failed to find groves of them, or grapevines, which, even when found in remote places, produced sweet and tasty

⁵² Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 747-748.

grapes.⁵³

The expedition also reported finding walnuts and mulberries in the same region.⁵⁴ Similar descriptions of the Canadian River area's wealth of fruit and nuts were reported 250 years later in 1845.⁵⁵ It is clear that an abundance of nuts, fruits, and berries supplemented and enhanced the high protein bison meat diet of the Canadian River Apaches.

Southern Plains Indians also used the buffalo currant, chokecherry, prickly pear, and prairie turnip indigenous to the area.⁵⁶ Dried berries were added to pemmican for flavoring.⁵⁷ Pemmican is a concentrated food consisting, in its most basic form, of lean meat dried, pounded fine, and mixed with fat. It was used for trail food and trade, as well as for winter or emergency rations because it kept for years.⁵⁸ A modern pemmican authority, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, has shown cases "are on undisputed record where [pemmican] packages, shielded only by rawhide, were in good

⁵³ Ibid., 748.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 540.

⁵⁵ Susan Delano McKelvey, Botanical Explorations of the Trans-Mississippi West, Jamaica Plain, Mass: Arnold Arboretum, 1955, 935.

⁵⁶ Kelly Kindscher, Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie: An Ethnobotanical Guide, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1987, 177, 184, 196.

⁵⁷ For a description of the process by which pemmican was made, see Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 262. See also Kindscher, Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie, 29-32.

⁵⁸ Kindscher, 29-31.

condition after ten, twenty and more years, without any preservative, such as salt."⁵⁹ Stefansson adds, "That pemmican is a complete food, maintaining full health and strength indefinitely, the Indians had doubtless known for centuries."⁶⁰ Such a healthy diet would seem necessary for the nourishment of a people known to travel--on foot--in excess of fifty miles in a single day. The rigor of Querecho activities and their healthy diet help explain why Coronado remarked that these people "have the best physique of any I have seen in the Indies."⁶¹

The picture presented here of the Querecho food stock throws into question theories like Spielmann's which suggest a dependency relation between Querechos and Pueblos in which "the primary focus of...exchange was on the trade of complementary foods."⁶² Puebloans' metabolism may have needed Plains bison protein, but this seems doubtful since Pueblo women grew beans and their men hunted deer, turkey,

⁵⁹ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Not By Bread Alone, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946, 178-179, cited by William Brandon, Quivira: Europeans in the Region of the Santa Fe Trail, 1540-1820, Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990, 261.

⁶⁰ Stefansson, Not By Bread Alone, 198, cited in Brandon, Quivira, 261.

⁶¹ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 186. One of Coronado's men, the priest Castañeda, similarly remarked that Querechos were "better proportioned, greater warriors, and more feared" than Pueblo Indians. *Ibid.*, 261-262.

⁶² Spielmann, "Late Prehistoric Exchange," 257.

and even, on occasion, bison.⁶³ Zaldivar was quite enthusiastic about the quality of bison meat and fat, and perhaps Puebloans had developed a craving for it, but this hardly fits the biological criteria that Spielmann uses to characterize the dependency relationship.⁶⁴

Given the evidence above, Querechos appear not to have depended, in the dietary or biological sense, on Pueblo foods. On the contrary, they apparently had ample reserves of food of high quality, on which they held a virtual monopoly. This does not, however, exclude a political, economic, or social dependency of the sort Baugh suggests. The nature of the latter form of dependency will be discussed in more detail below.

Because of the central role of bison and the hunt in Southern Plains Apache life, further discussion, which will shed light on additional aspects of Plains Apache culture, is appropriate. Spaniards judged the Querechos to be masters of the hunt. Querecho dexterity with the lance, war club, and bow and arrow impressed Coronado and others. The natives' adroit skinning techniques equally caught the Spaniards' attention. Whether waiting crouched in the path of a single bull or mixing among an entire roaming herd,

⁶³ Alfred V. Kidder, Pecos, New Mexico: Archaeological Notes, Andover: Phillips Academy, 1958, 123; Schroeder, "Pecos Pueblo," 434.

⁶⁴ For Zaldivar's description of the superb quality and flavor of bison meat and fat, see Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 402.

Querechos appeared quite confident and cool-headed in the hunt.⁶⁵

Well-trained dogs were used as beasts of burden, enabling Querechos a high degree of mobility before, during, and after the hunt. Even when a ranchería or an entire band needed moving, well constructed bison tipis and other goods remained at a compact minimum. These provisions loaded easily on the "packs of dogs harnassed with little pads, pack-saddles, and girths."⁶⁶ Oñate's nephew reported in 1598 that Apaches possessed "large droves" of these pack dogs. Gunnerson points out that this statement lends support to Benavides' comment of 1630 that 500 dogs normally made up the pack trains of Vaquero Apaches, giving some indication of the volume of Apache-Pueblo trade at the time.⁶⁷

When the band traveled together, one woman led the

⁶⁵ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 53, 262, 310. See also Dolores Gunnerson, "The Southern Athapaskans," 346-347. Unlike many Indians, including some Puebloans, the Querechos and other Plains Apaches were not frightened by bison, either at a distance or at close range. Gunnerson argues that the fear experienced by some was a result of relatively infrequent exposure to the bison herds, particularly in those tribes and groups who were traditionally agriculturalists and sometimes forced by necessity to hunt when a crop failed. See Dolores Gunnerson, "Man and Bison on the Plains in the Protohistoric Period," Plains Anthropologist 17 (1972): 1-3.

⁶⁶ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 262; Gunnerson, "The Southern Athapaskans," 347; Charles L. Kenner, A History of New Mexican Plains Indian Relations, 7.

⁶⁷ Gunnerson, "Man and Bison on the Plains," 6.

pack of dogs, followed by the remaining women and children. Women cared for the beasts of burden, feeding them and occasionally responding to a howling dog whose saddle slipped and needed adjusting. The men walked in battle array to one side within sight of the women, children, and laden dogs, scouting for the enemy or for game.⁶⁸

Describing Querecho techniques for dressing and processing a bison carcass, one of Coronado's men wrote that

when these Indians kill a [bison] cow, they clean a large intestine and fill it with blood and put it around their necks to drink when they are thirsty.... They cut open the cow at the back and pull off the skin at the joints, using a flint the size of a finger, tied to a small stick, doing this as handily as if they used a fine large tool. They sharpen the flints on their own teeth. It is remarkable to see how quickly they do it.⁶⁹

Tools were also crafted from bison bone and, together with tanned hides, jerked meat, tallow, deerskins, and pemmican, they comprised most of the principal goods used in exchanges with Pecos, Taos, and Picuris Pueblos.⁷⁰ Querechos swapped these items for Pueblo corn, blankets, pottery, tobacco, feathers, and other items.⁷¹ The function of these items within Canadian River Apache culture will be described

⁶⁸ Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 853; Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 262.

⁶⁹ Hammond and Rey, Narratives of Coronado, 262.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 261.

⁷¹ Ibid., 258-261; Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 864, 870-871; Hammond and Rey, Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition, 142.

shortly.

Spielmann contends that many of these goods served utilitarian functions and social purposes, albeit as epiphenomena with respect to the primary impetus for trade: dietary dependency. In her view, utilitarian items were generally unavailable locally. Gift items symbolized an affirmation of social ties between the groups, but Spielmann attributes secondary importance to gift exchange and social ties.⁷²

The entrance of Apaches on the Southern Plains brought changes to a pre-existing system of relations, while creating a new system of interaction between Pecos Pueblo and Plains Apaches. Plains Apaches engaged Pecos in a trade. A lively exchange between these groups involved Puebloans bartering turquoise, cotton shawls, obsidian, corn, bird feathers, and tobacco for Apache bison biproducts, an exchange which was sharpened by the intensification of Puebloan ritual life. The development of the Pecos-Plains system witnessed a rise in the political and economic power of Pecos in relation to other Rio Grande Pueblos, and the establishment of Apache hegemony on the Southern Plains. By focusing on the worldview of the Lipán, the next chapter provides a very different evaluation of gift exchange, social ties, and the nature of interpersonal and intergroup relations than has previously been put forth.

⁷² Spielmann, "Later Prehistoric Exchange," 258, 269.

Implicating the dimension of the Apache conceptual world in an assessment of Plains-New Mexico relations furnishes more than merely a richer picture of these relations. It also forces a revision of our understanding of these relations, a revision that emphasizes a metaphysical interdependency between the Lipán Apache and Pecos, and deemphasizes the centrality of a nutritional, economic, or political mutualism. It will be argued that the main reason for other interpretations having missed this fundamental distinction has to do with their underlying epistemological assumptions.

Chapter Four: Lipán Worldview

To best understand how Lipanes approached the seasonal round, their relations with other Indians, and their later contact and dealings with Spaniards, an effort must be made to understand the conceptual framework within which Canadian River Apaches perceived the world around them. Given the paucity of information on the specifically Lipán worldview, the present study will look at some important ideas that Lipanes are known to have possessed, specifically their creation myth and views on power, and examine some significant, pervasive beliefs held by all Athapaskans, whether in Canada, the Pacific Coast, or in the Southwest, which the Lipán certainly adhered to. Variations in the precise shape of these beliefs undoubtedly occurred between groups. Such variations will be of less concern here than the concepts shared by all Athapaskans. The comparative approach adopted in this paper focuses on these shared patterns, and in this way provides a substantive means for carefully using modern ethnographic material. Where possible, historical documents will be cited which shed light on and support this chapter's reconstruction of fundamental Lipán beliefs.

The reconstruction of Querecho/Lipán worldview

completed, the study will turn to ways that these beliefs may have influenced Apache choices when facing particular situations. The present chapter argues that the Lipán cosmos was one in which reciprocity and power informed specific kinship and nonkin relations. Contrary to arguments stressing various sorts of economic and political mutualism between Plains and New Mexican groups, it will be argued here that the context for food exchange, economic activity, and political benefits was, from the perspective of Plains Apaches, bound within a system of fundamental metaphysical assumptions.

Lipán Views on Power

Central to sixteenth century Querecho philosophy were several pervasive beliefs related to power, ideas which in many ways shaped and tempered other beliefs. From the perspective of all Athapaskans, nature was suffused with supernatural power, and all things both animate and inanimate had life and volition. Lowell John Bean states that "a rock picked up casually may have power, an animal encountered may be a normal one or may have some extraordinary degree of power, or, most awesome of all, it may be a were-animal [witch in animal form]."¹ Power was

¹ Lowell John Bean, "Power and Its Application in Native California," in The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World, Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams, eds., New York:

to be respected, but not always feared. Potentially either positive or negative, power could be manifested in a multitude of ways.² Describing Western Apache views on power, Keith Basso writes:

Power, in its di yih meaning, is a supernatural force which man may obtain under certain conditions from all phenomena of the Apache universe.... When used properly, di yih serves as a vital tool, not only as an aid to the individual in his day-to-day existence, but also as a safeguard against the very source from which it is derived. To ward off lightning, one needs lightning power; to kill bear, bear power; to cure snake sickness, snake power.³

Richard Perry argues that this conception of power vis-a-vis reality is "ubiquitous among Athapaskan groups with striking conformity between the Subarctic and the Southwest...[and] has also been noted for Athapaskan groups of the Pacific Coast."⁴

Bean contends that as a live, volitional force, power carried social attributes, and the Athapaskan universe was perceived as an "interacting social system of power holders, within which [man] is a central figure."⁵ There were rules

Academic Press, 1977, 119.

² Perry, "Proto-Athapaskan Culture," 723; Bean, "Power and Its Application in Native California," 118-119.

³ Keith H. Basso, "The Gift of Changing Woman," 150.

⁴ Perry, "Proto-Athapaskan Culture," 723. Bean similarly describes California Athapaskans in his article "Power and Its Application in California," 118-120. See also VanStone, Athapaskan Adaptations, 62-68; John R. Farella, The Main Stalk: A Synthesis of Navajo Philosophy, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1984, 37-38.

⁵ Bean, "Power in Native California," 119.

for this interaction, and how man acquired, kept, and used power was based on his or her knowledge of these "social" rules. Ambiguity often surrounded power and how to handle it. Bean notes that

power manifestations can be amoral, neutral, and unpredictable, not only because the powers may in themselves be quixotic, but because the powers may be, at any given moment, in their neutral attitudes. When they are neutral they are inherently dangerous, since proximity without "knowledge" or power may cause harm.... They may perform for or against man's benefit. Power beings are always considered to be a mixture of both good and bad essences, establishing what may be seen as a universe of balanced opposition. Only in recent times has power been defined as disparately good and evil.⁶

The degree of order perceived in the world reflected the constant state of balanced opposition and interaction of "persons" and their power. The integrity of the system, in terms of positive benefits, similarly mirrored the multiplicity of relations based on reciprocity, honest and fair dealings between power sources, respect, and a general integrity and strength on the part of the power sources involved. Morality per se centered on the participation of man, animal, plant--and all other phenomena--in the system's equilibrium. Consequently, a person's or group's actions should be oriented to assist this equilibrium. Power was a two-way street in which the individual and group tried to acquire and hold on to beneficial power, and to do so entailed using that power in prescribed ways that would

⁶ Ibid., 119-120.

maintain the proper balance of relations in the universe.⁷
Essential to man's acquisition of power was knowledge.

Knowledge of the "social rules" attributed to power was itself power. Knowledge was, in many aspects, controlled power in search of maintaining and strengthening itself. Within a group such as a family or band, knowledge functioned, ideally, as a means for individual and group strength; it served to benefit the people. Among Apaches, witches and witchcraft were understood as power sources that acted surreptitiously (as opposed to publicly) and used their power to bring on sickness, death, and certain forms of insanity. Anti-social witchcraft activities thus weakened individual's strength and undermined group cooperation.⁸

Knowledge was necessary to control power and to prevent its potentially harmful aspects from doing damage. A person's individual knowledge of any number of power sources allowed the person to make use of that power. Regarding this, Basso makes the important distinction that "it is not the source of a power that is holy, but rather the power itself."⁹ Basso goes on to describe this more

⁷ Ibid., 120; Basso, Western Apache Witchcraft, 30-31; VanStone, Athapaskan Adaptations, 59-61; Perry, "Proto-Athapaskan Culture," 723; Opler, "The Apachean Culture Pattern," 373; Farella, The Main Stalk, 67.

⁸ Basso, Western Apache Witchcraft, 5, 31-32.

⁹ Ibid., 31.

concretely:

Deer (bi), for example, are not themselves godiyó' (holy/power); they are hinda and, more specifically, itsi dajiyenihi (edible four-legged animals). Deer power (bi biyi), on the other hand, is godiyó'. Thus, a query such as bi godiyó'ne? (Is the deer holy?) will regularly elicit a negative response, whereas bi biyi (Is deer power holy?) will consistently be answered in the affirmative.¹⁰

Athapaskans acquired knowledge of power in one of two ways. First, a person could acquire knowledge through visions or dreams about the class of objects after which the power was named. Second, power could be obtained by purchasing from another person the chants, prayers, and ritual procedures that activate and control it. Power was perceived as a possession, and, once acquired, it could be utilized for a number of different purposes. Power was used, among other things, to ward off bad spirits, to diagnose and cure illness, to assist in the hunt, raiding, and warring, and to renew strength and vigor in the individual and the group.¹¹

The Lipán Oral Tradition

Athapaskans' knowledge of power and much else in the

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 30-31; Bean, "Power in Native California," 120-121; Farella, The Main Stalk, 67; VanStone, Athapaskan Adaptations, 60; Robin Ridington and Tonia Ridington, "The Inner Eye of Shamanism and Totemism," in Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy, Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, eds., New York: W. W. Norton, 1975, 198-199.

world around them fit into a broader conceptual framework of cultural knowledge that grew out of oral tradition. Each group collectively possessed stories about their origins, contracts made between certain animals and the group's heroes, ceremonies and rituals, and methods and reasons for raiding, and it possessed a wide repertoire of morally-tinged stories prescribing proper behavior. The stories reflect fundamental aspects of reciprocity in the world. Looking at two important Lipán myths provides a glimpse into their metaphysics. A thorough and careful analysis of all Lipán myths would be ideal, but would entail a separate volume. Noting certain specific and general qualities of the following two stories, however, will give sufficient insight into their distinctive content. Particular attention will be devoted to the Lipán origin myth.¹²

I. Origin Myth.¹³

In the Lipán origin myth, all living things inhabited the underworld. Wind, Crow, Beaver, and Badger were the first to emerge from the underworld. Badger was the only one of the four who faithfully returned to tell his fellows in the lower world that it was dry in the upper world of earth. Four men, Indians, were then sent to the world

¹² Opler has demonstrated how closely the Lipán and Jicarilla oral traditions resemble one another. The main distinction between the two is that the Jicarilla's stories show "ceremonial flourishes" reflecting their more sustained contact with Puebloans. Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 2-9.

¹³ In the present study's rendition, the stories are kept as similar as possible to those of the Lipán informants' recorded by Opler, though shortened considerably. The stories used are from Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 13-37.

above.¹⁴ From one of these men, Mirage was chosen to be made the things of the earth as we know it now. Then the other three set about fixing the world: making hills and mountains, a little lightning, little arroyos for water to run to, of Mirage they made all things of the earth. Everything was prepared for the people of the lower world to come up. Then the people of the lower world ascended to the upper world, and they are here now.

After their emergence, the people moved around the edge of the earth clockwise. All those people were animals, birds, trees, and bushes. Real humans had not yet arrived. Animals, birds, grass, and trees were people at that time and could talk as humans do. They had one language and could understand each other. These were the first people, who included rocks and plants. The different kinds of animals, birds, grasses and trees represent different tribes.

When humans started from the place of emergence, the first to stop were the western people, the Chiricahua perhaps. As they went along clockwise, different peoples dropped off. As they stopped they became different tribes and had different languages. All the northern tribes used the dog for a horse at this time as they moved north.

At the very end of the journey the Tonkawa dropped off with the Lipán. The Lipán were the very last to stop the journey and find a home. Now the people were all fixed.

When the people first came out and were going clockwise, the moon and the sun took the lead then. They were with the people. The sun is the man, the moon is the woman. The moon they call Changing Woman. These two said, "We'll go ahead. We will separate but we will meet each other." When they meet there is an eclipse. Before they left the people they said, "Nothing will disturb you people. Everything ahead is good for you people." The sun and the moon said, "We will take the lead now. We will keep on going. We will never stop, no matter what happens here on earth; we will always keep going." The moon is Changing Woman and the sun is Killer-of-Enemies. When he left this world he went back to the sun and he is there now.

Changing Woman was living at this time. Every time she had a child, the monster, Big Owl, would come. He would see tracks and say, "There is another child." He would come and eat the children. He did this several times before Killer-of-Enemies was born. This child was going to be a great person. In four days he came. Changing Woman put him under the fire place to hide him from Big Owl.

Soon the boy was strong. He could do anything now. Then his mother made him a little bow and arrow. It was for the little boy so that he could kill anything that came to

¹⁴ The sacred number of the Lipán was four.

fight him. Then Big Owl didn't bother him any more. When he was told that the boy belonged to Thunder he was afraid.

The boy was now grown up. He said he would go down to the flats and get after the buffalo. He saw the buffalo far out on the flats under a mesquite tree. It was open country all around and no one could approach the buffalo. Then Killer-of-Enemies came. He looked over there. He was a great one. Nothing was impossible to him. But he asked for a little help; he prayed. That was to show that no matter how strong we are we must ask for a little help. It was to show the human beings. So he asked help of Gopher.

Killer-of-Enemies wanted to get to the buffalo because the buffalo was killing the human beings all the time. Whenever anyone came near to him, the buffalo would kill him. Gopher helped Killer-of-Enemies by telling him how to kill Buffalo.

After Killer-of-Enemies killed the buffalo, he gave these orders to him, "Now it is the end of your killing these people," he said, "From now on you must be different. When the people are in need of anything from you, you must help them. Help them with your flesh, your fur, your skin, even your bones. You must be useful to the people."

Buffalo said, "All right, but they must not throw my flesh around carelessly. If they ever throw my meat or my skin around carelessly, I'm not going to stand for it. I'll be mean to the hunter." So today the hunter has to be very careful about this.¹⁵

After Killer-of-Enemies had settled everything with the buffalo, he started back to his mother. He said to her, "I have killed a certain one who has been killing the people." She told him about antelope, another animal doing damage to the people.

After killing the antelope on the forehead with his war club, Killer-of-Enemies resolved to kill all the monsters who were killing the people. Then Killer-of-Enemies gave orders to the antelope. He said, "You must not be as you were before. The people will use your skin, your flesh, and everything that you have." "I want you to give them a rule first," said Antelope. "Before I agree you must tell them not to leave any fur on the meat and never to swallow it that way." "All right," replied Killer-of-Enemies, "that is the way it shall be. They shall be clean and not mix fur and meat, but use them separately."

After this Changing Woman told her son about another monster, the eagle. Killer-of-Enemies found two giant eagles and two baby eagles in a nest. He eventually

¹⁵ Opler notes that most of the important game animals were once monsters who were forced to agree to aid humans, but who also imposed certain conditions on humans that had to be observed. Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 18n.

discovered a clever way to deal with them and killed three of the four, the two big ones and the older of the children. To the youngest eagle, Killer-of-Enemies said, "You will grow no more. After this eagles will be just your size." He gave another rule to that bird too. He said, "The people of this earth will respect you highly. In return, you must help them. They must use your feathers in ceremonies and prayer. They must mention your name."

II. Killer-of-Enemies and His Brother, Wise One, Slay More Monsters.

Changing Woman had two sons, Killer-of-Enemies came out first, then his twin was born, Wise One. Their mother kept these two apart at first. One, Killer-of-Enemies, lived under the fire while the other, Wise One, was brought up in the water.

The mother wanted to get the boys together now. Soon they were together all the time. The boys played together. They shot their bows and arrows.

Changing Woman told them, "You must not go over to that hill. It is a dangerous place." She warned them before they started to play. But they were playing and before they knew it they were right at that forbidden place. A woman was there. She came out and grabbed them and took them inside the hill. When she got them inside she turned the hill around so that they would lose their sense of direction and forget where the door was.

This big woman who had grabbed the boys chopped them up in very small pieces. Then she started to boil them. When she began to chop them up and put them in the kettle, Killer-of-Enemies said a few words of prayer. She turned her head away just then, and when she looked again Killer-of-Enemies had said a magic word and they were whole again. She chopped them up four times. but each time they were restored. She tried it four times more, but each time they were restored. She tried it four times more, but each of these four times Wise One said his magic word and they were restored each time. That woman was having a hard time. She chopped them up and put them in her earthen pot and turned her head, and every time they would be there, alive and well, when she looked again. She just couldn't kill them.

Then they both got tired of being chopped up like this. They shot her several times. They killed her with the fourth arrow. They played around there with her body, shooting at it. When they got back home they told their mother what had happened. The mother said to them, "Up that way is a little pool of water. In and around that water there is danger. Be careful. A dangerous water turtle lives in that water." Their mother warned them not to go there, but they wondered why and headed for that place. It was a clear blue pond. They played along the

bank. The turtle saw them and came out. They went a little way and the turtle came after them. Killer-of-Enemies put his forefinger on the shell. Then he couldn't get loose. He was stuck. The turtle headed for the water. Killer-of-Enemies licked his other hand. The turtle had to let go and went in the water alone. They played like that with the turtle. They got the best of the turtle. They kept on playing tricks on him. Finally the turtle was all worn out. He couldn't walk or carry anything. They picked him up then and carried him off to dry land far from the water. The water from that pool ran out then and the place where the water hole had been was now dry. After they were tired of playing with the turtle, they left it out on the dry land and went home. They told their mother what they had done.

Their mother said, "Why did you do that? You must take the turtle back to the place from which it came." They went out and got the turtle and threw it back in the water hole. The water hole filled up again; the water all came back to that place.

In the first of the two stories--the Lipán origin myth--we see humans and animals sharing the beginnings of the world on generally equal terms. Badger faithfully assists humans by telling them of the upper world. Humans respond and prepare the world for others. Animals, plants, and rocks are believed to hold the status of personhood, with languages and tribal associations later distinguishing them. These other "people" provide food and things beneficial to Lipanes in return for the Indians' respect.

The primary Lipán culture hero, Killer-of-Enemies, is equated with the sun, as Changing Woman is identified with the moon. Both are guides for Lipán morality. Just as the sun and moon initially took the lead and guided people over the earth in journeys to find homes, so too do the actions of Killer-of-Enemies and Changing Woman provide general direction for the actions of the Lipán. Opler states that

"According to Lipán belief, great virtue is attached to the exact duplication of ritual patterns which supernatural helpers have first established. These have blazed a 'path' which may be followed with ease and certain benefit."¹⁶

The seemingly impeccable memory of Apaches helps explain why these stories do not become altered much over time. Changes that did occur in these stories usually had to do with surface features, while the essence of the stories remained remarkably consistent over generations.¹⁷

The second story contains metaphors telling the listener about the restorative power of certain words as well as the danger in unnecessarily changing things. Confronting the old woman in the hill who chops up the hero twins, the boys' utterance of magic words made them whole again. Apaches believed words contained power, demanded respect, and were important. One reason for Apaches' strong

¹⁶ Ibid., 21 n.

¹⁷ Åke Hultrantz, Belief and Worship in Native North America, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981, 60. Only momentous circumstances provided impetus for major alterations in these stories. In the case of the Lipán, their acquisition and increasing dependence on horses stimulated perhaps the most significant seventeenth century "event" to affect their stories. Acquisition of the horse and its influence on Lipán stories will be detailed below.

Hultrantz has demonstrated how stories, like the religious beliefs they characterize, form not a uniform, coherent system of belief as much as "configurations of religious belief." A configuration of religious belief features, Hultrantz explains, "one complex of religious conceptions which occurs beside other complexes of religious conceptions....integrated with one another...into a whole." Hultrantz, Belief and Worship in Native North America, 45.

memories is their view that words evoked powers of the things they described. Similarly, saying the appropriate word in moments of danger, ill health, or similar circumstances provided assistance, medicine, or whatever else was needed to handle the situation.

The tricks the twins played on the turtle and his removal from the pond were met with Changing Woman's concerns about tampering with things in ways that could bring negative consequences. In this case the dry water hole resulted from play that needlessly tinkered with the order of things. Returning the turtle "back to the place from which it came" restored the water hole to its normal state. The concern for order in this story reflects a general conservatism in Apache belief, a conservatism continually supported by values that emphasized duplicating the moral behavior of culture heroes and ancestors.

Stories and legends played a particularly important role in Lipán society, and storytelling was not something taken lightly. Opler cites one informant describing how

The Lipan way was to give tobacco to a man if you wanted him to tell you stories or old traditions. After he used the tobacco there were no hard feelings between you, just good feelings and friendship. You would give him the tobacco and tell what you were giving it for, that you wanted to hear such and such a story. Everyone thought highly of tobacco.¹⁸

Persons holding status, medicine, or power were expected to have a thorough understanding of all stories related to

¹⁸ Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 8.

their specialties. Another of Opler's informants stated

My father said that before a man can be a chief, he has to know all about the chief's ways in the time when the birds and animals spoke. He has to know how they acted, he has to know all these stories of the chiefs among the animals and birds. Before he talks a great deal or gives orders he should know all about these stories and study them well. These are the "chief stories."¹⁹

Qualifications for shamans were likewise connected to understanding the stories that had a bearing on the shaman's powers. Regarding the central place of these stories in the Lipán belief system, Opler concludes that "the narrating of myths was a vital and serious undertaking invading the boundaries of social organization and ceremonial life, and, indeed, indivisible in a final sense from all other aspects of the culture."²⁰

Conceiving life as beginning with primordial relations established within the entirety of the phenomenal world, from which the first humans created a system of balanced order, Lipán metaphysics consisted of beliefs fusing the supernatural and the natural. Animate and inanimate objects contained volition and varying degrees of potential power. Humans had access to aspects of that power through visions, dreams, or "purchases," all of which helped to interpret and deal with specific circumstances. Oral traditions

¹⁹ Ibid..

²⁰ Ibid., 9. Elsewhere Opler makes the same point for other Apaches. See Morris E. Opler, Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians, New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1969, 1 n.

explained, among other things, how contractual agreements had been established with important game and ceremonially-related animals to provide the people with means of sustenance in exchange for proper respect for these animals. Knowledge of these and other stories instilled those possessing this knowledge with additional power with which to confront the world. Those who gained an intimate understanding of the natural and supernatural aspects of particular phenomena were considered shamans or leaders holding powers worthy of great respect.

Other Aspects of the Lipán Worldview

One important aspect of the Lipán worldview which the present study has not directly addressed is the notion that the system was ever in flux and constantly in need of rejuvenation. Ceremonial life fits into the system at this point, as does trading and social relations with other groups. Next to individual visions and dreams, this idea of flux, and how Apaches dealt with it, was the most essential ingredient in sustaining the strength and vitality of the group in the face of change. It involved a view stressing dynamic, productive, interactive relations with the world.

One way of comprehending the importance of the Apache perspective on change is to conceive power as entropic. That is, power gradually decreases over time, both in quality, quantity, and accessibility. Lowell Bean has

examined this view in the context of the thought of California Athapaskans. As he puts it,

This diminution of power has usually occurred because of improper treatment by man. Man has failed in his reciprocal responsibilities in an interdependent system. Consequently, as man or other beings create disequilibrium, man must strive to reestablish equilibrium--but it seems always to be restored at a less beneficial level than before. A very rapid loss of power has occurred since European contact, as knowledge was lost, but power is always partially retrievable as new rules for its maintenance are established.²¹

Questions could fairly be raised about whether entropy is a relatively recent idea in Indian metaphysics; that is, whether entropy is a concept stemming from contact with Whites and the eventual loss of power due to that contact. As much as White contact did indeed precipitate a decline in Indian self-determination and power, it appears that general notions of entropy were in play prior to contact with Whites. The contact period is important and will be discussed below, but for now it will be assumed that views concerning the diminishing nature of power were part of precontact conceptions of reality among Canadian River Apaches. To deal with the possibilities of declining power, the Apaches' response to entropy centered on efforts to "renew the world."²²

Scholars who have dealt with Apache values and beliefs

²¹ Bean, "Power in California," 120.

²² The phrase comes from the title of Howard L. Harrod's Renewing the World: Plains Indian Religion and Morality, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987.

associated with ritualism frequently cite attitudes and ideas surrounding Apache myths and legends or shamanistic practices; in the process, scholars have often missed the element of life renewal. From this view, Apache ritual behavior has been interpreted as action seeking only to resolve immediate issues, like curing and personal relations with the supernatural, rather than as behavior frequently directed toward both immediate and broader cosmological issues. Elements of the idea of renewal can be found in important Apache ceremonials.

The most significant group ritual for Apaches was, and is, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony. On the surface, the ceremony celebrates a young girl's entrance into womanhood, which ensures the continuation of the tribe, and prepares the girl for a useful and abundant life.²³ Scholars have most often viewed the ceremony from this perspective, emphasizing the girl's initiation into womanhood.²⁴ Claire Farrer's study of the Mescalero Girl's Puberty Ceremony brings a deeper interpretation to the event. Farrer argues

²³ H. Henrietta Stockel, Women of the Apache Nation, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991, 6.

²⁴ Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apache, 477; Opler, "The Apache Culture Pattern and Its Origins," 372-373; Hultkrantz, Belief and Worship in Native North America, 58; Morris E. Opler, Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society, Los Angeles: The Southwest Museum, 1946, 105-115. See also Dan Nicholas, "Mescalero Apache Girls' Puberty Ceremony," El Palacio 46 (1939): 193-204; Keith H. Basso, "The Gift of Changing Woman," 119-173; Thomas E. Mails, The People Called Apache, Englewood Cliffs, J.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974, 78.

that

the Ceremony is another way of creating, or recreating, the inherent goodness, beauty, balance and harmony of the world through the power of words, thoughts, and sounds as sanctified by uncounted repetitions through the generations and travels of the people. Orally, aurally, visually, and kinesically a metaphor is proposed that links the Mescalero Apache people to their beginnings and to their future. On a very basic level the message is a sexual one, but it is sex in perspective and with respect for all life.... The Ceremony accomplishes much more than the bringing together of the two biological elements; the Ceremony orders life as well.... Rather than a rite of passage, then, it seems more accurate to consider the Ceremony a rite of confirmation and a rite of intensification.²⁵

Though the ceremony's central subject is women, it is directed by men, powerful holy men of the group. These men are singers who know the words and meanings to the songs they sing that orchestrate the ceremony, which becomes a reenactment of creation by setting to sacred music the creation myth and other stories. The ceremony lasts four long days during which the singers must sing 64 different songs on each of the four nights. It is a complex affair that should not embrace any errors. Every aspect of the ceremony--from assembling the holy lodge in which the actual ritual takes place, to attending to the ceremonial girl's proper dress and ritual items, to the movement and position of people in relation to singers and the ceremonial girl, to the girl's basket of grama grass, pollen, eagle feathers,

²⁵ Claire R. Farrer, "Singing for Life: The Mescalero Apache Girls' Puberty Ceremony," in Southwestern Indian Ritual Drama, Charlotte J. Frisbie, ed., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980, 152-153.

and tobacco, to specific colors used in the ritual, to the games and gambling that periodically enter the four days' agenda, to the Mountain God dancers (Gahe) and clowns, to the circularity, balance, and repetition of dances, songs, prayers, and feasting, and to the stamina exhibited by the ceremonial girl in her hours of running and dancing-- reflects the religious and communal nature of the event.²⁶

The ceremonial girl becomes the embodiment of Changing Woman (also known as White Painted Woman). Through the course of the ritual drama of creation, the girl not only plays the character of the omniscient and patient Changing Woman, she in fact becomes Changing Woman by playing her part.²⁷ In some ways this reflects the Apache belief in the overlapping relations between thoughts, words, and actions, all of which express, create, and evoke powers to meet the circumstances of the moment. Mythic time merges with the lived present. Just as uttering a dead person's name brings the ghost of that person into the present, likewise Changing Woman is present in the girl imitating her. During the ceremony, the girl thus possesses great powers, for healing and for strength, and her power at this time is unequalled by any other participants except the clowns.²⁸ In similar yet broader terms, Paul Radin takes

²⁶ Ibid., 127-145.

²⁷ Ibid., 154.

²⁸ Ibid., 151.

into account all Native Americans in his claim that

the Indian does not make the separation into personal as contrasted with impersonal, corporeal with impersonal, in our sense at all. What he seems interested in is the question of existence, of reality; and everything else that is perceived by the senses, thought of, felt and dreamt of, exists.²⁹

Farrer explains how the puberty ritual contains the many important cultural attributes of Mescalero Apaches that define their group identity. The essence of the ceremony pertains to all Athapaskans. She writes,

The Ceremony may be thought of as possessing several layers; each layer is complete in itself, each has its own integrity. Yet recognition of the totality as a Ceremony depends upon the layers being in proper relationship to each other. The Singer provides the integrative force to bring together those things that allow the label "Mescalero Apache." ... The Singer integrates the layers through his recitations of tribal history; in song, explicitly and implicitly, he forges the union which ensures that Mescalero Apache life will continue as it has in the past. This is achieved through the attention to laws, values, and the underlying principles that permeate and define life. The girls, who impersonate White Painted Woman in the ritual enactment of her life-giving mysteries, are the vehicles through which life is continued....³⁰

Individual and communal values of strength, cooperation, and rejuvenation blend throughout the ritual. As one Mescalero described his people's rules,

the four laws of our people are honesty, generosity, pride, and bravery. And a great people, they cannot be great if they have no sense of generosity about

²⁹ Quoted in A. Irving Hollowell, "Ojibway Ontology, Behavior, and World View," in Stanley Diamond, ed., Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin, New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

³⁰ Farrer, "Singing for Life," 146-147.

them. For it is out of generosity that a man sees the world and what a man is worth in this world. He cannot be proud if he is not generous, as he has nothing to be proud for and brave for. He cannot be honest, for honesty has no basis if it is without generosity. So generosity, at the end, is the most important law that we have. It is the value we have cherished from the day we became a people to today.³¹

The Girl's Puberty Ceremony thus reveals the notion of renewal in Apache metaphysics. A final aspect of Apache beliefs that needs to be developed concerns the nature of power as gender relations.

As with other aspects of the Apache worldview, gender reflects balance and power in the cosmos as well as unpredictability. Killer-of-Enemies as the sun and Changing Woman as the moon show gender balance in the Lipán creation myth. The Girl's Puberty Ceremony combines, among other variables, the powers of fertility, wisdom, strength, and patience in the girl's embodiment of Changing Woman on the one hand, with the powers of the male singers' songs organizing the ritual as the first humans organized the beginnings of life on earth, on the other. Richard Perry has shown that all Athapaskans expressed an "ideological emphasis on femaleness."³²

Athapaskans understood the powerful emotions and resultant potential for transforming thought which sex and sexuality could have if given free reign. Although deemed

³¹ Ibid., 147.

³² Perry, "Proto-Athapaskan Culture," 723-725.

proper in certain situations, sexuality was perceived as potentially very harmful. Prohibitions were established to prevent libertinism, including rules dealing with premarital sex. Teenagers often succeeded in engaging in sexual activities before marriage, and virginity, though valued, was not considered absolutely imperative at the time of marriage. Premarital sex was clearly not, however, an activity which was publicly condoned.³³ In large part, the negative connotations attached to sexual relations stemmed from the belief that witchcraft was intimately associated with sexual activities. Both sexuality and witchcraft were topics that could not be discussed between members of opposite sexes, unless the persons were so old that sexual activity was not a concern.³⁴ Teenagers and young adults, under ordinary circumstances, carefully avoided physical contact with members of the opposite sex. Goodwin reveals some of the rules for the Western Apache:

A man had to refrain from touching certain parts of a woman not his wife, at all costs, unless in the course of love-making: the breasts, shoulders (for the breasts come from the shoulders), the legs, and especially the heels (for, when a woman squats, her heels come in contact with her private parts), the private parts, buttocks, and abdomen. Unwelcomed familiarities of this kind could be recognized social offenses if reported by the girl to her parents.... Such liberties were generally considered improper, and

³³ Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apache, 289-290.

³⁴ Basso, Western Apache Witchcraft, 5.

girls who permitted them were thought wild.³⁵

Goodwin continues with a typical example of a mother or maternal grandmother's advice to a girl:

You are that age now and getting old enough to marry. We want you to behave and not act crazy, running about after boys. If you don't do this, you won't be worth anything. But if you behave yourself, then some man, the one who will marry you, will treat you right, and you will have plenty in your camp and live well. This is what will happen if you do as I tell you and do not let anyone touch your body.³⁶

Other areas of Athapaskan experience in which the potentiality for danger was associated with femaleness included anything that had to do with menstruation (particularly, however, menstrual blood), childbirth, or the male's vision experience. Perry succinctly states that

These practices [dealing with menstruation and childbirth] are clearly variations on a theme of femaleness as a potent force which, like other such powers in Athapaskan thought, was dangerous when concentrated or present to an excessive degree. At times of menstruation and childbirth, when the quality of femaleness was especially evident and hence strong, it was a special threat to men because of its cognitive opposition to maleness. As a transpersonalized power, however, it was a quality that could imbue a person to varying degrees. Despite the higher tolerance of women for this quality, at times it could be a danger even to them, as suggested by the measures taken to protect the menstruating girl from herself.³⁷

³⁵ Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apache, 289.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Perry, "Proto-Athapaskan Culture," 725. See also Richard J. Perry, "Variations on the Female Referent in Athabaskan Cultures," Journal of Anthropological Research 33 (1977): 99-118.

This passage from Perry reflects the pervasive notion of balance and how gender separation participates in the larger scheme of things. Distinguishing powers in the world that embody gender attributes does not, however, require making assumptions about completely separate and distinct spheres of male and female experience. As mentioned earlier, men and women often performed many of the same chores and shared many similar experiences. Women often hunted, raided, and became shamans. Men frequently helped pick fruit, tan hides, and prepare food. Their shared experiences notwithstanding, men and women acknowledged generally established roles and perceptions of their gender identity within the group. Whereas a girl could become a woman through Changing Woman, with all the inherent responsibilities of that role in the group and the universe, boys had vision quests, which assisted them in becoming men by providing them with a deeper understanding of the meanings of their place in the world.

The vision quest was a solitary philosophical experience wherein the boy acquired a greater intellectual sense of self and identity, while also viscerally discovering his place in the world and developing independence from his parents. Describing the Beaver Indians' (Canadian sub-Arctic Athapaskans) vision quest, Robin and Tonia Ridington write,

It is a stage of...transferring dependence from parents to animal protectors and thus identifying

himself with the objects of his livelihood. It is a learning experience more than an initiation since he does not yet fully know the symbolic significance of his separation.... The vision quest represents a developmental stage between the families of orientation and procreation.³⁸

The vision quest involved seeking supernatural power from animal friends. The source of the power was believed to reside in the cries and powers of giant prototypical animals represented in myth but encountered in the wild. Vision quests occurred in "ordinary," "concrete" dimensions of physical experience as well as in dimensions of meaning, in the realm of the metaphysical. Both dimensions existed and were real. As with words, dreams, and thoughts, visions transformed the animals' cries into a mediated, personally meaningful message, something which the young man increasingly understood upon reflection. Future dreams or contemplation of the vision quest brought more thorough knowledge of the quest's cosmic significance.³⁹

It needs to be emphasized that the vision quest was, for the most part, a male endeavor. A female found identity, meaning, and power in becoming Changing Woman; a male acquired self-identity in the vision quest and the animal powers that he, as Killer-of-Enemies before him, must control for the hunt. Unlike the ceremonies dealing with

³⁸ Robin Ridington and Tonia Ridington, "The Inner Eye of Shamanism and Totemism," in Teachings from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy, Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, eds., New York: W. W. Norton, 1975, 199.

³⁹ Ibid., 199-200.

femaleness--in which males helped counterbalance female power--those rituals that stressed visions or maleness tended to totally deemphasize femaleness. Again, this reflected fears of female power potentially contaminating the experience.⁴⁰

Nineteenth century Lipán peyote meetings may serve as an extreme but particularly revealing illustration of cases where femaleness as power was a strong concern. These meetings exhibited the intensification of fundamental values already in place. Given the heightened sensory experience peyote provided those who ingested it, one can better understand the men's concerns over unpleasant experiences due to female power. As one informant described the prohibition of women in the ritual,

The Lipan do not allow women to handle the tipi or put it up for the peyote ceremony. Only the men do this. They do not allow women around. Peyote wants all to be pure and to go well. He does not want any dirty thing or anything bad to be around. They do not want the women around.... But the women know that they are not supposed to be there, and keep away. This is because it is dangerous to have women there. When a man is under the influence of peyote, when he has eaten quite a bit [ca. 50 buttons] and feels good, he notices the body odor of women. When a man smells this he gets upset. It makes him throw up the peyote and that is bad. It is all right for the women to touch the plant out in the fields. Even if a woman cut some, it would do no harm. But she cannot be around the meeting. This is to safeguard the men at

⁴⁰ An example of this was the nineteenth century Lipán Apaches' peyote meeting from which females were generally excluded. See Morris E. Opler, "The Use of Peyote by the Carrizo and Lipan Apache Tribes," American Anthropologist 40 (1938): 275, 278, 283.

the meeting.⁴¹

Having established the general framework of the Lipán worldview, this study turns its attention to how Querechos in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made specific choices within the context of their experiences and beliefs at the time.

The Lipán Worldview and Concrete Choices

The unified configurations of belief as outlined above provided sixteenth and seventeenth century Apaches along the Canadian River with a cosmology based on power, reciprocity, and a consequent balance of power. This cosmology colored and shaped these people's beliefs and was reflected in their oral tradition, their social organization, and their actions toward the world of animate and inanimate objects. All phenomena possessed degrees of will and power; both the material and immaterial world were imbued with anthropomorphic traits. Particularly important for the Lipán were their relations with plants and animals and their supernatural power sources in assisting them in their continued cooperative strength as a people. Ceremonies and rituals renewed contact with the supernatural--the spirit world and mythic time--providing help in curing as well as in rejuvenating individuals and the group. From this frame

⁴¹ Ibid., 278. Mention of fifty buttons producing good dreams and visions is found on p. 285.

of reference, human relations pursued outside the group or band can be understood to have been driven by choices stemming from religious and philosophical convictions. A similar case could be made for hunting and gathering activities.

Trade and social relations with Puebloans, animosity toward Caddoans, and daily routines or seasonal rounds were all reflections of a matrix of cosmological relations. At the core of this matrix was a hierarchy of values placing the strength and well being of individuals and of the local group or band as the most important value. Athapaskans approached other people with the value of the individual and band in mind.

By 1540, Canadian River Apaches had secured solid trade relations with Pecos. Both groups acted as major brokers of food, clothing, and ceremonial or ritual supplies in their separate regions. Pecos bartered their goods to receive, among other things, the prized bison robes and superior meat products Apaches had to offer. In return, Apaches obtained highly valued tobacco, corn (and probably corn husks for rolling tobacco), sought-after feathers for ceremonies, and cotton products.⁴²

The value of tobacco cannot be overestimated. Tobacco as the primary sacred plant was ubiquitous throughout the

⁴² Corn husk reference in Jordan Paper, Offering Smoke: The Sacred Pipe and Native American Religion, Moscow, Idaho: The University of Idaho Press, 1988.

Americas except for the Arctic.⁴³ Nicotiana attenuata grew wild in, among other places, the Great Basin, Colorado and New Mexico. It did not, however, grow extensively in the Southern Plains region, nor at all in the Texas Panhandle. Another species of tobacco, Nicotiana rustica, grew widely throughout the eastern U.S., stretching as far west as the eastern fringes of the Plains, thereby providing an important resource for Caddoans.⁴⁴ Canadian River Apaches resorted to trade for getting the tobacco they wanted.

It is difficult to calculate the quantity of tobacco Querechos sought, but it is clear they used the plant frequently. Tobacco was offered to spirits in all sweat ceremonials, curing rites, renewal ceremonies, and in making peace or friendly overtures. It was considered by Apaches to be a means for communicating with supernatural powers, and therefore it was offered in most, if not all, ritual activities.⁴⁵ Without doubt, tobacco's role in commerce between Pecos and Plains Apaches was significant, far more so than has generally been acknowledged by scholars.

⁴³ Ibid., 3. Paper also states that in parts of Central and South America other sacred plants may be of equal importance to tobacco.

⁴⁴ Louis Seig, Tobacco, Peace Pipes, and Indians, Palmer Lake, Colo.: Filter Press, 1971, 1, 3-5.

⁴⁵ Opler, Myths and Legends of the Lipan, 8, 101, 124; "The Lipan Apache Death Complex," 124; "The Use of Peyote," 278. For reports of Jicarillas making clay pipes for men and women, and smoking "mountain tobacco" (bearberry), see Opler, Childhood and Youth in Jicarilla Apache Society, 95-97.

However, it should be seen as one important item among other important items that were exchanged between these people.

Exchange was endowed with significant meanings and symbolized a bond of mutual admiration and relative dependency. Tobacco, like corn, feathers, and bison, was seen as holding potential power, and the exchange of such items meant a sharing of power. Perhaps the most valued exchanges were gifts, which represented the highest form of moral expression one person could direct toward another, whether inside or outside his group. Gift exchange embodied the laws of generosity, reciprocity, and pride, and, for Apaches, gift giving mirrored the behavior of their culture heroes who created life and all that was good for the Apaches through the power and act of gift. While such transactions bespoke the giver's power, they were conceived as actions geared to acknowledge the other's valuable place in the fluctuant universe.

In the context of the regional arena, the strong confidence and pride with which Pecos and Canadian River Apaches held their respective positions of influence and power needs to be stressed. As mentioned earlier, Spaniards and Indians alike noted this characteristic in the two trading partners. Pecos traders and Canadian River Apaches were quite aware of their economic power, and this was no doubt readily perceived by them as telling evidence that supernatural powers favored their two groups. Their

alliance signified the balance of two superpowers cooperating to secure one another's continued strength. From this regional perspective, the exchange of goods takes on even greater significance, and one can easily imagine the two groups celebrating their alliance around winter bonfires, dancing in sacred ceremonies that renewed relations with the natural, creative, and human power sources of the world. In such a setting, nutritional and economic concerns would have been subsumed under a larger governing purpose. Rather than a mutualism based on biological or economic interdependence, as Spielmann argues, what obtained between these people was food exchange combined with economic and political benefits, all set within the context of a metaphysical mutualism.⁴⁶ This was the setting and the system which Spaniards encountered in 1541 and began unraveling with their colonization of New Mexico in the early 1600s.

Spielmann and others miss the deeper aspects of this interdependency because of their narrow epistemological assumptions. Briefly stated, they operate within frameworks of knowledge that ignore the worldviews of the people they are studying. Concentrating solely on material culture,

⁴⁶ The system offered here parallels Baugh's argument in its general outlines. It could be asserted that Baugh's model could be enhanced by consideration of metaphysical beliefs, which would function in his model as elements of social and political substance constituting important components of the society's structure.

Spielmann cannot help but arrive at conclusions that involve only material variables. Similar criticism can be levied against historians like Elizabeth John, who attend only to diplomatic, economic, or narrowly cast social issues in a people's history; dismissing other issues, they fail to see broader dimensions and relations at play in the historical situation. Although studies that carefully control their variables offer valuable insight into certain aspects of the past, they retain a parochialism incompatible with a larger, deeper understanding of history. In the case of Southern Plains-New Mexico relations, the conceptual world of the Indians is one of the most significant considerations that needs to be addressed if a more complete understanding is to be achieved. The present chapter has attempted to show the importance of this point. Another dimension to Plains-New Mexico history that warrants scholarly attention is the natural environment; it is to this topic that the next chapter will turn its attention.

**Chapter Five:
Southern Plains Ecology, A Nest of Issues**

Scholars have recognized the importance of bison to the commerce between Pecos and the Plains Apaches, but due to a lack of data before 1970, the ecologies of the Plains and New Mexico were rarely studied beyond generalities. An example of a general environmental approach is W. W. Newcomb's work, mentioned above, in which he tries to account for aridity and other climatic conditions as possible influences on bison and human adaptations. Like other ethnohistorians' attempts to consider climatic--and additional biological--variables, Newcomb's study lacks necessary data that could add rigor and accuracy to his analysis. The necessary data to assist a reconstruction of earlier environmental settings is available; that this data is not more widely used can be explained by historians' and anthropologists' limited epistemologies.

In the past several decades, research in dendrochronology, climatology, mammology, and botany has accumulated a large pool of data that historians can employ for addressing topics previously unexamined. Knowledge of climate fluctuations provides scholars with information on forage growth and bison carrying capacities, which in turn has bearing on bison movement. Bison migrations in turn

influenced the humans who pursued the beast, thus affecting possible human interaction such as trespassing on others' hunting grounds. For present purposes, it will be useful to introduce specific information on climate from early seventeenth century documents which some historians and anthropologists have already recognized. From this vantage point, several problems and issues associated with historical interpretation will be addressed.

The Spaniards' colonization of New Mexico in the early seventeenth century placed heavy burdens on Pueblo food supplies. Spanish settlers demanded tribute from the natives, usually in the form of corn, turkeys, and game meat. In times of drought this requirement particularly strained food reserves, often bringing about famine.

When Oñate arrived in New Mexico in the summer of 1598, the Río Grande Pueblos were experiencing a relatively productive crop year.¹ Demands which Spaniards imposed on the Pueblos were apparently not completely intolerable that summer and fall, and there was enough food for all. During the same summer, Zaldivar crossed the bison Plains and described the many bison and the pleasant climate. The two contiguous regions thus shared good weather and, apparently, a decent harvest of both crops and bison that summer. A somewhat different set of circumstances occurred three years later.

¹ John, Storms Brewed, 45.

In June 1601, Oñate himself led a contingent of Spaniards across the Plains. He described pleasant weather and saw droves of bison roaming the grassy expanses. Bison were readily available.² Puebloans, however, experienced a drought that summer which prevented an adequate harvest. Food reserves were taken by the Spaniards, and the entire colony faced severe crisis. In early October, while Oñate was still on the Plains, the majority of his settlers returned to Mexico.³

The 1601 accounts reveal differing climatic conditions between the Southern Plains and central New Mexico, conditions that historians have not recognized. Such climate differences could at times prove either beneficial or problematic to humans in the areas. Though the above two comparisons describe a congenial Southern Plains climate for bison and human life, there is evidence of drought conditions on the Plains during other parts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that warrants closer examination of Southern Plains climate. Drought on the Southern Plains could well have had a significant impact on forage growth in the region and, in turn, on bison and human migration. Moreover, climatic data suggests that even when drought was not experienced, the Southern Plains may have been cooler than in modern times and thus more conducive to forage

² Hammond and Rey, Oñate, 750.

³ John, Storms Brewed, 53.

growth. The issue is worth exploring.

Bison Ecology on the Great Plains

Central to bison movement on the Plains was availability and quality of forage in a particular geographic area at any given time. Seasonal changes brought variation in forage conditions, mainly through precipitation and temperature fluctuations. Another factor affecting forage availability was overgrazing. Climate, however, proved the most significant influence on forage. To better understand the degree to which climate and vegetation played a significant role in bison behavior, three issues need to be addressed, the study of which lends relevant empirical support to any further analysis of human subsistence patterns in the region.

First, knowledge of the bison's metabolism provides information on the type of nutrition these animals demand. This knowledge has been obtained through studies on bison and other similar ungulates, data from which confirms the bison's specialized dietary requirements. The type and quality of forage on which the bison feeds directly correspond to nutritional requirements of the animal. Bison can therefore be viewed as discriminating in their tastes, if only for biological reasons. Furthermore, they prefer feed ranges offering them a gastronomic choice. In conjunction with knowledge of bison social organization,

these dietary habits can provide an understanding of the degree to which bison need to be mobile. Consequently, the amount of mobility of a people dependent on bison would hinge on the migratory habits of the horned beast in their particular region.

Second, knowledge of forage growth in relation to climate and geography furnishes information on what areas are most conducive and hostile to bison flourishing. As will be shown, forage that appeals to bison grows throughout the Great Plains region, but this growth finds its greatest density in the northeast portions of the Plains with steadily decreasing occurrence as one moves west and south. The short-grass steppe region immediately east of the Rockies and the southwesternmost region of the Plains (along the southern Rockies and extending east several hundred miles) supply the least productive areas for forage appealing to bison tastes. These areas are consistently drier and warmer than other sections of the Plains, and this factor is crucial when assessing bison location, herd size, and migration patterns.

Third, data on climate provides material from which estimates can be made of the impact of weather on forage. As has been mentioned previously, and will be repeatedly stressed, climate variables figure prominently in determining forage conditions, geographically as well as temporally. It is particularly important to human activity

in northeast New Mexico, the Panhandles of Texas and Oklahoma, western Kansas and Nebraska, and southeast Colorado, that the climate in these parts of the Southern Plains fluctuates radically from season to season, and in periods of drought can produce conditions detrimental to bison forage. Climate fluctuation may have been even more problematic in the period known as the "little ice age" (ca. 1300-1850), when winters were harsher than we know them today. Thus the weather during the period under consideration may at times have been less than hospitable to bison occupying the Southern Plains. Nonetheless, this climatic era also may have allowed for important ecological advantages. It will be argued presently that environmental factors between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries may have contributed significantly to human population shifts and intercultural conflicts, while at the same time providing "greener pastures" for bison and humans alike during certain seasons of a year of "average" weather.

Bison Dietary Habits

The attempt to reconstruct bison adaptations to their environment in past centuries presents unique problems to the historian. Much of the historical documentation on and early interpretations of bison behavior are either highly impressionistic or reflect observations made during the late nineteenth century when bison behavior, and the Plains

environment in general, were undergoing significant changes. During the late nineteenth century, bison adaptations were being progressively disrupted by the westward expansion of White settlement and the massive increase in bison killings. The data these documents present must therefore either be used with caution or not be used at all. In addition, it should be noted that there are obvious ways in which records from the mid- to late-nineteenth century will have limited relevance to precontact periods.⁴

⁴ For discussion of nineteenth and early twentieth century myths and conjectures concerning bison habits, see R. G. Roe, The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in Its Wild State, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951. For descriptions of what William T. Hornaday calls the "systematic destruction" of the bison in North America, see his "The Extermination of the American Bison, with a Sketch of its Discovery and Life History," Smithsonian Report, 1887, Washington D.C., 1889, Part II, 367-548.

Hornaday dates the beginning of this "systematic destruction" to the annual bison hunts near the Red River Settlement, Manitoba, starting in 1820. From that period forward, bison killing expeditions increased their kills by roughly 22% every five years. From 1820 to 1825, Red River kills numbered approximately 120,000. Figures for 1835-1840 were 215,000. Total numbers for the twenty year period spanning 1820 to 1840 came to over 650,000 (Hornaday, 436-437). Roe attempts to calculate, from where Hornaday left off, the next thirty-four years. By Roe's estimate, bison killings in the Red River hunts totaled about three and a half million head between 1840 and 1874. (Roe, The North American Buffalo, 410-412).

Similar systematic processes steadily increased against herds in the United States. Hornaday provides a chronology of bison killing for the period 1830 to 1888. In 1869 the general herd was divided, by the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, into a "Northern herd" and "Southern herd". Intensive slaughter of the Southern herd occurred between 1870 and 1874, whereas massive killing of the Northern herd took place between 1876 and 1883. (Hornaday, 486) The Southern herd was savagely attacked by hide hunters beginning in the autumn of 1871, and by 1875, with

Archeologists have recently approached the reconstruction of bison ecology on the Plains by drawing on modern ecological studies that provide general insights into the basic nature of ungulate adaptations to their environment. The data from these studies can assist the historian in analyzing bison migration patterns, population size, and seasonal patterns of aggregation and dispersion. In turn, conclusions from such analyses can be used in conjunction with historical data to reconstruct some possible patterns of human subsistence on the Plains.⁵

The bison digestive system has evolved into a selective strategy for consuming a high carbohydrate, low protein, low fiber diet. Bison, as well as all other ungulates, also have developed the ability to select plants and plant parts with higher nutritional value than that of the available vegetation as a whole. This system demands, however, a lower limit on the amount of food that is

the exception of three small groups of bison, had been annihilated. Within three years, hide-hunters killed approximately 3,200,000 bison in the Southern herd, while Indians took roughly 1,200,000 (Roe, 441).

In 1880, the completion of the Northern Pacific Railway led to a grand attack upon the Northern herd, which was about a third the size of the Southern. In October 1883, the last thousand head were killed in southwestern Dakota by Sitting Bull and about 1,000 Indians, leaving only the Yellowstone Park group of two hundred head, a band of forty in Custer County, Montana, and the Great Slave Lake herd of about five hundred head (Roe, 447-462).

⁵ The model used in my analysis of bison ecology leans primarily on the work of Douglas B. Bamforth. See Douglas B. Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization on the Great Plains, Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1988.

consumed, and a constant level of food in the system must be maintained. The familiar process of ungulates repeatedly chewing, digesting, regurgitating, and rechewing food results in an extremely efficient use of proteins, but the process must be relatively constant. There is thus a minimum amount of time that bison can wait before eating again, which in turn limits the distance bison can travel between feeding areas.⁶

Douglas Bamforth points out that ungulates move in accordance with the locations and densities of their preferred foods during different seasons of the year. This movement establishes in the bison's experience both particular and general areas which become familiar due to frequent and seasonal use. The degree of familiarity comes from the amount of time spent and use made of an area.⁷

Bison generally migrate long distances if and only if forage and water availability diminishes, due to overgrazing or drought, or if climatic conditions are too harsh to bear, as in extremely severe winters when tree cover is needed, or during dry, parched summers when excessive heat kills forage suitable to the bison's diet. For the purposes of this study, it will be assumed that it is most probable that, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Central and

⁶ Ibid., 43-44. It is important to keep in mind that total forage in an area is not as relevant a factor to bison survival as the quality and type of forage available.

⁷ Ibid., 45-48.

Southern Plains bison usually stayed within a geographically limited area when extreme weather conditions were absent. With relatively constant climate, except for intermittent, violent climate fluctuations, forage growth remained similarly constant, and there was no need for bison to travel significant distances to acquire food. When extremes did present themselves, bison relocated to areas with sufficient forage to sustain the herd, slowly making their way to desired locations by consuming what forage was available to them enroute.⁸

In addition to the mobility attached to diet, a separate pattern of bison movement is related to reproductive behavior. Bison give birth in spring. Most births occur in April and May, although occasional calves are born at other times of the year. The calving season begins somewhat later on the Northern Plains, where severe winter conditions persist further into the season, and somewhat earlier on the Southern Plains, where spring comes sooner.

In the calving season, as throughout most of the year, bison travel in two relatively distinct types of groups: cow-calf groups, composed of cows, newborn calves, yearlings, and sexually immature bulls, and bull groups, composed of sexually mature bulls and, less frequently, cows without calves. During the spring bison shed their heavy

⁸ Ibid., 48-52.

winter coats of hair. One of Coronado's men described how in 1541 this occurred in May.⁹ Bison suffer through an unfortunate interval of about two weeks during which they are completely naked, before the new hair makes its appearance. During this period they are most vulnerable to mosquitoes and other winged pests.¹⁰ Some writers have suggested that it was this onslaught of insects which initiated the curious habits of bison "wallowing" in mud and dry dirt and "rubbing" against trees.¹¹ This period of the bison year proved beneficial to Indians hunting bison, for skins obtained at this time did not require much labor for scraping off hair. Such skins were probably used for tipis, travois, and clothing.

Several months after calving, female bison come into heat, and social groups composed of both sexes form for the rut, which occurs primarily in July and August. During this process, bulls commence their courtship habit of bellowing and roaring. At first these habits are noted only in groups on the move or when a lone bull attempts to join a herd in which other bulls are already present. As the peak of the rut approaches in late July and early August, however, the

⁹ Hammond and Rey, The Coronado Narratives, 279.

¹⁰ Milo J. Schult and Arnold O. Haugen, Where Buffalo Roam, Interior, South Dakota: Badlands Natural History Association, 1979, 19-21; Roe, The North American Buffalo, 94; Bamforth, 80-82.

¹¹ Roe, The North American Buffalo, 99-104; Schult and Haugen, Where Buffalo Roam, 12-14.

roaring increases to an almost continuous din. At this time, bulls who have remained isolated from cow-calf groups during the non-rutting season rejoin the herds.¹² Herds thus achieve their largest numbers during the rut.¹³

Size of herds has varied over time. The largest recorded herd, the great southern herd on the Central Plains, was estimated in the 1860s and 1870s to exceed three million animals.¹⁴ The size of this herd was largely a consequence of human pressures which forced previously separate herds into a shared habitat with an ever-diminishing range in which to roam. F. G. Roe's assessment of pre-1820 historical records points to herd sizes dramatically smaller than those of the mid-1800s. Pre-1820 herds, Roe claims, numbered up to 10,000 or 20,000 bison during the rut.¹⁵ Roe's calculations account, however, for only Central and Northern Plains herds. Spanish records of herd sizes on the Southern Plains from the sixteenth and

¹² Milo and Haugen, 22-23; Roe, The North American Buffalo, 96-97; Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," 415-416; B. Robert Butler, "Bison Hunting in the Desert West before 1800: The Paleo-Ecological Potential and the Archaeological Reality," Plains Anthropologist 23 (1978): 107.

¹³ Milo and Haugen, 22-23; Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 81-82.

¹⁴ William T. Hornaday, Hornaday's American Natural History, A Foundation of Useful Knowledge of the Higher Animals of North America, 16th rev. ed., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, 101.

¹⁵ Roe, The North American Buffalo, 334-353.

seventeenth centuries indicate that some herds were often no more than a few hundred animals in size, other herds being significantly larger.¹⁶ In most of the accounts of Spaniards crossing the Plains, bison herds became increasingly more dense as one traveled east, with small pockets of bison giving way to substantial herds as one neared the New Mexico-Texas border. Testifying to large herds near the Querechos on the Canadian River, Coronado's men spotted "such large numbers of cattle that it now seems incredible," and a day's ride farther downstream found "nothing but cattle and sky."¹⁷ As mentioned above, Oñate's expeditions recorded similarly large numbers of bison on the Southern Plains.

Correlations between herd size, forage availability, and human occupation of the Southern Plains will be more fully addressed below, but one point should be noted here. Given herd sizes, one variable in the successful exploitation of these animals is the numbers of people hunting them. Small herds could thus provide for the needs of a relatively limited number of individuals. In contrast, those areas containing large numbers of bison could provide sustenance for larger groups of people. This observation

¹⁶ Cf. Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 82; George Hammond and Agapito Rey, The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966, 91, 131, 136.

¹⁷ Bolton, Coronado, 250, 252.

proves helpful in reconstructing Southern Plains human population and activity during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.

Forage Availability on the Plains

As suggested in the preceding section, bison survival and migration patterns rest heavily on the animal's specialized diet. The vegetation required for bison sustenance varies in nutritional quality and density from region to region. Studies of Plains grasslands show that variation in precipitation, temperature, and soil fertility provide variation in forage yield and quality.¹⁸

On average, forage is more abundant and nutritious in those regions of the Plains that experience less severe water deficits for shorter portions of the year, that have lower growing season temperatures, and that have more fertile soils. As one moves across the Plains in a southwesterly direction, there is a substantial decrease in the quality of growing conditions, with the more southern and western regions having the highest seasonal temperatures, the most severe annual water deficit, and the most prolonged period of the year during which available water is deficient for transpiration. Thus, under natural conditions, the grasslands of the more southern and western Plains have the lowest forage yield and nutrient content of

¹⁸ Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 33-38.

any area in the region. In addition, the patchy and erratic distribution of rainfall within these more arid regions results in more irregular growth patterns and hence in greater within-season variation in forage quality.¹⁹

The above discussion describes forage growth under temperate conditions. However, the Plains area consistently experiences wide climatic fluctuations. Given its location, this is to be expected. Cool, dry frontal systems moving south out of the Arctic and northern Canada frequently collide with warm, moist air masses pushing north from the Gulf of Mexico. In addition, weather patterns developed in and east of the Rockies further contribute to the frequently unstable climatic milieu of the region. A fuller discussion of Plains climate follows, but the fact should be stressed that the Central and Southern Plains see some of the most radical climate fluctuations in the world. This often brings significant consequences in terms of forage yield, particularly on the Southern Plains, where forage is particularly vulnerable to high temperatures and/or diminished precipitation.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid., 58-65.

²⁰ Robert T. Coupland, "The Effects of Fluctuations in Weather upon the Grasslands of the Great Plains," The Botanical Review 24 (1958): 281-282.

Climate on the Great Plains

Historians in the last several decades have taken note of the data available from several areas of climate research, particularly from dendrochronology, or tree ring dating.²¹ Techniques used in dendrochronology advanced significantly during that period. One facet of this development has been the creation of a new subdiscipline, dendroclimatology, which studies the atomic composition of tree rings to determine the climatic conditions that would have produced a particular ring's width and structural configuration for a given year or period of years. Systematic comparisons are used to reconstruct regional climatic conditions for given historic and prehistoric periods.²² Such data provide useful and important

²¹ For a brief critical assessment of traditional historical approaches to the frontier and their limited analyses of the environment and culture, separately and together, see James C. Malin, History and Ecology, Studies of the Grassland, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984, 129-143.

²² For general discussion, see Reid A. Bryson and Christine Padoch, "On the Climates of History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 10 (1980): 583-597; Reid A. Bryson, "A Perspective on Climate Change," Science CLXXXIV (1974): 753-760; Harold C. Fritts, G. Robert Lofgren, and Geoffrey A. Gordon, "Past Climate Reconstructed from Tree Rings," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 10 (1980): 773-793.

The Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of Arizona, has extensive published studies that apply dendroclimatological data to the Southwest region, usually including eastern New Mexico and Colorado and the Texas Panhandle areas. See Linda G. Drew, ed., Tree-Ring Chronologies of Western America, Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1972; Linda G. Drew, Tree-Ring Chronologies of Western America, Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring

information for assessing human adaptation to a region's environment at a given time. Archeologists have been particularly interested in dendroclimatology as an additional means for evaluating prehistoric peoples. By contrast, historians, until very recently, have exhibited a reluctance to make extensive use of these data.

When historians have employed dendroclimatological data, they have generally noted its existence, but have then proceeded to either ignore it or neglect to examine appropriate environmental research. For example, droughts that occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the Plains and in the Southwest have been widely recognized by climatologists, and some scholars mention them as "a factor which could have brought about friction between groups."²³ Just how such a phenomenon as drought could have produced this friction remains, on most scholars' accounts, unexplained. The result is that the extent to which drought actually affected Plains life remains not only

Research, 1975; Linda G. Drew, Tree-Ring Chronologies for Dendroclimatic Analysis, Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1976; Jeffrey S. Dean and William J. Robinson, Expanded Tree-Ring Chronologies for the Southwestern United States, Tucson: Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, 1978.

Some controversy exists over the method by which climate data is assessed as well as the degree of accuracy of this data. For an interesting exchange between scientists on a controversy surrounding the chemistry and physics involved in tree ring studies, see T. M. L. Wigley, B. M. Gray, and P. M. Kelly, "Climatic Interpretation of $\delta^{18}O$ and δD in Tree Rings," Nature 271 (Jan 5, 1978): 92-94.

²³ Schroeder, A Study of the Apache, ix-x.

obscure but seemingly irrelevant in historical literature. Closer analysis of dendroclimatological data in conjunction with studies of Plains botany reveals how significant the impact of such climatic variables in fact were on bison, and consequently human, activity. Of specific interest to the historian is how climate, forage, and bison conditions might have affected human activity such as the trade system extending from the Southwest across the Southern Plains.

As stated earlier, climate on the Plains often fluctuates between extremes. Air masses originating from very different sources collide in this region. One student of climate history, Robert Claiborne, has cogently described it this way:

North America east of the Rockies...is dominated by two sharply, even violently, contrasting types of air. From the Polar tundra and Subpolar taiga of Canada comes Continental Polar air, almost as cold and dry as its Siberian counterpart; from the Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico, and adjacent portions of the Atlantic come Maritime Tropical air. And this is a good deal hotter and moister than its counterpart in Europe, since these seas are markedly warmer than the Mediterranean.... It is also less "stable," a meteorological concept which we need not go into except to note that unstable air masses, like unstable people, are more than usually prone to violent behavior.

To these we can add two other types: One of them is Maritime air originating over the Pacific which, by its passage across the mountains, has lost most of its moisture in precipitation and thereby gained a good deal of "latent heat" as the moisture condensed, so that it descends on the Great Plains as the warm, dry "chinook." The other, found only in the northeast, is cool moist Maritime Polar air from the North Atlantic, essentially the same as the predominant air-flow in western Europe.

Considering merely these four contrasting types of air--cold-dry, warm-dry, hot-moist, cool-moist--there

is obviously plenty of scope for radical shifts in weather merely through their replacement one by another, not to speak of the violence induced by their intermingling and interaction.²⁴

Manifestations of this violence range from tornadic activity, hailstorms, strong chinook winds, and acute temperature changes to the more subtle violence inflicted on flora and fauna by drought. Unfortunately, dendroclimatology cannot detect tornadic activity, hailstorms, regional microclimate differences, or short-term temperature changes. Tree ring data are based on annual and multi-annual precipitation as well as temperature averages.²⁵ Though short-term violence seems unverifiable

²⁴ Robert Clairborne, Climate, Man, and History, New York: W. W. Norton, 1970, 380-381. See also J. R. Borchert, "The Climate of the North American Grasslands," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 40 (1950): 1-39; A. Court, "The Climate of the Coterminous United States," in World Survey of Climatology: 11, Climates of North America, Reid A. Bryson and F. Kenneth Hare, eds., New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 193-344; J. B. Kincer, "The Climate of the Great Plains as a Factor in Their Utilization," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 13 (1923): 67-80.

²⁵ Harold Fritts provides a brief, simplified description of the basic variables involved in tree ring growth: "Climate influences ring growth primarily through its control of photosynthesis and other processes affecting the accumulation of stored foods.... Precipitation is the primary climatic control but temperature may modify its influence. Both factors affect the water relations of the tree, which in turn govern photosynthesis and the accumulation of food. Temperature may also directly influence food accumulation through its control of photosynthesis, respiration, and the assimilation of foods in the plant." Harold C. Fritts, "Tree-Ring Evidence for Climatic Changes in Western North America," Monthly Weather Review 93 (1965): 427.

See also Fritts, Lofgren, and Gordon, "Past Climate Reconstructed from Tree Rings," 773-793; David M. Meko,

at this time, climatologists do make inferences from types of generalized climate conditions which often contribute to the development of immediate, radical temperature changes, strong winds, and tornadoes.²⁶ No doubt, these forces occasionally wreaked havoc on humans in the region, but their unverifiable nature makes it impossible to pinpoint them through dendroclimatological analysis. In contrast, drought conditions are verifiable.

Comparing "average" climatic conditions to conditions brought on by drought gives an indication of the severity of the latter on the Plains. Following such an analysis with a brief examination of the "Little Ice Age" will provide sufficient data with which to assess bison adaptations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Great Plains Climate, Twentieth Century

As mentioned above, forage production is determined by seasonal and geographical patterns of precipitation and temperature. This in turn affects ungulate adaptation.

"Drought History in the Western Great Plains," International Symposium on Hydrometeorology (June 1982) 321-323; Harry E. Weakly, "Dendrochronology and Its Climatic Implications in the Central Plains," University of Utah Anthropological Papers 11 (1950): 90-94.

²⁶ For a simplified explanation of tornadoes, see Claiborne, Climate, Man, and History, 388. Discussion of severe winds on the Plains can be found in R. L. Ives, "Frequency and Physical Effects of Chinook Winds in the Colorado High Plains Region," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 40 (1950): 293-327.

Forage growth density is greatest in the northern and eastern areas of the Plains and becomes progressively sparse toward the western and southern portions of the region. Areas most vulnerable to acute climate change are located south of southern Kansas and Colorado.

Mean annual precipitation decreases across the Plains from a high of roughly 40 inches in the northeast to a low of 12 inches adjacent to the Rockies.²⁷ The degree to which each region varies in total precipitation from year to year is also notable. Total precipitation variation increases from northeast to southwest, from approximately 20% on the far Northern Plains in Canada to over 40% in southeastern New Mexico. This increase in variation accelerates more rapidly across the Southern than the Central and Northern Plains.²⁸

Most Plains precipitation falls during the spring and summer, but the pattern of seasonal variability in

²⁷ The major exception to the pattern is in the Black Hills area of eastern Wyoming and western South Dakota, where annual precipitation is substantially higher than in the surrounding region.

²⁸ Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 53-54; Coupland, "The Effects of Fluctuations in Weather," 278, 282-283. See also J. R. Borchert, "The Climate of the Central North American Grassland," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 40 (1950): 1-39; F. Kenneth Hare and J. E. Hay, "The Climate of Canada and Alaska," in World Survey of Climatology: 11, Climates of North America, Reid A. Bryson and F. Kenneth Hare, eds., New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1974, 49-192; D. M. Herschfeld, "A Note on the Variability of Annual Precipitation," Journal of Applied Meteorology 1 (1962): 575-578.

precipitation is not the same in all areas. The Southern Plains is more drought-prone overall than other areas and this is particularly true in winter. Winters on the Southern Plains are also substantially more likely to have longer droughts than other seasons; in more northern areas, such seasonal differences are less pronounced. Precipitation on the Northern Plains tends to be more evenly distributed throughout the year. On average, there are only about 60 days per year with at least 1/100 of an inch precipitation in the Texas Panhandle, but 90 to 110 such days in Montana and North Dakota, and although 60% to 70% of the total annual precipitation in the Texas Panhandle falls during storms that deposit at least 0.5 inches of rain, only 30% to 50% falls in such storms in Montana and North Dakota.²⁹

Snow falls on the Canadian Plains, on average, by the beginning of November and the last snowfall of the season comes by the middle of April; comparable dates on the Texas Plains are mid-December and mid-February. Mean annual snowfall in the north is as much as 48 inches, four times the amount that falls in the south. The greatest number of continuous days with below-freezing temperatures recorded in North Dakota between 1950 and 1960 was fifty, compared with a maximum of six days in Amarillo. The mean length of the frost-free period on the Plains ranges from approximately

²⁹ C. W. Thornthwaite, "Climate and Settlement in the Great Plains," U.S. Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1941: 177-187.

100 days in southern Saskatchewan to 210 days near Lubbock. In addition, variable but generally hard winters are common on the Northern and Central High Plains, with a relatively abrupt decrease in severity in winter harshness from the Central Plains of Kansas to the Southern Plains of Texas.³⁰

Temperatures are always higher in the south than in the north, but the differences are most pronounced in winter. Mean temperatures for January average roughly 45 degrees Fahrenheit (F) lower in Alberta and Saskatchewan than on the Southern Plains. Differences in mean temperatures in July are not so marked: the south averages only 20 degrees (F) higher than the north.³¹

The regional climate differences just discussed result from differing patterns of airflow--like those mentioned earlier in the passage from Robert Claiborne--into the Northern and Southern Plains. Climatologists further note that climatic events on the Southern Plains often tend to be relatively independent of events on the Northern Plains, which points out the regions' separate microclimates. Interestingly, different weather sources are believed to frequently lead to opposite responses to climatic changes on the Northern and Southern Plains, with precipitation

³⁰ A. J. Osborn, "Ecological Aspects of Equestrian Adaptations in North America," American Anthropologist 85 (1983): 563-591; Bamforth, Ecology and Human Adaptation, 54; Coupland, "The Effects of Fluctuations of Weather," 278.

³¹ Coupland, "The Effects of Fluctuations in Weather," 278; Bamforth, Ecology and Human Adaptation, 55.

increasing in the south and decreasing in the north under certain conditions.³²

A major effect of these changing airflow patterns and regional climate differences is a steady increase in the amount of water availability for plants as one moves from northeast to southwest down the Plains. Although absolute variations in precipitation for the Southern Plains from year to year are more pronounced than in the north--and the amounts of precipitation determine average forage growth--it is important to note the impact of acute fluctuations from the norm. Robert Claiborne, for example, argues that "while a drop from 38 inches to 32 inches a year will probably do no more than inconvenience the farmer, a drop from 18 to 12 inches could wipe out his crop--especially if the decrease is concentrated in the warm growing season."³³

Drought on the Plains

Borchert argues that a major drought east of the Rocky Mountains is likely to severely affect the grasslands. He claims that

droughts east of the Rockies have tended to occur when, and where, there has been a movement of dry,

³² Bamforth, 55-56; Bryson and Padoch, "On the Climates of History," 586; K. R. Karl and A. J. Koscielny, "Drought in the United States: 1890-1981," Journal of Climatology 2 (1982): 313-329; and R. G. Vines, "Rainfall Patterns in the Western United States," Journal of Geophysical Research 87 (1982): 7303-7311.

³³ Claiborne, Climate, Man, and History, 389.

continental air eastward from the base of the Rockies. The farther eastward a flow of this dry air has extended, the farther east the drought has extended. The stronger the westerlies over the United States, the more extensive the drought area east of the Rockies. This has been shown for short periods and for long periods...."³⁴

In addition to deficient annual precipitation, several other weather factors associated with drought inhibit plant growth on the Great Plains. These include the evaporating power of the air, high temperatures, wind, and dust storms.

As mentioned earlier, fluctuations in annual precipitation mark periods of deficient and sufficient precipitation for plant growth. They fail nonetheless to reflect variations in distribution which occur during the year. Anywhere in the Great Plains, the collision of moist tropical air with dry polar air may result in such heavy precipitation that as much as a third of the average annual amount may occur in one day, and a fifth in a single hour. Since these interactions of air patterns are rare, there may be periods of as much as 120 days without rain. The drought hazard is greatest in winter, and least in late spring and early summer.³⁵ According to Thornthwaite, "drought periods of 35 or more consecutive days may be expected annually and periods of between 60 and 70 days once in ten years. Less frequently a drought period may reach 90 days

³⁴ Quoted from Coupland, "The Effects of Fluctuations in Weather," 281-282.

³⁵ Ibid., 283.

in the Northern Plains and 120 days in the Southern Plains. The drought hazards in autumn and winter are approximately equal in the Central and Northern Plains, but in the Southern Plains the winter hazard greatly exceeds that of any other season. Throughout the Plains, prolonged periods of drought are least likely to occur in the summer."³⁶

Periods of low precipitation greatly affect forage production, but some scholars have regarded high temperatures as the climatic factor most damaging to plant growth on the Central and Southern Plains. It is relevant that mean temperatures are higher in periods of drought. By contrast, lower mean temperatures are associated with above-average moisture. High air temperatures during drought are associated with higher temperatures in the soil which result from less protective vegetative cover. The temperature of bare soil in this part of the country sometimes reaches 140 to 150 degrees Fahrenheit.³⁷

Another corollary to drought is that wind movement is higher in dry years. This factor, together with combined effects of cultivation, overgrazing, and dry soil, creates conditions extremely conducive to wind erosion and dust storms. "Black blizzards" (massive dust storms that almost completely darken the countryside) were particularly well developed in the spring of 1935 in the Central and Southern

³⁶ Thornthwaite, 178.

³⁷ Coupland, 285-286.

Plains, resulting in deposition of soil in drifts 2.5 feet high in many regions and a thin layer one-half to one inch in depth over an extensive area.³⁸ Cultivated land is subject to erosion by wind. In addition, relative humidity is often as low as 10% or even less during drought, and lower humidity causes wind to be more desiccating.³⁹

Several general effects of drought on forage are common. During drought, forage yield declines sharply. Reductions in forage yield are reflected in decreased grazing capacity of range. In western Kansas, where ten to twelve acres of range were required per animal before drought, 30 to 50 acres were needed at the end of drought. The reduced abundance of foliage has also been reported to accentuate drought by reducing shade and providing less debris to protect the soil. Grasshoppers also remove considerable quantities of forage during drought; as much as 30 to 40 percent of current growth can be removed by these

³⁸ Ibid., 286. See also F. W. Albertson and J. E. Weaver, "History of the Native Vegetation of Western Kansas during Seven Years of Continuous Drought," Ecological Monograph 12 (1942): 23-51; James C. Malin, Dust Storms, 1850-1900, 19-20, 116-118.

For discussion of whether the 1930s was atypical because of human influences, see Don Worster, Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. Compare this with loess deposits on the Central Plains, ca. AD 1300-1400, and possible general responses to larger climatic shifts: e.g., the beginning and end phases of the Little Ice Age. If the latter is the case, then the best argument Worster can make is that humans accelerated or exaggerated a process already in the making.

³⁹ Coupland, 286.

individuals.⁴⁰

Decrease in forage density is most rapid in the early years of drought. Over a large area of the Southern and Central Plains, decline in basal cover was estimated to be from 25 to 90 percent during the first two years (1933-34) of the 1930s drought. During prolonged dry weather, a subsequent increase in cover sometimes results because of the occupation of vacated areas by more drought-resistant species. Throughout the Southern and Central Plains mixed prairies, certain species of cactus became so abundant that they constituted a serious weed problem by 1939. Cacti became so widespread that it was sometimes impossible for cattle to lie down without contacting the spines.⁴¹

Climatic epiphenomena such as those just described vary markedly during "average" periods and become a particularly substantial influence on forage with the onset of drought. Due to its precarious sensitivity to changes in moisture and heat--more so than other Plains regions--the Southern Plains experiences severe impact when drought or other violent weather patterns occur in the area. Whether these modern climatic descriptions are useful in assessing the impact of climate, specifically drought, on sixteenth and seventeenth century bison habits depends on two questions. First, how different was the climate at that

⁴⁰ Ibid., 287-289.

⁴¹ Ibid., 293-295.

time compared to recent time? Second, how do we know that it was different?

Answering the second question depends on the accuracy of dendroclimatology. This issue was addressed earlier. It warrants repeating, however, that dendroclimatology provides a scientific means for verifying general climatic changes over time. Though conclusions from these studies are open to scientific debate, they currently offer the most promising method for studying past climates. The answer to the first question requires comparing the climate of the earlier period with the later. Such a comparison reveals that there are differences between the two eras. Though differences are not substantial, they are relevant to bison and human subsistence strategies on the Southern Plains. It will be helpful to examine the major characteristics of what has been labeled the "Little Ice Age," and to relate this to the Southern Plains.

The Little Ice Age

The period from approximately the fourteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century comprises the climatic period known as the "Little Ice Age."⁴² Scholars argue that, compared to modern climate in general, this period featured lower annual temperatures and increased annual

⁴² Hubert H. Lamb, Climate Present, Past, and Future, Vol. 2: Climatic History and the Future, London: Methuen and Co., 1977, 463.

rainfall on a global basis. Regarding the Plains, decreases in winter temperatures during the Little Ice Age were greatest on the Northeastern Plains and progressively less toward the southwest. Summer temperatures, however, differed little, if any, from today's norms. The year-to-year variation in temperature fluctuated more dramatically then than now.⁴³

Precipitation on the Plains during the Little Ice Age was apparently significantly heavier than modern averages. Relatively heavy rainfall generally characterized all Plains regions, but the wettest regions were in the northeast, with progressively less wet conditions toward the southwest. Southeastern New Mexico was an exception with its relatively light precipitation during the Little Ice Age. Data also suggest that Texas had a slight decrease in drought severity from the late seventeenth until the twentieth century.⁴⁴

⁴³ Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 67-68, 71-72. Bamforth's analysis here follows Lamb, The Changing Climate, 65-66; Lamb, Climate Present, Past, and Future, 461-473; T. J. Blasing and H. C. Fritts, "Reconstructing Past Climatic Anomalies in the North Pacific and Western North America from Tree-Ring Data," Quaternary Research 6 (1976); Fritts, et al., "Variations in Climate since 1602 as Reconstructed from Tree Rings," Quaternary Research 12 (1979); W. F. Rannie, "Breakup and Freezeup of the Red River at Winnipeg, Manitoba Canada in the 19th Century and Some Climatic Implications," Climatic Change 5 (1983); C. W. Stockton and D. M. Meko, "Drought Recurrence in the Great Plains as Reconstructed from Long-Term Tree-Ring Records," Journal of Climate and Applied Meteorology 22 (1983).

⁴⁴ Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 71. Here Bamforth's data on precipitation derives from C. Reher and G. C. Frison, "The Vore Site, 48CK302, a Stratified Buffalo Jump in the Wyoming Black Hills," Plains Anthropologist

The decrease in drought severity may have extended back to the fourteenth century. It needs to be stressed that a decrease in drought severity did not exclude drought altogether. In fact, tree ring evidence reveals that severe long-term and short-term droughts occasionally visited the Plains. Historical documentation in some ways confirms the dendrochronological evidence; in other ways it does not.

Several issues surrounding the Little Ice Age which directly relate to forage growth, and thus bison movement, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries need to be noted. These issues in conjunction with information on drought are important to the present study.

First, though climate fluctuations during the Little Ice Age may have been more radical and winters harsher than today, the combination of cooler winters and greater precipitation on the Southern Plains would likely have allowed for a greater density of forage in the region. It would seem that, given an "average" year, this would have made the Southern Plains less vulnerable to severe drought than today. It follows that both increased forage growth and decreased vulnerability to drought would provide for a

Memoir 16 (1980):40; W. A. Sanchez and J. E. Kutzbach, "Climate of the American Tropics and Subtropics in the 1960s and Possible Comparisons with Climatic Variations of the Last Millennium," Quaternary Research 4 (1974).

A lively controversy exists over the degree to which the Little Ice Age actually varied significantly from modern climate conditions. For a brief discussion of the different positions on the issue, see Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 67-72.

relatively constant capacity for bison grazing.⁴⁵ Moreover, given that temperatures on the Northern Plains dropped considerably more in relation to the modern period's averages than they did on the Southern Plains, bison habitation in that region would seem to have been strained. With extreme cold temperatures, bison seek tree cover or comparatively warm areas. The Southern Plains may have provided a less hostile climate.

Second, the Little Ice Age's cooler winters and increased precipitation may explain why the Southern Plains would not have experienced drought as severely, if at all, as the Río Grande Pueblos in New Mexico. Separated by land features and weather patterns producing distinct micro-climates, extreme conditions affecting New Mexico may not have been a factor on the Southern Plains. A comparison of Puebloan New Mexico, the Southern Plains, and the Central Plains during 1601 reinforces the issue of micro-climates. As mentioned above, New Mexico Pueblos faced a crippling drought in the summer of 1601. Oñate reported the Southern Plains to be increasingly lush as his expedition moved east

⁴⁵ Bamforth believes the Southern Plains did not have forage dense enough to supply huge herds. He does, however, acknowledge that bison herds described by Spaniards were progressively larger as one traveled from the southwest corners of the Southern Plains toward the north and east. Herd size did not exceed 5,000 to 8,000 head. Bamforth asserts, without supporting evidence, that this contradicts ethnographic data attesting to bison sizes being their greatest on the Southern Plains. Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 77-78, 81-82.

from the present New Mexico-Texas border; bison herds also became larger. Although dendrochronological evidence taken from Nebraska reveals a severe long-term drought between 1587 and 1605, reports from neither Zaldivar in 1598 nor Oñate in 1601 give any indication of this drought on the Southern Plains along the Canadian River.⁴⁶

Third, if severe drought conditions did hit the Southern Plains, this would have pushed bison, and the humans who subsisted on them, into other areas. It is likely that many of the bison feeding in the region would have migrated to areas with denser forage that was less susceptible to drought. Bamforth argues that the direction of bison movement on the Southern Plains would probably have been to the east and northeast.⁴⁷ If Apaches had no choice but to follow the herds for seasonal hunts, this may well have brought them into conflict with Caddoans residing on or laying claim to these lands as their hunting grounds. Given the absence of evidence which would challenge the notion that the Southern Plains during this period was indeed lush, speculating whether Apaches trespassed on Caddoan lands appears to be unwarranted.

Fourth, Spaniards described Plains Apaches as

⁴⁶ Schroeder, A Study of the Apache, 159.

⁴⁷ Bamforth, Ecology and Human Organization, 78-84.

wintering outside eastern Pueblos.⁴⁸ This may have been tied to two basic considerations: winter trade fairs and inhospitable living conditions on the Southern Plains during the winter. The Little Ice Age may have been a variable in the Apaches' decision to camp outside the Pueblos. Even in the modern period the Plains offer little protection from icy winds howling south down the treeless expanse of Plains. Whether Canadian River Lipanes were the ones camping outside the Pueblos is a live question, but it does seem highly probable. These were the easternmost Apaches and the ones closest to the largest bison herds. As argued above, their relations with Puebloans were solid and amiable, and camping outside the Pueblos was most likely a gesture of friendship and trust on the parts of both peoples.

The above examination of Southern Plains ecology reveals how attending to environmental issues provides opportunities for comparing conclusions drawn from scientific data and historical documents. In making these comparisons, the historian discloses additional issues worth considering. The present study argues that climatic variables provided hospitable conditions for bison to populate the Southern Plains in large numbers, which supplied Plains Apaches with the resources for sustenance as

⁴⁸ The fact that Apaches were reported wintering alongside eastern Pueblos throws into question the belief of certain scholars, such as Thomas and John, that relations between Plains Apaches and Puebloans were generally guarded, reserved, and tinged with suspicion.

well as the establishment of a thriving bison biproducts industry. In addition, an understanding of micro-climates helps to explain why New Mexico at times suffered droughts when the Southern Plains remained temperately moist. Moreover, a knowledge of the Little Ice Age gives us insight into the severity of winters on the Southern Plains. The interrelatedness of all of these issues intersects in important ways with human activities in the region. It is precisely these types of relations that a radical empiricist approach finds useful in its analysis of a region's past. They shed light on areas of knowledge that otherwise might go unnoticed, and they raise important questions worth pursuing.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis points toward a general philosophy of history that has important implications for historical interpretation of Southern Plains-New Mexican history as well as Indian history in general. An epistemological position based on certain features of William James's radical empiricism has been presented as a corrective to the widespread parochialism that suffuses most epistemologies employed by historians, including those used by many practitioners of the "new Indian history." The present study argues that radical empiricism as outlined above provides a more inclusive method for approaching an historical topic, for this method seeks to examine as large an array of information as possible in order to establish relations among various aspects of reality in a given time and place.

For the radical empiricist, these relations obtain with respect to empirical data as well as interpretations of data. The process of analysis includes an interdisciplinary approach in which the corroboration of interpretations and the creation of new relations occurs. This approach allows a greater latitude for verifying perspectives, while also providing more data with which to reconstruct the past. In

short, this epistemology results in a deeper, broader, and more objective understanding of history.

The above Southern Plains-New Mexico case study is an application of radical empiricism. Endeavoring to understand the region's history on its own terms by including the worldviews of Apaches and ecological perspectives on the region, this study has avoided committing two very common fallacies in historians' interpretations of Indian history, the fallacies of ethnocentrism and anthropocentrism. At the same time, focusing on these two issues has provided the means for uncovering a sufficient number of facts to warrant revising previous interpretations on the subject. The above analysis indicates such a revision.

The present thesis is not without shortcomings. From the radical empiricist's view, perhaps the most obvious weakness is a lack of attention to non-Apache peoples. Though Pecos receives consideration, the worldviews of its denizens remain obscure in this study. Caddoans and Spaniards are given even less attention. Future research on the subject needs to include these important ingredients in the region's history. With the Spaniards, such a task should prove relatively easy given the amount of attention they have received from previous historians. Caddoans will prove a more elusive subject, but ethnographic material and historical documents are available.

Another fundamental project for future research centers on more carefully explaining the processes of change occurring in the region between 1600 and 1700. Histories such as John's and Forbes's can provide a general framework, but an effort to explain how people reacted existentially to developments such as the Spanish colonization of New Mexico, slave raids directed against Apaches, and the Apaches' acquisition of the horse would provide a clearer understanding of changing attitudes.

Also included in this project would be analysis of climate changes developing in the region. A critical, careful study of all relevant literature on climate and how this literature could inform a better understanding of micro-climates would be particularly helpful in assessing the effect of localized climate on human and nonhuman life in specific regions. This information could help explain, for example, why some Apaches raided New Mexican settlements and Pueblos in the early seventeenth century and others, such as the Lipán, did not. More specifically, Apaches in southern and western New Mexico inhabited a different micro-climate than that of the Southern Plains. When set against related historical data, climate data could help explain, among other things, why Apaches in southern and western New Mexico may have resorted to raiding Pueblos, while Plains Apaches did not.

Such a study should also include descriptions from

seventeenth through nineteenth centuries writers, and how these descriptions compare with dendroclimatological data. Issues to be borne in mind in the course of this research include how climate changes relate to social, economic, and political circumstances, and researchers should consider as well how climate affects mammal ecology, particularly bison and horses.

The present study devotes considerable space to the Apache worldview, but given the dearth of information on the Lipanes, more work needs to be done on this subject. Studies more systematically comparing Athapaskan culture in Alaska and Canada, on the Pacific Coast, and in the Southwest could establish clearer distinctions between the beliefs of these groups, and improve the accuracy of our understanding of the precontact and early contact Lipán worldview. Using ethnographic material, comparisons can be made between different groups' myths and legends. Another aspect of Athapaskan culture whose study would reap a bountiful harvest from comparative analysis is the system of gift exchange and how this system overlapped with the Lipán social system and relations with other tribes. In the same vein, more broad, detailed analyses of views about power could shed additional light on this central feature of the Apache worldview.

A related topic for future research concerns a deeper analysis of seventeenth through nineteenth century Spanish

descriptions of Apache culture. For example, documents such as the Benavides Memorial, the Posada Report, and the Cordero Report could be more carefully assessed with ideas from this thesis in mind. Particular attention should be devoted to differences between groups and time periods, as well as Apache reactions to Spanish intrusion and acquisition of the horse. Similarly, changes in Apache material culture, trade, trade items, and attitudes should be addressed more fully in order to provide a sense of the degree, if any, to which Apaches became acculturated.

Information can also be obtained from the natural sciences that can help to better understand conditions related to horse psychology and demands for pasturage. Horses did not become relevant until Lipanes and other Indians acquired them in the early mid-seventeenth century, and when this happened, horses became important to group mobility, social organization, raiding, and warring. Rather than viewing the horse merely as providing Indians with a means for greater mobility, a "technological" improvement over dogs, and an advantage in warring and raiding, horses should also be understood as requiring an enormous expenditure of human energy and constituting a drain on the group. Horses intensified certain aspects of Indian life, but other aspects of their life had to adapt to these changes.

An analysis of pastoralism has relevance for assessing

whether horses, as many historians and anthropologists have argued, "revolutionized" Indian life. On the contrary, empirical evidence seems to support a far more guarded assessment of the horse's impact on Native Americans. The influence of the acquisition of horses on Indian life appears substantial, though far from fundamental. Perhaps one of the most significant issues to consider here is precisely what changes resulted from the acquisition of the horse. It needs to be asked whether these changes were solely of a material nature, or whether these were changes in the Indian worldview as well.

Northeastern New Mexico and eastern Colorado Apaches (Jicarilla, Carlanas, Quarteleyos) fit into the larger system of Plains-New Mexico relations via Taos and Picuris. These relations should be probed more deeply, particularly in the seventeenth century, and doing so could reveal relations the Lipanes had with other Apaches and the northern Pueblos.

A similar investigation can be made of Caddoans and relations they had with Indians to the south, east, and north. Forbes argues that in the mid-seventeenth century horses came through south and east Texas on their way to the Southern Plains. This trade route warrants further examination.

In the process of developing these future research projects, the roving purview of the ethnohistorical radical

empiricist will find more areas to explore. This is to be expected and welcomed, for complexity and uncertainty are part of the nature of reality as the radical empiricist envisions it. As James asserts, "we have only one edition of the universe, unfinished, growing in all sorts of places, especially in the places where thinking beings are at work."¹

¹ William James, "Pragmatism and Humanism," in Pragmatism and four essays from The Meaning of Truth, Ralph Barton Perry, ed., Chicago: Meridian, 1955, 168.

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