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Chapter Author(s): OSCAR RODRIGUEZ and DENI J. SEYMOUR

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Those Who Stayed Behind

Lipan Apache Enclaved Communities

OSCAR RODRIGUEZ AND DENI J. SEYMOUR

Historians who have studied the Indian tribes of Texas and northern Mexico have long been bedeviled by a simple question—what happened to the Lipan Apaches? Where did they go? How could one of the largest Indian tribes in Texas—with a population estimated in 1762 at 3,000–5,000 people and possibly as many as 8,000—be reduced by 1904 to 225 persons officially identified as Lipan Apaches living on reservations in New Mexico and Oklahoma? Minor 2010:2

This epigraph by the late Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas historian Nancy Minor highlights an ongoing discussion among academicians and laypeople about the disposition of a once prolific Native American people, the Lipan Apaches. The literature would lead one to believe that they disappeared from history both literally and figuratively. Were they decimated to the point of extinction? Were they subsumed and disintegrated as a cogent community by the surrounding settler society? Certainly, they have effectively been erased from view in many histories, those that routinely omit the indigenous past, but we suggest that these iconic Southwestern and Plains Indians have in fact maintained

a legitimate indigenous presence through ethnically and economically determined communities.

The question of what happened to the Lipan is effectively answered by recognizing that most continue to reside in minority enclaves. As an ethnographic or geographic community type, the enclave is an enclosed territory or community that is culturally distinct from the foreign territory or community that surrounds it, a place or group that is different in character from that or those encompassing it. In this broad sense, the American Indian reservation is a form of governmentally recognized and sanctioned enclave. More widely representative forms of minority enclaves (and the type that characterizes the vast majority of Lipan Apaches), however, include ethnically distinct communities within a region and neighborhoods within a larger settlement. These ethnic-minority neighborhoods and hamlets or villages have been valid residential choices for many indigenous peoples in Texas and elsewhere. For many Lipan Apache they represent an alternative form of survival, relative to reservations, that reflects social distance and collectivity.

Studied on a worldwide basis, such enclaves and neighborhoods—whether internal subdivisions within a larger settlement or small spatially distinct settlements socially or economically connected to a larger one—are recognized as intermediate forms of organization between the larger social and spatial unit (such as the town or city) and the household. Importantly, self-organizing neighborhoods preserve their unique identity and are often organized on the basis of face-to-face relationships in ways that incorporate and promote preexisting social cohesion and leadership. Linkages among members are established and maintained through such means as shared labor, common experiences, collective history, coordinated and cyclical ceremonies, economic dependency, neighborhood endogamy, and shared beliefs, among others. Intolerance and injustice experienced from an outside, usually dominant group also contribute to the insular character and social distinctiveness of these communities. The distinctiveness and discrete identities maintained by the Lipan are indications of their lack of integration while their separateness is a measure of self-sufficiency. Their separation represents a balancing of the perceived social benefits in organized ethnic interaction with the sometimes costly detriments of ethnic signaling (see discussions in Arnauld, Manzanilla, and Smith 2012; Barth 1998; Blanton 2015; Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Hendon 2010; Lawrence and Low 1990; Smith 2010:137; Yaeger 2003).

Off-reservation enclaved communities are more common and involve more people, have greater time depth, have wider cross-cultural and geographic precedents, and for the Lipan are even more traditional than reservations. Enclaves have been widely documented, including the unique role and form they take among mobile peoples whose flexible organization inclines them toward enclave

formation, which in turn reinforces mobility and identity (Barth 2000; Eiselt 2012:20–22; Fox 1969; Gardner 1988; Rowton 1973, 1974; Woodburn 1988). As a community type, the enclave, both neighborhoods and out-of-the-way closed corporate villages (e.g., Wolf 1955, 1967), is described in the historical documentary record for the Lipan. So while reservation life is often equated with valid forms of indigenous existence, those who avoided being rounded up tended to self-segregate and congregate in enclaved communities. These enclaves formed no less authentic indigenous communities than reservations and are often situated within original territorial boundaries and lifeways that have been reinforced by historically based economic strategies.

Reservation and non-reservation enclaved Lipan communities evolved in distinct directions from one another, as expected for spatially distinct populations and those that originated from different bands. The non-reservation Lipan Apache community developed into a network of enclaves as members adapted to the changing social and political environments and became minorities in their own land. Today, this type of community (whether a neighborhood or a discrete village) stands as proof of a successful alternative to the path of government-endorsed reservation life taken by other tribes and bands, which for the most part has been assumed to be the only way indigenous communities preserved their existence as a community.

WAYS OF STAYING BEHIND

While the predominant narrative is that the organized elements of the historical Lipan Apache were removed from Texas between 1881 and 1905, this act accounts for only a small fraction of the people and one chapter of the Lipans' story. This prevalent view is justified on the basis of certain scholarly works (Fleming 2013:1–2) and because reservations have become accepted as the crucible of traditional perseverance for Native American communities. Yet Lipan history indicates that the Lipans who were moved into reservations, even as late as 1903, were not *the* tribe per se but rather represented factions and at most were detachments of certain bands within a larger community, totaling a relatively small number of people overall.

Lipan Enclavement

So, what happened to the remaining Lipan? Historically and to this day, the Lipan Apache reside in ethnically distinct enclaved communities—both neighborhoods and discrete settlements—and on reservations with other Apaches, but the Lipan do not have an official reservation of their own. These ethnic communities are representations of how the current Lipan community evolved from the historical Lipan Apache to its present existence as communities in Texas, New Mexico, and Mexico. The few Lipans residing on reservations represent

the smallest subset of the overall historical and modern population and include fewer than 1,000 individuals who descended from Lipans who moved into Apache reservations in Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Today, these Lipans are enrolled members of other recognized tribes, including the Mescalero and Jicarilla Apache Tribes of New Mexico and the Comanche and Kiowa-Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. But several times more than that number of Lipan Apaches resided historically and continue to reside in enclaved communities or neighborhoods—outside any reservation—in Texas, New Mexico, and the northern Mexican states of Coahuila and Chihuahua. As Minor (2010:33) notes: “When the first tribal enrollment process began after 1900, only those Lipan Apaches physically living on the Mescalero Reservation were enrolled in an officially recognized Lipan Apache ethnic tribal community. This discounted those Lipans who had been transferred from the Texas Indian Agency to Oklahoma reservations in 1885, as well as any Lipan Apache remnant population who had never been placed on a reservation.”

These “remnant populations” then and now represent the greatest number of Lipan Apaches. Consequently, this characterization is somewhat misleading if “remnant” is equated to a small remaining subset relative to the greater part. Given their sizable numbers, estimated to be over 10,000, and their coherency as a community, it is reasonable to ask about the status of those who stayed behind in their traditional haunts. How could such a community survive intact against the pressures that led their kin to seek refuge in the available reservations when near annihilation? To answer this question requires consideration of the social processes and histories involved in these distinct historical trajectories in maintaining a sense of community.

This evaluation is especially relevant since preservation of tradition, ethnicity, and indigeneity is equated today with reservation life. This tendency is unfortunate because reservations (other than their attributes as an enclave) were never a traditional form of Apachean community, whereas one can argue that non-reservation enclaves have existed for centuries and represent an important community type in shielding and preserving disenfranchised and powerless groups of people in the face of powerful social and political threats. While reservation-based groups are accorded a special status and are recognized as legitimate decedents of historical peoples who embody ethnic authenticity and traditional integrity, those in non-reservation enclaves are not. In large part this misperception stems from the misunderstanding that all non-reservation Apaches were killed or entirely assimilated, issues we will address below. When the Apaches were on reservations, the government could control, mold, influence, and count their declining numbers and degree of assimilation. Like blood quantum, reservations were a way of monitoring the intended erasure of a people and their traditions. Apaches of different bands and non-Apaches co-reside

in the same federally recognized reservation. In many instances, the language and customs of the groups residing there became one, as over time a single reservation community formed. They are now a part of a single blended tribe, which has made them no more authentic and in some instances perhaps less so than those who remained behind in the hinterlands. Those in non-reservation enclaves in these hinterland areas maintained an ever-adapting community while resisting government pressure to relocate. Instead of rubbing elbows with Apaches of other bands, they were influenced by other neighbors and community members who have contributed to their unique historical configurations.

The vast majority of Lipans followed this alternative course, making the enclave the most historical, while at the same time persistent and recent, and most dynamically relevant ethnographic form of Lipan community. It is reminiscent of the multi-group band that coalesced seasonally, each band occupying its own spatially discrete area while becoming part of a larger encampment, before dispersing in a way that increased social distinctiveness. The historical and modern enclave defines identity and encapsulates history for non-reservation Indians throughout the West, maintaining the core of what it means to be Lipan in the modern era.

The low visibility of those who evaded capture and stayed behind was influenced by the social and political context of the region. The authors' own experience and research indicate that indigenous people avoided public acknowledgment of their ancestry because of prejudice, roundup, and bounty hunting, as interviews with local residents also indicate. This in turn led to governmental and scholarly proclamations of tribal extinction, which served and continues to serve the dominant culture in a variety of economic and political functions. Thus while the Lipan disappeared in the eyes of outsiders, as have many indigenous groups, while appearing to become Mexicans or Latinos, in actuality they maintained their separateness and cohesiveness through this exclusion.

The Politics of Identity and Survival

In an effort to remain out of the spotlight, many indigenous groups in the southernmost American Southwest were subsumed into the general Latino population as far as outside impressions are concerned. Nonetheless, in many instances they have retained aspects of their indigenous identity. Identity referencing as Latinos or Mexicans was both a status issue that provided access to better economic opportunities and a practical one that meant less prejudice and a measure of relief from threats to peaceful existence and survival. Historical and modern sources routinely reference Lipan Apache communities as Mexican, assuming they are just part of the same polyglot of Mexican culture in the region (Morgethaler 2004). This practice is sometimes so pervasive that they are assigned a non-Lipan identity even when they do stand out from the surrounding Mexican

community, as has occurred with the Lipan Apache community of El Mulato, Chihuahua, Mexico. In this particular case, the subterfuge was so complete that the history and origin of this centuries-old village has been ascribed to Buffalo Soldiers, who arrived rather late in the region, in the late 1800s: "According to local legend, the village was settled by buffalo soldiers who deserted Fort Davis. Proponents of this version assume that the African American outlaws harbored a natural contempt for American authority. They took Mexican wives, spawned Mexican mixed-blood children, and didn't give a shit about anybody except their own . . . Mexicans by creed, soldiers by training, smugglers by nature, and they'd been bred to hate the gringos" (Jackson 2005:135).

Identity and ethnicity are situational and context-dependent (Eiselt 2012:17), and such identity re-referencing has been noted for the Lipan (see Robinson 2013:382) and for Tigua in the El Paso area (Gelo 1993) and the Yoeme (Yaqui) in Tucson (Spicer 1940:10) where, among other reasons, people feared being killed if they revealed their identities. For decades many tribal members asserted a Mexican heritage because of societal bias against all Indian archetypes and the advantages, if minimal, conferred by being Mexican over Indian. While Hampton (2015:9) attributes this blending with Tejanos of south Texas to the period of US relations with the Lipan, Mendoza de Levario (2012; personal communication to Seymour, 2014) suggests that it began much earlier in the Spanish Colonial period as a mode of economic gain and a shield against prejudice at a time when light skin color and lineal descent from Spain, whether inherited or cosmetic, were prerequisites to economic success. Many indigenous people of South Texas grew "less and less visible as Indians over the years as they sought to make a living and avoid prejudice, and around 1900 one anthropologist reported dismissively that they had become 'Mexicanized.' Though the Tiguas proved their aboriginal identity to the federal government and thus secured recognition as a tribe in 1968, there are lingering sentiments that the El Paso Pueblos are simply Hispanics living a lie for the sake of entitlements" (Gelo 1993:xv).

Gelo is referring to Jessie Walter Fewkes (1902), who viewed the Tigua as Mexicanized. This comparative and comparable example shows how this process is part of the larger and intended pattern of assimilation and erasure. To be sure, the most visible markers of identity, those modifiable cultural and behavioral attributes that distinguish a group most clearly, are the first to go underground when faced with threat of injury and prejudice. That hidden identity is reasserted only when it is safe to do so, as the Tigua of the Pueblo of Ysleta del Sur are now doing. Their revitalization began in the 1930s when they began to articulate their cultural history and identity as Tigua (Comar 2006).

These social processes that suppress outward identity may be self-perpetuating. With the American government Indian policy, there was the desire for Indians to assimilate—with the expected outcome that there would eventually be no

more Indians, thus dispensing with the *Indian Problem* (Churchill 1999). On the other side, each Indian's desire to stay alive, better themselves, and advance their familial positions and social standings meant navigating existing systems and finding ways to work both within and outside the system. In the case of the Lipan, Tigua, Jumano, Piro, Manso, and others, an important part of this response was to claim and sustain a new identity, that of being Mexican. Those who remained visibly Indian often disappeared into the hinterlands, fell in with less accommodating groups, or perished from disease or violence.

It is for these reasons and others that many of the less visible peoples of the southern American Southwest and southern Plains are said to be extinct because they sought refuge in a general Latino or Mexican identity. These claims to a Mexican heritage have been made despite evidence for the continued existence and prevalence of an indigenous genetic and cultural heritage in the local population. For example, one DNA study reported that out of a sample of 100 individuals in the heart of Lipan and Jumano territory near Ojinaga, Chihuahua, Mexico, a centuries-old trade center known as La Junta de los Rios, the frequency of haplotypes indicative of indigenous ancestry was 91 percent (Green, Derr, and Knight 2000:991). A recent legal encounter reinforced this finding and demonstrated that Lipan individuals who continue to present genetic evidence of their indigenous heritage collectively continue to practice traditional ceremonies. In this instance, Robert Soto, the vice chairman of the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas and leader of the Poca Ropa Band, won an important appeal against the US Department of the Interior over his right to use eagle feathers as part of his religious practice (United States Court of Appeals, 5th Circuit 2014) (figure 7.1). The case started as a government raid of the Poca Ropas' traditional spring powwow in south Texas. The eagle feathers were confiscated, and Soto was fined and charged with violation of the federal law protecting eagles. This same law permits members of officially recognized Indian tribes to possess eagle feathers. Soto could not obtain a permit to possess his eagle feathers because he was not a member of a federally recognized tribe and so was subjected to this action. He sued on the grounds that as an Indian and a member of a (state-recognized) tribe, the Religious Freedom Act protected his religious practice. He eventually won the case on appeal and was given back his feathers after proving, among other things, that he was in fact an Indian on the basis of his membership in the state-recognized Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas and a DNA test that showed that he had inherited the same genetic pattern as other Apaches and Navajos.

Pluralism and Persistence in Enclaves

This issue of identity and persistence of traditions in the context of new forms of inter-cultural social and political interactions intersects with the concepts of pluralism, hybridity, and *mestizaje* (Leibmann 2013; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995).

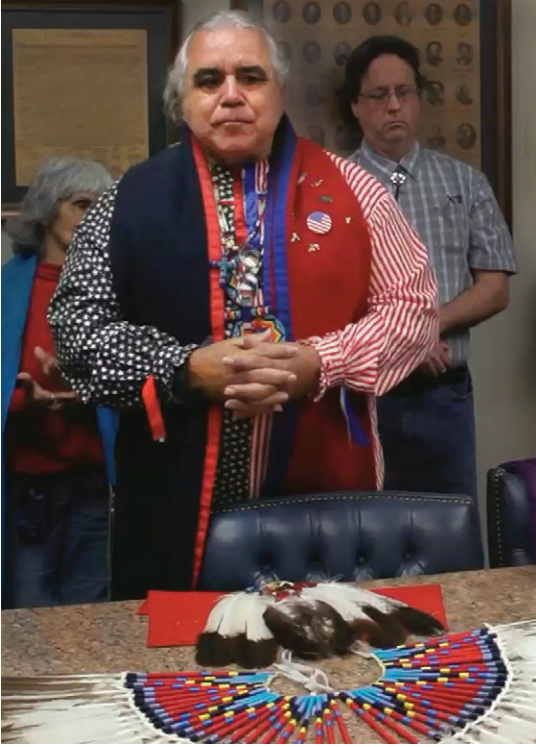


FIGURE 7.1. *Lipan Apache and pastor Robert Soto receives confiscated eagle feathers back from the government, an act that acknowledged state recognition of the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas and the results of genetic testing that showed strong affinity to other federally recognized Apachean groups.*

Historical and archaeological studies document that ever-changing associations, affiliations, and identities are common among social groups of all types, but it is the ability to easily and routinely reconfigure that represents an important adaptation of mobile people (Tapper 1979:46). Mobile societies, like the Lipan Apache, are not miniature versions of settled communities and tribal peoples; rather, they involve different social, economic, and political dynamics, and the way they interact with the environment differs as well. As Tapper (1979:46) notes, mobility “gives the opportunity for continual choice and change of residential association, within a wide but limited and relatively homogeneous social field, an opportunity inherently denied to settled people.” Social structure may be reflected more directly among mobile groups, like the Lipan, because frequent movement allows social dynamics to be expressed more readily, sidestepping the need for more complex social controls and organizations (Cribb 2008; Tapper 1979).

This flexibility in association and ease of organizing mitigates the need for a more complex organizational structure, except in unique and specific circumstances. One of these unique circumstances for the Lipan Apache occurred in the late 1700s when the widely respected leader Picax Ande rose to prominence

and maintained authority over numerous bands as a result of persistent warfare with the Comanche and their allies. But once this leader died and the need for organizational rigidity waned, the Lipan and allied groups reverted to a less organized way of life.

Moreover, flexibility in identity and associations characterizes areas of high social interaction. Anthropologists have long understood that while people intermarry and co-reside with others, it is the social and cultural persistence and alterations of traditions that determine the identity of a people. Mixing is a constant and integral element of all cultures and is not limited to initial contact, colonialism, and loss of identity or cultural integrity (Leibmann 2013:28, 31; Linton 1937; Sahlin 1994:389; Said 1993:xxv; Seymour 2011:18; Silliman 2015).

It is in this context of understanding the position and response of Lipan Apaches in the larger societal context of the dominant Spanish, then Mexican, and the Euro-American cultures that the issue of enclaves takes on its greatest relevance. Rather than diffusing to the point of extinction or intermixing and acculturating to the degree that one Apache group is the same as any other, enclavement provided a way and context for Lipan communities to coexist within and around the dominant invasive culture, effectively dodging societal pressures that lead to annihilation. Certainly, such studies can address how new social entities come into being (e.g., Leibmann 2013:27), but they are also useful for understanding how certain aspects of tradition and community are preserved and others transformed in the midst of a complex, overpowering, and dominant culture and in examining the social processes that lead to persistence in the face of overwhelming and fundamental change.

Current ways of conceptualizing transformation in indigenous encounters incorporate the concepts of ethnogenesis, hybridization, and entanglement, among others (Leibmann 2013:27; Silliman 2015:291). Unlike many earlier acculturation studies, current notions move beyond the assumption that change equals loss of tradition and accept that new forms are continually being created through inter-group encounters. As Leibmann (2013:27) points out, "Over time acculturation came to be closely associated with the loss of 'traditional' (non-Western) cultural formations and the subsequent adoption of Euro-American technologies, values, and ways of life." Importantly, this is the underlying concept inherent in both the federal recognition process and public opinion, with the assumption that certain forms of governance and organization must have existed traditionally and their presumed alteration is an indication of loss. Yet when taken to its logical conclusion, the fusion of these concepts of pluralism and enclavement allows for Lipan agency in devising creative and effective strategies to survive, resist erasure, maintain tradition, and negotiate identity against powerful opposition. In fact, an important survival strategy for ancestral Apaches has been a routine adoption of the ways of others (Kluckhohn

and Leighton 1962; Seymour 2012:90). Moreover, since initial contact, it has been important for continued existence in the face of small group sizes and high levels of attrition to incorporate others into their communities through various means, including kidnapping and intermarriage. These have been some of the primary behaviors that define the Apache and are not seen as an impediment to identity or causing the dilution of cultural integrity, except in specific types of contexts, such as federal recognition and modern politically charged conceptions of maintenance of tradition.

In the case of the Lipan, adoption of new subsistence strategies, alliances, and territories in the face of a changing political landscape provided constructive solutions in which a distinct indigenous identity was maintained. Mobile strategies allowed the historical Lipan to negotiate a way of life that was both separate from and integrated into the local society and economy. These strategies involved (1) moving between settled community and “wilderness” and (2) establishing close and lasting alliances and trading partnerships with non-Lipan neighbors and non-tribalized kin who mediated their engagement with the broader society. Establishment of enclaves in and adjacent to communities of others allowed practice and persistence of those elements that internally defined what it meant to be Lipan and were generally held close and preserved within and transmitted through family practice. Using media that were both acceptable to and outside the control of colonial authority, the Lipans subverted dominance while at the same time engaged in a viable strategy that incorporated aspects of old and new (Minor 2010).

When we combine these powerful concepts of pluralism, ethnogenesis, and entanglement with enclavement, it is possible to explore the notion that change has been a continual process in Lipan society, as in all societies. Yet transformation and fusion are precisely the adaptive components that have allowed them to persist in the face of dominant and often aggressive forces throughout their presence in the region. Today, they are not who they were a century ago, yet they are in the progression of community transformation that universally affects dynamic societies. Innovation and tradition are not problematic dichotomies but simultaneously reformulated practices of indigeneity (Law Pezzarossi 2014; Silliman 2015:292).

RETHINKING COMMUNITY AND ENCLAVES

Past conceptions of community, including tribal entities, involve a geographic component that is based on understandings of sedentary farmers and a subset of mobile peoples. Yet for decades now, anthropologists have envisioned community as something much more encompassing. The concept of community has been evolving as more is learned about the nature, composition, and function of communities on a cross-cultural basis (see Eiselt 2012:17). It is understood

that community is not dependent on territory or the continuity of any particular form of a given people's historic presentation. Community is not defined by a particular social or political organization. It is not static or deferential to legal precedent. It is the embodiment by a group of an evolving common experience that generates a sense of belonging and distinctness among its members.

Geographic Association versus Community

As we have indicated, not all indigenous people who retain traditions and form indigenous communities reside apart from the larger society on reservations. Other forms of enclaves within the larger community of "others" are an effective means by which traditional behavior, cultures, and communities persist. Many indigenous groups who are not federally recognized and who historically rejected government oversight reside in distinct neighborhoods or annexed communities. The Lipan community exists as a collection of enclaves within larger heterogeneous communities, a circumstance that continually reinforces their identity with respect to broader society and community membership.

In some cases, these enclaves are a network of families that at some point formed a distinct neighborhood in a large city. In other cases, they are a homogeneous historical rural hamlet. In all cases, they survived as a distinct community because of a symbiotic relationship with their neighbors, who saw them as different and estranged people but beneficial and familiar partners. Community members were bound together by economic interests, family ties (fictive and real), common belief systems, and a shared sense of being outsiders. They created beneficial social networks and protective bodies to safeguard against violence and cultural dissolution.

The process of enclavement in the academic literature emanated from research on ethnic and immigrant communities around the world (see Eiselt 2012:13–22). As an analytical framework, enclavement has been useful for interpreting the archaeology and history of the Jicarillas, a Plains Apache group closely related to the Lipans and with a similar history. The Jicarilla, therefore, serve as a useful example for the Lipan, demonstrating how a group can be integrated into the local economy and social network while at the same time remaining distinct and apart. Eiselt (2012) describes how the Jicarillas integrated themselves into the northern New Mexican economy and society even as they evolved into a formal tribe, allowing them to return to the land they had inhabited since at least the 1400s. Jicarilla tribal presentation today is simply the latest iteration of a coalition of different bands that had lived autonomously longer than they have been a formal tribe.

The Jicarilla had lived as separate bands and separate communities among the Pueblo and Hispanic villages in northeastern New Mexico for several generations. They knew the European settlers not as strangers but as neighbors, in

some cases even as kin. In this context, many aspects of Jicarilla culture changed to accommodate their present circumstances and to allow them to persist even among more numerous neighbors. While they were not physically separate, their history, culture, and special relationships with their neighbors made them distinct in everyone's eyes. They lived and operated as a distinct element within a dominant society. They existed as a community in this fashion for many generations, as was their tradition. The existence as a single group living on a reservation in New Mexico, which is their status today, is a relatively new and so far, short chapter in their history.

When community is seen as part of a dialectical and dynamic process as well as an end state, as incorporation of the concept of enclavement allows, it is possible to more completely understand the history and current presentation of groups like the Lipan. Tradition ceases to be seen as static, fixed at one point in time and ending abruptly. Rather, traditions are understood to be transitory, reflexive, and accommodating, allowing people to adjust as a community to the changing realities encountered from their unique historical and ethnic perspective. Community is not a bounded entity, stationary within space or fixed within a territory that dissolves once it deviates from the form that was in existence at a time and place in which a historical record was made. Instead, community takes many forms over time, including a socially distinct but economically integrated ethnic entity found in the enclaved community.

A community's ability to change to address external circumstances and internal tensions is an indication of social robustness, evidence of ethnic fidelity, and attestation of cultural perseverance. When this state-of-the-art scholarly comprehension of what constitutes a community is incorporated into the discussion of Lipan history, it is possible to understand that integration as an enclave into the broader society is one demonstrated way for an indigenous group to survive.

Conflict with neighbors and residence on reservations are not the only options for indigenous communities to persist in the modern world. A research-based concept of community illustrates that today's Lipans took a path similar to that of their close relatives, the Jicarillas, and persevered by integrating within the broader society in Texas and Mexico while at the same time remaining distinct and apart. Instead of fighting to preserve one aspect of their way of life at the time, as rebels and outsiders, as did many other Southwestern Apache groups, the Lipan became neighbors, traders, and merchants—allowing them to survive as amiable components, filling an important cooperation-based niche, and adopting economies at the margin of mainstream society. Today, this network of enclaves has organized as a formal tribe and won recognition as the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas by the State of Texas (Texas House and Senate Resolutions 438 and 812) and now is seeking federal recognition. Ancestors of this tribe who were integrated as enclaved neighborhoods in Euro-American

(or Texas) towns were thereby able to remain within a portion of their original territory. While individual Lipans and a subset of original bands did end up on reservations, many more of the original bands, which included more members, persisted and their communities continued, in a fashion similar to the Jicarillas. True to their heritage, the Lipan continued as a set of autonomous bands ensconced in different places, hamlets, and neighborhoods and adjusted as conditions required in the fashion necessary to survive.

The Character of Lipan Enclaves

Lipan Apaches have survived in off-reservation enclaves for centuries, long before the establishment of reservations. The notion of enclaves tends to be linked with migration—usually the migration of those who are enclaved, coupled with the notion that enclaved populations are of different ethnic or cultural backgrounds than the native population. Emigrant enclaves in New York City and other major cities in the United States hosted immigrant Chinese, Italians, Irish, and other disfavored groups. In contrast, enclaves also consist of remnant indigenous populations who were washed over by more numerous emigrants. Lipan enclaved communities formed as a result of the in-migration of others, whose societies began to dominate and which forced the Lipan and other indigenous populations into peripheral positions. As they represented increasingly smaller portions of the populations, they became minorities in their own land and were consequently pushed to the margins. In fact, a common definition is that enclaved populations represent a relatively small percentage of the population and enclaved people tend to be peripheral to mainstream society, as are the Lipan. In this sense, the ethnic enclave is a representation of power imbalance by minority ethnic groups—peripheral in numbers and political influence, often positioned in spatially or physically distinct areas—that are represented as a minor element of a regional or local population. Ethnic enclaves are segregated, and residents therefore bear the burdens of hostility, injustice, and prejudice collectively. This separation also allows residents to be selective in the acceptance, rate, and elements of assimilation; as such, these are places where traditions can be consciously and unwittingly adapted to the current realities of social, economic, and political life.

It might be said that Lipan enclaves today are a natural extension of the historic multi-cultural villages that constituted distinct neighborhoods or sections and provided a way for inter-cultural interaction while remaining separate. Distinct indigenous communities of other types formed satellites around presidios, basking in their protection and enjoying rations that freed them from seasonal resource fluctuations and the need to raid. *Establecimientos de Paz*, or Peace Settlements, flanked presidios in the late eighteenth century. The Spanish military fomented them through giveaways and promises of safe harbor as a strategy to fix the Apaches' location and, once the Apaches were dependent on

the presidios' custody, to slowly modify their independent behavior. As permanent *establecimientos* took root and evolved as part of distinct neighborhoods within Spanish settlements, such as San Antonio's Indian Town, there was also a continuation of isolated Lipan settlements in remote portions of their original territories on land that was unclaimed or where European landlords accommodated the aboriginal community out of economic self-interest, as was the case with El Mulato, Chihuahua. In this sense, enclaves have been a traditional response to keeping distance during inter-cultural interaction, something important for maintaining peace in diverse residential settings where interactions benefit from being limited in character and duration, as discussed by Barth (1998). Enclaves are a long-established response to the deleterious effects of colonization and an imbalance of power among co-residing groups. Both governmentally sanctioned reservations and enclaves isolate populations and allow for culturally directed responses to pressures from the outside world and maintenance of community-directed modes of daily life. Even more than reservations, enclaves are legitimate vessels of indigenous agency and genuine places of traditional life. The following two examples provide outlines of historical enclaves and describe the ways they have developed and persisted through time.

Indian Town: A Historical Lipan Enclave

An example of a historical Lipan Apache enclave is found in the middle of San Antonio, Texas. This enclave is connected to a specific band. As such, it demonstrates the existence and character of this form of community as it developed in what today is west-central San Antonio. It is located at the junction of Alazan and Apache Creeks that evolved from a camp the Sun Otter Band of the Lipans would set up when they visited San Antonio de Bejar mission starting in the 1700s, shown only as the trail by which they entered (figures 7.2 and 7.3). The old camp lies about a day's horseback ride directly south of the Paso de los Apaches (Apache Pass), which leads out of the San Antonio River valley to the southern Great Plains. The old San Fernando Cemetery #1, a remnant of that old mission and the oldest cemetery in the city, serves as one of the most salient landmarks near the old campsite (figure 7.4a and 7.4b). Starting first as a Sun Otter camp, it also served as a refuge for Lipans from other bands fleeing persecution in the countryside elsewhere in Texas through the early 1900s. Today, elders from that community who reside outside its original confines generally consider the old neighborhood boundaries to be the old San Antonio–Aransas Pass Railroad tracks and Laredo, Zarzamora, and Commerce Streets in clockwise fashion; they still know it as Indian Town, but today it is commonly known as the “Westside” (Barcena 2015). Historically, it is shown as an empty space, devoid of Euro-American buildings, but Lipans knew and know it as home where their insubstantial structures dominated the cityscape (figure 7.5).¹

FIGURE 7.2. Junction of Alazan and Apache Creeks that evolved from a camp the Sun Otter Band of the Lipans set up when they visited San Antonio de Bejar mission starting in the 1700s. (a) Lipan Apache David Diaz points out the confluence of the two creeks; (b) Alazan Creek runs adjacent to the modern-day Alazan-Apache Courts housing project that represents the modern replacement of the shantytown that previously existed in this location.



MAPA DEL PRESIDIO DE SAN ANTONIO DE DEL MES DE MARZO DE 1764. POR EL CAPITAN

FIGURE 7.3 Mapa de San Antonio de Bejar in 1764, showing route by which the Lipan Apache and other enemies of the Spanish approached the presidio.

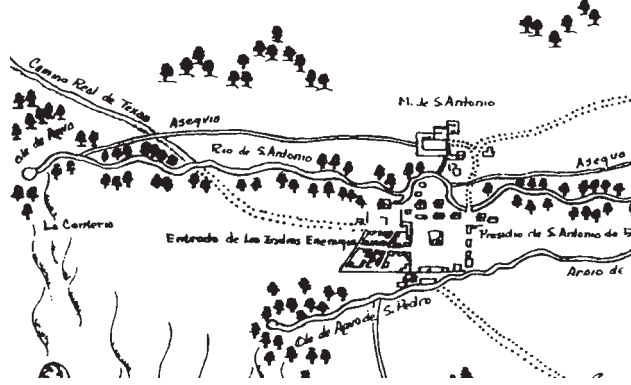
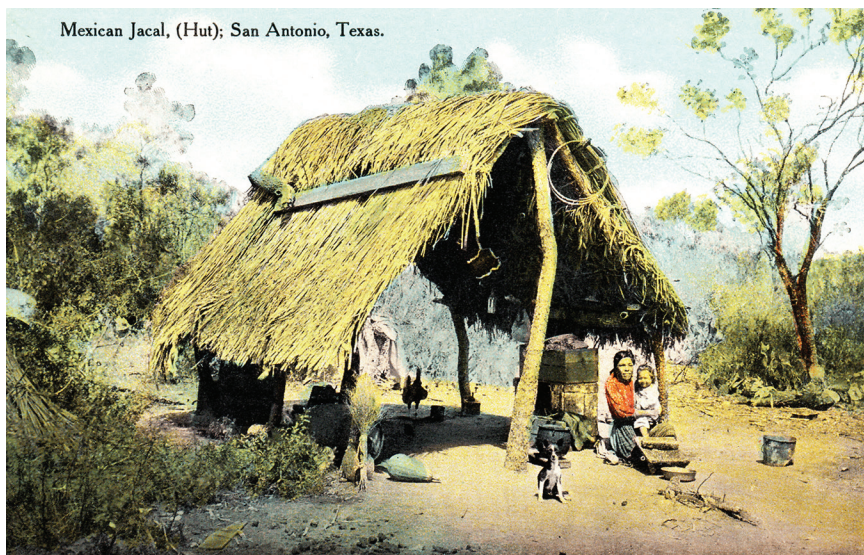




FIGURE 7.4. San Antonio Indian Town Cemetery; San Fernando Cemetery #1, showing (a) its location in Google Earth; (b) Lipan Apache David Diaz documenting an old wooden grave marker lying in a portion of the cemetery that mostly lacks permanent headstones.



FIGURE 7.5. Historic map of San Antonio, Texas (ca. 1870), showing white space where the Lipan Apache neighborhoods would have been with their wattle-and-daub structures.



Mexican Jacal, (Hut); San Antonio, Texas.

FIGURE 7.6. *Jacal built by Lipan Apaches in Indian Town at San Antonio, Texas*

The community was initially and for some time separate from the non-Indian communities at San Antonio. It continued the Lipans' distinctive mobile culture well into the 1900s, even as their material culture reflected their marked impoverishment and distress as a result of military pressure in their traditional haunts. A 1902 article in the local paper noted that Indian Town stood out from the rest of the city architecturally and culturally (Barnes 1902), the neighborhood itself exhibiting the shared patterns of material culture so common in ethnically or racially based neighborhoods (Smith 2010:146). Its original architecture was distinctive from that of the dominant local culture at the time, as documented in old photographs (figure 7.6). While San Antonio proper was characterized by adobe architecture, Indian Town consisted of a poorly constructed shantytown that included wattle-and-daub constructions and shacks known as *jacales*. In fact, a section of Indian Town is illustrated in a pamphlet dating to 1909 that shows a "Mexican" jacal next to the old San Fernando Cemetery #1 and describes it as being used by the "poorer classes of Mexicans" (White 1909:30–32). Many of the names mentioned in the cemetery are those of Lipan Apache families. The distinctiveness of the shacks themselves is described: "One of these miniature homes on one of the principal streets leans in most confiding juxtaposition to a thriving up-to-date beer saloon, with street cars running directly in front, the river and a tangle of wild wood at the back" (Chaney 1909:33). And consistent with traditional building practices, it is further described as "too low for any position except reclining, and its occupants evidently use it only for this purpose



FIGURE 7.7. An 1870s photograph of caged bird sellers, a typical Lipan economic activity

[sic], as all their household duties are naively performed out of doors” (Chaney 1909:33). Residents also shared a common narrative as well as continued practice of dances and ceremonies; although language dwindled over time, replaced with Spanish, many cultural conceptions were maintained. Foodways flourished and were melded with those of the surrounding community. The community was also distinctive in its members’ participation in fringe economic activities that originated in raiding and were later referenced as rustling and other forms of illicit trade. Other economic activities dominated by the Lipan were made possible by their past as mobile hunter-gatherers, their familiarity with the hinterlands around town, and their ability to move freely within the otherwise hostile terrain. One such activity included trade in caged wild birds; this trademark economic activity continued to appear in historical photos of the city for decades (figure 7.7).

The old Sun Otter community urbanized and outgrew the original campsite and moved into the rest of the city, with many of its members settling into homes in the surrounding vicinity. Moreover, the Indian Town community was pushed out of its original site by the local government (San Antonio Housing Authority) through eminent domain and appropriation of untitled land starting in the 1930s, when it became the first public housing project west of the Mississippi River: Alazan-Apache Courts. Eminent domain and appropriation of “legally” unclaimed or common land are important ways indigenous communities have been displaced, resulting in a fracturing of connection to place. Despite the disadvantage that characterizes this unequal treatment, former residents remained and moved into locations near their original neighborhood in the area referred to as the Westside. Here, a distinct and robust culture continued to grow. The history and culture of the city is well marked by Westsiders striving to overcome discrimination and maintain their culture in the face of the rapid growth of San Antonio into a major American city. The famous Depression-era labor leader Emma Tenayuca hailed from the Westside. The old Indian Town culture also produced a long list of musicians who exported the Westside sound beyond San Antonio to the outside world, including Sunny Ozuna (“Talk to Me”) and the well-known Tejano jazz band Royal Jesters. Despite its robustness, members of the old Indian Town community faced harsh and constant discrimination, which resulted in its apparent erasure. The latter included the fact that, as noted, its members were referred to at the time and since as a distinct community yet as Mexicans nonetheless, setting themselves apart while disguising their identity as Lipan Apaches (Barcena 2014).

Families from the Westside today trace their heritage and historical residence to Indian Town. Recollections, images, letters, and maps provide tangible connections to this enclave. Family names representing direct lineages to that community appear in county and city records and in the registers (Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas 2016). Church records, including death, birth, and baptismal records, connect them to this location, including the Lipan Apache Tribe’s current chairman, Bernard Barcena, whose family remembers this connection. Moreover, the fact that the community was once commonly known as Indian Town is an indication of its distinctiveness. The Westside and Indian Town before it show how such communities remain distinctive and socially distant from the dominant social stratum, which defines a type of community that endures apart from the larger society.

El Mulato: A Historic and Contemporary Lipan Enclave

A community known today as El Mulato is another example of a historical Lipan enclave that has remained intact by interacting with, yet staying separate from, the surrounding Mexican and Anglo society. El Mulato is a community that evolved on the Rio Grande in the Big Bend–La Junta region of Texas and

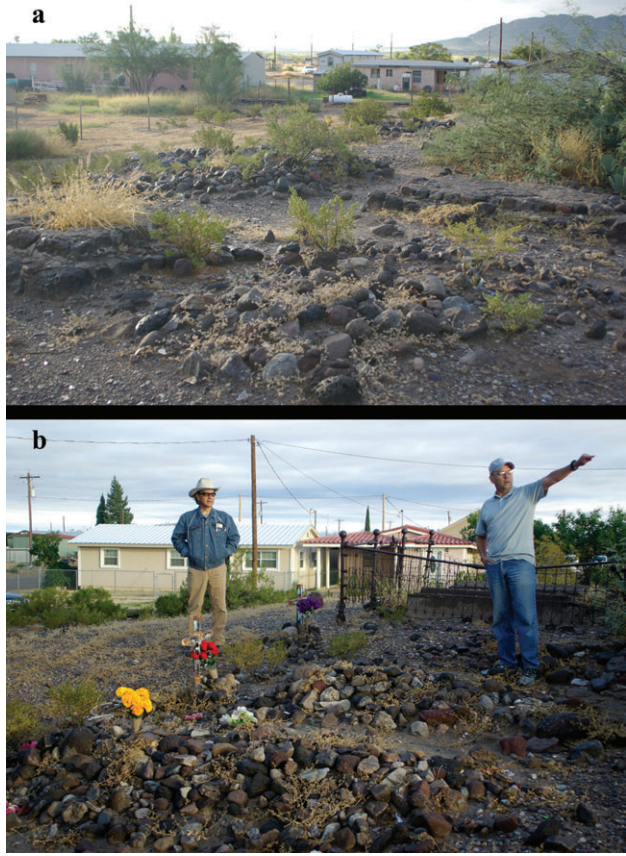


FIGURE 7.8. Section of a map (and close up view on bottom) drawn in 1881 for Major Blas Flores, who led a troop of Mexican Rurales on a months-long campaign against the Lipan in northern Coahuila and southern Chihuahua.

Chihuahua, Mexico. It is a farming and ranching settlement sprawled along more than 14 square miles of the south bank of the Rio Grande Valley, an hour south of Ojinaga, Chihuahua, by off-road vehicle. It is bordered on the north by the Rio Grande, on the east by Ventanas Creek, on the south by the foothills of the Sierra Rica Mountains, and on the west by Bayonuevo Creek (formerly Tapacolmes Creek) (figure 7.8). Across the Rio Grande to the north is Redford, Texas. El Mulato has its origins starting at least in the early 1700s as an old seasonal way station for the Culcahendes (Tall Grass) Band of the Lipan Apache as they traveled from the Mapimi Basin of northeastern Coahuila and southern Chihuahua to the southern Great Plains to hunt bison (figure 7.8). Commander Joseph Ydoiaga of the Spanish Army recorded a peaceful meeting there with Culcahende leader, Pascual, in January 1748 (Madrid 1992).

Later that century, Spanish Viceroy Bernardo de Galvez instituted a policy that emphasized peace with the Apaches so long as they stayed within designated

FIGURE 7.9. (a) Oscar Rodríguez, whose great-great-grandparents are buried at the *Cementerio del Barrio de los Lipanes*, Presidio, Texas, with Felix Aguilar, who is standing between the graves of his grandfather and uncle, with his great-uncle buried next to his grandfather. (b) Aguilar is pointing to the house in which he grew up.



areas close to Spanish presidios. Mescalero and Lipan Apaches took advantage of this Apaches de Paz policy to establish permanent roots near Presidio del Norte in La Junta (Ojinaga). After a short trial period the Mescalero left for their traditional haunts in the surrounding mountain ranges beginning in the 1870s, while the Lipan stayed and several of their communities were eventually consolidated into El Mulato. Across the border from Ojinaga in Presidio, Texas, a historic landmark recognizes the *Cementerio del Barrio de los Lipanes* (figure 7.9). The 1880 United States Census enumerated this community as Lipanes (United States Census Enumeration of Presidio County, Precinct 4, Lipanes).²

The Lipan community was named for retired Colonel Marcelo Calderón, known locally as “El Mulato.” The Spanish Crown granted the land and the community living there (referred to as *servidumbre* in a relevant document) to Calderón in 1809 (Franco y Lozano 1920). These different values listed in grant documents, as in the land, water, minerals, *servidumbre*, and others, indicate

that it was understood that people were already living on the land.³ Ydoiaga had made this part of the official record in 1748 when he encountered Pascual and his people living along Tapacolmes Creek (Madrid 1992). In granting the land to Calderón, the Crown resolved the title question by declaring the residents essentially serfs of the new landlord. Calderón operated the land grant as a successful horse ranch known as Hacienda Tapacolmes, with help from the natives, until he sold it decades later. It sold from then on as “Terrenos del Mulato” (El Mulato’s Land). Most subsequent owners who operated the ranch successfully followed Calderón’s example of enlisting the locals in its operations. One rancher who did not do so was Captain José Ignacio Ronquillo, a renowned Apache fighter in the early 1800s. He was killed by the Apaches after a short tenure as the owner of the hacienda.

In 1865 the ranch ended up in the hands of José Merino, an official with the Benito Juárez government of the Republic of Mexico. When Merino first bought the hacienda, he was concerned that the community that already existed there might someday attempt to exert some right to the land. In an attempt to preempt any such effort and perfect his title, he asked the local military court to rule that he had complete ownership of the land and that the residents had none. This signaled a gradually changing perspective on the rights of indigenous peoples in this region. The local judge settled the matter by taking a deposition from the oldest men living in the region, including one Lipan, Felix Aguilar, asking each of them if they knew how long the community had been there and the hacienda owners’ relationship with it. Each witness answered that while the community pre-dated the land grant to Calderón, the successive landowners had given permission for the community to remain, clearly not understanding the full legal implications of the questions asked. The judge ruled that Merino’s title was solid but that the community could stay in place based on the precedent of prior owners’ permission. Merino was not able to enjoy the fruits of his efforts for long, however, because he was killed by Porfirio Díaz’s revolutionaries soon after the judge’s ruling. After his death, Merino’s family was not able to hold on to the expansive hacienda and sold it to a collective association of indigenous villagers for 6,000 pesos worth of gold in 1881 (Irigoyen 1881) (figure 7.10).

In 1882 this association created an irrigation district with quasi-governmental authority, Union de Regadores de El Mulato, to qualify for government assistance to expand the acequias (irrigation ditches) beyond the old hacienda’s headquarters and irrigate the lowlands abutting the Rio Grande. The irrigation district still operates today. Every three years, a president and a board of directors are elected by the many small farmers in El Mulato, almost all of whom are descendants of the original Lipan families who signed for the purchase of the Hacienda Tapacolmes in 1881. Apart from administering the interests of the district, the board also serves as the core of the community’s traditional governing

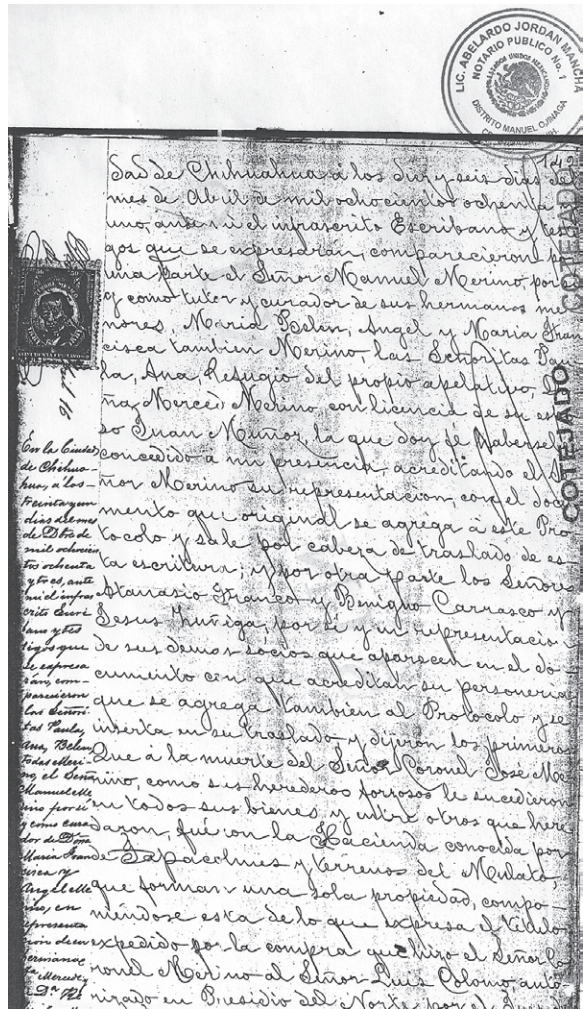


FIGURE 7.10. First page of the land deed for the Hacienda Tapacolmes y Terrenos del Mulato (aka “El Mulato”), Chihuahua, April 16, 1881

structure, simultaneously organizing for cooperative management of resources and maintaining boundaries of belonging (e.g., Barth 1998; Blanton 2015). While the irrigated fields are owned privately by the natives, the residential and grazing lands, which comprise the vast majority of the land in El Mulato, are owned in common by the residents and managed as a *mancomunidad* (community trust) through a locally elected body.

As an enclave, this community has always maintained a distinct identity. Its members still refer to each other as cousin or aunt/uncle in reference to their membership in the community, no matter whether there is a blood relationship. The villagers and surrounding neighbors have for many generations referred to

people from El Mulato as *Mulateños*. The *Mulateños*' history and place in the region is well marked and stands out even today, as is typical of enclaves in general.

El Mulato's association with horse husbandry is also legendary in the region. In 1881 Major Blas Flores led a troop of Mexican Rurales on a months-long campaign against the Lipan in northern Coahuila and southern Chihuahua. The campaign retreated into El Mulato, one of the military targets according to the map that was drawn to guide it (see figure 7.8). Having picked up their trail in the neighboring state of Coahuila, Flores had been chasing a group of Lipans leading a herd of stolen horses who zigzagged through harsh territory for many days. After a brief encounter with Flores's troops on the Rio Grande, the Lipans disappeared into El Mulato with most of their herd (Rodríguez 1998).

Local historians also note a famous horse race in Ojinaga in 1884 between the townspeople's best mount against that of the El Mulato Apaches (Sotelo Mata 2001). The race ended in controversy and led to violence between the two communities that lasted for generations. A century later Ojinaga songwriter El Coyote de Ojinaga (2010) wrote a popular ballad titled "Recordando El Mulato," extolling the *Mulateños* bravado and fame in the region.

Even today, group identity is strong and enduring in this enclave. The *Mulateños*' pride in their identity is legendary in the region (Jackson 2005). The registry of residents living there today and the land titles still reflect almost exclusively the names on the list of *Mulateños* who gathered the gold that paid for the historic community's independence from outside landowners in 1880.

CONCLUSION

The most traditional aspect of Lipan Apache community was and still is its adaptability. By the early 1900s, most Lipan Apaches in the United States had entered reservations with other tribes or formed enclaves, either as dominant members of a remote settlement or as a neighborhood in a larger Euro-American community. These enclaves formed a setting for community-directed culture change, which mitigated outside influences, and these enclaves became a way to adapt to the external pressures and internal forces that invariably influence people in any community. It is customary to view reservation Indians as maintaining traditions, despite focused government efforts to acculturate these residents and strip them of their heritage. This conception pits reservation Indians against non-reservation ones, with misconceptions about those who stayed behind and the role of enclaves in maintaining community. This division also contributes to the false impression that non-reservation Indians lack traditions and are fully acculturated while reservation Indians typify genuine Indians. Yet the enclaved neighborhood and village formed and continue to provide their own refuges from larger society in a way that is parallel to processes attributed to reservations; each simply took a separate course to the present.

While these non-reservation Indians did not heed the government requirement to come in to reservations (and therefore were not subjected to targeted acculturative efforts), they instead hid out as poor neighbors, economic partners (sometimes outlaws), and cultural go-betweens. Efforts of residents in these enclaves to defend against bodily violence, slow cultural disintegration, and maintain economic survival contributed to a shared experience that propagated a sense of community. These conditions also exploited social networks and fictive and real familial relations and instigated culturally appropriate responses, which in turn reinforces the notion of the mutability of cultural practice. Both reservation and off-reservation enclaves provided a sheltered setting in which some choice was maintained as to the nature of change agents, how and in what ways cultural traditions would be integrated into the ways and demands of the larger society, and how new ideologies and educational content would be interpreted. Thus when historians (epigraph at the start of this chapter) and others ask where the Lipan Apache went, they will find many of these survivors in the once-peripheral neighborhoods of some of the American Southwest's most historic cities.

NOTES

1. This empty map from 1886 is another example of white map space used to erase the existence of the Lipan.
2. The name Felix Aguilar first appears in the historical record as an Apache born in 1782 who was also one of the key witnesses to a court proceeding that settled a land title dispute involving El Mulato, a historic Lipan community on the Rio Grande in the Big Bend region.
3. They therefore had the right to be there. The meaning of the term *servidumbre* has changed through time. Originally it was used in the way indicated here but later the term came to mean the right of people to live on the land.

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