Protohistoric Confusion: A Cultural Comparison of the Manso, Suma, and Jumano Indians of the Paso del Norte Region

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When the earliest Spanish explorers arrived in the Paso del Norte area, they found it already inhabited by native populations. These groups, the Mansos and Sumas (along with the Jumanos and Apaches), have provided a rich ground for debate as to their origins and relationships with each other. Few early contacts were reported by the Spaniards, and little ethnographic and/or linguistic information was recorded, leaving researchers a scant account from which to draw in explaining the background and origin of these groups. For the same reasons, relationships with surrounding native groups, such as the Janos and Jocomes are difficult to ascertain. Historically, vision becomes more clouded with the introduction of the Tiguas and Piros into the area after the Great Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

According to John Peterson (personal communication 5/18/93), the tribes were likely mixed and intermingled by the time of Spanish contact, and *the Spaniards* sought to separate and define the native population into separate groups for ease of government and increased control. The opposite, however, is also possible. The Mansos, Sumas, and other tribes of the region may have been separate (although interacting) groups that became mixed together in reaction to the common threat of Spanish invasion.

Many theories have been presented to explain the origins of the Mansos and Sumas (as separate groups or as a common people) using various combinations of language, historical records, and prehistoric evidence. However, no attempt at a comprehensive ethnographic contrast and comparison of the Mansos and Sumas has previously been presented. To compound the confusion, many researchers have com-

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bined the Sumas (and even the Mansos) with the Jumano Indians, as well as fusing all or some of the four Jumano groups into a single unit. The inability of many authors to separate the various contenders for the name "Jumano" has exacerbated the situation. An ethnographic comparison and contrast of these various groups will help to illuminate the darkness of confusion.

PREHISTORY

Evidence exists that human beings have inhabited the region surrounding Paso del Norte for the past 12,000 years or longer (MacNeish 1991: 15; Peterson et al. 1992: 62). These people were almost entirely hunter-gatherers during the Paleoindian and Archaic periods, beginning plant domestication near the end of the Archaic. During the early fomative or Mesilla phase of the Jornada Mogollon culture (A.D. 200–1100), semi-subsurface dwellings came into use along with a general increase in the dependency on agriculture through the Doña Ana phase (A.D. 1100–1200) and the El Paso phase (A.D. 1200–1400). Although agricultural dependence increased, hunting and gathering continued to be an important part of the people's subsistence pattern, and villages along the Rio Grande developed a riverine component. After 1400, evidence of the El Paso phase lifestyle disappeared, creating a period that became known as the abandonment (Batcho et al. 1985: 17; Carmichael 1984: 11–17, 1986: 17; Haynes 1966; Martin 1973; Peterson et al. 1992: 67–70).

Archaeologists have generally favored a depopulation model to explain the lack of evidence of human occupation in the area until recently. Speculations on the reasons for the abandonment have generally cited mass mortality, wholesale migration, or a combination of the two. Epidemic disease, warfare, malnutrition, climatic change (erosion or drought), overcrowding, or poor sanitary conditions may have led to or contributed to the disappearance (Upham 1984: 245–48). Another possibility, however, has been suggested by Stuart and Gauthier (1981: 9–24) and Upham (1984: 248–49). These authors suggest a return of the Jornada Mogollon people to a hunting and gathering strategy. Without specific temporal markers, such as datable hearths, obsidian tools (unusual in the area), or known projectile points, the temporary habitation sites of such people would become indistinguishable from

those of the archaic hunter-gatherers. From the "abandonment" to the arrival of the Spaniards in the Southwest, such camps would be archaeologically "invisible."

A later group, the Na-Dene, was a fairly recent arrival in the New World and was known to be in northwestern Canada by around 5,000 B.C. These were the ancestors of the Athapaskan Indians of that area. One branch of the Athapaskans migrated to the Southwestern United States to become the Navajos and Apaches. Researchers disagree on the temporal placement of the migration, ranging from an early estimate of A.D. 900 (Forbes 1960: xvi) to the 1800s (Oswalt 1988: 14, 71). Others (Griffen 1988: 2; Schroeder 1974: 33) suggest a time between A.D. 1400 and 1600.

HISTORY OF THE MANSOS AND SUMAS

When the Spaniards arrived, they found three groups of people living in the El Paso area, subsisting as hunter-gatherers. Along with the Apaches to the northeast (who may well have arrived at approximately the same time as the Spaniards), the Mansos in the northwest and the Sumas in the south form the bridge between the prehistorical and historical periods in the Paso del Norte area of western Texas and northern Mexico.

Although it is possible that Cabeza de Vaca encountered either Mansos or Sumas in the 1530s, the party left no direct evidence of such a meeting. First contact probably resulted from the 1581 Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition. They briefly described a group Hammond and Rey (1966: 79) identify as Caguates (Sumas) and Beckett and Corbett (1992: 23) indicate may be Mansos. Both Diego Pérez de Luxán and Antonio de Espejo recorded that the Espejo party met the Caguates and Tanpachoas (Mansos) during early 1583 (Hammond and Rey [1929] 1967: 68–69; 1966: 217–218). Both Juan de Oñate in 1598 (Hammond and Rey 1953: 315) and Fray Alonso de Benavides about 1625 (Ayer [1916] 1965: 13–14) encountered a group of Mansos at the Rio Grande.

The history of the Mansos and Sumas becomes intermingled after Spanish contact. After a failed attempt at Christianization in 1656, Fray García de San Francisco y Zuñiga established a mission at the Pass to the North which he called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Man-

sos. García intended the mission to be for both Mansos and Sumas, although other tribes were welcome. General Spanish settlement in the area appears to have begun concurrently with the establishment of the first little mission, creating the need for a larger church which was dedicated on January 15, 1668. (Forbes 1957: 325; Hughes [1914] 1935: 304–11; Newman 1984: 180–86; Scholes 1930: 194–45; Walz 1951). About three years before the ceremony (ca. 1665), Fray García along with Fray Benito de la Natividad founded Las Llagas de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco for the Sumas. Although the missions were well attended, some groups, notably the Manso band of Captain Chiquito, "persisted in their heathen ways" (Walz 1951: 21). A Manso revolt broke loose in 1667, a year before the dedication of the new mission building, but Captain Andrés de Gracia managed to quell the trouble locally by hanging two Indians (Hughes 1914: 309–10; Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 62; Walz 1951: 19–22).

For the next sixty-five years missions blossomed throughout the area. About 1663 or 1664 Padre Andrés Paez founded a mission at Casas Grandes, followed shortly by additional missions at Carretas and Torreón. The Spaniards established the separate pueblos of Corpus Cristi de la Isleta for the Tiwas (now Tiguas) and Nuesta Señora de Socorro for the Piros and Tompiros after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Later, in 1685, another Piro/Tompiro pueblo was established at Senecú. Around this time, Padre Nicolás López organized a new mission, Santa Gertrudis, for the Sumas about eight leagues south of El Paso. In 1683 a mission was founded for the Sumas at Ojito de Samalayuca, but it was abandoned the following year due to the Manso Revolt (Bandelier 1890: 90; Di Peso 1974: 865, 900, 908; Hughes 1914: 321–23, 328–29, 336; Hankins 1962: 106–9; Sauer 1934: 68–71; Swanton 1952: 325; Timmons 1976: 154–55; Walz 1951: 75).

The next flurry of mission building began in 1691 when Fray Francisco de Vargas dedicated Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Mansos, which was apparently abandoned in 1693. It was followed, about 1692, by San Diego de los Sumas. In the relative quiet of the beginning of the eighteenth century, a new mission, Santa María Magdalena, was built for the Sumas, but it was apparently soon abandoned. Another mission, Santa María de las Caldas, was founded around 1731 but was destroyed by a Suma revolt in 1749 (Forbes 1959: 113; Gerald 1973: 8–10; Hackett 1937: 378; Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 50; Walz 1951: 285–88).

After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, conditions in El Paso became difficult. Driven south by the Pueblo tribes, the Spaniards of New Mexico and their allies, the Tiwa, Piro, and Tompiro Indians, sought shelter in the comparative safety of Paso del Norte. Soon the hardships of insufficient food and supplies due to overcrowding caused resentment and dissatisfaction among the groups of Mansos and Sumas, who were now forced to share their territory with even more outsiders. When the Mansos revolted in 1684, their leaders were arrested and eventually hanged. Captain Chiquito's rancheria in the Florida Mountains became a gathering point for the rebels. For the next sixty-five years, Mansos and Sumas joined with Apaches, Janos, Jocomes, and other Indians of northern Mexico in alternatively revolting and returning to an uneasy peace in the missions (Bailey 1940: 19, 109; Bolton [1916] 1930: 316–17, 1948: 178–83; Espinosa 1940: 17, 1988; Forbes 1960: 183–84, 200–5; Hackett 1942: cxx–ccvii; Hankins 1962: 106–9; Hodge [1907b] 1969: 649; Hughes 1914: 321–23, 328–60; Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 18–22; Naylor and Polzer 1986: 506–9; Walz 1951: 75, 135–49, 227–88; Wyllys 1931: 138).

Often the Indians had good reason for fearing the Spaniards. Spaniards attacked peaceful groups, executed individuals, and sold both men and women into slavery (Hendricks 1992: 6; Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 25). Nor were the revolts confined to El Paso. Janos, Casas Grandes, and other Spanish settlements of Nueva Viscaya all felt the terror and hardships of the combined Indian assaults. And always the revolts were met with harsh punishment as Spanish soldiers and their Indian allies pursued the rebels, inflicting serious casualties on any groups they caught (Di Peso 1974: 866–75; Espinosa 1942: 34–37, 41; Griffen 1979: 10, 19–22; Forbes 1957: 325; Hughes 1914: 342–45, 354–57; Naylor 1981: 276–80; Sauer 1934: 72; Twitchell [1914] 1976: 2: 276).

Along with casualties inflicted by the Spaniards, disease decimated the Manso and Suma populations. Sometime between 1693 and 1709 a smallpox epidemic ravaged the northern Chihuahua area, hitting the Indians particularly hard (Gerald 1973: 8). Manso and Suma extinction, however, was caused neither by warfare nor disease; they faded from history through cultural dispersion. As a result of alliances with and proximity to other groups, they interbred with Apaches, local Pueblo groups, other Indians, and the Spaniards. Sometime after the mid-1700s, the Mansos and Sumas seem to have lost their tribal iden-

tities; those who had not intermarried had become Christians (both in name and tradition) and had adopted Spanish culture (Beckett and Corbett 1992: 16; Forbes 1959: 119; Gerald 1973: 10; Hodge ([1907a] 1969: 802; Lafora [1958] 1967: 87; Lange and Riley 1970: 160–61; Naylor 1969: 10–11, 1981: 275). In 1773, the Mansos of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe were described as "its first inhabitants, but they are totally extinguished" (Hackett 1937: 506–7). Almost all of the remaining Sumas were wiped out in a smallpox epidemic in 1780 (Lange and Riley 1970: 163).

A small group still called themselves Mansos and "claim[ed] to be direct descendants of those whom Fray García de San Francisco settled at the 'Pass' in 1659" when Bandelier passed through Paso del Norte in 1883 (1890: 247). He did, however, remark that they were difficult to separate from their Pueblo neighbors in the area. Even that group vanished sometime after Bandelier's visit. There is little question, however, that people with Manso (and probably Suma) blood are still alive. Beckett and Corbett (1992: 19) have located Manso descendants among the Tortugas Indians of the Las Cruces, New Mexico, area, and Houser located a man in Ciudad Juárez who claimed to be the last of the Mansos (Houser et al. 1993: 16–18). Although the blood is still present, the culture has vanished.

ORIGIN

A review of the literature exposes a major conflict among researchers on the question of the origins of the Mansos and Sumas. The methods used in addressing the question range from archaeological evidence to linguistics to historical references. Mansos and Sumas are addressed separately by some researchers, whereas Forbes (1957, 1959) argued that both the Mansos and Sumas were descendants of the Athapaskan migration. In what Rex Gerald has called "a mass of circumstantial evidence" (1973: 4), Forbes connected both of these tribes (and others) to the Apaches. While the sheer volume of evidence presented is impressive, it fails to prove his point convincingly. He cited many instances where *the Spaniards* considered languages or tribal groups to be the same. The evidence of the mixing, intermarriage, and alliance of all these groups is clearly demonstrated, but it fails to convincingly connect the various tribes *before* Spanish contact. Black and white individ-

uals in urban and suburban settings mix, intermarry, and form alliances together on a regular basis, but few scholars would claim that as a basis for common ancestry of the two groups.

Forbes's evidence does suggest two possibilities. The first is that the Spaniards were somewhat confused about the languages, relationships, and identities of the smaller tribes of the Southwest, especially in the early years of the colonization of the region (Kessell and Hendrick 1992: 172). Variation in names alone demonstrates confusion. Just for the Sumas, the possible list of names used by the Spanish includes Shuman, Sumana, Xoman, Umana, Suma, Zuma, Yuma, Zumana, Xumana, Cuma, Juma, Jumo, Suama, Sumar, Sume, Sumee, Summa, and Sumo. Derivations of the name Manso are quantitatively less confusing, being limited to Manco, Mansa, Lanso, Lano, and Manzo.

The second possibility is that Indians of the region chose to establish close alliances in response to the Spanish threat. Naylor (1981: 276) phrased it well when he stated that while Forbes's evidence does not prove a relation between Sumas and Athapaskans, "it does describe peoples who were *becoming* Apaches." While the possibility remains that the Mansos and the Sumas may have been Athapaskans, the evidence presented by Forbes is unconvincing (Naylor 1981).

Naylor (1969: 8-10) offered four possible models for Suma origin: (1) that the Sumas were descendants of the Casas Grandes culture (A.D. 900–1450) of northwestern Chihuahua; (2) that the Sumas were nomadic bands living in conjunction with Casas Grandes; (3) that Forbes was correct, the Sumas really were fairly recently arrived Athapaskans; or (4) that the Sumas lived in western Texas or eastern or southeastern Chihuahua and moved into the Casas Grandes area after the decline of the Casas Grandes culture. He concluded that the Sumas "were originally Jumanos who moved westward after the Casas Grandes abandonment" (1969: 8). Linguistic relationships and the Jumano question will be addressed below.

Aside from Forbes, who seemed to see all non-Pueblo Indians as Athapaskans, only Beckett and Corbett (1992: 32–48) have attempted to ascertain the ancestry of the Mansos. They concluded that the "Manso were part of a larger tribal group that included the Jano and Jocome" (48) speaking a Uto-Aztecan language. Beckett and Corbett (1992: 41) accepted the hypothesis that "there was not abandonment of the Jornada Mogollon Area, but that around A.D. 1350–1450 events took place that caused the abandonment of permanent adobe village

sites and shifted the settlement pattern to a more mobile rancheria type of dwelling."

They further suggested that if the Mansos produced ceramics, their sites could be mistaken for pithouse villages of the Mesilla phase. They cited archaeological evidence of radiocarbon and other dating between A.D. 1400 and 1600 in eight sites that fall within the historical Manso area. They concluded that the Mansos "are the direct descendants of the El Paso phase of the Jornada Mogollon" (1992: 48), and included a map (40) showing that the Manso territory fell within the area of the El Paso phase people defined by Donald L. Lehmer in 1948. Interestingly, most of the Suma territory as Naylor defined it (1969: 3) also falls within the El Paso phase (see map 1).

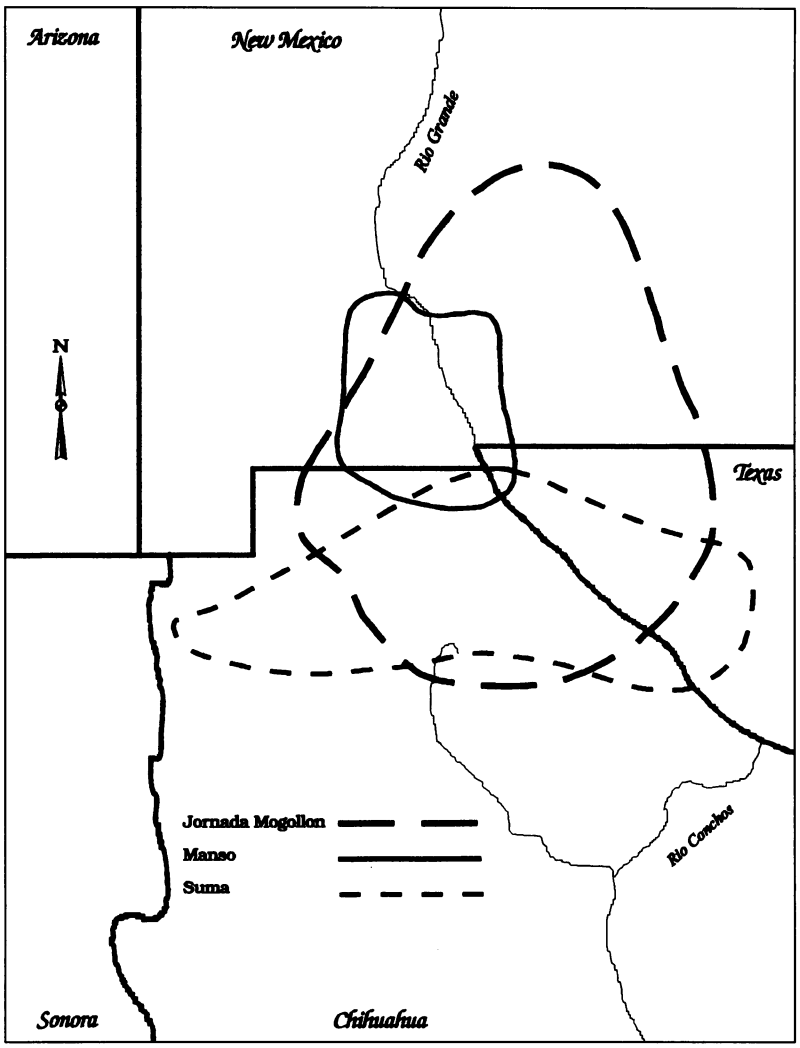
Assuming that the peoples of the El Paso phase of the Jornada Mogollon returned to hunting and gathering instead of abandoning the area completely (Batcho et al. 1985: 19; Carmichael 1986: 17; Peterson et al. 1992: 69; Wiseman 1988: 153), Beckett and Corbett's conclusion that the Mansos were descendants of the Jornada Mogollon culture seems to be appropriate. The Sumas could also have sprung from the same material culture. The second possibility is that the Mansos and Sumas had different ethnic backgrounds. In this model the Manso ancestry remains that of the El Paso phase people, but the case of the Sumas is reduced to Naylor's four possibilities (listed previously).

CULTURE

A comparison of the two cultures may help to determine whether they shared a common ancestor or came from quite different backgrounds.

Names, Hairstyles, and Makeup

The word "Manso" first appeared in the account of Juan de Oñate in 1598, when the Indians they encountered shouted the words, "manxo" and "micos," which Oñate assumed to mean that they were peaceful and friendly (Hammond and Rey 1953: 315) and was reported again by Fray Alonso de Benavides in 1630 (Ayer 1965: 13). Despite these two examples, Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa's report on Fray Benavides in 1764 stated that Fray Tomás Manso was



Map 1. *Mano and Suma territory compared with Lehmer's Jornada Mogollon territory.*

"so well accepted and beloved by those nations of the pass of the Rio del Norte that they adopted his name, and to this day call themselves the nations of Mansos" (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945: 208). In the 140 years after the Benavides report, the facts were becoming clouded.

Oñate remarked that the Mansos had "long hair cut to resemble little Milan caps, headgear made to hold down the hair and colored with blood or paint" (Hammond and Rey 1953: 315), a style also noted by Benavides (Ayer 1965: 13). Naylor (1969: 5) suggested that the Sumas may also have worn their hair similarly, citing Forbes (1960: 125) as his source. Speaking of the 1620s, Forbes said that:

> the El Paso region was occupied by the Manso or Gorretas "so called because they trim their hair in such a manner that it looks as if they were wearing caps on their heads." This same hair style was in vogue among all the tribes from El Paso to La Junta and seems to have been a type of scalp lock which was allowed to grow long and then combed down over the shaved portion of the head.

Although not cited by Forbes, the quote is from Benavides, but I fail to find any mention in either the 1630 or 1634 *memorial* of that hairstyle being worn by other tribes. Unless Forbes had a source he did not mention, he (and therefore, Naylor) is quite mistaken. As this hairstyle is somewhat unusual, it would surely be specifically mentioned by other Spaniards, as it was by Diego Pérez de Luxán when the Antonio de Espejo expedition of 1582–1583 encountered the Patarabueyes, a group that wore a similar hairstyle (Hammond and Rey 1929: 57).

Clothing (or Lack Thereof) and Trade

Benavides in his memorial of 1630 (Ayer 1965: 13–14) stated it more clearly: "Nor do they sow, nor do the [men] wear any clothing in particular, but all [go] naked. And the women only cover themselves from the waist down with two deer-skins, one in front and the other behind." Luxán agreed, but mentioned that "the men tie their privy parts with a small ribbon" (Hammond and Rey 1966: 169), a fact also mentioned by Oñate (Hammond and Rey 1953: 315) in 1598. The Sumas also wore little or no clothing. Obregon (Hammond and Rey 1928: 207) reported that "the men go about naked; the women wear short skirts of tanned deerskins or cowhide." Di Peso (1974: 920), Bandelier (1890: 87), Naylor (1969: 5), and Griffen (1979: 40) agree and report some use of footwear. Although the Sumas wore little clothing, they did trade for apparel, apparently forming part of a trade network up and down the Rio Grande. Macaw feather headgear given

away by the Caguates (Sumas) and Otomoacas (Jumanos) indicates some trading "in the direction of the sea" (Hammond and Rey 1966: 167). Espejo (Hammond and Rey 1966: 218) reported that other Sumas possessed trade goods that came from the west.

Food and the Question of Agriculture

According to Luxán's commentary on the Espejo expedition of 1582, the Tanpachoas (Mansos) gave them "mesquite, maize, and fish," the latter of which were caught with "small dragnets" in the pools and marshes along the river (Hammond and Rey [1929] 1967: 69). Espejo confirms this adding "many varieties of fish" (Hammond and Rey 1966: 218). Benavides, in his memorial of 1634, claimed that the Mansos "are a voracious people and great eaters. They sustain themselves on fishes from that river [the Rio Grande], which are plentiful and good, devouring them raw, just as they do the meat of all the animals they hunt, not leaving even the blood" (Ayer 1965: 52–53). The Forrestal translation adds that they ate mice (1954: 11).

Sauer quoted Blas de Castillo, *alcalde mayor* of Sonora as claiming that the Sumas "live on roots and on what they can kill with arrows" (Sauer 1934: 72). In 1684, Juan de Dominguez passed a rancheria of the Sumas, whom he describes as "poor people who live chiefly on *mescal*, which is baked palms" (Bolton [1916] 1930: 321). Others (Newcomb 1961: 233; Sauer 1934: 68, 72) agree. Obregon (Hammond and Rey 1928: 207) stated that the Sumas "are hunters; they eat all sorts of game, wild reptiles, and acorns. Naylor (1969: 4), Gerald (1973: 60), and Griffen (1979: 40) added mesquite beans, *tunas*, and other cactus fruits, roots, seeds and unspecific game animals, but Naylor (1969: 4) erred in citing Benavides (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945: 52–53) as including the Sumas along with the Mansos as eaters of raw fish and animals.

Although Bentley (1992: 79), Naylor (1969: 4–5), and Peterson et al. (1992: 74) suggest that Mansos and Sumas engaged in forms of agriculture, historic sources disagree. In early May 1598, Oñate's men crossed the ford at El Paso del Norte, meeting unnamed Indians that were likely Mansos or Sumas who "have no knowledge whatsoever of agriculture, have no fixed homes, or ranches, and live a carefree life . . . living entirely by hunting and fishing, and also by the roots which they dig" (Villagrá [1933] 1967: 139). In his letter of January 16, 1668,

describing the dedication ceremonies of the mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Fray Juan de Talaban stated that before the padres came the Mansos "died, as they were born, without crops and without clothing" (Scholes 1929: 197) and that the Sumas "are a nation of a large number of people as poor and as naked as were the Mansos, who have never known, nor do they know now, how to sow" (Scholes 1929: 200). Further confirmation is provided by Hackett (1937: 206; 1971: 366), Kessell and Hendricks (1992: 69), Scholes (1930: 193–94), and Tyler and Taylor (1958: 291). Bentley, Naylor, and Peterson et al. probably confuse El Paso groups with the La Junta Jumanos. While the extended resource utilization (including agriculture) of hunting and gathering peoples may be a valid theoretical generalization, it does not necessarily fit all specific cases. I find it unlikely that either the Mansos or Sumas engaged in agriculture prior to the Spanish intervention, although either group may have traded for maize with Pueblo cultures.

Dwellings

Although Swanton (1952: 334), Peterson et al. (1992: 74), and Bentley (1992: 79) suggest a more varied model that includes semi-subsurface dwellings and pueblos, historic sources suggest brush huts for both Mansos and Sumas. Mansos were described as having "no houses in which to dwell, but live under the trees" (Hackett 1937: 206), as "dwelling in rancherias and straw houses" (Hammond and Rey 1966: 218), or as "living in huts of reeds and of boughs" (Bandelier 1890: 247). Sumas also lived in "very frail abodes" (Bandelier 1890: 87), in "brush *jacales* . . . which in winter were sometimes crudely covered with skins" (Naylor 1969: 5), or "in straw shacks like wild animals, exposed to the sun, wind, and cold" (Hammond and Rey 1928: 207).

Weapons and Tools

Benavides (Ayer [1916] 1965: 14) described the use of "knives of flint" in discussing the Manso method of eating (although in the Manso area, chert would have been a much more likely material). Sumas also used stone tools (Di Peso 1974: 920–27), and both groups fought and hunted with arrows and "Turkish bows" (Bandelier 1890: 86–87; Gerald 1974: 110; Griffen 1966: 40, 1979: 40; Hammond and

Rey 1953: 315, 1966: 79, 1967: 69). Turkish bows were probably bows that were reinforced with bison sinew, bone, or horn from buffalo, elk, or mountain sheep (Hammond and Rey 1966: 160). Mansos also used bludgeons of tornillo wood (Hammond and Rey 1967: 69).

Demography

Espejo's account of the unnamed people living along the river (likely Mansos), suggested that they numbered "upward of one thousand Indians of both sexes" (Hammond and Rey 1966: 218). Naylor (1969: 5) argued that bands of Sumas averaged around 50–75 individuals and that bands were scattered and economically independent. Gerald disagreed with Naylor's numbers, suggesting that a conservative estimate of band size would be "just over 200 persons" (1973: 5). Luxán claimed that the Espejo expedition was met by more than 300 men and women of the Caguates in 1683 (Hammond and Rey 1966: 168).

Gerald (1973: 5) suggested that the Sumas were monogamous because the priests, while complaining about other Suma habits, failed to mention polygamy. The same reasoning could also be applied to the Mansos. Bandelier (1890: 87) believed "that among the Sumas . . . descent was in the female line." Gerald (1974: 120) pointed out that Bandelier also described the matrilineal descent of a Manso *cacique.* Sumas may, however, have practiced patrilineal descent in the case of chiefs (Naylor 1969: 5; Gerald 1973: 12–26), although that may have been a result of Spanish influence.

Habits, Ideology, and Government

Little is known about the religious practices of either group. The Tanpachoas (Mansos) encountered by Espejo "performed their *mitotes* day and night, both dances of their own and others like those of the Mexicans" (Hammond and Rey 1966: 218). The Spanish missionaries apparently allowed the Mansos to continue their dances, for on January 15, 1668, at the dedication of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the "ceremonies were attended by four hundred persons, heathen and Christian; native dances and fireworks enlivened the event" (Walz 1951: 18). The Mansos of the late nineteenth century had six clans, mostly connected with corn (Bandelier 1890: 248; Lange and Riley 1970: 162). Bandelier also portrayed the Mansos as having sacred

regions, sacred meal, and "tobacco [that] also serves as a means for incantation and as an offering" (1890: 249). They used eagle and turkey feathers, but considered owl feathers to be very bad (Lange and Riley 1970: 162). The Sumas were known for drunken (even obscene) dances which included the use of peyote, and one medicine man was reported in 1662 to have walked on hot coals and blown flames from his mouth (Bandelier 1890: 87–88; Gerald 1973: 27–29; Griffen 1979: 41).

Naylor (1969: 5) suggested that the scattered and independent bands of the Sumas were each governed by a single chief or leader. Gerald agreed, further suggesting that local groups probably gave allegiance to "the most prominent head of one of the component extended families" whose power was probably "persuasive rather than coercive" (1973: 4). Bandelier proposed that medicine men may have had considerable influence on the Sumas, and that the term cacique was used erroneously for their leader (1890: 87).

Seasonality

Most hunter-gatherer societies have a distinct seasonal round adapted to the changing seasons and varying subsistence availability. Hunter-gatherer movements, therefore, tend to follow food resources. The few early Spanish records (before the missionization of the Mansos and Sumas) are limited in the amount of seasonal variation that they demonstrate.

Luxán's temporal catalog for the Espejo expedition indicates that they visited the Caguates (Sumas) on January 1, 1583 and the Tanpachoas (Mansos) between January 9 and 15, leaving us a view of their winter occupation (Hammond and Rey 1966: 215; [1929] 1967: 67–70). The Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition, in contrast, encountered the Caguates in late July or early August—the desert summer (Hammond and Rey 1966: 69, 79). Oñate (Hammond and Rey 1953: 315) met the Mansos on May 4, 1598—in the late spring or early summer, and the attempt by Benavides to convert them probably occurred in the early part of 1625 (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945: 2).

The very limited seasonal data indicate that the Suma were naked at least during the summer (Chamuscado-Rodriguez), but that the Mansos continued that practice even during the coldest part of the winter (Espejo). As Batcho, et al. (1985: 19–20) noted, the Mansos lived in a group of 1,000 people in a riverine setting in the winter and may have

dispersed into smaller bands during the summer. Since they were still along the river in May (when Oñate passed through), they may have left only during the hottest months, possibly seeking higher elevations for cooler temperatures. Sumas (Caguates), however, were in residence along the river in both summer (Chamuscado-Rodríguez) and winter (Espejo), even though they demonstrated a more desert subsistence than a riverine one. Espejo may, however, have met only an isolated group of Sumas. Both exploration parties visited the same group, as evidenced by the sorrel horse that Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado abandoned in 1581, which Luxán reported as being fed mesquite and "talked to . . . as if it were a person" by a Caguate cacique a year and a half later (Hammond and Rey 1966: 168). Neither Oñate nor Benavides encountered the Sumas on their journeys—probably because their route struck the Rio Grande north of the normal Suma range.

Although the Mansos were absent from the Rio Grande in the summer of 1581, they were never specifically located away from the river by the Spaniards until after unrest began following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. In contrast, only one band of Sumas was noted near the river prior to 1680; the remaining groups were encountered in a desert setting. It is not until the Spanish intervention that an overlapping of territorial boundaries, intermarriage, and a similarity of lifestyles began to occur between the two groups. A combination of enforced proximity in the mission environment and mutual aggression and cooperation against a perceived common enemy beginning about the time of the Manso Revolt of 1684 seems to have blurred the individual ethnic identities of the separate groups into a more synthesized mass.

A SECOND LOOK AT ORIGINS

It was my hope that this comparison of the Mansos and Sumas would shed some light on the question of whether or not they shared a common origin. They were much alike in many predictable ways, such as wearing little, if any, clothing; living in light, easily abandoned habitations; using similar weapons; and being quite mobile—all traits that can be expected of hunter-gatherers in a desert ecology.

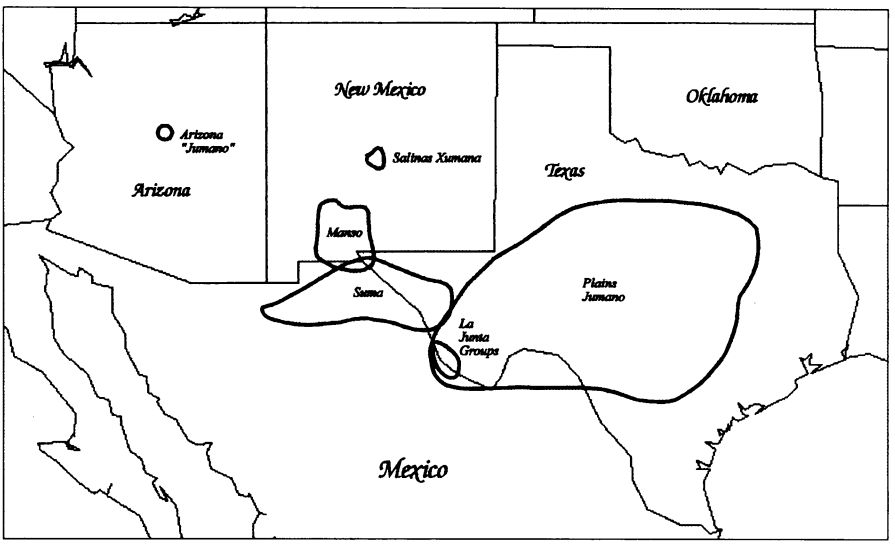
They showed two major differences that can be demonstrated by the few records left by the Spaniards: subsistence preference and hairstyle. Even though both groups likely varied their subsistence patterns sea-

sonally, they were both observed by some of the early Spanish explorers during the same season. The comparisons between them are therefore valid. At the times observed, the Mansos exhibited a riverine economy, especially the eating of fish; while the Sumas demonstrated a desert one, with their most common food reported as agave. The main foods of each were not attributed to the other—neither fish for the Sumas nor agave for the Mansos—in spite of their being observed at the same time of year. The distinctive hairstyle of the Mansos also sets them apart from the Sumas, although it is surprisingly similar to that of the Patarabueyes, a Pueblo agricultural group from the La Junta area.

Although I have not addressed the issue of territory, Beckett and Corbett (1992) produced a map of Manso territory superimposed on Lehmer's 1948 map of the Jornada Mogollon area. Naylor (1969) likewise presented a map of Suma territory. I have combined the two to demonstrate that the majority of both Suma and Manso territories fall within the boundaries of the Jornada Mogollon (map 2). The map also shows that the two groups clearly claimed separate territories. The slight overlap around the El Paso area may even have occurred as a result of Spanish intervention and may not have existed in prehistoric times. The documents cited previously uniformly mention the Mansos as living north of El Paso and the Sumas as living south (or west) before the beginning of the revolts. After that the two groups became interspersed.

The differences in religious practices may also be significant. No drug use was ever mentioned for the Mansos, but peyote and possibly other intoxicants were used by the Sumas as a regular part of their ceremonies—apparently making them wild and violent. With fire walking, fire eating, and peyote use, Suma ceremonies must have been exciting and moving experiences. While the Mansos were certainly capable of violence, it was not mentioned as part of their religious practices. While far from conclusive, these differences would tend to support the idea that the two groups were culturally distinct.

Beckett and Corbett's conclusion that non-ceramic Manso sites could be mistaken for Archaic habitations and that Manso sites with ceramics could be mistaken for Mesilla phase pithouse villages can also be applied to Suma sites. The Manso and Suma backgrounds, therefore, may still spring from the same source. Lehmer (1948: 11), Bentley (personal communication, 4/20/93), and Batcho et al. (1985: 17) suggest a possible geographic division between distinct groups of the El



Map 2. *Territory of the Jumanos, Mansos, and Sumas.*

Paso phase. Given the possibility of these two branches and that all of the Manso territory and a significant part of Suma territory are located within Lehmer's suggested El Paso phase boundaries, the Manso and Suma may be descended from two separate groups from the El Paso phase.

I support the conclusion of Wiseman (1988: 153) and Bentley (1992: 89) that the Mansos and Sumas were both derived from the El Paso phase people of the Jornada Mogollon. We began with a fairly sound assumption that the Mansos were descendants of these people and have continued to support that argument. To the four possibilities of Suma descent presented by Naylor must be added the prospect that the Sumas were also descendants of a second branch of the El Paso phase.

This research, however, raises more questions than it answers. If the Mansos actually did migrate to the Rio Grande for the winter, why did Espejo and Luxán encounter only one group (possibly two) of them? There are no other rivers nearby for winter occupation; where were the rest of the Mansos? We know that by 1680, 830 Mansos had been baptized and that others were still maintaining their previous lifestyle. Does that mean that the one or two villages visited in 1683 contained the entire Manso population at that time? Could the Mansos have

gathered together in the winter and dispersed into smaller bands for their summer round? Although the Espejo expedition encountered many groups of Otomoacas, they met only one group of Sumas (Caguates), apparently the same (and only) ones met by the Chamuscado-Rodríguez party (the ones that still retained Chamuscado's horse). Was that the only group that lived along the river? If so, and if Di Peso's map (1974: 906) showing thirteen rancherias along the river is correct, then the Sumas had developed a major transformation in settlement pattern between the late sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries.

JUMANOS

As stated above, many researchers accepted the Sumas and the Jumanos as belonging to the same tribe or group, or at least as being closely related. Naylor (1969: 8) and Di Peso (1974: 838, 840) concluded that the Sumas derived from the Jumanos. Schroeder (1974: 221) took the opposite view, concluding that the Jumanos "were in reality various divisions of the Sumas who extended from below El Paso to La Junta in 1683." Spicer (1962: 231) also claimed that "the Sumas were a more nomadic eastern branch of the Jumanos." Newcomb (1961: 235–36) referred to the Caguates (Sumas) as the "Upstream Jumanos," and Hickerson (1994: 16–17) identified them as Plains Jumanos. In addition, the Suma/Jumano relationship was accepted by Forbes (1959: 128–39), Sauer (1934: 65–69), Kroeber (1934: 81), Scholes and Mera (1940: 285–89), Swanton (1952: 324, 624, 634), Peterson et al. (1992: 74), and Bentley (1992: 75). Some ascribed a linguistic connection between the two groups; others saw an associational connection.

The first question to be answered is, however, *which* Jumanos? The Spanish and French used variations on the word Jumano (Shuman, Shumano, Sumana, Xoman, Umana, Umanes, Choma, Chome, Choman, Chumay, Chouman, Choumanes, Chomenes, Çumanes, Zumana, Xumana, Xumanes, Humano, Humana, Humanes, Jumano, Juman, Jumane, Jumaneo, Jumzan, Jumanes, Jumenes, and Jumana) to represent at least four distinct groups. Group one, the unit most removed from El Paso, will be designated the Arizona Jumanos. Group two, the Jumanos of New Mexico will be designated as the Salinas or New Mexico Jumanos. The buffalo hunters of northern Texas, whom I will call the Plains Jumanos will make up group three. Group four is composed

of the farmers at La Junta on the Rio Grande: the La Junta Jumanos, Paturabueyes, or Julimes. Some researchers consider groups three and four to be different segments of the same people, but in this study they will be analyzed separately.

Although the various derivatives were used to identify each of the four groups, the Salinas group was more often termed "Xumanes" (or other versions beginning with "X"), while the plains group was usually called Jumano or Choma (or derivations beginning with "J" or "Ch"). The word "Jumano" was first used by Luxán as a name for the three Indians he met near present-day Pecos, Texas, on the return trip of the Espejo expedition to the Rio Grande (Kelley 1986: 13). Antonio de Espejo (writing after the return of the expedition) described the people he met in late 1582 at the confluence of the Rio Grande and Rio Conchos (the area known as La Junta) as Jumanos (Hammond and Rey 1966: 216).

The confusion created over the Spaniards' reuse of the term "Jumano" increased when scholars ignored the cultural and locational differences in the various groups or tried to explain them as being a single entity. Bandelier (1890: 167–69) expressed confusion over the disparities between the assemblies and concluded that the La Junta groups were part of the Jumanos. Hodge (1910: 249–68) portrayed the geographic disparities of the four groups as migrations of a single people. Although Hickerson (1994) notes the differences between the four groups, she too, indicates that they may belong to variations of a single, closely related entity. Swanton (1952: 325), Newcomb (1961), and Sauer (1934) also attempted to combine various Jumano groups, while Scholes and Mera (1940) and Kelley (1986) observed the differences.

Language

Carl Sauer (1934: 65, 80) and A. L. Kroeber (1934: 15, 81) both classified the Sumas and Jumanos together as members of the Uto-Aztecan language family. Troike (1988: 236–41) reviewed Kroeber and Sauer and suggested that none of the Amotomanco words could be attributed to either Sumas or Jumanos. Scholes and Mera (1940: 287–89) presented circumstantial evidence of a linguistic affiliation between the Plains Jumanos and the Sumas of Casas Grandes, but referred to only a single incident. Forbes (1957, 1959, 1960), of course, believed that both the Sumas and Jumanos spoke an Athapaskan dialect. In a statement refuting Forbes, Naylor (1981: 275–81) disavowed the possibility that the Sumas were Athapaskan speakers and used unpublished

analyses of the names of forty-three Sumas executed at Casas Grandes in 1685 to demonstrate a Uto-Aztecan connection, supporting Sauer (1934) and Kroeber (1934) that the Sumas (not the Jumanos) were Uto-Aztecan speakers. In the most recent study of the Jumanos, Hickerson (1994: 29) suggested that the Plains Jumanos spoke a Tanoan dialect and agreed with Scholes and Mera (1940: 285) that the Atzigui language of the Piros and Tompiros was used by the Xuamanos of the Salinas Pueblos (Hickerson 1994: 54, 117). Although Luxán (Hammond and Rey 1929: 67) claimed a similarity between the languages of the Otomoacas and the Caguates, he was refuted by Espejo and Gallegos, both of whom described contact with the Caguates by means of sign language (Hammond and Rey 1966: 79, 217–18). Linguistics, therefore, is inconclusive in establishing a relationship between the Sumas and the Jumanos.

The Jumanos of Arizona

In 1598, Marcos Farfán de los Godos and eight other Spaniards encountered a group they called Jumanos. These people hunted deer with bows and arrows, ate *datil* (prickly pear fruit), used powdered ores, and lived in brush huts. Schroeder (1974: 164, 171) identifies these people as Yavapais. Only Hickerson (1994: 212–13) implies the possibility of a connection between this group and the Plains Jumanos. They are otherwise noted by Scholes and Mera (1940: 269), Newcomb (1960: 20), and Forbes (1966: 347). Although the scant ethnographic data suggest a resemblance to the Suma lifestyle, sheer distance removes the Arizona group from any close connection to the Sumas.

The Jumanos of New Mexico

The Jumanos of New Mexico lived in three or four pueblos in the Salinas district east of the Rio Grande and Chupadero Mesa in Valencia County, New Mexico. The Salinas district is a "salt lagoon area" bounded "on the south [by] the Mesa de los Jumanos" (Hodge 1910: 254). Hodge (1910: 153–54) quoted Oñate as saying that on October 6, 1598, he left for "the salinas [salt beds] of the Pecos . . . and to the pueblos of the Xumases or Rayados, which are three: one very large, and they saw the others."

The Salinas Jumanos were generally a peaceful group, although they could become violent if provoked. In 1629, Fray Estevan Perea as-

signed Francisco de Letrado to attend the Jumanos. Letrado, along with Fray Diego de San Lucas, began construction of the permanent Church of San Isidro in 1630. The building was probably completed by Fray Antonio Acevedo and was renamed the mission San Buenaventura. Droughts creating crop failure and famine, epidemics, and Apache depredations caused the probable closing of the Jesuit mission to the Jumanos in 1671, and the abandonment of the Jumano pueblos by 1672. The survivors of the 500 families that had inhabited the Jumano pueblos mixed in with the Piro pueblos or fled to the Nuestra Señora de los Mansos mission at El Paso, some arriving by 1670 (Hickerson 1994: 56, 96–109; Hodge [1907c] 1969: 636, 1910: 256–57; Ivey 1988: 157–238; Scholes 1942: 17; Scholes and Mera 1940: 279–85).

Scholes and Mera (1940: 291–99) traced the development of the Salinas pueblos, using village structure and pottery types to measure changes in evolution. Both measurements indicate *in situ* development with strong influences from the Mimbres culture to the west and the Chaco culture (Anasazi) to the north. Unfortunately, the researchers uncovered little ethnographic evidence. We only know that the Salinas Jumanos "were sedentary agriculturists living in pueblos" built of stone (Scholes and Mera 1940: 291). Although the area produced a limited water supply, the Salinas people grew corn and beans, irrigating with runoff water. Drinking water came from springs and excavated wells (*pozos*) (Hickerson 1994: 106; Ivey 1988: 183, 231; Scholes 1942: 64). The nearby salt, however, was a likely item for trade with the Plains Jumanos. The Sumas were anything but sedentary agriculturists, as they lived in brush huts and were migratory hunter-gatherers. The location and *in situ* development of the Salinas groups northwest of accepted Suma territory, the completely opposite living patterns, and the use of the Tompiro language (which no researchers have connected with Sumas) make any connection between the Sumas and the New Mexico (Salinas) Jumanos highly unlikely.

The Jumanos of the Plains

The Plains Jumanos were nomadic buffalo hunters and traders of the Texas plains and hill country. Their normal territory ranged from the La Junta region of west Texas to the east, well beyond New Braunfels, although it included occasional trips to confer with the Spaniards at El Paso and Parral. They were aggressive traders and were possibly the mechanism for the spread of the sinew-backed bow throughout

Texas. Bows and arrows may even have been their primary trade items. By the admission of Juan Sabeata (a Jumano chief), they bartered with at least thirty-six different Indian nations as well as the Spanish and French. An important function of the group seemed to be the dissemination of information across their area—a Native American news service. The Plains Jumanos were the only ones recorded to have used the term "Jumano" in describing themselves (Hickerson 1994: 215–19, 228; Kelley 1986: 34, 139–42).

The Plains group was first recorded along the lower Pecos River by Luxán, where they were encountered by the Espejo expedition in 1583. They were visited again by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa in 1590 and by Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego López in 1629 and 1532. Captain Hernán Martín and Diego de Castillo found the Jumanos on the plains in 1650, and they were again visited at the same location by Lieutenant-Colonel Diego de Guadalajara in 1654 (Hackett 1971: 326–28; Hammond and Rey 1929: 124–25; Hickerson 1994: 23–28, 45–49, 96–102, 108–12; Hodge 1910: 255–56, 258; Kelley 1986: 19–22, 30).

In 1683, Juan Sabeata, a Jumano chief, arrived in El Paso with six followers, seeking baptisms for his people and help against the marauding Apaches, said to number more than 30,000. Fray Nicolás López accompanied the Indians to La Junta on December 1, remaining until he was joined by a group of Spaniards led by Juan Domínguez de Mendoza fourteen days later. Leaving Fray Antonio Acevedo to attend to the Christianization of the La Junta settlements, López and Fray Juan Zavaleta, accompanied by Mendoza and his soldiers, continued on to the Rio Nueces (not the modern Nueces River) with Sabeata's group. The party waited six weeks for Sabeata's allies to assemble. Repeated Apache attacks finally drove the Spaniards back to La Junta (Bolton 1911: 71–74; 1930: 320–43; Hickerson 1994: 127–45; Hodge 1910: 261–62; Hughes 1914: 330–31; Kelley 1986: 23–25).

The French, too, were branching into eastern Texas and reported contact with the Chomans (Jumanos) in 1687 and 1688. In 1691, Sabeata was again encountered by the Terán-Massanet expedition in the vicinity of San Antonio. Although the Jumanos had been enemies of the Apaches prior to 1716, Spanish reports connect the two tribes as allies after that point. Because of their close association with the Apaches during the final years of their known history, by 1732, they likely became absorbed into the Apache nation (Bolton 1911: 76–83; Forbes 1959: 134–39; Hackett 1971: 168–70; Hickerson 1994: 182–84; Kelley 1986: 27–44).

The Plains Jumanos lived in tents, probably made from the hides of bisons and similar to the tipis of the other Plains Indians. They are best known as hunters and followers of the bison herds, although they may have eaten shellfish and fish from the streams near which they camped. They gathered wild plants, including squash, prickly pear, and mesquite. They hunted and fought with arrows having small, pressure-flaked stone points and the sinew-backed bows that were common along the Rio Grande. Other tools included flake knives, scrapers, gravers, awls, crude hand axes chipped from stone, and bone needles and awls. They used little pottery, mostly Doss Redware that was manufactured in coils that were scraped flat and usually polished lightly (Di Peso 1974: 839; Kelley 1986: 136–37, 139; Hackett 1971: 138).

Kelley (1986: 143) maintained that the Plains Jumanos were "survivors of some Plains tribe that pushed into the Trans-Pecos and there developed the Toyah Focus [archaeological area]." They may have been part of the larger Livermore Focus, an older hunting culture that produced a plains orientation and then developed into a culturally separate tribe. They may also have been Athapaskan migrants or from another Plains group that moved into the area; they almost certainly were absorbed later into the Apaches. Hickerson (1994: 226–27) adds that they may have been descended from the middle Pecos people or the Cielo Complex, a forager group found in the Big Bend region and northern Chihuahua.

While the Plains Jumanos were, like the Sumas, hunter-gatherers, their lifestyles were quite dissimilar. Although the western edge of the territory of the Plains Jumanos touched the eastern border of the Sumas, there is no clear indication in the literature that the two merged at any point. Trade with the Patarabueyes (La Junta Jumanos) was frequent, but none is mentioned with Suma bands. The terrain and subsistence economy of the people differed. The Sumas eked out a difficult existence, living primarily on agave and other arid-climate vegetation in the northern Chihuahuan Desert. The Jumanos, on the other hand, lived on the plains and in the rolling hill country of central Texas, following the bison and supplementing their diets with vegetation and fish at riverine camps along with agricultural products traded from other tribes. The Sumas lived in brush huts, vastly different from the bison-hide tents of the Plains Jumanos. The only relationship demonstrated by historical records, then, is the common territorial boundary near La Junta—hardly a basis for postulating a close relationship.

The La Junta Jumanos

Several intermarrying groups lived at or near the confluence of the Rio Grande and the Rio Conchos (La Junta), farming in the soil of the river valley. Throughout the Spanish period, these villages and peoples were given a bewildering variety of names, including Patarabueyes, Otomoacas, Abriaches, Cabris, Julimes, Polaques, Mesqiutes, Oposmes, Puliques, Conejos, Pescados, and Trigos. Espejo called these people "Jumanos whom the Spaniards call also by a different name, 'Patarabueyes,'" (Hammond and Rey 1966: 216). The name Jumanos, however, was not reported by subsequent Spanish chroniclers. Espejo wrote his account after the return of the expedition and may have confused the La Junta people with the Plains Jumanos whom they encountered on the return trip downriver. Luxán, who recorded the expedition while it was in progress, used only the name Patarabueye (Hammond and Rey 1929: 54–55).

The La Junta groups may have been the "People of the Cows" that Cabeza de Vaca and his fellow wanderers visited in 1535 (Covey 1961: 15–17; Hammond and Rey 1966: 77, 217; Kelley 1986: 48–49), but no record of a Spanish visit appears for almost eighty years afterward. In 1683, the Julimes of La Junta united with the Plains Jumanos in sending delegates to El Paso seeking missionaries. As mentioned previously, Fray Nicolás López accompanied the Plains Jumanos to La Junta on December 1. While López and Mendoza continued on to seek the Plains Jumanos, Fray Antonio Acevedo remained at La Junta. The Julimes joined in the Manso Revolt in the summer of 1684, forcing the priests to flee to Parral. Although the revolt was short-lived, the fledgling La Junta mission was terminated before the completion of its second year (Hackett 1971: 350–51, 354–55; Hickerson 1994: 132–34; Hodge [1907c] 1969: 636; Griffen 1969: 31, 78; Kelley 1986: 23–25, 58).

The missions reopened in 1687, but shut down after only a year and seven months. The Spanish clergy established a pattern of alternately organizing and abandoning missions at La Junta until 1731 when Fray Miguel Menchero sent priests to institute a permanent mission, followed by the establishment of a nearby presidio in 1760. During this entire period, the La Junta groups were frequently at war with the Sumas and other nearby nomadic groups. The missions were still in

place in 1778, and possibly as late as 1794, but the native inhabitants were leaving the area or rapidly being absorbed into the Spanish culture. By the time the Americans established a settlement at La Junta in 1851, the only Indians they reported in the area were Apaches and Comanches. The La Junta ruins became only a memory (Kelley 1986: 58–65).

Patarabueye men wore their hair short on the sides and in back, but longer on top, resembling a skull cap, a style reminiscent of the Mansos. When visited by the early explorers, the men appeared naked, but occasionally wore bison-hide cloaks (especially old men). Women wore skirts and sleeveless bodices of tanned deerskin, as well as the bison-hide cloaks of the men. Feather caps, shawl-like garments, and moccasins completed the list of attire. Jewelry included copper trade goods, and beads made from shells, bone, and turquoise (Hammond and Rey 1929: 57; Kelley 1986: 120–21).

The La Junta groups were agriculturalists before the coming of the Spaniards, growing maize, beans, and squash. Flood irrigation may have been used prior to the Spanish arrival. Prickly pear fruit, mesquite beans, and mescal were gathered, along with other nondomesticated plants. The men hunted deer, small game, and probably bison, and they fished the river—likely with small dragnets. Domesticated crops were bartered to the Plains Jumanos in exchange for bison hides and probably meat (Bandelier 1890: 80; Hammond and Rey 1929: 58, 60–61, 1966: 77; Kelley 1986: 120, 139; Newcomb 1960: 22, 1961: 238–39). Dwellings ranged from pithouses to house tiers occupied by more than three hundred individuals. Gallegos, Espejo, and Luxán all describe well-constructed permanent and semipermanent structures (Hammond and Rey 1929: 59–62; 1966: 74–78, 216–17) which is confirmed archaeologically by Kelley (1986: 71–85). Pithouses may have been used as temporary field dwellings during periods of high agricultural intensity, such as harvest time.

Like the other Indians of northern Mexico and the Southwestern United States, the La Junta tribes used sinew-backed bows with strings made from bison sinew and stone-tipped arrows in warfare and for hunting. Arrows made from Perdiz Stemmed Points may have been one of the important trade commodities with the Plains Jumanos, who then bartered the arrows throughout Texas. They also employed sandstone abraders and grooved shaft straighteners in their manufacturing

techniques. Stone tools included scrapers, double-pointed knives, flake tools, awls, and drills. Bowl metates and rectangular or ovate *manos* were used for agricultural processing. Sand-tempered pottery was made by coiling, smoothing, and polishing. Various texturing techniques were employed, along with red slips and red paint. Vessel types included bowls, jars, and heavy tray-like objects. Jar bottoms were sharply rounded or pointed, and rarely included handles (Hammond and Rey 1929: 57; Hickerson 1994: 217–18; Kelley 1986: 124–25).

The La Junta political structure consisted of autonomous villages, presided over by governors (chiefs) and captains, although the entire La Junta alliance was at least periodically governed by a single leader. Pueblos appear to have been exogamous and probably patrilineal. Singing and dancing were regular pastimes, often accompanied by the rhythmic clapping of hands (Hammond and Rey 1929: 67, 1966: 78; Kelley 1986: 125–27). The La Junta groups were passive traders, allowing more active nomads, such as the Plains Jumanos, to bring the items of barter to them. Early Spanish reports suggested that they were a high-spirited people who enjoyed life and were generally nonaggressive. They were not raiders and preferred flight to combat (Kelley 1986: 128–30).

The Patarabueyes and other La Junta groups demonstrated a mixture of Southwestern and Plains cultures. Kelley (1986: 130–33) speculates that the La Junta peoples were the southern extreme of the El Paso phase of the Jornada Mogollon that mixed with the older Chisos Focus (archaic hunter-gatherers) and/or the Livermore Focus (Plains culture). They eventually disappeared by absorption into other tribes and assimilation to the Spaniards.

The La Junta "Jumanos" were clearly a separate group from the nomadic Sumas, their frequent enemies. Whereas the Sumas lived in brush huts and moved frequently, the La Junta pueblos were permanent structures of more solid construction. The subsistence pattern of the settled agriculturists at the junction of the rivers bears little resemblance to the Suma hunter-gatherers, who were described as "poor people who live chiefly on mescal, which is baked palms" (Bolton [1916] 1930: 321). Although the La Junta groups may have traded with the Sumas between periods of war, the evidence does not justify classifying the two peoples as a single group.

Which Jumanos?

The cited evidence clearly denies any strong relation between any of the four groups that have been classified as "Jumanos" by historians and anthropologists. The Arizona Jumanos were geographically isolated from the other groups and were only designated by the term Jumano in a single instance. Since no one but Hickerson has claimed any relationship between them and the other Jumano groups and because they are so far separated geographically, I consider them removed from serious contention.

Both the New Mexico Jumanos and the La Junta groups were peaceful agriculturalists and pueblo dwellers. The Plains Jumanos were nomadic hunters and traders from the Plains tradition, who could be warlike and aggressive. They continually tried to embroil the Spaniards into their battles with other tribes, notably the Apaches. Although the Plains Jumanos traded with both the New Mexico and La Junta groups, and apparently lived among either or both of them temporarily, they were clearly a separate cultural entity.

The New Mexico "Xumanas" were likewise distinct from the La Junta groups. Although both were settled farmers, they came from different ancestral traditions. The New Mexico group was closely related to (or even a part of) the Tompiro pueblos, and was linked with the Tewa and Piro groups, near whom they dwelled. The La Junta groups were greatly geographically separated from the New Mexico pueblos and were ancestrally linked with the Jornada Mogollon, rather than the more northern groups. Pueblo construction in New Mexico was primarily of stone, while at La Junta, wood and adobe were the preferred materials. It is unlikely, therefore, that any of the four groups designated as "Jumano" were related to one another by ancestry or culture.

Similarly, there is no evidence to link any of the Jumano groups with the Sumas. The most striking difference, of course, is that the Sumas were hunter-gatherers living in brush huts, while the La Junta groups were settled agriculturalists. That same difference, along with the separation in geographical location eliminates the New Mexico Jumano pueblo dwellers as Suma relatives. Sheer distance also rules out a connection with the Arizona group. Although the Plains Jumanos were also a hunting and gathering group, their culture, geographic area, and

ancestral background reflected an economy suited to the plains, rather than the desert adaptation demonstrated by the Sumas. All of the Jumano groups, therefore, must be considered as separate cultural units from the Sumas.

CONCLUSION

Because many researchers have accepted the Sumas and the Jumanos as a single unit, a great deal of confusion has existed as to the cultures, habitations, and lifestyles of the various groups. The confusion began with the Spaniards, who used the term Jumano or one of its variations to describe four culturally distinct groups. Later historians and anthropologists attempted to solve the "Jumano problem" by lumping three of the four groups together along with the Sumas. Past researchers have attempted to untangle the Jumano web by means of linguistics and historical references which, more often than not, attempted to link two or more of the groups. A few authors, notably Kelley (1986) and Troike (1988), have refuted this artificial synthesis of distinct cultures. The preceding pages provide a cultural comparison of the Jumano groups along with the Suma to conclude that, not only are the four Jumano groups unrelated, there is no evidence linking the Sumas to any of them.

A review of the available literature reveals that few conclusions about the Manso, Suma, or Jumano Indians of the Paso del Norte region can be regarded as absolute. Primary source evidence is insufficient to produce results that could be termed conclusive. The Spanish colonizers of what are now Texas, New Mexico, and Northern Mexico were primarily interested in locating precious metals, forcibly proselytizing the Native American people into Christianity, and seeking personal glory not in ethnographic preservation or the maintenance of precise historical records. As a result, the two-hundred-year contact between the Spanish and Native American cultures in the El Paso area of the Rio Grande produced only a handful of reliable accounts that describe any linguistic or cultural characteristics of the Mansos, Sumas, or Jumanos.

Attempts to classify any of the groups linguistically have proven inconclusive. Not only are the six words analyzed by Sauer and Kroeber insufficient in quantity to define a language base, the words are

representative only of the Amotomancos of La Junta (visited by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado party), not to the Sumas and Jumanos as a whole, as claimed by Sauer. Forbes's attempt at linguistic categorization based on historical reference proved likewise misleading. His contentions were based on Spanish reports of Native American conversations—admittedly reported by individuals who were unfamiliar with the languages they overheard. In all cases the Spaniards could have misheard, misreported, or misunderstood the context of events.

Furthermore, archaeological evidence is in most cases lacking. Kelley's extensive research (both archaeological and historical) into the Plains Jumanos and the La Junta groups has presented a valid comparison of material culture, differences, and prehistoric background between those groups. The works of Scholes and Mera and Ivey have provided insight into the Salinas Jumanos and their ancestral background. Di Peso's work at Pachimé (Casas Grandes) has demonstrated the relationship between Spaniard and Suma after contact in a mission setting. At present, however, there are no valid or reliable pre-contact sites for either Mansos or Sumas.

Despite the inadequate and insufficient information left by the Spanish chroniclers and the limited available archaeological investigations, we may still arrive at certain tentative conclusions based on cultural comparison. First, geographic location, hairstyle, religious ceremonies, and subsistence patterns indicate that the Mansos and Sumas were separate groups. Second, both groups were hunter-gatherers who did not engage in agriculture. Although the Sumas and the La Junta "Jumanos" have often been categorized as a single group, they were distinct cultures. Third, the possibility exists that the Mansos, Sumas, and La Junta groups all shared a common ancestor—the El Paso phase of the Jornada Mogollon. Fourth, the four groups identified as Jumanos are four separate and unrelated cultures. Finally, both the Manso and Suma cultures are distinct and separate from *any* of the Jumano groups.

An understanding of the protohistoric period in the Paso del Norte area requires additional research. Archaeological investigation of known post-contact Suma habitations may reveal patterns of material culture that will add to the knowledge base. The opening up and historical evaluation of more Spanish archives may reveal new insights into Manso and Suma culture. An increased interest in and awareness of the

protohistoric period by local archaeological investigators, coupled with advances in dating techniques, may reveal new insights into the pre-contact culture of the Mansos and Sumas. Until the development of new techniques or the discovery of new sources, however, we must continue to eliminate delusion to bring conclusion from confusion. ✣

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