

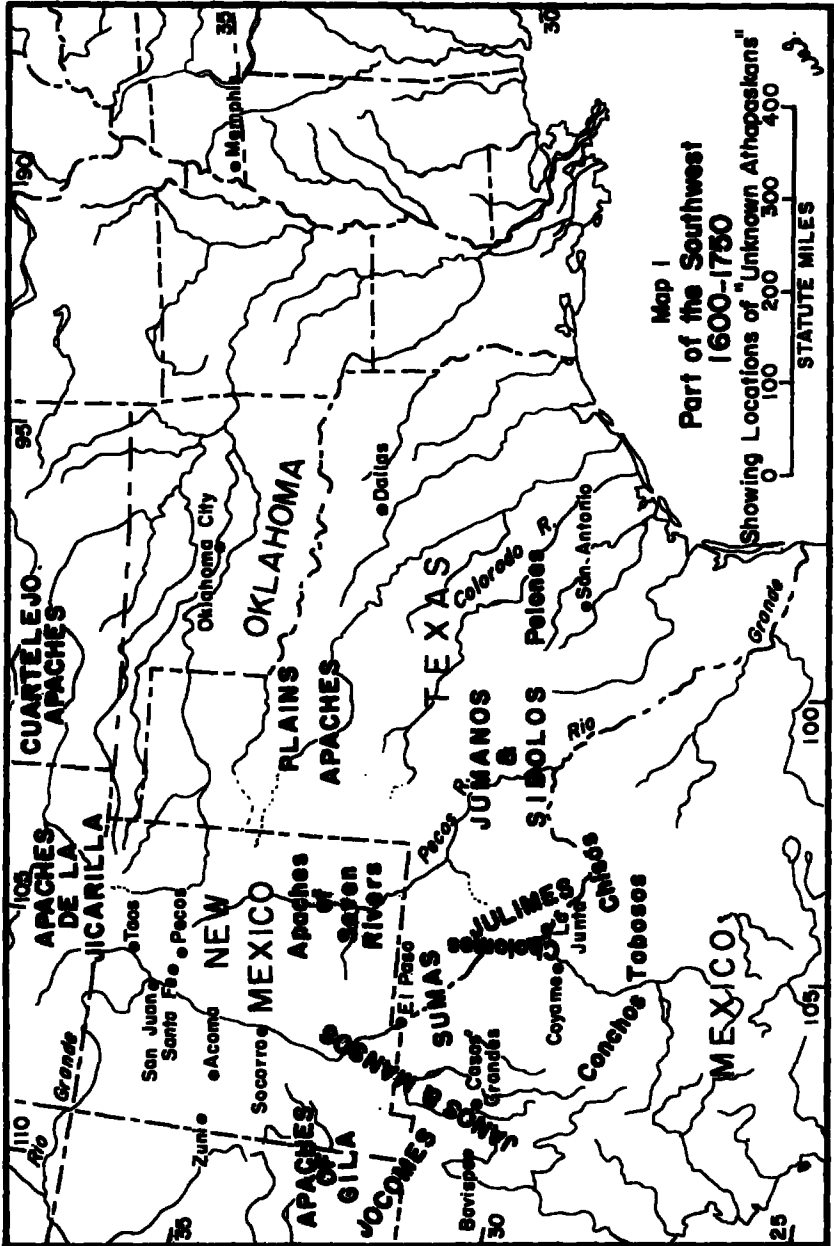
**UNKNOWN ATHAPASKANS: THE IDENTIFICATION OF
THE JANO, JOCOME, JUMANO, MANSO, SUMA, AND
OTHER INDIAN TRIBES OF THE SOUTHWEST**

Jack D. Forbes

University of Southern California

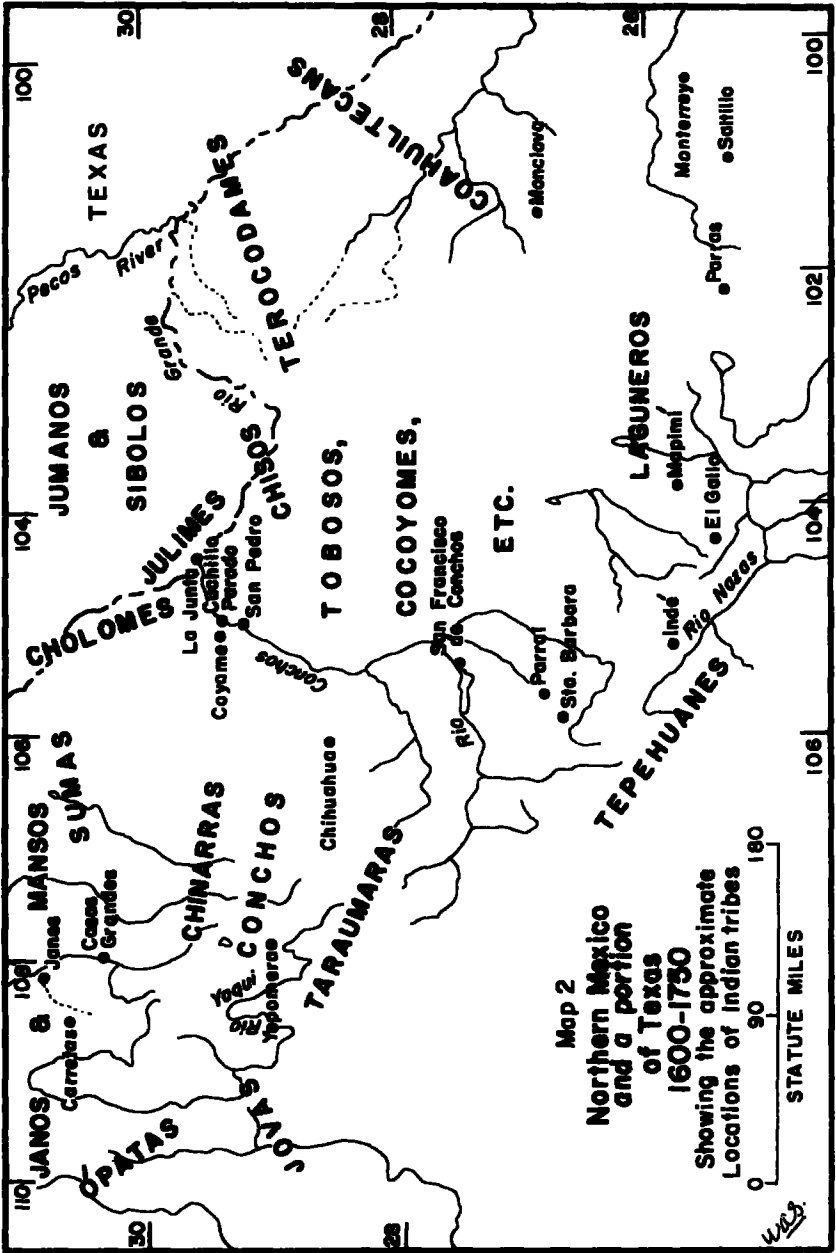
The scholar who is studying the American Indian is frequently faced with the difficult task of dealing with a vast number of large and small aboriginal groups which disappeared prior to the time when ethnologists and linguists could record anything of their language, culture or socio-political organization. This problem is particularly acute in the area of the southwestern United States and the north of Mexico, for in this region great changes occurred prior to 1821 and many Indian groups were obliterated before the coming of observers with scientific inclinations.

The problem of identifying such "lost tribes" is particularly relevant to a study of the Southern Athapaskans, for a number of the former lived along the borders of known Athapaskan peoples and between them and non-Athapaskans. Thus there was a belt of tribes extending from the area of southeastern Arizona to eastern Texas about whom little is known; and many of these peoples could have as easily belonged to the Athapaskan linguistic family as to the Uto-Aztecan, Coahuiltecan or other groupings. In the past many attempts have been made to classify all of the North American Indians on the basis of language and some of the little known groups of the Southwest have been so dealt with, while others have merely been ignored. Thus, the Tobosos are frequently mentioned as Athapaskans, the Conchos as Uto-Aztecan



and the Sumas sometimes are included under the latter family. The Janos, Jocomes and many other tribes are usually ignored or are simply lumped in with another group. All of this is done, it would seem, with insufficient evidence. Needless to say, any classification which is based upon flimsy documentation is valueless and has a tendency to mislead future scholars. In the case of linguistic identification it is far better to withhold judgment than it is to make an assertion on the basis of a few shreds of evidence.¹

In this study an attempt will be made to identify linguistically some of the little known Indian groups of the Southwest. Before beginning, however, it will be best to examine in a general way the types of evidence which are used to determine linguistic affinities. First, there are certain phenomena which have on occasion been utilized to prove language relationships in this area which actually are not valid linguistic proof by themselves. This type of evidence would include such things as the continual close alliance of two peoples, intermarriage between two groups, the comparison of lists of personal names, the congregation of two or more groups in the same Spanish mission, and the appointment by the Spanish of one "governor" for two or more peoples. While some of the above phenomena might tend to show an ethnic relationship, they certainly cannot be said to prove it. For example, the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos and Sumas were always in alliance with the Apaches to the north, and frequently they operated in united groups, apparently living together. This cannot be taken as proof of a linguistic identity among the groups, however, because the very same thing can be said of the Athapaskan Western Apache and the Yavapai of the Yuman family. Furthermore, the close alliances of the Kiowa (Kiowa) and Kiowa Apache (Athapaskan), Kiowa (Kiowa) and Comanche (Uto-Aztecan), Pima (Uto-Aztecan) and Maricopa (Yuman), Sioux (Siouan) and Cheyenne (Algonquian), Assiniboin (Siouan) and Ojibwa (Algonquian), and many other groups of distinct languages are well known and should be sufficient to show



the fallacy of proving a linguistic relationship from evidence of a close alliance.

The fact that individuals from two neighboring tribes intermarried and that consequently the two peoples had parentesco (relationship by marriage) with each other likewise does not prove the linguistic relationship of the two. The Apaches, Mansos, and Sumas were all related by marriage, but so were the Western Apache and the Yavapai, the Jocomes and Conchos, and the Mansos and Conchos. The Yavapai are Yuman of course, and the Concho would seem to be Uto-Aztec; thus any attempt to show linguistic affinity by means of intermarriage alone is seen to be impossible.

Several lists of the personal names of individual Indians have appeared in the Spanish sources and there has been a tendency to attempt to relate these names to a language family. This has proven to be an impossibility since Indian names have a great degree of similarity in sound (as in the Pima "Tumacacori" and the Apache "Tucumcari") and because of the likelihood that any names given by Indians to the Spanish would not be the true names of the individuals but simply nicknames or translations in another language more familiar to the Spanish or the interpreters. In many Indian groups the personal name was an important possession of its bearer and would not freely be divulged; another person, by controlling a person's name (by uttering it, perhaps), could exercise a power over the individual. This trait has been noted for the Chiricahua Apache. Thus, the lists of names recorded by the Spanish must be scrutinized with great care and not regarded as proving linguistic identity unless coupled with other evidence of a sound nature.

At times the Spanish chose to congregate more than one group of Indians in a mission and in Sonora, California, and Texas they definitely combined different linguistic groups. For example, many pueblos in central Sonora included both Ópatas and Pimas and while these two peoples spoke Uto-Aztec tongues, the Spanish thought that they spoke totally unrelated languages.² Thus the congregation in one settlement of peoples speaking what the

Spanish considered to be mutually unintelligible languages was practiced by the Spanish, and the scholar cannot assume a linguistic relationship among groups merely because of their contiguity. Furthermore, for purposes of governing Indians converted to Christianity, the Spanish sometimes appointed an Indian "governor" who frequently ruled several settlements in a geographical region. Sometimes the natives under his control were of different tribes, especially if the Indians in question had lost much of their old tribal organization and were ladinos. Being under a common Spanish-appointed governor cannot be taken as establishing the linguistic affinities of the Indian groups. On the other hand, such a leader imposed from outside should not be confused with a head chief or "governor" chosen by the natives themselves and merely recognized by the Spanish. The latter chief would probably represent a genuinely aboriginal group.

Spanish sources also frequently contain indications of ethno-linguistic relationship which are legitimate links in establishing an ethnic classification. First of all there is the type of sentence which mentions "la nación Apache y Jano," that is, "the Apache and Jano nation," and would seem to assert that these two groups were parts of one political entity. On the basis of the documents investigated it appears that this type of evidence must be used only in association with much stronger indications of ethnic affiliation, for it can easily be a grammatical error. Another more or less weak class of documentation is a phrase wherein more or less by chance the author gives an indication of ethnic identity, as in "dos Mansos y otros Apaches," that is, "two Mansos and other Apaches." This type of evidence certainly has value but, again, is not strong enough to stand by itself. A better and more conclusive assertion of ethnic identity is when an ethnically unknown group is included in a series with known groups as in "los Apaches, Faraones, Chilmos, y Navajoes." Spanish sources frequently contain such series in which the first named group is the all-inclusive one and the names which follow are of subdivisions. Some writers have committed the error of assuming that in a series

such as the above the Spanish author meant to list four distinct and equal entities. Actually, however, the latter three groups were well known branches of the Apaches and there were no "Apaches" to be distinguished from them in the series. This type of evidence has value when one such as the following is found: "los Apaches, Faraones, Janos y Chilmos." In this series it appears that the Janos are treated as an Apache subdivision.

A somewhat similar method for indicating relationship and subdivision was used by the Spanish and is used today by English-speaking persons as well. This is to link two tribal names together as in "Apaches Faraones" or "Apaches Navajoes" in Spanish, or "Faraon Apaches" and "Navaho Apaches" in English. Such a linking of two names ordinarily indicates that the second group (in Spanish) is a part of the first group, that is, that the Navahos and Faraones are subdivisions of the Apaches. Many examples of this method are to be seen, as in "Pimas Sobaipuris," "Comanches Yamparicas" and "Conchos Tobosos." At certain times, as in the last example, the two linked groups would seem to be equals, that is, the Tobosos and the Conchos were related but neither was a division of the other. Naturally care must be taken to be sure that a comma has not been left out or that the source was in error. These dangers can be minimized by placing reliance only on the total configuration and not on individual bits of evidence.

Occasionally Spanish documents contain still stronger evidences of ethnic affiliation as when it is asserted that one people's tongue resembles another or when a partial or near-complete vocabulary reveals evidence of linguistic identity. The scholar must be very cautious in accepting even these types of evidence, however, for human beings are always prone to error, and the age of a document does not increase its reliability. Many times Spanish sources contain false information and this is particularly true of general descriptive accounts. For example, there are accounts which assert that the language of the Guaymas (a branch of the Seri) was identical with that of the Yaqui and that all of the Yumans of the lower Colorado

and Gila river area spoke the Pima tongue. Many, many other examples could be mentioned, including some which reflect upon the accuracy of early Anglo-American explorers (as when the American Army officer Zebulon M. Pike asserted that the Comanches and the Kiowas spoke the same language).³ It should be clear, then, that reliance on only one source is very dangerous and that only the total configuration of the evidence can be taken as indicating linguistic affinity.

In the nineteenth century Mexican scholars began to classify the tribes of Mexico into linguistic families and the work of one of these scholars, Manuel Orozco y Berra, has been particularly influential. Unfortunately Orozco's volume is so full of gross errors that it is very questionable whether or not any of his assertions can be accepted. For example, he says in one place that the Sumas (living at El Paso) spoke the Piro language, while in another section he asserts that the Sumas belonged to the Apache family. In this latter group he also includes, besides the usual Apache divisions, the Yavapais, Chemehuevis, "Yutas o' Yum Yum," Yamparicas, Anacavistas, Chunticas (the latter three were Comanche bands), Supis, Utes, Paiutes, Kiowas, Pawnees and Kansas.⁴ Furthermore, in regard to those sections of Orozco's work where modern knowledge is lacking he is frequently contradicted by documentary sources and usually fails to support his own assertions with facts. In spite of these faults many modern linguistic classifiers have relied upon Orozco except where they could show that he was wrong. Thus the Tobosos have been classified as Apaches solely on the basis of an Orozco assertion. It should be obvious that such a reliance on one source, especially a questionable one, is without justification. When one portion of a community is infected or contaminated by a disease it must be assumed that the other portion is at least possibly contaminated. A source which is unreliable in one section cannot be used indiscriminately.

The above qualifying remarks should be kept in mind in the following examination of evidence relating to an

identification of the little-known tribes bordering upon the Southern Athapaskans.

Janos, Jocomes, and Mansos

The relationship of the Janos, Jocomes, and Mansos to each other will be considered first. The evidence relating to the three groups follows in chronological order.

1620's: The Mansos or Gorretas were living in the El Paso region as they had been since at least 1598. In the 1620's a people called the Cojoias (the Ópatas) lived to the west of the Gorretas and on occasion had accompanied the latter to see the Spanish. Because the Cojoias had been in the company of the Gorretas it was thought that they were really Janos but later it was learned that they were not. The significance of this is that the Spanish assumed that any people in company with the Gorretas would be Janos, thus indicating at least a close association of the Gorretas and Janos.⁵

1683: First-hand testimony asserts that the language of a Manso Indian is " ... una misma lengua con los Janos. . . ." ⁶

1684: On May 11 the Janos and Sumas of Soledad mission near present-day Janos, Chihuahua revolted. Reportedly they were stimulated to rebel by troubles between the Spanish and Mansos at El Paso. The Spaniard in charge of the Janos region asserted that the " ... Indians, Mansos as well as Janos, are related by kinship and all united have and revere said Indian Luis for Cazique. . . ." This Luis was the Governor of the Mansos.

1686: The Spanish held an inquiry at which there was an interpreter for Jano and Ojocome " ... all of which is one language." ⁷

1691: The Janos, Jocomes, and Sumas were at war with the Spanish of Sonora, and a Jesuit priest, Fray Marcos de Loyola, desired to bring them to peace. As he had no Indians or other persons available who could converse with the above groups he wrote to Governor Diego de Vargas at El Paso, asking for one or two Mansos who might be able to get the Janos, Jocomes, and Sumas to accept peace. Fray Loyola had had contact with the Mansos in times past and he asserted that the " ...

mansos have authority with the said Janos and Jocomes and principally Captain Chiquito whom I baptized. . . ." It should be noted that Fray Loyola asked only for Mansos who could speak Spanish, thus indicating that any Manso could speak to the rebels.⁸

1691: In March Governor Vargas wrote that Fray Loyola wanted to obtain some Indians who " . . . understand them [and] know and speak their language [i. e., the language of the Jocomes, Janos, and Sumas] . . .," and that for this reason he wanted some Mansos of El Paso. The Mansos were sent by Vargas but they never reached Loyola.⁹

1692: Captain Fernández of Janos presidio refers to " . . . the [nation] of the Janos and Jocomes and Sumas. . . ."

1692: Fernández made peace with a united body of Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, and some Apaches and Pimas. He asserted that the Indian who governed them all was "el capitan Jano" but another important leader was "el Tabovo de los Jocomes." The group seems primarily to have consisted of Janos and Jocomes, for when Fernández visited their camp he found them " . . . in two bodies with the chiefs at their heads. . . ." ¹⁰

1692: Fernández declares that his presidio is " . . . el fronterizo de la Nasion tan numerosa y astuta como la Apache Janos Sumas Jocomes y otros sus aliados. . . ." ¹¹

1694-1698: Juan Mateo Manje repeatedly refers to the "Apache Jcome" and the "Apaches Jocomes, y Janos." ¹²

1696: Governor Vargas in New Mexico learns of a junta at Acoma of the "apaches Chilmos y Pharaones janos, y manzos." This would seem to make the Janos and Mansos branches of the Apache since the Chilmos and Faraones were. This supposition is confirmed by the interpretation of the same document made by another Spaniard and a contemporary of Vargas, Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor. The latter writes of the above as a junta of " . . . los gentiles Apaches Janos, Mansos, faraones, y Chilmos. . . ." Thus he clearly interprets Vargas' statement as indicating that the Janos and Mansos were Apaches. ¹³

1706-1707: There are frequent references to the "Janos and Jocomes nation."

1706: At this time the Janos and Jocomes appear to have been completely merged into one body, living in one rancheria. They made peace with the Spanish, and a complete census of the combined group was made. It shows only one head chief, a Governor Crespo whose native name was A mala Jap. Under him was a lieutenant and two captains. The combined group numbered 209 persons.

1707: Several Janos were questioned by means of a Christian Manso interpreter.¹⁴

1864: Orozco includes both the Janos and Jocomes as branches of the Apache family. He nowhere mentions the Mansos, apparently not knowing of them.¹⁵

From the above evidence it seems certain that the Janos, Jocomes, and Mansos were members of a single linguistic and ethnic group, especially since this thesis is not contradicted by any sources whatsoever. It appears that the political hierarchy of the Mansos and Janos was closely related since they had the same head chief in 1684. The Jocomes do not appear in the documents until about 1686 and there is reason to believe that they were simply treated as a part of the Janos prior to that date. The above sources seem to link the Janos-Jocomes-Mansos group with the Sumas and Apaches as well as with each other. Their relations with the Sumas will be examined in detail below.

The Janos-Jocomes-Mansos Group and the Sumas

The sources examined above which link the Janos-Jocomes-Mansos group with the Suma Indians will not be repeated here. However, a linguistic and ethnic relationship between the groups has been clearly indicated in certain of the sources.

1530's: In the 1600's the Rio Grande between La Junta and El Paso was inhabited in part by the Sumas and Mansos. If the situation was the same in the 1530's there is evidence for the linguistic unity of the two groups, since

Cabeza de Vaca, while in the La Junta region, learned that for seventeen days travel up the Rio Grande he would be among people who spoke the same language.

1580's: Two Spanish expeditions traveled up the Rio Grande from La Junta to New Mexico during this period. The accounts of the travelers disagree in details to some extent and they fail to mention any of the historic tribes by their commonly known names. Nevertheless, it appears that the situation along the river was the same as in later years. For example, four peoples were found between La Junta and El Paso, the Abriaches, Otomoacos, Caguates, and Tanpachos, and these four groups correspond geographically and ethnically with the Julimes, Cholomes, Sumas, and Mansos of a later date. The languages of the Abriaches and Otomoacos seemed distinct to the early Spanish and this corresponds to what is known of the relationship between the Julime and the Cholome peoples. The Otomoacos and the Caguates spoke related tongues, and this agrees with the Cholome-Suma relationship. The Tanpachos, who lived in the swampy region near El Paso as did the Mansos of a few years later, seem to have differed to some degree from the Otomoacos and Caguates, although the accounts differ. One of the most reliable sources, the journal of Pérez de Luján, asserts in regards to the Tanpachos: "... they are people of the same type as the Otomoacos, and of the same dress, except that the men have their privy parts tied with a small ribbon." Gallegos in his relation of a journey made the previous year mentions reaching a people near the swamps who were probably the Tanpachos. In this case the Spanish had to use signs to communicate because they had no interpreters who could converse with this tribe. They had previously met peoples who were apparently Caguates and Otomoacos (that is, Sumas and Cholomes) and no mention was made of using signs, but unfortunately one cannot be sure what means of communication were used. The Espejo account is the third one dealing with the above region in the 1580's and in many ways it is inferior to the other two. This latter account fails to reveal the peoples of the Rio Grande with the clarity and detail of the Pérez de Luján narrative and only three groups are differentiated. The first one was at La Junta and was understood via interpreters, the second group lived along the stream for some twenty-two leagues and could not be understood. This group probably combines the related Otomoacos and Caguates of Pérez. Four days farther upstream the people of the swamps (the

Tanpachoas of Pérez, perhaps the Mansos) were reached and they too could not be understood. Thus the Espejo account in no ways contradicts the thesis of a Manso-Suma-Cholome linguistic relationship. (Interestingly enough, a Concho Indian was living among the swamp people and Espejo had interpreters for the Concho language. One wonders why the Spanish did not use this Concho as a means of speaking with the swamp people.)

In summary, the three accounts of the early 1580's fail to prove a relationship between the people of the El Paso region and the other Rio Grande groups, however, they also fail to disprove such a relationship. On the positive side they show that the language of the El Paso people was distinct from that of the Conchos and the La Junta people (the Abriaches or Julimes).¹⁶

1683: A royal cedula has reference to the fact that only three nations of Suma Indians remain in the custodia of the El Paso region. This can only refer to Guadalupe of the Mansos, San Francisco of the Sumas, and Soledad of the Janos.¹⁷

1684: At this time the Indians of northern Chihuahua revolted and the mission of Soledad was destroyed by its converts who were both Sumas and Janos. Sometimes they are spoken of as two nations but frequently they are treated as one. The priest of nearby Casas Grandes mission wrote in May that the rebellion would spread since "... the said Sumas of said mission Casas Grandes and Carretas, are all related by marriage and united with the Xana [Jano] nation."¹⁸

1684: Two separate reports, one by Roque de Madrid of El Paso and the other by Juan de Retana, have reference to the Soledad affair. The first mentions the "... apostate Christians of the suma janos nation and others. ..." The second refers to the revolt of the "Janos and Sumas nation."¹⁹

1691: Governor Vargas at El Paso asserts that the Mansos, Sumas and Apaches of that region were all inter-married with each other and that they were all mixed up together.²⁰

1697: The Sobaipuris killed thirteen enemies in a battle which took place in October. One source refers to the thirteen as "Jocomes," another as "Jocomes y Yumas

[used frequently as a name for the Suma],” and still another as “Apaches.”²¹

1698: The Jesuit missionary Eusebio Francisco Kino declares that it has been fifteen years in that “... the Indians jacones, the janos, the apaches, [and] the yuma Indians named mansos ...” have maintained their hostility. Subsequently he refers to the “jacones, janos, apaches y yumas mansos.” In another source he mentions the “jocones, Janos Yumas, Manzso, y Apaches.” It is possible that some commas have been left out but even if this was the case there is still the reference to the “yuma [i. e., Suma] Indians named mansos.”

1698: In March a battle took place between the Sobai-puris and their enemies the Apaches, Jocomes, Janos and “yumas mansos.”²²

1706: Peace talks were carried on with the Jocomes and Janos by means of a Jocomo woman and a Spaniard who were intelligent in the Suma language. This would seem to indicate that there was some difference between the Suma and Jano-Jocomo languages although it is possible that the Jano-Jocomo tongue is simply called the Suma language.²³

1735: A map shows the “Janos Sumas” occupying the historic Janos and Casas Grandes Suma region. Janos was a variant of Janos.²⁴

1864: Orozco's Apache family includes the Janos, Jocomes and Sumas although he also says that the pueblos of El Paso “... were inhabited by Piro and Sumas Indians, speaking the Piro language.” As explained below, Orozco was probably confused by the fact that Sumas had been settled with Piro since before 1680 and had undoubtedly become fluent in the latter's tongue, perhaps even losing their own by the mid-1800's.²⁵

There seems to be no reason for doubting an ethnolinguistic unity for the Janos-Jocomes-Mansos group and the Suma Indians since repeatedly over the years there is independent evidence for such a unity and a lack of definitely contrary testimony. Certain sources, as seen above, may indicate that there was a difference in dialect between the languages of the two groups but it was evidently not great.

Sumas and Cholomes

The Cholomes are a little known body of Indians who lived in an arc from the Rio Grande Valley south to Coyame and thence to the Conchos Valley at Cuchillo Parado. The name "Cholome" is perhaps of Nahuatl origin (as are many of the names applied to Indian groups in northern Mexico). All forms of "Cholo" in Nahuatl have a reference to something lacking or being absent and "Cholome" was perhaps a derogatory appellation. The word "Coyame" is closely associated with the Cholomes and was the name of one of their principal settlements as well as of their head chief, "El Coyame." This word comes from the Nahuatl "Coyamētl" or "Coyame" meaning pig or swine and occurs in all words having anything to do with pigs, such as "Coyame nacautzalli" (bacon or salt pork). Coyame was probably a derogatory term also. Thus the true name of the Cholomes is lacking and the name "Otomoaco" applied apparently to them in the 1580's may be technically a more accurate appellation for these Indians.²⁶

1530's: Cabeza de Vaca learned that the people up the Rio Grande for seventeen days from the La Junta area all spoke the same tongue. This would have included the Cholomes and Sumas if they were living in the same places as in the 1600's.²⁷

1580's: The two Spanish expeditions of the early 1580's which went up the Rio Grande met peoples who seem to have corresponded to the Cholomes and Sumas. Pérez de Luján mentioned them in detail as the Otomoacos and the Caguates and said that they spoke the same language. The Otomoaco-Caguato language differed from that of the Abriache (Julime) which in turn was distinct from that of the Conchos and Pazaguates of the Conchos River Valley. Espejo indicates that the Otomoaco-Caguato peoples could not be understood by interpreters who knew the Concho and Abriache tongues. It should be noted that Espejo applies the term "Patarabueys" to both the Otomoacos and Abriaches even though they spoke different-sounding languages. Patarabuey seems to have been a term coined by Spanish slave-raiders and applied to the peoples of the La Junta region.²⁸

1583-1715: During this long period the Cholomes are

little known as few Spaniards ventured into their lands and only one detailed diary exists of a journey down the Rio Grande. This account of 1683 refers only to Sumas as being along the river but the actual territory of the Cholomes was traversed without any people whatsoever being contacted. The Cholomes of the Conchos Valley must have had considerable contact with the Spanish of Nueva Vizcaya but no documents refer to them until 1691 when they were at war. The name "Cholome" is first used in 1691. In the 1700's the Cholomes were divided into perhaps three divisions. The first of these inhabited the region from Cuchillo Parado to Coyame; it was led by El Coyame, and lived in a manner similar to the Julimes of La Junta. Another group, the Tecolotes (Nahuatl for "Owls"), lived upstream on the Rio Grande from La Junta. They were culturally very similar to the Julimes also. Still farther upstream and living from Ruidosa and Dos Pilares as far as Eagle Peak, Texas (Cola de Aguila) were the Cholomes of El Venado (the Deer) who were closely allied with the Sumas and Apaches, and who shared the latter's less sedentary mode of living. The following sources will clarify the status of the Coyames, Tecolotes and Venados and their relations with the Sumas.²⁹

1747: Joseph de Ydoyaga led an expedition to the La Junta region. On the Conchos River, eleven leagues south of Coyame, he met refugee Cholomes. They were from Cuchillo Parado, Coyame, and the Rio Grande and claimed to be fleeing from the Apaches and Sumas. Whether or not their pretensions to being pro-Spanish were valid is not important here, but Ydoyaga later found that the La Junta natives communicated with the other Cholomes of El Venado who were banded together "... with another rancheria, of Apaches, Cholomes, and Zumas...."

1747: Traveling up the Rio Grande from La Junta Ydoyaga came to the place of Dos Pilares and found an old settlement of the Venados. One of his companions who also kept a diary refers to it as a place where the Venados and Apaches stopped and had their rancherias. In 1750 this same place was visited by Alonso Victores Rubin de Zelis and he called the Rancherias at Pilares "Suma's" settlements. From sources below it will become clear that Rubin extends the term "Suma" to include the Cholomes.³⁰

1748: General Terán de los Ríos, after returning from a visit to the La Junta region, refers to "... la numerosa Nacion Apaches, Sumas, Natajes, Colomes, y otros que havitan con ellos...." The Natajes were definitely an Apache group and were known as such to Terán. Thus it appears that this assertion links the Sumas and Cholomes together under the heading of Apaches.³¹

1748: Rubin has reference to the robberies committed by the Suma Nation "... being in league, as it is found, with that [nation] of the Cholome and Apaches." This would seem to reinforce the interpretation made of the previous source.³²

1750: Rubin, who was the commander at El Paso, was making a campaign against the Sumas when he decided to explore the Coyame-Cuchillo Parado-La Junta region. He met many Indians in the Cholome country whom he called Sumas. It seems that they were really Cholomes as some of them had lived at Coyame but Rubin evidently had never before been in contact with the latter people and thus he was surprised to learn that they spoke the same language as the Suma. He says "... que por la lengua en que hablaban parecian de la nacion Suma." Of those from Coyame he says, "Conocer todos los dhos gandules y sus casiques ser dha nacion Suma por hablar el mismo ydioma...." Subsequently he went on to Cuchillo Parado and the people that he found there were of the same nation as the previous ones, that is, they spoke the Suma language. Thus there is first-hand evidence that the Cholomes of Coyame and Cuchillo Parado spoke the same tongue as the Sumas of the El Paso region.

1750: From La Junta Rubin went up the Rio Grande looking for the Venados and Sumas. He found an old rancheria belonging to the Indians of El Venado but all of the smokes, tracks and camps seen are always mentioned as belonging to the Sumas. Thus he seems to call the people of El Venado Sumas.³³

1751: A report to the viceroy declares that "... todas las rancherias de ynfieles que a la corta distancia de veinte y cinco, o treinta leguas del Real de Chiguagua que havitan en las margenes del Rio de Conchos hasta La Junta, mezclados con Sumas, tambien ynfieles y Christianos Apostatas, y que todos hablan un mismo ydioma.... [underlining supplied]" This would certainly indicate that the Cholomes and the Sumas spoke identical languages. It

might also seem to give the impression that the Julimes and others at La Junta spoke that same language as well, but the use of the term "hasta" is ambiguous and it is not possible to be certain whether La Junta was to be included or excluded by its use. The lands between Chihuahua and La Junta were occupied at this date by Cholomes and those Sumas who had fled from the El Paso region due to warfare with the Spanish.³⁴

1759: Five leagues to the north of Cuchillo Parado Rubin met many chiefs from the La Junta region and one of them was "Venado Gentil," that is, El Venado, the heathen, with several hundred of his people. Fray Juan Paez in a letter refers to the chief as "... el capitan Antonio el Venado de Nacion Cholome...."³⁵

From the above evidence it seems certain that the Sumas and the Cholomes spoke a common language. It is very likely that the differences between the two peoples were slight, except in so far as the Cholomes had embraced the advanced culture of the La Junta region. On the basis of all of the foregoing evidence it is clear that from southeastern Arizona to La Junta there was a belt of related Indian groups comprising the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas and Cholomes. These Americans will for convenience sake be referred to as the Related Border Tribes and their relations with still other tribes will be analyzed. The Related Border Tribes bordered upon the Pima-Sobaipuri, Ópata, Concho, Chinarra, Toboso, Chiso, Julime, Jumano-Sibolo and Apache peoples and some of the foregoing groups could have been related to them. There is some slight evidence linking the Chinarras and Chisos with the Related Border Tribes and considerable data linking the Apaches and the Jumano-Sibolos with them. On the other hand, there is no evidence connecting the Related Border Tribes with the Uto-Aztecan Pimas, Sobaipuris or Ópatas.

The following section will comprise the data which deal with Related Border Tribes—Apache relations.

The Related Border Tribes and the Apache

At least one of the Related Border Tribes (the Suma)

has been classified on occasion as Uto-Aztecan. The primary basis for that classification was that one of the expeditions to New Mexico in the 1580's recorded several words of the Concho language, at least one of which is apparently Uto-Aztecan. A hasty examination of the balance of the diary in question led to the belief that all of the tribes beyond the Concho and as far as El Paso were said to have spoken the same language as the Concho. Thus the Suma were classified as Uto-Aztecan since it was assumed that they were one of the Indian groups seen by the diarist between La Junta and El Paso. This interpretation is entirely false, however, because the early diarists clearly point out that the Concho-type language ended with the Pasaguates of the Concho Valley and that a new language began with the people immediately beyond the Pasaguates. Furthermore, the peoples near La Junta were said to have spoken at least two different-sounding tongues although they could communicate with each other (thus they were either bi-lingual or the difference was one of dialect). It is clear from the diaries themselves that there was no continuity of language extending from the Conchos to the El Paso region, in fact just the opposite was true.³⁶

Before examining the positive evidence relating to the Related Border Tribes and Apaches it will be well to note certain data which indicates a non-Uto-Aztecan affinity for the tribes in question.

1565: At this time an expedition led by Francisco de Ibarra went from Sinaloa up the Río Yaqui to Sahuaripa and then east to Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. The Spaniards had two interpreters, Diego de Soberanes who could speak the dialect of Cinaro (that is, Sinaloa, a Cahita dialect) and an Indian woman named Luisa. Luisa had been originally from Culiacan, according to some people, but her home in 1565 was at Ocoroni, a Sinaloa village. She had evidently been left behind in Sonora by the Coronado expedition and had lived as a captive in five different places there before returning to Ocoroni. Baltasar de Obregon, a member of the Ibarra expedition, declared that Luisa "... knew the Mexican language [Nahuatl] and three other languages of those provinces" to which they were going on the journey. Later he says that "She was

familiar with the customs and languages throughout two hundred leagues of those provinces, from Ocoroni to the valleys of Señora and Corazones, near the plains of the cattle. She served in this expedition from her town both to and from the plains with great faithfulness, sincerity, care, and diligence." It should be noted here that Obregon was under the impression that the buffalo plains began just beyond Casas Grandes, Chihuahua.

Obregon tells us that the people of Señora "... speak two languages, Caytas and Pima aytos [or Caitas and Pimahitos]." That is, they spoke Cahita (Yaqui-Mayo-Sinaloa) of the Ópata-Cahita-Taraumara branch of the Uto-Astecan family and Pima of the Pima-Tepehuan branch of the same family. From this it is clear that Luisa was able to speak Cahita and Pima, but what was the third language spoken of by Obregon? It was evidently the Ópata dialect of the Sahuaripa region for the Spaniards used an interpreter to talk with the natives of Sahuaripa and this must have been Luisa.

The important point is that the Spaniards had an interpreter who was familiar with several of the dialects of the most important branches of the Uto-Astecan language family, that is, with the Cahita-Ópata-Taraumara, the Pima-Tepehuan, and the Nahuan. This interpreter stood them in good stead all throughout Sonora, but when they crossed the mountains into the Casas Grandes Valley of Chihuahua they "... lacked an interpreter who could understand the natives of the plains and of the region towards the north." Thus they would appear to have passed beyond Uto-Astecan peoples and into a new language area.³⁷

There has been some disagreement as to just who were the early inhabitants of the Casas Grandes region and Carl Sauer, who has been interested in problems of human geography, has proposed that the Conchos were native to the area. The Conchos, however, have been classified in the Ópata-Cahita-Taraumara branch of the Uto-Astecan family by the anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber and others and thus it would seem that the people in question must have been non-Concho. This thesis is reinforced by the fact that the first missions in the Casas Grandes region were established for the Suma Indians and not for the Conchos. From 1663 until the 1680's the only people mentioned in connection with the mission of San Antonio de Casas Grandes are Sumas, and Conchos only come into the area as Spanish auxiliaries in about 1690.

This is not to say that Concho Indians did not live along the Sonora border, but their area of occupation was to the south of Casas Grandes. In any case it appears that the Sumas were the aboriginal inhabitants of the area in question.

The "Querecho" Indians found by the Ibarra expedition at Casas Grandes were a nomadic hunting and gathering people who lived in jacale type houses and in every way conformed to what is known of historic Suma culture.³⁶

Thus, the Spaniards could have come in contact with only two peoples, the Conchos or the Sumas. The ethnogeographic evidence favors the latter, and if the Concho did indeed belong to the Ópata-Cahita-Taraumara group the only possibility is to equate the Sumas with the Querechos of Obregon and assume that the Sumas were non-Uto-Aztecan.

1580's: The Spanish expeditions which went up the Rio Grande during this period discovered at least one major language change along the route. This change took place after leaving the Conchos and Pasaguates and entering the lands of the La Junta area peoples. The significance of this is that the Indians beyond the Concho-Pasaguate region spoke a language distinct from that of the Cahita-Ópata-Taraumara branch of the Uto-Aztecan family, that is if one accepts the usual classification for the Conchos.

1640's-1700's: Throughout all of these years Spanish sources deal with the inter-relations of the Related Border Tribes and their neighbors in the Sonora-Arizona area, the Apaches, Pimas, Sobaipuris and the Ópatas. Thus there is ample opportunity for a revealing of ethnolinguistic relations. The documents clearly link the Pima and the Sobaipuri, making the latter a branch of the former. The Related Border Tribes are linked repeatedly with the Apache but are never connected in any way with the Uto-Astecans. The Spanish sources seem to reveal four groups in the Sonora region: the linked Seri, Tepoca, Guaymas, and other coastal groups; the linked Papago, southern Pima, northern Pima and Sobaipuri; the linked Ópata, Jova, and Eudeve; and finally the linked Apache and the Related Border Tribes. Thus the weight of historical evidence in its sum total would seem to indicate a non-Uto-Aztecan affinity for the Related Border Tribes. It should be noted, however, that one writer has attempted

to link the Jano and Jocome with the Pimans by virtue of the fact that they farmed with each other in 1686. This type of information, while interesting, certainly does not establish linguistic identity, especially in view of the fact that from at least 1684 the Jano and Jocome were living in association with Apache.

The evidence which deals directly with the Related Border Tribes and the Athapaskan Apaches will now be considered.

1638: In this year the Spanish of New Mexico made a slave raid upon some peaceful Plains Apaches living to the east of Pecos. The immediate result of this was that a number of Apache groups became hostile. One Spaniard later testified that "... because of the above-mentioned war the same Apache nation remained with hatred and enmity towards the Spaniards and on another occasion when Captain Sebastian Gonzalez went as leader to trade with the Sumanas they obliged him to retire with the loss of the alferez Diego Garcia...." In this statement the Sumanas are definitely included within the Apache nation and their hostility towards Gonzalez' men was because they were a part of the wronged Apaches. The term "Sumana" and its variants was applied to the Sumas who lived in the region of El Paso. As late as the 1690's Diego de Vargas refers to the Mansos and "Suminas" of El Paso.³⁷

1667: From the 1660's to the 1690's two chiefs stand out in importance in the area of southwestern New Mexico, El Chilmo of the Gila Apaches and Captain Chiquito of the Sierra Florida Mansos. In 1667 Governor Fernando de Villanueva of New Mexico learned that the "... Indians of the rancheria of El Chilmo and Captain Chiquito have risen in revolt...." Later he refers to the rancherias as more than one. Then he orders soldiers to calm the "... said mansos and apaches of El Chilmo and El Paso...." In retrospect, Villanueva said that he had caused all of the Apaches to accept peace except those of El Chilmo and Captain Chiquito who had not come to render obedience. Thus Villanueva classes the Mansos of Chiquito as Apaches and has them living in close association with the Gila Apaches of El Chilmo.³⁸

1682: Governor Antonio de Otermín made a journey to the Organ Mountains near El Paso in search of Apaches "... who live in it." The Organ Mountains were as late as the 1700's referred to as the "Sierra de los Mansos"

and the Apaches mentioned by Otermín may have been Mansos.⁴¹

1684: Jusephe, the war chief of the El Paso Mansos, was a brother of Jusepillo, an Apache who had at some time been captured by the Spanish. Furthermore, Jusephe was called "Jusephe el Apache."⁴²

1684: Governor Domingo de Jironza sent out soldiers to kill the Apache males of a rancheria of gentile and apostate Apaches. This probably refers to a Manso or Suma rancheria since there were few if any apostate Apaches.⁴³

1685: Seventy-seven Suma warriors were executed at Casas Grandes and in Sonora. Their "names" were written down by the Spanish and are available but they are of no aid in determining the linguistic affiliation of the Suma for the reasons previously outlined. Kroeber said that the list seemed more Uto-Aztecan than Athapaskan "... but none too sonorously Uto-Aztecan at that." The anthropologist Harry Hoijer, in a personal communication, indicated that the list was of no value in revealing linguistic affiliation. M. E. Opler, also an anthropologist, ventured the same opinion in a private communication.⁴⁴

1690: Reference is made to "... la Nas² Tarahumara, Concha, sumas, y chinarras...." This would seem to link the Sumas with the Uto-Aztecan Tarahumaras at first glance, but a close scrutiny reveals that while "Tarahumara" and "Concha" agree with "la Nas² [i.e., nación]" in number and gender "sumas, y chinarras" does not. Therefore, it would seem to be a grammatical error.⁴⁵

1691: Diego de Vargas reported that the Apaches of the Sierra of Gila were accustomed to come into the Manso settlement at El Paso two, four and six at a time and that these Apaches, the Mansos, and the Sumas were inter-married and all mixed up together.⁴⁶

1692: Diego de Vargas learned at Acoma that "... dos yndios mansos y otros apaches ..." had told the Keres of Spanish atrocities. Thus Vargas seems to treat the Mansos as Apaches. Villagutierre y Sotomayor presumably used this document as a basis for his statement that "... dos yndios de Nazion Mansos y otros de los Apaches ..." had talked to the Keres. Here the Mansos and Apaches are treated as distinct groups. Since Vargas'

statement is based on first-hand knowledge while Villagutierre was relying on documents the first interpretation seems more correct.⁴⁷

1692: Captain Juan Fernández of Janos presidio refers to "... la Nasion tan numerosa y astuta como la Apache Janos Sumas Jocomes y otros sus aliados...." The same objections made to the 1690 evidence above could be made here, however, in this case it is clear that Fernández did not merely make a grammatical error when he refers to "La Nasion" for his descriptive adjectives which follow are of the same number.⁴⁸

1694: Juan Mateo Manje mentions the "... comunes enemigos Yndios Apaches, Jocomes Janos, y otras naciones sus aliados...." Later he refers to "... los comunes enemigos Apaches Jocomes, confederados ..." and the "... sobaipuris, de Nacion Pima...." Still later he mentions the "... enemigos Apaches Jocomes, y Janos ..." and the "Apaches, Jacomés, y Janos...." As will be seen below Manje has a tendency to speak of the Jocomes as Apaches, and this attitude on his part appears to become clearer and more certain as time goes by. Here, in 1694, he appears uncertain and inconsistent and his evidence cannot be given much credence. It has one value, however, in that it is clear from his statement regarding the Sobaipuri that the term "nacion" may be used in the sense of a super-tribe or larger ethnic group as well as to denote a specific tribe. Thus the Sobaipuri were an entity of their own, still they can be spoken of as a part of the Pima "nation."⁴⁹

1694: Diego de Vargas wishes to keep a presidio at El Paso, otherwise he is certain that the "... nasiones de Suminas y mansos como otras ..." will band together with the Apaches of that vicinity.⁵⁰

1696: Juan Mateo Manje refers to "... los enemigos Apaches Jocomes, y Janos ..." and "... la nacion Pima Sobaipuri...."⁵¹

1696: Diego de Vargas learned of a junta at Acoma of "... los Apaches Chilmos y Pharaones janos, y mansos. ..." Villagutierre y Sotomayor interprets this as a junta of "... los gentiles Apaches Janos, Mansos, faraones, y Chilmos...." From Vargas' statement one could presume that the Janos and Mansos were being treated as Apaches. Villagutierre y Sotomayor, a Spaniard of the

1690's, confirms this presumption in his series which definitely includes them with the Chilmos and Faraones as Apaches.⁵²

1697: The Sobaipuri killed thirteen enemies in a battle. Horacio Polici refers to the thirteen as Jocomes, Cristóbal Martín Bernal calls them "Jocomes y yumas" (that is, Jocomes and Sumas), while Juan Mateo Manje mentions them as "Apaches." Of these three witnesses Polici was merely a visitor to the northern frontier while Bernal and Manje were frontier soldiers with a long period of contact with the enemy tribes. As will be seen below Bernal seems to differentiate between the Apache and the Jcome while Manje lumps them together. Thus the thirteen enemies, whose scalps were seen, were called by the one, Jocomes and Sumas, and by the other, Apaches.⁵³

1697: An expedition was made up the San Pedro Valley of Arizona by a group of Spaniards under Manje and Bernal. Ten leagues north of Quiburi Manje noted that it was necessary to post guards "... por ser ya fronteras de enemigos Apaches." In other words, the lands of the Apache were quite near, and the use of ser instead of estar as the verb implies that the nearness of the Apache was not due to a temporary incursion on the part of the latter but to a permanent situation of contiguity. Nine leagues to the north of "Aribaiba" (still in the San Pedro Valley) the Spanish met some Sobaipuris who lived on a stream to the east and who were neighbors of the "... Apaches Jocomes, y Janos..." Later he has reference to the Sierra Florida as being inhabited by Apaches. Bernal on the other hand informs us that Jocomes lived fourteen leagues to the east of "Aribabia" and that the Sobaipuris living on the stream to the east had been in contact with the Jocomes. According to Bernal the Spanish do not reach the "frontera de Apaches" until they passed the junction of the San Pedro with the Gila River and began to go to the west on the latter stream. Furthermore, whereas Manje saw six Apache scalps at Ojito, Bernal discovered that four Jocomes had been killed.

From this and other statements it is clear that whereas Bernal always differentiates between Apaches and Jocomes, Manje treats them as one and even refers to the Jocomes as Apaches. The territory to the east of the San Pedro Valley seems to have been inhabited by the Jocomes and Janos during this period, but Manje refers to it as an

Apache area. The Sierra Florida was well within Jocomo-Jano territory and yet Manje says it was inhabited by Apaches. Thus it seems certain that this experienced frontier soldier included the Jocomes as a division of the Apaches.

1698: Manje refers to "... el enemigo Apache Jocomo, y Jano...."⁵⁴

1698: Captain Fernández carried on peace negotiations with the united Jano and Jocomo and some Sumas. "... Otherwise they have relations only with two other rancherías of Apache, who also desire to make peace." A Jocomo presented Fernández with a decorated deerskin "... sent by the chief of his nation and those of the Jano, Suma, Manso, Apache ..." and others. Thus it seems that all of these groups were under one chief. The deerskin had designs representing six "tents" of Apaches and 120 *jacales* in four divisions for the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos and Sumas. Thus there were five groups involved, which corresponds to the first-mentioned Janos, Jocomes, Sumas and two Apache groups. It would seem then that the Mansos were treated as an Apache group.

1698: A group of Sumas in the Sierra Florida of New Mexico reportedly used the word "nayessa" to express the concept of friend or, perhaps, making peace or friendship. "Nayessa" bears some resemblance to the Navaho Apache stem for "to be friendly" which is "nih." It is to be supposed that any dialect of Athapaskan spoken in southwestern New Mexico would have varied considerably from Navaho. Furthermore, the Spanish "nayessa" probably would vary a great deal from the real Suma word.⁵⁵

1706: Juan Mateo Manje refers to "... los enemigos Apaches Janos y sus aliados...."⁵⁶

1706: A combined group of Janos and Jocomes made peace at Janos. A census was taken and a number of the names seem to be Athapaskan but others could be non-Athapaskan as well. In private communications Harry Hoijer and M. E. Opler both indicated that the list of names was non-indicative of linguistic affinity.⁵⁷

1735: A map by Matthew Seutter shows the "Apaches Hojomes" occupying the region north of Janos, Chihuahua. "Hojomes" was a variant for "Jocomes."⁵⁸

1746: A Franciscan friar reported that there were traveling towards La Junta "... muchas rancherías de Yndios Apaches, Zumas, apostatas de los que se sublevaron en la misión de las Caldas jurisdicción del paso...." In this case the phrase "Apaches, Zumas" has the meaning of "Zuma Apaches" in English, for the Indians of the mission of Santa María de las Caldas who revolted in 1745 were Sumas. The friar clearly indicates that the "Apaches, Zumas" were apostates who were from the old mission of Las Caldas and this means that they were Sumas, and not a group of Sumas associated with some non-Suma Apaches. He is speaking of one people, the Suma Apaches, and not two peoples.⁵⁹

1747: The viceroy in the instructions issued prior to an expedition to La Junta declared that the natives of that region border upon the "... Apaches Natagees, Pharaones, Sumas y otros...." A little later in the same document he refers to the "... Yndios gentiles, Natajeis, Faraones, Sumas, y otros...." Thus it is clear that he is dealing with three groups of Indians, the Natages, Faraones and Sumas. The term "Apache" is used in the first series only to describe the three divisions which follow, for the Natages and Faraones were well-known Apache groups.⁶⁰

1747: Captain Joseph Ydoyaga asked the La Junta natives with whom did they communicate besides the Apaches of El Ligero, Nataje, and Pasqual. The natives replied that they did not communicate with any others for they no longer had relations with El Venado who lived up the Rio Grande because he was now leagued with "... otra ranchería, de Apaches, Cholomes, y Zumas ..." and was an enemy. Shortly thereafter Ydoyaga went on a campaign up the Rio Grande from La Junta and after seven leagues they reached a ranchería of the Tecolotes abandoned due to fear of "... los enemigos Apaches, Cholomes...." Much farther upstream the Spanish thought they had seen lights from "... la ranchería de los Cholomes, Apaches...." The land that they were in was called "... la tierra de dhos Apaches ..." and the ranchería was later referred to as an Apache one.

1747: Alonso de Aragon refers to "... los gentiles Apaches, Natajees, Faraones, Sumas y otros...."⁶¹

1748: General Terán de los Ríos refers to "... la numerosa Nacion Apaches, Sumas, Nataje, Colomes, y

otros.... " Here again the Sumas (and the Cholomes) are listed as Apaches.⁶²

1748: Reportedly the Suma nation was committing robberies and was banded together with "... the [nation] of the Cholome and Apaches."⁶³

1750: Alonso Victores Rubin de Zelis asserts that the Indians of La Junta are leagued with "... Sumas Apaches y Cholomes...."⁶⁴

1752: Juan de Baltasar, writing from the point of view of the Sonora-Pimería frontier, declares that the Jocomes, Janos (Xamos) and Sumas have disappeared as such and evidently are now incorporated with the Apache and going under the latter name.⁶⁵

1753: Juan Amando Niel, again from the Sonora point of view, says that the Jocomes, Janos, Sumas, and Chinnarras joined the Apaches in the 1590's (i.e., 1690's).⁶⁶

1700-1750: During this period the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos and western Sumas disappear largely from the historical record. There seems to be little doubt but that most of them were either absorbed by the Apache or simply came to be called Apaches. A few Mansos were perhaps missionized permanently at El Paso after 1700 but those of Captain Chiquito's band appear to have simply become Apaches. No Mansos were left at El Paso in 1766, in fact it was thought that they had been gone since 1692. A Spanish settler declared in 1773 that the Mansos had been the first inhabitants of El Paso "... but they are totally extinguished and on their lands our citizens are living...." The Janos are mentioned by that name as late as 1727 but otherwise the only reference to them after 1710 is in 1716. The vast majority of the Sonora documents refer only to Apaches between 1710 and 1730. Both the Janos and Jocomes appear to have simply merged into the Gila Apaches to form the historic Chiricahua group. The southernmost Chiricahuas were later known as the Ned-ni or Nde Ndái and were said to be enemy or foreign Apache and "Apache Half Mexican." This, of course, may merely be a group which absorbed many Mexican prisoners, or it may be an Athapaskan group which was originally non-Chiricahua. Interestingly enough, the band of Chiricahuas which occupied the former Jocomo-Jano area was known variously as the Cho-kon-en and Chokone. Chokone could be the original from which the Spanish got Jacone, Xocome,

Hocome, Jocome, Hojome and Ojocome. Wherever the letters j, x and h are used interchangeably by the Spanish there is at least the possibility that the real sound was a ch, as in Xama for Chama, and Jumano for Chomane.⁶⁷

1754: Governor Vélez Cachupin of New Mexico refers to the Sumas as if they were an Apache subdivision along with the Faraones, Carlanas, Natages, Cuatelejos and others.⁶⁸

1791: A Spanish report says "Los Sumas del norte son igualmente bravos; pero tiene el credito de desleales, y que tratan con los enemigos [the Apaches]." The dating of this report is somewhat questionable. It may actually refer to an earlier period.⁶⁹

1796: Antonio Cordero, in his description of the Apache, does not mention the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, or Sumas but he shows that several groups of Apaches were living in the territory of the latter groups. For example, the "Chiricaguís" lived in the area of the Chiricahua Mountains but some of them had made peace and were living at Janos and Bacoachi. A number of "Gileños" were also settled at Janos. The southern members of the "Mimbresños" were living at Janos and Carrizal, the latter a one-time Suma settlement.⁷⁰

1796: José de Escudero in his Noticias Estadísticas del Estado de Chihuahua has a list of peaceful Apaches which seems to be a part of Antonio Cordero's survey of 1796. At that time almost 2,500 Apaches were living at peace in Chihuahua and Sonora divided into thirty bands in nine settlements. It seems likely that some of these Apaches were descendants of Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, and Sumas. Three hundred seventy-one Apaches were at peace in Tucson, Bacuachi and Bavispe, 410 at Janos, 149 at San Buenaventura, 208 at Carrizal, 57 at El Paso, 12 at Coyame, 15 at Namiquipa, and 1,202 at San Eleccario. The latter place was in the midst of what had been fifty years earlier the center of the free Sumas and Cholomes.⁷¹

1864: Orozco classifies the Janos, Jocomes, and Sumas as members of the Apache family although later saying that the Sumas and Piroos who formerly lived at El Paso spoke the Piro Language. As mentioned previously Orozco may have been misled by the fact that the Sumas of El Paso had lived in association with the Piroos for over

184 years and undoubtedly had become bi-lingual and under the cultural influence of the Piroans. The refugee Pueblo Indians always seem to have outnumbered the Sumas who were living at El Paso.⁷²

1883: Adolph Bandelier learned from other Indians that a Suma man was still living at El Paso. Nothing could be learned which pointed towards a linguistic identification, however. The other peoples still living at El Paso (Piros, Tiwas, and Mansos) were all intermarried with each other and with Apaches and Mexicans. They also were said to have some Jano strains due to past intermarriages. Of all of the Indian groups the Piros had survived the best and had preserved their language, social organization and some traditions. Bandelier found a group of "Mansos" living at Ciudad Juárez. They were intermarried with all of the other groups but still maintained some traditions of being the first people at El Paso and they had several casiques. Bandelier mentions a few of their names for such things as chief, war chief, sun, and moon deity but they do not seem to be identifiable with any known usage by other groups. One wonders how there could be Mansos at El Paso in 1883 when sources of 100 years mention them as gone from that place. Perhaps a few always continued to live at El Paso and others who had been with the Apaches returned or were brought to peace.⁷³

Many Indian groups have been linguistically classified in the past on the basis of much less evidence than has been assembled here to show that the Related Border Tribes and the Apache were related. It has been seen that at times the Jocomes, Sumas, Janos, Mansos, and Cholomes were spoken of as Apaches and although some of these references may have been due to error or may have been misinterpreted here, others are indisputably clear. Nevertheless, no statement has been found which comes right out and declares that the languages of the Related Border Tribes were similar to that of the Apaches, and, because of this, conservative scholars may be tempted to withhold their judgment. It must not be forgotten, however, that the weight of the total configuration of the evidence does indicate a relationship, and for this reason the Janos, Jocomes, Sumas, Mansos, and Cholomes should be classified as a group of Athapaskan-speaking

Indians until such a time as contrary evidence of a conclusive character is found. This thesis is borne out by the fact that strong evidence links the Sumas with the Jumanos and the latter group with the Apaches. The problem of the Jumanos will be dealt with below.

The problem remains as to why the Related Border Tribes were not called Apaches from the time of their first contact by the Spanish. That is, why did the Europeans frequently speak of the Related Border Tribes as separate from their Apache neighbors? This problem does not arise in connection with the period prior to the 1600's for the name "Apache" apparently did not come into use until the 1590's and its use only gradually spread to include such peoples as the Vaqueros of the plains and the Apaches of the Flagstaff region. Nevertheless, by the 1620's one would expect that the term would have begun to apply to such groups as the Mansos if they were indeed speaking a common language with the Apache. The explanation of why this did not occur seems to lie in the fact that the Apaches surrounding New Mexico had certain non-linguistic traits in common which they did not share with the Mansos and Sumas. For example, an Apache was readily distinguishable by the fact that he wore dressed deerskin clothing. The Mansos and Sumas, in common with the other peoples of Chihuahua, made little use of clothing of any kind, and they may have had other traits which readily set them off from the Apaches. It appears that the Mansos painted themselves, and while this was also true of some Apaches, the latter seem to have used this form of decoration only for special occasions such as war. The Mansos also seem to have had a distinctive hair-style which was like that of the La Junta people but different from any known Apache style. Another readily observable difference between the Related Border Tribes and the Apaches was that while the latter generally used some form of the tipi or skin-covered jacal the former uniformly lived in jacales of crude grass and pole construction. (It should be noted that the Cholomes near La Junta built permanent houses in the Julime style.) Thus to the Spaniard the Related Border Tribes would have

appeared to be very different people from the Apache of New Mexico, at least until such a time as language similarities became more apparent, and then, as has been seen, the Related Border Tribes came to be linked with the Apaches.

The Jumano Problem

The problem of the Jumanos has vexed scholars for many years and it has been complicated by the fact that it was assumed by many that the people in question must have belonged to one ethnic group. Actually, as the historian France V. Scholes has pointed out, the term Jumano came into use as a designation for certain groups of indios rayados, painted Indians.⁷⁴ In the 1580's the term first appears in connection with the Espejo-Beltran expedition to New Mexico. The two accounts of this journey are contradictory but the more reliable of the two indicates that the Jumanos were a group of Indians living between La Junta and the Pecos River. The other account confuses the above group with the people at La Junta (who were also painted) and this confusion has led many writers to assume that the Jumanos of the Pecos were one and the same as the Julimes of La Junta. Since Scholes has dealt adequately with the rise of the term Jumano in the 1590's and early 1600's it will not be necessary to go into detail here. During this early period the Spanish used the name for several groups of painted or striped Indians: the Tompiros of Jumano pueblo, the people of the Flagstaff region (Apaches apparently), the natives of Quivira, and the striped Indians living beyond the Plains Apaches. By the 1620's this general usage for the term disappears and such writers as Fray Alonso de Benavides come to assume that the word Jumano belongs properly only to the Jumanos of southwestern Texas. He says that the people of Jumano pueblo (Tompiros) are called Jumanos because the plains people of that name traded there. In other words, Jumano had lost its meaning of painted people.⁷⁵

From the 1620's to about 1700 the only Jumanos were the plains people living between La Junta and the Colorado

River of Texas, and the Tompiros of Jumano pueblo. The latter place was destroyed in the 1670's and the term fell from usage as applying to the latter group. Between 1680 and 1692 the Spanish were absent from New Mexico and their only contact with the Jumanos was by way of La Junta. When they returned to New Mexico contact was not re-established with the Jumanos by way of the plains and only Apaches existed to the east of the province; but about 1700 a new group of Jumanos enter into history located in the present Oklahoma region. These were the Tawehash and other branches of the Wichitan group of Caddoans. To the New Mexican Spanish the Wichitans were the only Jumanos after 1700, but in the south, to the Spanish of Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and Texas, the old Jumanos of the La Junta-San Antonio region continued to exist. In the 1690's and early 1700's the southern Jumanos were called by some form of the stem "Juman" and were differentiated from their northern neighbors the Apaches. After 1715 and from then until at least 1771 they were treated as a branch of the Athapaskans and were called the Jumano Apaches. They were always regarded as completely distinct from the Tawehash of Oklahoma. The Spaniards of Texas, Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya never referred to the Tawehash as Jumanos, but reserved the latter term for the people who had been called Jumanos since the 1580's. On the other hand, the New Mexicans of the 1700's knew nothing of the latter group and used the term Jumano only for the Tawehash. Thus it is clear that the Jumano problem has come to exist simply because the term was first used to denote a number of separate peoples and later came to be applied to two different groups by different Spaniards.⁷⁶

The problem remains as to where the term Jumano came from. There are several possible explanations, one being that it came from a Pueblo Indian word for striped or painted peoples. The second possibility is that it stemmed from the Pecos River Jumanos' name for themselves, Choma or Chouman.⁷⁷

No problem of identification exists in regard to the Indians of Jumano pueblo, who were clearly of the

Tompiro group, or of the Jumanos of Oklahoma, for they were without a doubt members of the Caddoan family. The Jumanos of southwestern Texas remain something of a mystery, however, and the evidence relating to their identification will be examined next. The Jumanos and their relatives the Sibolos (literally, buffalos, that is, the people who traded buffalo hides to the non-buffalo-hunting groups) were extremely close allies of the La Junta peoples. It appears that some Jumanos and Sibolos occasionally resided at La Junta prior to 1700 and after 1715 a group of Sibolos took up permanent residence at that place. In spite of this, the people who lived continually at La Junta were not Jumanos but Julimes, an entirely separate group of Indians. The evidence which shows the distinction between the Julimes and the Jumano-Sibolos will be examined below.

1580's: As mentioned previously the Espejo-Beltran expedition reached La Junta and the two accounts of the journey differ in detail regarding the Jumanos and the people of La Junta. Gallegos, whose account is internally the more detailed and precise, separates the Jumanos from the La Juntans. The Jumanos were a buffalo-hunting people living near the Pecos River Valley. The La Juntans had a different way of life and were called by different names. Espejo's account, on the other hand, refers to the La Juntans as Jumanos and does not distinguish between the two sets of Indians. Using only these two sources it is impossible to say which account is correct and which is wrong, although Gallegos' point of view probably deserves more consideration because of his greater detail throughout.⁷⁸

1600-1683: Our knowledge of the La Junta region is almost nil during this period except that the Julimes were occasionally at war with the Spanish as in 1645 and 1677. The Jumanos were always reached from New Mexico by an across-the-plains journey to the valley of the Colorado River of Texas. The two peoples are never mentioned in conjunction with each other.

1683: In August, twelve Jumanos came to El Paso "... and they declared that six days from this plaza [de armas, i.e., El Paso] there is a great number of people on the banks of this Rfo del Norte of the Julimes nation;

industrious people who have many fields of wheat, corn, beans and other crops; and they are friends of the said Jumanas, and the other nations who are their friends, who have offered them to bring the Spanish to aid them against the Apaches; that they will give them the necessary supplies, in order that the Spaniards may go to aid them, and that the said nations of Jumanas and their friends live very close to the said Julimes. . . . "79

1683: In October a number of Jumanos returned to El Paso with their chief, Juan Sabeata. The latter declared that "at that time" he and many of his people were living at La Junta. A council of six chiefs had decided to send him to El Paso to ask for a minister for the more than 10,000 souls of the Jumanas and Julimes who were jointly sending the request. Sabeata was then asked how far it was from La Junta to where the rest of the Jumanos lived. He replied that they were six days away on the Colorado River.⁸⁰

1683: Late in the year an expedition was organized to visit the Julimes, Jumanos and other peoples. Fray Nicolás López later said that he had found "nine nations" at La Junta. Another account refers to them as the Jumanas and eight other nations. The diarist of the journey, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, upon reaching La Junta noted the presence of settlements on both sides of the river. "These rancherias are of the people of the Julimes nation." The Spaniards were accompanied by Sabeata and some of his Jumanos but the first Jumano settlement was not found until the Pecos River was reached. Sabeata did not return to La Junta with the Spanish but remained in south central Texas with his people. This diary thus seems to establish the distinction between the two allies, the Jumanos and the Julimes.⁸¹

1688: The Spanish of Nueva Vizcaya learned of the presence of the French in Texas by way of the Jumanos and Sibolos. A Julime chief from La Junta declared in connection with this that "... there are some friendly Sibolo Indians on the said Rio del Norte; that they [the Julimes] trade with these couriers sent by Don Nicolas the sibolo; that he notifies that he is coming with his people. . . ." Another Julime testified that the Sibolos lived to the east and came to trade at La Junta as friends.

1689: A Spanish army went to La Junta to investigate. They later went to the Pecos River and there met the head

chief of the Sibolos and Jumanos, Juan Sabeata. Later Sabeata came to Parral and the "governor" of the Xulime nation served as an interpreter between the "governor" of the Jumano-Sibolos and the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya. From the various documents in this series it is clear that the Jumanos-Sibolos are a separate group from the Julimes and that the lands of the former are not at La Junta itself.⁶²

1691: A Spanish expedition in the San Antonio, Texas area met Juan Sabeata with his Jumanos and Sibolos. The Jumanos were at the eastern edge of their territory, apparently, and they were said to live on the Rio Grande and in the Pecos River area.⁶³

1692: Juan Sabeata was back in Vizcaya looking for the governor of the Julimes so that the latter could come to La Junta and gather 400 or 500 Julime warriors to aid the Jumano-Sibolos against the enemy Chisos.⁶⁴

1715-1760: During this period missions were established off and on for the Julimes at La Junta. A group of Sibolos came to live at La Junta but they were not called Julimes. Rather, the La Juntans were commonly called "Nortefios" from this time on. It appears that a group of Concho Indians also settled at La Junta during this period. The buffalo-hunting Indians living between La Junta and San Antonio were now called Apaches or Jumano Apaches and they were distinct from the Nortefios. Later on, the Sibolos also came to be treated as an Apache group.

It should be clear from the information summarized above that the Jumanos and the Julimes were separate groups of Indians, although very closely allied with each other. Orozco has classified the Julimes as speaking a language similar to that of the Tepehuan and Pima, while the Jumanos and Sibolos seem to have been Athapaskans. The data relating to a linguistic identification of the latter groups and a group known as the Pelones (Bald-heads) will be considered below.

1540-1542: The Coronado expedition documents distinguish two peoples living on the plains to the east of New Mexico, the Querechos and the Teyas. The Querechos were Plains Apaches, the name "Querecho" simply being a Spanish version of the Pecos name for these Apaches, Tagu Keresh, or east Navaho. The Teyas were a people

who lived beyond the Querechos and who were hostile to the latter. They apparently had contact with New Mexico, however, and it seems that their territory spread in an arc from the southern Pueblo region to the area of Lubbock, Texas. The Teyas inhabited some barrancas on the plains which have been identified as Palo Duro Canyon, Texas, but it seems that the canyons in question were actually farther to the south, perhaps near Lubbock.

The Teyas seem to have lived on occasion as far south as La Junta for an old Indian had met Cabeza de Vaca probably near the latter place. Because of this and because the Teyas were culturally identical with the later Jumanos of the plains (even to using stripes for decoration) it seems likely that the Teyas and the Jumanos were one and the same or related peoples. The anthropologist J. P. Harrington has stated that the Pecos-Jemez word for the eastern Plains Apaches was "Teya."⁸⁵

1580's: The fact that Espejo connects the Jumanos with the La Junta peoples has already been discussed. It has been shown that he was mistaken in so far as the Julimes were concerned, however, it should be noted that the Cholomes of the River Border Tribes lived just upstream from La Junta on both the Concho River and the Rio Grande. The Cholomes (Otomoacos and Amontomancos) may very well have spoken a language related to that of the Jumanos, and this may have been the basis for Espejo's confusion.

1590: The expedition of Castaño de Sosa went up the Pecos River through the lands of the Jumanos, whom they called "Tepelguan" or "Depesguan" Indians. The Spanish descriptions show that the Jumanos had a culture like that of the Plains Apaches, and used dogs for transportation. The expedition's interpreters, speaking various Uto-Aztec and Coahuiltecan dialects, could not converse with the Jumanos.⁸⁶

1590's-1690's: The Jumanos are treated as a people separate from the Apaches. In the 1680's evidence shows that the Jumanos and the Sibolos were under the same head chief, Juan Sabeata. In 1691 some Cholomes were with the Jumanos and Sibolos in Texas.⁸⁷

1700-1715: Little is known in this period. In 1703 Captain Diego Ramon wrote that his new presidio of San Juan Bautista (near Eagle Pass, Texas) faced and

confined upon the Apaches to the west, towards New Mexico. The only "Apaches" in that area would have been Jumanos and Sibolos. In 1706 the Spanish of Coahuila learned that a European had led the Yeripiamos against the Apaches in the area of the Colorado River of Texas. These "Apaches" again would seem to have been Jumanos or Pelones.⁸⁸ Jumanos were still being referred to by their own name, however, as a Coahuila priest mentions "... Gobernador Don Lasaro del nasion Juman ..." in 1706. In 1707 Ramon made a campaign to the Colorado River near San Antonio, the object being to punish the Pelones who had been causing trouble on the frontier. In the same year it was said that the Sibola nation was aiding the rebel Indians of Vizcaya.⁸⁹

1715: Missions were established at La Junta among the Julimes and Cholomes. A small body of Sibolos was living with some Julimes in one of the La Junta pueblos but no Jumanos are mentioned by the leader of the Spanish expedition. Instead he found that there was a rancharia of sixty Apaches living near by and that the chief, Don Antonio de la Cruz, had been baptized. These Apaches were close friends of the Julimes and seemed to live between La Junta and the Colorado River of Texas, exactly where the Jumanos lived. It seems likely that these friendly Apaches were the same Indians who had previously been called Jumanos. A priest writing in 1744 said that the new missions had contact with the "... Cumana and Zibolo nations. ..."⁹⁰

1718: A Juanillo "... de nacion Juman ..." was stirring up anti-Spanish feelings in the Texas-Coahuila area and as far as Parral.⁹¹

1716-1718: In 1716 San Antonio was said to border upon the Apaches to the north; and in another document, to be very close to the enemies of the Apache nation. In 1718 the Apaches were said to infest the area of the San Antonio missions. This was the same region that in 1707 was the home of the Pelones and in 1691 frequented by the Jumanos.⁹²

1728: Sibolos and Pelones were said to be living in the Coahuila-Nuevo León region.⁹³

1729: An expedition was to be made from northern Coahuila westward to La Junta. It was expected that on the way they would meet some Sibolo Indians who had

always been friends of the Spanish. Fifty leagues up the Rio Grande from San Juan Bautista presidio was a canyon (barranca) near which lived "... Indios de nazion Apaches Jumanes y Pelones, que son las mas numerosa que ay; y estas molestan el presidio de San Antonio Balero, y este San Juan Bautista." Thus the Jumanos or Jumanes were still living in the region from the Rio Grande to San Antonio.⁹⁴

1731-1750: Hostile Indians attacked San Antonio in 1731 and the arrows were of the Apaches, Pelones and Jumanes. William Edward Dunn, who studied the Apaches of Texas, asserts that from 1731 to at least 1750 three divisions of eastern Apaches are to be distinguished. They are the Apaches, Ypandes and Jumanes, or the Natages, Ypandes and Jumanes, or the Apaches, Pelones and Jumanes, or the Natages, Pelones and Jumanes. Dunn would boil this down to the three divisions of the Pelones, Ypandes or Lipanes, the Natages, and the Jumanes. Thus he equates the Pelones or Bald-heads with the Ypandes or as they are known today, the Lipan Apache.⁹⁵

1733: Governor Bustillo y Zevallos of Texas dispatched two squaws as peace emissaries to the Apache. One of the women was described as an "... Ypandis alias Pelones." The historian Herbert Eugene Bolton asserts in his study of the Jumanos that from 1733 on the Jumanos were regarded as a part of the Apaches, i. e. as "Apaches Jumanes." One frontier captain who had lived in Texas from 1693 to 1700 as well as in the 1730's spoke of the Pelones and Jumanes "... who it appears, have now incorporated themselves in the said Apaches ...;" formerly they had been enemies.⁹⁶

1743: A Texas priest described the eastern Apaches in some detail. He regarded the Pelones as a branch of the Apaches and says they are called "Negain." The Ypandes were called "Azain" and the Apaches proper were the "Duttain." Azain would appear to be a corruption of "Na-izha'n" the Lipan Apache's name for themselves. Duttain similarly is from Teutain, the name of one of the Lipan subdivisions.⁹⁷

1746: The Tobosos and the "Apaches Jumanes" were raiding in Coahuila, according to one source. Almost at the same time Governor Juan Bustillo y Zevallos of Texas refers to the danger of the Tobosos and "Jumanes" in Coahuila and León. In 1735 and 1747 references are made

to the Apaches who were invading Coahuila and raiding near Monclova and Saltillo.⁹⁸

1747: Apaches were moving into the Bolsón de Mapi-mí of Nueva Vizcaya which had been largely cleared of the Tobosos and Cocoyomes by virtue of almost two centuries of warfare with the Spanish. Apache bands were living on both sides of the Rio Grande between Coahuila and La Junta.

1747: Captain Ydoyaga found Sibolos living at La Junta. It was said that some of them had lived north of La Junta but had retreated due to fear of certain Apache groups. In 1747 the La Juntans were communicating with the Apaches of El Ligero, Nataje, and Pasqual. A recently abandoned camp of Pasqual's band was seen near the Sierra Rica.

1747: Teran de los Ríos found many signs of Apaches between La Junta and Coahuila below the Rio Grande. The Apaches were in the habit of holding fairs at La Junta.

1748: Ydoyaga met the Apache chief Pasqual at La Junta. The latter had just returned from a visit with his friend El Ligero. Pasqual's Apaches were accustomed to hold a fair at San Francisco de Conchos where the chief's "compadre" Captain Berroteran was in charge.

1748: Captain Vidaurri traveled from Coahuila to La Junta, staying just below the Rio Grande. About half way he met the Apaches of El Ligero who were going to La Junta to trade. At the foot of the Sierra Rica near La Junta he met the Apaches of Pasqual. The latter was very old, had been baptized and carried a Spanish baston. Some of his people were farther south in the old Toboso lands.

1748: Ydoyaga met Captain Ligero and his Apaches at La Junta. He learned that the Natages were far away and were rich in buffalo hides, etc.⁹⁹

1749: A priest at San Antonio had no doubt that two Apache bands, the Nopal-eaters and the Horse-eaters, who had been raiding the road from Coahuila to San Antonio, were united with the Julimes. He feared that the Natages, Julimes and other enemies from the region of the Rio Grande would raid San Antonio.¹⁰⁰

1754. A priest was trying to convert a large group of Apaches near San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande.

They were said to be the same Apaches who lived near San Antonio. The divisions represented in the proposed conversion were the Natajes, Sibolas, and Tucubantes and they numbered about 2,000 persons. The three groups were led by three chiefs, El Gordo, El de Godo, and Vigotes, and they were camped on both sides of the river upstream from San Juan. The interpreter used was an Ypande.

The Sibolos are here treated as an Apache band, and they were living near where they had lived in the 1680's.¹⁰¹

1756: Apaches, primarily Lipanes, began to come in to San Antonio in preparation for the founding of San Sabá Mission. They apologized for the absence of this kinsmen, the Natajes, Mescaleros, Pelones, Nopal-eaters, and Horse-eaters, saying that they were too far away to come.¹⁰²

1758: Referring to about this date it was said that thirteen nations of Apaches inhabited the Texas region. Of the thirteen three were named, the Ypandis, Natages, and Mescaleros.¹⁰³

1759: A priest declared that the La Junta Indians were all mixed up with the Apaches who traded with them. In the same year Juan Ydalgo led an expedition to La Junta and there he found the Apaches of Pasqual trading. Later the Nataje and Salinero Apaches came in under their two chiefs. On June 26 another group of Apaches came in to La Junta, "... unos rayados, y otros vermejos, y su capitán con vaston...." It has been noted previously that the old Jumanos were "rayados," i. e., striped or painted, and now it is clear that some of the Apaches of the Jumano region were also rayados.

1759: The Spanish planned to establish a presidio at La Junta and as a result the Sibolos and several allied groups united themselves with the Apaches of the rancherías of Pasqual, El Ligero, Sebastian, Alonso, the Natajes, and others.¹⁰⁴

1771: San Sabá was in need of soldiers due to the hostile nations of the "... Apaches, Faraones, Natages, Mescaleros, Jumanes, Lipanes and other nations ..." who had just won a battle with the Comanches and Tawehash.¹⁰⁵

1771: The map of Nicolás de Lafora shows the "Apaches Lipanes," "Apaches Natages," and "Apaches Mescaleros" occupying the region just to the north of the Rio Grande from Coahuila to La Junta in that order. The "Apaches Pharaones" were living between La Junta and El Paso north of the river.¹⁶⁶

1773: A map of this date has the "Apaches Lipanes" northeast of the junction of the Rio Grande and the Pecos, the "Apaches Jumanes" farther upstream on the Pecos, and the "Apaches Natajes" still farther upstream on the same river. The area to the north of the Rio Grande between the mouth of the Pecos and La Junta is occupied by the "Apaches Natajes y Mescaleros." Interestingly the Jumanes are in the same position where they were in the 1580's and 1680's.¹⁶⁷

The evidence indicating that the Jumanos, Sibolos and Pelones of southwestern Texas were Athapaskans is rather conclusive, and the three groups definitely came to be called Apaches after 1700. These groups would seem to have been closely associated with the Lipan Apache and with the little-known Natage. In all probability the pre-1700 sources fail to call them Apaches because of some prominent cultural peculiarity such as being painted or striped. In 1953 Andrée F. Sjoberg noted of the Lipan Apache:

The face and upper part of the body were painted with vermilion, minium, or red and yellow ocher, especially in preparation for battle. The color was applied to the face either in patches or in a single streak across the face and over the edge of the eyelids.¹⁶⁸

In 1601 a Spaniard had noted that the people of Jumano pueblo, New Mexico, were called

Jumenes que quiere dezir yndios rrayados proque tienen encima de la nariz una rraya....¹⁶⁹

Thus the Spaniards would have probably called the Lipan Apache Jumanos if they had met them in the early 1600's. This is not to say, however, that the Jumanos of southwest Texas were identical with the Lipan. It is more likely that the bands of Pasqual, El Ligero, the Nopal-eaters,

the Horse-eaters, and others living between San Antonio and La Junta were the descendents of the Jumanos of Juan Sabeata. After 1750 these Apaches come to be called primarily the Mescalero Apache, but they are not to be confused with the Mescaleros of a much later date living in eastern New Mexico. The latter group, in the 1700's, was known as the Faraon Apache. The Mescaleros of the La Junta-Pecos River region appear to have been largely annihilated after 1800 and their remnants were absorbed by the Lipan, the Natage, and the Faraon Mescaleros.

To further reinforce the Apache-Jumano and Apache River Border Tribes connections already dealt with there is strong evidence of Jumano-River Border Tribes affinity, which is to be expected if the first two connections are valid. First of all there is the name "Suma" which in some of its forms seems to resemble Jumano (for example: Juma, Yuma, Cumana, Sumana, Zumana, Sumina and in at least two cases, Humana). Secondly there is a map which speaks of the "Sumas Jumanes." Thirdly, and most convincingly, is a definite assertion of similarity between the Jumano and Suma languages. In 1682 soldiers who had found some Sumas holding friendly conversations with hostile Apaches in the latter's camp reported

that they have made great robberies of livestock and horses on the frontiers of Sonora and that a young boy of Jumana nation, whom the said Apaches were carrying enslaved, hearing them speak to some Sumas (with whose language his has much connection) he came fleeing to them.

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From this it appears that the soldiers were speaking with the Sumas and the boy overheard the discussion and fled to the Spanish. The only problem is to be sure that this reference deals with the Jumanos of the plains and not with the Tompiro Jumanos. The latter possibility is very unlikely, though, for it has already been established that the Plains Jumano's language should resemble that of the Suma, and further Jumano pueblo had been destroyed in the 1670's and its people seem to have been called Tompiros or Piros after 1680.

Other Unidentified Groups

Certain Indian groups which occupied territory to the south of the Athapaskans remain to be dealt with. One of the most interesting of these aboriginal entities was that of the Julimes of La Junta, especially since they had such close and constant contacts with the Cholomes, Sibolos, Sumas, and other Apaches. The historical evidence does not allow one to classify the Julimes ethnically although certain evidence would seem to link them with the Athapaskans. Sauer classified them as a branch of the Conchos because a certain Mamite (Concho ?) Indian in 1684 claimed that he had been "governor" of the Conchos, Coyamit (Cholomes), Julimes, and some small bands which are presumed to have been Concho subdivisions. The historical evidence is, however, overwhelmingly against a socio-political unity for the tribes mentioned. The documents clearly treat them as separate groups. It has already been noted that several Spaniards asserted that the Concho language was entirely distinct from those of the La Junta area in the 1580's, and culturally the Conchos and the Julimes were as far apart as the Havasupai and the Hopi. Orozco includes some of the Julime divisions (Mezquites, Cacalotes, Oposines, Conejos, and Polames) within his Concho branch of the Mexican (Uto-Aztecan) family, but he probably did it because of the same source as did Sauer. A little later in his study Orozco asserts that the Julime language was one of his "lost languages."¹¹¹

It appears that some of the Julimes were absorbed by the Apache while others fled from La Junta to northern Coahuila and were missionized at Vizarron Mission. These latter were allies and relatives by marriage of the Lipan Apache and, according to Lipan tradition, the Julimes (called Julimeños or Carrizos) were their instructors in the Peyote Cult. Post-1760 documents may yet reveal the true status of the Julime language but until then it should probably be classified as unidentified, but with the probability of its belonging to the Pima-Tepehuan branch of the Uto-Aztecan family. This latter probability is due to the fact that Orozco quotes Fray Benito Rinaldini, the

compiler of the Arte de la Lengua Tepeguana in 1743, as asserting that the Tepehuan language resembled or approached the Pima and Julime languages. This would be rather conclusive evidence if Orozco did not, a few pages later, call Julime a "lost language."¹¹² Orozco's "authorities" are not always correct in their assertions, as when one of them is said to have declared that the Yuman tribes of the Gila and Colorado Rivers spoke the same language as the Pimas, in fact "... se pueden tambien llamar [los] Pimas...." Thus Orozco's data must always be regarded with caution.¹¹³

The Chinarras are another group of Indians which bordered upon the Athapaskans to the south. Both Sauer and Orozco felt that they were a branch of the Conchos (or related to them), but the historical evidence does not support this supposition. The Chinarras are always treated as a separate entity and are as much linked with the Sumas and Cholomes as with the Conchos. The only clues to be found are (1) that they were missionized with the Sumas at Santa Ana del Torreon in the 1680's; (2) in 1715 it was learned that different settlements of enemy Indians of "... las naciones Sumas, Cholones Chinarras, Jotames ..." lived between La Junta and El Paso; (3) in 1718 a mission called Santa Ana de Chinarras was founded for Indians of "... las naciones de Yndios Conchos, y Chinarras ..."; (4) Santa Ana was described as "... la nueva mision en los parajes de los yndios de la nacion llamada Chinarra ..." in 1718; (5) in 1725 thirty-eight Indian families were at Santa Ana belonging to "... diversas Naciones unos Conchos, otros Tobosos, otros humas o' Chinarras" (this would seem to link the Sumas with the Chinarras but it is not really clear); (6) in 1737 the Conchos and the Tarau-maras were discussed at some length and then "Ademas de estas naciones, ay Tobozos, Chizos ... Julimes ... Chinarras ... y Coyames ..." in Nueva Vizcaya; (7) in 1748 it was asserted that on the Rio Grande below El Paso lived "... Sumas, leagued with Apaches, Cholomes y Chinarras"; (8) Orozco asserts that a Señor Hervás told Rafael Palacios that the Chinarras used to speak the Mexican (Nahuan) language among themselves and were of the

same tongue as the Conchos. For this reason Orozco places both the Chinarras and the Conchos in the Mexican family. It is to be doubted that any of the northern Uto-Aztecan would have spoken a tongue which closely resembled Nahuatl. In all probability the Chinarras had merely learned to speak Nahuatl (as had many other tribes) and the Señor Hervás mistakenly assumed that it was their aboriginal language; or, perhaps it was Orozco that jumped to the latter conclusion.¹¹⁴ It would seem then that the Chinarras should be classed as an unidentified group.

The Chisos or Taquitatomes are a mysterious people with divisional names resembling no other group (Osatayoligla is typical). Historically they were associated rather closely with the Tobosos but as allies and not, apparently, as a subordinate group. After 1750 some of them may have been absorbed by the Apache. There are only a few clues relating to their ethnic affinity and they are as follows: (1) Domínguez de Mendoza had trouble in 1683-1684 with "... los Yndios de Nacion Apaches y Salineros...." The Chisos seem to have been the Salineros in question; (2) a Spanish official in 1684 said that the Chisos and Julimes, as well as other groups, are included under the appellation Conchos which is the more general name. This may not refer to the Concho tribe, however, but to the general Concho River region. Indeed a "Provincia de Conchos" is spoken of as early as the 1660's; (3) reference is made in 1688 to the "chichitames cholomes." The Chichitames were a branch of the Chisos; (4) in 1691 General Retana mentions "... las naciones Tovossos, Co Coiomes, chichitames cholomes y otras...." The evidence is certainly inconclusive, and it appears that the Chisos must also be classified as an unidentified group.¹¹⁵

From Del Rio, Texas south to Monclova and Saltillo-Parras lived a group of tribes who are so unknown that they have never been mentioned in any classificatory system. This group included the Terocodames, Tripas Blancas, Gueiquesales (or Quisales and Catzales), Babosari-games, Coahuilas, and many other bands. It will not be necessary to examine any evidence relating to them except

to say that they were apparently non-Coahuiltecan. All of the sources which deal with the so-called Coahuiltecan tribes agree that the latter group extended roughly from Monclova northeastward to San Antonio. The Coahuilas lived to the south of Monclova and the other unknown bands inhabited an area to the west of the Coahuiltecan but east of the Tobosos and the latter's allies. The only positive evidence on these tribes is a reference to "... la nasyon quaguila y Sibola ..." in 1707. The important point is that a belt of Indians in Coahuila are unidentified linguistically and should be recognized as such.¹¹⁶

The Conchos have been classified as Uto-Aztecan for three major reasons: (1) in 1575 Juan de Miranda, according to Sauer, asserted that the Concho language was like that of the natives of San Miguel de Culiacán; (2) in 1581 Hernando Gallegos recorded three Concho words, bod for water, sonet for corn, and yoslli for themselves. Sonet and bod seem to be Uto-Aztecan; (3) as mentioned above, Orozco relates the Conchos with the Chinarras and the latter are said to have spoken Mexican. The first of these reasons is very weak, however, as Miranda really is not speaking of the Concho tribe but of Indians who are called "de las Conchas" because they live on "... el rio de las Conchas," a stream located some twelve leagues to the north of Santa Barbara. The Concho River of Miranda flowed towards the east and from what is known of the ethnogeographic status of that section of the Conchos River the people referred to could have as easily been Taraumaras as Conchos. In fact it is probable that they were Taraumaras since the latter would have spoken a dialect related to that of Culiacán and since most of the Conchos River where it flows to the east was in Taraumara territory. The third reason above can be taken as having as little merit as any of Orozco's assertions. The second reason then remains. Sonet is very distinct from the Pima word for corn hó-ne or hón-yi but it resembles the Taraumara sunu-ku or suunu and is quite close to the Ópata sunut. Bod is far from the Pima sró-ta-nik or só-tak and distinct from the Taraumara bawi or bawi-ki but it is close to the Ópata mbat. From this analysis it would

seem that the Concho language was Uto-Aztecan and closer to the Ópata than to any other tongue.¹¹⁷

The Tobosos, Cocoyomes and other bands of the Bolsón de Mapimí area were classified by Orozco as speaking an Apache tongue, but this seems to be an error. In 1618 there is a reference to "... otras dos naciones Conchos Tobosos y Noñoques...." In 1691 testimony was taken from a boy and it was said "... que como el confesante sabe la lengua Concha q[ue] es algo parecido a la que hablan los Tovosos entendio mui bien...." In the same year it was said that the Gavilanes, Cocoyomes and Jocomes spoke the same language. The Cocoyomes and the Tobosos seem to have been closely related and thus the tribes of the Bolsón de Mapimí are linked with the Conchos and, if we accept the testimony of two words, the Ópatas. They should then be classified in the Ópata-Cahita-Tarau-mara branch of the Uto-Aztecan family.¹¹⁸

Conclusions

The evidence examined in the preceding pages has led to the classification of the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Cholomes, Jumanos, Sibolos, and Pelones in the Athapaskan family. The Conchos, Tobosos, and Julimes have been placed with some skepticism in the Uto-Aztecan family while the Chinarras, Chisos, and central Coahuila tribes have been classified as unidentified. Future research will undoubtedly shed more light upon all of these little-known groups.

Notes

1. The problem is particularly acute in relation to compilations such as that of Swanton's, *The Indian Tribes of North America*. In the area with which this author has been dealing Swanton's handbook is worse than useless, for it is full of errors. These errors, based upon an indiscriminate acceptance of secondary sources, will have the effect of thoroughly confusing the field for years to come. Such a work would better have been delayed until

such a time as a groundwork of basic research had been done. One example of Swanton's tendency to confuse is his creation of a "Shuman" family occupying most of west Texas and including such diverse peoples as the Tompiros of New Mexico, the Jumanos of the Red River (Wichitas), the Jumanos of southern Texas (Jumano Apaches), and the Julimes of La Junta. Swanton created this hybrid family on the basis of one or two sources and his own imagination. The name "Shuman" he took from the French version of Jumano, Chouman, although the latter comes from a native word which the Spanish pronounced Choma, that is, with a hard ch sound.

2. It was thought that the Pima and Ópata languages were "totally different." See "Virreinato de Mejico," tomo 1.

3. For example see idem.

4. Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas . . .*, pp. 59, 326.

5. Zarate Salmeron, 1626.

6. Testimony of March, 1683.

7. Ramírez, Report of May 12, 1684; and Sauer, *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages*, p. 75.

8. Loyola, Letter of February 6, 1691.

9. Vargas, Auto of March 20, 1691.

10. Fuente, Reports of April 29, 1692, and August 14, 1692.

11. Fuente, Report of December 30, 1692.

12. Manje, Breve Noticia.

13. Vargas, Letter of March 8, 1696; and Villaguerre y Sotomayor.

14. Beserra y Nieto, *Diligencia and Autos*, 1706-1707.

15. Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas . . .*, p. 59.
16. Bandelier, *Journey of Alvar Nufez Cabeza de Vaca*, p. 153; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, pp. 172, 175; Gallegos, *The Gallegos Relation*; Pérez de Lujan, *Expedition into New Mexico by Antonio de Espejo*, pp. 55-71.
17. *Cedula of September 4, 1683*, in Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico*, vol. 3, p. 349.
18. Porraz, *Letter of May 14, 1684*.
19. Roque de Madrid, *Report of November 15, 1684*; and Retana, *Letter of May 28, 1684*.
20. Vargas, *Letter of August 14, 1691*.
21. Polici, *Relation of 1697*; Manje, *Breve Noticia*; and Bernal, *Diary of 1697*.
22. Ocaranza, *Parva Crónica*, pp. 53-54, 66; Kino, *Breve Relación*; Kino, *Las Misiones de Sonora y Arizona*, p. 61.
23. Beserra y Nieto, *Diligencia of July 7, 1706*.
24. Seutter, *Map of North America, 1735*.
25. Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas . . .*, pp. 59, 326.
26. Molina, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Mexicana*.
27. Bandelier, *Journey of . . . Cabeza de Vaca*, p. 153.
28. Pérez de Luján, *Relation*, pp. 55-70; Gallegos, *The Gallegos Relation*, pp. 250-260; and Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, pp. 170-174.
29. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration . . .*, pp. 323-325; and Pardiñas, *Report of August 2, 1691*.
30. Ydoyaga, *Diary of 1747*; and Rubin de Zelis, *Diary of 1750*.

31. Terán de los Ríos, Report of February 12, 1748.
32. Rubin de Zelis, Report of December 4, 1748.
33. Rubin de Zelis, Diary of 1750.
34. Cachupin, Report of March 29, 1751.
35. Rubin de Zelis, Diary of 1759; and Paez, Letter of November 11, 1759.
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37. Obregon, *Obregon's History*, pp. 79, 83, 152, 164, 169, 173-215.
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55. Sauer, The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages, pp. 74-75; and Halle, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, p. 130.
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69. Report on the Northern Frontier, 1791.

70. Matson and Schroeder, *Cordero's Description of the Apache—1796*. It is also in Escudero, *Noticias Estadísticas del Estado de Chihuahua*.

71. Escudero, *idem*.

72. Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas . . .*, pp. 59, 326.

73. Bandelier, *Final Report, Part I*, pp. 87, 230, 246-249.

74. See Scholes and Mera, *Aspects of the Jumano Problem*, pp. 265-299.

75. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Alonso de Benavides, Memorial*, p. 66.

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77. Masanet, *Diary*, June, 1691.

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