NÁDASI'NÉ' NDÉ' ISDZÁNÉ BEGOZ'AAHÍ' SHIMAA SHINÍ' GOKAL GOWĄ GOSHJAA HA'ÁNÁ'IDŁÍ TEXAS-NAKAIYÉ GODESDZOG

Translation:

RETURNING LIPAN APACHE WOMEN'S LAWS, LANDS, & POWER IN EL CALABOZ RANCHERÍA, TEXAS-MEXICO BORDER

By

MARGO TAMEZ

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Program in American Studies

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NÁDASI'NÉ' NDÉ' ISDZÁNÉ BEGOZ'AAHÍ' SHIMAA SHINÍ' GOKAL GOWĄ GOSHJAA HA'ÁNÁ'IDŁÍ TEXAS-NAKAIYÉ GODESDZOG

Translation:
RETURNING LIPAN APACHE WOMEN'S LAWS, LANDS, & POWER IN EL CALABOZ RANCHERÍA, TEXAS-MEXICO BORDER

Abstract

By Margo Tamez, PhD
Washington State University
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"Nádasi'né' nde' isdzáné begoz'aahi' shimaa shini' gokal gową goshjaa ha'áná'idiłí texas-nakaiyé godesdzog, [Translation: Returning Lipan Apache Women's Laws, Lands, & Power in El Calaboz Ranchería, Texas-Mexico Border], documents nineteen generations (1546-2009) of Ndé (Lipan Apache), Tlaxcalteca, Nahuatl Noble, and Basque colonials in the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands. Indigenous women's genealogies are traced, exposing the intersections of colonization, governmentality, legal challenges, slavery, exploitative labor, militarization and resistances. This dissertation re-imagines a critical interdisciplinary dialogue between Native American Studies, Indigenous Studies, American Studies, History, Critical Legal Studies, Gender Studies, and Border Studies.

In 2007, Indigenous peoples in El Calaboz Ranchería challenged the U.S. border wall along the Texas-Mexico border as a violation of human rights and constitutional law. The community's resistance to the state's will to dispossess them of ancestral lands, owned communally through aboriginal and Crown Land Grant title, inspired the investigations by

Indigenous women to untangle their community's legal, social, economic and political histories in land-tenure along the Lower Rio Grande Valley. Their challenges to the state's use of sovereignty and militarization exposed how the government naturalized the border wall within the discourse of development. However, their legal investigation unburied centuries of legal disputations between Indigenous peoples and more than one sovereign. Indigenous women's analysis of the border wall excavated a longer history of sovereignty and state violence as interlocking tools to normalize dispossession. Drawing from colonial archives, genealogical records, community documents, photographs, government documents, and interviews of El Calaboz Ranchería, from the clans of Lipan Apaches and their kinship relationships, this dissertation recovers Indigenous perspectives and principles related to dispossession and genocide resistance against four goverments, across five centures: Spain, Mexico, Texas and the U.S. This project is both historical and critical memory recovery which challenge normative conceptions of Native American and Indigenous genocide history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS……..iii

ABSTRACT……..vii

LIST OF TABLES……xii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS……xiii

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION……. 1

2. FROM *NDÉ* LENSES: AN INTERROGATION OF ‘APACHES’ AND ‘ENEMIES’ IN EARLY TO LATE COLONIAL SPAIN, 1525-1821……. 54

3. ‘APACHE STUDIES’: THE APPLICATION OF ‘NECROPOLITICS’ TO THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE NDÉ DOMAINS ……... 152

4. NECROPOWER AND NECROPOLITICS: THE VIOLENT LANDSCAPES OF THE TEXAS IMAGINARY……...225

5. NDÉ GENEALOGIES AND GENDERED MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE AND RESISTANCE…… 301

6. FRACTURED INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES, FRAGMENTED INDIGENOUS HISTORIES……368

7. CONCLUSION: AT THE WALL, NDÉ WOMEN WALK WITH LIGHTNING…….. 454

BIBLIOGRAPHY…….507

APPENDICES…….. 551

A. WAR COUNCIL OF MONCLOVA, December 1777, Sixteen Questions……..551

B. INDIGENOUS LAND-TENURE ALONG THE LOWER RIO GRANDE: ESPARZA (DE MOCTEZUMA) FAMILIES……. 554

C. INDIGENOUS WOMEN AND TRADITIONAL CONTINUITIES ALONG THE LOWER RIO GRANDE AND IN SOUTH TEXAS……563

D. RELATIONSHIP: LYDIA MONTALVO ESPARZA GARCÍA TO ISABEL RODRIGUEZ (TLAXCALTECA POBLADORES Y PRESIDARIOS DE COAHUILA Y NUEVO LEÓN……... 571

E. RELATIONSHIP: LYDIA MONTALVO ESPARZA GARCÍA TO MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II…….. 572

F. SITES OF CONTACT: MONTALVO-ESPARZA, TLAXCALTECA-BASQUE COLONIZATIONS…….. 575

G. SITES OF CONTACT: TLAXCALTECA-BASQUE-NDÉ OVERLAP AREAS…. 579

H. RESOLVING PETRONILA DE MOCTEZUMA AND MARIANA LEONOR DE MOCTIZUMA: NARRATIVE…….583

I. RESOLVING PETRONILA DE MOCTEZUMA AND MARIANA LEONOR DE MOCTEZUMA KINSHIP, PARENTESCO, AND COMADRAZGO: RELATIONSHIP CHART……... 589

J. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS TO CAVAZOS-PEÑA, BASQUE-TLAXCALTECA KINSHIP NETWORKS…… 592

K. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, BASQUE-TLAXCALTECA KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)……..594

L. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NDE' KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)……..596

M. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NDÉ KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)……..597

N. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NKINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)…….. 598

O. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NDÉ KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)……..600

P. RELATIONSHIP: FLAVIA DE LA FUENTE MUÑIZ CARRASCO NDÉ KINSHIP……. 602

Q. RELATIONSHIP: ANICETO GARCÍA, (HADA'DIDLA' NDÉ/LIPAN APACHE) KINSHIP NETWORK TO ELUTERIA……...603

R. SOUTH TEXAS 'ANGLO' (SCOTTISH, IRISH, GERMAN)-AMERICAN SETTLER SOCIETY AND THE TEXAS RANGERS……..606

S. AMERICANIZATION AND MILITARIZATION……. 629

T. INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE LOWER RIO GRANDE VALLEY……..632

U. GENOCIDE: TLAXCALTECA-NAHUATL NOBLE CACIQUES……646

V. NECROPOLITICS AS DEVELOPMENT……...656

W. CEMETARIES AS SACRED ARCHIVES OF GENOCIDE, INDIGENOUS MEMORY, AND HISTORICAL RECOVERY ARCHIVES……. 661

LIST OF TABLES

1. (2.1) "Legal Codification and Institutionalization of the Racialized Ndé Identity: 'Apache', excerpted from the *Instrucciones*/Viceroyalty Laws."……..141

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

2.1 "Mapa de la Sierra Gorda, y Costa de el Seno Mexicano desde la Ciudad de Querétaro……...130

3.1 "Map 35: The Trans-Mississippi West."……. 218

3.2 "Leading States of Origin of the Old Stock Anglo-American Population"…..219

3.3 "Federal Forts in Texas, 1848-1861."……...220

3.4 "Federal Forts in Texas, 1866-1890."……...221

3.5 "Frontier Federal Forts and Cattle Trails."……... 222

3.6 "Campaigns in the Trans-Pecos, 1850s." …… 223

3.7 "Apache Occupancy (Including Adjacent Comanche) During the American Period."……. 224

5.1 "El Calaboz Ndé Domain, Cultural Landscape and Contact Zones (1546-1935)."…….. 302

5.2 "Illustration 5.2. Map of Ndé Resistance to Basque-Spanish Silver Mining."303

5.3 "Ndé/Lipan Apache Land Tenure, 1749-1852."…….. 305

5.4 "Ndé-Basque-Spanish-Tlaxcalteca Mining Borderlands—De-Colonial Resistance, ca. early 17th c. to late 1770s."……..306

5.5 "My Four Clans: Spatiality."……... 323

5.6 "My Four Clans: Mothers, Grandmothers, Ancestors."…….. 325

5.7 "Lydia Montalvo Esparza García, El Calaboz Ranchería, ca. early 1930s."…326

5.8 "Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco, ca. early 1930s"……340

5.9 "Metate"……347

5.10 "Andrea Rubio Peña Cavazos García"……. 354

5.11 "Cavazos and Castros"…… 358

6.1 "Lydia Montalvo Esparza García"……371

6.2 "El Calaboz Ranchería, Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands"……376

6.3 "Carlos Villarreal Esparza I"…… 391

6.4 "La Encantada ('El Ranchito') main house"…… 392

6.5 "Francisca Benavides García"…….. 393

6.6 "War Survivors Crescencio Carrasco & Victoriana De la Fuente Muñiz"…...447

6.7 "War Survivors Estanislado Muñiz de la Fuente Carrasco"……448

6.8 "War Survivors Juanita Gonzalez Castro Cavazos"……449

6.9 "War Survivors Jesus Fonibio Cavazos"……..449

6.10 "War Survivors Inocente Rubio Garcia and her husband Jose Peña Cavazos"450

6.11 "War Survivors Petra Gonzalez Castro & Teodola Castro"……451

6.12 "War Survivors Andrea Rubio Garcia Cavazos"…… 452

6.13 "War Survivors Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco Támez"…… 453

7.1 "Forced Indigenous macehualli labor, silver mines, Zacatecas, México……. 462

7.2 "Andrea Rubio Peña Cavazos García."……... 466

7.3 "Caciques (Indigenous leaders), El Ranchito, c.1919…… 469

7.4 "Indigenous women mourning their losses."……...473

7.5 "Children of La Encantada School."……475

7.6 "Eloisa 'Chata' García Támez, 9 months."……..477

7.7 "Inocente Rubio Cavazos García."…….. 480

7.8 "Map of Cameron County, 1880, #4786."…….. 482

7.9 "Map of County of Cameron, Texas, 1884, #76058."…… 483

7.10 "Cameron County Map, 1913, #4752."…… 484

7.11 "Francisca Reyes Esparza."…….. 487

7.12 "Eloisa García Támez, 1940-41."…… 488

7.13 "La Encantada School house, ca. 1930-33."…….489

7.14 "Daily life of Lydia Montalvo Esparza García."…….. 490

7.15 "Hortencia Esparza Loya."……... 490

7.16 "José Emilio García planting in El Calaboz."…….. 491

7.17 "La vaquera y rebelde, Eloisa García Támez, ca 1941."…… 491

7.18 "A day in town, in traditional clothing"……... 492

7.19 "First Holy Communion."…… 492

7.20 "Jesusita 'Paco' Esparza García."…… 493

7.21 "Eloisa and sister Jesusita."…….. 494

7.22 "Eloisa, uncle Nicolas Esparza."…….. 494

7.23 "Eloisa, Jesusita and cousin Janie."…….. 495

7.24 "Lydia Montalvo Esparza García and José Emilio Cavazos García."……..496

7.25 "Eloisa's graduation day."…… 497

7.26 "Wedding day."…….497

7.27 "Border Wall, Eloisa García Támez, April 2009."……... 499

7.28 "Author providing testimony at Inter-American Commission/Organization of American States."……. 501

7.29 "Baptism day of the Author with grandparents."……..504

7.30 "Milpa de Otoño Tamez Mendoza."…….505

7.31 "Author and daughter, Milpa de Otoño Tamez Mendoza."……..506

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to *shimaa*, Eloisa García Támez and *shitaa*, Luis Carrasco Támez, Jr. (in the Spirit World), and to *shichu* Lydia Montalvo Esparza García, *shich'iné* Flavia de la Fuente Carrasco Támez, *shitsúyé* José Emilio García, *shindálé* Aniceto García, and all *shi 'ik ł'idá beedaajindánde*—my ancestor-relatives of long ago. I humbly pray that this offering honors your lives, your struggles and resistances, the hauntings, and the bittersweet memories. *Ahe' he'e…gracias…Gozhoo…con cariño*.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

The Ndé, the Tlaxcalteca and Nahuatl Noble Originarios, and El Calaboz Ranchería

First and foremost, this dissertation is presented to the Indigenous peoples of the Lower and Middle Rio Grande River, the Nueces River, the Frio River, and the Conchos River watersheds: the Hada'didla' Ndé (Lightning People), Cuélcahén Ndé (Tall Grass People), the Tuntsa'Ndé (Big Water People), the Zuá zuá Ndé (Lava Bed People), the Jumano Ndé (Jumano-Apache/Red Mud Painted People), and the 'Indantuhé Nde (Mexican Clan People). You have diligently worked to protect the human rights of vulnerable peoples in past and present struggles for self-determination along the Texas-Mexico border. These are peoples who comprise the past and present-day Ndé, Originario peoples of El Calaboz Ranchería of the Lower Rio Grande River Valley.[1]

Since August 2006 and to the present, my mother, Dr. Eloisa García Támez, community elders, family members, a committed group of supporters and I struggled to disrupt the construction of the U.S. Border Wall in our rural communities along the Texas-Mexico border. Although many local peoples understood implicitly that this struggle in El Calaboz would necessarily involve the integration and incorporation of an Indigenous rights framework, many supporters required a 'crash course' in Spanish colonial history, American empire, Texas settler history, and Indigenous peoples' struggles specific to Lipan, Jumano, Mescalero Apaches and

[1] Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas and Daniel Castro Romero, *Ndé—Anthropological Report on the Cúelcahén Ndé: Lipan Apache of Texas*, ©2004, 17, 231, 344.

their allied ways of life in a large area still very much under contestation between Indigenous peoples and settler governments and citizens.

In the process of educating a national and international community about the local Indigenous struggle and the underlying centuries and histories of oppression in El Calaboz Ranchería the Lipan Apaches of the Lower Rio Grande and South Texas were also grappling with racial tensions and conflicts brewing within the United States, in Mexico and as a result—in traditional Texas-Mexico border communities. Indigenous peoples have long histories embroiled in racial and nationalist conflicts of the state; the U.S. Border Wall construction project worked to further divide the already feuding Lipan Apache bands and clans. The Texas-Mexico Border Wall not only exposed vulnerable communities along the Rio Grande River, who had formerly been marginalized in dominant politics of Lipan Apache recognition and self-determination, it served to congeal kinship relationships along the river, and to provide a different forum for Indigenous politics in South Texas, which attracted groups whose interests lay in more than one political sphere.

The women and elders of El Calaboz Ranchería articulated indigeneity and Lipan ethnicity in ways echoing legal and political issues which fastened Indigenous politics in the arenas of international law and Indigenous human rights—key arenas from which the majority of federally recognized groups impacted by the U.S.-Mexico border wall noticeably veered away. Even so, the border wall, as all nationalist architectures do, hardened the ethnicity/identity politics within Native American communities along the border and inland. As demonstrated in the cases of U.S. citizen-Native American 'scouts' enlisted by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and tribal governments to track (for pay) Indigenous undocumented workers in Arizona's deserts, the 'Mexican' and 'the Mexican border' continue

to be potent cognates for U.S.-based, federally recognized, Indigenous citizens who are subjected to the contemporary complexities of late capitalism in a highly stratified racial and economic society.[2] At the same time, the incidences of indicted and incarcerated, U.S.-based, federally recognized persons who support and assist in the transporting of Indigenous laborers across the U.S. and Canadian border (for pay) speaks to the invisibility of Indigenous poverty and informal economies which many Indigenous families see as a necessary risk they are forced into in order to pay bills, purchase food, and pay the costs of transportation in a mostly middle-class-focused U.S. society. As a negative consequence of the erasures Apaches of the Texas-Mexico bordered lands, who have a unique, though deeply misrepresented history, construed as somehow outside *the* 'American Indian' experience, as if there is a typical 'American' and 'Indian' experience, Lipan Apaches with legal histories with four different sovereign states—Spain, Mexico, Texas, and the U.S— struggle against illegibility in the normative frameworks of Native Americans identified (within the U.S.) in legal discourse as 'recognized Indians' 'wards' and 'demi-sovereigns.' In their customary spheres in South Texas and the border region, Ndé politics between bands and clans are heavily affected by factionalism, patriarchal

[2] See Lee Allen, "Shadow Wolves," *DesertUSA,* (accessed January 29, 2010), at http://www.desertusa.com/mag03/apr/hunt.html. Mainstream news about the role of contemporary Native American trackers builds upon a three centuries long Euro-American popular literature tradition which pits the Noble Savage (Good Indian/Native American Customs Service agents/federally approved Indian/official land base/state functionary-tax payer) *against the* Heathen Savage (Bad Indian/Mexican Indigenous 'Trafficker'/'Illegal/non-federally approved Indian/ dispossessed 'migrant'/independent-un-taxed). "The Sonoran Desert landscape south and west of Tucson is characterized by blistering hot summers, cool winters, scrub brush, sand and rocks. It is filled with plant and animal communities which, as naturalist Edward Abbey said, could be counted on to "stink, sting or stab." The ancestral home of the Tohono O'odham Indians – and today's site of the tribe's reservation – it has deep prehistoric and historic roots. It is also the scene of a very modern drama—the battle against drug trafficking from Mexico into Arizona and the United States. On one side, there are the Mexican drug bearers – or, the "Mules" – who transport loads of marijuana on their backs northward across the border. On the other side, there are a handful of Native American Customs Service agents – the Shadow Wolves – who call on traditional skills in tracking to follow and apprehend the Mules." For background on the Shadow Wolves and conflicts with U.S. Customs Border Patrol, see Jennifer Talhelm, "Shadow Wolves Dwindle, Cite Frustration with Border Patrol," Associated Press, January 27, 2009, (accessed January 23, 2009) at http://www.tucsoncitizen.com/daily/local/21073.php.

politics, oligarchic male power struggles, legal mazes, and fractious identity politics. The crucial roles of Indigenous women, mothers, grandmothers, elder societies, and traditional governance prior to 2006, seemed to exist at the fringes of Euro-American focused and male dominated politics embedded inside 'Native America.'

Nevertheless, Indigenous women along the Lower Rio Grande River were simultaneously pursuing ranchería-based and transnationally-informed historical recoveries of Ndé and Originario peoples' traditional histories of the Lower Rio Grande River—before the wall project commenced. These communities are challenging to document because the community's customary territories are physically situated across a large area of Texas, and includes large areas of the states of New Mexico, U.S. and Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Chihuahua, Mexico. Ndé never have been nor are they today an Indigenous community that is 'typical.' Rather, like numerous Indigenous groups, they have a history of obstructing and challenging 18th and 19th century Euro-American attempts to fix them into mythological constructs of 'the Indian.' Ndé who thrive along and among river watersheds of our areas have never been 'isolated' from other Ndé, and other important linguistic and religious Indigenous communities—as many 19th and 20th century Euro-Americans believed. Therefore, from the beginning of the process to build the law cases, we community members had to re-train our supporters to read against the grain of Euro-American 'official' texts which claimed expertise and authority on issues related to 'Lipan Apaches.' Sadly, due to forced assimilation and state school indoctrination of Indigenous peoples in our local community, in both nation-states (U.S. and Mexico), and tribal-state education systems, many Indigenous persons languish in a

paralysis of the mind when it comes to re-visioning, re-claiming, and de-colonizing Indigenous histories. Our de-colonial work in building law cases cut in both ways.[3]

In 2007, to construct the Texas-Mexico border wall, the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) commenced the dispossession of lands held in private property, Spanish land grants, and collective ownership in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.[4] My mother, Eloisa García Támez and numerous community members refused to allow the United States DHS, the United States Army and the United States Custom Border Patrol access or entry into her lands.[5] My mother and I organized a national and international working group to support the defense of lineal Lipan Apache and related Indigenous family members in the traditional

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[3] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

[4] Margo Tamez, "Indigenous Women, Anti-Imperialist Struggles, and Their Challenges to Border Militarizations along the U.S.-Mexico and Texas-Mexico Border," in Invisible Battlegrounds: Feminist Resistance in the Global Age of War and Imperialism, *Works & Days*, Susan Comfort, Ed. forthcoming; Denise Gilman et al., "Working Group Briefing Papers on Human Rights Impact," UT Working Group Human Rights Analysis, at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/analysis/; "Working Group Before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights," Ibid. at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/analysis/inter-american-commision.html; "Working Group Freedom of Information Act Requests and Responses," Ibid. at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/analysis/foia-requests.html.

[5] For the legislative, statutory and regulatory frameworks constructing the U.S. Border Wall, see "Statutes Mandating Construction of Border Barrier," at University of Texas at Austin, School of Law, The Texas-Mexico Border Wall at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/law/statutes.html; and "Legislative History Relating to Barrier Statutes," Ibid., at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/law/legislative-history.html; and "Other Statutes, Regulations and Executive Orders," Ibid., at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/law/other-statutes.html; and "Waivers of Applicable Statutory Protections," Ibid., at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/law/waivers.html; and "Legal Action Against Property Owners Seeking Condemnation of Land," Ibid., at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/law/lawsuits-property.html; and "Lawsuits Filed Challenging the Government's Actions, Ibid., at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/law/lawsuits-government.html; and "Affirmative Class Action Litigation—Tamez Family," Ibid., at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/law/lawsuits-government.html.

ranchería of El Calaboz, in the Lower Rio Grande Valley who are inheritors of ancestral lands which were negotiated with ancestors through Spanish land grants. As a result of our efforts to maintain possession and control over Indigenous peoples' lands, we organized our human rights advocacies under the organizational and community-based identity of the Lipan Apache Women Defense (LAW-Defense).[6] In the process of upholding community and traditional law of kinship, clan governance over local matters and collective ties and stewardship of the land and natural resources, the LAW-Defense envisioned a collaboration of diverse transnational communities of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, organizations, and experts in the common struggle to protect the human rights of Indigenous peoples, elders, women and children as they are being negatively impacted by the forces of colonialism, racism, sexism, gender, class, and *casta* in the militarization of the Texas-Mexico border.

The LAW-Defense was the first class-action lawsuit filed by an Indigenous non-governmental community, an Indigenous elder and an Indigenous woman against the U.S. in contestation of the U.S. claim to the sovereign authority to dispossess Lipan Apaches, Originarios, and lineally related border land owners in the traditional and rural land grant communities. LAW-Defense stands as the official organization associated with the anti-wall, de-militarization activism of local resisting leadership and allied Indigenous communities and the implementation of Free and Prior Informed Consent in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[7] On the key criteria which the U.S. Congress established for U.S. DHS' consultation with land owners— culture, environment, economic

[6] Lipan Apache Women Defense at http://lipanapachecommunitydefense.blogspot.com/. "Lipan Apache Women Defense (El Calaboz Rancheria) organized formally in the summer of 2007 as a result of a decades and centuries-long struggle for recognition, self-determination, and human rights for indigenous peoples related through ancient lineal ties, through customary law, and through aboriginal title to lands along the Rio Grande River."

[7] Ibid., EagleWoman; Ibid., Morales; Ibid., University of Texas Working Group.

livelihood, and way of life—no other plaintiff challenged the U.S. to the extent that the El Calaboz elders did. It was this community that provided compelling documentation of the continuous existence of Ndé and their customary use of the lands under dispute which predated the U.S. as a nation and was held in continuous title to the Spanish Crown. The case opened up a non-traditional and vigorous challenge to the U.S.' use of Eminent Domain against Indigenous peoples whose land-tenure pre-dates the existence of the U.S. American settler state. At the same time, Indigenous women activism and the uses of local knowledges and gendered ways of knowing drew upon international Indigenous people's analysis of the border wall as a *mega-project* and therefore, our political strategies incorporated the recognition that in today's legal battles against perpetrator states, the struggle is severely delimited by merely challenging 'constitutional rights' and 'civil rights' within the legal spheres of the state itself. We challenged conventional approaches to civil and constitutional law, and we sought new terrains of activism in international human rights and Indigenous peoples' rights regimes, also recognizing how those are intertwined with the ongoing project of U.S. empire.

Although the U.S. constructed the border wall across my family's ancestral lands in late April 2009, on numerous levels the events happening on the ground between Indigenous women elders and their kinship and network reconstructions, and their local narratives of oppression was both an outcropping of previous centuries of resistances, and a shift in the modes in which Indigenous popular resistances and local struggles allied along the Lower Rio Grande River—a place where Indigenous peoples had for centuries come together ritually and through kinship. The Lipan Apache women's case broke new conceptual and legal grounds for Indigenous peoples of the Texas-Mexico border region. By the 17th and 18th centuries, the Lipan Apaches had already battled against the European legal, social, and religious constructions of 'el Apache'

in the political and economic contexts of silver mining, the fur trade and the arms and human traffic. Between 1546 and 1821, Ndé formed some of the largest Indigenous alliances working against the colonialist overthrow of some of the most powerful Indigenous economies and self-governance known in the Western hemisphere. This alliance at its apex spanned across all of northern Mexico and the entire Southwestern and parts of Southeastern United States. I decided that this project would need to fill the gaping hole between the 18th century perception of Lipan Apaches as the administrative and intellectual masterminds of Indigenous mass rebellion against the Spanish empire and the obscurity of our histories in U.S. and Mexican 21st century memory.

Throughout the last three years, numerous mainstream reporters from around the Western hemisphere have attempted to 'fix' the story and identity of Lipan Apaches in the Lower Rio Grande, South Texas, the United States and Mexico. Frequently reporters queried my mother, me, and our elders about the 'history' of Lipan Apaches in connection to the sovereignty of nation-states, and the U.S to use armed force in a post 9/11 world. I often provided reporters new questions to interrogate and pursue, and I often seeded their queries with briefs, background papers, numerous context files, sources and synthesis to incorporate into their coverage of the militarization of the Lower Rio Grande Valley. My short reply to their questions about who are the Lipan Apaches of El Calaboz and south Texas went like this: "Lipan Apaches are aboriginal to Texas and Mexico. A more critical question is: 'How did one of the most persecuted groups of aboriginal peoples survive colonialism of four nations, and how did their current-day female elders and relatives launch one of the most effective barriers to U.S. Eminent Domain in the poorest county in the entire U.S., per the last five years of the Census? How did Lipan Apache women elders and their clan networks mobilize a diverse

community of allies across race, ethnicity, class, gender, religion, and citizenship along and across the Texas-Mexico border?"

This dissertation is my pensive reply.

This project is an interrogation of the colonialist construction of Indigenous enemies and the fictive basis upon which the settler state is constructed. The project is a documentation of the Lower Rio Grande Indigenous people's diverse, crucial, yet often 'lost' and silenced record of important responses to the injustices of colonization, dispossession, removal, displacement and exploitation in the modern industrial period of capitalism. Specifically, I recover Indigenous women's histories and roles as matrilineal leaders of clans and the persons who reside in the *naaghá'e'/hindá'e'* ('habitat') and govern the laws of the *gughą gukųųghą* (home/village residence clusters/lineal kinship residences) in a critical Ndé and Indigenous cultural landscape.[8] This dissertation answers an urgent need to document the critical histories of Indigenous peoples of the Texas-Mexico border terrains and to re-examine—in the midst of constitutional, Federal Indian, and human rights law cases—the processes of Indigenous peoples asserting *Indigenous* laws, ancestral knowledges, *Indigenous* kinship systems, Indigenous changing gender identities and roles, and customary institutions of independent bands working for self-determination.[9]

[8] Breuninger, et.al, Ibid., 61.

[9] Self-determination does not automatically require separation from the oppressor state; the self-determination process when mediated through Indigenous peoples' mechanisms and institutions can establish methods to change the structure of states' practices and laws, and can be, theoretically, transformative in establishing the means for complimentarily co-existence just short of secession. See S. James Anaya, Indigenous Peoples in International Law, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 8. "An alternative understanding of self-determination, however, emerges from taking seriously the principle's grounding within the human rights, as opposed to states rights, framework of international law. […] Under a human rights approach, attributes of statehood or sovereignty are at most instrumental to the realization of these values—they are not themselves the essence of self-determination. And for

My community, family, kinship, and daughter 'roles' which were re-constructed in the advocacies against the construction of the Texas-Mexico border wall mega-project is deeply enmeshed in my on-going struggles to assert the Indigenous and human rights of Ndé, Nahua, *and* Tlaxcalteca autonomy in El Calaboz Ranchería *and* in her connected sister-communities of La Encantada, El Ranchito, La Paloma, Las Milpas, Los Indios, and Las Rusias. My role in the construction of a method to document the traditional and colonial histories of the Ndé along the Lower Rio Grande evolved hand-in-hand with my emerging role as a political representative advocating for the wishes, analysis and demands of the Indigenous land owners of El Calaboz. My current role as the Co-Founder of the Lipan Apache Women Defense is explicitly bound to my role as activist-researcher and vice-versa as the needs of the local community leaders shift and criss-cross the traditional trajectories of traditional 'research' and traditional 'activism.' My strategies in gaining access to necessary primary documents—across international borders— at times fiercely mirrored my strategies to protect my personal human rights to access and protect vital Indigenous Knowledge systems and governed my ethical calling to achieve maximum access to materials the traditional Ndé consider our own people.

The numerous incidences of being forced at gunpoint by U.S. officers and agents to submit to armed, violent, and threatening interrogations at Texas-Mexico borders directly related to my research as I re-entered the United States from my customary Ndé homelands in Chihuahua, Nuevo León and Coahuila, México, has deeply effected the way in which I synthesized the past and present human rights violations perpetrated against Indigenous women

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most peoples—especially in light of cross-cultural linkages and other patterns of interconnectedness that exist along-side diverse identities—*full* self-determination, in a real sense, does not require or justify a separate state and may even be impeded by establishment of a separate state. It is a rare case in the post-colonial world in which self-determination, understood from a human rights perspective, will require secession or the dismemberment of states."

along the entire U.S.-Mexico border. This dissertation is but one facet of a much larger body of work that seeks to disrupt the U.S. Border Wall Mega-Project and nation-states' violence against Indigenous women and families, and in the process, to recover ancestral Ndé and Originario Peoples' (South-Texas Land Grant Nahua and Tlaxcalteca) knowledges. This is a necessary step in formal and informal reaffirmations of local Indigenous memories of the violent atrocities committed by the state and the extralegal violence committed by settler groups in the *de jure* and *de facto* systematized oppression against our peoples.. The law cases and the historical recovery of Lipan Apache and Originario women's knowledges have expanded far beyond the confines of the dissertation. This work has invigorated new terrains of international collaborations between Indigenous women leaders, scholars, legal experts, activists, and the grass roots beyond borders[10]

The work here is presented with and through consultation and the Free, Prior and Informed Consent of elders and leaders of the Lipan Apache traditional elders, the Lipan Apache Band of Texas, and the traditional aboriginal-title women leadership of El Calaboz. Their lineal relations in Las Rusias and Los Indios are also analyzed as key sites of transnational Tlaxcalteca-Ndé-Nahua kinship household networks. The project is defined, shaped, and

[10] Angelique EagleWoman, "The Eagle and the Condor of the Western Hemisphere: Application of International Indigenous Principles to Halt the United States Border Wall," *Idaho Law Review*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 2009, 1-18.University of Texas Working Group Human Rights Analysis, "Working Group Briefing Papers on Human Rights Impact," at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/analysis/briefing-papers.html, (accessed December 5, 2009); University of Texas Working Group Before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights," at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/analysis/inter-american-commision.html, (accessed December 5, 2009); University of Texas Working Group Freedom of Information Act Requests and Responses," at http://www.utexas.edu/law/academics/centers/humanrights/borderwall/analysis/foia-requests.html. Daniel Ibsen Morales, "In Democracy's Shadow: Fences, Raids, and the Production of Migrant Illegality," University of Wisconsin Law School, Legal Studies Research Paper Series, Paper No. 1068, January 2009; Margo Tamez, "El Calaboz Ranchería E-Portfolio," at https://mysite.wsu.edu/personal/mtamez/calaboz/default.aspx, (accessed December 5, 2009); Margo Tamez, "Lipan Apache Women Defense," at http://lipanapachecommunitydefense.blogspot.com/, (accessed December 5, 2009).

articulated through Indigenous Ndé understandings of resistances against our violent erasure.[11] Reading across the grain of colonizations and through the lens of resilient indigeneity, I rely heavily upon the articulations of elders and archival materials to inform a critical analysis of a recircular, anti-colonial undercurrent deep inside the Rio Grande River ranchería communities and peoples.

This project is compiled at the behest of specific community elders involved in anti-oppression work, which are cooperating and collaborating with me and national and international working groups towards self-determination of El Calaboz peoples. It is the pre-history of the border wall saga that inspires the necessity to develop a locally sensitive and locally situated methodology which will appropriately expose the pre-conditions for genocidal violence and human rights violations by the State, individuals, groups, and corporations. Through the voices, lenses, and archives of the Lipan Apache women's traditional societies in rancherías our experiences and memories of Lipan Apaches in state, national, transnational, and international law spheres become an important new ground for investigating the colonial pre-conditions of mass-scale violence in the early 20th century, which, from our perspectives, laid the foundation for the contemporary violence committed against our rancherías by the State.

By acknowledging and supporting the traditional peoples' growing recognition of a much longer history of State violence in our region through scholarly investigation and analysis, the local rancherías in the traditional strongholds of Lipan Apache clans and bands are being provided new paths to maintain and to sustain their traditional and contemporary roles as the keepers of inter-generationally transmitted knowledges. Interdisciplinary approaches provided

[11] The word for 'the People' in the Indigenous language.

me a diverse set of tools for a complex set of problems. The community's re-affirmations of Indigenous cultural systems and specific understandings of events, shaped by an undergrounded resiliency of Ndé thought and philosophy, is based in a specific religious reverence for ancestors, lineal and genealogical ties, creation stories, holy/sacred women stories, first foods, water, air, and space, as well as a diverse collection of locally-understood beliefs and practices regarding protection, defense, and peoples' agency.

The work presented here has been developed (and is developing) with the contributions of Lipan Apache women leaders, and their affiliated clan members. The legal cases and the inter-related processes of recovering the Ndé past are the communities' priorities, and are articulated differently, by different community members, at different sites where legal and other pressures demand the people to raise 'evidence.' Given the legal regimes' intense emphasis on applying western frames to non-western knowledges to 'make' Indigenous 'evidence' legible, the project is attempting to answer the needs of different formal and informal parties committed to the larger project of self-determination for Ndé, and for the Lipan Apache Women Defense (hereinafter 'LAW-Defense'), an Indigenous People's Organization.

To raise a human rights defense and support the historical and political analysis of two federal Indigenous land-tenure cases against the United States, in the midst of writing a dissertation is a feat in itself in terms of the amount of time required to receive and analyze community testimonies, and to research and uncover material spread throughout the world in archival collections. Community primary document and archival collections are often fragile and lesser known and under appreciated, especially collections from communities who are survivor generations of *de facto* slavery, servitude, slaughters, massacres, mass killings, hunt-

downs, and severe cultural repressions.[12] Thus, locally calibrated tools and methods are necessary to address the needs and concerns of specific Indigenous peoples, and specifically marginalized members within those groups, whose historical experiences and memories are rendered invisible at worst, and fringed at best. Working to raise the stories above the stereotyped and racist representations of Indigenous peoples along and throughout Texas-Mexico international borders involved sharpening my focus on the settler state and the constructions and inventions of settler constitutions. Colonialist constitutions both collapsed different Indigenous groups into flat categories of sameness, and simultaneously obscured Indigenous peoples' popular alliance movements along the Texas-Mexico border in the processes to legally dispossess them and to capitalize on their labor.[13] When searching for documentation of current events, connected to the past, the distortion is not only extreme, it is also reflective of the level of genocide denial within the political boundaries of Texas—into the present.[14]

From the beginning of our legal efforts against the Texas-Mexico border wall, many Indigenous nations throughout the Americas, Oceana, Asia, India, Africa, and the Arctic appreciated and respected the human rights work undertaken by the Lipan Apache women from

[12] De facto: ADJ. (Latin) in fact, in reality; used to describe a situation that is for all practical purposes the case, though it might not be legal or official. Amy Hackney Blackwell, *The Essential Dictionary of Law*, (New York: Barnes and Nobles, 2004), 77.

[13] By sublimating and assimilating the Indigenous presence into categories of religious groups, races, ethnicities, citizenship, and vocations, and norming them into State-sanctioned and institutionalized identities, through gender (masculine/feminine), sex (male/female), sexuality (heterosexual), religion (Christian-Catholic), abilities (able to work/workers), age (minors/adults/seniors), and occupation (education/professions/competencies) the State continues to facilitate and manage the illusion that Indigenous peoples have vanished

[14] In South Texas and northeastern Mexico, if one simply relies on State and corporate authored texts, one is led into the fictional, dream world where the formal 21st century mestizaje project (Hispanicization) imposed upon Indigenous workers and communities is perceived as a tidy, coherent project (now that Liberal Anglos and Hispanics are latching on to mainstreamed multiculturalism and diversity) of the State and nation-state.

El Calaboz Ranchería. I hope that this acknowledgement was due to the numerous challenges and risks we undertook to expose the armed force utilized by the United States in the taking and dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands, and that this effort was largely at the behest and will of our elders who took enormous risks. My work, as a daughter and grand-daughter of the Ndé and Originario women of El Calaboz, El Ranchito, La Encantada, Las Rusias, and inland traditional sites in South Texas counties, was to emphatically support the organization of a large body of documentation, research, and analysis which steered the two leading Indigenous law cases against the U.S. Border Wall.[15] These issues will be analyzed and discussed below in the contexts of Indigenous women's lives in El Calaboz Ranchería over five centuries, and the final chapters of the dissertation will guide the reader to evaluate primary documents of the Indigenous women and ancestral knowledges of this powerful site.

These law suits came at a high price to many peoples' well-being, and this dissertation takes certain risks by challenging rigid structures and institutions of gender, racism, ethnicity, religion, militarism and capitalism which perpetuate the normalization of the oppression of Indigenous women, children and elders and engender hierarchies and oligarchies along the Texas-Mexico border.

My trespasses against community traditionalism and customs are my own. They are necessary transgressions in order to disrupt and unsettle colonialist settler constitutions and a heavily imbalanced power structure. I admit to breaking some Ndé taboos about our ones who have left into another spirit realm. The work is ample evidence that I have, in certain ways, pushed my upbringing to many limits. Yet, I feel strongly that in order to support the

[15] See Margo Tamez, "Open Letter to Cameron County Commission," *The Crit: A Critical Legal Studies Journal*, Vol. 2, Issue 1, 2009, 110-129.

documentation of enduring violence of the State, that I must resurrect the undergrounded stories of persecuted peoples, the Ndé and Originario victims specifically. I must ask, Is it not *now* that we must turn inward and participate in this grave conversation about the immense suffering and cost to generations who lived out the histories of their foremothers in the clutches of killing societies? In the process of enormous abuses, an important community of Lipan Apache and Originario Peoples organized a local and transborder movement with global impact.

Several important questions bubbled to the surface in the process of constructing a defense community who represented a wide range of fields, areas and disciplines across activist, scholarly, non-profit, NGO, and Indigenous Peoples which helped me to consider the ongoing contestation of knowledge, memory and experience that Indigenous peoples are affected by on a daily basis. I have been required by numerous allies and some enemies to constantly challenge my biases, subjectivity and, yes, even my attitudes about the inclusion and exclusion of perspectives that might in the least eclipse Indigenous peoples' concerns. I am most interested in gaining insights from the Ndé and Originario survivors and acknowledging their need for respectful distance in the manner in which their perspectives are articulated within these pages. I am deeply committed to respecting my elders' emotional, psychological and spiritual boundaries, and at the same time, am also committed to supporting their requests of me to construct a critical defense against dispossession. This balancing that I am required to do determines the direction of my narratives.

Organizing Questions

How do Ndé (Apaches and Originario-Apache) of the Lower Rio Grande, on the Texas-Mexico International Border, today understand and communicate among ourselves and to non-Apaches, our own histories and cultural-political-economic landscapes? Which histories are important to members of the community? How do histories of oppression and on-going structural violence contribute to factionalism and in what ways do these affect and influence which histories are developed? What are the 'undergrounded' histories of Ndé and Originario women? Why are 'undergrounded' histories and repressed memory important to legal and political processes and human rights advocacies which communities, such as El Calaboz, decide to pursue as a component of self-determination? What challenges do Indigenous community members face in the documentation of their communities' knowledges at the local-binational and national levels? What systems and structures of power contour the challenges faced by women and elders? What challenges do Indigenous human rights defenders face in organizing and re-constructing traditional peoples' histories in communities factionalized by repressive states and nationalist violence? Why are Lipan Apache and Originario-Tlaxcalteca and Nahua (*nobleza* de Moctezuma) women's histories and genealogies of land-tenure in El Calaboz Ranchería both crucial and *overlooked* as maps to reconstructing locally produced, understood, histories of colonialism? What forces, events, and people which shaped the illegibility of Ndé and Originario women's experiences and memory? Why are the political-economic terrains of the Texas-Mexico Indigenous border*ed*lands an under-theorized site of knowledge within Indigenous law and rights regimes? What function did Texas and settler societies play in the containment and management of 'Apaches' between 1836-1938? Why did the U.S. abandon thousands of Ndé in Texas during this time period? Why did so many Ndé pursue collective

formations with northern Mexico traditional peoples, rather than pursue the path of a more visible and legible 'the Apache'? How do the lives and deaths of Indigenous women in El Calaboz and its associated rancherías help to disrupt the distortion of history and present a compelling framework for historical accuracy in relationship to organized state and nationalist violence along the Texas-Mexico border? These questions underlie this project.

These will be addressed in the following chapters. I articulate new frameworks for recovering, documenting, and illuminating Ndé peoples' histories, testimonies, philosophies and intellectual resurgences. I hope this dissertation will challenge any notion that Indigenous peoples' complex processes and identities can be simplified, reduced, and rendered 'knowable' or 'coherent.' There is no 'typical' Indigenous community, person, family or clan, anywhere. The organization of the dissertation will amplify the obstacles and psycho-spiritual challenges that an Ndé scholar encounters and must work through in order to bring forth the multiple frameworks for explaining and situating Ndé histories along the Texas-Mexico border.

Ndé Resistances in Broader Contexts of Indigenous Women's Experiences & Histories with Settler States

This dissertation interrogates the history of colonization of the Ndé and Originario peoples who are aboriginal to the Lower Rio Grande River, Tamaulipas, Texas, Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, in order to examine general overarching themes of Ndé resistances, and to develop these within the context of Indigenous women's experiences, histories, and knowledges of on-going resistance to the settler state. I knew that I could not do this without *doing* history: locating it, organizing it, absorbing it, despising it, dreaming about it, and chasing it down as

history has chased down Ndé. When a prominent scholar in American Studies confessed to me, unintentionally, that she did not know that 'Apaches' and the Texas-Mexico border coincided, or that the Texas-Mexico and Sonora-Mexico border are 'in North America', I resolved that I had to *do* history. And, then, that I had to *un-do* history to restore dignity, respect and honor to my grandmothers.

Throughout the journey of this research, I emphasize new frameworks in dialogue with the problematic. I prioritize *being* an Ndé scholar and *investigating* the struggles of Ndé from *within* a circle of community members and leaders, but was in residence in Washington. At the same time, I am a researcher and positioned to the academy—as an outsider because I am Indigenous and a woman. Different methodological approaches I picked up along the way, and continue to modify and innovate, are in line with my mother's dictum: 'do it right.'

My enmeshed concerns of 'digging up the past' and 'doing discovery' required for the legal defense cases raised numerous concerns about whether my personal need 'to know' about the links between sexual subordination and violence as tools of colonization, rape as a method of domination and control, masculinity and spatializing warfare, the racial state, and Indigenous women's bodies (and thus, *endemic* cervical cancer spatialized across Indigenous communities) – would push my relatives too far. I continued to ask questions, acknowledging their patience that was required to maintain a dialogic process. My people, whether they are able to confront it, express it, or admit it *are* the survivors of persecuting societies. They were the Ndé 'lost generations' of ethnic purges, extermination wars, and genocidal settler societies. My elders' assurances down this path guided me as each one had their own testimonies and wounds to heal.

Under these larger themes, our community members' narratives began to reveal a hidden history beneath the usual normative, male and Anglo written histories of "Indians in Texas" and "Lipan Apaches in Texas." Their histories recircled, folded back into previously unseen events, places and concepts, and expanded into many narratives which put dents and eventually shattered my former conceptualization of constellated and networked histories. The knowledges being transmitted could not be artificially arranged into headings such as ancient versus contemporary, migration, customary ways of life, alliances, and ceremonies, coming of age, tensions, conflicts, warfare, lynching, armed violence, invasions, removals and occupations, and this dissertation is questioning those traditions and building new models. Although my aim is to recover, salvage, and foreground fragments of local experience and voices, I am curious about processes and diverge into close analysis about the discoveries and tensions which primary documents raise for living community members. My solution has been to provide as much documentation as I could, to organize the information in consideration of different interests and needs of diverse readership and to recognize that this is a contribution to a much larger contemporary conversation. This tension which I bare, deconstruct and do not attempt to re-patch is a a form which I witness unfolding in Indigenous struggles and documentation at international levels, and on a global scale and the dialogues which I have witnessed and/or been a participant have all been based in community experience. This dissertation attempts to provide *strong recoveries* and *carefully restored fragments* of documented histories by El Calaboz and South Texas Lipan Apache community members.

My goal has been to is to develop flexible model which incorporates Indigenous elder women which can more closely meet my communities where they are—under occupation by the U.S. militarization of the Texas-Mexico border, and engrossed in two substantial law cases led

by women. We all are re-learning and re-examining our histories in contemporary contexts of power and applying this knowledge to the crucial histories of the so-called 'past.' We are un-learning that we are a community subjected to 'defeat' and 'surrender'—the legal and militaristic terms of conquering and killing societies, which are the instruments used to eviscerate our dignity and our memory. We have been, as Teresa Leal, an Indigenous activist from Sonora told me, "conditioned to submission" by two nation-states who occupied and colonized Indigenous peoples' bodies, minds, spirits, laws, lands, water, air, and identities.

Thus, my dissertation is a 'reply' to colonization, and simultaneously, a de-colonial interrogation to understand Ndé societies along the Texas-Mexico border in the ways in which my elders and my Ndé peers understand our own histories, our own customs, and our own struggles. The Ndé struggles to control our futures on our traditional and customary lands is inextricably stitched into the histories of many Indigenous and non-Indigenous societies whose myths, lore, and identities are bound up in colonization, capitalism, industrialization, and militarization.

Our lifeways are returning through the renewed engagement with and participation in both national and international human rights struggles centered in El Calaboz Ranchería and El Polvo, which ripple outward towards our Ndé relations in all four directions, allowing for reunifications, and new cultural exchanges in new and traditional media and platforms. These two villages, more than any other locations, have forged the Lipan Apache history with contemporary international, transnational and global social movements of numerous bands and clans of Apaches across time, space and place.

Ndé Isdzáné: Recovering Lipan Apache Women's Laws, Land and Strength

This dissertation develops a method for recovering the autonomy, lands, waters, resources, antiquities, cultural domains and human rights of the Ndé peoples—of South Texas, the Lower Rio Grande and Northeastern Mexico—through an interlocking strategy which links historical recovery with critical analysis required by legal scholars and attorneys representing Indigenous peoples in human rights contestations. The critical method I engage is designed with contemporary Ndé litigations at the forefront of consideration. Many dissertations are still largely limited by their failure to link current structures of power enforced through state and international regimes with living communities constrained and often condemned by those forces. My hope is that this dissertation will not collect dust on the bookshelf, and that it will be actively sought through Inter-Library Loan systems, as an active tool to instruct and to reach a broader Indigenous audience. In El Calaboz, we feel it is crucial to the legal projects to anchor and to bridge the examination of *current* activism of Indigenous women and peoples along the Texas-Mexico border in an interrogation of the longer history of settler colonialism, settler legal systems, reconnaissance, militarism and industrialization of Ndé traditional lands.

I map out important oral histories of Lipans and their kinship ties with Originario peoples across several bands, local clan-based narratives, women's landscapes, and family archives which reveal specific cases of genocidal killings against peoples of the Lower Rio Grande River. In this nexus, I will be laying out important histories of the militarized nation-state, in regards to Spain, Mexico, Texas and the United States, from the perspectives of the Indigenous peoples whose lands were stolen, and who suffered irreparable harms being traumatized, displaced, dispossessed, and subjugated by colonizers.

A key factor in this larger project is a mapping and critique of Spanish and Anglo interpretations of 'Apachería.' This is critical to Lipan Apache community members in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, as they assert to know and to understand the central role of how the construction of 'el Apache/the Apache' has altered and modified ranchería Indigenous cultures and institutions—and ultimately rendered diverse Indigenous expressions of Ndé, Tlaxcalteca, and Nahua expressions of being Ndé. Lipan Apache peoples in the project have a strong sense of the roles of allied Indigenous families and women in shaping "Apachería." However our cultures have been appropriated to such an extreme by the Texan and Anglo-American, that the 'Apache' and 'Apachería' identities for many Texans and Tejano settler peoples is a blend and a blur of Indigenous and colonizer mainstreamed, popularized master fictions. These pose as 'history', and this dissertation will reveal why it is important, in critical Indigenous genocide legal projects, to know the difference.

Speaking, declaring, denouncing, and explicating our analysis against the narrative and actions of colonizer peoples, nations, and empires—the Lipan Apache women and community allies (male and female leaders appointed by women and men heads) continually situate the role of Ndé women as key political players and cultural decision makers. Lipan Apache women have managed to sustain certain degrees of lineally-connected traditions as primary decision-makers and influencers regarding natural resource management and the protection of religious and medicinal knowledges along the Rio Grande River. Examining Ndé women's complex lives, experiences, articulations and perspectives allows me to position and to uncover the impacts and implications of the under-acknowledged, hidden, and repressed norms of violence which Ndé societies all along the Rio Grande River, and throughout the current day Texas-(northern) Mexico region, resolve to go underground at different times. By scrutinizing the

experiences of three Ndé and indigenized ranchería generations, through a closer examination of Ndé women's archives and their interpretation of them, I foreground Lipan Apache women's significant roles in land-tenure, resource management, lineal inheritance, and lineal organization of knowledge systems: again, re-circling back to the themes of blood, land and memory—from Indigenous, gender, and genocide studies lenses.

Audience, Purposes, Consent

Amidst all this, I am writing for Indigenous families and kinship networks that are lineally connected to El Calaboz Ranchería, El Ranchito, La Paloma, and La Encantada, and their sister rancherías of Las Milpas, Los Indios and Las Rusias. I am also writing for legal experts who are currently or will be defending, analyzing, and /or preparing future papers for the human rights defense of Indigenous peoples along the U.S.-Mexico and Texas-Mexico border. Apache communities along the Rio Grande River of the Texas-Mexico border and Apaches throughout the U.S.-Mexico border region are an international community and their social networks with scholars and academia have been critical to the on-going success of the justice movements. Scholars have demonstrated deep concerns and enduring interest in the progression of the law cases to halt the U.S. Border Wall mega-project, and they have responded favorably to the critical investigation of Ndé women of the Lower Rio Grande River as a category of historical analysis. Activists with expertise in human rights, media, social justice, and international law relative to Indigenous peoples are yet another critical audience. Their ongoing work and contributions to making knowledges available through appropriate mechanisms of informed consent demonstrates a globally expressed desire and demand by

Indigenous peoples to promote the respectful and transparent dissemination of knowledge regarding the legal, environmental, religious, cultural, political and economic concerns of human rights. Numerous attorneys and legal scholars working in international human rights spheres are often near the close inner-circle of my primary audience as well, as their expertise in the western law systems are crucial components of Indigenous peoples' successes. The elders from El Calaboz and my mother wish to promote the proliferation of alliances and partnerships and they vision that this project will which enhance productive bridges between Indigenous peoples and the diverse communities of U.S. and Mexican citizens at all levels of society because the recovery of the intellectual history of human beings and collective societies are critical to the peace-building processes in the 21st century that will be necessary to restructure the currently ill-fitting systems which oppress Indigenous people and all who strive for a just world.

This study takes place at the intersections of my own upbringing by my primary Ndé teachers—my mother, my maternal grandparents, and my father—and also at the urging and support of several 'home' Apache peoples. A community of personal relationships inform this work involving the many important legal working groups who have faithfully assisted Lipan Apache women in El Calaboz Ranchería with three major lawsuits against the U.S., federally and internationally. On the one hand, both communities direct me to write critically to inform the two legal working groups who defend the litigants in the case Tamez v. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Customs Border Patrol, and U.S. Army Corps Engineers.[16] On the other hand, I am called upon to meet the specific requirements of the leaders' objectives to

[16] United States v. Garcia Tamez, No.1:08-CV-0004 (S.D. Tex. filed July 1, 2008); Garcia Tamez v. Chertoff, No. 08-CV-055 (S.D. Tex. filed Feb. 6, 2008).

reinforce the protection of cultural resources. I am writing first for the Indigenous community land holders and their attorneys. This includes the Lipan Apaches whose lineal and genealogical families are interlinked through hundreds of years of land-tenure in the region, extending across eight U.S.-Mexico Border States, and it also includes their lineal relatives up the Rio Grande River, in El Polvo (Redford, Texas). The attorneys and legal experts, who depend upon this analysis and history telling for their briefs, are also a large inter-stitched network of voices and perspectives. Their interaction with the Indigenous leaders is a two-way dialectic—each sides informs the other, and the project reflects the dissonances of those two languages and perspectives, and at the same time, I believe reflects an intersection of both.

There has been a strong spirit guiding me throughout this work, instructing me to pay careful attention to the fact that this project is the 'first-ever' scholarly work by a Lipan Apache woman, community member, and scholar-activist (human rights defender) in the academy with the express intention of re-writing 'Apache' history, anthropology, science, law, religion and culture out of the 'unknown' and into the visible and real. The lived and living, grounded oral traditions, memories, and knowledges of the Indigenous peoples are anchored in land-based, collective knowledges. They are rooted in *real* places which are still very much under the customary and titled sovereign control of the Lipan Apaches of the *traditional ranchería societies*, conceptually and intellectually founded in ancient history, and legally founded in 1749 with the Vatican and the Spanish Crown. Aboriginal title and Crown title are the landscapes of struggle where war, conflict, fragmentation, and destruction occur.

The reader should also be aware of the tensions and potential conflict zones which this investigation situates and within which I am embedded. Among traditional peoples who carry layered knowledges and who are sensitive to the ruptures of past struggles re-awoken, certain

restrictions apply. We must be ever cautious and respectful and mindful to protect our elders and children in regards to our important restrictions regarding evoking the dead.[17] At the same time, for the purpose of the dissertation and advocacies of the community harmed through the actions of the state, governing elites and criminals, I take responsibility for the trajectories of this research. I feel that my cultures' conservation of traditional restrictions against discussing or being near the dead can also work, at times, *against* the contemporary anti-colonial struggles and advocacies to protect sacred sites, cultural resources, oral tradition, intellectual rights, biological rights, and environments precious to the Ndé. All mistakes of this project are mine and mine solely and involve no other individuals. I have explicitly incorporated my communities' concerns and objectives, and my own, throughout my research.

This piece of the overall project—recovering archives of genocide communities— is a huge responsibility and weight for me as a community member and descendent of inter-generational violence in a place I consider to be one of the largest, industrialized, open-air containment complexes in the North American continent—Texas. Texas has functioned as a warehouse of Ndé and many stunted Indigenous peoples whose ancestral experiences were similarly situated in the legal domains of a settler slave Republic. Of course, I am speaking about West and Deep South Texas specifically as they are the primary locations of my clans' experiences. This journey led me to the entangled narratives of three major republics (or 'states') with their own exclusive and criss-crossed motives and objectives in the colonization of Ndé societies. Their violent expropriations of our lands, water, air, minerals, environments, biodiversity, bodies and cultures will be addressed. I am writing to inform and to educate my community about pieces of our own histories, which the colonizer societies and settler societies

[17] Ndé advisors have consulted at every stage of this history recovery project.

stripped away from our customary control through western institutions. These institutions, norms and practices overthrew the majority of the customary institutions of Indigenous Law systems, and this has been instrumental in violating our peoples and ways of life.

This project is a recovery and a continuing revelation about Indigenous peoples' diverse responses to oppression, persecution, genocidal killings, and terror tactics. How Indigenous women and families formed and re-formed kinship in the constant changes which confronted them continues to re-shape my understanding of peoplehood and the bonds of siblings and cousins in post-trauma survival. The survival of my ancestral foremothers and their roles in continuing to re-shape the family and identities to survive genocidal violence in South Texas is an important new framework for scholarly research. This study demonstrates that Indigenous people under persecution actively assemble and disassemble markers of Indigeneity in association with political and economic factors, and armed and organized violence.

The activism of the women land holders and their supporters inspired the law cases. The law cases and the high-energy needs to sustain them and the communities each drove me to investigate the past and present. Many times centuries of conquering technologies and literacies to defeat the Ndé collective human spirit overwhelmed me. Lipan Apaches, and their lineally related Nahua, Tlaxcalteca and Bizkaian ('Basque')-descent clans, today still carry forth an under-theorized and under-recognized self-determination project. As many genocide history scholars will attest, for historically persecuted peoples there is a heightened danger to remain isolated as unrecognized and unrepresented peoples within settler states which continue to be organized and maintained through settler constitutions. It is the untenable exceptionalism of these two combined, promoting the everyday cultivation (as road-side 'history' markers attest across the Texas) of *celebratory* genocide asserting the State's will over international law.

Particularly, the issues of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) and consultation—two key tenets of international human rights law—are central concerns for human rights legal scholars and practitioners on the border wall issue.[18] Tamez v. U.S. DHS, et. al effectively demonstrates that mega-projects, such as the border wall, often exploit vulnerable Indigenous communities. Corporations and authoritarian governments explicitly seek out vulnerable areas to implement violent policies of repression, control, and land theft in communities. This is nothing new to Ndé peoples.

Nde' isdzáné gokal shini' shimaa (Lipan Apache women) re-emerged in the 21st century as political actors within *Kónitsąąhįį gokíyaa* ('Lipan country') to halt the U.S.– Mexico border wall in traditional lands held in customary Indigenous title, also known as 'Spanish Land Grants' as a direct result of their lineal, ancestral, cultural and spiritual ties to lands, customary use, blood, and memory.[19] Lipan Apache peoples, specifically women with land and cultural genealogies have had a strong history of social, cultural, economic, and political participation in a larger nexus of Apache local and regional land struggles, prior to 1300 A.D.. From the elders' perspectives, these components connected them to binding mechanisms (reciprocal agreements, overlapping understandings of use areas, treaties, land grants, usos y costumbres and family/clan-based agreements), in the Lower Rio Grande community of El Calaboz ranchería.

The dissertation demonstrates that Lipan Apache families, women, and societies drew upon customary and traditional law systems to maintain and to restore balances of power with and through the local understandings of gender roles, intimate relationships, Indigenous

[18] See United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Article 10, 11, 19, Article 28-1, Article 29-2, Article 32-2, at http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/declaration.html.

[19] See Anthony K. Webster, "Lipan Apache Placenames of Augustina Zuazua: Some Structural and Discursive Features," *Names*, Vol. 55, No. 2, (June 2007), 103-122.

identification with lands and histories, and kinship with natural and spiritual elements and forces. They consistently sought to discourage, and when necessary, to disrupt the violent overthrow of their kin-clan balance systems— even to the point of aggressively stopping armed forces from dispossessing them of their natural and cultural resources. Indigenous women's perspectives are deeply connected *to* and are informed *by* the processes of colonization and their own memories and experiences in forced removals, detentions, enslavements, debt peonage structures, and technological fencing, they say, will not diminish them. Indigenous women's histories show specific ways in which families', women's, and children's communal rights to customary lands, water, air, and minerals was supplanted *by* state and national 'citizenship,' 'tribe,' 'ethnicity,' and 'private property' 'rights'—formulations which continue to erode Indigenous unity, sovereignty and autonomy to this day. Indigenous women's perspectives show the large-scale, forced assimilation of Apaches into capitalist labor systems and state and national military societies. In their narratives and their analysis, an alternative methodology emerges to improve our understanding of the assimilation processes which both confined and defined Apaches through the Spanish, Mexican, and Texan political and economic systems.

Contexts: Wars of Extermination, Mining, Slavery, and Impacts of Genocide over 19 Generations

My study firmly situates an Indigenous method for documenting, theorizing, and making known the survivance and resistance practices of the peoples of El Calaboz Ranchería, and how through four hundred years of empires, states and nation-state formations, they sustained resistance histories and strategies, and forged resistant identities which were often externally imposed upon them and which they re-appropriated to their popular rebellions in the 17th, 18th,

and 19th centuries. In the process and through the late 1930s, they continued to shape their clans and traditional forms of governance—across complex pre-conquest and colonial kinships, which were the foundation which raised the Lipan Apache Women Defense in the 21st century. The dissertation opens the way to re-examine the Rio Grande River Indigenous peoples' struggles within the larger nexus of hemispheric, transhemispheric, trans-Oceanic, and global Indigenous human rights struggles against the violent forces of global capitalism exerted through extractive industries and labor systems. This work offers the opportunity for locating a repressed 'hot-spot' and of inter-ethnic violence, armed violence, gender violence, low intensity conflict, and genocide, which is crucial for Genocide Studies, as well as Indigenous Studies as they intersect Law and human rights struggles today.

As an Ndé woman, scholar, researcher, writer, poet, and community member I distrust the static and entrenched mythologies usually practiced in research about Indigenous peoples and our lived realities. Raised Indigenous, by two parents with vibrant oral traditions transmitted to them from many tributaries of oral histories which flowed through understandings between pre-contact ancestors, foreparents who lived during the colonial periods, and recent generations who are establishing contemporary histories. Oral tradition has provided me with a strong sense of our clans' enduring drive to survive ever drastic changes. My learned responses to dualisms, contradictions, and ironies was heightened by my extended clans' affirmations of the daily in-between realities of being border-ed peoples and living the borders—within the political boundaries of the 'former' slave state of Texas and the imperialist borders of the United States. Embracing the resisting and empowering Ndé role models as polities—agents of change and agents of intellectual and historical recovery—has inspired my own path to sovereignty and self-determination.

The Indigenous Peoples' archival materials became focal points to organize conversations and discussions and helped to bring community members to be present in the challenging process that required everyone's patience and trust in 'the scholar,' to, as my mother puts it, to "get it right." Photographs, birth certificates, marriage records, genealogies, letters, songs, prayers, agricultural records imprinted on the land, hand-made houses, sheds, jacals (traditional mesquite, palm, earthen, huisache huts), medicinal plants, first foods, sacred sites, and more---guided my methodological approaches to stimulate interesting and productive conversations.

Due to the political, legal, and social structures of South Texas and the violent histories of armed conflict between the settler society and Indigenous peoples, this project presented numerous challenges to the Indigenous researcher to bridge conflict groups' claims to knowing in South Texas. The Ndé community is dispersed across eight of ten U.S.-Mexico Border States. The Ndé traditional societies of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, and South Texas, are dispersed across numerous counties which are politically under the control of an entrenched ranching, agriculture, oil, and energy political machine. This machine has roots in the Spanish Crown, land grant, elite ranch society as well as the white southern planter and slave trade society.

Ndé peoples have withstood more than five distinct invasions and expropriations of sovereignty, lands, resources, and national identities. Ndé peoples experienced state-sponsored extermination policies deployed in the political periods of Spain, Mexico, Texas Republic, and the U.S. annexation of Texas. The comprehensive effects of the modern industrial period are not within the scope of this dissertation, although the testimonies shared, in Chapter Five, will initiate that project. As a people, we are a deeply fractured and politically divided communities;

some groups are lineally related to the original Treaty signers with the Republics of Mexico and Texas as well as the United States, and have certain kinds of access to political power and legitimacy through narratives of authenticity and the mystique of Western history writing which situates hegemonic control over who is a 'chief' and 'leader.' This automatically inscribes a class system upon the voiceless and less visible Lipan Apaches of the countryside. Some groups are Spanish Crown land grant recipients with legal mechanisms pre-dating the United States, Mexico and Texas as nation-states; some groups are represented by Treaties; some groups are without Treaty or Spanish Crown mechanisms, yet are related through lineal ties to one or both groups. Some groups are not directly lineally related to either Treaty or Land Grant groups and identify as Ndé through matrilineal and matrilocal customs broadly affiliated with Ndé culture.

In one form or another, all Ndé peoples were violently assimilated into Texas 'citizenship' by coercion, armed force, legislation, and by removals from customary use areas during the Texas Republic years. This is a period often recorded in the oral tradition as one of the most bloody overthrows of Indigenous Peoples in the region by Anglos, specifically, who took genocide to new levels against three groups: Indigenous Peoples, racialized "Mixed-Bloods/Mestizos" of Spanish-American and Native American heritage and lineal descent, and "Spanish-Mexicans", the descendents of the Spanish colonial Criollo class, who waged violent wars against Indigenous Peoples in the 15th-18th centuries. These processes were often accompanied by threat of death, via armed militias and killing gangs, using 'legal statutes' which authorized the expulsion, dispossession and extermination of Apaches on site. In the period of Texas' forced annexation into the United States, the U.S. forcibly assimilated all Ndé in Texas, with or without treaty ties and Spanish Crown land grant identities, as 'White' and

later as 'Mexican-Americans' and 'Hispanics.' Ndé peoples are aboriginal to the North American continent, with aboriginal tenure and occupancy going back more than 10,000 years.[20] Ndé in Texas are lineally related to the Mescalero Ndé, the Jumano Ndé, and numerous clans of the Chiricahua Ndé.[21] Current population studies of Apachean peoples along the Texas-Mexico border and inland counties from West Texas to South Texas by the Jumano-Apache historian, Enrique Madrid, estimate that there are more lineally related Ndé in Texas than in all other states of the U.S. and Mexico combined.[22]

A few scholars in the current century are attempting to correct ill-conceived stereotypes and caricatures of Mexican Indigenous peoples (as we would similarly refer to Indigenous peoples who reside in the political boundaries of the U.S. as Native Americas, American

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[20] Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas, "Culture and History of Native American Peoples of South Texas," (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 2-5, "Once it is recognized that Indigenous people of Texas share a colonial past with Mexico the possibility of developing a more accurate reading of the pat emerges, based on the understanding that both people identified as Chicanos and Mexican Americans who did not immigrate from Mexico, but descended from Native American communities. Moreover, Mexicano immigrants crossing the Rio Grande in the twentieth century are historically and culturally affiliated Texas Indian culture and history through their affinity with Mexican Indian culture and history." Vivian Delgado, Ibid. 20-21, "Among most Euro-Americans it is assumed that anyone with a Spanish last name is an immigrant from Mexico. Likewise, among many federally recognized groups, the assumption is similar, except in some cases in New Mexico where many Native American groups perceive Spanish surnamed people as their historical enemy, the (elite0 Spanish and/or the descendent of the enemy. The dialogue that distinguishes the various, unique groups of people is long overdue […] Spanish surnames have been overlapped, intertwined, assigned, adopted and every other method of extension humanly imaginable and they no longer reflect, with any certainty, specific ethnic groups. Identity must remain at the forefront of the study of Indigenous Mexican Americans until it is resolved as an indigenous identity reflective of their history, as the invisible indigenous counterpart to federally recognized American Indians," 20; and see generally, Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black and White Roots of Mexican Americans*, (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2006).

[21] Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas, "Introduction," in Vivian Delgado, *You're Not Indian, You're Mexican*, (Broomfield: Turtle Island Press, 2007), xv, "My own work recovering the history of the Cuelcahen Nde Lipan Apache of Texas and their historical and cultural affiliation to all Native Americans in Texas, as well as the Apache and Navajo of New Mexico and Arizona, finds Lipan Apache Bands in Texas affiliated with Mexican American/Chicana/o families. My work also shows that Native American culture among Mexican American /Chicana/os is extensive and specific regarding medicinal, food, and home building practices."

[22] Enrique Maestas, oral history interview, August 18, 2007.

Indians, or U.S. based Indigenous peoples; and Canadian Aboriginals, Canadian First Nations, Canadian Indigenous peoples, Canadian Métis). Just as Indigenous peoples in Canada have a multitude of traditional identities, they were also subjected to Euro-American colonization and thus speak Euro-American languages, dress in Euro-American clothing, eat Euro-American foods, and have Euro-American names.[23] All the above are true for Indigenous peoples who are federally recognized in the United States. Along the U.S.-Mexico border, from California and Baja California to Texas and Tamaulipas, Indigenous peoples dominantly have Spanish names and speak at least one Euro-American language, and many speak two, in addition to varying levels of Indigenous languages. Like other Indigenous scholars, my work focuses on deconstructing the Euro-American linear histories of Indigenous peoples experiences and conceptions of space, place, time, and events. I interrogate the very concept and construct of 'Apaches', and 'Lipan Apaches,' as part and parcel of structuring legal cases fought in the courts of colonizing nations which do not question ethics behind the social, legal, economic and political agendas embedded in western systems which manage those identities as concrete realities and facts, rather than biased and fictive narratives of settler societies and capital.

[23] Euro-American: denotes the consolidation of legal, social, economic and political power through the privileging of rights to a social identity operating in the U.S., Canada and Mexico often inter-changed with 'white', 'Anglo', 'gringo', and 'blanco.' For the purpose of my research, 'Euro-American' is a crucial marker of political elites' ascension to monopolies on violence and the construction of a political economy of slavery, race, gender, land-tenure and constitutional rights in the Texas-Mexico bordered lands. In the statement above, my intent is to delineate the reality that Spanish, French, and English are the dominant Euro-American languages which ascended to prominence, though which were never absolute or predestined. Complex and numerous social realities prevailed in specific locations which led to the predominance of these over Indigenous languages, and that many Indigenous languages have survived, especially in Mexico, is important. At the same time, this project does not privilege the Spanish, English or French colonial projects over the others as 'more violent' or 'less violent' that the others. They were similar in many ways, and they were each unique in important ways. However, the common denominator to each of them was Western legal thought and how Western law systems were used to manipulate the social identities of Indigenous peoples over time is central to this project.

I believe that Indigenous scholars today must commit themselves to the necessary work of educating our allied legal experts (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) because too often cases are built on the heavily skewed literatures of Euro-American ethnographies and histories about Indigenous people, not authored by Indigenous peoples or with the documented consent of their families. Our allies are often just as unaware about the legal histories of race, space, and place in regards to land tenure for Indigenous American's of their own communities, much less that of other Indigenous communities.

Spurred by the need to launch discussion groups, working papers, interventions and briefs at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and to communicate our human rights concerns to Indigenous delegates and to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, I aimed to disrupt the dichotomy between federally recognized Ndé and non-federally recognized Ndé perspectives of Indigenous history, time, space and memory. In my investigation, narratives from recognized groups and non-recognized groups relied heavily on Euro-American conquest literatures and Euro-American enlightenment discourse of 'Apache enemies.' Although those are important narratives within the political groups which stake their claim to Ndé community based in state recognition (and non-recognition), my goal was to follow the narrative histories and documents of the traditional ranchería Ndé peoples of the Lower Rio Grande and South Texas—who have occupied their traditional lands prior to and since the early 1700's and have a genealogical archive which provides primary documents to their land tenure in specific sites in Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Chihuahua, New Mexico, and Texas.

With few exceptions, numerous non-Ndé authors, from the Spanish through the United States periods, have disarmed and depoliticized Ndé peoples of the Lower Rio Grande and

Upper Rio Grande (Big Bend) through institutions and legal structures. This work exposes the matrix of power which is anything but natural. The evidences provided by the elders of El Calaboz Ranchería will continue to reinvigorate transnational collaborations and project which persistently work to reveal the highly constructed (fictive) basis of settler land tenure and unveiling the atrocities, coercion, and force which accompany the illegitimate use and abuse of power in El Calaboz and her sister rancherías between 1547-1938.[24]

Indigenous Scholarly-Activism: Methods

In a state system which uncritically celebrates the mythical pioneer stories of 'rationale' displacement and dispossession of Indigenous peoples, Ndé communities caught within the political boundaries of three colonialist states—Texas, the United States and Mexico—required special tools to avoid misrepresentation. Like the Diné, Ndé histories and experiences will be misunderstood and misread, as Jennifer Denetdale aptly observes in her research on Navajo history. Denetdale argues that the misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples, "within Western categories of meaning that sustain colonialist discourses and serve to perpetuate ideas of dominance, hierarchy, and asymmetry" have been immensely damaging to the individuals, clans, women, elders, and future generations in the ongoing struggles for self-determination and

[24] Although Ndé have taken charge of forming productive home-based and communitarian education of Ndé culture and traditions for our own people—through the sponsorship of numerous culture studies projects— these are exerted in a political space wrought with conflict and struggle to co-exist as a sovereign people. The linear Western historical narratives contribute directly to the forces which challenge Ndé rights to practice sovereignty. Ndé claims to ancestral territories and ecological-biological resources, as a direct consequence, are often confronted by delegitimizing narratives which historically have displaced Ndé voices as unauthorized and illegalized to speak or to author Ndé intellectual property within the political boundaries of Texas—Ndé homelands.

autonomy.[25] Denetdale explicitly ties the struggles for self-determination of Diné women and Diné community self-governance through clan and kinship systems with the recovery of the diverse forms of status Indigenous women held. The struggles for Indigenous peoples' collective autonomy, she suggests, cannot be extricated from an analysis of patriarchal, Euro-American and masculine forms of dispossession and violence against Indigenous women.

To disrupt that colonialist objective, I investigate the way in which Ndé history, experience and subjectivity has been constructed, and I focus on Ndé women's experiences before, during and after the Spanish, Mexican, Texan and United States territorial penetrations into Ndé ancestral and traditional lands, laws, cultures and lives. By positioning Ndé women prominently as political actors within Ndé pre-colonial, colonial, and contemporary societies, the histories of the oppressed immediately confront and challenge the methods of the state and state actors which portray Europeans, Euro-Americans, males, government, trade, companies, development, hierarchy and the military as natural, normal, traditional and unexamined subjects worthy of the spotlight. Walking on the trail of numerous path-breakers, I build upon the work of scholars such as Jennifer Denetdale, Kehaulani Kauanui, Angelique Eagle Woman, Ayano Ginoza, Teresia Teaiwa, Aída Hernandez Castillo, Shannon Speed, Linda Heidenreich, Lynn Stephens, Antonia Castañeda, Rosaura Sánchez, Daiva Stasiulis, and Nira Yuval-Davis, among others.[26] These activist-scholars' and scholarly activists' contributions to disrupting Western

[25] Jennifer Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 6.

[26] Jennifer Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Angelique Eagle Woman, "Fencing Off the Eagle and the Condor, Border Politics, and Indigenous Peoples," 33 *Natural Resources & Environment*, Vol. 23 No. 2 (Fall 2008); Ayano Ginoza, "The American Village in Okinawa: Redefining Security in a "Militrouist" Landscape," International Christian University publications, II-B, *The Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 60, 135-155; Aída Hernández Castillo, *Histories and Stories from Chiapas: Border Identities in Southern Mexico*, (Austin:

methods across history, anthropology, and Indigenous Studies, enabled this project to further the goals of self-determination and to structure methods through which Ndé can productively challenge further abrogation of international law by the states.

In direct response to linear histories—and with the intention to engage this struggle to voice and to historicize—critical scholars propose Indigenous histories which firmly position tribal communities' voices, experiences, memories, archives, laws, and literacies to the center of contemporary history writing, scholarly research, and publishing praxis. This answers the activism and the call by Indigenous communities to transform history, law, anthropology, and the sciences for the purposes of Indigenous peoples, through a radical re-adjusting of our lens to Indigenous peoples' perspectives and radical re-constructions. By doing so, researchers working in this vein can better achieve and work in productive relationships with Indigenous peoples which should include a discussion about the subject position of the researcher to the community.[27] The researchers' histories, knowledges, and goals, as Shannon Speed proposes, can change the academy from within while embracing a model of "activist research" and

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University of Texas Press, 2001); Shannon Speed, *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle and Human Rights in Chiapas*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Antonia Castañeda, "Presidarias y pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterrey, Alta California, 1770-1821, Ph.D. diss., (Stanford University, 1990); Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: The Californio testimonios*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, Eds., *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Clas*s, (London: Sage Publications, 1995); and Valentina Garza Martínez and Juan Pérez Zevallos, *Diego Chillo: Proceso en el Real de Mazapil contra Diego de Montemayor, Indio Catuján Acusado de Rebelde y Criminal, 1664,* (San Luis Potosí: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, San Luis Potosí, 2008); and José Luis Mirafuentes Galván, *Movimientos de resistencia y rebeliones indigenas en el norte de México, (1680-1821), Guía documental I*, (México: UNAM, 1989).

[27] Marie Battiste, "Research Ethics for Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: Institutional Researcher Responsibilities," in *Handbook of Critical Indigenous Methodologies*, Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S.Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Eds., (London: Sage Publications, 2008), 497-509.

decolonizing praxis, "for better understandings of "the political" and thus for better possibilities for social change."[28]

I originally came to the interdisciplinary field of American Studies at the cross-roads of Native American Studies, Law, Anthropology, History, Indigenous Studies, and Gender Studies. I chose a graduate program based upon the quality of the Indigenous graduate students and the faculty, and not the title of the degree. By choosing American Studies in the Pacific Northwest, in Washington State, I came with long histories examining white nationalist and nativist power movements from Texas and the border region. The bordered and contained experiences of my Indigenous colleagues, sisters, brothers and allies in the Northwest gave me new appreciation of the larger impacts of U.S. Empire on Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples' resistances to conquest and colonization in eastern Washington and its confluence areas with northern Idaho, near the U.S.-Canada international zone, are articulated in important ways which allowed much cross-comparison.

The political and cultural engagements of women clan leaders from El Calaboz, Ambos Nogales, and El Polvo, taught me that a more critical engagement in local struggles without superimposing pre-conceived identities upon local peoples was urgently needed. In many ways border studies and well-intentioned NGO regimes have rendered Indigenous peoples of the U.S.-Mexico border region as indecipherable 'border peoples' in the multitudes of 'women workers', 'undocumented workers', 'illegals', 'terrorists', 'Mexicans', and 'migrants.' American Studies provided me tools and opportunities for interdisciplinary research, and introduced me to important debates within the field about the place and role of American

[28] Shannon Speed, *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle & Human Rights in Chiapas*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 2.

Studies to Indigenous peoples and our haunted experiences with U.S. empire, militarism, History, Anthropology, Sociology and Ethnic Studies. Gender, critical race, and queer theory invigorated an activist-scholar community lens as an aid to contemplate the role of dissident identities in popular Indigenous change movements.

My research critically challenges the 'U.S.' and 'American' centric focus in the Indigenous and bordered terrains of Ndé experience, and proposes a major paradigm shift which disentangles the agendas and debates which have confined Indigenous peoples along the U.S.-Mexico border—and their inland kinship communities on both sides—with severe aggregations of 'the Third World' and 'Global North-Global South' which are often uncritically adopted by NGOs and elite legal regimes, thus further institutionalizing the misconception that 'border peoples' are not also Indigenous peoples with Aboriginal Title, and those lenses erroneously privilege the race-encoded legal systems of *states*—and nations within nations. I adamantly fought for change to build a different model in collaborative engagement with the work of my Indigenous mentors and colleagues to re-think the neo-colonial constructions of Indigenous American peoples at the U.S.-Mexico border—and beyond. I am very aware that many, though not all Indigenous peoples and scholars are aboriginally and sometimes tribally positioned to Mother Earth and to our clans and lands, first. In that positioning, our ancestors staked out their way of life and futures to the land, and attempted to instill in the *gutahíkandé* (immigrant peoples/'those who came into the midst of people') an appreciation for our sovereignty and determination to fight for our aboriginal title.[29] Thus, my methods have been staked to aboriginal title, indigeneity and human rights of Indigenous peoples, which puts Indigenous

[29] Evelyn Breuninger, Elbys Hugar, Ellen Ann Lathan, *Mescalero Apache Dictionary*, (Mescalero, New Mexico: 1982), 86.

self-determination and the transformation of states' legal systems in alignment with international human rights law in the center. I am an Indigenous daughter and scholar, as well as a community leader working in traditional counsels with Ndé across the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands who are dissatisfied with many of the academic frameworks which obfuscate Native and Indigenous experiences. Instead I position myself within developing frameworks which emerged from a need for critical Native and Indigenous Studies which provides a productive space to analyze the experiences and lenses of the people of El Calaboz Ranchería and sister communities. This position challenges traditional American Studies perspectives which uncritically promote the untenable position that Indigenous peoples' histories and knowledges are sub-topics or sub-categories of American, Native American, American-Indian, Ethnic Studies, Chicana/o Studies, Latin American Studies and/or Transnational American Studies**.**

Diffusion of Methods from Indigenous Community & Academic Scholars

My most important teachers show me the appropriate methods in being true and real to our truths. Indigenous role models, parents, elders, and activists, have revealed kindness, trust, respect, and honor to me through their conversations, testimonies, confiding, and their many requests for access to numerous documents, archives and materials (available only to scholars with an i.d. card). These are methods that I could not quantify. They taught me and prompted me to open the many spaces to which I had access to benefit their processes. They also pressed me to think differently, to dissolve the word 'no' from my vocabulary, and to strongly advocate for *removal* of barriers by imperial/state archives to Indigenous nations. The ways in which my

role models positioned my body, mind, voice and politics to long-tenured Indigenous women's movements—going back to creation stories—have re-tained my commitments to the Indigenous community.

Confluences of priorities, historiographies, genealogies and desires shaped a participatory relationship between elder women from border Indigenous communities and me—so far away, in Washington state. Indigenous elder women demonstrated to me that anthropology, history, and ethnography have been areas which dominated and powered-over Indigenous knowledges, specifically Indigenous women's knowledges. The elder women often illuminated how the western disciplines did in fact practice a long history of *disciplining* Indigenous women punitively—by disavowing, repressing, negating and invalidating Indigenous women's knowledge. The Indigenous mentors participating in this study made it clear that the ways in which researchers represent Indigenous women and people were the result of the researcher's social position to the subjects which they choose to represent. Influenced by these understandings, I came to research Indigenous women scholars' approaches and drew comparisons and reflections from these. For instance, Shannon Speed emphasizes that, for her, a decolonial research process, among Indigenous people in rights struggles, was a cumulative process entailing, what she refers to as

> dual aspirations that went beyond an academic interest in understanding the dynamics of neoliberal globalization, the discourse of human rights, and Indigenous resistance in Chiapas. I was also interested in participating in that struggle and allowing my own insights to emerge from engagement. Finally, I sought, at a minimum, to engage in an anthropological research practice that addressed the politics of knowledge production.[30]

[30] Ibid., 4-5.

My positionality, as an Ndé daughter and granddaughter and great-granddaughter of survivors of executions, mass crimes, forced starvations, and heinous atrocities along the Lower Rio Grande, with roots in the clash between powerful Indigenous cultures, and the clash between Indigenous and European world views, explicitly bound my politics to the struggles of the women title holders in my mother's *gową* (birth place of women clans). My positionality as a researcher, community member and an activist required that I make my standpoint explicit—to my elders, clan people, and Band Council, as well as my research colleagues, collaborators, and IRB review board. My commitment to the elder women's lineal land-tenure as aboriginal occupants necessitated an ongoing identification with the struggle deeply within the *gową.* Firmly within the political, social, cultural, economic space of *shimaa isdzáné* (mother-women), I valued recognition and witnessing between women specific to the power relations of shared histories, and the power relations in co-constructing shared research relationships. This applied to investigative relationships across lineal, generational, gender, race, ethnicity, class, status and land-tenure, 'membership' axis within the Ndé communities with whom I worked. I remembered lessons. I remembered listening.

Talk is a political, sacred and legal act with many consequences across Ndé matrilineal, matrilocal, and matrifocal, genealogically-bounded systems. We know and understand 'talk' as members of communities, who, in our very recent history, have lost the legal right to practice Indigenous religions, to speak, read, and practice the dissemination of our language, to organize and pass on traditional familial systems of clan relationships, and to communicate and to protect our members at the most rudimentary level through cohesive and succinct tribal governance. Jennifer Denetdale argues that as a direct consequence of Euro-American colonization of Indigenous lands, resources and peoples, 'talk' about history, for Indigenous peoples bounded

within U.S. and state political and legal containers, is understood "in very different ways than [that] presented within Western narratives by American historians."[31] Talk, oral traditional, counting seasons, feasts, ritual time, are grounded in genealogically based, lineal narratives which hold Ndé beliefs and values. The method of reassembling genealogies is upheld in ranchería society as a way that women can intimately re-bind Ndé women's clans, societies and social relationships with Ndé, other tribal peoples, and European-origin peoples in narratives driven by Indigenous thought, memory, law, and history. For many Ndé, the clan-based archives are the "authoritative explanations" for the on-going political, cultural, social and economic struggles and transformations in communities throughout our ancestral territories.[32]

Indigenous Tools

In her groundbreaking book, *Reclaiming Diné History: the Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita*, Jennifer Denetdale set out two objectives in the pursuit of uncovering Diné narratives and histories of their own past—a past intimately bound up in Denetdale's matrilineal clan mother societies—she is the direct descendent of Chief Manuelito and his wife, Juanita. First, she examined "existing histories that focus on Manuelito and pay little attention to Juanita" as a way of demonstrating "that much of what has been written about Navajos by non-Navajos reflects American biases about Navajos, including American beliefs about the successful assimilation of Navajos into American society and the nature of gender construction and social organization." Building upon Denetdale's example, this project challenges normative practices within both Spanish and Anglo history writing traditions which have

[31] Ibid., 7.
[32] Ibid., 7.

constructed and sustained a homogenous ethnicity, gendered masculine and stereotyped as ruthless for an "all sizes fit one" package of 'the Apache' and 'the Lipan Apache.' The concept and cognitive of 'Apaches' as perpetual 'enemies' of other tribes, pioneers, settlers, conquistadors, peace, and of each other, does not reflect how Ndé peoples see ourselves or ourselves within our own histories as complex actors across a large expanse of lands, times, and processes. The 'enemy' is a tenet, a theme, and formulation imposed upon Ndé as an imperialist project of reconnaissance. Ndé are resilient survivors of illegitimate conquest, invasion, dishonest trade agreements, broken treaties, extermination statutes, and de facto segregation and maintenance as perpetual colonial subjects to an immigrant-settler state which stole, lied, and murdered to achieve domination over lands, water, resources and the accumulation of wealth.

Denetdale demonstrated that "Navajos perceive their own past differently...[and she examines] how Navajo narratives have served as vehicles to convey Navajo beliefs and values on several levels."[33]

> Multiple perspectives on the Navajo past are shaped within a colonial space where Navajos interrogate histories and create new histories that often combine Western sources with Navajo ones in the ongoing move toward sovereignty. In much the same way that Andean Indigenous people have taken age-old cultural symbols and meanings and redeployed them to meet the concerns of the present, so, too, have the Diné. At the same time, narratives about the past are conveyed at the local community level and within clans. *These narratives include stories kept by matrilineal clans, such as those about Juanita. They reflect themes present in the creation narratives, and because they circulate within a matrilineal clan, they emphasize women's roles in the persistence of Navajo beliefs and values.* An examination of the remaining stories of Juanita adds further evidence to the earliest non-Indian observations that Navajo women wielded a significant amount of autonomy and authority in their society.[34]

[33] Ibid., 7.
[34] Ibid., 7-8. [Emphasis added.]

Here, I underscore the productivity of Denetdale's praxis situating Navajo restoration and reclaiming of Navajo experience, social structure, clan-lived realities and gender. This model provides her reader with the critical space in which to explore the variations of gender construction in traditional Navajo clan systems across Navajo culture, as well as gendered constructions through the lens of Euro-masculinity, Euro-femininity, and heterosexual, non-lineal, monogamous marriage norms imposed upon traditional Indigenous people. The dearth of critical analysis on Southern Athapaskan groups, (Diné and Ndé people are closely related linguistically and culturally), makes Denetdale's analysis exceedingly useful. Recovering and "reclaiming" the intellectual histories and genealogies of Ndé women in El Calaboz Ranchería-at the community level, defined through Indigenous women's social relations—are transferable and adaptable objectives.

Denetdale's praxis provides me a structure upon which a critical research practice is bound to Indigenous clan obligations to uphold transparency, to the subjects' protection, and to the commitment to strengthen the integral, layered, and sovereign relationships between Indigenous researcher and Indigenous community. Careful attention is given to Indigenous intellectual practices through lineal social relations and desires to support and to encourage increasing confidence on the part of Indigenous women and their cultural partners and relations to disrupt colonialist paternalism of academic communities.[35] Indigenous women, who are the

[35] For in-depth reflective discussion of power relationships between Indigenous communities and the academy, see Shannon Speed, "Introduction," *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle & Human Rights in Chiapas*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 1-15. "The second aspect of a decolonized anthropology involves a distinct kind of relationship with those research "subjects"/political allies, one in which they are not the "*material prima*" of the research but rather are theorists of their own social processes whose knowledge differs from but is equally valid and valued as anthropological knowledge and theorizing. […] Anthropologists today must answer ethical questions not only for themselves or in response to abstract questions on human subject review forms; such questions will in many cases be raised vigorously by the people involved in our studies. […] (8). "For those concerned with decolonizing the research relationship, an activist engagement provides a way for mutual goals to be made explicit and defined in

core voices, opinion-shapers, and leaders across the community, and who are often clustered in lineal spatial relations, on their aboriginal lands, are vocal and outwardly advocating for the people's autonomy and sovereignty. Thus, analyzing Ndé women's autonomies, at U.S. and state borders, across more than five generations of Ndé histories engages methods in which there is a flexible allowance for difference within and across clans and classes, whereby Indigenous definitions and understandings of ethnicities, religions, empires, republics, states, nations, and borders can be discerned attentively.

Organization of the Dissertation

In "Chapter Two: From *Ndé* Lenses: An Interrogation of 'Apaches' and 'Enemies' in Early to Late Colonial Spain, 1525-1821," I discuss the social, economic, religious, scientific and legal constructions of *el Apache/the Apache* in the early to late Spanish colonial period. Building on Ndé decolonial thought in the 20th century, and early 21st century, this chapter returns to early colonial constructions of *el Apache/the Apache* to investigate European social, economic, scientific and legal systems developed to spread colonization and to destroy Ndé clan governance, kinship structures and institutions, and Indigenous resistance formations as an influence over 'La Gran Apachería'—Ndé customary lands. With specific attention to the earliest European contacts and law systems with Ndé peoples, this chapter disrupts the notion of fixed state borders from an Ndé political perspective—originating in the mid 16th century. Ndé anti-imperialist and anti-colonial alliance building is contextualized within the project of Spanish conquest, imperialist law systems, European patriarchal mechanisms of social control, and lust

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dialogue between researcher and research subject. This does not mean that it will be an equal dialogue; relations defined in larger fields of power still determine this relationship" (9).

for lands and resources to convert into wealth. Between 1540 and 1821, Ndé authority within their customary lands and their abilities to organize, manage, and protect Indigenous sovereignty in the northern provinces challenged European propaganda and stereotypes of Indigenous peoples' passivity and compliances with European thought and systems. Exposing the mythologies of *el Apache/the Apach*e as a militarized social and psychological construction with little currency in Ndé traditional thought, philosophy and ethics, this chapter argues that *el Apache/the Apache* is a lethal fiction of European settlement, developmentalism and militarism. Europeans constructed *El Apache/the Apache* as a method and tactic to rationalize systematic persecutions, genocidal wars, and a fictive legal expropriation and disenfranchisement, against a specific Indigenous group in North America.

In "Chapter Three: 'Apache Studies': The Application of 'Necropolitics' to the Americanization of Ndé Domains," I build upon Achilles Mbembe's thesis of necropower and necropolitics to map 'Apache Studies' as a field which centers U.S. American militarism, violence, and white male physical and intellectual production as the central power in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Beyond imperialism, the lens that necropolitics offers to critical Indigenous Studies and human rights praxis is demonstrated as particularly salient in the case of the U.S. Americanization of the Ndé-Mexico-Spanish borderlands.

In "Chapter Four: Chapter 4: From Necropower to Necropolitics: The Violent Landscapes of the Texas Imaginary," I discuss the application of Mbembe's call to apply a sustained critique, especially in regards to Texas as a landscape of violence and state of exception drawn from Euro-American and U.S. uses of the state of exception, sovereignty, and necropower. Applying the sustained critique to a close study of two U.S. military officers involved in the rise of the necropolitical order in South Texas, the Lower Rio Grande, and

northeastern Mexico, this chapter maps the memory of genocidal violence in Ndé survivor communities. Simultaneously, this chapter critically shapes a new terrain for investigating the formation and organization of killing societies embedded as normative fixtures within Euro-American institutions, systems, and thought in South Texas.

In "Chapter Five: "Ndé Genealogies and Gendered Memories of Violence and Resistance," I introduce and build upon the Esparza Family Genealogical Archive, 1519-2009 (EFGA). Using primary documents (photographs, maps, letters, court documents, testamentos, testimonios), I reconstruct matrilineal clan genealogies and land-based oral histories from the San Pedro de Carricitos Land Grant community members. The colonizations of the Basque-Spanish and Tlaxcalteca nobleza and hidalgo classes, and the exploitation and subjugation of the Indigenous macehualli and labor classes are examined in alignment with the analysis of Ndé resistances to colonization. By re-tracing the fragments of Indigenous women's organization of family records, and oral histories, the recovery of Indigenous memory, experience, and documentation are uncovered. Communities of the Nahuatl nobles/nobleza mercedes, Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, Tlaxcalteca macehualli, and Ndé vaquero societies are the primary subjects of these reconstructions. As such, Indigenous women's persistent, inter-generational, centuries-long documentations of their communities' kinship and reciprocity ties and key political events tied to violent settler societies *disrupt* normative narrations of Indigenous passivity, victimization, conquest and erasure. Archival collections spanning the University of Texas collections, the Lipan Apache Band of Texas Genealogical History and Recovery Project, and collections from Mexico support the documents drawn from the EFGA. Within this nexus, the unsettling presence and shadow of coloniality, militarism, and oligarchical structures

aggressively shape the gendered relationships of power and violent landscapes of the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico bordered lands.

In "Chapter Six: Fractured Indigenous Communities, Fragmented Indigenous Histories," I continue a discussion of family members of San Pedro de Carricitos, and continue to thread in the larger structural necropolitical complex which ensnared a large network of Ndé-Nahuatl nobles, Ndé-Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, Ndé-macehualli laborers, and Ndé bands and clans of the Cúelcahén, Hada'didla, Tuntsa, and Zuá Zuá Ndé Peoples. These demonstrate a complex matrix of transnational kinship established over centuries and involving several Indigenous groups. Ritual law and power of Indigenous peoples was threatened countless times and those who sustained their traditional, rural livelihoods within the Ndé-Texas-Mexico bordered lands, from 1546 to the present are re-counted through histories of four matrilineal clans. I continue the discussion demonstrating that El Calaboz ranchería is a site of an Indigenous nexus where Indigenous-to-Indigenous politics pre-dates and continued to subvert European and Euro-American attempts to control the region. Based in pre-Columbian, colonial, and early to late modern continuity of reciprocity and Indigenous trans-River alliance-building, El Calaboz carries immense significance for Indigenous studies as an exemplar of Indigenous resistances against and appropriations of colonial institutions in ongoing struggles against destruction. The complex histories of its inhabitants, their individual and collective land-tenure, revolutionary struggles, and conflictedness with colonial governmentality, have been inscribed and shaped within the colonial institutions in which they were subjugated. It is through their records *in the* missions, pueblos, rancherías, encomiendas, mines, haciendas, villas, campos, and in military service—across four colonial governments—that the contemporary Ndé community members demonstrate new ways of articulating critical understandings the Ndé cultural landscape today.

In "Chapter Seven: "At the Wall, Ndé Women Walk with Lightning," I review key themes in this dissertation and discuss these from a refracted lens which revisits the day of March 2, 1935. From several viewpoints of San Pedro de Carricitos community members, I map out the varied and diverse ways in which the Indigenous peoples of a highly classed (stratified) society, coped, addressed, challenged, and deterred colonialist dispossession and Euro-American erasure of their Peoplehood, their histories, their indigeneity, and their existence as a society with Aboriginal Title along the Lower Rio Grande Valley.

In the "Appendices, The Intimate Markers of Haunting and Loss in El Calaboz Ranchería: Genealogical Remembrances," I acknowledge and document the primary documents related to these Indigenous communities. I organize and document the contradictions, paradoxes and instructions of Indigenous peoples' memories and histories along the Camino Real de la Plata, and the Camino Militar/Military Highway/U.S. 281. Hauntingly, it is in the Indigenous peoples' sacred sites, sacred grounds, etched into humble tomb stones; it is in their kitchen gardens, corn fields, and corrals; and in the shadows of former wickiups and jacals that Ndé and Tlaxcalteca kinships forged from marriages '*en la manera de los indios/en la manera del pais.'* In the Appendices, the relationships between colonizers and colonized, invaders and resisters, killers and killed confront and challenge normative history. In 'talking pictures' Ndé land defenders infuse their community memory into these haunting markers of the peoples' ancient, colonial, modern and contemporary reality. In El Calaboz, El Ranchito, Las Rusias, Las Milpas, and the former buffalo camp grounds in and around Premont—Ndé, Nahua nobility, Tlaxcalteca, and Bizkaian narratives mark South Texas as an Indigenous domain where memory and current struggles collide. Extermination wars—past and present—are the violent landscapes mediated by and through Ndé resistances to coloniality, dispossession and injustice. The Ndé culture

heroes of Enemy Killer, Child of the Water and Changing Woman are retold through Catholic saints, house gods, and devotion to the Virgin bring us into Indigenous time: genealogies, memorials, remembering, grief, and Ndé resurgence *'in the earthen, dug-out, dungeon'*—El Calaboz Ranchería. These documents mark Ndé history, continuity and resurgence. It is my hope that they will prepare Ndé for the new histories and narratives from the Hada'didla' Ndé (Lightning People), Cuélcahén Ndé (Tall Grass People), the Tuntsa'Ndé (Big Water People), the Zuá Zuá Ndé (Lava Bed People), the Jumano Ndé (Jumano-Apache/Red Mud Painted People), and the 'Indantụhé Nde (Mexican Clan People)in productive dialogue with each other, with Ussen, with our Mother Earth, and with the world in difficult battles up ahead in the struggle for recognition and human rights.

CHAPTER TWO:

From *Ndé* Lenses: An Interrogation of 'Apaches' and 'Enemies' in Early to Late Colonial Spain, 1525-1821[1]

Introduction

The social, economic, and political construction of the *'el enemigo Apache'/ ('the enemy Apache')* in the early to late colonial period (1525-1821) of New Spain (México) was core to the Western legal codification and normalization of sovereignty, dispossession, forced labor, taxation (tribute) and slavery as central pillars of the colony.[2] In this chapter, I examine the early to late colonial experiences of Ndé and many Indigenous peoples of the highlands of Nuevo León, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and the plains and coastal plains of Tamaulipas and Texas. Based upon the perspectives of Ndé community leaders, historians, and traditional peoples, I

[1] I conducted field research in 2007, 2008, and 2009 in Ndé communities in the Texas-Mexico border region, Arizona, and northern Mexico. This research was approved through an Institutional Review Board at Washington State University, and through it I received the signed consent of Indigenous respondents to discuss and to present their verbal, written and filmed responses related to an analysis of 'Apaches' at the intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship, nation, borders, migration, and labor systems. This led to a set of methods enabling a critical comparative between Ndé understandings of the Texas-Mexico border lands which have been rendered invisible and silenced through hegemonic knowledge production across the disciplines and area studies. Ndé community members from the following locations participated in this study and the analysis here benefited tremendously from their theorizations and contributions: El Calaboz Ranchería, Texas; El Ranchito, Texas; Premont, Texas; Corpus Christi, Texas; San Antonio, Texas; Redford (El Polvo), Texas; Del Rio, Texas; Ojinaga, Chihuahua, Mexico; San Carlos Apache Reservation, Arizona; Nogales, Sonora, México. Washington State University, *Institutional Review Board*, Approval # 09796-003.

[2] For the purpose of this chapter, I will avoid the modern etiology of 'Apache', which is apparently founded on the particularly Anglo-American appetite for folklore and myth. The Anglo-American origin story of 'Apaches' is based upon a complex maze of media constructions which convolute frontier and pioneer myth with legend and pseudo-science. The Anglo-origin myth of 'Apaches,' from what I have surveyed, has been constructed around the camp-fires of 19th century Western American historians, fiction writers, popular lore, and anthropological speculation. For those unfamiliar with the Anglo-origin story of the 'Apaches' a simple key word search will soon direct one to various versions of the central tenet: "Apache means 'the enemy' in the Zuni language." Many uncritically promote 19th century ideologies of race, 'Indians' and pioneers. Others essentialize ' Zunis' as peaceful aboriginals and the 'Apaches' as violent aggressors. They too often leave unchallenged Western (white male) anthropological narratives of 'Apaches' as outsiders to the Western Hemisphere, cultural borrowers, and wanderers who 'crossed the Bering Strait.' This chapter's central topic concerns the social, legal, religious, economic and political constructions of the Spanish colonial ethnic invention of 'el Apache' which has social roots in European legal doctrines of conquest, colonization, mining and slavery.

situate Ndé as political actors who challenged and disrupted what they perceived to be the illegitimate Spanish claim to invade, seize, and occupy Indigenous domains. In this chapter, I insert Ndé agency and Ndé governance systems—transnational and hemispheric—into history. I introduce a critical interrogation of the colony and the overlap of the colony, in northern Mexico, with early modernity and industrialization. Through the lenses of Ndé social actors, I discuss many of the economic and political structures which brought Indigenous peoples of northern Mexico and southern Texas into modernity, namely—mining, forced labor, the hacienda, mechanization, and a system of race-gender-sexuality. I critique the normative systems, structures and discourse which have mapped the paradigmatic clash between the European and Ndé peoples, and I situate those within *the colony*—as the histories which naturalize European cultural, religious, and intellectual 'superiority', and make invisible the processes of systematic, mechanized, and legally-defined systems and structures which anchored the subjugation of Indigenous peoples and seizure of Indigenous domains.

'El Apache'—Particularizing the Enemy Within a World-System

'El Apache' was an early to late Spanish colonial subject of New Spain, and formed a *particular* 'native' subject which emerged from normative Western legal, religious, and economic thought and civil procedure. A web of governmentality was utilized by European elites in the violent invasion, occupation, and colonization of Indigenous peoples, and the interest of the Criollos and Spanish Crown in opening up the northern highland regions for silver mining lay at the core of the rigidification of 'el Apache' enemy identity. The interpellations of these led to a mass-scale extermination war against 'Apaches', between 1750-1821, though this was preceded by several waves of racial wars.

'El Apache' was a colonial dissident 'native' subject developed from a complex web of governmentality and institutions. 'El Apache' became an embedded cognate of the racial hierarchy and the Indigenous resistance to colonial rule. Due to the highly developed Indigenous social enmeshments *between* the classes, related to Indigenous kinship and reciprocity exchange institutions, the Spaniards were *never* successful in *fully* gaining the hearts, minds and intellects of an Indigenous political bloc in 'el norte.' This bloc organized resistance to the violence of the silver mining world-system.[3]

'El Apache' was not a neutral observation of the colonizers, nor untethered from structures which legalized the use of armed forced and extermination to the will of Christian and Euro-American supremacy. 'El Apache', rather, never was a descriptor of people, peoplehood or human beings. 'El Apache'—like all other colonialist attempts to fix non-European (non-white/non-peninsular/non-Criollo) vassals and tributary subjects—was an elemental identity in a large catalogue of racialized 'ethnic' descriptors.[4] The point of these descriptors was to gain

[3] From the perspectives of Indigenous peoples of the Lower Rio Grande, the Spanish-European, Basque-European and Anglo-European *cannot* be lumped into categories racial categories established by scholars working within the disciplines of Native Studies, Chicana/o Studies, and Borderland Studies. Northern-northeastern Mexico and South Texas Spanish, Basque, Irish, Scot, African, and Native American groups comprised many complex societies between 1546 and the American period of racial segregation (1848-1950s). The Indigenous view from El Calaboz has traditionally been eclipsed by the lenses of Mexican-American, Hispanic, Chicana/o, Native American and Tejana/o studies. Indigenous social formations transgress racial and ethnic identities established by each of those areas.

[4] For two related discussions, see Sara Ortelli, "Del Discurso Oficial a las Fuentes Judiciales: El Enemigo y el Proceso de Mestizaje en el Norte Novohispano Tardocolonial," *Memoria Americana* 13, 2005, 53-81. "son contrapuestos indios y blancos, nómadas y sedentarios, indios de misiones y de paz *versus* no reducidos y deguerra. En ese contexto, la violencia es señalada como un fenómeno inherente a la realidad fronteriza y atribuida, casi exclusivamente, a los grupos indigenas no reducidos que, en el caso del norte novohispano de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, identifican a los apaches." …Según estas fuentes, los objetivos que perseguían los apaches eran despoblar y dislocar la economía regional y acabar con el sistema colonial." *See* also Maureen Konkle, "Indigenous Ownership and the Emergence of U.S. Liberal Imperialism," *American Indian Quarterly*, Summer 2008, Vol. 32, No. 3, 298. "The conflict with indigenous people produced an imperial ideology that required a significant degree of abstraction because of the nature of relations with indigenous people. In North America Europeans set out to claim lands they didn't know that was occupied by people they couldn't control. To make alliances, establish boundaries, and acquire land they [in the United States] made legal agreements, including treaties, that recognized indigenous ownership of land and therefore of political autonomy …"

social, economic, religious, legal and political control over the domains of the Americas. 'Savages'—a non-human in Western legal thought, was a social identity without history, religion, or governance systems. Hence, 'savages', the logic went, had to be forcibly controlled, contained, and instructed in the ways of 'civilization.'[5]

'El Apache' operated as an invented and as a normalized discourse of the colony because it normalized *fear* of the government's forms of discipline and punishment, and normalized coercion as a mechanized tool which the government exercised on the Indigenous multitudes as body of rules articulated through symbols, rituals, and procedures. Projecting the enemy subject as 'el Apache' constructed the *perception* that the elites had firm knowledge and control over the identification of state enemies, enemies of the *body politic*. The state projected to its citizenry the idea that it offered an alternative to the 'horror' and 'savagery' of the 'native' enemy 'el Apache.'

From 1525 onward, when the children of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin II began to organize and use a web of governmentality to challenge the Spanish Crown's dispossession of their inheritances and to challenge the sovereignty of European legal thought over Indigenous domains, the Indigenous customary domains were re-organized in European-formed Indigenous councils, (cabildos). Indigenous laborers and slaves were relegated to 'reduction' in missions, presidios, pueblos, urbanized markets …and prisons. By the early 17th century, 'el Apache' (as well as 'el Chichimeca'—another 'enemy' highlander group) normed the *unequal* power relations between colonizers and colonized Indigenous peoples.

[5] Robert A. Williams, Jr. *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). See "Introduction," "The Medieval Discourse of Crusade," and "The Perfect Instrument of Empire: The Colonizing Discourse of Renaissance Spain."

Constructing social and political 'enemies' as 'monsters' lumped many Indigenous peoples together under one umbrella—identified as dissident 'monsters' who resisted the 'benevolent' colonial rule and governmentality offered to them through state and religiously enforced subjugation. Historian Christophe Giudicelli argues, the European construction of monsters and the accompanying discourse of disgust and fear of "el monstruo indio" (Indian monstrosity) had strategic functions in colonial procedures.[6] Giudicelli shows us that 'el monstruo' exemplified the European's anxiety and fear of the resistant Indigenous collectives in 'el norte' comprised of a diverse mixture of Indigenous peoples. 'El monstruo' denoted certain Indigenous lifeways as savage and other Indigenous lifeways as 'decent.' This binary amplifies the European ideal positioned above them— the conservative, Catholic, modest, and hard-working Spanish citizen.

Between 1546 and 1750, 'the savage' became a mainstreamed racial construct and grew into an established European legal, economic and religious system.[7] However, this system and discourse was not applied evenly across México. The gradual implantation of this system occurred across European hierarchical and gendered relations, through legal constructions of

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[6] Christophe Giudicelli, "El Miedo a los Monstruos," Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos (En Línea), *Biblioteca de Autores del Centro*, February 14, 2005, 1, 8 (accessed January 23, 2010), at http://nuevomundo.revues.org/index614.html, "A finales del año 1616, en la norteña provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya, los indios tepehuanes se levantan contra los españoles en una rebelión extremadamente violenta, que tuvo gravísimas consecuencias para estas tierras de fronteras de la Nueva España, ya de por sí escasamente pobladas. Las presentaciones sucesivas de esta rebelión en la historiografía privilegian la ruptura, el rechazo de la sociedad colonial por los indígenas, y enfatizan el conflicto entre dos polos antagónicos e irreconciliables : hordas bárbaras y salvajes contra los adalides de la civilización occidental y cristiana, indios endemoniados contra el suave mensaje crístico de los padres misioneros, o indios libertarios deseosos de sacudir el yugo del oscurantismo liberticida."

[7] Williams, Ibid. "Thus the distinctive legitimating vision of Western colonial conquest of other peoples' lands as the fortuitous by-produce of a crusade against normative divergence traces its descent to the earliest teachings of Western Christendom." A historical trajectory of images, discourse, and laws of the infidel which penetrated the complex racial codes in Mexico's elite upper strata which manifested the development of local articulations and methods used against the Ndé and millions of northern Indigenous peoples in Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León, Coahuila, Tejas and the Colony of Nuevo Santander which was deeply rooted in centuries of European and Spanish conquest.

property, and emerged in a number of key Indigenous governmental sites—especially in the testamentos related to property inheritance in Tlaxcalteca corporate communities across the northern settlements near mining and beef cattle operations.

In this discussion, the discourse of 'el barbaro' (the barbarian/heathen) entered hand-in-glove with the forced religious conversion of subordinated Indigenous peoples into forced labor across Central and Northern México. The rise of 'el enemigo' wound its way into popular discourse as the colonization process took hold over Indigenous bodies, communities, and institutions directly affected by the violent conditions of silver mining. Ndé peoples most active resistances to the discourse of 'el enemigo' and 'el Apache' occurred in their destruction of mines, haciendas, ranchos, missions, pueblos, and presidios—a direct 'response' to their rejection of extermination wars and the expansion of slavery into their intimate domains.

The absorption of specific European notions of power, community, and sovereignty, which normalized male, authoritarian, and hierocratic rule, into institutions of Central Indigenous groups, for instance the Tlaxcala elites and military warrior societies, served to rapidly transfer many key Spanish legal institutions, philosophies, and governance within elite Indigenous town councils and political organizations. This often had detrimental consequences for less advantaged Indigenous laborers.[8]

In 1552, through the Indigenous argumentation of traditional concepts of community, collective rights, and shared identity with the lands and labor, a Tlaxcalteca delegation traveled to Europe from Mexico to address the Spanish King, Charles V. The Tlaxcalteca ambassadors reported the Tlaxcalteca leaders' demands and reminded the monarch of the *particular*

[8] Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of MesoAmerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1998).

Indigenous privileges and status conferred upon the Tlaxcala government. The Tlaxcaltecas exerted tremendous efforts to remind the King that he had a legal obligation to uphold the special, particular status of the Tlaxcalteca peoples as repayment their efforts in the joint invasion of Guatemala *and* their participation in the guerras de sangre y fuego (wars of blood and fire) being fought at the time in the northern areas of 'la Gran Chichimeca' and 'la Gran Apachería.'

For instance, between 1519 to 1552, by way of a succession of advocacies, Tlaxcalteca elites negotiated specific legal recognitions of their Indigenous self-determination and authority in Tlaxcala domains (los Señorios) which the Crown partially identified in its establishment of a legal sphere articulated as El Republico de los Indios. Through their continual arguments regarding their *particular* status, rights to land-tenure awards, and to a separate legal sphere, Tlaxcalteca elites (not to be confused with Tlaxcalteca labor groups, the *macehualli* and *tlaquehuale*) received Charles V's re-recognition as a privileged Indigenous group within Spanish civilization, as recognized by previous Spanish monarchs.[9]

Tlaxcalteca lobbying and adjudification to and through the Crown's court systems, established and re-established the court as a key zone of contact between Tlaxcalteca elites and the Crown. The Crown's numerous recognitions and re-recognitions of Tlaxcalteca land-tenure (mercedes, or 'grants') and titles of 'hidalgos' officially brought Tlaxcalteca subjects into modernity as Indigenous 'citizens' within the bounds of Spanish 'dominion.' This concept of an Indigenous *sovereign* subject and Indigenous-American Spanish citizenship, rights to property and possession, negotiations between political elites, and the normalized the transfer of

[9] Enciclopedia de los Municipios de México Tlaxcala, "Historia," http://www.inafed.gob.mx/work/templates/enciclo/tlaxcala/his.htm, accessed February 28, 2010. See also, Andrea Martínez Baracs, *Un Gobierno de Indios: Tlaxcala, 1519-1750* (México: CIESAS, 2008).

Indigenous *collective domains* of land and peoplehood rights to *specific* and *particular* Indigenous polities—was a key legal structure of the early colonial state. These very 'modern' relations between the Crown and the Tlaxcalteca hidalgos normalized the legal and economic intercourse of land transfer between men. This system of laws and rights conferred privileges and status to Indigenous status groups. Undoubtedly, this system subordinated a large number of Indigenous laboring and tributary (tax paying) groups, as well as northern highlander Ndé peoples—considered peripheral because they were identified as outside 'civilization.' In this process, many highlander groups were dispossessed from their customary domains as *outside* the legal bounds of 'civilization.'

This is the zone of colonial-modern contestation—about sovereignty, minorities, 'citizenship' and indigeneity— which disrupts the normative historical readings of the early Spanish empire. Rarely, until now, have we been able to access colonial archives which demonstrate the complexities of the colonial-modern, and how the early state (Spanish Crown) pitted Indigenous against Indigenous. The system which contours the emergence of 'el Apache' in Western legal discourse, between 1525-1821, also normalized 'states within states' or 'nations within civilization' which was born in the early colonial Spanish Americas through the Indigenous politics waged between the Tlaxcalteca elites, Indigenous macehualli, indentured slaves and forced laborers, captives, and highlander domains. This system also promoted certain Indigenous groups to cooperate in the physical exterminations and forced assimilations of groups identified as 'savage.' In the close examination of 'el Apache'/'el enemigo', we have an important opportunity to re-examine Tlaxcalteca relations with numerous Indigenous groups, as they took up arms against them, occupied their traditional lands, and assisted in the

destruction of their lifeways—they were being cultivated as the first officially recognized Indigenous Republic in North America.[10]

By the late 16th century, construed as 'enemies' of the Spanish-Basques *and* the Tlaxcalteca mining-settler groups, the Ndé were legally subjected to forced removal in order to 'open space' for mining and agricultural colonization. Thus, the effort to naturalize 'el monstruo,' 'the savage,' and 'the enemy' involved a large-scale project of legal and political incorporation of privileged Indigenous peoples/groups, the indoctrination of captured and forcibly 'settled' Indigenous and African labor forces, and the large-scale seizure of highlander peoples' lands and livelihoods.

Between the discovery of silver in 1546 and the earliest written descriptions of 'el Apache' in 1610, Ndé actively worked in alliance with similarly persecuted Indigenous peoples between Zacatecas, Santa Fe, San Antonio, and Veracruz. Indigenous runaways presented a critical logistical problem for the Europeans. Captive laborers welded new alliances in sites of subjugation; from those relationships Indigenous, African, and indentured European peoples held in bondage also forged new identities of an oppressed class. Worker uprisings across the northern domains were commonplace.[11]

Between 1546 and 1750, the constant forced re-settlement of Indigenous peoples into *establecimientos* and *congregaciones,* and the restraints imposed on them by hacienda owners to keep them from their customary environments and movement (related to trade-exchange, food-

[10] Andrea Martínez Baracs, *Un Gobierno de Indios: Tlaxcala, 1519-1750* (México: CIESAS, 2008).

[11] Jose Luis Mirafuentes Galvan, *Movimientos de Resistencia y Rebeliones Indigenas en el Norte de Mexico, 1680-1821, Guía Documental* (México: Archívo General de la Nación y Archívo Historico de Hacienda, Colección documental, Número 3, 1975).

gathering, social events, ceremonial gatherings, and political activities) led to wide-spread revolt and rebellion.[12] Ndé critical perspectives on the resistances which coalesced during these volatile centuries and which have been violently negated from the consciousness of the continent's Indigenous peoples construe these places of entrapment, enslavement, forced labor, misery, and death as *sites of crisis*. [13]

The discourse of 'gente decente,' punctuated the socialized mixture of religion and militarism in governmentally-approved re-locations of Tlaxcalteca pueblos, missions, farms, haciendas, and ranches from Central Mexico to the north. Along the way, a particularized form of Indigenous peoplehood—'*gente'*—normed *civic* ethnicity as 'traditional' and as a service to the larger colonizing effort. As well, this socialized the diasporic Tlaxcalteca settler groups into a civic-minded, public, and state-centered identity which was built upon a co-dependency to a Criollo dominated governmentality. 'Decent' Tlaxcaltecas fought not only for their community's well-being and identity as cooperative citizens of the Tlaxcalteca Nation (El Republico de los Indios), they also were the civilizing (Indigenous) arm in the on-going struggle to 'settle-down' the restless 'natives' in the local politics of protection against 'Apaches enemigos.'

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[12] Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Coahuila Tierra Anchurosa de Indios, Mineros y Hacendados* (Mexico: Sidermex, 1985).

[13] Jose Luis Mirafuentes Galvan, *Movimientos de Resistencia y Rebeliones Indigenas en el Norte de Mexico, 1680-1821, Guía Documental* (México: Archívo General de la Nación y Archívo Historico de Hacienda, Colección documental, Número 3, 1975). A rare collection of 586 letters and administrative records related to over 150 identified Indigenous groups who consumed enormous amounts of the colonists' energy, this compilation has served as an important model for organizing primary documents from a critical perspective that disrupts the traditional history telling of the 'savage' and the 'vanished' Indigenous identity of Mexico's (current) north and the (current) U.S. southwest. As Galvan states, "formar una guía do los materials relatives al tema de la Resistencia indígena en el Norte de México, dispersos en los fondos de impresos y manuscritos del Archivo General de la Nación y del Archivo Histórico de Hacienda."

The interpellations of being identified as 'decent' and 'people' were critical markers in the Indigenous politics of land and water rights—which the Tlaxcaltecas fought on numerous simultaneous terrains against the 'savage' 'native' 'enemies.' Indigenous environmental politics privileged the heteronormative discourse of civility, honor, status, 'Tlaxcalteca' peoples and 'Tlaxcalteca' corporate (collective) rights in the arid highlands of Coahuila and Nuevo León. The de-privileged 'enemy' Ndé pushed back upon these rising norms in the colony by organizing acts of vengeance on peoples who threatened their traditional economic lifeways. These were traditionally based upon hunting, gathering, and the assurances of mobility across numerous simultaneous terrains. Peoples living outside the colonial constructions of 'civilization' were in many ways disadvantaged by a symbolic and discursive legal system in which their bodies, lands and livelihoods were constantly framed as 'savage' through the late 17th century to late 18th century.

Indigenous-to-Indigenous politics structured through Spanish law undoubtedly brought Ndé and all other Indigenous peoples into modernity by 1821—through force, coercion and manipulation.[14] Ndé and their many allied relations across linguistic groups formed stronger blocs and organized inter-generational resistances and disruptions to the Tlaxcalteca and Criollo patterns of agricultural colonization. Between 1680 to 1821, the daily records and ledger books

[14] See Leslie Offut, "Defending Corporate Identity on New Spain's Northeastern Frontier: San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala, 1780-1810," *The Americas*, Vol. 64, No. 3, January 2008, 351-375; Ibid., "The Nahuatl Testaments of San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala (Saltillo), http://whp.uoregon.edu/Lockhart/Offutt.pdf, accessed February 28, 2010. "…San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala, one of six Tlaxcalan colonies founded in 1591 by order of Viceroy don Luis de Velasco to establish nuclei of sedentary agriculturalists that the mobile groups of the north might emulate. … The colonists who founded San Esteban in 1591 were drawn from the sub-altepetl of Tizatla and were reputedly descendants of Xicotencatl, a famous ruler of that entity at the time of conquest. Among the privileges granted them and their descendants by Viceroy Velasco was that they were to be 'hidalgos, free from tributes and personal service.' That said, the testamentary record does contain certain markers of status, revealing to us important as well as ordinary people."

of religious, civil, military and economic governmentality all across the northern domains show an intensive amount of documentation by many hundreds of functionaries of the state.[15]

Through the late 17th and early 18th century, as northern Indigenous groups revolted, rose up and allied against the joint Spanish-Basque and Tlaxcalteca colonization, the Crown established militarized 'fronts' which were not as coherent nor monolithic as that idea imparts. 'El Apache' functioned to rationalize a political economy and administration of silver mines, forced settlements of labor camps or 'congregas', sites of religious conversion, and closely linked Indigenous and Criollo townships. Juliana Barr, Patricia Osante, R. Douglas Cope, and Jose Luis Mirafuentes Galvan have demonstrated that the late 17th to early 18th century Spanish expansions in the north involved various forms and degrees of reconnaissance, negotiation, coercion, manipulation and violence.[16] At times colonization and subjugation was subtle, suggestive and persuasive, and at others overtly aggressive, destructive and inhumane.[17]

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[15] Jose Luis Mirafuentes Galvan, *Movimientos de Resistencia y Rebeliones Indigenas en el Norte de Mexico, 1680-1821, Guía Documental* (México: Archívo General de la Nación y Archívo Historico de Hacienda, Colección documental, Número 3, 1975).

[16] See Juliana Barr, "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 92, No. 1; Patricia Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1997); R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Jose Luis Mirafuentes Galvan, Ibid.,

[17] At the community and institution level numerous scholars emphasize that European dominion was never absolute or predestined. Rather, there is stronger evidence that Indigenous resistance and continuity engulfed the European institutions, and that a different framework and paradigm for understanding the complexity of Indigenous-European relations is strongly suggested. See R. Douglas Cope, Ibid., "Chapter 5: Patrons and Plebeians: Labor as a System of Social Control," 86-105; Ronald Spores, Chapter 8: "Mexteca Cacicas: Status, Wealth, and the Political Accommodation of Native Elite Women in Early Colonial Oaxaca," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, eds. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 185-198; Cheryl English Martin, "Indigenous Peoples," in *The Countryside in Colonial Latin America*, eds., Louisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 187-212; Robert H. Jackson, Chapter 4: "Indian Resistance and Social Control in Baja California and the Pimería Alta," in *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 97-116; Leslie S. Offutt, "Women's Voices from the Frontier: San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Indian Women in Early Mexico*, Ibid., 273-289.

In the Ndé highlands, Spanish colonial society was built upon upon complex kinship systems and extended family networks of Indigenous people. Inter-marriage and labor relations between Spanish-Basque elites and Tlaxcalteca leaders were tied to the mining projects, the church, establishing ranching, and norming the all-male councils of local municipalities, known as cabildos. Religious, ethnic/racial, and economic institutions which organized peoples into class identities, interplayed with Indigenous peoples' interpretations of them.

Not all Indigenous peoples were affected in the same ways by this complex system of incorporation. Through and across numerous European and Indigenous institutions and practices variations occurred. Already a diverse and heterogeneous society prior to colonization, Indigenous peoples in the Ndé-Spain-Texas borderlands continued to operate by traditional legal systems, local situations, and diverse practices built from inter-ethnic exchanges. Exchange and reciprocity were values as everyday expressions of personal autonomy, practicality, need, strategy, and survival. Peoples in the North deployed a wide variation of Indigenous, customary, European, informal and family-clan based law systems.[18]

Europeans deployed multiple strategies to *maintain* the stratified and unequal social-economic relations between Indigenous, European, and African which, over the long term,

[18] For a discussion of the effects of inter-ethnic competition over water rights during periods of food scarcity, drought, disease and the uses of Spanish and Indigenous law systems by Indigenous town leaders, see Leslie Offutt, "Defending Corporate Identity on New Spain's Northeastern Frontier: San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala, 1780-1810," *The Americas*, Vol. 64, No. 3, January 2008, 351-375; For a thoughtful call for a more precise analysis of the relationships between cultural resistances and demographic patterns specific to nutrition, labor regimens, and rates of inter-ethnic and inter-racial marriages and stratification across Mexico's north, see Linda A. Newson and Mario A. Zamudio, "Explicacion de las variaciones regionales de las tendencias demográficas en la América española colonial: el caso de México," *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 1992, 517-549; For an interesting analysis of relationships between the frequency of patronage of baptisms and mine productivity, and the demographic patterns of inter-racial and ethnic mixture and segregation in two parishes in the north see Thomas Calvo and Mario A. Zamudio, "Demografia y economia: la coyuntura en Nueva Galicia en el siglo XVII, Historia Mexicana, Vol. 41, No. 4, 1992, 570-613; and

privileged phenotypically light-skinned Europeans.[19] Similar to the patterns of dominance established in townships of Central México, military elites in the north gained privilege and wealth by virtue of their Basque ethnicity, gender, military rank. Governmental records narrate their successes in the 'opening' of the Indigenous terrains to Spanish expansion, and in the 'settling' of captured and coerced Indigenous subjects into congregaciones, establecimientos, missions, pueblos, and mines.[20] Their compensations were large land-grants in protected estates.[21]

From Indigenous women's lenses, *sites of crisis* are places where intimate enclosure, containment, and acts of violence brought diverse Indigenous women into close relations with one another. The ability to form social groups against the forces of mandatory individuation within sites of crisis can inform us about Indigenous women's lives inside sites of crisis, and their deaths as well. Sites of crisis are important to the study of 'el Apache' and 'enemy' subjectivity because women's heterogeneous social formations give us clues to relationships between Indigenous slaves, domestic servants, wet nurses, laborers *and* slave owners, and employers. We can learn much by interrogating the normalized identities of Indigenous (Tlaxcalteca) classes, soldiers and prison guards, cooks and craftspeople, as well as local caciques and caciquas (male and female leaders) who certainly had diverse kinds of contact with

[19] See John E. Kicza, "The Great Families of Mexico: Elite Maintenance and Business Practices in Late Colonial Mexico City," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 62, No. 3, 1982, 429-457. "The distinctions that separated the Great Families from the other elements of the upper class in Mexico City were their unparalleled wealth, the diversity of their holdings and investments, the success of their business practices, the honors that they received, their ability to place their children in the upper ranks of the civil and ecclesiastical administrations, their close alliances with other leading political and clerical figures, their choice of marriage partners, and, as a culmination of all of these other factors, their longevity at the summit of the social hierarchy."

[20] Galván, Ibid.,

[21] Matthews and Oudijk, Ibid.,; Chipman, Ibid.,

Ndé slaves, household servants and laborers across the tiers of labor, markets, and community-wide enactments of religious and civic collectivity.[22]

From Economic Traders to Enemies

By 1450 and through 1650, Ndé, according to Indigenous scholars, were spread across current-day Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Chihuahua, Sonora, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Colorado and were flexibly mobile following buffalo into southern Durango, Mexico.[23] Ndé 'Otherness'—construed as 'outsiders' in their own aboriginal domain, can be traced to the late 16th and early 17th century in European legal thought. As early as 1541, the Spanish identified multitudes of resistant Indigenous groups across the silver-rich zones as 'Apaches.' 'Apache' became a signifier of difference and 'Other' in direct relation to the motivation to obtain full control over silver ore. Spaniards learned to be cautious with Ndé, and feared them. This fear of the 'Other' was manipulated as a tool which collapsed hundreds of different linguistic groups and peoples into one, large homogenous category of enemies—until the Spaniards became more adept at distinguishing peoples. The mission friars as well as certain military translation guides

[22] See Patricia Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander, (1748-1772)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1997). "Sus vínculos con homres oserosos de la region los estableció duranted su estancia en la Sierra Gorda. Informes muy precisos contatan la Alianza de Escandón con ganaderos del centro y del noreste novohispano, de quienes recibió aoyo financier y humano para llevar a cabo la colonizacióndel Nuevo Santander, con la clara intención de obtener por ello poder politico, tierras y, además, poner en marcha un circuito commerical terrestre y maritime en el noreste novohispano para proveerse de artículos necesarios para subsisteir, y a la vez lanzar al exterior los productos que ahí se producían." In her important monograph, Osante makes explicit her objective to "contemplate" and "call attention" to the key relationships between Escandón's economic and political ties to the group John E. Kicza calls "the Great Families" of Mexico City.

[23] Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas, "Culture and History of Native American Peoples of South Texas, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, May 2003, 50.

were utilized early on to speed up the process of distinguishing 'Apaches' and compartmentalizing Indigenous peoples into 'savage barbarians' and 'sedentary peaceful' types.

The binary and dualism of *Indios de Paz* (peaceful Indians, likely to trade) and *Indios Enemigos* (enemy, hostile Indians, unlikely to trade) entered into the discourse early in Spain's reconnaissance against highlanders.[24] Despite the observations that "el Apache" enjoyed prosperous trade and institutions of governance, the Othering of many groups as 'enemies' and the lumping of different allied groups together as 'Apaches' appears to have been institutionalized in Spanish military and legal discourse by the 1580s.[25] Clearly, there was confusion, and this speaks to the reality that Indigenous peoples of the 16th century were not as highly differentiated as we think of them being today. Rather, Indigenous heterogeneity and admixture was more common. Colonialism particularized and typed Indigenous peoples by segregating them into 'groups' and subgroups, with *particular* rules for their 'ethnic' dress, costume, and even particular rules prohibiting or encouraging types of 'ethnic' behavior.

Between 1541 and 1590, Ndé were connected, through Spanish lenses, to the buffalo migrations and hunting, hide and corn trade circuits, and diverse exchange networks from the mountains, the tall grass plains and the Rio Grande, Pecos and Conchos watersheds.[26] By 1590, coinciding with Spanish reconnaissance and the use of Nahuatl speaking guides—who were trilingual in Nahuatl, Ndé, and Plains sign language—the Spanish narrowed their gaze upon the Ndé peoples in relation to "a dynamic period in which Ndé buffalo hunters developed new

[24] Matthew, 10; Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 4-5, 8, 58-59, 65, 82-83, 99, 100.

[25] Forbes, Ibid.,

[26] Maestas et. al, Ibid., 63-83.

political economic relationships."[27] Due to the facilitation of "Jusepe," the Nahua translator from Culhuacan, the communication between the Spaniards and the Ndé improved.[28]

In Zaldívar's reports of 1598 to the Spanish Crown, Maestas and Castro-Romero argue, the conquistador did not require or make gestures to the Ndé as subordinates to the Spanish. "Zaldívar […] did not enact 'obedience and vassalage' upon the Vaquero. There was no mention of Vaquero, Apache or Querecho accepting obedience and vassalage to the Spanish Crown."[29] By 1601, Spanish reconnaissance described the Ndé buffalo hunters as "independent nations" with autonomy from all groups and inter-dependent in trade, social and political relations with all groups who aligned with their endeavors.[30] Evidently, the Ndé dominated the buffalo trade circuit by the early 1600s, and the Spanish were the minority outsider in this domain. By 1609, this shifted as the Spanish sought to expand, to control the region for mining, and to gain access to local labor sources.

A report to the King by Francisco de Leoz, a royal accountant mentioned his concern about the King's control over the Indigenous trade markets in "the land of Cibola" (representing Ndé territories) with references situating the "Vaqueros" (Apache buffalo hunters) as a key component of the market and the large network of Indigenous anti-colonial alliance fomenting in the region. By 1610, with Don Pedro de Peralta as the new acting governor of New Mexico, one of the first acts of the administrator was to move the capital to Santa Fe and to make preparations

[27] Ibid.,83.

[28] Ibid., 83.

[29] Ibid., 86.

[30] Ibid., 86.

for a different policy towards "the Apaches." In the formal instructions to Don Pedro de Peralta, it was stated:

> ---as some of the pueblos and nations are on the frontiers of the Apaches, who are usually a refuge and shelter for our enemies, and there they hold meetings and consultations, to hatch their plots against the whole land, and set out to plunder and make war, therefore, it is desirable to congregate the dispersed.[31]

'El Apache' was formulated by the King's imperial accountant as the organizer of an alliance of "enemies" who, in the Spaniard's opinion, were following 'enemy' practices of assembling leaders, warriors and protectors against aggressors and encroachers in their domain. As Maestas and Castro-Romero argue, "Velasco's new policy defined Apache as a dangerous and generalized pool of enemies to the Spaniards and their colonial plots. The Spanish administrative authorities perceived Apache resistance as a political and ideological bloc that included enemy pueblos. [The Spanish] promoted an ideology leaving little doubt that Ndé were public enemies in 1609."[32] As it was impossible to construct the Ndé peoples and alliances as vassals or wards due to their strength and dominance among Indigenous polities across the vast Ndé diversified domains, the Spanish mobilized older, legal histories to construct the Ndé as the barbarian enemy.

In the terrain the Spanish named *La Gran Chichimeca* (meaning, 'homelands of dirty, uncivilized dogs'), followed by *La Gran Apachería* (meaning 'homelands of savage enemies'),

[31] As quoted in Maestas, et. al, 90, "Instructions to Don Pedro de Peralta, who has been appointed Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Mexico in Place of Don Juan de Oñate, who has Resigned the Said Offices, March 30, 1609," Archívo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, legajo 27.

[32] Ibid., 91.

Ndé peoples and their allies firmly refused the violent and destructive terms of European Christendom and dominion.[33] For more than two centuries, the Ndé attempted to instruct, model, and to curb the European immigrants, and to deter their exploitation, manipulation and violations against Indigenous children, women, elders and families. To comprehend the diverse range of Ndé responses to European immigration and colonization, it is important to grapple with the methods and means through which Europeans constructed colonies. The terms, 'enemies' and 'barbarians,' as well as, 'guerras de sangre y fuego' (wars of blood and fire) were tools utilized in the hostile invasion of Indigenous domains.

Constructing Ethnicity and Property in Ndé Domains: Tlaxcalteca Nobleza, Basques, Indios de Paz and Apache Enemies

By 1546, only a generation after the destructive incursions of Cortez, Spain violently anchored itself in central Mexico. As it sought to expand its power throughout the Americas, it rapidly accumulated property in one of the largest transfers of wealth, land, minerals, water and biopower in human history. Resources flowed from the Americas to the Crown, the clergy, and male conquistador-*encomenderos*. This was established through the imposition of a feudal system which subjugated Indigenous intellectual and religious institutions built upon the knowledges, governance, laws, and practices, which were subordinated beneath the Spanish Crown, Catholic and European legal systems. Accomplished through armed force and coercion,

[33] Matthew, 11.

Spain utilized Tlaxcalteca, Tarascan and Otomí societies who were opposed, in varying degrees, to Moctezuma II's governance.[34]

It was through the *Council of the Indies*, established to advise the king and to supervise the empire, that the Crown established laws which designated all conquered peoples of the Indigenous Americas as 'Indios'—a vassal and ward class.[35] The rapid deployment of the *encomienda* system, which had been used against the Moor-Moslems in northern Africa, and the incorporation of a tier of Indigenous elites normalized social relations between the two political and legal spheres established by the Crown, *La República Espanola* and *La República de Indios*.

In establishing *La República de Indios* (the Indian Republic), established legally between 1535 and 1552 after a series of legal disputations between the Spanish and the Tlaxcalteca council chiefs, Europeans simplified and homogenized the ways in which Indigenous peoples were lumped together as 'Other,' with little differentiation or acknowledgement of the immense diversity of Indigenous polities. The laws set forth provisions for certain groups identified as *gente de razon,* who were Indigenous peoples converted to Christianity. At the same time, a class of Indigenous peoples was identified as *indios enemigos* who were generally considered to be those resisting Christian conversion and who outwardly opposed the European overthrow and invasion.

Tlaxcalteca nobles who fought with Europeans in battle and survived the wars of conquest against Moctezuma II and the Nahua of Tenochtitlan, converted to Catholicism, and

[34] Gibson, Ibid., Carrasco, Ibid.,

[35] Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *Triumphs and Tragedy: A History of the Mexican People* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 59-61.

were awarded the rights to self-govern the *Señorios* (dominions) of Tlaxcala. Titles of *hidalgos* and land grants were awarded to Tlaxcalteca nobles and high-status military officers who provided them the resources to develop colonies of pueblos, missions and ranches.[36] In the north, mining, ranching, agriculture and cattle developed side-by-side; they developed as inter-dependent networks of peoples, ecologies, economies, kinship, and gender and sexual politics which intimately, stitched social spheres between Tlaxcalteca and Europeans.[37] The post-conquest European laws provided Tlaxcalteca *pobladores* and *presidarios* exclusion from taxation and tribute for up to sixteen years in exchange for their settlement and defense of areas within the zone of warfare with Chichimecas, Jumanos, Guachichiles, and Ndé and their continued military protection from 'enemies.'[38]

At the close of the 1590s, the Viceroyal, Luis de Velasco the Younger negotiated with the leaders of Tlaxcala in regard to the relocation of 400 Tlaxcalteca families to the northern territories to establish settlements inside the Gran Chichimeca. The official agreement was finalized March 14, 1591. Historian Andrea Martínez Baracs notes "fue resultado de una compleja negociación, en la que cumplieron una notoria function mediadora los frailes

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[36] See Andrea Martinez Baracs, *Un Gobierno de Indios: Tlaxcala, 1519-1750* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica Fideicomiso Colegio de Historia de Tlaxcala, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2008), 282-283. ". … El memorial incluyó por ello una relative falsificación en la formula: 'atento a que todos los Tlaxcaltecas son hidalgos y libres estándose en sus casas.' […] La noción de que 'todos los Tlaxcaltecas son hidalgos' era un Nuevo camino para obtener en beneficio de los colonos lo que los Tlaxcaltecas siempre habían decidido conceder esa exención a estos y otros indios colonos." *Hidalgos* were tools used to solidify relationships between the elites and the lower ranked local allies. See generally, María Castañeda de la Paz, "Central Mexican Indigenous Coats of Arms and the Conquest of Mesoamerica," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2009, 125-161; Cecilia Sheridan Prieto, " ' Indios Madrineros', Colonizadores Tlaxcaltecas en el Noreste Novohispano, *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, Enero-Junio 2001, 15-51; Mtro. Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, "Testamentos, Linaje Natural y Espiritual en la Nueva Vizcaya," *Mensajero del Archivo Historico de la UIA Laguna,* Número 30, 2001, 3-7.

[37] Patricia Martinez, "Noble" Tlaxcalans: Race and Ethnicity in Northeastern New Spain, 1770-1810" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2004).

[38] Martinez, Ibid., 59.

franciscanos de la provincia de Tlaxcala, sobre todo fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, entonces guardian del convent de la ciudad de Tlaxcala, y fray Gerónimo de Zárate."[39] Known as the 'Memorial,' a lengthy capitulation of the rights of the Tlaxcalan government and people, this crucial legal agreement may well have been one of the *root* legal agreements in the hemispheres between Indigenous sovereigns and a European Crown, in effect, the genealogical grandmother of all treaties between Indigenous peoples and Europeans.

Tlaxcala *Señorio* leaders demanded a list of conditions for the relocation of the 400 Tlaxcalteca families.[40] The original stipulations, housed in the Archivo General de la Nación, served as the foundational guide of a legal agreement between a powerful Indigenous government and the Spanish Crown. Among other stipulations, the Memorial provided for Tlaxcaltecas to be paid for their military services as official escorts for Indigenous and European settlers in the northern colonial projects. Tlaxcaltecas had the right to wear European clothing. They had the right to develop European-styled crests and enter into the ranks of European nobility.[41] They had the right to bear arms—as co-crusaders in the 'just wars' against the resisting 'pagans.'[42] They had the right to file civil lawsuits in the *audencia* and have their claims heard in front of *oidores*.[43] And, they had the right to own and to ride horses—a critical

[39] Baracs, Ibid., 278.

[40] Ibid., 279.

[41] Castañeda de la Paz, Ibid.,

[42] *See* generally David Bergen Adams, *Las Colonias Tlaxcaltecas de Coahuila y Nuevo León en la Nueva España* (Saltillo: Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 1991); José Antonio Rivera Villanueva, *Los Tlaxcaltecas: Pobladores de San Luis Potosí* (San Luis Potosí: El Colegio de San Luis, 1999); Eustaquio Celestino Solis, *El Señorio de San Esteban del Saltillo: Voz y Escritura Nahuas, Siglos XVII y XVIII* (Saltillo: Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 1991); Eugene B. Sego, Aliados *y Adversarios: Los Colonos Tlaxcaltecas en la Frontera Septentrional de Nueva España* (San Luis Potosí: El Colegio de San Luis, 1998); Carlos Manuel Valdés Dávila y Ildefonso Dávila del Bosque, *Los Tlaxcaltecas en Coahuila* (San Luis Potosí: El Colegio de San Luis, 1999).

[43] Ibid.

marker of elites, the conquerors, and the new ruling class of New Spain.[44] On paper these appeared to provide the Tlaxcaltecas with certain measures of autonomy and self-determination in a violent world of silver mining, in a world-system enclosing them all. However, for the Tlaxcalteca laborer and commoner, there was, in reality, very little which separated her/his experiences from the rest of the Indigenous population's treatment by the colonial ruling class. Fighting against forced military conscription, slavery, tribute, debt, disease and a life of hard labor set the experiences of the Tlaxcalteca lower classes in a cast very similar to colonized peoples of the north.[45]

Nahua Noble Daughters: From Noble Caciquas to Encomendera-Pobladoras

Nahua noble daughters of Moctezuma II's dynasty and subkingdoms were granted, by the Spanish Crown, significant *encomiendas* in perpetuity. Through the legal forms of land-grants, the Crown expressed its recognition of Moctezuma II's high status among the dynastic ruling elites. At the same time, the Crown imposed a European and market-based class structure upon Moctezuma's children, and the Nahuatl sub-kingdoms, and within this system Indigenous elite women were addressed only within a 'property rights' and 'nobility rights' framework—one

[44] Abelardo Levaggi, "República de Indios y República de Españoles en los Reinos de Indias," Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídico, No. 23, 2001, at http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0716-54552001002300009&script=sci_arttext, (accessed December 12, 2009). "Román y Zamora se ocupaba de la América prehispánica. Juan de Solórzano Pereira, en 1647, y con respecto a la constitución indiana, indicó que comprendía dos repúblicas: de españoles y de naturales. Ya Juan de Matienzo, en 1567, en su exposición sobre el gobierno del virreinato peruano, había tratado en partes separadas el gobierno de los indígenas y el de los españoles, y propuesto leyes particulares para cada uno."

[45] See generally, Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, eds., *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of MesoAmerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

which demanded that they be Christianized as a requirement of their legal standing in Spanish law.

Three of Moctezuma's children were awarded special legal recognition, privileges and rights for themselves and their descendents.[46] Nahua *caciques* (local governors or clan leaders) and *cabildos* (local councils) functioned as intermediaries between the common people and laborers living under uncompensated *encomienda* tribute systems. To the European, the *caciques* functioned as supervisors, bosses, and collectors over laborers and families, and were important intermediaries between the Indigenous worlds, yet at the same time were often corruptible by the norms and reward system of patriarchal, gender violence.[47]

The top-down European system ignored the Indigenous worlds of the pre-European invasion which were heterogeneous based in 10,000-12,000 years of highly developed Indigenous polities, rooted in kinship, reciprocity and inter-marriages. The multiple world views and cosmo-visions of Indigenous peoples had allowed for the formations of polities which could flex and bend, allowing for more shared and individual autonomy, and allowing for the collective organization of groups across identities, social positions, and the hemisphere. Agents of trade and exchange, collective will, ownership, horticulture, agriculture, and production of pottery, organized her world through kinship and clans, Indigenous women's

[46] Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty Under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700*, (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2005).

[47] Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 194-219.

work still continued to be a central organizing feature of Indigenous resistances in the central valley and throughout the Americas.[48]

Indigenous women actively produced economic and social relations through ceremonial, ritual, and blood kinship ties where women and men played equally important roles in the shaping of markets, trade, and clan-based subsistence.[49] The encomienda system, imposed after the overthrow of Moctezuma and the subkingdom's tributary system, severely disrupted the entire organizational base of Nahua society—and hence, the larger Indigenous worlds, to the south and north, which were intimately enmeshed in the economies of precious stones, chocolate, textiles, medicine, and intellectual knowledge.[50] From 1521 on, waves of immigration dominated by European males, and the importation of enslaved African laborers, radically changed Indigenous peoples' former way of life. Immigration of Europeans, inter-marriage, mass rape, slavery, and the imposition of European governing systems mobilized the dispossession and assimilation of autonomous peoples in the central valley, and in 1546, soon after the discovery of silver in arid highlands of Zacatecas the systems of coercion, control and subjugation spread through the institutions and norms of missions, pueblos, provincial courts, prisons, and of course, silver mines and cattle focused haciendas.[51]

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[48] Susan Kellogg, *Weaving the Past: A History of Latin America's Indigenous Women from Prehispanic Period to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

[49] Arthur J. O. Anderson, "Aztek Wives," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, Eds. Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 55-85; Susan Kellogg, "From Parallel and Equivalent to Separate but Unequal: Tenochca Mexica Women, 1500-1700," *Ibid.,* 123-143; Pedro Carrasco, "Indian-Spanish Marriages in the First Century of the Colony," *Ibid.,* 87-103.

[50] Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *Triumphs and Tragedies: A History of the Mexican People* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), 59-62

[51] Natividad Gutiérrez, "Miscegenation as Nation-Building: Indian and Immigrant Women in Mexico, in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (London: Sage, 1995), 161-187. The strategic inter-marriages between murderous European conquerors and Indigenous noblewomen constructed a legal platform

The identities of Indigenous American peoples resisting conquest and assimilation emanated from European constructions of 'el indio' and the simultaneous development of extractive industries, which racialized the legal separation of two crucial spheres: *La República Española* and *La República de Los Indios*. The Spanish and Basque conquerors made continuous attempts to impose the separation of the two spheres, keeping the conqueror-rulers and the conquered-subjugated divided, based upon an economy of slave systems, human trafficking, gender violence, and the monolithic and artificial construction of 'Europeans' and 'Indians.'[52]

The social relations between the conquerors, the Indigenous nobles of all genders, and Indigenous women of the labor classes, however, early on established a blurring between *La República Española* and *La República de Indios*. The feudal concept of centralized gendered (male) authority and administration powered over dichotomous spheres which relegated and regulated women's knowledge of economies and intellect ('public v. private', 'political v. domestic'), (global markets v. cottage industry). Under Christendom, Spanish institutions, such as the *encomienda*, the mission, and eventually the villa, hacienda and presidio, set forth a stratified settler society comprising deeply carved lines which demarcated the privileged spheres and regimes of European male domination and the subjugated Indigenous multitudes.

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through which many fortunes and dynasties were formed and which later provided the wherewithal to politically and fiscally support the colonization of the northern provinces for the express purpose of extracting silver, precious stones, and establishing and the Camino Real de la Plata. The interlocking industries of encomienda tribute systems, mining, agriculture, textiles, cattle, religious indoctrination and oppressive labor systems all operated to alter Indigenous economic structures in radical and differing ways.

[52] Basques are an Indigenous group whose global diasporic histories are complex and deserve close study. Today, Indigenous peoples are re-envisioning and re-writing their histories in colonialism and participating in key international legal arenas on rights of Indigenous peoples. I am acknowledging those efforts and movements as important and legitimate. I am recognizing that the Basque Indigenous identity is a diasporic, classed, and situated in processes worthy of further study. See generally, Gloria Totoricagüena, *Basque Diaspora: Migration and Transnational Identity* (Reno: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, 2004).

The two *Repúblicas* defined the proto-American dualistic legal spheres of the colonizer and the colonized, which worked together subversively—as they were both governed over and through European administrators. In this way, the ability to maintain juridical control over Indigenous peoples as tributaries (producers of marketable goods and tax payers), as taxpayers, and as servants on the lands, was to control the profitability of the colony and the hacienda, and the rationale of settler rule over the converted *and* the enemy 'indios.'[53]

At the same time, the strength of Indigenous belief systems, values, and knowledges, and the Indigenous economic systems which maintained Indigenous women's market forms were ever constructing dynamic social and political identities of anti-colonial action and resistance. The Indigenous systems of kinship and reciprocity in relation to the land continued to sustain the necessary relationships required for politically-based actions (revolts, uprisings, resistances) in connection to places, ecological systems, cosmological beliefs, and a collective sense of sovereignty in relation to specific domains. These had been well developed, maintained and invigorated for millennia prior to the conquest, and were not easily replaced.[54] These comprised the bedrock which sustained multiple forms of Indigenous responses to invasions, and instilled deep connections to place, traditions, and ways of life for the duration of the anti-colonial resistance.[55]

This relationship was not destroyed—rather, at times, the Indigenous people themselves drove their ways and means underground. This history of Indigenous polities' strategic

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[53] Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *Triumphs and Tragedy: A History of the Mexican People* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992).

[54] Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico* (Wilmington: SR Books, 1999).

[55] Angelique Eagle Woman, "Tribal Values of Taxation Within the Tribalist Economic Theory," *Kansas Journal of Law & Pubic Policy,* Vol. 18, No. 1, 2008, http://ssrn.com/abstract=1020264 (accessed December 12, 2009).

resistances and the connection to place and self-governance extended far and deep into the Indigenous trade networks which pre-dated the European arrivals in the north.[56] These were not relationships that could be destroyed, by a relatively small number of European immigrants, through genocidal killings, slavery, nutritional deprivations, rape, the physical contamination of water and food sources, through biological warfare, or by violent systems of European legal fictions, although all the above radically disrupted, stunted, and at times stalled the onward movement of Indigenous peoples.

What may have appeared to the Europeans to be an 'eradication' of Indigenous norms and practices was, by the 1540s already being legally contested by Indigenous peoples through the use of colonial institutions. It is crucial to recognize that the use of traditional mechanisms to oppose and disrupt European illegal invasions and dispossessions were wholly within the purview of longstanding Indigenous legal systems on the continent. These were recognized through Indigenous to Indigenous accords which pre-dated the invasion. Indigenous resisters and Indigenous systems of governance, which threatened colonialist rule, and instigated the colonized into armed resistance for self-rule, did not 'fit' within this dual system. As all settler societies, the European colonial system under the Spanish Vice-Royalty incorporated another legal fixture of western legal thought—which ingrained within it a colonial subject who reified the Christian and white supremacist claim to authority—el barbaro/the savage, *el enemigo/the enemy*.

Around 1540, after initial contact with Ndé peoples, Europeans associated the Ndé's authority within the lands related to the buffalo, deer, other wild game, as well as in connection

[56] Jack Forbes, *The American Discovery of Europe* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

to the significant watersheds and mountains filled with significant ore deposits.[57] The ample documentation of governmental complaints cannot be overlooked in relationship to 'Apaches enemigos' who were *allegedly* disrupting the 'peace' at and near mining centers and at the *establecimientos* where forced Indigenous labor groups were held. Europeans recognized the Ndé skills and abilities to organize, manage, and protect Indigenous domains in the highly desirable Northern provinces—filled with silver ore. The authority of the sacred mountains for Ndé was revered throughout the domains, and by the 1580s, the European had developed a strong anxiety of dread and fear for the 'wilderness' where the Ndé dominated. European propaganda and stereotypes of Indigenous peoples' 'passivity' and pliant 'nature' had little traction in the north. Not even the majority of missionaries could be convinced that they were 'conquerors' in Ndé lands. Rather, they were beggars, often marauding for food and water.[58]

In the context of mass re-locations and settlement, Hichimeca, Guachichiles Ndé and others quickly adapted horses and munitions to their list of tools. Indigenous peoples solidified self-governance and self-organization and built protective mechanisms against the European encroachments.

[57] Galván, Ibid.,

[58] Forbes, 52-58; Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 8. "it is impossible to understand Texas without recognizing it as a core of *native* political economies, a core within which Spaniards were the subjects, or potential subjects, of native institutions of control. Spanish authorities encountered already existent and ever-expanding native systems of trade, warfare, and alliance into which they had to seek entry. Control of the region's political economy (and with it, the "monopoly on violence") rested in the collective hands of Apaches, Caddos, Comanches, and Wichitas. By extension, native raiding served geopolitical and economic purposes, not as a form of defensive resistance or revolt, but of offensive expansion and domination."

1546, Codifying Social Control and Basque Colonization in La Gran Apachería

After the overthrow of Tenochtitlan by Cortés and a small group of Basque soldiers, and the installation of Spanish rule through the *Council of the Indies*, a massive re-organization effort took hold. Although most scholars homogenize the conquest as 'Spanish' in no way were the colonizers a homogenous group ethnically, racially, religiously, or economically. In fact, the majority of the prominent and powerful colonizers were Indigenous peoples of the Basque regions of Bizkaia, Guipüzcoa, Navarra and Araba.[59] Regarding the colonization and settlement campaigns in the takeover of La Gran Chichimeca and La Gran Apachería, it is important to be precise about specific ethnicities and class groups who took prominence in those endeavors, so that we may increase our understanding of the important power structure manifested by Basque colonists who mobilized Basque, as well as Spanish, institutions in their rise to political and economic power throughout the all-important Silver Road/Camino de la Plata.[60]

Although Hernán Cortés and the Spanish Crown re-organized the tributaries of Moctezuma, and that of the Triple Alliance, the rapid transplantation of a European system of

[59] *See* generally, William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao, *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005).

[60] P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico, Zacatecas: 1546-1700* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1971), 12. "These were the four men whom Zacatecas recognizes today as its founders. Their careers are characteristic of those of many of their fellow citizens in later years—a rapid rise from obscurity to an esteemed social position through the accumulation of wealth; high marriages; ascent to important military and civil office; descent from silver-lined middle years to indigent old age. The fact that three of them were Basques, and one from the northern limits of Old Castile, is also of interest. The history of the exploration and settlement of northern New Spain is dominated by Basque names in this period, and indeed into the seventeenth century. […] There was a tendency among emigrant Basques, above all other Spaniards in America, to congregate with others of the same tongue and regional origin." See also, Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty Under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700* (Austin: University of Texas, 2005), 104-105. In relation to the inter-marriages between Basques and Moctezuma's daughters, granddaughters and great-granddaughters, Chipman suggests that Indigenous noble women across numerous royal houses were "... likely the most complex family relationships in the history of Spain in America. Underlying these intricate intermarriages of families was a powerful common bond: all [the male partners] were Basques. It is likely, in fact, that they spoke their native tongue in their homes and in discussions relating to the business of mining."

córtes (courts) and *cabildos* (councils) began to shift the social structure; though not all Indigenous peoples were affected in the same way.[61] By 1546, the physical segregations constructed between the European elites and the colonized dovetailed with the immigration of European women to Mexico City as the news of the silver discoveries spread across the Atlantic. R. Douglas Cope notes that colonial Mexico City "was a study in contrasts." Cope states, "In short, the elite faced a rising tide of mixed-bloods, blacks, Indians, and poor Spaniards that (in their view) threatened to submerge their city into chaos."[62]

By the 1570's, this diversity was augmented by immigration from Spain. According to Cope, by 1574, up to 18,000 or 30% of New Spain lived in Mexico City alone.[63] As more immigrants poured into the colony in the hopes of improving their lives, the elites developed a hierarchy of racial social identities; the everyday tensions between the two legal spheres of the *Republica de Españoles* and *Republica de Indios* became complicated further by the Indigenous and Black slaves, official 'enemies' of the state, rebellious urban barrios of the poor. Codification of 'el Criollo,' 'el peninsular,' 'el Indio de nobleza' and the 'castas' developed as methods of social control over a large and ethnically diverse urban population perceived by the

[61] Although the Spanish Crown and court officials implemented general laws which declared the entire continent under the dominion and possession of the Hapsburg dynastic rule, the reality was quite different on the ground with varying differences depending upon the relationships between the colonizers and the colonized. Obviously, there were important reasons to maintain amiable relations with the powerful ruling councils of the allied Nahua royal houses and with powerful Nahua caciques. Intermarriage and land-tenure provided important social mechanisms to maintain political ties between colonizers and the extremely autonomy-focused colonized. See James Lockhart, Ibid., "Chapter 5: Land and Living," 167, "Many aspects of the indigenous land system survived past the conquest into the following centuries. In fact, as we have seen, the middle and later sixteenth century has left us an essential part of the evidence with which the preconquest period can be studied. Indigenous municipalities remained in charge of their own land tenure management until independence and beyond." *See* generally, Charles Gibson, *The Azteks Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); and Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, eds., *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997). See also, Alicia Hernández Chávez, trans. Andy Klatt, *Mexico: A Brief History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[62] Cope, Ibid.,

[63] Ibid., 10.

elites to be ungovernable and unruly precisely due to the influence of a rather large urban Indigenous population. Cope argues that the elites' construction of the *traza* was a direct result of

> the conquistadores' fear and mistrust of the Indians (the traza's houses and churches had a fortress-like solidity, in case of native uprising); their disdain for the social and cultural practices of their conquered foes; and above all, their desire to exploit the resources of Indian society to support a sumptuous and noble life-style, worthy of Spanish hidalgos.[64]

As poorer immigrants actively participated in social relations with the burgeoning community of Indigenous vendors and crafts people, Spanish merchants and crafts-persons created social and legal barriers to Indigenous persons of all classes, and made entry into guilds difficult if not impossible by Africans, Spanish-African, and Indigenous-African peoples. Cope informs us that by 1600 there were 200 guilds in Mexico City, and the silver mines and commercial soldiers-come-mining and hacienda owners of the silver mining centers injected the urban guilds and merchants with wealth.

The entire colony's economic system centered on Mexico City, where the silver was formed into bullion and stored for transport to Spain, the Royal Treasury. The Spanish elites' "thorough contempt" for Indigenous poor and African slaves, and particularly the children of their intimate partnerships, according to D. A. Brading, was directly connected to the social relations of the European elites to their sources of labor.[65] The elites' construction and uses of

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[64] Ibid.,

[65] D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 371. As quoted in Cope.

casta demarcated rules limiting access to the status and ranks of the privileged. This also revealed the realistic limits of their alleged 'racial' domination over the ranked, and simultaneously was a tool to codify the lower economic status and *vocations* of those designated as *castas.*[66] Solidifying the social codes of racialized vocations, for example, through guilds, taxation, segregation, and physical public torture, engendered the boundaries between those who were legally permitted to pursue commerce, trade, and markets, and to own and to tap into rights of inheritance along privileged gendered, racial, and class lines. The *traza*, an area of thirteen blocks, was "reserved for Spanish occupancy" and to the elites, the constructors of the metropolis, "was the city."[67]

Predicated upon physical segregation of the elites from the *casta*, the *traza* served to erect barriers to Indigenous peoples from entering vocational occupations reserved for non-Indigenous crafts persons. 'Unskilled workers' became synonymous with 'el Indio' as elites forced dispossessed Indigenous peoples into encomiendas and the mines. Likewise, the elites legalized the segregation of Indigenous peoples into *barrios*, and according to Katzew, between 1563 and 1580; *barrios* became synonymous with Indigenous peoples and the external (and self-serving) demands by elites to maintain their own social relations and internal hierarchies. "In addition to this pattern of residential segregation, Katzew argues, "other measures were implemented to separate the colony's diverse ethnic groups."[68] Immigrants from Spain entered

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[66] See generally, Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 39. "This term was used in Mexico to refer to the different races that comprised society; it also served to indicate socioeconomic status. … Throughout the colonial period, Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities emphasized racial differences as a way of exerting their control over the population. … Anxiety over this loss of control permeated much of Mexico's reality during the colonial period and may account in part for the emergence in that country of casta painting."

[67] Cope, Ibid.,

[68] Katzew, Ibid., 40; *See* also, Susan Migden Socolow, "The Arrival of Iberian Women," *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

a vastly different world than the one they left, as a result of inter-ethnic and inter-racial domestic cohabitation and sexual relations between different groups. For many of the immigrant working and poorer classes, their identification with Spain as 'españoles' was due more to social and economic advantages to be gained from the status of 'español' than a deep sense of national patriotism.

The establishment of the Tlaxcala Señorios, the Nahua noble encomiendas, the Tlaxcala pobladores and presidarios, and a class of prosperous Basque soldiers-turned *encomenderos*, *hacenderos* and *mineros* diversified the range, rankings and legal spheres of governing nobility in La Gran Chichimeca and La Gran Apachería across ethnicity, race, citizenship, and geopolitical orders. To understand the geopolitics of class, ethnicity and race in which the Ndé and numerous allies would become embroiled during the late 16th century, it is important to differentiate the Basque colonists and their appropriations of the mountains and watersheds of the north for mining. Basques—indigenous peoples of Europe— entered a universe filled with Indigenous histories. Indigenous laws, agreements, cosmologies, and sciences *had already been developed* through the co-stewardship of Indigenous peoples and ruler-ships across vast lands which demanded from them *particular* ways of life which *necessitated* frequent movement across numerous political terrains.

El Camino Real de La Plata: Silver, 'Barbaros' and Settlement

Juan de Tolosa and an unidentified Indigenous 'guide,' have been credited with the discovery of a rich vein of silver, during an expedition into the highlands where the Indigenous peoples in the mountains offered them stones with concentrations of silver. It was not long

thereafter that Tolosa and his brethren led strategic expeditions northward, emphasizing a Basque-led and Basque-centered effort in the violent exterminations and enslavement of Indigenous peoples as part of the effort to purge peoples from the mountains to establish mining centers, or haciendas, to extract silver.[69]

Basques made alliances between themselves and between themselves and key caciques of Tlaxcala during the brutal wars to subjugate Moctezuma II and Tenochtitlan.[70] The male-to-male and masculine to masculine structures of elite power is crucial to an understanding of the battle for Tenochtitlan and the overthrow of Moctezuma II *and his male heirs*. Male on male kill patterns and sexual subordination are important components of European colonization, and these patterns served to establish Basque and allied Indigenous dominance and ascension to prominence in land ownership. The establishment of key 'marriages'—'en la manera de los naturales' (in the manner of the Natives) between Basque colonizers with Indigenous noble women from Moctezuma's blood lines were key legal and political events for European males, and were key events for Mexica subordinated rulers, as well as the triumphant Tlaxcalteca *principales*.[71] This was strategic on their part. Basques—as Indigenous peoples of Europe with

[69] For an excellent political-economic analysis of the northern silver mines , see Jorge Chapa, "The Political Economy of Labor Relations in the Silver Mines of Colonial Mexico," Working Paper Series, *Institute for the Study of Social Change*, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1978. "The owner of the claim (the miner or *minero*) would establish an hacienda de minas at the source of water closest to his claim. This was a walled estate that enclosed the dwelling of the miner and his family (casa de morada), those of the workers and their families (*aposientos*), stables for the animals, and sheds and yards for refining or smelting. The mines and the haciendas were within an administrative district known as a *real de minas*. Depending on its size and population, a real could be a '*lugar*, *villa*, *ciudad*, *alcaldia mayor* or *corregimento*.' … Whatever its political designation, each *real de minas* was a center of local and long-distance trade as long as its mines were productive. …This active local trade provided a market for luxury goods and mining supplies which were brought on the backs of Indians, mules, or in oxcarts (5)."

[70] James Lockhart suggests that it was the combination of high population losses due to armed warfare and the inter-connected spread of diseases and subsequent population declines which afforded the colonizers opportunities to take possession of lands. See James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 163;

[71] Gibson, Ibid.,

deep pre-knowledge of Hapsburg and European law systems of primogeniture—systematized inter-marriage with Indigenous women of noble lines. High status Nahua and Tlaxcalteca women inherited important grants of land immediately after the conquest, which entitled them and their heirs to the lucrative rights to have measures of control over all-important Indigenous encomienda grants of land, soil, water, Indigenous tributaries and Indigenous slaves. It was through tactical marriages with many Indigenous noble women, that Basque conquerors took advantage of their Indigenous wives' legal inheritance of vast grants, under the Spanish monarchy's agreements made with the fathers of dynastic families across Mexico's central valley.[72]

The Basques ('Vizcayas'), from places of birth in Bizkaia such as Enkarterri, Araba, and Durango, constructed central roles for themselves in the discovery of the hemisphere's and the worlds' rich silver deposits north of Mexico City and Tenochtitlan.[73] According to José Manuel Azcona Pastor,

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[72] Carrasco, Ibid.,

[73] *See* Peter John Bakewell*, Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700*, 5-12. "Indian resistance … remained a threat to permanent Spanish occupation of the land, and indeed grew as Spaniards sought to make use of Indian labour in the encomiendas grated to them by Guzmán. Resistance stiffened too as Spanish occupation advanced northward beyond the Santiago and Lerma rivers, leaving behind the sedentary Indian cultures of the centre of Mexico and encountering progressively more nomadic peoples (5)." Bakewell also emphasizes the importance of Basque families in the northern settlement, and the kinship of Basque speaking peoples, which differentiated them from Spanish speaking groups, which they worked to their social, economic and political advantage in the establishment of an emigrant, Indigenous, Basque demi-sovereign in the north. The fact that the major actors in the colonization of the north and the establishment of lucrative mining centers, accumulation of wealth, marriages with key Indigenous noble families, entitling them to the inheritance of Indigenous encomienda grants and the rights to Indigenous slave labor which came along with *encomiendas vis-à-vis their wives*, and that they fomented an ecclesiastical and clerical governmental glued together by Basque male privileges and language—is significant for critical Indigenous studies. Bakewell adds, "There was a tendency among emigrant Basques, above all other Spaniards in America, to congregate with others of the same tongue and regional origin." Basque conquerors and families were few among the Indigenous American majority of *principales* (nobles), *presidarios* (Indigenous soldiers) and *macehualli* (common laborers). However, their violently entrenched forms and methods of solidifying ethnic, racial and economic dominance through inter-marriage with Indigenous American women inheritors of large encomiendas and estates and endogamous marital patterns are crucial components of how they constructed their own privilege as colonial rulers using the European law system in place at the time.

> Juan de Tolosa, one of Oñate's men, discovered silver in Zacatecas during a self-financed expedition. He founded the city of that name, and began what would later be one of the most important mining districts in the New World. … beginning with the discovery of the famous Zacatecas mines in 1546, Basque miners quickly invaded the hills of northwest Nueva España, settling many cities such as San Martín, Fresnillo, Indé, and Santa Barbara.

Between 1554-1574, with a crew of Basque recruits and Tlaxcalteca warriors, Juan de Tolosa implemented planned assaults on both the lands and the peoples which he renamed Nueva Vizcaya. The invasion of northern Indigenous mountain territories included current day states of Durango, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Sinaloa and Sonora, as well as parts of Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí and Nuevo León.[74]

Ndé Terrains and Domains: Alliances, Networks, and Kinship

In their 2003 study, Ndé archaeologist Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas and Lipan Apache Band tribal chairman, Daniel Castro-Romero, noted that the Spaniards, after some success in their violent colonization of central Mexico, after the illegal overthrow of Tenochtitlan (1521-1540), experienced numerous obstacles and challenges to expand the empire further northward into and beyond the mountainous regions and to the Rio Grande River. Maestas and Castro-Romero argue "Zacateco and Tecuexe forces led by Tenamxtle and Citlacotl, with their Caxcanforces successfully drove the Spanish back in the Mixtón War in 1541 and 1542."[75]

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[74] José Manuel Azcona Pastor, *Possible Paradises: Basque emigration to Latin America* (Reno: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 35-38. "The discovery mission to the north of Nueva España, begun in 1529, was supervised by [Bizkaiyan] Nuño de Guzmán, the most ruthless of the Mexican conquistadors … Juan de Tolosa, the brothers Cristóbal and Juan de Oñate, Juan de Villalba from Tasteiz, Domingo de Arteaga, Jerónimo de Orozco were among the troops that made up the expedition." Guzmán met stiff resistances by numerous tribal sovereigns of the north. A series of battles and wars ensued for decades, known as the 'Northern Wars' and the 'Wars of Blood and Fire.'

[75] Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas and Daniel Castro-Romero, Editors, *Ndé: Anthropological Report on the Cúelcahén Ndé: Lipan Apache of Texas,* 2004 ©, 62.

Between 1520 and 1540, the subjugation of the Nahua in the Valley of Mexico, by way of important alliances forged between Hernán Cortés, his military officers and the Tlaxcalteca military and civil elites, opened up the possibility for expanding into the lands between the Rio Grande River, the Conchos River, the Sierras and the Gulf Coast—and to the northwest, beyond the Rockies.

The Spanish were ill-equipped to stop or combat the traditions, desires, and aspirations of peoples who had established ancient, and wide-reaching economic alliances—deep into the lands considered customary to the Tlaxcalan and other important Nahua peoples. All the while, the colonizers were forging their own system of kinship with Indigenous nobles. More destabilizing to the colonizers and settlers was the gendered relationships upon which many Indigenous alliances were built. Gender, status, kinship, ceremony, spiritual and the erotic had equally important places in the daily lives and rituals of Indigenous societies, clans, and band governance. Flexibilities of gender, kinship, sexuality and the construction of important so-called 'fictive' relationships provided many women, men, youth, elders, and medicine people the additional legitimate spheres of bi-sexual, transsexual, and homosexual spaces to draw upon for knowledge, history, strength, and power.[76]

Differently known and articulated spaces of Indigenous autonomy and power blurred the superficially constructed, and imposed binaries which fixed distinctions and contained identities as legal and scientific facts. In colonial European thought only dual spheres of power were

[76] See generally, Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992); Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Sabine Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

legitimated by elites. This was actively regenerated as a tool to impose social control, order, and concrete categories of subjects and to justify the domination by elites over the common peoples—as if these were monolithic and coherent. In the European-imposed dual system, one 'traditionally' dominates over the other, and the dominant extracts energy and the life-force from the submissive.[77] Indigenous peoples continuously challenged (and challenge) these excessive and inappropriate notions of power.

Ndé Buffalo Hunters and Matrilineal Social Networks

Maestas and Castro-Romero inform us that prior to 1541, the "Ndé buffalo hunter origins (reported as 'Querecho', 'vaquero', and 'Apache' by Spanish envoys) were embedded in a buffalo hunting tradition that sustained a great many North American Indigenous groups for over 11,000 years."[78] When the Spanish fought to expand the boundaries of New Spain into the Rio Grande, Conchos, and mountainous regions of the Sierra Madres and Rockies, they entered into a vast complex of social, religious, economic and political alliances rooted in overlapping customary landscapes of Ndé, Pueblo and Plains peoples. 1450-1700 was an important period for Ndé buffalo hunters in the eastern foothills of New Mexico and adjacent Southern Plains of the Texas Panhandle. Ndé presences throughout the Southwest—and penetrating further south

[77] See generally, Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Sabine Lang, trans. John L. Vantine, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998);

[78] Maestas et.al, Ibid, 59; For a close reading of geographic, linguistic, ethnographic, archaeological, population "receiving ends" and "revised model of Athapaskan migrations" considerations of Apachean histories, See also R. G. Matson and Martin P. R. Magne, *Athapaskan Migrations: The Archaeology of Eagle Lake, British Columbia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 131-155.

into Mexico's mountains of Chihuahua, Nuevo León, Durango and Coahuila, disturbs the traditional archaeological 'entry point' of 'the Apaches' into the U.S. Southwest and Mexican Northwest. Maestas and Castro-Romero argue that re-interpreting the Ndé presence in the trade network with Pueblo, Nahua, Uto-Aztekan peoples "has a number of important implications for understanding the political economic scene that Coronado stepped into in 1541 in which Ndé (Apache) buffalo hunters in Texas had stronger ties to the Pueblo World, than to the world of Caddoan Plains Villages."[79]

Although generally, Ndé were not overtly hostile to Spanish colonials prior to 1609, and had various histories, across numerous clans and bands, of peaceful agreements with Europeans and other immigrant peoples in their homelands, scholars agree that Europeans could not force the Ndé into slavery, *repartamientos*, pueblos, missions, or *establecimientos*—without tension, friction and violence, *unless* the Ndé could self-determine the terms of their settlement.[80] Additionally, Ndé were unwilling to be removed or to be displaced from their homelands by settler populations demanding that the Ndé conform to a settled life way which prohibited their economic practices and social beliefs and which constrained them from movement to the lands and sacred sites of their ancestors. The Ndé perceived the colonists and settlers who used physical violence, manipulation and coercion as a menace.

The Ndé peoples expanded the numbers of allied peoples in the north based on intermarriages, accords, and agreements with other peoples across the northern mountains, plains, desert and coastal regions. Ndé were, in fact, *many* peoples who aligned loosely across languages, and connected by histories, religious beliefs, social customs, compatible world-views,

[79] Maestas et al., Ibid.,

[80] *See* generally, Matthews, Ibid.,

and overlapping land-bases. These were undoubtedly influenced by their knowledges and associations with the lands for millennia.[81]

The early Spaniard and Basque colonizers who entered the north homogenized all resistant Indigenous bison hunting and horse peoples into two broad categories, identifying them as 'good' or 'bad,' and 'with us' or 'against us.' The use of Indigenous armies, scouts, and rangers—as crusaders for the cause of colonization and development—was a key component in stratifying the Indigenous peoples, pitting them against one another, and constructing a social climate of fear against 'rulers' and 'enemies.' As an example, the Tlaxcaltecas *nobleza* were awarded privileges for their cooperation in the overthrow of Indigenous polities in all the northern colonies. The Nahua noble women were accorded specific titles and ranks in the upper echelon of colonial society, and were granted slaves. Those who did not resist conversion to Catholicism negotiated certain institutions to modify their racial, religious and economic class identities on paper, such as through Church documents.

The Spaniards, entering into Ndé social, economic and political terrains, were culturally indoctrinated, through the systems of a stratified, colonial society, to view the Indigenous people as inferior and conquerable, to be incorporated into society as laborers for the profit of enlightened and reasonable people.[82] The military envoys, settlers and friars, deployed by the functionaries of the Vice-Royalty molded identities of 'good and evil', 'productive and uncivilized' by the fusing religion, science and laws of just war—a militaristic policy emanating

[81] Forbes, Ibid., xiii-xxv.

[82] *See* generally, David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

from the courtrooms of 14th century Catholic Popes, and constructed on the pillars of ideologies of supremacy over new lands, 'heathens' and 'infidels.'[83]

Europeans were both fascinated and repelled by the fluidities of Indigenous peoples' gendered identities and sexual relations. They were both confused by and yet at the same time caught up in the diversity of rituals, laws, and protocol which was required to participate in social exchange with Indigenous peoples. At times the Europeans were very willing to adapt to, modify their behaviors and learn the necessary skills to reciprocate mutual aid which was expected by most Indigenous peoples as a matter of respect. Indigenous peoples' interdependence and simultaneous autonomy gained many European males' respect, and just as often confounded and terrified them.

The spread of Franciscan theocracies across the mining territories of the Camino de la Plata reinforced the ideology of Christian male superiority over the Indigenous 'heath' gods and bodies. Franciscan friars loathed the influence of Indigenous peoples' sexual freedoms on the Spanish, and were horrified by the levels of violence—severe assaults, mutilations, and murder—which accompanied the Basque-Spanish sexual subjugation of Indigenous people." [84] In 1582, Diego Pérez de Luxán, set out with José de Espejo's expedition to assist Catholic friar Fray Bernardino Beltrán, who had been searching for missing friars around the confluences of the Rio Grande, Conchos and Pecos rivers.[85] Although this expedition lasted only ten months (November 10, 1582 to September 10, 1583) the detailed descriptions of the events which

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[83] *See* generally, Robert Williams, Ibid.,

[84] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 48-51.

[85] *See* "Espejo, Antonio de," *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "," http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/EE/fes3.html (accessed September 13, 2009).

transpired near Ndé buffalo camps—provided an essential resource for future Spanish reconnaissance related to mining.

In the vicinity of Acoma Pueblo, Espejo wrote about people he would identify as "Querecho" who he labels as "warlike."[86] The lenses of the colonial Espejo, and his militarized observation becomes a pivotal moment in the Spanish accounts of the 'warlike' mountain dwelling traders, who would eventually be identified, in the 17th century as 'Apaches.' The Espejo journal entry, which situated the Ndé buffalo society in the nexus of Pueblo trade networks, amplified the European's perception that the lands and the resources were *already* under the control of a powerful complex of strong peoples. They had broad and deep social, economic and political relationships, based in an economic system which did not involve the exchange of money. Rather, the Indigenous system was based on relationships, reciprocity and the political economies of a clan, family and women with status. Status had a value, and was transferable in multiple ways, and equally important in the larger goals of maintaining relationships with buffalo, deer, sacred stones, and sacred plants. Women, the core focus of Ndé identity, creation stories, and organization—were the key in obtaining, keeping and transferring clan status upon new members of the group.

Historian Donald E. Chipman notes that the role of Diego Pérez de Luxán was "invaluable" due to the details he provided for future expeditions and reconnaissance that would follow the Espejo expedition, in search of gold, silver, minerals and gemstones. "The Espejo expedition left San Bartolomé on November 10, 1582, and was in the field for ten months. During that time Pérez de Luxán recorded the day-by-day progress of the Spaniards. His journal

[86] As quoted in Maestas et al. Ibid., 63.

is invaluable for its detailed ethnographic information and observations on the landscape of New Mexico and Texas."[87]

In 1581, Fray Agustín Rodriguez organized an expedition along the Rio Grande River, (near present-day Ojinaga, Chihuahua and Presidio, Texas). Co-led by Commander Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, and chronicled by Hernán Gallegos, one day the group came upon a large settlement with many horns strewn about the area. This was a food processing camp of hunters. All along the river, according to the field report, Indigenous peoples presented the Spanish with offerings for exchange and/or as gifts, such as "macaw feather headdresses."[88] However, in their search for mineral ores to the north ("brought to the Pueblos by buffalo hunters who lived in tipis and traded with the Pueblos") the Spaniards had difficulty obtaining guides to lead them to the mountain peoples due to "a fear of the enemies" and "their fear of the buffalo hunters."[89] According to the report, "over 400 warriors" of the mountain-plains buffalo hunters, when approached by the Spaniards, challenged them.[90]

What is likely is that the Ndé, who participated in extensive networks, had prior knowledge of the Spaniard's questions in regards to the mineral ores they brazenly sought to acquire, and were scrupulous in doubting the Spaniards' false claim of 'friendship.' In 1581, Pérez de Luxán viewed and recorded the 'Querecho' mountain peoples as a substantial political and military obstacle and threat to Spanish expansion northward and the opening up of mining

[87] *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/PP/fpe84.html (accessed September 13, 2009). While Chipman elevates reconnaissance against Indigenous Peoples to "ethnography," he is less generous with Indigenous Peoples, who remain invisible and nominal actors.

[88] Pérez de Luxán, as quoted in Maestas et al. Ibid., 67.

[89] Ibid.,

[90] Ibid.,

and ranching enterprises along the Rio Grande River-Concho River-Pecos River confluence and watersheds.[91] Maestas and Castro-Romero posit, "This encounter marked a significant change in relations between buffalo hunters and Spanish explorers south of the Canadian River." [92]

By 1584, Baltasár de Obregón, who had studied and analyzed reports such as these, wrote his version of the discovery and colonization of New Mexico. The term 'vaquero', meaning 'mounted on horseback', was used by Obregón as a description of the mountain hunter 'warlike' societies with extensive political influence and tactical control over the Northern provinces. Clearly, by 1584, the Ndé had deeply incorporated the horse into all aspects of daily life. Bustamante summarized this from the September 1581 Chamuscado expedition along the Pecos River, as follows, "At the end of this distance they saw a column of smoke and marched toward it, discovering a ranchería of vaquero Indians having over five hundred huts and tents of tanned cowhide almost like those of Castile."[93]

Around 1590 and 1600, Spanish reconnaissance and colonization expeditions revealed patterns of a large mounted Ndé buffalo society, located all along the mountains throughout the southern plains, and expanding further into customary areas of Nahua peoples to the south. This corresponded with maps of the period, situating hunters, with bow, arrows, and tipis along and on the mountain corridors throughout the province. Through the eyes of expedition—a Western blend of man-hunting, reconnaissance, and resource speculation—the Ndé were perceived as a risk to expansion. From the perspectives of Indigenous peoples, it is more likely that the Ndé considered the Spaniards as nuisances, untrustworthy and most likely as subordinates, given the

[91] Today, this area today encompasses New Mexico, Texas, Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila and Tamaulipas.

[92] Maestas et al. Ibid., 68.

[93] Maestas, et al., Ibid.

fact that many expeditions were often occupied by the search for the lost, wandering, hungry, thirsty, or dying.[94]

Ndé, like other groups seeking opportunities to alleviate the pressures of uncertainty, clearly saw the Spanish and their materials and skills as opportunities. For, although there were clear signs that Spanish were viewing Ndé peoples as 'Apaches', 'vaqueros' and 'Querechos' and preparing for intensified use of force to gain control over areas considered a priority for silver extraction, there are not as many indicators handed down to us which demonstrated that the Ndé perceived the Spanish and other Europeans in their terrains as anything more than unsure wanderers at worst, and potential traders at best.[95]

The political and economic use of the "enemy" signaled that the Ndé were challenging Spanish plans to expropriate the mining and indigenous labor of the region. This may be best understood situated in the context of a very active, continent-wide trade which Indigenous developed. The penetration of the French and Spanish fur and arms traders into these spheres in the trans Tejas-Louisiana-Mississippi and trans Tejas-Nueva Viscaya-Nuevo León networks introduced different practices and behaviors of property, ownership and possession and gender, class and sexuality causing a multitude of tensions between the two groups.[96] As Julianna Barr posits, "The often contentious tenor of relations encouraged Europeans and Indians to evaluate

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[94] Maestas et al., Ibid., 92.

[95] Ndé/Lipan Apaches are interchangeably referred to as "Querechos, Escanjaques, Vaqueros, Llaneros, Natagés, Faroanes, and Lipanes; *See* Carlos Manuel Valdés, *La Gente del Mezquite: Los Nómadas del Noreste en la Colonia, Historia de los Pueblos Indígenas de México* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista y el Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1995), 105, 114, 123.

[96] See generally, Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds., *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Rethinking the Fur Trade Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); and Carl J. Ekberg, *Stealing Indian Women: Native Slavery in the Illinois Country* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

one another by visible dispositions, postures, and actions. In fact, transmissions of meaning were often made more powerful through visible demonstrations than through verbal declarations that could prove false, be misunderstood, or remain incomprehensible. … The Apache expletive 'mouth of the enemy!' suggests the associations they made between enmity, speech, and lies."[97]

The Spanish will to control sectors of the continent which hugged the silver veins between Zacatecas, Santa Fe and Colorado, collided against the Ndé to organize allied and dominant forces through which to exert control over the political economy of hunter-fur-tanner-textile-corn-turquoise trade in the southern plains and northern Mexico. At the same time the Spanish were entering Ndé trade domains in New Mexico, Tejas, Nuevo León and Nueva Vizcaya, the Ndé were also consolidating networks between clans, bands and trading partners, though these formations were never absolute or based in a homogenous or hegemonic 'Ndé' control. Barr suggests that the political economies of the fur-arms trade were formed by numerous important groups, such as the Caddos, Wichitas, and Comanches, as well as Tonkawas, Karankawas, and Coahuiltecos, and numerous relocated Indigenous *poblador* populations, such as the all-important Tlaxcaltecas. "The exigencies of daily life in south-central Texas—a world fundamentally shaped by the regular occurrence of epidemic diseases and Apache raiders—led Spanish and Indian peoples to join forces for survival and defense beginning in the 1720s. Mission-presidio complexes provided the locus of such alliances."[98] Although there was no one typical social and political configuration between the Indigenous with their Spanish 'allies', economic, climate and nutritional needs pushed both groups into non-traditional alliances throughout Spanish institutional outposts in southern Tejas and the seamless

[97] Barr, Ibid., 12.

[98] Barr, Ibid., 119.

reach of the Apaches into their customary hunting grounds in occupied northern Mexico. Christian conversion, farming, ranching, and military defense were interwoven facets of early settler complexes on the Tejas coastal ranges.

Not to romanticize or homogenize the diverse forms of Indigenous ritual human exchange, I want to offer a context for human exchanges in southern Tejas lands (lands traditionally occupied by Caddo, Wichita, Comanche, Hasinai, Karankawa, Payaya, Xarame, Pamaya, Lipan and Mescalero), and challenge as under theorized what would be interpreted by Europeans as 'captive taking.' Indigenous peoples did construct highly ritualized human exchange practices, and there is no single model typifying the wide variations across communities. Generalizing is always risky, and presents its own set of problems. Certainly, there were both positive and negative effects for those gaining new members into their group and those peoples entering new kinship and/or servitude relationships. In Ndé cultures, both circumstances, and a variety of others, occurred and oral histories of these continue to exist in our contemporary communities. There was a distinct social hierarchy in the human exchange/ ritual-exchange network. Not all individuals and groups had the same or even had any decision-making authority to accept or refuse the exchange systems. Certainly, Indigenous peoples exerted their own systems of status, honor, and power for a productive exchange to be brought to their extended clans. The group sending and the group receiving were not the only ones negotiating the relationship. The peoples being 'exchanged' were not mute, nor without their own motivations. Indigenous women, who traditionally maintained certain spheres of autonomy and authority in their respective gendered domains in Indigenous societies, contributed to the discussions, terms and agreements made which elevated their status as ones who carried power to influence. The persons moving between multiple Indigenous groups—who in Texas and

northeastern Mexico were the dominant groups—acted as key communicators, traders, and negotiators, and often exercised personal autonomy over her/his own person.

This autonomy of Indigenous peoples, and women specifically continued to play a large role in the social relations between Indigenous and European males, economic exchange between the two groups, and political negotiations and peace settlements well into the first century of European contact.[99] As the millennia long inter-exchange of knowledges between Indigenous populations was mobilized through Indigenous women's social spheres and domains, so were their knowledges and influence exerted by powerful males and females, Indigenous and European, at numerous points along the way which paved the way to economic reconfigurations which dramatically altered the power relationships.

For the Indigenous peoples, the *necessary* exchanges—or *movements*—of humans between groups could, at critical times, alleviate the pressures of a subsistence way of life and harsh uncertainties which increasingly defined lifeways within a world-system of European driven mining systems. The dynamics of inter-Indigenous and transcontinental exchanges manifested complex and well-worn crossroads disseminating diverse foods, textiles, precious stones, minerals, medicines, and divine knowledges.[100]

While European gendered behaviors cannot be oversimplified or generalized, there is no doubt among feminist historians that Europeans were well-indoctrinated in institutions and systems of social control (theocracy, patriarchy, hierocracy, ethnocentricism) and these strongly

[99] Kirk, "Chapter 2: The Custom of the Country," 28-52 and "Chapter 4: Women in Between," 75-94; Lockhart, Ibid., "Chapter 5: Land and Living," 141-202; Carrasco, Ibid., "Chapter 3: Indian-Spanish Marriages in the First Century," 87-103.

[100] Forbes, Ibid.,

influenced trading norms which they injected into Indigenous domains.[101] Over time gendered forms of violence and technologies of the global slave trade introduced through the French and English throughout the Mississippi, radically altered the economic exchanges and relationships between Spanish and Ndé. Indigenous women's roles as decision-makers and persons in their own right, related to their economies have been eclipsed in the Western histories of the Ndé, which maintain the historical blur of Ndé as raiders, not traders and as ruthless killers, and not violated peoples. European trading practices and human comodification disrupted the roles of Indigenous women within their societies and clan systems, and disrupted Indigenous women's traditional access to spaces between groups where women could slip into wedges and compartments of other societies in order to access desired Indigenous markets. One dynamic which is rarely noted is the fact that in southern Texas many Indigenous peoples were favorable to the Ndé, in fact, they were intimately connected to their trade economies, and in their kinship circles.[102] Not only were the Ndé fierce about protecting their families and clans, they were also deeply protective—as were most if not all groups— over their trade and kinship allies. Thus, the

[101] Julia Tuñon Pablos, *Women in Mexico: A Past Unveiled* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 13-44; Verónica Vásquez García, "Chapter 7: Native Women in Mexico and Canada," in *Women and the Colonial Gaze*, eds., Tamara L. Hunt and Micheline R. Lessard (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 91-93; Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Susan Kellog, "Chapter 3: Colliding Worlds: Indigenous Women, Conquest, and Colonialism," in *Weaving the Past: A History of Latin America's Indigenous Women from the Prehispanic Period to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 53-89; Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Custom of the Country": An Examination of Fur Trade Marriage Practices," in *Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic Worl*d, ed., Susan Sleeper-Smith (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 481-518; Susan Sleeper-Smith, "Women, Kin, and Catholicism: New Perspectives on the Fur Trade," Ibid., 443-481;

[102] Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas, "Culture and History of Native American Peoples of South Texas," (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 366- 406; For primary source analysis calling attention to the 'mitote', a kinship practice of southern Texas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León Ndé peoples which was commonly practiced to forge inter-marriage alliances among compatible groups across linguistic differences, and cross-referenced with 'enemigos' see Sara Ortelli, "Del Discurso Oficial a Las Fuentes Judiciales: El Enemigo y El Proceso de Mestizaje en El Norte Novohispano Tardocolonial," *Memoria Americana*, Vol. 13, 2005, 57; See also, Dawn A. J. Alexander, et. al, "Reassessing Cultural Extinction: Change and Survival at Mission San Juan Capistrano, Texas, (College Station: Center for Ecological Archaeology, Texas A & M University, 2001), 21; *Journal of South Texas*, Volume 17, Spring 2004, 44-45; Ibid., Fall 2004, 12.

Ndé's firm need to control the modes of trade across many Indigenous peoples' in southern Tejas and northern Mexico was in connection to a larger community of Indigenous families who lived seasonally on the dried and storable *buffalo meat* and the *well-tanned hides* (two crucial items of survival and trade) which the Ndé supplied to numerous allies. The protein factor and Indigenous peoples' millennia-long dietary requirements for animal proteins, (especially among blood-type O groups) and women's knowledges of the medicinal and nutritional benefits of game meats—were crucial factors of Ndé kinship networks. Maintaining connections with Ndé trading circles (which provided corn and other essential grains and seeds, textiles, pottery, turquoise and other sacred stones; medicinals, peltry, and adornments) provided traction to numerous complimentary groups. The survival of such relationships, from the Ndé perspective, was necessary and productive for Ndé prosperity. The myth of Ndé isolationism, individualism, and stark factionalism goes against the community-based kinship patterns which prevail across Ndé trade and activity centers. Indigenous relationships strengthened the pulse of Indigenous survivance, even when some groups were, as Barr argues, "integrat[ing] part-time residence at missions."[103] For ranging Ndé, the fact that certain allied peoples entered the missions seasonally, advantaged their resource networks when the missions provided families provisions, and in some ways alleviated the labor of Ndé to provide so many groups with food.

When the missions did not make resources available to peoples, this caused many Indigenous peoples to abandon them—often in anger—and to revert once again to independent ranging, and to re-link their affiliations with Ndé buffalo and deer hunters. Indigenous peoples entering into the missions in southern Tejas maximized available resources, and burning bridges was not favorable to survival. Barr explains,

[103] Barr, Ibid., 119.

> Over the middle years of the eighteenth century, Coahuilteco-, Tonkawa-, and Karankawa-speaking peoples incorporated the sites of Spanish missions into an old pattern of subsistence, seasonal migration, settlement, and alliance. Indian families sought a semi-sedentary encampment where they could gather to acquire food, shelter, and defense. … These gatherings also offered the opportunity for courtship and intermarriage that extended economic and political relations into the realm of kinship.[104]

Disappointingly, many Indigenous peoples—not just the Ndé—came to view the promises made by the missionaries for crucial food supplements, blankets, and other materials at different seasons as unreliable and manipulative. Indigenous peoples viewed the lack of consistency by the missionaries as disrespectful, dishonoring, and cruel. As they configured the social landscape of encroaching settlers, farmers, ranchers, and miners—and the increasing violence used against Indigenous families inside the missions, many Indigenous peoples became 'apostates'—those who abandoned the Christian path—and re-joined the independent path of Indigenous peoples who learned, like Ndé, that the Europeans played by different rules. Thus, enemies and 'Apaches' in the Tejas-Coahuila-Nuevo León region came to embody multiple kinship groups within the extended economic circuits of Ndé peoples.

The implantation of commodified human exchange systems in the intersecting fur-trade and the arms-trade involved numerous sites in traditional Indigenous spaces, and many of the sites established by the Europeans, from Indigenous peoples' perspectives, were incorporated into Indigenous peoples' circuits and Indigenized, as explained above. European slavery—and the escalation of armed violence to incorporate larger numbers of Indigenous captives into the fur-trade and arm-trade in Tejas injected violent gendered and sexual structures into the Indigenous pre-capitalist human exchange systems. This was critical to the erosion of trade and social relationships between all groups. The scale of conflict, tension and violence which arose

[104] Ibid., 119-120.

between Indigenous and Europeans in southern and western Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo León and Nueva Vizcaya, are signs of the supplantation of Indigenous kinship systems with European masculine systems of social control and technologies of force—such as arms.[105] Rising conflicts took hold between Indigenous peoples, and force exerted by both European and Indigenous males against Indigenous females worked to erode relations. This is an area which we are now forming a much more solid picture, based on research of primary documents related to northern Mexico and Texas.[106] It is explicit in both the Spanish and French colonization projects that the intent to exploit the fur, minerals and labor of the Indigenous peoples and their lands, and the privileged gendered status of males enabled them more generally to manipulate the structure of the global economic system of human traffic which was exercised through the employment of many single males *by* male authorities positioned in governments, private benefactors, the clergy, and merchants.[107]

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[105] For an analysis of the introduction of arms into the southern fur trade, see John E. Worth, "Razing Florida: The Indian Slave Trade and the Devastation of Spanish Florida, 1659-1715," in *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South*, Eds., Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 295-311.

[106] *See* Valentina Garza Martínez and Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, *Diego Chillo: Proceso en el Real de Mazapil contra Diego de Montemayor, Indio Catujan Acusado de Rebelde y Criminal, 1664* (Mazapil, Zacatecas: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social Municipio de Mazapil, Zacatecas y Archivo HIstórico del Estado de San Luis Potosí, 2008); Barr, Ibid., "Chapter Four: Negotiating Fear with Violence: Apaches and Spaniards at Midcentury," 159-195; Elisabeth Butzer, *Historia Social de Una Comunidad Tlaxcalteca: San Miguel de Aguayo (Bustamante, N.L.) 1686-1820* (Saltillo, Coahuila, México: D. R. Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 2001).

[107] Van Kirk, Ibid.,; See also Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700*, (Normal: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Martha Rodríguez, *Historias de Resistencia y Extermino, Historia de los Pueblos Indígenas de México* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional Indigenista y el Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1995); Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *Apuntes Sobre la Educación Jesuita en La Laguna: 1594-2007* (Torreón, Coahuila, Mexico: Universidad IberoAmericana, 2008); Jorge Chapa, "The Political Economy of Labor Relations in the Silver Mines of Colonial Mexico," *Institute for the Study of Social Change*, (Berkeley: University of California, 1978); Valentina Garza Martínez y Juan Manuel Pérez Zevallos, *Libro del Cabildo de la Villa de Santiago del Saltillo: 1578-1655* (Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 2002); Carlos Manuel Valdés, *Sociedad y Delincuencia en al Saltillo Colonial* (Saltillo: Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 2002).

Between 1519 to 1700, a large number of the immigrating and heterogeneous populations from Spain into Mexico (New Spain) were single males.[108] Males migrating from Spain to New Spain functioned as conquistadors, administrators, soldiers, missionaries, merchants, craftpersons, bonded servants, and slaves key within the colonial administration. Spain's rise from the peripheries of Europe's economies in medieval Europe to a mercantilist empire was the direct result of silver and diverse mineral loads (semi- and precious stones) discovered in the highland plateaus and arid mountains of northern regions controlled by hundreds of Indigenous clans, bands, and societies.[109] And, although the majority of European immigrants to the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico) settled in Mexico City, and a significant number of that group emigrated to the more established mining urban mining centers of Aguascalientes and Zacatecas— it was the Basque and their Indigenous allies—the Tlaxcaltecas, Tarascans and Otomí's—who maintained dominance as a privileged group of settlers (pobladores), armed troops (presidarios), mineros (mine title owners), and hacendados (large cattle-farming operators) in the north. It was these groups who carved out legal agreements, contracts, negotiations (land grants, hidalgos, merceds, reales) to colonize the north, and it was largely through Indigenous and Basque institutions that a variety of gendered systems violated and marginalized fiercely independent highlander peoples.

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[108] See P. M. G. Harris, *The History of Human Populations, Volume II: Migration, Urbanization, and Structure Change* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), "slaves/slaving" 114, 117, 118-119, "transporting/marketing," 95, 114, 117-119, 121-122, 151-155; "Spanish America," 95-101, 419-424, 435, 499; P. M. G. Harris, *The History of Human Populations, Volume I: Forms of Growth and Decline* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), "Central Mexico," 132; "Southwest Zacatecas," 105, 109, 110, "Mexico City" 298, 300; "Texas" 52, 58, 61 n. 8, 334; John E. Kicza, "The Great Families of Mexico: Elite Maintenance and Business Practices in Late Colonial Mexico City," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* Vol. 62, No. 3 (Aug., 1982), 429-457.

[109] See generally, David J. Robinson, *Migration in Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); P.M.G. Harris, *The History of Human Populations: Volume I, Forms of Growth and Decline*, "Chapter 4: "Other Striking but General G-Based Trends: 'Demographic Disaster' and 'Population Explosion' in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Oceania" (Westport: Praeger, 2001).

As Basque, Tlaxcalteca and their allies spread the doctrines of Spanish racial ideologies among the resistant Indigenous in Tejas, Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León, the Indigenous peoples who they designated as 'enemies' eventually came to consider *them* a single group—'Españoles'—which was a class designation of citizenship/allegiance, *not race*. The Basque-Spanish and Indigenous alliances in the northern '*tierra de guerra*' was, to replace—to the extent possible and desirable—the Indigenous social fabric with a Spanish-Christian hierarchical system which privileged Spanish-Basque and Tlaxcalteca legal authority, land-tenure, and seniority.

Although there were significant inter-marriages between Spanish-Basques and Indigenous noble women, and significant inter-mixing (through kinship and 'fictive' kinship alliances) between many populations, Ndé peoples, like other resistant groups, were nevertheless constructed as an essentialized *type* of Indigenous peoples. To the Ndé, their own gendered forms of steering control over kinship and exchange systems were shaped by both women and men, through matrilocal and matrilineal-patrilineal ancestral histories, and with centuries of experience and memory which was anything but eradicated, despite European attempts to overtake and to supplant those forms. Spanish racial ideologies (*la sistema de castas*) in southern Texas and northeastern Mexico did not replace or subsume Ndé, other independent peoples' (those not 'reduced' in missions), and Tlaxcalteca peoples' Indigenous institutions of clan, band, and kinship. In fact, in certain cases, just the opposite occurred, as Barr argues,

> Because Spaniards never enjoyed such power in Texas, such a language of hierarchy rarely emerged outside of civil proceedings within its central town of San Antonio de Béxar. It was not that Spaniards did not think in racial terms, but they could rarely act upon them. The only Indians who fell into Spanish racialized caste systems meant to structure rank and order were those individuals who became a part of Spanish society. [110]

[110] Barr, Ibid., 10.

Thus the terminology to classify Ndé as *indios barbaros* and *indios enemigos* (collapsing all genders into one category—*male*) was chiseled from legal and political discourse in the upper echelons of Spanish royal administration.

On the ground, Ndé in southern Texas and northern Mexico negotiated as independent polities, and when necessary to their objectives, they destroyed Spanish institutions which they deemed as a threat against life itself, thus in turn releasing sites from the ill-fit of Spanish authoritarian models, and re-mobilizing more flexible gender systems which allowed the incorporation of compatible peoples back into their kinship and trade domains. These patterns of Ndé—in southern Texas and northern Mexico—of releasing sites of conquest back to sites of *diyin* (an Ndé concept of spiritual autonomy and 'power') opened up means for the Ndé to re-claim their domains, while once again opening up possibilities for Ndé gender and relationships to have the advantage in areas removed of missions and presidios.

It is important to recognize that Ndé women's needs to have more control over local resources and kinship networks, as women who had a long history of complementary leadership responsibilities of their clans, was a requisite of maintaining her desires for the protein sources, the mobile and more autonomous way of life, and dryland farming practices of her foremothers.[111] Barr's close reading of primary documents exemplifies a more nuanced analysis of these meanings.

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[111] R. G. Matson and Martin P.R. Magne, *Athapaskan Migrations: The Archaeology of Eagle Lake, British Columbia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 132-155. ""Prior to the introduction of the horse in the late 1600s, the hunting area of the Plains agriculturalists must have been limited. Thus, the AD 1300 contraction left by the eastern flanks of the southern Rockies unused, which encouraged the Proto-Apacheans to travel down this corridor to the southwest, perhaps from the Big Horn and Wind River area. Thus, we have a three-stage migration. First was movement south and eastward onto and adaptation to the northern or north0central foothills and Plains. The second stage positioned Athapaskans on the northern portion of the central Plains, so that when the late thirteenth-century agricultural contraction occurred, the Proto-Apacheans were adjacent to the vacated area and entered it. Finally, at the southern end of this area, part of this group moved west and became agricultural, while others remained on the Plains—at least for a time (the Querechos), if not permanently (the Kiowa Apache).

> For Lipan Apaches, their mobile lifestyle kept inviolate their kin-based definitions of gender and the accompanying social and political roles for men and women. Though they traced their lineage bilaterally (through both parents), they organized their family bands by matrilocal residence. In a sense, female-defined households balanced male-defined raiding and hunting economies. The origin or emergence myth for Lipan people sanctified this order in the story of a divine heroine, Changing Woman, and her son, culture hero Killer of Enemies, who together created the world.[112]

The Ndé's attempts to maintain balance among genders, ages, and clans recognized the dangers which continually operated in their migrations—and the risks incurred when conflict arose and the extended group splintered due to internal tensions. Thus, the navigation of lessons from the sacred story of Changing Woman and Killer of Enemies (and his companion-brother, Child of the Water) through the spiritual domain complimented the everyday physical challenges to negotiate the bonds of intimate partnerships, the rearing of children, care of elders, feeding families, and maintaining strong footings in extended kinship and trade economies necessary for continued sustenance. Indigenous peoples had much to risk and to lose in the commodified human exchange systems developed by European societies, and much to gain by maintaining independence from these.

In the span of 150 years the Ndé shifted from a cautious trader, a sometime supporter, to the captive slave and 'enemy' to the Spanish. This development was not absolute, nor homogenous throughout all Ndé societies, bands, and clans across the immense expanse of Ndé customary lands, and the variations are true reflections of the uneven ways in which the Spanish silver mines, production, and slave economies affected Indigenous peoples in both global and local spheres. Yet, it is quite clear that the international silver and slave economic systems entailed the coercive and violent subjugation of northern peoples to the will of mercantile and inhumane labor systems where gendered forms of violence and warfare, related to

[112] Barr, Ibid., 162.

comodification of Indigenous peoples, imposed enormous casualties upon Indigenous societies and populations.[113]

A factor which Euro-American histories neglect is the important roles which Indigenous women took in developing and maintaining kinship and reciprocity systems across groups. According to Barr, women played key roles as stewards of the movement of peoples into clans and societies, and in guiding, approving and disapproving human exchanges between clans and non Ndé groups.[114] Ndé in particular had a huge stake in securing spiritual, physical, economic and social well-being for their people whose clan identities were founded in relationships with a primary deity, mountain spirits, and site-specific places connected to their histories in the land. The Sierras and the Rockies had 'since time immemorial' been foundational to the development of clan and kinship identities, and it was traditionally the women's role to instruct the children about their clan societies and identities. Indigenous peoples were disinclined to negate or to efface their very identities embedded in whole ecologies which defined them as human beings with autonomous will.

Unlike the artifice of the racial classification (*sistema de casta*), kinship was the base structure of all social relations with the entire universe, time, memory, space, and place. Kinship is a matrix of classification systems which holistically threads the histories of spirit, flora, fauna, essential elements, minerals, matters, dream, visions, bonds, status and honor. Kinship was/is a

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[113]Stanley J. Stein and Barbar H. Stein, Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Bakewell, Ibid., "Chapter 6: The Circumstances of Mining."; D. A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4, (Nov., 1972), 545-579; D. A. Brading, "Mexican Silver-Mining in the Eighteenth Century: The Revival of Zacatecas, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 4, (Nov., 1970), 665-681; Rafael Dobado and Gustavo A. Marrero, "Mining-Led Growth in Bourbon Mexico, the Role of the State, and the Economic Cost of Independence," *The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies*: *Working Papers on Latin America,* No. 06/07-1, at http://drclas.fas.harvard.edu (accessed January 27, 2010).

[114] Barr, Ibid.,

map of the genealogical histories of the circle of life, and thus obligations, responsibilities and consequences were tightly stitched into the fabric and contoured the governing practices which varied from group to group. Negotiating 'settlement' with Europeans was a foreign and totally inappropriate path for Indigenous peoples when they came to comprehend the unjust tenets of the legal and economic systems built upon "lies." From reciprocity systems to fur-trade/arms-trade/human comodification, systems of exchange controlled by far away administrators, accountants, treasuries, and official courts and implemented through soldiers, traders, and missionaries radically altered the central position and status of Indigenous peoples in their domains. Clearly, an extensive historical record demonstrates the Ndé's refusal to be subordinated to an absentee power –the global pre-capitalist system of slavery and mining— which they considered illegitimate in Indigenous law, and wholly unworthy of their respect due to the suffering and chaos it brought to their worlds.[115] There was nothing natural or normal about Indigenous women being classified and typed as 'slaves' in Indigenous societies. In fact, the 'slave' identity of Indigenous women was a construction rooted in the political economy of the global fur-arms-silver mining commerce. As Europeans constructed a global system of labor Indigenous women in the fur-trade—arms-trade came to be constructed through a European gendered, raced, and classed lens which normalized slavery and extraction as interlocking components.[116]

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[115] See Linda A. Newson and Mario A. Zamudio, "Explicación de las variaciones regionalies de las tendencias demográficas en la América española colonial: el caso de México," *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 41, No. 4, Demografía história I (Apr.-Jun., 1992), 517-549.

[116] See generally, Barr, Ibid; John E. Worth, Ibid., 296, "The English introduced two new forces that would ultimately shatter the fragile and already-damaged social fabric of the seventeenth-century South: a vast and expanding commercial market for slaves and ample supplies of the perfect tool to ensnare both slaves and silvers, the flintlock musket. During the space of just over half a century, the English funneled firearms and munitions into the hands of a few pivotal allied Native groups."; Robbie Ethridge, "Introduction: Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone," *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South,* eds., Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,

Ndé Women at the Intersections of an "infamous traffic of the flesh"

In the summer of 1774, in the eastern Texas territory and near the French Louisiana-Ndé eastern borderlands, an important peace summit between the Spanish government and the Indigenous leaders of the Wichita and Caddo nations was unfolding. Hostilities they experienced related to human, peltry and arms trade caused Ndé peoples to take their hostilities out against Spanish missions and other Indigenous polities throughout the southern Texas coastal plains to the Lower Rio Grande River. Although this meeting was meant to be a session to bring unity, the underlying context of the disturbances among warring tribal nations was revealed by a Spanish Franciscan fray, "Santa María y Silva" who instead of providing the Spanish delegation with important details of the principal leaders, elaborated about "infamous traffic of the flesh."

> Rather than detail this first peace council sought by the Spanish government with leading Indian nations, the Franciscan spent page after page lamenting an "infamous traffic in flesh" he had witnessed being carried on by Frenchmen living in and among Caddoan Indian villages along the Red River. …Yet, strikingly, the traffic in humans on which Santa María y Silva chose to focus was one in Indian women and their children, captured by Indian warriors in the southern Plains and Texas and traded east as slaves to French buyers in Louisiana …[117]

The 18th century use of 'traffic' by a Franciscan friar conveyed the explicit relationships between coercion, force, domination and a world-system of mining, slaving, and furs which depended upon coerced labor of Indigenous women and children. As more scholars re-examine the political economy of mining, Mexico, the fur trade, and the accumulation of wealth by European elites, the dynamism of Indigenous peoples as independent global polities within this

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2009), 1-62; James L. Clayton, "The Growth and Economic Significance of the American Fur Trade, 1790-1890," Ibid., 160-180; Gail D. MacLeitch, "'Red' Labor: Iroquois Participation in the Atlantic Economy, Ibid., 181-214.

[117] Julianna Barr, "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 92, No. 1, June 2005, http://www.historycooperative.org/cgi-bin/justtop.cgi?act=justtop&url=http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/92.1/barr.html (accessed 27 Jan. 2010).

configuration emerges from out of the shadows. However, in the recoveries of these histories—through close examination of primary documents—only a few scholars have skillfully managed the articulation of capital where it collides in Indigenous women and children's historical experiences, and "the more coercive traffics in women that were equally central to Indian-European relations."[118]

In order to truly grasp the lived experiences and 'situatedness' of Indigenous women (and Indigenous women's struggles) then we must turn from merely recovering portions of their histories as mediators and go-betweens—and fully engage with their long and complex histories in political economies of extraction and consumption by European and global elites. As Silvia Van Kirk documented in the Canadian fur trade, there was not merely one Sacagawea—there were thousands of Indigenous women whose biographies were 'written' in the massive manufacture of coats, jackets, moccasins, and gloves from the beaver and otter trade and who were guides, brides and served as different kinds of currency between Indigenous peoples and the Scot, French and British administrators of the Hudson Bay Company.[119] Similarly, southern Texas and northern Mexico was a confluence of burgeoning traffic between the Spanish (Mexico, New Mexico, Texas) and the French (Canada, Illinois, Mississippi River, Louisiana) versions of 'mercantilism.' As in Canada, Indigenous men participated in diverse ways between the multi-varied dynamics between "captors, brokers, and buyers."[120]

In 1706, Juan de Ulibarri wrote a letter describing enslaved Apache women and children who Wichitas sold to Frenchmen. In 1719 a French trader named Claude-Charles Dutisné wrote that a Wichita approached him at a post on the Red River to sell Plains Apache slaves. In 1724,

[118] Ibid.,

[119] Van Kirk, Ibid.,

[120] Barr, Ibid.,

another document revealed that two Apaches, a 22 year-old woman and a male youth were purchased by a trader from Indigenous peoples of Kansas. By numerous accounts, western Louisiana "would remain throughout the 18th century, nuclei of a slave trade in Apache captives brought by Caddos, Wichitas, and later Comanches." [121] What items were sought most by the males involved in the trade? According to Barr, Indigenous males in the southern trade in Apache women and children were interested in gaining "European material goods, Plains hides, and Spanish horses."[122] As the Comanche, Wichita and Caddo sought to protect their interests in surviving a mercantilist system, they also competed in gaining a monopoly on New Mexico, Texas and northern Mexico Ndé captives to the Louisiana sites of commerce. The forced and coerced migration of Ndé women collapsed them into a flat, an anonymous, commodified identity of commerce—the object—'slave.' The 'slave' Indigenous woman was then rationalized as commodified object by the global, militarized, pre-capitalist system. The exploitation of Indigenous women through violent gendered and sexual subordination of global mercantilism reinforced the norm of male-to-male political partnerships between Europeans, the Caddo, Wichita, Comanche and Ndé. In this nexus, Ndé women and their children were forced into labor, both as knowledge-keepers, specialists, highly-skilled ecological stewards and tanners, and—reduced into physical and sexual bondage— and this intermeshing between trade, marriage and sexuality, the masculinization and comodification of human exchange, defined Ndé women simultaneously as 'Apache slaves,' 'savage women,' and 'enemies.'[123]

By 1790, the political economy of Ndé women captives was a reflection of the larger Ndé threats to numerous polities. Lipan Apaches' fierce protectiveness was asserted through a range

[121] Ibid.,

[122] Ibid.,

[123] Ibid.,

of sites of crisis—in missions, haciendas, ranchos, mines, presidios, and slave trade distribution centers—all across their customary domains, and these resistances to the world-system inhibited the growth of Spanish settlements and compromised the attempts of the Spanish to gain control over the lucrative ports of the Gulf.[124] Lipan Apaches firmly and aggressively challenged the political economy of European forms of human exchange on political, social and economic principles: Ndé women were central to the matrilocal and matrilineal laws of governance and decision-making at the clan level and sharing the labor of a demanding way of life; they were the social reproducers of the clan system; and they were critical to Ndé hide tanning and maintenance of their trading networks. Thus, 'Lipan Apache' emerges simultaneously in the Spanish lexicon of 'enemies' in a transnational political economy of illicit traffic in 'Apache women slaves.' The aggressive and violent retaliation by Ndé peoples—men, women and children—against their enemies signified that the gender and inter-tribal relations of reciprocity and kinship was eroding as it was supplanted by a system where men defined and cultivated relationships amongst themselves utilizing Indigenous women, who were used as commodities between them.

As the Spanish fomented ties with the Comanche through coercion and force, to destroy the 'enemy Apaches' many captive Ndé were transported not just eastward towards Louisiana, but also south, across the Rio Grande river, into missions, prisons, and to Mexico City or Veracruz, to be domesticated as servants, and at times deported to Cuba in permanent exile.[125] It is unclear how many Indigenous women, and Ndé women and children were the casualties of this violent system, yet scholars continue to analyze this as a very large system which

[124] Ibid., "The Spanish population of the Teas province at its height in 1790 was only 3, 169."

[125] Zavala, Ibid.,

systematically subordinated masses. The introduction of captivity and enslavement of Ndé women, by the French and Spanish traffickers and the involvement of numerous Indigenous polities worked to further erode the most fundamental kin-based organization of the clan. When they abducted and enslaved Ndé women and extracted forced labor from them, they struck at a fragile gender balance, which had always been a story of negotiation and change. Taking Indigenous women from matrilocal societies ripped the heart from the body of the clan, and changed Ndé male gender identities and roles in radical ways, and these are stories still remaining to be written from the shadows of history.[126]

Slavery, Spanish Economies and 'the Apache'

Slavery among the Spaniards both preceded and followed the invasion and colonization of the Americas. According to Silvio Zavala, Spanish conquest and colonization was built hand-in-hand with the traffic in slaves. The European political economy of conquest was explicitly built upon the utilization of Indigenous slaves in a well-established, international ring of commerce, based on violent human bondage, servitude, and indenture. Slavery, in the European world, was an entrenched and normalized economic system and waged on subjugated and marginalized groups.

In *Los Esclavos Indios en Nueva España*, Zavala argues that the Spanish colonizers systematized the acquisition of Indigenous slaves in New Spain in two procedures. First, Europeans imposed slavery on Indigenous through the captivity of those defeated in warfare. Secondly, Zavala argues, slaves were acquired through ransoming, abduction, and other forms of taking. In July 1519, one of the first *audiencias* was organized by Spanish soldiers in Veracruz.

[126] Ibid., 162-164.

At that time, soldiers requested permission from the Crown to bring slaves by ship from Spain, or to bring slaves from island possessions. The soldiers argued that their labor, in the taking and possessing of the lands which they had been sent to conquer, was made more difficult because of its large size and large population. The soldiers reported that the Indigenous leaders ("caciques") were resistant to religious conversion, as well as to servitude, and warred against them. Opening up a third possibility, the men lamented that case by case, the Indigenous, subdued through force, could be *formed* into slaves, through the usual custom of subjugating resisting peoples in lands of "infidels." Setting the legal course for enslaving Indigenous resisters, and that resisters were infidels, the soldiers argued that Native resistances to the Crown could be viewed as an *infidel rebellion*, which therefore could be construed to be just cause for their enslavement, under the laws of European hierocratic nations.[127]

According to Zavala, from 1519 through the 18th century, the essential role of slavery in the Spanish colonization of North America was as a global political economy structured around monopolies on violence, slavery, wealth accumulation, class stratification and imperial expansion. Slavery as an institution in pre-conquest and colonial Europe crossed imperial, religious, military, and geopolitical social classes. The wealth accumulation as a result of slavery and human traffic fueled the development of science, engineering and technologies which in turn enabled larger expenditures of resources, larger expeditions and reconnaissance missions, and larger extraction projects. Slavery, human traffic, arms, transportation, and the

[127] Silvio Zavala, *Los Esclavos Indios en Nueva España* (México: Edición de El Colegio Nacional Luis González Obregón, núm. 23, México 1, D.F. MCMLXVII), 1967, xi, 1. "Los colonos Españoles adquirían Esclavos indios en Nueva España –como en las Antillas—principalmente por dos procedimientos: el cautiverio de los vencidos en la guerra ye el rescate de los reducidos a servidumbre por los proprios indios. En el primer caso, la esclavitud se imponía a gentes que antes de la venida de los españoles podían haber sido libres. En la Segundo, se prolongaba la servidumbre Antigua, sustituyendo sus rasgos por los del derecho europea." " […] como se acostrumbra hacer en tierra de infieles pues es cosa muy justa." *See* also, Williams, "Chapter 2: The Perfect Instrument of Empire: The Colonizing Discourse of Renaissance Spain," 59-118; for "hierocratic order" See 62-66.

control over water, minerals, land and human energy were all interconnected in the matrix of colonization.

Zavala's analysis teases out the construction of 'the Apache' articulated in the 1519-1821 Spanish slave system (where his investigation closes), as a crucial framework for examining a core European-Indigenous relationship, and introduced through colonization. The Spanish regime used Indigenous slaves as commerical objects of barter, purchase, exchange, and trade; a massive underground economy in the trafficking of slaves, and the theft and re-sale of slaves manifested a network spanning many spheres and regimes of power across Indigenous and European relations.

Extensive systems of laws and technologies of punishment and captivity were devised to safeguard the 'property' and 'rights' of the owners. Indigenous slaves were routinely branded, or held in irons to demarcate their bodies publically as chattel in the event they attempted to escape. Owners put Indigenous slaves to labor in houses, fields, mills, stables, textiles, sawmills, with cattle, and in mines.[128] By 1542, the 'opening' of new markets for capturing and enslaving Indigenous peoples in the Northern provinces materialized, despite emerging prohibitions against slavery.[129] Zavala states, "es sabido que en las regiones del norte la guerra llegó a ser crónica y a

[128] Zavala, Ibid., xi.

[129] La Recopilación de 1680 incorporated the general prohibition against enslaving Indigenous persons through 'just war. See Zavala, note 320, 310. La Recopilación de 1680 incorporó la prohibición general de la esclavitud de los indios por causa de guerra en el lib. VI, Tít. II, ley 1: "En conformidad con lo que esta dispuesto sobre la libertad de los indios, es nuestra voluntad y mandamus, que ningún adelantado, governador, capitán, alcaide ni otra personal de cualquier estado o dignidad, oficio o calidad que sea, en tiempo de paz or guerra aunge justa y mandada hacer por Nos o por quien nuestro poder hubiere, sea osado de cautivar indios naturals de nuestras Indias, Islas y Terra Firme del Mar Océano, descubiertas ni por descubrier, ni tenerlos por esclavos, aunque sean de las islas y terras en que esté declarado que se les pueda hacer justamente guerra, o los matar, prender, or cautivar; except en los casos y naciones que por las leyes de este título estuviere permidido."

fragmentarse en incontables episodios."[130] The Bishop of Michoacán, Don Vasco de Quiroga, wrote to the Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies) on February 17, 1561 a complaint about 'fierce and wild peoples' (in the north, in the mountains and hillsides) referred to generally as 'any and all Chichimecas', who were obstacles to the mining operations, and establishment of churches for settlers. His remedy for the 'crimes' against the economic business of the Vice-Royalty, the nobility, and the church was, according to Zavala, to capture and enslave all of the resisting 'wild' Chichimecas, and to sentence them to labor in the mines.[131] Zavala describes this letter as follows,

> De poco acá se les atemorizaba el paso porque andan a caza de ellos—y han hecho una villa que se dice San Miguel, con licencia del virrey—para harcerlos Esclavos y echarlos en las minas y venderlos, y también las Mujeres con los niños y criaturas que traen a los pechos; dice haber provision real que manda que cualquier chichimeca que haga algún delito no lo hagan esclavo ni cautiven sino que se haga información y contral el culpado solo proceda la audience en México […] pide que se mande remediar, y los que contra la provision real se hallaren cautivos y Esclavos en las minas y aherrojados sean puestos en su libertad, y no se les impida el paso acostumbrado de más de veinte años acá para venires a bautizar.[132]

Zavala's synthesis of Vasco de Quiroga's complaint teases out an important fact. Capturing, enslaving and selling off resistant Indigenous families—a core group for matrilineal peoples organized around women's economies—— was a systemic tactic in the establishment of frontier mining industries, replenishing the labor force, and galvanizing a relationship between the mines, the church and indigenous peoples through the notion of "just war." Zavala notes that the

[130] Zavala, Ibid., 179. It is important to note that by 1553, the Vice-Royalty was immersed in raising defenses against two frontiers: El Obispo de Chiapas and Las Provincias Internas del Norte. For a general discussion of the Chiapas frontier wars and enslavement of Indigenous peoples, see Zavala, 180-184.

[131] The Spanish constructed and used the term 'Chichimeca' and 'La Gran Chichimeca' in a very similar way that they invented and utilized 'Apache.' Although this is outside of the scope of this project, I believe there is ample documentation to support a productive analysis of 'Chichimeca' especially given the fact that Zavala and others provide telling documentation that makes very strong ties between the Chichimeca buffalo hunting societies and the Apache.

[132] Zavala, Ibid., 184-185.

Spanish often achieved forced removal and dispossession through the manipulation of 'friendly Indians' and 'enemy Indians.' "Todavía bajo el gobierno del virrey Velasco, los indios Zacatecas y Guachichiles atacaban a los españoles *e indios amigos* [emphasis added] en una vasta region de la Nueva Vizcaya."

By 1585 and throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the focus on categorizing and identifying the ethnic differences of 'Chichimeca'-like resisters reveals itself in the specifications of complaints sent to, and orders emanating from, the Vice-Royalty.[133] The narratives of the nobility who sought to protect vast mining and ranching enterprises and their coveted possessions of Indigenous laborers to cover their labor needs in the mines, haciendas and villas revealed the entangled institutional relationships between the hacienda, encomienda, the *audencia*, and the church.

Indigenous peoples were regimented through *reducciones* (forced, often violent instruction in Spanish language, theocracy, labor systems, and use of sexual intercourse as a weapon of domination) within numerous inter-connected sites of indoctrination. Often, the trafficking network displaced, relocated and removed indigenous resisters far distances from their homelands. A complex of relationships, interwoven across noble houses, governance, the military and the church enabled the captivity and enslavement of Indigenous families as an aspect of accumulating land, control over the means of production, wealth, and construction of the local institutions through which to assert the constructions of privileged classes. After the 1546 discovery of silver in Zacatecas, and up to Santa Fe, the Spanish intensified the means of controlling the exploration for and establishment of silver mines, the legal construction of state enemies, and militarism as a normalized system through which to extract Indigenous labor.

[133] This is important for the purpose of situating the Ndé buffalo hunter, matrilineal clan social-political influences throughout the Huastecan, Sierra Madre landscapes in the mid to late 1500s.

According to Forbes, "The Mining Frontier was an expansive, explosive thing. It soon leaped beyond the old Chichimeca region carrying exploitation and warfare to regions in present- day Durango, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Nuevo Leon. Virtually all of northern Mexico became a '*tierra de guerra,*' a land of war, long before 1600."[134]

None of these insidious economies could have grown to the scale that they did without the conscription of corrupted Indigenous soldiers, scouts, rangers, traffickers, caciques, cabildos, and nobles. Throughout Spain's provinces, Indigenous peoples' low-status work as laborers and indentureds could be elevated somewhat through the service in the wars against infidel enemies. Scouts, cooks, smiths, servants and soldiers, and pobladores seeking to avoid taxes, and offered lands, stock, and escape from prison terms, and indenture were enticed to join, in service to the Crown in the wars against 'los Apaches'.[135]

The expert horsemanship and defenses of the Indigenous, and their mounting organized expansions over and through Spanish settlements in Nuevo León, Coahuila, Nuevo Santander, and South Texas, cast a shadow over Spanish plans to develop the lands for mining. A loud rejection of slavery, removals, religious subjection, dispossession, and the destructive violence it engendered upon Indigenous clan-based governance, must be read across the grain of the

[134] Jack D. Forbes, "The Appearance of the Mounted Indian in Northern Mexico and the Southwest, to 1680," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer, 1959), 191. University of New Mexico Stable URL http://www.jstor.org/stable/3628807 (accessed: 02/03/2009).

[135] This is especially relevant to 18th and 19th century experiences between Ndé and Originario (Tlaxcala-Basque , Tlaxcala-Ndé) communities along the Lower Rio Grande, in the late 18th-19th centuries, and the engendering of military service and low-status labor in association with Spanish settlement patterns in ranchería societies thereafter. See generally, Patricia Martinez, Ibid.,; and Zavala, Ibid., 208, "…Velasco puso en práctica el establecimiento de colonias de indios tlaxcaltecas en la region de los chichimecas, para facilitar el asentamiento de éstos. Se enviaron 400 indios con sus familias, que hacían un total de 1591 personas. Esta inteligente medida contribuyó a asegurar y ampliar la zona de colonización en el norte, pero la irreductible hostilidad de los chichimecas no fue dominada." Also, Zavala, 319, note 381.

Spanish official complaints.[136] The stalwart rejection by allied Indigenous peoples against Spanish colonial violence spread broadly, and the strengthened defense of Ndé strongholds against slave traffic and the expropriation of sacred lands, was communicated across the discourse of Spanish descriptions of Indigenous people who controlled the lands.

Tellingly, references to 'the enemies', 'barbarians', 'heathens', and 'infidels', among a host of other defamations, run throughout the pages of official complaints by mine and hacienda owners who demand the continuance of slavery. Growing anxieties about mounted and skilled defenders were conflated with Spaniards' expressions of intensified fears about the very *lands* which the Indigenous resisters inhabited. The political war, waged against the Indigenous warriors who controlled the lands persisted. The Vice-Royal Governor Enríquez, in his advisements to his successor, on September 25, 1580, stated,

> que la tierra en que habitaban los indios chichimecos era larga y fragosa; la acción contra ellos era difícil porque no tenían asiento ni lugar cierto donde se pudieran hallar; en cambio, ellos sí sabían dar astutamente sobre los españoles y cometían robos y muertes con crueldades increíbles.[137]

The repeated response of Spaniards to strong resistances by mounted societies was increased military retaliation, harsher slavery sentences, and often-times included the amputation of body parts—using the 'guerra justa' (just war) justification. Bureaucratic trails of punishment and brutality punctuated Spanish military retaliations with church officials, governors, and settlers. A complicated matrix performed services in the capture, imprisonment and sale of Indigenous peoples in mining towns all across the north.[138] A typical sentence

[136] See specifically, Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), Chapter VI: Athapaskans at War, 107-130.

[137] Zavala, Ibid., 189-190.

[138] Zavala, Ibid., Capítulo III, "Cautiverio En Las Fronteras," 179-309.

imposed ten to fourteen years, and in the extreme could be set at twenty years in bondage.[139] Recommendations to include forced religious reduction in the sentences were typically ordered as a 'remedy,' hand-in-hand with hard labor, exploitation and physical abuse.[140] In the process, nursing infants and small children were separated from their mothers, and women were separated from men, families and clans were often separated through legal and illegal commerce.[141]

By the mid 1640s, 'apaches' and 'navajos' and selling them as highly valued commodities were central to the discourse of military conquest, development and human trafficking in the northern frontiers.[142] Zavala notes this turn in the trade, with particular emphasis on "apaches." He states, "En 1647 continuaban presentándose quejas *con motive de la venta de los apaches*." (My italics.)[143] The mainstreamed European punishment, captivity, and extermination systems to reduce 'Apache' resistance, emerged in the slavery laws by 1641, and intensified through 1799. References to the capture of 'paganos' and selling them in the northern front, more often alluded to the rising value of 'Apaches' in the larger human trafficking economy of Spain's northern war zone. Zavala affirms the increasing blood wars that accrued Ndé victims where 'el norte' became a euphemism for 'el Apache.' "La zona geográfica en que resurgía el problema de la esclavitud había avanzado considerablemente hacia el norte."[144]

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[139] Zavala, Ibid., 213. "Todos los indios e indias condenados a servicio personal se repartirían a los caitanes y soldados por la orden que Oñate mandaría "para que los hayan y tengan por sus esclavos por el dicho tiempo de los veinte años y no más."

[140] Zavala, Ibid., See, 186-188, 191193,

[141] Ibid., 191.

[142] Ibid., 223-224., "En Nuevo México, las relaciones de los españoles con los indios navajos y otras tribus nómadas conocieron sucesivos períodos de paz y guerra, y hacia 1640 buen número de Navajos eran vendidos como Esclavos en las minas de Chihuahua." "se afirmaba que trajo 80 personas como presa y que también había hecho esclavizar a indios apaches."

[143] Ibid., 224.

[144] Ibid., 224.

Escalating anti-slavery resistances ("anti-esclavista") by 1671-72, caused new retaliatory measures by the Spanish system. In a vicious attack on an Ndé ranchería near San Juan and Santa Clara, Diego de Vargas murdered all elders and males, and captured 84 women, children, and 5 bystanders.[145] By the 1770s, "los lipanes en Coahuila" appeared in the Spanish human trafficking narratives—both as enemies and possibly as cautious 'friends.' Though, 'lipanes' are often linked to 'mescaleros, apaches, guileños, and natajes,' and thus, in finality, cannot be assumed as anything other than the 'enemy.' In a letter between Hugo O'Conor to Vice Royal Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, dated March 8, 1774, O'Conor refers to the Lipans "infesting the possessions" of the Spanish.[146] The Lipans (Ndé), well known for galvanizing many Indigenous alliances throughout the defended aboriginal homeland, La Gran Apachería, are referred to as

> crueles y astutos, […] barbaros, incapaces de conocer el bien ni el mal a que se inclinan por naturaleza y todos de una masa tan abominable, que jamás sera possible imprimir en ella los sentimientos de humanidad, la vida política y civil, ni la verdadera religión.

By the closing of the 17th century, the construction of 'los enemigos Apaches' / 'los infieles Apaches' was thoroughly ingrained into the legal, military, scientific, religious, and political institutions of Spanish society. The construction of 'the Apache' under the combined development and slave-traffic economy had increasingly lethal consequences. Jack D. Forbes notes that the Spanish slave economy, from 1601 onward, provoked "revolt throughout the entire province."[147] Forbes draws connections between the important social and political influences that the Ndé—who he refers to as 'Apaches', 'Vaquero Apaches', and 'Athapaskans'—had upon the Pueblo, Plains, and Spanish provincial worlds articulated through the Indigenous economy.

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[145] Ibid., 236.

[146] Ibid., 246.

[147] Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 121.

> The Athapaskans were not only being influenced by Puebloan and Hispanic culture but also had an influence of their own. This influence of the Apache upon the settled peoples of New Mexico [Indigenous and non-Indigenous] has never been sufficiently recognized by investigators, but it certainly should be.

Undoubtedly, the prominence of Spain's persecutory stance taken up in the 18th and 19th centuries against 'the Apaches' was a reflection of the broad influence of Ndé among other discontented groups, and their challenges to Spanish institutions of controlling the establishment of mining, and involvement in the enslavement of Ndé peoples.

The centrality of new print technologies, trans-Atlantic literacies, and the travel chronicle as a genre of imperial 'witness' played crucial roles in fixing 'the Apache' as a monstrosity, a blight, and an eyesore warranting removal from the outposts of civilization. For instance, Alonso de Benavides wrote the *Memorial of 1630*, an eyewitness account of his expedition through the Mission territories of New Spain. To Benavides, 'the Apache' was a fright, a spectacle and a force. The 'Apache,' he wrote, "go out through the surrounding provinces, using these skins to trade and bargain," taking their entire villages along.[148] As the Spanish were apt to make use of Indigenous markets and social spaces, some were able to acquire close access to Ndé societies, though in a short time, they lost whatever security they had acquired in Indigenous nations to the south. They did not count on being the fringed outsiders to a deeply entrenched political and economic confederacy.

Eye-witness reportage of Ndé societies at times conflicted with the hegemonic construction of 'los enemigos Apaches.' Forbes notes that Fray Benavides observed Ndé buffalo societies up close, particularly their activities in deer and buffalo skin preparations. "They trade these hides [buffalo] throughout the entire region and in this way gain their livelihood. These skins provide the dress commonly worn by both Indians and Spaniards. They use them not only

[148] Fray Alonso de Benavides, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630*. As quoted in Forbes, 1960,120.

for making clothing, but also for sacks, tents, cuirasses, footwear, and many other useful purposes."[149] The Spanish observed, in accordance with a contradiction between official rhetoric about the Apache as 'warlike', and the frequent observations that Apaches were human, a cultural commitment to women and families. Forbes confirms, "The Apaches 'go out through the surrounding provinces, using these skins to trade and bargain,' *taking their entire villages along*" [Emphasis added]. [150] The contradiction inherent between the construction of 'warlike' 'Apache' and vital, powerful, organized Ndé clans, with inseparable and inalienable relationships with Mother Earth or with clan lineal relations, would continue to defy the military, legal, scientific, religious and punitive systems which escalated the violence in La Gran Apachería well into the 18th century.

Despite repeated reports confirming Apache institutions, land use, and territoriality, the Spanish officials devised new laws and theories designed to destroy Ndé resistance networks. In all directions Spaniards attempted to wipe out the dissident 'Apache', and to implant fixtures of 'good' 'Apaches' (captured, converted, contained), who *could* be on their way to being civilized and settled 'Apaches de paz,' coerced into establecimientos, congregaciones or missions and presidios and incorporated as 'Spanish-Indian citizens', *if* they would accept the way of civilization. By 1740, in spite of clamors throughout the provinces to implement the general laws and decrees against enslaving Indigenous peoples, in La Gran Apachería, the Vice Royals, governors and the Hacienda Real permitted citizens (Criollos, mestizos, and 'indios de paz') to purchase 'Apache slaves.'[151]

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[149] Forbes, Ibid., 119.

[150] Forbes, Ibid., 120.

[151] Ibid., 253. "En 1740 se permitía que los españoles de Nuevo México compraran esclavos de los indios apaches …."

By 1776, the Comandante General de las Provincias Internas, Caballero de Croix, radically reorganized the northern frontier through the implementation of laws designed to enumerate and to specify the 'hostilities of 'enemigo indios' in the jurisdictions, and to articulate the losses incurred by the Vice Royalty. De Croix emboldened military measures to quash the 'Enemy Apaches' in the first large-scale militarizations of the 'frontera.'[152]

It is within this crucial time of heightened blood wars, militarization, and refusals by elites to heed the cyclical and growing rebellions of discontented communities throughout the mining region, that Ndé collectivities fiercely avenged the taking of their women and children. The scale of violence which the Ndé launched against ranchers, white people, and soldiers, published the Ndé perspective repeatedly: they perceived that specific privileged groups were complicit in the oppression of their families and peoples. The enslavement of Ndé women and children, across La Gran Apachería, extending across over 1700 miles of the frontier, stimulated intensified anti-colonial alliances to protect families, clans, traditional governance, autonomy, and lands.

By 1740, after generations of warfare across Nde' lands, the Spanish drove the Nde' from their traditional and customary use areas through the strategic use of overtures of peace bolstered by threats of warfare. Historians such as Hill and Bolton, as well as Spanish conquerors such as Escandon, viewed the use of "peace and war" as a necessary policy to

[152] Ibid., 279. Specifically, Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo México, Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, Sinaloa, the Californias, and Nuevo Santander. The signal year 1776 is tied to the British/American colonies in two ways: first, the overall European contortions over slavery and the humanity of enslaved peoples; and the Spanish concern about how the colonies might threaten their northern frontier. Spanish actions were motivated by concerns about Indigenous peoples, the Americans, and the relationships between the European-Indigenous rivalries.

cleanse the borderlands of "el Apache" and thereby pave the way for Euro-American civilization.[153]

A 1749 treaty signaled a shift in Spanish policy towards "peaceful" concentration of the Nde onto military reserves, and away from overt wars of conquest. [154] The reality of the situation, as revealed by the Escandón expedition to settle the lands along the Rio Grande River and along the Seno Mexicano (Mexican Gulf), sparked numerous Nde uprisings in Nuevo Santander.[155]

[153] See Zavala, Ibid., 246, "Los lipanes no son ahora enemigos declarados pero no confía mucho en su paz y los cree inclusos in el artículo 2. Cita la opinion del marqués de Rubí en el sendido de que el haber amparado a los lipanes ha sido causa de que los indios del Norte infesten las posesiones españoles y que procedía hacerles guerra viva y que rendidos se les llevase al interior del reino, admitiéndolos al abrigo de misiones y presidios"; Diana Hadley, Thomas H. Naylor, and Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, Editors, *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: Volume Two, Part Two The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor 1700-1765*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997), 479.

[154] See generally, Coleccion Chimalistac de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva España, 12. *Documentos Para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas o Nuevas Philipinas 1720-1779*, (Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrua Turanzas, MCMLXI), 171-205. According to Diana Hadley, et al, pp 171-205 of the *Documentos,* referenced here in this footnote, is an official transcription of the Spanish treaty with the Lipan Apaches of La Gran Apachería. Hadley et al state, "Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana's memorial to the auditor, written in Mexico City, summarizes the events that led up to the treaty made with the Apaches in November 1749. It signals a change in attitude on the part of the military who, since 1718, had attempted to reduce Apache depredations on Spanish settlements through retaliatory raids and the taking of captives. The utter failures of such tactics induced them to switch to campaigns offering peace. […] The San Xavier missions were founded under his directorship, and he was among the first of the missionaries to push for the peaceful conversion of the Apaches," in Hadley et al, Ibid., 482.

[155] Patricia Osante, Ibid.,

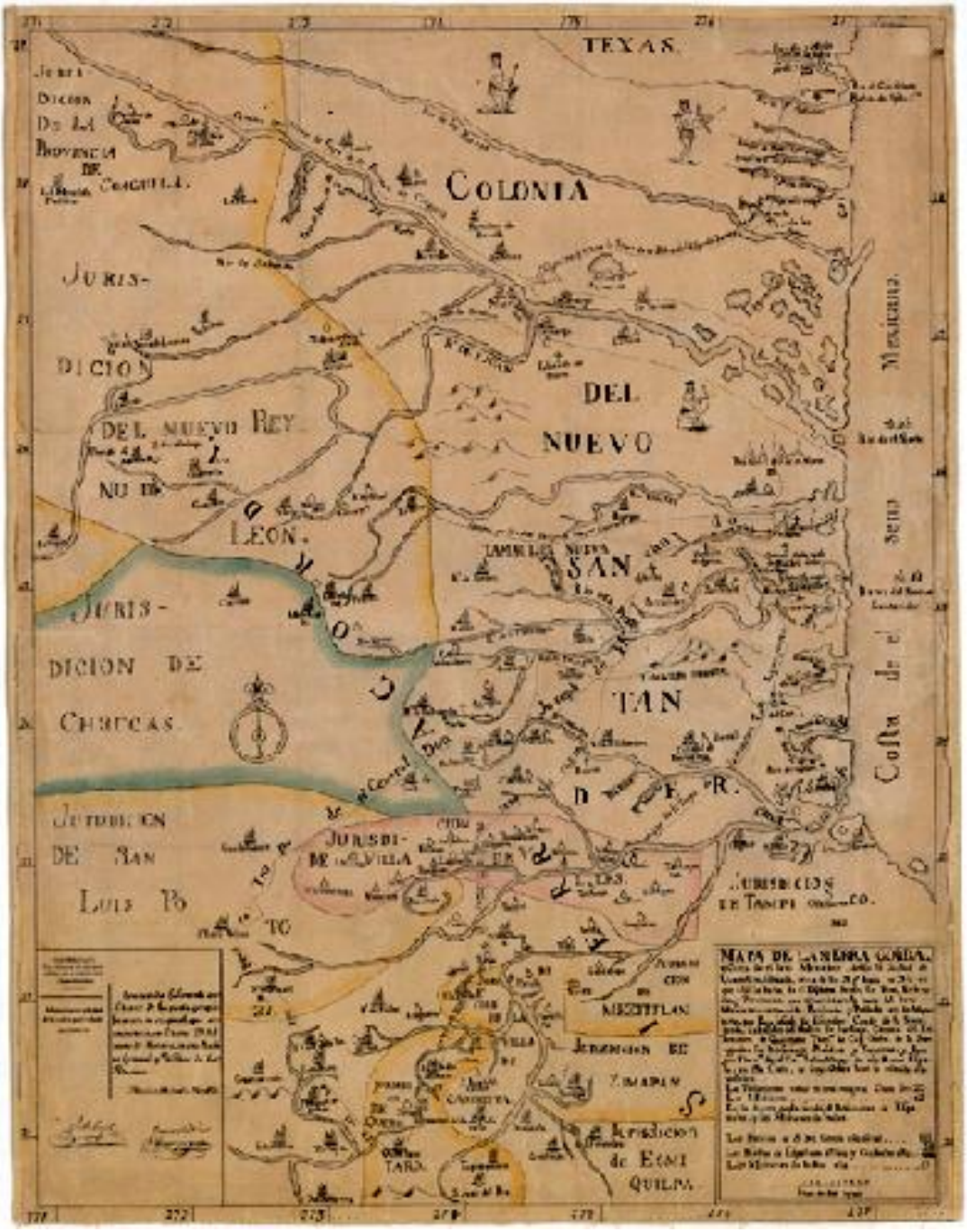


Illustration 2.1, Prieto, Alejandro. Mapa de la Sierra Gorda, y Costa de el Seno Mexicano desde la Ciudad de Querétaro, situada, cerca de los 21 gs. hasta los 28 en que está, la Bahia de el Espiritu Santo, sus Rios, Ensenadas, etc., 1756. 54x71 cm; 21x28; *Call Number M 973 1756*
Courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin

Treaty and peace agreements between Ndé and Spanish officials, from 1749 into the Mexican independence era, would prove untenable as old frictions and hostilities targeting 'Apaches

enemigos' persisted. Spanish treaties, much like treaties offered by the United States, were strategic tools implemented to pacify Indigenous peoples. Although some treaties initially favored Native groups, the agreements could no more stem the tide of American migrants colonizing the West, as they could speak to the needs and rights of the Ndé. Moreover, the ultimate goal of assimilating 'wild Indians' into a market economy, transforming them into "farmers," and stripping them of their communal identities caused more conflict than it resolved.[156]

The Spanish employed other bureaucratic strategies to "calm" their northern frontiers. The Reglamento of 1772 ordered that the northern province be separated into its own jurisdiction, that settlements near failed missions be relocated to San Antonio and other larger populated areas, or abandoned. This was not merely a new, more liberal and benevolent 'Indian policy', as many western academics have espoused; rather, this was a critical re-structuring of capital to advance a different technological form of warfare against resisting Indigenous peoples. The large-scale alignment of northern settlements with presidios, and shifting of energy towards intensified defense, instead of negotiation (through gifts, exchange of goods) with powerful Indigenous leaders increased the tensions.[157]

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[156] In the "Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786" by Bernardo de Gálvez, Statutes 79, 80, 84, 176-184, 194, 195 specifically relate to trade, peace and armed force as axis of control over Ndé, designed as a pre-meditated tactic to weaken and subjugate Ndé. "The friendship of these Indians and of the Lipans must be preserved at all cost, because only thus will it be possible for my combined plans to have the effect that I desire; although it still is not time to carry them out yet, as I understand it, through them the Indians may enlist in the service of the King and in the tranquility of the provinces," [Statute 178]; Here is the statute in its original Spanish version:: "La Amistad de estos Indios y la de los Lipanes hand de conservarse á toda costa, porque asi conviene para que tengan el efecto que deseo mis combinados planes; aun no es tiempo de prevenir su execucion, y en ella, segun comprehend, se interesan el servicio del Rey y el sosiego de las Provincias."

[157] Ibid., 7-9; Bernardo de Galvez, *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786*, translated and edited by Donald E. Worcester (Berkeley: The Quivira Society, 1951), 4-5.

In 1766, the Marqués de Rubí arrived for an inspection of the military structures in the frontier, to observe first-hand the condition of the mines, haciendas, and mission-pueblo settlements after a very long and intensive struggle to maintain the Spanish presence against the Ndé and allied societies. Nicolás de la Fora accompanied Rubí and designed a strategic map of the region, from which he offered recommendations which together formed the basis of the proposal Rubí presented to the King's minister, José de Gálvez, who authorized major reforms in the region. Although a separate viceroyalty was considered as an option, and discussed at length by many governing bodies in the region, Gálvez opted instead for a matrix of a formal, military government to encompass the entire region, specifically contoured by his analysis of 'los Apaches infieles y barbaros.' Historian David Weber posits, "The devastation that Rubí witnessed had occurred at a time when the military was in the ascendancy throughout the Spanish empire in general, and on the northern frontier of New Spain in particular. By the 1760s, presidios or military bases, most of them fortified, had eclipsed missions to become the dominant institution on Spain's North American frontiers." [158] There is a tendency in this historical tradition to downplay the intersecting relationships between mining, arms, human traffic, and militarism. For example, Weber maintained that the function of presidios was "to ward off foreigners than to provide protection from Indians …" though evidence shows that the Spanish construed Indigenous peoples, specifically 'Apaches,' as foreign threats to Spanish dominion—as much if not more than the French fur-arms traders.[159] Additionally, the presidios were used to re-establish Spanish physical and psychological order upon the Indigenous 'civilians' who, according to primary evidence, were also abandoning 'civil society', hence the

[158] David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 212.

[159] Weber, Ibid., 213.

increasing discourse of perceived threats by 'indios monstruos', 'mestizos' and 'apostates' during this period.

By 1771, the Spanish King, Carlos III approved the plans, and new laws to reorganize the northern frontiers.[160] Gálvez' reconstructed laws formulated a line of military bases closer to civilian pueblos and villas and incorporating the militarization of all sectors of society.[161] The *Reglamento e Instrucción Para Los Presidios que se han de Formar en la Linea de Frontera de la Nueva España, Resuelto por el Rey Nuestro Señor en cédula de 10 de Setiembre de 1772,* laid out a strict set of codes and a racial and religious doctrine embedded in European military domination. The 1772 Reglamento was explicitly constructed as a war against 'Apaches.'[162] Separating the Ndé homelands into a militarized and bordered jurisdiction, the *Reglamiento* incorporated 'Apaches' as internal, domestic 'enemies' and 'infidels.' The *Reglamiento* imposed a new era of border Indian affairs, directed through the fist of military doctrine which advanced the incorporation of Indigenous subjects into coerced service as scouts, soldiers, presidarios, and pobladores in numerous sites—not just at the obvious establecimientos of 'Apaches de paz.' According to historian David J. Weber, "the Regulations of 1772 emphasized force over diplomacy."[163]

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[160] Ibid., 214-215.

[161] The *Reglamento* relocated straggling communities which were assaulted and depopulated and re-positioned them in established missions, presidios, pueblos and villas along a presidial line, which protected the mining operations and more lucrative mines, haciendas, ranchos, and villas.

[162] Following the Mexican Independence in 1821, and through 1848, the Reglamiento still held official authority in governing Mexico's northern frontier, and are of vital importance to the history of the continued colonization, between Mexico, Texas, and the United States, of Indigenous peoples and lands. See generally, the English translation, in Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Odie B. Faulk, *Lancers for the King: A Study of the Frontier Military System of Northern New Spain, with a Translation of the Royal Regulations of 1772*" (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965).

[163] David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 215-216.

Evacuations of Indigenous subjects throughout the province effected the militarized incorporation of Indigenous peoples into presidial and agricultural lives. The majority population of the Ndé-Spain-Texas borderlands (well into the mid-19th century) were Indigenous peoples, and all Spanish policies impacted them more than other groups. Many were undergoing forced settlement by and through Spanish and Tlaxcalteca assimilative projects. When the militarization of the province occurred it impacted many Indigenous peoples within the systems of presidios, municipios (townships), pueblos, and missions. The impact was both horizontal and vertical in the highly ranked class system. For instance, Historian John L. Kessell states that the *Reglamento*

> gave the Marqués de Rubí's judgment the force of law, [and withdrew] presidial soldiers, settlers, and missionaries from Los Adaes and vicinity.[…] Don Juan María Vicencio, Barón de Ripperdá, the province's governor between 1770-1778, set the removal in motion. Yet he sympathized with the evacuees, compelled on short notice to leave their homes amid the moss of east Texas and endure a killing, three-month trail of tears in semiarid, unwelcoming San Antonio.[164]

The order to forcibly relocate many settled Indigenous communities in the region, as a result of Rubi's judgement, throughout the Provincias Internas had negative and chaotic effects on the populations. The loss of place in a war-torn region left even fewer methods or opportunities to eek out livelihoods, often forcing Indigenous men and boys into military service, and women into service to compensate for loss of males in the communities. Ndé experienced the forces of militarized existences at the safer peripheries of occasional 'neutral' zones, where foods could be acquired to feed hungry families. Nonetheless, many Ndé were drawn to presidarios because they were already deeply enmeshed in the exchange economy network of colonial military

[164] John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 270, 305, 334.

societies, at the *intersections* of La Gran Apachería and the Provincias Internas. Kessell emphasizes the importance of this positionality of Ndé men and families and reveals the complicated ways in which Ndé men, specifically, also acted as bridges between the presidio fort and family life in the ranchería. This also shows, in a direct way, the multiple ways in which the *Reglamento* of 1772 socialized and constructed relationships and engendered roles of Ndé peoples in relationship to the military laws, norms, and rules.

In the enforcement of the *Reglamento*, the administrators used the presidios to draw in Apaches who were experiencing the effects of war zone deprivations against 'enemies.' The alliances between mine and hacienda owners with the military and their exploitative authoritarian rule over rural Indigenous communities served to construct competing militancies and polities within the militarized northern region. Militarizing civilians through the sistema de casta, religion, and codes of masculine honor worked in a variety of ways in the highlands of Chihuahua, Nuevo León, and the arid desert communities of Coahuila and Nuevo Santander. Gendered codes of honor and status were used, among other methods, to inculcate civil defenders of the ideologically-pinned 'homeland.' In this context, the administration of opportunities for the open (out in the open) exchange of food and fundamental goods was restricted and tightly controlled by the military surveillance over 'enemy' and 'civil' societies. Not only did Ndé but millions of Indigenous peoples relied upon the free and open exchange of goods in community-built, and community-based open markets, which had for millennia been a crucial site of Indigenous social-economic-political governance. Another very crucial aspect of the militarization which followed the *Reglamento*, was the gendered and civic take-over of pueblo-mission open Indigenous fairs, religious ceremony through what Jesus de la Teja refers to

as the rise of "civic boosterism" and "commercial development" during the hardening of the frontier.

The explicit identification and systematic development of 'Apaches' as the state's official enemy-disrupter of 'progress' created a form of state governance in the north which normalized the removal, extermination and subordination of 'Apaches' to the will of the militarized state. The resulting dissection and compartmentalization of the customary geophysical domains of the Ndé—under the *Reglamiento*—radically altered the psychological perception by Indigenous civil societies of the physical power of the state and its exertion of armed violence as the official voice and function of the state against Indigenous independent sovereigns.[165] On the ground, all levels of society exploited the nutritionally fringed situation of many Ndé, who were experiencing the radical disruption to their customary open ranges and to their family structures. Although many Indigenous communities continued to provide refuge and provisions to the clans and bands of Ndé who were still independent (not permanently settled)many others worked as agents of manipulation and corruption, luring in as many Apaches and other independent Indigenous through enticements of food, shelter, blankets, cloth, trinkets, and alcohol. For instance, local communities were entangled in the political-economy of the presidio (military bases) as well as beholden to the government taxation system. Thus, the under-class of small land owners, as well as presidial soldiers (many who were Indigenous) served as a conduit in the movement of goods. At the same time, Ndé were exploited in this circuit which was constructed through their persecution and their fringed status in the economy. John L. Kessell demonstrates this

[165] Jesús F. de la Teja, "St. James at the Fair: Religious Ceremony, Civic Boosterism, and Commercial Development on the Colonial Mexican Frontier," *The Americas*, Vol. 57, No. 3, January 2001, 395-416; See also Omar S. Valerio-Jiménez, "Neglected Citizens and Willing Traders: The Villas del Norte (Tamaulipas) in Mexico's Northern Borderlands, 1749-1846, *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Summer 2002, 251-296; and E. Christian Wells, Recent Trends in Theorizing Prehispanic Mesoamerican Economies," *Journal of Archaeological Research*, Vol. 14, No. 4, December 2006, 265-312.

entanglement in the configuration of a Tucson presidio, Indigenous barrio and the rural countryside.

> Settlers within five miles of the presidio held their house lots and farmlands under terms of the military Reglamento of 1772. And while they owed no taxes to church or state, they were obligated to serve as a militia, providing their own firearms and horses. Of 300 beef cattle slaughtered annually at Tucson, 130 were consigned at government expense, along with sugar and tobacco, to Apaches who came and went at the peace camp downriver from the presidio.[166]

The massive reorganization of the region caused upheavals and deepened conflicts, hardening racial divisions; but like many architectural systems of control against Indigenous peoples, the on-the-ground effects of the *Reglamiento* also facilitated new alliances between Indigenous subjects, such as in the colony of Nuevo Santander. Indigenous settlers refusing to 'settle' into normative identities and roles in the larger project of colonization, were considered a major threat to the military conquest of the Ndé. The Spanish were fearful of the upheavals and new alliances that would most likely result between allied Indigenous nations in Coahuila and Nuevo Santander once a major war was unleashed upon the Ndé. Astutely, the Spanish Vice Royals regularly discussed the declining economic profit margins, sources of revenues, and labor source renewals in stark realization that 'Apaches' were organized *across lineal, kinship relationships* with each other as well as with other Indigenous nations. The Ndé influence and 'numbers' could not easily be quantified, which most likely haunted the Spanish Vice-Royals and officers. Ndé had achieved a penetrating influence *within* New Spain's' most critical institutions of empire.

In recognition of Spain's waning power in the region, on August 26, 1786, the Conde de Gálvez wrote and signed the *Instruccion Formada*, a document formalizing Spanish policy

[166]John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: a Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico*, Arizona, Texas and California (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 334.

towards the Apache. This legal instrument framed the centralized institutional discourse of 'the Apache' throughout the Euro-American colonial project. Known formally as the *Instruccion formada en virtud de real orden de S.M. que se dirige al señor comandante general de Provincias Internas don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola para gobierno y punctual observancia de este superior gefe y de sus inmediatos subalternos*, also known as the Viceroyalty Laws, or *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786,* (hereinafter '*Instrucción'/'Viceroyalty Laws'*) the document is divided into two parts, Instructions and General Matters. The *Instrucción* is a framework of 216 instructions and statutes which set forth detailed, legal discourse and laws for rationalizing, justifying, and implementing 'just cause' for the economic, social, and political destruction and subjugation of Ndé ('Apaches').[167] The *Instrucción* brought special attention to 'Apaches' generally to 'Lipan Apaches' specifically. Lipans were clearly designated to be treated with distinctly manipulative and subversive methods to bring about their destruction and containment.[168]

The document rests upon the broad foundation of discourse regarding "El Apache" as the internal infidel that poses a mortal threat to the Spanish empire. Each of the 216 instructions/statutes should be taken explicitly to refer directly to all Ndé peoples, in all places,

[167] Available in "Mexico (Viceroyalty) Laws, statutes, etc., Instruccion formada en virtud de real orden de S.M., que se direge al señor comandante general de Provincias Internas don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyala para govierno y punctual observancia de este superior gefe ye de sus inmediatos subalternas. [Mexico: s.n., 1786], 56 p.; 30 cm., No. 3577, Microfilm. New haven, Conn.: Research Publications, Inc., 1975. 35mm. (Western Americana, Frontier History of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1550-1900; 3577, Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, no. 167.

[168] Mescaleros, close cousins to Lipan Apaches, are often referred to in the *Instruccion*, especially in the section, "Puntos Particulares de las Provincias de Texas, Coaguila, Nuevo León y Colonia del Nuevo Santander. *See* Donald E. Worcester's translation, Ibid., 3, 133-137. The Spanish version of the microfilm is available in "Mexico (Viceroyalty) Laws, statutes, etc., Instruccion formada en virtud de real orden de S.M., que se direge al señor comandante general de Provincias Internas don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyala para govierno y punctual observancia de este superior gefe ye de sus inmediatos subalternas. [Mexico: s.n., 1786], 56 p.; 30 cm., No. 3577, Microfilm. New Haven, Conn.: Research Publications, Inc., 1975. 35mm. (Western Americana, Frontier History of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1550-1900); 3577, Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, no. 167.

and at all social levels of the Spanish colonial society. The program set in motion the expansion of the roles of the military, soldiers, presidios, settlers and independent Indigenous groups as diversely situated sources for wide-scale exterminations.[169] 'Apaches' in subjugation, in reduction, in detention, in servitude, in trade, in traffick, in peace, and in settlement were all suspect, and even the most peaceful could not avoid the settler mob violence and hunt-downs by scouts and militia seeking rewards for scalps.

Beginning with statute 20, Gálvez articulated a military and legal construction of 'Apaches,' and cemented 'Apaches' as a category within a declaratory statement of war.

> War must be waged without intermission in all of the provinces and at all times against the Apaches who have declared it. They must be sought out in their rancherías, because it is the only method of punishing them, and the only one by which we may be able to achieve the pacification of the territories.[170]

The plan called for the appointment of a commander inspector, who had autonomy from the Viceroy and was answerable only to the King. The plan provided for the *Audiencia* of Guadalajara to maintain its judicial authority which provided governing male elites the sense of security and support they hoped for to achieve fastidious results.[171]

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[169] Britten, Ibid., 129-165.

[170] Worcester, Ibid., 34.

[171] Worcestor, Ibid., 15; See also, Zavala 246, "Desde Coahuila, el 8 de marzo de 1774, Hugo O'Conor escribe al virrey don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa que anhelaba pacificar estas provincias y podia suceder que de vuelta de Sonora y emprendida la campaña general, fuese el primer fruto de ella el rendimiento de los indios lipanes. Sea que resistan or se sometan sin hacer defense, tiene duda sobre el destino que deba darles. Por el articulo 1, título 10 del Nuevo Real Reglamento, previene el rey que el comandante inspector y los capitanes y tropas de presidios mantengan con vigor guerra incesante contra los indios declaradamente enemigos. En el Artículo 2 se trata de la concesión de paces or treguas a gentiles, mayormente apaches, solo por los días suficientes para que el rerrey las apruebe."; See generally, Coleccion Chimalistac de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva España. *Documentos Para la Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas o Nuevas Philipinas 1720-1779* (Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrua Turanzas, MCMLXI).

Prior to the passage of the Viceroyalty land, Teodoro de Croix had been appointed as the first commander general (1777-1783). De Croix is credited by Worcestor, as being "one of the first of the high-ranking Spanish officials to realize that the Apache problem was very closely related to that of the Nations of the North."[172] The Comanches, in particular, would be heavily influenced into taking positions of conflict and division against the Ndé. Clearly, this is what de Croix had in mind when he organized numerous councils of war, one of which was held in the town of Monclova in December of 1777. In Monclova the deliberations among eleven men sealed the decision to use the Comanches as pseudo-subjects of the Spanish colonial project, against the 'Apaches.' De Croix wrote that this approach would "hold more promise of success in dissolving all the Indigenous resistances, rather than trying to make further alliances with Lipan Apaches, Mescaleros and other Apaches against the Comanches."[173]

Whereas the Monclava Council codified the use of Comanches against the Nde', the *Instrucción Formada* reflected the deeply entrenched perceptions of Nde' populations as 'multitudes' of infested Indigenous evil-doers. The *Instrucción*, organized, systematized, and provided a mechanism for the societal-wide extermination of 'Apaches.'

A brief sampling of concepts and terms included racist tropes of "Apache: enemy, barbarous, infidels, ignorance", "rough character", "bad customs", "serious defections." The table below provides a clearer overview of the most common terms and languages describing and constructing the savage Apache codified into law within the *Instruccion*.

[172] Worcestor, Ibid., 14.

[173] Ibid., 15; *See* also Zavala, 249.

Institutionalized codifications of 'el Apache' in the "*Instruccion formade en virtud de real orden de S.M. que se dirige al señor comandante general de Provincias Internas don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola para gobierno y punctual observancia de este superior gefe y de sus inmediatos subalternos.*"

Table 2.1, Legal Codification and Instiutionalization of the Racialized Ndé Identity: 'Apache', excerpted from the *Instrucciones*/Viceroyalty Laws.[174]

TERMINOLOGY CODIFIED	SOURCE
"evils"	"Instructions," 27.
"enemy"	"Instructions," 27.
"barbarous"	"General Matters, Statute 27," 37.
"infidels"	"General Matters, Statute, 27," 37.
"a multitude of barbarians"	"Statute 28," 37.
"the heathen"	"Statute 29," 37.
"infest"	"Statute 32," 38.
"ridiculous"	"Statute 41," 40.
"greediness," "idleness," "perverse inclinations"	"Statute 45," 41-42.
"unbridled impulsiveness"	"Statute 48," 43.
"ignorance," "rough character," "bad customs," "serious defections,"	"Statute 49," 43.
"irreconcilable hatred"	"Statute 50," 43.
"forced submission of," "their total extermination"	"Statute 51," 43.
"destroyed these provinces," "cause the apostatism and unrest of the reduced Indians"	"Statute 54," 44.
"extermination of"	"Statute 54," 44.
"inferiority"	"Statute 73," 48.
"a science of"	"Statute 103," 56.
"war against the Apaches"	"Statute 106," 56.
"domestic enemies"	"Statute 112," 58.
"the riches of the minerals now lost [because of]"	"Statute 114," 58.
"haughtiness"	"Statute 125," 61.
"audacious … bad example"	"Statute 189," 77.
"fickleness … intolerably bad faith"	"Other General Matters, Statute 195," 79.
"Apaches … Apache bands … are our real enemies … most feared"	"Statute 197," 79-80.
"rarely speak the truth"	"Statute 198," 80.

[174] Bernardo de Gálvez, *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786*, trans. and ed. Donald E. Worcester (Berkeley: The Quivira Society, 1951).

The Conde de Gálvez, as a crucial architect of Spain's imperial policies in North America, concluded that his plan to destroy the Ndé nations be implemented through the organization of specialists and allies. Fully aware that the Ndé could not be forcibly settled or contained into the militarized bordered areas without elaborate treaties, conditions and long-term accountability, the enlightened Gálvez selected "the officers of proved experience in Indian warfare and well acquainted with the country, without limiting it to a rigid scale of seniority."[175]

Gálvez was quick to fasten his discourse to the Age of Enlightenment and what David J. Weber refers to as the "intellectual crosscurrents" which applauded the use of technology and science as evidence of an individual's and an entire empire's progressiveness and sophistication, and the paradoxical application of this knowledge in the ongoing wars of extermination. Weber argues that Gálvez, in his avid absorption of the intellectual sources of his time period, wielded the weapons of science, engineering, and history in his role as Spain's minister of the Indies from 1776 to 1787. He "immersed himself" in the works by thinkers who were officially banned by the Bourbon court.[176] He "possessed" an extensive library, which included important titles in "history, geography, and science." [177] Like his contemporaries in France and England, he sought opportunities to apply new knowledge "to bring about progress by applying the methods of science to society." As is evidenced in the *Instrucción*, the administrative task of applying new sciences to the wars of extermination against the Ndé required the "streamlined administrative

[175] Ibid., 83.

[176] Weber, 2.

[177] Weber, Ibid., 2-3.

structures … to promote economic growth."[178] This meant that the organization of data became not just a critical factor in systematizing extermination, it also became an act, an aesthetic demonstrating his practice of the criteria of 'enlightenment' and 'reason.' Through the *Instrucción*, Gálvez codified and published his version of 'scientific' and modern 'proof' to an elite audience. In the case of the 'enemy Apaches,' the educated, progressive and enlightened Gálvez demonstrated 'proof' that he and the Spanish Court were modern, sophisticated and progressive and that Spanish science, law and technology effected their abilities to exert rule of law and just war against the ultimate 'savages' in the colony.[179]

The *Instrucción* itself was a technology to continue the colonial project. Through the use of the *Instrucción*, ruling military, mining, ranching and agriculture elites justified their increased uses of just wars against Ndé and Indigenous peoples at large. Defined by laws, order, data, and science, the deconstruction of 'infidel enemies' was explicitly constructed as 'security.' In reference to protecting the valuable resources (both human and mineral) as the property of the Vice-Royals, Gálvez stated, "These operations are very suitable because they serve as a great consolation to the vassals of the king, seeing that the troops are employed with greatest energy in remedying their misfortunes and losses."[180]

[178] Ibid., 2.

[179] Ibid., 3. "Gálvez, for example, defined Spain's American provinces as "colonies." In 1768, he apparently became the first Spaniard to use the word in an official document."

[180] Ibid., 84.

1799: José María Cortés and 'Apaches de Paz'

In 1799, an unsettling document emerged to tell a detailed and yet, different narrative of 'Apaches' as subjects of Spanish *establecimientos*, and at peace.[181] José María Cortés, a young Lieutenant in the Royal Corps of Engineers, wrote the *Memorias Sobre Las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España* and distributed his report to select individuals within New Spain's' governing military structure.[182] Specifically addressing several questions from the Monclova Council, in regards to the lifeways, customs, habits, beliefs, and languages of 'Apaches', and the request for ethnographic reports to learn more about peoples further north, it is clear Cortés constructed the 'Apaches' from a set of ideologies which governed his world. His subject-position to Indigenous peoples, and the appropriation and expropriation of the data available regarding militarized ethnographies specific to Apaches served him well in his larger work for privileged military groups seeking a solution to the Ndé sabotages to their profit-focused industries.

Working directly beneath Rubí and La Fora who surveyed the Provincias Internas, and upon whose work the *Instrucción* was constructed, Cortés' narrative of 'los Apaches' builds upon the continuum of religious-racial constructs of colonizer-colonized relationships. True to Enlightenment paradoxes, he disrupted and blurred the binaries through a goal to *do* science, to be progressively more accurate in data collection in order to yield substantially more tangible evidence to prove the general and specific explanations of Ndé savagery and regressiveness.

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[181] For a detailed study of Ndé and the earliest records of incorporating and indoctrinating Apaches in a reservation-style system, see Matthew M. Babcock, "Turning Apaches into Spaniards: North America's Forgotten Indian Reservations," PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2008.

[182] Don José Cortés, Teniente del Real Cuerpo de Yngenieros, *Memorias Sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España, M.DCC.XC.IX*. English translation published as *Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain*, Ed. Elizabeth A. H. John, trans. John Wheat (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

While on appointment as the engineer at the Janos presidio, Cortés witnessed close hand a community of "Apaches de paz" in *establecimientos de paz.* In his *Memorias*, Cortés stated that on orders of Commandant General Nava (Nueva Vizcaya), and in the fulfillment of Gálvez' *Instrucciónes* he was "required …to learn as much as possible of Apache customs, and expected all members of the presidial companies to learn the Apache language." The context for these instructions was emanated from the Monclova Council of War, a group of elites who drew up the famous *Sixteen Questions* used to articulate fully the physical, mental, psychological and spiritual details of Apache peoples.[183] According to historian Elizabeth A. H. John, Commandant General Nava

> wanted Apache friendship fostered in every practicable way: through consistently courteous, patient, fair treatment at every level; through frequent conferences of Spanish officers with Apache leaders; through the officers' cultivation of personal friendship with Apache individuals; through extended visits to Apache camps by competent, trustworthy interpreters. While the realities must have fallen short of Nava's counsel of perfection, Cortés may have been predisposed toward sympathetic interest in the Apaches de paz program because of earlier exposure to the well-established Moros de paz program, which had functioned successfully for several decades around Spanish presidios in North Africa.[184]

Cortés combined a methodology of personal, ethnographic field study among the Janos Apaches with his first-hand synthesis of his predecessors' diaries and journals which he accessed in the military library in Chihuahua. Cortés, considered a major contributor to 'Apache Studies' in situated 'Naciones Apaches' as a central organizing structure. According to John, "the real meat of his Memorias is the matter of the Apaches, the crux of his effort, to which Cortés brought personal observation as well as superior primary sources. […] Quite apart from their

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[183] Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 189-191; *See* also Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages*, 156-157.

[184] José Cortés, *Views from the Apache Frontier, Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain*, Elizabeth A. H. John, ed., John Wheat, trans. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 7.

ethnohistorical importance, these Memorias merit attention as a fragment of intellectual history." [185]

Interestingly, the so-called "sympathetic" Enlightenment emanating from Cortés descriptions of the Apache de Paz as the "noble savage," would lay the terrain for 19th and 20th century U.S. 'Apache' history-writing. These pseudo-scientific representations of 'Apaches' carved Ndé paternalistically. Cortés waxed empathetic, vacillating in his depictions of Janos peoples as pitiful 'savage-barbarians' and 'noble savages.' Cortés, whose writing about 'the Apache' would become well-familiar to American historians and anthropologists, laid the ground for a specifically Euro-American construct in the U.S.-American imaginary of development, production, markets and nation-building.[186]

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[185] Ibid., 12-13.

[186] José María Cortés catalogue of 'Apache' descriptors:

"The nations against which we fight at present are known by the name of Apaches, courageous Indians," 28.
"They love peace and hate to lose it," 28.
"…we have seen many rancherías from different tribes come in to seek peace. It is true that some rancherías have struck their encampments and gone to seek refuge in their mountains, but if we examine their reasons in honest truth, we will find that they are justifiable." 28.
"…a party sets out on campaign and its commanding officer asks for four, six, or more indios de paz as auxiliaries, well aware that without them he would accomplish little or nothing,"29.
"Some of them return to where their rancherías are located to care for their families and the families of others, while the other chosen ones go about happy and proud for having achieved our trust,"29.
"Thus may we guarantee the permanent pacification and tranquility of the Indians. When it is gone on for twelve or fifteen years, this peaceful life will be very pleasant for them, whereas the savage and beleaguered existence which they lead in the mountains will seem quite violent," 31.
"[In regards to agriculture and pacification] While a few have a fair aptitude for this natural industry, those who do not seek this type of occupation should not be forced. Their first generation would be the effective upon which all our attention should focus, to make them understand that work will allow them to live in comfort,"49.
"History of the Apache Nations," 49.
"Llanero [Grasslands/Plains Apaches] group is quite numerous, with many warriors," 52.
"The Lipanes for one of the most considerable nations among the savages in northern New Spain. They extend over a vast territory, whose boundaries to the west are the lands of the Llaneros, to the north the Cumanchería, to the east the province of Cohagüila, and to the south the left bank of the Río Grande del Norte," 52.
"Apaches' Beliefs, Superstitions, and Marriages,"53.
"Regarding the language and other particulars of the natural character of the Apache Indians," 56.
"Regarding the lands on which they choose to locate their rancherías, and about their dwellings," 57.
"Regarding the food and nourishment with which they sustain themselves," 59.
"Regarding their clothing," 59.

The observations and writings of Jose' Maria Cortes provide a discursive counter-balance to pacification and domestication, which is the binary of the full-throttle war discourse of extermination. Cortes' descriptors ran the gamut from observations on their love of freedom, their skill at warfare, the size of their hunting parties, the breadth of their economic and trade networks, to aspirations for their civilization and assimilation into Spanish culture. A faithful functionary, Cortes built his recommendations for an Apache policy based upon the growing popularity in professing the supposedly honorable ideals uplifting Indigenous peoples to the European construct of "civilization," which Indigenous peoples were already well familiar, and which was frequently oversimplified to the demand of 'civilizar o exterminar.'[187] Cortes opined "Thus may we guarantee the permanent pacification and tranquility of the Indians. When it is gone on for twelve or fifteen years, this peaceful life will be very pleasant for them, whereas the savage and beleaguered existence which they lead in the mountains will seem quite violent."[188] Cortes frequently ruminated on whether or not to civilize or exterminate the Apaches, further demonstrating the development of major ethnographic genres, modes, lenses,

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"The state of agriculture, of the arts, and of commerce in the Apache Nations, and their use of money," 114.
"Regarding the leadership of their rancherías, the reasons for their relocations, and the diversions which they like best," 62.
"Factors that bring several rancherías together, and the precautions that they observe for the security of the territory that they cover," 65.
"Regarding the great hunts," 66.
"Regarding their weapons," 69.
"Regarding the warfare waged by the Apache Nations," 71.
"Emotions about the death of an Apache, mourning, and funerals," 77.

[187] *See* generally, Ricardo León García y Carlos González Herrera, Historia *de los Pueblos Indígenas de México, Civilizar o Exterminar: Tarahumaras y Apaches en Chihuahua, Siglo XIX* (México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), 2000); Carlos Manuel Valdés, Sociedad *y delincuencia en el Saltillo Colonial* (Saltillo: D.R.Archivo Municipal de Saltillo, 2002); Martha Rodríguez, *Historia de los Pueblos Indígenas de México: Historias de Resistencia y Exterminio* (México: de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), 1995); Carlos Manuel Valdés, *Historia de los Pueblos Indígenas de México, La Gente del Mezquite: Los Nómadas del Noreste en la Colonia* (México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), 1995.

[188] Ibid., 31.

and methodological frameworks which the Anglo-Americans would later appropriate prior to 1848 and thereafter from their Spanish-American counter-parts.

Normalization of 'Apache' as 'Enemy' of Settler States

By 1821, the settler states of Mexico, Texas and the United States had designed and codified local approaches to the administration and management of 'internal domestic infidel-savages' and the alleged 'Apache' problem. Ndé, a hyper-persecuted group, burrowed in and retaliated as they also attempted to maintain their standing and footholds within their homelands and attempted to withstand the pressures of extermination wars. Customary laws governing women's, children's and clan's survival, ensured that Ndé men raised their resistances against genocidal societies, which were continually justified through the *Instruccion* and just war traditions in the 'borderlands.' Lipan Apaches were coerced and persuaded into negotiation, treaties, and futile agreements with Anglo and Mexican military and civil authorities in order to protect their clans from the mob violence of white settlers on the Texas-Mexico and Comanche battle grounds. Many Lipan Apaches went underground as a steady form of resistance and as a strategy to stay on their lands within the Rio Grande, Conchos, and Nueces river watersheds.

As Texans and Americans projected their definitions of sovereignty onto Nde' lands, they constructed narratives about 'natives'—particular and universal—by drawing from a sea of symbols, codes, and laws that colonial Spain had already established in American political and popular thought across 'el norte.' White supremacy, Indigenous degeneracy, Manifest Destiny, the racial amalgamation of 'Mexicans'—each facilitated the terrains of sovereignty where killing itself emboldened a state's conception of sovereignty and power to rule over life. The Spanish pioneer, the military hero, and Euro-American ranching/farming pioneer stories celebrated

Mexico's and Texas' 'independence' from regressive colonial rulers. Yet, these ideals of a democratic order were built upon constitutionalist systems which concealed the politics of extermination, resistance histories of Indigenous nations, and stateless peoples upon whose lands, bodies, and family structures 'democracy', 'independence', and 'heritages' were constructed. The formation of a multiplicity of states denied that these were constructed upon the simultaneous aggregation of Indigenous subjects into 'multitudes' of 'peasant' and 'ethnic' laborers, or idealized 'Indians' of antiquity.

In their investigation of Mexico's northern colonial systems, historians Teresa Rojas Rabiela and Mario Humberto Ruiz tease out this crisis and situate it within Mexico's 19th century national narratives of 'civilizar o exterminar'.

> Paradójicamente, al mismo tiempo que se exhumaba "lo indio", se luchaba por hacer desaparecer a los indios, pretendido escollo para accede al progreso. Así, en una cojunción por demás extraña, tanto el pasado español como el presente indio, las dos vertientes en que se fundaba la joven nación, pasaron a ser zonas negadas. Una historia mutilada, magro principio para sustentar la nacionalidad.[189]

This synthesis accurately describes the situation of Indigenous peoples along the Rio Grande River, whose customary lands straddles the river, and whose histories both locate and are located through the lenses of Mexican, Texan and U.S. narratives of nation-building.

[189] Ricardo León García y Carlos González Herrera, *Civilizar o Exterminar: Tarahumaras y Apaches en Chihuahua, Siglo XIX* (Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2000), 5. [Trans. "Paradoxically, at the same time [Mexico] was exhuming "the [romantic, regal, rationale] Indian", they were also fighting to disappear the Indigenous peoples [Indigenous identities of resistance], as they were perceived to be a stumbling block in the attempts to gain progress. In this way, in a combination otherwise strange, much of the Spanish past, and the Indian present, were two slopes from which the young nation was founded, and came to be negated zones. [The nation emerged from] A mutilated, lean history, principally, in order to support and defend nationality."]

Conclusion

This chapter addressed serious problems with the construction of 'el Apache' from the critical perspectives of Ndé peoples who are using critical tools to re-examine the narratives of the colony. Indigenous peoples of many diverse and heterogeneous groups across (current-day) northern Mexico and southern and western Texas, New Mexico and Arizona have been subjected to the Spanish colonial construction: 'the enemy.' The 'enemy' advanced the expansion of the trans-Atlantic world-system based upon silver mining. Ndé peoples fought the Spanish attempts to subjugate Indigenous reciprocal economic systems to the world-system and the world-economy of silver, labor/slavery, and beef. By interrogating Ndé experiences through primary document and archival sources, I have theorized new Indigenous perspectives of the past, and in that process opened new critical spaces to examine many sites, locations, and areas, formerly unproblemitized in regards to 'Apaches', where the European army, scouts, reconnaissance parties, diplomatic legions, and settler groups colonized highlander Indigenous peoples of the Sierra Madres/Rocky Mountains and Southern Coastal Plains. In this chapter, I introduced the concept of Ndé *sites of crisis* as a way to bring attention to numerous unresolved locations where the subjectivity of 'el Apache' led to violence and death for Ndé and allied peoples.

By 1821, Ndé and Originario peoples—pushed to a belt zone between Mexico and Texas-U.S.—experienced the 'civilize or exterminate' dictates of each. Mexico mobilized social exclusion by erasing Spain's violence against Indigenous peoples along the Rio Grande River by ignoring the social and political realities of peoples heavily persecuted. The debilitating and homogenizing effects of Mexico's national 'mestizaje' discourse served to exclude the lingering crisis of the peoples identified as 'Apaches.' Texan discourse of 'pioneer ranchers' and the

‘agricultural paradise’ laid out extralegal frameworks for lynching, mutilating, and commodifying ‘Apache’ bodies and ‘Apache’ scalps.

The critical interrogation of the colonization of Ndé / Lipan Apaches now incorporates a sustained analysis of the economic and political invention of ‘Apaches’ as explicitly inter-locking the subjugation of Indigenous peoples throughout the mining and hacienda operations of northern Mexico and the U.S. southwest. The violent repression and assimilation of differentiated Indigenous peoples to the familiar homogenized identities of ethnic Indigenous identities, pacified ‘peasant workers’ as ‘Mexicans,’ or conversely, ‘indios rebeldes’ are static constructions of the predatory colonial state which grips Indigenous peoples.

CHAPTER THREE:

'Apache Studies': The Application of 'Necropolitics' to the Americanization of Ndé Domains

Introduction

> We've never been really understood by any of them. You see… we are the Indigenous here, which is only really known through being us. We are *not* Chicanos, Mexican- Americans, Tejanos or Hispanics. Those are how they tell a different history. We are Indigenous *here*. We belong *here* …since way before the Spanish conquerors. This is so hard for them to understand… this is so deep in our histories. You write that … what I say … and get it right. [1]

> [W]hen you are dealing with 'the Apache' history in the U.S., you have to remember that 'the Apache' is a construction of the Department of the Interior, the Department of War, ok? Everything we think we 'know' about 'the Apaches' was constructed in the War Department.[2]

This chapter interrogates the American discourse of 'the Apache' and 'the Mexican' as *native enemy Others*, and the ways these concepts were developed through the particularization and universalization of racial 'types' which were central to the Euro-American warfare in the Indigenous domains currently divided by the U.S.-Mexico border. Particular and universal 'native' subjects were key components of U.S. claims to physical, economic, and legal sovereignty over Ndé and Indigenous domains across the region. I demonstrate how the development of 'Apache Studies' operated from the spatialization of U.S. governmentality and sovereignty across multiple battle grounds in the quest to control resources across the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico. 'Apache Studies' will be analyzed here as a field of study which positioned the American as the scientific and historical authority at the center, and peripherialized Indigenous knowledge, as both *Other* and foreign, to the Euro-American nativist.

[1] Eloisa García Támez, San Pedro, Cameron County, Texas-Mexico border, August 8, 2009.

[2] Gloria Valencia-Weber, Conversation, Sandia Pueblo Casino, New Mexico, Summer 2008.

I begin by establishing the context of the rising order of a North American 'world-system,' a U.S. conception of 'sovereignty' and the foundation of 'necropower' as a crucial interplay in U.S. territorial colonization and expansion in the Southwest and northern Mexico. Next, I engage a historical and social context of the Ndé as key revolutionary communities from whose heterogeneous membership the colonizers spatialized both the 'particular' and the 'universal' ethnic stereotypes of modernity: 'the Mexican' and 'the Apache' and from those instigated inter-ethnic conflict between Indigenous peoples of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands as a fixture of U.S. Americanization. Following that, I trace the late 19th century emergence of 'Apache Studies' as the Americanized discourse of 'the native savage Other' in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and how this field arose concomitantly within the matrix of territorial conquest, development and enfranchisement of the Euro-American cultivator as part and parcel of settler colonialism.[3] I examine Americanization through an Indigenous lens, and thus I unpack the key contexts which lay the ground for 'Apache Studies' in late 19th century American Southwest. The concepts of militarized settler violence, states of exception, military ethnologies, American science, getting control, and militarized humanities are foregrounded as predicating the development of 'Apache Studies'. Finally, I critique key texts considered a canon of 'Apache Studies.'

[3] For the importance of the construction of ideal cultivators and the supplantation of Indigenous ways of life, *see* Anna Jonston and Alan Lawson, "Settler Colonies," in A Companion to Postcolonial Studies, eds. Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray (Blackwell Online, 2004) at http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?id=g9780631206637_chunk_g978063120663721#citation, accessed March 30, 2010; (Elizabeth Colson, "The Impact of the Colonial Period on the Definition of Land Rights," in *Colonialism in Africa: 1870-1960*, *A Bibliographic Guide to Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Volume 1, eds. Peter Duignan, and L.H. Gann, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 193-215; Alan R. Booth, "Homestead, State, and Migrant Labor in Colonial Swaziland," African Economic History, No. 14, 1985, 107-145; Elia Zureik, *The Palestinians in Israel: a Study of Internal Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1979).

I build upon the work of Emmanuel Wallerstein and his thesis of world-systems, mini-systems, and multiplicities of states, and conjoin these with Achille Mbembe's thesis of necropower and necropolitics, noting the importance of these analytical tools for critical scholar Rosa Linda Fregoso and the application of these to the contemporary Texas-Mexico border. Wallerstein and Mbembe inform Indigenous analysis of the Ndé domains bifurcated by the American wars against Indigenous peoples, and the U.S. armed annexation of over half of Mexico's territorial claims. As discussed in Chapter Two, key factors are critical to comprehending Ndé social and revolutionary movements, namely, 18th-19th century northern Mexico's immense deposits mineral ore deposits; a large, diverse, heterogeneous population of colonized Indigenous peoples under subjugation by numerous polities; and the violent will of the U.S. to dominate these 'resources', using 'sovereignty' and 'nation' as rationales for armed force.

P.J. Bakewell, Stanley J. Stein, Barbara H. Stein, and D. A. Brading each established that silver mining in northern Mexico brought Spain and the Americas into modernity, established the world's *first* major world system which triangulated trans-Atlantic markets between Europe Africa and the Americas, and constructed the conditions for modern global capitalism.[4] Emmanuel Wallerstein analyzed the contemporary world from the foundation that "the modern world system as a capitalist world-economy…had its origins in the sixteenth century. This world-system was then located in only a part of the globe, primarily in parts of Europe and the

[4] P.J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico, Zacatecas 1546-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2000); D. A. Brading, "Mexican-Silver Mining in the Eighteenth Century: The Revival of Zacatecas," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 4, Nov., 1970, 665-681; D. A. Brading, "Government and Elite in Late Colonial Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 3, Aug., 1973, 389-414; D. A. Brading, "Facts and Figments in Bourbon Mexico," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1985, 61-64; D. A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Nov. 1972, 545-579.

Americas."[5] Wallerstein has argued for the analysis of three types of historical systems to frame the concentrations of wealth accumulation within a 'world-system' which commodifies structures of different economies: mini-systems, world-empires, and world-economics. He states,

> World-systems analysis meant first of all the substitution of a unit of analysis called the "world-system" for the standard unit of analysis, which was the national state. … World-systems analysts raised a skeptical eyebrow, questioning whether any of these objects of study ["national histories," "economist national economies," "political scientist national political structures," and "sociologists national societies,"] really existed… Instead of national states as the object of study, they substituted "historical systems" which, it was argued, had existed up to now in only three variants: mini-systems; and "world-systems" of two kinds—world-economies and world-empires.[6]

Emphasizing that world-systems *are not* empires of the *entire* Earth. Rather, he calls our attention to

> the hyphen in world-system and its two subcategories, world-economies and world-empires … was intended to underline that we are talking not about systems, economies, empires of the (whole) world, but about systems, economies, empires *that are* a world (but quite possibly, and indeed usually, not encompassing the entire globe).[7]

Wallerstein's thesis of spatiality is productive to *visualizing* the rising late 19th century U.S. order as a system which elevated the armed and mechanized subordination of Indigenous peoples' into laborers, prisoners, property and/or dead bodies. Sovereignty normalized these statuses under Western juridical law and 'war' frameworks. This required the involvement of smaller states and polities. Wallerstein argued, "[I]n 'world-systems' we are dealing with a spatial/temporal zone which cuts across many political and cultural units, one that represents an

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[5] Emmanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 23.

[6] Wallerstein, 23-24.

[7] Ibid., 16-17.

integrated zone of activity and institutions which obey certain systemic rules." Drawing from Wallerstein's 'world-system' category, I locate the United States between 1865 to 1890 in Ndé domains, and submersed in the politics of violent (oppressive and hierarchical) sovereignty, subordination and death. For example, I locate the appropriations of Indigenous bodies and Indigenous reciprocity-based systems, i.e. Wallerstein's 'mini-systems' (Indigenous peoples trade, commerce networks, resources), in Illustration 3.1 - 3.7.[8] From an Indigenous counter-narrative, I analyze these as 'talking pictures' in which the viewer can now interrogate a continental-wide and –long spatialization of an American world-system assumptive *take-over* of smaller Indigenous polities, or 'mini-systems'. Counter-narrated as seizure, atrocity, imprisonment, enslavement, settlement, and military industrial development these illustrations guide my analysis of the maintenance of specified *native enemy Others* within physically barricaded parameters, as in the case of Texas—a heavily armed fortress.

From a critical Ndé perspective, Wallerstein's thesis of the world-system foregrounds the U.S. as a physical construction of multiple, spatialized, polities with certain groupings of mutual interests in accumulation and domination in order to achieve "endless accumulation" of capital. Wallerstein argues,

> Capitalists need a large market (hence mini-systems are too narrow for them) but they also need a *multiplicity of states*, so that they can gain the advantages of working with states but also can circumvent states hostile to their interests in favor of states friendly to their interests. Only the existence of the *multiplicity of states* within the overall division of labor assures this possibility.[9] (Emphasis added).

[8] See Illustrations 3.1-3.7 at the end of Chapter.

[9] Wallerstein, Ibid., 24.

In the process of making 'Apache Studies' a field, U.S. Euro-American polities built a collection of ideas about Others which inter-locked two crucial 'native' enemy subjects—'Apaches' and 'Mexicans.' These literacies, techniques, and engineering achievements worked to normalize genocide, Euro-American cultural pre-eminence, and inter-ethnic violence as the norms of sovereignty along the *Ndé*-U.S.-Mexico border.

The continental spread of U.S. sovereignty expressed through the rising order of *necropower*—the actual process of seizing lands and bodies and occupation through asserting physical control over a large geographical area—moved technologies, materials, and ideas of racial and ethnic types.[10] In "Necropolitics," Achille Mbembe sets forth a critique of sovereignty, stating that:

> …the ultimate expression of sovereignty resides, to a large degree, in the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die. Hence, to kill or to allow to live constitute the limits of sovereignty, its fundamental attributes. To exercise sovereignty is to exercise control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power. … War, after all, is as much a means of achieving sovereignty as a way of exercising the right to kill.[11]

Mbembe argues that it is not possible to articulate violence and death through *normative* readings of sovereignty. Destruction is embedded within the genealogies of sovereignty, because, Mbembe states, "death structures the idea of sovereignty, the political and the subject … a correlation among death, sovereignty and sexuality [which is] inextricably linked to violence and to the dissolution of the boundaries of the body and self by way of orgiastic and excremental impulses."

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[10] Clearly, 19th century Mexico practiced necropower, hinged and intersecting the U.S., Texas and other polities. The establishment of 'Apache Studies' in Mexico deserves a sustained and critical focus, given the fact that after 1848 numerous communities of Ndé remained in Mexico. Contemporary transnational and regional activism by Ndé in Mexico makes this an especially crucial project, with important histories to recover.

[11] Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," Libby Meintjes, trans., *Public Culture*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 12.

Traditional accounts of sovereignty found in the discipline of political science and the subdiscipline of international relations, are called into question. "For the most part, these accounts locate sovereignty within the boundaries of the nation-state, within *institutions empowered by* the state, or within supranational institutions and networks."[12] (Emphasis added.) Mbembe's critique, from a South African and global Indigenous perspective, calls into question the Ndé denationalized spaces of the U.S.-Mexico border, and the 'Apache' and 'Mexican' 'native' 'enemy' subjects.

The American construction of the 'the Apache' and 'the Mexican' were vital components in the construction of sovereignty to seize land and subordinate Indigenous peoples. These American steps into modernity and utilization of sovereignty predated the Nazi use of state sovereignty to destroy multitudes.[13] It cannot be argued, then, that "the complete conflation of war and politics (and racism, homicide, and suicide) … is unique to the Nazi state."[14] Mbembe leaves for others to debate "the singularity of the extermination of the Jews or to hold it up by way of example."[15]

There are two questions that are a nexus for re-theorizing the American use of sovereignty, and its interplay with the *native enemy Other* in global Indigenous thought, and the rise of 'Apache Studies.' One, Mbembe identifies as "colonial imperialism" and the other "the serialization of technical mechanisms for putting people to death—mechanisms developed

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 18.

[14] Ibid., 12-13.

[15] Ibid., 13.

between the Industrial Revolution and the First World War."[16] Concurring with these identifications, these two developments were scaffolded by racist stereotypes, a spread of class-based ethnicity and racism and these often intersected in the elites' comparative evaluations of the American working classes, "stateless people" of the industrial world and Indigenous peoples, often conflating all the above as the "savages" of colonial worlds. In the case of the Ndé and Americanization, the particular and the universal *native enemy Other* identities converged at the U.S.-Mexico border.

Since the mid to late 19th century, stateless Ndé peoples have been a group and a domain bifurcated and denationalized through armed force across four distinct state histories. Ndé, from the Euro-American settler lens, qualified as *both* 'Apaches' and 'Mexicans' as their members were constructed as both by numerous polities prior to 1821. The Americanization of the region also constructed Ndé as *both* particular and universal *native enemy Others* in *different* sectors of the U.S.-Mexico border. At the time, the spatialization of American sovereignty—dependent upon a multiplicity of demi-sovereigns— was socialized as a method and form of silencing, repressing, and even exterminating oppositional forces and revolutionary processes and histories along the U.S.-Mexico border. The formation of critical theory and the application of necropolitics onto the Texas-Mexico border, and the interrogation of mass destruction targeting particularized *enemy Others*—such as Indigenous women—are key to Ndé lenses *on the past*.

In "We Want Them Alive!': the Politics and Culture of Human Rights," Rosa Linda Fregoso sets forth the argument, "that a new order of power is emerging on the US-Mexico

[16] Ibid., 18.

borderlands. This order of power is necropolitical."[17] Mbembe defines "necropolitics" as "contemporary forms of subjugation of life to the power of death."[18] Fregoso found necropolitics useful as it relates to feminicide, and

> the murder of nearly 400 women; the disappearance of over one thousand, in just one decade alone, and in just one border city: Ciudad Juárez, … Feminicide is the local expression of the global proliferation of violence on the powerless, the borderland's form of 'social cleansing'… 'the politics of gender extermination'. Furthermore, dissatisfied with normative analysis of feminicide locating it "as an effect of economic globalization," Fregoso called into question the state and "proposed an alternative scenario for locating the order of power engendering feminicide, one that emphasized state-sponsored terrorism.[19]

Central to Fregoso's critique is the elevation of "the significance of state-sponsored terrorism," a "state of exception produced by an authoritarian government that has cultivated extreme forms of violence, corruption, and, yes, even death, in order to cripple peoples' capacity to resist, to smother effective counterdiscourse and overpower the revitalized democratic opposition."[20] Fregoso teased out the *perpetrated*, targeted by a *multiplicity of polities* in "the assassination of poor, racialized women in the region…" Fregoso specifies that "the character and impact of an emerging order of power on the border" is necropolitical. (Emphasis added.) "The consolidation of a necropolitics in the region is a result of the convergence and intersection of multiple forces and processes, chief among these is the process of 'denationalization' that has abolished the rights of certain women."[21] To examine a social history of necropolitics and that which pre-

[17] Rosa Linda Fregoso, "'We Want Them Alive!': The Politics and Culture of Human Rights," *Social Identities*, Vol. 12, No. 2, March 2006, 109-138.

[18] Mbembe, Ibid., 39.

[19] Fregoso, Ibid., 110.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 110-111.

dated it—*necropower*—I draw upon Fregoso's location of the necropolitical order in the Texas-Mexico borderlands, and the Americanization of the region in the 19th century.

Historical and Social Context

By the mid 19th century, Ndé were key revolutionary communities across the bordered lands, but in no way were they working in exclusion or separated from diverse Indigenous polities upon whose reciprocal engagement they depended upon for their own survival. Ndé fought against the violent forces of persecution, slave taking, forced labor, deportation, separation of families, and gendered domestication as evinced through institutions of both the Spanish-American and the Euro-American which overlapped in Ndé domains. Important contexts and texts in U.S. 19th and 20th century projects in the Ndé-Texas-Mexico borderlands were *foundational* in the militarized construction of 'Apache Studies' into a disciplinary area. In the process, the U.S. and its incorporated "multiplicity of states" worked in numerous conjoined ways to exert armed force against the 'native' enemies in territorial expansion to the south. In this process, the construction and reification of *particular* and *universal* 'natives' operated in a triangulation of domination and oppression which advantaged the spread of the North American world-system dominated by U.S. elites.

Inventing enemy 'Apaches' and ethnic 'Mexicans' was *central* to a U.S. policy of economic development and warfare in continental expansions into and across the sovereign territories of Spain, Mexico, Texas. These identities operated as part of the forced subjugation of Ndé and Indigenous peoples' customary domains which eventually entailed the violent annexations of Texas and half of Mexico. U.S. war policy relied upon the constructions of racial, gendered and subordinated ethnic 'natives'—both particular and universal— in the violent

wars to expand the Anglo-American reach into both mineral and human resources spanning continental Indigenous domains.

The Anglo-American seizure, colonization and dispossession of Ndé groups through the militarization of Ndé domains rose as integral fixtures of the Anglo-American emigration and settlement. These processes were deeply intertwined with the U.S. expansions into the world-economy. Arguably, the expansion of the U.S. railroad, communications, forts, posts, camps, bases, towns, municipalities, and normative Euro-American ethnic, heterosexual identities and family structures *spread* U.S.-Anglo democratization across North America. The violent spread across the continent delineated a certain scale of mechanization and means. Immanuel Wallerstein posits, "capitalists always seek increasingly larger markets. Indigenous reciprocal systems "are too narrow for them."[22] Furthermore, he states, capitalists "need *a multiplicity of states*, so that they can gain the advantages of working with states but also can circumvent states hostile to their interests in favor of states friendly to their interests. Only the existence of a multiplicity of states within the overall division of labor assures this possibility." (Emphasis added.) This point is illustrated strongly in silver mining in northeastern Mexico and the Southwest U.S. as *the* most important factor in the establishment of a North American and trans-Atlantic *world-system*, which Wallerstein argues, "has always been a world-economy. It is and has always been a *capitalist* world-economy."[23] The 19th century U.S. continental expansions *typically* involved the Euro-American encroachment into the Southwest and northern Mexico, and the Euro-American *seizure* of the silver, copper, gold, cotton, and cattle markets. This

[22] Immanuel Wallerstein, *World –Systems Analysis: An Introduction*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 24.

[23] Wallerstein, 23.

entailed dispossession and deportations, as well as the violent appropriation of Indigenous reciprocal economies, trade, routes, circuits and knowledges.

Southwest settler ecologies, normalized as utopic American landscapes, articulated an idea that Euro-American ethnic identities were particularly 'fit' for seizing opportunities and for seizing lands. Making the Southwest 'American' was a process of rationalizing violent takings through the discourse of superior biology and superior history. With the construction of each new fort, post, base, town and ranch the army and settlers mapped U.S. democratization as violence. From Indigenous perspectives, this field of killing and subjugation marked the Americanization period as a story of taking and spreading *as the 'birth'* , or creation story, of the Anglo in the Southwest.

Settlers and the military narratives equated death as the 'openings' and 'beginning's of new American life, and new American spaces served to extenuate the fantasy imaginary of an American utopic 'paradise' fought through blood and race wars. An excellent example of this convergence of military and civil-minded Indigenous cleansing and the 'death' of Ndé space, occurred in 1891, during General Crook's tour of the 'Apache'-Arizona Territory borderlands occupation. John G. Bourke wrote his high praises for the town of Prescott, Arizona, nestled in the heartlands of Yavapai Apaches by the Verde River. Prescott's 'American' qualities, articulated against the stark absence of Indigenous and 'the Mexican' (which figure strongly throughout his journals), render this scene typical of American militarized necropolitics:

> Prescott was not merely picturesque in location and dainty in appearance, with all its houses neatly painted and surrounded with paling fences and supplied with windows after the American style…. Its inhabitants were Americans; American men had brought American wives out with them from their old homes in the far East, and these American wives had not forgotten the lessons of elegance and thrift learned in childhood. The houses were built in American style; the doors

> were American doors and fastened with American bolts and locks, opened by American knobs, and not closed by letting a heavy cottonwood log fall against them…. There were American books, American newspapers, American magazines—the last intelligently read. Not even so much as a Spanish advertisement could be found in the columns of *The Miner*, in which, week after week, John H. Marion fought out the battle of "America for Americans".[24]

In Bourke's vignette, the lands of Prescott were rendered cleansed and purged of blood wars and this enabled his vision of utopic American domestication. The American space *became* a feminized space of ideal beauty and classed as a masculine place which liberated mining, wage-earners, and private property through suffrage. Elite military officers framed the seizures of the Southwest and Mexico's north as a "showdown between the older Americans and the new, between two ways of life that were basically incompatible." [25]

American military strategists and politicians used the discourse of race, gender, and American technological progress to naturalize dispossession against 'the Apache', 'the Mexican', and the heterogeneous and indigenized Spanish speaking communities which *literally* surrounded Euro-Americans in the 'new' U.S. Southwest. Underlying these perceptions of the *native Other* was increasing scales of discipline, punishment, and death in the demonstration of U.S. masculine force. Bourke praised General Crook's method for achieving American stability in 'Apache Territory' through the use of force. When Euro-Americans did not understand local Indigenous customs or law systems, they forced Indigenous peoples to conform to the iron fist of

[24] John G. Bourke*, On the Border With Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971)158-159.

[25] Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, "Chapter 14, Winning the West the Army in the Indian Wars, 1865-1890," American Military History, Army Historical Series, http://www.history.army.mil/BOOKS/amh/AMH-14.htm, March 9, 2010.

American military rule: "each and every infractions of the rule was threatened with the severest punishment the whole military force could inflict."[26]

The 19th century U.S. myth of Indigenous peoples 'vanishing' was an important discourse which camouflaged the scale at which Indigenous peoples were being forcibly incorporated into forced labor sectors of the military, agriculture, ranching, and mining, as homeless, indigent and migrant peoples absorbed into rural and urban Americanized landscapes. In particular in the U.S. Southwest and Mexico's northeast, 'Apaches' often 'blended' into the larger Indigenous Catholic multitudes. Ndé critical lenses read 'disappearing Indians' as code for large numbers of Indigenous peoples going underground within Indigenous *multitudes* and settling down in semi-permanent locations such as Indigenous barrios in major towns across the region—an optimum survival strategy. To blend in among the collective, to conceal 'enemy' identity during serial warfare was a crucial aspect of everyday kinship practices.

The U.S. Office of the Chief of Military History, narrated the American tale of vanishing the Indigenous peoples in *Winning the West: The Army in the Indian Wars, 1865-1890*. Clearly, the U.S. military corps envisioned sovereignty and establishing sectors of death as a contestation between U.S. military "responsibilities" and white settlers' "collision" with Indigenous reciprocal mini-systems.

> Because the Army's military responsibilities were of continental proportions, involving sweeping distances, limited resources, and far-flung operations, an administrative structure was required for command and control. … Development of a basic defense system in the trans-Mississippi West had followed the course of empire; territorial acquisition and exploration successes by emigration and settlement brought the whites increasingly into collision with the Indians and

[26] Ibid., 17.

> progressively raised the need for military posts along the transcontinental trails and in settled areas.[27]

The "defense" of white settlement became a cause for the U.S. to create 'states of exception," which Mbembe defines as "the zone where the violence of the state of exception is deemed to operate in the service of "civilization." Mbembe posits:

> It is thus impossible to conclude peace with them [the enemy]. In sum, colonies are zones in which war and disorder, internal and external figures of the political, stand side by side or alternate with each other. As such, the colonies are the location par excellence where the controls and the guarantees of judicial order can be suspended. That colonies might be ruled over in absolute lawlessness stems from the racial denial of any common bond between the conqueror and the native. In the eyes of the conqueror, *savage life* is just another form of *animal life*, a horrifying experience, something alien or beyond comprehension.[28]

The official military discourse normed the idea of the *enemy Other* as part of the larger continental expansion and colonization. See Illustration 3.7 to aid the visualization of the *state of exception*—a field of killing and a zone establishing the spatialization of death as a sovereign act.[29] Violent displacement and incorporations of 'enemy' territories into the bulging American landscape as states of exception—places of lawlessness- constructed to 'give birth' to the *intertwined* order of American industrialization, settler operations, citizenship acts, and national unity.

The U.S. appropriation of Indigenous knowledges, lands, and economic circuits (markets) occurred through an organizing framework. According to the U.S. Officer of Military History

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[27] Office of the Chief of Military History, Ibid.

[28] Mbembe, 24.

[29] See Mbembe, 23-24. See also, Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Standford University Press, 1998); Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

this framework "drew the outlines of the major task facing the Army in the West in the middle of the nineteenth century… During the period between the Mexican and the Civil Wars the Army established a reasonably comprehensive system of forts to protect the arteries of white travel and areas of white settlement across the frontier."[30]

American Anxiety

The normative *native Other* binary *made foreign* two large Indigenous linguistic groups which historically influenced the entire region: Uto-Aztekan and Athapaskan speaking peoples. The Spanish colonial linguistic and cultural influences across the Indigenous domains and polities affected a deep impression upon the Euro (Anglo)-Americans. The US southwest and Mexican north was a dominant indigenous and Spanish language world. The anxiety of the Euro-American settlers was encoded throughout their discourse of biological and historical superiority.

In John G. Bourke's description of Prescott, there is the anxiety and terror of the Spanish-Indigenous borderlands, encoded between the Anglo male conception of biological superiority and the Anglo-American narrative of the claim of the historical immaturity of the Spanish *Other*. 'Indians' were peoples who, according to the Anglo pioneer, did not perform 'labor' –'true Indians' roamed, ranged and foraged. 'Mexicans', in the lens of the Anglo-settler, had diminished their 'Native' historical past by 'lowering themselves' into servitude as 'peons' of the Spanish elites. The Euro-American memory, of course, had a nestled, internalized fear/hatred of the lowly, dispossessed, and violated bonded servant—as many of their own ancestors arrived in the Americas without any legal claim to their bodies, the land, or a place in a democracy of elites.

[30] Ibid., 303-304.

Many peoples in the Ndé borderlands had a deep history of class by way of ethnicity, gender and sexuality—as ranked and submersed subjects within the Euro-American mining, ranching, labor and wage economies. Indigenous peoples' 'native' identities were often subsumed beneath 'laborer' in the legal records of Spanish governmentality. In the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, as in colonial New Spain, 'Mexican Indian' was synonymous to 'laborers' who, it was presumed mistakenly by Euro-Americans, 'came with the land' as surplus. The American military and white male construction of local Indigenous peoples as "hostiles" and as "foreign" was sculpted by the violent American expansion and annexation of Texas (1845) and Mexico (1848).

Defeating 'Apaches' was a war waged in numerous 'markets' in the Americas, in Europe, and in the Texas-Ndé-Mexico borderlands. Articulating "hostile" identities across a multiplicity of Ndé borderlands (Ndé-Texas; Ndé-Mexico; Ndé-Comanche; Ndé-Tlaxcala) paved over indigenei*ties* and lumped them together as 'Mexican' Others (subscript: criminals, bandits, mongrels). The Anglo-American racial classification systems cast a wide net over bordered Indigenous peoples, cultures, linguistic groups, and knowledges in the southern Ndé borderlands—as had the colonial Spanish system. The U.S. English dominant system *particularized* them into militarized 'regions' of 'foreign' 'ethnicities' and 'races' along the foreign and occupied lands and these were upheld and propagated as universal truths. Southern Anglo-American emigrants to the Ndé-South Texas borderlands, for example, were less partial in their inscriptions of racial and ethnic identifiers which posited all those not white as 'black.' They saw the world legally as 'white and black' and they sculpted the Indigenous in the Mexico borderlands in *particular* ways as well as *universal.*

Ndé peoples—a highly heterogeneous group of Indigenei*ties*— were violently racialized and ethnicized by Southern Anglo-Americans, Anglo-Americans, Spaniards, and the military *in diverse ways*: as 'Mexicans', 'mestizos', 'Indios, 'Indians, 'Reds', 'Savages', 'Raiders', 'thieves,' and 'Apaches' Particularizing 'Apaches' into a specific hardened identity along certain regions of the West Texas, New Mexico and Arizona Territories, helped to make certain social identities and ethnic groups identifiable to military personnel. This process of particularizing ethnicity for the articulation of 'field reports' and for the mechanization of genocidal 'clearing' processes went hand-in-glove with economic development. 'Apache Studies' emerged from the proliferation of sites in which military regimes, religious leaders, municipal authorities, and the Anglo-American civil society exchanged informal and formal *embedded* ethnologies of race science, and the anthropologies which came to embody the narrative of the U.S. Southwest.

Militarized Settler Literacies

Foundational literacies emerged out of popular misconception that 'violent Indians' would 'disappear' through American cultivation of Indigenous lands. As settlers supplanted Indigenous peoples physical presence amongst them, with mythological narratives of 'vanishing Indians,' their myths abstracted *the reality* of a violently stratified society rising on the borderlands. At the same time, rising social orders which structured the myth of Euro-American 'nativism' birthed and raised the necropolitical order of 'native' Arizonans, 'native' New Mexican's, and 'native' Texans. In the Ndé borderlands an American literary *strategy,* a particular *strain* of literacy *about* Indigenous peoples upheld the development discourse underlying U.S. war as a national unity project—against Indigenous *Others*.

In the late 19th century, the hardening of coherent ethnic identities of Indigenous peoples as '*the* Apache', '*the* Mexican' and '*the* Indian/Indios' proliferated and *spread* from American military bases, posts, camps, forts and the plenitude of news media, popular visual culture, and popular fictions.[31] The military's discourse, glossing the violent invasion with rhetoric of economic development, and the pacification of Indigenous peoples with discourse and imagery of primitivism and criminality both worked to repress the actual realities of a war-torn region and Indigenous peoples' debasement beneath the invaders. Indigenous peoples of northern Mexico and the U.S. Southwest, regardless of the invasion of Anglo-American ethnics, still dominated the living populations and the landscape. Yet, their violated human conditions related to warfare, starvations, and fragmentation were disavowed in popular myth as connected in any way to Americanization. Yet it was Americanization which fragmented Indigenous presence into colonias/colonies, barrios, and the many rural internment camps (reservations). It was American policy which worked to remove the Indigenous poor from the newly 'becoming' American Southwestern spaces.[32] Removal and forced disappearance campaigns 'solved' the army's responsibility to render aid to Euro-American settlers, cultivators and business sectors. Dead bodies were ultimately the signal *literacies on the land*—an ecology transferred into the Indigenous domain by American literacies of getting control through cartographies and serialization of brutality enjoined to disassociation.

The U.S. economic and political system was most fully articulated across a multiplicity of sites coming into being with the erasure of Ndé peoples, specific indigeneities, and specific

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[31] W. Elizabeth Bird, *Dressing in feathers: the construction of the Indian in American popular culture* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996); Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

[32] William B. Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750-1858* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1988), 124-125; 128, 224, 227.

knowledges submerged with Indigenous peoples into the mechanized labor systems. Iconic symbols, such as 'Apaches', i.e. highly constructed identities (Geronimo; Chiricahuas) and 'Mexicans' with wide-brimmed hats made from *sotol* grass (an ancient Indigenous form of weaving in northern and central Mexico) appeared as mass-produced 'types' on American postcards during the late 19th century. The Anglo-American foundation for 'Apache Studies' capitalized on a methodology which turned the lens on the newly constructed borderlands identities: the 'native' Euro-American, the 'native Southwest' 'Apache,' and the 'native foreigner' 'Mexican'. As the Americans claimed sovereignty and national citizenship as rationales for constructing the death of Indigenous national or independent polities, the American mechanized order of death remained, conspicuously, off the frame.

States as the Exception

In his widely discussed book, *State of Exception*, Giorgio Agamben states:

> The essential contiguity between the state of exception and sovereignty was [the] definition of the sovereign as "he who decides on the state of exception" … Indeed, according to a widely held opinion, the state of exception constitutes a 'point of imbalance between public law and political fact' that is situated—like civil war, insurrection and resistance—in 'ambiguous, uncertain, borderline fringe, at the intersection of the legal and the political.' The *question of borders* becomes all the more *urgent*: if exceptional measures are the result of periods of political crisis and, as such, must be understood on political and not juridico-consititutional grounds then they find themselves in the paradoxical position of being juridical measures that cannot be understood in legal terms, and the state of exception appears as the legal form of *what cannot have legal form*.[33] (Emphasis added.)

Sovereignty in the Ndé-Mexico-U.S. bordered lands, in this sense, established the means of a state of exception for the physical elimination of political, social, and economic adversaries, as

[33] Giorgio Agamben, State of Exception, Ibid., 1.

well as entire categories of citizens who would not be incorporated into the political system. In the Ndé-Mexico-U.S. borderlands, American 'theaters of war' were fundamentally dispossession and subjugation wars against Indigenous and indigenized Spanish-American peoples. The Americanization of the border exerted the application of civil war methods against oppositional and resisting polities in the attempt to *dominate* the profuse and (to Euro-Americans) indecipherable Indigenous-based labor economies and market systems dominating the region.[34] The U.S. Army articulated the late 19th century American expansion into the northern Ndé-Mexican world-system and world-economy in the following manner,

> The nineteenth century was drawing to a close and the frontier was rapidly disappearing. Territories were being replaced by states, and people, settlements, government, and law were spreading across the land. The buffalo were gone and the Indians were confined to reservations and dependent upon the government for subsistence. An expanded rail system was available to move troops quickly to trouble spots. By 1895 the Army was deployed more or less equally around the country on the basis of regional rather than operational considerations.[35]

American elites, in their analysis of the exterminations, articulated Indigenous peoples' refusals, and resistances as 'negotiations' and 'settlements', which were actually forced enclosures at gun-point into American capitalist dictums. The interplay of sovereignty and the rise of necropower, according to Achille Mbembe, did occur from the migration of the Euro-American juridical order of the colony with the weapons of force:

> The colony represents the site where sovereignty consists fundamentally in the exercise of a power outside the law (*ab legibus solutes*) … To properly assess the efficacy of the colony as a formation of terror, we need to take a detour into the European imaginary itself as it relates to the critical issue of the domestication of war and the creation of a European juridical order (*Jus publicum Europaeum*). …

[34] Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, "Chapter 14: Winning the West, the Army in the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Army Historical Series, http://www.history.army.mil/BOOKS/amh/AMH-14.htm (accessed February 16, 2010).

[35] Ibid., 318.

> On the other hand, the state, for its part, undertook to "civilize" the ways of killing and to attribute rational objectives to the very act of killing.[36]

It is through the diverse networks of institutions and constitutive practices powered through violent racialization of American national and international 'regions' such as the illustrated in Bourke's praise for Prescott (Arizona Territory) and those far from within American 'control'—the U.S.-Mexico bordered lands— that settler polities set forth new reigns of physical, biological, and intellectual power over subordinated Indigenous groups.

In the late 19th century, stateless Indigenous peoples, brutally excluded outside the normative bounds of the nation-states' incorporations of particular 'native' identities, found themselves engulfed by the terror regimes of white militant settler societies which constructed state of exception zones across the U.S.-Mexico border. There is no comparison in the United States to the state of exception manifested in Texas.[37] A critical comparative reading of Illustrations 3.1 - 3.6 underscores the multiple articulations and spatialities of sovereignty and elimination in the American period concentrated in the *built world* of: armed force, structural mechanization, seizures of lands, constitutionalist enfranchisement, universal suffrage of 'white' males, settlement, containment of Ndé peoples *inside* the open-air, industrial, sovereign borders of Texas—a long-term slave republic.

In this organizational nexus, Ndé stateless subjects were situated as key targets for incorporation into mechanized industrialization as the subjugated Indigenous multitudes vis-à-vis the universal Indigenous identity of the captive, slave, denationalized surplus: 'the Mexican.'

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[36] Mbembe, Ibid, 23.

[37] See "Selected Colonial & Indigenous Genocides," *Genocide Studies Program*, Yale University, http://www.yale.edu/gsp/colonial/world_map_indigenous.html, accessed March 24, 2010.

The serialization of elimination in Texas as an 'ultra' sovereign state of exception is critical. Mbembe argues this level of differentiation is critical because

> those figures of sovereignty whose central project is *not the struggle for autonomy* but the generalized instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and populations…[is] to be found in colonial imperialism on the one hand and, on the other, in the serialization of technical mechanisms for putting people to death—mechanisms developed between the Industrial Revolution and the First world War. … Having become mechanized, serialized execution was transformed into a purely technical, impersonal, silent, and rapid procedure.[38] (Emphasis added.)

The Texas-U.S. and Texas-Mexico borderlands were key sites in the persecution and harvest of Indigenous Others upon which the construction of 'Apache Studies' depended. As a hegemonic system, 'Apache Studies' obfuscated the underlying Ndé role in the regions heterogeneous Indigenous revolutionary political and social movements, and actively worked to isolate 'Apaches' as a group outside of time, stuck in nostalgic utopic ideations of 'the West.' Interestingly, the American containment of 'Apache' identity construed Ndé as a people cloistered off from the rest of Indigenous humanity. However, examining military records, this proves to be, like other important 'Apache Studies' myths—both contradictory to reports from the field, and a fallacy.

During the developmental stages of 'Apache Studies', the U.S. Army fully understood the continental-long Indigenous resistance as a strongly inter-linked and webbed barrier both across *and* up-and-down *the continent*. The American officer corps fully engaged the *continental-long* political alliances *between* heterogeneous Indigenous political and economic *blocs* which rose against the Americans in numerous killing zones. According to the U.S. Army, their "comprehensive system of forts to protect the arteries of white travel and areas of white

[38] Mbembe, Ibid.,11-13, 39-40.

settlement across the frontier…were [m]ilitarily successful in some cases, …nevertheless hardened Indian opposition…and led to the delineation of an Indian barrier to westward expansion extended down the Great Plains from the Canadian to the Mexican border."[39] The wall of Indigenous resistance, however, *did not end* at the U.S.-Mexico border. The Ndé, O'odham, Ópata, Mayo, Yaqui, Ndé, Nneé, Raramuri, Jumano, Kickapoo, Carrizo, Coahuilteco, and Tlaxcalteca transnational social networks *transpollinated* the Indigenous allied barrier stretching north to south.

Military Ethnologies

The military battlefield and technocratic work of administering death and forced labor influenced ethnological 'field work.' In order to infiltrate the entire region, necessary intimate relations had to be made between development, the military complex, and male authoritarian figures embedded inside Indigenous communities. The military articulated these innumerous times, across diverse spheres of governmentality, in the following way:

> In the quarter century of the Indian wars the Army met the Indian in over a thousand actions, large and small, all across the American West. It fought these wars with peacetime strength and on a peacetime budget, while at the same time it helped shape Indian policy, contributed to the red man's acculturation, and was centrally involved in numerous other activities that were part and parcel of westward expansion and of the nation's attainment of its "manifest destiny." Operations against the Indians seasoned the Army and forged a core of experienced leaders who would serve the republic well as it moved onto the world scene at the turn of the century.[40]

[39] Office of the Chief of Military History, Ibid., 304.

[40] Ibid., 318.

The "core of experienced leaders" who rose to the task of controlling Indigenous resistance in the Western hemisphere were valued for their ranges of experiences in numerous sites throughout Central and South America, the Caribbean and the Pacific. In the Ndé-Mexico and Ndé-Texas borderlands, still very much a 'foreign' theater of operation, the discourse and the consumption of war was topography of Euro-American masculine space built upon conquered and incorporated lands. Extinguishing resistance through the discourse of containment, pacification, and creating ethnographic subjects were crucial components of military officer's 'social work', carrying on the 'white man's burden' of civilizing those who survived extermination.

Through the Western scientific gaze of 'the primitive/ the native', and the exotic, 'Apache Studies' *was born.* From the start, the field of study erupted from the obsessive fetish of the 'savage' 'Apache,' set forth by "a core of experienced leaders." During the early American period, (1848-1865), Ndé peoples' condition of subjectification as specimens to science and humanities cannot be disentangled from the U.S. and Mexico-sponsored serial hunt-downs, persecutions, removals, imprisonment, forced labor, and permanent deportations. Discounting and breaking down the Ndé epistemological histories was part and parcel of subordinating Indigenous revolutionary movements by *primitivizing* Indigenous peoples into caricatured groups, ethnicities, and tribes. The highly artificial constructions of American 'enemies' and 'savages' promoted the Euro-American myth that Indigenous peoples did not have governance systems, economic trade patterns, or organized political systems engaged in hemispheric world-systems. Historian Brian Delay has argued that independent Indigenous-based polities along the Texas-Mexico border, such as the Comanche and the Lipan Apaches, "are rarely analyzed in terms of their national, let alone international, significance" during the

American industrial modernization of northern Mexico and U.S. occupation of the region.[41] Codes and legal procedures to research, analyze, and to control 'The Apache' as a Euro-American male domain signified that the Anglo-American construction of 'Apache Studies' was anything *but* innocent or natural.

From 'Savage' to 'Enemy'—Fixing Apaches in American Science

The U.S. discourse of 'the nation' expanded west of the Mississippi, and incorporated a trans-continental and hemispheric view of American manifest destiny in the exercise of dominion over the Western hemisphere. Conducting extermination wars against Indigenous peoples gained legitimacy through the discourse of biological racial superiority. By the mid 19th century, European story-telling foregrounded American intellectual and cultural superiority over 'savages.' This narrative style evolved somewhat in alignment with the modern development of the nation's technologies. The racial narrative of 'the savage' traveled hand-in-glove with U.S. imperial expansion and genocidal wars across the Mississippi, the plains, and to the Pacific. By the 1840s, American constructions of Indigenous resisters as "enemies" was normalized as mainstream U.S. political and social thought.

Science was a quintessential platform through which elites conceived and implemented major missionizing and civilizing projects to re-settle, to salvage, and to 'protect' survivor communities within the political boundaries of the U.S. Mbembe argues that this ultimately operates as part of the mechanization of killing, because "necropower can take multiple forms: the terror of actual death; or a more 'benevolent' form—the result of which is the destruction of

[41] Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, xiv-xv.

a culture in order to 'save the people' from themselves."[42] As the U.S. economic imperative spread continentally into the Ndé-Mexico borderlands, so too did the fields of American sciences and their convergence with military procedure.

In their formative years, anthropology, ethnography, biology, zoology, geography, geology *scavenged* behind the U.S. army's and American settlers' 'shatter-zones' – the large spaces emptied of life. This is the effect of "the state," Mbembe argues, for its part, "civiliz[ing] the ways of killing and to attribute rational objectives to the very act of killing."[43] Destroyed systematically, calculated in procedural forms, Indigenous skeletal remains left as litter across the 'opened' spaces, were so dense in some locations that they caused 'traffic jams' and 'break downs' of the pioneer caravans, whose wagon wheels were jammed as they traversed through and on top of them.[44]

Between 1821 to 1919, American science was conceived, born, and reared among the hungry, desperate, malnourished, diseased, and exploited Indigenous survivors as American scientists in the making embarked on 'field studies' among the dying. Built upon on social myths of superior and inferior 'races', and buttressed with popular Christian beliefs of a "Great Chain of Being", American 'opinion' about the 'natural' social hierarchy spread dangerous ideas about the 'inferiority' of Indigenous peoples in the hemisphere, and particularly in newly occupied spaces land-locked by the Gulf of Mexico, Mexico, and the Pacific Ocean. The

[42] Mbembe, Ibid., 22, footnote 38.

[43] Ibid., 23.

[44] Jody Pepion, (Blackfeet), oral history lesson, December 2009.

foundation of American scientific thought—biological racial superiority of European males—manufactured a coherent science applied in a world-system.[45]

Classifying Indigenous peoples as biologically, physically, and intellectually inferior to Euro-Americas benefitted a world classification system made popular through trans-Atlantic debates related to Charles Darwin's *On The Origin of Species: By Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of the Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. Darwin's findings had important forums, and generated discussions across religious, philosophical and scientific spheres. His integrations of 'the geologic record' as a text generated by previous 'worlds' which, he claimed, could *only* be interpreted through Western science fixed the idea that Europeans were situated historically, culturally and biologically to 'receive' and to 'know' the artifactual and fossilized knowledges of the planet. Through it all, European and Euro-American elite males debated and theorized the role and function of racially superior beings who 'fit' Darwin's theory of 'survival of the fittest' and they set forth audacious claims of a racial hierarchy, cunningly. Interestingly, they essentially argued that Anglo-Saxon 'types' were at the pinnacle of a racial triangle comprised of the worlds' populations, and that Indigenous peoples of Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Pacific comprised the bottom of humanity.[46]

The conflation of 'biological' with 'historical' analysis by American scientists influenced the writings of U.S. and European elites two decades after U.S. expansion into and annexation of Mexico. In this arena, Americans living in the U.S. Southwest theorized and debated two

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[45] Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1976). See also,

[46] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection: or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, (London: John Murray, 1859); See also Stephen Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (London: Penguin Books, 1996).

specific Indigenous identities, as the American nation-state attempted to pacify and normalize race relations between white settlers, ranchers, farmers, development and the military roles in Ndé-Mexico and U.S.-Mexico borderlands. For Americans whose work hinged on trans-continental relations, funding, and resources, some dialogues about local and international 'natives' did not easily 'fit' into the national American discourse which typically followed the fields and trajectories of wars fought against 'Indians' and 'reds.' The radical 'native' 'Other' as an international enemy embodied confluent Indigenous borderlands in zones where the state of exception occurred as an international imaginary.

In the debates about non-American and non-white Others, 'natives' collapsed the trans-Atlantic imaginary between American and European elites as they professed to 'know' about dissident and resistant identities constructed as ethnic 'enemies' of the nation.[47] 'Natives' were ideologically transportable from one killing field to another; from one area under development to the other. The racialized treatment of the Irish, by ethnic taxonomists, is one example of this. Scientists in England and the U.S. emoting their ingrained anxieties about the social order they actively helped to construct, and the oppressed groups within those orders. Scientists often informed policy making as they actively lectured and promoted recirculating ideas which conflated fear with hatred and stereotypes. Science debates about racial superiority and racial orders steered the social invention of ethnic 'types' in American discourse. According to Kathleen Neils Conzen and David A. Gerber,

> immigration transformed the larger American society, engendering a new pluralistic social order. Once ethnicity had been established as a category in American social thought, each contingent of newcomers had to

[47] Kathleen Neils Conzen and David A. Gerber, "The invention of ethnicity: A perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Fall 1992, Vol. 12, Issue 1, 3-39.

> negotiate its particular place within that social order. Anglo-Americans [a dominant Euro-American ethnic group] had to assimilate these distinctive groups into their conception of the history and future of "their" country, and to prescribe appropriate social and cultural agreements. Inevitably all Americans, native born and immigrant, were involved in a continual renegotiation of identities.[48]

Gloria A. Marshall argues that the social scientist Francis A. Walker in 1870 was "a leading spokesman for those who were alarmed by the rising power of the alien Celts." Apparently, Walker's scientific contributions to the study of race was mired by his obsession with the Irish presence in Boston industries, mill towns, and politics. Walker intertwined the threads of biological evolution and Anglo-American history by cross-circuiting a politics of hate and racialization on a world stage. Walker's anxieties about 'Celts' was in dialogue with that of his trans-Atlantic colleague Robert Knox, the Anglo-Saxon author of *The Races of Men.* Knox's views of 'Celts' were widely disseminated among elite academicians in New England. He was known for his warnings to his American colleagues, whose internal focus lie on continental struggles against 'American natives.' Knox held that 'Celts' (European 'natives' immigrating to America), embodied a "furious fanaticism; a love of war and disorder; a hatred for order and patient industry; no accumulative habits; restless, treacherous, uncertain; "the race will some day shake the Union to its foundation. They never will mix—never commingle and unite."[49] In other words, the 'Celts' would not, according to him, *voluntarily* assimilate into a subordinate position in the American labor hierarchy and wars. According to Walker, U.S. immigration

[48] Ibid., 2.

[49] Gloria A. Marshall, "Racial Classifications: Popular and Scientific," in *The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future,* Ed. Sandra Harding, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 116-127.

represented a deluge of 'Celts' among American "inferior races" which sabotaged the biological integrity of American Anglo-Saxons as a ruling class.[50]

Walker tied his political and social biases to his fear of the class-based movements and reproduction of Irish immigrants and used race science as a platform to influence and direct the nation-state in its continued "chances for the survival."[51] In Walker's analysis, particular populations such as *ethnic* 'Celtics' were markers of "the native element." This kind of prejudice was part of a larger Protestant, Anglo-Saxon claim to economic and racial superiority in the Americas, based upon their *historical narrative* of domination over European ethnic groups who represented an *indigenous* elemental history of Europe.

It is not accidental that the trans-Atlantic discussion about 'Celt' positionality in the Great Chain of Being would contribute to discussions of 'native-ness' and rising Protestant American narratives of *native-ism*. During the 1846-1848 Mexican-American war, Irish Catholics enlisted in the U.S. Army, but confronted with American prejudice, racism, and Protestant nativism, defected in large numbers to the Mexican side of the conflict. The intensified religious contours of the war between American Protestants and Mexican Catholicism influenced Irish men to make the political and cultural shift. Not surprising, given the fact that many Irish Catholics were marginalized in all sectors of American society in this period, following the potato blight of 1845. Anti-Celt (anti- indigeneity) and anti-Catholic hate worked

[50] Ibid., 123.

[51] Ibid., 122-123.

to Mexico's advantage in recruiting young, isolated, and peripheralized Irish Catholics to their side.[52]

This is a small sample of the kinds of racial explanations that influential American scientists used to link their 'innovations', 'theories' and 'discoveries' to very old and static ideations brewed in hatred, difference, land-grabs, extermination, and gendered domination. The American scientist, a new social identity in the late 19th century, wrote 'the Apache' and 'the Mexican' into a scale of Indigenous peoples of the continent, placing them in close proximity to one another in a list of de-humanized groups classified and ordered within a globally-ranked racial system.

Race-science and masculine spheres of knowing—in the academy, publishing, public lectures, law, and industry—often far away from the Ndé borderlands, made many allowances for the free-wheeling 'scientific' thought, which was being crystallized by 1881. For example, in public statements, Edward A. Freeman, an Oxford historian on an American tour, expressed this untenable blending of racial hatred masquerading as intellectualism when he professed, "the best remedy for whatever is amiss in America would be if every Irishman should kill a Negro and be hanged for it."[53] This double-barreled prescription for 'the native element' would be turned against the Indigenous diversity in the Ndé borderlands. The technologies of annihilation pitted 'the Apache' against 'Mexican Indians/natives' and yet masked how American development

[52] Robert Baumgardner, "U.S. Americans in Mexico: Constructing Identities in Monterrey," Diaspora, Identity, and Language Communities (Studies in the Linguistic Sciences) Vol. 31, No. 1, Spring 2001, 137-161; Bill Bigelow, "Rethinking the Line Between Us" *Education Leadership*, Vol. 64, No. 6, March 2007, 47-51. Omar Valerio-Jimenez, "Strategies for Teaching the American West in a Global Context," in *America on the World Stage: a Global Approach to U.S. History,* eds. Gary W. Reichard and Ted Dickson (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 99-107.

[53] As quoted in Marshall, Ibid, 123.

depended upon these kinds of racial particularizations in the consolidation of Anglo-European wealth south of the border.

Patriarchal systems of racism, sexism, theocracy, and misogyny formed the hard-frame which stabilized the Anglo-American domination. Andrea Smith and Kēhaulani Kauanui argue "The imposition of patriarchy within Native communities is essential to establishing colonial rule, because patriarchy naturalizes social hierarchy. […]."[54] Anglo-American elites built concepts of ethnicity and gender 'roles' about Ndé as a compartmentalized and fragmented 'sub-group' of 'Athapaskans.' Americans claimed 'Apache Studies' in the larger process to establish U.S. military studies, anthropology, history, American Western literature as fields from which Americans could establish American voice, American identity and American authority in the region—an hemisphere. These American methods were key parts of a larger project to dismantle Ndé influences across multiple transnational Indigenous epistemological borders and terrains.

Getting Control

Elites and governmentality in the Ndé borderlands drew upon well-established systems to control Indigenous peoples—their minds, spirits and bodies. Norming Indigenous peoples' behaviors, in a world system of silver, cotton, textiles, arms and cheap labor, developed through coercive management of laborers. Before and after 1848, socialization by threat of death and enslavement, and through systems which normed European gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, family, work and fears of 'the Other,' were all important as a bundle of methods to dismantle Ndé alliances across many Indigenous collectivities and polities. A key concept underlying this logic was that an ideologically controlled labor pool stays 'cheaper' longer. Militarizing the

[54] Andrea Smith and Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Native Feminisms Engage American Studies," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 2, June 2008, 241-249.

region subordinates the land, economy and 'natives' to the serialization of poverty, hunger, disease and internalized violence.

Anglo-American troops and sciences had 'early' involvements in the Ndé-Texas borderlands in 1836, when General James Gaines occupied Nacogdoches, Texas, during the Texas Revolution. By 1844, President Tyler deployed U.S. troops to Texas in support of Anglo-American slave owners in their secession from Mexico, which technically outlawed slavery throughout the Republic. After annexing Texas in 1845, a boundary dispute sparked the Mexican-American war (1846-1848) in which President Polk deployed U.S. occupying forces to South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande. In the Lower Rio Grande, in May 1847, Zachary Taylor's 2400 U.S. troops were severely challenged at Palo Alto by 3400 Mexican forces at the Battle of Resaca de la Palma (near present-day Brownsville and Matamoros) where hand-to-hand struggles unfolded. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, 1848) stipulated the physical and economic terms of the U.S. 'control' over Texas and established the Rio Grande River as the U.S.-Mexico border, though the numerous conventions which ensued for years afterward revealed an on-going disagreement between the parties regarding the merits of the original economic and geophysical terms. Colonization, re-colonization, and re-invasions typified the attempts to Americanize the region.

In 1859 the U.S. deployed more than two hundred soldiers into northeastern Mexico in pursuit of revolutionary leader Juan Cortina. In 1866 General Sedgwick and 100 armed men invaded the Lower Rio Grande in defense of Anglo-American business owners and occupied Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Mexico—thirteen miles down river from El Calaboz Ranchería. Between 1873 and 1896, U.S. troops repeatedly pursued Indigenous peoples into the sovereignty of Mexico, and chasing down 'property' of U.S. citizens. In 1876, the U.S. deployed forces to

Matamoros again in defense of U.S. private business owners. In 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1917, the U.S. deployed forces to Matamoros, Brownsville, Tampico and stations along the Lower Rio Grande to repress Indigenous revolutionary movements against mining, railroad, and agriculture exploitation. In 1918-1919, the U.S. occupied and pursued revolutionaries across the South Texas and Southern Arizona border lands into Mexico to quash transborder and transnational revolutionary alliances.[55]

The American classification theories of Ndé peoples lumped 'Apaches' and numerous Indigenous relations of Ndé peoples into a homogenous and flattened ethnic-linguistic group: Athapaskans. 'Apaches' is to Ndé, as Equus is to Łįį—there is no direct translation. Stephen Jay Gould argues that biological determinism "shares behavioral norms, and the social and economic differences between human groups—primarily races, classes, and sexes—[which] arise from inherited, inborn distinctions and that society, in this sense, is an accurate reflection of biology." Thus, through the simultaneous articulation of 'field' matter from military sites of occupation and human destruction emerged the impetus, the 'raw data' offered up to elites to construct rationales about difference, and these were being calculated on the dead bodies and mutilated body parts of Indigenous peoples.

The European field centering scientific inquiry, funding, and structure around 'the study of man' and 'measuring men' has two immediate functions in imperialist projects. The Indigenous population is rendered mute, exotic, foreign, and outside humanity. And, secondly, the white male scientific voice supplants the Indigenous collectivity-polity as supreme authority on all matters to do with the 'savage' in the hinterlands of the empire. As the Spanish created 'el

[55] Richard F. Grimmett, "Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2004," Congressional Research Service Report RL30172, October 5, 2004, at http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl30172.htm, (accessed February 16, 2010).

Apache' as a code to enact legal dominion over silver-rich terrains, and required 'enemy peoples' to enact the legal doctrine of 'just war' to justify the forced removal of Indigenous peoples, so too did Anglo-Americans carefully trace the legal ramifications of displaced Indigenous peoples along the newly architected U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

Between 1848 and 1870s reconnaissance and embedded ethnography were crucial components in the 'exploration' field work across the West, Southwest, South, and North. Military officers, cultural elites, adventurers, and scientists played significant roles in the acquisition of Indigenous subjects (captives, dead bodies, body parts, stolen ceremonial objects) in the project of race science and objectification of the savage/native.

Militarized Humanities

Measuring savagery was big business for Anglo-American colonization of the transcontinental 'West'—in fact—mis-measuring savages, by way of biased distortion and prejudicial representation, was often predicated upon military personnel's skewed observations 'in the field' where myth-making benefitted development and the economic agendas of cosmopolitan elites. In *The Mismeasure of Man*, Stephen Jay Gould demonstrates that fabricating myths where evidence was lacking had a long tradition in Western humanities. "The justification for ranking groups by inborn worth has varied with the tides of Western history. Plato relied upon dialectic, the Church upon dogma. For the past two centuries, scientific claims have become the primary agent for validating Plato's myth."[56] To what myth is Gould referring? As espoused by Socrates, all citizens of the Republic should be "educated and assigned by merit

[56] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, (London: Penguin Books, 1981), 51-52.

to three classes: rulers, auxiliaries, and craftsmen."[57] In this logic, classed and ranked hierarchical societies required "stability" and further, "a stable society demands that these ranks be honored and that citizens accept the status conferred upon them. But how can this acquiescence be secured? Socrates, unable to devise a logical argument, fabricated a myth."[58] In the inter-related narratives of Western Civilization, citizenship, and hierarchy, Plato espoused to the working classes that God "framed you differently" and that the European superior essences as "species will generally be preserved in the children."[59]

Using the framework of biological determinism, many knowledge systems normatively taken as 'truth' in Western traditions are premised upon "the claim that worth can be assigned to individuals and groups by measuring intelligence as a single quantity. … Determinists have often invoked the traditional prestige of science as objective knowledge, free from social and political taint."[60] In 1859, Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, built the popular conception that white male scientists were supreme authorities on the way the world worked, was arranged, and ordered. The application of this idea led to significant violence.[61] Lucius Outlaw posits "the concept provided a form of "typological thinking", a mode of conceptualization that was at the

[57] As quoted in Gould, 52.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Martin Barker, "Biology and the New Racism," in *Anatomy of Racism*, David Theo Goldberg, Ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 18-37;

center of the agenda of emerging scientific praxis at the time, that served well in the classification of human groups."[62]

Samuel George Morton embodied this particular kind of problem. Morton's fetish for Native American skeletal remains from the U.S., Mexico and Peru, and trophyism knows no other equal in North America. In the *American Phrenological Journal and Miscellany, Volume 3*, the editors lavish attention upon Morton's collections:

> We have before us a catalogue of the skulls of man and the inferior animals in the collection of Dr. S. G. Morton… This is the most extensive collection of crania in the United States, and is not surpassed, in number and variety of specimens, by more than one in Europa, viz. that of the late Professor Blumenbach, of Gottengen; and even this exception is doubtful. There are in Dr. Morton's cabinet more than *five hundred* human skulls, collected from all parts of the world. He has a very great variety of Indian skulls, and a large number of Mexicans and ancient Peruvians.[63]

According to Morton, his purpose was a comparative analysis of 'races,': "in making the following collection … to compare the characters of the skull in the different races of men, and then again with the skulls of the lower animals, and especially with reference to the internal capacity of the cranium, as indicative of the size of the brain."[64] To this the editors of the journal commented, "That magnificent work, the 'Crania Americana,' is already, in part, the fruit of Dr. Morton's researches in this department of science, and we are happy to learn that he is still prosecuting his inquiries with the view of farther contributions to the public."[65]

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[62] Lucius Outlaw, "Toward a Critical Theory of "Race," in *Anatomy of Racism*, David Theo Goldberg, Ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 62-63. "His work was extended and made popular by J. C. Nott and G. R. Gliddon in their *Types of Mankind* (1854)."

[63] Nathan Allen, ed., *American Phrenological Journal and Miscellany*, Vol. III (New York: O.S. & L. N. Fowler, 1841), 191-192.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

American science (intersected by religious, gendered, and heterosexual normative thought) constructed theories of the Indigenous peoples' difference based in fictions standing as "evidence from geology, zoology, anatomy and other fields of scientific enquiry … assembled to support a claim that racial classification would help explain many human differences."[66] According to Gould the prevailing theories of race abounded across all sciences and the leading founders of the academy could not differentiate between their racist and sexist lenses and popular myth. "All American culture heroes embraced racial attitudes that would embarrass public-school mythmakers. […] white leaders of Western nations did not question the propriety of racial ranking during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[67] Louis Agassiz and Samuel George Morton were leading theorists of polygenism, which they derived from the debates in the mid-nineteenth century between 'monogeny' and 'polygeny.' At issue? A roaring debate between humanists, scientists and the Catholic Papacy about human 'unity' or 'diversity', or in other words, whether humanity is comprised of a single 'species' with a common ancestor (monogeny), or whether specific and distinct groups are the result of descent from more than a single set of ancestors (polygeny). Polygenists, such as Agassiz and Morton advocated the ideology of polygenism, and were unabashed in propagating their 'science' as a rationale for the continuance of a stratified society premised on subordinated groups' racial, religious, gender and historical 'inferiority' to Euro-Americans. During the mid to late 19th century, the proponents of monogeny and polygeny used the underlying racial ideologies (in the U.S.) that broadly normalized the idea that Indigenous peoples were racially inferior to the Euro-American in the

[66] Martin Barker, "Biology and the New Racism," in *Anatomy of Racism*, David Theo Goldberg, Ed., (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 18-37

[67] Stephen Jay Gould, "American Polygeny and Craniometry Before Darwin: Blacks and Indians as Separate, Inferior Species," in *The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future*, Sandra Harding, Ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 84-115.

construction of scientific 'methods'. The most eminent in the field invented problematic and, yes, outlandish 'methods' to reify the white males' voice as 'objective science.'[68] For instance, Morton poured lead shot into specially selected crania (read: he *chose* white males' skulls that were large and Indigenous peoples' skulls that were smaller), and determined that the skulls of "Caucasians" held more lead shot than an Indigenous person's skull. Then, he essentially argued that more space meant more 'intelligence.' These kinds of social and political maneuvers provided elites 'evidence' to rationalize the continued colonization of Indigenous peoples. Race, and inventing rationales to maintain the status quo, hinged upon adherence to the notion of difference. In this case, different racial ascendency. Euro-Americans fixated upon the ideation that they evolved differently from the rest of humanity. Gould posits,

> The doctrine of polygeny acted as an important agent…for it was one of the first theories of largely American origin that won the attention and respect of European scientists—so much so that Europeans referred to polygeny as the 'American School' of anthropology. … For starters, it is obviously not accidental that a nation still practicing slavery and expelling its aboriginal inhabitants from their homelands should have provided a base for theories that blacks and Indians are separate species, inferior to whites.[69]

Morton, raised among the elites, "a Philadelphia patrician" developed his reputation and career as a finder of 'facts.' In the case of the fetish for Native American skulls and human body parts, and hoarding of these for his private collection, these genealogies of American science cannot be disconnected from the killing operations which 'opened the field.' A necropolitical order provided abundant 'specimens' for Morton's extensive archives, visited by many leading scientists of the day. Says Gould, "Morton began his collection of human skulls in the 1820s; he

[68] For an excellent review and analysis of polygeny, monogeny and the emergence of race science, see Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard, eds., *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*, at http://epress.anu.edu.au/foreign_bodies/mobile_devices/index.html, accessed March 31, 2010.

[69] Gould, Ibid.

had more than one thousand when he died n 1851. Friends (and enemies) referred to his great charnel house as "the American Golgotha."[70]

The Anglo-American male gaze upon the Ndé occurs perniciously at the intersection of 'scientific' ethnographies of inferior races, 'Apaches,' 'Mexicans,' and 'natives' and American military encounters with ethnographic possibilities. Mbembe argues

> the *writings* of new spatial relations (territorialization) was, ultimately, tantamount to the production of boundaries and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the subversion of existing property arrangements; the classification of people according to different categories; resource extraction; and, finally the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries. These imaginaries gave meaning to the enactment of differential rights to differing categories of people for different purposes within the same space; in brief, the exercise of sovereignty. Space was therefore the raw material of sovereignty and the violence it carried with it. Sovereignty meant occupation, and occupation meant relegating the colonized into a third zone between subject hood and objecthood.[71] (Emphasis added).

"The writings of new spatial relations": American Voice as Center

"The Bering Strait region," according to Michael D. Fortescue, "constitutes a 'spread zone', though which bearers of successive languages have passed leaving relatively little trace of those that preceded them. Geographically, it also forms a 'bottleneck'- that by which all human beings entered the New World from the Old."[72] The "Bering Strait" (hereafter 'B.S.') colonial theory and framework, which situates the American scholar at the center of 'Apache Studies,' is a central motif and genre of the field. This is a crucial topographical and psychological domain

[70] Ibid.

[71] Mbembe, 26.

[72] Michael D. Fortescue, *Language Relations Across Bering Strait: Reappraising the Archaeological and Linguistic Evidence*, (New York: Cassell, 1998), 3.

through which American knowledge wrestles-down Indigenous peoples agency epistemologies. The B.S. theory is core to the colony, "a territory seized" and to the function of sovereignty "to rule over its inhabitants and grow rich … exactions being part and parcel of this arrangement…[and] taking land symbolically, legally, socially, and politically working to "freeze the law of the entity invaded."[73] A relatively recent contribution, Fortescue builds upon a long history of the B.S. theory and historiographies, which are centrally rooted in militarized masculine voices submerged beneath the rational academic. The B.S. theory is central to the centering of 'Apache Studies,' and white racial authority in the domain of archaeology, anthropology, and history. The B.S. theory is in fact critical to maintaining the ideology that Ndé are a group with no 'real' homeland, and who are always potentially from *outside the Americas*. Leading proponents, from novelists, military officers, ethnologists, anthropologists, linguists, and pseudo-feminists reified this construction of 'Apaches' as untethered 'nomads' 'outsiders', 'loners' and as *crossers* of the B.S. (Bering Strait).

In 1958, the western novelist J. Frank Dobie wrote, "Captain John G. Bourke understood the Apache people and the Apache country. He knew the Apaches—also other tribesmen—as a soldier, as a scholar, and as a man with eager sympathies for nearly all things human except greed, fraud, and injustice, against which his righteous indignation burned until the fire of his own life went out."[74] Dobie, a self-described writer of "hunting stories, legendary tales, historical sketches of the old West and Southwest" and seeker of "lost mines" and "buried treasures in the Southwest," once stated that he sought to conjoin the relationship of the Anglo-American

[73] Achilles Mbembe, as quoted in Adeeko, Ibid.

[74] J. Frank Dobie, "Introduction," in John G. Bourke, *An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre: An Account of the Expedition in Pursuit of the Hostile Chiricahua Apaches in the Spring of 1883*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883/1958), 5.

western novel, western history-telling author and the Texas-Mexico borderlands as one in which someone such as Dobie would redeem and rescue "a world of forests and deserts, of great stretches of thirst, of springs, […] *without population of any kind*, of *silent Indians*, of solitudes utterly empty, of a vastness and an aloftness prefiguring for the imagination […] the vasty halls of death. Such is the chief actor."[75] (Emphasis added.) In Dobie's imaginary world, the "silent Indian" was a figment of the white male pioneer's/adventurer's "illimitable vistas, of geological inscrutabilities…"[76] At the time Dobie penned his introduction, in the early 20th century, the political actors who made vistas *delimited* in the Ndé bordered lands were *living* Indigenous peoples who were contesting U.S. industrialization criss-crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. The political actors who made "geological uncertainties" legible were *living* Indigenous miners, laborers, and families who contested the colonialist objectives of mineralogists, financers, and engineers. The Indigenous peoples who populated Dobie's novels and imaginary were the 'muted' ones, were the ones most likely serving platefuls of Mexican food in a West Texas cafe, the ones huddling on a corner hoping for day work, and those speaking Spanish, off to themselves, in the local bar.

In 1883, John G. Bourke published *An Apache Campaign*, and in his introduction set forth a large agenda to write 'Apaches' into U.S. military history. "The object," Bourke emphasized was "simply to outline some of the difficulties attending the solution of the Indian question in the Southwest and to make known the methods employed in conducting campaigns against savages in hostility. […] Much as necessarily been excluded …" Bourke may have been one of the first American military officers-turned-popular writers to situate 'Apaches' at the

[75] Ibid.

[76] J. Frank Dobie, *Apache Gold and Yaqui Silver*, (New York: Bramhall House, 1928), 3-4.

ethnographic intersections of "Arctic circle" peoples and "savages" in a mass-print form.[77] A veteran of U.S. extermination wars against numerous tribal groups across the plains, northwest, southwest, and northern Mexico, Bourke peppered his narrative liberally with popular stereotypes of ethnic groups perceived as threats to U.S. expansion in the Americas.

Bourke, a product of 19th century U.S. race and gender discourse, did not restrain a hyper-masculine and racialized discourse against Spanish and Mexican-indigenous peoples. Fully aware of his audience, Bourke shrewdly manipulated 'the Apache' to bias his readers against elite Spanish-Mexican ranchers whose lands were titled to them through Crown land grants. He often contoured the actual terrains of Indigenous politics by homogenizing Mexican Indigenous collectivities and polities as marginal and regressive. However, Mexican Indigenous peoples, like their counterparts in New Mexico, were *upheld* in Spanish Crown land-grant law which recognized certain Native American groups collective, communal and corporate rights to land, water, in direct relation to their Crown land-tenure, negotiated in the 16th century. Obliviating these legal histories, and using 'the Apache' as an iconic Indian figure, Bourke placed the white male voice in the center of the question of Indigenous land-tenure. It is he who is recognizing his mythical 'Apaches' as 'hero-god-enemy' of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands in order to de-throne them in severalty. Through his 'official' recognition of 'Apaches' in his extensive field reports, and his construction of 'Apache' identity through these, Bourke also *dismantled* 'Apaches' and argued for their complete assimilation into American culture. Bourke was one of the first official 'authorities on Apaches.' Through his narrative, the U.S. military officer was constructed as the central hero to the 'Apache' enemy-god. Field methods and field memories, Bourke confessed, were "edited" because the details, he explained, would "increase

[77] Bourke, Ibid.

the bulk of the manuscript, and perhaps, detract from its value in the eyes of the general reader."[78]

Bourke's 'Apache' was clearly situated in a racial hierarchy with White males such as his admired mentor, famed Apache hunter General George Crook, at the top.[79] For Bourke had been an avid student of Crook, and professed loyalty to the masculinist oath to keep and to embody "the trials and tribulations, hopes and fears of brave officers and enlisted men of the regular Army, who did so much to conquer and develop the empire beyond the Missouri."[80] Not a man, but "a savage" Bourke situated 'the Apache' firmly in the margin of 'Other' along with other 'native' enemies of the U.S. For example, he stated "The all conquering, smooth-tongued Spaniard, with whom and his Mexican-mongrel descendants he has waged cold-blooded, heartsickening war since the days of Cortez. […] The past fifty years have seen the Apache provided with arms of precision, and especially since the introduction of magazine breech-loader, the Mexican has not only ceased to be an intruder upon the Apache, but has trembled for the security of life and property."[81] In 1891, Bourke published one of his earliest papers for the (then-infantile) U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, titled *The Medicine-Men of the Apache*. In less than eight years, Bourke asserted a serious posture positioning the centrality of white authority in 'Apache Studies.' His report set the tone for a methodological approach which was key to the establishment of Anglo-American domination along the border. Bourke's argument was simple: destroy all the medicine people, the ones with influence and with intellectual knowledges,

[78] Ibid., 18.

[79] John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1891).

[80] Ibid, dedication page.

[81] Ibid., 18-19.

histories, and diyin—power. Destroy them, and replace them with white authority and American law. Bourke stated,

> It will only be after we have thoroughly routed the medicine-men from their intrenchments and made them an object of ridicule that we can hope to bend and train the mind of our Indian wards in the direction of civilization. In my own opinion, the reduction of the medicine-men will effect more for the savages than the giving of land in severalty or instruction in the schools at Carlisle and Hampton; rather, the latter should be conducted with this great object mainly in view… Teach the scholars at Carlisle and Hampton some of the wonders of electricity, magnetism, chemistry, the spectroscope, magic lantern, ventriloquism, music, and then, when they return to their own people, each will despise the fraud of the medicine-men….[82]

Bourke's insistence upon racialized knowledge borders between "Caucasian" and "aborigines" was a reflection of the scale and monopoly on violence of which he was a key participant, witness and observer. Bourke concluded that in order to "assimilate a race … of some serious defects of character" the U.S. must deploy methods to unhinge "the control of an influence antagonistic to the rapid absorption of new ideas and the adoption of new customs." Vehemently opposed to the continuity of family, kinship and clan systems of the 'Apaches' in which he perceived 'medicine women and men' brewed dissidence, he poured out his racist and sexist leanings in a 603 page report elaborating the details of the 'Apache' everyday life which, according to his argument, necessitated destruction. For over eight years he embedded himself among 'Apaches', and during that time made recommendations to the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology to remove, belittle and sabotage 'Apache' medicine people in order to gain control over the minds and hearts of the Ndé peoples—and the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Bourke recommended that the government gain control through *persistence*.

[82] Bourke, *Medicine Men*…, 594-595.

In 1920, American anthropologist Pliny Earle Goddard culled "linguistic material" from peoples of the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona. Limited to the spoken words of merely two males, Goddard's theories of 'Apache Texts' have stood as a baseline for 'Apache Studies' in the Americas into the present.[83] Following in that tradition, in 1940, Morris Edward Opler published *Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians*, and set forth the English-only method of translation, which consisted of 288 pages of 'Lipan Apache' sacred texts. Opler, a stalwart voice in the young field, provided an American nationalist model strictly adhering to the U.S.-state defined borders and reservation delimited boundaries of 'Indian' identity. His long tradition of scholarly *dis*-engagement with living 'Lipan Apaches' in Texas and northern Mexico and his sculpting of a rigid 'Lipan Apache' identity within political boundaries of the nation-state dominates the field to the present.

Opler's dismissal of the majority of living Ndé in South Texas and along the Lower Rio Grande Valley was a delimiting factor to the broader application of anthropology towards Indigenous on-going *living* presence. Using the following keywords, "scattered", "annihilated", "decimated", "wasted", "permanent removal of these Lipan to Old Mexico," Opler inscribed the Anglo-centric ethnographic gaze of 'authenticity' upon a few Lipan Apaches who he interviewed on the Mescalero reservation. Opler's findings regarding the so-called "Lipan Apache death complex" coupled with Harry Hoijer's reports about 'Lipan Apache' as "an extinct language" re-appear in contemporary linguistic analysis of 'Lipan Apache' sacred texts today, *sans*

[83] Pliny Earle Goddard, *White Mountain Apache Texts*, (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1920).

participatory engagement with bordered lands Ndé peoples' as *living* peoples and historical experiences as hyper-colonized groups.[84]

In 1949, John Collier served as an Advisor on Trusteeship to the American delegation to the United Nations and through his official function he witnessed first-hand the American occupation and colonization of "Pacific Islands—from Guam, American Samoa, and Micronesia." During this time, he wrote about 'Apaches' from a comparative global and national framework, and in his introduction he spoke as an American scholar seeking to include the 'natives' of the American Southwest into an international conception of space, time, and technology. Collier stated confidently, "the whole world knows something of the Apache Indians—inveterate, predatory warriors. Geronimo! The name rings with terror and with wonder yet." The sub-text being, the "whole world" of colonial governments was inter-connected through technologies of transportation, communications, and media which transported and transferred the epistemologies of sovereignty and death at increasingly more rapid speeds. Collier idolized and romanticized the American view and imaginary of Chiricahua Apaches and Geronimo—a type of 'Apache.' Collier's fanciful prose suited the post-WWII service-man's and global American employee's nostalgic yearning for American-type landscapes and attendant myths of masculinity, control, recreation, and 'peace.' His emphasis on the internationalization of American nostalgia and sympathy for Southwestern landscapes and the 'natives' in these, promoted a quintessential fixation on romantic ideas of 'Apaches' and 'Southwest natives' as appropriate historical topics for American diplomats traversing international borders and theaters of war.

[84] Morris Edward Opler, *Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians*, (New York: American Folk-Lore Society, J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1940); See also, Anthony K. Webster, "Lipan Apache Placenames of Augustina Zuazua: Some Structural and Discursive Features, *Names*, Vol. 55, No. 2, June 2007, 103-122.

Collier's conflation of 'Apaches' with Navajos, Eastern Pueblos, Zunis, and Hopis was problematic on numerous levels. His organization of these, according to his internal logic of discernible divisions between these (as Americanized primitives), obfuscated the historical genealogies shared between the Indigenous peoples based upon their larger nexus of kinship, histories, and knowledges amongst one another. Secondly, Collier's neat divisions of these groups had relatively little to do with their actual genealogical communities as they understood them. These were based upon a rather active history of human exchange based upon reciprocity, kinship, inter-marriage and migrations *within and across* Indigenous determined geo-political spheres. Likewise, these Indigenous polity formations included peoples from Ndé, Nahuatl, Uto-Aztekan, O'odham, Yaqui, Ópata, Jumano communities—throughout the transnational, transborder 'U.S-Mexico border'—a conception highly contested by Indigenous peoples throughout the U.S. Cold War period. The inscription of the 'Southwest' native served the U.S. nationalistic and nostalgic management of American humanities—as a north of the border racial affair. Americanizing (normalizing) 'native Apaches' by comparison to other pacified natives in proximity to the internment camps (reservations) where 'Apaches lived' was an ongoing project for rationalizing violent projects in unfolding theaters of war.

Collier, a military-trained diplomat assigned new American and international meanings to 'Apaches' in a world context. Transferring military ideas about 'worlds' and 'hemispheres' to 'natives' at home *and* abroad, and compartmentalizing these into coherent subjects, *re-made* 'Apaches' as consumable, digestible, and placid for both military bureaucrat and American tourist. This transfer of comparative 'natives' was part of a larger trans-hemispheric comparative

'native' studies movement centrally situated in U.S. military maneuvers.[85] Collier collapsed Southwestern U.S. 'tribes' as fascinating/interesting 'Others' and situated himself as a translator and mediator of American 'natives' through his skillful management of the races and typologies the U.S. assigned them. Collier continuously stitching the past to the present, the present to the past, *brought* 'Apaches', the U.S. Southwest, northern Mexico and the Pacific into modernity: his fixation upon the bodies, facial features, hair, and voice of 'natives' in Asia and the Americas 'Asians' collapses those spaces. Writing 'Mongoloids' and 'Athapaskans' within the same sentence signals the technological and geographical shrinkage of the world-system and the traversing of borders by the American cultural military tourist. Collier perpetuated the Anglo-American B.S. narrative in an international arena, re-playing the American thesis that 'Apaches' of the Western hemisphere were 'outsiders' and 'late arrivals.' For instance, "These Athapaskans are among the latest comers to the Western Hemisphere from Asia; and when reading of the almost fabulous social vitality of some of the aboriginal Mongoloid groups within the Soviet sphere, one is reminded of the Apaches."[86]

By 1958, C.L. Sonnichsen carried forth the late 19th century recommendations by John G. Bourke to close the psychological and physical gap between American civilization, development, ethnographic field methods and 'Apache' human subject. In doing so, through the application of the white, male, heteronormative lens upon his subjects, Sonnichsen *glazed* over key sites of engagement and struggle by Ndé peoples engulfed in the politics of post-WWII nuclear, industrial and agricultural wastelands defining the U.S. Southwest and northeastern Mexico.

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[85] John Collier, *On the Gleaming Way: Navajos, Eastern Pueblos, Zunis, Hopis, Apaches, and Their Land; and Their Meanings to the World*, (Denver: Sage Books, 1949).

[86] Ibid., 129-131.

In *The Mescalero Apaches*, the lens of the ethnographer follows 'Apache' 'families' as defined from a white, Christian, heterosexual, nuclear family model. In Sonnichsen's chapter headings, we experience the Mescalero through Sonnichsen's approach to them, and through his gaze upon them. We learn about life 'among' the Mescalero from the familiar lens of military reconnaissance, without consultation, without consent, far away in the distance, through a particular frame as if through a scope: "View from the Sacramentos," is the view of the development potential of "Mountain Road above Cloudcroft" and the colonizer's nostalgic tour/memory of "Life in the old days." Sonnichsen's interests lay in capturing fragments of Mescalero 'authenticity' as well: "an Apache brush shelter," and to demonstrate that 'Apaches' are "A sturdy people", "Love their school" and are exemplifying Christian values, such as "Patient Indian Mary." Solid American gender and religious institutions are critical to Sonnichsen's gaze as he faithfully reports normative exemplars of 'Apache' civilization at work: "A Mescalero family," "The Agency near Blazer's Mill," "Issue day at the commissary," and "Apache debutantes." Nostalgic notions of 'Apache' narratives were fused with the American modern portraits of 'Apache' people exemplifying vignettes of proper Christian-laborer in daily life. These served to reinforce the American rule over its 'native' inhabitants' through a masculine and patriarchal seizure and subordination of Ndé women's law systems, governance, and authority.

Sonnichsen's gaze upon the mountain as he approached to 'frame' Mescalero peoples, echoed the American conquest of Ndé central institutions and customary agents of power: clan, kinship, women, elders, family, children and men's customary authority in relation to the gaan—the supreme mountain spirits, not subordinated to colonialist entanglements. Outside Sonnichsen's frame were capitalist ruptures of border Indigenous societies in northern Mexico

and the U.S. southern border, and the negation of the aggressive nuclear, mining and water industrialization as features of the on-going U.S. occupation of the border Indigenous peoples' domains. Sonnichsen emphasis on remembering 'Apaches' as romantic prisoners of war and subjugated peoples through the masculinized identities of 'Apache' hero vignettes such as "Victorio" and "Nana" were inter-laced to stories of industrialized 'Apache' men at work: "The Red Hats at Work," "Cattle Branding," and development prospects at "The Ski Enterprise." Race, biology, and European heritage industries were used to exclude 'Apaches' from their customary law systems which pre-dated the American. He stated, "In theory the country belonged to the people of Spanish blood who had been holding the upland sheep pastures and the narrow fields beside the rivers for two and one-half centuries. Actually, much of it seemed hardly worth fighting for. Miles of burning desert intervened between wooded mountain ranges and fertile valleys." Primitivism and biology threaded Sonnichsen's discourse, even as he attempted to show empathy for the "red man in America." Through his lenses, 'The Apaches,' exemplify Mbembe's thesis of the modern 'native' as the always colonial "thing that is, but only insofar as it is nothing." Mescaleros only enter American history insofar as they remain fixed as the militarized de-humanized subject of ethnographic tourism and nostalgia. For Sonnichsen, the Mescalero is authentically 'Apache' when he epitomizes the American militarized fantasy: a "The Desert Breed"— who "doesn't talk much" and to the colonizer always appears "watchful" and "suspicious."[87]

Following the established method, the publication of *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times,* by archaeologist W. W. Newcomb, Jr, in 1961, set forth a decisive

[87] Mbembe, as quoted in Adeeko, Ibid.; C. L. Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

movement in Texas archaeological studies by centering the Spanish-European in Texas prior to the 'Apaches' and by displacing 'Apaches from current-day northern Mexico prior to 1541. Although in reality a small minority of 'Lipan Apaches' were forcibly interned with Mescaleros in New Mexico reservations, Newcomb formalized an archaeological field method which discounted living Lipan Apache voices and experiences from the pioneer perspective of 'Texas Archaeology.' 'Lipan Apaches' were dis-acknowledged and effaced through normalized conceptions of Hoijer's and Opler's theories of 'Lipan Apache extinction' and the concealment of Indigenous peoples through the Americanized normative discourse of 'the Mexican foreigner' along the U.S.-Mexico bordered lands. Newcomb also inaugurates a form of 'Texas Archaeology' which builds upon secondary sources, and centers the work of Opler for the ethnographic details of Lipans.[88]

In 1968, Max L. Moorhead re-centered the Spanish European and a thinly-disguised racial agenda to the center of U.S. 'Apache Studies' and in doing so re-directed 'Apache' scholars to the "military administration of Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola" in order to re-situate European intellectual, technological, and scientific superiority to the 'Apache.' Built upon an un-disguised biological historical foundations, Moorhead stated "historians have merely assumed that the beginning of the end of the Apache ascendency was the enunciation by Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez of a brilliant new Indian policy in 1786 … this is intended to be a history of the influence of a man and of the conflict between two peoples. A word to the racially sensitive: My purpose is to glorify neither the Spaniard nor the Indian." However, Moorhead quickly de-railed this false 'purpose' in an ensuing statement which re-centered white male bias against

[88] W. W. Newcomb, Jr., *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

'Apaches' which again re-centered the gaze upon the 'it' the 'thing' and the 'nothing' which is the modern colonial creature: 'Apaches' embody for Moorhead. In his opening chapter, "The main range of the Apaches was what we now call the desert Southwest, but when they were bent on plunder or revenge, they extended their murderous raids deep into what are now the Mexican states of Nuevo León, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora."[89] Thus began Moorhead's re-inscription of Euro-American, masculine knowledge centering biological, cultural and intellectual superiority to 'murderous Apaches.'

Following that troubling and erroneous assertion, Moorhead claimed 'Apaches' were illegible and inconsequential in the larger historical relevance of Euro-American history of Southwestern and Spanish borderlands. By reduction of the 'Apache' epistemologies to primitivism and barbarity, Moorhead reinscribed American militarized humanities as core. "If my interpretation fails to do justice to the Apache, it is not owing to malice but to this truth and also to the nature of the evidence on which the historian must rely. The Spaniard left written records; the Apache did not."[90] The 'native', in Moorhead's late modern view, can make no claim on knowledge, culture, intellectualism and self-determination because 'Apaches' have no history, nor record, according to his authoritative seizure of the land and events back to Spanish-European intellectual domain. According to Moorhead, 'Apaches' were nothing more than "cultural borrowers and late arrivals in the area referred to as the American Southwest."[91]

His 1969 book, *Apache Odyssey: A Journey Between Two Worlds*, Morris E. Opler co-narrated the 'autobiography' of 'Chris' a pseudonym for a Mescalero Apache male subject

[89] Max L. Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain,* 1769-1791, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

[90] Ibid., viii.

[91] Ibid., 18.

whose 'as told to' life-stories Opler interwove with ethnographic notations about 'Apache' historical and cultural 'facts.' Opler seemingly attempted to break away from Moorhead's antagonistic portrayals positioning 'Apaches' as unproblemitized reservation 'Indians', within a nationalist frame of the hyper-normalized colonizer-colonized relationship between the United States and subjugated Indigenous peoples. In Opler's narrative, he presented fragments of the 'autobiography' of 'Chris', his 'Apache' subject. However, between the staid voice of white governmentality and 'Apache' people who 'Chris' stands-in for, one can never be certain that 'Chris' is truly *speaking* and to what degree Opler mediated/edited the messages being conveyed through an Americanized (censored, white, male, Christian, heteronormative) set of contexts and texts.

Once again, as in the American cult following of a highly romanticized and mythologized 'Geronimo', one single male 'Apache' subject *stood in* for a large and heterogeneous people spread across class divisions, racialized groupings, and geopolitics of Americanized borders. Opler built upon and continued a tradition of *gleaning* stories which 'fit' within an American-style framework of 'culture' according to the modern American 'Apache Studies' canon saturated in development, military, and international world-systems.

Mainstreaming the White Female Voice

Between 1980-2004, the influence of white female voices at the intersection of 'Apache Studies', women's history, Southwestern history and Southwestern Anthropology rose to the fore in the genre of rescue ethnographies which determined to provide new forums for 'Apache

Voices', 'Apache mothers and daughters' and 'Apache women.'[92] According to them, 'Apache' women *did* speak, *have* opinions, and *desired* to share ideas and histories of their own. These authors purported that 'Apache' women's voices were muffled, though none of them provide structural analysis of the barriers, challenges and complications which obstructed 'Apache' women from speaking directly or in gaining access to forums to address broad audiences. Nor did they analyze broader and more specific conceptions of what constitutes 'voice' and 'history' for 'Apache' women—who comprise a highly heterogeneous group across numerous sites and existing in a class structure determined by colonialism.[93]

Setting 'facts' straight, from Sherri Robinson's perspective, began up front in her introduction, where she confessed that an early employment experience working for "a mining tycoon who made his fortune reprocessing tailings piles from the last century" strongly influenced her approaches to her relationship to 'Apache' subjects. Robinson stated, "I did the scholarly equivalent in mining the raw data… I prowled page by page … I found the magnifying screen… I felt obliged to mine these tailings … my precious bits."[94] Militarized humanities from earlier influences weave back and forth through Robinson's prose, revealing the unproblemitized centrality of normative ideological thought which so violently supplanted 'Apaches' and which infiltrated her conceptions of Indigenous peoples. White female 'Apache Studies' authors,

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[92] Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); H. Henrietta Stockel, *Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), xxv; Sherry Robinson, *Apache Voices: Their Stories of Survival as Told to Eve Ball* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).

[93] Feminized 'primitives', 'natives', and the 'Apache' women genre built heavily upon ethno-history methodologies of Southwestern history writer, Eve Ball, whose books, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey, and In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache*, co-authored with James Kawaykla. Ball's influence upon the field of 'Apache Studies' is indisputable as her reputation as "an authority" on all things 'Apache' is unquestioned among leading 'Apache Studies' advocates and her many approving followers. The recipient of numerous writer awards, Ball's approach has been described by 'Apache Studies' scholars as key to the "preservation of Apache traditional history…without [her] earlier work, there would be precious little to write about now."

[94] Robinson, xi-xii.

desiring to work in solidarity with 'Apaches' during this period, were ensnared by their unexamined normative relationships to the masculinist domains of borderlands history, the American Southwest, 'Apache Studies' and the receptivity of white audiences which pervaded American social thought.

H. Henrietta Stockel argued she felt a change was necessary to redirect "the nation's perception about the frontier West" which "must be done if American history is to be honored and not perpetuated in its current format."[95] Strongly patterned with the American themes of "independence" and "individuality", Stockel's "revisionist American history" of 'Apaches' sets forth a female focused and normative (Christian, heterosexual, modern) approach to themes established in the 'Apache Studies' canon. In this vein, white female-authored books which have attempted to foreground 'Apache' women's histories after the Mexican-American war and into the late 20th century, have expressed a unified desire to "incorporate a point of view different from the usual approach. As the twenty-first century nears, the time may be right to let more facts become known about the events that transpired on the plains, in the mountains, and on the deserts of the West hundreds of years ago."[96]

The voices of 'Apache' national identities of coherency and unity within the nation-state was central to the project of *Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth*. In it, H. Henrietta Stockel privileges white patriarchal voice in the discourse of women's history and her perception of Apache women's construction of "nation." Stockel situates her strong identification with the U.S. American constitutional form of nationhood which guides the ways in which she

[95] H. Henrietta Stockel, *Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), xxv.

[96] Ibid.

experiences, regulates and makes palatable 'Apaches' for her readers. Their conceptions of space and politics beyond the reservation are clipped into rationalizations of ethnicity and race. Stockel's readings of the American nation trample across Ndé intellectual sensibilities. Her emphasis on rehearsing the nation through 'Apache' men, 'Mexico', 'Mexicans', 'Anglos', the U.S. Army, and the numerous borders and layers of environmental, economic, social, and political colonialism *pave over* Indigenous women's counter-sites and counter-narratives. Stockel insisted that she was giving voice to 'Chiricahua' people, and one must infer, 'Apache women.' Though, we never are allowed to peer outside the rigid frame of interned (reservation-bound) 'Apaches.' When her subjects attempt to narrate the larger cultural Ndé landscape— which includes Mexico and many Indigenous peoples across a broad kinship history— an ecological history transcending county, reservation, state, national and transnational borders, and which holds immense meaning for Ndé as transnational political and social actors, unfortunately, no such promise exists.

Stockel set out an unsubtle agenda which displaced the Ndé 10,000 year epistemological provenance in the Americas. Instead she embarked on a trajectory disavowing the intellectual rootedness of key Ndé frameworks, which, for many Ndé, spanned the hemisphere across numerous border states. For instance, in narrating 'Changing Woman', a central Ndé sacred text and knowledge system, she situated Ndé histories as "a creation myth, a fable used by members of the Chiricahua band of Apaches to teach others how things happened. … Chiricahua is a name given by unknown individuals or groups a long time ago to a band of Apaches living in Arizona's Chiricahua Mountains."[97] In this statement, Stockel subordinated her research

[97] H. Henrietta Stockel, Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 1.

subjects into silence and eclipsed their voices, experiences and knowledges by symbolically removing them from Ndé political and authoritative places from within their knowledge systems as gendered, raced, classed, and nation-ed people with complex identities. Through the discursive use of "myth" and "fable" Stockel assumed the position of the white chaperone-*insider* who *knows* how to deconstruct Ndé women's religious epistemologies—for a presumed non-Ndé audience. Simultaneously flattened by describing 'the Apache nation' as 'women' she displaced Ndé intellectual histories and authority systems told through White Painted Woman, as *only* 'myths', *not* 'histories' and deports the variations of the history as told through multiple speakers, across the transnational spaces of traditional Ndé domains.

Stockel situated 'Apache women' as disempowered and child-like in their relationships to white male law and authority—figurative, ephemeral, with vaporous claims upon *specific* ancestral epistemological histories, much less to tangible claims to land-based authority. Centered in American constitutionalist normative structure, Stockel's narrative *is* the cultural mediator, and through her we are to believe that 'Apaches' of the Chohonen peoples have *no oral history* or *memory* of how they received the name '*Chiricahua.*' This is a potent signifier for many Indigenous peoples who contest the claims by Anglo-authored texts which have displaced their *centuries-long* relationship with numerous heterogeneous Indigenous peoples in the bordered lands as a dynamic economic and cultural zone pre-dating the U.S. nation. Chiricahua— a name signifying a longer history in a region *marked* by multiple states, nation-states, and Ndé peoples has been *central* to Ndé histories prior to the American period.

It is the Americanization in Stockel's gaze that we come to see the deeply rooted patterns (established in Spanish and white male American discourse) of the racialization of Indigenous peoples along the U.S.-Mexico border, and the racialization of humanity connected to the nation-

state of Mexico. The obfuscation of Ndé women's self-determination as a political objective and struggle with Indigenous women, was diminished in the white mainstream gaze without recognition that Ndé women's most enduring struggle was as marginalized wards of many colonial polities since the 16th century, *as well as* U.S. severalty, and 'nation-hood.' This is a central issue in American 'Apache Studies'—carried over into white women's 'Apache women Studies'—the disavowal of Ndé peoples who refuse the 'authentic' and the white gaze, and the struggle of Ndé who express non-normative identities and experiences which reflect resistances to the violence of 'Apache Studies.'

The xenophobic strands weaving throughout Stockel's narrative particularizing 'Apaches' and universalizing 'Mexicans' upholds the 19th century American racialization of "Mexicans" and its anchors in U.S. imperialism—a crisis in white masculinity before and after the Civil War.[98] Racialization of 'Mexicans' figures prominently in her prose, sublimating the fact of Indigeneity among the majority of Mexico's populations who co-inhabited the U.S.-Mexico border in the 19th century, with equal rights to land claims as Ndé in overlapping use areas, both prior to and during publication of Stockel's book. At the same time, Anglo fear of "the Mexicans" falsely inverted the exceptionalism of the American 'Apache' identity (a white fiction) against the demonized "Mexican." This discourse perpetuated the long-standing Anglo-American racial differentiation of ethnicity and race, which concealed the socially intimate relations between Indigenous peoples all throughout the Ndé-Mexico borderlands.

Stockel's use of the binary between the 'good Indian'/'bad Indian' was well-established in the field, typical of an American development discourse throughout Indigenous borderlands

[98] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

and 'Latin America.' For Ndé across reservation and non-reservation spaces in the Americas, supposedly coherent 'Mexican' identity espoused by xenophobes promoted the false idea that 'Apaches' did not ever have (and continue to have) dynamic social, economic, religious, and political intimacies with other Indigenous peoples (now identified as "Mexicans") pre-dating the American invasion. Stockel's adherence to this racist trope and inappropriate reading of Ndé social and sexual realities is an erroneous and fictitious white feminist supplantation of real Ndé women's lived political existences. Consuming Stockel's elixir, the public have been led to believe that 'Apaches', and especially 'Chiricahua Apaches' *somehow* –unlike all other Ndé groups—existed without *any social, sexual, familial, lineal and economic ties whatsoever* to other Indigenous and heterogeneous groups. This is tantamount to essentializing the 'Chiricahua' –as if they 'ranged' across thousands of miles of diversely populated Indigenous domains and territories across the Southwest and northeastern Mexico— in a glass box. This is the exemplar of the imperialist conception of 'the native' which led to the hegemony of Geronimo as the particular 'Apache-god' and 'the Mexican' as the penultimate villain of the borderlands.

White women's imaginaries and fantasies of the Noble Savage and the white males' racial phobias are key to understanding the penetration of 'Apache Studies' within Stockel's re-telling of "Geronimo's revenge" against "Mexicans." Implanting herself within Geronimo's psyche, she described the emotional and psychological state he experienced during a particularly disturbed period of his life. "Mexicans" according to Stockel were largely responsible for the deaths of Geronimo's wife and three children. "All of Geronimo's life from that time forward was filled with hatred for Mexicans, and he took revenge many times over for the slaughter of

his family."[99] Noticeably, white scalpers, slavers, ranchers, and farmers are absent in her configuration of social and political conflict. Stockel, like her predecessors, avoided the very detailed documentation and evidence about the massive American occupation forces in Ndé borderlands, or the thriving slave and scalp economy which attracted dominantly male Anglo emigrants prior to significant white settlement. Rather, Stockel used Geronimo as an opportunity to amplify anti-Mexican (anti-*Other* Indigenous) bias deeply woven into the American social thought and American border politics. She stated, "Unexpectedly, armed Mexicans attacked, killing seventy-eight Apaches; sixty-eight women and children were captured to be sold into slavery (a favorite Mexican means of disposing of prisoners of war)."[100] Although much information regarding differentiated Indigenous peoples across the borderlands was widely available, Stockel, following the path of the school of 'Apache Studies' lumping all ethnic, class, and racial groups of Mexico into the American racial group "Mexicans."

Stockel misses many important opportunities to examine the complexities and contradictions of her research 'subjects' in terms of how diversely situated they were across numerous ethnic, racial, economic, gendered, militarized and sexual borderlands. Numerous women hinted to their lives in various labor groups and roles as traders, farmers, translators, stock herders, domestics, servants, and slaves. Many women's lives intersected Anglo, Spanish-Mexican, Irish, Asian, and Black peoples' communities. Stockel displaces these repeatedly by following the 'Apache Studies' frames of 'Apaches' as 'prisoners of war' and 'victims' and 'traditional.' We do not get a sense that white women's lenses or curiosities perceived these as questions about white nationalism, white supremacy, and that 'Apache' women were crucial to

[99] Ibid., 19.

[100] Ibid., 38.

American nation-building through a complicated racial discourse in the borderlands. We do not get a sense that Ndé peoples were questioning, challenging and shaping differentiated visions of their radically changing world, and we do not get a sense of the dynamic undergrounded social movements forming in Ndé and Nnéé borderlands communities throughout the 80s, 90s on issues of mining, nuclear power, water, casinos, religious rights, sacred sites, and human rights.

Under this freight, authors Kimberly Moore Buchanan and Sherry Robinson formulated 'Apache' women voices using traditional historical chronologies of the 'Apache Studies' canon.[101] Robinson made valuable critiques to the methods of Eve Ball, though as stated earlier left much open in terms of her social positioning to Indigenous peoples, the political economy of mining and U.S. imperialism, and patriarchal violence of American colonialism saturating Ndé peoples' lives. Buchanan, in a problematic method, lumped together a range of Indigenous cultures and highly differentiated groups, situating 'Apache women' in 'native' female warrior society she identified as 'gladiators.' The re-centering of European myth, fable, lore, and history as a white feminist framework for writing the historical traditions of Ndé women, their roles and status in the Americas failed to escape the trap of under-theorizing and unquestioning the stability of the Anglo-American, whiteness, and white supremacy as enduring projects of the U.S. nation-state. Un-examined and normalized racialized identities and identity-politics abound in these women's projects, and their own situatedness within them are similarly left consistently unproblemitized.

Conclusion

[101] Kimberly Moore Buchanan, *Apache Women Warriors* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1986).

In this chapter, I demonstrated the rise of the Americanization of the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico as a violent order of colonization, violence, manipulation, and necropolitics. Building upon Wallerstein and Mbembe, I provided analysis demonstrating clearly "Within the empire, the vanquished populations were given a status that enshrined their despoilment. … Colonial occupation itself was a matter of seizing, delimiting, and asserting control over a physical geographical area—of writing on the ground a new set of social and spatial relations."[102]

American science and ideological structures underpinning imperialist expansion and colonization had a large hand in the engineering and mainstreaming of the god-like monstrosity of 'the Apache' as noble-victim 'enemy' and 'the Mexican' as physical contaminant to American spaces. Both were poised as threats to national security, civilized people and progress. 'The Apache' was a tool applied by the modern state as a weapon of fear to re-organize land and resource use, labor structures, wealth and authority. Spawned out of the Bureau of the Interior/Department of War, 'the Apache' and 'the Mexican' were invented and deployed in wars to justify the use of extermination, ethnic cleansing, and coercion, manipulation, and structural violence. 'The Apache' and 'the Mexican' were justified as tools of psychological warfare against Indigenous peoples, to invade them, and to cull from them the entity called 'the native', an 'it' and a 'thing' necessary for lawless states of exception across a 2000 mile wide zone of the continent.

Racialized *native enemy Others*—particular and universal—are key components of the necropolitics of sovereignty, development, ethno-nationalism and coloniality. 'The Apache' and

[102] Mbembe, Ibid, 25.

'the Mexican' brought the middle girth of the North American continent into modernity, at the intersectional crossroads of the Spanish and English empires and the nation, the nation and the hacienda, the hacienda and the plantation, the mine and the ranch, the mine and the railroad, the railroad and the battalion, the battalion and the rural Indigenous multitude.[103] 'The Apache' and 'the Mexican' were central to colonization and continuous processes of atrocity, justifying nations' continuous pushing of the boundlessness of modern sovereignty, gaining legitimacy through exercising the will to destroy life at larger scales in the Ndé-Mexico and Ndé-Texas borderlands.

In a 2008 interview for the on-line journal *Eurozine*, Achille Mbembe stated,

> it's not the United States as such that people have a problem with, but an idea of politics and of the world that is closely associated with the history of the enemy—the enemy as an ontological, even theological entity in the sense that my enemy is, as a matter of principle, always the enemy of God—no more, no less—and the hatred I feel for him, is, necessarily, a divine hatred. … The global politics of the United States today is a politics that seeks to free itself from all constraints. In the name of security it seeks exemption from all responsibility. This politics of boundless irresponsibility must be subjected to a firm, intelligent and sustained critique.[104]

Indigenous social movements from the U.S.-Mexico bordered lands, comprised of a large proportion of denationalized, stateless, unrecognized, and unrepresented Indigenous peoples—who carry significant Western legal mechanisms such as treaties, land-grants, formal agreements, and Crown titles— are foregrounding critiques of the nation-state. They are calling into question the function and role of sovereignty, the nation-state, the multiplicity of states, and the polities within the nation-state— as they perceive these to be constructing both particular and

[103] See Adeleke Adeeko, "Bound to Violence?: Achille Mbembe's *On the Postcolony*, *West Africa Review*, 2002, http://www.westafricareview.com/vol3.2/adeeko.html, accessed March 6, 2010.

[104] Achille Mbembe, interviewed by Olivier Mongin, Nathalie Lempereur and Jean-Louis Schlegel, *Eurozine*, January, 9, 2008, http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2008-01-09-mbembe-en.html, accessed March 9, 2010.

universal elevated statuses of both privileged and historically described *enemy* Indigenous groups. Sustaining a firm critique is the continuing focus of this project. [105]

In the following chapters, I sustain a firm critique in two ways: first, through a close analysis of killing specialists Colonel John G. Bourke and Colonel Ranald McKenzie who organized and carried out necropower against the Ndé of South Texas, the Lower Rio Grande Valley and northeastern Mexico; and second through a close analysis of the memory of killing fields by Ndé victims as these rose within and across four state systems and numerous Indigenous women's families, clans and kinship.

[105] I conducted field research in 2007, 2008, and 2009 in the following Ndé communities and received signed authorization by respondents to discuss their verbal, written and filmed responses to agreed upon topics, issues and concerns in the Ndé borderlands. Community members from the following participated: El Calaboz Ranchería, Texas; El Ranchito, Texas; Premont, Texas; Corpus Christi, Texas; San Antonio, Texas; Redford (El Polvo), Texas; Del Rio, Texas; Ojinaga, Chihuahua, Mexico; San Carlos Apache Reservation, Arizona; Nogales, Sonora, México. Washington State University, *Institutional Review Board*, Approval # 09796-003. Ndé scholars whose dialogues and critical remarks shaped this work are Eloisa García Támez, Enrique Madrid, Daniel Castro Romero, Enrique Maestas, Michael Paul Hill, and Vernalda Grant.



Illustration 3.1.
"Map 35: The Trans-Mississippi West. Some Posts, Tribes and Battles of the Indian Wars, 1860-1890."
Courtesy of the U.S. Army Center of Military History.

Here is an example, which is a good representation of Wallerstein's thesis of the nation's take-over of reciprocity 'mini-systems' and the subordination of these into the late 19th century U.S. 'world-system' and 'world-economy.'

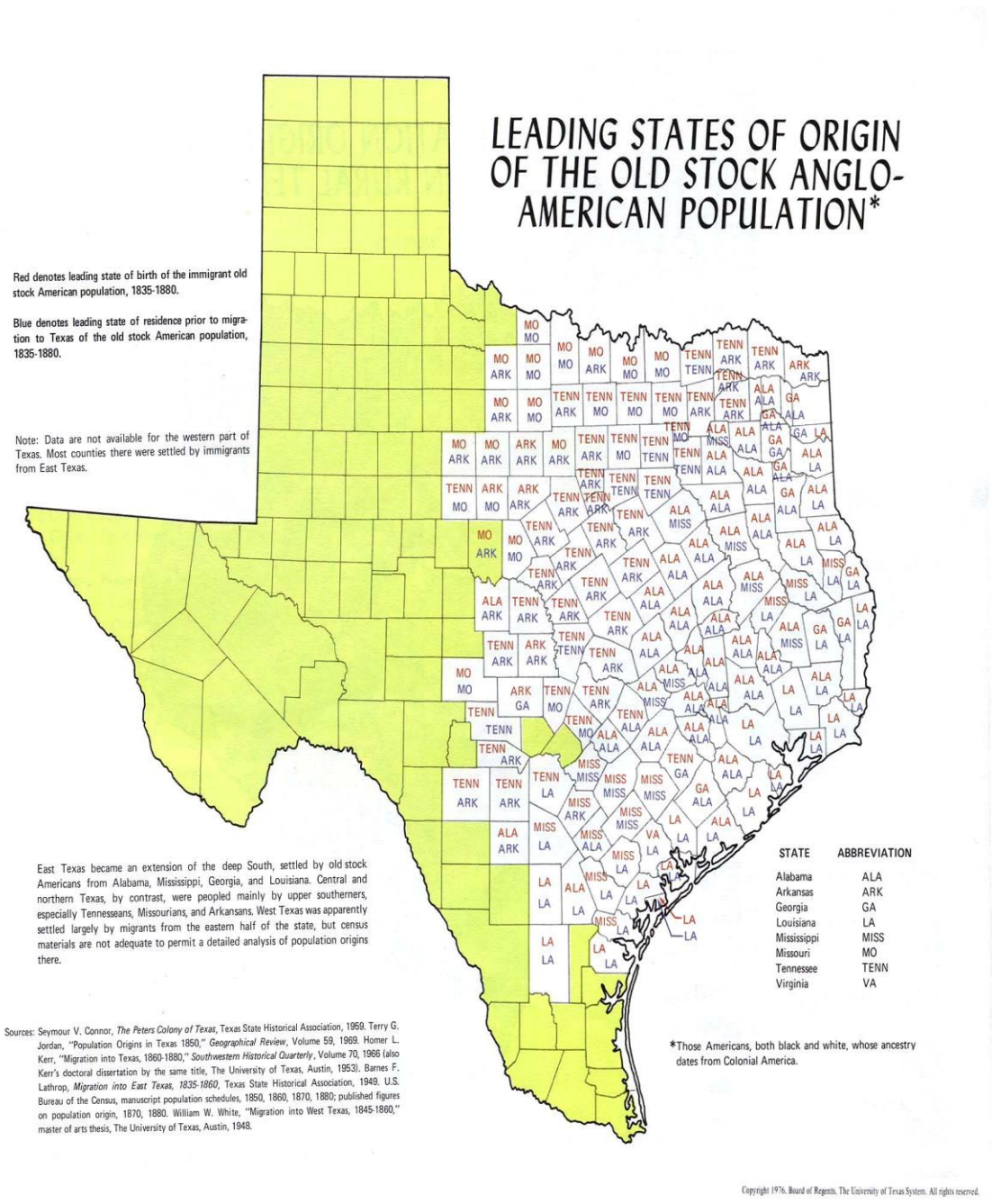


Illustration 3.2, Reprinted with permission from *The Atlas of Texas* (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, 1979),. Copyright held by The University of Texas Board of Regents.

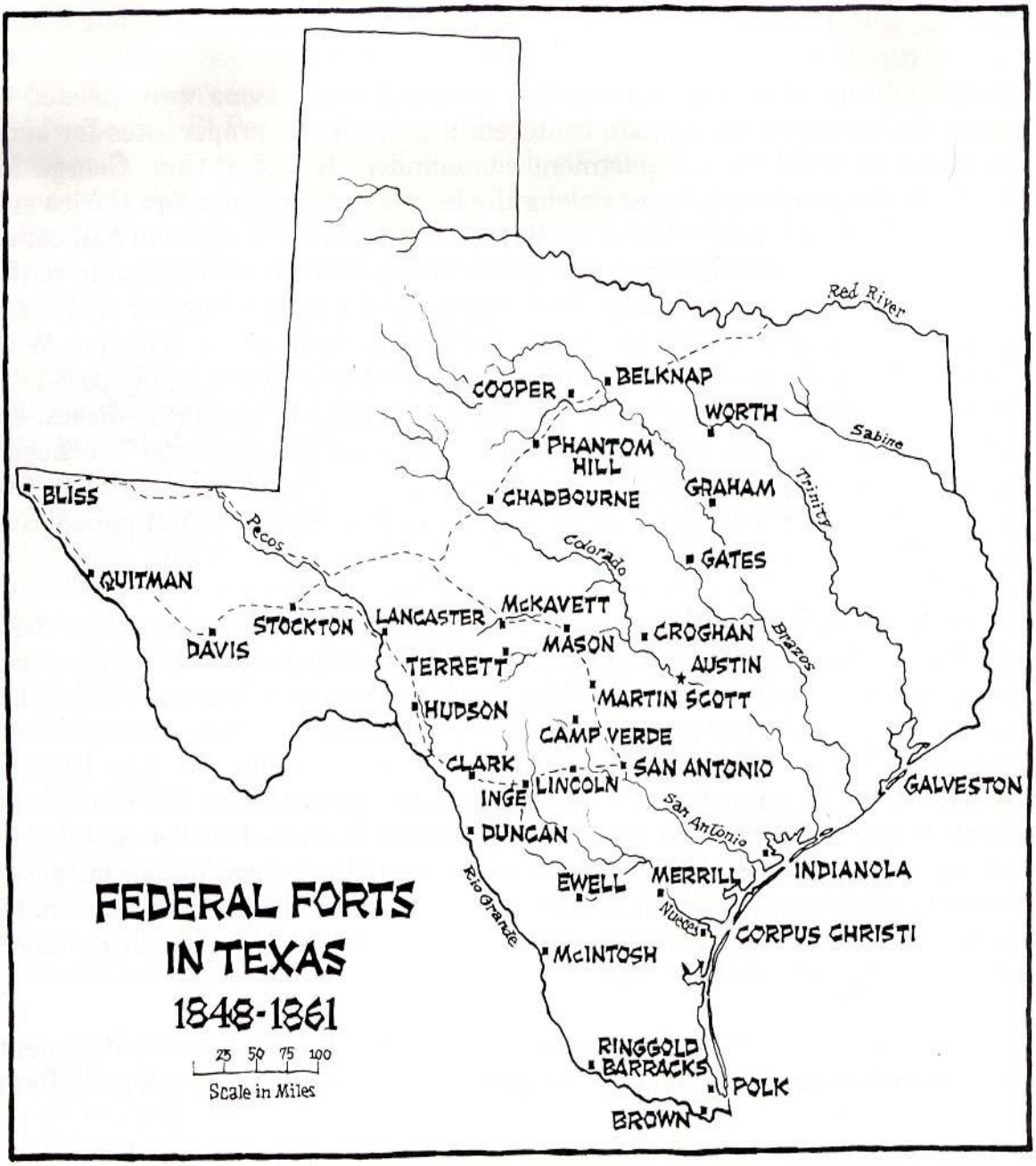


Illustration 3.3, Reprinted with permission from *The Atlas of Texas* (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, 1979),. Copyright held by The University of Texas Board of Regents.

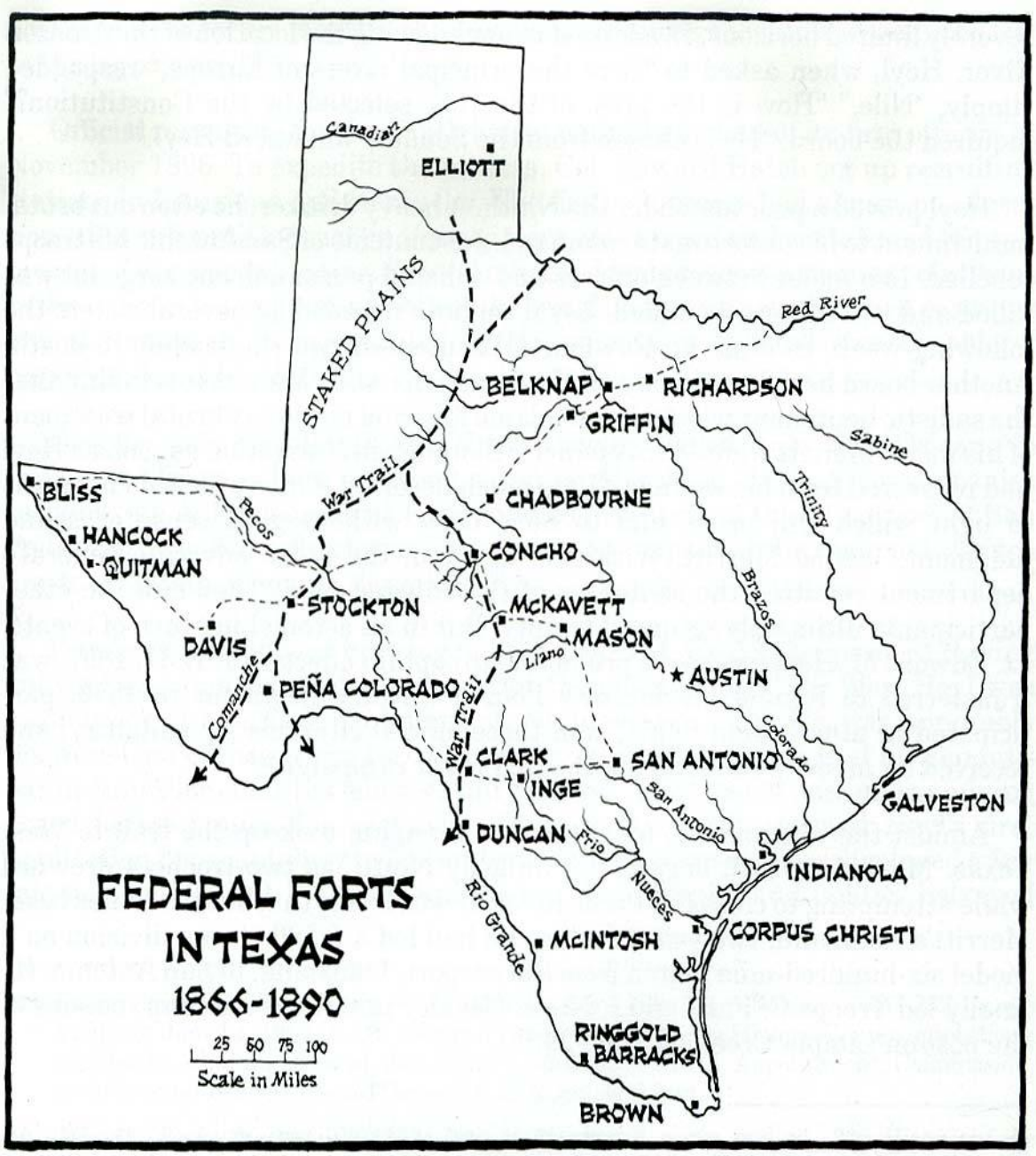
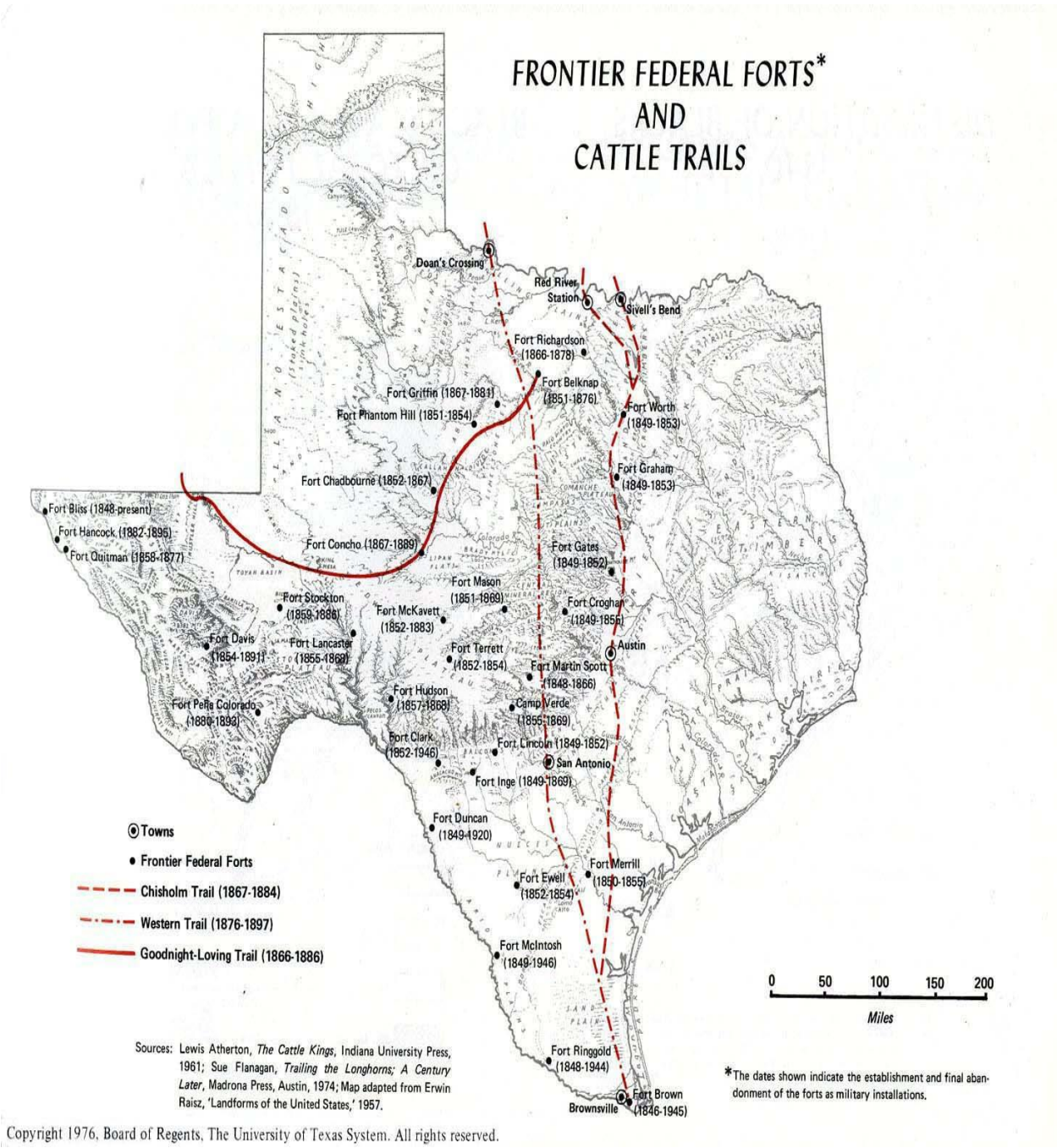


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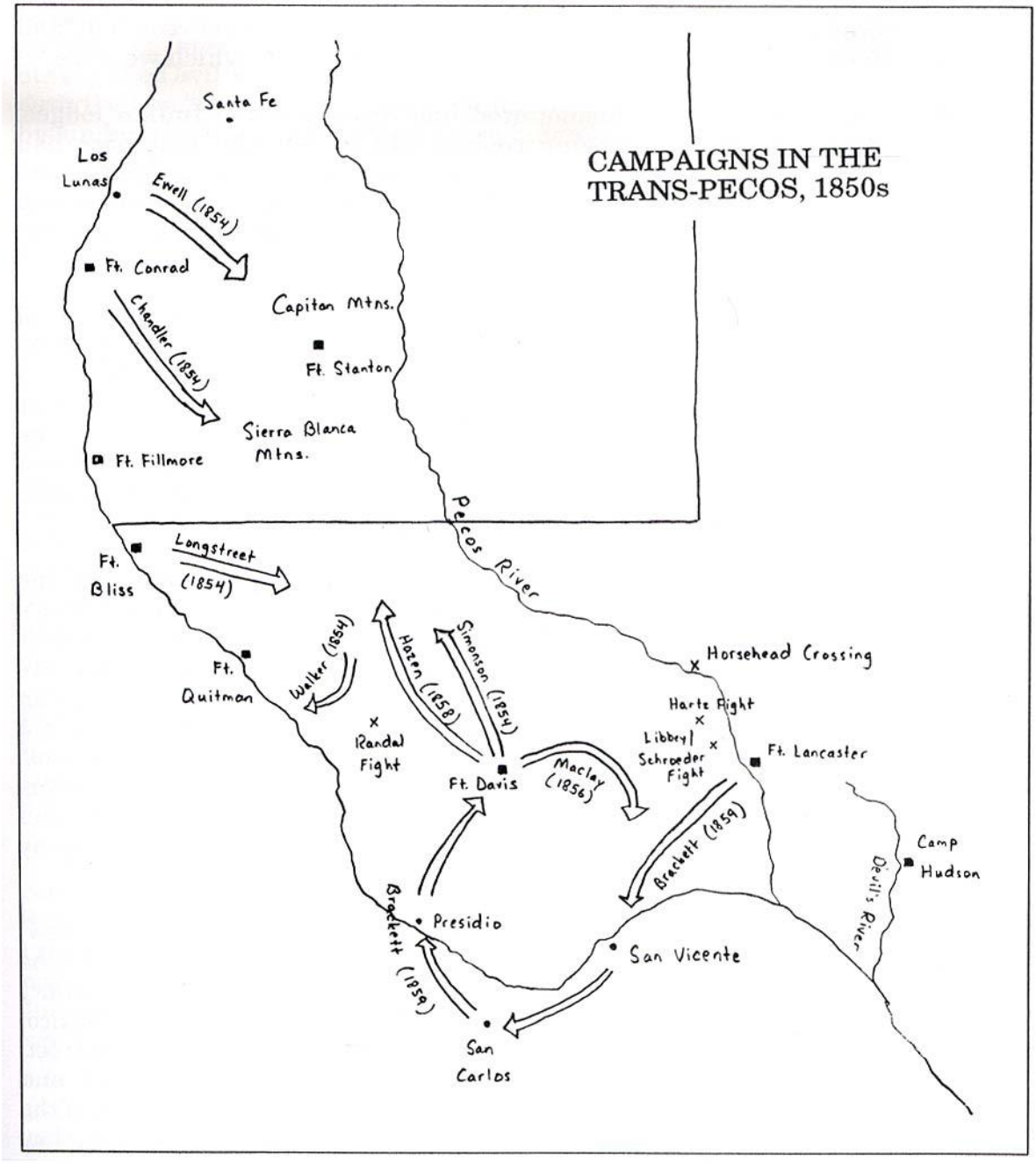


Illustration 3.6, Reprinted with permission from *The Atlas of Texas* (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, 1979). Copyright held by The University of Texas Board of Regents.

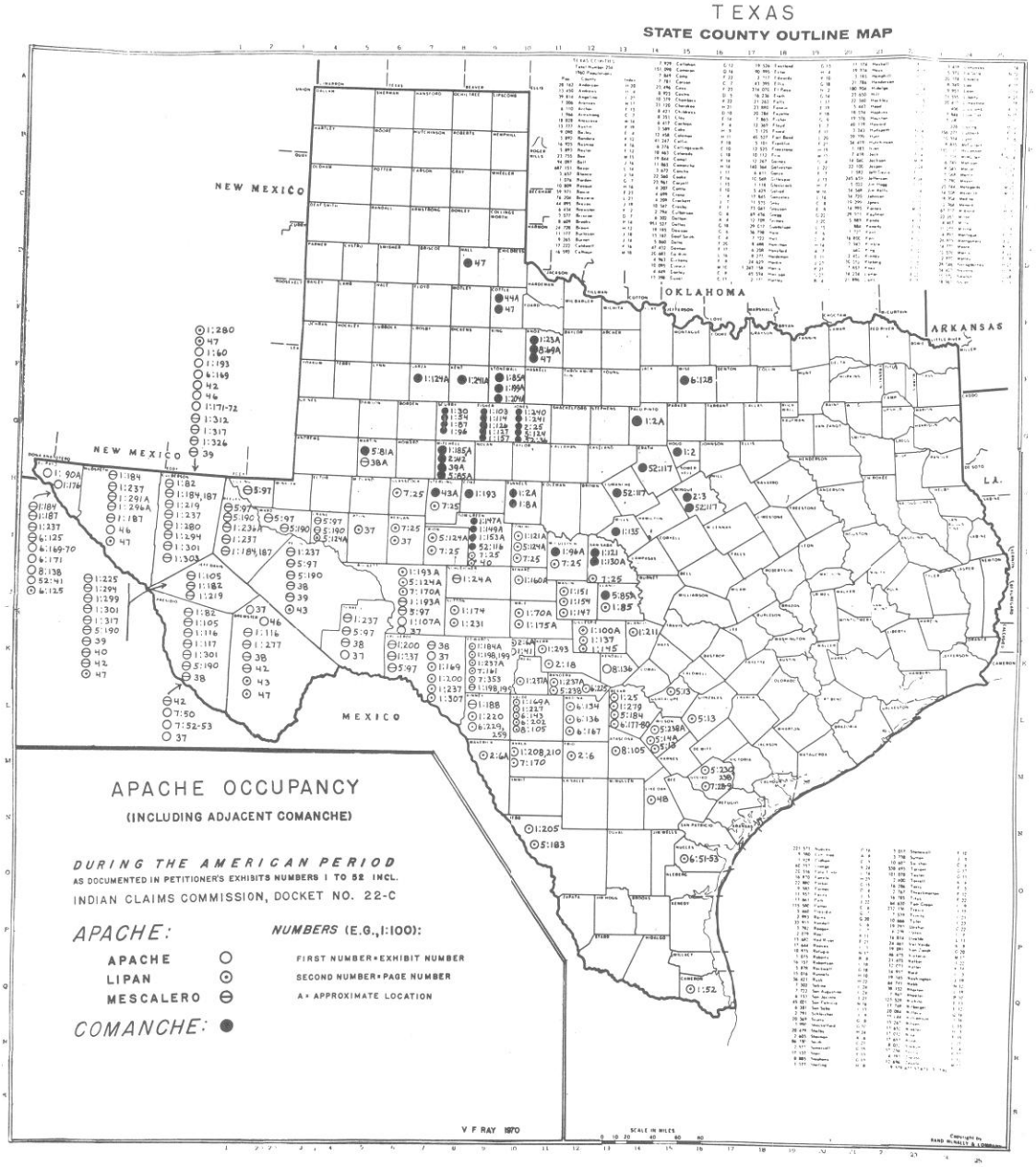


Illustration 3.7, "Apache Occupancy (Including Adjacent Comanche), During the American Period, Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 22-C," by Verne F. Ray, "Ethnohistorical Analysis of Documents Relating to the Apache Indians of Texas," *American Indian Ethnohistory: Indians of the Southwest* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), 170. Although current-day Ndé contest the collection methods regarding 'Apaches' in Texas in the above illustration, arguing that the figures were higher, clearly, large numbers of Ndé had remained inside the political boundaries of Texas at the time of this study. Texas was a political limbo for Indigenous peoples—veritably stonewalling them into stateless peoples. The Indian Claims Commission, aware of a legal controversy related to the denial of recognition to 'Apaches' in Texas was *heavily* influenced by the *use of sovereignty* and the *state of exception* by the state of Texas through its privileging of white male suffrage. Texas continuously argued that Indigenous peoples in Texas could not legally identify as communal or collective land-based peoples or social identities because doing so threatened whites' claims to biological and social superiority.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Necropower and Necropolitics: The Violent Landscapes of the Texas Imaginary

"To kill or to allow to live constitutes the limits of sovereignty, its fundamental attributes. To exercise sovereignty is to exercise control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power."[1]

Introduction

In this chapter, Indigenous women's historical governance and political roles in Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands and conflict zones is a subject which is drawing serious scholarly concern.[2] Understanding Indigenous women's roles in resisting normative definitions of sovereignty and self-determination, and Indigenous women's historical confrontations against forced incorporation into the production and reproduction of the colony, the state and the nation in the Texas borderlands *has been central* to my understanding of genocidal and gendered violence. Indigenous women's customary range of roles—not only as producers and reproducers of the family and cultures—as well as negotiators for peace, hostages, captives, prisoners of wars, trade, and commerce—forces a different analysis of the contexts which influenced their roles. As key community influencers, Indigenous women's autonomy was frequently disrupted and driven underground as a result of the collisions of national and regional oligarchical politics often contrasting rural peoples local forms of collective and communal governance patterns through kinship. Indigenous politics in the region, at the crossroads of Mexico, the Texas

[1] Mbembe, 11-12.

[2] Julianna Barr, Ibid; Rosa Linda Fregoso, " 'We Want Them Alive!': The Politics and Culture of Human Rights," *Social Identities*, Vol. 12, No. 2, March 2006, 109-138; Margo Tamez, "Space, Position, and Imperialism in South Texas," *Chicana/Latina Studies*, 7:2, Spring 2009, 112-121.

Republic and the United States—as well as Great Britain and France—intensified the local struggles and revolutionary movements, often cast as Indigenous 'outlawry' across Northern Mexico and the Southwest

During the late 19th century, along the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico border was defined by excessive use of armed use of military force and combat of national armies against workers and rural communities in revolt. *Significant* Indigenous political, economic, and social structures, institutions and systems were being challenged and threatened. This involved Euro-American emigrants to the Texas-Mexico border region seeking certain privileges related to their social identification as 'Whites.' The white male—in both the U.S. and Mexico—was enfranchised with the privilege of property ownership, privitazation of land, and suffrage as markers of citizenship. In Texas, entitlements included unimpeded access to cheap labor and access to markets. By the late 19th century, Indigenous institutions were heavily impacted by the increasingly militarized pressures underlying their removals.

After four centuries of Spanish colonization, the regions' Indigenous communities were deeply embattled, and the conjoined world-system of forced labor, mining, cattle and militarism continued to draw capitalists into the region. In effect, after the U.S. Civil War and the Spanish Bourbon Reforms, Indigenous communities in the Texas-Mexico-Ndé borderlands were engulfed by hunger, malnourishment, poverty, displacement, landlessness, and persecutory regimes exerted through extra-legal killings, nationalist ethnic wars, and race-focused paramilitary formations.

Indigenous families had ample reasons to search out multiple bridges to polities and institutions previously, or from time to time perceived as 'enemy camps.' Starvation and displacement, the severe suffering of elders and children undoubtedly forced Indigenous clan

leaders to reach out to even hostile communities who had the requisite resources for sustaining of life in this hostile terrain. The transnational Indigenous-Texas-Mexico region was one of the last areas on the continent to witness the bison roam freely, until similar methods to subjugate the recalcitrant Lipan and Comanche also mechanized the destruction of the herds. This reduced the Indigenous communities' options and, as they were literally being fenced in by armies and militias, they expropriated cattle from the abundant herds occupying their customary lands and perceived this as justice for decades of disrespect, violence, and tyrannical behavior by immigrant peoples.

The violent climate which defined the Texas-Indigenous borderlands is an excellent site to analyze social institutions of destruction and creation, where the nation defines 'dissidents' and 'enemies' who threaten the nation's becoming, its creation story—and the resulting landscapes of violence. Necropower and necropolitics are productive frameworks to re-examine Indigenous experiences at the cross-roads of the modern Spanish mining and labor complex, the northern Mexico-southern Texas pro-slave regionalist nationalism, and the United States as an expanding empire.

Necropower, as an analytical framework, helps to elevate the contradictions between European and Euro-American claims to 'freedom', 'liberty', 'rights' and 'democracy' and their constructions of violently punitive and destructive settler institutions and legalities. Such systems set into play the interlocking forces of the Spanish, Mexican, Texan, and U.S. landscapes of captivity, forced labor systems, deprivations, and military maneuvers used strategically to exploit Indigenous populations for the benefit of the colonizer. In this chapter, drawing from Ndé community members' personal interviews, archives, and primary documents, I will discuss some of the elements in South Texas and northeastern Mexico, after the U.S. Civil

War, which structured violence against Indigenous peoples and Indigenous women, who shouldered immense deprivation and suffering within a complex landscape of violence, destruction and death. A particular intersection—between the Spanish late modern mine and hacienda, the Mexican oligarchical liberal democracy, and the South Texan Anglo and Tejano ranching complex—developed spaces of destruction. The extended family—that crucial institution for Indigenous women——was severely threatened.

My argument is overlapping and three-fold. I argue that Lipan Apache women and their broad kinship circles had/have significant histories in conflict and war zones that are deserving of national, transnational and hemispheric inquiry by a critical audience. They have deep histories as negotiators of 'peace' and contributors to what the Americans military theorists and political scientists theorize as 'guerrilla' and 'constabulary' 'tactics.' Indigenous women carried out defense of hundreds of thousands of acres of Ndé customary lands and extensive clan systems criss-crossing the U.S.-Mexico international boundary. Southern Lipan and Tlaxcalteca women of the Lower Rio Grande Valley were uniquely situated at the crossroads and intersections of numerous empire, republic, state, and nation formations between 1546 to 1919. Obviously, they had/have a profound stake in recovery of this history. Secondly, the violent political landscapes of Texas deserve a sustained, critical pressure to shed light upon late 19th century atrocities against Indigenous peoples, and the in-depth documentations which exist in Indigenous communities. Finally, violence was multi-layered and extended and overlapped into Indigenous community *across* and *deep underneath* the normative conceptions of war 'periods' and 'epochs.' Here, I illuminate my understanding of 'violence' before proceeding further.

Defining 'violence'

Indigenous women have passed down critical narratives of violent coercion and control as well as destruction to their children and grandchildren across South Texas. Indigenous women witnessed their families being brutally murdered, destroyed, deprivated and harmed in numerous counties in South Texas and in numerous sites in northern Coahuila, Chihuahua, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas. Independent Indigenous polities (Lipan Apaches, Comanches, Kickapoos) and transnational Indigenous political formations based in kinship, economic and land-based struggles were driven into extra-legal kill-zones, at the same time that the sacred bison, and numerous important zones sacred foods were fenced off. New technologies equipped killing at larger and faster scales. In response, Indigenous women in the Ndé bordered lands have, at decisive times, recruited their sons, daughters, cousins, fathers, nieces, nephews, uncles, and brothers to fight wars against both Indigenous and Euro-American nations. These were hinged to logics related to Indigenous conceptions of allegiance, economics, revenge, vengeance, duty, honor, and the protection of domains—cultural, ecological, intellectual, and physical.

On the Ndé-Texas-Mexico borderlands, violence against the Indigenous family, community and women—whether the violence was expressed as group to group conflict, organized by particular organizations, and/or expressed within kinship networks—developed through feudal economic and labor systems. Violence was undoubtedly connected to rising ideologies of race, and dangerous mythologies of ideal cultivators (White males) and disposable ethnic groups and 'types.' In the process, incorporating Indigenous men and their families into national bodies of masculine power, such as armies, militias, and civic guards, the U.S. and Mexican national armies worked to cultivate Indigenous men as 'scouts' and 'servants' and their Indigenous wives as camp 'cooks' and 'launderers.' Within revolutionary cells, Indigenous

women filled numerous important roles in strategy development, surveillance and communication, supply managers, food and medicine suppliers, surveillance, and armed conflict.

In this scenario, violent confrontation, armed threat, and armed conflict had distributed impacts across Indigenous women's societies, *more* than other groups in the region and this is why. Indigenous women have had a long pre-colonial and colonial history of traditional and Western legal land-tenure in the region. Indigenous women and girls were severely marginalized throughout the rise of invasion, occupation and coloniality, and the Western Christian subjugation, hierocratic governmentality, and militarism which displaced and marginalized Indigenous women. Indigenous women, by 1865, were severely impacted by the enfranchisement of white male cultivators as model 'citizens' of Tejas y Coahuila, the Republic of Texas, the Republic of Mexico and the United States. Land dispossession impacted *all* Indigenous in radical and violent ways—though not the same either vertically or horizontally. *Instead*, land dispossession in *this* region particularly impacted *Indigenous women* disproportionately, and as a result, worked to erode the most crucial Indigenous social institution in the region—*the extended kinship family* as a matrix of Indigenous governance and epistemologies.

As argued by O'Toole and Schiffman,

> Much of the violence in contemporary society serves to preserve asymmetrical gender systems of power. For example, compulsory aggression as a central component of masculinity serves to legitimate male-on-male violence, sexual harassment as a means of controlling the public behavior of women, gay and lesbian bashing and rape as a standard tool in war, in prison, and in too many intimate relationships.[3]

[3] Laura O'Toole and Jessica R. Schiffman, as quoted in Barbara Chasin, *Inequality and Violence in the United States: Casualities of Capitalism,* 2nd Edition (Amherst: Humanity Books, 2004), 252.

This analysis has traction and relevance to Indigenous women of the Ndé-Texas-Mexico borderlands because the "asymmetrical gender systems of power" were developed hand-in-hand with forced labor systems, through patriarchal domination of key colonial institutions which enforced laws and rules to gain control over Indigenous bodies through a highly stratified society. Although scholars normatively associate the institutions of the mission, rancho, hacienda, the pueblo—and *the market*—as 16-18th century systems where Indigenous peoples congregated, I suggest these *continued to be key sites of crisis* for Indigenous peoples *along the Texas-Mexico border* into the mid and late 19th century. I posit that Indigenous women maintained critical ties to their parish churches located within the communal Indigenous land-grants, pueblos, ranchería community formations. These were critical methods of survivance during the invasion of *both* Texans and the U.S. in the mid-to-late 19th century.

Violence and gender interlocked in important ways, and must be disentangled from normative readings. Barbara Chasin emphasizes that hegemonic masculinity, "the power dimension of gender relationships in which being a male is conceptualized in the United States [as an expression of being] "powerful, aggressive, rational, and invulnerable," in which "the manliness of most will be judged by their ability to measure up to this standard of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity can become a breeding ground for violence."[4]

The White Southern Plantation oligarch system intersected with earlier patriarchal systems of the haciendas, missions, ranchos, and pueblos, thus we must analyze structured violence as *organizational violence.* In other words, that which is "a result of an explicit decision made as part of individuals' roles in formal institutions such as bureaucracies … [such as] the military and the police… [and/or emanating from] decision makers in corporations and

[4] Barbara Chasin, *Inequality in the United States: Casualities of Capitalism*, 2nd Edition (Amherst: Humanity Books, 2004), 252.

government agencies."[5] Although Ndé women had a history of agency and remarkable authority within their own rancherías in previous centuries, by the mid 19th century, this landscape had been devastatingly *altered*. In organized violence, the most severely impacted communities are statistically those who are *most* targeted by gender, race and ethnicity typologies, *and* most closely associated with *menial labor* in a highly stratified system.[6] Intersecting these factors is the issue of militarism, that is, the "the maintenance of a large military establishment that goes far beyond the needs of national defense, the ideas that justify military actions, and the actions themselves."[7]

I argued in chapter 3, democratic institutions were also implicated in gender, racial, and militaristic ideas about 'enemies.' At the same time, liberal democracy was taken hostage by the transborder and transnational invasions by American militarism as a 'remedy' for the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico border crisis. When military strategies and technologies were directed towards expansionist and development projects both 'at home' and 'abroad'—Indigenous families were often the most severely impacted. In the case of South Texas and northeastern Mexico, defined as "the American Congo" by Captain John G. Bourke, the land and

[5] Patricia Osante critically re-constructed this oligarchic base structure of the Lower Rio Grande-Texas-Mexico system where she traced land-tenure, military service, and wealth accumulations within the earlier formation of the region as a colony. See Patricia Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander, (1748-1772)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México y Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1997).

[6] Harassment, homophobia, physical assaults, prostitution, alcohol abuse/self-medication, aggressive sexuality, domestic violence, and death are just some of the key markers of hegemonic masculinity at the intersections of militarism. In the Lower Rio Grande region, these characteristics of militarism and hegemonic masculinity engulfed the civilian Indigenous populations—in the intersections of numerous simultaneous armed struggles for land and persecutory campaigns against Indigenous bodies. When right-wing militia groups perceived national governments as threatening their regionally-defined and conceived 'land rights' and 'citizenship rights', resulted in a proliferation of independent, extra-legal law systems which, to borrow once more from Chasin, take it upon themselves to "identify those responsible and kill them, the military response to a troublesome situation." Ibid., 14; 51-53.

[7] Ibid., 301, 357.

populations were *always already* designated as 'exotic native/savage Other.'[8] These cumulative factors of institutional inequality, race, gender, and racialized gender violence within the matrix of organizational militarism were *fatal* to Indigenous kinship institutions of the Lower Rio Grande River confluence.

I engage Mbembe's optics of necropower, and articulate an Ndé analysis of necropower in relation to survivor families of the Cúelcahén Ndé, Hada'didla' Ndé, and the Jumano Apache peoples of the Texas-Mexico customary domains. As such, I closely examine two individuals who embody the many sides of 'violence' in the Texas imaginary and landscape between 1865 to the late 1890s. It is at the intersections of racialized gender, ethnicity, nation, citizenship, development and militarism that the heterotopic landscapes of sovereignty used to decide who lives and who dies materializes for the Ndé. The logics of 'rights' and 'life' for the Euro-American cultivator and 'labor' and 'death' as the customary spaces for the Indigenous were rationalized in the armed struggle to Americanize South Texas and to 'open' Indigenous domains for transnational American 'utopias' in northern Mexico.

I apply pressure to the open wound of necropower along the Texas-Mexico borderedlands—slavery, the hacienda, the mine, the agricultural complex, forced labor as preconditions for the American and white male cultivator's seizure of lands, bodies, and remaking of space. Intense, complicated and layered, the Ndé-kinship wars engaged diverse national, state, and Indigenous groups in our homelands, and American militarism radically re-defined and re-shaped the Texas-Mexico border communities as I remember them growing up, and still know them today as zones of unending occupation checkpoints.

[8] John G. Bourke, "The American Congo," *Scribner's Magazine*, Volume 15 Issue 5 (May, 1894), 590-610.

What led to Indigenous peoples strategizing, organizing and taking up arms to defend themselves between 1870-1919 on the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico bordered lands? Many scholars, such as David Montejano, Armando C. Alonzo, Benjamin Heber Johnson, Elliott Young, Brian DeLay and Gary Clayton Anderson have offered useful frameworks, such as 'boss politics', the 'Texas Machine,' 'economic and racial injustice', 'economic crashes', 'ethnic cleansing', 'stateless peoples', 'independent Indian polities', and 'genocide.' Yet, what has most often been overlooked or disfigured were the Indigenous resistant *presences* –diverse, heterogeneous, deeply seated, gendered and resilient—and what has been obfuscated *within that polity* were the Indigenous women at the center of a large lineal kinship system which bridged the Lower Rio Grande Valley with Tamaulipas, Coahuila and Nuevo León.

The layered historical characteristics of the Indigenous kinship systems which pre-dated Texas, Tejas y Coahuila and Mexico, incorporated many horizontal and vertical institutional ties—across many municipalities, ranchos, pueblos, and rancherías across the Texas-Mexico confluence.[9] For instance, in El Calaboz, there are Tlaxcaltecas, Nahuatl noble/hidalgos, Comanches, and Ndé incorporated *within* Ndé strongholds. At the local level, the agency of Indigenous knowledge was under theorized and Indigenous women's knowledges were eclipsed as a byproduct of the numerous ways in which outsider's flattened Indigenous diversity and

[9] David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Armando C. Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Elliott Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005).

lumped all groups into the Americanized Mexican' as the marker of the *Other*. It is this crucial political-social-economic formation—*kinship* and *reciprocity* exerted through *compadrazgo*/*comadrazga*—related family and ritualized cousin networks. It was this complex transnational Indigenous kinship network which completely disarmed and baffled the U.S. officer in charge of extermination wars in the Lower Rio Grande portion of the region.[10]

Yet, these kinship networks were by no means innocent of coloniality, patriarchy, oligarchy and violence. Indigenous institutions in the region, by the mid-to-late 19th century, were rendered patriarchal and hierarchical *after experiencing four centuries and four colonialist governments*. The Texas-Mexico region's 'boss' and/or *cacique* formation of Indigenous stratification, gender, and rural governmentality figures large in this frame of South Texas and the erosion of Indigenous abilities to rebound. Indigenous women were targeted in a zone of necropower from *multiple* directions—both far and near.

Ndé, Tlaxcalteca, and diverse other Indigenous women were racialized and classed not only by white settlers. They were being deeply marginalized by an Indigenous oligarchy of elite hacienda/rancho 'Tejanos'/Tlaxcalteca-Basque land owners, as well as changing social structures within small Ndé Catholicized, farming and ranching communities fringed economically and politically by elite Indigenous groups. The imported ideas of Euro-American gender, Catholicized gender, rural cultivator ideas of gender, and ranching ideas of gender, as well as Indigenous customs and belief systems complicated Indigenous ranchería peoples. By the late 19th century, ranchería groups were deeply inter-married with Christianized and civic/corporate Indigenous communities (pobladores/settler farmers), and with groups who were establishing

[10] Young, Ibid.

municipal governments in Brownsville, Matamoros, Reynosa, Laredo, San Benito, Harlingen, Edinburgh, and all the Indigenous ranchos and pueblos in-between.

Masculine ideals of soldier and militia 'frontier' work (such as presidarios and Rangers), and ideals of a male gentile mercantile class of property owners (mine owners, farm owners, ranchers, hacendados, plantation owners, agriculture and real estate investors, bankers) were undergoing changes in their ability to influence Indigenous men in support of the ideal feminine household gender role, which also worked to fuse class-based identities between men. The increased concentration of homo-social spaces in colonization also served to divide collective/communal Indigenous relations which had traditionally given women more authority and governance as an equal if not higher status than males in the ranchería.

The triangulation of war, development and the violent persecution against the Indigenous family peripherialized Indigenous peoples living their lives in rural and collective ways of life, such as in El Calaboz and related villages. Farming, hunting, and cultivating from the indigenous plant systems were threatened by encroaching Western notions of private property, the ideal family, 'citizenship,' and armed protection of 'rights.' Both elite Indigenous groups and emigrating Southern whites perceived the Indigenous ranchería peoples as racially and culturally 'backward' and both espoused civilizing missions directed towards them.[11]

We must recall that in the 17th and 18th centuries, Ndé women differed from other Indigenous women in their status and their resistance and we must also remember that Tlaxcalteca and Nahuatl communities had received land grants and titles of *hidalgos*.[12] Awarded special legal status under the institutionalization of the Republico de Indios, they often raised

[11] Daniel Castro-Romero, Interview on file with author; Lydia Esparza García, Interview on file with author; See also, Young, Ibid., 27-29.

[12] I analyze these more closely and specifically across clans in El Calaboz in later chapters.

conflicts about land, water, and other civil matters with the Spanish-Americans in courts or other civic procedures. In contrast, Ndé women mostly 'appeared' in court or other governmental sites as objects: 'captures', 'imprisoned', 'enslaved', 'bought', 'sold', 'transferred' and 'killed.' It would be erroneous and naïve to homogenize North American Indigenous peoples' status in the Texas-Mexico-Ndé borderlands (under four brutal regimes of governmentality and colonization) as 'equal' because of colonization; similarly, it would be defective to exceptionalize 'pre-colonial' North American Indigenous peoples as 'harmonious.'

Ndé experiences did not fit romantic conceptions. Rather, the Texas-Mexico-Ndé borderlands have deep histories of intensified Indigenous racial typologies and classification systems. These were heavily contoured by the privileges and banishments accorded to different groups at different times working within Spanish, Texan and Mexican political domains, and under varying conditions of subjugation and assimilation. Indigenous peoples experienced colonization with *particular* characteristics in a region which has a significant history of Indigenous heterogeneity (intimacies, inter-marriages, kinship practices, and human exchanges), *prior to* European invasion. Indigenous people commonly and traditionally exchanged and inter-mixed ideas, spiritual beliefs, material cultures, economies, and incorporated diverse sexual relations between groups through elaborate and ritualized kinship practices. The circumstances of war severely challenged women to equip their communities to survive harsh conditions and required access to numerous and diverse networks and tools of survival. Men's spheres of compadrazgo, in a highly masculinized landscape, were crucial to the survival of an entire community, as women's spheres shrank as hostile forces encroached. By the modern period (1820-1915) women established firm reasons, opposition identities, and cultures for transgression, physical resistance, and armed combat in defense of their land base and resources.

Americanization of South Texas—Ethnicity, Militarism, and American Masculinity

The marriage of ideas and bodies were important as cultural and spatial deployments of American sovereignty, militarism, and borders. *Re*-deploying 'natives', 'savages', and 'enemies' were central to the late 19th century invasion of South Texas. The American Civil War, a terrain of horrific violation and atrocity, reified sovereignty *as* subjugation, violence and death. 'Taking' land, towns, villages—household by household, collapsed the spaces between Euro-American 'ethnic' minorities and the intimate spaces of the groups under colonization by the United States—the Indigenous peoples.[13]

Women's bodies, lands, resources, children and lives became sites and spaces to inscribe a rising mechanized and masculinist order to purge the enemy presence. 'Cleansing' the lands for the implantation of white male cultivators was informed by a rising idealized ideology of a new American manhood and nation. During the American Civil War, the rank order of military

[13] Inter-ethnic Euro-American violence, 'brother against brother' and 'cousin against cousin' ironically re-invoked destructive methods utilized in the merchant and Anglo-Saxon wars against land-based 'Celts' and 'Gaelics' in Ireland and Scotland. For example, between 1849 and 1850, 20,000 highlander Gaelics from Scotland were relocated to Canada, through state-aided social engineering, vis-à-vis state-sponsored colonization programs. These programs targeted 'crofters' and 'cottars'—rural Indigenous folk with long histories of staunch refusals to abandon their lands and ways of life. By 1883, unwilling exile was widespread, which led to brutal involuntary 'clearances' and full-scale organized revolt and warfare between the Indigenous Celts and Gaelic peoples and the Irish and Scottish elites and governments. 'Clearances' often took the form of 'intimate' warfare associated with village to village removals. See Marjory Harper, "Crossing borders: Scottish emigration to Canada," at http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Migration/articles/harper.html, accessed April 5, 2010; and Conzen and Gerber, "The Invention of ethnicity: A perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History,* Fall 1992, Vol. 12, Issue 1, 3-4. By 1819, in the American post-revolution period, 'American' already was being coded as 'Anglo-Saxon.' By 1834, European ethnic differences were increasingly "coded as salient in a way that they previously were not. What had changed was not only the visibility of persons bearing the signs of immigrant origin, but also the ways Americans were viewing themselves and their society." … "Anglo-Saxon descent alone offered a secure grounding for a national identity, or so it began to see to many Americans. … By the 1850s "Americans began viewing the Irish in ethnic terms…once they began regarding character as the product of nature rather than nurture…."

organization and its dependence on white 'ethnic' soldiers in the enlisted corps introduced a Euro-American war in which subordinated 'ethnic white' males were recruited to carry out the intimate killings of their 'ethnic' cousins—Scots, Irish, Germans.. At the same time, as Union forces invaded southward, they spread the zones of killing across communities of Indigenous peoples, African slaves, and multi-racial groups.

The American Civil War, from an Indigenous perspective, involved *intimate* killings, in hand-to-hand struggle, carried out by Union *and* Confederate soldiers against Southern communities of white 'ethnic' groups, Indigenous and African peoples. The ideas of the 'savage' Other was intrinsically tied to older hostilities between Irish and Scot communities and oral histories *and* the wars against American Indigenous peoples. An arsenal of Americanized imaginaries between 'northerners', 'southerners', 'whites', 'blacks' and as well an assemblage of contesting European ethnicities and gendered racializations of the European ethnic Other, were transported into American conflicts from the imagined sites of inter-ethnic warfare in 'Old Europe.'

The popular cognitive of 'ethnicity' in 19th century American thought in binary opposition to Anglo-Saxon nationalism, 'American' was fraught with anxiety. Land became the geopolitical space deployed between them: carved, cut, and sectioned—land was a terrain of Euro-ethnic class difference demarcating European stratification and hierarchy, and the rejection of. Land, control and identity were juxtaposed between 19th century European immigrants and Anglo-Saxons who tenured themselves as the *true* American land lords, repeating an embedded history of European class warfare.[14] Ethnicity, in the case of the American Civil War, was construed as well as deeply *biological and blood-connected.* Land of the Indigenous 'enemies'

[14] See Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), Chapter 10: The Other Civil War, 211-251.

was imagined, and then projected, as a bloody *landscape* where subjugating bodies and peoples was a hauntingly familiar experience of war. The transfer of the *idea* and the *remembrance* of killing, to the wars against Indigenous peoples, from a European inter-ethnic imaginary, was institutionalized by American military culture as a *normal* form of indoctrinating manly soldiers. Outfitting Euro-American males for militarized violence against the enemy *Others* worked to subordinate European immigrant ethnic/racial communities into the nation of *Anglo* and *White* America—as an effect of militarism and class subjugation.

Gendered ideas about power and gaining control over bodies have problematic associations when applied in the arsenal of expansionist warfare. The angst of Euro-American military discourse conflated wars of 'taking' and acts of 'being' *American* in a double-edged and schizophrenic rationale which the discourse of armed force to 'purge' land of communal-collective Indigenous peoples and sought to 'replace' the Indigenous with idealized Euro-American individual family homesteads. At the same time, this scenario problematically transferred the idyllic and problematic myth of an agrarian/pastoral yeoman farmer-cultivator (laborer) to the Indigenous countryside. This configuration transferred the conflict to the rural and spatialized it throughout Texas and the northern Mexico borderlands, but did not resolve the reality of violent social relations between the elite Anglo-Saxon ruling class and the immigrant European ethnic population.

One of the key scaffolds of this social identity was an idyllic land-based 'strong' 'masculine' father, and a feminine, skillful, yet legally, socially, and politically subordinated 'feminine' mother. This highly romanticized notion of colonization and expansion concealed the elites' class-oriented angst about the *actual* Euro-American Scot, Irish and German immigrants they indoctrinated to forcibly settle and subdue. This idea wholly sublimated the historical class-

based demands of the poorest ethnic Irish and Scots. Their social condition as they entered the United States and America was as a *subordinated* group to colonizer Protestant Saxons. Their history as a militarized population was used on numerous levels by elites in the violent agricultural colonization of the Indigenous domains of the South. In the colonization of the Indigenous domains of Texas-Mexico, prior to and after the American Civil War, these particular ideations, which interlocked ethnic Irish and Scots, 'natives', 'savages', and elite military Irish and Scot authority, contoured the American militarization of the conquest of the Lower Rio Grande River Valley.

Thus, blood warfare, armed threat and violence associated with social control and indoctrination, accompanied the massive out-migration of Irish and Scots to Canada, the U.S. and later, Mexico. The spatialization of these members of a killing and cultivator society required psychological as well as physical tools to mold specific kinds of subjects and to control bodies. Political-scientist, Cynthia Enloe argues, this involved subordination of women, because "militaries and their supporters in both government and the general public needed not only women, flesh and blood creatures… [t]hey have also needed ideas." [15] Specifically, ideas drawn from Western Enlightenment philosophies and Liberal democratic development discourse highlighted *difference* which typically aimed at elevating northern European 'races' and subordinating 'native peasants' as inferior Others.

Popular thought perpetuated racialized ideas of 'the native' through the colonialist discourse which exoticized and primitivized the diversity of Indigenous peoples in the Texas-Mexico borderlands. Peoples closely associated with menial labor, living close to the earth, and with 'native' and 'peasant' knowledges of the land—were manufactured by Euro-Americans as

[15] Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), xiii.

embodying 'proofs' and 'evidence' that Texas-Mexico Indigenous peoples were *racially different from* Indigenous groups Euro-Americans of the northeast and plains—both subjugated and then romanticized through American ideations of 'noble savages.'

Euro-American military conquest also involved anxieties and fears about racial mixture with subordinated Others, and these ideas were transported from Europe which had long histories both militarizing and racializing subjugated peoples during inter-ethnic wars of elites. There was a deep-seated consciousness of Otherness which drove Irish and Scot out-migration to the Americas in the 18th through the 19th centuries—along class lines. The spread of an internalized consciousness of being aggressively and often violently 'Othered' spread across the global Irish and Scot Diaspora to continental Europe, Argentina, Bermuda, Puerto Rico, Chile, Mexico, the United States, Canada, Australia, India, and South Africa.[16] The Scot and Irish Diasporas often intersected, forged by inter-locking histories related to internal land and resource dispossessions from an organized, militant, top-down pressure by land-lords upon the rural populations.[17] These inter-class/religious/economic conflicts involved long-term internalization of the conception of ethnic difference associated with ideas which devalued communal-collective land identities and privileging individual-private land 'ownership' as ideal.

In the case of Scots, agrarian 'lowlanders' and pastoral 'highlander' peoples were binaries that Othered as well as homogenized the Indigenous folk and their social movements by attempting to 'fix' their social behaviors as *biologically*-driven. Thus being Celts and Gaelics, being rural and land-based, being poor and marginalized were constructed by elites as markers of

[16] See National Library of Ireland, "Sources," see generally Irish immigration, http://sources.nli.ie/Search/Results?lookfor=immigration&type=AllFields, accessed March 20, 2010.

[17] Marjory Harper, "Crossing borders: Scottish emigration to Canada," *History in Focus*, Issue 11: Migration, , March 20, 2010, 1.

difference, abnormality, and deviance. These ideas were generously applied by governing elites to resisting communities, and rationalized as justification for 'clearing' wars against *both* sedentary pastoral and renting lowland groups *and* highly mobile, subsistence groups. Tellingly, the rural folk experienced brutal colonization within a larger feudal system that preyed upon groups in Ireland and Scotland as subordinated groups to the Anglo-Saxons.

The militia-based purges applied pressure towards the inter-ethnic class wars which further divided Gaelic clan and tribal-based Indigenous folk, and the pastoral and urbanizing lowlanders who rapidly incorporated into English-dominated urban systems. Policy decisions to forcibly remove them led to the subjugation of large numbers of impoverished peoples. 'Clearing' wars, prominent in both Irish and Scot popular narratives of their Diaspora, were fueled by enmeshed economic policies, social structuring, and at times, militant force.[18] Famine, starvation, mercantilist prejudice against rural peoples, escalating rents, congestion, agricultural restructuring, militant 'purges', offers of 'land-grants' to soldiers—were all primary concerns of migrants. Scots and Irish most often experienced *forced* migration as indentured, indebted, bonded, servants to landlords and transplanted to Canada and the U.S.[19]

Massive migration of *specific* groups targeted for removals, labor, and colonization involved the use of particular theories of the 'savage' and 'inferiority' to rationalize biological theories of difference. These binaries deeply indoctrinated Irish and Scot laborers in the discourse of the 19th century class, religious, and geographical 'supremacy.' When these factors are taken into account, the war of *ideas* against American Indigenous peoples and lands across the Texas-Mexico border —written in ink and blood—by Captain John Gregory Bourke and

[18] Harper, 2.

[19] Ibid.

Colonel Ranald Slidell cannot be easily compressed into simplistic notions of 'white-U.S.' vs. 'Indian-Mexico' narratives.

As social historians Kathleen Neils Conzen and David A. Gerber suggest, the dualistic constructions of ethnicity in 19th century America entailed a complex engagement with the ongoing process of ethnic invention, broadly.

> At the onset of mass immigration to the United States in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Americans themselves were engaged in a self-conscious project of inventing a national identity, and in the process found themselves also inventing the category of ethnicity—"nationality" was the term they actually used—to account for the culturally distinctive groups in their midst. … Thus the conventional narrative has Americans becoming aware of immigrants by the 1830s, and coming to think of Irish and Germans, in particular, as forming groups and exhibiting *particular kinds of behavior*.[20] (Emphasis added.)

This raises the question, who were "Americans" in this scenario? By the mid-19th century, Scots and Anglo-Saxons had surpassed Irish and German immigration by far.[21] And, how did subordinated 'ethnic-national' groups find a niche to 'fit in' to the newly becoming American national identity? Ideas of masculinity worked to shape nationalist identities, as had been the case of the Spanish and Anglo-Saxon empires. *Militarism*—soldiering as a job and career—potentially offered a niche for many impoverished and single Euro-ethnic male minorities to gain menial wages, a source of food, albeit marginal and impoverishing as a dubious 'career.'

However, for the 'top-crust' of ethnic-national minorities, the military offered a wedge of opportunity to establish key and significant political ties to government leaders, politicians and mercantile capitalists. 'Fitting in' with the national narrative of 'American-ness' and American manhood at a time when the Civil Wars and the 'Indian Wars' were crumbling the backbone of

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[20] Kathleen Neils Conzen and David A. Gerber, "The invention of ethnicity: A perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Fall 1992, Vol. 12, Issue 1, 3-39.

[21] Myra Vanderpool Gormley, "Migration Patterns of Our Scottish Ancestors," http://www.genealogymagazine.com/scots.html, accessed March 20, 2010.

thousands of Indigenous, African, Asian and poor Euro-American communities—often involved active construction of imperialist ideas, borders, and identities.

The re-excavated imaginaries of inferior races, sexes and genders, superior intelligence, and cultural dominance collided in Texas and northeastern Mexico in the hands of two prominent Euro-American ethnic-minority military officers. Their violent confrontations with Indigenous peoples, Spanish-Europeans, and Indigenized Basques, Hispanos, Tejanos, and Mejicanos on the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico border formed an Americanized zone inter-ethnic warfare and militarism along the U.S.-Mexico border.

At the cross-roads of the U.S. nationalist discourse of a newly emerging consciousness and a 'white' national character—'Americans', *and* Mexico's nationalist discourse of 'Mestizaje' (the alleged 'racial blend' of the Native American and European into a third 'race')—a violent masculinist order was rising. At the intersections of these two nationalist conceptions of the male identity was a destructive mission against indigeneity and Indigenous governing institutions—families and kinship communities as independent, autonomous economic systems and as entrenched resistant organizations perceived as 'criminal', 'rebellious', and 'revolutionary'. Between 1865 and1919, the Indigenous woman was at the intersection of a militarized strategy to subjugate South Texas and northeastern Mexico to the Liberal agenda of Americanization.

Bourke and MacKenzie

Captain John Gregory Bourke (1843-1896) and Colonel Ranald Slidell MacKenzie (1840-1889) were career U.S. Army officers who played significant roles in major Civil War and

"Indian Wars" conflicts and who disseminated a terrain of violence in South Texas. Bourke, the son of immigrant parents, received an early education in classical Latin, Greek and Gaelic and at the age of 14 he lied about his age and enlisted in the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Volunteer Calvary, serving until 1865.[22] A graduate of the United States Military Academy in 1865, he served with General George Crook from 1870-1886, and he devoted a great amount of energy to writing about these experiences in the 1890s. He wrote profusely about his perspectives on 'savages' and was well known for his efforts to incorporate the military uses of ethnology for purposes of 'Americanization' and 'civilization.'[23]

From 1870-1886, prior to his appointment to South Texas and northeastern Mexico, Bourke served on the staff of General George Crook, whom General Sherman described as the greatest Indian fighter the army ever had "from British America to Mexico, from the Missouri River to the Pacific."[24] The U.S. government assigned him to work with the Pan American Congress, and then later reactivated his regiment in 1891, in command of Fort Ringgold, Texas (near Rio Grande City, Texas-Mexico border), where he was given the charge of capturing the revolutionary forces of Catarino Garza, the leader of a land-based rights and revolutionary movement comprised of a an alliance of diverse Indigenous polities of the Lower Rio Grande Valley.[25]

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[22] United States Army Center of Military History, "Medal of Honor Recipients, Civil War (A-L), http://www.history.army.mil/html/moh/civwaral.html, accessed March 20, 2010.

[23] Among Bourke's many authored journal and magazine articles, in 1890 he authored one entitled "MacKenzie's Last Fight with the Cheyennes: A Winter Campaign in Wyoming and Montana," wherein he made many important associations with the technical and skill work of his colleague as he was simultaneously engaged in the destruction of numerous Indigenous communities in combat in Arizona, New Mexico, the Plains wars and Mexico.

[24] As quoted on back cover of John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Cro*ok (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971).

[25] See, Elliott Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

Ranald Slidell Mackenzie was a career United States Army officer and a highly decorated general in the Union Army during the American Civil War. He is most famously memorialized by military historians as the army's "most promising young officer," earning this distinction by General Ulysses S. Grant.[26] He was born to Scottish parents. His father, Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, was the author of popular fiction and a career naval officer, and his uncle, John Slidell, was "a United States minister to Mexico and the Confederate minister to France."[27] Mackenzie's two brothers were highly ranked officers in the U.S. Navy as well. Also a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, he graduated at the head of his class and was immediately commissioned to the Army of the Potomac.

Mackenzie was not a writer to the extent that Bourke was, in fact, he a was minimalist in his written reports to the United States in regards to his prolific and controversial war tactics against Indigenous peoples throughout the Texas-Mexico region. In fact, there are only fragmentary primary documents in the U.S. Army historical collections, and scant archival evidence for his biographies. In 1871, having participated in a diverse spectrum of wars against the Indigenous, and numerous combat experiences gained in the Civil War, , Mackenzie began "a series of expeditions into the uncharted Panhandle and Llano Estacado in an effort to drive renegade Indians back onto their reservations."[28]

At this same time, Bourke was also on the Arizona-Sonora border and the Mexican interior in service to General George Crook trekking, hunting, and subjugating Chiricahua Apaches. Mackenzie assumed command of the Fourth United States Cavalry at Fort Concho,

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[26] Michael D. Pierce, *The Most Promising Young Officer: A Life of Ranald Slidell Mackenzie* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993);

[27] Ernest Wallace, "Mackenzie, Ranald Slidell," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/MM/fma7.html, accessed March 20, 2010.

[28] Ibid.

then Fort Richardson, and Fort Clark on the Texas-Mexico border region. According to popular narrative, the U.S. assigned Mackenzie to subjugate the Indigenous peoples from Mexico who were allegedly 'raiding' the livestock of white cattle ranchers in a south to north pattern. However, the battles in which Mackenzie engaged throughout West Texas and the Southeastern portion of the Texas-Mexico border demonstrate that he was actually fighting the Indigenous peoples in four directions and these appear to have been rather strong challenges to white ranchers presence in their domains.

These assignments in both Comanche and Lipan Apache domains led to the infamous "Remolino Raid" and "Dia de Los Gritos" in which Mackenzie and his subordinate officers organized and executed a massacre of Kickapoo, Lipan Apache and related Indigenous kin in the Coahuila, Mexico community of Remolino on May 18, 1873. Following the series of hit-and-run massacres in the West Texas-Mexico region, Mackenzie took command at Fort Sill over the Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arapaho reservations.[29]

Mackenzie returned to the Black Hills, and then in late 1877, returned to South Texas due to revolutionary movements of Indigenous groups in South Texas-northeastern Mexico border regions. By 1878, he was once more returned to Fort Clark on the West Texas-Mexico border, and he "led an expedition into Mexico."[30] This violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo caused the Mexican government to complain harshly. By 1879, Mackenzie was in Colorado with six companies of Calvary, insisting on a war-bent policy of removal of Indigenous peoples onto reservations. Although he was once more re-assigned to the Texas-Mexico border in 1883, after being promoted to brigadier general, when he was in Boerne, Texas he suddenly acquired

[29] Ibid.

[30] Robert G. Carter, *On the Border with Mackenzie, or Winning West Texas from the Comanches* (Washington: Eynon Printing, 1935).

"paralysis of the insane" and was retired after hospitalization in the Bloomingdale Asylum in New York City.[31]

The recruitment of Bourke and MacKenzie to the Texas-Mexico region signified an urgent conflict and war of profound complexity and magnitude. Each brought specific training to the region, acquired through years of genocide wars against Indigenous communities across the continent north of the Red and Canadian Rivers. The sites of their assignments—once a stronghold of Spanish colonial governmentality at war with revolting Indigenous labor populations in northern Mexico with white ranchers demanding state protection from large Indigenous populations with histories of forced labor and exploitation, and a rising order of militant and nationalist Euro-American settler-cultivar societies—dictated that the U.S. appoint 'the best' for this terrain. Not only was the Texas-Mexico conflict zone an issue of 'native' revolutionary uprisings, it was also a matter of gaining control over Irish and Scot Texans who had formed extra-legal cells to remove the most obvious obstacles to land acquisition—Indigenous peoples skillful in warfare and highly networked.

By 1890-91, Bourke continually expressed deepening concern in his diaries that he was disturbed by the 'native elements' and had doubts of whether South Texas could ever truly be Americanized, or, as Elliott Young suggests, "de-Mexicanized."[32] For Bourke, the Mexican-ness of the Lower Rio Grande embodied everything *Indian* , *native*, and *savage* of South Texas, the Lower Rio Grande Valley, northeastern Mexico—and Latin America. According to Elliot, Bourke "lamented" this divide between American "Caucasians" and South Texas, doubting that "tens of thousands of troops massed on the border during the Mexican-American and U.S. Civil

[31] Pierce, Ibid.

[32] Young, Ibid., 308.

wars "left hardly any impression upon the general tone of thought, the manners or customs of the population."[33] In his profuse journal writing which was the foundation of his numerous article publications and official reports to the U.S. army, Bourke expressed lingering doubts whether Texans would ever truly be 'taken' by American ideations of civilization, often expressing optimism for the potential of the region's cultivation by American hands, though fully aware that the land was fully occupied, if not on paper, physically and psychologically by the Indigenous ways of life.[34]This frustration over the conception that the Indigenous and Mexican were a *dark* Otherness of South Texas, and his frustration about it, Young states, "led him increasingly to turn to violence." Bourke was not only taken hostage by rebel supporters, he was chased out of Texas by them—a sour defeat to American military manhood.

Bourke's cross-circuited idealizations and frustrations with 'natives' bore out in South Texas. The humiliations he experienced among the Lower Rio Grande communities led to his bitter complaints. In his reports to his superiors, he drew ethno-centric conclusions about the peoples, referring to them curtly as the "savages" and "mobs" who confronted him and challenged U.S. invasions in South Texas, Coahuila and Tamaulipas. "The way to put down a mob was to put it down… the sooner the killing began the better," he ranted in his report to General Miles.[35]

Bourke and Resistance in South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande

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[33] Young, 308.

[34] Benjamin Heber Johnson. *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 25-27; Elliott Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 308-311.

[35] As quoted in Young, 265.

During the 1860s-1915 industrialization of the region, intensified Indigenous communities and networks of resistance defined the Lower Rio Grande River. Indigeneity situated oppositional rejection of American values, beliefs and behaviors, but that was nothing new. This was only news to people like Bourke, who had the audacity to believe that American "Caucasians" were a superior race and that American civilization would be welcome, especially in a region which had already undergone centuries of violent warfare.

After his first experiences in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, in Cameron County specifically, among many of his other ethnographic projects, Bourke set about infiltrating and embedding himself within every nook and cranny of Indigenous peoples' lives along the Lower Rio Grande. In his assignment to militarize and destroy the revolutionary movements of Indigenous rebels, he leaned upon his philosophy espoused in his comparative primitivisms analysis of 'Apaches' to other Mexican and global Indigenous peoples. In *The Medicine Men of the Apache* in 1892, Bourke set a broad agenda to depose Indigenous medicine persons, avowing that they were the root of all the problems in the U.S. mission to conquer and civilize the northern Mexico regions. In a parallel project, Bourke set himself the more ambitious goal of gaining intimacy with a particular group he identified in *The Medicine Men of the Apache* as particularly suspect—Indigenous women, whose influences he distrusted. In 1894, he published *Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande*, and tied the subversive agenda of dismantling key leaders to the central role of women *caciquas* (chiefs, head women, medicine women) within local communities; at the same time he launched a national campaign to diminish the entire region's history, culture, identity and future. In the same year, Bourke published an essay entitled 'The American Congo' in *Scribner's* and encoded American imperialist warfare as systematically organized around the normative conceptions of South Texas Indigenous

populations as a 'savage', peripheral population undeserving of their lands, replaceable by white cultivars, and disposable as a human group.[36] In Bourke's "official communication … to the War Department," he declared, compared

> the Rio Grande to the Nile in the facts that, like its African prototype, the fierce River of the North had its legends as weird and improbable as any to be found in the pages of Strabo or Herodotus. … With the incoming of the American element, shortly after the termination of the Mexican War, and especially upon the completion of the various lines of the transcontinental communication, the wild tribes at the head of the Rio Grande were subdued and placed upon reservations, and the mineral and arable wealth of the great empire made available to the commerce world. No such good fortune smiled upon *the lower part of the Rio Grande valley,* which remains today, as it has been for more than forty years, a sealed book, *a terra incognita* to the rest of the United States. Twice the waves of North American aggression have swept across this region, bearing down all in their path; but as the tempest abated the Mexican population placidly resumed its control of affairs and returned to its former habits of life *as if the North American had never existed*.[37] (Emphasis added.)

Bourke's spatialization of the land and bodies as *contra*-American was accompanied by the strongest suggestion of eminent force, threat of violence, and removal.[38]

The rancherías and ranchos belonging to the Indigenous peoples were construed as places of evil and ill repute. Mbembe identified these sorts of calculations as forecasts to doom, explaining that the articulation of Indigenous spaces as inherently opposite of the nation was paramount to constructing them as evil. Mbembe argues that the colonizer concocts dialogues with him self, as if rehearsing explanations: "They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of cola, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees. In this case,

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[36] John G. Bourke, "The American Congo," *Scribner's Magazine*, Volume 15 Issue 5 (May, 1894), 590-610.

[37] Bourke, "An American Congo," Ibid., 591-592.

[38] Mbembe, 26.

sovereignty means the capacity to define who matters and who does not, who is disposable and who is not."[39]

In El Calaboz, the very name of the Indigenous space means *subterranean dungeon dug out from the earth*. Tellingly, this identity inscribed upon the Ndé ranchería during Spanish colonial periods, provided clues about the Indigenous class structures embedded beneath the coloniality of Spain, Mexico, *and* Texas whilst under American occupation and invasion. And, at the same time, Bourke's comparison of South Texas as the 'terra incognita' to another space in Western civilization history, implied that El Calaboz and the entire Indigenous presence was a space with no prehistory before the American arrival.

Across generations Ndé-Tlaxcalteca women in El Calaboz raised strong resistance to militarism, and at times supported alliances with varying military groups as a survival strategy.[40] This suggests that the authority of sovereign bodies to claim legitimacy from their own particular narratives of history and identity cannot be left unexamined. In spatialities such as South Texas—with parallels to apartheid South Africa—Mbembe's argument of violence and sovereignty can be used productively, because, the scale and complexity of Texas-Mexico supports that "Violence and sovereignty… claim a divine foundation….and national identity is imagined as an identity against the *Other*, other deities."[41] Although Mbembe is not describing Mexico-Texas per se, I draw from his theory to critique and to illuminate the conditions there. Texas exemplifies necropower along the lines of Mbembe's defining characteristics:

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[39] Franz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, as quoted in Mbembe, 27.

[40] Eloisa García Támez, Interview on file with author; Daniel Castro Romero, Interview on file; Lydia Esparza García, Interview on file.

[41] Mbembe, Ibid.

> First is the dynamics of territorial fragmentation, the sealing off and expansion of settlements. The objective of this process is twofold: to render any movement impossible and to implement separation along the model of the apartheid state. The occupied territories are therefore divided into a web of intricate internal borders and various isolated cells. … From an infrastructural point of view, a splintering of colonial occupation is characterized by a network of fast bypass roads, bridges, and tunnels that weave over and under one another in an attempt at maintaining the Fanonian 'principle of reciprocal exclusivity.'[42]

South Texas' elaborate internal checkpoint systems, developed in the mid to late nineteenth century by the internal 'home front guard' system of Rangers of Irish and Scot immigrant internal encroachments, and its highly developed spatializations of racial segregation into the mid- 20th century qualify South Texas as the necropolitical order rising, which Eyal Weizman has described as 'politics of verticality', whereby "the bypass roads attempt to separate" traffic networks to and from racialized space, in this case, Indigenous towns within the *corpus* of the settler state, and intensification near the international border.[43] Weizman articulates an "overlapping of two separate geographies that inhabit the same landscape."[44] Mbembe states that this configuration of bypass roads and access roads, "under conditions of sovereignty and splintering colonial occupation, communities are separated across a y-axis. This leads to a proliferation of the sites of violence. The battlegrounds are not located solely at the surface of the earth. The underground as well as the airspace are transformed into conflict zones."[45] The infrastructural design for warfare constructed in South Texas is part of the basis for Indigenous women's and family's resistances, across time and space, to the Texas and the American imaginary. In South Texas, these configurations dissected customary lands.

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[42] Mbembe, Ibid, 28.

[43] Eyal Wiezman, "The Politics of Verticality," as quoted in Mbembe, 28.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Mbembe, 29.

Mbembe addresses the design for warfare as defining elements of necropower. Establishing sites to exert a *state of exception* is a marker, where seizing and talking control of Indigenous lands depended upon two things: the conditions of forced labor and colonial enslavement of Indigenous Others ready-made for an increase in industrialization. We must remember that it was through the conditions of forced labor systems already in place across the Ndé-Texas-Mexico borderlands, and the exploitation of the silver and coal mines, as well as the cotton plantations that *the conditions* under which the modern police state arose *were fertilized.* Mbembe stated that in this type of configuration, necropower "could be considered one of the first instances of biopolitical experimentation."[46] I assert that necropower *preceded* contemporary necropolitics and it involved militarized colonial occupation in a society enchained within a complex of militarism.[47] Necropower in South Texas-northeastern Mexico was always a matter of taking, declaring, and removing.

Mbembe specifies that the *occupation* involved,

> The writing of new spatial relations (territorialization) which were …ultimately, tantamount to the production of boundaries and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the subversion of existing property arrangements; the classification of people according to different categories; resource extraction; and, finally the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries. . . . . Space was therefore the raw material of sovereignty and the violence it carried with it. [48]

Mbembe adds that necropower requires specific kinds of specialists. Killing specialists who were highly acculturated and assimilated in Western philosophy, classics, civics, literature and science were recruited to South Texas in the 19th century; just as killing specialists were recruited to Tejas, Nuevo Santander, Coahuila, Nuevo León and Nueva Vizcaya in the previous century..

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[46] Mbembe, Ibid.

[47] Fregoso, Ibid. 109.

[48] Mbembe, 25-26.

Necropower requires a multiplicity of *layered* ideas, economies, states, civic communities, polities and corporate identities which are united at different times, under specific conditions, under certain banners of land, blood, religion, family-clan, culture, language, and nation.[49] Specialists are unique individuals, who seek to serve, excel, and to avail themselves to the conjoined service of occupation and development.

Cynthia Enloe writes that nations "militarize gendered maneuvers" which actively seek out new objects to incorporate and to reconstitute colonized peoples as 'women' and 'men' in *particular* ways over time. For centuries the power struggles between Spanish, Mexican, Texan and U.S. governments along the Rio Grande River militarized lands and peoples, which *made* specific *types* of 'women' and 'men', forging these into specific *kinds* of social identities.[50] Enloe remarks, "Over the past decade I have found that it is only by lots of us piecing together all sorts of information that we can make full sense of how militaries rely both on women and on presumptions about femininity….the military is only one part of the story of militarization." [51] In militarization, women are often severely injured and/or killed in the process. We must take seriously, Enloe tells us,

> the complicated militarized experiences of women as prostitutes, rape victims, mothers, wives, nurses, and feminist activists…. Militarized civilian officials have needed women raped by other regimes' soldiers to remain suspicious of antiwar women and, instead, to be willing to serve as nationalist symbols. The more distanced each group of women has felt from the other, the less likely any of them would be to notice how the political manipulations of gender affected them all.[52]

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[49] Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 1-42; 310-363; See also, A. Dirk Moses and Dan Stone, *Colonialism and Genocide* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[50] Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), ix.

[51] Ibid., x-xi.

[52] Ibid. xii-xiii.

Misogyny, imperialism, and militarism operate as interlocking methods against Indigenous women who have been historically situated at the intersections of four constitutionalist and masculinist state systems (Spain, Mexico, Texas and the U.S.). Often overlapping and intersecting, Indigenous nationalisms and militarisms cannot be extricated from the colonial. Over time, the racial, gendered classification systems of 'types' of 'natives' wrought through intensely violent conflict and warfare contributed to normalized repression and violence against Indigenous women and girls in the region—across all social strata, Indigenous communities included.[53]

The American Congo and the Borderlands of Violence

Historians have uncritically adopted the lenses of conquistadors and colonizers, which aggregated diverse, numerous, and self-determining Indigenous peoples and polities into the *enemy* and flattened categories of "Chichimeca," "Huasteca," and "Apachería."[54] This terminology worked, in problematic ways, to blur and to lump together Indigenous peoples, languages, histories, and world-views—as *enemies*, *savages*, and *heathens*. In the practice of International Law, we know that the construction of 'enemies' and 'barbarians' is directly linked to 'just cause' and 'just war' doctrines, which has a social history in European colonization.[55]

[53] Eloisa García Támez, Interview on file; Daniel Castro Romero, Interview on file; Lydia Esparza García, Interview on file.

[54] The pattern of flattening and the unquestioning adoption of binaries being two critical markers of the persistence of colonialism and violence *within* the very society under examination.

[55] Rare in contemporary political science and legal theories do we see any references to the 'just cause' and 'just war' doctrine; rather, they are used as if they are vogue and the scholarly 'edge' as they are being discussed in

Today, it is clear that those conceptualizations must be disaggregated, as a matter of principle. Perspectives of Indigenous survivor communities throughout the Texas-Mexico confluence must be brought to the fore.[56]

The flattening of Indigenous diversity reverberates back to the legal disputations of Juan Genes de Sepulveda (1490-1573), who argued before "a panel of judges" in 1547 for the four justifications for "war against the Indians." Legal scholar Paul Keal argues that barbarity was synonymous with being in a 'natural state' of inferiority to European Christians. Sepulveda's defense for rationalizing the enslavement and the extermination of Indigenous peoples was, according to Keal, founded on the Aristotelian theory that "natural slaves [were] obliged by natural law."[57] Indians, according to this theory, committed sins "by practicing cannibalism and human sacrifice."[58] Using armed force against Indigenous peoples "was justified to rescue innocent victims from such practices."[59] The use of organized, armed force was 'ethical', according to Sepulveda's logic, even humanitarian, when the end result was "the propagation of the Christian faith."[60] The justification for killing—to save savages from themselves and their cultures, and/or to prevent them from 're-infecting' converted Indigenous peoples with Indigenous beliefs, was a legal maneuver to structure 'just war.' Following on the heels of the Basque's expropriations of silver ore near Zacatecas, the argument for justifying slavery and

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relation to Iraq and Afghanistan. That is a fallacy. See, Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourse of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[56] For an example of the archetype: Lawrence Francis Hill; For an example of the genre's persistence, Sergio M. Vasquez-Gomez, "The Advance of the Urban Frontier: The Settlement of Nuevo Santander," Masters Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, January 1987, at dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/42973/16285661.pdf?sequence, (accessed December 21, 2009).

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

extermination wars hinged on the use of armed force against 'barbarian Indians' and against those being constructed as unconquerable enemies. Keal posits,

> Of these the first was the most important because it was the first step in a chain of reasoning that supported the subjugation of the Indians. The claim that Indians were barbarians challenged 'the concept of equality of mankind, on which human rights are based.' If they were barbarians they were, to the European mind, inferior and irrational. From this it followed they were also incapable of self-government and consequently colonization and the subjugation that went with it were justified. There was also a vital connection between the accusation of barbarism and the claim that lands were uninhabited.[61]

'El barbaro,' 'el indio' and 'el enemigo' served the mining, ranching, military and banking economies of the north. Each social identity played a crucial role in forcing Indigenous peoples off their lands, disrupting their access to first foods, driving ceremonial and cosmological knowledge systems underground, and concentrating large numbers into forced labor systems.

Tlaxcalteca and other Nahua peoples who readily converted to Christianity and who held special privileges as the 'co-conquerors,' were differentiated from 'el indio' (common workers, low-status servants) through the designation of 'hidalgos' and 'indios nobles,' in other words, those with specific recognition rights established for those Indigenous groups who converted as Christianized subjects. The *Republico de Indios* was established to recognize specific rights of only subdued groups. Those outside the Christian realm remained unrecognized legally and enemies officially. Thus, the 'civilizing' institutions of the missions, presidios, standing armies, and the local Indigenous cabildos (Indigenous municipal councils) were *crucial* in the colonization efforts around the mines, haciendas and ranches to sublimate *specific* Indigeneities beneath the social identity of 'laborer/peon/worker.' Refusing and/or resisting the doctrine of

[61] Ibid., 92.

feudalist capitalist Christendom, indentured the Indigenous populace (of profuse diversity) into a population which the colonizer continued to associate with *servitude*.

This context of colonization in the northern territories of highly differentiated and diversely situated peoples manifested, as Rosaura Sánchez argues, "a sociospatial problematic." In El Calaboz and sister rancherías of La Encantada, La Paloma, El Ranchito, Las Milpas and Las Rusias, the policies of 'reconnaissance, implantation, expropriation, conversion *or* extermination' were implemented as tactics by European and Tlaxcalteca colonizers. This spatialization propagated territorial outposts *within* the heartlands of autonomous peoples. Sánchez argues that by the nineteenth century, the colonizers solidified methods of coercion, persuasion, and subjection through spatial concentrations of Indigenous peoples, and her analysis fits well with similar operations in the Ndé-Texas-Mexico borderlands. Sánchez explained,

> To ensure the Crown's effective control of the new territories, the Spanish monarchy first attempted to maintain a despotic-tributary system by claiming all the lands as its own and all the indigenous populations as royal subjects. This early policy allowed the communal Indians to continue in usufructuary[62] possession of their land and in control of production. …The Indians thus retained their social organization and a relative freedom within the community, that is, within *localized spaces*." (Emphasis added.)

Key to maintaining the physical spatial structure of 'owner' and 'subservient' was caste/casta, an institutionalized practice transferred through legal and customary practices of colonizing societies. Gaining and maintaining control, in this early system of the reservation, under Spanish governmentality, was directly tied to getting control between Indigenous groups and the socialization of ethnicity, religious elites, and local councils. An Indigenous class system was tantamount,

[62] U*sufructuary rights* refers to the legal right to use and derive profit or benefit from property which 'belongs' to another 'person,' so long as the 'property' is not damaged. This was applied generally, though interpreted in diverse and differentiated ways locally. The notion of European 'ownership' of Indigenous collective lands and customary and traditional lands, by Indigenous peoples, has consistently been contested and challenged since the early 1520s. If we examine the roots of *usus et fructus* in Roman (Western) law, we then see that the concept of usufructuary rights has a legal cognitive of assumed, customary 'servitude' whereby the alleged 'owner' of said 'property' will in certain instances assume that they have 'rights' to the labor of the Indigenous peoples.

> To continu[ing] the exploitation of communal labor, however, the Crown created new spaces, new sociospatial sites for the reproduction of these social relations. These *congregaciones* or reducciones of Indians removed from their lands and brought together to form new reservations or *resguardos* enabled the Crown to form new pueblos, within which it could institute new sites of production. The *encomienda*…equivalent to the feudal manor…was [in the north, after its abolishment] replaced by the hacienda system…[whereby] private property had become the dominant mode of production (mining, public works, agriculture…) as a result of the system of *repartimiento* (distribution of labor to different sites) or a system of leasing, would become subservient to a patriarchal family within a new worksite, the hacienda.[63]

Thus, the Texas imaginary of violence in the Ndé-Tlaxcalteca borderlands was a system built not only through the transfer of Euro-American spatialization of ethnicity, feudalism, and competition for resources. The Texas and Euro-American imaginary in the Indigenous borderlands of the Lower Rio Grande River was implicitly constructed upon and through the harvest and predation upon an Indigenous class and labor system welded by the Spanish and Tejano/Hispano elites. "To say caste," Sanchez instructs, "is to say racism …

> Racial and cultural distinctions were an integral part of Spanish colonialism ….In Spanish colonies in America the semifeudal social formation was dependent on a caste system that spatialized society hierarchically by birth, and within the Spanish colonies a variety of categories distinguished up to fifty-two different ethnic types, cataloging varied combinations of Spanish, Indian, and Black. The *motivation* at the center of this social stratification was an attempt to keep the

[63] Rosaura Sánchez, *Telling Identities: the Californio testimonios*, (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 54. The encomienda system dispossessed Indigenous peoples of collective and communal lands and expropriated their labor and their products as tribute to the encomenderos. The Crown did not view the Indigenous slaves as 'property' but as 'wards' of the entrusted encomenderos and ultimately the Crown itself. Individuals received grants of encomiendas which radically altered the pre-conquest system of *cabeceras* and *Señorios* (Indigenous councils, polities and dominions), implanting a stratification system based upon ideologies of religious, racial, gendered, and classed binaries. The receiver of an encomienda grant was to instruct the Indigenous in Christianity, Spanish language, and in return exact tribute from them, as in their labor in the mines and agriculture. Grantees of encomiendas were usually conquistadors and soldiers, and also included Indigenous women nobles and the children of Moctezuma II, Tlaxcalteca and other subkingdom rulers. Indigenous women granted encomiendas were specifically targeted by European conquistadors for Christian conversion, and either Christian or Indigenous traditional marriages aimed toward the legal acquisition through marriage of their substantial dowries of encomiendas and Indigenous tribute labor. Some of the most important mining and hacienda estancias in the northern colonization of the Camino Real de la Plata were founded upon encomiendas inherited from tactical, Christianized inter-marriages between Basque conquistadors and Moctezuma II's daughters, Tecuichpotzin (Doña Isabel) de Moctezuma and Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma.

> Indians in a servile condition by separating the castes, restricting their movement, and attaching them compulsorily to a pueblo or estancia.[64] (Emphasis added.)

Thus, the motivation of Indigenous peoples—of all classes—to grapple with these legalized forms of the spatialization of coercion, control and force, was fought on psychological-emotional terrains as well as physical. Indigenous peoples, forced by threat of extermination laws and practices, *had to shift* their strategies of survival and rapidly adopt prescribed social identities within the restructuring of the colonial political, economic and social systems. The social transitions of Indigenous peoples must be seen within the political economy of armed threat against life exercised through multiple inter-related sites of sovereignty. A multi-armed system operated an explicit war against Indigenous women's social identities. Her body was the 'site' of *birth* and 'root' designation of an individual's social identity as 'indio.'

As Sánchez observes, "The othering of Indians…serves therefore not only to mask the fact that a large percentage of the original colonists, as well as later arrivals from Mexico, shared the same Indian blood, but more significantly to legitimate the conquest and exploitation of the Indians on the basis of a racial and cultural superiority. Caste distinctions are nothing more than a form of "culturalist" racism, a colonial practice not based on strictly racialist considerations, especially given ongoing miscegenation, but used to 'justify' the racism of extermination and of oppression or exploitation."[65] Thus this Othering served to marginalize, (i.e. repress, silence, control the resistance of) Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous women, *specifically*, through a normalized system of ideas about superior and inferior groups.

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[64] Ibid. 56.

[65] Ibid. 58.

The colonization of Indigenous people through casta/caste forged divisions between Indigenous polities through strategic inter-marriages and sexual unions constructed by European men and these functioned to re-organize the land tenure of Indigenous peoples through physical domination of Indigenous women. By subsuming her customary kinship and law systems of the clan into European conceptions of domesticity and marriage 'responsibilities' not 'rights' large Indigenous communities' resources through communal and collective rights were incorporated into Tejano/Hispano patriarchal land systems vis-à-vis a few women's inter-marriages. Her poorer relations, through extensive family kinship populations, were often viewed by European and Euro-American male immigrants as 'surplus' to the land—and a rancher often utilized, at times quite paternalistically, the Indigenous populations on the lands as a local 'surplus' labor source. Indigenous peoples—specifically women with land-tenure— were thus viewed as a means, along with land, to produce and to grow capital and new markets. The European settler-colonizer used Western law systems to usurp and dispossess Indigenous peoples from the collective benefits of the land across extended family communal use. This radically altered Indigenous women's roles and rights—from land stewards and resource managers among communal systems, to a subordinated and usually non-waged produce in a male-driven private property, yet nonetheless feudal system.

With this groundwork established, a genealogy of knowledges can better explain a complex of power relations and their relevance to examining the Texas imaginary. The physical and imagined places of ongoing contestation, refusal, rebuttal, established fertile grounds for resistance to the violent Texan and American Utopia of elitist groups and the fictive validity of their power.

There is an important conceptual link between Indigenous power and the identification by elders of Indigenous children to re-enact the pre-colonial rituals of community power, and the breakage of that inter-generational transfer of power through the implantation of Catholic rituals and spaces of 'power' and U.S. military schools (and state public school systems) organized to assimilate Indigenous children into industrial workers and second-class citizens. Imprisonment, human trafficking, and European and Euro-American military expeditions against the Nde' were excessive far into the late nineteenth century.[66]

The U.S. invasion and annexation of South Texas and northern Mexico, the war against Mexico, and the annexation of the current U.S. Southwest spatialized the tropes of "Apache" and Indians,' 'indios,' 'mestizos,' 'peasants,' 'laborers,' 'landless peoples,' 'enemies' across the Ndé-Texas-Mexico borderlands. In El Calaboz Ranchería and the Lower Rio Grande, these catalogs of stereotypes worked hand-in-glove with the constructions of laws providing settlers with the means to liquidate the landholdings and Indigenous spaces of the Nde between 1848 and 1938. And so we return to the violence of the late 19th century, as personified by John G. Bourke and Randal MacKenzie provide, and resistance by Nde women and clans into the early twentieth century.

"An American Congo": Bourke and MacKenzie, and El Día de los Gritos

[66] For a recent application of Foucault's analysis of discipline, punishment, and spatial organization relevant to Indigenous peoples, the U.S., and forced relocations, imprisonment, boarding schools, human trafficking, and related deaths, see Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

In the May 1894 issue of *Scribner's*, Captain John G. Bourke, promoted the use of science, ethnology, and warfare in the on-going subjugation of 'natives' as he engraved a key concept into the American vernacular—"An American Congo."[67] Already a well known spokesperson for the American militarization of the Lower Rio Grande Valley as a civilizing mission, Bourke narrated the popular ideas that American men were uniquely fit to bring "intelligence" to the region. Frequently, Bourke delineated the borders between "Caucasian" Euro-American "industriousness" and "energy" and 'darkness'/'Otherness of local Indigenous communities. For instance, in a passage from the article, Bourke constructs a number of such colonial mythologies: remoteness/peripherality beyond known 'borders' and 'frontiers'; biologically driven behaviors of superior groups and inferior groups; savagery as engulfing and impenetrable. Bourke stated,

> Through the centre of this unknown region, fully as large as New England, courses the Rio Grande, which can more correctly be compared to the Congo than to the Nile the moment that the degraded, turbulent, ignorant, and superstitious character of its population comes under examination. To the Congo, therefore, I compare it, and I am confident that all who peruse these lines to a conclusion will concur in the correctness of the comparison, although stress cannot be too pointedly laid upon the existence within this Dark Belt of thriving, intelligent, communities, such as Brownsville, Matamoros, Corpus Christi, Laredo.[68]

As Bourke laid down essential architectures of militarization, readying the Lower Rio Grande Valley, he absorbed much of the substructure of the country through his pernicious coverage of every possible inch of the region. Unabashed, he often followed Indigenous peoples into their most intimate spaces. He tracked every representative of the Euro-American cultivar-class who "furrowed" the taken lands with "cotton roads" and those taking the waters of the Rio Grande

[67] Bourke, "An American Congo," Ibid.

[68] Bourke, "An American Congo," Ibid., 594.

"with the keels of more than twenty steamers, bearing the flags of such enterprising firms as the Kennedys, Kings, Killys, and Dalzells."

Bourke was generous in his promotion of Euro-American (Scottish, Irish, German) captains of the South Texas industrial modernization war and he took these as racial markers that physically claimed the regions through Euro-American "commerce on the bosom of *our* boundary stream." (Emphasis added). To Bourke, navigating the Rio Grande itself, from Roma (currently in Starr County) down to Brownsville-Matamoros was "treacherous."[69] He stated, "While the distance overland from [Fort] Ringgold to Brownsville or Matamoros is not over one hundred and ten miles, measured by the thread of the stream, it is fully four times as much, but every mile has its own story." Despite the serious challenges involved in these pursuits, Bourke, always a serious collector of local knowledges, urged his reader: "Whether the traveler be merely weary of the guide-books of better-known sections, and desirous to trace out for himself paths not trodden by the ordinary globe-trotter, or be engaged on more serious business and interested in the study of the history, the anthropology, the folk-lore, the botany, or the zoology of the valley, he will have no moment for idleness from the time he enters upon his labors, but will find each hour that material of the most valuable kind is accumulating upon his hands."[70] The conflation of militarization with 'tours' of Indigenous domains, were equated with out-doors 'museums' and sites to obtain and collect specimens of humanity, and portrayed diligently in "An American Congo." From Bourke's perspective, his haste to collect was pressed by his knowledge of the organization occurring all around him—by the U.S., by local Euro-American

[69] Ibid., 595.

[70] Ibid., 596.

industrial capitalists, and by militias—which were all organizing the region's industrialized and armed takeover.

Bourke elaborated the local fauna with eyes of longing as well as mechanization. Feminizing the land as an entity mis-used and mis-directed under the hands of local Indigenous, he laid out a specific program of rescue and rehabilitation of the lands for Americanized utopias of "commerce." Here Bourke had to rely upon Indigenous women's knowledges of all the flora and fauna of the region, and their specific and numerous uses across every area of daily life. In particular, he leaned heavily on one "subject", Doña María Antonia Cavazos Garza, for another article, "Popular Medicine, Customs, and Superstitions of the Rio Grande." [71] Indigenous women with power related to flora and fauna, with knowledge of the land, and with a crucial sense of *belonging* among a large network of Indigenous women clan mothers who were the historians, ethno botanists, healers, and political leaders—wholly *embodied* the Indigenous governance and law system, and these elements of indigeneity were *illusive* to Bourke.

Bourke's views of women and their influence, noted in his *The Medicine-Men of the Apache,* zoomed in opportunistically during his ethnographic tours of the ranchería societies along the Lower Rio Grande River. While on the one hand he filled numerous single-spaced pages of his highly detailed interviews with local knowledge-keepers, he peppered his narrative with disfigurements of both 'women' and 'natives' revealing the misogynistic character of his social identity. For instance, while being offered traditional Indigenous hospitality in the impoverished ranchería, and consuming hours of local peoples' time, he made certain that his American readers received heaping doses of ethnocentricity. Thus he wrote,:

> Then there may be a hapless pony mired in quicksand, a heifer or calf drifting down with the force of the stream, a squad or two of ox-eyed Mexican

[71] I will discuss the important of the Esparza Family Genealogical Archive in ensuing chapters.

> laundresses lazily desisting from their labors to gaze upon the passing transport, …and infantry troops watching with vigilance every movement made from the northern bank because this is the land of Garza [an Indigenous clan] the wife-beater, defaulting sewing-machine agent, blackmailing editor, and hater of the Gringoes, who suffered under the hallucination that the people of northern Mexico were eager to salute him as their president.[72]

Here Bourke refers to and demeans the revolutionary leader, Catarino Garza, as well as a large kinship network of the Garza clans who cross-stitched the entire Lower Rio Grande Valley.

As Bourke traveled further down the "lower river" his narrative turned further to the sinister: "as the boat keeps on its downward course it passes close under the overhanging bank upon which are to be found perched the ranches of Santo Domingo, or "La Grulla," from the latter of which crossed the petty detail of smugglers and outlaws who not long since hoped to set at defiance the laws of the two republics…" For Bourke, relief was always sought in the familiar landscape of the Fort, the Civil War battlefields of those who staged Americanization prior to his arrival, and in the signs of modernity: the railroad, the thickets of brush being uprooted and replaced by fields of imported 'American' commercialized fruits.

Bourke invested heavily in promoting transformation and encouraged the Scribner's audience to invest in this American project as well. He emphasized 'signs of potential'—railroad lines, *native laborers* constructing depot stations, Euro-American *individuals* taming the 'thorny thickets' of huisache and mesquite which the *American male* plowed under so that interested Euro-American cultivators could plant the seeds of civilization and profit from 'the Congo's ample supplies of fruit-bearing, Indigenous "specimens."[73] Quizzing his readers, "why are these little communities so far behind those of the same race on the Mexican side?," Bourke

[72] Ibid., 599. This revered medicine woman, can also be found in the Esparza Genealogical Family Archive, and is related to Eloisa Tamez, who will be discussed in Chapter Six. She is related to me through my great-grandmother, Andrea Peñas Cavazos García, who was Doña Garza's niece.

[73] Ibid., 598-602.

deduced that the Indigenous peoples' resistances to modernization, to "cross over" from savagery to civilization, was an issue of biology, culture and the law. He argued that the Indigenous peoples of the Lower Rio Grande were racially inclined to certain aspects of their savagery that they could not overcome. Furthermore he argued that their cultural beliefs and practices—"superstitions" and "reasons"—were barriers to "crossing over" to American ideas. He insisted that if they would *merely accept* American superiority of laws, cultures, and societal organization that they would learn "the mantle of charity might be stretched enough to cover the ex-train-robber or hid the peccadilloes of the disappointed Mexican office-seeker."[74]

However, in deep frustration, Bourke resigned to the conclusion that the Lower Rio Grande Valley could not be overtaken by American ideas; rather, militarization was the final solution. He cemented this idea in passages of "The American Congo" which rationalized destruction: "the great trouble is that they persist in running the country to suit themselves, and the American fragment, or remnant, is completely snowed under."[75]

> If we enter the homes of these people and mingle among them, it soon becomes evident that we have encountered a most interesting study in ethnology and anthropology; they constitute a distinct class, resisting all attempts at amalgamation. There are to this rule, as to all rules, notable exceptions, and there are on the river some few representative of a higher stage of evolution; but, in general terms, the Rio Grande Mexican resists to-day, as he has always resisted, the encroachment of the Gringo, and the domination of his own Mexico. The Rio Grande Mexican is not a law-breaker, in the American sense of the term; he has never known what law was and he does not care to learn; that's all there is to it. His manners are most gentle and polite … upon first coming into contact with him [though he] is a very much aligned individual.[76]

[74] Ibid., 605.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., 606.

At the same time, Bourke was forced to witness Euro-Americans, predominantly of Scottish, Irish, and German immigrant heritage, forming alternative 'states' at the fringes of his ideals of democracy. Concealed stealthily in his description of the "Texas Regulators," white settler societies which organized private militias as comprised of a medley of men trained in frontier tactics also made discomforting impressions upon Bourke. These unsettling and profound introductions to the population density and diversity of Indigeneity, and the proliferation of a rising White order severely challenged the experienced "Indian War" veteran, trained by General George Crook.

Up the river from Bourke, white ranchers expanding to the River's edge and across the Llano Estacado (Staked Plains) of West Texas used retribution against Indigenous groups who challenged them. What Bourke and his colleague, Ranald S. Mackenzie did not fathom was that the Texas-Mexico border region had represented for centuries, and continued to represent, an Indigenous domain which neither Mexico, Texas nor the U.S. had not ever truly 'controlled.' Brian DeLay, in *War of a Thousand Deserts*, has argued that prior to and after 1848, independent Indigenous polities of the Texas-Mexico borderlands, were "in world history organized themselves without the sorts of formal roles and codified institutions associated with nation-states. The all-too-common notion that nation-states are normative and that polities deviating from that norm are somehow politically incomplete necessarily misrepresents the workings of nonstate societies."[77]

In their inability to see Indigenous peoples as non-state polities, Bourke and others underwrote the racial violence of the post-1848 era of industrialization and Anglo settlement in South Texas. In particular, the mechanization of paternalistic ideas of an American 'mission to

[77] Ibid., 119.

civilize' the 'savages' collided with the idea that American masculinization of the region was a prescription for erasure of Indigenous culture. Bourke's adulation of Euro-American 'Texan' commerce, such as cattle, agriculture, railroads and mining, was a popular imaginary of what was 'best' for Texas. This disturbing combination justified the mass production of barbed wire, broad dissemination of firearms, the privatization of millions of acres, the imprisonment a *small minority* of the border regions' Indigenous peoples into concentration camps (reservations); it also laid the ground for killing squads which reined across the Texas-Mexico border region. These elements ushered in a matrix of masculine domains which inculcated terror among the region's large Indigenous populations and kinship communities on both sides of the border.

The United States army concealed the frequent numbers of killing sprees and enslavement raids used to force Indigenous peoples into submission. Between 1873 to 1880, the few Lipan and Mescalero peoples who were forced into concentration camps were actually forced off traditional lands in the Sierra Madres (Chihuahua) and handed over to the U.S. army by the Mexican army.[78] Advertisements and real-estate ventures structured the Christian-myth laden lures of the idyllic and antiquity—a utopic realm for idealized citizens of a rising order.

According to Benjamin Heber Johnson, the construction of the Lower Rio Grande Valley as 'the Promised Land' instigated an upsurge in Euro-American emigration. A crush of settlers from across the South and Mid-West swarmed into the region concurrent to the military invasion of South Texas. 'Purges,' of Ndé, Tlaxcalteca 'Tejanos' and Tlaxcalteca macehualli and their relations, were viewed as pre-determined and unavoidable. Johnson states that in the late 19th century and well into 1900, "ethnic Mexicans constituted 92 percent of the Valley's population, a

[78] Enrique Madrid (Jumano Apache), Interview on file.

significant increase from the 80 percent in 1850."[79] Real estate developers, argues Johnson, "aggressively marketed the region to farmers, bringing them in by the score, hoping to entice them to stay. … This was not only a matter of individual profit, but also of a triumphal story of national pioneering and progress."[80] According to one Hidalgo County development advertiser, "Scenes in the Valley everywhere make one wonder at the change from the old and primitive to the beautiful and modern that has taken place in so short a time. The glow of the brush fires against the night sky, where land is being cleared for cultivation, truly typifies the passing of the old civilization and the coming of the new."[81] And, true to the role of conquerors, Euro-American cultivators imported institutional practices of their 'former' worlds: forced labor and feudalism. Johnson queried, "But who would clear the brush and do the other backbreaking labor to build this new 'promised land'?" And answered, "On this count, the hopes of real estate developers must have made [Tlaxcalteca-Basque heritage] Tejanos nervous, for ethnic Mexicans were absent from these visions as anything other than manual laborers."[82]

Spatializing Indigenous Bodies: Militarism and Murder as Necropower

Subordinating the Lower Rio Grande and South Texas communities amassed a concentration of armies, special guards, and militias. Preceding the armies, however, was a Texas-based industry which best symbolized the intersection of the plantation, the colony, and domination of the body: the scalp and body parts trade. This body mutilation trade circuit united

[79] Johnson, Ibid., 26.

[80] Ibid., 29.

[81] As quoted in Johnson, Ibid., 29.

[82] Ibid.

the geospatial locations of the knife-and-peltry skills of the Mississippi shatter zone fur-arms-human trader, with the Civil War inter-ethnic cleansing zone, and the wandering 'ex-soldier for hire' which characterized the social identities of the Texas Rangers, borderlands cavalry units.[83]

Introduced as a modern economy at intersections of the 18th – 19th century slave and fur markets, late 19th century scalp-fur-arms trade circuit was cultivated as a method to control large numbers of Indigenous women, children, men and families. This deserves attention because the system involved large populations of Indigenous peoples in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. Controlling Indigenous bodies through physical force and suffering was a focal point for late nineteenth and early twentieth century agents employed to purge lands for Euro-American and Mexican politicians alike..

Scalp bounty laws were codified in 1835 in Sonora, Mexico, and in some cases a scalp hunter could receive up to 150 silver coins for the scalps of Indigenous males; women's scalps brought between 75 to 100 silver coins; and children's scalps raised between 15 to 50, depending upon the 'ethnic' identity of the human from which it was taken. In different locales, at different

[83] See Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, *Mapping the Mississippi Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); C.C. Rister, "Outlaws and Vigilantes of the Southern Plains, 1865-1885," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4, March 1933, 537-554; Pedro Santoni, "A Fear of the People: The Civic Militia of Mexico in 1845," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* Vol. 68, No. 2, May 1988, 269-288; "Texan Settlers Pursuing the Indians," *The New York Illustrated News*, April 13, 1861, at , accessed March 21, 2010; Charles D. Poston, *Building a State in Apache Land, (1894)*, (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2006); Gilles Vandal, "The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836-1916, *Journal of Social History*, Winter, 2005; J. Molinaro, "The Scalp Hunters: Regenerative Violence; Glanton's Gang; The Scalp Industry; The King of New Mexico, *Crossroads,* The University of Virginia, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/hns/scalpin/apaches.html, accessed March 20, 2010; Michael F. Doran, "Antebellum Cattle Herding in the Indian Territory," *Geographical Revie*w, Vol. 66, No. 1, January 1976, 48-58; David Minor, "White Man," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 21, 2010, "The White Man (Whiteman),a weekly newspaper devoted to the removal of Indians from the North Texas area, published its first edition at Jacksonboro, the county seat of Jack County, in 1860. The paper reflected the anti-Indian sentiments of its original editors, which included … John R. Baylor…the first Indian agent in charge of the Upper Comanche Reservation in Young County, [Texas]. As its name implies, the weekly did not hid its prejudice, leading one historian to conclude that it was 'the worst Indian condemnatory sheet in all history;" William D. Carrigan, "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848-1928, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 37, 2003.

times, depending upon local Euro-American-Indigenous histories and politics, the 'ethnic' marker of a scalp raised or lowered the cash-in value, thus, the stereotype that 'Apache' scalps always out competed other Indigenous identities is not always true. However, overall, on the Texas-Mexico border, a 1400 mile zone of war and conflict against all Indigenous peoples, 'Apache' ethnic identity *overall*—across the centuries and across four different settler communities—outcompeted in the scalp markets.

Between 1848 and the 1890s, the modern rise of 'Whites Only' formed a rigidified polity for land-ownership, voting, and citizenship in Texas. This converged at the height of the scalp market and politics for Indigenous removal, and demands by white cultivators on the Texas-Mexico border—*both* in Texas *and* in northern Mexico—for the states (the U.S. and Mexico) to raise troops to rid the lands of Indigenous peoples. At the same time, some white ranchers also requested that the national armies be used to take control away from serial killing scalp hunters who incurred the enraged and justifiable revenge of Indigenous peoples, igniting whole regions into zones of destruction.

By the mid 19th century, Mexican government officials attempted to enforce official trade zones of operation and to systematize them, as a way to appease the lucrative market, and to appease ranchers and cultivators. Indigenous peoples could be hunted and taken in any location, however scalps could officially only be cashed in Sonora. But, as the market ruled, 'informal' zones were well distributed across the hemisphere and masculinize spheres, both discrete and obvious, supported the growth of the industry.

Like all major industries in the colony, since the earliest days of the Spanish mining complex, the demands to control this market incorporated a multiplicity of individuals and groups. The complex ensnared social identities across the spectrum of colonial society,

including Indigenous peoples of many groups and genders. The political-economy of the scalp industry criss-crossed numerous social identities--both vertically and horizontally—frequently crossing the borders—fixed and unstable—between territory, nation, 'tribe', clan, pueblo, municipality, and sovereign domains.[84] The cash ruptured social relations.

Frequently bounties and rewards for the scalps of specific ethnic groups' were falsely identified as 'Apache' because 'Apache' scalps garnered higher prices in the market. However, scalping and other forms of body mutilation and trophyism need to be situated in the nexus of mining, ranching, and farming development, and three hundred years of codified anti-Indian policies in the region. The mythology of individualist and pathologized 'lone Indian scalpers' obfuscates the reality of a large political-economic network involving many 'ordinary' peoples across all racial, ethnic, religious, and gendered groups. This nexus of participants/beneficiaries would aid in the examination of the market, development and militarism as key institutions which dominated the pre-1848 to late 19th century Indigenous politics in the region as well.

Regardless which theorist one follows regarding the question: 'who invented scalping—the Indian or the European, it is clear that by the late 19th century, the codification of scalping in northern Mexico, and the employment of predominantly Anglo-American males in the industry, reflects a clear genocidal objective of elites across the Ndé bordered lands. Between 1837 and 1841 bounties for the scalps of Indigenous men, women and children continued to rise drawing in a labor group with specific tracking, hunting, skinning skill sets. This killing required a certain kind of specialist to perform the labor, yet too much focus has been paid by fiction

[84] John Molinero, "The Scalp Industry," Ibid. (accessed January 5, 2010); See also Ralph A. Smith, "The Scalp Hunter in the Borderlands 1835-1850, *Arizona and the West (Journal of the Southwest)*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring, 1964), pp. 5-22; and James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant, "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping?" The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 37, No. 3 (July 1980), 451-472.

writers to the 'lone scalper' which keeps the industry in the shadows. The development of markets compelled scalping and killing specialists, who emerged from the fur trade, arms trade and inter-ethnic conflict wars of extermination in the U.S. South. Individuals such as James Johnson, James Kirker, John Glanton, and Samuel Chamberlain, as well as Governors of Chihuahua and Sonora, Jose Maria de Irigoyen de la O and Don D. José Urrea, respectively, were well-known throughout the region for their boosterism in the scalp trade.[85]

Although Chihuahua governor Don Angel Trias, like his predecessors, encouraged scalping of 'Apaches barbaros y enemigos', this resulted invengeance wars upon Chihuahuan ranchers by Ndé and many other targeted groups. Counter-vengeance became routine, and as the region's oligarchs increasingly sought to remove Indigenous peoples, a thick zone of violence formed across the Texas-Mexico border. This scenario sparked a number of markets for killing specialists, and for years James Kirker rode high on the wave of high rewards for 'Apache' scalps. However, the excesses of the scalp market only worked to further enrage Indigenous clans and networks and amplified the intensity of Indigenous retributions to the extent that large expanses of the region were wholly abandoned during the periods of Ndé and Comanche reprisals.

By 1845, under pressure by ranchers, politicians, and municipal leaders, Governor Trias offered a $9000.00 reward for Kirker, whose killing network was so powerful he was referred to as the "King of New Mexico," such was the influence that he held. Throughout the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) and thereafter the bounty on scalps of Apaches and Comanches continued to rise, and this undoubtedly provided specialized jobs for migrant Euro-American males. In 1847 a scalp raised $200.00 coins; in 1849 that rose to $250.00. As mining and

[85] Molinero, Ibid.

ranching expanded along trajectories of enfranchisement to Euro-American ethnic minorities who had ready-made *trans-migrant* communities in the Texas-Mexico borderlands—Scottish, Irish, German—the bounties on Indigenous groups increased. There were *increases* in new 'markets' and opportunities for scalp hunters who ostensibly "protected" Euro-American settlers with similar ethnic-trans-migrant heritages. This is *key* in South Texas, as the Scottish-Irish ranching network (King, Kenedy, Young, McAllen, Kleberg) tended to employ *predominantly* Scottish-Irish militias in the late 1890s and into 1915.

At the same time, there were ripples and waves, and the early 1850s could be considered one of several "true boom time" of gross seizure and affiliated atrocities.[86] One key question which I am not able to address here in full, though which warrants attention, is how well did elite Scots, Irish, and Germans in South Texas incorporate less affluent Scots, Irish, and Germans in their overall operations within the necropolitical order? Did they create spaces for expanding the white male oligarchy within the ranches as an economic platform beyond the scalping (and related lynching) economy? Or, were they marginalized after the killings? If so, where? Did Scotts in South Texas align with similar Scottish transmigrant patterns of establishing large religious and social kinship support bases in their 'new' homes, such as in northern Mexico? Canada? Australia? South Africa?[87]

Along the Texas-Mexico border and throughout the Rio Grande River regions, John Glanton was especially well-known among Indigenous peoples who considered him a witch. His reputation spawned numerous alliances between Indigenous peoples to destroy the evil spirit

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[86] Ibid.

[87] I am suggesting that this is a project for further exploration and deserves scrutiny, though is beyond the scope of this project. Currently, there are a few scholars taking up some of these questions of the Scottish transmigration and 'diaspora.'

which walked and destroyed the life of children, women, elders and men. According to Jumano Apache community historian, Enrique Madrid, Indigenous leaders raised their own bounty, at times up to $1000 for the scalp or head of the witches and murderers who prowled through the lands seeking dark haired and brown-skinned bodies for cash.[88] These scalping laws officially "stayed on the books" until the 1880—just a few years after the worst large group killings experienced by Lipan Apaches along the Texas-Mexico border at Candelaria, Remolino, and numerous sites in South Texas and across the river in Tamaulipas and Coahuila.

During the late nineteenth century the U.S, Texas, and Mexico, through various politicians and local business leaders on both sides of the border, collaborated in the destruction of Lipan Apaches, Jumanos, and allied Kickapoo. Their railroad development projects moved armies, weaponry, and barbed wire from distant places and concentrated them in the lands of the Ndé, where they sprawled into the lands. Professional soldiers gathered together on the orders of the United States and Texas, equipped with special units to focus their attention on hunting down all non-settled Indigenous peoples. This forced settlement drive against both Christianized and non-Christianized Indigenous peoples repeated the disastrous policies of the Spanish Empire and the Mexican Republic. These policies, set into motion by U.S. and Mexican federal agents, provided legal authority for citizen-soldiers, rangers, militias, posses, vigilantes, and federal troops "...to search out and attack all parties or bands, to which depredations can be traced."[89]

Despite this elaborate architecture of organized and commodified death, history narratives about the 'Lipan Apaches' focus on an assemblage of events between 1848 and 1875 in which white settlers across Southwest and South Texas and elite ranchers in northern Mexico

[88] Enrique Madrid, Interview on file.

[89] Verne Ray, as quoted in Maestas and Romero Castro, 325.

demanded removals of 'Apache' and 'Comanche' 'raiders', 'Apache thieves' and 'Apache murderers.' These narratives read like dime-store novels recounting wild skirmishes along the Texas "frontier." Gun battles, raiding, massacres, and executions, round ups, captures, and vanishing— are the American key words populating the violent 'encounters' of the Texas imaginary. Sensationalistic narratives masked the racialized and gendered violence that accompanied white settlement. American history glorified individuals such as John G. Bourke and Randal Mackenzie, two specialists who coordinated a matrix of Indian hunting along the Texas-Mexico border.

Mackenzie as Ndé Memory

Captain Randal Slidell Mackenzie, (1840-1889) was a career U.S. Army officer and general in the Union Army during the Civil War. Between 1867 and 1884 he fought against Apaches in the U.S. Southwest, and in the process perfected techniques and strategies of Indian hunting which he transported to Southwestern and South Texas responding to whites' demands for their removal to reservations *outside* of Texas. Mackenzie was highly decorated for his sweeping attacks upon Indigenous communities near Fort Richardson in Jacksboro, Texas, and the North Fork in West Texas. He won great notoriety for killing during the Red River War, the Battle of Palo Duro Canyon, and at Fort Concho in San Angelo, Texas. His violence against the Cheyenne in the Dull Knife Fight led to the Black Hills War. In 1883, for his lifetime accumulation of destruction against Indigenous communities, the U.S. army appointed him as the Brigadier General to the Department of Texas, where he eventually purchased a ranch near Boerne, in the traditional lands of the Southern Cúelcahén Ndé, along the Guadalupe River

watershed.[90] Captain John G. Bourke described him as "the embodiment of courage, skill an dash in an eminent degree. Impetuous, headstrong, perhaps a trifle rash, he formed a curious contrast to his self-poised, cool, silent commander whom the Indians of the plains and mountains from the British line to Mexico had learned to know and respect as the 'Gray Fox.'"[91]

MacKenzie has been most relevant as a subject of critical inquiry to the Lipan Apaches for his organization and implementation of what is popularly known as the "Remolino Massacre of 1873." [92] What follows is a narrative account of the conflict and slaughter, known to the Cúelcahén Ndé as El Dia de los Gritos/Day of the Screams

In the early morning hours of May 18, 1873, while U.S. federal authorities were negotiating the removal of Indigenous peoples south of the Rio Grande with the Mexican Governors Victoriano Cepeda in Saltillo, Coahuila; and José Eleuterio González in Monterrey, through the appointment of Commissioners Henry M. Atkinson and Thomas G. Williams, a separate unofficial meeting occurred between high ranking military officers at Fort Clark, Texas. At this gathering, they conspired to 'fix' the so-called border and 'Indian' problems by utilizing methods of which MacKenzie was reputed. As Thomas Britten states in his history of the Lipan Apaches, "On April 11, Secretary of War William W. Belknap and Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan met with Colonel Randall Slidell MacKenzie, an experienced Indian fighter who had recently arrived in south Texas with several companies of the Fourth Calvary Regiment. Although no written minutes of their meeting exist, most scholars believe that Belknap and

[90] The Handbook of Texas Online, "Randall Slidell Mackenzie," at http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/MM/fma7.html, accessed April 1, 2010.

[91] John G. Bourke, *Mackenzie's Last Fight with the Cheyennes, (1890)* (Bellevue: The Old Army Press, 1970), 3.

[92] Ibid., 106-108.

Sheridan ordered MacKenzie to put a stop to the border raids, but left the timing and details to the colonel. Over the course of the next month, MacKenzie prepared for his secret mission."[93]

After extensive tracking and training with his troops in northern Mexico, Mackenzie isolated particular targets to send a clear message throughout the Indigenous network along and criss-crossing the Rio Grande River—from Presidio-Ojinaga to Brownsville-Matamoros. With 360 heavily armed soldiers Mackenzie crossed the Rio Grande and rode all through the night, stopping outside the periphery of the small town of Remolino, Coahuila—a traditional rest stop, and a kinship site of Lipans, Mescaleros, and numerous other bands.

Early in the morning Mackenzie and the soldiers executed a full covert assault upon over 180 traditional lodges. His men set the lodges on fire, and destroyed large caches of dried meat and other foods as well as clothing, blankets, and sacred objects. Lipans and Kickapoos attempted to escape. The inhalation of the large fires and smoke must have immediately debilitated them within their lodges. Certainly many were afraid to escape knowing the horrifying confrontations with bodily violence, rape and death awaiting them outside.

An officer who accompanied Mackenzie's mission later described the "fierce crackling of the flames" which mixed with the sickening scent and sounds of death.[94] Some of the Cuelcahen Ndé and other clans were camped less than a mile down the San Rodrigo River, and according to elders and tribal leaders, they heard the sounds of gunfire and hideous screaming, and immediately fled. Approximately one-mile distance between the two camps was quickly collapsed by the mounted soldiers who chased down women, children and elders, and with the collusion of Mexican federal soldiers, bayoneted all persons within reach. Mackenzie's

[93] Britten, 224.

[94] Ibid., 224.

minimalist and cryptic report, "nineteen Indians killed…and forty women and children taken prisoner" leaves much to speculation about the mass number of total lodges attacked, the number of those killed, wounded, escaped, and dispersed.[95]

According to Cúelcahén Ndé elders, many of the survivors fled to the nearest hillsides and mountains, and then later, when the soldiers left, they regrouped in preparation for their long walk back to South Texas. The people had to splinter in order to survive the attack, because, they explained, the hunting by the soldiers did not end there. American and Mexican officials expressed concern about the atrocities, given the historic reactions of Apaches to such assaults in Mexico. According to Britten, the American ambassador's negotiations for a peaceful resolution with Mexican border governors disintegrated during this same period. When he left Coahuila he required a military escort to save the lives of his entourage.

Evidently, the slaughter of the Lipans drove deeper wedges than had previously existed between the Americans and the Mexicans in the region. The rural reactions could not be curbed. This suggests that the Indigenous kinship and affinity for the Lipans in Coahuila and beyond—down the Rio Grande River—were quite resilient. The affinity ties of kinship flowed horizontally and vertically as well. For example, states Britten, "Mexican officials placed a series of roadblocks in the path of the commissioners. They warned the Indians [Lipans] that the commissioners sought to poison them or to gather them in one place so that the soldiers could kill them, and they advised the warriors to murder the commissioners or hold them hostage to exchange for the women and children carried off by MacKenzie."[96]

[95] Britten, 224.

[96] Ibid., 226.

Oral histories and Nde' memories provide an important counterbalance to the official reports and accounts of Mackenzie's massacre. My Tia Zulema, my great aunt and community historian, handed down the oral history of my paternal ancestors' historical ties to Mackenzie's destruction. In Premont, Texas, when I was about 13 years old, she described the incident to my father and me. She told us "my mother told me that they had to run away from the soldiers… the fires were killing the people… they had to run, and the little children were being taken by the soldiers and other people. When they got back to here [referring to the customary lands occupied currently by Premont, Alice, Falfurrias, Pharr, and Kingsville] everything had already changed."[97] When the ancestors returned to their traditional lands in South Texas they found numerous Anglo settlements along the familiar places, completely shut off by barbed wire. They held firm and moved in with relatives in the barrios established as the segregated zones for the Indigenous 'natives.'[98] They were forced into menial labor, military service, and servitude to the ranches which enclosed them. According to Rufino Carrasco Montemayor, Jr., the people lived for generations in the zones as if prisoners. "The Rangers kept us inside here like prisoners; they treated us bad. Like we were an enemy. It's always been like that. There's been a lot of violence."[99]

The old places which the Ndé had known were 'removed'—plowed under, fenced off, hardly recognizable. The old names could not be spoken again, as if they were relatives which had also been murdered. By custom, the relatives who 'leave' were not spoken of anymore. The

[97] Sulema Rodriguez Carrasco Lerma, Premont, Texas, 1975.

[98] Rufino Carrasco Montemayor, Jr, Ebali Carrasco Gonzales, Mr. and Mrs. Israel Carrasco, Ramiro Carrasco Tamez, Rufino Montemayor, Gloria Rodriguez Mota, Premont, Texas 1975.

[99] Rufino Carrasco Montemayor, Jr., Interview, Premont, Texas, August 2007. My cousin and my uncle, and my aunts in Premont verified this at a traditional reunion feast in my honor, in 2007.

'new' names, such as "Premont" supplanted the older ones. During this period, many traditional places throughout the Nueces and Rio Grande water sheds were difficult to access due to the clearings, fencing, and enforcement of the property laws of Texas—a white suffrage state. Many Indigenous people were taken forcefully into work gangs for the railroad and agriculture. Many were taken into military service. Women's clan authority and traditional rituals went underground, and women strove to keep families together. They raised each other's children when their sisters and cousins died young from hunger, malnutrition and disease.

Daniel Castro Romero states that his clan members documented the massacre and its aftermath. At annual family reunions "El Dia de los Gritos," the Day of the Screams, is retold by the elders. "MacKenzie's Raid," says Castro, is also remembered at annual Castro family reunions […]. Before the primary dinner and family gathering could begin an offering of food and drink called the "grandfather plate" is taken to the fire pit and placed into the fire. Frank Vasquez Castro … said 'we did this to remember the family we lost at MacKenzie Raid and for the lost souls in other tragedies.'"[100]

Calixtro Gonzalez Castro, an elder who survived the massacre, recounted the escape of numerous family members, including Juana Castro Cavazos.[101] Calixtro gave testimony at Castro family reunions that the youth escaped Colonel MacKenzie with their parents and other relations by hiding in dug-out holes in the ground as well as beneath brush as they witnessed the murders of their families. Calixtro saw soldiers going into the lodges and shooting the families in their sleep, and shooting them as they attempted to flee.

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[100] Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas and Daniel Castro Romero, *Ndé: Anthropological Report on the Cuelcahen Ndé: Lipan Apache of Texas*, © 2004, 325-326.

[101] Who is related to me through marriage-extended-kinship to my Great-great grandmother, Andrea Rubio Cavazos Peña, and related to Andrea through traditional kinship ties of the Hada'didla' Ndé/Lightning People clan, and the Tuntsa' Ndé/Big Water People clan.

Santos Peralez Castro, the great-granddaughter of a Mackenzie massacre survivor discussed the oral history told to her, and recounted the importance of the 'dug-out hole in the ground' tradition of the Southern Ndé and the Lower Rio Grande peoples. The importance of survival during exterminations was to "dig large holes, large enough to hide a person by covering themselves with a large tumbleweed brush that was attached with a along rope… Calixtro and Manuel ran into one hole…While Juanita and her baby brother Miguel, who was an infant, ran for the hole…a Mexican soldier had heard the baby crying while she held tightly the rope holding the tumbleweed. However the soldier using his bayonet stabbed the tumbleweed repeatedly and in doing so stabbed the infant brother, stabbing him in the chest, killing him."[102]

Relatives recounted similar stories of violence and trauma related not only to the Remolino Massacre; they incurred multiple traumas across numerous Ndé sites on both sides of the Rio Grande River unfolding simultaneously. Santos Peralez Castro continued:

> But, Juanita held on tightly and in all the confusion, many of the village occupants had managed to escape by hiding in the ravine, since the soldiers did not bother to look for them because they were preoccupied with the killing the men and women. After the raids, they walked for days to San Juan, Texas across the Rio Grande from Reynosa, Mexico where they had family. Unknowing to them their father was alive, John Castro, who had managed to make it to the families rancherías in Reynosa, Mexico. In the raid, John Castro lost his wife, brother, and as a result John Castro, a.k.a. Porfirio Castro, changed his name in an effort to hide his true name, as he was a wanted man by the U.S. Government. He disguised his identity and would continue to do so, till the day he died in San Juan, Texas.[103]

Santiago Castro Castro also testified to the violence and the trauma it left in the memories of Nde' peoples.

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[102] Ibid., 327.

[103] Ibid.

> My father always talked about being a Lipan Apache who was from here in Texas and Mexico. He always told us how he would change his last name from Castro to Gonzalez when the soldiers would come looking for the Indians, us… My father said, that his father would drink to forget about the raid and the family that was killed. Especially, how he and his father John "Porfirio" Castro walked for weeks to reach McAllen, Texas. My grandfather Manuel Castro would always repeat the same thing over and over, saying the soldiers are coming, they coming to get us….[104]

Another relative of the Castros confirmed that some of the massacre survivors dispersed to South Texas, and others dispersed to Zaragosa, Cerralvo, Valle Hermosa, Beeville, Raymondville, to New Mexico, Chihuahua, West Texas, El Paso and other places—profound in centuries-long histories to the Ndé of the Lower Rio Grande ranchería kinship network.[105] These places are very important for the recovery of the Ndé cultural landscape, and they are places documented in the Esparza Family Genealogical Archive as convergence sites with Tlaxcaltecas, Tarascans, Otomís, and other nations. Like my Tia Zulema's oral history lesson to my father and me, the Castros also instructed their children and grandchildren to "never to reveal" that they were Lipan, Apache or 'Indian' because in Texas, these were grounds for extermination, removal, subjugation, rape … and were "peligroso y fatal"—dangerous and fatal.[106] To speak the language, to pray openly the ceremonies, to dress traditionally in South Texas and northeastern Mexico were tantamount to, Enrique Madrid argues, "nothing less than suicide."[107]

Like many of the El Calaboz and sister rancherías, the Ndé underclass in South Texas filled low-paid, menial wage jobs as agricultural workers, miners, day laborers, and at times filled subservient roles in local sheriff, deputy, and Ranger positions for local Hispanicized-Tlaxcalteca-Basque 'Tejano' and elite Euro-American bosses in the larger matrix of the South

[104] Ibid.

[105] Eloisa García Támez, Interview on file.

[106] Daniel Castro Romero, Interview on file; Eloisa García Támez, Interview on file.

[107] Enrique Madrid, Interview on file.

Texas and Lower Rio Grande 'machine.' Lipan Apache families had in effect been conditioned into submission in the Texas-Mexico border region, not by disappearing physically, but by doing what many Indigenous poor were doing in northeastern Mexico. They were forcibly assimilated into an Indigenous underclass, re-made into industrial, disenfranchised 'Mexicans' in their traditional homelands.

In that vein, the multi-lingual Ndé made excellent scouts and patrols as employees *for their own cousins* in a larger kinship network which encouraged compadrazgo—a form of Indigenous charity among Ndé and Tlaxcalteca. This social institution tended to encourage certain expected protocols of continuing support to each other's families through rituals of giving. The Catholic Churches in various South Texas parishes became central foci for Indigenous women to relocate their kinship institutions—through local parish identities and family-centered ceremonial recognitions. Thus, the South Texas 'holy feast days'—which populate nearly every week of the annual calendar in the smaller ranchería parishes aligning the Rio Grande—allowed Indigenous families to interweave their ritual kinship ties and to formalize inter-kinship generosity and reciprocity through the rural church systems.

On certain levels, this relationship between Indigenous women and Catholic relief in parishes allowed them to re-center their central role as *caciquas* and *diyin* –as head women and medicine women leaders—within the locality of their rural spheres. Like the Castros, the Carrascos, Cavazos, and Esparza men were incorporated by elite Indigenous and Spanish-Indigenous families filling cacique roles into the *local* oversite of their *own communities.* However, the Castros, Carrascos, and their clans who were targeted by Mackenzie encountered severe obstacles in maintaining possession over their treaty and land-grant holdings. Their lands were seized by powerful white families: the Kings, Klebergs, McAllens, Youngs, Dewitts,

Stillman, and Kenedy. These Ndé were subsumed into small Indigenous barrios throughout South Texas in every major town, village, pueblo and ranchería, and a certain percentage of these were relocated to California following the migrant agriculture work into the early 20th century.

The MacKenzie Remolino massacre was a killing field endemic to the Texas and U.S. extermination policies against the Lipan Apaches. The massacre was strategically calculated, by and through a multiplicity of polities and state actors to remove the Lipans from the lands. Whites perceived the Nueces and Rio Grande River watersheds as crucial to the enfranchisement of white male cultivators as a base of white citizenship—a determinant of Texas nationhood based upon a subordinated underclass of colonized Indigenous laborer-renters. This system translated into a big cattle and big cotton colony and plantation culture for Southern Texas Euro-Americans, a cattle and land grant based culture for South Texas Anglos inter-married with elite Basque-Spanish hacender*as*, and elite Basque-Spanish hacenderos.

The Remolino Massacre was a *brutal* turning point in the larger shift towards industrialization, Anglo settlement, and the institutionalization of the white/'Indigenous' (Mexican) racial binary of the American South in South Texas and northeastern Mexico. This calculation of white/'erased Indian' (Mexican) was crucial to white industrial progress in the region and Lipan Apaches represented the 'type' of 'Indian' that signified a much larger underclass of Indigenous rebellion, alliances, and cooperativeness among the majority (minoritized) population.

Indigenous peoples comprised between 80-90% of the population throughout the Texas-Mexico transborder and transnational community during the late nineteenth century. In essence, as the Jumano-Apache historian Enrique Madrid argues, "the river has never divided us, the river is our common meeting place, and the Rio Grande, though one of the most crucial, has not been

the *only* river or geographical resource or feature of the lands in which the Apache peoples and the majority of the Indigenous of northern Mexico have combined our cultures, families, and struggles."[108] Recalling Enrique Madrid's historical research into the Jumano Apache memory and recovery projects of the West Texas Big Bend region, "the river did not ever divide us, the states, the nation builders and the armies did that."[109]

The industrialization of the Rio Grande drove the Indigenous peoples in myriad directions: sometimes underground to protect their lives, and sometimes into the into diverse local and transnational social movements to protect their ways of life. A large and diverse Indigenous underclass faced similar impacts throughout northern Mexico. Scholars across Mexico have been studying these movements of rural Indigenous peoples on the Mexico side of the River, but these inter-related movements on the South Texas side of the River have been either dismissed altogether and/or *mis*interpreted by Euro-American, as well as nationalist

[108] Enrique Madrid, Conference Panel, "Resistance: Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border," Western Social Sciences Association, 2009. See also, Johnson, 26. "Indeed, in 1900 ethnic Mexicans constituted 92 percent of the Valley's population, a significant increase from the 80 percent in 1850. At the dawn of the twentieth century, fewer than one thousand Anglos lived in the region's rural sectors." See also, Elliott Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 310-311. "Jim and Jane Crow segregation undermined the … society …along the border. In Cameron and Hidalgo counties the mixed-race population, those with Anglo and Mexican parentage, declined precipitously from roughly half to a quarter of the inhabitants between 1900-1920. The racial tensions caused by the break-down of what historian David Montejano calls the [Tejano] 'peace structure' combined with growing economic inequalities, ultimately led to a radical revolt in South Texas in 1915." Going beyond the problematic racialized and gendered readings of Johnson, Young and Montejano which aggregate the Indigenous grass-roots of the Texas-Mexico region's population and these populations' motivations for anti-colonial resistances, these figures suggested are important. They help to surface the large Indigenous diversity of the region which was a community with centuries long settlement in the region. They also demonstrate that the South Texas/U.S. military-machine politics codified through Southern Anglo and U.S. capitalist industrialization of the lands, water, and Indigenous bodies in the region served to spatialize white/non-white segregated landscapes in Ndé traditional lands, and the intensified endogamous inter-marriages among the Indigenous and emigrating Indigenous peoples continues into 1910. The land and labor wars between Ndé and elite Hispanicized Tlaxcalteca/Basque and their Irish kinsmen did not die away after the massacres of the 1870s and 80s. The 1910-1915 years in El Calaboz Ranchería proved, once again, that Ndé peoples in the Lower Rio Grande and their kin in Tamaulipas and Coahuila would utilize kinship, matrilocal and matrifocal organization to disrupt dispossession and support larger collective Indigenous land and labor movements.

[109] Enrique Madrid, Interview on file.

historiographical lenses. The majority of scholars have undertheorized Indigenous polities and the Indigenous continuities through and against the political economy of feudal capitalism and forced labor systems *for transnational Indigenous peoples* who have dominated the regions politics of the large Indigenous labor class. In that vein, scholars have neglected to consider the successes of the early twentieth century, northern Mexico, rural-based, Indigenous labor movements as *interlocking* with the counter-rebellions of transnational Ndé, Tlaxcaltecas and Comanches. Through the closer examination of Indigenous women's recoveries of killing fields, hunt-downs, and forced removals we can engage the Indigenous-directed transnational economy of comadrazga. The Indigenous polity at the *base* of the stereotyped 'peasant,' 'rural,' 'ethnic,' and 'mixed-blood/mestizo' of the region—was based upon women's strategies to maintain kinship ties across the region, which were crucial to survivance in a zone of constant war. This mis-reading and underestimation of Indigenous agency must be understood as colonialist first, and second, as fatally flawed.[110]

Ndé-Tlaxcalteca-Nahua Women and Families "…entirely within parameters defined by white."

After the MacKenzie slayings of Ndé, Kickapoo, and 'Mexicans' the coordinated use of the Army and 'citizen' militias, Rangers, and scouts were institutionalized as extralegal jurisdictions on the periphery of state and nation. The very places and spaces where Indigenous genocide studies are most relevant to international law are the places where American military

[110] For example, going beyond the assimilationist and gendered readings of Johnson, Young and Montejano on 'Mexican ethnics' and 'Mexican-Americans' of South Texas, which artificially severe the population from 'Mexicans' on the south side of the river and aggregate the Indigenous grass-roots of the Texas-Mexico region's population and these populations' motivations for anti-colonial resistances, nonetheless their suggested population figures are important.

officers, soldiers, politicians and citizens constructed zones of exception. Between 1848 to the late 1890s zones of exception developed into elaborate military invasions into the Lower Rio Grande Valley and northeast Mexico. Between 1910 and 1919, Cameron County and Matamoros and outlying rural spaces became a focal point for Bourke. As Samuel Truett has argued, "the borderlands remain ensnared in their 'wild west past. In this state-centered view, citizens are the legitimate bearers of history, and enemies of the state haunt the frontiers of the body politic like forces of nature, taunting the narrative logic of the nation." Between 1870 and 1910, Texan and U.S. foreign policy against Indigenous polities was expressed through low-intensity conflict, armed removals, relocations, imprisonment, and forced assimilation.[111] These

[111] I provide examples in four categories. The naturalization of presenting the colonization, imperialism, and development of the Texas-Mexico border regions and of the Ndé and their lineal kinship relations as problematic 'official histories' presenting violence, death, and destruction of Indigenous peoples, lands, languages, religions, and critical resources as inevitable confrontations between 'barbarian' savages and 'heroic' Euro-Americans. These projects reinforce and build upon fictions of Texas' and northern Mexico's 'origin' myths as narratives of Euro-American biological determinism and cultural relativism. In these, Euro-Americans open up the path for American Civilization and progress. In that way, they are useful to critical Indigenous legal studies because they serve as archives of imperialism, and provide key texts to expose Euro-American cultures of violence and explicit methods in the colonization of Texas-Mexico. Don Graham, *Kings of Texas; The 150-Year Saga of an American Ranching Empire,* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003); Mary Margaret McAllen Amberson, James A. McAllen & Margaret H. McAllen, *I Would Rather Sleep in Texas: A History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and the People of the Santa Anita Land Grant,* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2003); Frances Mayhugh Holden, *Lambshead Before Interwoven, 1848-1878*, (College Station: Texas A & M University, 1982); Graham Davis, *Land!: Irish Pioneers in Mexican and Revolutionary Texas*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002); Bruce S. Cheeseman, Ed., *Maria Von Blücher's Corpus Christi*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002). *See the following* as examples of the naturalization of violence, development, capitalism, and imperialism authored by an engineer and a Civil War historian, respectively: Robert B. Gorsuch, *The Mexican Southern Railway, To be Constructed Under a Charter from the Mexican Government, through the States of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca*, (New York: Hosford & Sons, Stationers and Printers, 1881); Clayton E. Jewett, *Texas in the Confederacy: An Experiment in Nation Building*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002). For accounts of exterminations and extralegal killings by Apache sympathizers, see: Douglas V. Meed, *They Never Surrendered: Bronco Apaches of the Sierra Madres: 1890-1935*, (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1993); David L. Vere, *The Texas Indians*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2004), "Chapter 8: The Wars for Texas," 177-201 and "Chapter 10: From One Millenium to the Next," 222-238; H. Henrietta Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993). Finally, for recent critical studies interrogating Euro-American imperialism, colonialism, and the development of the U.S.-Mexico transnational mining, ranching, farming and railroad corridors as key priorities organized through complex racial, gendered, classed, and binational power structures involved in extermination wars against the Ndé, see generally, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, *Massacre at Camp Grant: Forgetting and Remembering Apache History*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press,

violent policies were inextricable from the unification of U.S. and Mexico transnational, inter-governmental and industrial development which facilitated U.S. expansion into Mexico's northern mining industries. U.S. and Mexican capitalists, diplomats, bankers, and industry leaders, whilst celebrating the abundance of 'mother nature' and the so-called 'natural' fortuitousness of "forg[ing] ties between 'Sister Republics,' based upon the capitalist conceptions of "mutual advantage" were busy excavating narratives of biological race and the feminization of industrial workers.[112] In doing so, they perpetuated a problematic fiction—disavowal of genocidal imaginaries and Indigenous Others in their midst. Effacing Indigenous genocides, and erasing Indigenous peoples from the official maps of Texas-American empire, would not silence the important facts of Indigenous lands and clan-based legal genealogies.

Between 1749 and 1851, the Lipan Apache and their kinship clans of South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande had exercised their own law and simultaneously pursued justice in international law. The Lipan Apaches of the Cúelcahén, Hada'didla', and other clans demonstrated that they had been asserting their legal rights and documenting their lineal inheritance and rights as peoples through numerous treaties, agreements, mechanisms, grants, mercedes, and hidalgos.[113] Through treaties, land-grants, peace agreements and other mechanisms Ndé kinship networks attempted to facilitate peace as well as impose harsh limits on

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2007); Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), "Chapter Five: Texas, 1811-1845: Overpopulating and Conquering," 130-156; Clare V. McKanna Jr., *White Justice in Arizona: Apache Murder Trials in the Nineteenth Century*, (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2005); and Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: A Borderlands Massacre and the Violence of History*, (New York: The Penguin Press, 2008).

[112] Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 5.

[113] For instance, Mission Valero de Bexar, August 19, 1749 (Spain); San Pedro de Carricitos 1761 (Spain), Confirmed as #336, Texas Land Office; Colonial del Nuevo Santander, March 15, 1791 (Spain); Alcaldes de las Villas de la Provincia Laredo, August 17, 1882 (Spain); Live Oak Point Treaty, January 8, 1838 (Republic of Texas); Tehuacama Creek Treaty, October 9, 1844 (Republic of Texas; U.S. Government); and San Saba Treaty, October 28, 1851 (U.S. Government).Daniel Castro Romero, Jr., December 10, 2009.

coloniality and often participated in a multiplicity of land-based resistances where women and families were targeted as political actors.

Remembering the Mackenzie massacre helps us to see its legacy and its effects on the survivors and generations who followed. MacKenzie took child captives from his sites of extermination, as did many Euro-American males, military officers, and settlers. Indigenous children's memories, voices, and lives were viciously disconnected from the killing fields creating devastating fractures of memory where trauma and the absence of memory are the residuals of repression and silence. Like the two Lipan children, 'Kesetta and Jack' taken by MacKenzie from the Remolino killing field and 'adopted' as his prisoners-wards, the majority of our ancestors' experiences during the close of the 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century have been viciously taken from us.

I borrow from the experience of the Cúelcahén Ndé captive Kesetta Castro specifically because her capture and abduction by MacKenzie, who forced her into assimilation and forced her memory into subordination to him, his authority and to Carlisle Indian School—the State. These all willed the erasure of her Indigenous past but always inscribed upon her body and her mind her imprisonment, her perpetual identity after her capture from the Remolino massacre as "prisoner of war" and 'no past.' Her permanent exile from her Indigenous past and her confinement "within the parameters defined by whites" is a *documented* foundation upon which many Ndé women are reconciling intergenerational grief, isolation, illness, and irreparable harm directly connected to the Texas imaginary of 'paradise.' The violent "parameters" which marked Kesetta as a Mexican Lipan Apache inscribed her life-long imprisonment as a 'captive' to her Carlisle boarders, and to the households to whom she was consistently indentured as a domestic

servant across Pennsylvania. At the same time, the "parameters" of white violence condemned her body—inscribed in both the particular and the universal—'Apache' and 'Mexican'—as a take-able and rapable field of American conquest. She died soon after delivering her child—conceived as a result of sexual subordination by one of her white male employers.[114]

Texas—the structures of the open-air prison, poverty, exclusion, segregation, work camps, industrial assembly lines—provided whites an aura of control; the spaces of management in South Texas raise important memories. Like Kesetta, Indigenous peoples' histories in South Texas, the spatiality of slavery, killing fields, industrial menial labor, and sexual subordination, were confined by a complex matrix of railroads, private property, armed authority, and censorship. Many Indigenous peoples did not recognize or realize the extent of the public erasure of Indigenous memories, places, cultures, sciences, arts, and intelligence which had occurred by the mid-twentieth century—but Indigenous women *did*.

Not only did Texas officially deracinate Indigenous pasts of peoples who had traditionally intermarried with many different *tribal* and *nontribal* peoples; they separated Texas Indigenous peoples from their lands which held narratives, rituals, ceremonies, and artifacts of their histories in the lands, artifacts of their ancestral presence—grandparents, rituals of belonging and communal desire and dream.

As segregated non-persons, non-Indians, and non-Mexican citizens, the Nde found themselves in a juridical limbo. Ndé had neither personhood nor jurisdiction from which to litigate any claims for reparations. Landmarks of memory were privatized and contained behind barbed wire—officially off limits. Religious societies, such as traditional medicine men and women, were forced underground. My father and my maternal grandfather were both inheritors

[114] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), Chapter 10: " Kesetta: Memory and Recovery," 255-282.

of an active religious society where their mothers and aunts intermediated between males and medicine people for special rites and healing ceremonies. These became well-hidden within the clan system and the ranchería societies.

Like Kesetta, Ndé women were exposed to the violence and racism of white males who employed them as menial, industrial workers. The fragments which have been pieced together about the demeaning life which she lived echo and reverberate throughout Ndé women's experiences in South Texas as the housekeepers, servants, wet nurses, and industrial workers in white South Texan's remote and isolated ranches, farms, and industrial factories where racial, sexual and psychological abuse went hand-in-hand with assault, rape, impregnation, and death.

Like Kesetta, my paternal grandmother and great-grandmother were confined, subordinated, and muffled within the barbed-wired, open-air, extralegal jurisdictions. They lived in servitude and as wards to the violent societies which segregated them into impoverished barrios, sequestered into South Texas towns named Premont, Falfurrias, Kingsville, Pharr, Alice, Victoria, Beeville, and Victoria. Their lives were lived out framed in by checkpoint systems surrounding them—now enclosed *within* King County, Kleberg County, Brooks County, Jim Wells County, and Nueces Counties. These spaces, where many Ndé were forced to live industrialized lives—were the *very* places where Ndé struggled to exist in peace but which ensnared them into dismal shadows of the south Texas Euro-American imaginaries.

Like Kesetta, the Ndé women of the Texas-Mexico border region were broken by institutions which viewed them as savages and servants who needed to be reformed and reshaped as Christianized servant-American-women—at the fringes and in the shadows of American publics and polities. In South Texas, all physical, religious, linguistic, and psychological ties to Ndé histories, sovereignty, memory, and relationships were severed violently. Segregation and

white racism replaced them and the indoctrination of Indigenous peoples as *de jure* and *de facto* 'Others' in their homelands persisted as did the mythology of the naturalized inheritance of white settlers. Internalized racism worked hand-in-hand with Americanization and the state's liberal ideologies of 'ethnic'-Americans. Thus, the progressive promise of Mexican-Americanization of middle-class Hispanicized 'Tejanos' and whitened Indigenous-'mestizos' was a process of both racialization and dehumanization for Indigenous peoples like the Ndé and Tlaxcalteca *macehualli*.

The continued erasure of Ndé women's aboriginal homelands and identities was complex and differentiated across class/casta, place, bodies, families and locations. Resistance was never homogenous, nor complete. In South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande, whites inscribed and thus defined white heritage and pioneer creation myths by editing, re-shaping, and re-inventing the 'ancient' and 'colonial' Indigenous Others of the Texas and Mexico frontiers. Settler histories re-invented the history of 'Texas Indians' and 'Native Mexicans' as if these were two distinctly different and separate stories, as if Texas history occurred in Plexiglas boxes separating the alleged 'races,' and containing 'time.'

In this Texas imaginary, only settlers had free will and agency, only settlers moved in-between all the Others and whose profile was always hinged on the inevitable 'vanishing' of Indians consumed under the hooves and rails of mono- agriculture, ranching, and technologies based in projects of control, power, and death to the highest power of life. Yet the Indigenous, as John G. Bourke predicted, did not incorporate the white man's Americanization to the extent desired, nor did Americanization of the ecology, legal institutions, and public history succeed in destroying local idioms, religions and kinship traditions—even through acts of violence. In reality, the Texas-Mexico border wasn't a border at all, even when the U.S. and Texas patrolled

it as such. Rather, the River People stood as an omnipresent fabric of families who were dreamed in the dual minds of different deities. In the dream, Guadalupe Tonantzin and Ndé Isdzánałesh interwove the Indigenous matrilineal cartographies between the wefts of Tenochtitlan forcibly relocated Tlaxcalteca laborers and the warp of Athapaskan Ndé buffalo hunter migrations.

Conclusion

Bourke's comparison of South Texas Indigenous peoples to backwardness, darkness, and superstition, with a colonial structure he knew intimately well—*Ireland*—is important to understanding the slippery logic of Euro-American imperialism and militarism. Bourke ranted, "as in Ireland in its Dark days, so on the Rio Grande. [The] thriving intelligent communities" [here] exert about as much influence upon the indigenes around them as did the Saxon or Danish invaders upon the Celts of Ireland."[115] The development focus of the American capitalist and genocidal objective on the Texas-Mexico border and region blinded Bourke and his colleague, Mackenzie to any appreciation for the unique histories, laws, and governance systems of the Indigenous domains in the Lower Rio Grande River and Nueces River societies.

Gender violence, as well, was a sinister system at work in the larger force of Americanization in the region. The matrilineal element of Indigenous social law and governance systems were poorly perceived and re-constructed by Bourke as the "dark Belt."[116] Elliott Young emphasizes Bourke's repulsion for Indigenous peoples who did not conform to his ideal

[115] Bourke, as quoted in Young, 221.

[116] Young, 171-172.

of the 'noble savage,' an illusion he and many military officers carried about the 'Plains Indian' myth—constructed through media and ideology. Bourke disassociated any culpability from Euro-American colonization, imperialism, and histories of overlapping imperialisms. Rather, he critiqued the impoverishment he witnessed and the blatant violence occurring against Indigenous peoples as the fault of the Indigenous. Rather, the American system ideas of biologically determined racial behaviors and cultural 'traits' in order to rationalize the military pursuit of securing the region for private property, mining, ranching, agriculture, and transcontinental servitude sectors.

In his reports and published articles, Bourke lumped well over 50 different Indigenous peoples of the region into 'Mexicans' –a debased and deprived subhuman 'native' identity which universalized racial hatred as ethnology, which furthered his objectives of militarization, development and commerce. Young notes, Bourke was "sickened" by numerous aspects of the kinship webs he observed in males during his tours of the Lower Rio Grande. His erotic and racial attraction to Indigenous ceremonial practices—as evidenced in his notes about rituals involving body fluids—can not easily be dissected from his repulsion of Indigenous women and the idea of Indigenous survivance.[117] Bourke's hostility towards intermarriages between Euro-American white males with Indigenous and 'half-breed' Spanish-Indian women, reveals how militarized-American male power (of *mythical* white homogeneity and heterosexuality) carried out a punitive landscape against white males who dared to marry outside the boundaries of whiteness and the nation. In one of his final reports, he advised the United States to "put pressure" on wealthy land owners and those supporting Indigenous leaders, believing that the

[117] Ibid., 220.

kinship system would disintegrate.[118] He also advocated that prominent white men who assisted rebel leaders be identified and pressured by military authorities with economic allegiances to U.S. capitalists.

Again, Bourke's admonishments were clearly gendered, and stressed the destruction of men's' allegiances to Spanish-Indigenous and Indigenous women's clan obligations and systems. Bourke used racial and gendered rhetoric to debase and degrade Indigenous women's roles in the important anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles. For instance, he peppered his tirades accusing Indigenous women, who were revolutionary supporters and warriors themselves, as being nothing more than degenerate camp followers and prostitutes "who lack civilization and self respect", as "low class" and as "low people." He tied his repulsion against white-Indigenous marriages explicitly to his distrust of Indigenous women and their authority over their children and extended clans.[119] As Elliott Young emphasizes, "Racial mixing through intermarriage often surfaced in [Bourke's] reports as a primary explanation for [the rebels'] popularity, even among those with Anglo surnames." In effect, Mackenzie's blood-lust and Bourke's repeated narrations to the American elites about "The American Congo" set the stage for the next wave of warfare that characterized South Texas during the early twentieth century.

By sustaining a critique on Bourke and Mackenzie, and the construction of American Euro-American ethnicity, masculinity, and militarism as central methods in the masculinization of South Texas, I have been able to demonstrate the Texas imaginary as a landscape of violence

[118] Ibid, 168.

[119] Ibid. 184; Like the majority of Anglo and Spanish-American males of his class and education, Bourke held a distrust for women. In his paper, "The Medicine Men of the Apache," in the Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1887-'88," 1882, his sexism in general, and racialized sexism against Apache women is a strong underlying feature of his narrative. Like his contemporaries, he assumed that only Indigenous males had knowledge worth spying for.

and necropower. These operated to shape the region and the Indigenous peoples as a site out of time and humanity, as a naturalized war zone.

Bourke's assignation of the Lower Rio Grande River Valley, South Texas and Tamaulipas and Coahuila as the American 'terra incognita', and 'An American Congo', spatialized the region as an Indigenous space radically Other. Bourke is most notably responsible for engraving key American ideas about 'Mexico', 'Mexicans' and 'South Texas' Indigeneity in his hyper-essentialized assignations of the false dualism and binary: *noble American* Indian savage Other and the *ignoble Mexican* Indian savage Other.

South Texas Indigeneity continued to be shaped intrinsically by the dominant Indigenous histories and social institutions of kinship, reciprocity, and the dynamics of compadrazgo and comadrazga constructed a radical and revolutionary space for a dense Indigenous resistance to formulate and proliferate. Yet, Bourke and Mackenzie were blind to this. After their experiences in South and Southwest Texas, both Bourke and Mackenzie suffered penetrating mental debilitation and illness, curtailing their lives.

By elevating the way military systems operate to spatialize ideologies of ethnicity, race, gender, and nationalism, this chapter sustained a *focus* on two key figures who deployed these in the Americanization of the U.S.-Mexico border and the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico domains. Necropower and necropolitics collided at the Indigenous women's ranchería during the late 19th century rise of the white settler racial order. The manifestations of spatialized masculinized violence forced Indigenous women to shoulder the wars of empires, republics, states and nations. Indigenous women repeated the lessons of their grandmothers and utilized various tools available to them: traditional governance, laws, and ways of life.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Ndé Genealogies and Gendered Memories of Violence and Resistance

Introduction

In this chapter I introduce and analyze the genealogies of El Calaboz Ranchería and its extended family, clan, kinship and cooperative complex through the matrilocal and matrilineal genealogies of four Indigenous women. By drawing from living Indigenous peoples of Ndé clans of South Texas and their Tlaxcalteca and Nahua kinship historical relationships and social identities connected to key missions, pueblos, haciendas, presidios and mines in the Lower Rio Grande, Tamaulipas, Coahuila and Nuevo León, I engage a critical cultural landscape model. As such, the time-space continuum related to *several* colonizations and violent dispossessions of Indigenous peoples in the customary territories of the southern Lipan Apaches will be addressed. The following illustrations are provided to orient the reader, and to demonstrate primary document and archival research of Ndé communities in the process of recovering their land-tenure histories. Within that project, their histories of colonization, exploitation and resistance are elevated.



Illustration 5.1. El Calaboz Ndé Domain, Cultural Landscape and Contact Zones (1546-1935): Sites of Ndé *cazadores/as a caballo*, *vaqueros/as de Ganado, agricultores/as* and *pobladores/as* (hunters on horseback, bison stewards, small farmers, and cattle/goat pastoralists), Tlaxcalteca *hidalgo* and *macehualli* , (land-grantees and laborers) Nahuatl *nobleza* (nobility de Moctezuma, land-grantees) and Basque *colonistas* (colonists). By Erik Tamez-Hrabovsky, 2010. Collection of the Author.

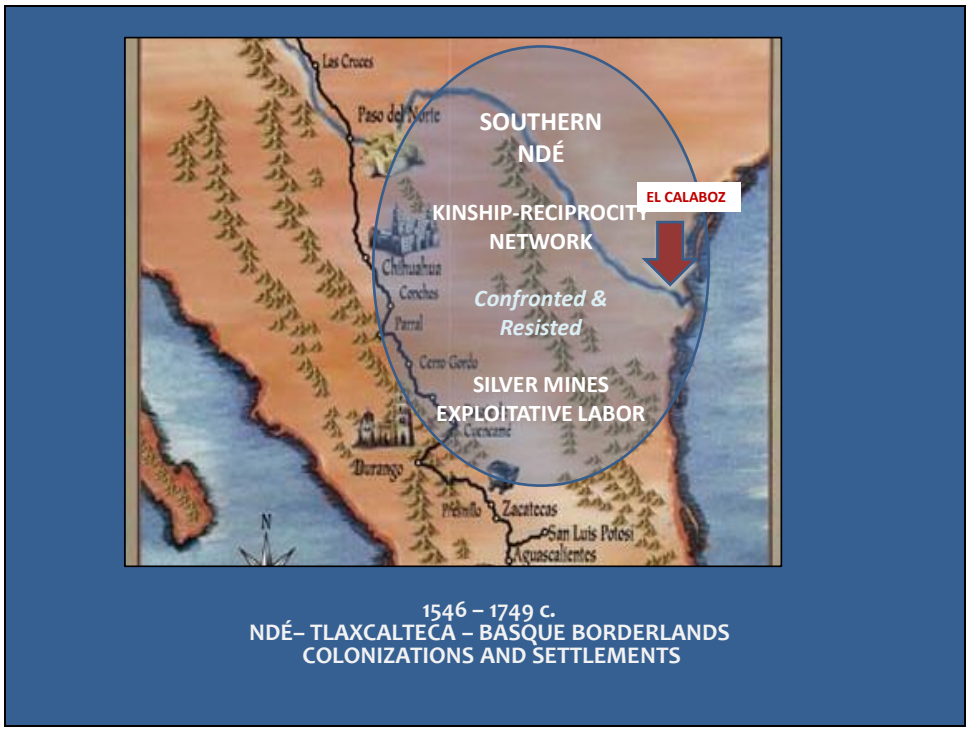


Illustration 5.2. Map of Ndé Resistance to Basque-Spanish Silver Mining, "ca. 1546-1749 Ndé-Tlaxcalteca-Basque Borderlands, Colonizations and Settlements." By Margo Tamez. Collection of Author. Map adapted from "Primeros Asentamientos Monterrey," courtesy of Wikimedia, at http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e4/Primeros_asentamientos_Monterrey.

In order to comprehend the community member's conceptualization of time, space and events, to collapse these and at times to overlap and to intersect late colonial with the modern, and vice-versa, *it is critical* to visualize Ndé, Tlaxcalteca and Nahuatl nobleza realities as *they* understand them. In South Texas and northeastern Mexico, these periodizations were *in fact* material systems which webbed and enjoined each other across multiple lines of key Indigenous families spread out across South Texas and northeastern Mexico. In other words, many events were occurring in and around the same time—though in different sectors of the occupied zones. *Who* the Indigenous encountered in various spaces heavily impacted *the systems of violence used* to subjugate them.

Regarding land-tenure, many community members argue that the vestiges of the late colonial and early modern are indiscernible along the Lower Rio Grande River, and that the early

modern included four governments which dictated their land-tenure: Spanish land grants and riparian water rights often superseded the Liberal democratic land policies of northeastern Mexico and conflicted intensely with the privatization patterns of (Anglo-Slave Republic) Texas. In the following illustration (5.3), treaties and land-grants were *both* used by Ndé to retain possession of their lands along the Rio Grande River. Neither was appropriate fits for the highly diverse and stratified Indigenous populations, and none were intended to 'serve' Indigenous polities according to actual needs. They were always instruments of forced assimilation.

Mexican Liberal reforms intersected the interests of South Texas Tejano ranchers to limited degrees, in certain pockets, but varied actual implementation from county to county, ranch to ranch.[1] South Texas ranches, with a large Indigenous labor base, mirrored hacienda structures in Tamaulipas. The diverse infrastructural realities of South Texas, the Lower Rio Grande Valley, and northeastern Mexico reflected the numerous forces attempting to control resources and laborers.

The following illustration demonstrates the juridical overlap which dictated the material realities of rural ranchería communities. These instruments only reflect the arrangements between a *minority* of Ndé and the colonizers—not the majority who did not have access to these proceedings given the barriers unpacked in previous chapters. These 'agreements' often mimicked the Euro-American system, heavily male-centered and citizen-oriented conceptions of property, ownership and suffrage. These instruments did not reflect the vast *diversity* of Ndé kinship and clan based decision-making practices. They signal the erosion of Indigenous women's status within the ranchería, or *gową*, and they signal the forced assimilation of Indigenous men into normative, patriarchal thought and behaviors to marginalize Indigenous

[1] See Armando C. Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

women and children—as *non*-subjects, *non*-actors, *non*-polities. These instruments must ultimately be read as tools of colonization, coercion and exploitation, as they did not provide any mechanisms for Indigenous women's actual consent or inclusion in the terms—a role which Ndé women customarily reserved as their right in traditional Indigenous law.

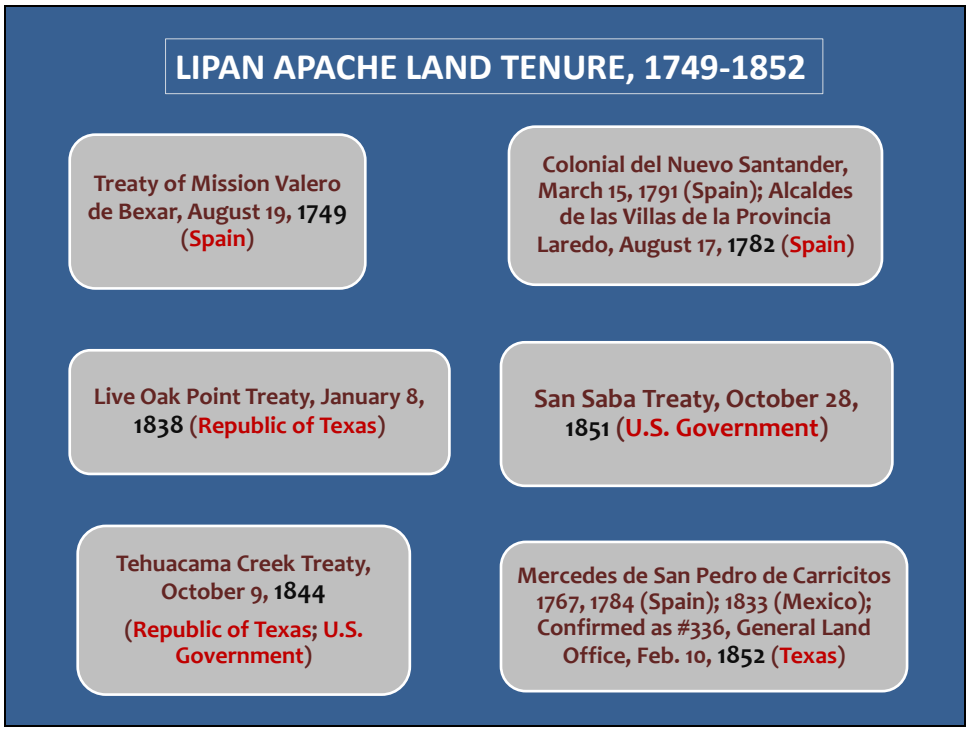


Illustration 5.3. Ndé/Lipan Apache Land Tenure, 1749-1852. Converging, overlapping, and intersecting juridical systems imposed a complex and dense matrix of governmentality deployed against the Indigenous peoples of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and South Texas. Note overlapping dates, thus defying normative periodization regularly used to normalize this history. By Margo Tamez. Collection of the Author.

Another important facet, related to the exclusion and marginalization of Indigenous women in the terms established between the colonizers and Indigenous males, was the matter of Indigenous women's alternative forms of resistance, defense and offense during these waves of occupation. In the following illustration, I draw attention to the evidence culled from primary and archival sources of Ndé *gową (ranchería)*-based anti-colonial revolt, rebellion and resistance.

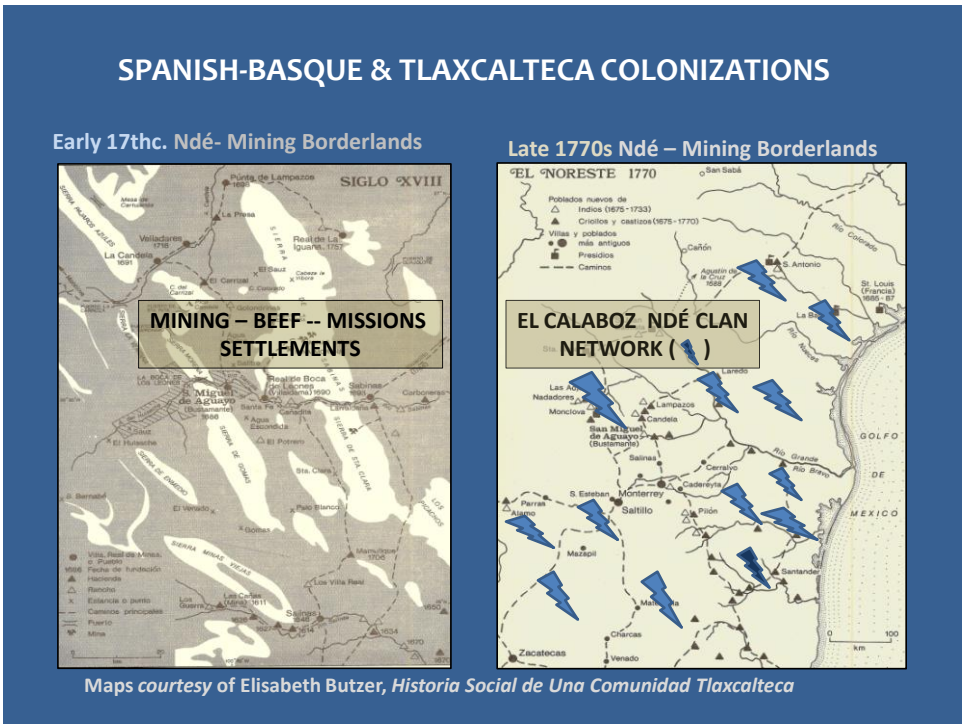


Illustration 5.4. "Ndé-Basque-Spanish-Tlaxcalteca Mining Borderlands—De-Colonial Resistance, ca. early 17th c. to late 1770s. By Margo Tamez. Collection of the Author. Courtesy of and adapted from Elizabeth Butzer, *Historia Social de Una Comunidad Tlaxcalteca: San Miguel de Aguayo (Bustamante, N.L.), 1686-1820* (México: E. Butzer, 2001).

My methods are influenced by community experts of El Calaboz Ranchería and El Ranchito, and their related Lipan Apache clans in South Texas. In addition, the work of Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh helps me situate this community history within a critical Indigenous cultural landscape model, where "differing conceptualizations of cultural landscapes" shared by Lipan Apache, Nahua, and Tlaxcalteca peoples from the late 16th century to the present can better reveal each groups' unique cultural and historical connections to the same places. Colwell-Chanthaphonh states

> Since the time of the ancient hunters who culled mammoths and giant bison with stone-tipped spears some 12,000 years ago, people have been drawn to this lush river valley. Although the names these people called themselves have been lost to time, archaeologists have labeled each epoch and assigned names to the archaeological cultures representing the people who lived there—the Hohokam, Salado, Sobaipuri, and Anasazi. But these peoples are also important as the ancestors of contemporary American Indians. Evoked in oral traditions and rituals, and revisited in intermittent journeys, modern Indians have not altogether forgotten these

> people and places. Thus, even the San Pedro Valley comprises a single terrain, it contains multiple histories investigated by archaeological science and maintained by the descendents of the people who formerly resided there.[2]

This multi-faceted experience of the same sites and spaces which different human groups hold in memory are useful to the project of critical Ndé studies where this intersects genocide studies, international Indigenous studies, gender and social history. In the above statement, I recognize the multiple, diverse, layered and intersecting histories of place. I recognize that Indigenous peoples have their own frameworks and that the use of a 'cultural landscape' model is limited because it is an artificial structure, devised by academics and modified by Indigenous communities to communicate (to mostly academics and technicians) Indigenous people's practices, principles, theorization and analysis of their individual, autonomous, cooperative and complex experiences. Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. analyzed the differing conceptualizations and roles of time and space from Indigenous peoples' perspectives and thus their work provides me a set of principles to build upon and to adjust in the discussion of Lower Rio Grande peoples' experiences across five centuries.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. questioned and corrected the "European tradition, born from the Enlightenment, which envisions land as an entity essentially separate from human beings, easily divisible through boundary-making practices." Their cultural landscape model situates a dynamic Indigenous time-space continuum and interrogates the connections between the industrial modernization of technology and development and the discourse which assigned meaning to the processes of alienating customary lands from Indigenous peoples.

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[2] Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, T.J. Ferguson, and Roger Anyon, "Conceptualizing Landscapes in the San Pedro Valley of Arizona: American Indian Interpretations of Reeve Ruin and Davis Ruin," Abstract, Fifth World Archaeological Congress, Washington D.C., 21-26 June 2003. At http://www.cdarc.org/pdf/colwell_1.pdf, (accessed January 6, 2010).

I borrow from this model as it is applicable to the recovery and preservation of El Calaboz Rancheria's Indigenous cultural landscape. I draw directly from Indigenous peoples' archives and primary documents, as well as personal interviews, juxtaposing conceptualizations of time, space, place, memory and the constructions of official histories in the political, social, and economic development of warfare and dispossession as interlocking operations. The bodies and memories of Indigenous peoples are key texts in this section of the dissertation, as are Indigenous ecologies in relation to their altered, removed, displaced, appropriated, exploited, and destroyed histories in violent settler cultural landscapes and ecologies. I pull heavily from the Indigenous archives of impacted clans and individuals in the land-grant community of San Pedro de Carricitos, which has of late been in the international spotlight connected to the Texas-Mexico border wall human rights case. Connected to this community is the ranchería of El Calaboz, and her sister rancherías of Las Rusias, Las Milpas, and Los Indios. Colwell-Chanthaphonh offers the following comparison as a useful tool for scholars and communities who wish to engage and understand the various meanings of persecuted people's memories and their contemporary processes across legal spheres to recover and to assert their human rights. He states,

> For Europeans, the past is inscribed on the land and the historical landscape becomes a product of cultural memories. But for many American Indians, ancestral sites that persist in the present are historical monuments that remind and recall what passed before. Cultural landscapes thus do not represent memory, they are memory, and their apprehension provides a means to unite the past and the present in a personal experience. The meanings of these places have not expired but continue to transform and enlighten those living in the present. In this way, traditional histories are embedded in the land, stories made inseparable from place.[3]

In El Calaboz Ranchería, the violence of colonization radically distorted and disfigured Indigenous peoples' histories, and altered the way in which history can be reconstructed by

[3] Ibid.

Indigenous peoples—and in the case of El Calaboz Ranchería—the survivors of colonization and killing fields. These communities have not been included in the dialogues and conversations about 'Native American', 'American Indian', and 'Native' experiences in a serious and engaged way. The killing fields and Diasporas which will be discussed here are relentless waves and storms. The result, as I am becoming gravely aware, is a massive scattering of material and social memories in many directions throughout South Texas, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León and Chihuahua.

The original peoples of El Calaboz Ranchería and several important sister rancherías in the region, are the contemporary descendents of aboriginal peoples to the region as well as Indigenous peoples who migrated to the region from the mines and haciendas of the Camino Real de La Plata (who are the lineal descendents of the Moctezuma dynasty of imperial Tenochtitlan, Ecatepec, Zacatecas, and Durango) who converged with Ndé and who *continue* to live in the lands *continually occupied* by Ndé since approximately 1430. This evidentiary-based reality on many levels disrupts the grotesque ways in which Euro-American literatures across the disciplines, in Mexico, Spain, the U.S., Britain and France, have caricatured and characterized Lipan Apaches (north of the Rio Grande, in the Lower Rio Grande and south of the Rio Grande) as an 'isolate' and 'fringe' sub-group of a questionable Apache nation. Like its counterpart in El Polvo, La Junta, West Texas, El Calaboz Ranchería is within the cultural landscape of traditional and intact ancestral Ndé peoples who occupied the continent for more than 10,000 years, and whose descendents continue to occupy this region.

In their study of the San Pedro River valley cultural landscape, Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. demonstrated that conceptualizing cultural landscapes "entails understanding how different people interact with and perceive a given terrain." Indigenous people's histories of their

families' and ancestors' lives are nonlinear. Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. argue that contemporary Indigenous peoples "frequently place asymmetrical emphasis on time, space, and events. The passing of time is contracted or expanded, as in "O'odham stories where each break in time is said to be four years, a ritually significant number recognized to signify a much longer time. Similarly, references to places may describe specific locales, or be used as a narrative trope to symbolically mark movement, directionality, context, or even time itself." The emphasis on place, places, and large conceptions of entire landscapes has more priority than time, and this understanding is critical. It is also important to recognize that from Indigenous peoples' perspectives, "the people who lived in these places were not separated into distinct archaeological cultures but are conceived as the ancestors who constitute the fathers and mothers of their modern world. Thus, when American Indians talk about ancestral sites, there is a complex of memories that links them to the landscapes of the past and present."[4]

For the purpose of this chapter, in the forefront of my mind is the deafening reality that the kind of statements that certain scholars seek from Indigenous peoples are those which do not disrupt the States' proprietary claim on Indigenous lands, cultural sites, cultural properties, histories, voices, minds, and knowledges. A cultural landscape model which calls into question the Liberal, Enlightenment and Cartesian ideologies undergirding the State's, corporations', organizations', and certain citizens' appropriations of Indigenous histories, lands, and artifacts function as direct challenges against Indigenous peoples' self-determination, sovereignty, and authority. Indigenous scholars must be cognizant of the political, economic and social role of contemporary Indigenous scholarly recovery and preservation projects working alongside Indigenous elders. The elders serve in diverse capacities in the critical advisement and in

[4] Ibid.

steering their chosen/elected tribal leaders' to protect the environmental, ecological and biological resources—as well as critically interrogating the function and impact of colonialist systems and institutions of race, class, gender, and sexual oppression. These are themes underlying many of today's most significant American Indigenous struggles continentally against governments and States. [5]

El Calaboz Ranchería

Ndé, Nahua descended from Moctezuma (Xocoyotzin) II, and Tlaxcalteca mission/mining/poblador/presidial peoples formed unique kinship relations as a result of Spanish invasion and occupation. Their kinship ties are unsettling histories forged through colonization, forced kinship, warfare, and extractive development. Their historical and social bonds were forged from Indigenous conflicts which pre-dated European invasion, and were built upon the Tlaxcalteca elites' alliances with the Spanish and the Tlaxcalteca's use of the Spanish institutions of law to promote their legal, religious and economic privileging over their historical oppressors, the Moctezuma lineal dynasty. Thus, the Ndé history of anti-colonial alliance building and resistance must be understood and framed within a larger Indigenous-to-Indigenous power struggle which pre-dated the Spanish-Tlaxcalteca overthrow of the Moctezuma Xocoyotzin II house.

[5] Ibid. The authors state the important recognition "that archaeologists have altered what are living parts of the world to native peoples, transforming archaeological sites into static objects for scientific scrutiny. This process has a long history, which has allowed professional 'archaeologists (perhaps unintentionally)…to co-opt the American Indian's unwritten history and material culture'. Archaeologists explicate the past in terms of precise dates and places. Tree-ring dating and GIS imagery make it easy for archaeologists to focus on the precision of time and space, disregarding the relative and representational meanings archaeological sites hold for other people.

Indigenous women in El Calaboz existed and continue manage certain aspects of the economic and religious life of their families. Their roles within a site of diverse communities changed as a result of intermarriage with a heterogeneous mixture of Indigenous peoples and Basque-Spaniards. Birthrights through genealogical lineage to specific ancestors, and connected to specific physical locations with memories connected to them, evolved into a complex power structures that is important to our understanding of Indigenous peoples' inter-dependencies with one another, and how European and Euro-American land-tenure altered local law systems. Indigenous women's histories have not survived to the same extent that men's have, and this is largely due to many complex power relations in pre-conquest and colonial contexts which followed. Although Indigenous women's histories have been somewhat buried within and beneath institutions and structures calibrated to favor male authority, nevertheless, Indigenous women have been active shapers of their and their communities' histories, thus it is critical to interrogate much more aggressively the women's genealogies in the Lower Rio Grande Valley and the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands because they are hinged directly to Indigenous land-tenure and rights, and alternative moral and ethical value systems which disrupt the fiction that European political, economic, and social forces have ever been absolute or predestined. As feminist historian Susan Kellogg has stated,

> observers, scholars, politicians, activists, and even sometimes indigenous men have downplayed indigenous women's agency … In order to understand particular configurations of gender patterns, we must look carefully at time, place, power relations, and identity construction while recognizing the existence of hemispheric and global trends in the histories of indigenous peoples and the dynamics of gender relations.[6]

[6] Susan Kellogg, *Weaving the Past: A History of Latin America's Indigenous Women from the Prehispanic Period to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.

Uncovering many fragments of Indigenous women's lives between 1519 to the present in connection with El Calaboz Ranchería, I often entered worm holes and time-space continuums. I am attempting to describe a shift in consciousness which emerged as I sifted through the artifacts of Indigenous women who have been excluded from official histories in direct connection to their powerful roles in support of and actively engaged in survival and resistance struggles negotiated through Indigenous and colonial gender and class systems which developed hand-in-hand with global capitalism—connected to Indigenous lands, mining, and the labor and military systems developed to uphold European dominance. The stories that I document in this chapter are histories of my family and more precisely, of my four clans. Certain aspects of the peoples' lives and relationships will unfold as the social, economic and political layers are revealed; these uncoverings are necessary to demonstrate the enormity of destruction between Indigenous peoples of the Americas, and with Basque ('Basque') colonials, who were/are Indigenous to Western Europe.

I organize and situate these histories with the permission and guidance of my community members, and in connection to Indigenous and European institutions which they and I negotiate in order to concentrate on the many constructions and re-constructions of El Calaboz Ranchería as a persistent fact throughout centuries of changes. Continuity and change are themes which are intertwined in the past and the present, and can best be understood as inter-locking pieces of Ndé cultural landscapes of cooperation, reciprocity, kinship, resistance, defense, anti-colonial warfare, ruptures, genocide, erosion, and *disfigured* forms of continuance and survivance.

El Calaboz Ranchería is a key site of Indigenous peoples' histories in the struggles for local community and regional politics prior to, during and throughout the establishment of Basque-Tlaxcalteca mining, hacienda, estancia colonizations in New Spain's invasions into the

northern provinces. North of Central Mexico, a unique narrative of Indigenous peoples' locations in their own history narratives, their sense of place and continuance, and their conceptions of relationships between peoples—to one another, the lands, and the past—is entangled in layers of official State, racial, ethnic, military, national, and class-centered narratives and popular mythic renditions of 'history.' Along the Lower Rio Grande, Indigenous peoples' histories are not only shut away from official centers which produce and reproduce institutionalized versions of the past, Indigenous peoples' are seriously overshadowed by the traditions of Indian Archaeology, Texas History, and U.S. History. Mexican History—the Texas official version— is pernicious in the exclusions of the histories of currently marginalized groups whose histories are deeply embedded in the subterranean structures paved over by the settler ecological and development landscape. Indigenous peoples are mistaken to be foreigners, servants, and disinterested in and incapable of the production of their own history. A subaltern group among subaltern 'Native Americans,' 'Hispanics', 'Mexican-Americans,' and 'Mejicanos'— Lipan Apaches, Tlaxcaltecas, and the direct descendents of Moctezuma II are the aboriginal Peoples of the larger region.

I focus on the female genealogies of clanswomen from El Calaboz Ranchería and the San Pedro de Carricitos communities, and clanswomen from kinship communities of Lipan Apaches of South Texas, Tlaxcaltecas and Nahuas. These have previously been severely ruptured, divided, broken and displaced by the aforementioned area studies. The community based cultural landscapes and histories have, until now, become invisible and indecipherable—throughout the Rancherías.

The Esparza Family Genealogical Archive and Anti-Colonial Resources

I will be introducing the Esparza Family Genealogical Archive (EFGA), an archive researched and constructed by my maternal ancestors. The EFGA is a 500+ page archive with primary documents, photographs, maps, birth, death, marriage records, and 'testamentos', which situate the Esparza-Villarreal-de Moctezuma family in major and lesser-known sites of the first, second and third wave of Tlaxcalteca settlements in Ndé traditional territories, between the late 16th and late 18th centuries. The EFGA contains the vital records of numerous Indigenous groups who are aboriginal to the current-day states of Coahuila, Nuevo León, Chihuahua, West Texas, South Texas, Tamaulipas, and central Mexican states of Puebla, Tlaxcala, Zacatecas, and Durango. The earliest birth and place records in the EFGA predate the 1520 overthrow of Tenochtitlan by the Spanish, Basque and Tlaxcalteca armies.

The EFGA is a rich source for analyzing the kinship, social, economic, and political ties between the heirs of Moctezuma II, Nahua macehualli, Tlaxcalteca settlers, and Basque criollo-mine owning families. The documents within the archive open up important possibilities for re-theorizing the relationships of these groups to one another, as well as the broad landscape of the Ndé social relations with macehualli, Tlaxcalteca, and Indigenous women of many other Indigenous ethnic groups from the early to late colonial period to the present. My aunt Margie Esparza, my uncle Roman Esparza and my mother, Eloisa García Támez, bestowed this archive upon me in late April of 2009, and their continuing participation and direction enrich my analysis. Through careful study of the EFGA, I have pinpointed the south to north relocations, diasporas, and migrations of the direct lineal descendents of Moctezuma II, and their intermarriages with Basque, Tlaxcalteca—and eventually—with Ndé peoples in the Lower Rio Grande region. The Moctezuma-Esparza-Villarreal clans and their Basque kin, in addition to

their Tlaxcalteca affinity group associated with key missions and *municipios*, received Crown land grants and settled the San Pedro de Carricitos community, a settlement within Ndé traditional stronghold territories, from which El Calaboz Ranchería emerged.

EFGA allows me to bring attention to lineal family associations, birth places, death places, and interconnected migrations-displacements-diasporas of Ndé Peoples who were located within an Ndé cultural landscape, polity and history which intersected the missions, presidios, prisons, markets, trade spheres, and battlefields of Tlaxcalteca, Nahua, and other Indigenous nations of the north. At the same time, the EFGA allows me to situate quite firmly the Ndé of the Lower Rio Grande and of Tamaulipas, Nuevo León and Coahuila in convergence sites with a larger community of Indigenous peoples in diaspora throughout areas considered aboriginal and customary to the Ndé. This came as a direct result of the waves of development, capitalist and militarist expansions in the region—stemming from the 1546 discovery of silver in Zacatecas, and through the modern industrial U.S. Anglo imperialist expansion from 1846 onward. The EFGA has been a tremendous gift from my clan members. The continued protection of the genealogies by the clan elders—has made my task all the more complex and gratifying.

For the purpose of this chapter, I will limit my analysis of the EFGA to the kinship ties and relationships of Indigenous peoples in El Calaboz Ranchería—and situate their histories within the larger Ndé complex of inter-alliance building, defense, and anti-colonial resistance to dispossession.[7] The documentation provided herein will build upon Indigenous methodologies and strategies which prioritize the clan narratives of Indigenous women. Indigenous women

[7] The EFGA will assuredly provide years of fruitful archival research for Indigenous peoples' history and legal projects in the region under scrutiny and will be of immense interest to scholars specializing in 16th-18th c. Indigenous peoples and the colonization and settlement of Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, New Mexico, and Texas.

have been strategic and core actors in my ancestral histories. They have been key influencers and foci whereby Indigenous laws, governance, ideation, philosophies and knowledges are diffused between clans, bands, kinship networks, and political trading networks.

This chapter is further strengthened by the numerous Ndé key archives, documents, oral and written histories shared with me by Chairman Daniel Castro Romero, and documents related to Ndé women from the Lipan Apache Band Genealogical Archive are also introduced for the first time. The Castro documents help me to demonstrate further that the clan narratives of Cavazos, García, Támez and Carrasco families—considered 'folk' and 'myth' by those who did not have cultural competencies to comprehend them—were in fact built upon a long history of Ndé alliances, oppositions, and resistances to dispossession by Basque and Tlaxcalteca settlers of the northern territories—and also 'curated' by women. Furthermore, I draw upon the historical photo collections of the Institute of Texan Cultures, the Texas Land Office, the University of Texas at Austin, and the Witte Museum in San Antonio to reconstruct the traditional ways of life along the Lower Rio Grande. In all, these helped me to stabilize my analysis of Indigenous women's crucial function in the everyday political economy of kinship networks during times of intense inter-ethnic warfare, conflict, seizure and dispossession.

The approach is firmly situated in the theory and methods of current Indigenous scholars who, as Jennifer Denetdale states, "are presently engaging in a process of decolonization, which includes deconstructing the American master narrative and recovering and reclaiming traditions as part of our histories." Like Denetdale, whose historical and ethnographic work disrupted the periodization of conquering histories, and established new watersheds through the lenses of Indigenous clan genealogical histories, this chapter is anchored in personal histories which

unsettle the masculine terrains of history with its battles, chronologies, heroes and invisible casualties and survivors.

Genealogies of Blood, Clan and Memory

I am a direct lineal descendent of Mariana Leonor Moctezuma, one of the daughters of Moctezuma II, also known as Motecuhzoma (Xocoyotl) II. I am the direct lineal descendent of Tlaxcalteca noble pobladores and presidarios who worked alongside, and Tlaxcalteca macehualli (laborers and indentureds) who worked beneath the whips of Spaniards in the conquest of the north, Ndé peoples, and lands. I am the direct lineal descendent of Basque colonizers, and silver developers/mine owners, who colonized Indigenous people, profited and built settler societies and militarized terrains against 'Apaches enemigos.' I am the direct lineal descendent of Ndé peoples who were massacre survivors, Christianized, industrialized workers, and soldiers.

I am of Ndé histories across four clans and kinship genealogies. The social, economic, and political dimensions of the Camino Real de la Plata and the Camino Militar, the legal war against 'enemy Apaches', and the subjugation, militarization, and industrialization of Ndé peoples in South Texas are key concerns. These demanded that I locate clan stories as the central subjects of colonization and Indigenous women.

Taking up histories of Indigenous women and tracing the genealogies of my four clans, I provide evidence and analysis to demonstrate that from post-conquest to the late colonial period, Indigenous women along the Lower Rio Grande River region sought to maintain security and autonomy through various mechanisms in both Indigenous and colonial institutions. In the context of settlement and extermination wars against 'Apaches' slavery and the fracture of core

clan and family units, forced domestic servitude and forced assimilation, and impoverishment and alienation from customary lands, *Indigenous women maintained ways of life and kinship literacies* as mechanisms and tactical skill-sets. Economic, social and spiritual self-determination of Indigenous women were reinforced by solidarities achieved through reinforcing ties between each other in heterotopic sites. The settlement of the north by Spanish elites established the mega-complex of sites of crisis which subordinated and subjugated Indigenous peoples into forced labor. In many missions, prisons, haciendas, pueblos, presidios, campos, ranchos, and domestic spaces of the elites and merchant class, Indigenous women fomented networks of resistance using survival skills which they transmitted between each other.

One act of survival connecting the present to the past is a history of Indigenous women's opening up their domains (family, resources, knowledge, and politics) to numerous groups. Reciprocity was expected, and this exchange, in good and bad times, worked as an institution which amplified people's access to resources, across a broad kinship network. Although Indigenous peoples were losing lands and rights, when many Indigenous families still had possession of small plots of land in a close-knit region, they could still maximize these cumulatively. Indigenous women were often the 'glue' as well as many of the 'parts.' These stories of 'the glue' and 'the parts' help me to situate how Indigenous women's legal challenges to colonial authority, for instance the Nahua nobility's law-suits against the Crown, and the adoption of Spanish-Catholic governance institutions by Tlaxcalteca, as well as the warfare tactics by Ndé, converged and instilled in their descendents a firm sense of identity as resisting, *not* vanishing.

To gain control over their minds and bodies, and to legitimize their subjugation, the elites manufactured the disfigured monolith of Indigenous social identities: 'peons', 'peasants',

'laborers', and 'workers.' This rendered them as invisible and unimportant; however, the use of stereotypes is always a sign that the subject so described poses a threat to the colonial social order. Indigenous women's histories challenge and disrupt these stereotypes. Numerous fragments of Nahua, Tlaxcalteca, Ndé and Basque-Iberian (Basque -Indigenous) women's oppositional histories form the core of this chapter.

Women's Genealogies in Four Directions

Shi Margo Támez. Shidjį'i hat'i'i shimaa. Shimaa Łebaiyé ndé hada'didla' hike' idi'diindé. Shitaa Cúelcahén ndé Jumano łitu neets'a ndé. Shich'iné tuntsa' Cúelcahén ndé. Shiwóyé nkaiyé ndé Nahua-Tlaxcalteca ndé.

I am Margo Tamez. I am of four maternal clans. I am born of my mother, the Gray Light and Lightning-Thunder People Clan. I am born for my father, the Tall Grass People Clan and the Jumano Red Striped People Clan. My mother's mother was born of and for the Tlaxcalteca and the Long Walking Nahua-People Clan. My father's mother was born of and for the Big Water and Tall Grass People Clan, and the Lava Bed Clan.

Traditionally, Ndé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Places of dwellings, culturally significant sites and places, and memory, in connection to women's experiences, blood lines and inheritance traditionally have structured clans, resources, and inheritance in movement across lands and through establishment of satellites of rancherías, historically.[8] A ranchería is strongly defined across, over and on Ndé cultural landscapes by genealogical relationships, traditional

[8] Define 'matrilineal', 'matrifocal', and 'rancherias' from Ndé perspective.

knowledges and centuries of history built in many shared sites of mutual co-existence, shared endeavors between relatives, shared conflicts, tensions, fault-lines, and ruptures. Euro-American genealogies have located the quintessential subject with a historical emphasis on male lineage and generation narratives, tracing bloodlines, inheritance, and deeds in association with a patriarchal head of household, authority, governance and 'head of state.' In contrast, Indigenous women's genealogical oral histories develop histories reflecting linked, networked and collaborative histories, positioned within law systems and governance, ethics and morals which are inseparable today from the political economy of dispossession, extermination, settler ecologies, and industrialization of militarized workers.

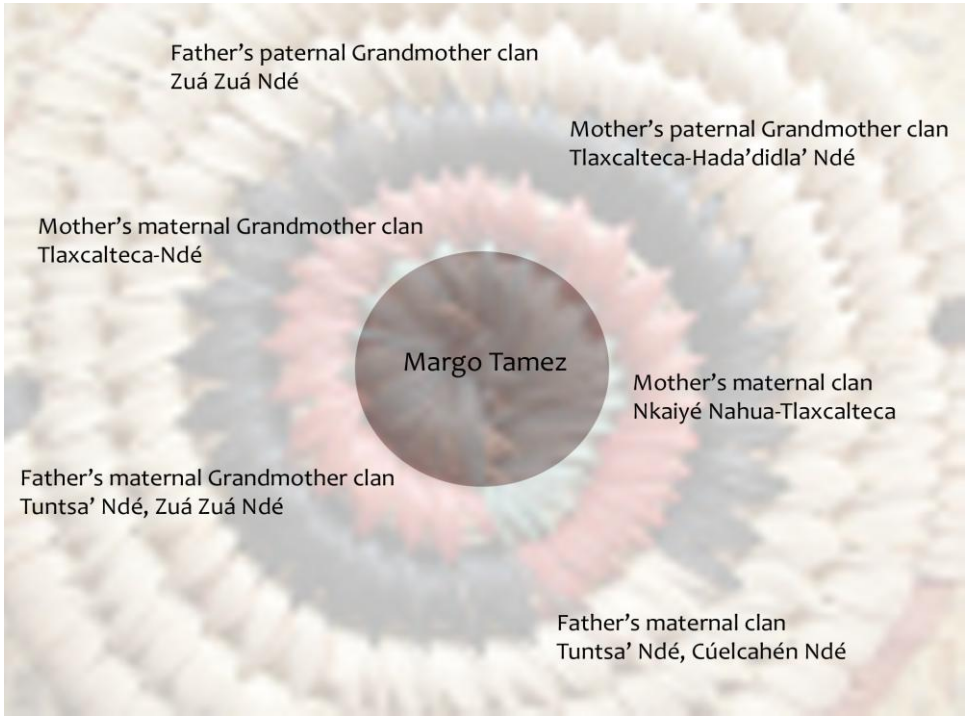
I trace histories through women's bloodlines and women's experiences, assigning a dynamic, complex power to 'matrilineal' and 'matrilocal' in the context of Ndé rancherías along the Lower Rio Grande River, and in connection to elders who are active in maintaining resilient and resistant identities. *Matrilineal* (mother's bloodlines) and *matrilocal* (mother's home-site) and *matrifocal* (within a woman's sensibility of space, governance, and self-determination) are a few of the sites where Indigenous women's critical governance, organization, knowledge, labor, love, sexuality, care, sistering, and kinship are in processes of change and survivance, and therefore bundled and/or fused as crucial categories of analysis. Indigenous matrilineal and matrilocal organization produces, socializes, constructs and structures Indigenous identities and relationships in very specific ways, with great precision in describing the forces that hold peoples together. Matrilineal systems *innovate* and *confer* rules, practices and opportunities to exert influence, authority, and autonomy in the protection and defense of the people, sacred first foods, and the sacred sites necessary for a *specific* way of life.

In El Calaboz, the women have demonstrated their autonomy over many centuries, in spite of the more recent (since the end of the 19th century) loss of fluent speakers of the Ndé and related Indigenous languages in South Texas. Our Ndé and Tlaxcalteca languages, although spoken by few, continue to exist in the thought and conceptions of ranchería peoples—and their kinship governance systems. The retention of traditional Indigenous institutions and memory is robust and strongly protected among independent Ndé of the ranchería societies from El Calaboz up to El Polvo (Redford) in West Texas.[9]

In the Ndé tradition of South Texas, I am born of my mother's maternal clan and for my father's maternal clan. Our clan identities are directed more towards the mother's side of the family, though the father's clans are critical to creating balanced economies between all groups. Reliance on a large kinship network on both sides is crucial to survivance. My third and fourth clans are my mother's fathers' maternal clan, and my father's father's maternal clan. I also trace my mother's mother's clan and my father's mother's clan, who are related lineally (See Illustration 5.5).

[9] Maestas, Ibid.

Illustration 5.5 Clans of My Female Ancestors



The traditional concept of 'the beginning of life' teaches us that the Creator brought Life from the East, with the sun light rising, and this light emerges from the black-blue elements of space when nothing was there, or the void, where there is little to no sunlight. The first touch of the Sun's light upon our Mother the Earth re-establishes the sacred connection between the Sun and Mother Earth, each day. The light touches her, and she exchanges essence with the Sun; slowly, the reciprocal exchange of intimacy between them is revealed in her colors brightening. Dawn brings the first sacred breath of new life. Pollen, emitted as sacred breath shared between Sun and Earth, produces life—sacred blue-green, which is the life-force of the South. The life force, the Bringer of Life, comes from the eastern door of the universe and travels amongst us, the children, and teaches us the Sacred path of life. In this way, each day we re-enact the story of the Creator, the union of Sun and Earth, and the Bringer of Life. According to pre-Columbian

Ndé oral tradition, *Bik'ehgo'ihi'nań* brought forth life through the sacred elements of breath-spirit-pollen, water, light and songs.[10] Those elements—sun and water— entered into the sacred woman, *Naiiees isdzánałesh*. She birthed the twins, *Naye' nazgháné,* Killer of Enemies (whose father is Sun) and *Túbaadeschine,* Child of Water (whose father is Water). The twins' were born of *Naiiees isdzánałesh,* White Painted Woman, who is their first clan because she is their mother.

My four matrilineal clan representatives are: My mother, Eloisa García (Esparza) Támez, , who was born in El Calaboz Ranchería. Her mother, Lydia Esparza (Montalvo) García, was born in El Ranchito, Cameron County, and South Texas. My father, Luis Carrasco Támez, was born in Premont, originally an Ndé campsite constellated with numerous other Lipan communities in the area. His mother was Flavia Muñiz Carrasco, Ndé of the Lipan and Jumano. My mother's father, José Emiliano Cavazos García, was born in El Calaboz Ranchería, and was born of his mother, Andrea Rubio Cavazos García (Ndé and Tlaxcalteca). My father's father, Luis Rodriguez Támez, was born of his mother, Francisca Lopez Rodriguez (Zuá Zuá Ndé). In order to provide the dimensionality of the four clan structure, I include here the fifth and sixth dimensions, the above and below spheres of lineal and historical relationships to the sacred fifth and sixth doors. This is incorporated by the father's mother's clan (West) and father's mother's mother (North). In this way, I am enabled to enlarge the Ndé cultural landscape both spatially and across the post-conquest to late colonial periods (See Illustration 5.6).

[10] Interview of Daniel Castro Romero, On file with author; Also see Ines Talamantez, "In the Space between Earth and Sky: Contemporary Mescalero Apache Ceremonialism," in *Native Religions and Cultures of North America,* ed. Lawrence E. Sullivan (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2003), 142-159.

Illustration 5.6. Clans of My Female Ancestors



Maternal Clan Grand Mother, Ancestor
Lydia Montalvo Esparza García
(Nahua Nobility, Tlaxcalteca Pobladores y Presidarios, Basque



Lydia Montalvo Esparza García, El Calaboz Ranchería, ca. early 1930s.
Collection of the Author.

Lydia Montalvo Esparza García (1917- 2008), my maternal grandmother, was a direct lineal descendent of three historically significant Indigenous groups of the pre-colonial Americas and colonial New Spain. (See Appendix D, "Lydia Montalvo Esparza García to Isabel Rodriguez, Tlaxcalteca Pobladores y Presidarios…").[11] On her mother's side (Matiana Alvarez

[11] Montalvos of Las Rusias are lineally connected to the missions, pueblos, silver mines and cattle ranching operations of the first colonizations of the north organized by the Spanish and Tlaxcaltecas. The Montalvo family are typical of many Indigenous people and women documented in the EFGA in that they do not have LDS records, and their historical and/or biographical notes attached to their files are few, if any. The Euro-American influence in the genealogical archive dominantly traces the details of individuals of elite groups. The EFGA traces more details for Euro-American, Spanish; Basque males connected to mines, encomiendas, merceds, and land grants, and pays much less attention to the dominant numbers of common people of 'macehualli' classes. If individuals do not have baptismal, it is less likely that their birth, marriage, or death details are available. The submission to Christian conversion appears to influence the social status and identification of Indigenous peoples in the Spanish colonial world of Mexico's northeastern territories. Indigenous people only appear with 'ancestry' in the EFGA if they are *blood relatives* and within the *parentesco* and *compadrazgo* networks of the Esparza-de Moctezuma Nahua descendents, Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, Basque (Basque) ruling elites, and King Ferdinand II. Because the criollos and Tlaxcaltecas typically settled the major mining, cattle and agricultural sites conjointly, and because there were sexual unions between men and women between communities—overt and covert— the lineages of the European colonizers and the Indigenous communities interweave.

Montalvo), Lydia was a direct lineal descendent of Tlaxcalteca pobladoras/es and presidarias/os(settlers and soldiers) who established missions, pueblos, mining and ranching settlements in the colonization of Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila and Nuevo León, (See Appendices B, C, D, F, and G). Through the Montalvo clan of Las Rusias ranchería[12], my grandmother Lydia descended from Tlaxcalteca elites, Basque colonizers, and common Nahua and Tlaxcalteca *macehualli* laborers who were relocated to the northern provinces of the

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[12] Las Rusias is an important ranchería site throughout the Ndé anti-colonial period (1749-1870s). Not only are Indigenous people buried there, with little documentation attached to them, there are also the notable Spanish criollo family names and Tlaxcalteca families conjoined through historical association at major missions, parishes, pueblos, mining and cattle sites along the Camino Real de la Plata. The cemetery of Las Rusias ranchería includes José Esparza Treviño, Jr., a distant blood relative to me, who is a descendent of the Treviño, Falcon, DeLeon, Farias and de la Garza families—all who are associated with the founding of mining operations in Guadiana (Durango), Chihuahua and military service to the Vice-Royalty. From Durango to Las Rusias a clear pattern of close and intimate relations between the Spanish criollo class, and their dependency upon Indigenous Tlaxcalteca soldiers, and their extended Tlaxcalteca families comprised of wives, children, and other relatives, and inter-dependent upon the shared use of water resources necessary for irrigation, mining, and daily functions. The criollos are dependent upon the Tlaxcalteca families, women, and children for labor in their homes, their ranching estates, and in the mines—as well as the defense of the settlements against allied Indigenous resistances to their presence. The criollos use Tlaxcalteca women and elders to indoctrinate enslaved Indigenous peoples in the Catholic faith and to instruct them in being 'settled.' Tlaxcaltecas grow accustomed to being settled in close proximity to their Iberian criollo 'allies.' Tlaxcaltecas receive hidalgos and mercedes (awards, grants) to settle lands and to mine and ranch. Accompanied by Catholic friars, their missions and pueblos are models for the understanding the complex gendered social relations between Tlaxcaltecas, Spanish, and Ndé slaves. The Las Rusias Treviño families are directly descendent from the original Criollo and Tlaxcalteca settlers of Santiago de Mapimi (Durango, Chihuahua). Marcos Alonso Del Arcon DeLaFalcon Garza, born in Lepe Huelva, Castilla, Spain, in 1560, married Juana Quintanilla Treviño around 1588 in Santiago de Mapimi, Durango, Nueva España, one of the earliest silver mining settlements in Chihuahua. According to the EFGA, "Marcos Alonzo Garza Y del Arcon is the name that appears on his early records. Some of the children would carry the Garza name to future generations. Others would carry their mother's name Trevino. Marcos Jr, Pedro, Blas and Francisco would carry the name GARZA. Alonso, Diego and Jose would carry the name TREVINO to future generations. Marcos came to New Spain as a soldier in the Spanish government. He went to Durango to search for gold for the King of Spain. His children were born in Mapimi, Durango. His two sons, Blas Maria and Alonso, married sisters from the Navarro/Gonzales family. They were descendants of the Sosas and Montemayors, prominent families and early settlers in (Nueva España) Mexico. It is these children that would continue the family legacy throughout northern Mexico. First in Nuevo Leon and Coahuila, then to the Rio Grande River and across the river into what is now south Texas. Their settlements consisted of ranches along the Rio Grande from the mouth of the river to Webb County and along the Nueces River from Laredo to Corpus Christi. Their prominence remains today in all of south Texas with the many families with the names Garza, Trevino, Sanchez, Villarreal, Garcia and others that are always involved in their communities and continue the traditions of their forefathers." EFGA

'Chichimecas' and 'Apachería' with Basque elite conquistadors during the late 16th century colonization agreements between the Señorios of Tlaxcala and the Spanish colonial authorities.[13] On my grandmother's paternal side (Nicolas Villarreal Esparza, Jr.), she was a direct descendent of Motecuhzoma Xocoyotsin II (1480-1521), the son of Axayacatl Tlatoani ('Water Mask Face')]. Her direct lineal fore-mother in relation to Motecuhzoma Xocoyotsin II, was Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma, who was his daughter by a noble Mixtec woman of Acatlan, a town and province in alliance with Tenochtitlan at the time of the Spanish invasion. Along with her half-sister, Mariana de Moctezuma was also Christianized by Hernán Cortés and was then endowed with the encomienda of Ecatepec.[14] The San Pedro de Carricitos Esparza clan lineage is aligned

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[13] Gloria Pilar Totoricagüena, *Basque Diaspora: Migration and Transnational Identity*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005), 25, 26, 36, 82. Indigenous Basque presence can be traced to Ice Age, Neolithic Europe. By the 13th and 14th centuries, they had established territorial strongholds against "Muslims of al-Andalus (Andalusia). "Many Basques colonized southern regions of today's Spain, leaving towns named Báscones and Villabáscones in Castile. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, colonies of Basque merchants were located in Iberian cities and ports, especially in Seville, where their commercial networks were essential to later Basque participation in the conquest of the Americas. Maritime whaling expeditions brought Basques to the coasts of Newfoundland, where we know of indigenous peoples who have Basque words in their vocabulary. Basque whalers left the Basque and Gipuzkoan coasts as early as the seventh century for their North Atlantic hunts, and documents from 1540 demonstrate that they most likely had been fishing off the coasts of Greenland for a considerable number of years." Currently, " 'Euskadi' is the political name for the politically and economically autonomous region of Spain that includes the provinces of Araba, Bizkaia, and Gipuzkoa, and 'Nafarroa' is the separate autonomous community of Navarre." "Basques are generally white-skinned Catholics who migrated to Caucasian societies dominated by Christians, […] Basques have not experienced overt discrimination based on their origin. However, they have constantly been questioned about their opinions of the Basque armed struggle movement, ETA, Euskadi 'ta Asakatasuna, Basque Homeland and Liberty, and their relations to it." Arguing that the Biskaian are "Members of a diaspora" Totoricagüena states that they "exhibit a sense of community and feeling a part of an "us" that goes beyond the host state's borders." Basque peoples Indigenous peoples who are active in the formation of international law on Indigenous issues. *See* the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees, at World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Spain : Basques, at http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/topic,463af2212,469f2d962,49749caa23,0.html, (accessed December 19, 2009); *See* also United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission On Human Rights, Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Fifty-seventh session, Item 3 of the provisional agenda, "Administration of Justice, Rule of Law and Democracy: Promotion and strengthening of democracy in the Basque Country," July 8, 2005, at http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G05/148/58/PDF/G0514858.pdf?OpenElement, (accessed December 19, 2009).

[14] EFGA, "Daughter of Moctezuma II and Acatlan. Source: Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty Under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 75-95.

75: "On March 14, 1527, some nine months after Cortes granted Tacuba to Isabel 'Tecuichpotzin' Moctezuma, he bestowed Ecatepec on her half-sister Mariana. Although not as rich as Tacuba, Ecatepec was nonetheless a prize worth having, especially since it was a perpetual grant. This important town occupied a strategic location on the

with the Motecuhzoma II clans through the marriage of Lope Diaz Ruiz Esparza to Ana Francisca Moctezuma Gabay in 1594, in Aguascalientes, Mexico (See Appendix E, "Lydia Montalvo Esparza García to Moctezuma (Xocoyotsin) II").[15]

Through the intermarriage between Lope Diaz Ruiz Esparza (1569-1651), a Basque colonist, with Motecuhzoma II's G-G-G granddaughter, Ana Francisca Moctezuma Gabay's (1573-1652), high status was secured, and certain facets of aboriginal title through his wife's ancestral lineage, recognized by the Spanish Crown as a direct line descendent of Moctezuma II, facilitated the acquisition of lands and wealth for his heirs vis-à-vis intermarriage with an Indigenous woman with immense social and political capital.

The expropriation of Indigenous property and status connected to Moctezuma's heirs is a pattern among Basque elites. Inter-marriage with the Moctezuma clans worked to secure Lope

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western edge of the narrows that connected Lake Texcoco to Lake Xaltocan, and it had a long history in pre-Spanish Mexico."

76: "Juan Paz, Mariana's first husband, was a conquistador. He had died by late August 1529, and about two years later, Mariana married Cristobal de Valderrama. Don Cristobal, also a conquistador, had served in Michoacan, Colima, and Zacatula. Mariana and Don Cristobal had only one daughter, Leonor de Valderrama y Moctezuma."

[15] Ana Francisca Moctezuma Gabay, my 9th Great-Grandmother, was the Great-great granddaughter of Aztec Emperor Montezuma II. The EFGA states: "FRANCISCA Moctezuma Navarro5 GABAY, born Abt 1573 in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico; died 30 Mar 1652 in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. She married LOPE Diaz Ruiz ESPARZA Abt 1594 in Aguascalientes, Mexico; born Abt 1569 in Pamplona, Spain; died 14 Aug 1651 in Aguascalientes, Mexico. Notes for FRANCISCA Moctezuma Navarro GABAY: The name GABAY is also spelled GABAI According to Connie Dominguez, the Nochistlan book has a marriage of Francisca Gabai and Lope Ruiz de Esparza in Mexico City in 1595. Family search.com Film (Francisca Gabay marriage) Batch F868327, Sheet 009, Source Call No 1396258, BatchF868769, Sheet 031, Source 1396289, Death record LDS film batch # F868327. Sheet 009. Source 1396258. Teocaltiche, Jal. Enero 5 de 1689. Exp. 107-Dispensa de cuarto grado de consanguinidad.- Joseph de Torres, español de 30 años de edad, de oficio arriero, natural y vecino del Pueblo de Nochistlán, hijo legítimo de Juan de Torres, difunto y de Josepha de la Cruz, vecinos de dicho pueblo, y viudo de María de Lomelín; doña Elvira de Ulloa, española de 25 años de edad, natural y vecina del Pueblo de Teocaltiche, hija legítima de Juan de Ulloa y de Mariana de Ruvalcaba. Declaración del pretenso: Que Maria Gabai, mi abuela materna, era prima hermana de su abuela de la dicha contrayente. Declaración de Pedro Ortiz de Anda, español de 66 anos de edad: Cristóbal Navarro, fue hermano de Francisca Gabai, dicho Cristóbal Navarro, tuvo una hija natural llamada Maria Gabai, dicha Maria Gabai tuvo una hija de legitimo matrimonio llamada Josepha de la Cruz, madre del contrayente. Y Francisca Gabai,
hermana del dicho Cristóbal Navarro, tuvo una hija de legitimo matrimonio llamada María Ruiz, y dicha María Ruiz, tuvo un hijo de legítimo matrimonio llamado Juan de Ulloa, padre de la contrayente. 10 fojas."

Diaz Ruiz Esparza' descendents and their future land tenure in the colonization of 'La Gran Chichimeca' and 'La Gran Apachería.' Being a Basque colonist with ties to a close-knit, Euskara-speaking, and predominantly endogamous Bizkaia collective, Ruiz Esparza exemplified the Basque-Nahua noble kinship ties forged through inter-marriage with Indigenous elites. The accumulation of land and tributary (Indigenous tribute through goods and labor) capital were key facets in building mining and ranching empires in Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León and Coahuila. As historian Valentina Garza Martinez argues,

> La relación entre indios norteños y novohispanos no fue sólo de guerra, las fuentes documentales muestran suficientes datos sobre la conviviencia laboral y social entre diversos grupos. Lo que me ha parecido muy importante a demostrar es que la colonización española en el Norte no hubiera sido posible sin la presencia de los grupos indígenas nativos, ellos fueron la fuente de riqueza principal. Sin esta mano de obra, las minas y la tierra no hubieran dado frutos.[16]

The Basque-Nahua social relations and gendered kinship and labor networks depended upon Indigenous knowledge and biopower. The struggles of subjugated groups, upon which mining and ranching depended, in the establishment of Aguascalientes, Monterrey and Saltillo, developed important sites where Indigenous peoples under colonization, across many different linguistic groups and histories, responded in differentiated ways to the hierarchical Nahua noble-Basque and elite Tlaxcalteca colonization. New forms of social relations were forged in numerous sites and spaces. Different forms of kinship—wrought in strong reactions and responses against loss of autonomy—worked to subvert Tlaxcalteca and Bizkaia-Nahua social

[16] Valentina Garza Martinez, email correspondence, Subject line: "RE: Diego Chillo. Proceso en el Real de Mazapil contra Die go d e Montemayor, indio catuján acusado de rebelde y c rimina l 1664," January 9, 2010, 10:57 a.m. Translation:

organization and authority. Not only was there the radical and often violent intrusions of the colonial system into northern Indigenous spaces; there was also the counter penetration of northern Indigenous kinship perspectives, principles and norms which exerted themselves into the intimate social relations carved between colonized and colonizers. Colonization, marriage, kinship, economics, coercion, and domination in the lands and in the intimate and interdependent spheres of land, water, work, religious life, and women's habitats/households were normed through sexual and gender politics of the post-invasion.

The direct descendents of the earliest founders of the post-invasion colonial society, Esparzas, like the majority of Basque-Nahua and Tlaxcalteca families, used kinship and clan institutions, as well as laws, coercion and at times *force*, to transmit their languages, world-views, and customs among the highlander groups in the arid 'altiplano' who they confronted in 'La Gran Apachería'. Their clan-based settlements of estancias, haciendas, missions and pueblos instructed and shaped the dominant colonial social structure throughout the Camino Real de la Plata in Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, New Mexico and Texas.

In late 1590, a major negotiation between the Vice-Royal Luis de Velasco and the Tlaxcala Señorios (governors-rulers of the Tlaxcala dominion) transferred 400 Tlaxcalteca families providing the small numbers of European captains a ready-made settler population of nobles, high-ranking officers, hidalgos, soldiers, bachelors, Christianized women, Indigenous guides, cooks, laborers, and servants.[17] Through marital, business and military practices, the

[17] Andrea Martínez Baracs, "Colonizaciones Tlaxcaltecas," *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 43, No. 2, December 1993, 195-250. Black slaves were an important sector of the colonial population in the mining, estancias, haciendas, and had significant contact with Indigenous peoples throughout the society. While the Black slave and laborer community and their roles in the politics of colonization was crucial in the northern colonization project— and deserves a sustained and focused critical attention, it is beyond the scope of this study. Indigenous children identified as 'mulattos' and Indigenous peoples identified as 'mulattos' carried the colonialist and racialized markers of a society focused on destroying solidarity between families, clans and dehumanized them to do so. For the

Nahua nobles, Tlaxcalteca nobles and Basque settled significant estancias, pueblos, missions, haciendas and mines in close proximity to each other—in both racially separated as well as in mixed communities.

The assignment by the Tlaxcala Señorios of 400 Tlaxcalteca families to support the Basque and Tlaxcalteca led colonization of the north, was possibly one of the first major relocations of Indigenous families in the post-invasion period which entailed the displacement of Indigenous peoples from the central valley and central highlands to the northern plateaus, deserts and mountains of bison-hunting nations. The well-documented and historicized relocation of the 400 families, as well as the not-as-well historicized relocations of hundreds of thousands of Indigenous commoners, servants, slaves, and landless, or *macehualli*, associated with this migration, shaped the mining, ranching and agriculture matrix of land grants, which defined the colonization of the northern provinces.[18] [19]

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purpose of this study, *Ndé Isdzáné* is inclusive to all human beings with whom the ancestors aligned, made community, and raised the children who sustained Ndé ways of life.

[18] *Hidalgo* is 'son of something', and connotes the possession of inherited property. *Hidalgo* also signifies the lowest rank in Spanish nobility. Low-ranking Iberian soldiers could improve their economic and social standing through the acquisition of *merceds* designated to them through their status as hidalgos, sons of those considered to be Iberians, Tlaxcaltecas and Christians. *Merceds* is the grant of a favor or award, and is commonly understood to mean the granting of land. See Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, "Treaties with Native Americans: Evidence of the Legal Existence of the United States," *Expert Seminar on Treaties, Agreements and Other Arrangements between States and Indigenous Peoples*, Geneva, December 15-17, 2003, at http://www.indigenousrightswatch.org/library/library_un-us-treaties.htm, (accessed November 22, 2009).

[19] "It appears Lope Ruiz de Esparza was the first Esparza to come from Spain to New Spain. Many genealogists agree he may be the only Esparza to settle in New Spain and is the ancestor of all the Esparza families in early Mexico and the early U. S. According to the ship's passenger list, Lope crossed the Atlantic on Feb 8, 1593, bound for New Spain, as a bachelor and servant of Enrique Manleon. #2.633, III - 163, Vol. VII, 1586 - 1599. Lope carried the full name of Ruiz de Esparza from his father. This was a prominent name in the settlement of Aguascalientes and was carried for at least another generation. Future generations carried Esparza and either the maternal and/or paternal name of the mother after the Esparza name. Often children carried the most prominent name whether it be from the father, mother, grandparents, etc. Some families mixed the names of their children so all family names could continue. Spanish/Mexican tradition prints the father then mother on most records. The given name on the baptismal certificate usually precedes the family name the child will carry to the next generation. "Marriage source of Lope and Francisca Gabay: Batch: F868327, Source 1396258, Sheet 009, LDS Family History Center, EFGA.

According to historian James Lockhart, an important act by Spaniards was the institutional and physical restructuring of peoples, lands, and, to a limited degree, governing practices. Lockhart stated, "The first major organizational act of the conquerors was to create and bestow encomiendas on individual Spaniards in reward for their part in the conquest."[20] As a result, dispossession of Indigenous lands, and resulting tributary extracted from Indigenous *macehualli* communities, in the millions of acres and bodily calories, were awarded and granted to Iberian military officers and nobility, as well as to the principal heirs of Motecuhzoma II.[21] Significant *mercedes* and *hidalgos* were bestowed upon Tlaxcalteca nobles, soldiers and functionaries.[22] Important grants in mining rights were awarded to Tlaxcalteca settlers and

[20] James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 28. "In most aspects, the institution had already taken shape on the Caribbean islands, whence the conquerors came. The intention, and indeed the only possibility, was to rely initially on indigenous units however they happened to be constituted in a given area. […] In central Mexico, the Spaniards immediately took the tlatoque to be caciques (Indigenous governors) and to a large extent shaped encomiendas around them. At the same time, they could not but become aware of the elaborately organized, strongly territorial, prominently named altepetl units, so that they increasingly issued encomiendas in terms of them, denominated "pueblos" …." See also, James Lockhart, "Encomienda and Hacienda: The Evolution of the Great Estate in the Spanish Indies," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Aug., 1969), pp. 411-429; Charles Gibson, *The Azteks Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico 1519-1810*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); Robert G. Keith , "Encomienda, Hacienda and Corregimiento in Spanish America: A Structural Analysis," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Aug., 1971), pp. 431-446.

[21] Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty Under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

[22] The social identity 'Indians' was nonexistent until *after* the invasion of the Spanish conquistadors in Central Mexico. The legal, social, economic and political concept of 'el Indio'/'the Indian' is a product of the European colonial administrative governance and the institutionalization of legal spheres and domains vis-à-vis missions, military, and legal *audiencias* (royal courts established by the Vice-Royals of the Spanish dynastic rulers). These worked to norm, 'fix' the Americas as a colonial space similar to North African colonial space—from the Spanish Crown's administrative perspective. The conquistadors founded the two commonwealths or 'Republicas: the *Republica de Españoles* and the 'civilized' *Republica de Indios* as subject-ward, or demi-sovereign. The Spanish attempted to repress the traditional local autonomies of Indigenous governance by installing appointed Indigenous leaders in a European council model: the Indigenous *cabeceras* and *cabildo* system was founded upon the Habsburg institution, *seigneuries.*'

soldier society along the Camino Real de la Plata, or the Silver Road, who were originarios from the four Tlaxcalteca *Señorios*, (e.g. seigneuries, dominion, lordship, an area of control).[23]

On the other hand, the mining, ranching, and agriculture properties and inheritances of descendents of Tecuichpo de Moctezuma and Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma (my 13th G-Aunt and my 13th G-Grandmother) were transmitted through marriages and inheritances.[24] Moctezuma II's two daughters were awarded large encomiendas which included tributes from Tacuba and Ecatepec. Donald E. Chipman states that Tecuichpotzin, in particular, was "arguably was one of the three most prominent women in Aztec history," as a result of her role and influence as a female ruler after the death of her father.

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[23] The Tlaxcalteca elite ruling classes and commoners had a distinctively different set of perspectives about their continuing role as *equals* to the Spanish. The identity of 'indios' was an administrative tool of homogenizing diverse and distinct groups into a conquered and subjugated condition of 'Indian', to the convenience of the Spanish imperial administration. Tlaxcalteca people's life-ways were very similar to a majority of diverse Nahua peoples, although their official colonial relationship to the Spanish conquistadors was unique to them and them alone. They were legally and politically constructed as a privileged, noble class of Indigenous peoples, although the majority of Tlaxcaltecas were of the labor class, subject to tribute by Indigenous elites. The Tlaxcaltecas did not officially consider themselves conquered; rather they articulated their dominion as a *continual* right and reality throughout the Spanish early to late colonial period—up to 1821. Their related privileges and honors followed their armed alliances with the Spanish in the La Gran Apachería and into current day Guatemala and Nicaragua. This advancement of Tlaxcalteca dominion through Spanish structural authority provided for the Tlaxcalteca nobles and their dependents, the common *macehuales (macehuallis)*, to gain substantial terrains. See, Charles Gibson, "Conquest, Capitulation, and Indian Treaties," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (Feb., 1978), pp. 1-15, at http://www.jstor.org/stable/1865900, (accessed November 21, 2009);" See James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico*, *Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992, 28). For an important study of Nahua and Chichimec women's central role in the migrations to, gender relations, and establishment of pueblos amongst the all-important *atepetl(municipio* council*)* and their influence upon local Nahua genealogically-based painted historiographies and 'voice', see Stephanie Wood, "Female Town Founders, Female Town Defenders: Women and Gender in the Kislak Techialoyans of Late Colonial Mexico," at http://mapas.uoregon.edu/research/KislakWomen2.pdf, (accessed November 21, 2009).

[24] By contrast, Hernán Cortés converted the principal heirs of Motecuhzoma II to Catholicism. He arranged for the three principals to receive encomiendas, Indigenous servants and laborers, and certain measures of control over their holdings. Cortés secured agreements for the heirs with the Hapsburg Dynasty, Charles I (later Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire).

> Ilanceitl as the wife of the first Aztec emperor, Acamapichtli, gave the Mexica an indisputable tie with the Culhuacan and provided nobility to a fledgling dynasty. As Susan Gillespie notes, Ilancueitl had a dual persona (Atotoztli) as the female creator of half of the Tenochtitlan dynasty. Following the death of Moctezuma Ilhuicamina, his daughter, also name Atotoztli, provided a vital link with the sixth Aztec emperor and perhaps served as interim ruler. So, it was not without precedent that Tecuichpotzin occupied a place of prime importance, perhaps being the second woman to serve as interim empress, in her case, following the death of Moctezuma II in late June 1520."[25]

Several monographs have included narrative histories of Motecuhzoma II's three heirs, and the significance of Tecuichpotzin, his principal heir. The legal challenges by Tecuichpotzin and her heirs born through Christian marriages have been documented in a detailed manner by Chipman. However, his analysis only partially revealed fragmentary knowledges of Tecuichpotzin's, and her heirs', continuous demands to maintain control over lands, tributaries, perpetual grants of income and fiscal maintenance by the Spanish court. Tecuichpotzin argued that her 'rights' to maintain these were based upon her genealogical descendancy of her father, Motecuhzoma II—the natural ruler of his domain.

Descendancy from Motecuhzoma II, and his 'natural rule', and 'natural rights' to be the 'natural king' and to maintain rights to lands and tribute were arguments utilized by Tecuichpotzin and her heirs in the Spanish courts to maintain Indigenous peoples' ownership over 'property' for numerous generations after the initial conquest period.[26] However, for Moctezuma's grandchildren born outside of Christendom, 'rights' to Indigenous lands were severed and they were treated in a similar manner to European lesser nobility—decorative titles, such as the social marker of 'doña' indicating not the labor class, and a dowry of cash, tribute servants, perhaps some jewels, and personal possessions.

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[25] Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty Under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 144.

[26] *Ibid.* Chipman.

Although important details of Leonor, Tecuichpotzin's daughter with Hernán Cortés, have recently come to light, a traditional narrative of patrilineal genealogical histories overshadows critical analysis, and at best, provides only fragmentary understandings of this important Indigenous woman's life, interpreted through Western, male lenses. Little is known of Leonor Cortés Moctezuma, Tecuichpotzin's child out of a forced Christian marriage, and who was born in 1528. Linear readings of these Indigenous women's lives privileges narratives of Tecuichpotzin's marriage to the Basque Juan de Tolosa, mostly due to the fact that de Tolosa and an Indigenous guide were historically credited with the discovery of one of the riches veins of silver in North America, in Zacatecas.

As many Indigenous women during the American colonization by European colonialists, Tecuichpotzins' union with Cortés is noted as a marriage "en la manera de los indios", or, "in the manner of the Indians."[27] According to Chipman, Cortés allegedly removed Leonor from her mother shortly after her birth, and then placed the newborn in the care of Licentiate Juan Gutiérrez de Altamirano, his close relative.[28] According to Chipman, Altamirano kept Leonor as a "ward" until her marriage at the approximate age of twenty-two.[29]

In the context of Spanish quests for mineral wealth and markets, violent extermination and enslavements of Indigenous peoples to the north of Tenochtitlan (near and in present-day Michoacán), mass Indigenous revolts against slave raids and dispossession, and individualistic campaigns by Basques to further their careers, Leonor was being raised apart from her mother—

[27] EFGA, notes, Tecuichpo, (Doña Isabel).

[28] *Ibid*. at 96. "Soon after Leonor's birth, the infant was separated from her mother and placed in the home of Licentiate Juan Gutiérrez de Altamirano, a cousin of Cortés by marriage.

[29] *Ibid*., at 96. "For slightly more than two decades, doña Leonor lived as a ward of Altamirano until her marriage around 1550."

two significant Indigenous women of the 16th century—were separated from each other at the moment of birth, through a Basque male colonial network of brethren. It is important to note that there were documentations of these incidences—the taking of Indigenous females who would/could inherit large encomienda grants among many of the Nahua, Mixtec and the Tlaxcalteca noble families—and that Indigenous dowry of lands and property were transferred to Basque males. The fact that many executions of male leaders were most likely forestalled or cancelled through the coercive 'exchange' of their lives in exchange for noble Indigenous women with large dowries in estates is critical to understanding the early implantation of Basque patriarchal systems of gender and sexuality. On threat of death, Indigenous males and families of noble women were forced to 'consent' to the taking of strategic women family members. The noble women were relocated beneath Basque religious and language instruction, under their households' supervision. This amounted to the violent domination of *elite* Indigenous males and females by Basque males. Thus, Basque heteropatriarchal and heterosexual norms must be reconceptualized, through an Indigenous studies lens, (as Basques are Indigenous peoples as well) which configures the cultural racist, gendered, and heterosexual uses of force, coercion and persuasion. It must be considered how these operate *between* Indigenous groups as inter-locking methods to gain lands, resources, and economic power through domination, sex, and violence over subjugated Indigenous male and female leaders undergoing colonization.

By 1542, after the Coronado expedition within areas of (current-day) New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and Oklahoma, the Spanish learned of silver deposits very near to Tenochtitlan and developing Mexico City— about 150 miles from Guadalajara (present day Zacatecas). The man who received the lucrative information about stones with silver ore—taken as "gifts" from Indigenous peoples—was Juan de Tolosa, who became a rich man as a result of this crucial

information. This discovery enabled him to position himself in marital partnership with Leonor Cortés Moctezuma (daughter of Hernán Cortés and Tecuichpotzin Doña Isabel de Moctezuma, 'in the manner of the natives'), an arranged marriage.[30] The marriage between Leonor Cortés Moctezuma and Juan de Tolosa set the stage for the emergence of a pattern of complex and often contradictory relationships between the descendents of Moctezuma II and the Indigenous noble women and mothers of his children, Tlaxcalteca pobladores and presidarios, macehualli, Europeans and Ndé mounted hunter societies. Mariana de Moctezuma, my 13th G-Grandmother, is an important case study for analyzing the marriage alliances wrought between Indigenous female nobles and the Basque colonizers. By sustaining a focus on the de Moctezuma lineage of my maternal grandmother, I engage and elevate the gendered sexual politics which Basque males leveraged to secure lands rich in silver ore. They leveraged the high status of the de Moctezuma noble women and their land acquisitions. They privileged the Basque and the Nahuatl languages as exemplary *Indigenous* systems and this allowed the males to develop tightly connected Basque-to-Nahua-to-Basque kinship networks which enabled them marry off their brothers and cousins into the community of Indigenous noblewomen with encomienda rights. Their collective ways of organizing worked to deflect the Spanish central administration in Mexico City, allowing them to cultivate feudalist demi-sovereigns in Nueva Viscaya, Nuevo León and Coahuila. Their Basque religion and patriarchal customs aligned their politics of control and

[30] *Ibid*., at 101-102. Chipman indicates that Juan de Tolosa became "One of the first wealthy men in northern Mexico…" as a result of the discovery of silver in the mountains of Zacatecas on September 8, 1546. Chipman suggests that Doña Leonor was viewed as a person of high status due to the nobility of both her natural parent's social status according to both Indigenous and Spanish governance and social beliefs. He also alludes to a practice of bride exchange between European males as commodity. "Doña Leonor was about twenty-two when she entered an arranged marriage with Tolosa. Her father [Hernán Cortés] had left her ten thousand ducats in his will when he died in 1547 at Castilleja de la Cuesta near Seville, and her mother provided an unknown amount when she died three years later in Mexico City. […] Her marriage to Tolosa in the early 1550s united her with a somewhat older man."

facilitated the Indigenous women's conversion to Catholicism and Spanish normative land-tenure rights. Notably, the de Moctezuma women exerted their matrilineal and Indigenous rights through their final wills and transfer of lands to their children. Basques acquired millions of acres in land and countless hours of macehualli tributary labor through their marriages to the Moctezuma nobleza 'in the manner of the Indians.' This matter is identified, analyzed and theorized more fully in Appendix H, "Resolving Petronila de Moctezuma and Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma, Narrative" (See also Appendix I, "Resolving Petronila de Moctezuma and Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma, Chart"). [31]

[31] For relevant discussions of gendered and sexual politics at the intersections of kinship, property, inheritance, and political-economic climates which impacted the alliances forged between Indigenous noble houses, see John K. Chance, "Marriage Alliances among Colonial Mixtec Elites: The Villagómez Caciques of Acatlan-Petlalcingo," *Ethnohistory*, Volume 56, I (Winter 2009): 91-123; and Patricia Cruz Pazos, "Redes Familiares y Alianzas Matrimonial en la Nobleza Indígena de Novohispana," *El Mediterráneo y América*, Volume 1, (2006):371-376.

Paternal Clan Mother
Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco
(Tuntsa' Ndé, Jumano Ndé)
February 18, 1905 – March 24, 1937



Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco, Premont, Jim Wells County, South Texas, ca. early 1930s. Collection of the Author.

My paternal grandmother, Flavia de la Fuente Muńiz Carrasco (Tuntsa' Ndé), was born on February 18, 1905 and passed on March 24, 1937. (See Appendix P," Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco Ndé Kinship"). She was born of Victoriana de la Fuente Muñiz (July 8, 1884 – November 11, 1929), who was born of San Juanita de la Fuente (birth and death unknown). The translation of 'de la Fuente' is significant for Christianized Ndé peoples, forced to convert to Catholicism during the 17th and 18th centuries. Meaning "of the water source" and "spring of water" as well as "origin" in Spanish, this name would carry multiple meanings for the Ndé women healers, women clan leaders, women in relation to sacred water sources, and warrior women who would carry this legacy forth—across the landscapes of violence and resistance.

Flavia was thirty-two years old when she passed to the spirit world. My father, her last born child, was only two years old when his mother passed, and very possibly still nursing. Flavia, my grandmother, died during childbirth, and her child died as well.[32] Interviews with family members, including my father when he was alive, in the year 1992, and with my aunts, raised three different narratives about my grandmother's death.

My father was told by his aunts that his mother died from leukemia.[33] My aunt Olivia Muñiz Carrasco and my Aunt Sulema Rodriguez Vera maintained that my grandmother Flavia died from both leukemia and a difficult childbirth. My mother provided testimony that my father's mother did not die from leukemia, rather, that she died from cervical cancer. During the summer of 2006, at a private reunion between my elders and me, I shared my mother's narrative. My aunt Olivia Muñiz Carrasco nodded and stated that my grandmother's death also involved the death of her child.[34]

At a small family reunion in 2006, in Premont, Texas, my grandmother's last living sister, Olivia Muñiz indicated that she remembered that my grandmother died from cancer. Flavia gave birth to five children and my father was her youngest child. My father and his siblings were raised collectively by all the Carrasco sisters and brothers, as was the tradition among our people at the time. My father was deeply traumatized by the death of his mother, my aunt Olivia recalled. "He just cried and cried all the time, pobrecito. He missed his mother so

[32] In the summer of 2009, my field work took me to the late colonial period cemetery of the Carrasco, Rodriguez, Villarreal, De Los Santos, and related clans in Premont, Texas, (Jim Wells County). At that time, I noticed the small stone noting "Baby Tamez," just a few feet from Flavia's grave stone. I documented these in photographs, which are included in Appendix # W, "Cemeteries as Sacred Archives of Genocide, Indigenous Memory, and Historical Recovery."

[33] Luis Carrasco Támez, Jr., Cleveland, Ohio, 1992. Oral history lesson.

[34] Carrasco, Támez, Rodriguez and Esparza women, Oral histories, Premont Texas Private Reunion with Elders, 2006.

deeply. He was just a baby! We all just felt so sad for him and all her children. We took them all among us, and we raised them as our own, pues… fue asi… she was our sister."[35] All the sisters lived in close proximity to one another, in the traditional manner, shared their resources between them to provide for their children. This configuration, a carry-over from late 19th century matrifocal customs in matrilineal Ndé ranchería, extended to the Carrasco sisters, and they each shared the responsibility for raising their younger sisters' children.

My grandfather, Luis Rodriguez Lopez Támez, through his maternal Rodriguez bloodlines, was a blood relative to the Ndé Carrasco clans—through the Rodriguez women, and the Zuá Zuá, or, the Lava Bed Clan. Flavia's mother, Victoriana de la Fuente (1884?-1929) and her grandmother, San Juanita de la Fuente (birth and death unknown), were survivors of Mexican government and U.S. government hunt-downs and massacres of Lipan Apaches in Remolino and Cerralvo, (Coahuila) and numerous undocumented sites along the Rio Grande River, and in Coahuila, Nuevo León and Chihuahua. In approximately 1975, my grand-aunt Sulema Rodriguez Lerna told my father and me a detailed oral history of a massacre of her matrilineal clans which had been told to her. While she was showing my father pictures, and telling him detailed information in Spanish, she spoke English words, to include me in the conversation. At that time, she told us the history handed down to her, of the survival and the rescue of Victoriana and her mother Juanita, *vis-a-vis* the "taking" of young Victoriana and other children, and the future "rescue" and marriage of Victoriana to Crescencio Carrasco.

My aunt Sulema indicated to us that after the "terrible destruction of the village", "the killing of most of the people", the "village had burned down" and "children were taken" by survivors of "the fire and the burning of the village", and that the survivors of our family, women

[35] Olivia Muñiz Carrasco, Oral Histories, Premont Texas Private Reunion with Elders, 2006.

and children, "returned back" to the area. The events which my aunt recalled had occurred two generations prior to hers, which would have situated the massacre in the 1870s. After the devastating event, she recalled that the families returned back to a place of customary knowledge, which was the area which the Anglos eventually named "Premont." These events in Ndé lands occurred prior to the speculative development of "Premont" by a northern banker.[36]

The areas which the Cúelcahén Ndé returned to after many extermination attempts and genocidal attacks upon them were, as my aunt Sulema noted, "home." I asked her how far they had to walk or ride on horseback to get back home, and she replied, "they [the elders] said …they had to come back around from down in Nuevo León and Coahuila", and that "they had to return here", because "they always knew [this place]."[37] My aunt Sulema's testimony to my father and me corroborates the findings of Castro-Romero and Maestas, and the documentation of the "Night of Screams" immediately following the MacKenzie Massacres of May 18, 1873.

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[36] Premont public history webpage, at http://el-mesteno.com/stories/0101premont.html, (accessed December 4, 2009). "Premont, Texas: The Mexican Heritage. Premont, Texas was established and plotted by R.P. Haldeman of St. Louis, Missouri. Haldeman, a banker and real estate developer , bought 43, 275.16 acres from the Henry Seeligson heirs on November 1, 1907 for $540,939.50. Haldeman subdivided what was known as the Galveston Ranch into five and ten acre tracts to entice northern United States residents to invest in South Texas land for the warm climate and ideal planting conditions … and Haldeman named it Premont, after Charles Premont, the Seeligson's Ranch foreman. … When Haldeman laid out the town of Premont he laid out a section of town east of the railroad tracks for the Mexcian and Mexican-American families. A plaza was designed and named appropriately Hidalgo Plaza after Fr. Miguel Hidalgo, hero of Mexican Independence from Spain. … Haldeman sold hundreds of lots to Charles Premont who in turn was the real estate agent for the Mexicans as he could speak Spanish. A real estate agents dream come true, Premont sold hundreds of these lots from 1909 through 1922. … Premont's first sale of lots on Oct. 12, 1909 was to none other than don Andrés Canales who owned the nearby Rancho La Cabra and who employed many of these Mexican people as sharecroppers on his vast land holdings. Actually many of the people who bought lots in town first lived in La Cabra.… The first recorded murder was of Pablo Vera, last seen alive on June 17, 1916 at the cattle shipping pens in Premont. He had just sold $2000.00 worth of cattle when he disappeared. His body was found close to La Goria just North of Falfurrias on July 11, 1916. He had been shot once in the back, once in the head, and had his lariat around his neck. … Although most of the Anglo families that came from the northern states went back, most of the first Mexican families who helped settle Premont still have descendents living here." In this community-based public history of Premont—in the heartland of Ndé buffalo camp grounds, and in the core of the King Ranch complex, one must disentangle Western narratives of 'the Mexican' in order to situate Indigenous ethnic groups who are interpreted by Anglo settlers as homogenous 'Mexicans.'

[37] Sulema Rodriguez Lerna, Premont, Texas, 1975.

At the same time, my aunts' recollections of oral histories transmitted to her, provide important perspectives by Ndé peoples, from women's clan perspectives, that pinpoint the reality of not merely one or two extermination expeditions against the Lipan Apache launched by the United States and Mexico—jointly, but rather, the inter-connectedness of numerous uprisings by Ndé throughout the rural countryside of the traditional territories in South Texas and northeastern Mexico, which continued into the late 19th and early 20th century. Her oral history lesson connects the numerous documented hunt-downs of 'Lipan Apaches' throughout the Lower Rio Grande and northeastern Mexico which lasted through the mid 20th century to the continuing extermination wars against 'Apaches' in inland Texas counties.

The public histories of Premont, (note 30) reveal the all-important relationship of subaltern local memory and extra-legal violence as *de jure* and *de facto* law of the land in Texas. The non-'citizenship' of Indigenous peoples and the normalized persecutory environment reigning over them and the lands well into the modern industrial period (1910-1919) operated as part of a larger societal-wide system of repression, which necessarily included the related community-wide revolts of Indigenous workers throughout northeast Mexico and South Texas—a nexus of *parentesco* and *compadrazgo*. Apaches were deeply woven into this larger tapestry and the United States government, as well as their counterparts in Mexico knew full-well the extent of the populations of Ndé who still occupied significant areas of Texas and northeastern Mexico. The forced assimilation of Apaches and other large populations of aboriginal Texas groups became a federal and Texas policy of empowering White citizenship and land-tenure.[38]

[38] Verne F. Ray, "Ethnohistorical Analysis of Documents Relating to the Apache Indians of Texas: Petitioner's Exhibit No. 55, Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 22-C," *Apache Indians X*, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974). Ray's identification of 'Lipan Apaches' early in his report as "culturally and linguistically isolated" and his skewed portrayal of Lipan Apaches as *only* in relationship with *one group of peoples*, the Mescalero Apaches, is highly problematic, and yet is still used as a baseline for contemporary interpretation of 'Lipan Apaches' as a category of analysis by linguists, anthropologists, and ethnographers. Ray stated, "It was only with the Mescalero,

Far away from the U.S. federal government legal procedures to assign federal recognition and lands to many Apache groups in New Mexico and Arizona, the Lipan experiences on the ground in South Texas were punctuated by war stories, like my aunt's narrative of destruction, extermination and genocides. The Lipan parentesco and compadrazgo systems and societies were illegible to U.S. anthropologists, who lumped together hundreds of culturally and linguistically distinct Indigenous groups into "old Mexico" as a lexicon for legal erasure in Texas, the Lone Star State.

Indigenous women's roles as communicators of oral histories was crucial to the larger maintenance of family and clan- based history 'curatorships' of Ndé societies—past and present—where the superstructures for supporting that effort were woefully absent in South Texas and the United States. In turn, when we turn to family-based curatorship of photos, letters, and personal objects, *in persecution and extra-legal zones*, what is most telling is their unsubtle revelation of social conditions isolating Indigenous families and communities, and stripping them of public spaces to demonstrate their knowledges. Her history lessons play a significant role in the larger process of Indigenous survivance. Her seeds of history, when analyzed in the larger Ndé analysis about the exterminations which occurred in Texas and northeast Mexico,

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however, that the Lipan had any Apache relationships at all. Apart from the minimal contact with these neighbors they were culturally and linguistically isolated: the enemy Comanche on the north; the unfriendly Coahuiltecans on the south; and numerous mall tribes of highly contrasting ways of life on the east" (22). This preface to his report, cited above, caricatures 'Lipan Apaches' as a group of people who have no social relationships, except with each other, basically. This troubling construction of Lipan Apaches is in direct contrast to the historical reports of Lipans throughout documented history in the Americas by *Spanish functionaries*. This characterization of an Indigenous group—existing as if inside a plexiglass box, contrasts with substantial primary Spanish sources provided to the ICC as evidence that Apaches were a "huge nation" and "the largest tribe in the world" (11). Ray's good intentions to salvage a land claim for Lipan Apaches was hindered by his inability to curb the linear discourse of Anglo-centric, development, and military projects which skape-goated/sacrificed 'Lipan Apaches' as a fringe isolate in the hinterlands of South Texas and northeastern Mexico, and therefore, peripheral to the definition of 'American-Indians.' See also, "The Lipan and Mescalero Apache in Texas," Docket 22-C, Pet Ex No. 582, *Apache Indians X,* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974).

signify vital relationships between Ndé women, children and families torn apart—not only by individual incidents—but by waves of structural violence in Ndé customary homelands. This was the situation of the Carrasco sisters within the intimate frame of the Cúelcahén Ndé—the Tall Grass People.

The "Night of the Screams," documented by Lipan Apache Band Chair, Daniel Castro Romero, and Enrique Maestas, was not an isolated case for the Cúelcahén Ndé. Rather, by examining Ndé women's histories, the larger power structure of militarized settler landscapes comes to the foreground. Hunting excursions against the Ndé in South Texas, the Lower Rio Grande, and northeast Mexico was not limited to the most obvious target— the Chief Castro band. Rather, to exterminate a whole people—who held off the Spanish, Mexican and U.S. government for over 200 years—would require a complex and mass-scale cultural, social, economic, and political and psychological warfare. A large-scale matrix of killings in 'Apache' homelands incorporated tri-national killing fields which, from Ndé perspectives, never ceased: New Spain, the Mexican Republic, the Texas Republic, the State of Texas, and the United States.

Flavia Muñiz Carrasco grew up in South Texas, in the Tuntsa Ndé homelands between the Nueces River, the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande River. She was the daughter of Indigenous women who carried their clan name, 'the source of water,' and lived in customary Lipan Apache lands under occupation by the King Ranch, Kenedy Ranch, Kleberg Ranch, and Anglo Southern planter society. When she died from cervical cancer in the middle of childbirth she was 32 years old.



"Metate," courtesy of Wikimedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Metate-NPS.jpg.

Matiana Alvarez Montalvo
(Tlaxcalteca and Ndé)
(c. 1893 – 1931)

The daughter of Matiana Alvarez (c. 1875-1920) and Miguel Rodriguez Montalvo (c. 1864-1909), Matiana Alvarez Montalvo was an only child. She was raised by her grandmother, Isabel Rodriguez (February 1, 1842 – June 15, 1924) because her mother died young, and her father remarried.[39] She lived her life in Las Rusias, a small ranchería, which refers to roan (gray) horses.[40] She grew up in the home of her aunts and uncles. Ismael, her uncle, was especially

[39] Eloisa García Támez, Email correspondence, November 10 and November 12, 2009.

[40] The Tlaxcalteca and Nahua *macehualli's* northern Diaspora, which facilitated the establishment of the Camino Real de la Plata, would also lead to the settlement of peripheral rancherías, off the Camino Real, and nearer to the Camino Militar, deep inside Ndé territorialities on the north of the Rio Grande, such as Las Rusias, Las Milpas, La Paloma, and El Calaboz. Las Rusias may be an off-shoot ranchería of Tlaxcala migrant-descendents who founded Las Ruzias mission, in southern Nuevo Santander, near the Escandón villa and Horcasitas close to the Rio Guayalejo

close to her. On December 21, 1907, Matiana Alvarez Montalvo married Nicolas Villarreal Esparza, Jr., a direct descendent of Tecuichpotzin, principal heir of Moctezuma II. Based upon preliminary analysis of the Las Rusias founding families, it appears that a settlement pattern similar to those established between more humble Tlaxcalteca laborers and Nahua noble and Basque settlers from the Camino Real de la Plata have carried over to the Lower Rio Grande. The frequency of endogamous marriage patterns between Esparza, Villarreal, Treviño families from the 16th-18th centuries appears to loosen in Las Rusias ranchería as the official marriages across classes and ethnicities of Indigenous inheritance shows the crossing of Indigenous and criollo noble lines with the humbler Indigenous peoples of Montalvo, Garcia, Loya, Morales, Sosa, de la Luz, and Rodriguez families. The trajectories of these families' continuous settlement and re-settlement as a core unit of inter-connected families, who brought along with them Indigenous labor pools, culled from the Tlaxcalteca and diverse Nahua communities expropriated along the Camino Real de la Plata, repeated a pattern well-ingrained in the larger picture of the colonization of the north.[41] This pattern had originated in the original Tlaxcalteca-

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and Rio Frio, near present-day Tampico, Tamaulipas. The present-day community members of these rancherías are the direct lineal descendents of Tlaxcala nobles and macehualli who embarked on a difficult journey, originating from the four primary Señorios of Tlaxcala: Tepeticpac, Ocotelulco, Tizatlán, and Quiahuitlán. See Andrea Martínez Baracs, *Un gobierno de indios: Tlaxcala, 1519-1750*, (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica – Colegio de Historia de Tlaxcala – Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2009); The history of the four pre-colonial, pre-Hispanic Señorios established with the foundation of the Tlaxcalan capital in the 16th century, is rooted in Tlaxcalteca oral tradition. Accordingly, the Tlaxcalteca ancestors emerged as the sixth of seven lineages which arose from Chicomostoc ('Place of Seven Caves'). They arrived after their migration to the Poyoauhtlan plains in the year 1208. See "Enciclopedia de los Municipios de México Tlaxcala: Historia," at www.inafed.gob.mx/work/templates/enciclo/tlaxcala/hist.htm (accessed November 21, 2009).

[41] The entire colonization of Nuevo León, Coahuila, Tamaulipsa, and South Texas by the Tlaxcaltecas and Basques can be understood as a continuing series of settlements, expansions, and out-in migrations from settled places. Aguascalientes, Queretaro, Zacatecas being core areas in the 16th century, and Saltillo and San Miguel being a core area in the 17th and 18th centuries, whereby the satellite mining and settlement areas were always interconnected to the cores, through kinship, trade, economies and politics. South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande were key to the out migration from Saltillo and San Miguel from 1749 and onward. See generally, Ernesto de la Torre Villar, Coahuila Tierra Anchurosa de Indios, Mineros y Hacendados (México: Sidermex, 1985); And, Elisabeth Butzer, *Historia Social de Una Comunidad Tlaxcalteca: San Miguel de Aguayo (Bustamante, N.L.) 1686-1820*, (México: E. Butzer, 2001).

Basque and Nahua nobility-Basque mining, pueblo, and mission establishments along the Camino Real de la Plata.

In Las Rusias, a humble village along the river, known for the roan horses so famous in the Texas tall grass plains and favored among Lipan peoples, these patterns were re-established inside an Ndé stronghold territory, somewhere around 1748-49.[42] Las Rusias became an important site for economic and political intermarriages between Nahua noble lines, the lines of King Ferdinand II, and Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, as they attempted to retain possession of lands along the river.[43] Unfortunately for them, the threat of the Anglos from the northeast was not yet their biggest concern. As indicated by the records of Las Rusias founders, Indigenous peoples from the region which the Tlaxcaltecas and Basques attempted to settle *destroyed* their earlier settlements designated to them their Crown land grants (in present day Webb county). The resistances against their occupation of traditional Ndé lands by local Indigenous in the region worked to contain them within the Villarreal and Esparza settlement of La Encantada, in the San Pedro de Carricitos land grant. The EFGA reveals two specific examples of Esparza, Villarreal, and Galan families, intermarried with Treviño and Falcon families with land grants up the river, who could not maintain the lands, according to the terms of their grants, because the conditions

[42] EFGA, See 'Matiana Alvarez Montalvo' record; And, note the progression of dates from 16th century through 18th century for the Montalvo kinship lines in Appendices E, F, and G.

[43] The EFGA has numerous reference notes which suggest social-economic-political acts by peoples to keep land holdings within clans across specific families. For example, in Las Rusias, across specific families, blood-ties and land sales between families indicates that La Encantada peoples (Moctezuma II-Techuichpotzin descendents) forged important ties through marriages and land exchanges and inheritances. In one case, blood-ties between Nahua noble lines (Esparza, Villarreal) and Tlaxcalteca hidalgo and macehualli lines (Rodriguez, Garcías) are forged, and then reforged after a temporary loss of lands to an Anglo. This transaction across these lineal ties worked to reconsolidate lands back to the original granted lands of the San Pedro de Carricitos (Crown) title. "Maria Refugia Villarreal García, (Birth abt. 1815, death unknown), "sold the land, she inherited from her mother Gertrudes Villarreal Garcia, in 1855. She sold to J. M. Ward who sold to Ramon Garcia. Ramon Garcia was the father of Francisca Garcia who married Carlos Esparza. This land was part of the San Pedro de los Carricitos land grant.

of doing so in Ndé territories was impossible.[44] However, when examining the larger cultural landscape of Las Rusias, in the nexus of the Basque-Tlaxcalteca and Basque-Nahua males and the colonizing world which engendered their privilege, it is possible to see samples of how wealth accumulation worked in multiple ways. At times, *most likely* related to social forces, they were inclined to intermarry with their own relatives—at times with first and second cousins. I note this as a sign of the excessive warfare which characterized the late Spanish colonization period of José de Escandon, whose famous slogan was 'civilize or exterminate,' and also related to the overlapping violence from the emigrating Irish-Scot-German male cultivators in the first three decades of the 19th century. From Indigenous peoples' perspectives, intermarriage with noble Indigenous blood lines and intermarriage with macehualli was a strategy to preserve possession of lands—*in a world shaped by dispossession*. To the Ndé, maintaining their status within their own kinship circles, choosing ones' own mate in a war zone, which helped women to empower their decision-making roles in times of great stress, may have been a *priority* over a European sense of 'blood' and 'biology.' Scanning the EFGA broadly, marriage between second and third cousins, and at times between first cousins (especially in the Esparza-Villarreal community) was considered acceptable within certain contexts. The intermarriages between the noble class of mercedes (Esparzas-Villarreal) and the Tlaxcalteca macehualli and hidalgos increased with time, and this fomented a stronger sense of a 'corporate community' along the

[44] EFGA, "Joaquin Cayetano de Galan, Birth Abt 1725, Lampazos, Nuevo León; Death April 5, 1808, Lampazos, Nuevo León, Birth: Film # 1903776. Married to María Josefa Uribe Sanchez, (Direct descendent, King Ferdinand II), Birth March 13, 1732, Valle de Carrizal, Nuevo León, Death Abt. 1789, Mexico. Marriage, May 14, 1744 in Salinas Victoria, Nuevo León. Joaquin Cayetano de Galan was an original grantee of land in [current day] Webb county, South Texas. He originally had 139,207 acres of land in Webb County and 275 acres in Dimmitt County granted by Spain. Joaquin's family inhabited the land until 1805. The settlement was destroyed by Indigenous in 1818 and records burned. [Most likely Lipan Apaches.] Since no one occupied the land for over 5 years the original grant was forfeited. In 1852 one *porcion* of land was granted back to Joaquin Galan the only part remaining of his original grant. Source: Guide to Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in South Texas" at the Texas General land Office, Item # 89, 90."

Lower Rio Grande River. Evidently, the community members privileged Indigenous land-grant blood-lines as a marker of belonging and continuity, and fought hard to preserve inter-marriages between Ndé, Tlaxcalteca and Nahua when possible. At the same time, when Indigenous males intermarried with women of the humbler classes, outside the mercedes and hidalgo founding families, they could accumulate the possessions their wives brought to the union which increased their total net worth. This did at times work to dispossess humble Indigenous women.[45]

Returning to Matiana Alvarez Montalvo, I believe it is crucial to share these samples of the EFGA (of which there are too many to discuss within this project, and all deserve close study) in the context of her life, what little was shared with me by my grandmother, Lydia Esparza García, during an interview, the summer of 2008. According to my grandmother, Matiana died from a "broken heart." Although my grandmother was quite young when her mother died, she most likely drew upon the narratives in her community which raised her as a grandchild of the people of Las Rusias (Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, macehualli and Basque) *and* La Encantada (Nahua nobleza, mercedes, hidalgos). My grandmother said that her mother died from heartache related to the death of her husband, Nicolas Villarreal Esparza, Jr.

According to my Eloisa García Támez, Matiana died from pellagra.[46] Pellagra is a disease often associated with severe niacin deficiency, as it relates to communities who are in deprivation and whose primary, or dominant, food source is maize. Although most American

[45] EFGA, "Bartolome Leal Treviño, Born c. 1713, Monterrey, Nuevo León, Death Abt. 1803,[Mexico?]. LDS film, Batch 5003600, sheet 1, source 1553220, Final Will and Testament of Bartolome de Treviño, September 20th, 1788, Antonio Dominguez Villarreal Secretary of this Royal Government of this municipality and in charge of the archives of same. This record is a fascinating *testamento* of his many marriages to Indigenous women, and his multiple accumulations of their property after their deaths, and the distribution of his wives property to their children makes a strong argument for further analysis and development of comparative case studies from *testamentos* contained within the EFGA.

[46] Eloisa García Támez, Oral history lesson, August 12, 2009.

literatures note the relationships between the political economy of Southern agriculture and deprivated African-Americans in post-Reconstruction South, they have largely failed to register the impact of Southern monoculture and white supremacy on the diverse food systems of Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous women's small-scale intensive garden and *milpa* culture in South Texas and the Texas-Mexico bordered lands.[47] Drought, warfare, cattle grazing, industrialized agriculture and a *de jure* and *de facto* Jim Crow society imposed severe controls on Indigenous peoples' customary food sources and access to diverse, nutritional wild food staples, and the extra-legal violence which they unleashed, between 1910-1935, destabilized Indigenous peoples food sovereignty and security.

The climate of warfare, ethnic wars and power struggles between Anglos, Tejanos, and Indigenous laborers, created a climate of deprivation for women, such as Matiana. According to Wacher Carmen, "Maize is deficient in niacin, so a population whose diet consists mainly on maize would be likely to develop pellagra if other dietary constituents were not present." [48]

My grandmother told me that when her mother married her father, she moved to his community, in El Ranchito. That is approximately 13.09 miles distance between the two rancherías. My grandmother told me that when her mother went to live there, in his ranch, that he instructed her to stop cooking outside, because he wanted her to cook inside, and that he purchased her a stove. My grandmother recalled the narrative that her father instructed her

[47] A *milpa* is a collective form of Indigenous agriculture whereby Indigenous women and their selected heirs have a great amount of control over ownership, production and reproduction, based in pre-Columbian traditions and knowledges.

[48] Wacher Carmen, "Nixtamalization, a Mesoamerican technology to process maize at small-scale with great potential for improving the nutritional quality of maize based foods," 2nd International Workshop, Food-based approaches for a healthy nutrition, November 23-28, 2003. At http://www.univ-ouaga.bf/conferences/fn2ouaga2003/abstracts/0715_FP_O4_Mexico_Wacher.pdf, (accessed December 7, 2009). ""Nixtamalization" is the process of cooking maize grains in a lime solution, soaking and washing them, to obtain "nixtamal". Then it is stone-ground to obtain nixtamal dough or *masa*. A variety of products are obtained from it and *tortilla* (flat pancakes cooked in a griddle) is the most popular one."

mother that he did not wish to eat corn tortillas, only flour tortillas. My grandmother indicated that in his way, there was a distinct class difference between the two. According to my grandmother, after Nicolas Villarreal Esparza, Jr. died, Matiana and her children were left destitute. When Matiana died, my grandmother told me, she and her siblings, the younger children, were left in the care of their older brother. The hurricane of 1933 left the children virtual orphans—in El Ranchito—far away from her mother's ranchería, undoubtedly left the children vulnerable. My grandmother's tone left me with the distinct impression that the relatives of her father, Nicolas, did not assist Matiana's children. Although the children technically stood to inherit their father's meager acreage, the Esparza-Villarreal land grant now dwindled down to miniscule plots, these were bound up in complicated genealogies of lands, histories and bloodlines. Furthermore, all border land owners were under the armed threat of factions of Anglo Southerners, Texas Rangers, vigilantes, and land speculators all keen on developing the Lower Rio Grande Valley into different versions of 'paradise.' Matiana was buried in El Ranchito, near her husband. She was 38 years old.

Andrea Rubio Cavazos García
(Tlaxcalteca-Basque and Ndé)
March 6, 1892 – April 6, 1971



Andrea Rubio Peña Cavazos García, El Calaboz Ranchería.
Collection of the Author.

My great-grandmother, Andrea Rubio Cavazos García was the daughter of Inocente Rubio García Cavazos (December 28, 1863/1865 – July 17, 1938) and Jose Peña Cavazos (c. 1865 – December 6, 1924). As kinship networks served many important purposes during both peace and war, the EFGA reflects patterns of endogamy in between clans. Indigenous peoples—of the Americas and of Europe (Basques) exercised endogamy within their social, economic and political circuits. As an example, my grandmother, Lydia Montalvo Esparza García was a distant cousin of her husband, my grandfather José Emiliano Cavazos García through the Cavazos clan network of Nuevo León and Coahuila. (See Appendix J-O, "Andrea Rubio Cavazos García Relationships to Cavazos-Peña Kinship Networks…."). On her mother's side, Andrea was of the Rubio, García, and Guerra clans, which were connected to Tlaxcalteca and Ndé Christianized peoples who were directly affected by the colonization of the Camino Real de la Plata in Nuevo León and Coahuila. These names and their kinship relations (Barrera, Benavidez, Rodriguez, Garza, Ramos, de los Santos, etc.), have a high frequency in records of Tlaxcalteca and Basque

settlements and missions in Coahuila and Nuevo León. Andrea's García and Guerra kinship names criss-cross the Cúelcahén Ndé and the El Calaboz Hada'didla' Ndé with frequency.[49] Inocente's father's family names, Peña, de la Serna, Cayetano, Ruiz, Treviño, Ochoa, Cantu, Fernandez, Garza and Cavazos also appear in the pueblo of Guerrero (Viejo Guerrero), in Tamaulipas, and in numerous *originario* ranchos established along both sides of the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo and inland South Texas.[50] These names also criss-cross the kinship networks of villas of Nuevo León and Coahuila whose founders and settler population comprised the original Tlaxcalteca, Bizkaia and subjugated Indigenous peoples who were the original occupants of the region.[51] Andrea's Great-Great grandparents, José Valentine Garza Cavazos (October 13, 1736 – Bef. 1791) and his wife, Juana Rosa de la Serna (July 7, 1749 – Unknown) were married and recorded at Salinas Victoria, Nuevo León, a well known salt mine, and both were buried in Guerrero Viejo, Tamaulipas, a crucial site of Tlaxcalteca, Lipan Apache and Comanche social, economic, and political intersections and activities.[52]

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[49] Daniel Castro Romero, Interview on file with author. Castro Band Genealogical Archive (non-circulating, private collection) on file with author.

[50] Those identified on the EFGA, with accompanying individuals in kinship relations are Rancho del Toro ('Laguna del Toro'), Hidalgo County, Texas; Rancho Guadalupe, Tamaulipas, Mexico; Rancho Guizache, Olmito, Cameron County, Texas; Rancho Los Veladeros, Nueces County, Texas; Rancho Ojuelos, Webb County, Texas; Rancho Sabanito, Tamaulipas, Mexico; Rancho San Rafael, Tamaulipas, Mexico.

[51] The villas which the Cavazos-Peña families are directly associated with are Villa Aldama, NL, Mexico; Villa de Carrizol, NL, Mexico; Villa de García, NL, Mexico; Villa Nueva, Cameron County, Texas; and Villagran, Tamaulipas, Mexico.

[52] William E. Doolittle and Oscar I. Maldonado, "Guerrero Viejo: Field Guide to a City Found and Lost," (Austin: Casa Editorial Hace Poco, 2008), at http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~wd/various/GVFG.pdf, (accessed December 8, 2009). "This field guide to one of the most fascinating places along the US-Méxican borderlands was originally prepared for the 2002 meeting of the Southwest Division of the Association of American Geographers. Hosted by Texas A&M International University, and organized by Michael S. Yoder then of that institution's Department of Social Sciences, the "SWAAG" meeting involved approximately 100 professional and academic geographers from Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas. Some thirty of these scholars loaded into three vans on Saturday, 9 November and enjoyed a full day traveling from Laredo, Texas to Guerrero Viejo, Tamaulipas down the west side of the Río Bravo del Norte and returning up the east side of the Rio Grande. The highlight of the trip, of course, was Guerrero Viejo itself, a town found and lost (1)." A review of it appeared in the *SMRC Revista* vol. 37,

Guerrero Viejo was flooded when the U.S. Army Corps built the Falcon Dam on the Rio Grande River, but due to climate change resulting in years of drought, Guerrero Viejo has now resurfaced. Scholars of the University of Texas recently conducted an expedition to the site and published a preliminary report of their findings. Interestingly, many of the original settlement foundations, the mission church, and the habitation sites, as well as the tombstones of Cavazos ancestors are now visible and identifiable. This links the El Calaboz Ranchería Cavazos descendents as important transnational persons and groups between Indigenous livelihoods and ways of life in the Viejo Guerrero, Lipan Apache and Comanche trade, slave, and refuge networks on both sides of the river. The authors report that Guerrero was originally known as part of the San Ygnacio de Loyola de Revilla settlement (connected to the José de Escandón, Basque and Tlaxcalteca colonization of Nuevo Santander) and after a long history of relocation of the settlers of this micro-colony, eventually came to known Guerrero, or 'warrior.'[53] Given Lipan and Comanche domination of the area, the settlement, comprised of Tlaxcalteca and a mix of frontier peoples, experienced severe challenges to maintain their foothold. Doolittle and Maldonado argue that this was due to "Incessant attacks from certain indigenous people [who]

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no. 135, (2003): 20, published by the Southwest Mission Research Center, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona. Numerous copies were subsequently requested of the authors. The success with which the guide met was so great it was decided to make it available to the general public. The initial plan was to sell the guide in hotels and tourist shops along the border. It was later decided to simply make it available free of charge to anyone with access to a computer. Accordingly, the field guide was revised, updated, put into a portable document format (pdf), filed on a server at UT(1).

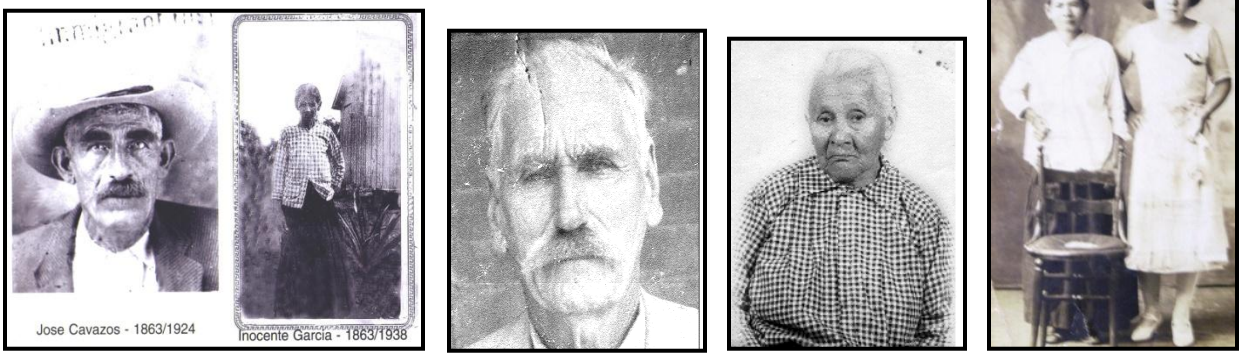
[53] *Ibid*., 23, Revilla, like the other establishments of Escandón's colony in Nuevo Santander, was heavily contested by the Ndé—who perceived these as they were intended –to be militarized settler communities which stood to hold a fort-like line inside Ndé traditional lands and to be launching sites of more settlements to the north of the Rio Grande. The fact that Revilla and Guerrero had histories of frequent rupture reveals the instability of these settlements and the casualties which the Indigenous-Mestizo pobladores sustained related to the violence which accompanied these projects in dispossession of local peoples. "Between its founding [1750-1753], Revilla changed location three times, though it always stayed along the Rio Salado and close to the Rio Grande. The town was first located at a place known as *Los Moros*. Three years later it was moved *to Los Nortes*, the ranch of Nicolás de la Garza y Falcon, one of Escandón's commissioners. Finally, it was relocated to the place where it remained for 200 years."

were a constant threat to Nuevo Santander communities during their first decades, particularly those along the Río Grande…" "In 1792, Revilla, Mier, and Laredo were so seriously assaulted by Apaches and Comanches that military detachments had to be called in their defense."[54] This is important. Details such as this help us reconstruct the under-seen and misunderstood, yet logical and practical Ndé-Tlaxcalteca networks between Viejo Guerrero and El Calaboz Ranchería. The humbler classes of Indigenous peoples—pushed by social forces from below and above— developed satellites of trans-border and trans-River relationships and some of the most mobile folk were the Ndé, Comanche and Tlaxcalteca macehualli. By researching the important role of Andrea Rubio Cavazos García, her parentage and ancestral rights to hidalgos on the Tamaulipas side of the Rio Grande, and her knowledges of both Tlaxcalteca and Lipan Apache ceremonies, rites, and healing practices we are now able to situate a constellation of relationships in the Lower Rio Grande previously unmapped. By sustaining a focus on interrogating archival records related to Andrea's Basque, Tlaxcalteca and related Indigenous foreparents' in the Camino Real de la Plata I was enabled to uncover their relationships to Viejo Guerrero's *mission* Nuestra Señora del Refugio. According to Daniel Castro Romero, this particular mission was a key center of indoctrination, and a key center for trans-River and trans-national exchange between communities.[55] I am able to map satellites of contact zones which were important to the Tlaxcalteca out-in migration pattern between missions, and their relationship with Ndé conversos and captives within the same missions and associated pueblos. Kinship ties developed in these sites of crisis and sites of exchange and Indigenous women were central to their maintenance.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Telephone interview between Castro-Romero and author, November 27, 2009.

Andrea married my Great-grandfather, Aniceto García, a Lipan Apache with kinship connections to many oral tradition groups who managed to stay undocumented in missions, villas, and pueblos until after 1850, a typical pattern of a great many Lipan Apaches of the Lower Rio Grande, Coahuila, and Nuevo León. (See Appendix #8, Aniceto García Relationships, Charts 1-2). The Ndé-Nahua ranchería they established in El Calaboz provided a trans-border and trans-river network of important economic and political activities shared between a diverse group of societies deeply entrenched in life ways of the Lower Rio Grande. The following images reveal the closeness of Ndé kinship, parentesco, and compadrazgo networks between the Cavazos, Peña, and Castro families. The similar cloth and dress designs in this tight-knit community reveal certain customary resources exchanged between Indigenous clan women in the Lower Rio Grande network of independent rancherías and ranchos.



Left to Right: Jose Peña Cavazos & Inocente Garcia Cavazos; Jesus Fonibio Cavazos & Juana Castro Cavazos; Petra Gonzalez Castro & Teodola Castro. Collection of the Author.

Andrea Rubio Cavazos García, my great-grandmother, and her husband Aniceto, carried forth important Ndé ceremonies and traditions in El Calaboz, which they imparted to my

mother, Eloisa. Andrea, my grandmother Lydia recalled, was "a very strong woman." On numerous occasions she stood in front of forceful threats to the peoples' way of life and futures—both natural and man-made. On one occasion, my mother recalled, Andrea with the agreement of Aniceto, passed down a traditional sacred lightning ceremony to her, when she was about 5 years old. According to my mother,

> Major weather disturbances of what are now called Category 5 Hurricanes are common in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. The family resided a mile from the mighty Rio Grande and only the levy protected us from its path should it overflow. During these frightening experiences, all the family members would gather for days in the home which was considered the most stable to survive the torment and also to be together during this frightful experience. My grandmother [Andrea] would come to me to perform a ritual, which in the minds of the all the family gathered, was key to breaking the torment. The ritual consisted of taking a butcher knife and making the sign of the cross upwards to the sky in the direction of the darkest of clouds. As the sign of the cross was repeated by me, my grandmother and others would say prayers. This would continue for several minutes. I was the chosen one because I was the eldest child in my immediate family and the eldest grandchild. More than that was never revealed to me. I felt very special but at the same time I trembled with fear. People were always coming to me and touching my face especially around my eyes, explaining that they had never seen such bright and shiny eyes. This occurred more often when I was in the company of my grandmother. My interpretation of that today is that not only did I feel special but also powerful. These experiences of my childhood, I believe, molded my belief system in a empowering way, in that I developed self confidence and self esteem that have yielded ultimate success for me as an adult.[56]

Andrea Cavazos inherited horses from her parents, a common tradition among peoples of the region to provide their daughters with their own independent mechanisms for generating trade, economy, and sustainability for her self and her children.[57] This was a strategy to stimulate

[56] Eloisa García Támez, Email correspondence, January 13, 2006.

[57] Lydia Esparza García, Oral history, non-taped interview, August 2008. The untaped histories that my grandmother brought to this dissertation have been incredibly valuable in comprehending the social, economic and political relationships between her and her mother-in-law, which is a crucial core relationship in Ndé and other Indigenous societies. My grandmother reported that she often worked side-by-side with her mother-in-law, as was the tradition of the El Calaboz Ranchería peoples. They worked along clan and gendered relationships. My grandmother thus was the natural recipient of numerous oral history lessons imparted to her from her mother-in-law, as a way of indoctrinating her into the Ndé-Tlaxcalteca-Comanche influenced world of El Calaboz. At the same time, Lydia was indigenized into the Ndé ranchería life ways, albeit resistantly, according to her mother-in-law's customs, most

independence in women and to support them as agents in economic markets which aided the family and community's well-being. My grandmother Lydia stated that she heard that Andrea's mother, Inocente Rubio García Cavazos, brought horses to her marriage to José Peña Cavazos as well.[58] This is consistent with Indigenous literacies of the Ndé, who are well documented as important horse traders along the Lower Rio Grande River. Ndé women were responsible for the care and maintenance of horses as an part of their status and roles. As well, horses and horse songs came to their marriages with the women, as did many other types of folk ballads which recounted oral histories of major events. In South Texas, Ndé daughters and sons carried forth the horse knowledge and songs traditionally as well.[59] Practically speaking, coming with horses, from Indigenous peoples' perspectives, was a sign that the person had a clan, a family, a good upbringing, maturity, responsibility, and came from a somewhat stable community who were actively involved in a larger transcontinental network of trade in horses.[60]

Finally, through the study of Andrea's genealogical histories I learned about her enduring legacy of persistence and defense. This came to me through the voices of Indigenous women whom she worked alongside of and who she raised on her lands. On March 3, 1935, Andrea was involved in a women-led challenge and contestation against the U.S. Army Corps of

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likely because Lydia was an orphan in a violent conflict zone. Her mother had passed away, and her associations with her mother's people in Las Rusias seemed to have dwindled after her marriage into the El Calaboz clans. More investigation is necessary to develop these crucial relationships between El Calaboz and Las Rusias, and must take into consideration La Encantada's relationships with Las Rusias, as well as Los Indios, which lies in-between them.

[58] Lydia Esparza García, Ibid.

[59] Castro-Romero, Ibid.

[60] See LaVerne Harrell Clark, *They Sang for Horses: The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore,* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2001); For a discussion of the relevance of the horse to the Lower Rio Grande rancho and ranchería land grant communities, see Mary Jo Galindo, "Con Un Pie En Cada Lado: Ethnicities and the Archaeology of Spanish Colonial Ranching Communities Along the Lower Rio Grande Valley," (doctoral diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 71-76.

Engineers, who at the time was in partnership local politicians, and the United States-Mexico International Boundary and Water Commission. Official representatives of these groups came to her ranchería to dispossess her of a strip of land. Using eminent domain, the government used the local court systems to survey Andrea's lands, and later, to construct the levee. The levee is now situated to the north of the Rio Grande River, and cuts through the land grant, running parallel to Military Highway/U.S. Hwy 281.[61] My mother and my grandmother vividly recalled

[61] In the case of Andrea Cavazos Garcia, water wars between the U.S. and Mexico, and manipulated by a clique of newcomer Anglo corporate farmers, politicians, lawyers, and their 'machine' of armed killers negatively impacted both sides of El Calaboz peoples and their customary lands and communities on both sides of the Lower Rio Grande. See Melinda Luna, T. Lynn Lovell, Joe T. Barrow, John Ivey, Jack Furlong, "Levees in Texas—A Historical Perspective," at http://www.halff.com/downloads/info_bank/levees_in_texas-historical.pdf, (accessed December 7, 2009); and Handbook of Texas Online, "Fort Brown," at http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/FF/qbf7.html. During the 1914-1916 period, the deployment of up to 50,000 state guards contributed to an eventual presence of approximately 100,000 armed American soldiers in the Lower Rio Grande which were organized to suppress rural and agrarian Indigenous revolts, and white extra-legal violence. Soldiers were used to begin the active construction of the levee. Luna et al. report "Major floods have passed through the lower Rio Grande in 1865, 1886, 1904, 1914, 1916, 1922, 1948, 1954, 1967 and 1988. Each time the area suffered damage. Farmers and the military worked on the levees after the 1916 Flood, but the first organize[d] effort to provide funding for a flood project were bond issues passed in 1924 and 1925 which raised 3 million dollars to build the Rio Grande levees from Donna to Brownsville. The system of levees started by farmers settling the area…. The levees were built by the military, prison laborers and others, from 1933 until work was completed in 1951." *See* Casey Walsh, "Demobilizing the Revolution: Migration, Repatriation, and Colonization in Mexico, 1911-1940, *The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California*, San Diego, Working Paper 26, November 2000, 5-22. Walsh states "the importance of [Mexico's state] policies and projects in attracting Mexican workers back to Mexico [in the 1930s and 1940s], and in shaping the regional societies that emerged within the bounds of these regional development projects should not be underestimated. […] by the late 1880s the production of cotton on large industrial plantations in the Laguna had generated a mass of highly mobile, landless and underemployed workers. Between 1880 and the 1920s similar social effects of irrigated cotton production took shape in … the Lower Rio Grande /Bravo Valley of Texas and elsewhere." "Cotton in particular experienced a dramatic surge in …South and West Texas, as cotton prices quadrupled between 1915 and 1920. […] All of this cotton was grown on large plantations or farms, and picked by migrant workers. […] The 1926 laws were formulated within an international political and economic context of water use and cotton production. In 1928, the new developmental state dedicated a full 7.4% of its budget to the construction and colonization of irrigation systems on the rivers that drained into the Río Bravo/Grande… By building dams on the tributaries of the Río Bravo/Grande, Mexico could both use the water for its own development, and place the agriculture of South Texas [Anglo-Southerners] in peril…. In 1937, the Cardenas government … enlisted the help of Houston cotton magnate William Clayton … in building a cotton producing irrigation zone in the Lower Río Bravo/Grande Valley around the town of Matamoros, Tamaulipas." Clearly, while the U.S. Anglo settler society developed a global market for its cotton and textiles, based on colonialist labor systems, Mexico waged water wars against the U.S. still seeking reparation for U.S. water theft originating in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

this story related to government use of force in the service of development and large corporate farms in ongoing attempts to displace and dispossess local peoples from traditional agrarian and pastoral lifeways. This event cannot be excised from extra-legal violence which the community continued to experience along the Lower Rio Grande Valley, in Cameron County. Thus, this important Indigenous women's history lesson provided grounded evidence and demonstrated the political-economic relationships between dispossession, state authority, extra-legal practices, and Anglo-Hispanic private industry groups which worked hand-in-glove in perpetuating the 19th century removal policies against the Indigenous peoples who had Crown title to land of South Texas and northeast Mexico.

My grandmother recalled that Andrea was enraged by the Army's insistence to build the levee. The levee would damage and potentially destroy their traditional crops and subsistence lifeways, obstruct their access to the river for irrigation, and during the heavy rainy seasons would flood out their contiguous lands and relatives on the south side of the river. According to my grandmother Lydia, all Andrea's predictions occurred. My grandmother stated that "the people who were related to my mother-in-law, her relatives, women and children, were flooded, and we didn't see them again. It was a tragedy."[62] The day prior to the confrontation between the women and the U.S. Army, Lydia gave birth to my mother. Still recovering, she recalled that Andrea came to her, very emotionally, and told her to get out of bed and to go with her to speak to the Army Corp officers because she knew how to speak a little English. She needed her to translate because the Army officers did not understand what the women were saying to them. My grandmother dutifully followed her mother-in-law to the scene and

[62] Lydia Esparza García, *Supra*.

witnessed a hostile scene unfolding as the women were furious and more so in their inability to communicate their demands for the Army to cease and desist.

The U.S. was trespassing on Indigenous aboriginal and Crown titled lands, which was often controlled through the lineages of the women, customarily. The women's' literacies of Indigenous land-tenure, wrought in a complex war zone of many actors, continued to contest the expropriation of lands and Indigenous and traditional, rural lifeways which had sustaining value. Through Andrea, a core history of El Calaboz Ranchería in continuous anti-colonial resistance into the early 20th century continued to struggle for recognition through women's unique perspectives of aboriginal title. Andrea lived to be 79 years old, and is buried in the El Calaboz cemetery with my great grandfather.

Fifth and Sixth Clan Mothers
Victoriana de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco
(Ndé--Lipan and Jumano)Big Water People Clan, and Red Paint Earth People Clan
(July 18, 1884 – November 11, 1929)

And

Francisca Lopez Rodriguez de Támez y Zuá Zuá
(Ndé)Zuá Zuá People, Lava Bed Clan
(Birth unknown – August 26, 1953)

Like many of our Ndé ancestors prior to the hunt-down years of the 19th, the lives and histories of my fifth and sixth maternal clan mothers are difficult to trace. The EFGA pinpoints sites where the Ndé peoples sustained kinship relations within their traditional territories of Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas and Chihuahua (West Texas). New methods and research emerging from scholars in northeastern Mexico have also provided important traces of the intermixture of numerous Indigenous peoples in settlements which traditionally have always

been attributed solely to 'criollos' or 'Espanoles.' New histories developed from close and critical archival studies is revealing that the linear, flat, and unproblemitized renderings of the 'Spanish Borderlands' –where Indigenous politics, new formations of alliances, grass-roots, and women's forms of alliance building—are made invisible against the grain of Western Englightenment discourse and either/or, 'Spanish/Indian' constructions of systems, structures and power. In fact, as we know from studies of Indigenous colonial struggles re-written by Indigenous peoples themselves (Kehaulani; Smith; Mirafuentes Galvan) it is the social-economic-political relationships which Indigenous peoples forge among one another, in sites of despair, grief, suffering, frustration, and fortitude, in diaspora, migration, warfare, slavery, debt bondage, and resistance that the ideology of 'Spanish or Indian' crumbles apart.

My grandmother Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco Támez, my Great-Grandmother Victoriana de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco, and my Great-Grandmother Francisca Lopez Rodriguez de Támez y Zuá Zuá are women who typify the majority of women identified on the EFGA in these ways: 1.) they do not have biographical information or records attached to their files; 2.) they do not have complete records; 3.) often a birth, death, and place of death is missing; 3.) their records have information about births to children; 4.) they often have baptismal names, identified by [name of scholar] which are known to be the most commonly registered names at specific missions associated with the Tlaxcalteca, Tarascan mission, pueblos in Coahuila, Nuevo León, and other northeastern and central Mexican parishes. They are registered at missions, pueblos, and parishes which are strongly associated through Lipan Apache research with sites where Lipan, Mescalero, and other allied Indigenous peoples were also undergoing forced and/or coerced assimilation.

My investigation into the large numbers of Indigenous and Indigenous-Basque-Spanish women on the EFGA is a priority. This will require access and support through Mexican institutions. The State of Mexico is a signatory on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRP). Given the large number of individuals for whom information is sought, Ndé people seeking binational and international rights to history, and to practice their culture will be some of the first to implement transnational uses of the freedom of information across international borders regarding history, religion, cultural artifacts, grave sites, and human remains of Indigenous ancestors.[63] The sites of Tlaxcalteca settlements, mines, estancias, haciendas, prisons, missions, and the rancherías, *parentesco* and *compadrazgo* social networks of Apache women, children, elders and families emerge as sites not only of immense hardship for captives, prisoners, servants, and 'adopted' peoples under the regimen of subjugation and assimilation—they are also sites of power because Indigenous peoples often disrupted the stereotype of victimhood and passivity. These were sites where Indigenous peoples actively sought to regain agency, power, and kinship. These were sites where Indigenous women reorganized their social groupings in necessity, and where they re-made their families. Not only were Apache and Navajo women held in prisons and hospitals for the indigent as they awaited deportation to either Cuba, as Zavala reported; they were also distributed and re-distributed to a network of participating elite and merchant households in Veracruz, Mexico City, Saltillo, Monterrey, Monclova, Durango, Aguascalientes and Zacatecas—in domestic servitude. The fact that noticeably Ndé ceremonial and social forms are evident in communities across the

[63] This will require a more intensive search in archives of the numerous missions, presidios, Indian hospitals, churches, and civic records of Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, which lead from South Texas to Vera Cruz, Mexico City, Ecatepec, Queretero, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, Durango, and up to the missions, pueblos and presidios habitated by the ancestors within the Camino Real de La Plata complex.

northeastern region is not a surprise, given the far-reaching influences of Ndé women. The Cavazos, García, Lopez and Rodriguez family names in Jim Wells, Nueces, Kleberg, San Patricio, Cameron, Starr, and Hidalgo counties frequently criss-cross Tlaxcalteca names, places and Cuélcahén Ndé, and Mescalero family names of Coahuila, Chihuahua and West Texas.[64]

By sustaining a close focus on my four matrilineal and matrilocal clan mothers, grandmothers and ancestors, I have identified key sites of contact, crisis, and violation situating Indigenous women as central actors. Victoriana de la Fuente Muñiz was identified by my aunt Sulema Rodriguez Vera to be one of the youth who escaped the massacres by the government armies along the Texas-Mexico border. Victoriana was identified by the Jumano Apache community of El Polvo, West Texas, as a kinship member of Jumano Apaches and Lipan Apaches—in west Texas and northern Chihuahua.[65] Both non-Christianized and Christianized Ndé women frequently did not survive the many harsh and brutal realities inflicted upon them across their homelands. At the same time, inter-generational history lessons were passed down which served to describe, document and to denounce the forces of colonization, exploitation, dispossession, and destruction. Histories untangled from fiction, myth, fable, and apathy helped to corroborate the 'Night of Screams' between three different clans related to the Cuélcahén Ndé who were also present on that fateful morning. Tlaxcalteca macehualli from Las Rusias who inter-married Nahua mercedes from La Encantada, who traditionally had been servile to them, gained certain inheritance rights for their children in El Calaboz—though at a high cost. And, the numerous trans-River bands of independent Lipan Apaches, Comanches, and their Tlaxcalteca-Nahuatl-Macehualli kinship network who continued to strive for a larger,

[64] Castro Family Genealogy Archive. EFGA.

[65] Enrique Madrid and Gabriel Carrasco. Oral history lessons of Jumano Apache People of West Texas and Chihuahua, Historian and Tribal Chair of Jumano Apache Tribe of Texas, August 2008.

autonomous Indigenous region—free from the violence of the Euro-Americans and Liberal politicians—would incur severe casualities as Scot, Irish, and German Texans assumed nativist politics, and invested heavily in necropolitics to enforce white supremacy.

CHAPTER SIX:

Fractured Indigenous Communities, Fragmented Indigenous Histories

Introduction

This Chapter focuses on family members and their lived realities of racial and gender violence, militarism, warfare, and basic attempts of their survival in the grim shadows of the U.S. "Indian Wars," the Euro-American emigrant colonization of South Texas, and the violent attempt to Americanize the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico border peoples and resources.. This chapter continues to draw upon the Esparza Family Genealogical Archive (EFGA) and unearths hidden stories and memories of Nde' women's resistance and continuation in the face of destructiveness.

Lydia Montalvo Esparza García: Tlaxcalteca macehualli, Nahua nobleza-hidalgos, Basque-Iberian hidalgos

A direct descendent of Nahua nobles, Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, Basque-criollo mining settlers, and Spanish royalty, Lydia Esparza García was raised traditionally in the ranchería way of life of Las Rusias, La Encantada, and El Calaboz Ranchería—the three key sites which shaped her ancestors, her in-laws and her. She married at age 17, had two daughters, and was adept in the *many* physically demanding responsibilities of ranchería women of her time period. Deeply proud of her ancestry, she also questioned her role within the El Calaboz Ranchería and complex of her Ndé and Tlaxcalteca in-laws, as if she was a perpetual outsider looking in and maintaining the boundaries of centuries of internalized tensions between Nahua *nobleza*, Tlaxcalteca *macehualli*, and Ndé '*indios enemigos*.' Although her ancestry entitled her to certain status and

grants in land, stock, and water rights, Lydia married—as an orphan of a war zone —into a humble and traditional Ndé ranchería, and this was a direct result of prevailing social and economic conditions.

When I met with my grandmother in the summer of 2008, she was animated and gracious when speaking of her in-laws and their way of life. When I was about eleven years old I spent a summer with her, and my memory of her outspoken attitudes and often conflicted, and yes, even bitter, perspectives towards her in-laws contrasted greatly with her opinions in her 90s. When I was young, I remember how my grandmother's comments about '*those people'* often tinged the air with a painful sting. Undoubtedly, after a lifetime within the clutch of El Calaboz clans, there were embedded resentments and even hostility. However, on the day I interviewed her, she 90 and me 46 years old, her mood and her words filled the room with a calmness, a grace, even a humility. She focused closely and infused her narrative with deep focus. When she spoke of her in-laws, Andrea Rubio Peña Cavazos García and Aniceto García, she spoke with a certain awe and respect. I asked her questions from a list I developed (from my approved Institutional Review Board) which focused on the daily life of the people and their experiences within the rancherías. I was interested in learning about their daily routines, foods, access to food, water, transportation, ceremonial life, languages spoken in the community, religion and ritual life, and the relationships between people within women's households, and between households. Out of respect, I did not want to point the camera at her, and the first part of our dialogue was unrecorded. When she indicated that she was comfortable with a video camera, I initiated a

discussion. In no time, she delved into detailed events and recollections of her childhood, and she wept softly.[1] And, she also laughed with deep joy.

My grandmother spoke about her early life, memories of her childhood and her parents. Her memories were tinged with fears and insecurities related to food, shelter and loss of her parents. She spoke fervently about her relationships with her older brother, Benito, and her deep affection for her younger brother, Nicolas, as well as her sisters. She spoke about my grandfather, and their courtship, as well as her impression that her brother 'married' her and her sister *into* the El Calaboz ranchería to two young men in that community, my grandfather José Emilio and his cousin Salvador Loya.

When she recalled the very first time she saw her in-laws' food storages, held within traditional *jacals* (huts) she expressed amazement and the feeling of being "shocked." She stated, "I had never seen so much food in my whole life! Everything was organized very neatly, in piles and stacks. They had maize, squash, … the dried meat, …and every part of the corn plant, you know…and other things that were needed by the animals… were stacked in neat bundles, folded, you know, it was so neatly organized…so that the animals would have food in the winter time."

She recalled major feasts in El Calaboz where "every one came together and worked very hard all day to cook the meat and the food. She seemed less familiar with this collective form of celebration around foods, or, if she had been exposed to this custom *vis-a-vis* her mother and father, of a similar clan-based tradition in La Encantada; it was lost to her, due to being orphaned

[1] After the first thirty-minutes of our conversation, I realized that I did not turn the recorder on, and I had to backtrack; I did write down her testimony from memory. Interestingly, when I cross-compared Lydia's recollections of key events to other community members, there was an attempt by others to 'correct' Lydia's narrative of historical events.

early in life, undoubtedly. She indicated that her mother-in-law taught her a great deal about 'women's work' and 'men's work' and "everyone working together", and that she was expected to learn quickly and to do everything her mother-in-law did.



Lydia Montalvo Esparza García, (August 3, 1917 – October 12, 2008)

She recalled that "everything was raised right there in the ranch, all of the foods we needed."[2] Local plants, animals and natural, hand-processed foods were extremely important to the everyday diet of the clan, and her mother-in-law also showed her plants for gathering, and the times of year they were available, as well as the need for women to contribute to the protein intake. She learned how to take care of poultry and stock. Meat from local wildlife also supplemented rich sources of protein and fat. She indicated that she worried when my grandfather left for many days at a time, and spent long periods of time with the men away from

[2] Lydia Esparza García, August 2008, notes on file with author

her. She remembered that "all the women and all the men of the families came together to make the food together."[3]

She told me that she had not ever experienced that kind of tradition, or didn't remember having had that in El Ranchito because "my parents died when I was so little, you know…." She stated that her mother-in-law was very "old fashioned" and cooked all her meals outside, in a pit on the wood, everyday. Her mother-in-law also preferred to live outside, living in a simple *jacal*, and at times, in the open air. Recalling her father-in-law brought happiness to her, she recollected that he was very kind to her and respectful, but "didn't interfere with the things between my mother-in-law and myself." She happily recalled that her father-in-law knew how to read, wrote and "he had a small store" in El Calaboz, which sold and traded basic necessities for the peoples in the rural countryside.

She expressed that her mother-in-law expected her to do the necessary work of maintaining the ranchería, which started very early in the morning and did not end until the end of the day, at sunset. She recalled having a challenging time making her tortillas on the coals of the fire, in the pit, the way her mother-in-law did. Her mother-in-law told her "go ahead, try again" when she burnt her hand one time. She said that her mother-in-law gave her and her husband, (my grandfather) their land, which was her customary right to do so.

She also expressed that her mother-in-law encouraged my grandfather to go off hunting, or to go off with the men for long periods of time, and that she did not like it when she did that. She said, "I told my mother-in-law that I did not approve of that, because I did not want him to go out drinking alcohol and doing bad things. He had a responsibility to *me*."[4] She said, "My

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

mother-in-law would laugh at me and let him go…she though that was alright." She disagreed with her mother-in-law about how her husband's time should be spent, emphasizing "I had a little baby, you know… and I had a right."[5]

My grandmother expressed that her mother-in-law was a strong woman, and when she said this, she smiled. My grandmother expressed that she told my grandfather that she did not want to "live on the dirt," but that she wanted "to live in a real house" not a jacal or "just a shack." She also told her husband that she did not want to deliver her babies without a medical doctor present. My grandfather accommodated my grandmother's wishes. He built her a humble house made of wooden planks and a floor, on the land his mother gifted to him, and he helped her obtain a medical doctor to deliver her two daughters. However, on the day of the birth of my mother, my grandmother's medical doctor evidently posed questions about the presentation of my mother's birth position, and Andrea Rubio Cavazos García, who was present in the room along with another woman, according to my grandmother, strongly advised the doctor how to solve the problem. According to my grandmother, Andrea "told him what to do next." [6]

After my mother was born, my great-grandfather, Aniceto, came in the room very hurriedly, as she recalled, and scooped up the newborn, took her outside, where he (with my grandfather near) presented my mother "up in his arms, holding her up to the sun" whereby he

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[5] Ibid.

[6] According to community archivist, Margie Esparza, the 'official' partera/midwives in La Encantada were the sisters, Virginia Reyes Esparza and Gila Esparza Reyes (their parents were Guillermo Reyes and Inocente Guerra Cavazos), Email correspondence, Margie Esparza to Author, October 26, 2009. According to my mother, Andrea Rubio Cavazos García *was not* a midwife, nor were her sisters, Email correspondence Eloisa García Támez to Author, October 28, 2009. According to Támez "A dr was called because of complications as I understood it." Off-camera, Lydia Esparza García explicitly stated to me that her mother-in-law *and another female companion,* offered their advice to the doctor in the birth of my mother. My grandmother firmly expressed that she was angry at her mother-in-law for, as she explained "interfering" in the birth. However, it is *not* clear why the two recognized midwives of El Ranchito/La Encantada, Guadalupe and Gila, who were the *sisters* of Lydia's father, Nicolas Villarreal Esparza, Jr., *did not* attend to her during Eloisa's complicated birth.

"was singing and dancing and (she laughed) was so excited for his grandchild… (laughing) and then he was saying things I didn't understand." Her husband, my grandfather, had been nervously waiting outside her door, because "he was so worried for me and your mother, and was he just pacing and pacing…." According to the many hundreds of records in the EFGA, it is clear that while many children were born to ranchería families, life was never taken for granted. Although rare, at times women and infants died during childbirth. My grandfather's worries were not unfounded.

My grandmother viewed herself as an independent woman, seeking to improve the quality of life for her daughters and her husband, yet always just shy of inter-connected with the founders of El Calaboz, the traditional peoples. She perceived her role in El Calaboz ranchería as both empowering as well as conflicted. She was an Esparza, of a lineage that was, as she often repeated, "different" than her in-laws, who she perceived as not land-grantees, and not entitled in the same degree as she and her ancestors. This view of the local aboriginal peoples—the Ndé in the case of El Calaboz—by Nahua and Tlaxcalteca descendents of *hidalgo originarios* is an important facet of the racialized social relations between the stratified Indigenous peoples. However, my grandmother often emphasized that in her view, they were "different" than her family and the idea of 'pure' blood-lines.

I believe that my grandmother experienced isolation in the ranchería due to her socialized identity as a descendent of Nahua *nobleza*, Tlaxcalteca *hidalgos* (nobleza) and Basque *criollo* and peninsular peoples—who, in the colonial narrative were the entitled ones. Even though, by her generation, these particular racial narratives had lost specificity due to the many overlapping migrations, social and nationalist movements of Indigenous peoples in the region. Yet, the tinge of being settlers haunted the experiences of emigrant-settler Indigenous hidalgos, such as the

land-grantees of San Pedro de Carricitos. They had to consistently legitimate their community identity as transplanted natives in the lands of the Ndé—who viewed them as assimilated and, like Andrea's scolding to Lydia, demanded that they conform to the ranchería customs while in their midst. The Originario's narratives of entitlement came at a huge price, as their 17th and 18th century ancestors had fought against the Ndé, and were unwelcome in Ndé domains. At the same time, many macehualli turned against the elites from one rural movement to the next, and fought with Ndé in pan-alliances against exploitative policies. Lydia, being both Nahua nobleza-hidalgo and Tlaxcalteca macehualli, certainly was viewed by the ranchería peoples as a touch elitist in her views, though reformable. Due to being an orphan, Lydia may not have received the oral history of her heritage, though she was rehearsed in certain versions of the history of her parents' deaths. She was thrust among peoples who knew well their ways of life and their lands, and these *were* the literacies of Ndé of the Lower Rio Grande. In El Calaboz, their relationships mattered in kinship, land, reciprocity, memory of place, and territoriality. The colonial racial-casta-religious-poblador discourse of Indigenous and criollo 'nobleza' carried deep meaning for her—despite her extreme material poverty at the time of her marriage into the Ndé-leaning clan of the Cavazos-García.



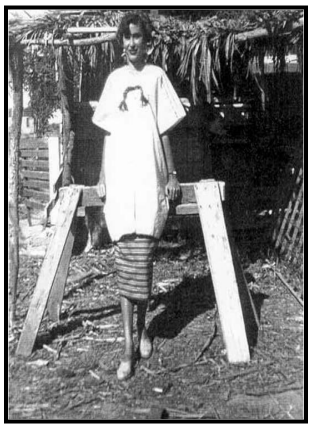
El Calaboz Ranchería, Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands



Paquita, Chata, cousin Olga



Chata la 'prieta'



Paquita by a jacal

I selected these photos to demonstrate that on special occasions, at rural, countryside, and town celebrations related to local traditions, oralities, and histories, my grandmother specifically *mapped out* her Nahua-Tlaxcalteca identity in the traditional dress she chose to wear to public events—among *'the rest'* as she would often state, to refer to her fellow country people, the borderlands' landless, Indigenous poor and *'those people'*—her pointed remarks about the invading Anglos, "los gringos." In my grandmother's history-making, she mapped a complex

Indigenous identity onto her daughters, my aunt Jesusita 'Paquita', and my mother, 'Chata.' She constructed cartographies of the Nahua transmigration into an often hostile Ndé ranchería life, as well as the life she made her own as an Indigenous daughter with, whether she would admit it or not, an Ndé-indigenized 'vaquera' identity. My mother, who was nurtured in Ndé traditions by her father and both grandparents, as well as the extended clans of El Calaboz, was lovingly treated as 'la Chata'—referring to a wild cat creature with a flat, snub nose profile. Interestingly, my grandmother mapped the Ndé vaquero/o identity *onto* Chata—a fierce one. It should be noted that 'Chata' is a well-known Apache nickname as well, one which runs the length of the Texas-Mexico borderlands. 'Chato' was the nickname of a quite famous Apache scout, and many people in the Texas-Mexico borderlands are familiar with the irony of this name along the Texas-Mexico border. Roughly translated from the Apache dictionary, it means 'flat-faced wild-fierce-cat one who lives among the rocks—like the wild ocelots which are currently on the endangered list.[7]

Key Events in Lydia's Life

Lydia's mother, Matiana Alvarez Montalvo (Tlaxcalteca, macehualli, Basque), in many ways, lived the reverse life that she did in El Calaboz. Raised in a traditional community of Las Rusias (Gray Roan Mares) nearby Los Indios and Las Milpas, two traditional communities, she came to her marriage knowing a certain amount of traditional culture of the *metate and maiz*. According to historian Elizabeth Butzer, the Tlaxcaltecas of South Texas brought with them many of their heirloom seeds and traditional plants from their communities throughout Nuevo León and Coahuila—to South Texas. Recall that in the late 1590s, when the 400 Tlaxcalteca

[7] Tsétahgo gídí dagolííní.

families were relocated to the Ndé domains, their agriculture—the *milpa*—was transplanted from Central Mexico to the Lower Rio Grande by Indigenous women and families who accompanied the colonization and first wave of out-migration.[8] My grandmother told me that her mother ground her corn on a *metate* and knew the culture of maize from her upbrining in Las Rusias.[9]

My grandmother indicated that when her mother, Matiana, went into her marriage with Nicolas, he took her to La Encantada/El Ranchito to live. Once there, she was instructed by my great grandfather, Nicolas, to cease using her *metate* and her outdoor cooking style. He purchased her a 'modern' "estufa"—a Western style, wood-burning stove.

During the 1915-1919 killing fields and purges by white settlers and Texas Rangers, histories of violence that bristled with the post-1848 arrival of white Southerners and their plantation-style handling of workers incensed the Indigenous population. There were histories of violence between white farm bosses and the local peoples and Indigenous patterns of revenge and avenging their clan members –across lineages rooted in colonial communities. These continued to be delivered as a governing practice to demonstrate the laying down of strict boundaries by perpetrators and violators. According to Johnson, such an incident in Los Indios pushed local Indigenous peoples into centuries-old patterns of traditional balancing and ritual revenge. This sparked a rising tide of vigilante slayings. Johnson observes:

> The new south Texas of the railroad and the Anglo farmer gave rise to yet another Tejano hero. Jacinto Treviño lived and ran a modest herd of cattle just upriver from Brownsville near Los Indios, a small settlement that would be deeply involved in the Plan de San Diego raids. Like so many Tejano families by 1911, the Treviños could no longer entirely rely on their own land to support themselves, so Jacinto's brother went to work for a nearby Anglo farmer. A dispute with his boss left him so badly beaten that he soon

[8] Elizabeth Butzer to Author, Email correspondence, February 7, 2010.

[9] There is no information about if/whether she brought a dowry, or if the marriage was arranged between male patriarchs, or if the union was an exchange between two land grantee groups…as had been the custom among the Treviño, Falcon, Villarreal males, per records in the EFGA.

> died from his wounds. This was too much for his grieving brother Jacinto, who took swift revenge, killing the farmer and fleeing to Mexico. Anglo farmers raised money for a reward, and together with the Texas Rangers decided to use a distant relative to lure him back across the border to a remote meeting place where they would arrest or kill him. […] Using his intimate knowledge of the terrain, Treviño eluded his numerous pursuers and slipped back across the river—just as so many of his fellow rancheros would for years later.[10]

The EFGA identifies Jacinto Treviño (Birth 1867 – Death unknown; My 7th Cousin, 4th removed) in the kinship, comadrazga and compadrazgo network between La Encantada and Las Rusias. Villarreal family members had a history of intermarrying with the Benavides, García, and Guerra families from Los Indios ranch. These families had inter-marrying histories among their ancestors in the broader region of Nuevo León, Coahuila, Tamaulipas and South Texas concentrated in missions, pueblos and villas established by their ancestral settlement communities during the 17th and 18th centuries.

It is logical that Jacinto went to the ancestral communities in Mexico to gain support within the tight-knit Indigenous communities in his homelands. Across the river in northern Mexico, major land reform movements were afoot ("Mexican Revolution") in conjunction with populist agrarian reform and socialist organizing focused on condemning the corruption and land theft of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries which had devastated the Indigenous peoples, which by 1910 in Mexico's central plateau had 90% of their lands taken from them, and comprised two-thirds of the overall national population.[11]

The industrialization of former open ranges, the concentration of hundreds of thousands of acres and watersheds behind millions of feet of barbed wire, and the boom of export crops and metal mining accompanied by the high concentration of army soldiers around Brownsville

[10] Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, Ibid., 54.

[11] Ibid., 57.

created a climate of "hunger and dispossession [which] walked hand in hand with this unprecedented growth." Indigenous peoples concentrated along the Rio Grande, with histories of Apache, Comanche, Tlaxcalteca traditions in their land-based societies, pushed back on Anglo settler violence.

In June 1913, excitement spread like wildfire amongst cousins all throughout the Lower Rio Grande communities as a result of the taking and redistribution of the very large Borregos hacienda, in Tamaulipas. This was amplified by the revolutionaries as they organized a very well publicized celebration of the redistribution to Indigenous beneficiaries who were "former laborers on the hacienda."[12] In contrast, on the north side of the river, between La Encantada, El Ranchito, El Calaboz, Los Indios and Las Rusias—the scene grew bleak. The rise of the King Ranch empire was constructed on the colonialist relationships between extractive mining, laborers, food, and soldiering. U.S. imperialism throughout the hemisphere and the Pacific drove the markets for cattle production and staple crops to feed armies. The forced removals of Indigenous peoples, homesteading, and the enclosure of millions of acres of lands to be put into monoculture cattle and crop production, was made possible vis-à-vis the mass-scale production and use of barbed wire—on the King Ranch—an industry leader.

"When ranchers raised cattle mainly for local consumption, land ownership remained fluid and undefined. […] The enormous cattle drives north that began in the 1860s, along with the introduction of barbed wire in the next decade, however, led to the enclosure of most of the range in south Texas by the mid-1880s. Enclosure made cattle raising more difficult for smaller rancheros by curtailing access to water and preventing the shipping of stock by overland trail

[12] Ibid., 69. "The Mexican Revolution allow Tamaulipans to do what Tejanos could only dream of doing. […] La Sauteña [the equivalent of Texas' King Ranch, with about two million acres under control of one family] … became the targe of the first revolutionary redistribution of land in Mexico's north." This was a sign to Indigenous and to whites that history was changing in favor of Indigenous revolutionaries and the dispossessed.

drive."[13] Many Indigenous ranchers and subsistence family collectives, whose ancestors had openly ranged from the Nueces to Coahuila and Nuevo León, and who ranged seasonally, living among and visiting the traditional camp sites, ranches, farms, and ranchería of related clans along their routes, were closed off from their customary and traditional agrarian livelihoods and Indigenous dietary requirements. The Anglo settlers throughout the western expansion of U.S. imperialism, treated Indigenous rangers and herders as thieves, and demonized and racialized Indigenous hunter-gatherer vaquero societies as 'bandits' and 'raiders.' What is clear is that with the coming of barbed wire and an armed, militarized Anglo settler society, a highly systematized, open-air, complex developed between white patriarchal groups. The King-Kleberg empire was built like a mass industrial machine harvesting land, water, bodies, animals, and pumping out the new model of efficiency built through the industrialization and militarization of hyper-masculine killing landscapes.

By 1919, the effect of barbed wire and the closing of the open Ndé traditional ranging societies of clans and bands were disastrous. After the 1910 crashes of wages and ascending profits of the mining, cattle and agriculture elite sectors, the prices of staple Indigenous food systems, such as corn and beans, rose sharply. As subsistence collectives in rancherías struggled to maintain their possession of their dwindling land holdings, the wildlands they were accustomed to ranging, for seasonal supplementation to their diet, were shut off with barbed wire and militant, armed and mounted patrols. "With the barbed wire came hunger," as the saying goes. This is critical to comprehending the larger structural violence and genocidal systems which engendered Matiana's premature death by pellagra—starvation.[14] The severity of long

[13] 18.

[14] 18-20. "Rancheros were forced to sell tens of thousands of acres to more highly capitalized operations such as the King Ranch in the slow markets of the late 1880s and of 1902-1904. They had little credit to survive the drought-

droughts and political manipulations of markets and social realities on the ground put pressures on the rancherías along the Lower Rio Grande, and kinship ties were crucial to survival. At the same time, food scarcity, related to the droughts and inter-ethnic violence between whites and Indigenous may have also sparked tensions and competiveness for resources between the Indigenous classes.

Matianas and Lydia's lives were *undoubtedly* affected by the larger matrix of violence engulfing the rancherías and the region—as were so many women, children and elders. The slaughters of Carlos Esparza and his male cousins, suggest not only white-Indigenous violence. Johnson suggests the co-existence of an underlying conflict between the clans of La Encantada and those in the Los Indios, Las Milpas and Las Rusias areas. Were these class-related conflicts between the Nahua-nobleza community and their cousins of Tlaxcalteca presidario and macehualli classes—down the road? In reference to the Carlos Esparza executions, Johnson's interviews and research in the communities caused him to posit, "The Esparza family had a long-standing feud with the nearby Escamillas, several of whom joined the raiding bands [of anti-colonial, anti-white supremacy rebels]. Perhaps a similar motive was behind the killings of José María Benavides during a raid on the Los Indios Ranch…"[15] On September 13, 1915, the rebels targeted elite Tejano ranchers, the U.S. army and guard post units patrolling the river, and then

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induced "die-ups" of the 1890s. As the local saying went, *con el alambre vino el hambre*—with the barbed wire came hunger." As a result of the enclosure of the traditional open range country of the Ndé, "Tejanos lost much of their land from these economic pressures. Although the number of Tejano land owners increased in tandem with overall population growth, Anglos claimed more and more of their land. The growth of the King Ranch, which Richard King significantly expanded by smuggling cotton for the Confederacy, made Tejano land loss in Cameron County particularly severe. In 1848 those of ethnic Mexican descent owned nearly all of the county. By 1892, a mere forty-six non-Spanish surnamed owners controlled more than one million, two hundred thousand acres ofland, almost four times the territory owned by ethnic Mexicans."

[15]Johnson, 83, 113, "the family of Carlos Esparza, a Cameron County deputy sheriff who was killed in July, had a long-running feud with the Escamilla family, members of which joined the Sediciosos [anti-imperialism rebels].

attacked the larger land holder, Benavides, in the community of Los Indios. They continued destroying railroad bridges, telephone lines, and railroad trestles in the same period.[16] The stratified class system engendered in the old Spanish colonial rule of casta, slavery, mining and the hacienda, bubbled to the surface as certain Esparzas joined the forces of the populist rebels. Jesús Esparza, (My ninth cousin, 2nd removed) was with a band of rebel leaders in the capture of S.S. Dodds, an Anglo pumping station and construction business owner.

During and after 1915, and through the early 30s, Indigenous peoples who threatened the expansionist and industrialist policies of the elite corporate ranch ruling class—such as the ranchería communities and macehualli laborers defied the hardened borders of white racial solidarity and Jim Crow laws. They challenged the Texas constitutionalist settler regime. These were often the same targeted for execution and/or forced removal. The Ndé, Tlaxcalteca, Coahuilteca, and Nahua hidalgos were suspect explicitly and identified as 'rebels' and 'bandits' and these stereotypes and racial explanations served as extermination logics of the white ruling class. Johnson states, "Ethnic Mexican suspects were lynched after nearly every major raid in 1915.[17]

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[16] Johnson, 92.

[17] Johnson strategically uses important primary documents of photographs of the destroyed victims' remains, one which is used for the book cover. Titled:' Texas Rangers pose with corpses after Sedicioso raid on the NOrias division of the King Ranch." In the photo, three mounted Texas Ranchers sit up in their saddles pulling taught on the lynch ropes, with the victims in the foreground, mangled, hair matted, as if they had been viciously dragged through the grass and chaparral. One Ranger is even wearing a white shirt and tie. The three male victims, with lassos around their corpses, are cruelly displayed in the foreground of the postcard, which was widely circulated throughout Texas and the West. They were Abraham Salinas, Eusebio Hernández, and Juan Tobar. The intensity of male on male killings, and gang serial killings seeking groups of males, generally between the ages of 16-45 is an important pattern. These men were specifically hunted down in the 'Nueces Strip'—the Ndé traditional homelands, but currently referred to as 'the Norias Ranch'—a well-known King Ranch headquarter. The bodies, destroyed and made a spectacle for thousands to view through mass communication technologies, are the last memory that surviving families have of their loved ones. These three last names are deeply enmeshed in the Esparza Family Genealogy Archive. The *majority* of the last names of victims executed in 1915 are listed in the EFGA. *See* 117, "Anglo ineptitude with Spanish last names and enthusiasm for killing on the flimsiest of evidence gave Tejanos [and all Texas-Mexico Indigenous peoples] further reasons to fear for their lives."

This was the larger structure in which Lydia was raised and in which her mother, Matiana, died of pellagra. Although many community members repress these key factors, after many decades of mandatory Americanization and Texas state indoctrination, *nonetheless* archival and historical evidence reveal the dominating factors of organized social, economic, and political violence as a nexus of settler power. Internalized racism against poor macehualli, against indios 'barbaros' who did not go to church and confess the faith, and the murderous landscape between elites, laborers and white settlers socialized Lydia Montalvo Esparza García to nurture nostalgia for her father's indigenous noble lineage and to negate her mother's humble macehualli origins.

Americanization and Texas boss politics had their impacts on the racial and gendered identities of Indigenous males in La Encantada. My great-grandfather, Nicolas Villarreal Esparza (de Moctezuma) instructed my great-grandmother, Matiana Alvarez Montalvo (Tlaxcalteca-macehualli), to use *harina* (white flour) and to cook inside a house, not a jacal, and to cook on an American-style stove. After his death, Matiana may have lost social and economic status in El Ranchito—Nicolas' matrilineal ranch site, the compound of the Esparza-Villarreal patriarchs and matriarchs. Community memory indicates Nicolas had "gambling" and "drinking" habit which drove him into poverty by the time of his death, although he still held partial ownership of land grants in La Encantada (El Ranchito), which Lydia inherited as her birthright. Due to complex family inheritance rituals and rights, Lydia never gained access to her inheritance, although according to community laws, her descendents are the only ones who can inherit those lands.

When a major tropical storm hit the valley, community memory indicated that the relatives of Nicolas Esparza did not render aid to his widow and her orphan children. She had to

seek assistance in her home ranchería, Las Rusias, according to my grandmother. Matiana died in 1931 (as did Nicolas), in a period of great instability in the Lower Rio Grande, and in northeast Mexico—for all Indigenous and landless peoples. Her symptoms indicated pellagra, and this must be configured in the larger political economic structure of the transplantation of Southern-Anglo, cotton plantation farming, and a Jim-Crow culture dominating the Lower Rio Grande Valley with violence and repression of the Indigenous communities. This led to intensified impoverishment of poorer families.

The Esparza family experienced extra-legal violence, forced removals, displacement, land theft, and killings targeting their immediate and related clans. Although the Esparzas and Villarreal families, by the 1930s were facing immense poverty, they were still landholders of original Spanish Crown lands—highly valuable specific to *perpetual* water rights and unquestionable title back to King Ferdinand II, Carlos the V, and Phillip II—who were socially and biologically related to the de Moctezuma compadrazgo and parentesco system. Matiana's death by starvation—a woman who brought to her marriage a 10,000 year-old tradition of *nixtamalization*, is an indicator of the deprivated circumstances of Indigenous women and children in the extra-legal atmosphere of a professional killing society. I will provide more details about the larger structure of this.

Her father was Nicolas Villarreal Esparza, Jr. (direct descendent Moctezuma II, Tecuichpotzin, Hernán Cortés, King Ferdinand II.), a son of pobladores from the original Tlaxcalteca, Nahua noble, and Basque colonizations of the Camino de la Plata/Silver Road between Zacatecas to Santa Fe. His death by hanging was inextricably connected to events and systems surrounding the executions of his cousins, as well as numerous other victims of the Post-

Reconstruction era at the hands of Southern Anglo death squads in Los Indios, Las Rusias, El Ranchito and the Nueces "strip."

On June 1, 1919, in El Ranchito, Nicholas Villarreal Esparza was wounded in an ambush. His cousins, Pedro Zuá zuá Zepeda, Casimiro Cantu Salazar, Carlos Lerma (Villarreal) Esparza II and several other unidentified friends gathered together inside a *jacal* for a card game. Ambushed, the entire group, with the exception of Nicolas, was executed at close range. This was more than a "tragedy" on an individual family level. This was an assassination hit, and from Indigenous peoples' perspectives—an open war upon several key Indigenous families and clans, using a signature execution-style destruction of males who had responsibility for their young families—across several related clans. The gendered form of genocide, selecting the males as targets, leaving clusters of women and children openly vulnerable, was a tactic deeply soaked into the Apache border lands. This slaying was a warning to the Esparza and Villarreal clans, announcing the ensuing wave of dispossession which followed, targeting surviving women clan members. These families—who had histories of endurance in Apache warfare and mining settlements—had built-in strategies in surviving the killing of males and attempted takeovers of women's bodies and lands. This was not a new pattern. Rather, this was the Southern Anglo industrial version of an older geopolitical landscape of imperialism and conquest through ethnic and race genocide, engendered through masculine killing fields.

In 1919, Nicolas Villarreal Esparza (my great-grandfather) barely escaped this attempt on his life, with a wound to his leg. By 1931, however, Nicolas was discovered with a rope around his neck and hanging from a tree.[18] The community memory in regards to his death hinged on

[18] For in depth analysis of the larger structural patterns of death by hanging in South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande up to 1928, see William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928," *Journal of Social History* - Volume 37, Number 2, Winter 2003, 411-438, at

certain carefully uttered keywords: 'suicide' in relation to his drinking and gambling debts, 'murder' in relation to the Anglo's lust for his land and water rights under Spanish Crown law, and 'killed' in relation to larger structures of power in a landscape dominated by masculine and militarized power dynamics in the hostile overthrow of Indigenous ruling elites (caciques) by white settlers who cared nothing for noble lineages, but saw an enemy through hate-filled lenses: 'Indians' and 'Mexicans.'[19]

Given the time period, location, and the geo-politics of Euro-American imperialism in Mexico and Latin America, an estimate of 282 lynchings across the Texas-Mexico borderlands has been documented by scholars. This low figure does not configure the slain who were never documented because their murderers were killing with the authority of *de facto* impunity, and therefore, killing Indigenous peoples in South Texas and along the Rio Grande River was construed as a hyper-masculine 'right' to exercise freedom of speech, freedom to bear arms, and freedom to gather publically. This was born out of the settler constitution which enfranchised white males in Texas with 'rights to property' and 'rights to vote.' These three interlocking rights of the white citizen scaffolded white male ranching identity in a settler, industrialist, feudalistic and separatist social sphere of domination.

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http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+lynching+of+persons+of+Mexican+origin+or+descent+in+the+United+...-a0111897839, (accessed December 10, 2009). "The lynching of persons of Mexican origin or descent has been largely overlooked by historians of American mob violence. This essay offers the first attempt to construct a systematic set of data on the subject. The authors contend that between 1848 and 1928, mobs lynched at least 597 Mexicans. Traditional interpretations of western violence cannot account for this phenomenon. The actual causes of mob violence against Mexicans were several-fold: race and the legacy of Anglo American expansion, economic competition, and diplomatic tensions between Mexico and the United States. Throughout this era, Mexicans formulated numerous means of resistance against Anglo mobs. These included armed self-defense, public protest, the establishment of mutual defense organizations, and appeals for aid to the Mexican government." "The most systematic abuse of legal authority was by the Texas Rangers. Their brutal repression of the Mexican population was tantamount to state-sanctioned terrorism. Although the exact number of those murdered by the Rangers is unknown, historians estimate that it ran into the hundreds and even thousands."

[19] Ibid. Lydia Esparza García, Eloisa García Támez, Salvador Loya, respectively.

The number of lynchings which scholars have been able to glean from the historical fragments minimizes the numbers of victims and their identities; because the killer's names were officially censored their victim's names were often homogenized or slurred as "Pablos" and "Juans." Nor do the numbers reveal the murders and the murderers which occurred *along* the U.S.-Mexico boundary line—a *de facto* 'out of law zone' throughout the late 19th and early 20th century. In the boundary area, bodies could have been hidden, covered up, thrown in the river and relied upon to decompose as they washed out to the Gulf of Mexico. Texas' documented lynchings of "Mexican-descent" peoples far outdistanced other border and Western states during the same time period. For instance, the same report provided figures for the rest of the bordered region: California (188), Arizona (59), New Mexico (49), Colorado (6), Nevada (3), Nebraska (2), Oklahoma (2), Oregon (2), and others with fewer numbers have been documented.[20]

Ben Johnson calculated a larger structural complex of killing sites and styles which increased that figure. He states, "several percent of the population of deep south Texas died during the Plan de San Diego uprising, for the 1910 census counted about forty thousand in Cameron and Hidalgo counties. Even a lower death tool would mean that a Tejano in south Texas was more likely to "disappear' than a citizen of Argentina during the country's infamous "Dirty War" of the 1970s."[21] The majority of the Indigenous population was forced to surrender their weapons, during the height of the 1915 killing rampages. When a settler group imposed rule disarming an already persecuted and disenfranchised group, this was a sign of high risk for mass extermination. Given the histories of Indigenous peoples in the region, per the first four

[20] Ibid.

[21] 120.

chapters of this dissertation, it was also predictable that a "large exodus" occurred after September 1915, when army officers began rounding up the munitions of all "Mexicans."

Thousands fled for their lives taking very few possessions, and migrating south across the Rio Grande en masse. The lands were left severely depopulated. According to Johnson's analysis, army reports at the time estimated that "two thirds" of all the people abandoned lands and property, with a small resilient group clutching on at Los Indios. Hunger, small pox, warfare, diaspora, and desperate refugees spread throughout the Lower Rio Grande, and the northeast Mexican rural countryside and urban areas.

In these desperate circumstances, vulturism by Texas Rangers and citizens preyed upon those who remained steadfast to their lands—in the rancherías along the Rio Grande, along the last 20 miles of the river: La Encantada, El Ranchito, El Calaboz, La Paloma, Las Milpas, Los Indios, and Las Rusias.[22] Johnson's reading of army reports indicated extensive predatory land burnings, destruction of crops, and purges of women and children who were desperately seeking food and water. Texas Rangers continued ethnic cleansings from significant land grant communities in Rancho Leona, Rancho Nueva, and Rancho Viejo.[23] The families remaining eked out a sliver of existence by tightening clan resources, traditional food systems, and knowledge of the land and water. Indigenous networks were crucial to survivance—and were forced to go *beyond* the rigid colonial order of *casta*, hacienda, and servitude which their ancestors had forged as the accepted social order between rancho and ranchería.

The borders between the Indigenous elites and the macehualli populist leaders had to loosen in order for the communities along the river to survive the prevailing order of death to the

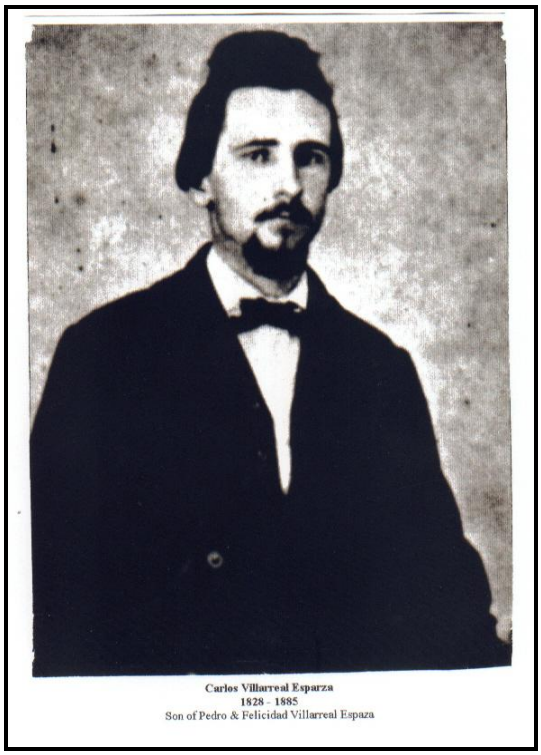
[22] 121-123.

[23] 123.

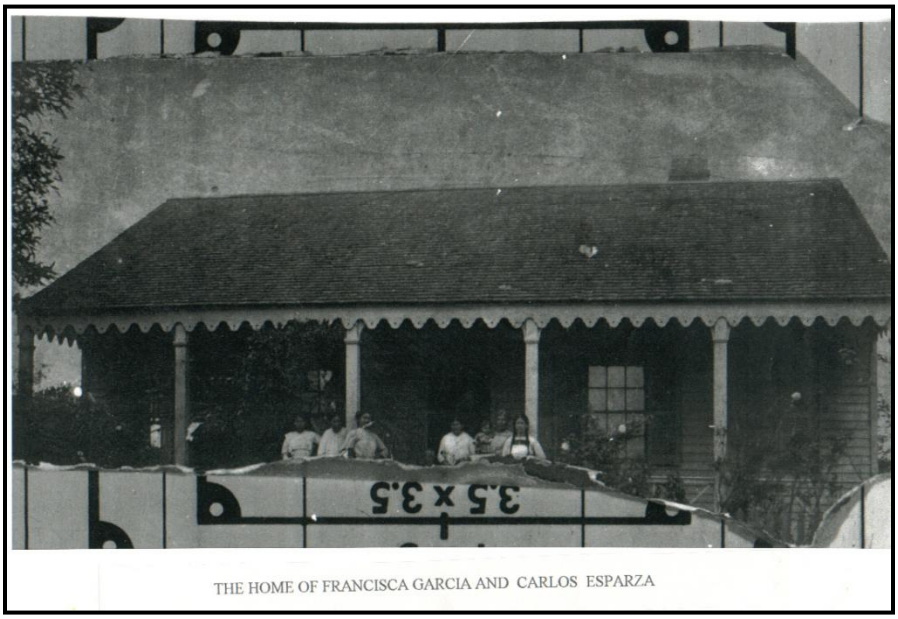
highest power. Many found refuge in relationships they cast strategically with each other, and with the U.S. Army. Men noticeably and actively sought out service opportunities to shield their families and themselves from Anglo killing sprees. Local army commanders desired chaperones in the communities along the river—considered a security threat in all directions.

The next generation, (which included my grandmother), would take huge risks as soldiers and soldiers' wives in entering the U.S. services and constructing identities of Indigenous rural agrarian peoples at the margins of civic duty to the United States—a strategic decision as an alternative to being killed off as "primitive Mexicans" in South Texas. In this way, the women and men of the Lower Rio Grande reformed their commitments to the lands, and did so in an evolving and ever-complex Indigenous citizenship through military and civil service which allowed them some measures of hope to maintain their presence on the lands.

In consideration of these larger patterns of genocide, extra-legal killings, killing fields, and execution-style mass crimes against Indigenous peoples from 1848 and into the mid twentieth century, Nicolas' death *must be interrogated critically* as explicitly intertwined with the documented executions of his blood relatives. Principally his genealogical ancestry to Moctezuma II and Tecuichpo, and numerous historical Indigenous and European conquerors, his land grants which secured his legitimate Indigenous rights to Crown title and secured his and his families' ownership of lands, waters, and minerals, *in perpetuity*, were *compelling* issues surrounding his death which cannot be dismissed self-explanatorily.



Carlos Villarreal Esparza I (November 4, 1828 – September 25, 1885)
Direct lineal descendent of Moctezuma II, Tecuichpotzin, Hernan Cortéz, King Ferdinand II of Spain). Collection of the Author.



La Encantada ('El Ranchito') main house. Collection of the Author.





Francisca Benavides García (Abt. 1834 – February 21, 1914). Collection of the Author.

Carlos Villarreal Esparza I

Carlos Villarreal Esparza I, a Direct descendent of Moctezuma II, Tecuichpotzin, and King Ferdinand II of Spain, married Francisca Benavides García. (Her family names include Guerra, Treviño, Gutierrez, Elizondo, Uribe, Moreno, Galvan, Martinez, Ayala, Sepulveda, Rentería, Gonzalez, Navarro, Quintanilla, Guevara). Francisca's lineage, through the Treviño, Navarro, and Sosa families, situates her at the intersections of Portuguese, Basque, and Tlaxcalteca silver and salt mine expeditions, colonizations, and settlements of key sites (missions, pueblos, towns, industries, markets) on the Camino Real de la Plata.

Carlos Esparza I operated and ran La Encantada Ranch prior to his father's death in 1879.[24] Carlos was a good business man and a shrewd politician. During and after the Mexican-American War he joined his cousin, Juan Cortina, another land owner in the trans-River Indigenous-Texas-Mexico border region, to help the rural *Originario* peoples protect their land from the Anglo settlers coming from the north.



Juan Nepomuceno Goseascochea, (May 16, 1824 – October 30, 1894). Born in Camargo, Tamaulipas, México and died in Mexico, D.F., México. Seventh cousin, four removed from Author.
Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Juan_Nepomuceno_Cortina.jpg

When the war ended, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed by the Mexican government and the U.S. government, guaranteed the Mexican settlers to keep their land but many settlers from

[24] Carlos Villarreal Esparza I's father was Pedro José Guajardo Esparza (March 4, 1792 – c. 1879) who was born in Lampazos, Nuevo León and died in La Encantada, Cameron County, South Texas. Pedro was a direct descendent of Moctezuma II, Acatlan, and Mariana Leonor Moctezuma. He and his wife, Felicidad Galan Villarreal de Esparza were among the earliest Originario settlers in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. They inherited 1/9 of the San Pedro de Carricitos Land Grant from Felicidad's sister, Maria Conception Galan Villarreal and her husband José María Villarreal, who was the son of Pedro Villarreal, the original grantee of the San Pedro de Carricitos Crown grant. The original grant to three sisters, Gertrudes, Felicidad, and Inocente Villarreal, was 12, 730.59 acres. EFGA, "Notes: Pedro Jose Guajardo Esparza."

the United States wanted this land and tried to force the Mexican land owners back across the Rio Grande River into Mexico.

The larger land owners and the smaller ranchers who joined the Cortinistas tried to organize and help the rural peoples protect their lands along the River. Though many lost their land and left the area the Cortinistas succeeded in protecting La Encantada Ranch and other ranches in the area. Carlos continued to manage the ranch until his father's death. La Encantada was then divided by the heirs of Pedro and Felicidad Galan Villarreal (c. 1794 – October 18, 1858).[25] Carlos inherited 1/6th of the ranch from his parents. He also purchased the 1/6th inheritance of each of his two sisters Candelaria and Inez giving him one half of La Encantada Ranch. Carlos continued ranching on his portion of the land where he and his wife Francisca Garcia raised their family.

During the Civil War the need for supplies made many in the area prosperous. With the money he made Carlos was able to buy additional land for his ranch. After the war ended Carlos built a home for his family. It was probably the nicest and largest home in the area at that time. It was a large wooden home with a large porch in the front and back. The home was destroyed by the hurricane in 1933.

Carlos' father in law, Ramon Garcia, was also a land owner in the San Pedro de los Carricitos land grant. When he died he left his land to his children. Most of Francisca's siblings did not stay and sold their land to Carlos and Francisca. The growing ranch was a powerful asset to their 8 children: Jose, Roman, Rosalio, Antonio, Carlota, Felipa, Juan Francisco and Maria

[25] Felicidad Galan Villarreal, direct descendent of King Ferdinand II of Spain, was born in Lampazos de Naranjo, Nuevo León and died in La Encantada, Cameron County, South Texas. A direct descendent of the Garza-Falcon and Treviño hidalgos and hacendados, she inherited land-grants from her father and grandfather in current-day Cameron, Dimmit, and Webb counties. The Villarreals and Galans were associated with founding key mining haciendas in Nuevo León and Coahuila.

Rita. All of Carlos and Francisca's sons raised families on the ranch, getting involved in local government, education and religious needs of the area.

Disaggregating the 'Ethnic' and 'Mexican' in Border Lenses

Due to the fact that many of the land grant descendents today do not wish to divulge troubling, controversial, and deeply wounding histories about the events surrounding the executions of ancestors it has become necessary to draw from the analysis of Ben Johnson, and his investigation into the "bloody suppression" against "ethnic Mexicans," published in his monograph, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans.* To date, Johnson's work, more than any other treatment of the Texas-Mexico border violence of the early 20th century, has situated critical, structural, and political scaffolds for a much closer interrogation of the peoples involved and the larger forces at work in the execution-style murders and death of Carlos Villarreal Esparza and Nicolas Villarreal Esparza, Jr. In this section, I provide an analysis in support of Indigenous peoples' perspectives of the genocidal warfare against the independent Indigenous peoples of the La Encantada, San Pedro de Carricitos, and El Calaboz Ranchería societies.

Setting his narrative analysis in the context of an investigation into the local and transnational forces at work in the famous 1915 uprisings along the southern tip of South Texas and Tamaulipas, Mexico, Johnson interrogated

> ...a series of raids by ethnic Mexicans on ranches, irrigation works, and railroads, [which] quickly developed into a full-blown rebellion. Groups of armed men—some from across the Rio Grande, others seemingly from out of nowhere—stole livestock, burned railroad bridges, tore up tracks, killed farmers, attacked post offices, robbed stores, and repeatedly battled local posses, Texas Rangers, and the thousands of federal soldiers dispatched to quell the violence. The groups ranged

> from two to three assailants who quickly vanished into the brush to scores of well-organized and disciplined mounted men.

When I read this description, *one*, I was immediately reminded of how American historians continue to express discomfort in assigning Indigeneity to 'border people' and thus perpetuate the 'vanishing Indian myth through the unexamined use of "ethnic" (problematic in that it refers to Gamio's 'regional' gaze) and *two*, that the "well-organized and disciplined mounted men" sounded very much like Apache, Chichimeca, Comanche and Tlaxcalteca expert rangers of the 17th-19th centuries—a warfare which has not ever ended for Indigenous peoples. I took a closer look to read across the grain of Johnson's monograph.

Setting his analysis connecting these "raids" to the "Plan de San Diego", a plan, calling for a "'liberating army of all races'(composed of Mexicans, blacks, and Indians) to kill all white males over age sixteen and overthrow United States rule in Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California."[26] "In response, vigilantes and Texas Rangers led a far bloodier counterinsurgency that included the indiscriminate harassment of ethnic Mexicans, forcible relocation of rural residents, and mass executions. The wave of terror left few south Texans untouched. Prominent citizens formed Law and Order Leagues and carried out many of the atrocities. The Rangers and vigilantes took a high toll on the population."

During the 1915 Anglo militia and Texas Rancher organized killing fields of South Texas, decapitations, burning people alive, dismembering bodies, lynchings, burned fields, wounded and killed livestock, and executions of clusters of males were normed accepted forms of establishing Anglo law systems. This period of mass killings was intrinsically connected to

[26] Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas,* 1.

the larger pattern of mass murders against Indigenous peoples of South Texas—northern Mexico prior to and after 1848.

After 1848, calls by settler groups, as far north as San Antonio, typically reflected the deeply-seated anti-Indigenous attitudes and beliefs of the incoming white settler society. For example, Johnson raised these to light. A San Antonio article stated, "findings of dead bodies of Mexicans, suspected for various reasons of being connected with the troubles, has reached a point where it creates little or not interest. It is only when a raid is reported or an American is killed that the ire of the people is aroused."[27]

By 1915, there was a public consensus among white settlers that the Indigenous people, (who Johnson subsumes into the borderlands category "Mexican ethnics") were disposable, like the Indigenous ancestors of previous centuries. In the Anglo-vision of Texas and South Texas, there was little acknowledgement or hint that Anglos comprehended the world of the borderlands from Indigenous peoples' perspectives, nor acknowledged the constructed history of Spanish imperialist conquest, genocides and capitalist expropriations of land nor the human labor which constructed the stratified and heterogeneous society of the Texas-Mexico borderlands. Indigenous struggles were haughtily dismissed as 'uprisings' by 'savages' and 'bandits' who were biologically 'inferior' and 'mongrels.' Anglo discourse typically disavowed the construction of whiteness as a marker of settler imperialism and frontier genocide, and focused their land-lust on Indigenous peoples in the bordered lands as 'regressive,' 'savage,' and 'uncivilized'—unfit for the new civilization under development by progressive Anglo immigrants.

[27] Ibid, 3.

Yet, the whites' genocidal calls for annihilation of the very peoples who they identified as homogenous "Mexican workers" echoed the genocidal tendencies of their Spanish predecessors in South Texas and northern Mexico. "[T]he recent happenings in Brownsville country indicate that there is a serious surplus population there that needs eliminating," argued the editor of the *Laredo Times*." Neither phenotype, class status, military service, nor religion excluded Indigenous peoples—across a heterogeneous and classed society—from being lumped together into a monolithic multitude of non-White. Carlos Villarreal Esparza I, a light-skinned Nahua descendent of Moctezuma II, Tlaxcaltecas, Hernán Cortez and King Ferdinand II, who owned valuable Crown-granted lands with water and riparian rights *in perpetuity*, could not escape the "Anglo brutality" of land grabs of the late 1880s which severely effected Cameron County rural peoples. His son, Carlos Villarreal Esparza II, could not escape the 1915 genocidal killing fields which defined South Texas as a necropolitical order.

Between 1910 and 1916, large masses of people fled their lands along the Lower Rio Grande, desperate to escape the ethnic blood wars unleashed upon the Indigenous elites, macehualli and landless—as well as the ongoing wars to purge the lands of Ndé peoples clutching on to their lands. According to Johnson, "Perhaps those who fled chose wisely, for even observers hesitant to acknowledge Anglo brutality recognized the death toll was at least three hundred. Some of those who found human remains with skulls marked by execution-style bullet holes in the years to come were sure that the toll had been much, much higher, perhaps five thousand."[28]

The U.S. imperialist conquest of Mexico's northern territories, (1845-1848), and with it numerous Indigenous sovereigns, was a devastating and traumatic process for the region's

[28] Ibid., 3.

peoples. "In some places hordes of Americans simply overran the previous Mexican and Indian residents."[29] Anglo settlers gave minimal acknowledgement of the rights of established Iberian, Mexican, and Indigenous pobladores or to the Indigenous aboriginals of the lands they took through armed force.[30] In particular, Southerners from African slave-based economies cautioned against the annexation of Mexico, calling upon the discourse of racial purity, nostalgia of their mythical Greek genealogy, White superiority, and centuries-long racism against Spanish America as the rationales to bolster more formalized armed citizen strongholds and to construct walls of anti-miscegenation between Anglo-settler utopias and the Indigenous-Iberian American worlds they stole through armed force.[31]

Since 1820, Anglo Southerners had been flooding northern and eastern Texas, and their immigration reached a high point between 1850-1875, as a result of a bundle of laws forcibly removing and relocating millions of Indigenous southerners, and opening up Texas as a utopic 'promised land' for hopeful yeoman farmers and ranchers.[32] "Although many Tejanos, Tlaxcaltecas, and Lipan Apaches fought side-by-side with White Anglos in the Battle of the Alamo and other battles in the fight for Texas independence, (1836), "Most Anglo Texans soon came to see their rebellion as the triumph of white people over "the mongrel and illicit descendents of … Indian, Mexican, and Spanish. They expelled Mexicans en masse from much of central and east Texas, from the very towns that they had founded."[33]

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[29] Ibid., 10. See also, Anderson, Gary Clayton; Montejano, David.

[30] *See* Castañeda, Antonia; Heidenreich, Linda.

[31] *See* Kiernan, Benjamin; Anderson, Gary Clayton.

[32] *See* Anderson, 18-42.

[33] Johnson, 11.

In South Texas, a longer history of alliances between elite hacienda and ranch owners, and their Indigenous familiars galvanized frontier militia relationships and these had their roots in the Spanish-Tlaxcalteca colonization of the Ndé domains. The Texas Rangers arose in response to *trans-national and trans-River* Indigenous popular revolts—largely represented by rural Indigenous peoples—against imperialist, colonialist, and feudalist rural systems built upon centuries of *de facto* and *de jure* exploitative labor systems.

Many Texas Rangers had previous experience in the so-called "Indian Wars."[34] One could say they were killing specialists.[35] From the perspective of Indigenous poblador and Indigenous aboriginals of South Texas, the blood wars for which they paid dearly were driven by inter-ethnic conflicts between the contrasting imperialist objectives of Irish, Scot, Southerners, and Iberian elites. The economic and political competitions for land, water, oil, and power, between Euro-American ethnic groups, led to a full-scale genocide in the Lower Rio Grande.

By 1915, bands of Texas Rangers comprised of all whites played an important role in maintaining states of exception, zones of terror, and grotesque spectacles which were core to a South Texas creed of vigilantism.[36] The training of killing specialists in the extermination wars against Indigenous peoples in the West and Mexico borderlands was the brainchild of General George Crook, passed down to his protégé, Captain John G. Bourke, Third Cavalry, U.S. Army.[37] By 1915 in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, Bourke took Crook's instructions to new heights when he was called to duty at Ft. Brown across from Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Mexico—a crucial port for exportation.

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[34] *See* Anderson, 232, 239, 242, 351, 353.

[35] *See* Kiernan, 334-349.

[36] Johnson, 11.

[37] John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1971).

Bourke brought years of extermination trainings in Wounded Knee and the Crook wars to subjugate Apaches across the Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Mexico border lands; he was a self-described "obedient servant" to the will of U.S. imperial objectives. He was thoroughly familiar and a field expert in negotiating with the goals and objectives of local economic elites who demanded that South Texas be developed agriculturally, have access to abundant water, global markets, industrialized communication, transportation, and standing armies to defend their progressive agendas which included free access to cheap labor. The U.S. government recruited Bourke back to the frontlines of 'Indian Wars' in the Lower Rio Grande, as he had ample experience navigating Apaches, Comanches, and Indigenous peoples of Mexico's northern regions, and Spanish. He not only held expertise in subjugating Indigenous popular unrest and uprisings, by 1892, he had developed his own methodologies for ferreting out, destabilizing and discrediting local spiritual and folk leaders who were revered among Indigenous peoples for the express purpose of undermining Indigenous governance. In the process he developed methods for converting neophyte Indigenous recruits into ranked servitude scouts, cooks, stockmen, and low-wage indentureds for the U.S. Army.

Using white, male and military privilege—a triad weapon of imperialism—Bourke devised methods to exploit Indigenous peoples' poverty—in a political economic landscape of *de jure* segregation, and ethnic blood wars. Undoubtedly, many impoverished, traumatized, and malnourished people were willing to work for food or provisions to chaperone Bourke as he established micro-corps of local Indigenous colonies leading him to important sources of information about local peoples. This system which trickled down from his days with General Crook in the hegemonic "Chiricahua Apache Wars," worked to fracture and to divide Indigenous clans and individuals against their own blood-relatives. Thus, Bourke introduced an era of white-

male militarized paternalism which eased the penetration of low-intensity conflict against *macehualli* and their supporters among the elite Indigenous land owners, who themselves had histories of struggles, rebellion and litigiousness against European dispossession. Bourke's' tactics, to him and to his contemporaries, were considered humane lessons which would elevate primitives of his 'North American Congo.'[38] Of utmost concern for capitalists was the intensity of Indigenous uprisings and their misunderstood social organization which enabled many groups across the Hispanicized countryside to support them in their revolutionary struggles. Anglos' general lack of education and knowledge of Indigenous peoples' histories, and the history of Spanish colonization—welded in their own racist zeal and negation of *both* Indian and Spaniard—deprived them of comprehending Indigenous peoples' deep analysis and intellectual literacies critiquing imperialism which was borne out of their social movements against it. The underlying cause of Bourke's re-entry into the so-called 'American Congo,' South Texas, and into wars against Indigenous peoples and the repression of their social and political resurgencies

[38] John G. Bourke, *Apache Medicine-Men*, (Toronto: Dover Publications, Inc.), 1993. "Recent deplorable occurrences in the country of the Dakotas have emphasized our ignorance and made clear to the minds of all thinking people that, notwithstanding the acceptance by the native tribes of many of the improvements in living introduced by civilization, the savage has remained a savage, and is still under the control of an influence antagonistic to the rapid absorption of new ideas and the adoption of new customs. This influence is the "medicine-man." Who and what are the medicine-men (or medicine-women), of the American Indians? What powers do they possess in time of peace or war? How is this power obtained, how renewed, how exercised? What is the character of the remedies employed? […] Such a discussion will be attempted in this paper, which will be restricted to a description of the personality of the medicine-men, the regalia worn, and the powers possessed and claimed. […]." " It will only be after we have thoroughly routed the medicine-men from their intrenchments and made them and object of ridicule that we can hope to bend and train the mind of our Indian wards in the direction of civilization. In my own opinion, the reduction of the medicine-men will effect more for the savages than the giving of land in severalty or instruction in the schools at Carlisle and Hampton; rather, the latter should be conducted with this great object mainly in view: to let pupils insensibly absorb such knowledge as may soonest and most completely convince them of the impotency of the charlatans who hold the tribes in bondage."

supported the U.S. governments' interests in developing large-scale agriculture in the region, cattle stock and beef necessary for feeding U.S. armies.[39]

The Anglo militia's mass destruction of human life, lands, crops and fields of Indigenous farmers and traditional rural peoples had a freezing effect on the Indigenous labor pool. They fled the area en masse taking only what they could carry.[40] Agriculture, ranching and mining bosses, who each desired the important Spanish Crown lands along the river, were only concerned by the larger patterns of the genocides as they affected their access to a steady and controlled aboriginal labor surplus.[41] Bourke was called to South Texas to lend his expertise in hunting down *the hunters* who had been trained in U.S. tactics of genocidal warfare.[42] "It was no accident that the army captain sent to crush the … rebellion referred to south Texas as "an American Congo."[43]

As in the Arizona / New Mexico / Mexico borderlands, Bourke's special skills lay in his ability to purge lucrative lands of aboriginals at whatever cost in order for the Liberal doctrine of progress to march forward. Railroads and communication systems were key technologies which structured the movement of soldiers, materials, food, supplies, and workers to and from killing sites. Technologies industrialized the increased inter-locking industries of transcontinental

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[39] Elliott Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004,) 108-110. Bourke had already established a presence along the Texas-Mexico and Lower Rio Grande bordered region during the repression of Catarino Garza's revolution in 1891, when he was commander at Ft. Ringgold and eventually collided with popular resistance in the LRGV. However the lack of rail to the LRGV made his work the more difficult as it impeded the ability to transport soldiers quickly to the region.

[40] Johnson. 120-123.

[41] Johnson, 77, 105; See also Roberto R. Calderón, *Mexican Coal Mining Labor in Texas and Coahuila, 1880-1930* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000); Casey Walsh, *Building the Borderlands: A Transnational History of Irrigated Cotton Along the Mexico-Texas Border* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2008).

[42] Johnson, 27. 114,

[43] Johnson, 27.

markets, security, and militarization. Local ranching elites in the Lower Rio Grande explicitly tied their hopes for gaining a foothold in global textile, cattle, coal, ore, and oil markets to the twin goals of railroad construction, to connect them to those markets, and the repression of aboriginal peoples—land holders and macehualli laborers alike.[44]

Bourke had the dual job to suppress the uprisings of allied Indigenous macehualli and their closely knitted relationships with the original Indigenous *pobladores* who carried *merced* titles to land, water and mineral rights. Ndé vaquero peoples who lived along the river societies and within the barbed-wired and patrolled expropriated Ndé homelands worked along several axis in the larger struggles for Indigenous survival. Bourke's deeper problems, in terms of containing the unrest, was to disrupt white vigilantes and Texas Rangers from further slayings, in light of the fact that they had been given impunity to slaughter according to their own discretion. Because those who he sought to deter were also trained as killing specialists, with experiences in numerous war operations against Indigenous peoples, Bourke encountered numerous challenges in securing the region for its inclusion into the U.S. and Texas imperialist visions of transcontinental consolidations for global markets.

One large obstacle, relative to white settler resistance to miscegenation and related hardened constructions of racial borders, and the intersection of these with the collision of national identities at the border, was the fixation on "plenty of cheap Mexican labor" desired by Southern planters and the "proposals for a more systematic and formal ethnic cleansing [which] accompanied the de facto effects of these private and extralegal efforts." In 1915, Robert Kleberg, the King Ranch manager,

> …proposed the establishment of martial law in south Texas. He argued that authorities should require every person to give an account of his coming and goings and that such as

[44] Calderón, *Mexican Coal Mining Labor, Ibid.*

> were unable to , he would gather in concentration camps along the river from Rio Grande City [to] the Gulf about 100 miles. To stifle the raids, Kleberg argued, the concentration camp residents should be given 'employment in clearing a zone a mile wide from the river northward,' and a road should be built "along the edge of the clearing for the use of the military."[45]

Under the Kleberg's helm, the King Ranch grew from a five hundred thousand acre operation to nearly "one and a quarter million acres." During the crucial period, between 1880 and 1913, the Young-McAllen family was deeply embroiled in the trans-national cotton textiles, ranching, and railroad development as well and through inter-marriage with the Ballí Spanish land-grantees, amassed "approximately 240,000 acres of land throughout the Rio Grande Valley, in addition to cattle, sheep, horses, equipment, and buildings."[46] During this time-period, powerful machine figures such as James B. McAllen, Judge James B. Wells,, Mifflin Kenedy, H.T. McCabe, and numerous attorneys and functionaries of the feuding Republican and Democratic parties—both bent on development schemes for the Lower Rio Grande Valley. The McAllen's with their Tejano blood relations were instrumental in "the main order of business... a railroad."[47] It was the 'security' of transporting cattle to Mexican markets which figured large in the ledgers of elite ranching families. And, it was the promise of the continued development of trans-national railroad ties to the elites in northeastern Mexico—from Reynosa, Monterrey, Saltillo, and Matamoros—which gilded the imaginaries of South Texas Euro-American 'pioneer' families. The lavish consumption of the elites, as illustrated in the McAllen family memoirs, held up as

[45] Johnson, 123;

[46] Mary Margaret McAllen Amberson, et al., *I Would Rather Sleep in Texas, Ibid.,* 391.

[47] Ibid., 387. "In November 1884, about a hundred men from across Hidalgo and Cameron Counties met to organize the Brownsville, Rio Grande and Laredo Railroad. The group elected William Kelly as the chairman and Emmette H. Goodrich, secretary. Community leaders addressed the group and a preliminary organization was formed, composed of five men from each county through which the proposed railroad would run. From Cameron County, Gilbert Matthews Raphael, Fulgencio San Román, William Kelly, Humphrey E. Woodhouse, Mayor Thomas Carson, and C. E. Miller were selected."

the markers of racial and ethnic 'success', which signify the norming of violence, consumption and repression of the Indigenous underclass upon which this wealth was based:

> "On Thanksgiving Day 1884, shortly after their railroad convention, many of the same men celebrated their progress at a gala ball in Brownsville. People came in from Matamoros and surrounding counties. The Daily Cosmopolitan reported, "Since the famous leap-year ball, we have not had in this city anything so unquestionably a social success as the ball given by the young gentlemen of this city at the court house las eveing. … Also, that year Brownsville society threw lavish balls. At New Year's Eve celebrations, women dressed in the latest Parisian fashions from L. N. Petitpain in Matamoros and adorned themselves with diamonds and pearls. Petitpan, a French Creole from New Orleans, carried high-end textiles, shoes, clothing, and millinery…. The women also ordered fine millinery from M. E. Kepple, an immigrant from Switzerland, as well as from Miss Celina Bollack…. Many of these balls were orchestrated by George and Augusta Krausse."[48]

The pioneer memoir as official regional history narrated necropower as the central legitimate imaginary and entailed meticulous censorship of the ever-pressing social, economic and political injustices driving the increasingly armed resistances by Indigenous multitudes from below.[49] As pioneers supplanted the 'native enemy Other' and implanted themselves in the center of South Texas *nativism* they populated the imagined promised land with Euro-American idyllic scapes of "a large laboring class of Mexican American citizens." This back-grounded multitude of Indigenous peoples ensured for elites that

> Life was relatively calm, with most natives enjoying sporting events, hunting, baseball, seasonal celebrations, and gossiping. Bailes at Fort Brown and musical presentations given by the Incarnate Word Catholic Church were also attended. Musical productions like H.M.S. Pinafore were staged at the opera house… Women shopped in the central market and men had time for a daily shave at the "Tonsorial Parlors" nearby…. The people of Brownsville enjoyed each other.

[48] Ibid., 387-388.

[49] For two of numerous examples of this rhetorical management of the 'Other' as a colonial development discourse, see McAllen, Ibid., 386, W. H. Chatfield narrative; and Ibid., 389, top of page.

It is only in the fractured margins of the pioneer and settler imaginary, labeled cryptically as "changes," "tensions," and "outbreak." Obstructions to Euro-American progress fueled intergenerational narratives which cemented Indigenous revolutionary politics as "banditry" and "raiding"—two deeply ingrained cognates of Irish, Scottish and German Euro-ethnic histories as marginalized peoples in the U.S., and a key to their social narrative history in South Texas.[50] Indigenous people's impoverished conditions—as a normative marker of White domination within the Euro-American South Texas feudal systems— were the basis of Indigenous revolutionary movements. Indigenous peoples' armed revolts to overthrow White domination was considered, by the McAllens, as a *rupture* to the idyllic "fin de siècle exuberance" which they constructed from Euro-emigrant imaginary of a paradise. Notably, it was the Euro-American families who most often turned to organized violence in the large-scale repression of the Indigenous resurgencies, and it was they who managed Indigenous labor forces in hyper-feudalist conditions. Indigenous peoples' impoverishment and subjugated social status in a large geo-politics of extra-legal conditions was considered only as a signifier of Euro-American nostalgia for the colonial conditions which established their dominance. Within their discourse of the economic and material management of stock are the Indigenous peoples, embedded within the political-economy of the South Texas cattle ranch. The labor force, documented in McAllen, King and Kleberg photographs of the era, display the Indigenous family as a fixture inter-twined

[50] In the McAllen's account of the resurgencies of the Indigenous peoples of the Lower Rio Grande and the trans-River communities—and the Euro-American increasing unease with the close proximity of these Indigenous transn-national networks which saturated the ranching empires which were dependent upon feudalist labor systems—the racially coded terms "bandits" and "raiders" were used in more than 79 instances within Chapter 17, "Tensions on the Border Never so High," alone.

with the fundamental products of their wealth accumulation--cattle.[51] Social resistance *as* upheaval and armed rebellion *against* the cruelties and horror of the white machine were narrated by local machine leaders as 'threats' by those they perceived as enemies.

In this complex, the Texas Ranger force encroaching upon South Texas aboriginal communities were predominantly emigrant Irish seeking work, wages, and opportunities within a larger social network of Irish outwardly-migrating communities across Texas hopeful to establish "a frontier society which lacked the restrictions of settled communities."[52] The Euro-ethnic emigrant network, a colonizing group, raised from within their clan structures "the legendary prowess of the Texas Rangers, as men on horseback, especially in dealing with the Indian problem."[53] The Texas Rangers implicated in the majority of the slayings of Indigenous peoples of South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande between 1880-1919, were frequently called upon to defend this powerful borderlands institution and elite class.[54] South Texas ranches, such as the King Ranch, took credit for pioneering "the use of barbed wire… its own rendering plants, and …its own breeds of improved cattle, such as the Santa Gertrudis. The ranch and the Kings and Klebergs—or their thinly fictionalized versions—were featured in dime novels, numerous

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[51] Ibid., 408-409, For instance, McAllen et al. state "In the early 1900s, life for the vaqueros and their families at the San Juanito remained remarkably similar to that of a century earlier. The new technologies, like electricity and indoor plumbing, did not reach outlying ranches until the 1950s…. The families at San Juanito [McAllen ranch] were fairly self-sufficient." Phrases to veil the harsh subjections on South Texas ranches in McAllen et al. are, for example, "Attuned to their surroundings," "self-sufficient," "based on ancient beliefs," "grew crops for subsistence." See photographs of Indigenous laborers in the McAllen-Young ranch economy, Ibid., 404-407, 409-412.

[52] Graham Davis, *Land!: Irish Pioneers in Mexican and Revolutionary Texas, Ibid.,* 187, 198.

[53] Ibid., 149.

[54] McAllen et al., Ibid. 336, 469, 447-476, 478-480, 483, 485, 487, 497; See also, Bruce S. Cheeseman, ed., Maria von Blücher's Corpus Christi: Letters from the South Texas Frontier, 1849-1879 (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002), 38-39, 167;

radio and television westerns, and classic movies such as Giant. […] Its labor practices resembled a plantation more than a corporation."[55]

The King and Kleberg names were associated with all major institutions of machine politics and social control in South Texas and the Texas-Mexico border. So too was their deeply rooted involvement in structuring their private Ranger militias' roles in the construction of the railroad, the development of trans-national cattle markets, and the interests in coal mining along the Lower Rio Grande River. The Texas Rangers, according to Roberto R. Calderón, helped to maintain the feudalist South Texas machine which treated Indigenous laborers as little more than surplus, often resulting in violent uses of armed force against 'Mexican' workers, resulting in wide-scale "unemployment or displacement of thousands of coal miners and laborers across the state."[56] The Texas Rangers, in supporting the machine's requests to repress Indigenous peoples open resistances to wide patterns of exploitation and abuse, performed numerous operations, led by South Texas luminaries such as Captain McMurray, who 'supervised' laborers on horseback and heavily armed.[57] Thus, in 1900, when Richard Kleberg planted "an experimental crop of cabbage and onions irrigated with well water" which successfully yielded a sizeable crop, it was not long before Kleberg, through "the state's railroad business" as well as other ranchers created a corporation. Their objective was to network Brownsville into "a national railway system." Thus, when Kleberg called upon his vast financial and political network to align with him in the construction of concentration camps in Cameron County, along the Lower Rio Grande, and to impose forced prison labor upon the indigenous land owners, whereby they would construct a

[55] *Ibid*., 127.

[56] Calderón, Ibid., 99.

[57] Ibid., 148, 162, 167,

road for armies to patrol the prisoners—he was pinpointing La Encantada, El Ranchito, El Calaboz, La Paloma, Los Indios, Las Milpas and Las Rusias rancherías for the target sites.

These communities shouldered the markings of Kleberg's partially implemented architecture for mass internment and pre-meditated holocaust.[58] As a social engineer for one of the most powerful private empires in North America—the King Ranch—, Kleberg viciously mapped out a 'final solution' for the taking of crucial river front lands—as he was a key investor in the railroad and continuance of the cattle industry on a hemispheric level. According to David Gutiérrez, by 1910,

> "Anglos had achieved political domination even in those areas that remained largely ethnically Mexican. Anglo Texans further consolidated their growing political power in the state through various legislative means. … One of the most effective methods of limiting the franchise in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in several Texas counties … White Man's Primaries limited the franchise exclusively to "qualified white" voters—a set of criteria which allowed local whites wide latitude in determining voter eligibility. In 1923 the Texas legislature established the white primary statewide. The poll tax required of all voters except those over sixty years of age … $1.50 to $1.75 per voter. Roughly equivalent to a full day's pay for black and Mexican workers, the poll tax effectively constrained thousands from participation in elections."[59]

Unfortunately for El Calaboz and La Encantada peoples, Military Highway (U.S. 281), was eventually built on top of the archaeological strata of the Spanish colonial *Camino Militar*, and cut through *the middle* of the communities, dissecting the women's lands and home sites. After

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[58] Sonia Saldívar-Hull, *Feminism on the Border: Chicana Gender Politics and Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 2,5, 15, 70, 90. "The history insists… we remember that the property these women desire is property denied them through terroristic methods employed by the Klu Klux Klan and the Texas Rangers." See also, David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 26-27. "Interethnic tensions were exacerbated by the Texas Rangers, who often took it upon themselves to 'keep the Mexicans in their place' through intimidation and violence. As one Texas scholar notes, "by the 1860s and 1870s the Texas Rangers had become a paramilitary 'corps that enjoyed the tacit sanction of the white community to do to Mexicans in the name of the law what others did extra-legally."

[59] Gutiérrez, Ibid., 27.

1915, as Kleberg designed, El Calaboz, El Ranchito, La Paloma and sister sites were pushed away from the river—approximately one mile from the Rio Grande..

Between 1915-1919, the Kleberg-King-McAllen systems imprinted a fractured and broken landscape, perpetrating atrocities upon thousands of Lower Rio Grande Valley Indigenous peoples. This society was built upon a deep transplantation of Southern Euro-ethnic racism which permeated Anglo settlements across the Texas-Mexico trans-River region. After the installation of a trans-national railroad system, the Euro-American settler society advocated fiercely—to local, state and national politicians— for the large-scale agricultural development of the entire region. They often pitched these demands as well through advertising campaigns which drew in opportunistic Southern and Midwest farmers and growers associations.[60] The advertisements and jingles used to entice new waves of transplanted settlers, evoked the necropolitical discourse of the 'frontier', 'paradise' the 'promised land' frequently alluding to the idyllic Euro-ethnic nostalgic references to a past interlacing development with blood-warfare, destruction, and genocide— "the passing of the old civilization and the coming of the new."[61]

In contrast, the Southern Anglo cotton-citrus growers, with roots in the political economy of Deep South, brought with them deeply ingrained 'laws' which separated and maintained borders between Blacks and whites, Indians and whites, and Blacks and Indians and ideas upholding constant migration, rootlessness, moving away from one region to another. For instance, in *Falfurrias: Ed C. Lasater and the development of South Texas*, Dale Lasater suggests that his family's emigration from Tennessee was based upon numerous popular

[60] Ibid, 27-33.

[61] Ibid., 29.

narratives of Texas as "unoccupied lands." [62] To the Lasaters and their relatives and associates such as the Cunninghams, Millers, and Caldwells, "Texas was a place for new beginnings. The Millers and the Caldwells were two Tennessee families who decided that the prospects on the Texas frontier appeared more promising than in the South."[63] And transplant, they did. Communities such as these rapidly spread their presence across the traditional lands of the Ndé in South Texas, seemingly blind to the oppressive system enclosing Indigenous peoples throughout the so-called 'open lands.' The open denial of obvious social arrangements between Whites and Indigenous peoples enabled emigrant Euro-ethnics to recreate themselves into 'new' social identities: South Texas agriculturalists—with Deep South roots. The Millers, Caldwells, and Cunninghams established sugar plantations and the Texas Sugar Grower's Association.[64] Agricultural boosters seemed to know this crucial identity of the Southern emigrant. They promoted a utopic narrative that 'Mexicans'—a surplus labor commodity—were docile, pacified, quiet *workers*. In this imaginary, 'Mexicans' *receded* into an idealized backdrop, and *vanished* out from sight necessary, and that the white settlers had no need to worry that their idyllic world would be penetrated by the presence of the Other. In fact, boosters gave the impression "that Mexicans were not even residents."[65]

By 1919, the railroad, communication systems, and nostalgic renderings of a Euro-American gentrification of the landscape attracted thousands, re-vamping south Texas into agricultural empire. Not surprising, the wars for water came hand-in-glove with the settlers'

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[62] Dale Lasater, *Falfurrias: Ed C. Lasater and the Development of South Texas* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1985), 10.

[63] Ibid., 11.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Johnson, Ibid., 29.

unquenchable thirst for get-rich-quick delusions. Benjamin Heber Johnson argues, "After the railroad, though, dozens of irrigation companies sprouted up, increasing the irrigated acreage in Cameron and Hidalgo counties from fifty thousand in 1909 to more than two hundred and twenty thousand by 1919. The value of farm property in south Texas quintupled from 1900 to 1920. In 1924, Hidalgo County became the nation's highest-producing agricultural county."[66] Carlos Villarreal Esparza and Nicolas Villareal Esparza, Jr.'s deaths must be configured in this larger context of genocidal warfare against Indigenous people, and the on-going disenfranchisement of the Ndé, Tlaxcalteca, Nahua and Indigenized-Basque in South Texas.

Flavia Muñiz Carrasco (Paternal Grandmother): Cúelcahén Ndé, Tuntsa' Ndé
February 18, 1905 – March 24, 1937

The western male history tradition ignores and represses Indigenous women and their intimate knowledges of settler and constitutionalist states because they explicitly raise incriminating evidence and critical questions regarding sexual violence as a weapon of destruction, ethnic cleansing, extermination, and genocide. Critical Indigenous women's histories, in the case of Lipan Apache women, exposes the underlying illegality of the settler state and its imperialist objectives exerted through industrialization, slave-based and ideologically tethered economies, traffick, and war as both a means and objective of destructive forms of capitalist accumulation. When we interrogate Indigenous women's lives and literacies in the killing fields of the Texas-Mexico bordered lands, we are confronted with atrocities and mass crimes against humanity, which complicate and destabilize how rights regimes have

[66] Johnson, Ibid., 30-31.

attempted to force-fit the situations and the rights of Indigenous peoples in human rights frameworks. The recovered histories of the Ndé maternal clans are not driven through a trail of legal challenges, as are those of the Esparza-Villarreal community. Rather, the literacies are dominantly based in oral histories, field work, and documented research using relatively recent methodologies influenced by the anthropology of genocide, gender, conflict areas, and settler societies.

The fragmented residuals of the Ndé in South Texas are a result of four major imperialist conquests and the violent removals and dispossessions of settlers and settler States in the Ndé homelands: the Spanish, Tlaxcalteca-Basque, Mexican, and Texan. The Cúelcahén Ndé (Lipan Apache Band), consist of the following clans: Cúelcahén Ndé (People of the Tall Grass), Tú é diné Ndé (Tough People of the Desert), Tú sìs Ndé (Big Water People), Tas steé be głui Ndé (Rock Tied to Head People), Buií gł ŭn Ndé (Many Necklaces People), and Zuá Zuá Ndé (People of the Lava Beds).[67] Flavia Carrasco Muñiz de la Fuente was lineally related to the Cúelcahén, Tú sìs, and Zuá Zuá Ndé.

Although it is a challenge, at the present time, to reconstruct the life of my grandmother Flavia, it is *very possible* to reconstruct the legal (*de jure*) and customary (*de facto*) structures of race, class, gender, sexual, economic, and political systems which dominated the world-system in which she was raised and lived as an Ndë woman under Spanish, Mexican, Texan and U.S. colonization. Through a brief survey of settler colonial law systems and structures, I am able to provide a framework for the inter-ethnic and blood warfare which characterized the South Texas and northern Mexico region and which dominated the lives of Indigenous peoples.

[67] The Lipan Apache Band of Texas, Inc., Official web site, http://www.lipanapachebandoftexas.com/main.html, (accessed December 10, 2009).

First and foremost, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, the lands of South Texas, the Lower Rio Grande and northeastern Mexico were never ceded by Ndé to any other group—Indigenous and/or European. All documented testimonies of Ndé contributing to this project are firm on that point, which is a legal point of aboriginal title and international law. Secondly, the context is heavily freighted by the fact of militarization and occupation. Between 1850-61, the U.S. deployed forces to the Texas-Mexico border and entered northern Mexico via Piedras Negras (Zuá Zuá peoples domain). Between 1865-1910 the U.S. Army deployed more forces to the Texas-Mexico border, during which Major General Sheridan, Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie, and Brigadier General Edward Ord each escalated the violence invaded the Rio Grande. Thus, by 1905, the year of Flavia Muñiz Carrasco's birth, the U.S. was in stages of launching yet another deployment to the Texas-Mexico border, which would last six years. Between 1911-1917, the U.S. deployed forces to fight four key Mexican opposition leaders: Huerta, Carranza, Villa and Zapata, during which Major General Frederick Funston and Pershing launched destructive wars across South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande Valley.[68]

Major structures were dramatically altered to destroy Indigenous traditional lifeways, vital institutions—such as kinship and reciprocity— and to destroy pathways and vectors for the continuance of Indigenous-based trade and economic systems. Forcibly incorporating Indigenous peoples into feudal industrial and feudal capitalist settler societies—as laborers, servants, and soldiers—was critical to this project, and the project of subjecting the region—transnationally—to *American-owned* and *controlled* mining, agriculture, and cattle. Indigenous lineal, clan and band governance of land-tenure and law over the exchange and movement of goods conflicted and clashed with Euro-American legal basis of comodification and ownership

[68] See in detail, Matt M. Matthews, *The US Army on the Mexican Border: A Historical Perspective*, The Long War Series, Occasional Paper 22, (Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007).

of the land and this conflict led to the violent bloodshed. The continuing dispossession of the Ndé through Euro-American constructions of 'Lipan Apaches' as enemies throughout Texas, eastern New Mexico, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Chihuahua was rationalized in the development of legalized colonization codes which carried forth the well-established "Doctrine of Just War," as a legal basis of settler societies' and settler States' alleged right of possession.

Spanish law had provided for limited Indigenous ownership of land through land grants made to Indigenous elites, caciques, settlers, crafts persons, and soldiers.[69] However, land grants to Indigenous were predicated on Indigenous 'acceptance' of incorporation through religious conversion, adoption of Spanish language instruction, and assimilation to European values, beliefs and norms. Part of the hispanicization process for Indigenous peoples, throughout current-day South and West Texas, and northern Mexico, was forced and coerced submission to dispossession and removal from customary ranging lands and the Ndé customary lifestyle. By 1786, after two centuries of violent warfare to resist the encroachment of the Tlaxcalteca-Basque colonization and the resulting fractures to families and clans as a result of the slave system and violent reactions against, many Ndé opted for cautious modes of 'peace.' According to Matthew M. Babcock, between 1793 and 1832, many bands and extended clans of Apaches had settled in establecimientos, (Spanish-Mexican reservations) "situated near presidios along New Spain's northern frontier. More precisely across the northern presidial line in Nueva Vizcaya (modern Chihuahua and Durango), from east to west, at least 800 Mescaleros settled at El Norte, 63 Mescaleros at San Elizaro, 254 Chiricahuas at Carrizal, and 408 Chiricahuas at Janos. Farther west in Sonora 77 Chiricahuas lived at Fronteras, 81 Chiricahuas at Bacoachi, and 86 Western

[69] Ibid. 4.

Apaches at Tucson. Finally, more than 200 miles north of El Paso, 226 Chiricahuas resided near the village of Sabinal, New Mexico."[70]

Lipan Apaches in South Texas had resisted numerous attempts by the Spanish authorities to remove, relocate and settle them. Due to Lipan resistances, according to Thomas A Britten, "The Lipan could also claim at least partial responsibility for New Spain's failure to lure settlers to its northern frontier."[71] Although Mexico's 1832 constitution—and ruling elites in Mexico City—provided for the Liberal inclusion of "native" "Indians" into the new Republic, the *de facto* policy in the northern frontier of northern Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León and South Texas within traditional Ndé territories was altogether a different reality. The Euro-American Spanish, Basque, and hispanicized Indigenous settlers had been thoroughly socialized to "exclude conquered Indians from voting and holding office. An inspector from Mexico sent to the northern frontier in 1834 characterized 'barbarian' nomads such as the Lipans [...] as part of the 'extended Mexican family,' who might qualify for citizenship, but only if they pledged allegiance to the government, adopted Catholicism, and joined settled communities."[72] Incorporating Lipans and their complex extended clans and kinship circuits by force continued to disrupt the norming being applied in establecimientos among the 'Apaches de Paz' who were "congregated in new town sites where they were reduced, pacified, and Christianized by encomenderos or by the religious orders."[73]

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[70] Matthew M. Babcock, "Turning Apaches into Spaniards: North America's Forgotten Indian Reservations," Ph.D. Dissertation, Southern Methodist University, May 17, 2008, 6-7.

[71] Thomas A. Britten, *The Lipan Apaches: People of Wind and Lightning* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 176.

[72] Ibid., 176.

[73] Ibid., 286.

Bearing this in mind, the world which my grandmother, her mother, and her grandmother inhabited was a complicated and dangerous terrain where Lipan Apaches and Lipan women were considered violable, foes, and commodifiable as captives, servants—but certainly not 'citizens.' Lipan male elites developed into 'Chiefs,' 'Capitanes,' and 'Caciques' by Euro-American norms of diplomacy, increasingly replaced Indigenous women as negotiators in both war and peace. Britten argues that Lipans continually destabilized development, settlement and colonization plans throughout the 1830s, which pressured "state and federal authorities [to continue] to deal with Indians as the Spaniards had done before them, signing peace treaties with various tribes as through they were sovereign nations rather than fellow citizens."[74] As far as Indigenous land-tenure, as expressed through Ndé customary use, habitation, stewardship and defenses of traditional territories, Britten adds that the Mexican government "was equally ambivalent about the critical issue of Indian land title. Indians, in the viewpoint of Mexican officials, did not possess property rights, although both the national and state governments possessed the authority to grant lands to them."[75] Thus, the Mexican constitutionalist frontier society shoved Lipans and Lipan women, such as Flavia's grandmother and mother, further into the shadows and margins of the newly mobilized settler states of Texas and Republic of Mexico. Although the Mexican Liberal constitution strictly outlawed slavery, (which immediately sparked secessionist movements among Mexican citizen-settlers of the Anglo-Texan emigration community), Lipan Apaches were not afforded the rights of 'freedom' granted to either Black or Indigenous slaves who were not politically perceived to be the official 'enemies' to the settler State and settler constitution. Lipan Apaches did not escape the ethnic, racial, and religious identification which

[74] Ibid., 177.

[75] Ibid.

lingered perniciously from Spanish colonial politics of 'civilizar o exterminar,' and the Mexican Texan settler society quickly used the 'Apache savage barbarian' and 'enemies' in the everyday practices of dispossession on the South Texas and northern Mexico frontier.[76] In this world, Lipan Apache women were denied personhood, suffrage, land-tenure through either customary Ndé or Mexican citizenship. The colonization laws codified the privileging of personhood rights—such as voting—land-tenure, citizenship and the amount an male could receive through assimilation to hispanicization and adoption of the Mexican patriarchal governance of the family, household, and property. Furthermore, the Mexican constitution privileged and encoded a patriarchal and nationalist concept: the "Mexican Family." "Mexican Families," (a Liberal concept and ideology which flattened and lumped together countless dispossessed, forcibly removed, and exploited Indigenous Peoples) upheld the State's normalization of coerced assimilation and re-modeled Indigenous settlers (borrowing from the 'noble' Tlaxcalteca colonizers of the 16th and 17th centuries) as the Mexican Republic's new 'model minorities' on the 'old Spanish-Lipan Apache' frontier. Article 7 states "the Act of the Mexican Congress, of the 6th April, 1830, Mexican Families who may voluntarily desire to become Colonists, shall be conveyed free of expense, subsisted during the first year, and receive a grant of land and the

[76] *The Constitution of the Republic of Mexico, and of the State of Coahuila & Texas*, Containing also an Abridgement of the Laws of the Gender and State Governments, Relating to Colonization. With Sundry Other Laws and Documents, not before Published, Particularly Relating to Coahuila and Texas. The Documents relating to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company; the Grants to Mssrs. Wilson and Exter, and to Col. John Dominguez, With a Description of the Soil, Climate, Productions, Local and Commercial Advantages of that Interesting Country, (New York: Ludwig & Tolefree, Printers, 1832). Art. 30, of the Law of the Mexican government of the 4th January, 1823, after the publication of said Law, there can be no sale or purchase of Slaves, which may be introduced inot the Empire. The children of slaves, born in the empire, shall be free at fourteen years of age." See 'No Slavery' codes, Art. 46, Art. 2d, Art. 4, Art. 5, Art. 9, Art. 10.

necessary implements of husbandry. They must conform to the laws of Colonization of the Federation and State in which they are settled."[77]

Common in heavy conflict zones, dispossession and disenfranchisement of Indigenous women from their former roles as stewards and decision-makers in and regarding matters of their territories was debased, demoralized and demoted to the marginalized and excluded. Heavily militarized by layers of Euro-American, Tejano, and Indigenous oligarchies and militancy, Indigenous peoples were codified as invisible vassals across the constitutions of Texas y Coahuila, the Republic of Mexico, and the Republic of Texas. For instance, this move by Liberal constitutions to privatize and individualize the notion of property and citizenship, and to banish and deport Indigenous peoples deemed unworthy of inclusion, is illustrated in Articles 5 and 6, of the Law of the Mexican Republic, of the 6th of April, 1830, whereby "[the] Government [which] may cause such number of convicts, destined for Vera Cruz and other places, as it may deem proper to be conducted to the colonies it may establish, to be employed in building fortifications, public buildings, and roads, which the respective Commissioners may deep necessary, and at the expiration of service shall be furnished with land, if he desire to become a colonist, subsistence for one year, and implements of husbandry; and will pay the expense of such families as may desire to accompany them."[78] In other words, Indigenous women, specifically Lipan Apache women, *subsumed* beneath male criminals and subjugated convicts, were rendered invisible and muffled into silence in matters of land-tenure and claims of aboriginal title which they chose to express in ways considered regressive, ignorant,

[77] Ibid., 17.

[78] Ibid., 17.

superstitious, and ill-suited for 'progressive' organizations building masculinist conceptions of 'nations' along the Texas-Mexico border.

The State granted to itself all rights over so-called "vacant lands"[79] and to outlaw "trade with the Indians"[80] in "arms and ammunition, in exchange for horses or mules."[81] These measures effectively curtailed Lipan Apache traditional exchange economies, and severely delimited Lipan Apache women's roles as stewards in their customary lands. The provision for a "National Militia," for the "official communication to be in Spanish," and stipulations that all legal colonists "must be Catholics" effectively outlawed Lipan Apaches norms of existence within Texas and Coahuila.[82] The most prominent *empresarios* (colonists) were granted significant titles, and formed the "Officers of the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company for the Years 1831-1832," and their Board of Directors and Trustees, situated in New York and Boston, commandeered the above provisions and stipulations to settle "two hundred families, one part ... Mexican and the other of European origin –(excepting Spaniards)."[83] According to Spanish, Mexican and Tejano law systems, the Indigenous People ("Mexican Families," "Mexican citizens," and "Mexican natives") were forced to endure lengthy 'proving' periods, at times up to ten years, before they would receive possession over their lands—*if* they survived the deprivations of the frontier modes of state, nation, and citizenship formation.[84]

[79] Ibid., 30.

[80] Ibid., 31.

[81] Ibid., 31.

[82] Ibid., 31.

[83] Ibid., 35.

[84] Ibid., 286-288.

The Liberal state, while conflicted in its broader goals of assimilating conquered Indigenous groups,—demonstrated biased exclusions towards *independent* ('unsettled') Indigenous peoples. Article 19 of the 1832 Constitution (Republic of Mexico and of the State of Coahuila y Texas), stated "Indians of all Nations, bordering on the state, as well as wandering tribes within its limits, shall be received in the market, without paying any duties on the products of their country; and if they declare in favor of our religion and institutions, they shall be entitled to the same quantity of land as spoken of in the 14th and 15th articles, always preferring native Indians to strangers."

Upholding 'colonization' as progressive, while simultaneously lumping 'Indian' with the 'stranger' as undesirable identities, the *Colonization Laws of the United Mexican States*, institutionalized the perpetuation of racism against Apaches in their homelands. The state enacted laws which enfranchised *both* Euro-ethnics and other emigrating Indigenous peoples who adopted the Liberal state's platform of "liberty, property, and civil rights of all foreigners" *which also required* that they professed the Catholic faith. This is an implicit referent to Tlaxcaltecas, and all subjugated and domesticated Indigenous groups who were granted lands in the state's continuing policy to checker-board Lipan lands and break up Lipan families across the region.[85]

The distribution of Ndé lands to other Indigenous settlers—a classic State maneuver of 'divide and conquer' also worked to forge the critical male-to-male, social-economic and political relationships as the norm between the masculine State and the male citizen of the Mexican frontier, thus fulfilling "his wish to become a settler in due form ... and [taking] an oath to support the Constitution of the General and State Government, [then] he is at liberty to

[85] *The Constitution of the Republic of Mexico, and of the State of Coahuila & Texas*, Ibid. 5, "Protection of Government. Art. 1."

designate any vacant land, and the *Political Authority* will grant it to him."[86] Under the Liberal Mexican constitution, single *men* (from Mexico and from the United States) who desired to emigrate into the Mexican state of Tejas y Coahuila were encouraged to increase their land grants by intermarrying with "native Mexicans." The patriarchal and Christian State codified and reinforced the European male, heterosexual and endogamous patterns of settler inter-marriage with native women to expand settler ownership over the land; again, a suppressed knowledge that Indigenous lands, title, and native women are interlocking cognates of the Spanish Crown land law. This law hurried the process of assimilation of Indigenous women into Spanish, Catholic social norms—exploiting Indigenous women's vulnerability in a stratified and largely dispossessed and disenfranchised Indigenous population.

The codification of 'native Mexicans' worked to flatten Mexico's Indigenous landless into national identities, and simultaneously increased the marginalization of Ndé as politically, socially, and economically fringed Indigenous 'savages' in the hierarchy of Mexican constitutional citizenship. The authority and base of the Tejas y Coahuila, Mexican national identity as a Liberal democracy (in the financial grip of financiers in Boston and New York) depended upon colonization, development and the related destruction of Ndé territories, families, women, and traditional governance. Mexico's earliest state formations borrowed heavily from Spanish colonial ideologies of 'the enemy' by reinforcing the Enlightenment idea of settlement in Lipan lands was a form of civilizing and taming the supposed savage and regressive Indians in Texas. At the same time, by importing Indigenous 'native Mexicans' as model pioneer women, Mexico's state formation hitched its development wagon to the displacement of independent, autonomous and self-ruling Lipan 'savage' women. By pitting the 'civilized native' against the

[86] Ibid., Art. 2.

'regressive Indian' the State codified a national idea of womanhood which fit with the 'model' and 'progressive' nation Mexico desired to be. Economic and political incentives dovetailed in Article 15, which neatly provided any settler men who qualified for citizenship, who married "native Mexican women," to be granted one-fourth *more* total portions of land.[87] By 1848, Ndé peoples had already experienced radical changes to the wild game hunting and low-intensive farming lifeways. This reduced Indigenous mothers, grandmothers and children to beggars in their aboriginal lands. Texans fought for their 'liberty' and 'freedom' to raise cotton and cattle through the use of slave labor and force, not to preserve the ecological and cultural landscapes of Ndé and other Indigenous peoples they considered impediments to their envisioned economic, social and political 'paradise.'

Key factors which contributed to the marginalization of Lipan Apaches, Tlaxcaltecas, Coahuiltecas, Mescaleros, Jumanos, Jumano-Apaches and other Texas Indigenous peoples along the border were directly related to the codification of laws which identified and privileged white males and white settlers as 'citizens', 'voters', and 'land owners,' Between 1836 and 1848, Texas borders, conflicts and identities would be continually shaped by the conflicts between white emigrants to the region who received land, citizenship and the right to bear arms, and slaves, 'Indians,' and independent groups who the white settlers perceived as enemies to their cause.[88] The codification of enclosing in open air quadrants, through the uses of checkpoints,

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[87] Ibid., 6.

[88] Anderson, 228; Tarlton Law Library/Jamail Legal Research Center, University of Texas School of Law, The University of Texas at Austin, Texas Constitutions 1824-1876, "The Constitution of the Republic, 1836, General Provisions," Sec. 6, at http://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/constitutions/text/ccGP.html. "SEC. 6. All free white persons who shall emigrate to this Republic, and who shall, after a residence of six months, make oath before some competent authority that he intends to reside permanently in the same, and shall swear to support this Constitution, and that he will bear true allegiance to the Republic of Texas, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizenship." And, SEC. 10. All persons, (Africans, the descendants of Africans, and Indians excepted,) who were residing in

and 'lawful' and 'out of law' zones used to starve, impair, and otherwise debilitate 'savage and wild Indian' and thus literally *run them down*, ('outlaw') was perpetuated in the Rollins Treaty of December 10, 1850 with Lipan Apache leaders. The controversial Article 15, stated, "It is agreed by the Indians, parties hereto, that they will not go below the present line of Military Posts on the east side of the Colorado River, or below the Llano River, and a line running West from its headwaters on the West side of said Colorado, without express permission from the Indian Agent or some Officer Commanding a Military Post in Texas, in writing; and that they will give immediate notice to the nearest Military Post should other Indians attempt to do so..."[89] Clearly, in Ndé historical memory, it was never 'agreed' by the ancestors to cede their aboriginal rights to customary domains. Coercion through armed force and states of exception were used cunningly and deceptively to manipulate Indigenous peoples into constraining their movements.

Although the agent reported that "seventy Lipan Indians, under their two chiefs," had been present, there is significant discrepancy, because only four individual Lipans signed the treaty and representatives from other Indigenous peoples. Although Indigenous women were not considered 'persons' under Texas or U.S. law, and had not rights in the legal and public spheres of patriarchal Liberal democracy, neither did Indigenous males who were codified in Texas law as 'illegal' and 'enemies.' The signature of Lipan 'chiefs' is also an area of law which deserves further scrutiny, given the fact that matrilineal law, in a clan-based society, would traditionally

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Texas on the day of the Declaration of Independence, shall be considered citizens of the Republic, and entitled to all the privileges of such."

[89] Verne F. Ray, *Apache Indians X: Ethnohistorical Analysis of Documents Relating to the Apache Indians of Texas,* "Petitioner's Exhibit No. 55, Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 22-C, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 108-109, 118-121 Ray notes, "In this treaty Rollins betrayed the Lipan and other tribes and capitulated to the U.S. military. Hidden by the apparently innocuous qualification, "such alterations and additions as the lapse of time and change of circumstances seemed to require," was the fact that only one significant addition was made and it represented the abandonment by the civil branch of the United States of the protection which it was duty bound to provide the tribes, and capitulation to the pressure which had been exerted by the U.S. army and the state of Texas."

influence and inform male actions. Furthermore, when four or forty Lipans gathered with Agent Rollins, in traditional law of bands, this action would, from Indigenous peoples' views of themselves and their worlds, 'cover' all the lineally related peoples who could not be present at the signing—given the devastation caused through war. Rollins wrote "The replies of all the bands amounted to the same things, great complaint of poverty and starvation, which they attributed to the injustice of the white man, in taking away their country, an ardent wish to become true and trusted friends, a disposition to trust the kindness of the Government, rather than rely any longer upon their own strength, and a determination to yield to & abide by all the propositions I had made to them." Obviously, starving children, women, and families, specifically influenced the actions and decision-making of 'four' Lipan males to sign such a treaty.

By 1852, another treaty signing forced Lipans to obey the new borders imposed by white settlers of Texas. Verne Ray states, "on July 1, 1852, a treaty of 'perpetual peace and amity' between the United States and the Apache Nation, including the Mescalero, was signed at Santa Fe, and ratified on March 25, 1853. […] In Article IX they agreed that the "United States … shall adjust their territorial boundaries, "and pass laws for the "Prosperity and happiness of said Indians."[90] A new agent, John A. Rogers, commandeered the treaty negotiations—in an area so far away from Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Chihuahua, West Texas and South Texas to be certain to exclude the majority of independent Ndé and lineally related peoples. Ray emphasized, "Rogers seemed more concerned with the whites of Texas and the good regard of Governor Bell than with the welfare and best interests of the Texas Apache."[91] Agent Rogers

[90] Ibid., 118.

[91] Ibid., 118.

economic and political relations with Texas whites helped to secure the entire state of Texas, and secure the U.S. military control of a matrix of posts and forts which supported white development. In keeping with the civilizing mission of Liberal democracy, Rogers peppered the assimilation and removal of Lipans from official identities as 'Indians' and to 'workers.' The 1852 Treaty stipulated (through a barrage of Liberal rhetoric)

> All the American people are very desirous to see you all made happy, and desire to see you all settled with comfortable homes, cultivating the rich lands of the Country and preparing your selves and your children for taking up the course of civilized life with good homes and plenty of corn cattle, Horses, sheep, hogs & other comforts lie with the White man of America,… the great chief the president of the United States will endeavor to procure for your use and benefit and for your future homes in such portions of the County as you desire. You must go to work… You must not cross the Rio Grande…[92]

Here are the most important stipulations in the 1852 Treaty: Lipans were forced to become industrial workers. They were forced to leave behind so-called regressive 'Indian' and 'Apache' identities. They were informed on a daily basis by white Texas settlers that being 'Indian' would lead to their extermination in Texas—by law. In order to become Texans, and to remain under supervision in Texas, they were forced to become like the yeoman white Texas farmer. However, they were bound to stay within the barbed-wire spaces (counties) which officially and culturally separated 'Indians' and 'Mexican natives' from White Texans. Legal white Texas citizens lived above the "line" of separation established by the 1850 Treaty, which codified the "rich lands" of Texas for White Texas farmers. Lipan Apaches and other 'Indians' were forced to forego their customary lands, properties, lineal kinship ties, and alternative and seasonal settlement sites, medicines, and sacred sites in Mexico—south of the Rio Grande.

The 1852 Treaty inscribed a perpetual condition of two social identities for Lipan Apaches prior to the 1870s: 'out of law' identity of 'Lipan Apaches' who chose to migrate and

[92] Ibid.

move across their lands across the illegitimate borders of settler states, or assimilate under the gun (literally), accept the terms of the Treaty, and undergo the violent process of becoming 'white' on paper. The Texas Legislature legalized the 1852 Treaty and relocated *only the signatory band of Lipan Apaches* to the north Texas, more than 600 miles away from the Texas-Mexico border. Although Texas briefly maintained reservations for deported and removed Indigenous groups whose customary lands were in the Texas-Mexico border region, the state handed over the responsibility of supervision of a minority group of Ndé to the U.S. The majority of independent Ndé "border Indians", deeply entrenched within 'Mexico', i.e. South Texas and northeastern Mexico, were logistically off-limits[93]. The most significant factor concerning the brief and thoroughly disastrous U.S.-Texas Indian Policy was, according to Ray, "the failure of the United States to protect the Indians of the newly established reservations from the marauding whites. The military forces of the U.S. offered very little protection to the Indians even though one of the posts was situated there. Through attacks, thievery, and killings, the whites forced the United States to empty the reservations and send the Indians to Indian Territory. Through all these years [the interned] Lipan and Mescalero were starving." It was the grim reality of starvation, disease and the pernicious culture of white violence in northern Texas at the borders of 'Indian Territory' which drove the Cúelcahén Ndé clan and other lineally related Mescaleros to flee. On March 23, 1852, when they arrived in San Antonio, Superintendent George T. Howard noted that Chief Chiquito and the people who survived the journey "sought permission to hunt wild horses for food, because they were in destitute

[93] Ibid., 122-125.

condition, but that he had refused the request in view of the opposition of the commanding officer of the U.S. military department, and the citizens."[94]

Due to their dire conditions and desperation, of course the Lipan families driven by horrific forces, elected to do what was necessary. The barbed wire and fencing of other materials, which by this time marked the Ndé territories, must have been devastating; the refusal on the parts of whites to assist them—with children and women at the edge of death—must have raised their consciousness on numerous levels. Two days after Howard refused their request to hunt, a group of 80 white settlers presented a petition to Governor H. P. Bell, which stated that settlers in the area of Fredericksburg, Texas (northwest of San Antonio) had seen the starving Lipans who had 'stolen food.' Agent Horace Capron confirmed that the Lipan he witnessed near Ft. Mason (Mason County) were "cut off from their usual resources" and 'stole' from settlers to feed themselves, alluding that the federal government had also refused to feed them in Mason County.[95] Capron had spoken with the destitute Lipans, and in his report to Superintendent Howard in San Antonio, stated: "What have we got left? The game our main dependence is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve…" After Capron witnessed the same conditions with another group of Lipans and Mescaleros, he added, "Not having been accustomed to witness poverty and distress on so large a scale, I found it most prudent to hasten my return…"[96] From this point forward, report after report was filed to Superintendent Howard from numerous forts, and sitings throughout South

[94] Ibid., 139.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid., 139-140.

Texas. Each report confirmed that the Lipan in their homelands were being hunted and starved out intentionally by white settlers working in systematic and organized ways to destroy them.

Agent Neighbors reported large numbers of both Lipan and Mescalero along the Nueces River—obviously numerous clans and band had worked together to organize collective gatherings as they had always done in the past. Cooperating to hunt and to feed the families, the Ndé restructured their social organization. These acts of survival, resistance and defiance to white aggression was viewed by Euro-Americans as 'acts of violence', 'banditry', and 'revolt.' Neighbors reported that the reduction in game, as a result of settlement and exhaustion of resources by settlers, led to circumstances "in many instances drawn them to acts of violence…as they are forced backward from point to point in search of subsistence and were not permitted to occupy permanently any portion of the public domain…' Neighbors acknowledged that the Indigenous took food, not as 'theft' but as survival. And although Ndé had practiced small scale agriculture for centuries—predating European colonization—they could not raise a crop due to the lack of lands in Texas which had not already been designated either/or—private/public domains. White settlers would not permit 'Indians' and 'natives' in either. Between 1853 and 1855 Lipans and Mescaleros were abandoned by the United States as the energies of the military were occupied with different Indigenous peoples in northern Texas. In 1859, a violent dispute and conflict escalated in northern Texas related to the Texas reservation, white settlers and Texas Rangers. The violent assaults by the settlers and Rangers against any and all Indigenous persons near and in the vicinity of their properties, towns, settlements, and 'lines' was so intensified it led to the dissolution of the reservation.

The emigration of over 600,000 white settlers into Texas, between the 1820s and the Civil War, led to one of the continents' most destructive clashes between Euro-Americans and

Indigenous peoples. The Yale University Genocide Studies Program, which studies and maps sites of genocidal violence on a global scale shaded the entire state of Texas as a case study.[97] Competition for lands, soil, slaves, and citizenship in Texas, settlers were predominantly farmers, poor, and in debt.[98] They often overtook the fertile river valleys and riparian areas, and imposed a traditional Euro-American conception of food, development, consumption, extraction and capital onto the lands. When the rivers swelled over the land they benefitted from the alluvial soils—but used them unsustainably, and often polluted them with industrial development. Indigenous attempted to live off not while the wild game and plants while marginalized by the settler society. They often attempted to plant traditional seeds in customary places, and to wait for their crops to grow. However, this became risky. The wild game migrated—as long as they could—until fences and barbed wire enclosed them.

The primary lure to Texas was not really 'paradise,' as most Euro-American's knew. Rather, the attraction was the persistent construction of white citizenship based upon an invented racial order which privileged the Euro-ethnic cultivator, the Indigenous Other as surplus labor, cotton and capitalism. After Texas gained independence from Mexico in 1836, the slave population increased, and by 1860 Black slaves comprised almost one-third of the total population, and were valued as a great asset.[99] If Texas was 'a promised land' it was only so for the white male elites who structured the laws codifying a hierarchy of white citizens, slaves, Indians and which repressed the acknowledgement of those who did not fit neatly into those categories. It was the deep seated desire to expand slavery coupled with the development of a

[97] Yale University, Genocide Studies Program, "World Map of Colonial and Indigenous Genocide," at http://www.yale.edu/gsp/colonial/world_map_indigenous.html, (accessed January 7, 2010).

[98] Anderson, 3.

[99] Ibid., 4.

culture which celebrated gendered forms of violence to form a state which 'won' Texas' independence from Mexico.

The continued role and polity of Ndé as family-oriented and community-centered peoples within their home territories in South Texas and northeastern Mexico contributed to the conflict between white and Indigenous males. In the early waves of migration and settlement in Texas, a great many Euro-American emigrants were single, homeless and community-less individuals. Although the traditional pioneer myths typically focus on the patriarchal, heterosexual couple in a wagon with a clutch of children and a couple of cows, the reality was quite different.

Early waves of emigrants to Texas were males who had experience fighting and killing Indigenous peoples. In fact, the Texas Rangers formed from the political and economic relationships between exterminating Indigenous peoples, clearing lands, codifying privileges to white settlers, and securing the rights of minerals, soils, and water to private corporations. When given opportunities to grant land ownership to Indigenous peoples in Texas, white settlers and politicians refused any mechanism which would provide Indigenous peoples security to lands, or in any division between Indian ownership and white Texan ownership. Violence always spoke loudest in such debates, and ultimately, Texans refused to codify or legitimate that Indigenous peoples had rights to land.[100] The pressures that white settlers applied to local, state and U.S. governments (they had three venues to access) were heard with caution by capitalists and government leaders who were wary of white settlers' reactions and the effects they had on Indigenous peoples. Most opted to support white settlers and to clear the lands in order to 'make space' for subsequent waves of families in order to form communities and towns of producers and workers. Encouraging and providing the economic means to organize ranging loners into

[100] Ibid., 8-9.

professional Rangers evolved into a de facto Texas Indian Policy which formed a destructive machine in South Texas.[101]

Not only was it feasible for Texas politicians (most were military officers, planters and slave owners) to endorse extermination, they actively recruited willing sponsors from the U.S. government to design 'solutions' to remove poor, jobless, and landless Euro-Americans to settle Texas. With the Homestead Act (1862), arms, lands, seed, materials, and a bundle of citizenship rights, along with U.S. military aid provided white settlers the right ingredients to pursue settlement in one of the most highly populated region of the continent—populated by Indigenous peoples. The region was anything but the biblical paradise or utopia, and the majority of the early settlers were deprived of saintly characteristics. In essence, it was not that early waves of emigrants were *going to* Texas, as much as they *were leaving* places which, other more privileged groups already claimed—through use of force.

Unlike the majority of scholars writing about Apaches and Indigenous peoples in the 19th and early 20th century, I argue that throughout the modern industrialization of Texas, although certain groups of Ndé exhibited outward signs which Euro-Americans and the military perceived as 'independence' certain levels of continuity and change, as well as assimilation and industrialization of 'Apaches' was occurring throughout the Texas-Mexico borderlands and within other sectors of Texas. How could they not be? Ndé, like many Indigenous nations from the Arctic to Argentina had already undergone radical changes to their so-called 'traditional' ways of life, since mining and ranching developed as key projects of global capitalism. By the mid 1800s, along the Lower Rio Grande and across the river, Christianity, the heterosexual and patriarchal gender system, the institution of the family, mining and cattle ranching industries, and

[101] Ibid., 9.

enforced European languages and laws defined and enforced legal and illegal citizenship. This understanding of personhood and citizenship, legality/illegality, being inside the law or outside of the law, being a fence builder or trapped inside the barbed wire—all worked together as a web of social relations that were complicated and complex.

The systems of Anglo-control and Spanish-colonial control, as far as Ndé were concerned, were inter-woven in their lives. The Anglo order of white racial supremacy excluded Ndé from land owning and citizenship because Indigenous owned lands meant a fracture of the promise land—where poor white settlers were enfranchised with property ownership, slave labor, and the promise of 'liberty'—the freedom of speech, to gather publically, to bear arms, and to vote. When each of those was exercised they excluded Indigenous peoples from the rights to their homelands. Texas and U.S. laws provided the means, opportunity and control for white settlers to expropriate Indigenous lands and to exterminate the Indigenous human being on sight. As codified by 1855, the U.S. military enforced policies which identified most, if not all 'Indian' peoples in Texas were 'warring Indians,' and to be attacked and if necessary exterminated. Soon, any 'Indian' who stepped outside the boundary lines which segregated them from whites was considered to be out of a lawful zone and were treated as 'enemy Indians' without exception.[102]

Industrial scale slaughter—"started with Texas."

[102] Ray, 147.

Not all Indigenous peoples in Texas were of the Plains cultures—in fact, the majority were not. The concept of 'Plains Indians' was engineered through the cultures which attempted to remove, break, reconstruct, and control Indigenous peoples. One important way in which Europeans had tried to socialize coercion and control over Indigenous bodies was through racial classification systems, taxonomies of species, hierarchies of intelligence, and cultural supremacy. Since 1520, Europeans, had continuously organized religious, philosophical, legal and cultural institutions to 'order' and 'fix' Indigenous peoples into genders, sexes, races, ethnicities, and most importantly, different types of workers. Citizenship—for both Euro-American settlers and Indigenous peoples, was a fairly new political concept. Settlers, and settler societies, however, were not—especially in the case of Texas, and South Texas. Forging the white Texas nation from a diverse mixture of European ethnic groups, whose first experience at state formation was forged on the militarized frontiers of Indigenous peoples' anti-colonial struggles was also a process of galvanizing different European ethnic groups into the Texan Southern Creed Christianity, English language, gender violence as a norm of dominating women and children. The heterogeneous mixture of emigrant ethnic-Europeans were forced to forge racial solidarity and citizenship in northern and central Texas around the violent characteristics of a white-Christian-pioneer identity. Native peoples however, on many levels, utilized knowledge of their alliances, kinship, exchange markets, and medicines from the lands as part of a complex survival strategy. On so many more levels, Indigenous peoples could go underground much more easily, and could vary their identities in many spaces given *how little* whites actually understood about Indigenous politics and social relations with communities of slave, mix-race Indigenous peoples, traders, traffickers, and even allies within the white community.[103]

[103] For example, Daniel Castro Romero's ancestors switched their names to Gonzales or and other Spanish sir names to confuse the Anglos, because Anglos assumed that only merchant-class and working class Tlaxcalteca-Indigenous-

In many ways, the Ndé—with fluencies in Indigenous languages beyond 'Apache' as well as Spanish and English, and with centuries of experience with Europeans of all colors and characters, were an unsettling yet common denominator with which the U.S., Texas, and South Texas nation-builders had to contend. On many levels, the Ndé peoples' cultural competencies across many borders, the diversity of their alliances, and the diverse ways in which they expressed indigeneity and indigenous politics—as *counter*-citizenship and *pro*-self-determination and self-reliance—confused the white settlers, and this was manipulated by Ndé numerous times in Texas. Given white settlers propensity to see race as 'white/black...and Indian' their xenophobia with Spanish and French speaking Indigenous peoples, was, as Daniel Castro Romero argues, a sign of violence yet to come,

> Due to their racism against other European ethnic groups, and their fears of Apache peoples' intellects, these aspects of a large number of Indigenous peoples disturbed them immensely. Although Indigenous peoples did not go to white schools – yet—they always seemed to outperform whites in real life situations. The ancestors didn't have all the pre-set boundaries of class, race, gender, as the whites did. It was there, and yes it was coming in their direction in violent ways... as we see later in the 20th century those politics consume Indian Country—however, before the massacre in 1872 and before the boarding school, Catholic mission schools, and the Texas State public school system—we didn't have those boundaries that whites imposed on themselves and on others. This led to more violence of course, as we experienced throughout the rest of the 19th and 20th centuries with all of them--with the U.S., Texas *and* Mexico.[104]

The industrialization of social relations between Euro-American settlers, and between Whites, Blacks and Indigenous peoples was heavily manipulated through the forging of the larger structures of power in which Ndé and millions of Indigenous, and mixed-race Indigenous peoples along the Texas-Mexico border and in northern Mexico lived, ate, clothed themselves,

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Basque Tejanos (or, as they saw the peoples: 'Mexicans') spoke Spanish, *not* Indians. However, this selective editing and memory of the Anglo community denied the large reality that a good number of Indigenous peoples across the Southwest, Mid-West, and Upper Plains had familiarity with Spanish by the mid to late 19th century.

[104] Daniel Castro Romero, Interview and Oral History Lesson, New York City, NY, May 20, 2009.

moved or were restricted on the lands, and developed new social relations—*within a larger industrial matrix of settler modernity.*

The industrial-scale destruction and commodifying bison for the manufacture of glue and machinery belts also served the purpose of depleting Indigenous peoples of a crucial protein source, and escalated the field of killing from the northern Plains to the bison winter grounds of Coahuila, Mexico—the Ndé homelands. Euro-Americans were not socialized to appreciate bison meat, though they still craved flesh. Historian Reviel Netz ties the two together, "As the Indians retreated to their pitiful reservations, the cow began it trek north of Texas, eventually to introduce there an economy based in Chicago."[105] Destruction hinged to destruction cycles characterized the mid-to-late 19th century. "Texas led to Mexico, which led to Kansas, which led to the Civil War, upon whose conclusion America could move on to destroy the Indian and the bison. The final act in the subjugation of the West was under way: the transition from bison to cow. This was the immediate consequence of the Civil War: the West was opened for America—and America filled it with cows."[106]

Most human systems on the plains, from this angle, were constructed around "the protection of bovines for the sake of their future killing... Below the ecological continuities, however, ran deep differences, most obvious in the nature of killing."[107] The bisons' thick hides were used as part of the machinery, forming belts which sped up industrial machines, and the cow's life began in Texas, herded north, fattened in feed lots in Chicago, slaughtered and

[105] Reviel Netz, *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity*, (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 10-11.

[106] Ibid., 10.

[107] Ibid., 10-11.

consumed in the city.[108] With each new invention connected into the larger matrix new steps were made toward capitalism. Once the cow reached the dinner plate in a sophisticated restaurant or breakfast table in New York, capitalism was complete. The multi-partnered investment in industrial cattle production in South Texas and the privatization of millions of acres between South Texas and Chicago, Illinois were interlocking facets influencing who and how men controlled the movement of cattle overland and fresh flesh to clients in the east Atlantic and Europe.[109] The cattle ranchers struggled to maintain control over open range through private ownership of corridors from Texas ranches to Chicago meat processing centers. Southerner Texans took the lead in the architecture of land grants. Texans gained mastery over ranges prior to being curtailed to ranches. The control over the herds and control over the prairies from Texas to Illinois and Texas to Montana also maintained a stratified division of labor—South Texas vaquero history, which meant South Texas and northeastern Mexico Tlaxcalteca vaquero history underlied the colonialist roots of the capitalist labor system.

To control the profits of moving, improving, slaughtering and preserving fresh flesh for east coast meat eaters, a greater investment in the methods of killing and in the preservation of flesh stimulated new growth industries. Here I return to Euro-American inter-ethnic violence. The Homestead Act (1862), 'freed up' Indigenous lands and redistribution of those lands to Euro-American males who carried some debt and had dreams of a promised land; however, parceling up the range into small 160 acre farms created competition over the control of land for large plantation owners and interrupted the movements of cattle drives. Gaining access to more

[108] Ibid., 14. "To make them more profitable, therefore, they were allotted a brief period of comfort before death, as if to compensate for the months and years of deprivation. […] During this process, many humans would be involved: usually more than one group of cowmen and farmers, freight train personeel and retailers, farmers again, and then a butcher, leading finally to a consumer."

[109] Ibid., 4-40.

lands for large scale cattle and large scale cotton increasingly stimulated an expansionist policy towards South Texas and Mexico. The attitude of most Anglo-Americans towards South Texas and northeastern Mexico is best summarized in the statement of Michigan senator Lewis Cass (1847): "We do not want the people of Mexico, either as citizens or subjects. All we want is a portion of territory, which they nominally hold, either uninhabited or, where inhabited at all, sparsely so, and with a population which would soon recede."[110] The will to control space through violence (cotton) and the need to control bodies (Indigenous) which could inhibit the movement of cattle over land, and which could interrupt the expansion of imperialism over borders (Mexico) collided in the mass-scale use and consumption of steel barbed wire. To fully comprehend the violent destruction of the Lipan Apaches in 1872, and the ensuing struggle for Lipan Apaches to eek out existences on their homelands, in the belly of the barbed-wire empire known as the King Ranch 'machine', it is necessary to think about *barbed wire*.

As Netz argues, the industrial mass production of barbed wire was primarily used "to control the movement of cows."[111] It was used by owners of cows, who controlled the lands from Texas to Illinois and Montana, vis-a-vis political and economic control over land grants. These were the same individuals who wrote the legal code of white male citizenship in Texas, and who enclosed bison and Apaches into barbed enclosures. As certain privileges were awarded to white settlers in places like Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri and Illinois to homestead on 'family farms,' by 1873, the railroad had proven to be effective in moving not only large numbers of soldiers from the east to South Texas, it also proved equally effective at moving objects and bodies from South Texas to the east. Refrigerated train cars kept the slaughter away

[110] As quoted in Benjamin Johnson, 7.

[111] Ibid., 31.

from immediate view, the distance allowing "spatial separation between the killing of animals and life of humans." Refrigeration was a demand, given the propensity of flesh to spoil and spread disease; salting the flesh was not popular in the U.S. because "people like the taste of blood."[112]

Massacres in Ndé homelands

By 1872, South Texas and northeastern Mexico's Indigenous women, their children, families, and women's biological reproduction were viewed by Washington D.C. elites as a detriment to the expansion of the white race and an impediment to the claiming of Mexico for white ranching, mining and agriculture. In Mexico City, Liberal elites pronounced that the Lipan were regressive and best left behind the nation, in the remote past, where barbarians and noble savages were relegated. Indigenous peoples in South Texas and northeastern Mexico continued to form families, relationships and to move on as they could no matter what setbacks they incurred. They continued to form their own independent affiliations with whomever they could trust through self-reliance networks. They adapted to new ways and often participated in the material goods of the broader inter-continental network of industrial work, labor, and military service in support of numerous Euro-American and Indigenous groups at different times. They continued to focus on empowering the family and clan and resisting full domestication as they could. In that way, the Lipan Apache and Tlaxcaltecas of independent comunidades formed an Indigenous under-underclass in their social forms of resistance to elites—in Mexico and the U.S. Their tenacity at survivance on the fringes of their homelands, as white settlers over-ran their

[112] Ibid., 47.

territory, was largely ignored or denied by a diverse group of social actors each vying for power, control and authority over Ndé traditional lands and their bodies.

In 1836, Liberal theorist José María Luis Mora, argued that "Indians no longer exist." Yet, social forces from below structured the violence incorporation of Nahuas, Lipan Apaches, Comanches, Tlaxcaltecas into industrialized lives. In mining, agriculture, and forced military service, the Indigenous peoples of South Texas and the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico border sculpted and shaped their narratives within the privacy of their local places across the southern plains, the coastal bend, and the grasslands extending far into northern Mexico. The Liberal rhetoric fueled the codification of anti-American Indian and anti-Mexican Indian laws in Texas, which, for ranchería peoples, were hyper-entwined into the discourse of White progress, development, and segregationist policies passed off as enlightened economic policy for a new society.[113]

The effect of steel and iron together industrialized the scale of death and the power to put distance between murderer and murdered—in a very similar manner that the cattle industry removed the management of the herds, the suffering of animals, slaughters, and the consumer. The death and destruction to Indigenous peoples and Indigenous women and families, as a result of the use of steel and iron on scales never imagined before, was a decisive turning point for Indigenous peoples along the Texas-Mexico border who were contained in barbed wire from Texas, U.S. and Mexico. Their movement, like the bison and like cattle, was more tightly contained within the laws and stolen lands of Southern white settlers. Reviel Netz argues that all

[113] Brian DeLay, 23; See generally José María Luis Mora, *Mejico y sus revoluciones*, (Paris: Lireria de Rosa, 1836).

the processes of the industrialization and production of expert killing "started with Texas."[114] He observes

> …in 1862...while warring, war itself was changing. No one knew iron could wreak such havoc. Ironclads, introduced in 1861 by the south and soon mss-produced by the North, made wooden ships obsolete overnight. Railroads allowed the concentration, never seen before, of hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Rifles—an invention assembled together during the 1850s –changed the space of battle itself. [...] From 1862 onward, the hundreds of thousands of soldiers amassed by the railroad carried with them rifles instead of muskets. Iron made battles larger: the rifle made the field of killing greater, and the railroad enlarged its reach in terms of human population. [...] These were the cycles of violence: from the Texans' war against Mexicans, through the Mexican-American War, and then through the North-South skirmish, [...] and this led immediately to further cycles of violence, aimed now at the Indian and the bison.[115]

These forces of markets, meat, steel and iron, railroads, mining and engineering had roots in the social relations penetrating U.S. industrial capitalists, South Texas empire builders, and northeastern Mexico's rural labor populations. Although globally scholars of the industrial modernization era focus on 1880-1910 as a fixed period, from Indigenous peoples' perspectives, as I have illustrated, those periodizations are imposed by economic and political theories which efface Indigenous peoples' knowledges, consider them normatively and randomly as surplus.

By the late 1870s, many Indigenous peoples of the Texas-Mexico region were viewed by Southern white Americans through localized Western lenses. Through their eyes they did not see 'Plains Indians.' They saw 'peasants' speaking a language they *pre-assumed* was Spanish, and conflated that assumption with the quintessential, 19th century Anglo-American stereotype of regressive 'Mexicans.' The social identities imposed by Anglo-Americans upon Mexico's and South Texas' Indigenous populations conflated a broad assumption that all non-English speaking persons were foreigners, and that Indigenous peoples speaking a non-English language,

[114] Netz, 4.

[115] Netz, 7-9.

combined with Spanish (such as Spanish, Ndé, Nahua, Comanche, Tepehuan, Tarascan…) was a jumble of gibberish. Near the end of the 19th century, the racist stereotypes and violent norms transferred to South Texas and northeastern Mexico by the Southern Anglo settler society shifted in dramatic ways the *already* violent racial stratification system of the hacienda-rancho which had dominated the region for over 300 years. In the Anglo-Southerner lenses, Indigenous peoples were not diversified; rather, they were a collective conglomerate of sub-humans. They brought with them hostility after decades of fearing Indigenous peoples of the Plains, who they displaced and dispossessed. Their transplanted racial lenses, from the Plains to the coastal bends and dry deserts of South Texas and Coahuila/Nuevo León Indigenous *transcorridors*— intertwined with slave holding and single-family, private property ownership: the cult of White citizenship. As on the Plains, they firmly espoused, litigated, and legislated that they would not integrate, but rather, segregate the Indigenous populations. In the case of Indigenous peoples of the region, the Southern-Anglo settler society conveniently tied their conception of Indigenous cultural 'foreignness' to the physical terrain and cultural landscapes of the Spanish hacienda, mission, presidio, and rancho.

Ignorant and incompetent in literacies of the Spanish industrial colonial landscape, the majority of Southern Anglos failed to recognize or to comprehend the entrenched power structures—both colonialist and Indigenous—of a *much older* matrix of violent power relations. These had been *well established* by and through an Indigenous-Mestizo-Criollo stratification system created through kinship, social control, and coercion and resistance alliances across all classes. These relationships, as the EFGA archives demonstrate, were *far more* integrated *through* women's kinship relations and through male dominance in the military and economic domains— than could be perceived through superficial skimming.

The flattened race of 'Mexican' imposed upon South Texas' and northeastern Mexico's populations were locally constructed and nationally propagated by numerous American institutions. The nationalist and imperialist uses of white cultural supremacy as articulated and felt at the local level must be understood as nothing less than a land grab and will to low-intensity conflict wars. As Lipan Apaches were scrambling for refuge in usual and customary places throughout South Texas, along the Rio Grande and in Coahuila, U.S. capitalists were espousing low intensity wars and land grabs.

The Euro-American cognate for the universal *native enemy Other*/surplus labor pool—'Mexicans'—could be *anybody* with dark hair and brown skin, akin to the Apache scalp wars and trade, which banked on dark-haired scalps being cashed in, because at the foundation of the political economy of mining an Indian is an Indian is an Indian. This is border consciousness. "The Mexican problem," according to David Montejano, "had nothing to do with integration or assimilation; rather, it was a question of locating another inferior race in American society."[116] A key factor in the 1872 massacre of "Remolino/El Dia de los Gritos" and the many other killing fields along the Texas-Mexico border near Coahuila was connected to mining, railroads, coal, laborers, and private control over lands. Independent Ndé, Comanche, Tlaxcaltecas, and many Indigenous mestizo traditional peoples who continued to live out pre-capitalist, rural and feudal economic modes of life were perceived as obstacles on the lands which 'deserved' to be removed, according to the logic of the white patriarchal governance.

Cretaceous coal beds lay beneath the Coahuila and South Texas coal fields and ran contiguous beneath the surface of the precarious border which white Southerners fought to defend and which Indigenous and Indigenous mestizo kinship networks continued to ignore, defy

[116] David Montejano, as quoted in Roberto R. Calderón, *Mexican Coal Mining Labor in Texas and Coahuila, 1880-1930*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000), 7.

and disrupt. As historian Roberto R. Calderón argues, "the Coahuila and Texas coal mining industries is the study of an aggressive American capital that did not respect national boundaries in its pursuit of profit, and of that Mexican working class, […] which labored in one of the oldest industrial occupations known to workers around the world."[117] A direct railroad route transporting coal from a predominantly U.S.-financed transnational mining operation on the Coahuila-Texas border moved a significant amount of fossil fuel—coal—up through central Texas and to key transfer sites in north Texas.[118] Again, I am emphasizing cattle, barbed wire, iron, the Spencer shotgun, and the railroad.

Indigenous peoples of the Texas-Mexico border region—bound to lands which the Euro-American perceived as Other because the land and the Rio Grande were signifiers of 'Mexico'—exotic, dark, foreign—, conjured the Anglo-American imaginary embedded with deep seated anxiety, fear, and culpability. Nevertheless, a diverse heterogeneous population of Indigenous and indigenized peoples with deep histories in the oppressive institutions of the regions' 17th and 18th century mining, hacienda and rural economies *continued* to exert their own forms of organization. Significantly, many continued to organize around cosmologies which strategically selected different forms of local, Indigenous, citizen, national, and gendered identities which creatively chose from a panorama of deities, laws, rules, and authorities which challenged the cultural domination of the Anglo's comparatively terse Christian landscape.

In this context, in the early between 1870 and 1919, along and near the Rio Grande River, although a few bands of Indigenous peoples still refused to be settled in towns, pueblos, camps, reservations, or other facilities, the majority had lost their freedom of movement and

[117] Roberto R. Calderón, *Mexican Coal Mining Labor in Texas and Coahuila, 1880-1930*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000), 15.

[118] Calderón. See generally.

were being forced into violent systems of institutional indoctrination. As historian Brian DeLay has argued, "Most Navajos had lost their freedom even in the midst of the Civil War. In 1864, New Mexican militia, initially organized for protection against confederate Texas, destroyed Navajo crops, orchards, and sheep and then marched more than nine thousand Navajos to a barren, impoverished reservation at Bosque Redondo east of the Rio Grande. […] In their aftermath independent Indians came under greater pressure from all directions. Authorities from Mexico City boosted funding for frontier defense."[119] Many Indigenous refusers hid out in well-established kinship communities across northern Chihuahua, Coahuila and Nuevo León's rugged and low populated areas, and very likely in the familiar pueblos, municipios, towns, and ranchos of lineal relations. By 1872, the U.S. assumed the position that all non-settled Indigenous peoples along the Texas-Mexico border region (including inland areas of all the bordering states of Mexico, which it patrolled) were 'renegades.'[120] When the U.S. military troops found any Indigenous peoples in their excursions who were not visibly in settled communities they were ordered to capture the 'renegade's' horses and shoot them. In hand with those orders, they encouraged hunters to destroy all bison—in effect, a code language which encapsulated the spatiality of the death—of Indigenous thought, governance, personhood, and existence—to the highest power. Subjugation exercised through sovereignty, citizenship, nationalism, and development ruled supreme in the customary domains of the Ndé and their kinship community.

[119] Delay, 308.

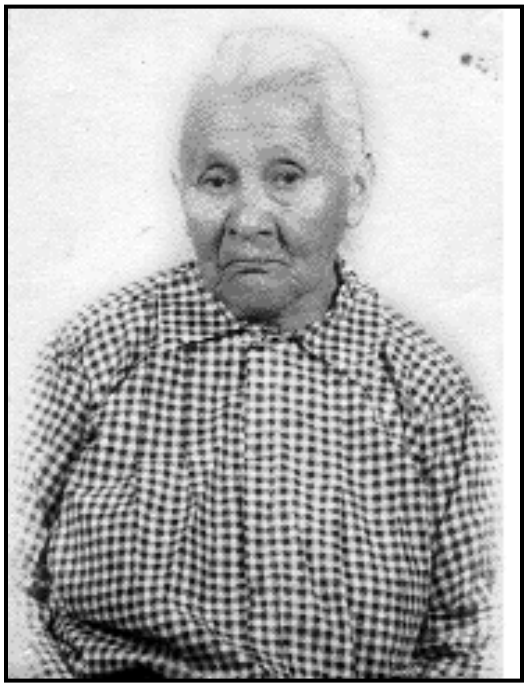
[120] Ibid., 308-309.



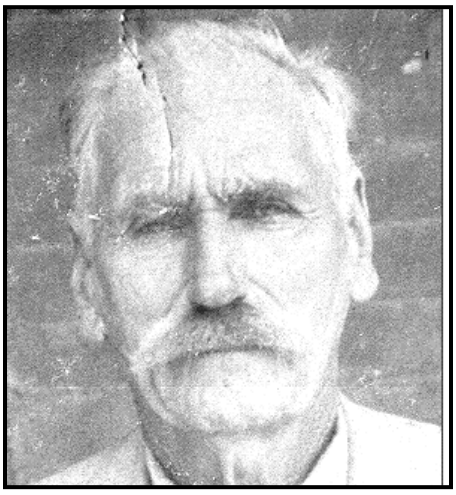
War survivors: Crescencio Carrasco (Nov 11, 1870-Oct 6, 1912), Ndé of the 'Red Hair' People
& Victoriana De la Fuente Muñiz (July 18, 1884 – Nov 11 1929),
mother of Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco.
Her mother was an Ndé survivor of U.S. and Mexico extermination raids
against 'Lipan Apaches' in the Texas-Mexico bordered lands.
Carrasco-Tamez Genealogical Archive, 2010. Collection of the Author.



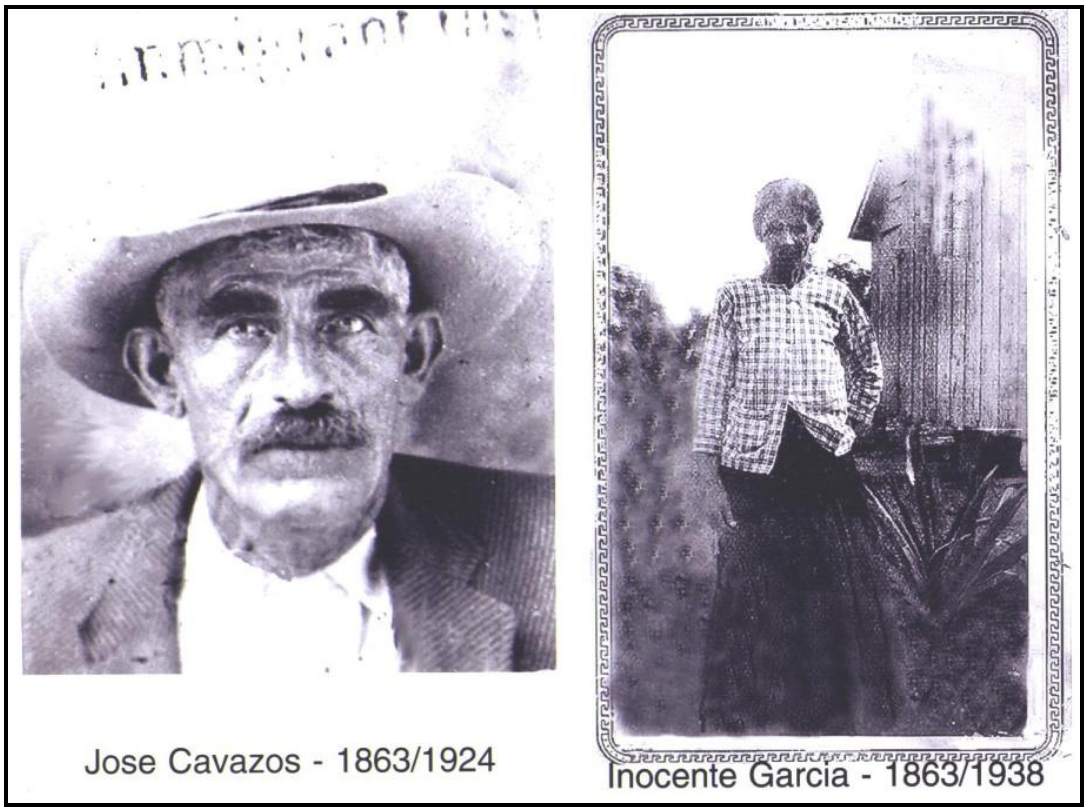
War survivor: Estanislado Muñiz de la Fuente Carrasco
Brother of Flavia Muñiz de la Fuente Carrasco
(Ndé, Big Water People Clan, Tall Grass People Clan)
1907-1976
Ship builder, diasporic industrial worker, (c. 1935?, Houston, Texas)
Carrasco-Tamez Genealogical Archive, 2010. Collection of the Author.



War survivor: Juanita Gonzalez Castro Cavazos (Ndé), *Merced* Tall Grass People Clan.
Courtesy of Lipan Apache Band of Texas, 2010.



War survivor: Jesus Fonibio Cavazos, *Merced*, husband of Juanita Gonzalez Castro Cavazos
Courtesy of Lipan Apache Band of Texas, 2010.



War survivors: Inocente Rubio Garcia, (Ndé kinship-*parentesco* y *compadrazgo*) *Merced*, and her husband Jose Peña Cavazos, (Tlaxcalteca-Basque *parentesco* y *compadrazgo*) *Merced* Of El Calaboz Ranchería. EFGA, 2010. Collection of the Author.



War survivors: Petra Gonzalez Castro & Teodola Castro (daughter), Ndé
Courtesy of Lipan Apache Band of Texas, 2010.



War survivor: Andrea Rubio Garcia Cavazos (Tlaxcalteca-Ndé Kinship)
(Daughter of Inocente Rubio Garcia and José Peña Cavazos)
Who came to her marriage to Aniceto García (Hada'didla'Ndé, Lightning People Clan)
with horses. They lived in her mother's matrifocal and matrilocal ranchería. Collection of the Author.



War survivor: Flavia de la Fuente Muñiz Carrasco Támez, Tuntsa' Ndé, Cúelcahén Ndé, Jumano Ndé.
Collection of the Author.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

At the Wall, Ndé Women Walk with Lightning

Introduction: *The Present Informing the Past—*
Engaging Ranchería Ndé Women's Historical Literacies and Cultural-Political Landscapes

Reading across the grain of imperial archival texts and contexts situates Indigenous peoples of El Calaboz Ranchería, and particularly Indigenous women, as key actors at the center of the political-economic-and social struggles within the larger Ndé-Spain-Texas-Mexico-U.S. borderlands. The communities' intensified recoveries and reconstructions of their hemispheric and transnational social, economic and political histories came as a direct result of *push* and *push-back* processes of Indigenous women's current legal cases against the U.S. border wall—which bifurcates their customary and Spanish Crown titled lands. The Congressionally mandated requirements to "demonstrate" *how* and to *what extent* the border wall impacted their Indigenous culture, environment, livelihoods and ways of life led to the comprehensive documentation of aboriginal land-tenure and resistances. The bodies, memories, and histories of Indigenous peoples of southern Texas and northeastern Mexico are key texts and sites opening up the violent cultural topographies of Ndé memory where they collide with the landscapes of settler ecologies, genocide, and human rights violations. Within the space of a small community named El Calaboz Ranchería the women and peoples of aboriginal title to both sides of the river, exercised Indigenous women's laws and passed down traditions of these practices. Their exercises of self-determination were marginalized, muffled and often distorted through the periodizations of four colonialist states: Spain, Mexico, Texas and the U.S. In the process, the community persistently

aligned themselves in resistance movements, and Indigenous women struggled to maintain local ranchería-based governance institutions and values necessary to sustain trans-river and transborder kinship networks. These networks, based within Ndé domains spread broadly across the Texas-Mexico cultural landscape, necessarily included diverse Apache-Athapaskan groups and numerous Indigenous peoples within their own customary lands. Yet, public histories, structures and systems which constructed Texas, the U.S., and Mexico worked perniciously to disavow the Indigenous subject and politic, and to supplant 'the native' through normative scholarship and development agendas on both sides of the Rio Grande.[1]

Indigenous communities along the Lower Rio Grande, drawing from their unique trans-national and hemispheric land-based histories, asserted aboriginal title in the contemporary period. Significantly, in August of 2007, it was Lipan Apache women in El Calaboz who initiated the first federal lawsuit against the U.S. border wall and called into question the actions of the nation-state. In the process, they scrutinized their communities' legal and traditional archives, primary documents and oral histories and *revised* many of their preconceptions about Indigenous rights, the nation-state and 'contact' theories.

From land rights to human rights to Peoplehood, in recent years El Calaboz people, often led by women, reclaimed and reshaped their community identity as they struggled to stop the construction of an 18 foot steel and concrete barrier wall through their community lands. The law cases pressured plaintiffs to provide 'evidence' to the nation-state's court systems of their

[1] As demonstrated throughout the dissertation, the genealogies of violent confrontations and Indigenous challenges to dispossession in El Calaboz, reveal the significance of critical Indigenous historical recoveries and reconstructions in contemporary rights practices in the hemisphere. This story mobilizes what historians consider a critical philosophy of our work and research—that is "we seek to understand the *past*, in order to understand the *present*, and to shape the *future*." Jeffrey Shepherd, one of my committee advisors and colleagues, who reminds me through his actions, visions and mentoring.

aboriginal land-tenure. Their contemporary rights journey literally forced them to confront a maze of early and late colonial law systems across four governments and 514 years of their ancestral land-tenure genealogies. These genealogies stemmed from Indigenous women's legal struggles with Spanish court systems, as well as their community struggles against Indigenous caciques and cabildos. The genealogies of Indigenous nobleza intersected the revolutionary movements of Indigenous marked as 'enemies' of the state, and these narratives populated the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands' governmental papers. These pressed me to examine how each political group constructed Indigenous peoples of the Lower Rio Grande as "Apache enemies", "Indians", "breakers of the peace", "savages", and "bandits", and eventually, how these keywords laid the ground for the United States to construe the people and the land as 'the American Congo.'

The Ndé women of El Calaboz argued that their aboriginal land tenure rights and peoplehood are rooted in both traditional customary law of Lipan Apache and the kinship ties of women through inter-marriages and matri-focal and matri-local *isdzán gową gojąą,* or… *women's homesites within* Lipan customary lands. *They say* these were taken through the uses of European and American law systems, beginning around 1546 during the development of the silver mining, and cattle ranching economy, otherwise known as *El Camino Real de la Plata. They say* they were re-colonized, during the industrialization of Lipan lands for cattle ranching, agriculture, coal, and oil production. *They say* that the militarization of Ndé lands and making 'Apaches' the official *enemies* along the Lower Rio Grande River were part of a large-scale

dispossession and industrialization of Indigenous peoples into *'ethnic Mexican workers'*—an identity constructed through colonization and world markets.[2]

The social, economic and political connectors which sustained this system between 1546 and 1910—from the Indigenous perspective— was grounded in intermarriages, religion, ritual and legal privileges, and kinship (*parentesco/parentesco* and *compadrazgo*/*comadrazga*) and through these a constellation of small Indigenous townships connected to heterogeneous settlements run by *both* Indigenous and Criollo polities contributed to a large settlement pattern peppered across the present-day states of Chihuahua, New Mexico, Texas, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León. The colonial administrations, organized through the official Spanish legal system *and* the officially recognized Indigenous legal system, (which were *not exactly aligned* in their political objectives), *did* work towards developing economic, social and political empowerment of *specific* groups affected through the operation of mining and ranching establishments near the silver-dense mountains of the Mexican *alti-plano*, or the arid highlands.[3]

The Lipan ultimately re-trieved rights to their own lands, though somewhat indirectly, *through inter-marriages* with the relocated *hidalgo* and *merced* Tlaxcalteca and Nahua peoples who received land-grants to colonize Ndé lands and to assimilate Ndé communities. Aboriginal lands along the Lower Rio Grande River and Indigenous politics operating outside of colonial governmentality have been central fixtures of land-tenure *amongst* the Indigenous peoples in

[2] In the ranchería of El Calaboz, Indigenous women's recovery of Ndé laws, governance, and allied kinship systems model a critical engagement with contemporary events, interrogation of histories and institutions, and asserting new forms of self-determination in the process of their legal challenges against colonial *border* governmentality by "modern colonial" systems.

[3] Recall in Chapter Two, the social contracts legalized between the Crown and the noble Tlaxcalteca lines, between 1520-1546, provided Indigenous elites the rights to expand the Tlaxcala domain (also known as *el Señorio*), in exchange for Tlaxcalteca elites' economic and political alliances with the Spanish in the colonization of three key campaigns against the so-called Chichimeca, Apache and Guatemala so-called 'barbaros.'

their own self-determination movements to build economic and social-political alliances within their own domains. This is a key contribution of this study to the analysis of *counter-hegemonic* land struggles between dynamic Indigenous 'mini-systems' throughout the late modern to contemporary period. Indigenous-to-Indigenous aboriginal land struggles *between* Lipan Apaches, Comanches, Carrizos, Coahuiltecos, Huastecas, Mixtecos, Ótomis *and* the encroaching Nahua elites, Tlaxcalteca *hidalgos*, and Tlaxcalteca *macehualli*—challenges the corralled and stunted conceptions of Native American land-tenure throughout modernity. The impact and intersections of this system in Ndé traditional domains, where Indigenous women were heads of their ranchería and resource distribution has important meanings for a new Indigenous theory of counter-colonization, Indigenous social organization, and Indigenous-to-Indigenous conflict and alliance building in war-zones.

This dissertation demonstrated that throughout the late 16th to the late 18th century, the colonial government's narratives construed Ndé (Southern Lipan Apaches) as *outside civilization* and as '*barbarous enemies'* who disrupted the '*progress'* of both *el Republico de los Españoles* and *el Republico de los Indios.* The state charged that Lipan Apaches destroyed the peace *in three ways*: by disrupting and endangering Spain's silver mining interests, by resisting Christian conversion and Tlaxcalteca attempts to 'civilize' them through settled labor, and by refusing to be removed from their usual ways of life as bison and deer hunters and contained into work camps (congregas) and settlements (asentamientos). All of the above making it more difficult to convince similarly situated Indigenous peoples to conform to 'being available' for mandatory labor systems within the *haciendas, encomiendas,* and *repartamientos*. The state officially codified Lipan Apaches as 'enemies' by 1750 in a series of laws. It then drew up plans to

forcibly remove, intern, and exterminate them as they reorganized the mining region as a series of militarized forts, bases, and armed civil communities.

Taken together, the colonization of Texas and its Mexican border provinces, *from Ndé lenses*, was punctuated by *sites of crisis*— administered through *forced relocations* of Indigenous peoples from Central Mexico to the north and an immense network of formal and informal posts, trading sites, markets, and distribution centers dealing in Indigenous slavery. Two centuries of brutal policies against highlander aboriginal groups paved the colonization road up into the mountains where large silver lodes were located, and from which governing elites in the Americas and Europe formed the silver-slave world-economy.[4]

It was in *sites of crisis* such as haciendas, missions, pueblos, and prisons…that relationships between Indigenous women**,** slaves, elites, and heterogeneous Indigenous labor groups were intensified through exploitation practices, and *in these places* Ndé women *re-mapped* resistant and revolutionary identities.[5] Ndé women's genealogies of kinship and resistance occurred in a nexus of alternative contacts*,* where new social and political Indigeneities *rose* against dispossession.[6] Undoubtedly these new alliances were forged both

[4] Recall in Chapter Four, slavery and exploitative labor systems, and coerced and forced settlement into missions were two categories of numerous *sites of crisis* from which revolutionary and dynamic anti-colonial organization developed.

[5] Relationships which were heavily censored and under-theorized.

[6] Tracing aboriginal land-tenure and oral histories as interlocking narratives of economic exploitation dissecting traditional Ndé territories, the Ndé of El Calaboz Ranchería emerged as a unique case of Indigenous heterogeneity prior to European contact. In their bison-and hunting histories and creation stories, the Lipan narrative of place, and a conception of a Lipan homeland, *'tsí'łiní'ááhí 'áshį dziłnitséí kónitsą' gókídaayaa* ["Rocks That Extended Together and Big Mountain …the Lipan was Their Country"] etches an assertion of Ndé domain across arid mountains and open hillsides—the perfect lands for following game. The Lipans are one of the few groups who also established legal mechanisms of trade, peace, and negotiation with four different sovereigns as their lands were sought by all major groups

through "processes of economic exploitation initiated by colonialism"—*and* new sites of anti-colonial action.[7]

Southern Lipan women, undoubtedly affected by the underlying need to embrace new social identities, co-organized across the *late 18th* and *early 19th centuries*. The Ndé narratives of crisis across Southern Lipan homelands in Coahuila and Nuevo León were articulated in numerous caves and on rock walls, and in the ruins of colonial settler ecologies across the borderlands.[8] As well Lipan women's resistances *punctuated* the imperial records managed by elite groups, many of whom built military careers and wealth as *self-described* "Indian killers."[9]

Ndé women's relationships to the Tlaxcalteca *hidalgo* and *macehualli*, Nahua *mercedes*, and Basque colonial migrations were inscribed in an extant body of church records— birth, marriage and death documents, in *testamentos* of men seeking to re-organize Indigenous women's land and household possessions, and in administrative texts across numerous official domains currently housed in Mexico's public and private collections. These demonstrated to me the impact that Ndé "anti-colonial actions" had on the mining, ranching and settlements in *Kónitsąąhįį gokíyaa* –'Lipan country.' Lipans were *often* identified in colonial documents as connected to the forced abandonment of towns, mines, and missions. Lipans were the objects of intense scrutiny by military, religious and civil *cabildos—councils of elite Indigenous* and *non-Indigenous settler groups*. Lipan men were the objects of intense maneuvers by the government

[7] Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, "Reading a Silence: The "Indian" in the Era of Zapatismo," *Nepantla: Views from the South*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2002): 287-314.

[8] Ndé hunting and first-food gathering sites, rancherías and *campos* in Coahuila, Nuevo León, and the Lower Rio Grande River were severely changed within a complex of Tlaxcalteca pueblos and mission townships and the multi-million-acre mining and ranching land-grants awarded to Basque and Nahua (de Moctezuma) elites.

[9] *See* generally, José Luis Mirafuentes Galván, *Movimientos de Resistencia y rebeliones indigenas en el norte de México* (1680-1821), (México: UNAM, 1989). *See* also, Patricia Osante (1997).

to conscript them into servile soldiering ('scout') vocations. There exist many narratives, in both Tlaxcalteca and Basque *cabildo testimonios* of 'Lipan Apaches' burning down missions, presidios, jails, and setting fire to isolated ranches, haciendas, churches, and other significant places which embodied the colonial symbolism of dominating Ndé cultural landscapes, knowledges, institutions, and law systems. Today, as we recover the significance *of fire as a Lipan form of protections*, and intervention against further harm, and as we reconstruct women's genealogies in the political economy of mining, we are provided the capacity to more critically analyze these as *sites* where adults and children, held against their will, were tortured, forced into violent sexual acts, violent labor, and often murdered.

Ndé women's lives and struggles show us different and important perspectives about the Indigenous and gendered ways of knowing mining, agriculture and military institutions—both broadly and specifically.[10] For instance, drawing from an extensive collection of vital records, wills, court testimonies, photographs and maps carefully maintained by the community members— I cross-compared the local documentation which pinpoints exact locations of the Ndé bodily and epistemological presence in more than forty sites of struggles and resistance, and I identified numerous current studies in a growing literature in Mexico related to these same sites. The majority of these analyze the Tlaxcalteca intellectual histories and perspectives on the mining and ranching colonizations and Tlaxcalteca's involvement in extermination wars spread across northern Mexico. These searches bore abundant fruit. Soon I identified *precisely* that

[10] For instance, the San Pedro de Carricitos Ndé and Originario families whose lives, voices, archives and primary documents founded this project. Inter-generational and kinship 'giveaways' provided to me expanding kinship ties, and enabled the capacity to analyze the *Esparza Family Historical & Genealogical Archive* as a critical regional and transnational collection cataloguing more than 1000 historical names, birth places, and death dates, with numerous primary documents spanning *testamentos* related to marriages, inheritance, property, labor, warfare, and violent warfare between Lipan Apaches and indigenous settler groups in Coahuila, Nuevo León, Chihuahua and Tamaulipas.

between 1546 and 1848, the state formulated *particular* identities for ancestors of El Calaboz and sister rancherías. Sculpted as 'suspects' and 'illegal-unlawful' subjects, 'Lipan Apaches' and their followers—'apostates'—or runaway Christianized slaves—were articulated across key sites of governmentality.



Illustration 7.1, Forced Indigenous macehualli labor, silver mines, Zacatecas, México, ca. late 1890s-early 1900s. Collection of the author.

From 'bison hunters' to 'Indios-vaqueros' to 'enemigos' to 'encomienda-slaves', to labor *congregas*, to hacienda- servants, to subjugated soldiers, '*The Enemy Apache'* populated the imperial ledgers and spread a constant beat of fear mongering across shifting terrains of political and economic relations between elites and forcibly settled Indigenous laborers. El Calaboz women's histories strongly suggest that making '*Apaches'* the official enemies spread gender systems and gender violence across the masculine topographies of mining and colonization. Both non-Indigenous *and* Indigenous males with governmental authority built racial, gender, and economic status upon Indigenous macehualli, and highlander Apache women's labor, servitude,

and sexual subordination in captivity.[11] Indigenous women's labor, production and reproduction, and its maintenance as normed and invisible, were crucial to the stability of the stratified patriarchal and colonial rule, and to the silver economy which "galvanized Europe and set in motion the development of the market economy and nation-state."[12]

This dissertation documented two interesting patterns which emerged from the Mexican archival collections as well. Lipan women *did not* appear in official court records or court systems *in the same manner* that Tlaxcalteca and Nahua noble women did— who had established resistance through their *court*-focused challenges against Spanish dispossession and racial, sexual and economic violence. However, Lipan Apache women *do* appear in the colonial records early on when they '*appear'* as *silent objects* at slave auctions, or when they *appear* in accounting ledgers as 'sold', as 'bought', 'transferred', and domesticated officially as *apostadas* (Christianized) and *mujeres* (gendered) and subsumed into their masters' or husbands' racial-ethnic identity. They do appear, again, as homeless, and as indigents in records of the Indigenous hospital in Mexico City which the Crown established for the masses of urban Indigenous poor in the mid-seventeenth century, and *Apache women do appear* in prison galley records of Apaches deported to the larger detention centers in Cuba, exported through the port of Veracruz. It is currently estimated that up to 4000 'Apache'—a colonial identity which sometimes subsumed many diverse Indigenous identities into the 'enemy', women were enslaved and trafficked in

[11] El Calaboz records, though fragments, still provided important clues and glimpses into the ways women's work, sexuality, reproduction and domestication were developed within a matrix of sites entangling Indigenous peoples and their relationships to one another. They were all connected by exploitative economic systems articulated across the fur-trade, arms-trade, slave-trade and a silver-mining complex—*all* within a triangulated circuit between Spain, Africa and the Gulf of Mexico.

[12] Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000), vii. Lipan Apache women's organized resistances were heavily censored and edited by the hands of official discourse, which mapped '*mujeres Apaches'* as instigators of 'uprisings', 'brutality' and spreaders of 'barbarous acts.'

markets all across the current-day Southwest and the former French colonies of Louisiana, and up the fur-trade network into current-day Illinois. Many more were forced into indentured servitude between Zacatecas, Durango, Saltillo, Santa Fe, San Antonio and Veracruz.[13]

Now we can trace persecution policies and actions against Ndé women within a complex of the silver and cattle economic complex and the dependence on Ndé women's unpaid work in a stratified and heterogeneous society.[14] These contexts set the stage for land-base resistance in El Calaboz Ranchería into the late 19th century when Lipan Apaches were being forced by the Republic of Texas, the U.S. and the Republic of Mexico to contain their movements to rancherías along the Lower Rio Grande, *and there* women's laws of kinship rights were challenged through direct violence.

In El Calaboz—which means '*the earthen, dug-out hole and dungeon in the ground*'—Ndé women dug-in and fought to preserve a kinship-based trade and economic system which advantaged *their* position in the face of persecution wars and forced labor systems.[15] Trade for

[13] Julianna Barr, "From Captives to Slaves: Commodifying Indian Women in the Borderlands," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 92, No. 1, June 2005. At the same time the silver-mining system enslaved Ndé male boys and youth into mining and ranching labor systems and a dynamic economy in 'Apaches' established the Texas-Mexico borderlands as darkest 'Apachería'— a zone out of law. See also Silvio Zavala, *Los Esclavos Indios En Nueva España* (México: El Colegio Nacional Luis González Obregón, 1967).

[14] In *their* own domain, however, Lipan women disrupted Criollo private and public spaces, European law, Spanish *cortes* and *cacique*-Indigenous *cabildos*.

[15] Lipan Apache, (Cúelcahén Ndé, Hada'didla' Ndé and Nakaiyé Ndé) are signatories to *more than 12 legal* agreements, including Treaties and Land-Grants, held between members of their clans and the governments of colonial Spain, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, and the U.S. which are by no means superficial, marginal, or illusory claims to indigeneity and/or land-tenure, and yet the Indigenous peoples of the Lower Rio Grande are a federally unrecognized group and unrepresented people under an International framework. Over time these 12 legal mechanisms alone have not protected or enforced the Native American, Indígena, Indigenous or the human rights of traditional Ndé peoples, whose knowledges and struggles were fractured and disorganized through linear histories of European colonial governments and Euro-American states during the 17th, 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. From Lipan Apache perspectives, between 1546 to 1919, the numerous shifts in scales and methods by *gutahíka-Ndé* (or, 'those who came into the midst of people'/i.e. European immigrants) to assert their claim to ownership of lands through violent invasion is a text and context which precedes the materialization of the 'U.S.-Mexico border lands' as we know it today and which Indigenous communities and scholars are investigating in order to set new agendas for Indigenous politics and Indigenous research.

horses, blankets, corn, turquoise, munitions, guns were all *fair trade* in Indigenous communities which fiercely guarded their autonomy in a world-system *violently enclosing them*.[16] For instance, in 1872, in Remolino, Coahuila, in the interest of U.S.-owned railroad and mining operations in northeastern Mexico, Colonel Ranald MacKenzie hunted down and massacred several Lipan clans who resisted forced settlement.[17] Children were taken as prisoners and divided between Mexico and the United States never to be seen again by their families. In another instance, in 1910-1919 Texas Ranger 'Company E' and their related South Texas companies organized the systematic killings of approximately *5000 rural peoples* in the Lower Rio Grande in one of the most censored land-grabs in Texas and U.S. history.[18]

Not long after these violent events, El Calaboz elder *caciquas* ('women leaders'**)** emerged as crucial actors through their customary institutions of clan law and flows of 'markets' from Indigenous *and* non-Indigenous polities. Their economic and social work intensified on both sides of the river to retain control over their *gową in the rancherías*, their maiz and bean

[16] David J. Robinson, *Migration in Colonial Spanish America*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); P.M. G. Harris, *The History of Human Populations, Volume I: Forms of Growth and Decline*, (Westport: Praeger, 2001).

[17] Through close readings of the elder women's record-keeping and documents, I established numerous connections between the social and economic contexts of the colonial silver mining boom in Mexico between 1546 and the 1750s, and the subsequent establishment of Tlaxcalteca missions and pueblos as civilizing institutions in customary Ndé territories. My investigation led the identification of a small yet significant group of Indigenous noble women, or *caciqua encomenderas* (high status women of noble lineages who inherited enormous grants of lands and tributary labor of the *macehualli* and *tlaquehuale* classes). Noting the diverse ways in which the 'good Indian/bad Indian' trope was used coercively by the colonial functionaries to pit Tlaxcaltecas against 'indios barbaros' and 'enemigos,' by the mid to late 1700s, this was synonymous with Lipan Apaches.

[18] Benjamin Heber Johnson, Ibid. In this context, the Tamaulipas and Coahuila rural peoples' destructions of railroads lines, trains, and mines on the Mexico side of the river must be re-theorized for the larger clan affinities connecting them with rancherías on the Texas side—a mere 9-10 yards away across the many *community-controlled ferries*.

plots, their horses, goats and cattle, and their hand-made goods, their precious textile weavings derived from resources in their customary environments.[19]



Illustration 7.2, Andrea Rubio Peña Cavazos García, (March 6, 1892-April 6, 1971), (Tlaxcalteca-Ndé), leader of ranchería resistances against forced dispossession on the levee. A proponent of traditional Indigenous matri-focal, matri-local, and matrilineal land-tenure laws of the rural, ranchería society. Collection of the author.

Andrea Rubio Cavazos García (b. March 6, 1892—d. April 6, 1971) had *knowledge*, *horses* and *lightning*, and, according to her daughter-in-law, Lydia Esparza (de Moctezuma) (b. August 3, 1917 – October 12, 2008), Andrea also had *power*—what Ndé call '*diyin*.' Born of the Ndé and for the Tlaxcalteca-Ndé, she carried both groups' traditions of ceremonies, rites, and healing practices *and* a long history connected to a kinship network living and labor in El Calaboz and sister sites on the Mexico side. Andrea married Aniceto García, (b. Abt. 1886—d.

[19] Prior to 1910, women's rights to inherit and control the distribution of their own property, working through kinship alliances were mechanisms to maintain autonomy from the unpredictability of Spanish systems. The more economic trade and market spaces they could carve provided multiple niches up and down and across the river, and this benefitted their extended clan's community interests and status. Yet El Calaboz—always a Lipan Apache stronghold, in 1910 revealed the long-term effects of violent inter-ethnic and class struggles, racialization, gender violence and settler ecologies.

Nov. 1951), a southern Lipan Apache, from the Ndé customary hunting lands of Coahuila and Nuevo León.[20]

Lydia recalled that over many years she witnessed Andrea taking the lead against the forces of violence to protect her family and land.[21] During our interview in her home, Lidia stated "My mother-in-law knew everything about the life there. She was very strong and the work was difficult, you know, all the time."[22]

On March 3, 1935, numerous factors lead to Andrea's confrontation with the U.S. Army, during which she led a group of women from the ranchería down to the river. Andrea demanded that the U.S. Army cease their surveying activities on the community lands. According to the U.S. Army, the U.S. wanted the lands which *they perceived* as 'open range' along the Rio Grande.[23] In government discourse, the U.S. Army positioned the state's rights as to construct a levee within rhetoric of nationalism and progress, suggesting that it was necessary

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[20] Andrea and her husband Aniceto carried forth important Ndé ceremonies and traditions in El Calaboz, which they imparted to their clan. In the summer of 2007, in a recorded interview in Harlingen, Texas, Lydia Montalvo Esparza recounted stories of daily life in the ranchería. Since Lydia's mother passed away when she was a young girl related to the many civilian casualties of the 1910-1915 nationalist settler wars against rural Indigenous peoples, it was traditional that her mother-in-law incorporate Lydia as well as her younger siblings into her ranchería.

[21] On another occasion, Lydia conveyed to me that when Andrea was young she inherited horses from her parents, as was traditional among the ranchería societies. This reciprocity provided daughters with their own means of economic livelihood and status in a violent and unpredictable terrain, and thus assisted them in establishing trade, economies, and autonomy in the local trade network which, from Ndé perspectives was vital for a woman, her children, her parents and grandparents.[21] My grandmother Lydia recalled that Andrea's mother, Inocente Rubio García Cavazos, brought horses to her marriage to José Peña Cavazos as well.[21] Horses and horse songs came to their marriages with the women. The horse trade was deeply intertwined with the arms trade in Apache country which was an important economy for several intersecting networks along the river. Even soldiers from Mexico and the U.S. came to the rancherías from time to time looking for good horses and trading.[21]

[22] Eloisa García Támez, recalled the importance of Andrea's role within the ranchería and revealed the complimentary ceremonial role Andrea shared with her Lipan husband, Aniceto. The two elders had given Eloisa her birth ceremony and her lightning ceremony when she was five years old.

[23] They professed later that they were unaware that the Indigenous peoples owned the lands, and they denied knowledge about their Crown land grants.

'to protect' U.S. citizens and cotton growers from 'flood waters' of the Rio Grande.[24] However, women's stories offer a different perspective. My mother and my grandmother vividly recalled this battle against the U.S. Army as a shard in a larger shatter-zone, related to clan-members' deaths up and down the river between 1870 and 1930.[25]

Transnational coal mining, cotton, and Pan-American railroad projects, as well as the construction of the Falcon Dam about eighty miles up-river—were built to benefit large-scale cotton growers— and these all worked to enforce a 'monopoly' on the politics of water, cheap Indigenous labor and violence. Indigenous women in the ranchería narrated these events aiming their lenses *at* specific white families and elite ranchers.[26] All along the Lower Rio Grande River the occupation of Ndé lands *overthrew the local*. Indigenous peoples' names were replaced by battle fields, towns, plantations, distribution warehouses, barbed wire, and rail-road stations.

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[24] See "Texas Planning Board: Records 1914-1939," 'The Texas Planning Board was established on March 16, 1935, when Governor James V. Allred signed into law House Bill 197 of the 44th Legislature. The records cover the entire time span of the Board's existence, 1935-1939, with some earlier files dating back to 1914. The Board's research activities are documented through published and unpublished reports, maps, charts, photographs, notes, and reference materials. The Records, Texas Planning Board. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, at http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/tslac/20133/tsl-20133.html. See, "Flood levee right of way: over lands of the American Rio Grande Land & Irrigation Co., Hidalgo & Cameron Counties, Texas/G.G. Commons, 2935, at http://lib3.panam.edu/record=b2754602; "Map of Cameron County Texas/J.J. Cocke Surveyor," No. 0015, Map Collection: Beard. http://lib3.panam.edu/record=b2789290; and "Map of Cameron County Water Improvement District No. 5, No. L0028; See also "Lower Rio Grande Flood Control Project," 'The Governments of the United States and Mexico pursuant to an agreement reached in 1932, developed through the IBWC [International Boundary Water Commission] (then IBC) a coordinated plan for an international project for protection of the Lower Rio Grande Valley in the United States and Mexico against the river's floods. The project is located in the delta of the Rio Grande, situated in Hidalgo, Cameron and Willacy Counties in the State of Texas and in the State of Tamaulipas in Mexico. Emergency construction of works on the United States side was performed under the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 13, 1933," at http://www.ibwc.state.gov/wad/body_rioproj.htm, accessed April 12, 2010.

[25] The government used force in the service of development and large corporate cotton farms which sought to construct the Falcon Dam up-river, and to take away the traditional access rights by the traditional rural peoples.

[26] I could see how the former discursive uses of the Ndé compound noun place-names of a Lipan Apache homeland were radically altered in and through the *women's memory* and orality, as they placed strong emphasis on violent battles all around the rancherías.

For instance in the 1914-to-1916 period—a time of immeasurable loss of life on an industrial scale in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, the U.S. deployed between 50,000 and 100,000 state guards and soldiers to the region to quash rural peoples' revolts. El Calaboz women stated that "rural" and white racism" constructed 'the Indian', and 'the Mexican' as enemies within their nation—and that these worked against many Indigenous peoples, including Southern Lipan Apaches and their trans-river clans. They identified how this conflation by U.S. Americans worked to aggregate multiply-classed Indigenous peoples into an abstracted lump of *non*-humanity.

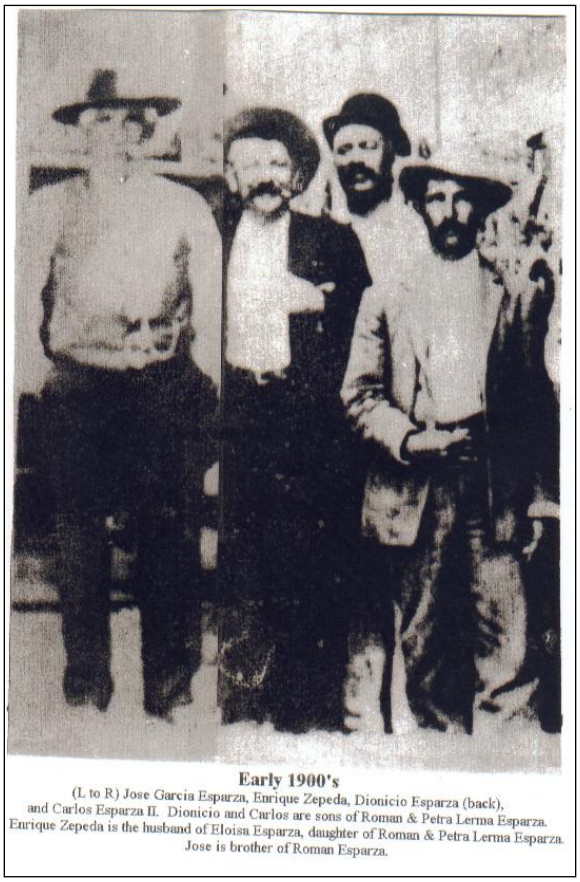


Illustration 7.4, Caciques (Indigenous leaders), El Ranchito, c. 1919. Direct lineal descendents of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin II, San Pedro de Carricitos Land Grant heirs, inter-married into Ndé llano y vaquero clan systems, inter-married with a Tlaxcalteca labor community from Las Rusias, Las Milpas, and El Calaboz. Collection of the author.

In El Calaboz the industrial-scale ranching and farming elites targeted some of the most powerfully connected Indigenous *caciques* (male leaders) and their male clan members, who held Crown land grants along the river. Many of these *caciques*, such as the Esparza (de Moctezumas) of El Ranchito, (within the El Calaboz nexus), were deeply affiliated with revolutionary groups in Tamaulipas and Coahuila. *As they should*—for they were all related by blood, kinship ties, and histories of anti-colonial action. In 1919, a group of white males entered the rancherías, located the males in traditional jacals (huts/wikiups), and massacred the group of caciques. This was a massacre of all-male victims by all-male killers. This was an important pattern I analyzed extensively in a framework of hyper-gendered kill patterns along the Lower Rio Grande. These were documented by women's record-keeping based on primary sources.

Not only were El Calaboz and her sister rancherías reeling from the executions of their clan members, they were absorbing many 'orphans' from relatives who died from hunger in the aftermath of settler field burnings and crop destruction. Thousands fled across the river into Tamaulipas and Coahuila between 1915 and 1919. Many of these joined revolutionary camps overthrowing the hacienda systems and ushering in ejido land reforms on the south side of the river. Indigenous peoples in diaspora took refuge wherever they could.[27]

After the tumultuous years at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, when the river area swarmed with U.S. soldiers and U.S. prisoners constructing a levee system,

[27] Although the seasonal flood waters are not discussed in Indigenous oral histories as "a problem" but rather viewed holistically as a reflection of interconnected processes, the large-scale farmers and the military viewed the river's changes as unpredictable, dangerous and disastrous. In 1916, it was largely Southern Anglos who perceived the river's dynamic flows as a disrupter to the industrialized model of agriculture they introduced into the region. By 1925, they organized the issuance of a bond—a foreign economic concept to rural peoples whose livelihoods still mirrored the traditional Indigenous exchange economy and a material lifestyle reflective of subsistence on the land. The infamous South Texas Tejano and Southern Anglo political machine comprised of well-known ranching elites, attorneys, Texas Rangers, and Tejano politicians, brokered the passage of a 3 million dollar bond to build the Rio Grande levees from Donna to Brownsville. The military provided the Anglo farmers with an "allied force" of laborers, comprised of soldiers and prisoners, and situated in the belly of a community ravaged by intense scales of racial warfare and death.

Andrea and *the women* were scarred, toughened and desperate to protect their families, local places and economies.[28] Women's stories traced how the U.S. Army, on recommendation of powerful white rancher Richard King, used soldiers to keep the Indigenous from accessing river water for their crops.[29] To suppress the trans-river and transnational rural kinship revolts articulated between rancherías, industrial rancher Richard Kleberg, drew up blue-prints and pitched them to local politicians to construct "concentration camps" all along the Indigenous-controlled river crossings.[30]

On the morning of March 3, 1935, Andrea pursued the enemy and confronted them—on *her* lands. The U.S. representatives only spoke English and Andrea—desperate—got seventeen year old Lidia out of her bed—where less than 24 hours before she gave birth to my mother, Eloisa Támez. With her sisters, cousins, daughter and daughter-in-law by her side, Andrea's protest against the illegal seizure of community lands swelled from her grief and rage. According to Lidia, Andrea was angered not only by the Army's insistence to take community lands to construct the levee, she also *critiqued* their science**.** She attempted to explain to the U.S. Army that the levee would destroy their traditional crops, obstruct their access to the river for

[28] The impacted clans were spread across Los Indios, Las Rusias, Las Milpas, La Encantada, and El Ranchito and Webb, Starr, Hidalgo and Nueces counties.

[29] By 1937, the Cardenas government recruited wealthy American entrepreneurs to finance their cotton dreams just downstream from El Calaboz. However, the earthen and water control projects continued from 1933 to 1951. On the other side of the river, clan people experienced similar obstructions as the Mexican government took advantage of the *quadrupling* global cotton prices during the same period. Mexico developed dams and tributaries on the Rio Grande for its own development, much to the fury of Anglo industrial cotton growers on the Texas side.

[30] Benjamin Heber Johnson. *Revolution*, Ibid., 123-124. They were well-connected and well-known throughout Lower Rio Grande, South Texas, and northern Mexico because they and their ancestral males had had fought side-by-side with other tribal peoples, a few progressive Tejano ranchers, resistance fighters on the south side of the river, and eve with a few sympathetic U.S. officers when it advantaged their position. To the women of the rancherías, these events were obviously entangled in a longer history of violence and extermination wars, and the accumulation of these were amplified in community reactions to slayings of critical male leaders who had participated in revolutionary actions with kindred Indigenous caciques across the river's strongholds in resistance to elites on both sides.

irrigation, and flood out their relatives' lands on the south side of the river. The presence of the military *imperiled* everyone, as the U.S. soldiers bolstered White settlers' killing sprees *and* threatened community security by reinforcing white authority and supremacy. The Army forced the women back from the river through a flood of U.S. laws, bond revenues, military presence—*and the lingering haunting of gender violence and… death.*

According to Lydia, all Andrea's perceptive predictions occurred.[31] Lydia stated "the people who were related to my mother-in-law on the south side of the river *were flooded out* after they built the levee. We didn't see them again."[32]

[31] Andrea, like the majority of women whose records and documents I analyzed, never attended the Spanish or White man's schools, did not know how to read or write in their languages. However, my mother recalled with laughter that Andrea could count very quickly in all currencies, local and international, monetary and customary trade, as she continued to overcome these forms of disruption to the Indigenous trade and exchange culture and she established her own trading post on Military Highway in front of her jacal.

[32] "The river was not a border," said Lipan farmer, José Emiliano Cavazos García. The river was *not* a political line to the Indigenous. The river brought the clans together as in previous generations, but the racialized and militarized U.S-Texas and Texas-Mexico border was a nationalist- line etched in the blue-prints of bureaucrats and elites far away in Washington D.C., Austin, Texas, and Mexico City.



Illustration 7.4, Indigenous women mourning their losses, Ndé-Mexico-Texas borderlands, Lower Rio Grande River-Valley, ca. 1915-1919.
Collection of the author.

"It was a tragedy," Lydia said.[33] And *of all people* Lydia was an authority.[34] Her mother, Matiana Alvarez Montalvo, (Tlaxcalteca-Ndé) starved and died of *pellagra* after the militant Rangers and U.S. Army destroyed their fields in Las Rusias, the ranchería of the Gray Horse peoples, *just down the road*.[35] Lydia had every reason to be frightened of the whites and

[33] Lydia Esparza García, Ibid.

[34] A direct descendent of Moctezuma II and Tlaxcalteca *macehualli*, Lidia connected these kinds of events to her genealogical *nobleza* and to her macehualli status within a complex hierarchy of Indigenous race, class, and gender politics. Memory and knowledge haunted her blood lines and Lidia never forgot how her blood-line led to the shattered lives of her parents. Lidia's access to collective experience and memory, and my mother's validation of the community's shared oral tradition about that key event strongly shaped my mother's sense of injustice and Indigenous perspectives. The collective experience of events on the land, for the land, for safety, against hostility, and taking firm stands in the face of armed threat have been crucial sites and layers occupying a critical space in the shaping of women's histories as well

[35] Officially, the last battle of the Civil War occurred there, in Las Rusias, however the official U.S. plaque makes no mention of the civilian casualities and the low-intensity conflict wars fought against local Indigenous revolutionaries. For Lidia, absorbed into her mother-in-law's Ndé ranchería, which had ties to the 1872-73 MacKenzie massacre survivors, she had just given birth my mother the day prior to the 1935 confrontation.

soldiers—on both sides of the river, as Mexican national armies *also* engulfed the region on the hunt for Tlaxcalteca revolutionary leaders from the rural "peasant" classes.[36] Her father, the only survivor of the cacique executions in El Ranchito, was found hung on a tree before Lydia's 13th birthday.[37] Lydia, caught in the nexus of necropolitics and numerous sites of crisis enclosing her and her extended family, was forced to quit school in order to care for her younger siblings—all three orphaned by these events. "I wish I had the education," Lydia recalled fondly during our last interview. However, in the violent landscape of the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico borderlands, Lydia's passion and hopes for learning in the small schoolhouse in El Ranchito with an Indigenous school teacher and her relatives, was quashed and firmly behind her as she fulfilled the roles of mother to younger siblings, and wife within the Ndé ranchería of El Calaboz. Lydia put her energy and focus of the educational empowerment *she* could not obtain—into her *daughters*.

[36] Their forced removal from the river, and the further destruction of Indigenous and traditional, rural lifeways was engineered by large landholder Richard Kleberg, a son-in-law to the King ranching mogul, who concocted a 'blue print' to contain the ranchería 'rebels' in concentration camps.

[37] This important fragment of Indigenous women's history motivated me to search for documentation of the contexts and the mechanisms producing these chains of events within the political economy of large scale cotton production, dam mega projects, and three colonial governments across the hemisphere waging scales of death in this region comparable to similar shatter-zones across the world between 1910-1920.

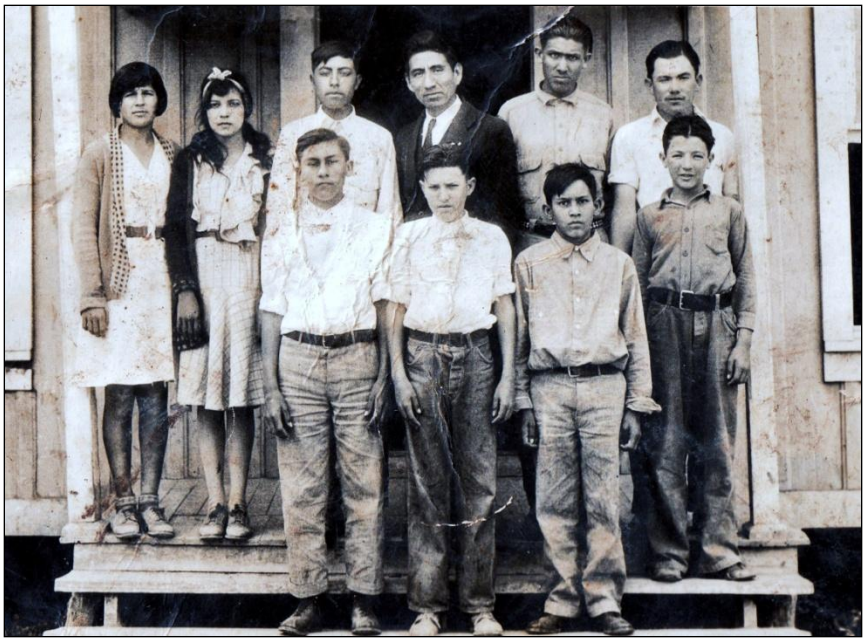


Illustration 7.5, Children of La Encantada School. Lydia Montalvo Esparza García, El Ranchito, Texas-Mexico border, ca. 1933-34 (back row, far left, short black hair), approximately 13 years old. The children of the ranchería-based school were related to one another through a complex kinship *compadrazgo-comadrazga* system of lineal ties to Nahuatl nobility of the de Moctezuma Xocoyotzin II family, *and* to Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, *macehualli* laborers, Basque colonists—and to Ndé clans in which their communities were located.
Collection of the author.

"Darkest Texas" and "the American Congo" were just two phrases architected by the Apache killing specialist Colonel John G. Bourke who dug his boot heels into the Lower Rio Grande on two separate U.S. invasions in the region between 1860 and 1915. Bourke was instrumental in the attempted Americanization of the Indigenous region, an area controlled through Apache, Tlaxcalteca, Nahua and Comanche independent sovereignties exercised through a dynamic kinship network of economies and livelihoods.[38]

In 2007, on the *very same spot* where Andrea led a revolt with her female relatives against the U.S. Army, her granddaughter, Eloisa Tamez (known as "Chata"—the daughter with

[38] Andrea's is one of six clan women's recovered histories which illumined my grasp of what the women of El Calaboz repeatedly referred to as "part of women's work." Ndé women had a clarity about the "men's work" too as local clan peoples on two sides of the river were continually forced into low-wage and hazardous jobs, or into the Mexican or U.S. military, the coal mines, migrant labor on cotton plantations in South Texas. Andrea Cavazos García (Tlaxcalteca-Ndé) lived to be 79 years old, and was buried in the El Calaboz cemetery with my great grandfather, Aniceto García (Ndé).

a lightning ceremony) faced off with armed personnel of the U.S. Army, the Department of Homeland Security, and the U.S. Custom Border Patrol units who occupied the Lower Rio Grande *demanding*, that all the river land owners—*specifically Indigenous peoples with Crown land grant title*— waive their rights to their lands for the construction of the border wall. Eloisa Támez refused, and thus, another generation's commitment to Indigenous aboriginal title and land-tenure—built upon ancestral knowledges—*ensued*.

Power, Lightning and Resistance

On March 2, 1935, Eloisa Esparza García was born to Lydia Esparza García and José Emilio Cavazos García. Lydia recalled that day to me in an unrecorded testimony.

> We were so happy! Everyone was excited you know because we were worried…because it was so hard. My husband was very worried about me and her. I was in labor for a long time… and he waited with his father, he was very nervous. I could hear him and his father was there with him. When Chata was born, my father-in-law could not wait any longer, he was so happy… he just came in very fast and took her into his arms, and then they went outside with her, and I heard him singing his songs, I didn't understand the words… and then he held her up high and was dancing with her… in the sunlight.[39]

[39] Lydia Esparza García, Interview on file with author.



Illustration 7.6, Eloisa 'Chata' García Támez, 9 months, 1935, El Calaboz Ranchería, Texas-Mexico Border. Collection of the author.

Eloisa Esparza García Támez was approximately three years old, (1938), when she experienced first-hand her family's struggle with the Euro-American settler society. Late one night, white men came to the ranchería in an attempt to intimidate the families, undoubtedly regarding the construction of the levee, taking the lands, and forcing the peoples' cooperation. Eloisa recalled, "There was a loud crashing noise. And then, a commotion, noise and screaming! They drove their vehicle into the front of our home, right into the front of our home! I was so frightened. I remember that I ran outside into the dark . . . towards my grandmother's. Then, I remember hiding underneath a bed . . . the screams . . . were horrible."

Unknown to the families of El Calaboz Ranchería, and to the families of La Encantada, El Ranchito, and La Paloma—who, through kinship, were all impacted by ongoing attempts of white settlers and elites to dispossess any one of them—a court hearing transpired at 10:00 a.m., on November 28, 1938, at the Cameron County courthouse in Brownsville. This hearing,

unbeknownst to them, involved the alienation of crucial portions of their lands from their community members whose *porciones* were located *closest* to the Rio Grande River.

According to Eloisa there is no oral history in the communities of this hearing, and she doubted that any of the community members were notified in Spanish language documents, consulted or had either ceded lands voluntarily, or given their consent to the county officials who took aggressive actions against them in court on that very day. "The emergence of this document, in 2009, as a piece of 'evidence' submitted to the court by the Federal government in their attempt to seize more lands from us *today* is not only shocking, it verifies to us how *long* those people have schemed to take what is not theirs. They will use any method to do what is basically considered by me to be evil."[40] According to the court transcript, the Special Commissioner of Cameron County motioned for the taking, and the Judge of the County Court of Cameron County, found with the Commissioner, stating:

> Whereas, on the 25th day of October, 1938, Cameron County, … sought condemnation of an easement over certain lands in said County belonging in part to the defendants, the Heirs of Ygnacio Garcia, Deceased, Their Unknown Heirs and Legal Representatives, and hereinafter described; … to wit, on the 25th day of October, 1938, the said Judge appointed the undersigned three disinterested freeholders of said County as Special Comissioners to assess the damages occasioned by the condemnation of such lands.[41]

Given the fact that the majority of the Lower Rio Grande society was related to one another, it is highly unlikely that Ygnacio García died with "Unknown Heirs." According to the record, the objective of the 'easement' was to obtain a "right of way" for "the purpose of constructing levees, dikes, floodways, and drainways, and revetment works in and upon the land of

[40] Eloisa García Támez, Interview, March 9, 2009.

[41] *Cameron County v. The Heirs of Ygnazcio Garcia, Deceased, Their Unknown Heirs and Legal Representatives*, No. 5822, Final Judgement, County Court of Cameron County, Texas, December 8, 1938, Microfiche Roll U291 P39.

Defendants."[42] Interestingly, the narrative of the judgment hinted that the condemnation involved a "controversy", as it alleged that proper information was publically distributed to the "Heirs of Ygnacio Garcia" in the *Santa Rosa Signal*, "a newspaper published in Cameron County, Texas, the County in which such suit is pending such publication being made once each week for four consecutive weeks previous to the return date thereof."[43] The order specified that J. A. Goolsby, Sheriff of Cameron County, Texas, supervised the public notification. As well, the County Attorney, Charles C. Bowie, testified that the "Unknown Heirs" *defaulted* due to their failure to appear for the hearing. The attorney *ad litem* for the defendants, Ira Webster, Jr., was joined by George E. Phillips, William Gregory, and C.H. Colgin—the Special Commissioners—who each provided testimony.

In contradiction to the statement of "Unknown Heirs", the document specified the impacted members of the rancherías whose lands were being condemned for the easement. Undoubtedly, the court identified the actual owners of the lands in question by consulting the Spanish Crown land records available to them, as the first impacted were identified by those within the "San Pedro de Carricitos Grant."[44] The directly impacted land owners were: Jose Villareal, Isabel G. Cavazos[45], Jose Escamilla, Jose Villareal, Antonio G. Cavazos, Ynocente

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Isabel García Cavazos was my eighth cousin, one removed (in law); her husband, Anastacio Cavazos Cavazos was my eighth cousin, one removed.

Garcia de Cavazos[46], Guadalupe Benavides, Simon Garcia, and Calistra Garcia de Montemayor[47].



Illustration 7.7, Inocente Rubio Cavazos García (Tlaxcalteca-Ndé), (December 28, 1865 – July 17, 1938). G-G-Grandmother to Author. Collection of the author.

In effect, the easement divided each landowner's acreage through the middle, providing the state of Texas, Cameron County, and the U.S. the alleged 'right' to assert sovereignty couched in a development discourse of cotton, cattle ranching, and benefitting Anglo-American cultivators and citizens. The web of deception and manipulation involved central figures, such as James B. Wells, Jr., the renowned figure of South Texas 'boss' and 'machine' politics which trafficked along Euro-American ethnic kinship and intermarriage and/or close business ties with the old guard Tejano ranching families. A member of a powerful matrix which linked ranchers, attorneys, real estate speculators, and court judges across South Texas, Wells employed many

[46] Ynocente Rubio García Cavazos (December 28, 1865 – July 17, 1938) was my 2nd Great Grandmother, mother to Andrea Rubio Peña García.

[47] Calistra Garcia de Montemayor, (b. 1906) was my first cousin, three removed.

immigrant ethnic Euro-Americans and, according to public history, "consolidated his control over the Cameron County Blue Club and eventually extended his influence over the Democratic organizations of Hidalgo, Starr, and Duval counties. In each of these counties he oversaw the rise of bosses who ran their own local machines but who acknowledged Wells' leadership on regional, state, and national questions."[48] Low-level functionaries, such as Goolsby, Bowie, Webster (who later matriculated to 'Judge'), Phillips, Gregory, and Colgin," were too lowly for mention in Wells' extensive papers where he documented the methods of seizure and takings in his accounting ledgers, correspondence, business papers and legal notebooks.

Dated between 1837 and 1927, Wells' papers provide rich potential for further analysis of the necropolitics and resistances by Indigenous clan networks framed by Indigenous peoples through lenses of counter-narration, and application of critical Indigenous methodologies. At the same time, this easement to construct the levee provided the U.S. and Mexico International Boundary Commission the authority to assert international rights to oversee the levee as an issue of boundary and water rights for the nation-states. The security of the nation and the security of the development agenda were enshrined in industrialization, state 'progress', and white nationalism. In its final judgment, the court "estimated the injuries sustained and the benefits received by the part Owners, by reason of such condemnation … that the remainder of such property is not diminished in value by reason of such condemnation, … accordingly assess the actual damages which will accrue to such part Owners by such condemnation, at One and no/100 ($1.00) Dollar." Here I include the following maps, to illustrate the Americanization of the

[48] Briscoe Center for American History (Online), "A Guide to the James B. Wells Papers, 1837-1926," The University of Texas at Austin, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utcah/00027/cah-00027.html, accessed April 2, 2010. A rather extensive archive, persons identified in Wells' machine are a veritable 'Who's Who' of the Anglo-Hispano machine as well as Indigenous plaintiffs who sought justice against the "liquidation" seizures by the upstart incorporations of speculators, such as the "Brownsville Land and Irrigation Company," and the business correspondence of Charles Stillman contained among the collections documents.

Lower Rio Grande, in terms of land-tenure dispossession in Cameron County between the mid 1880 and the early 1913.



Illustration 7.8, Map of Cameron County, 1880, #4786. Courtesy of the Texas General Land Office, Austin. In the late 1880s, lands owned communally by descendents of Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, Criollos (Basque colonists) and Nahua nobleza mercedes, in Cameron County, were under severe threat by White encroachment.

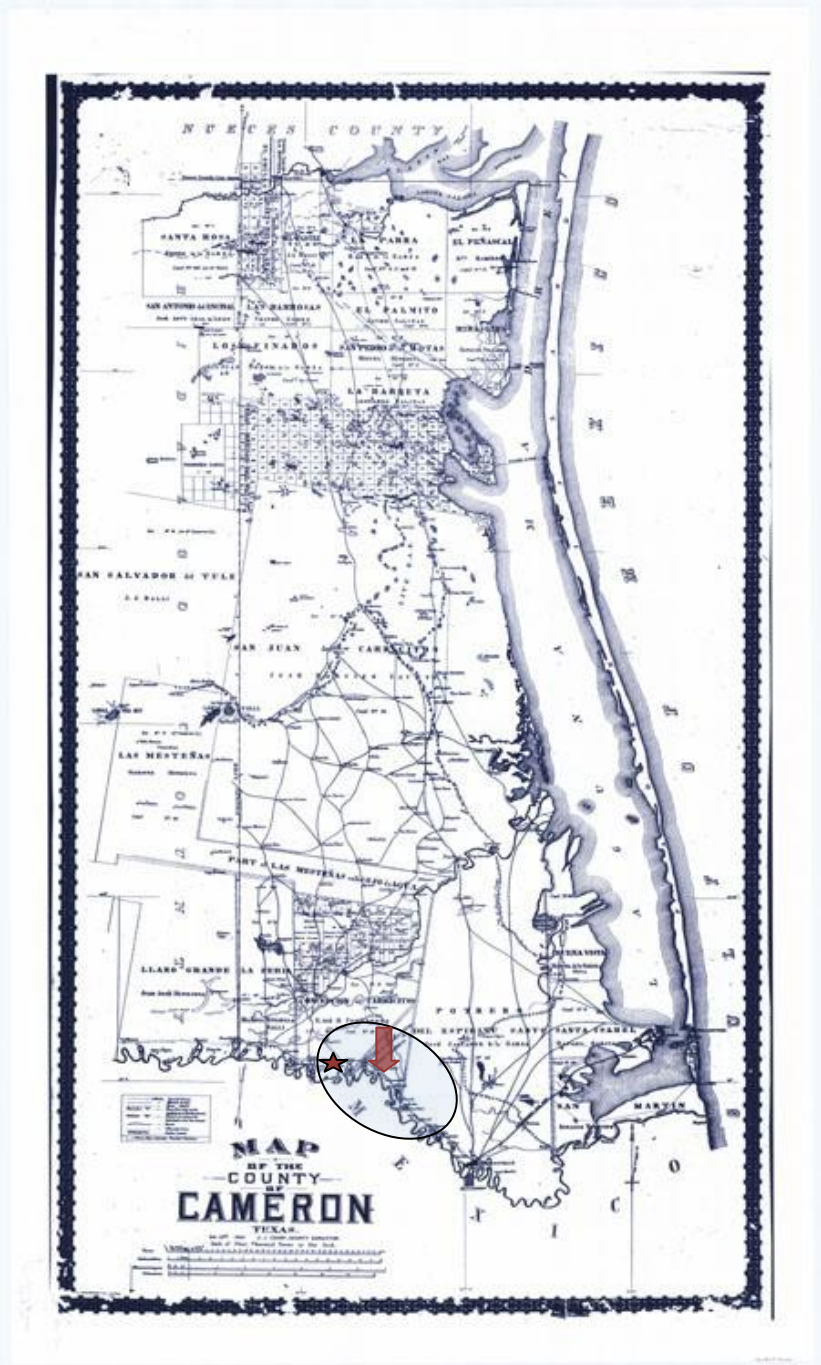


Illustration 7.9, Map of County of Cameron, Texas, 1884, #76058. Courtesy of the Texas General Land Office, Austin. Adaptations by the author. Ranchería societies (La Encantada, El Calaboz, La Paloma, Las Rusias, Las Milpas, Los Indios) are encircled and approximate location of El Calaboz is designated by the *arrow*. The related communities of Las Milpas, Los Indios and Las Rusias are designated by the *star*. The undulating line *is* the Rio Grande River—*and* the U.S.-Mexico border.

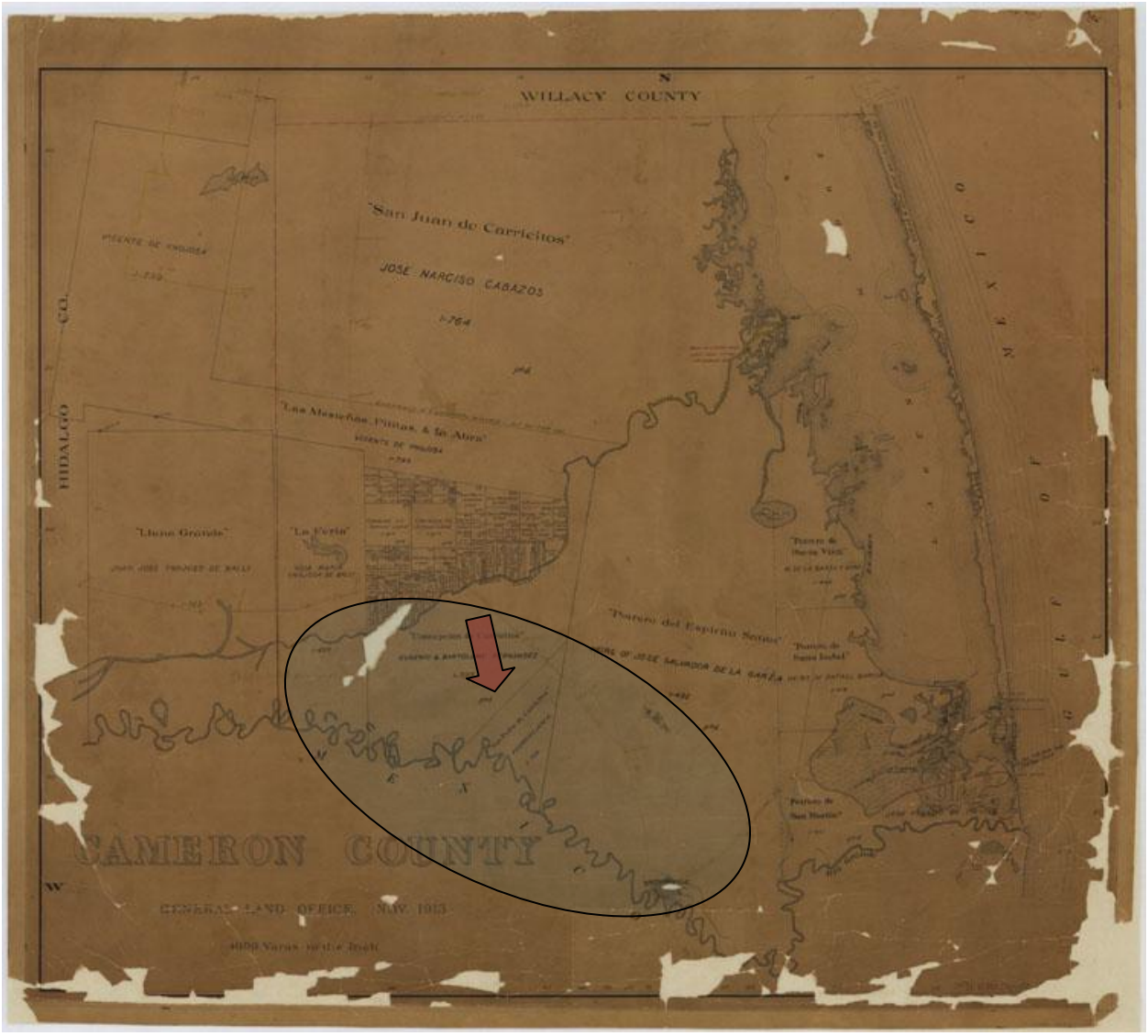


Illustration 7.10, Cameron County Map, 1913, #4752. Courtesy of the Texas General Land Office, Austin. Adapted by the Author.
San Pedro de Carricitos Land Grant (Esparza-Villarreal-Cavazos) designated by arrow; Ndé trans-River ranchería cultural landscape designated by encircled area. Note encroachment of 'Willacy County' upon major sections of the Crown land-grant lands areas. Willacy County was named for state senator John G. Willacy, originally a small farmer and truck driver from Louisville, Kentucky who came to South Texas in 1892 seeking to expand. In 1911 he sponsored a bill to name a large section of lands under his name. This bill allowed emigrating whites to break apart the Crown lands and worked to Americanize the lands.[49] Willacy County was an enclave of Texas Rangers during the highpoint of inter-ethnic violence between whites and Indigenous land-owners between 1910-1919.

What is telling, in this excessively manipulative use and abuse of Euro-American sovereignty and law in the formation of an Anglo-American settled presence among the

[49] See *The Handbook of Texas Online*, "John G. Willacy," http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/WW/fwi16.html, accessed April 5, 2010.

Indigenous populations, is the genealogy of Indigenous resistance, as well as the obvious markers of Indigenous repression embedded within this documented court proceeding. *Getting control* over the land—was articulated in the *excesses* of sovereignty: accumulation, mass destruction of human life, and shrewd legal frameworks. These operated conjointly to the obfuscation of Indigenous presence, Indigenous women's historical ties to shaping both Indigenous and Euro-American legal systems in the region, and Indigenous clans' continuous *rejection* of usurpation by outside polities.

In 1848, the Cavazos clan fought violence with counter-strategies to deter predatory land speculators from selling their lands from beneath them. Rafael Garcia Cavazos, for instance, took his issue public, and on June 14, 1848 publicized a firm warning to individuals such as Charles Stillman, Richard King, and Mifflin Kenedy in the *American Flag*:

> All persons are hereby notified, that I, Rafael Garcia Cavazos, am the owner possessing a valid and indisputable title to a certain tract of land…which…embraces the entire front from opposite the City of Matamoros on the said Rio Grande. Notice is hereby given that all documents emanating from the Honorable Ayuntamiento of the City of Matamoros, purporting to be titles to labors as exidos [sic] are of no value, as said Ayuntamiento are not, nor ever have been possessed of any legal right to grant said labors or any part of said tract of land. All persons purchasing or attempting to hold said land, or any part thereof, except by titles emanating from myself are hereby notified that they will do so at their own cost, and will subject themselves to damages as trespassers, as I am determined to appeal to the law for the protection of my just rights.[50]

Four years later, on January 14, 1852, in federal district court, Judge John C. Watrous issued judgment on this case, finding for the plaintiff's representative and relative, Pedro J. Cavazos,[51] ordering Charles Stillman et.al, founders of the Brownsville Land Company "enjoined from further operation."[52] Just two years after the retaliatory slaughter of Carlos Villarreal Esparza II

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[50] As quoted in Joseph E. Chance, *José María de Jesús Carvajal: The Life and Times of a Mexican Revolutionary* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2006), 94-95.

[51] Pedro José Ballí Cavazos (b. March 14, 1801 - ?) was my sixth cousin, three times removed.

[52] Ibid., 96.

and his cousins in El Ranchito by white militia-men, the Cavazos clan of the South Texas—their cousins—forced the issues of land theft in the U.S. juridical system. The descendents of the powerful land speculator, Charles Stillman, continued to profit by their ancestor's misdeeds, and in 1921 allegedly settled with the City of Brownsville for $325,000—for the lands controlled by the Cavazos through Crown title. Although Stillman allegedly paid Pedro J. Cavazos $33,000 for 4, 676 acres, no legal record or other documentary evidence has ever materialized to demonstrate that *actual payment* was ever made to the Cavazos.[53]

In 1946, on another branch of the ranchería clans, Francisca Reyes Esparza, (January 15, 1901-December 8, 1980), a lineal descendent of Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma and Moctezuma Xocoyotzin II and a lineal descendent of King Ferdinand II of Spain, took a vital place in the history of the ranchería struggles against centuries of dispossession.[54] According to historian Irene I. Blea, Francisca Reyes Esparza achieved critical inroads into Indigenous documentation, research, and archival organization of her foremothers' land-tenure—across centuries, hemispheric migrations, and transnational colonialisms. Blea states,

> Francisca Reyes Esparza…had a leading role in land rights struggles over raza displacement from their land. While attempting to gather evidence to file a land grant lawsuit for titles to a quarter of a million acres of oil and ranch land, Esparza successfully developed communication between the United States and Mexico. She became an expert on the historical aspects of old land titles guaranteed to Mexican-American citizens under Article VII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In 1946, she won her land rights case and set in motion vehicles that are utilized today in similar cases.[55]

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[53] Ibid.

[54] Francisca Reyes Esparza was my ninth cousin. She was instrumental in preserving the documentation work of her foremothers, specific to Lampazos, Nuevo León, México and the original settlement by Tlaxcaltecas and Basques in Laredo—and the struggles against the Lipan Apaches and Comanches for the land. Her preserved copies of the ancestral knowledges founded the Esparza Family Genealogical Archive. She also contributed to the publication of her grandfathers' dichos, based upon the life of local ranchería *cacique*, Carlos Villarreal Esparza.

[55] Irene I. Blea, *U.S. Chicanas and Latinas Within a Global Context* (Westport: Praeger, 1997), 123-124. Note that the Esparza family of La Encantada dispute the assignation of 'Chicana' and 'Latina' to their direct ancestor Francisca Reyes Esparza, and requested that her social identity be corrected in this dissertation to reflect her place-



Granddaughter of Carlos Villarreal Esparza, I and Francisca García Esparza
Illustration 7.11, Francisca Reyes Esparza, (January 15, 1901 – December 8, 1980). Ninth cousin to the Author.
Collection of the author.

It was these concrete forms of resistance, resiliency and inter-generational refusal to dispossession, and the oral histories spoken, recounted, sung, and recorded—within the tradition of popular Indigenous ballads, rural community feasts, in ranchería Catholic parish oratory and in 'folk' masses', and materials collected between women in shared social spaces away from the gaze of patriarchal authority—where these scenes of violent aggression and popular Indigenous resistance took diverse cultural forms as community history. These public history refutations of Euro-American states of exception profoundly shaped the world which raised Eloisa Esparza

based roots as an *originaria*, land-grantee/*hidalga*, and Indigenous legal advocate of San Pedro de Carricitos—a kinship based community of historical *pobladores*.

García Támez in El Calaboz. At the age of five, Eloisa recalled her initiation as a member of the elders and healer's circle during a violent storm:

> During the rainy season, a major storm threatened the safety of the ranchería. And…I remember how the elders huddled together in the hut, you know, the place we used to have, because everything was simple back then. They were worried that something *bad* was going to happen. I remember that they decided *I* was to be the one to go to the storm, and that is when my grandmother...she took me out in the middle of the storm, right to the center. The loud thunder, the lightning, the gale force winds, did not frighten her. She made the prayers in all the directions and then took out her big butchering knife from her skirt, and then …she put that knife firmly in my hand, wrapping hers around mine, and thrust my hand and arm and the knife up to the sky, and that is when the lightning and thunder came down into me. …After that, we went back into the hut, and I just remember the elders all putting their palms on my eyes… just touching my eyes and getting a blessing. They said my eyes were glowing with a light. The storm stopped after that.[56]



Illustration 7.12, Eloisa García Támez, 1940-41, El Calaboz Ranchería, Texas-Mexico border.
Mother of the Author.
Collection of the author.

In many interesting ways, the elders of El Calaboz mapped the converging histories of colonization, rebellion, revolution, and resistance onto the children of the community, marking deep and lasting understandings of Indigenous colonial memory into their spirits, minds and bodies. Daily struggles, simple pleasures, and gratitude for community were reflected in everyday life and celebrations of the past—both distant and ever unfolding into the present.

[56] Eloisa García Támez, Interview on file with author.

Eloisa, as well as the majority of children in the community, were indelibly marked by the haunting of coloniality and the remembrances of tenderness shared, intimacy, and collective power. The following texts 'speak' profoundly of Indigenous women's and families' desires to write oppositional and complex Indigenous histories and identities into public 'voice,' memory, and counter-history, while the violent settler society moved in dangerously, encroaching upon them, encircling the community in development projects slated to force South Texas and northern Mexico Indigenous peoples into the American twentieth century in disturbing ways.



Illustration 7.13, La Encantada School house, ca. 1930-33, San Pedro de Carricitos, Texas-Mexico border. Great-aunt Chavela (Ndé-Tlaxcalteca), sister to Author's grandfather, José Emilio Cavazos García, is on the top row, fourth from the right. The children were related to one another through Indigenous kinship and lineal ties to the rancherías. The caciques from the Esparza and Villarreal clans asserted their kinship *parentesco*/*compadrazgo* to the poorer Indigenous families in their lineal network by establishing school houses for them. Collection of the author.



Ilustration 7.14, Daily life of Lydia Montalvo Esparza García (maternal grandmother to the Author) on the levee with her companion, clearing a field, and taking a work-break, El Calaboz, ca. early-to-late 1940s. Women took strong roles in maintaining their presence on the land during WWII when many Indigenous males were conscripted into the U.S. army.
Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.15, Hortencia Esparza Loya and friend, Lydia's sister (*and* next-door neighbor) in El Calaboz, ca. late 1940s. G-Aunt to Author.
Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.16, José Emilio García, planting in El Calaboz. Grandfather to Author. Note traditional jacal shelter in background, ca. late 1940s.
Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.17, La "prieta fina" y rebelde, Eloisa García Támez, ca 1941, El Calaboz Ranchería. "Chata" was given the nickname, "Prieta Fina" ('fine-handsome dark one') by her aunts and uncles in El Calaboz.
Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.18, A day in town, in traditional clothing. Eloisa, sister Jesusita (left) and cousin Olga (Cavazos García) Rodriguez,
Brownsville, Texas, ca. 1941-42. Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.19, First Holy Communion. Eloisa García Támez, San Ignatius Catholic Church (Oblate Mission), El Ranchito, Texas-Mexico border, ca. 1942. Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.20, Jesusita 'Paco' Esparza García, Eloisa's younger sister. Aunt to Author.
El Calaboz Ranchería, ca. 1955.
Note traditional jacal-hut in background. Collection of the author.

In 1950, at about the age of fifteen, against the national and regional rising tides of white supremacy, Eloisa firmly deciding to pursue a college education, and she chose the field of nursing and rural, traditional people's community health as crossroads to 'speak' against the injustices against Indigenous peoples of the rancherías of the Texas-Mexico and South Texas border region. She encountered numerous obstacles in South Texas—a region which maintained *de jure* segregation in significant pockets where resistant enclaves of white supremacy reigned.[57] Despite many violent barriers surrounding the rancherías, with the support of her very large kinship relations in El Calaboz, she fought against the oppressive blockade of white cultivator families, populating numerous key county and school district positions, and forced a confrontation between the Indigenous communities and the local school board. The issue, from Eloisa's perspective? Nothing less than the right to attend the high school in San Benito where she could have access to new textbooks, and receive an improved quality education in order to

[57] Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Balc, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2001), 277-300; David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1987), 114-115.

improve her chances to gain entry into college—at par with the white population. Támez, with the support of a large community of elders, cousins, uncles, and aunts, the kinship circle ever important to Indigenous survival, succeeded in breaking down the barrier of white supremacy in the local schools. She literally led the entire ranchería on foot and in carts to the confrontation.



Illustration 7.21, Eloisa and sister Jesusita, 'Paco', and cousin, El Calaboz Ranchería, ca. 1949-50.
Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.22, Eloisa, uncle Nicolas Esparza, and sister Jesusita, ca. 1950-51.
Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.23, Eloisa (far right), Jesusita (far left) and cousin Janie (center), El Calaboz Ranchería, ca. 1950. Collection of the author.

After much vocal opposition by local white school board members, such as Mrs. Landrum, to Eloisa's demands for equal access to education, *nevertheless* Eloisa pursued an open debate on the issue, which drew a large crowd from the Rancherías to the official chambers of the school board. During that historical meeting, Eloisa recalled that Mrs. Landrum interrogated her openly, mocking her local, linguistic use of English, and belittled her community elders who did not speak English. Eloisa defended her elders, and firmly rebuked Mrs. Landrum's derogatory comments, stating to her "I am here with the support of my parents, grandparents, and family." Although the struggle did not resolve on that day, Eloisa and her community did gain access to the school in San Benito, and forced the issue of integration. Eloisa notes, "I never could let go the knowledge of the daily struggles of the people in El Calaboz and the constant struggle to exist in the way of life we had known." With the full

support of the elders in their traditional way of making council among themselves, Eloisa felt confident that her power, given to her at age five during the category-5 storm, helped her to stay focused. Her pursuit of an education to seek improvements for community health—especially in elder care, diabetes, and contagious disease—was carved from the conditions which confronted the Indigenous peoples along the Texas-Mexico border in the Lower Rio Grande. Poverty, forced enclosure, deprivated social conditions, tuberculosis, and the growing reality of toxics formed an industrialized landscape and endemic environmental racism directly connected to the negative legacy of necropower. The elders' public histories and ways of writing resistance was intertwined with their hopes for a new generation, and they worked avidly to protect the small fragments of collective land grants which had defined their ancestors ways of life for centuries.



Illustration 7.24, Lydia Montalvo Esparza García (Tlaxcalteca-Nahuatl Noble-Basque) and José Emilio Cavazos García (Ndé-Tlaxcalteca),
El Calaboz, ca. late 1940s. Grandparents to Author. Note traditional Ndé jacal in background.
Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.25, Eloisa's graduation day. 1956. Father, José Emilio Cavazos García and mother, Lydia Montalo Esparza García.
After completing her Bachelors of Science in Nursing, with her parents' and family's support, Eloisa pursued her Masters of Science, her R.N, and her Doctoral degrees. Collection of the author.



Illustration 7.26, Wedding day. Eloisa García Támez (Hada'didla Ndé-Tlaxcalteca-Nahuatl-Basque) and Luis Carrasco Támez (Tuntsa' Ndé, Cúelcahén Ndé, Zuazua Ndé), August 26, 1956,
El Calaboz Ranchería, Texas-Mexico border.
Collection of the author.

At the same time, on the Texas-Mexico border, the people fought persistently for the right to exist as human beings with a unique, distinct culture, and their forms of resistance. They fought at ceaseless inland county checkpoints, in 'Whites' only' public places, and in de facto segregated institutions across South Texas. Their resistances were riddled with complicated and complex histories of diverse Indigenous political identifications and subjugated realities. Anything but homogenous, the Indigenous presence in the Lower Rio Grande Valley and Texas-Mexico border region continued to grow related to hemispheric globalization, economic restructuring, and an industrial beltway drawing Indigenous workers to the region. A magnet for Indigenous in and out migration—from across the hemisphere, the ranchería perspectives continued to be engulfed in the rising tides of neoliberalism and neocolonialism. For the ranchería, in a physical and mental landscape enclosed by the lingering coloniality of oligarchic and militaristic politics, anti-Indigeneity and Anglicized imaginaries of the Indigenous enemy Other, the Indigenous polities continued to demand just reparation and resolution.

Transnational Indigenous Communities[58]

This project has opened the door to a constellation of formerly *un-visited* and *under-theorized* sites in American Studies, Native American Studies, and border studies. Indigenous community leaders' fervent directives to me to 'get it right' caused me to reflect on Indigenous peoples' persistent framing of colonialism, violence, resistance, and community-based

[58] Situated at the forefront of decolonization studies in transborder and transnational Indigenous movements, my project is deeply rooted in lived-in experiences, places, time, and *de-mystified* deaths of El Calaboz peoples. Contemporary Indigenous community members participated in the critical approaches which shaped and gave life to the project. Their challenges and achievements are in critical dialogue with scholars and relevant communities across numerous transnational and Native nations whose interests lie in the well-being and futures of Indigenous peoples as they relate to Indigenous land-tenure and land-grants, the environment, and technology.

knowledge. Their interests in protecting Indigenous life-ways, languages, religions, literacies, ethics, and knowledge demonstrated their persistent interpretations of the ancestral body-mind-spirit connection to biodiversity and complex realms of history and law. Gender violence, genocide, killing and destruction contour the collective and communal identity of the ranchería society, and their struggles to achieve recognition as People and as political actors in the realms of hemispheric, transnational struggles and transborder struggles. These cannot ever be dissected from the unresolved and *haunting* past of the Lower Rio Grande Valley as a continually militarized space and Indigenous revolutionary nexus in the Americas. The emphasis by elders to remember 'happy times,' which preceded 'times of war and destruction,' enjoin the recirculated paths between the past and the present. For the impacted Indigenous peoples, fighting off the pressures of assimilation and forgetting, and resisting being consumed and harvested into mainstream, hyphenated, minority-Americans—continues to be a major struggle for survival of the ranchería peoples and land-based ways of life. Elders, such as Eloisa García Támez, and Texas-Mexico border Lipan and Jumano Apache communities, see this struggle ultimately as a major conflict to be determined in the realms of human rights *and* Indigenous rights. Dakota Law professor Angelique Eagle Woman—analyzing the border wall



Illustration 7.27, Border Wall, Eloisa García Támez, April 2009, on the levee, and near the U.S. Border Wall, bifurcating the Crown lands of the rural, Indigenous peoples of El Calaboz Ranchería, Texas-Mexico border. Photo by Eugenio del Bosque, available at http://www.texasobserver.org/cover-story/all-walled-up.

and the Indigenous transnational resurgencies forming and galvanizing from below —recently argued

> The Eagle and the Condor of the Western Hemisphere is an Indigenous law system of principles and perspectives and a shared worldview that includes principles of environmental stewardship, concepts of balance within an interdependent universe, kinship and clans as a basis of governance, and with a shared history of resistance to colonization. … European languages and armies originally served as barriers to the communication between indigenous peoples in the various regions of the hemisphere, and forced our alliances underground. A permanent barrier between the Eagle and the Condor by way of a … barrier wall along the southern border of the United States …pushes Indigenous alliances out into the open once again."[59]

Indigenous peoples directly impacted by the militarized borders of nation-states, hemispherically, have been at the forefront of social movements to disrupt the repression of the state against Indigenous organization into discrete polities, autonomy, and self-determination resurgences. Indigenous peoples are taking lead in forming organizations outside of 'federal recognition' and reforming their social and political identities in accordance with local Indigenous history and governance, and rejecting the containers of 'native' prescribed by Euro-

[59] Angelique Eagle Woman, "The Eagle and the Condor of the Western Hemisphere: Application of International Indigenous Principles to Halt the United States Border Wall," *Idaho Law Review*, Vol., 45, 1-18, 2009.

American legal systems. In challenging the U.S. Border Wall, local Indigenous polities renewed the transnational galvanization of their families, rituals, languages, religious observances, law systems, governance institutions, and clan-based reciprocal economic structures. This hemispheric Indigenous *re-taking*, built in immense struggle and in Indigenous thought, is central to key gatherings in which El Calaboz Ranchería community leaders have taken a decisive role.

Indigenous Summits throughout the hemisphere, between 2006 to 2008, were formulated by Indigenous peoples and allies. Indigenous peoples are center and core to shifting the critical consciousness and interrogations in international forums regarding the actions of the nation-state and the military industrial complex. Eagle woman stated, "As Indigenous peoples on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border confront the militarization of the region and the negative impacts on traditional lifeways, it is time to bring the issues facing the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere to the international level once again." [60]



Illustration 7.28, Author providing testimony at Inter-American Commission/Organization of American States, 2009, with the University of Texas Law Working Group on the Texas-Mexico Border Wall. Collection of the author.

[60] Ibid.

In that regard, at the urging of El Calaboz elders, I stepped forward, in 2009, with an interdisciplinary working group of law professors, human rights experts, Indigenous anthropologists, and scholars across the disciplines of history, social geography and demography to provide expert testimony before the *Inter-American Commission/Organization of American States.* At that forum, the panel confronted grave issues and confronted the state by presenting hard evidence on the issues of human rights violations, Indigenous land-tenure, environmental safety and destruction, and negatively impacted economies experienced by the Texas-Mexico communities affected by the border wall.[61]

By confronting the keywords designed through state-driven systems and which are used to describe, construct and deconstruct the rigid conceptions of Ndé and Indigenous peoples across the hemispheric edges *of time and materials*, such as "enemy", "dissident", "unlawful" and "foreign-alien," my work refracts those ideas through the lenses of Indigenous reality, time and space. Reading across and through the machinations of imperial documents and settler ecologies, this process enabled me to see more clearly and to re-evaluate the perspectives and principles of the *majority* population of the region—highly stratified Indigenous peoples. This process enabled me to see their situatedness in subordination. Those submerged in the colonial hemispheric workforce are predominantly Indigenous *women.* Those in the majority occupying

[61] Quickly following that hearing, my contribution at the intersections of Native and Indigenous history, the environment, community knowledges, social movements, and gender was requested formally by the Chairman of the *Lipan Apache Band of Texas* and the Chairman of the *San Carlos Apache Tribe of Arizona*. Together, we worked to compose and to submit interventions on the issues of mining, environmental protection, religious rights, and development at the *United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.* My research, therefore, on numerous levels, embodies the call by numerous American Studies, Native Indigenous, and legal scholars, like Eagle Woman—to initiate, frame and systematize new traditions of Indigenous scholarship *pushed by transnational social forces throughout the hemisphere.* This entails going beyond the reiterations and reifications of normative western legal frameworks of 'Native rights' and 'Native sovereignty' and, rather, to *push* the international law system into a discussion framed by Indigenous principles, perspectives, human and Indigenous rights.

subservient occupations at the boot heels of European and Euro-American military systems, prisons and detention centers—are predominantly Indigenous *men*.[62]

It is at the intersection of these analyses, finally, that my dissertation addresses the gaps, as well as firmly establishes new centers in Indigenous Studies, American Studies, Native American Studies, Critical Legal Studies and Transnational and Hemispheric Indigenous Studies. My dissertation responds to Indigenous peoples' contemporary struggles and social movements which lead them to recovery, memory, documentation and transnational investigations.[63] As a result of my intellectual advocacies and a rigorous research agenda responsive and committed to Indigenous communities' critical thinking and testimony, and responsive to their civic engagement and re-imagining of Indigenous public history, I contemplate the best practices which our contributions will make to inter-disciplinary studies. A community perspective from an Indigenous standpoint, argues Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Centers the political and cultural agency of indigenous peoples and is foundational to the critical study of American history, culture, society and politics vis-à-vis the original inhabitants of this continent, especially with regard to settler colonialism, slavery and imperialism."[64] Indigenous communities along the Texas-

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[62] My project speaks directly to the interconnected social and environmental injustices encountered in Indigenous women's lives in their homeplaces, workplaces, and sacred sites, and this is where Indigenous poetry—considered dissident and peripheral by a canon of Native artists and scholars can elevate critical awareness of the social *hierarchies* and *stratifications* within and across Indigenous societies—a serious threat to Indigenous autonomy.

[63] See Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, "Reading a Silence: The "Indian" in the Era of Zapatismo," *Nepantla: Views from the South*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2002), 287-314; Andrea Smith and Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Native Feminisms Engage American Studies," *American Quarterly*, 2008, 241-249. Saldaña-Portillo argues the intersection is critical in the development of a site where "new political and cultural indigenous communities coalesce."

[64] J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Native American Studies Making Strides," *The Academy Speaks, Diverse: Issues in Higher Education,* http://diverseeducation.wordpress.com/author/kauanui/, accessed April 3, 2010. This view is strongly reflected at the *United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues*, the hemispheric *Alianza Indigena Sin Fronteras (Indigenous Alliance Beyond Borders)*, the *Transborder Apache Fair Trade Autonomy Alliance*, and provides traction for Indigenous scholars, Kauanui states, "to examine the history and politics…further beyond the machinations of the U.S.-nation state to Indigenous studies in Canada, Australia, and Aotearosa/New Zealand, as well as Latin America and beyond."

Mexico border and their politics of resistance are challenging many of the foundational philosophical terrains and claims of historians and anthropologists—*to control study of* the past, in order to understand the present and to shape the future. Indigenous investigations into the present are excavating colonial archives, tracing the genealogies of negative power, indifference, and trauma, and constructing new interdisciplinary approaches which nurture the *spirit*, the *word* and the *action* of participatory and focused Indigenous research that is responsive to *community* principles, perspectives and objectives. In El Calaboz Ranchería, at the crossroads of border studies, American Studies, Native and Indigenous Studies, the peoples of "the Eagle and the Condor" demonstrate that Indigenous women's lands, laws, and power have for *too long* demanded a rigorous, more satisfying examination investigating *their pushes* from below and transnational forces *pushing them*.

From one generation to the next, these principles and perspectives have critically shaped each new generation's concerns for fundamental application of laws to protect Indigenous peoples' rights to exist, to be self-determining, and to develop their ways of life autonomously. Inter-generational kinship ties, bound to historical and contemporary factors, are continuously transmitted as Indigenous politic driving Lipan Apache women to defend their laws, lands, power and way of life. It is inherently through the kinship practices and teachings, held together by Indigenous women, that the diversity of knowledges and the ongoing struggles for Peoplehood connected to Ndé customary domains continue to persist as a politic of *Ndé shini shimaa, gową isdzan shimaa*—Lipan Apache women's home on Mother Earth, and continues today as a politic of Indigenous peoples' human rights.



Illustration 7.29, Baptism day of the Author. José Emilio García (Ndé), Lydia Montalvo Esparza García (Nahuatl noble, Tlaxcalteca macehualli, Basque) and me, South Texas, 1962. Collection of the Author.



Illustration 7.30, Milpa de Otoño Tamez Mendoza (Hada'didla Ndé, Cúelcahén Ndé) giving a traditional *hadntn* blessing to her uncle, Historian Enrique Rede Madrid (Jumano-Ndé), and supported in traditional prayer by her god-father, Michael Paul Hill (Nneé/Chiricahua Apache/San Carlos Apache) at the 2008 Naiiees Isdzanałesh ceremony of the Lipan Apache Band of Texas. Seven young ladies participated in this most crucial and central ceremony of Ndé peoples of the Texas-Mexico border. It had been more than 150 years since the traditional clans and kinship relations of the Ndé of South Texas were able to celebrate this central ritual in South Texas—as a community. The powerful reclamation of Ndé religious, linguistic, legal, and clan governance through women's and elders' ceremonial resurgencies—as a response to the violation of Lipan Apache peoples human rights— are *key* factors in collective claims to Peoplehood and Indigenous rights in the Lower Rio Grande and South Texas. Collection of the Author.



Illustration 7.31, NÁDASI'NÉ' NDÉ' ISDZÁNÉ BEGOZ'AAHÍ' SHIMAA SHINÍ' GOKAL GOWĄ GOSHJAA HA'ÁNÁ'IDŁÍ TEXAS-NAKAIYÉ GODESDZOG. Trans: RETURNING LIPAN APACHE WOMEN'S LAWS, LANDS, & POWER IN EL CALABOZ RANCHERÍA, TEXAS-MEXICO BORDER.
Author and daughter, Milpa de Otoño Tamez Mendoza, Ndé/Lipan Apache Band of Texas' Naiiees Isdzanałesh Ceremony-Feast, San Patricio, Nueces County, South Texas, July 2008.
Collection of the Author.

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APPENDICES:

THE INTIMATE MARKERS OF HAUNTING AND LOSS IN EL CALABOZ RANCHERÍA: GENEALOGICAL REMEMBRANCES AND RECOVERY

APPENDIX A. WAR COUNCIL OF MONCLOVA, December 1777, Sixteen Questions

WAR COUNCIL OF MONCLOVA, December 1777, Sixteen Questions

1. How long has the Nation of Apache Indians been known on these frontiers, and since when have they waged war against us?
2. What progress have we made against them, especially in the last five years?
3. What is the number of warriors, by the use of good judgment, in various branches of tribes of the Apache nation, which up to the present time we know as the Upper Lipan Apaches, the Lower Lipan Apaches, Mescaleros, Natagés or Lipiyanes, Faraones, Navajos, and Gileños, and what friendship and relationship exists among these various Indian tribes?
4. What type of arms do they use, where do they live, what are their food resources, and how do they wage war against us, and in what provinces or places?
5. What declared enemies do the Apaches have among the heathen nations who are located along the frontiers of their lands, rancherías, or villages?
6. What is the value of peace pacts with the Lipans in this province? Within what limits are they observed, what useful purposes have been served by them, and what evil effects may be produced by the maintenance of these peace pacts, or by the declaration of war?
7. What inference, favorable or unfavorable, may be drawn from the delivery of five Mescalero Indians by the Lipan chief, Poca Ropa, in the last campaign, to the military post under the charge of the lieutenant Colonel Vicente Rodríguez, retired, and which has just been completed, of two rancherías of the same nation by the Indian Xavierillo, to Captain Don Francisco Martínez?
8. Concerning the Comanches, Tguayases, Texas, Tagucanes, Vidaius, Orcoquizas, Atacapaz, and the other Indians whom we know as the Nations of the North, each one of the voters in the Assembly will say what he has heard and learned and what has come to his attention, explaining the reports and opinions in accordance with the first six points enumerated.

9. Which of these nations are nomadic, and which ones live in definite settlements, sow grain for harvests, etc.?

10. What benefits may be secured from waging war against the said nations, allying ourselves with the Lipans, and what benefits from following the opposite course?

11. If the number of troops who actually garrison our frontiers is sufficient to begin hostile operations, should these be against the Lipans and the other divisions of the Apaches, or against the Indians of the North?

12. If an increase in the number of troops is deemed necessary, how much would be necessary against the Apache nations, and how much against the Indian Nations of the North?

13. If these operations are carried on against the Apachería, especially of the east, the voters in the Assembly will explain whether or not it will be feasible to undertake a general campaign, or some general or specific actions, and in what manner, to what ends, inwhat seasons, and in what places or districts, supposing ourselves to be allied with the Indians of the North.

14. And if against these latter, the same should be explained, with special attention directed to the lands which they inhabit, to our lands which they seek to invade, and to the security and the happy results which would come as a result of such operations.

15. What means should be employed as more conducive to guarantee the honesty and sincerity of the alliance of the Lipans against the Nations of the North, and that of the latter against the Lipans?

16. Finally, in order that in the interim the necessary plans may be taken for the general good of all the provinces, each one of the voters in the Assembly should give his opinion concerning the plans which he would consider useful for the defense of this province, and also for the neighboring provinces of Nuevo León and Colonia de Santander, including the towns of Saltillo and Parras, belonging to the Province of Nueva Vizcaya, taking into consideration the exact strength of the troops of the four presidios of La Bahía, Aguaverde, Monclova, Río Grande, and the half Compañía del Cuerpo Volante, and of the combined operations which the troops may be able to carry out in the immediate vicinity of Vizcaya. [1]

[Worcester made the following comments, as follows. "Regarding the first six questions, the voters were in complete agreement. The Apaches, they said, were the only avowed enemy on the northeastern frontier. No progress was being made against them; in fact, conditions had steadily deteriorated, and were now worse than ever. It was the general opinion of the council that the removal of the presidios of 1772 from the edge of the inhabited region to more remote sites had been a costly mistake. Experience had shown that it had merely left the settlements greatly exposed to attack. It was estimated that

[1] Worcester, Ibid., 15-17.

there were five thousand Apache warriors among all of the tribes of the east and west, most of them bound together by *strong ties of kinship*." (Emphasis added.)][2]

[2] Ibid., 17-18. See also Zavala, 279-279-286.

APPENDIX B. INDIGENOUS LAND-TENURE ALONG THE LOWER RIO GRANDE: ESPARZA (DE MOCTEZUMA) & FAMILIES (KINSHIP)

Esparza (de Moctezuma) Families of the San Pedro de Carricitos Land Grant, related to La Encantada, El Ranchito, La Paloma, and El Calaboz. Historical Archives: Ndé vaqueros, Tlaxcalteca hidalgos, Tlaxcalteca macehualli, Nahua nobleza and Basque colonists.



"Lipan Warrior," by Arthur Schott, Lithograph, from Emory's US & Mexican Boundary Survey, 1851-1853. Courtesy of the Witte Museum, San Antonio, Texas.

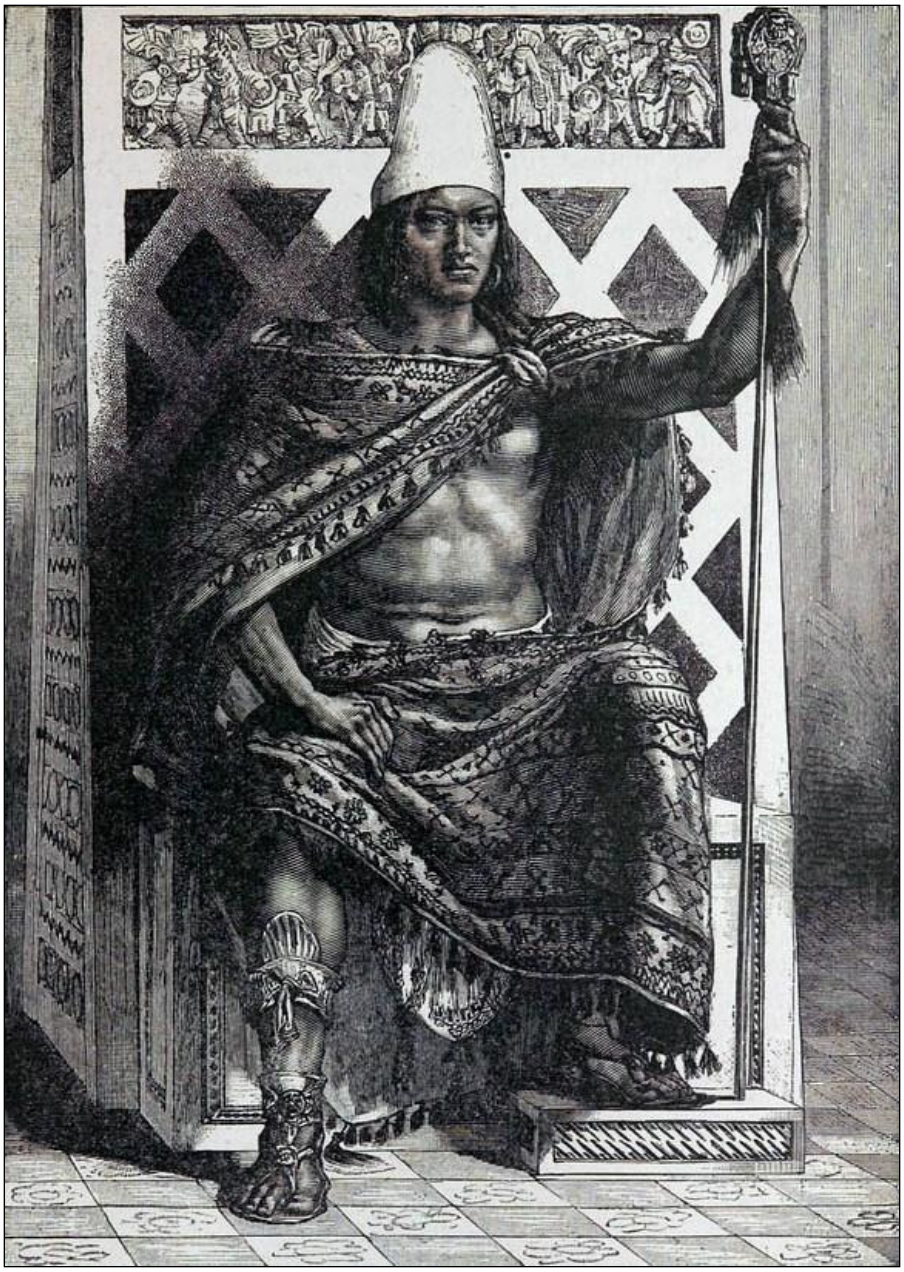
First and foremost, the lands along the Lower Rio Grande River are part of the larger customary Indigenous domain of the Lipan Apache—Ndé of the Hada'didla, Cúelcahén, and Tuntsa' Clans. The Esparza (de Moctezuma) clans entered into the traditional domains of the Ndé who never ceded their lands to other groups. Additionally, some of the Esparza (de Moctezuma) peoples inter-married within the traditional ranchería society of the Ndé, as in El Calaboz, Las Milpas and Las Rusias.



”La Bandera de Tlaxcala fue pintada por Desiderio Xochitiotzin en el interior del palacio de gobierno de Tlaxcala.” Flanking the Spanish-Basque officer (in the center) are the four Tlaxcalteca chiefs of the Señorio Tlaxcala—the four dominions of the Tlaxcala people, their feathered headdresses and regalia. The procession includes the Tlaxcalteca *nobleza* (nobles). Surrounding the procession are Spanish friars and a large community of the Tlaxcalteca nation. The Tlaxcalteca were the designated as an official ‘Republic’ by the Spanish Crown. In July 1591, four hundred (400) Tlaxcalteca families initiated the agricultural, cattle and mining-based colonization of the northeast altiplano highlands—the domain of Ndé and hundreds of Indigenous polities. The Esparza-Villarreal-Cavazos rancherías gained part of their *hidalgo* land grants as a direct consequence of the first wave of Tlaxcalteca emigrations. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, available at http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archivo:Tlaxcala_-_Palacio_de_Gobierno_-_Begegnung_Spanier-Tlaxcalteken_2.jpg.



Traditional Tlaxcalteca dancers today, open processions to honor the Virgen de Guadalupe on her day. They dance to the sacred temple, often several miles in Monterrey, Nuevo León, México. Tlaxcalteca traditional ceremonial dance are resurgent along the ranchería communities of the Texas-Mexico border today, especially in the parishes in Las Milpas, Los Indios and El Ranchito-La Encantada. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Matlachines.jpg.



Moctezuma Xocoyotzin II (Náhatl), (June 29, 1466- 1520), was the 'Huey Tlatoani of the Mexicas' entre 1502-1520, and considered by the Spanish Crown to be the foremost sovereign of Central Mexico. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, available at http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archivo:Moctezuma_II.jpg. The Esparza-Villarreal-Reyes clans of San Pedro de Carricitos Land Grant, La Encantada, El Ranchito and El Calaboz Ranchería are the direct lineal descendents of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin II. Esparza Family Genealogical Archive, Collection of the Author.



El templo Parroquial, Reynosa, Tamaulipas, México. One of many original missions and pueblos founded by Tlaxcalteca and Basque colonists, the Reynosa parrish is a key site of convergence for the Ndé, Comanche, Nahuatl, and Tlaxcalteca peoples between 1750 to 1890s. In Tlaxcala, the Indigenous churches are commonly referred to as 'templos.' Collection of the Author.



Plaza of San Juan, Ciudad Mier, Tamaulipas, Mexico, (Abt. 1880?) UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 076-0112, Courtesy of Laredo Archives, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas.

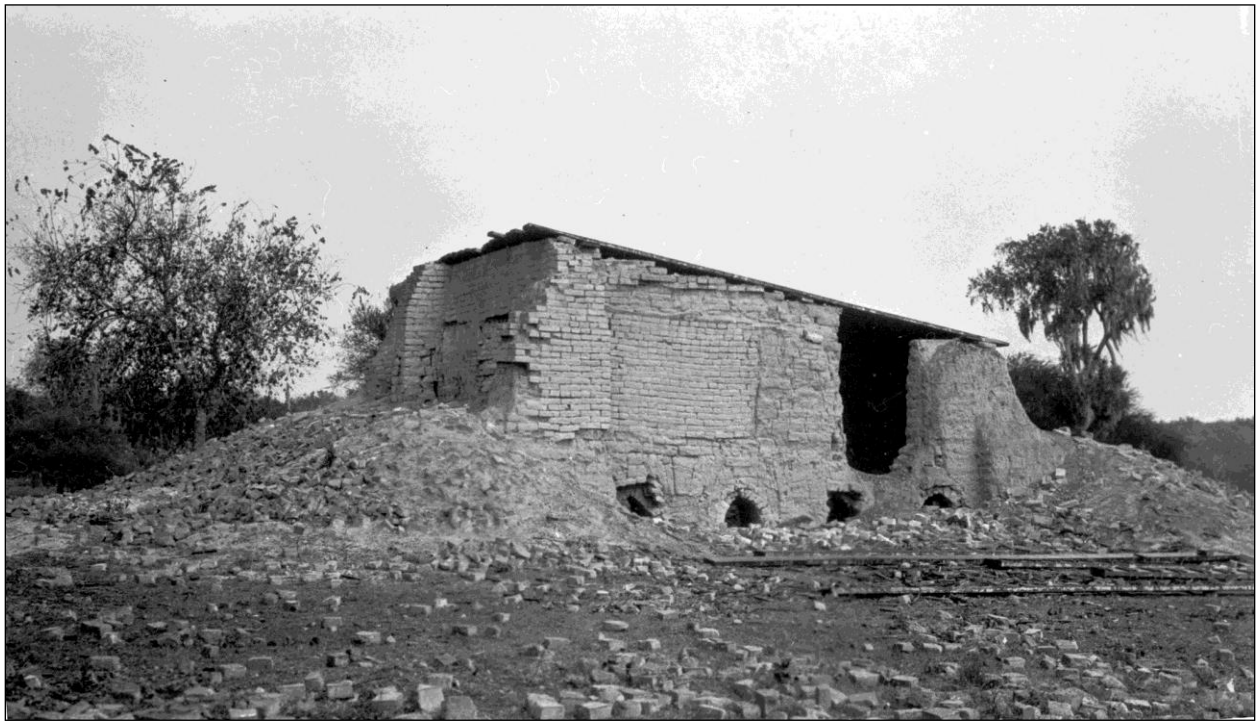
Description: Photograph shows chapel facing plaza, Ciudad Mier, Tamaulipas, Mexico. A large number of Tlaxcalteca, Basque, and Ndé families comprised inter-ethnic communities during the the mid to late 18th century and continually re-formed these throughout the warfare of the late 19th to early 20th century. The site of Mier was a significant for differently classed Indigenous peoples along the Lower Rio Grande. A significant number of Tlaxcalteca-Basque peoples of La Encantada and El Calaboz are inter-connected through both lineal and *compadrazgo-comadrazga* in the colonial site of Mier.



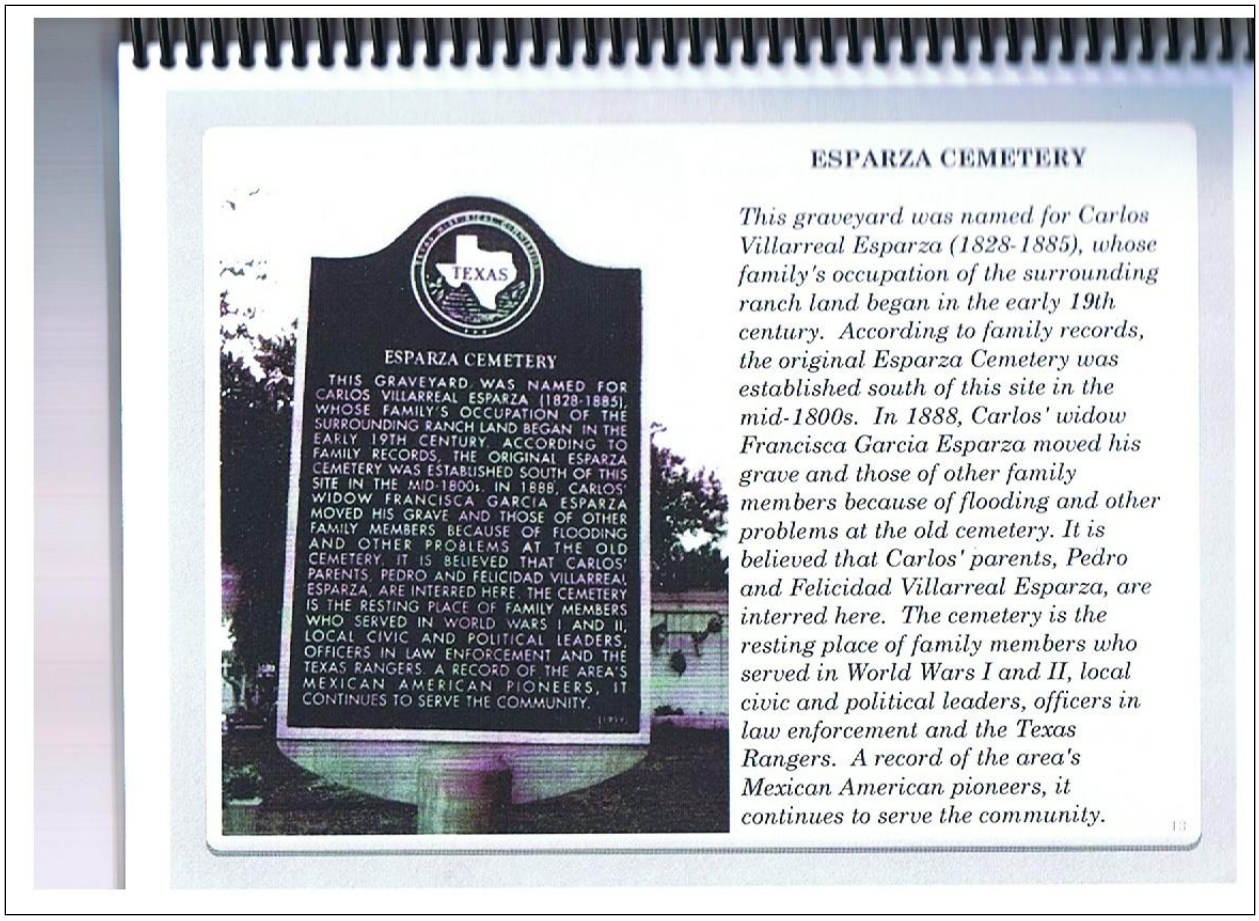
Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0842b, Courtesy of St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas. Description: Photograph shows Mexican folk hero and general, Juan Nepomuceno Cortina. Note: 7th cousin, 4th removed to Margo Támez. Carlos Villarreal Esparza, I was a key supporter of Cortina along the Lower Rio Grande. They were lineally related to one another.

An excellent example of the complex kinship ties between Basque-Hispanos-Tlaxcaltecas and Tlaxcalteca-Nahuatl and Tlaxcalteca-macehualli communities in compadrazgo-comadrazga kinship polities of the Texas-Mexico Indigenous borderlands.

Cortina's mother, Estefana De Goseascochea, and her sister, Feliciana, inherited 1/3 of the Espiritu Santo land grant from their mother, Maria Francisca Xaviera De La Garza, daughter of Jose Salvador De La Garza, original grantee. Maria Francisca's maternal grandfather, Blas Maria IV Villarreal Garza, (1708-1750), an original founder of Cerralvo, Nuevo León, was selected in 1747 by the Conquistador José de Escandón. Falcon relocated forty families to settle Camargo on the Rio Grande. His family's land extended from the Rio Grande River to the Nueces River in South Texas—a stronghold of Lipan Apaches. Cortina's war against the encroachment of White settlement during and after the U.S.-Mexico war included many Indigenous working poor. Although Cortina's struggles largely upheld the private property rights of larger landowners and Liberal democracy, many macehualli were persuaded that it was strategic to join in this land-based struggle. His battle cries and rhetoric for justice appealed to the smaller land holders along the Lower Rio Grande, such as the lineal descendents of Nahua and Tlaxcalteca nobility in San Pedro de Carricitos, La Encantada, El Ranchito, and El Calaboz.



Exterior of Brick factory, El Ranchito, Cameron County, Texas, ca. 1930. Courtesy of Clara Zepeda, UT Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, No. 072-0890.
El Ranchito is one of three sister rancherías of the San Pedro de Carricitos Land Grant. The others include El Calaboz and La Paloma. Related to these, through kinship ties are Las Rusias, Las Milpas, and Los Indios.



Esparza Family Cemetary, Military Highway 281, Lower Rio Grande Valley, South Texas, Texas-Mexico border. Up and down the highway, from San Pedro de Carricitos to Los Indios, the Indigenous merced and hidalgo communities are marked by official Texas Historical medallions. Notable are the official markers of Americanization of local history, and effacement of racism, forced assimilation, segregation, warfare, and inter-ethnic violence. Collection of the Author.

APPENDIX C. INDIGENOUS WOMEN AND TRADITIONAL CONTINUITIES ALONG THE LOWER RIO GRANDE AND IN SOUTH TEXAS



Indigenous women, Lower Rio Grande River, Texas-Tamaulipas-Coahuila borderlands, ca. 1910. Collection of the Author.



Indignenous kinship and resilience, Brownsville, Texas-Matamoros, Tamaulipas domain, ca. 1910. Collection of the Author.



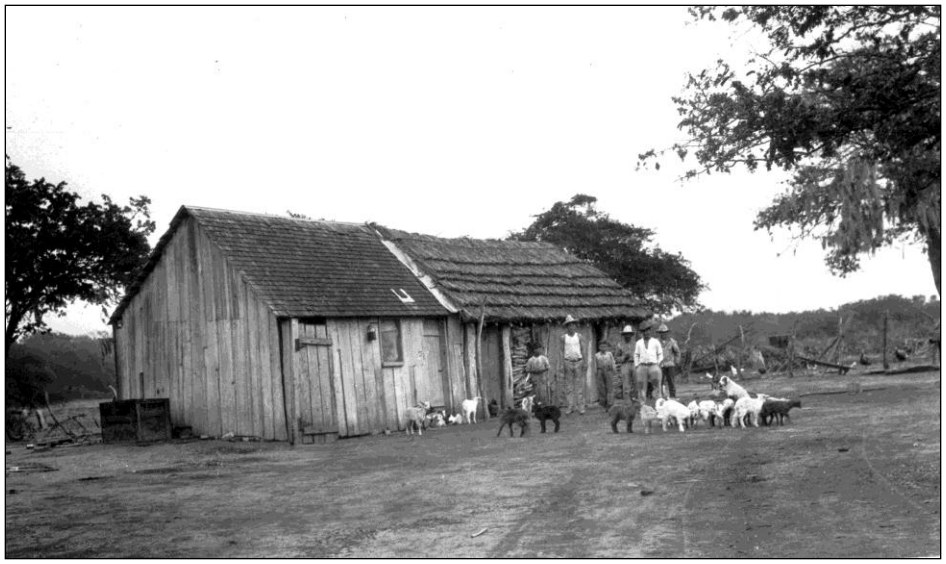
Indigenous home, Matamoros-(Brownsville), Mexico, (between 1910-1920), James R. Stephens Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-2076, Courtesy of Ford Green. Original in collection of the Author.



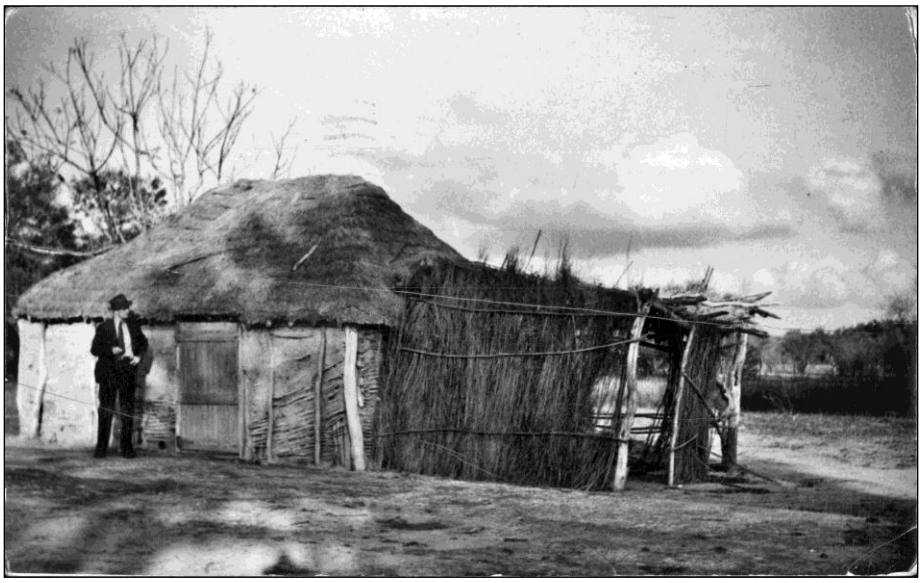
Children standing outside traditional jacal near Brownsville, Texas, Between 1915-1925?, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-0888, Courtesy of Clara Zepeda.



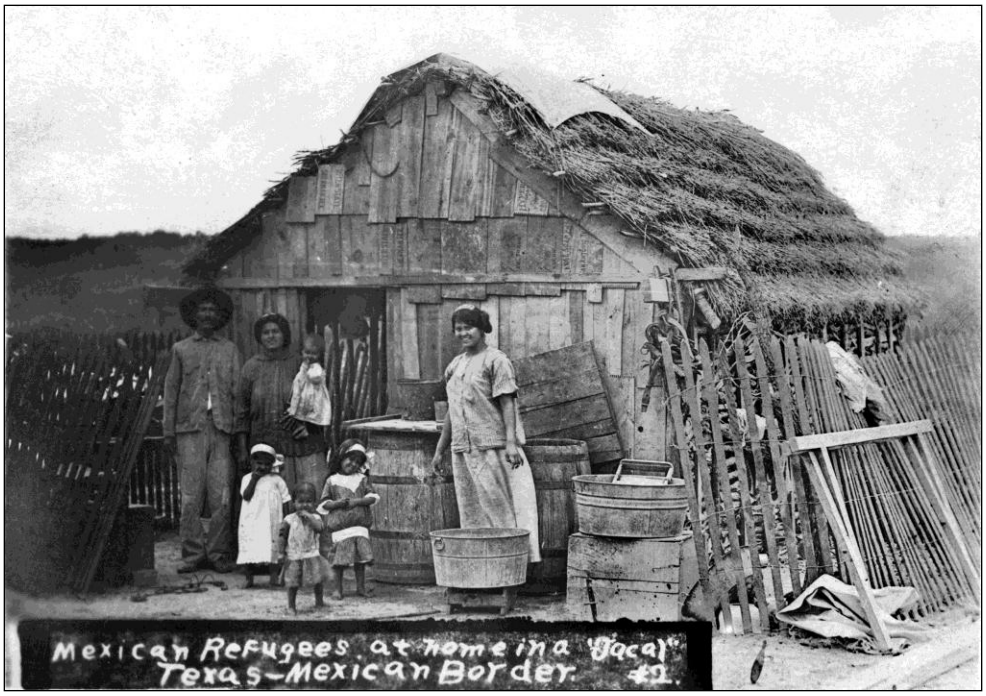
Group around a woman with a metate outside a jacal, ca. 1880s. UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 075-1090, Courtesy of San Antonio Conservation Society.
Description: Photograph shows men and women grouped in front of a jacal. One woman is leaning over a *mano* and *metate*. Nearby a man is holding a quirt.



Group outside Rodriguez family home near San Benito, Texas, Between 1920-1930?, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-0889, Courtesy of Mrs. Clara Zepeda.
Description: Photograph shows men and boys, surrrounded by sheep, outside the house. Left portion of structure is board and batten; right side is jacal construction.



Man standing outside jacal, 1941, (near McAllen, Texas), UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 101-0421, Courtesy of Mary Lou Ellis.



Indigenous family in front of a jacal, 1910?, Lower Rio Grande Valley, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 101-0441, Courtesy of Mary Lou Ellis.

Description: Photograph shows family group, including children standing in front of a jacal with a thatched roof. Washing tubs are in the foreground. On back is written "Camp Llano Grande...."



Indigenous Family, Matamoros-(Brownsville), Mexico, (ca. 1900), James R. Stephens Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-2059, Courtesy of Ford Green. Original in collection of the Author.



Three Indigenous women and baby in front of a jacal, (1910?), South Texas, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 101-0422, Courtesy of Mary Lou Ellis.

Description: Photograph shows two women, kneeling; one is grinding corn on a metate, another appears to be patting a ball of dough. A third woman stands, holding a baby. The group is in front of a jacal covered with cardboard, boards and branches.



Woman leaning over metate outside jacal at goat herder's camp during visit of ranch manager John W. Baylor and his children, La Mota Ranch, La Salle County, Texas, ca. 1888. UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 082-0416, Courtesy of Virginia Sturges.

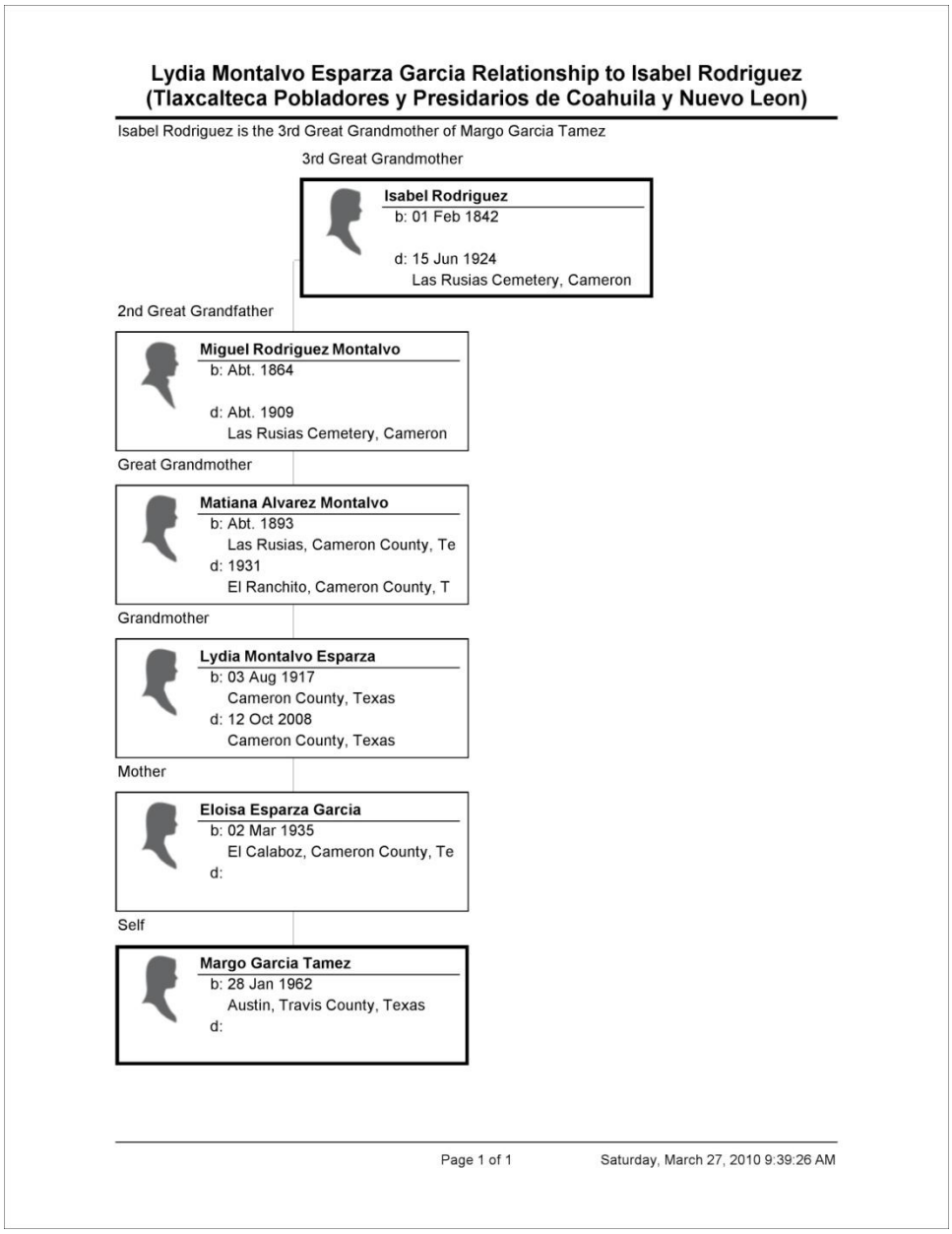


Woman seated outside a jacal, San Antonio, Texas, 1880s, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 075-1076, Courtesy of the San Antonio Conservation Society. The extensive network of Tlaxcalteca-Basque-Ndé ways of life extended to San Antonio, following the San Antonio River, and farther northwest into the hill country following the Guadalupe River.



Woman washing clothes outside jacal in (northeastern) Mexico, ca. 1910. W.D. Hornday Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 076-1021, Courtesy of Texas State Library, Archives Division. This is an image of Tlaxcalteca-Ndé women from the kinship network of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, located on south side of the Rio Grande River, across from El Calaboz and La Encantada.

APPENDIX D. RELATIONSHIP: LYDIA MONTALVO ESPARZA GARCÍA TO ISABEL RODRIGUEZ (TLAXCALTECA POBLADORES Y PRESIDARIOS DE COAHUILA Y NUEVO LEÓN



Lydia Montalvo Esparza Garcia Relationship to Isabel Rodriguez (Tlaxcalteca Pobladores y Presidarios de Coahuila y Nuevo Leon)

Isabel Rodriguez is the 3rd Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

3rd Great Grandmother

Isabel Rodriguez
b: 01 Feb 1842
d: 15 Jun 1924
Las Rusias Cemetery, Cameron

2nd Great Grandfather

Miguel Rodriguez Montalvo
b: Abt. 1864
d: Abt. 1909
Las Rusias Cemetery, Cameron

Great Grandmother

Matiana Alvarez Montalvo
b: Abt. 1893
Las Rusias, Cameron County, Te
d: 1931
El Ranchito, Cameron County, T

Grandmother

Lydia Montalvo Esparza
b: 03 Aug 1917
Cameron County, Texas
d: 12 Oct 2008
Cameron County, Texas

Mother

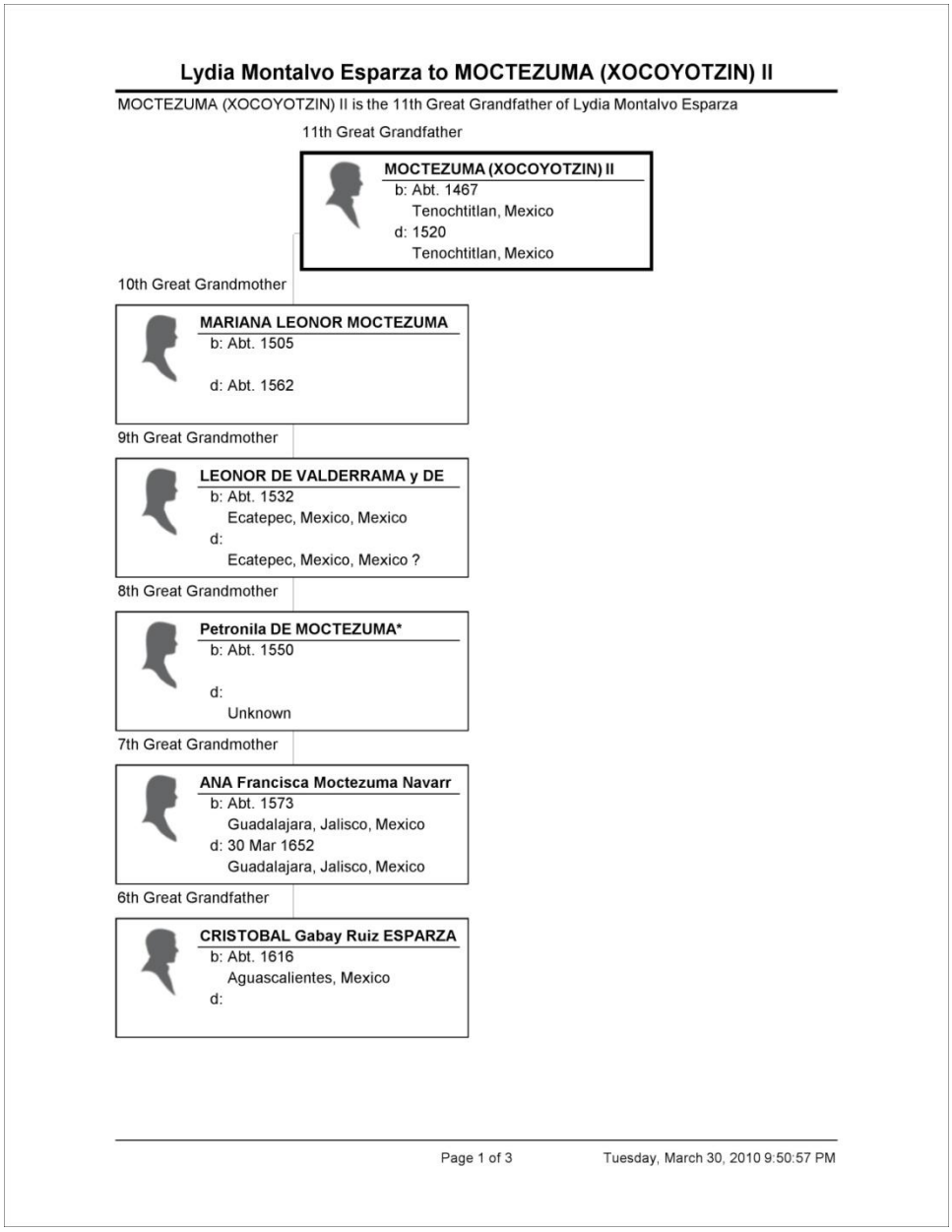
Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Te
d:

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

Page 1 of 1 Saturday, March 27, 2010 9:39:26 AM

APPENDIX E. RELATIONSHIP: LYDIA MONTALVO ESPARZA GARCÍA TO MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II



Lydia Montalvo Esparza to MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II

MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II is the 11th Great Grandfather of Lydia Montalvo Esparza

11th Great Grandfather

MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II
b: Abt. 1467
Tenochtitlan, Mexico
d: 1520
Tenochtitlan, Mexico

10th Great Grandmother

MARIANA LEONOR MOCTEZUMA
b: Abt. 1505
d: Abt. 1562

9th Great Grandmother

LEONOR DE VALDERRAMA y DE
b: Abt. 1532
Ecatepec, Mexico, Mexico
d:
Ecatepec, Mexico, Mexico ?

8th Great Grandmother

Petronila DE MOCTEZUMA*
b: Abt. 1550
d:
Unknown

7th Great Grandmother

ANA Francisca Moctezuma Navarr
b: Abt. 1573
Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico
d: 30 Mar 1652
Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico

6th Great Grandfather

CRISTOBAL Gabay Ruiz ESPARZA
b: Abt. 1616
Aguascalientes, Mexico
d:

Page 1 of 3 Tuesday, March 30, 2010 9:50:57 PM

Lydia Montalvo Esparza to MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II

MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II is the 11th Great Grandfather of Lydia Montalvo Esparza

5th Great Grandmother



TOMASA Perez Ruiz ESPARZA
b: Abt. 1654
Aguascalientes, Mexico
d:

4th Great Grandfather



DOMINGO Garcia ESPARZA
b: 11 Jan 1667
Aguascalientes, Mexico
d:

3rd Great Grandfather



Jose MANUEL Eligio Arispe ESPA
b: 13 Apr 1730
Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico
d:
Lampazos, Nuevo Leon, Mexico

2nd Great Grandfather



PEDRO Jose Guajardo ESPARZA
b: 04 Mar 1792
Lampazos, Nuevo Leon, Mexico
d: Abt. 1879
La Encantada, Cameron County,

Great Grandfather



Jose Maria Leon Villarreal Esparza
b: 15 Apr 1820
Lampazos de Naranjo, Nuevo Le
d: Abt. 1872
Cameron County, Texas

Grandfather



Nicolas Garza Esparza
b: Sep 1854
Cameron County, Texas
d: Bef. 1911
El Ranchito, Cameron County, T

Lydia Montalvo Esparza to MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II

MOCTEZUMA (XOCOYOTZIN) II is the 11th Great Grandfather of Lydia Montalvo Esparza

Father



Nicolas Villarreal Esparza Jr
b: Jun 1886
Cameron County, Texas
d: 27 Feb 1931
El Ranchito, Cameron County, T

Self



Lydia Montalvo Esparza
b: 03 Aug 1917
Cameron County, Texas
d: 12 Oct 2008
Cameron County, Texas

APPENDIX F. SITES OF CONTACT: MONTALVO-ESPARZA, TLAXCALTECA-BASQUE COLONIZATIONS

An Abbreviated Sample of Lineal Kinship, Sites and Dates Associated with Matiana Alvarez Montalvo, mother of Lydia Montalvo Esparza García, from the EFGA Archive.

SITES OF CONTACT MONTALVO ESPARZA GARCÍA FROM TLAXCALTECA & DE MOCTEZUMA-ESPARZA COLONIZATIONS	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AFFILIATED WITH THIS SITE	FAMILY NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH SITE	RECORDED YEARS FOR INDIVIDUALS IN THESE SITES
Linares, Nuevo León, México (Kinship sites: Zacatecas; Monterrey, Nuevo León; Montemorelos, NL; Guajuco, NL; El Pilon, NL; Villa de García; Villaldama, NL; San Miguel de Aguayo/ Bustamante	14+	Buenaventura, Cantu, Garza, Serna, Gaonzalez, Treviño, Villarreal, Lara, Hernandez, Guajardo, Rodriguez, Martinez, Salazar, Caballero, Ruiz, Zaragoza	1719, 1725, 1727, 1734, 1745, 1752, 1808, 1943,
Nuestra Señora de los Dolores Santiago de las Sabinas; Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de el Álamo;'Sabinas Hidalgo'; San Miguel de Bustamante; Villaldama; Vallecillo; San Pedro Boca de Leones, NL; (A kinship site for not only Tlaxcalteca pueblos and parishes in Nuevo León, such as Boca de Leones, as well as Cadereyta, NL; Valle del Pilon, NL; and Revilla & Guerrero, Tamaulipas, México;	137+	Benavides, Serna, Lerma, Cavazos, Rodriguez, Cantu, Cavazos, Fernandez, Flores, García, Garza, Gonzalez, Guzman, Lerma, Medina, Mireles, Rodriguez, Sanchez, Chapa, Santiago, Cayetano, Amaya, Ancira, Balli, Carreon, Cruz, DeLosSantos, Gonzalez, Mireles, Abrego, Valle, Lozano, Iparraguirre, Ibarra, Larralde, Maya,	1648, 1672, 1698, 1703, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1716, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1733, 1735, 1740, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1759, 1762, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1779, 1797, 1780, 1781, 1785, 1787, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1794, 1795, 1796,1799, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1807, 1813, 1814, 1815,

and Camargo, Tamaulipas; and Roma, Starr County, Texas;		Amaya, Sisto, Villarreal, Cardenas, Olivares, Dominguez, Peña, Reyna, Saenz, Zamora, Uribe,	1817, 1818, 1820, 1821, 1823, 1824, 1826, 1828, 1829, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1838, 1842, 1843, 1850, 1854, 1861, 1862,
Misión de Dolores de la Punta de Lampazos; Lampazos de Naranjo, NL; (Kinship sites: San Luis Potosi, NL; Valle de Carrizal; San Carlos, Vallecillo, NL; Moncolova, Coahuila; Real de La Yguana, Coahuila; Agualeguas, NL; Cadereyta, NL; Matamoros, Tamaulipas; La Encantada, Cameron County, S. Texas; Laredo, Starr County, S. Texas; Cameron County, S. Texas.	262	Esparza, Villarreal, Barrera, DeLaFuente, Guajardo, Sanchez, Galan, Gonzales, Lopes, Martinez, Sada, Salazar, DeLaRugia, Subia, Tames, Canales, DelRosario, Zertuche, Zuazua, DelosAngeles, Nepomuseno, Subia, Garsa, Pedraza, Nepomucena, Sandoval, de Leon, Longoria, Sosa, Aguirre, Alcantar, Ancira, Canales, Cavazos, DeLeon, San Miguel, Seulveda, Arispe, Flores, Fernandez, Sandoval, Pedraza, Guerra, Gutierrez, Tijerina, Quintanilla, Rodriguez, Garcia, Garsia, Hoyos, Iglesias, Lozano, Perez, Resendez, Sada, Uribe, Agueda, Zuazua, Farias, Yglecias, Zertuche, Nepomuceno,	1675, 1677, 1720, 1725, 1727, 1728, 1732, 1735, 1745, 1747, 1748, 1758, 1763, 1765, 1768, 1773, 1775, 1782, 1783, 1787, 1789, 1790, 1792, 1794, 1801, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1821, 1826, 1817, 1833, 1834, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1852, 1854, 1858, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1875, 1878, 1879, 1885,
Saltillo, Coahuila (Kinship sites: San Miguel de Aguayo/Bustamante,NL; Mazapil, Zacatecas; Monterrey, NL; Guerrero, Tamaulipas; Guajuco, NL;	468+	García, Treviño, Martinez, Cuellar, Guajardo, Chapa, Gonzalez, Abrego, Gutierrez, Flores, Aguirre, Ramos, Duenas, Anzaldúa, Villarreal, Areyzeta,	1577, 1578, 1587, 1590, 1592, 1618, 1620, 1623, 1645, 1646, 1660, 1664, 1672, 1675, 1676, 1678, 1690, 1694, 1696, 1698, 1704, 1705, 1709, 1711,

Cadereyta, NL; Salinas Victoria, NL; Revilla / Guerrero, Tamaulipas;		Arispe, DeLosSantos, Morales, Martin, Arredondo, Melendez, Melchora, Arriola, Montes, Ballesteros, Barba, Briseño, Botello, Canto, Camacho, Carballo, Cardenas, Pinillas, Salazar, Cavazos, Cepeda, Saldivar, Coy, Lizarraras, Davila, DeLas Casas, Navarro, Cayetana, Recio, DelBosque, Rio, Fernandez, DeLaFuente, DeLasCasas, DeLosSantos, Elizondo, Aguilar, Farias, Sosa, Renteria, Monroy, Valdez, Flores, Valdez, Abrego, Fuente, Zepeda, Garza, Arriola, Hoyas, Rodriguez, Zepeda, Arriala, Perdo, Galindo, Molano, Coy, Molano, Hoyas, DeLaFuente, Garza, Gil, Mascorro, Paredes, Olea, Lombero, Ochoa, Guerra, Canamar, Cabello, Gutierrez, Jimenez, Leyva, Ruelas, Lobo, Guerrero, Casas, Guerra, Longoria, Loreto, Menchaca, Molano, Montalvo, Montemayor, Montes, Oca, Leyva, Acuña, Morales, DeLasCasas, Farias, Olarte, Peña, Lopez, Polanco, Camacho, Renteria, DeLosReyes, Reyes,	1718, 1722, 1729, 1732, 1738, 1753, 1776, 1777, 1793, 1800, 1825.

		Xtoval, Sanchez, Sosa, Treviño, Elizondo, Zepeda, Vega, Valle.	
Monclova, Coahuila (Kinship sites associated: Saltillo, Coahuila; Piedras Negras, Coahuila; Parras, Coahuila; Boca de Leones, Nuevo León; San Antonio, Texas;	82	Alderete, Barrera, Rivera, Tijerina, Cardenas, Abrego, Teran, Castilla, Castro, DeLosSantos, Coy, DelBosque, Flores, Molano, Jimenez, Ecay, Garza, Garza, Muzquiz, Urrutia, Fernandez, Bosque, Valdez, Fuente, Villarreal, Mateo, Hoyos, Guajardo, Luna, Medina, Peña, Quinones, Ramos, Soberon, Garcia, Urrutia, Yruegas,	1658, 1685, 1687, 1688, 1692, 1693, 1702, 1705, 1709, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1723, 1727, 1728, 1732, 1735, 1740, 1756, 1758, 1775, 1788
Cerralvo, Nuevo León (Kinship sites: Salinas Victoria, NL; Camargo, Tamaulipas, Villaldama, Nuevo León; Mier, Tamaulipas; Montemorelos, NL; Agualeguas, NL; Guerrero, Tamaulipas; Revilla, Tamaulipas;		Hinojosa, Longoria, Lopez, Chapa, Canales, Garza, Salinas, García, Gonzalez, Montemayor, Saenz, Yzaguirre, Balli, Guerra, Diaz, Camacho, Vela, Olivarez, Villarreal, Anzaldúa, Sauceda, Benavides, Martinez, Sanchez, Guerra, Flores, Guajardo, Botello, Baez, Santiago, Morales, DeLosSantos, Ramos, Cerda, Cervera, Olivares, DeLeon, Tejeda, Guajardo, Cavazos, Diaz, Treviño, Gomez, Cardenas, Guerra, Canamar, Vela, Gutierrez, Lara, Cantu, Madrigal, Serna, Rios, Quintanilla, Ayala, Oropeza	1674, 1694, 1702, 1722. 1728, 1731, 1735, 1743, 1745, 1752, 1763, 1764, 1781, 1783, 1790, 1796, 1800, 1802, 1811,

APPENDIX G. SITES OF CONTACT TLAXCALTECA-BASQUE-NDÉ

OVERLAP AREAS

Sample of Sites Associated with Tlaxcalteca-Bizkaian-Ndé Convergences and Settlements, from the EFGA.

SITES AND APPROXIMATED NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH TLAXCLTECA-BIZKAIAN SETTLEMENTS FROM THE EFGA		
SITE	**PERSONS IN EFGA ASSOCIATED WITH SITE**	**APPROXIMATE YEAR FOUNDED BY BIZKAIANS AND TLAXCALTECAS**
JIMENEZ DEL TEUL (COAHUILA)	3	1626
LA VILLA DE NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA VICTORIA CASA FUERTE DE LOS NADADORES, SAN BUENAVENTURA, (COAHUILA)	1	1733
NADADORES (COAHUILA)	23	1732
SAN PEDRO DE LAS COLONIAS, (COAHUILA)	2	1729
GUADIANA, (DURANGO)	3	1598
TEOCALTICHE, LLANOS DE TEOCALTICHE, TLALTENANGO, EL TEÚL, JUCHIPILA (JALISCO)	10	1541-1544

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE MOYA, LAGOS DE MORENO (JALISCO)	2	1687; 1709
SALINAS VICTORIA, (NUEVO LEÓN)	257	1690-1696
SALTILLO (SANTIAGO DE SALTILLO), (NUEVO LEÓN)	300+	1591
SAN ANTONIO DE LOS LLANOS, (NUEVO LEÓN)	1	1667
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA DE ***CADAREYTA*** DEL NUEVO REYNO DE LEÓN, CADEREYTA JIMENEZ (NUEVO LEÓN)	149+	1637
NADADORES, MISION DE SANTA ROSA DE VITERBO DE LAS NADADORES; NUESTRA SENORA DE LA VICTORIA CASA FUERTE DE LOS NADADORES (NUEVO LEÓN)	23	1674; 1733
SANTA MARIA DE LOS DOLORES DE LA PUNTA LAMPAZOS DE NARANJO (NUEVO LEÓN)	192+	1686
SANTIAGO DE LAS SABINAS, SABINAS HIDALGO (NUEVO LEÓN)	134+	1692

VALLE DE PIÑON, MONTEMORELOS; VALLE DE SAN MATÉO DEL PILÓN; SAN NICOLÁS DEL PILÓN; GUADALUPE PURIFICACION Y CONCEPCION (NUEVO LEÓN)	195	1718
VILLA DE GARCIA, SAN JUAN BAUTISTA DE PESQUERÍA GRANDE, LA PESQUERÍA; SANTA CATARINA (NUEVO LEÓN)	6	1583
SAN MARTIN TEXMELUCAN, (PUEBLA)	2	1600
REYNOSA, COLONIA NUEVO SANTANDER (TAMAULIPAS)	180+	1680
SAN IGNACIO DE LOYOLA DE REVILLA, SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO (REVILLA, COLONIA NUEVO SANTANDER) (TAMAULIPAS)	125+	1750
XOCHITLA, NARANJAL, (VERACRUZ)	3	1520

OJUELOS, SAN JOSE DE LOS OJUELOS, (ZACATECAS)	31	1540s-1570s
PINOS, MAZAPIL, REAL DE MINAS DE NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA CONCEPCIÓN DE SIERRA DE PINOS (ZACATECAS)	18	1546

APPENDIX H. RESOLVING PETRONILA DE MOCTEZUMA AND MARIANA LEONOR DE MOCTIZUMA: NARRATIVE

Explicatory Narrative on Kinship, Parentesco, and Comadrazgo, As it Relates to El Calaboz Ranchería Lineal Descendents and Mixtec and Nahua Matrilineal Law & Land-tenure of Central Mexico.

PETRONILA DE MOCTEZUMA, b. Aguascalientes, Abt. 1550. Married to Martin Navarro.
Listed with parents: Francisca GABAY Born Abt. 1577, marriage Abt. 1594 Mexico, DF
LDS marriage film Batch # F868769, Sheet 031, Source 1396289.

Another entry: Francisca Gabay Born Abt. 1573, Death 30 Mar 1652, Aguascalientes.
LDS film: Batch F868327, Sheet 009, Source 1396258.
This film does not list her parents.

Notes (entered by Margo Tamez):
Currently, there are three competing theories among respected genealogists of Mexico and the United States regarding Petronila de Moctezuma:

1. She was the daughter of *Leonor de Moctezuma*, granddaughter of *Tecuichpotzin Moctezuma* and Hernán Cortes, and the great-granddaughter of *Moctezuma II* and *Teotlalco*.
2. She was the daughter of *Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma* and granddaughter of *Moctezuma II* and *Acatlan*.[3]
3. She was the daughter of *Pedro Moctezuma*, and one of his Indigenous wives, and the granddaughter of *Moctezuma II* and *Miahuaxochitl*.

All community experts agree Petronila de Moctezuma was the direct lineal descendent of Moctezuma II.

I am aligning Petronila de Moctezuma with one line—Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma. At this time, there is a clearer LDS record of Petronila de Moctezuma that would situate her as one of the grandchildren of Moctezuma II who migrated to the Nuevo León and Coahuila colonization settlements. I am building upon Daniel Mendez' statements made on October 19, 2007.

Excerpt from the nuestrosranchos.com discussion board, comments by Daniel Mendez made October 19, 2007 at http://www.nuestrosranchos.com/es/node/16324, (accessed December 18, 2009):

"This is the genealogy of the Belista beliefs.
(The people who believe she is from Isabel de Moctezuma and Hernando Cortes)

[3] Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty Under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), xxi, 76, 77. I question the validity of referring to Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma's mother as 'Acatlan.'

Dona Petronila de Moctezum, Princesa de Mexico 1550
Dona Leonor de Moctezuma, Princesa de Mexico 1535
Dona Isabel de Moctezuma, Princesa de Mexico 1521 & Hernando Cortes

This is the genealogy of the Leonista beliefs.
(The people who believe she is from only Leonor de Moctezuma, daughter of Moctezuma)
"PETRONILA DE MOCTEZUMA, b. Aguascalientes, Abt. 1550. Married Martin Navarro.
Listed with parents: Francisca GABAY Born Abt 1577, marriage Abt 1594 MXDF
LDS marriage film Batch # F868769, Sheet 031, Source 1396289

Another entry: Francisca Gabay Born Abt 1573, Death 30 Mar 1652, Aguascalientes.
LDS film: Batch F868327, Sheet 009, Source 1396258

This film does not list her parents."

My hypothesis about Petronila, which would further complicate the more typical linear approaches to genealogy theories is based upon close readings of Donald E. Chipman's book on Moctezuma II and his patrimony which proceeded forward across three fronts: central Mexico, Guatemala, and the northern provincias internas. In email correspondence with community-based archivist, Margie Esparza, in El Ranchito, Cameron County, Texas, I arrived at the following theorization.

As I study the chapters Donald E. Chipman wrote about each of the Moctezuma II lines: Tecuichpo (Isabel), Mariana, and Pedro, I run into one fascinating bump which raises some questions and I want to propose a different hypothesis about Petronila de Moctezuma--a person in the royal family who, like others in her line with ancestries of non-Church approved relations, are not recognized officially. However, she is a key link to social patterns, well-documented for the time period between the conquerors and the Indigenous women in the house of Moctezuma. This theory would also be directly connected to FRANCISCA MOCTEZUMA NAVARRO GABAY, Petronila's daughter.

I have determined we are descendents of the Moctezuma II house. I am contesting theories that we are descended from Tecuichpotzin, and rather, I assert that we are more likely the direct descendents of her half-sister, Mariana *Leonor* de Moctezuma. I am hypothesizing that we are connected to the de Valderramas, and NOT the direct descendents of Tecuichpo (Dona Isabel Moctezuma, daughter of Moctezuma II and Teotlalco, whose child with Hernán Cortés was *Leonor* Cortés Moctezuma. This same Leonor married Juan de Tolosa, discoverer of silver in Zacatecas in 1546). I believe that there are critical errors in the genealogies which suggest that the Esparzas of the San Pedro de Carricitos land grant are descended from Leonor Cortés de Moctezuma.

I believe the Esparza-Villarreal clans of La Encantada are more likely the direct descendents of Tecuichopotzin's half-sister, Mariana Leonor, the daughter of Moctezuma II and 'Acatlan.'[4]

[4] John K. Chance and Patricia Cruz Pazos raise serious challenges to the current generalized practice amongst historians which identifies the actual name of Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma's mother as 'Acatlan.' It is quite plausible that Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma's mother was from the allied subkingdom of Acatlan, and was

Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma, daughter of Acatlan, married Cristobal de Valderrama, and they had, according to most recent documentations (of a very fragmented record keeping system!) one child who was baptized and Christianized. That one child, with a record, was Leonor de Valderrama y de Moctezuma. This Leonor married Diego Arias Sotelo. They were involved in lengthy law-suits which consumed the rest of their lives and which, according to Chipman, "disputed possessions of Ecatepec, and Tlatelolco (Chipman 77). According to Chipman, it was Leonor Cortés de Moctezuma who married the conquistador and mine founder Juan de Tolosa, and who had three children with him. The two daughters were Isabel de Tolosa Cortés Moctezuma and Leonor de Tolosa Cortés Moctezuma. The brother was Juan de Tolosa Cortés Moctezuma, who became a vicar. Chipman states "Isabel married Juan de Oñate, the future adelantado of New Mexico and son of Cristóbal de Oñate." This side of the Moctezuma family intermarried deeply with the Oñate-Zaldívar-Mendoza Bizkaia kinship network (Chipman 102-105). This side of Moctezuma II patrimony leads to Santa Fe and New Mexico. Although it is clear from the EFGA that many of the Moctezuma descendents migrated up to Nochistlan and the mining districts where villas, estancias, and haciendas were soon established, as well as corresponding sites identified in the charts of Appendix 5, I hypothesize that there was yet *another* split which occurred and which lead the Moctezuma descendents towards Nuevo León, Coahuila, and eventually the Lower Rio Grande and South Texas.

The answer lies somewhere between Chipman's analysis of the house and legal disputes of the Moctezuma principal heirs, and the gendered and sexual politics which defined numerous other sites identified in the EFGA.

Here is one alternative perspective. Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma, daughter of Moctezuma II, and her husband, Cristobal de Valderrama had three children, according to Chipman. This number of children is neither finite nor yet disproved. [Here we must remember that her half-sister, Tecuichpotzin, and many noble Indigenous women of the day, were still maintaining marriages and sexual relations with Indigenous and non-Indigenous males 'in the manner of the natives.' It is highly probable that Mariana also had other intimate partners and perhaps… other children, or adopted children.] To place Petronila de Moctezuma requires that I situate her within the Nuevo León and Coahuila migratory pattern of the Moctezumas who moved in that direction—toward Texas. I am proposing that Petronila, clearly a member of Moctezuma II's house, was either a grandchild ('in the custom of the natives') of Mariana Leonor de Valderrama y de Moctezuma from another child who was not recorded by the Spanish church, (in a similar

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possibly a high status member of the Villagómez-Moctezuma kinship network of Acatlan. I am inclined to lean towards Chance's analysis based in primary research, and due to my trust in the genealogical and matrilineal tracings of Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma's mother's kinship ties to the town and province of Acatlan and to her mother's native Mixtec traditions of land tenure. Refer to Chapter 5, note 52. Chance raises an important source, in the Codex Tulane, which leads us to an important ethnographic and genealogical detail about Acatlan's oral history, prior to the Nahua reign. Rather than rely strictly on Spanish geographical descriptions of land and people, Chance follows the *genealogical* tracings. Chance states "In 1519 Acatlan was the head town of a province of the Aztec empire, strategically located on major routes connecting the Valley of Mexico to points south, though it was a predominantly Mixtec town with a Nahuatl-speaking minority. A *relación geográfica* from Acatlan in 1580 follows the Nahua party line, stating that the community was founded by the son of an Aztec king, probably Moctezuma I. In contrast, the Codex Tulane, a genealogical document painted a few decades earlier, deals with the Mixtec history of the region, giving king lists of Acatlan and nearby Chila. Each list portrays a series of fifteen male rulers and their spouses, the last pair dating to the early colonial period (98)."

way that her half-sister's child from Hernán Cortés was never legally connected to Tecuichpotzin due to Cortés abduction of her after the birth.) The Spanish males had incredible power and authority over the sexual reproduction of the noble Moctezuma house after conquest. It is plausible that other non-baptized and non-*Christianized*, *baptized* children of Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma were still membered within the Moctezuma kinship and compadrazgo network. Mariana's legitimated grandchildren, Fernando Sotelo de Moctezuma, Ana Sotelo de Moctezuma (a nun, though she could have gotten pregnanat and had an illegitimate child, which happend all the time), and Cristobal were registered in the Church records. According to Chipman, their father, although exiled by the Spanish court due to being suspected in a conspiracy in the 1560s, still exercised his family name, class, gender, and citizenship to ensure the inheritance of his Christianized offspring (Chipman 76-78).

According to current scholarship on Nahua women in the early colonial period, it is plausible that Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma had other children, and not all of them were baptized in the church. If so, this would exclude them from being listed in official records, unless the mother or father made note of the child in a legal *testamento*, such as the case of Hernán Cortés with his illegitimate daughter, Leonor Cortés de Moctezuma, with Tecuichpotzin. Where the Moctezuma nobles are concerned, and given the history of their battles over land, inheritance rights of the Indigenous nobles, property and title, it would not be surprising if illegitimate children were forcibly nudged out of inheritance circles—by the Bizkaian fathers and half-siblings. It would be consistent with colonization efforts to eliminate persons who could potentially contest the *perpetual* grants of the lucrative Moctezuma estate and cause further division of the estates.

In order to understand patrimony in the Spanish system, one must understand that mostly/and at times--only children of Christian partnerships were validated as 'natural' and 'legitimate' children, which impacted the individual's personhood and inheritance rights by the standards of specific church communities and the Spanish law of dominion. Of course, local practices and women's traditions of inheritance and ownership varied. Many Spaniards were having sexual relations with multiple Indigenous women at the same time, and this norming practice worked to their advantage in terms of ensuring them that many of their children would inherit pieces of the land holdings of Indigenous communities through inheritance rights.

I believe that this is a new theory worth pursuing because the 'Petronila de Moctezuma question' concerns the gendered and sexual politics of land-tenure of Indigenous women and peoples related to issues of rights of the non-registered / non-baptized / 'illegitimate' individuals. Leonor de Valderrama, Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma's daughter by her husband, Diego Arias Sotelo, could very well have adopted Petronila. At the same time, it is well documented Sotelo got into a bit of trouble with the Vice Royalty, along with his brother, who was executed for his alleged crimes against the state. Diego Arias Sotelo was exiled, but his son Fernando stepped in to take over the encomienda of Ecatepec. Hypothetically, his mother, Leonor, could have had another child, out of wedlock, or adopted her from another family member. We cannot be certain. Given the instability at the time, and the numbers of children that Indigenous women birthed in connection to the Moctezuma II encomienda *perpetual* land grants and the effect these two factors had on Bizkaian males driven to acquire property and labor tributaries, Mariana's descendents were very attractive marriage/sexual partners. Chipman amply demonstrates, in regards to the Oñate debaucles and destructiveness, that the Bizkaian-Spanish conquistadors

went to great lengths to conceive children with the Moctezuma principal heirs with perpetual land grants.

This may help us to fix Petronila de Moctezuma in the Nuevo León and Coahuila migratory pathway, where her direct descendents appear in the LDS records—baptized and Christianized—and with the all important *testamentos* verifying the pre-existence of Petronila in the house of Moctezuma in the all-important Nochistlan archives. Ana Francisca Moctezuma Navarro Gabay, (Abt 1573-?) my 9th Great-Grandmother, was baptized in Guadalajara, Jalisco, recorded in the Nochistlan book. (See EFGA, person page, person notes.)

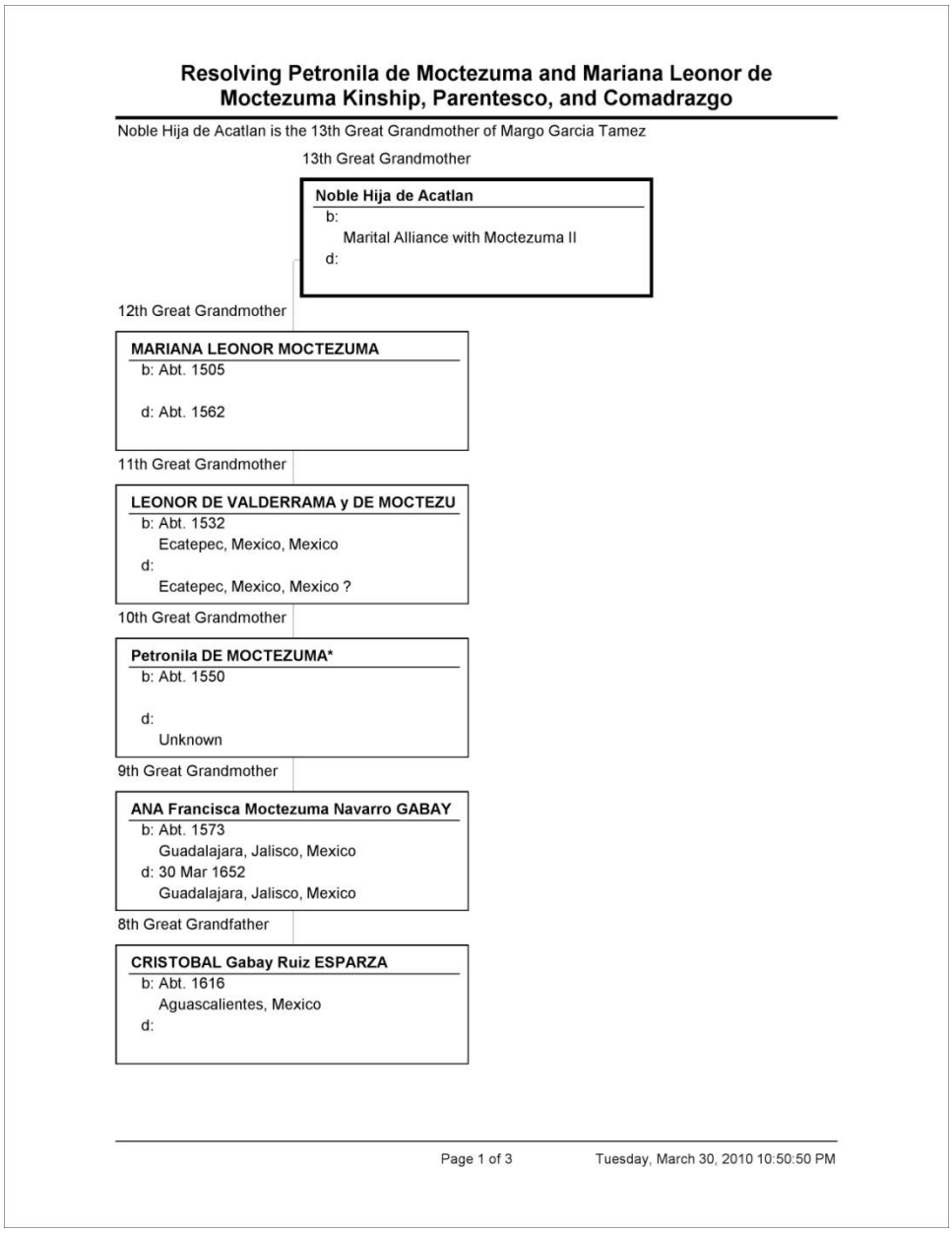
I hope that my suggestions and theories will help to bring light to the gendered and sexual politics of the Moctezuma perpetual grant system, and the legal competitiveness surrounding their Christianized heirs and lives. However, the singular focus of their Christian lives negates the fact that Christianity and European law systems were imposed upon Indigenous women of the noble classes. They certainly continued to have lives that were deeply involved in and in many ways perpetuated Indigenous social, economic and political relations which subverted the European male doctrines of patrimony. Seeing through gender, race, class, and sexuality as tools and lenses, are key to opening up the discussion of Petronila de Moctezuma, and not just solving the 'Petronila problem' as an isolated and individuated case, but rather, to open up a much larger issue central to Indigenous noble women and European patriarchal legal and religious systems which disenfranchised Indigenous children born to Indigenous women 'in the manner/custom of the natives.' This is a larger issue of Indigenous land-tenure, law, governance and rights.

Petronila is obviously right in the intimate nexus of all the most well-known Basque and Spanish conquistadors of the Northern Province, which solidly locates her lineage with the royal house of Moctezuma II heirs. For the purpose of my research, and to stimulate a formal research agenda which includes the documentation of Petronila de Moctezuma, I am going to note this information in the dissertation as a 'hypothesis' for why many communities encounter troubles 'fixing' exactly where Petronila 'fits' among her grandfather's three principal heirs.

Most of the documenters of the San Pedro de Carricitos Esparzas agree that there is 99.9% probability that Petronila was the direct line descendent of Tecuichpotzin/Dona Isabel or from her half-sister, Mariana Leonor. For the reasons stated above in regards to Tecuichpotzin's Leonor migrating into the Oñate, and not the Leonor who intermarries with the Arias-Sotelo Bizkaian clans, Petronila de Moctezuma was closely and intimately intertwined in the Moctezuma nobles' experiences and social network in the highlands of the Zacatecas founding settlements after the critical discovery of silver. No doubt, this was a complex network between the Moctezuma's *and the competitive sub-kingdoms*, according to scholar, Pedro Carrasco, (see his article, "Indian-Spanish Marriages in the First Century of the Colony," in *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, Eds., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 87-104.) According to Carrasco, during the post-conquest, noble and high status Indigenous women were exchanged and shuffled around in-between a relatively small group of principal Spanish and Bizkaian conquistadors (distinctly different peoples, historically), which was strategic and political on the part of the colonizers. These women migrated north and south from Tenochtitlan with their husbands, and often remained behind them in more settled areas (such as Aguascalientes, Zacatecas) as the men moved forward

with armies and laborers into the territories being developed for mining and further colonization. Some of the later descendents (grandchildren, great-grandchildren) of the Nahua noble women went forward in subsequent waves of the northern colonization. These were in admixture with the Tlaxcalteca migrations in the establishment of key missions and pueblos which were necessary to indoctrinate and subjugate Indigenous captives and slaves, instruct them in 'civilization,' and use their labor in the mines and ranches. Their labor was essential to the success of the development of agriculture and ranching, upon which the mines depended for food, salt, and sustenance. From this nexus the San Pedro de Carricitos land grant complex inside Lipan Apache strongholds took root in 1748-1767.

APPENDIX I. RESOLVING PETRONILA DE MOCTEZUMA AND MARIANA LEONOR DE MOCTEZUMA KINSHIP, PARENTESCO, AND COMADRAZGO: RELATIONSHIP CHART



Resolving Petronila de Moctezuma and Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma Kinship, Parentesco, and Comadrazgo

Noble Hija de Acatlan is the 13th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

13th Great Grandmother

Noble Hija de Acatlan
b:
Marital Alliance with Moctezuma II
d:

12th Great Grandmother

MARIANA LEONOR MOCTEZUMA
b: Abt. 1505
d: Abt. 1562

11th Great Grandmother

LEONOR DE VALDERRAMA y DE MOCTEZU
b: Abt. 1532
Ecatepec, Mexico, Mexico
d:
Ecatepec, Mexico, Mexico ?

10th Great Grandmother

Petronila DE MOCTEZUMA*
b: Abt. 1550
d:
Unknown

9th Great Grandmother

ANA Francisca Moctezuma Navarro GABAY
b: Abt. 1573
Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico
d: 30 Mar 1652
Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico

8th Great Grandfather

CRISTOBAL Gabay Ruiz ESPARZA
b: Abt. 1616
Aguascalientes, Mexico
d:

Page 1 of 3 Tuesday, March 30, 2010 10:50:50 PM

Resolving Petronila de Moctezuma and Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma Kinship, Parentesco, and Comadrazgo

Noble Hija de Acatlan is the 13th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

7th Great Grandmother

TOMASA Perez Ruiz ESPARZA
b: Abt. 1654
Aguascalientes, Mexico
d:

6th Great Grandfather

DOMINGO Garcia ESPARZA
b: 11 Jan 1667
Aguascalientes, Mexico
d:

5th Great Grandfather

Jose MANUEL Eligio Arispe ESPARZA
b: 13 Apr 1730
Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico
d:
Lampazos, Nuevo Leon, Mexico

4th Great Grandfather

PEDRO Jose Guajardo ESPARZA
b: 04 Mar 1792
Lampazos, Nuevo Leon, Mexico
d: Abt. 1879
La Encantada, Cameron County, Texas

3rd Great Grandfather

Jose Maria Leon Villarreal Esparza
b: 15 Apr 1820
Lampazos de Naranjo, Nuevo Leon, Mexic
d: Abt. 1872
Cameron County, Texas

2nd Great Grandfather

Nicolas Garza Esparza
b: Sep 1854
Cameron County, Texas
d: Bef. 1911
El Ranchito, Cameron County, Texas

Resolving Petronila de Moctezuma and Mariana Leonor de Moctezuma Kinship, Parentesco, and Comadrazgo

Noble Hija de Acatlan is the 13th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

Great Grandfather

Nicolas Villarreal Esparza Jr
b: Jun 1886
Cameron County, Texas
d: 27 Feb 1931
El Ranchito, Cameron County, Texas

Grandmother

Lydia Montalvo Esparza
b: 03 Aug 1917
Cameron County, Texas
d: 12 Oct 2008
Cameron County, Texas

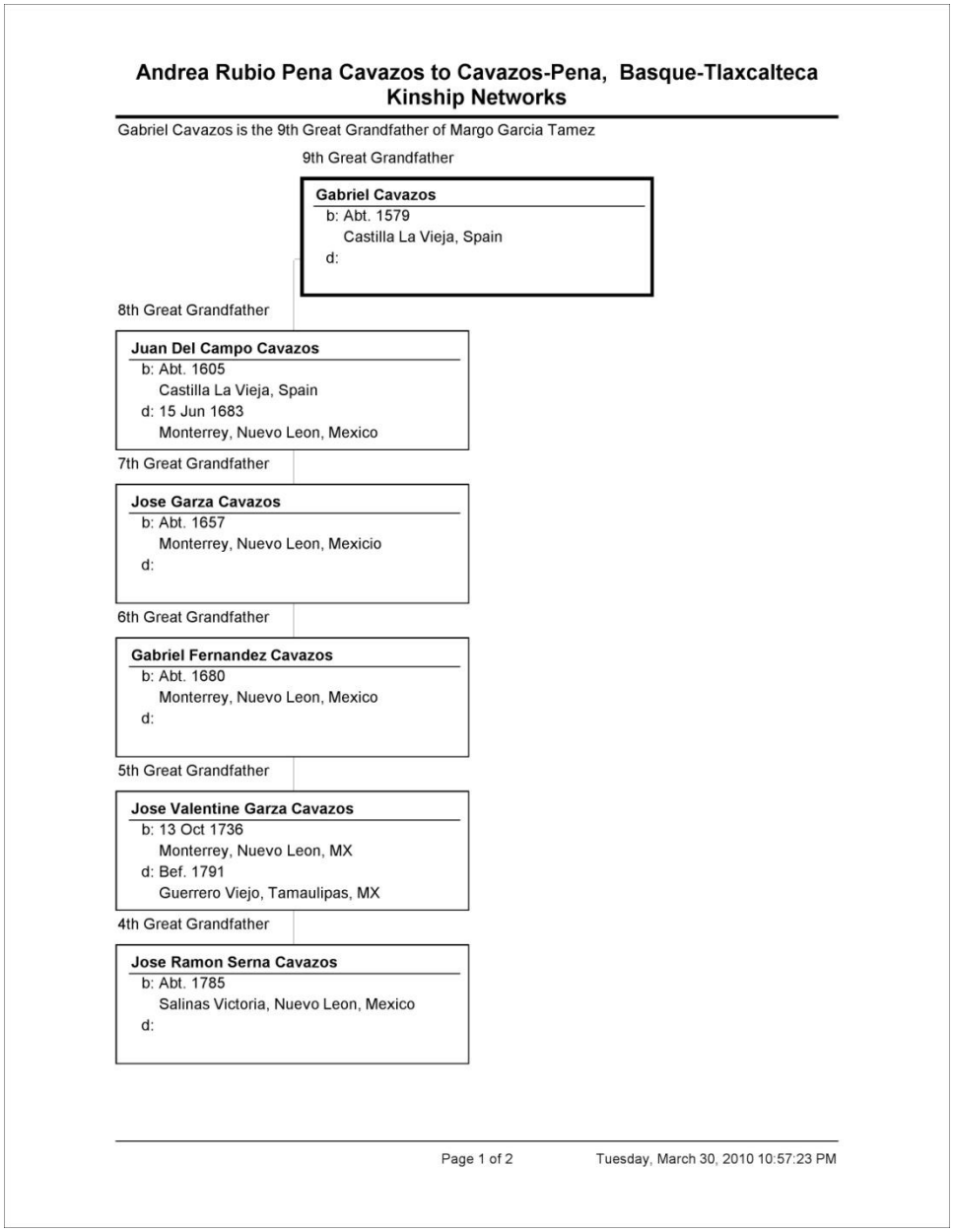
Mother

Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Texas
d:

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

APPENDIX J. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS TO CAVAZOS-PEÑA, BASQUE-TLAXCALTECA KINSHIP NETWORKS



Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos to Cavazos-Pena, Basque-Tlaxcalteca Kinship Networks

Gabriel Cavazos is the 9th Great Grandfather of Margo Garcia Tamez

3rd Great Grandfather

Jose Julian Pena Cavazos
b: 03 Mar 1822
Mexico
d:
Mexico

2nd Great Grandfather

Jose Pena Cavazos
b: Abt. 1865
d: 06 Dec 1924
El Calaboz Cemetery

Great Grandmother

Andrea Rubio Cavazos Garcia
b: 06 Mar 1892
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands
d: 06 Apr 1971
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands

Grandfather

Jose Emiliano Cavazos Garcia
b:
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C
d: 1970
Cameron County, Texas

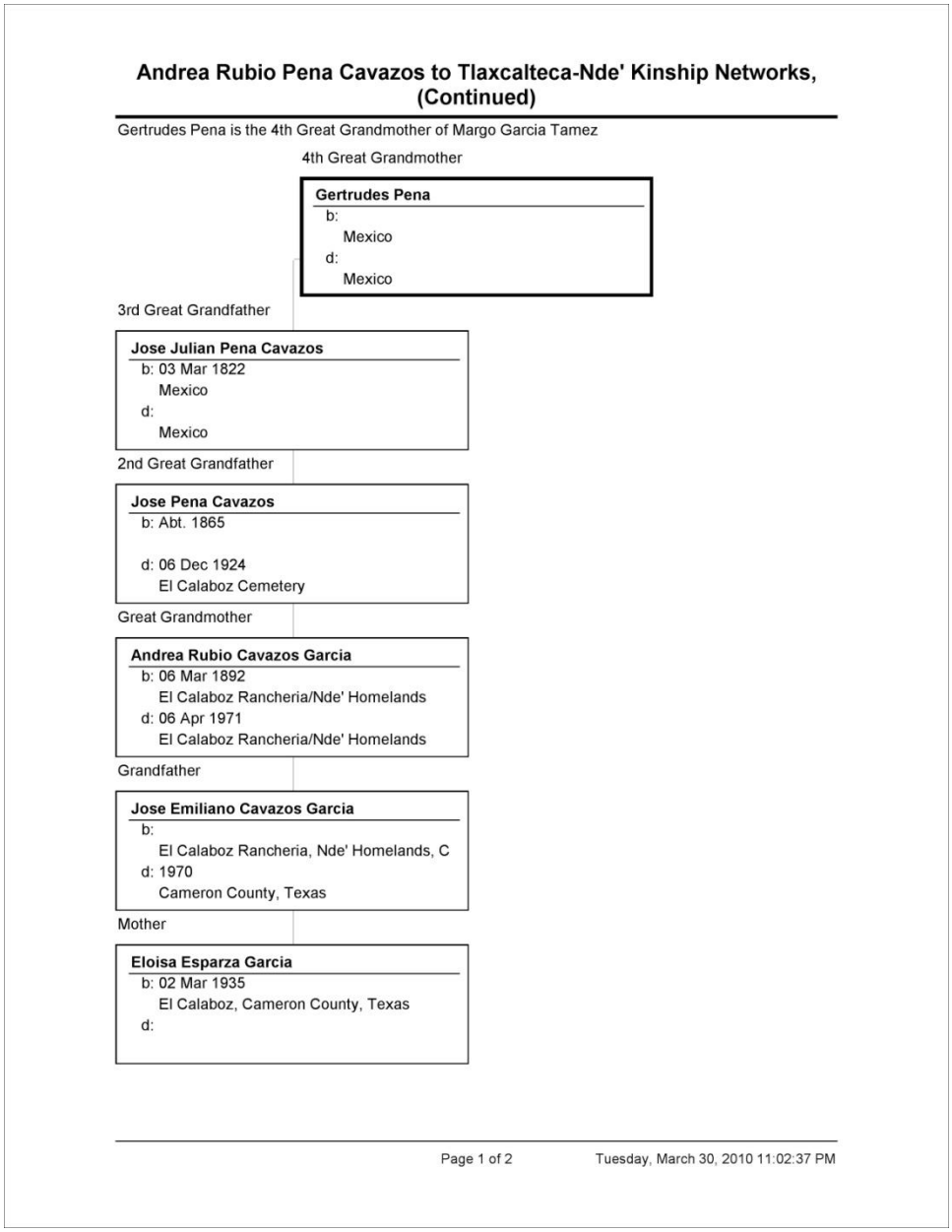
Mother

Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Texas
d:

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

APPENDIX K. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, BASQUE-TLAXCALTECA KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)



Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos to Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Networks, (Continued)

Gertrudes Pena is the 4th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

4th Great Grandmother

Gertrudes Pena
b:
Mexico
d:
Mexico

3rd Great Grandfather

Jose Julian Pena Cavazos
b: 03 Mar 1822
Mexico
d:
Mexico

2nd Great Grandfather

Jose Pena Cavazos
b: Abt. 1865
d: 06 Dec 1924
El Calaboz Cemetery

Great Grandmother

Andrea Rubio Cavazos Garcia
b: 06 Mar 1892
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands
d: 06 Apr 1971
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands

Grandfather

Jose Emiliano Cavazos Garcia
b:
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C
d: 1970
Cameron County, Texas

Mother

Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Texas
d:

Page 1 of 2 Tuesday, March 30, 2010 11:02:37 PM

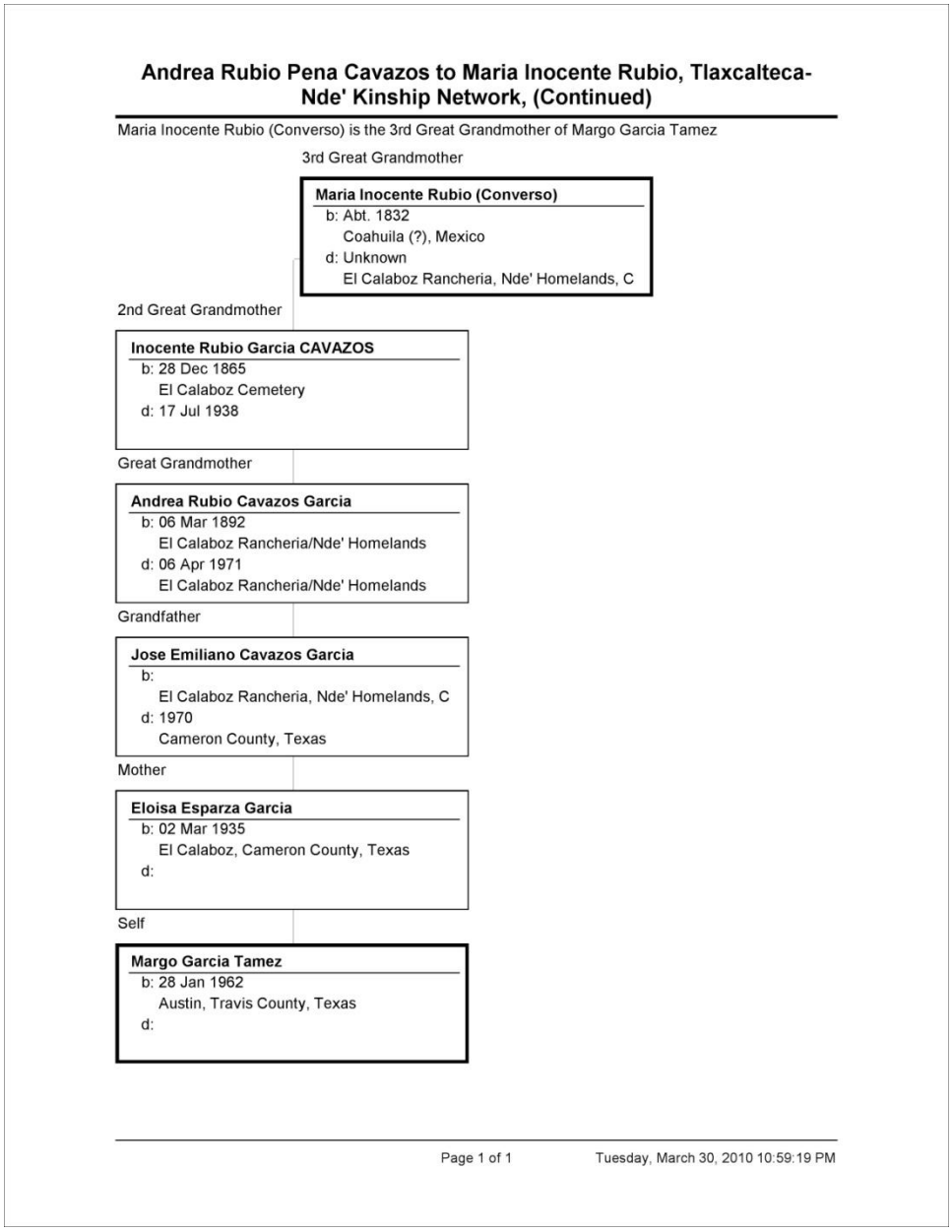
Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos to Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Networks, (Continued)

Gertrudes Pena is the 4th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

APPENDIX L. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NDE' KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)



Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos to Maria Inocente Rubio, Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Network, (Continued)

Maria Inocente Rubio (Converso) is the 3rd Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

3rd Great Grandmother

Maria Inocente Rubio (Converso)
b: Abt. 1832
Coahuila (?), Mexico
d: Unknown
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C

2nd Great Grandmother

Inocente Rubio Garcia CAVAZOS
b: 28 Dec 1865
El Calaboz Cemetery
d: 17 Jul 1938

Great Grandmother

Andrea Rubio Cavazos Garcia
b: 06 Mar 1892
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands
d: 06 Apr 1971
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands

Grandfather

Jose Emiliano Cavazos Garcia
b:
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C
d: 1970
Cameron County, Texas

Mother

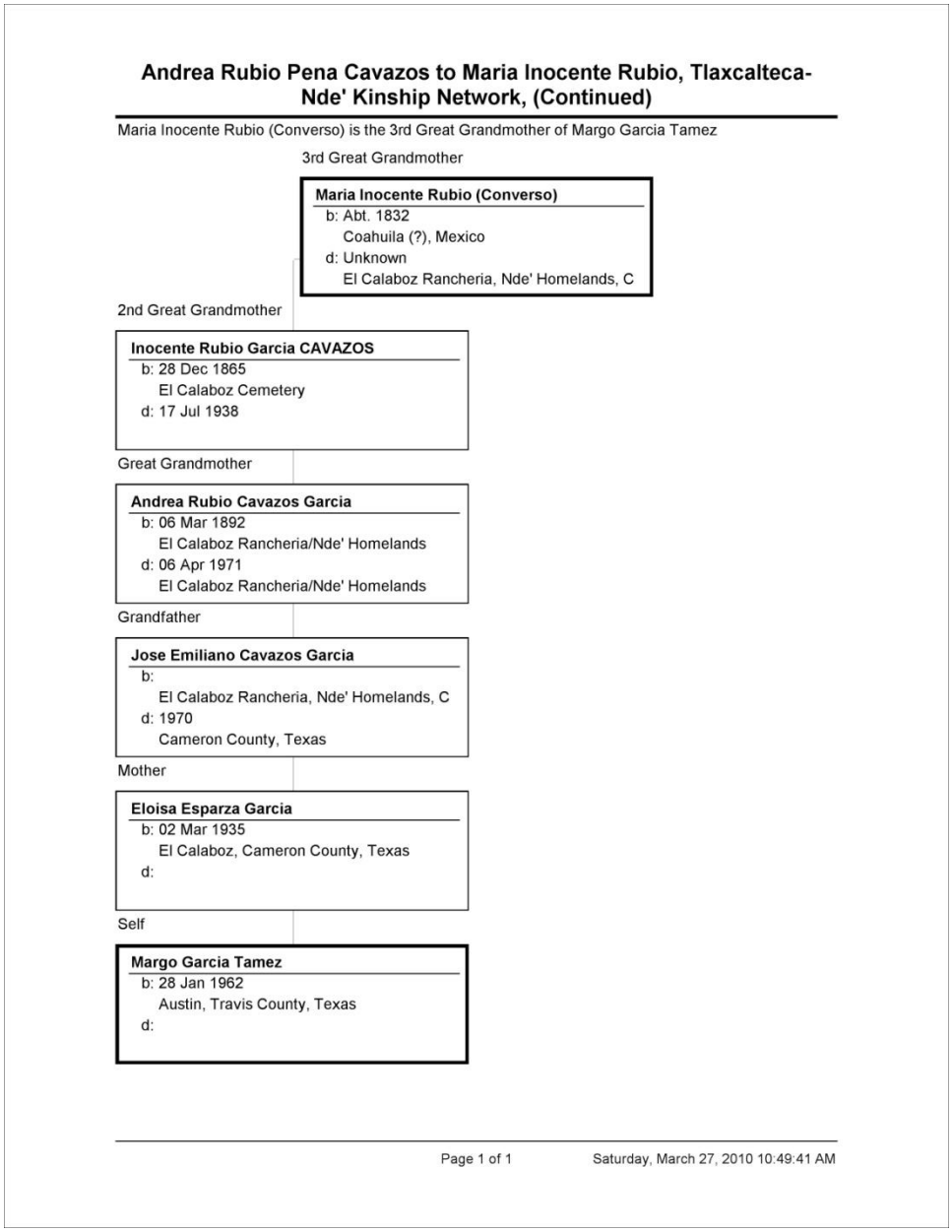
Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Texas
d:

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

Page 1 of 1 Tuesday, March 30, 2010 10:59:19 PM

APPENDIX M. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NDÉ KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)



Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos to Maria Inocente Rubio, Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Network, (Continued)

Maria Inocente Rubio (Converso) is the 3rd Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

3rd Great Grandmother

Maria Inocente Rubio (Converso)
b: Abt. 1832
Coahuila (?), Mexico
d: Unknown
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C

2nd Great Grandmother

Inocente Rubio Garcia CAVAZOS
b: 28 Dec 1865
El Calaboz Cemetery
d: 17 Jul 1938

Great Grandmother

Andrea Rubio Cavazos Garcia
b: 06 Mar 1892
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands
d: 06 Apr 1971
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands

Grandfather

Jose Emiliano Cavazos Garcia
b:
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C
d: 1970
Cameron County, Texas

Mother

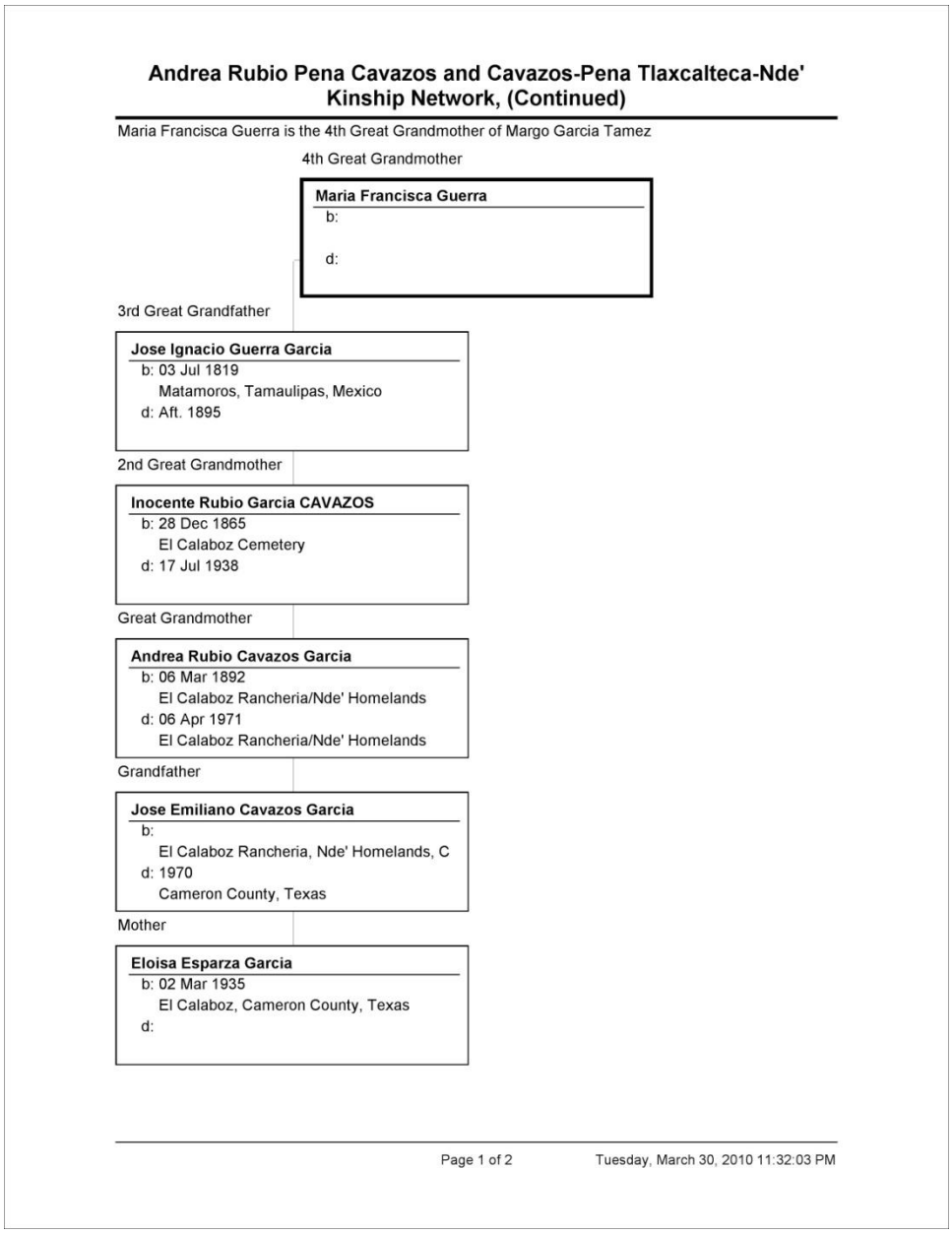
Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Texas
d:

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

Page 1 of 1 Saturday, March 27, 2010 10:49:41 AM

APPENDIX N. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NDÉ KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)



Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos and Cavazos-Pena Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Network, (Continued)

Maria Francisca Guerra is the 4th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

4th Great Grandmother

Maria Francisca Guerra
b:
d:

3rd Great Grandfather

Jose Ignacio Guerra Garcia
b: 03 Jul 1819
Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Mexico
d: Aft. 1895

2nd Great Grandmother

Inocente Rubio Garcia CAVAZOS
b: 28 Dec 1865
El Calaboz Cemetery
d: 17 Jul 1938

Great Grandmother

Andrea Rubio Cavazos Garcia
b: 06 Mar 1892
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands
d: 06 Apr 1971
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands

Grandfather

Jose Emiliano Cavazos Garcia
b:
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C
d: 1970
Cameron County, Texas

Mother

Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Texas
d:

Page 1 of 2 Tuesday, March 30, 2010 11:32:03 PM

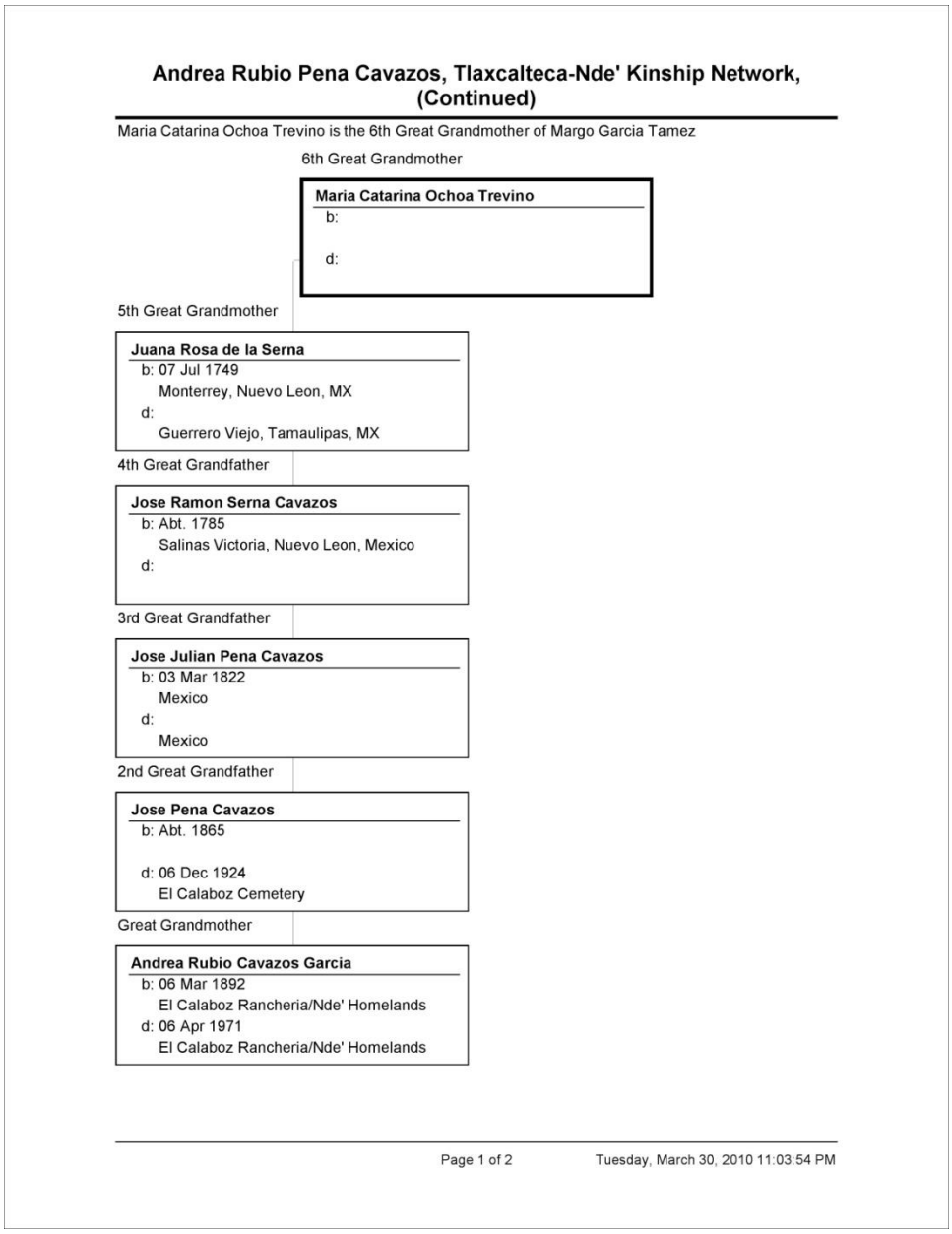
Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos and Cavazos-Pena Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Network, (Continued)

Maria Francisca Guerra is the 4th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

APPENDIX O. RELATIONSHIP: ANDREA RUBIO PEÑA CAVAZOS, TLAXCALTECA-NDÉ KINSHIP NETWORK, (CONTINUED)



Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos, Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Network, (Continued)

Maria Catarina Ochoa Trevino is the 6th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

6th Great Grandmother

Maria Catarina Ochoa Trevino
b:
d:

5th Great Grandmother

Juana Rosa de la Serna
b: 07 Jul 1749
Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, MX
d:
Guerrero Viejo, Tamaulipas, MX

4th Great Grandfather

Jose Ramon Serna Cavazos
b: Abt. 1785
Salinas Victoria, Nuevo Leon, Mexico
d:

3rd Great Grandfather

Jose Julian Pena Cavazos
b: 03 Mar 1822
Mexico
d:
Mexico

2nd Great Grandfather

Jose Pena Cavazos
b: Abt. 1865
d: 06 Dec 1924
El Calaboz Cemetery

Great Grandmother

Andrea Rubio Cavazos Garcia
b: 06 Mar 1892
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands
d: 06 Apr 1971
El Calaboz Rancheria/Nde' Homelands

Page 1 of 2 Tuesday, March 30, 2010 11:03:54 PM

Andrea Rubio Pena Cavazos, Tlaxcalteca-Nde' Kinship Network, (Continued)

Maria Catarina Ochoa Trevino is the 6th Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

Grandfather

Jose Emiliano Cavazos Garcia
b:
El Calaboz Rancheria, Nde' Homelands, C
d: 1970
Cameron County, Texas

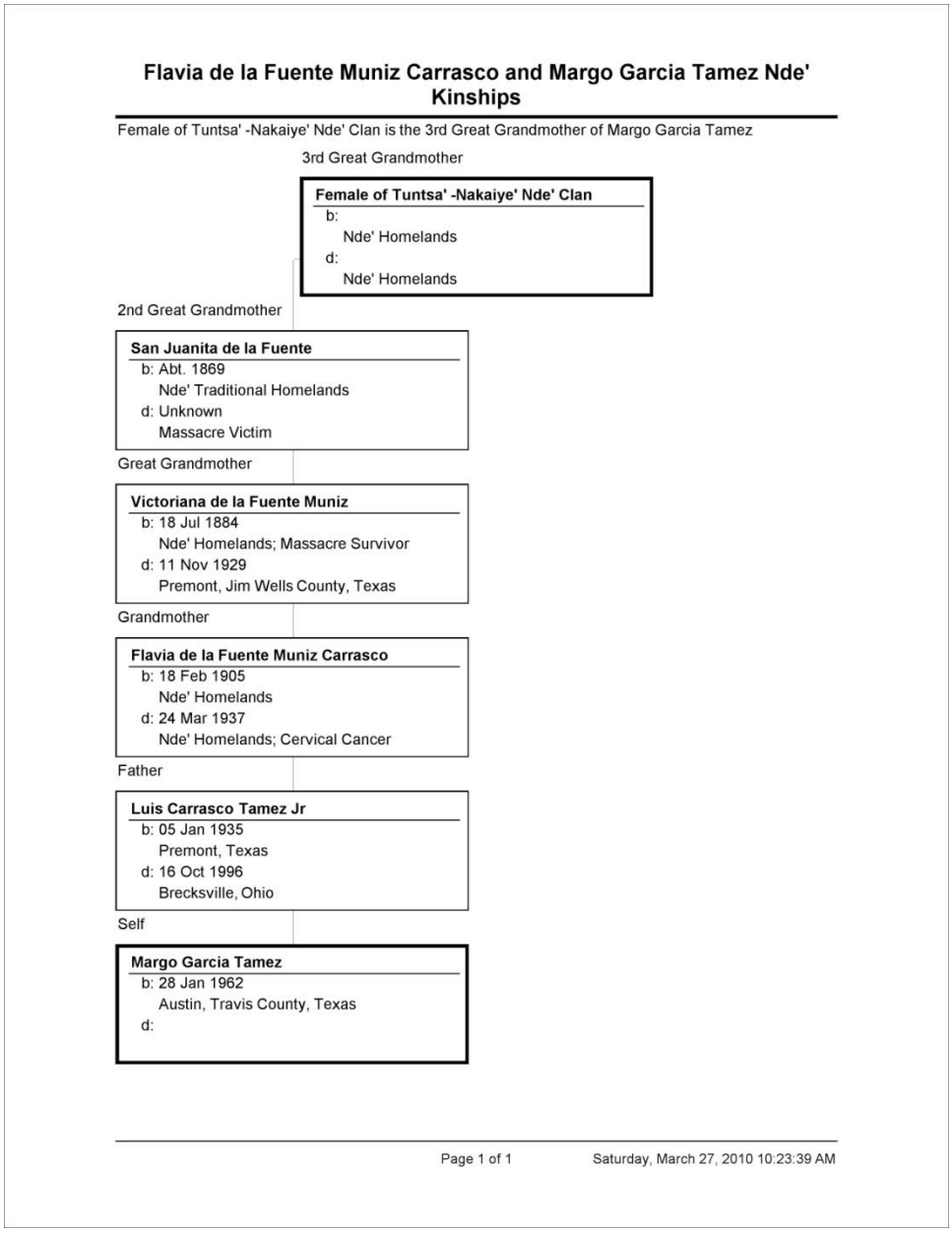
Mother

Eloisa Esparza Garcia
b: 02 Mar 1935
El Calaboz, Cameron County, Texas
d:

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

APPENDIX P. RELATIONSHIP: FLAVIA DE LA FUENTE MUÑIZ CARRASCO NDÉ KINSHIP



Flavia de la Fuente Muniz Carrasco and Margo Garcia Tamez Nde' Kinships

Female of Tuntsa' -Nakaiye' Nde' Clan is the 3rd Great Grandmother of Margo Garcia Tamez

3rd Great Grandmother

Female of Tuntsa' -Nakaiye' Nde' Clan
b:
Nde' Homelands
d:
Nde' Homelands

2nd Great Grandmother

San Juanita de la Fuente
b: Abt. 1869
Nde' Traditional Homelands
d: Unknown
Massacre Victim

Great Grandmother

Victoriana de la Fuente Muniz
b: 18 Jul 1884
Nde' Homelands; Massacre Survivor
d: 11 Nov 1929
Premont, Jim Wells County, Texas

Grandmother

Flavia de la Fuente Muniz Carrasco
b: 18 Feb 1905
Nde' Homelands
d: 24 Mar 1937
Nde' Homelands; Cervical Cancer

Father

Luis Carrasco Tamez Jr
b: 05 Jan 1935
Premont, Texas
d: 16 Oct 1996
Brecksville, Ohio

Self

Margo Garcia Tamez
b: 28 Jan 1962
Austin, Travis County, Texas
d:

Page 1 of 1 Saturday, March 27, 2010 10:23:39 AM

APPENDIX Q. RELATIONSHIP: ANICETO GARCÍA, (HADA'DIDLA' NDÉ/LIPAN APACHE) KINSHIP NETWORK TO ELUTERIA

Aniceto Garcia (Hada'didla' Nde'/Lipan Apache) Kinship Network

	Husband:	**Patricio Garcia**
	Name:	Patricio Garcia
	Gender:	Male
	Birth:	Abt. 1843 in Mexico
	Marriage:	Abt. 1872
	Father:	
	Mother:	
	Other Spouses:	
	Wife:	**Eluteria**
	Name:	Eluteria
	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1858 in Mexico
	Father:	
	Mother:	
	Other Spouses:	
	Children:	
1	Name:	Gregoria Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1873 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
2	Name:	Marciana Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1874 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
3	Name:	Matilde Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1876 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
4	Name:	Josefa Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1878 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
5	Name:	Crispin Garcia
M	Gender:	Male
	Birth:	Abt. 1879 in Mexico
	Spouses:	Concepcion Loya (b: Abt. 1882)
6	Name:	Isidro Garcia
M	Gender:	Male
	Birth:	Abt. 1880 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
7	Name:	Simona Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1881 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
8	Name:	Guadalupe Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1883 in Mexico

Page 1 of 3 Tuesday, March 30, 2010 11:05:03 PM

	Spouses:	
9	Name:	Jesusa Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1885 in Mexico
	Marriage:	Abt. 1907
	Spouses:	Francisco Loya (b: Abt. 1884)
10	Name:	Aniceto Garcia
M	Gender:	Male
	Birth:	Abt. 1886 in Mexico Nde' Homelands
	Death:	Nov 1951 in El Calaboz Rancheria, Cameron County, Texas
	Spouses:	Andrea Rubio Cavazos Garcia (b: 06 Mar 1892)
11	Name:	Doroteo Garcia
M	Gender:	Male
	Birth:	Abt. 1888 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
12	Name:	Francisco Garcia
M	Gender:	Male
	Birth:	Abt. 1889 in Mexico
	Spouses:	Maria Garcia Cavazos (b: 02 May 1901)
13	Name:	Manuela Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1894 in Mexico
	Spouses:	
14	Name:	Maria Garcia
F	Gender:	Female
	Birth:	Abt. 1895 in Mexico
	Spouses:	

Notes

Patricio Garcia
FATHER OF ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER.

Eluteria
MOTHER OF ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER.

Eluteria, like a dominant number of women and Indigenous peoples on the EFGA, are a silent majority. She, like many in the EFGA, have few details besides their names. Ther is no record of her last name, her birth place, burial place. However, like the majority of the women in the EFGA, her primary record she left behind are her children's names. These too are often incomplete, generalized, and numerous. Eluteria had 14 children.

Gregoria Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Marciana Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Matilde Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Josefa Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Notes (con't)

Crispin Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Isidro Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Simona Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Guadalupe Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Jesusa Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Aniceto Garcia
LIPAN APACHE. MY GREAT GRANDFATHER. FATHER TO JOSE EMILIANO GARCIA (CAVAZOS)

Doroteo Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Francisco Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Manuela Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

Maria Garcia
SIBLING TO ANICETO GARCIA, MY GG GRANDFATHER

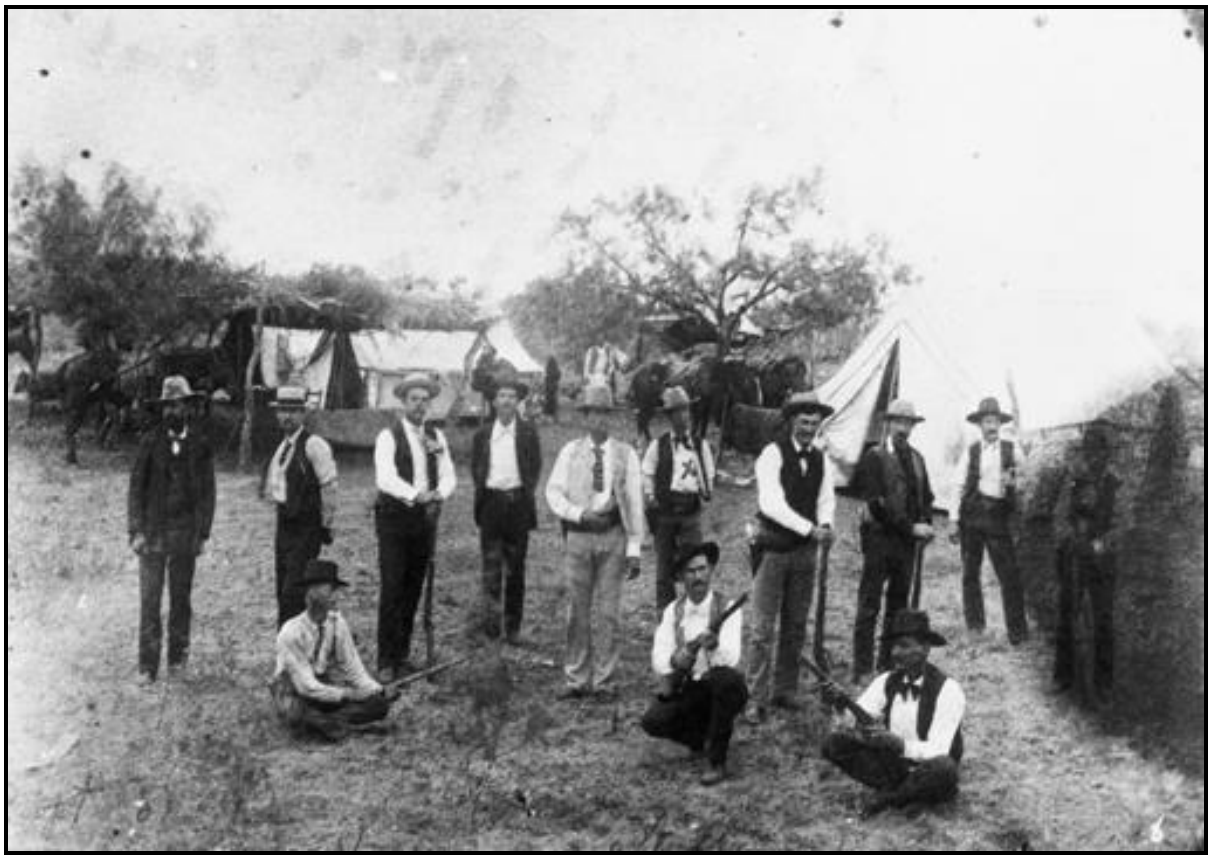
Sources

1 [no sources]

APPENDIX R. SOUTH TEXAS 'ANGLO' (SCOTTISH, IRISH, GERMAN, SAXON)-AMERICAN SETTLER SOCIETY AND THE TEXAS RANGERS: The Rise of Necropower and Necropolitics along the Indigenous-Texas-Mexico Borders



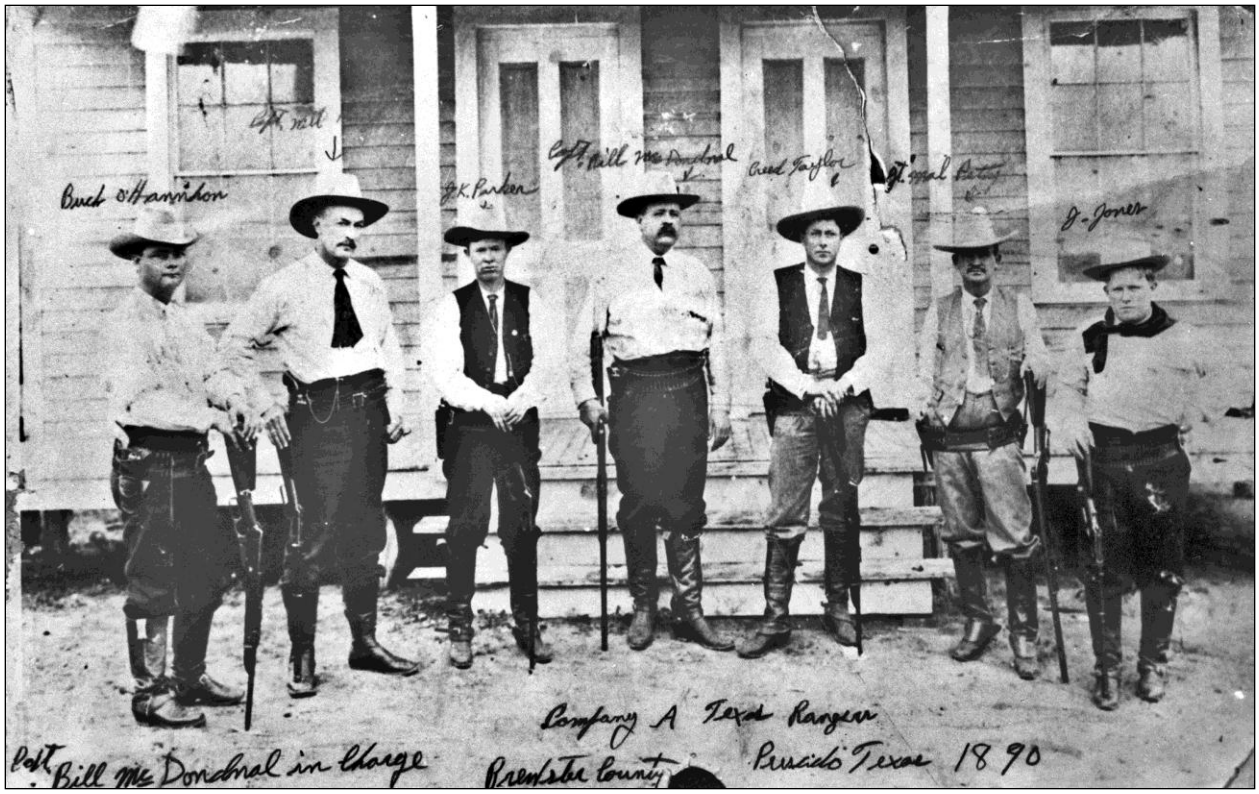
Company E, Texas Rangers, Frontier Battalion, Alice, Texas, 1892, South Texas. Collection of the Author. Key members of the South Texas 'machine' are present: Captain J.S. McNeel, D.S. Robinson, John Cameron, Charles Johnson, Luke Dover, P.J. McNeel, Rigdon "Pat" Terrell, Forest Townsley, J.S. McNeel, Jr., Everett E. Townsend, Richard Flowers, Charles Premont, Bud Rader, Louis Paul, Rut Evans, Bob Townsley. Collection of the Author.



Capt. J. A. Brooks company of Texas Rangers in camp near Rio Grande City, 1891, Texas, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0415, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows the men posed near tents during the Catarino Garza war, Lower Rio Grande Valley, Cameron County, Texas-Mexico border.



Four Texas Rangers on horseback on bridge, 1892, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0392, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows four unidentified Texas Rangers of Capt. Brooks' Company mounted and posed at end of an iron and wooden bridge. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Company A, Texas Rangers, Harlingen, Texas, 1904, Harlingen, Texas, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-0786, Courtesy of John T. Jones, Jr.
Description: Photograph shows the men standing in front of porch. (L. to r): two unidentified Rangers, Bill McCawley, Capt. Frank Johnson, Crosley Marsden, Oscar Roundtree, and Gus T. "Buster" Jones. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



IGN railroad pass, 1906, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0772, Courtesy of The Heritage Museum, (Falfurrias, Texas).
Description: Photograph shows a railroad pass from the International Great Northern Railroad Company issued to Capt. J. A. Brooks, Texas Ranger. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Texas Rangers with dead Mexican raiders, Norias Division, King Ranch, Kenedy County, South Texas, August 8, 1915, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0473, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.

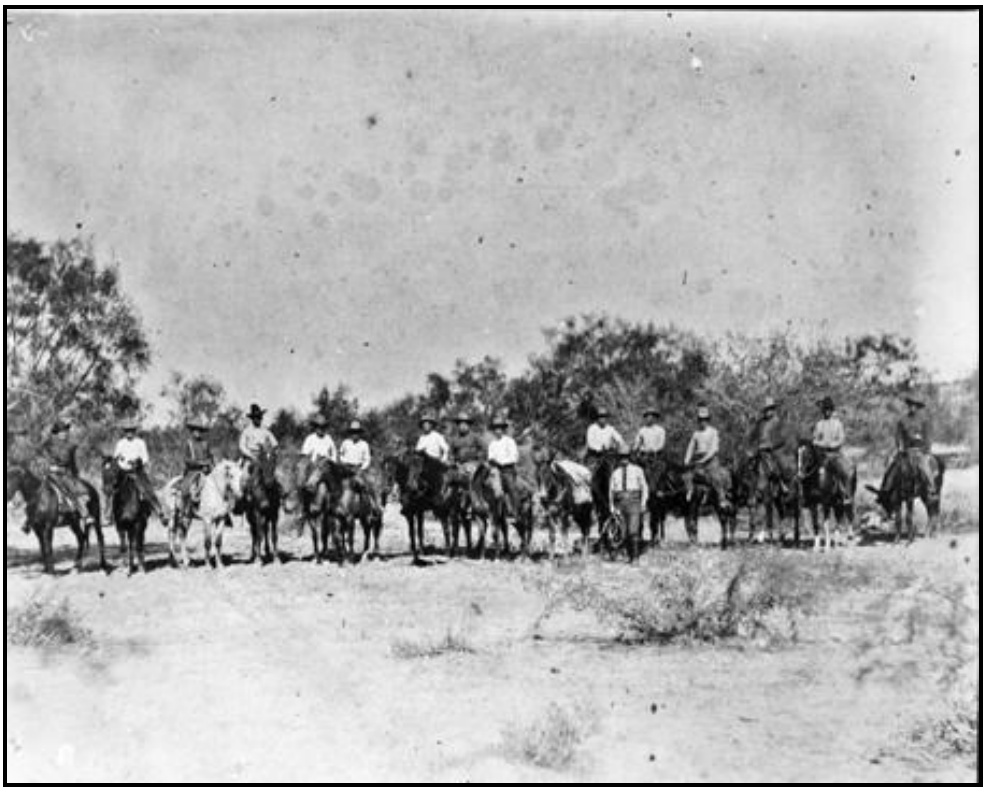
Description: Photograph shows three Texas Rangers on horseback holding ropes tied to the bodies of Mexican raiders killed in the Norias Ranch Raid on August 8, 1915. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border. All victims are identified in the Esparza Family Genealogical Archive in the Ndé-Tlaxcalteca-Nahuatl macehualli kinship community.



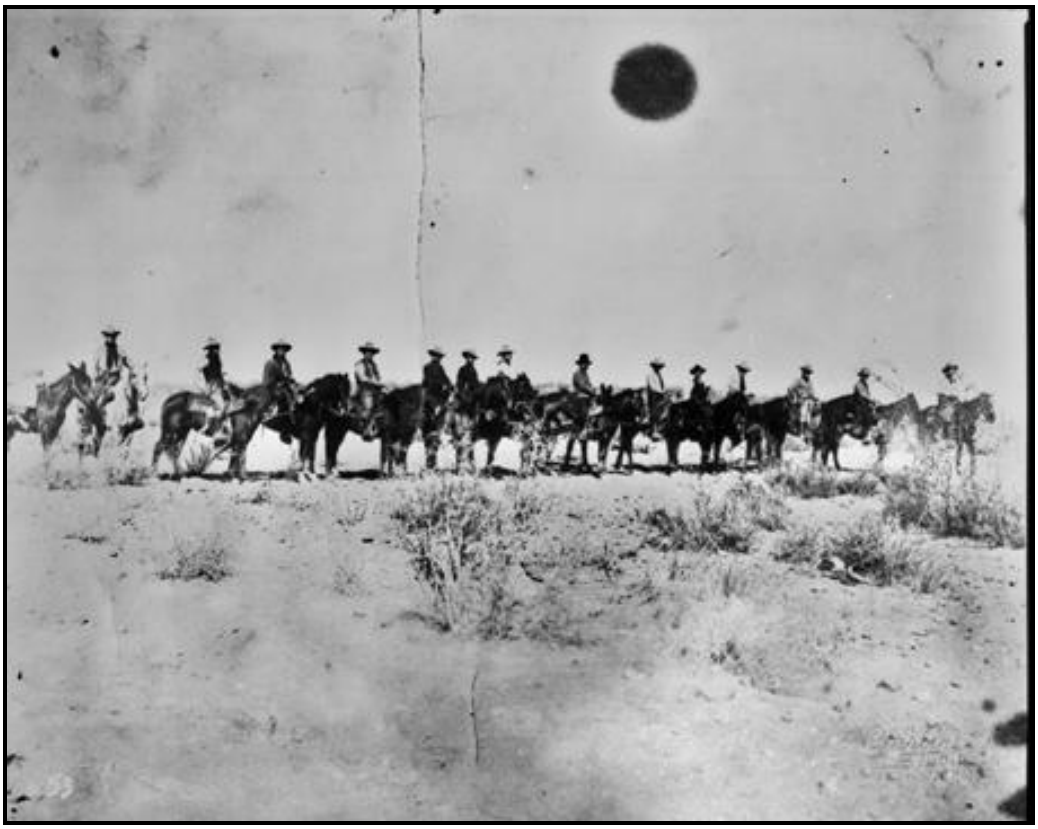
Unidentified Texas Ranger standing beside automobile, ca. 1915, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0388, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows snapshot of the ranger standing beside an automobile parked near oil field.
(Note: One of the earliest oil strikes in the U.S., and in South Texas occurred in Premont, Jim Wells County, South Texas.) Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Texas Rangers and River Guards, Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1915, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0404, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows Texas Rangers and River Guards posed on steps of a building. Pictured are (l. to r.): top - Dunk Wright; Ed Dubose, Sr.; Joe Taylor; Lupe Edwards; Bennie DuBose. Bottom - R. W. Aldrich; unknown; and Capt. J. E. Davenport. Texas-Mexico border.



Texas Rangers on horseback in South Texas, (Abt. 1915), UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0417, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows a group of rangers on horseback near mesquite trees. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Company D, Texas Rangers, on horseback in South Texas, 1918, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0413, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Company D, Texas Rangers, 1920, Brownsville, Texas, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0788, Courtesy of The Heritage Museum (Falfurrias, Texas).
Description: Photograph shows a group studio portrait of Company D, Texas Rangers. Back row (l. to r.): Robert D. Brown; Jess Perez, Sr.; Roy L. Hearn; D. C. (Jack) Webb; Sgt. John Edds; and Juan Gonzales. Second row (l. to r,): Sanders Peterson; Robert Sutton; Capt. Will L. Wright; John Hensley; and Sam Cheeshier. In front (l. to r.): Sid Hutchinson and Stanley Morton. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Texas Rangers, holding rifles, at camp on San Saba River (Southwest Texas), (Abt 1915-20?), UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 068-0266, Courtesy of Monahans Sandhill Museum, Monahans, Texas.

Description: Photograph shows Texas Rangers holding rifles in Camp San Saba on San Saba River. (l.-r.) Ollie Perry, Jack Harrell, Dr. Donnelly, James G. Bell, William McCauley, Dudley Barker, Van Lane, Robert McClure, Capt. William Jesse "Bill" McDonald. Texas-Mexico border.



Texas Rangers in South Texas, 1933, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0403, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows five Texas Rangers armed with rifles and machine gun posed on the porch of a building.



Group of Texas Rangers presenting pistols to Gov. James V. Allred, 1935, Austin, Texas, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0418, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows Gov. James V. Allred seated at desk looking at pistol. Group of Texas Rangers standing around him.



Texas Ranger John R. Hughes holding a Thompson submachine gun at Texas Department of Public Safety, April 19, 1940, Austin, Texas, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0544, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows DPS trooper pointing out feature on the gun to Hughes as unidentified Texas Ranger looks on.



Texas Ranger John R. Hughes looking at microphone during visit to radio dispatchers office at Texas Department of Public Safety, April 19, 1940, Austin, Texas, UTSA Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0543, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows DPS trooper adjusting the microphone for John R. Hughes (left), who is seated in radio dispatcher's chair.



Texas Rangers at a highway road block, 1941, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0531, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border. This was a typical scene at numerous points along the major roads connecting the counties between San Antonio, Texas and the Texas-Mexico border during the Author's entire childhood, 1962-1980.



Company D Texas Rangers in camp, Alice, Texas, December 1943, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0789, Courtesy of The Heritage Museum, (Falfurrias, Texas). Description: Photograph shows members of Company D, Texas Rangers in camp kitchen. Standing (l. to r.): Alfred Allee; Zeno Smith; Leon Vivian; Joe Bridge; and Ralph Rohatsch. Seated (l. to r.): Capt. Gully Cowert; Frank Mills; and John Hensley. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Texas Rangers of Company D outside tent, Alice, Texas, (Abt. 1943-44), UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0499, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety. Description: Caption reads: "Gully Cowsert, nephew of Capt. Frank Moore, Jim and Harry Moore, and Capt. Company D. Rangers in camp at Alice, Tex. (left to right) Rangers Leon Vivian, Joe Bridge, Capt. Gully Cowsert, A. Y. Alley, Frank Mills, Zeno Smith, John Hensley, and Ralph Rohatsch. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Equipment used by the Texas Ranger Dub Taylor, June 1944, (South Texas), UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0548, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety. Description: Photograph shows the equipment displayed on ground beside the open truck of his car. Equipment includes firearms, camp gear, and a stop sign. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Pilot and a Texas Ranger in helicopter during exercises at Camp Hood, 1949, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0552, Courtesy Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows the two seated in a Bell Model 47/H-13 Sioux helicopter on the ground at Camp (later Fort) Hood during a Texas Ranger exercise. Southwest Texas-Mexico border.



A mounted Texas Ranger holding the Texas Ranger Flag, July 1957, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0569, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.



Group portrait of Texas Rangers of all companies, 1964, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0506, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.
Description: Photograph shows panorama of the men standing outside building.



Mounted Texas Rangers with helicopter in the air nearby, 1970, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0581, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.



Texas Rangers of Company D firing at targets with .357 Magnum pistols during drill at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, March 31, 1971, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0564, Courtesy of Texas Department of Public Safety.

APPENDIX S. AMERICANIZATION AND MILITARIZATION, LOWER RIO GRANDE VALLEY, TEXAS-MEXICO BORDER



A strong example of the American application of the 'universal native enemy Other, i.e. the Mexican' to Indigenous humanity of the Ndé-Texas-Mexico borderlands.

Piled ready to be burned after the Battle of Matamoros, Mex., June 4, 1913, James R. Stephens Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-2055, Courtesy of Ford Green. Description: Photograph shows a halftone postcard, from photograph, of a pile of the dead from the Battle of Matamoros. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Cameron County, Texas-Mexico border.



10th Cavalry Soldiers guarding prisoners captured during Punitive Expedition, 1916, (Lower Rio Grande Valley), UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 068-1041.
Description: Photograph shows three members of the 10th Cavalry guarding five Villistas who are in outdoor enclosure. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.
African-American U.S. soldiers guarding Indigenous macehualli revolutionaries.
A strong example of multi-axis colonization, masculinization, and the application of the 'universal native enemy Other, i.e. the Mexican' to Indigenous peoples of the Ndé-Tlaxcalteca-Texas borderlands.



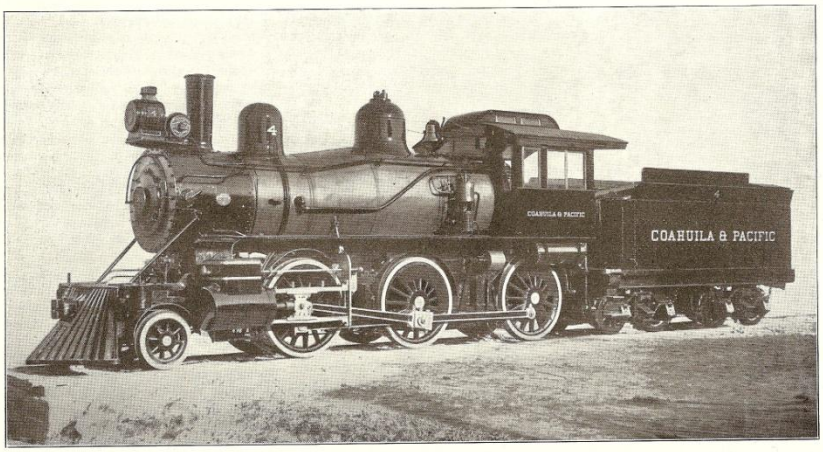
After the battle of Matamoros, Mexican Dead Soldiers Covered with Flies. James R. Stephens Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-2056, Courtesy of Ford Green.
Description: Photograph shows a halftone postcard, from photograph, of pile of dead soldiers killed in the battle.
A strong example of the American application of the 'universal native enemy Other, i.e. the Mexican' to diverse Indigenous humanity.

APPENDIX T. 'SETTLING IN'--INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE LOWER RIO GRANDE VALLEY, TEXAS-MEXICO BORDER

Cooke Locomotive for Coahuila and Pacific.

The mogul locomotive here shown is one of a group recently built by the Cooke Locomotive & Machine Company, of Paterson, N. J., for the Coahuila & Pacific Railroad.

The cylinders are 19 x 26, and the total weight of the engine is 133,000 pounds, 115,000 of which rest on the driving wheels. The driving wheel-base is 16 feet 7 inches, the total being 24 feet 7 inches. The driving wheels are 62 inches diameter, the centers being of cast iron. The driving axle journals are 8½ inches diameter by 11 inches long. The engine truck journals are 6 x 9 15-16 inches. The boiler is the wagon-top variety, radial stays, with deep firebox. The working pressure is 180 pounds. There are 261 2-inch tubes,



COOKE LOCOMOTIVE, COAHUILA & PACIFIC RAILWAY.

11 feet 11 7-16 inches long. The heating surface is 1,773.25 square feet, and the grate area is 17.41 square feet. The engine is furnished with the most approved appliances for operating and for the comfort of the enginemen.

Preparation of Steel, and Points on Hardening.

BY E. R. MARKHAM.

To harden properly, the steel must be in a proper condition to harden. As the bar comes from the rolls or hammer in the mills, it is full of strains, which should be removed by careful annealing. If we are to make a tool that has the center cut out, as in the case of a milling machine cutter, punch press die or similar tool, it is best to remove part of the stock, leaving the hole somewhat smaller than finish size. We should also rough all scale on outside of the piece, and anneal by packing in a box or pot as we would for hardening, only using nothing but granulated charcoal for packing; being sure that the annealing pot is of such size that the work will not come within an inch of the sides. Place several test wires down through the center of the piece, allowing it to project an inch or so above the top of the cover. Carefully seal the cover with fireclay; place in the fire and allow it to heat gradually. When we think it is heated through, draw one of the wires with a long pair of tongs. If it is red the entire length, we note the time; if not red, we wait from fifteen minutes to one-half hour and draw another, and so continue doing until we draw one that is red hot. Then allow the fire to run for one to five or six hours, according to size of the piece; work 1 inch or under will properly anneal, as a rule, in one hour. Time of heating larger pieces takes longer. Some brands of steel have to be heated longer than others. This is a matter of experiment at first, unless we understand our steel. When our work has run the proper length of time, we shut off our fire. If it is a gas or oil fire, we simply shut off the supply of fuel, closing the oven tightly, and allow our work to cool off with the oven. The slower it cools the better. If we are using a coal or charcoal fire, we should cover the pots well with coals and bury the whole mass with hot ashes; shut the oven as tightly as possible and let cool. The longer time steel is in cooling to a black heat the more perfect the annealing.

It is possible to obtain most brands of steel annealed in the bar. This is all right so far as softness is concerned, but does not help us much when we come to harden the piece, as the strain occasioned by rolling or hammering the bar or block is still in the steel. It has had no opportunity to get out, but by removing part of stock the strain will be in a great measure removed by the annealing heat and greatly lessen the liability of cracking when the piece is hardened. To properly harden steel, we must thoroughly understand annealing.

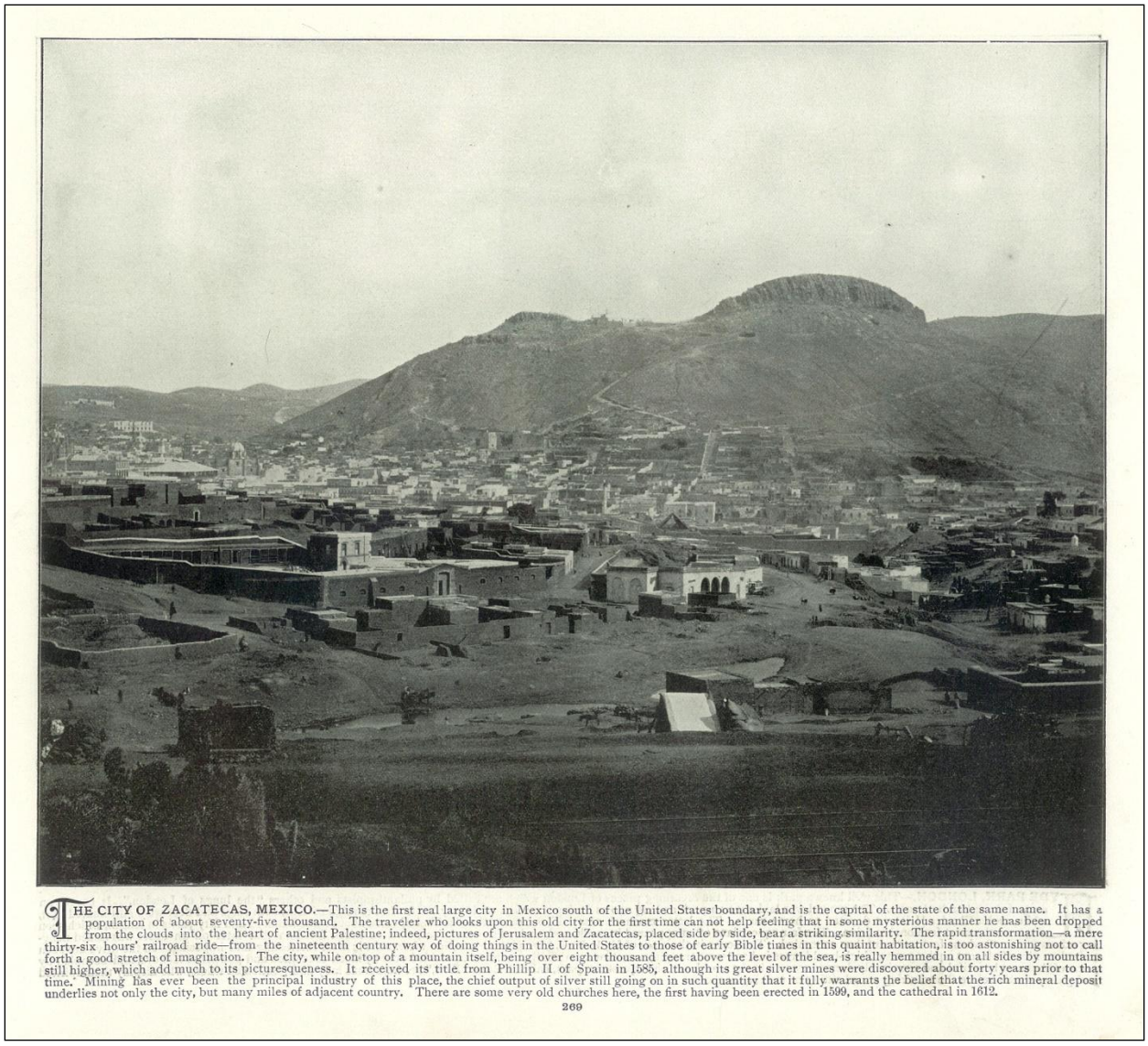
As tool steel comes from the mill the outside is not in a condition to harden. The surface is decarbonized by the action of the oxygen in the air on the carbon in the steel; so this surface should be removed to a depth sufficient to insure hardening. This depends on the size of the steel bars. One-inch and under are seldom decarbonized more than 1-32 inch; so that removing that amount of stock generally insures hardening. As the bars get larger, this surface becomes deeper. Stock 3 inches and over should have at least ⅛ inch removed from each surface.

If the steel is to be forged to shape, great care should be exercised in heating. It should not be overheated, neither should it be hammered when it is not hot enough. I have seen as much steel injured by being hammered when it was not heated to forging heat as I have seen ruined by overheating. A forging heat is much higher than a heat for hardening the same piece of steel.

If in working out the impression of a die or similar tool it should by accident be gotten too large in any one spot, do not under any circumstances pein in or in any manner close when the steel is cold. Always heat to a proper forging heat, then we can safely close it without injury to the steel.

I prefer, when it is possible, to pack-harden all my work; but there are times

Locomotive Engineering, 1901. Americanization meant mechanization, steel, and hardening of class divisions at the sharply contested border. Getting control over ore in Coahuila and Zacatecas were primary objectives of American capitalists at the end of the 19th and early 20th century. Collection of the Author.



THE CITY OF ZACATECAS, MEXICO.—This is the first real large city in Mexico south of the United States boundary, and is the capital of the state of the same name. It has a population of about seventy-five thousand. The traveler who looks upon this old city for the first time can not help feeling that in some mysterious manner he has been dropped from the clouds into the heart of ancient Palestine; indeed, pictures of Jerusalem and Zacatecas, placed side by side, bear a striking similarity. The rapid transformation—a mere thirty-six hours' railroad ride—from the nineteenth century way of doing things in the United States to those of early Bible times in this quaint habitation, is too astonishing not to call forth a good stretch of imagination. The city, while on top of a mountain itself, being over eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, is really hemmed in on all sides by mountains still higher, which add much to its picturesqueness. It received its title from Phillip II of Spain in 1585, although its great silver mines were discovered about forty years prior to that time. Mining has ever been the principal industry of this place, the chief output of silver still going on in such quantity that it fully warrants the belief that the rich mineral deposit underlies not only the city, but many miles of adjacent country. There are some very old churches here, the first having been erected in 1599, and the cathedral in 1612.

269

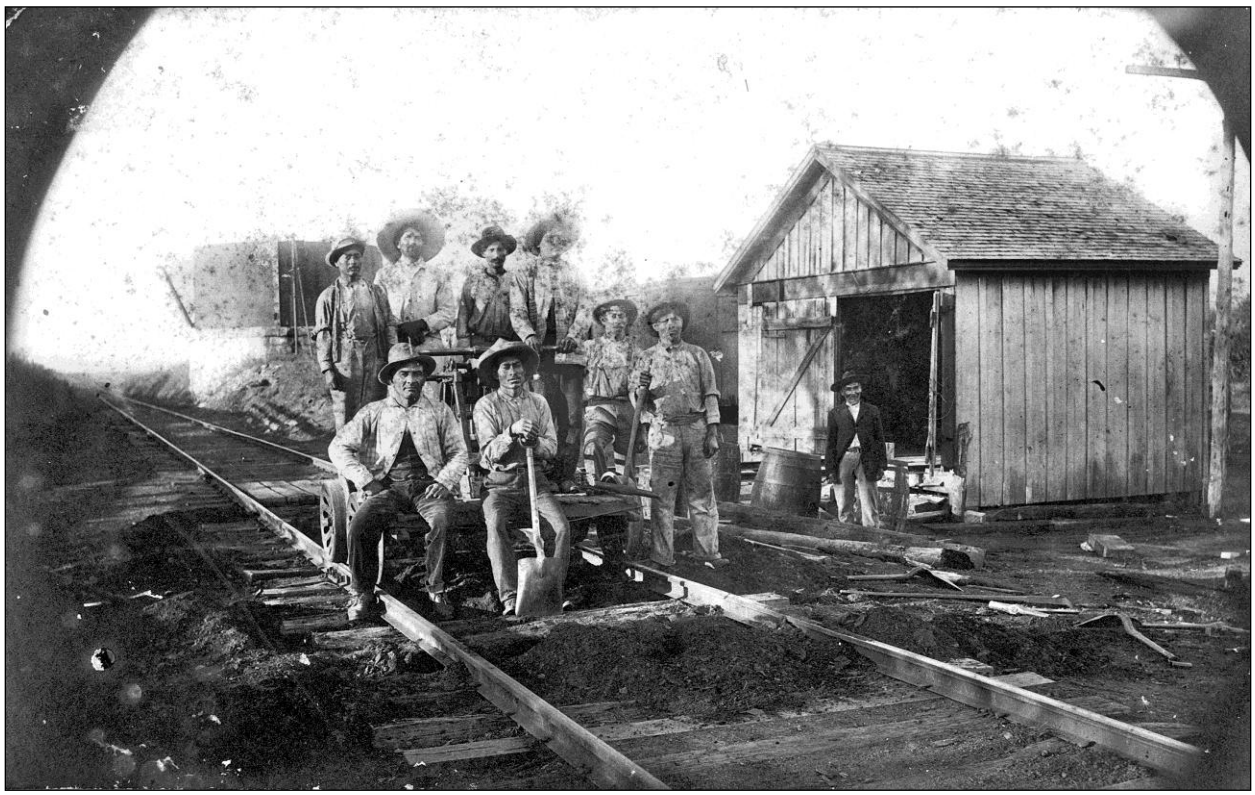
Culling Indigenous laborers from along the old 'Camino Real' circuit was a key focal point of American settlement into the Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas. Zacatecas, Mexico was a tremendous lure for American industrial capitalists during the early American period. Collection of the Author.



Indigenous laborer barrio, Zacatecas, México, ca. 1910-1920s. American capitalists took great interest in the 'opportunities' of Mexican Indigenous populations as an already subordinated social group. This barrio is directly relevant to El Calaboz Ranchería, as their lineal relations were founders *and* laborers in the early to late Zacatecas mining and migration complex. Collection of the Author.



Reynosa, Tamaulipas, México. "Puente Internacional," ca. 1915. Americans took great interest in supporting the financing of bridges between the major routes between Zacatecas México, Coahuila, and South Texas. Collection of the Author.



Section gang beside handcar and shed, ca. 1900, South Texas, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 088-0294, Courtesy of John Wildenthal Family.
Description: Photograph shows section gang and boss pose around handcar on railroad track. Handcar shed on right. Water tank in distance on left.
Indigenous macehualli, Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Men laying new railroad track, Los Fresnos, Texas, (ca. 1910?), UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 073-0871, Courtesy of Harlingen Public Library.
Description: Photograph shows railroad gang (in distance) working on a new track for the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railroad. Work train on right and in background. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



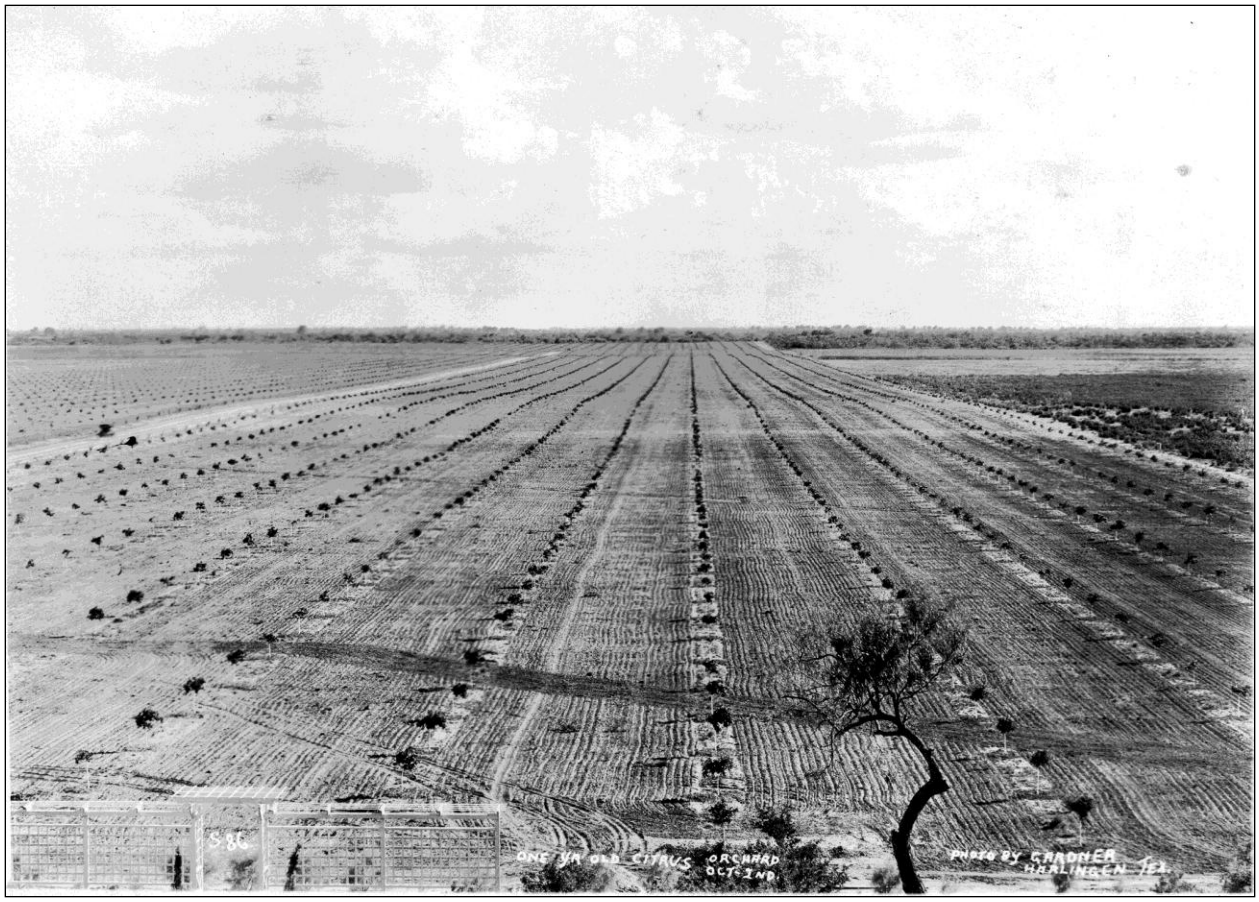
Baldwin locomotive at station in Northern Mexico, ca. 1910, W.D. Hornaday Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 076-1025, Courtesy of Texas State Library.
ITC Description: Photograph shows a Baldwin locomotive of the northern Mexican railroad with open-sided passenger car directly behind engine tender car.
ITC Note: Typed caption, "Mixed Train on Western Railway of Mexico." Caption probably by William Deming Hornaday, who served as war correspondent during Madero-Revolution, 1910-11. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Indigenous revolutionaries destroyed numerous centers of the industrialized world-system along the Texas-Mexico border in connection with mining, agriculture, and oppressive labor and social conditions. Olmito, Cameron County, Texas, October 1915. James R. Stephens Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 072-2081, Courtesy of Ford Green.
Description: Photograph shows an American soldier guarding the wreckage of a St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico train that was wrecked by Mexican 'raiders' on October 18, 1915. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Exterior of Texas Citrus Fruit Growers Exchange, Sharyland, Hidalgo County, Texas, late 1920s, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 106-0196, Courtesy of Gayla Merrifield.
Description: Photograph shows the brick building beside railroad track. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



One year old grapefruit orchard in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, (Harlingen, Texas) late 1920s, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 106-0187, Courtesy of Gayla Merrifield. Description: Photograph shows bird's-eye view of the small trees. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Indigenous peoples universalized as 'native workers' standing beside crates packed with grapefruit next to orchard in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, late 1920s, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. 106-0194, Courtesy of Gayla Merrifield. Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.



Mexican rail and highway officials in town to confer with William H. Furlong, Pan-American Highway Associate Director, 1937, San Antonio Light Collection, UTSA's Institute of Texan Cultures, No. L-1530-C, Courtesy of Hearst Corporation.
Description: Photograph shows L-R: Alfonso Rodríguez del Campo, rail director; Carlos Bazon, highway director; José Rivera R., of Mexican Automobile Association; and J. McDonald Stephen, representative of Allis-Chalmers in Mexico. Lower Rio Grande River, Texas-Mexico border. Excellent example of the reality of a highly stratified colonial society, bearing the markers of the highly differentiated *casta*/caste system steeped in the Spanish, Mexican and Tejano *transnational* oligarchy which upheld the continued oppression of poor, Indigenous workers and rural peoples.



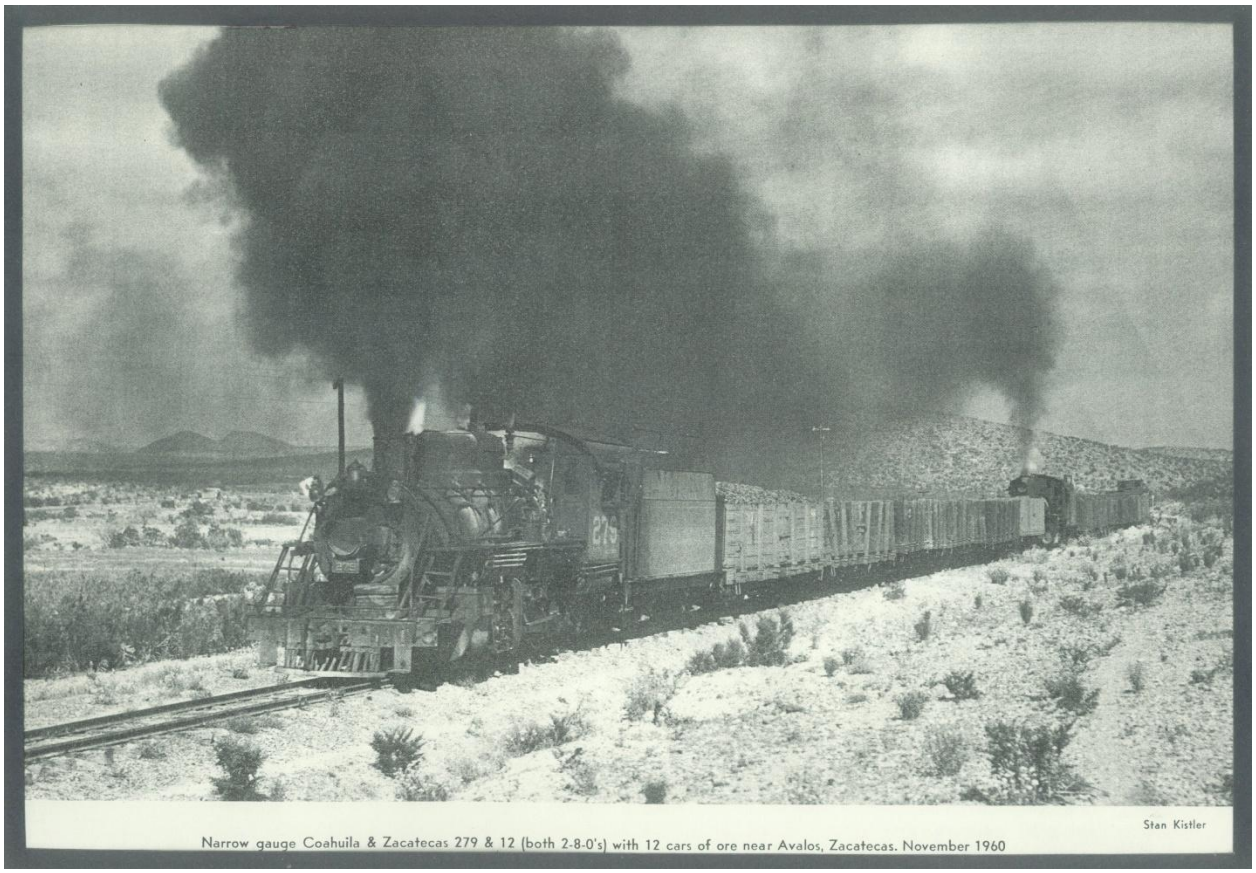
Beneficiaries. King Family, 'the machine' et al. Kingsville, Texas. Collection of the Author.



Beneficiaries: King Family, 'the machine' et al.. Kingsville, Texas. Collection of the Author.



Beneficiaries: Settlers. Collection of the Author.



Coahuila & Zacatecas ore line out of South Texas, 1960. Collection of the Author.

APPENDIX U. GENOCIDE: TLAXCALTECA-NAHUATL NOBLE CACIQUES



CARLOS ESPARZA AND TWO OTHERS ARE DEAD, AND ONE MAN WOUNDED; ATTACK ON RANCHITA HOUSE BLOODY AFFAIR

Two men were instantly killed and one fatally wounded, dying later, and one other man was wounded, at 2 o'clock Sunday morning at Ranchita, fifteen miles up the Rio Grande, when two unknown men opened fire from the outside on a little jacal in which a gambling game is alleged to have have been in progress.

The dead.

CARLOS ESPARZA, deputy sheriff.
DOMINGO TREVINO, a laborer.
PEDRO ZEPEDA, a laborer.

The wounded:

Nicolas Esparza.

Deputy Sheriff Harold Jefferis, who with Deputy Sheriff Andres Cueto, investigated the shooting, said that owing to the intense excitement in the neighborhood, the officers had been unable to gain a definite story of the shooting.

It appears that Esparza, Trevino, Zepeda and a number of other men were in a little building and that a gambling game was in progress. Between this house and another house there was an areaway about five or six feet wide. Firing was opened from the outside into the jacal where the party of men were playing, and Carlos Esparza was struck by a bullet from a 45-calibre revolver. The bullet went through his head, entering at the left ear. The light in the room was then shot out.

The men in the house then made a mad effort to escape, and shooting that followed revealed that two men had been stationed at points of vantage on the outside. Trevino in running out, turned to the left and was struck in the head by a bullet from a 30-30 rifle, and the top of his head was shot off. Had he turned the other way with the other men he would probably have escaped with his life. Zepeda, one of the last to get out of the room, was struck by a rifle ball, entered at his hip and appears to have ranged upward, but did not pass out. He died from this shot, although he was struck by another bullet in the chest. Nicolas Esparza was shot in the leg, but the wound is not serious.

Zepeda died at his home near the scene of the shooting at 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon.

When the room had been cleared of its occupants, the murderers entered the house where the game had been going on and gathered up the green cloth. There was about one hundred dollars on the table. They also went through Esparza's pockets and took his watch but left the chain. Trevino's clothes were also gone through, his pockets being found turned inside out. Zepeda's clothes were also emptied of a small amount of money. He was unconscious at the time.

So far no identities are conceded, the murderers are shrouded in the deepest mystery. No one in the neighborhood was found who had seen men who might have done the shooting. The officers followed a trail that led to the Rio Grande, and found evidences that three men had crossed at one point. They also found an old dirty shirt, with blood over it. It probably had been cast aside to avoid suspicion on the Mexican side of the river.

The trail to the river leads the officers to believe that at least two of the murderers were from the Mexican side of the river, but it is believed also that one or more on the American side were implicated. The occurrence was reported to the officials on the Mexican side and an investigation there has been ordered.

Of the men killed, Carlos Esparza was the best known. He has been an officer on this part of the border for many years and for some time was a mounted customs inspector. In enforcing the law in that vicinity, he is said to have made many enemies, and officers are of the opinion that while robbery may have been one reason for the bloody crime, that the main motive was to "get" Esparza. The other men met their deaths, officers believe, just because they happened to be present. There is also a suspicion among officers that the recent arrest and extradition to the United States of Antonio Rocha and Perdo Paz, both of whom were wanted on this side of the river, for murder in the vicinity of Sunday's killing, may have had something to do with yesterday's crime. Rocha was killed at Reynosa, Mexico, just before his delivery to Sheriff W. T. Vann of Brownsville, in an attempt to escape. Paz is now in jail in Brownsville.

Carlos Esparza about three years ago was attacked from the brush in the same vicinity and his horse was shot dead under him. He escaped without injury. Several other attempts on his life have been made at various times. He is said to have dropped this usual care following the death of Rocha, whom he most feared, it is said.

The men inside the house were given no chance for their lives. The firing opened without the least warning and none of the men in the house had the slightest opportunity to defend themselves.

Deputy Charlotte McGovern, acting sheriff in the absence of Sheriff W. T. Vann, issued warrants for the arrest of every person in the gambling house at the time the killing so far as they could be identified. Monday morning B. White, a negro and Carl Wood, white, were arrested charged with operating a gambling house. The owner of the house will be arrested this afternoon, with others, known to have been present at the killing, who are now being rounded up. Tuesday morning at 10 o'clock an examining trial for those in custody will be held before Justice Kirk in Brownsville.

The handsatchel used by the murderers to carry away their loot was found, empty, in the brush near Ranchito Monday morning. No trace of the slayer or slayers of the three men had been discovered up to 3:30 o'clock Monday afternoon, according to the sheriff's office.

News article describing the slaughter of the Esparza males in El Ranchito. Collection of the Author.

Transcription of news article:

"Carlos Esparza and Two Others are Dead, and One Man Wounded, Attack on Ranchita House Bloody Affair."

Brownsville Herald, June 2, 1919
Two men were instantly killed and one fatally wounded, dying later, and one other man was wounded at 2'o'clock Sunday morning at Ranchito, fifteen miles up the Rio Grande, when two unknown men opened fire from the outside on a little jacal in which a gambling game is alleged to have been in progress.
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So far as identities are concerned, the murderers are shrouded in the deepest mystery. No one in the neighborhood was found who had seen men who might have done the shooting. The officers followed a trail that led t the Rio Grande, and found evidences that three men had crossed at one point. They also found an old [sic] army shirt, with blood over it. It probably had been cast aside to avoid suspicion on the Mexican side of the river.

The trail to the river leads the officers to believe that at least two of the murderers were from the Mexican side of the river, but it is believed also that one or more on the American side were implicated. The occurrence was reported to the officials on the Mexican side and an investigation there has been ordered.

Of the men killed, Carlos Esparza was the best known. He has been an officer on this part of the border for many years and for some time was a mounted customs inspector. In endorsing the law in that vicinity, he is said to have made many enemies, and officers are of the opinion that while robbery may have been one reason for the bloody crime, that the main motive was to "get" Esparza. The other men met their deaths, officers believe, just because they happened to be present. There is also a suspicion among officers that the recent [unlegible] and extradition to the United States of Antonio Rocha and Perdo Paz, both of whom were wanted on this side of the river, for murder in the vicinity of Sunday's killing may have had something to do with yesterday's crime. Rocha was killed at Reynosa, Mexico, just before his delivery to Sheriff W.T. Vann of Brownsville, in an attempt to escape. Paz is now in jail in Brownsville.

Carlos Esparza about three years ago was attacked from the brush in the same vicinity and his horse was shot dead under him. He escaped without injury. Several other attempts on his life had been made at various times. He is said to have dropped this [unlegible] case following the death of Rocha, whom he most feared, it is said.

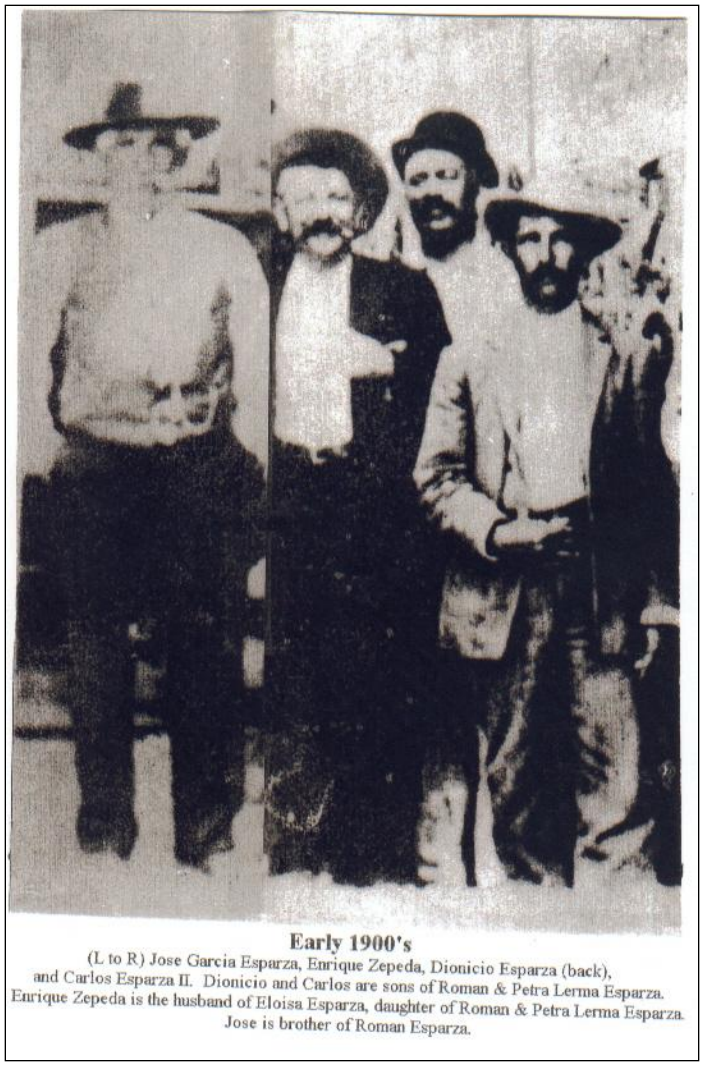
The men inside the house were given no chance for their lives. The firing opened without the least warning and none of the men in the house had the slightest opportunity to defend themselves.

Deputy Charlot[illegible] McGovern, acting sheriff in the absence of Sheriff W. T. Vann, issued warrants for the arrest of every [per]son in the gambling house at the time [of the] killing so far as they could be ide[nti]fied. Monday morning B. White, a ne[gro], and Carl Wood, white, were arrested [and] charged with operating a gambling ho[use.] The owner of the house will be arre[sted] this afternoon, with others known to [have] been present at the killing, who [are] now being rounded up. Tuesday morn[ing] at 10 o'clock an examining trial for those in custody will be held before [Jus]tice Kirk in Brownsville.

The handsatchel used by the murde[rs] to carry away their loot was found em[pty] in the brush near Ranchito Monday m[orn]ing. No trace of the slayer or slayer[s] …[unlegible] the three men had been discovered a[round] 3:30 o'clock Monday afternoon, accep[ted]… [unlegible] to the sheriff's office.



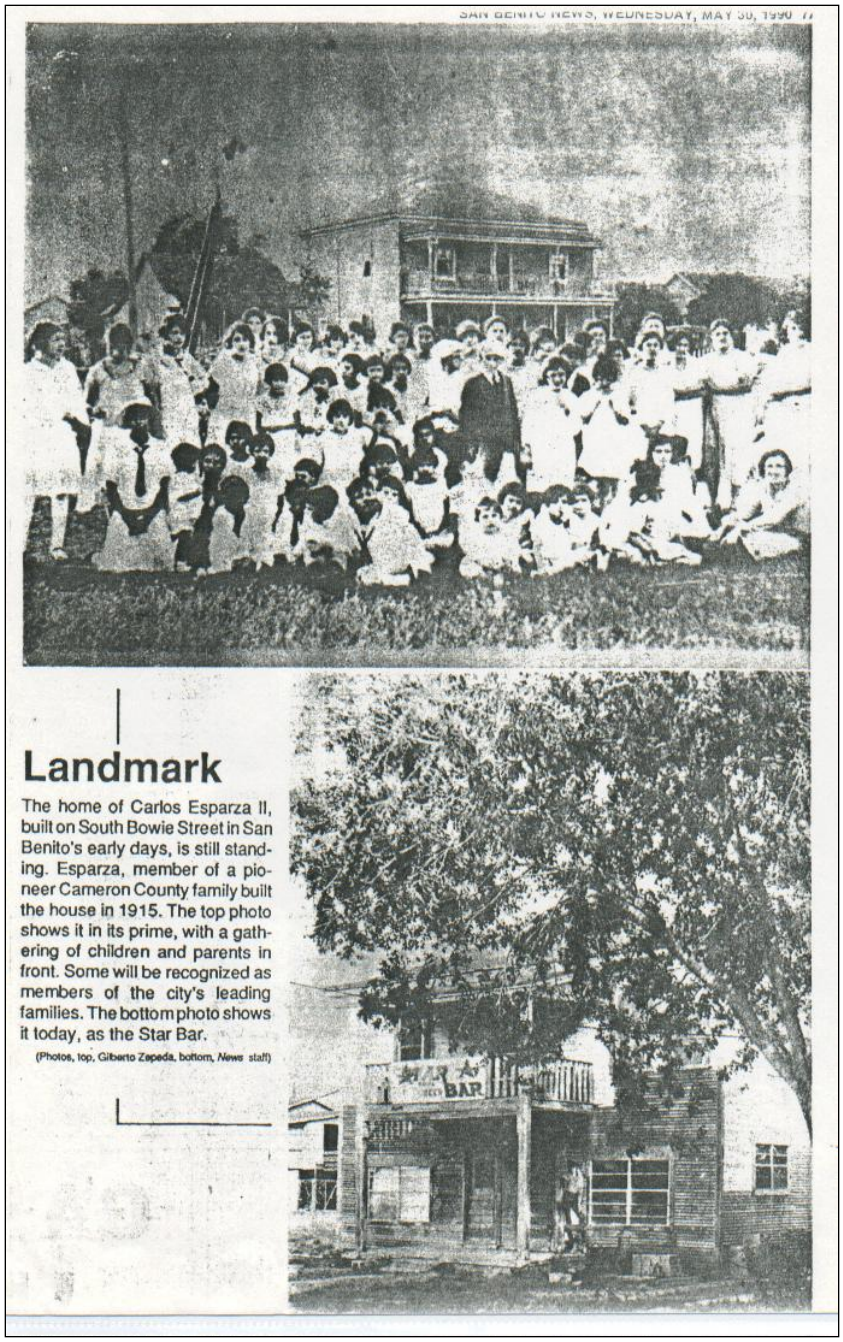
Carlos Villarreal Esparza II (de Moctezuma)m, ca, 1919. Collection of the Author.



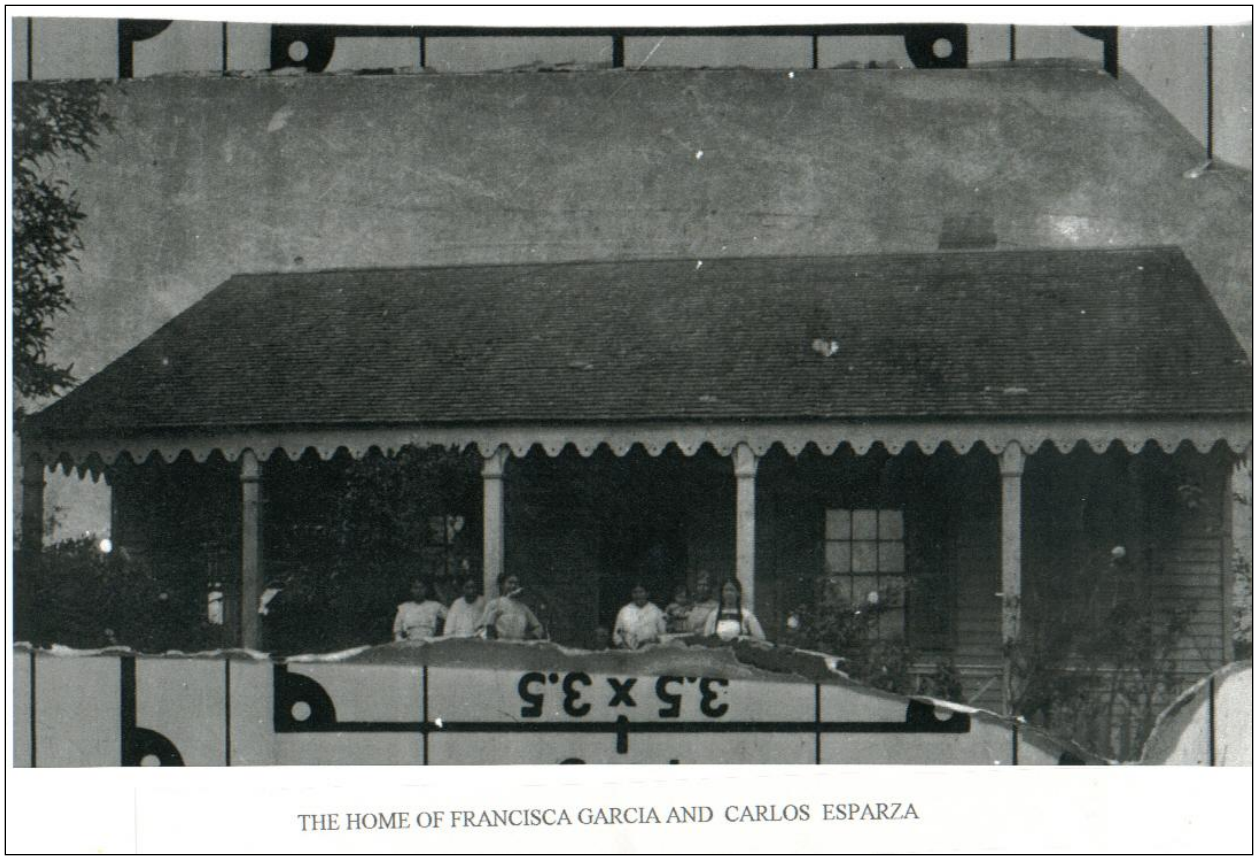
Early 1900's

(L to R) Jose Garcia Esparza, Enrique Zepeda, Dionicio Esparza (back), and Carlos Esparza II. Dionicio and Carlos are sons of Roman & Petra Lerma Esparza. Enrique Zepeda is the husband of Eloisa Esparza, daughter of Roman & Petra Lerma Esparza. Jose is brother of Roman Esparza.

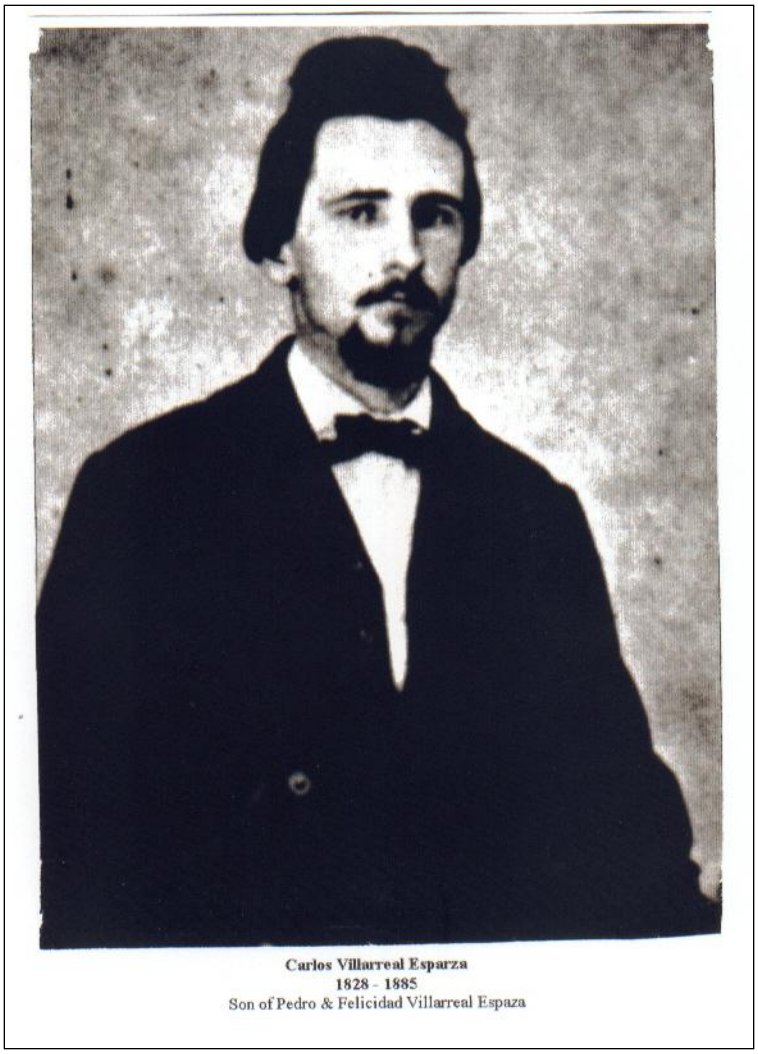
Indigenous, hidalgo, merced, cacique revolutionary leaders and supporters from the San Pedro de Carricitos broad, transnational kinship community. The Esparza clan actively engaged in trans-national and trans-border kinship and collective resistances to dispossession. Ca. 1919. Collection of the Author.



Carrying on a centuries-long Indigenous tradition of *compadrazgo*—reciprocity, and mutual aid—Carlos Lerma Villarreal Esparza II built a school for the merchant and working class Indigenous-Hispano families of Brownsville. He also continued a tradition, established by the Esparza and Cavazos caciques, of building rural schools for the poor, such as the La Encantada, in San Pedro de Carricitos, which is where Lydia Montalvo Esparza García and Eloisa García Támez attended. After the slaughter of the caciques, the Euro-American influence appropriated the school into a Texan-American bar—the 'Star Bar.'
Collection of the Author.



The Carlos Esparza and Francisca Garcia Ranch House, El Ranchito, San Pedro de Carricitos, Lower Rio Grande Valley, Texas-Mexico border.
Collection of the Author.



Carlos Villarreal Esparza I, Noble Nahuatl (de Moctezuma), merced-hidalgo.
Collection of the Author.

Notes on Carlos Villarreal Esparza I documents page of the EFGA:

(Direct descendent of Moctezuma II, Tecuichpotzin, and King Ferdinand II).
Carlos married Francisca Benavides Garcia. (Her family names include Guerra, Treviño, Gutierrez, Elizondo, Uribe, Moreno, Galvan, Martinez, Ayala, Sepulveda, Renteria, Gonzalez, Navarro, Quintanilla, Guevara). Her lineage through the Treviño, Navarro, and Sosa families situates her at the intersections of Portuguese, Basque, and Tlaxcalteca silver and salt mine expeditions, colonizations, and settlement of key sites (missions, pueblos, towns, industries, markets) on the Camino Real de la Plata.
Carlos Esparza I had been running La Encantada Ranch since before his father, Pedro's death. Carlos was a good business man and a shrewd politician. During and after the Mexican American War he joined with Juan Cortina, another land owner in the area with ancestral ties to Tlaxcalteca-Basque colonization of the region, to help the Mexican Americans protect their land from the new settlers coming from the north. When the war ended, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed by the Mexican government and the U.S. government, guaranteed the Mexican settlers to keep their land but many settlers from the United States wanted this land and tried to force the Mexican land owners back across the Rio Grande River into Mexico.

Notes on Carlos Villarreal Esparza II:

The larger land owners and the "Cortinistas" tried to organize and help the smaller owners protect their land. Though many lost their land and left the area the "Cortinistas" succeeded in protecting La Encantada Ranch and other ranches in the area. Carlos continued to manage the ranch until his father's death. La Encantada was then divided by the heirs of Pedro and Felicidad. Carlos inherited 1/6th of the ranch from his parents. He also purchased the 1/6th inheritance of each of his two sisters Candelaria and Inez giving him one half of La Encantada Ranch. Carlos continued ranching on his portion of the land where he and his wife Francisca Garcia raised their family.

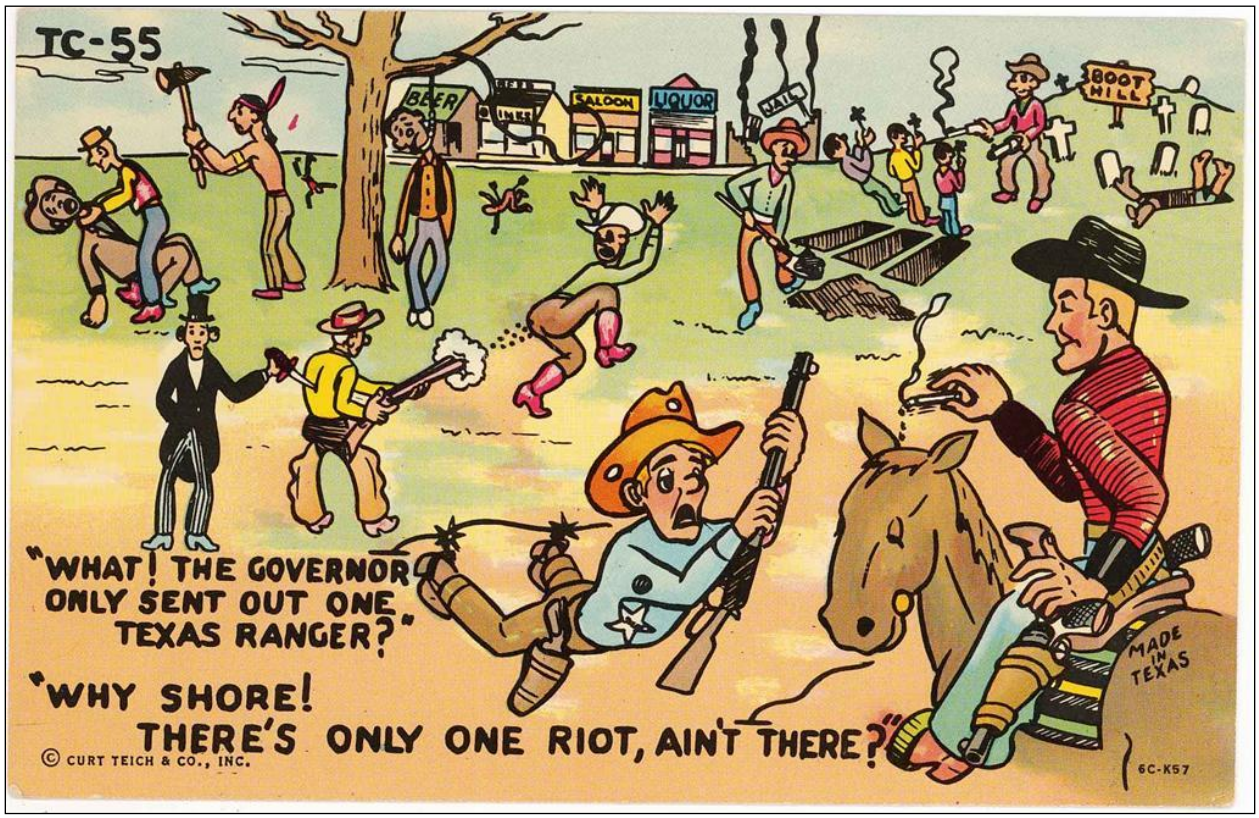
During the Civil War the need for supplies made many in the area prosperous. With the money he made Carlos was able to buy additional land for his ranch. After the war ended Carlos built a home for his family. It was probably the nicest and largest home in the area at that time. It was a large wooden home with a large porch in the front and back. The home was destroyed by the hurricane in 1933.

Carlos' father in law, Ramon Garcia, was also a land owner in the San Pedro de los Carricitos land grant. When he died he left his land to his children. Most of Francisca's siblings, as a result of the violent conditions, did not stay and sold their land to Carlos and Francisca. The growing ranch was a powerful asset to their 8 children: Jose, Roman, Rosalio, Antonio, Carlota, Felipa, Juan Francisco and Maria Rita. All of Carlos and Francisca's sons raised families on the ranch, getting involved in local government, education and religious needs of the area.

Ramon Garcia, a merced-hidalgo with lands up and down the Rio Grande, and connected to the kinship network of El Calaboz Ranchería, he was connected to Indigenous resistances in Las Rusias and Los Indios to the U.S. invasion, and the numerous killings in those communities by Rangers and other operatives.

APPENDIX V. NECROPOLITICS AS DEVELOPMENT

Appendix #6, South Texas Anglo-American Ethnic and Psychological Dominance Through Forms of Media



Popular South Texas postcard, ca. 1930. Necropolitics and the stereotype of the *particular* 'native enemy Other' ('Indian with tomahawk') and the *universal* 'native enemy Other' ('Mexicans with crosses').
Collection of the Author.



Popular South Texas and northern Mexico postcard which circulated among American tourists, assuring them American foods, and American spaces among 'the natives.' Ca. early 1930s. Necropolitics and the stereotype of the universal native enemy Other as a *menu* of subjugated types: ('Mexican peasant'; 'Mexican beast of burdern', 'Mexican primitive children' and 'Mexican servant women'). Collection of the Author.



Popular packing crate, ca. 1930-40.
Collection of the Author.



Popular packing crate, ca. 1930-40.
Collection of the Author.



Popular packing crate, ca. 1930-40.
Collection of the Author.

APPENDIX W. CEMETARIES AS SACRED ARCHIVES OF GENOCIDE, INDIGENOUS MEMORY, AND HISTORICAL RECOVERY

During this project I studied several grave sites of the Indigenous communities involved in my research: El Ranchito-La Encantada, El Calaboz, Las Milpas, Los Indios, Las Rusias, and Premont, Texas. I collected data for over 75 burial sites. Here I provide a *very small* sample of my documentation efforts.

The diverse ancestors of the Indigenous peoples of the communities' studies have inhabited the Lower Rio Grande Valley for thousands of years, and much potential exists for the destruction or disturbance of these grave sites in the current period of border security, militarization and transnational development. Current cemeteries have particular and sacred meaning for Indigenous peoples, and this history is usually only protected by the grass-roots efforts of local elders and knowledge keepers.

Indigenous peoples' history is well-worth documenting and preserving for the communities' social, economic, and political empowerment. Cemeteries play important parts in the daily lives of local Indigenous communities—and offer enormous potential for further Indigenous community goals of recovering their transnational histories with their historical kinship sites in the larger cultural landscape of Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas—where those programs are sponsored and supported by the Mexican government at many levels of society.

The current U.S. border wall threatens these sacred sites, placing them at high risk for elimination and abandonment as a result of racism and oppression against Texas border rural peoples under the current political regimes. At the same time, climate change, pollution, neglect and other actions by governments and outsiders can negatively affect the longevity of these crucial sacred sites of Indigenous history, remembrance, ritual, religious practice, and history recovery.

Politically, the State of Texas persists in its staunch refusal to adhere to international and federal laws in support of the recognition of Indigenous peoples within its political borders. Deeply concerning to these communities is the reality that Texas lags behind many states which also have large populations of Indigenous communities residing within their sovereign borders. Texas has taken no decisive legal actions in supporting the Indigenous peoples' self-determination efforts, nor to advance the State's relationship with Indigenous communities who advocate for self-determined methods and visions to protect Native American and Indigenous peoples' histories and cultural properties within Texas.

Reconstructing genealogies and family histories from the headstones, markers, and other important objects left in place by generations of devotees to the ancestral ways can be crucial artifacts requiring special attention by community members and leaders, as well as scholars and organizations involved in supporting Indigenous communities of the Lower Rio Grande Valley in their numerous projects. Not coincidentally, the long highway which hugs the Texas-Mexico border—from Brownsville-Matamoros to Presidio-Ojinaga, is a telling history of Indigenous resistance against the waves of military operations waged against them since the late 17th century. Aligning the cemeteries are layers of Texas and U.S. roadside military histories, U.S. national park public histories, development public histories, and tourist attractions near U.S.-Mexico

ports. These often present biased and racist distortions, disfigurements, and obfuscations of Indigenous peoples in the cultural landscape, and eclipse the prevailing reality of Indigenous peoples as political actors with claims to Aboriginal Title which are very much on-going issues for Indigenous peoples along the Texas-Mexico border. The racist portrayal of Indigenous peoples of the Texas-Mexico borderlands as antiquities and 'lost' in Euro-American conceptions of time and space are reflections of a deeper, penetrating refusal and denial of genocide and the settler societies' lack of accountability. Current conservative movements sweeping the Texas legislative body, seeking to erase further the historical and contemporary epistemological presence of Indigenous populations, and to strike histories of 'Natives', 'Chicanos', 'Mexicans', 'Mexican-Americans', and 'Hispanics' from public record and memory are markers of a necropolitical society.

Layers of events are often subtly revealed in Indigenous cemeteries. Disease, violence and warfare often are reflected in cemeteries spatialized across numerous places throughout South Texas--where groups died within days of one another—spread out over a radius of fifty to one hundred miles. Comparative cemetery analysis is crucial to Critical Indigenous Studies, in order to grasp the larger structural matrix of necropolitics in South Texas. In the Lower Rio Grande, the study of cemeteries should be a crucial priority for Indigenous Ndé, Tlaxcalteca, Nahuatl *nobleza, a* and the many Indigenous peoples with whom they constructed kinship ties—current-day Tejanos/as, Hispanos/as, Mejicanos/as, Native Americans and Chicanos/as. Given the violent climate against Indigenous peoples of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and the Texas-Mexico border, *cemeteries*—as Indigenous sacred sites and centers of learning—must be taken up as an issue of strengthening self-determination, existing laws and the creation of new laws to protect *particular* Indigenous communities along the Border Wall and their religious rights to be recognized as peoples whose histories are well within American Indian, Native American and Indigenous peoples' domains.



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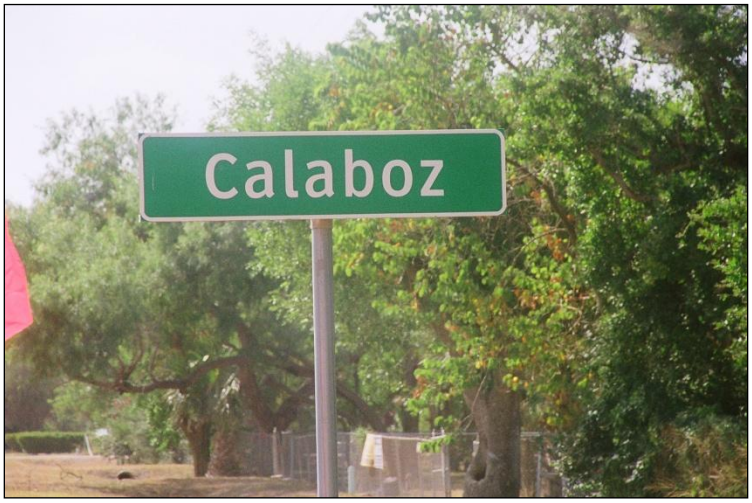


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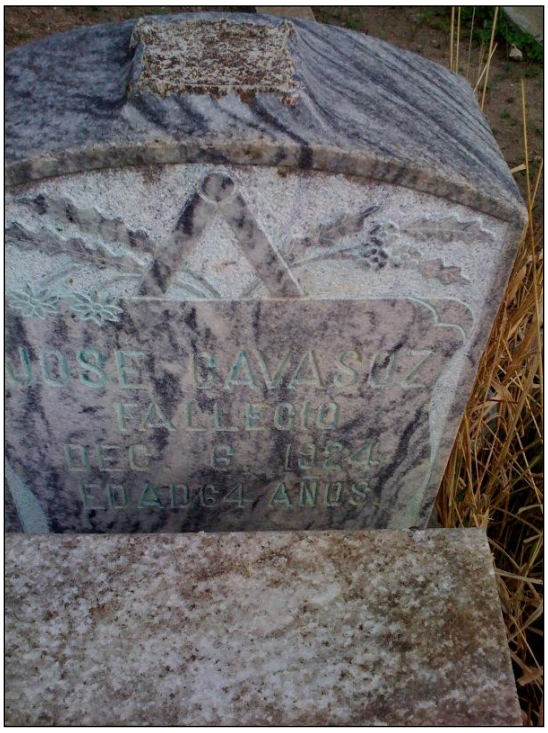
Felicidad Villarreal Esparza, 1856-1924.
Collection of the Author.



Collection of the Author.



Inocencia Rubio Cavazos, 1863-1938.
Collection of the Author.



José Cavazos, (?-1924)
Collection of the Author.







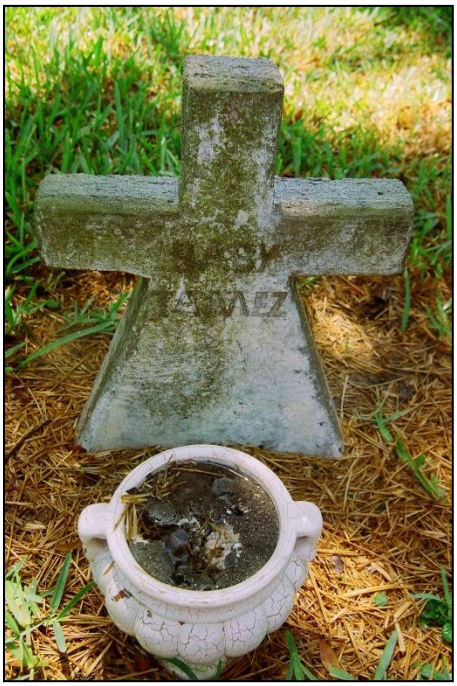
Early 19th century Tlaxcalteca peoples and ancestors.
Antonio Montalvo and Isabel Rodriguez Montalvo.

CARRASCO-TAMEZ-RODRIGUEZ-CAVAZOS-VILLARREAL

PREMONT, JIM WELLS COUNTY, SOUTH TEXAS



Flavia Carrasco Támez, (1905-1937).


Flavia's unborn baby, 1937.