THE JUMANOS

HUNTERS AND TRADERS OF THE SOUTH PLAINS

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To the spirit of Juan Sabeata

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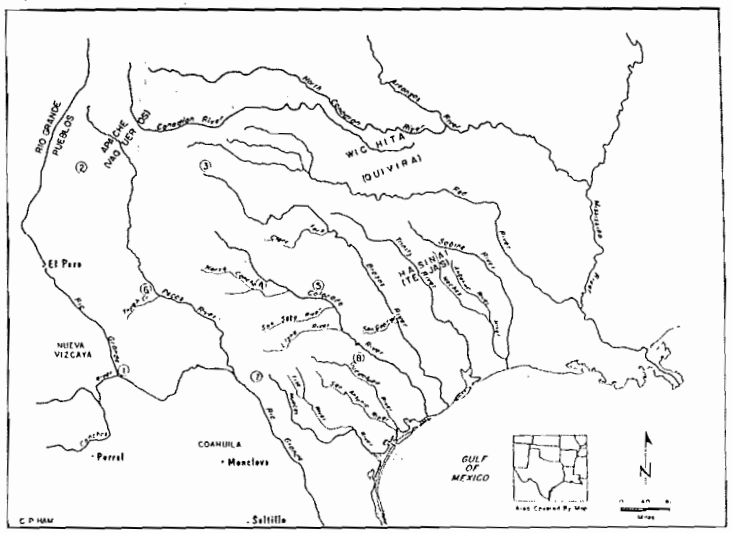
THE JUMANOS AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

These years prior to and just following the turn of the seventeenth century constitute the period of initial entry of explorers, colonists, and missionaries into the interior of North America north of Mexico. Firsthand accounts of the contacts between Spaniards and Indians give us our earliest view of the native peoples. However, these contacts did not necessarily give the Indians their first inklings of the approach of the Europeans. Well before the time of the Spaniards' arrival in their lands, the natives of the greater Southwest would have received early warnings of the invaders' presence. Then, inexorably, the advance parties began to arrive, following native highways; even though they withdrew, the conquest must have been anticipated.

The existence of an established network of highways, linking the Southwest with Mexico and with other regions of North America, has been inferred and can be projected far into the past. Prehistoric trade is evidenced by the wide distribution of artifacts of local and regional types, which clearly were transported great distances from their point of origin. It is in the documentary records of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that some connection can be made between the archaeological evidences of extensive native trade and the actual behavior through which exchanges were carried out. A focus of attention on the Jumanos of the contact period, whose connection with trade is well documented, may contribute to understanding the dynamics of this picture, especially in its broader aspects.[1]

It is, for present purposes, fortunate that the early expeditions into the interior followed a number of different paths. This makes possible a more extensive survey than can be accomplished for the subsequent decades, when the territorial limits of the Spanish colony in New Mexico were established, routes of travel became more standardized, and activities were focused more on internal



Map 6. Jumano locations, 1535–1700

problems than on exploration. It has been possible to obtain at least a sampling of several areas in which people identified as Jumanos, at various points in their history, are known to have been present.

La Junta to El Paso

At the time of the Rodriguez and Espejo expeditions, there were eight villages at La Junta, some of them with as many as two to three thousand people (Map 6, no. 1). This was an important farming region, the fields being located in the floodplain at the mouth of the Conchos, and along adjacent stream valleys. The term *Patarabuey* (Pataraguey, etc.) was applied early to the people living here. This term was evidently derogatory; Luxan indicated that it was coined by the slaveraiders who had, over the previous decade, already made this region a hunting ground for laborers for the fields and mines around Santa Barbara.[2] Espejo appears to have equated Patarabuey with Jumano; however he, like the other narrators, made it clear that there were two main population groups at La Junta, distinguished by language. One of these, the Abriaches (Gallegos' Cabris), predominated in certain villages on the lower Conchos and near La Junta de los Rios. The other, the Otomoacas (or

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Amotomancos) also had large villages near the confluence, and were found in scattered small villages and *rancherias* extending several days' march northward, along the Rio del Norte. Espejo used the term *Jumano* for natives all the way through the river valley, between La Junta and El Paso del Norte. However, Luxan distinguished—from south to north—the Otomoacas, Caguates, and Tanpachoas. His narrative suggests that all of these were culturally similar and spoke similar dialects.

Both expeditions found many signs of trade at La Junta. There are numerous references to the people to the west (probably the Opata) and the north (the New Mexican Pueblos). Many buffalo hides from the Plains were found there, with indications that the village farming population at La Junta received these and other goods from "the men who hunted the buffalo." Modern anthropologists have disagreed in interpretation of the primary sources, some seeing the hunter-traders as part of the same population as the farmers, and others believing that these were completely separate groups. The people whom Luxan called Caguates, encountered upriver from La Junta, were less intensively agricultural and apparently more actively involved in hunting and trade than the Otomoaca and Abriaches. They can be identified as Cabeza de Vaca's "People of the Cows," the later Cibolos (or Cibolo-Jumanos); they may also be equated with the nomadic Jumanos whose comings and goings were remarked at La Junta.

These hunter-traders, who traveled north and east to the buffalo grounds in the summer, brought meat and hides, as well as other trade goods to La Junta. In exchange, they received agricultural and wild plant products, as well as crafts products and other goods. There is also an indication that they received, either directly or indirectly, goods from the Pueblos to the north. This would seem the most likely source for the blankets for which Espejo's men traded—along with buffalo hides, bows, and garden produce—before crossing the Conchos at La Junta on their return from the Plains.

Toyah Creek–Rio Pecos–Rio Concho

There are several early references to individuals and groups of people located along this route, who can be, either absolutely or inferentially, identified as Jumanos. The encounter that can be the most precisely localized—providing a point of reference for interpreting the others—is the meeting of the Espejo party with three individuals, some 120 leagues down the Rio Pecos from Pecos Pueblo. Luxan called these men *Jumanos*, and also commented on their

close resemblance to the population at La Junta. There is a clear indication that the language was the same as, or very close to, that of the people on the Rio del Norte. Luxan's account indicates a series of Jumano settlements, both on Toyah Creek and on the road through the mountains, along which the Spaniards were led to La Junta (Map 6, no. 6). This is important, as explicit evidence of a demographic continuity between the Jumanos in the Plains and the cluster of villages at La Junta.

The Jumano guides were familiar with the course of the Pecos as far as its mouth, and knew the geographical relationship of the Pecos and Rio del Norte. They indicated that the terrain along the lower Pecos was difficult, and that the mountain route was shorter and easier. The road through the Davis Mountains followed by Espejo's party may well be identical with the route "by way of the mountains" which was noted—but not followed—by Cabeza de Vaca. It can therefore be assumed that the Indian occupants of the region were, at the earlier time, also Jumanos. Further, since Cabeza de Vaca indicated a relationship between the Indians at the eastern end of the mountain road and those further to the east, on the river which can be identified as the Concho or Colorado of Texas, a Jumano occupancy can be inferred for that region as well. The village on the Concho may have marked the eastern limit of Jumano occupancy in the proto-historic, pre-horse years. However, the orbit reached by Jumano trade could have been considerably broader.

Traveling north along the Rio Pecos in 1590, Castaño de Sosa recorded several contacts with Indians, and the sighting of numerous *rancherias* from which the residents had fled. The group referred to as *Tepehuan* (Depesguan or Tepelguan), who were found on the Pecos some distance below Toyah Creek, were probably Jumanos. Their *rancheria* was on a stretch of the river which forms a part of the Jumanos' route between the middle fork of the Concho and the trail through the Davis Mountains. Castaño noted other *rancherias*, mainly abandoned, and a party of Indians with loaded pack dogs, also apparently traveling along this route.

When Castaño's party passed alongside the foothills of the Guadalupe Mountains, they spotted fires on the slopes. They would, at this point, have been passing through Apache territory. In this region also, they found a pen or corral, most likely used by the Indians in hunting. Further upstream, past the mountainous country, there were no sightings of people until the environs of Pecos Pueblo were reached, though there were scattered traces of human activity, including burned grass, indicating the use of the Plains as hunting

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grounds. Although Castaño's account is sketchy, and the geographical locations can only be roughly inferred, it seems to mesh well with the information from earlier sources. It appears that, along the Rio Pecos, Jumano settlements were found south of the approximate site of Pecos, Texas. Beyond that point, there were indications of camps or *rancherias* in the mountains west of the river. The people living in that region, tentatively identified as Apaches, apparently chose to stay out of the sight of passing Spaniards. Neither Castaño nor any other early source reports traffic along this stretch of the Pecos.

Castaño de Sosa's route followed almost the entire length of the Pecos. For the lower river, below the point reached by Espejo, his journal is the only early source of information. It suggests that there must have been a sizeable area of Jumano occupancy there (though mainly by reference to abandoned *rancherias*).

The Salinas Region of New Mexico

The first indication of a Jumano presence within colonial New Mexico comes when three Jumano pueblos are listed in official documents of the conquest period. It would appear that most of the earlier expeditions which reached New Mexico either approached or passed through the Salinas region, and noted the existence of these outlying pueblos; however, there are no recorded visits to the communities themselves, prior to the founding of Oñate's colony. Although the Jumano pueblos are identified by name in the colonial records—Genobey (Xenopue), Quellotezei (Cueloce), and Pataotzei (Pataoce)—their exact locations, and their spatial and political relationships with one another, are never made clear. For administrative purposes, these three were grouped together with the pueblo of Abo. This grouping may be significant, since there are later indications that there was a substantial Jumano element in the population of Abo, although it is not named as a Jumano pueblo (Map 6, no. 2).

Scholes and Mera and more recently, Schroeder, have addressed the problem of the identity and affiliation of the Salinas pueblos.[3] The three Jumano Pueblos, all of which were abandoned toward the end of the seventeenth century, can be roughly matched with as many major archaeological sites in the Salinas region, east of the site identified as historic Abo. It has been established that the site now called Gran Quivira corresponds to the town which in the seventeenth century was often simply called *Las Humanas* (or Xumanas). This large community must have been one of the three named in the Oñate documents; it seems to have been the largest in

the region, at least in the later years of its occupancy. This was probably Cueloce, the site at which the oaths of allegiance of the Jumano captains were taken in 1598.[4]

In the official proclamations of 1598, reference is made to the "three great pueblos of the Xumanas" (or Rayados); a few decades later, Las Humanas would be singled out by Benavides as "the great pueblo of the Xumanas." These Jumano communities were situated in the most arid of the settled regions of New Mexico, where annual rainfall averages less than ten inches, and where farming would have been precarious in the best of years. Only one major resource was abundant: salt. This was a valuable commodity, which was mined in the arid flatlands of the Estancia Valley and exported to other regions.

The region was always short of water. The town of Las Humanas, with perhaps three thousand people, had no access to permanent running water, and relied to a great extent on wells which were located a considerable distance away. The residents also built tanks, in which the meager supply of rain water was collected and stored. Obviously, the Jumano Pueblos were not well situated for farming. Their survival may have hinged on their status as trading centers, rather than on agricultural self-sufficiency. For local use and for trade, agricultural products from the fields along the Rio del Norte and its tributaries would have been imported. Las Humanas was also a collection center for the meat, hides, and other goods which were brought from the regions to the east. Thus, a substantial portion of the food supply for the resident population of communities in the Salinas region could have been drawn from sources external to the region—from the agricultural pueblos to the west, and from the plains to the east.

The drain which the Spanish colony imposed on the native economy had an immediate impact on native life throughout New Mexico. Taxes and levies absorbed any surplus production, impoverishing the standard of living of Indian households, and diverting many man-hours of labor from traditional occupations. Reserve supplies were soon depleted, and shortages were felt throughout the native villages. The occupation must have had a catastrophic effect in the Salinas region, since these communities produced no agricultural surplus, and probably were not even marginally self-sufficient. Spanish confiscation of surplus production in other regions would inevitably have meant famine in the Jumano communities, which lived—at least in part—through trade. The impact of the Spanish occupation may have been at its worst during Oñate's reign—or, at least, until the colonists became economically productive and

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Spanish entrepreneurs became involved in trade. It has been noted that in the years immediately after the conquest efforts to extract tribute from the villages of the Tompiro province met with great resistance, and eventually with defiance. This defiance, in turn incurred harsh reprisals. The Jumanos of New Mexico gained a reputation for rebelliousness at this time. Eventually, however, some Spaniards would begin to deal in a practical way with native agencies, including the Jumanos of both Pueblos and Plains.

The Llano Estacado

The first explicit mention of Jumanos (Xumanas) in the plains east of New Mexico came in connection with Vicente de Zaldivar's exploring trip in 1598. Leading a company of men east from Pecos Pueblo, Zaldivar had initial encounters with Apache *Vaqueros*, some of whom requested Spanish aid in fighting their enemies, the Xumanas. It is clear that at this time the regions bordering the northern pueblos—from Taos to Pecos—were held by the Apaches, at least for the extent of the fifty leagues or so that Zaldivar traveled, along and south of the Canadian River. Later, Oñate's expedition to the north found the Apaches as much as one hundred leagues east of San Gabriel. On neither occasion did the explorers have direct contact with the Jumanos, and there is no indication of the location of their habitations in this region. However, Oñate's expedition did find a large settlement near the great bend of the Arkansas, of people who were called both *Jumanos* and *Rayados*.

The situation of 1598–1600 may be compared to that in the earlier period of exploration. As in Oñate's time, Coronado's explorations found one Indian nation, the Querechos, to be predominant in the plains east of Pecos Pueblo. It is generally conceded that the Querechos were Apaches, the same people later known as Vaqueros. Extending the parallel, it would seem that the opposing group, at the time of Coronado's expedition, the Teyas, were the precursors of the Jumanos of Oñate's era. The Teyas were already at war with the Querecho Apaches. Their identification as Jumanos draws important support from the fact that they recalled the visit of Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, and indicated that this had occurred "further south, toward New Spain." The Teyas were evidently able to penetrate and cross Querecho territory, since they camped and wintered near some of the eastern Pueblos. Their camps or *rancherias* in the *barrancas*, or canyons, were located farther to the east than was reached by Oñate's expedition, fifty years later.

Quivira

Coronado's expedition passed through the territory of the Querechos (Apaches), and was guided to Quivira by the Teyas (Jumanos) from the Llano Estacado of western Texas. *Quivira* was a name applied by the Spaniards to a region north of the Arkansas River, evidently encompassing a variety of peoples and languages. The accounts of the expedition remark on this cultural variety, though the different groups are not distinguished by name.

Oñate's expedition passed through territory dominated by Vaquero Apaches in eastern New Mexico and Texas. Traveling beyond the region covered by Zaldivar's earlier sortie, the Spaniards encountered Apache camps for two hundred miles or more. Comparing the locations indicated in the Coronado and Oñate documents, it appears that by the later period the Apaches had gained ground, having pushed further to the south and also established a wider zone of control. The Apaches clearly dominated the trade at the northern pueblos. This was roughly the same situation that would be found by Salas, three decades later.

Some one hundred miles northeast of the Vaquero Apaches, Oñate encountered the Escanxaques. The identity of this people has been much debated. Hyde, looking both to location and, perhaps, to some similarity in names, suggested that they could be identified with the Cancey.[5] This is a name applied by French explorers, many years later, to Apaches who lived near the Red and Canadian Rivers, and who have been suggested as ancestors of the Kiowa Apaches. However, other scholars prefer to identify the Escanxaques as Caddoans, suggesting, for example, that they may have been a Wichita group on a seasonal hunting expedition. The latter opinion seems to reflect a general conviction that the region north of the Arkansas and its tributaries was occupied exclusively by Indians of the Caddoan linguistic grouping. Newcomb and Campbell, most recently, have claimed that a close reading of the testimony given in 1602 at an inquiry into the conduct of the Oñate expedition, makes it possible to link these Indians with a specific group, the Aguacanes. They believe that this tribe, which was present in central Texas in the 1680's, was Caddoan.[6] However, the same testimony, along with Oñate's own narrative of the expedition, also contains information which makes it seem doubtful that the Escanxaque—whether or not they are identified with the Aquacane—were Caddoans; certainly, they were not Wichitas. They were antagonistic toward their eastern neighbors, the Jumanos of the "large settlement," who were allied with the tribes—presumably Wichitas—beyond the Arkansas

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River. In fact, the Escanxaques indicated their hostility toward the entire alliance.

Witnesses' descriptions of the Escanxaques, their artifacts, clothing, and housing do not indicate a resemblance to the Wichitas in particular, nor Caddoans in general. All the witnesses indicated the Escanxaques to be a nomadic hunting people; they were "not a people who sowed or reaped, but they lived solely on the cattle."[7] This was not seasonal hunting, and the Escanxaques were said to be a people with no association with agriculture. They were evidently skilled nomads. Those who followed the Spaniards to the Arkansas "in a few hours quickly built a *rancheria* as well-established as the one left behind, which caused no little wonder to all."[8]

All the accounts make mention of the Escanxaque houses. Some of these "huts" were small, some were quite large; they were built of branches, and "some were covered with the tanned hides of the *cibola* cattle and shaped like the tents of the Apaches."[9] Oñate wrote that they "consisted of branches an *estado* and a half long placed in a circle . . . most of them were covered with tanned hides, which made them resemble tents."[10] These were evidently substantial but fairly crude tents, lacking the portable framework and sewn and fitted covering of the Vaquero Apaches' tipis, with which the Spaniards were already familiar.

There are several indications that the Escanxaques could have been, as Hyde suggested, a division of Apaches separate from the Vaqueros, or they may have been a group allied with the Vaqueros, perhaps a more distantly related Athabascan people. First, there are cultural resemblances. It is to the Vaquero Apaches that the witnesses repeatedly compared the Escanxaques, in their clothing, weapons, and demeanor: "They have the same characteristics as the Apaches."[11] According to one witness, the name which the Spaniards gave this people came from their greeting, which was *Escanxaque*, accompanied by raising the hands to the sun and then placing them on the breast. This, it is stated, was the same greeting used by the Apaches.[12]

Further, it is evident that the expedition found numerous Apaches living with the Escanxaques. This is stated repeatedly, along with the indication that Juseph, since he knew the Apache language, was able to get information from this tribe. It is true that there was a difference between the Vaquero Apaches' language and that of the Escanxaques. However, this does not preclude their being Athabascan, or even Apachean. (Kiowa Apache is classified as a separate Athabascan language, not readily intelligible to the other Apache divisions.)

Oñate's expedition foundered among the Jumanos near the Arkansas. The accepted view is that these, too, were a Caddoan people, part of the Wichitas of Quivira. It was, in fact, the Spaniards' use of *Jumano* in reference to these people that led Scholes to his view that the term was applied loosely to people of different cultural identities, and was not the name of a specific ethnic group. However, it seems at least as reasonable to assume that this was simply another group of Plains Jumanos, related to those of New Mexico, La Junta, and other locations. This becomes more credible when we consider the overall pattern of Jumano culture, including their extensive nomadism, and realize that the dispersal of these groups may have been, at least in part, the result of their war with the Apaches in the South Plains. There is an obvious parallel between the location of this Jumano group on the southern edge of Quivira, and the equally marginal situation of those at La Junta and on the eastern frontier of New Mexico.

There are additional details that suggest that the Jumanos of the *gran poblacion* were a separate people with the mobility and wide geographical distribution of the Jumanos in general. First there is the fact that, according to one witness, some members of this group spoke the "Mexican" (Nahuatl) language: they "told us in the Mexican language, which was clearly understood, that we should wait because the women were grinding the corn."[13] This is consistent with other indications, in both earlier and later sources, of Jumano contacts with Mexico.

Second, it was the Tewa Indians from San Gabriel who identified the people of this settlement as Jumanos; this must indicate a close resemblance to the Jumanos (also called Rayados) in New Mexico, with whom the Tewas were familiar. Rodriguez' observation that "thus they call all the Rayados" has been read by Scholes and others as an indication that painted people, in general, could be called *Jumanos*. However, in the entire body of testimony concerning the expedition, the term was used, by this witness and others, only in reference to this specific group and to those in the Tompiro Pueblos.[14]

West of New Mexico

There are other Spanish accounts of probable or possible encounters with Jumanos in the early period. Combined with those already discussed, the evidence is sufficient to indicate that, even though the overall territorial range of their wanderings may not have been as great as in the following century, the Jumanos were a widespread and highly peripatetic people at the dawn of history. The account of

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Farfan's expedition to the mines indicated that there were Jumano *rancherias*—perhaps permanent, but more likely semi-permanent or seasonal—at a location near the Verde River (south of the site of Flagstaff, Arizona) on a main trail west from Hopi mesas. The prospecting party made contact with these Jumanos, who provided a guide to lead them to the mining area and put them in touch with the Indians who worked the mines. It should be noted that the Jumanos were not, themselves, involved in mining; however, it would seem that they had important trade contacts here. They were optimally situated to obtain the powdered ores which were used as pigments for body painting, textile work, and other purposes. These mineral pigments were widely traded throughout the Southwest and Plains.

PART TWO

JUMANO CHRONOLOGY, 1610–1685

FRANCISCANS AND INDIANS IN NEW MEXICO

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