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CORDERO'S DESCRIPTION OF THE APACHE — 1796[1]

Edited by DANIEL S. MATSON AND
ALBERT H. SCHROEDER

THE tribes of whom we have been speaking are already more or less civilized and it may be said that they form part of the population of Mexico; the Apaches on the contrary however, in devastating and continuous war with our establishments; without ever having been led to Christianity; with no hope of destroying them either by means of arms or preaching because the presidios and the missionaries have all disappeared together; the Apaches, we repeat, are for Mexico nothing but a constant and disastrous peril; a nation which invades and wipes out our territory; savages in their primitive form; such as ought not to be found here more than three centuries after the discovery of America. On this account we prefer to treat of them in a separate article.

To do this with exactness, we are going to copy a manuscript which bears the title: "Year 1796 — Notes about the Apache Nation composed in the Year 1796 by Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Cordero in El Paso del Norte by Order of the Commandant, General Field Marshal Don Pedro de Nava."

We take the copy from the original draft of the author, which exists in a volume of manuscripts bearing the title — "Historical Documents Concerning Durango" — and which

1. This material, from Chapter XXV, entitled "Apaches", of Manuel Orozco y Berra's work of 1864, *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnografica de Mexico* was translated by Matson and annotated by Schroeder. We wish to express our gratitude for the late Dr. F. W. Hodge's critical reading of the text and notes. Don Antonio Cordero had first hand experience with the Apache, having taken part in several campaigns against them in the 1780's and 90's. As indicated in "Ex Libris y Bibliotecas de Mexico" by Felipe Teixidor, Mexico, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1931 (Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, No. 20), Cordero's original manuscript became a part of the José Ramírez collection. Ramírez had collected two important libraries, one in Durango, which he later sold, and the second in Mexico City, which was acquired at his death by D. Alfredo Chavero who used the material in his historical and bibliographical studies. He later sold the collection to D. Manuel Fernández del Castillo on the condition it should not leave Mexico. Some years later, however, persuaded by P. Fischer, the collection was sold in London. A copy of the "Catalogo Ramirez," made by D. J. M. Andrade, listed the items put up for sale by Quaritch, and through his representative, Mr. Stephens, Hubert H. Bancroft bought portions of the collection, as described in *Literary Industries*, pages 105-106. The original is now in the Bancroft Library.

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belongs to the collection of the Licenciado Don Jose Fernando Ramirez.

Let us bear in mind that this memorial was published in a political era. It is understood that the life of those loose pages is no more than a day; that political concerns have the effect that importance is not attributed to anything else, and consequently the notes of which we treat, although very important, have been passed by unheeded, and one may almost be sure that they today see the light for the first time.

Cordero served from early youth in Presidio troops, he fought the savages for the space of many years, knew their language, and had had dealings and contacts with them; knew them in all their phases and no other could speak like him with such aptitude and exactness.

The manuscript runs as follows:

"The Apache Nation is one of the savage [nations] of North America bordering on the interior provinces of New Spain.

"They are spread out in a vast space of the afore-mentioned continent from degrees 30 to 38 of north latitude and 264 to 277 of longitude from Tenerife.[2]

"They can be divided into nine groups or principal tribes and various adjacent ones, taking their names now from the mountains and rivers of the region, now from the fruits and animals which are most abundant. The names they have for themselves are the following: Vinni ettinen-ne, Segatajen-ne, Tjuiccujen-ne, Iccujen-ne, Yntajen-ne, Sejen-ne, Cuelcajen-ne, Lipajen-ne, and Yutajen-ne,[3] for which the Spaniards substitute naming them in the same order, Tontos, Chiricaguis, Gileños, Mimbreños, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes and Navajós, and all under the generic name of Apaches.

"They speak the same language and although the accent varies as well as one or the other local word, this difference does not prevent them from understanding each other. This

2. Tenerife is the largest of the Canary Islands which is situated a fraction under 17° west of Greenwich. The spread of 13° in the east-west range of the Apache is quite accurate — 98° to 111° west of Greenwich today.

3. The Apache call the Navajo Yutaha, which means "live far up." The *jen-ne* at the end of each name is one of various forms of *tinne* or *dine*, the word meaning people.

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language, in spite of its peculiarity and guttural pronunciation, is not as difficult as the first impression would indicate, and as the ear becomes used to it, a certain sweetness is found in its words and cadence. It is deficient in expressions and words, and this gives rise to a boresome repetition which makes conversation extremely diffuse. By means of a grammar and vocabulary it would be easy to learn if certain signs would be used to indicate the clicking of the tongue and throat necessary for the pronunciation of some words, which even the Apaches themselves pronounce with difficulty.[4]

"At present they do not compose one nation of uniform customs, usages and tastes. They are alike in many of their inclinations; but they vary in others in accordance with the locality of their residence and their needs, and the more or less contact they have had with Spaniards. A general idea of what is common to all of them will be given, after which we will speak in detail of each one of the groups mentioned.

"The Apache recognizes the existence of a Supreme Being, a Creator, under the name of Yastasitasitan-ne or Captain of Heaven; but he lacks the ideas of his being a rewarder or punisher. On this account he gives him no worship at all, nor likewise does he give it to any of the other creatures which he understands were made by him for his diversion and entertainment. Those who are living he believes are fated to die after a certain time, just as he believes of his own existence. From this it follows that easily forgetting the past, and without any uneasiness concerning the future, the present alone is what affects and concerns him. However, he wishes to be in agreement with the evil spirit, on whom he believes depends his prosperity and adversity, and this furnishes him with food for infinite nonsense.[5]

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4. This is a very doubtful statement, although it may have seemed to the writer that the Apache had difficulty in speaking their own (Athapascan) language. A good idea of the difficulties of recording the Athapascan language can be gained by consulting the works of the Fathers of St. Michaels, Arizona, treating with the Navajo language.

5. (This is a footnote contained in Cordero's manuscript). "Imbued with these ideas they attribute to an Indian who is taciturn, gloomy and mysterious the faculty of divination. He adopts it as his own for the profit which results to him from it; he gives ambiguous answers to the questions asked him, and on account of this practice he comes to persuade himself and the others to believe that he is the oracle of his people. The practice of medicine is also connected with this exercise; to the application of certain

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"Having been born and raised in the open country and strengthened by simple foods, the Apache is endowed with an extraordinary robustness which makes him almost insensible to the rigors of the seasons. The continuous movement in which he lives, moving his camp from one to the other location for the purpose of obtaining new game and the fruits which are indispensible for his subsistence, makes him agile and nimble in such a degree that he is not inferior in speed and endurance to horses, and certainly is superior to them when in rugged and rocky territory. The vigilance and care with which he watches out for his health and preservation likewise stimulates him to change camps frequently in order to breathe new air, and so that the place he evacuates may be cleansed, his care for the health of his camp even goes to such an extreme that he will abandon those who are gravely ill when he judges that they may infect the rest.

"He is extremely gluttonous when he has provisions in abundance, while in times of calamity and scarcity he bears hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, without losing his fortitude. Besides the meat which is supplied by his continuous hunting and cattle stealing in the territories of his enemy, his regular food consists of the wild fruits which his territories produce. And these, as well as the variety of game, differ in the various regions they inhabit; but there are some which are common to all of them.

"So far as game is concerned, it is the burro [*bura*], deer, antelope, bear, wild pig [*jabali*], panther [*leopardo* — possibly the mountain lion], and porcupine. The common fruits are the tuna, the datil, the pitaya,[6] the acorn, and the piñon; but their principal delicacies are the mescal. There are various kinds taken from the hearts of the maguey, sotol, palmilla and lechuguilla;[7] and it is used by cooking it with a slow

herbs they add a portion of ceremonies and plaintive songs, this being the method which they follow in their treatments. These sacred physicians reach a very high degree of esteem; they are called upon by distant regions and rancherias, and are paid very well, in order to exercise both offices."

6. These three are the fruit of the Prickly Pear, Yucca and the Saguaro.

7. These are the Century Plant (Agave), Desert Spoon (Dasylirion), Seapweed (Yucca elata) and small Agave (Agave lechugilla).

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fire in a subterranean fireplace,[8] until it acquires a certain degree of sweetness and piquancy. They likewise make a sort of grits or pinol of the seed of hay or grass which they reap with much care in its season, although in small quantities (since they are not by nature farmers) ; they likewise raise some little corn, squash, beans, and tobacco, which the land produces more on account of its fertility than for the work which is expended in its cultivation.

"Their peevish temperaments cause those of this nation to have a character which is astute, distrustful, inconstant, bold, proud and jealous of their liberty and independence. Their size and color differ in each region, but all are brown, well proportioned with lively eyes, long hair, no beard[9] and with astuteness and sagacity expressed in their faces.

"The number of their population does not correspond in any way whatsoever to the territory they occupy. This is the reason for the spacious deserts which are found in this enormous country and for the fact that every family head in his own camp considers himself a sovereign in his district.

"In general they choose for dwelling places the most rugged and mountainous ranges. In these they find water and wood in abundance, the wild produce necessary, and natural fortifications where they can defend themselves from their enemies. Their hovels or huts are circular, made of branches of trees, covered with skins of horses, cows or bison, and many likewise use tents of this type. In the canyons of these mountain ranges the men seek large and small game, going as far as the contiguous plains; and when they have obtained what was necessary, they bring it to their camp, where it is the work of the women, not only to prepare the foods, but also to tan the skins which are then used for various purposes, particularly for their clothing.

"The men fit them around the body, leaving the arms free. In general chamois or deerskin is used for this purpose.

8. This is now commonly referred to as a Mescal pit. The pits are circular depressions, six to twenty feet in circumference and one to three feet deep. It was lined with gravel or rocks and a fire was built in it. When the stones were hot, the coals were raked out and the leaf-bases of Agave were put in and covered with grass and then with earth. After two days of steaming, the mescal was ready for consumption.

9. The Apache, as in the case of Indians generally, have a fair growth of beard, which is invariably plucked.

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They cover the head with a cap or hood of the same material, sometimes adorned with feathers of birds or horns of animals. No one from the time he begins to walk, lacks well made shoes with a tall upper of skin, which are called by the Spaniard "tehuas".[10] All suspend from their ears earrings formed of shells, feathers and small mouse skins, and they usually add to this adornment a paint of chalk and red earth with which they anoint the face, arms, and legs. The women's dress is likewise of skins; but it is distinguished by the use of a short skirt, tied at the waist, and loose about the knees; a shirt or coat which is drawn over the head and hangs to the waist covering the breast and shoulders and leaving the sides open; shoes like those of the men, and no covering on the head; their hair, tied in the form of a chestnut, they keep usually in a bag of deer, buffalo or otter skin. Their ornaments on neck and arms are strings of deer and antelope hoofs, shells, fish-bones [spines] and the roots of sweet smelling herbs. The richest and most elegant families put borders of porcupine quills on their clothes and shoes, which they soften and smooth in order to use them thus; and many women add to their skirts an adornment of little tin-plated bells or small pieces of latten brass[11] which makes a group of them extremely noisy.

"The man knows no other obligation than that of the hunt and of war, of making his weapons, saddles and other trappings necessary for its exercise. The women care for the animals they own; make the utensils needed in their work; cure and tan the hides of the animals; carry water and firewood; seek and collect the seeds and fruits which the region produces; dry them and make bread and cakes; sow a little corn, beans, etc.; water[12] them and reap at the proper time, and they are not exempt from accompanying their husbands on

10. It is interesting to note that Father Garces, in the 1770's, referred to a division of the Yavapais as Yabipais Tehua, possibly because of their moccasins with high uppers.

11. Thin sheets of a brass-like alloy, formerly much used for church utensils. The tin-plated bells are doubtless the tinklers so commonly used in decorating Indian costumes, and the noise referred to here was music to the wearers, especially in dancing.

12. Though it is not stated, it may well be that these small plots were irrigated by hand. Irrigation with ditches is not known to have been generally practiced by any Apache group prior to reservation days.

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their expeditions, in which they are extremely useful for driving the stolen animals, acting as sentinels and serving in whatever capacity is commanded them.

"The armament of the Apaches is composed of lance, bow and arrows, which they keep in a quiver or bag of mountain lion [leopardo] skin for the greater part. These weapons vary in size according to the groups which use them. Among the Apaches of eastern groups there are some firearms; but they appreciate them less, both on account of the lack of munitions, as well as on account of not having the means to repair them if they are broken, and generally they give them a new use, making of them lances, knives, arrowheads, and other implements which they esteem highly.

"In proportion as the father of the family has more sons, grandsons, nephews or married dependents, his camp is larger or smaller and he is recognized as the leader of it. There are some of eighty and a hundred families, of forty, of twenty and of fewer, and these are dismembered as soon as those who compose it become displeased. There are some so jealous and proud that they prefer to live completely separated from the others with their wives and children, because thus no one disputes their leadership.

"Decrepitude or advanced age makes them despised by the others; their authority ceases thus even in those of greatest reputation, and they come to be a plaything of their rancheria. Men and women are esteemed to the extent that they have all the strength necessary for the complete exercise of their functions; and this begins to fail them very late, on account of their strong nature and constitution; one sees many of more than a hundred years taking part in the hunts and other vigorous exercises.

"The Apache is proud of nothing, except of being brave, this attitude reaching such a degree, that he despises the man of whom no bold deed is known, and on account of this he adds to his name that of "Jasquie", which means gallant, placing it before the one by which he is known, as Jasquietajusitlan, Jasquiedecja, etc. This idea and custom is prevalent among the Gileños and the Mimbreños who, actually, are the boldest.

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"Polygamy is widespread in this nation, and every man has as many women as he can support, the huts which compose his clan or horde being in proportion to the number of these.

"Matrimony takes place by the bridegroom buying the one who is to be his wife from her father or from the principal relative on whom she depends. From this results the servile treatment which the wives suffer, and the conviction that their husbands are masters even of their lives. Often the contract is dissolved by unanimous consent of the spouses, and the woman returning to her father, he returns what he had received for her. Other times it ends by the flight of the women, as a result of the ill treatment they suffer, in which case they take refuge in the hands of some powerful individual, who receives them under his protection, without anyone daring to demand anything from him.

"They change their rancherias when, in the place in which they have been living, the foods necessary for them and their beasts become scarce, moving now from one mountain range to the other, now from a rock or cliff to another of the same range or mountain. Of much influence in these moves is the necessity of seeking places for the purpose of passing the different seasons of the year with more comfort.

"The joining together of many rancherias in one place is usually accidental and comes from all going to hunt for certain fruits, which they know are abundant in such and such a place at a particular time. Likewise it is a matter of intention and agreement, when they join with the idea of forming a body for defense, or with that of celebrating one of their feasts, which consist of hunts and dances and games in the night. In general in these meetings some plan of operations against their enemies is decided upon. In these cases, not only are the rancherias of one group joined together, but usually two or more complete bands congregate.

"In any of these unions the one considered to be most valiant takes the command of all by common consent; and although this dignity does not cause any particular subordination, or dependence on the part of the others, since every individual is free to go, to remain, or to disapprove the ideas

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of the chief, the influence of the latter is always preponderant, especially as far as the disposition of the camp is concerned, the method of defense in case of being attacked, or undertaking any hostile maneuver.

"The camps which come together thus, always occupy the roughest canyons of a mountain with passes difficult to approach, and this is always next to the greatest heights that dominate the surrounding plains. Here those who are to serve as lookouts during the meeting build their huts, it being their duty to discover the avenues of approach and to give the warnings necessary. In these elevated posts they never make a fire, and those who live there are always of sharpest vision, and have the most practice and knowledge of war.

"Dances are their favorite nocturnal diversion in these meetings. Their only orchestra is their own voices and an olla or gourd to which is tied a tight skin and which is beaten with a stick. To its rhythm and that of the voices of men and women, all jump together arranged in different circles, and both sexes arranged symmetrically. From time to time two or three who are more nimble and agile enter the circle and execute a sort of English dance, but one of great violence and difficult twisting of all the members and joints.

"If the dance is in preparation for war or in celebration of some warlike action which has been brought to a happy conclusion, it is executed with weapons in the hands: shouts and shots are mingled with it; and without losing the cadence of the "Ho! Ho!" they recite the bold deeds which have taken place or which they intend to carry out.

"There are also dances which belong to the diviners when they are to exercise their divination. Those who execute it cover their heads with a sort of mask, made of deerskin. The music is infernal and its results diabolical.

"In the big hunts men, women and children take part without distinction, some on foot and others on horseback. The buffalo hunt is called a "carneada": time and offensive preparations are needed to go on this hunt in lands near to hostile nations. It is peculiar to the Mescaleros, Llaneros and Lipanes, who are near this sort of cattle. The present object of description is the hunt which is made usually for deer,

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burro, antelope, javalina, porcupine, mountain lion [*leopardos*], bear, wolves, coyotes, hare and rabbits. Having reconnoitered the valleys, mountain ranges, plains, and brush which they inhabit, for the traces of these animals, and having decided on the day, the leader of the undertaking determines at dawn the places where the different groups who are to start the hunt should be, the points which are to be occupied by archers on horseback and on foot, and those who are to serve at a distance as lookouts in order to guard against attacks of enemies, and in these places those appointed take up their posts. In this way at dawn a piece of terrain is encircled, which frequently is five or six leagues in circumference. The sign to commence the chase, and consequently to close the circle, is given by smoke signals. There are men on horseback assigned to this project, which consists in setting fire to the grass and herbage of the whole circumference; and since for this purpose they are already placed ahead of time in their posts with torches ready which they make from dried bark or dried palmilla, it takes only a moment to see the whole circle flare up. At the same instant the shouts and the noise commence, the animals flee, they find no exit, and finally they fall into the hands of their astute adversaries.

"This kind of hunt takes place only when the grass and shrubs are dry. In flood season when the fields cannot be set afire, they set up their enclosures by rivers and arroyos.

"The deer and antelope hunt is carried out with the greatest skill by one Indian alone; and due to the great profit which results from it, he always prefers it to the noisy type of chase, which serves more for amusement than to provide necessities. He dresses in a skin of the animal to be hunted, places on his head another of the type which he is hunting, and armed with his bow and arrows walking on all fours, he tries to mingle with a herd of them. He doesn't waste a shot; he kills as many of them as he can at his leisure. If they flee, he runs with them; if they are frightened, he pretends a like excitement, and in this fashion there are times when he finishes off the greater part of the game he finds.

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"From their tender years the boys are schooled in this useful activity, and to them is always reserved the hunt for dogs, ferrets, squirrels, hares, rabbits, badgers and field rats. By means of this practice they acquire the greatest skill in aiming and they become extremely skilled in every sort of trickery and artfulness.

"Bird hunting does not much interest them; however, due to a bloody and destructive spirit, they kill as many birds as come within range. They use the meat of very few, and restrict their usefulness to collecting feathers, of which they make their ornaments and to provide the extremities of their arrows. They eat no fish at all, in spite of their abundance in the rivers; but they kill them also and keep the bones [spines] for different uses; that which they do very much appreciate is the beaver or the otter, for the taste of its flesh and the usefulness of its hide.

"Once an offensive expedition has been decided upon and the command temporarily given over to the one who will direct it, they choose in the interior of some mountain range of the district a rugged terrain which is defended by nature, provided with water and wild fruits, where they leave their families in safety with a small escort. They leave this place divided into small parties, generally on foot, in order to hide their tracks on the trip which they make on hard and rocky land and they come together again at the time and place agreed upon, near the country which they have decided to invade. In order to do this they place ahead of time an ambush in the location most favorable to them. They then send some fast Indians to draw away the people by stealing some animals and cattle; the people go out to pursue them, and they attack them suddenly, making a bloody butchery. If any of the group makes a sizeable theft before joining the others at the point agreed upon, they usually are contented with their luck and go back without finishing the expedition. At other times, not wishing to miss the appointment, they use the better beasts for their own service, kill the rest and continue on to join the others who are doing the same on their route.

"It is impossible to express the speed with which they flee after a large robbery of animals when they undertake to re-

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treat to their own country; the mountains which they encounter, the waterless deserts which they cross in order to fatigue those who pursue them, and the strategems of which they make use in order to elude the blows of their victims.

"They always leave far behind on their trail two or three of their own people mounted on the speediest horses, so that these can warn them of whatever they note in the rear guard. If superior forces come against them, they kill everything that they are taking along and, they escape on the best animals, which they finally kill also in case they are overtaken, saving their lives in the rough regions of the mountains.

"If the news from the rearguard makes it evident that inferior forces are pursuing them, they await in a pass and commit a second massacre, repeating this trick as often as their good fortune and the lack of skill of their opponents make it possible. When they recognize that their pursuers are sagacious and intelligent like themselves, they divide their booty into small portions and flee in different directions, thus assuring their arrival in their own country with the greater part, at the risk of some of them being intercepted.

"At the end of the foray when the booty has been divided among the participants, in which partition disturbances frequently take place which are decided by the law of the strongest, each party returns to its own region, and each camp to its particular mountain range or favorite country to live with complete liberty, and without suffering annoyance from anyone.

"With fewer preparations and more profit much destruction is caused by four or six Indians who decide to carry out a short campaign by themselves, it being much more difficult to avoid the destruction caused by them, just as it is easier for them to cover their trail and penetrate without being detected into the most distant territories, for which reason they always make such a trip through the brush and rocky slopes of the mountains, which they leave for the populated places, committing the attack with the greatest rapidity and then retiring precipitately to occupy the same rough territory, and to continue their march through it, it being almost impossible

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to find them, even though they are sought with the greatest diligence.

"The occasion in which the valor or temerity of these barbarians is best recognized, is when they are attacked by their enemies. They are never lacking in calm, even though they be surprised and have no chance for defense. They fight to the last breath and usually they prefer to die rather than surrender.

"They proceed with the same intrepidity when they attack, but with the difference that if they do not obtain the upper hand immediately and see that luck is against them, they do not hesitate to flee and desist from their project, and with this in view they provide for their retreat ahead of time and determine the direction to take for safety.

"A camp no matter how cumbersome and how numerous its occupants, makes forced marches on foot or on horseback, which in a few hours frees them from their pursuers. It is impossible to measure the speed with which they break camp when they have perceived hostile superior forces in their vicinity. If they have animals, in a moment they are laden with their belongings and children; the mothers with their infants suspended from their heads in a hand basket of willow in which they place them with much security and ease;[13] the men armed and mounted on their best horses; and everything in order to start out for country which they judge properly safe.

"If they are lacking in horses the women carry the equipage, as well as the children. The men cover the vanguard, rearguard and sides of the party, and choosing the most difficult and inconvenient terrain, they make their journey like wild beasts, through the most impenetrable rough places.

"Only by surprise and by capturing all their places of retreat is it possible to succeed in punishing these savages, because since they detect the presence of their enemies before action commences, they succeed in placing themselves in safety with very little footwork. If it is determined, however, to fight them, this is with great risk, because of the

18. He is describing the cradle board.

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extreme agility of the barbarians and the impregnable rocks where they take up their station.

"In spite of the continuous movement in which these people live, and of the great deserts of their country, they find each other easily when they desire to communicate, even though it should have been a long time since they have seen each other, and have no news of recent events. Aside from the fact that all know more or less the territories in which such and such leaders are probably living by the character of the mountain ranges, valleys and watering courses which they recognize, smoke is the most efficient means by which they communicate. Understanding it is a science; but is so well known by all of them, that they are never mistaken in the meaning of its messages.

"A smoke made on a height, put out immediately, is a sign for all to prepare to resist enemies who are near by and have already been seen personally or their tracks have been noted. Any camps that detect them give the news to others in the same way.

"A small smoke made on the slope of a mountain, is a sign that they are hunting their own people whom they desire to meet. Another smoke in reply half way up the sides of an eminence, indicates that there is their habitation, and that they can freely come to it.

"Two or three small smokes made successively in a plain or canyon pointing in one direction, are an indication of desire to parley with their enemies, and reply is made to this in the same fashion.

"In this way they have many general signals used in common by all the Apache groups. In the same way there are also signals that have been specially agreed upon, which no one can understand without possessing the key. They make use of these frequently when they enter hostile country for the purpose of raiding. In order not to be delayed in the making of smoke, there is no man or woman who does not carry with him the implements necessary to make fire. They prefer flint, steel and tinder when they can get them; but if these are lacking they carry in their place two prepared sticks, one of sotol and the other of lechuguilla [see note 7],

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well dried, which they rub with force with both hands like a little hand mill, the point of one against the flat side of the other,[14] and thus they succeed in a moment in setting fire to the shavings or dust of the rubbed part; and this is a process which even children are not ignorant of.

"One should not pass over in silence the particular knowledge which they have of the tracks which they notice in the open field. Not only do they know the time which has passed since the track was made, but they can tell if it was made at night or in the daytime: if the beast was loaded or with a rider, or was loose: if it was being herded or was grazing, and a thousand other particulars of which only continuous practice and diligent study can give complete knowledge. If they wound a deer, antelope or any other animal, they never lose its trail until they find it dead or incapable of walking, even though they follow its trail two or three days, and the wounded beast has joined a herd of others.

"Likewise it is worth while telling about the peculiar distrust of one another in which they live, even though they are related, and the precautions they take on approaching when they have not seen each other for a long time. The Apache does not even approach his own brother without weapons in his hand, always on guard against an attack or always ready to commit one. They never greet each other, nor take leave of each other, and the most polite action of their society consists in looking at each other and considering each other a short space of time before speaking on any business.

"Their propensity for stealing and for doing damage to others is not limited particularly to those whom they know for outright enemies, that is to say, Spaniards and Comanches, but it extends also to not pardoning each other, since with the greatest facility the weaker see themselves despoiled by the stronger; and bloody battles are stirred up among the different groups, which end only when a common cause unites them in their common defense.

"The war with the Comanches is as old as are the two

14. These are the fire drill and hearth.

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nations;[15] it is carried on with vigor by the groups which border them; that is to say, the Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros and Lipanes. Their hatred arises from the fact that both the Comanches and the Apaches wish to have exclusive rights to hunting the bison which is abundant on the borders of the two nations.

"It is not our business here to investigate the origin of the cruel and bloody war which the Apaches have been carrying on for many years in the Spanish possessions. Perhaps it was originated in former times by the trespasses, excesses and avarice of the colonists themselves who lived on the frontier exercising a subordinate authority. At present, the wise provisions of a just, active and pious government are bringing it to a close, and it should be noted that this system not only does not aspire to the destruction or slavery of these savages, but that it seeks their happiness by the most efficacious means, allowing them to possess their homes in peace precisely because being well aware of our justice and our power to sustain it, they respect our populations and do not disturb them.[16]

TONTOS[17]

"This group, which is the farthest to the west, is the one least known by the Spaniards, because with the exception of some camps situated near the lines of the presidios of the province of Sonora,[18] which in union with the Chiricaguis

15. He is speaking here of the eastern Apache only. The Comanche pushed the Jicarilla into northern New Mexico in 1701, joined with the Ute in battle in this region and by the late 1700's had become such a potent factor that the Spanish allied themselves with the Apache to resist the onslaught of the Comanche.

16. Due to intensive and widespread campaigns of the Spanish in the late 1700's in New Mexico, Chihuahua and what was then Sonora, many of the Apache had sued for peace, or their strength had been broken. However, shortly after the turn of the century, the Apache of eastern Arizona and western New Mexico began to renew their activities. When Mexico gained its independence in the 1820's the Apache, due to the withdrawal of troops from various presidios, once more gained the upper hand.

17. This group, the name for which means fools in Spanish, was first reported in 1788 as Coyoteros in the Pinal Mountain region of Arizona, and represents the Western Apache of today. In 1799 they were referred to as Apaches Coyoteros, alias Tontos, alias del Pinal. In 1820 they were still called Tontos or Coyoteros. In the middle 1800's the name Tonto gradually was restricted to the Apache frequenting the region of the Tonto Basin south to the Pinal Mountains and nearby environs.

18. At this date, 1796, the northern border of Sonora, for all practical purposes of

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have attacked those territories, the rest have lived and now live in peace in their own country, where they sow a little, although not much corn, beans, and other vegetables, and they are supplied with meat by hunting burros and coyotes, of which there is such abundance that they are likewise known by the name of Coyoteros. The others on the frontier who, when they were called together by the Chiricaguis, came to be our enemies, are now peaceful and are established in the presidio of Tucson,[19] and its vicinity, and the rest remain peacefully in their own lands. According to the information which the Chiricaguis and they themselves have given us, it is known that this group is very numerous: its territories are equally unknown to us since there has been no need to enter them. On the west they are bounded by the Papagos, Cocomaricopas and Yavipais; on the north by the Moquinos; on the east by the Chiricaguis group, and on the south by our establishment.[20]

CHIRICAGUIS

"The mountain range of this name, the principal habitat of this group, is the one from which they get their name. This group was rather numerous in other times, when united and allied with the Navajos[21] and some groups of Tontos, who were their neighbors, they infested the far interior of the province of Sonora. They had an alliance with Seris, Suaquis and Lower Pimas, who acquainted them with the

the Spanish, was the Gila River, though no definite line was ever established. The Apache who joined the Chiricahua, since they were the southernmost of the group, may have been elements of the Gileños or of what later were called Pinal Apache, and the Aravaipa.

19. These Apache became known as the Mansos, meaning tame ones.

20. Due to the Spanish lack of knowledge concerning the country north of the Gila at this time, Cordero's list of tribes bordering these Apache is slightly inaccurate. The Yavapais were along the full length of the western border of Cordero's Tontos (Western Apache), the Little Colorado River served roughly as their northern line, the Chiricahuas formed a portion of the eastern boundary, and the Spanish their southern line.

21. A Navajo alliance with the Gila Apache is mentioned in Spanish documents, specifically occurring in 1784 (Thomas, A. B., *Forgotten Frontiers*, 1932, p. 45). I know of nothing indicating such an alliance with the Chiricahua specifically. This alliance was severed in 1786, though the Spanish were still concerned about it as late as 1809 (Santa Fe Archives, Document No. 1936).

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terrain and gave them many advantages.[22] After these peoples had been subdued and the Navajo group, having broken its alliance with them had made peace in good faith with the province of New Mexico, those who have continued to engage in hostilities have been continuously punished by our arms. For this reason their number has been much diminished. Some of their encampments have obtained permission from the government to establish themselves peacefully in the presidios of Bacoachi and Janos;[23] others still live in their own country, hostile to the Navajos and Moquinos,[24] from whom they occasionally steal sheep and to whom they do all the damage possible. They are bounded by the latter[25] on the north; by the Tontos on the west, by the Spaniards on the south, and by the Gileños on the east.

GILEÑOS[26]

"This group has been one of the most warlike and sanguinary. It has carried on hostilities indiscriminately in the province of Sonora and in that of Nueva Vizcaya, which territories, even those farthest inland, are as well known to them as those of their own country. They have always been in league with the Mimbres group and both have shared the profits and the risks. The repeated punishment which they have suffered for their attacks has succeeded in restraining their pride, seeing their forces reduced by three-quarters of their total. Of the camps which exist today, some are established in the presidio of Janos, and others remain in their own country, and do not cease to bother our people. On the west they border on the Chiricaguis; to the north on the

22. There is little to support Cordero's statement regarding the alliance. The Apache rarely raided as far west as the Seris or as far south as the Lower Pima (Nebome) or Suaquis (Yaqui).

23. These presidios were situated northeast of Arizpe in Sonora and in the corner of northwestern Chihuahua respectively. In 1784, an Opata company with Spanish officers was organized and headquartered at Bacoachi (Bancroft, H. H., *North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, p. 681). Janos was founded in 1686.

24. The Navajo and Hopi had no contact with the Chiricahua as far as known documentary evidence is concerned. It is possible, however, that the Warm Springs band of Chiricahua, who in later years had contacts with the Navajo who raided as far south as Acoma and Laguna, may have had the opportunity to reach the Navajo if their respective raiding patterns were the same in the late 1700's as in the middle 1800's.

25. Possibly bounded by the Navajo, but not the Hopi.

26. Named after the Gila River, at the headwaters of which they lived.

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province of New Mexico; to the east on the Mimbres group, and to the south on our frontiers.

MIMBREÑOS[27]

"This tribe was very numerous and as daring as the Gileños. It is divided into two groups, upper and lower: the former, who were those nearest to the province of New Vizcaya, have been conquered after having suffered many defeats in the course of their bold enterprises, and live peacefully in the presidios of Janos and Carrizal:[28] the latter have not yet abandoned their country, which is nearest to the province of New Mexico. They are allied with the Faraones, and in spite of the losses which they have suffered from our arms in punishment for their daring, they have not given up their ancient intrepidity. Their strength is now very little and their number has been diminished by more than half. The province of New Mexico is their boundary to the north; to the west the Gileños group, on the east by the Faraones, and to the south by our frontier.

FARAONES[30]

"This group of Indians is still quite numerous; it inhabits the mountain ranges between the Rio Grande del Norte and the Pecos. It is intimately connected with the Mescaleros, and of little accord with the Spaniards. The provinces of New Mexico and of New Vizcaya have been and are the theater of their outbreaks. In both places they have made peace on different occasions, which they have always broken, except for a few rancherias which on account of their loyalty have received permission to establish themselves peacefully at the presidio of San Eleazario.[31] Of this group one branch is that of the Jicarilla[32] Apaches, who live peace-

27. Mimbres in Spanish means "Willows."

28. This presidio was situated on the Rio del Carmen, about 100 miles due south of El Paso.

30. Their name is derived from Pharoah, in the sense of godless people or the Apache hordes of Pharoah. [No. 29 for a note has been skipped. Ed.]

31. This presidio was situated about 60 miles south of El Paso on the southwest side of the Rio Grande.

32. The Jicarilla came into New Mexico from Colorado in 1701, driven southward by the Comanches. The Faraones were reported in the 1620's living in approximately

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fully in the province of New Mexico, in territory contiguous to the pueblo of Taos, the frontier of the Comanches. The Faraones are bounded on the north by the province of New Mexico; on the west by the Mimbres Apaches; on the east by the Mescaleros, and on the south by the province of New Vizcaya.

MESCALEROS[33]

"This group dwells, generally speaking, in the mountain ranges near the Pecos River, extending northwards on both banks as far as the Comanche. It uses this locality particularly in the proper season for the buffalo hunt, on which occasions it joins with the plains group which is its neighbor. It proceeds in like fashion when it undertakes offensive operations against the Spanish establishments, inviting the Faraones to take part in its enterprises. In general it starts out through the Mapimi depression,[34] whether it is casting its glances towards the province of New Vizcaya, or whether it resolves to invade that of Coahuila. They like firearms of which they have some; but they do not on this account give up weapons which are proper and peculiar to them. The number of families which composes this group is small, since they have suffered much from the Comanches, their most bitter enemies, and due to some diminution which the Spaniards caused them in their old disputes. On the north their boundary is the Comanche country; on the west the Faraon tribe; on the east the Llaneros, and on the south our frontier.

LLANEROS[35]

"These Indians occupy the plains and sandy places situated between the Pecos River, which they call Tjunchi, and

the same area Cordero describes. The Jicarilla in the mid-1800's were closely associated with the Mescalero, who then occupied the area Cordero here describes for the Faraones. Perhaps the latter were absorbed by the Mescalero.

33. Their name is derived from Mescal (see note 8).

34. This depression is located in southeastern Chihuahua and is known as Bolson de Mapimi. From here one can turn east into Coahuila or south into Durango, formerly a portion of Nueva Vizcaya.

35. This name is derived from the Spanish word llano (plain), and means "those of the plains." Their range east of the Pecos River includes what is called Llano Estacado (Stockaded or Palisaded Plain).

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the Colorado[36] which they call Tjulchide. It is a group of some strength, and is divided into three parts, that is to say: Natajes, Lipiyanes and Llaneros. They check the Comanches in the continual fights and bloody actions which frequently occur, especially in the season of the buffalo hunts. They attack, although infrequently, the Spanish establishments, uniting themselves for this purpose with the Mescalero and Faraon Apaches, with whom they have a close friendship and alliance. They border to the north on the Comanches; on the west with the Mescaleros; and on the east with the Lipanes, on the south with the line of the Spanish presidios.

LIPANES[37]

"This group is the eastern most of the Apacheria. It is divided into two quite numerous groups, named the Upper and the Lower with reference to the course of the Rio Grande whose waters bathe them; the former has been connected with the Mescaleros and the Llaneros, and occupies the territories contiguous to those tribes; the latter lives generally on the frontier of the province of Texas and the shores of the sea. All are most bitter enemies of the Comanches, their neighbors, with whom they have continuous bloody struggles for the proprietorship of the buffalo, which each one wants for itself. The Lower group have their intervals of peace and war with the Carancaguaces Indians and the Borrados[38] who inhabit the sea coast. Their dealings with the Spaniards have had like vicissitudes. At the present time they are acting in good faith, and have separated themselves from our enemies, not so much by reason of affection as out of respect for our weapons. In general they use firearms, which they acquire through the commerce which they have with the Indians of Texas, whose friendship they carefully preserve on account of this advantage. They are of gallant appearance, and much cleaner than all their compatriots. On the west they are

36. Colorado River of Texas. The Mescalero today refer to the Pecos River as Too e chi and the Rio Grande as Tool chi ea.

37. In 1776 Garces referred to them as Lipan. In 1792, Arricivita called them Ipa-nde. The exact derivation is not known.

38. The Carancaguaces are the Karankawa. The Borrados were a part of the Coahuiltecan family which occupied both sides of the lower Rio Grande in Texas and Coahuila.

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bounded by the Llaneros; on the north by the Comanches; and on the east by the Carancaguaces and Borrados, the province of Texas, and on the south by our frontier.

NAVAJOS

"This tribe is the farthest north of all of their nation.[39] It inhabits the mountain range and the mesas of Navajo which gives them their name. They are not nomadic like the other Apaches, and they have fixed domiciles:[40] of which there are ten, namely: Sevolleta, Chacoli, Guadalupe, Cerro-Cabezon, Agua Salada, Cerro Chato, Chusca, Tunicha, Chelle and Carrizo.[41] They sow corn and other vegetables. They raise sheep and they manufacture coarse cloth, blankets and other textiles of wool which they trade in New Mexico. In past times they were enemies of the Spaniards: at present they are their faithful friends and are governed by a general who is appointed by the governor: they suffer some inconveniences which are caused by their compatriots the Chiricaguis and Gileños, who are their neighbors on the south; on the north they bound with the Yutes, on the west with the Moquinos [Hopi], and on the east with the province of New Mexico."

Thus far the Memorial.

39. Cordero employs the term "nation" to designate all of the Apache groups, of which the Navajo were a part. The name Navajo appears to have been derived from a Tewa term referring to "great planted fields." The Apache who annoyed the Tewa of Santa Clara pueblo became known as "Apache de Navaho" and later simply as "Navaho." Cordero also employs the word "rancheria" throughout, which is herein translated camp since true rancherias are not known to have been built by the Apache of his day.

40. Cordero states "domicilio fijo." He probably meant they concentrated within certain geographic regions. The Navajo lived in more or less permanent dwellings (hogans), but they never built towns.

41. Sevolleta is Cebolleta, north of Laguna, New Mexico; Chacoli is Chaco Canyon, north of Gallup, New Mexico; Guadalupe cannot be identified, though it may have been near Zuñi, where this name was sometimes applied [It was across the Rio Puerco west of Cerro Cabezon. F.D.R.]; Cerro Cabezon is Cabezon, north of Cebolleta; Agua Salada is a name that could be applied to any salty water but cannot be identified here [An arroyo just north of Cebolleta. F.D.R.]. Cerro Chato is not known (but see below); Chusca is also north of Gallup; Tunicha refers to the area about the Tunicha Mountains (Cerro Chato is given as an alternate name); Chelle is Canyon de Chelly in northeastern Arizona and Carrizo is the area in the vicinity of the Carrizo Mountains of northeastern Arizona. In 1786, a few years prior to Cordero, Duran mentions Navajo at Chelli, San Matheo near Mount Taylor, Zebolleta, Chusca and Hozo (Ojo de Oso or Bear Spring) at the second site of Fort Wingate (Thomas, A. B., *Forgotten Frontiers*, 1932, p. 350).

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