

## LIPAN APACHE CULTURE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

ANDRÉE F. SJOBERG

LITTLE IS KNOWN concerning many aspects of Lipan Indian culture. Field work by Opler, Gifford, and Hoijer<sup>2</sup> on the Mescalero Reservation during the 1930's provided us with some important data on this group. However, these materials are limited, for the few surviving Lipan Apache were no longer members of a functioning tribal unit: they clearly had been assimilated into the larger Mescalero group.

This study utilizes some rather obscure materials in an attempt to reconstruct the pre-reservation Lipan culture. Spanish documents and the accounts of early travelers contained much useful information; but the most fruitful sources were the almost unknown autobiographies of Frank M. Buckelew,<sup>3</sup> who for eleven months during the years 1866-67 was a prisoner of those Lipan living in southwestern Texas and northern Mexico. These data supplement and correct the generalizations of field workers; no attempt is made to summarize their major studies. And most important, the cultural position of the Lipan Apache—heretofore not fully understood—is definitely clarified.

### HISTORY

The Lipan Indians, at the time of earliest contact with Europeans, probably lived with other Apaches in eastern Colorado or northeastern New Mexico.<sup>4</sup> By the beginning of the eighteenth century, a number of these tribes—many of them as yet undifferentiated in the historical records—were forced south and east into the Llano Estacado or High Plains region of Texas as a result of pressure by the

1 The author sincerely wishes to thank T. N. Campbell for calling her attention to Buckelew's accounts and for suggesting an historical study of the Lipan Apache.

2 Their principal works on the Lipan are: Morris Edward Opler, *Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians* (Memoirs, American Folk-lore Society, vol. 36, 1940); M. E. Opler, *The Kinship Systems of the Southern Athabaskan-Speaking Tribes* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 620-633, 1936); E. W. Gifford, *Culture Element Distributions: XII. Apache-Pueblo* (Anthropological Records, University of California, vol. 4, no. 1, 1940); Harry Hoijer, *The Southern Athapaskan Languages* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, pp. 75-87, 1938).

3 S. E. Banta, *Buckelew, the Indian Captive* (Mason, Texas, 1911); T. S. Dennis, *Life of F. M. Buckelew, the Indian Captive, as Related by Himself* (Bandera, Texas, 1925). The latter work contains essentially the same information as is presented by Banta, as well as additional details.

4 Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778* (Albuquerque, 1940), pp. 3-7.

recently arrived Comanches, who were well equipped with horses and firearms secured from the French.<sup>5</sup> It is known that the Lipan were among these displaced Apache groups, for in 1732 they were described as having recently appeared in the San Saba River region of central Texas. During the next decade they made

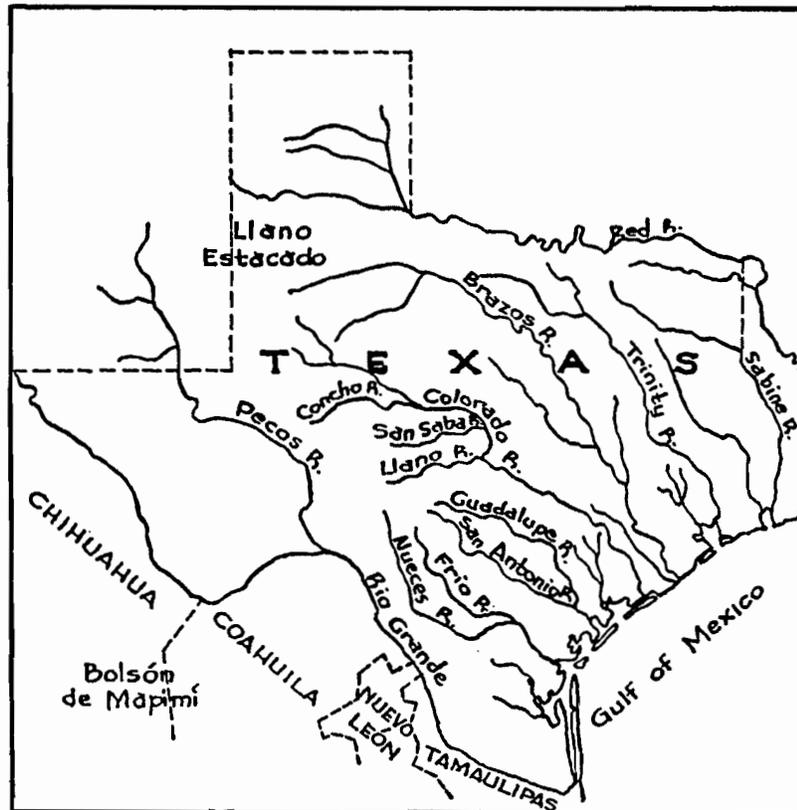


FIG. 1. Sketch map of the area inhabited by the Lipan Apache.

frequent incursions on Béxar, present-day San Antonio, to steal horses and cattle.<sup>6</sup> In 1743, however, the Comanches renewed their attacks, forcing most of the Lipan to seek the protection of the Spaniards. As a result, the San Sabá mission

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> William Edward Dunn, *Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750* (Texas State Historical Association Quarterly, vol. 14, pp. 198-274, 1911), pp. 202, 232-233, 252.

was established for them in 1757. This was destroyed the following year by the Comanches and their allies, and many of the Lipan fled to present-day southern Texas and northern Coahuila.<sup>7</sup>

In 1762 two more missions, Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria and San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz, were founded on the upper Nueces River, now the principal habitat of the Lipan Apache. At one time, almost a thousand Indians were sheltered here; another two thousand were said to be encamped about the headwaters of the Nueces. These establishments, also, were abandoned within only a few years because of repeated attacks by the Comanches and other tribes from the north.<sup>8</sup> This was the last formal attempt to missionize the Lipan Indians. However, at various dates between 1762 and 1817 a number of individuals were reported at Missions San Antonio de Valero, San Francisco de Espada, and San José de Aguayo in and around San Antonio, and at La Bahía del Espíritu Santo and Nuestra Señora del Refugio near the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1770's some bands moved eastward to the Texas coastal plain, where they established close contact with the Bidai, Atakapa, and Akokisa Indians, trading and intermarrying with them. During the next few decades, these tribes supplied the Lipan with firearms and ammunition of French manufacture, receiving in exchange horses and silver ornaments stolen from the Spaniards. Also, the Lipan traveled to Opelousas, Atakapas, and Natchitoches in Louisiana to trade with the French directly.<sup>10</sup>

By 1780 the Indians clearly had become differentiated into what the Spaniards called the Upper and the Lower Lipan, referring to their position with respect to the course of the Rio Grande. The Upper group were in Coahuila, the Bolsón

7 Carlos Eduardo Castañeda (trans. and ed.), *History of Texas, 1673-1779 by Fray Juan Agustín Morfi* (Albuquerque, 1935), pp. 294, 328; Bizene. de Alderete, August 11, 1768, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 22, f. 306.

8 Fray Andres de Santtesteban to Marques de Rubi, July 20, 1767, *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 1767*, legajo 104-6-13; Informe que rinde el capitán Rábago y Terán al virrey sobre otro nuevo ataque de las naciones enemigas del Norte, November 20, 1766, *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande*, vol. 20, folio 56.

9 Galindo Navarro to Comandante General, June 26, 1794, *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 1794-1798*, legajo 104-1-1; September 12, 1791, *Nacogdoches Archives*, vol. 7; January 9, 1793, *Nacogdoches Archives*, vol. 8; Charles Ramsdell, Jr., *Spanish Goliad*, n.d. (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), p. 56; Libro II. De Entierros. Hechos en la Mision de Ntra. Sra. del Refugio de la Bahia. Desde el año de 1807, *Matamoros Archives*, fs. 25-26.

10 El Gobernador de la de Texas Dn. Manuel Muñoz sobre Lipanes y Naciones del Norte, 1791, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 162, pr. 3, fs. 447, 450, 453; Manuel Rodriguez to Marques de Croix, March 16, 1770, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 22; Antonio Gil Ybarbo to Manuel Muñoz, June 15, 1791, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 224, pt. 1, f. 104; Felix Calleja, *Informe*, 1795 (Manuscript [photostat], University of Texas Archives).

de Mapimí in Chihuahua, and that part of Texas west of the Pecos River; the Lower were toward the Gulf in present-day southeastern Texas, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas.<sup>11</sup>

The Mexican Revolution, starting in 1810, and the ensuing Texas-Mexican conflict led to further dispersion of these Apaches. In the Mexican Revolution, many joined the Royalists; but when this side began to lose, they switched to the Republicans and fought with them over much of northern and eastern Texas. Afterwards, a portion of the Lipan mingled with the American settlers in Stephen F. Austin's colony on the lower Brazos River, while others settled along the Gulf coast at various points between Houston and Galveston and the mouth of the Rio Grande.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1830's, the period of the Texas Revolution, an even sharper rift developed between the Upper and the Lower Lipan. The Upper group generally sided with the Mexicans. On the other hand, most of the Lower group joined the Texans, some even receiving commissions with pay in the Texas Army. Flacco, head chief of the Lower Lipan, was particularly friendly with Sam Houston, President of the Republic of Texas. However, in the 1840's, after Flacco's death, the Lower group became estranged from the Texans and soon moved back into extreme western Texas and across the Rio Grande to Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

Pressure by the American settlers during the 1850's and 60's forced many of the Lipan out of their hunting grounds and agricultural areas; thus they found it increasingly difficult to obtain food. Some bands from Texas entered Mexico to hunt and to trade for maize, goats, and whiskey. Frequently, small groups from the Mexican side of the border crossed over into western Texas to steal livestock, then quickly returned to their mountain bases in Coahuila and Chihuahua. Many of these were killed by American soldiers who followed them into Mexico and by troops sent against them by the Mexican Government. In addition, the Comanches continued their campaigns against the Lipan. All of this led to a great reduction in their numbers and a splintering into many small groups.<sup>14</sup>

11 Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México*, (Mexico, 1864), p. 382; Manuel Muñoz to el Virrey, September 1, 1790, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 159, pt. 1, f. 3.

12 Mary Austin Holley, *Texas: Observations, Historical, Geographical and Descriptive* (Baltimore, 1833), pp. 103-104; Hobart Huson, *Refugio*, 1944 (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives).

13 *The Northern Standard* (Clarksville, Texas), March 9, 1843, p. 2; *Spanish Archives of Laredo*, June 12, 1938; J. D. Affleck, *History of John C. Hays*, pt. 1, n.d. (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), pp. 69, 302-304.

14 *The San Antonio Texan*, April 3, 1856, p. 2; A. Wislizenus, *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico, connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847* (30th Cong., 1st Sess., Senate Miscellaneous Document, no. 26); Adolph Uhde, *Die Länder am untern Rio bravo del Norte* (Heidelberg, 1861), p. 169; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 125, 130.

During this period of disorganization, many Lipan wandered over a broad area; all these movements can not be traced herein. However, by 1865 some had moved northward to Indian Territory, where they eventually joined the Kiowa Apache at Fort Sill.<sup>15</sup> Others were found in 1876 with the Tonkawa Indians at Fort Griffin in northern Texas. In 1884 these two groups were removed to Oklahoma and the following year were permanently settled at the Oakland Agency.<sup>16</sup>

A number of Lipan were still living in southwestern Texas, west of the Pecos River, in the 1870's. Some of these joined the nearby Mescalero Apache and in 1879 were found with them at the Mescalero Agency in southern New Mexico.<sup>17</sup> Those in Coahuila and Chihuahua remained there during the next few decades, occasionally raiding into Texas. Finally, in 1905, the few survivors in Mexico were removed by the United States Government to the Mescalero Reservation. Here they were united with other Lipan Apache who had arrived a quarter of a century before.<sup>18</sup>

#### ECONOMIC LIFE

*Hunting.* The Lipan Indians were primarily nomadic hunters. Much of their time was spent in pursuit of the bison, their principal source of meat.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the skins of this animal were highly valued as blankets and tipi covers.

The bison were generally sought at two seasons, during the spring and the fall, the fall excursion sometimes continuing far into the winter. In the spring, after the crops had been planted, several bands joined in a large expedition. They returned in the summer to harvest their crops and in the autumn set out again on

15 *War of the Rebellion, Official Records, Series 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, May 26, 1865, pp. 1102-1103*; United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report, 1866* (39th Cong., 2d Sess., House Executive Document, no. 1), p. 55; *Weekly State Gazette* (Austin, Texas), October 25, 1873, p. 1; Albert S. Gatschet, *Lipan* (Manuscript, no. 81b, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1884).

16 J. B. Irvine to Oliver Wellborn, January 7, 1880, Letter Press Book, Fort Griffin, Texas (Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society); I. A. Taylor to H. Price, October 23, 1884, Sac and Fox Letter Press Book, vol. 10 (Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society); J. D. C. Atkins to I. A. Taylor, June 26, 1885, Sac and Fox Agency Records (Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society); J. O. Dyer, "The History of the Tonkawai Tribe" (*Galveston Daily News*, July 11, 1920, p. 26).

17 *Report of the Secretary of War, 1879* (46th Cong., 2d Sess., House Executive Document, no. 1), p. 88.

18 Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 30, pt. 1, 1907), p. 769; *Report of the Secretary of War, 1878* (45th Cong., 3d Sess., House Executive Document, no. 1), pp. 82-83.

19 P. Fr. Juan Domingo Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro. Segunda Parte* (Mexico, 1792), pp. 390-391; Phelipe de Rabago y Teran to Marques de Cruillas, August 18, 1761, *Archivo General y Público de México, Historia*, vol. 94, pt. 1, f. 18.

another hunt.<sup>20</sup> During the eighteenth century the Lipan usually hunted the bison in west-central Texas, particularly on the San Saba and upper Colorado rivers, although this meant traveling great distances when they were planting crops near the Rio Grande.<sup>21</sup> In late times, however, the bison were also obtained along the lower Nueces and Guadalupe rivers, near the Gulf of Mexico. A few small herds survived here even after many of the animals were disappearing to the west.<sup>22</sup>

Before a large expedition, the shaman was consulted to determine whether the time was propitious. If he gave his approval, immediate preparations were made for moving the entire band—including women and children—and all the group's belonging to the bison area. (Of course, if some of the animals were sighted near the camp, a few of the men simply went out on horseback and killed them.)<sup>23</sup> After the band had arrived in the vicinity of the herd, the Lipan set up camp. Then the younger warriors set out in a well-organized group. As they approached the bison, the leader—who was specially chosen for the occasion—ordered the men to break up into smaller units, each with its own leader. These groups surrounded the herd. Then, advancing simultaneously from all sides, they dispatched the animals with bows and arrows, spears, or flintlocks. Usually the hunters were mounted, although at times a few were on foot and were said to be "assisted" by those on horseback.<sup>24</sup>

The deer ranked next to the bison in the Lipan economy. Although venison was an important food, the skins were particularly valued; these provided the Lipan with most of their clothing. This animal was usually obtained by stalking methods, the head of a deer being worn by the hunter as a disguise. It was thus approached on foot and shot at close range.<sup>25</sup> Several bands are known to have

20 Pedro de Nava to Revilla-Gigedo, March 28, 1791, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 224, pt. 2, f. 541; Juan de Ugalde to Manuel Antono Florez, April 1, 1789, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 159, pt. 1, f. 265; J. H. Rollins to Orlando Brown, May 8, 1850, U.S. Office of Indian Affairs: Letters Received ([photostat], University of Texas Archives); Arricivita, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

21 For example, see: Diego de Lasaga to Matias de Galvez, February 18, 1784, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 64, pt. 1, f. 38; Calleja, *op. cit.*; Arricivita, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

22 José María Sánchez, *Viaje a Texas en 1828-1829* (Mexico, 1939), p. 19; Huson, *op. cit.*

23 Relacion de las Misiones de la Precidencia del Rio Grande del Norte desde Octubre de 58 hta. Diziembre de este año de 1764, *Archivo General y Público de México, Historia*, vol. 29, pt. 1, f. 136; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

24 Descripción de los usos, costumbres, etc. de los indios Apaches—Valen de la Provincia de Texas, November 17, 1763, *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande*, vol. 27.

25 *Ibid.*; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Ynforme del Gobernador de Texas Dn. Domingo Cabello Sobre pazes de los Apaches Lipánes en la Colonia del Nuevo Santandér, 1784, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 64, pt. 1, f. 4.

organized joint expeditions to hunt the deer; data are lacking, however, on the techniques employed by these large groups.<sup>26</sup>

Antelope were sought, especially for their skins. Buckelew describes an antelope surround in detail. When a herd was encountered, scouts kept it under surveillance until the band had completed its preparations. Men, women, and children—anyone who could ride a horse—participated. First the Indians formed a large rotating circle around the grazing antelope; then a number of men armed with bows and arrows and sometimes also with guns rode directly into the herd and began killing the animals. Only a few of these escaped. As the hunt progressed, the circle of riders became increasingly smaller. Animals which were only stunned or slightly wounded were killed by having the throat slashed with a knife. Afterwards, the carcasses were collected, placed on the backs of horses, and taken back to camp for the women to skin.<sup>27</sup>

The peccary was hunted in northern Coahuila. Horses were used for this purpose, for the peccary was considered too dangerous to approach on foot. Also, wild cattle, bear, rats, and wild turkeys were sought for food. In general, however, the Lipan Apache eschewed the eating of birds, particularly water fowl.<sup>28</sup>

*Collecting.* This economic activity ranked next after hunting. Of the food plants sought by the Lipan, sotol (*Dasylyrion wheeleri*) was the most important. The tuna, fruit of the *Opuntia* cactus, was gathered in large quantities during the summer months, special trips being made into western Texas for this purpose. Also collected were honey, mesquite beans (*Prosopis glandulosa*), datil (*Yucca baccata*), and pecans.<sup>29</sup>

*Agriculture.* Although hunting and collecting were of primary importance, the Lipan Apache also engaged in agriculture from time to time. However, this economic activity was restricted, for the Indians rarely remained in one locality for more than a few weeks, or at most a few months.

Maize, the most important crop, was cultivated at least as early as 1757. In addition, melons, pumpkins, beans, and possibly also tobacco were grown.<sup>30</sup> Fields

26 Expediente sobre el abandono del Pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli, April 24, 1779, *Archivo General y Público de México, Historia*, vol. 51, f. 26.

27 Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

28 *Idem*, pp. 46, 55, 90, 94-95, 126-128; Frederic Benjamin Page, *Prairiedom* (New York, 1845), p. 112; Frederick C. Chabot, trans. and ed., *Excerpts from the Memorias for the History of the Province of Texas, by Padre Fray Juan Agustin de Morfi* (San Antonio, 1932), p. 17.

29 Descripción, *op. cit.*; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 97; Carta de Fr. Diego Ximenez al capitán Rábago y Terán sobre la llegada de las naciones del Norte en busca de Apaches, October 8, 1762, *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande*, vol. 22, f. 37; Frank Brown, *Annals of Travis County and of the City of Austin*, 1903 (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives).

30 Certificación de Fr. Diego Ximenez sobre lo que ha practicado para la reduccion de los Apaches, June 4, 1757, *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande*, vol. 23, f. 170; Testimo. de los

were located in river bottoms, especially those of the Pecos, Medina, and San Saba rivers in western and central Texas. These fields were sometimes fenced, but more often they were not.<sup>31</sup> Buckelew has described the Lipan Apache method of planting maize. Several women went out to a stream bottomland and cleared off some of the brush. Then, with the aid of an axe, they dug a number of holes in the earth and dropped the seeds into these. Apparently planting was carried out in a haphazard manner, little care being taken to align the corn in rows.<sup>32</sup> Once the crops were planted they received little attention. They were said to be temporarily abandoned when the Indians left on a hunting expedition; occasionally, however, one or two families stayed behind to care for the fields. Sometimes the Lipan moved to a new locality after a bison hunt, never returning to harvest their crops.<sup>33</sup>

*Domesticated animals.* The Lipan economy also included a rather simple form of pastoral nomadism. These Indians possessed large herds of horses as early as 1743 and were seldom without them during the succeeding century and a half. Horses were rarely used as food, for they were considered essential in bison hunting, in war, and for carrying the band's supplies—particularly the tipi poles and covers.<sup>34</sup> Besides horses, the Lipan maintained large herds of cattle and mules. Many of their animals were secured in raids on White settlements or against enemy camps; others apparently were obtained through natural increase. In addition, wild horses and cattle were caught and added to the herds.<sup>35</sup>

The Lipan Apache frequently shifted the locations of their camps to seek better pasturage for their livestock. According to Buckelew, a month was considered a long stay in any one place. When the band was not on the move, an attempt was made to drive the herds each day to a different part of the range, this being the task of young boys, often White captives. During the day all the

---

autos sobre el asalto, y ataque qe los Yndios Cumanches hicieron en el Presidio de San Luis de las Amarillas, 1763, *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 1763*, legajo 92-6-22, fs. 73, 170; Robert S. Neighbors to George W. Manypenny, May 3, 1854, U.S. Office of Indian Affairs: Letters Received ([photostat], University of Texas Archives); J. H. Rollins to Orlando Brown, May 8, 1850, *op. cit.*; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

31 *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston, Texas), May 28, 1845, p. 2; Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Certificación de Fr. Diego Ximenez, *op. cit.*, f. 170; Testimo. de los autos, *op. cit.*, f. 73.

32 Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

33 September 12, 1791, *Nacogdoches Archives*, vol. 7; Testimo. de los autos, *op. cit.*, f. 73.

34 Ynforme del Gobernador, *op. cit.*, f. 4; Pedro de Nava to Revilla-Gigedo, *op. cit.*, f. 542; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 98; *Texas Centinel* (Austin, Texas), October 28, 1841, p. 1.

35 El Virrey de Nueva Espana: Da cuenta de los auxilios y Tropa que le ha pedido el Comandante General, August 22, 1777, *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 1775-76*, legajo 89-4-10; Ynforme del Gobernador, *op. cit.*, f. 51; T. Staniford to G. Deas, September 24, 1850, Correspondence Concerning the Texas Rangers, Walter Prescott Webb Collection (University of Texas Archives); Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 55, 89, 114.

animals were allowed to intermingle. However, at night each warrior's personal herd of horses and mules was separated. On the other hand, cattle were kept in the common herd; these were considered the property of the band as a whole.<sup>36</sup>

*Food preparation.* Some data are available on another aspect of Lipan economic life, the preparation of plant and animal foods. When large animals such as bison or deer were killed, the first step was removing the liver; this was eaten raw by the hunters, each of whom cut off a portion with his own knife. Next the animals were skinned and the meat cut up into large pieces which were wrapped in hides and transported on the backs of horses. When this proved inconvenient for the hunters, the choicest portions were simply removed and the rest of the carcass abandoned.<sup>37</sup>

Most meat was prepared by roasting. It was either placed directly in the hot coals or cut into small pieces and then spitted on sharp sticks which were set in the ground close to the fire. Usually it was eaten without salt; however, honey was sometimes used as flavoring.<sup>38</sup> (It might be mentioned here that fire was kindled with a hand-drill or, less commonly, by means of flint and steel. The fire drill consisted of a spindle stick of dogwood or wild China "the length of an arrow" and a flattened hearth stick about three feet long which was fashioned from a piece of dried sotol stalk.<sup>39</sup>)

Marrow from the roasted leg bones of large animals was considered a special delicacy. After the meat had been stripped off, the bones were placed on the hot coals for a while; then they were broken transversely and propped up against a stone. Before each bite of meat, a Lipan Indian would dip a twig "brush" into this to obtain a taste of marrow.<sup>40</sup>

Left-over bison or peccary meat was cut with a knife into thin sheets, then dried for about eighteen hours on small conical wooden frames made from sticks set in the ground and tied at the top. Next, a small fire was kindled under each frame and made to burn slowly for nine to ten hours, the meat being turned frequently. Pemican was prepared by mixing this dried meat with the fats rendered out from the chopped-up articular ends of bones.<sup>41</sup>

Little is known concerning the preparation of maize except that it was parched or made into something like hominy.<sup>42</sup> Sotol was a staple food among the Lipan.

36 *Spanish Archives of Laredo*, August 17, 1822; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 94.

37 Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 64, 127.

38 *Idem*, pp. 48-49, 75, 90.

39 *Idem*, pp. 34, 47-49.

40 *Idem*, p. 48.

41 *Idem*, pp. 58-59, 90, 127.

42 *Idem*, p. 130.

The first step in preparing it for cooking was removing the leaves to obtain the white "heart" or "crown." Large numbers of these were baked in ovens made of rocks piled into a mound. A wood fire was started and stones placed on it to form the oven; these became thoroughly heated by the time the wood had burned completely. The ashes and hot coals were then removed and the sotol crowns placed over the heated stones. Next, a layer of brush and leaves was spread over the sotol and earth heaped over the oven to make it air-tight. Several days later, when the bulbs had become thoroughly cooked, the covering was removed and the sotol raked out with a "hoe." After it had cooled, it was pounded out into thin sheets which were left to dry for several days. Sometimes it was eaten without further preparation; however, the Lipan preferred sotol "bread," which was made by pulverizing the dried sheets in a wooden bowl, adding water to make a dough, and baking in the ashes around a fire.<sup>43</sup>

#### ARTS AND CRAFTS

*Clothing.* Except for a few cloth shirts, coats, and blankets obtained through trade, practically all Lipan clothing was made from dressed skins. Women prepared the hides, first removing the hair with what appears to have been an end-scraper hafted to a stick. Especially fine deer and bison pelts are said to have been sold by the Lipan in the markets of Saltillo, Coahuila, and Victoria, Texas, near the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>44</sup>

Children of both sexes were dressed in much the same clothing—a few small pieces of cloth in summer and deerskin shirts in the cooler seasons. The summer clothing of the men consisted of a breechcloth, skin moccasins, and sometimes also buckskin leggings or trousers. In cooler weather a long-sleeved deerskin shirt or jacket was added; this was heavily fringed with buckskin strings and was elaborately beaded. A cloth blanket or a complete bison or mountain-lion skin was worn in winter. It was either draped about the body like a robe or carried folded lengthwise and wrapped once around the neck, one end hanging down the front and the other down the back.<sup>45</sup>

Women wore a two-piece dress of tanned deerskins. Sometimes the upper part was a complete doeskin with a hole cut in the center; this was worn like a poncho. For decorative purposes, the dewclaws were left on the legs, and the

<sup>43</sup> *Idem*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>44</sup> *Idem*, p. 116; Catalogo de las noticias concernientes á la Provincia del Nuevo Reino de Leon, November 7, 1811, *Archivo General y Público de México, Historia*, vol. 72, f. 9; Huson, *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> Descripción, *op. cit.*; Grant Foreman, *The Journal of Elijah Hicks* (Chronicles of Oklahoma, vol. 13, pp. 68-99, 1935), p. 96; Affleck, *op. cit.*, p. 306; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75, 90-92, 128; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas* (New York, 1857), p. 293.

tail—with the hair still on—was allowed to hang down the back. Usually, however, the upper garment was a deerskin blouse with cape-like shoulder pieces to take the place of sleeves; this was heavily decorated with fringes, paint, shells, or beads. With the blouse or poncho a woman wore a knee-length deerskin skirt. However, on special occasions an ankle-length skirt or several skirts—some short and some long—were worn one above the other. The bottom of the skirt was edged with buckskin fringes to which were attached tin jingles, deer claws, or beads.<sup>46</sup>

Other articles of women's clothing were snugly fitting fringed buckskin leggings extending from ankle to hip. These were attached to a belt at the waist. Women's moccasins were of fringed deerskin and had high tops which came to the knee but were worn folded over several times.<sup>47</sup>

Decorative ornaments of various kinds were worn, particularly by the men. Even when a man was dressed only in a breechcloth, he had suspended from it a pouch of mountain-lion skin, or a powder-horn, knife, or whistle. Also, he sported a bone necklace and at least one earring of brightly colored shells or beads in each ear.<sup>48</sup> According to Buckelew, a Lipan man had the left ear pierced by means of thorns in from six to eight places; the right ear had only one or two perforations. On special occasions an earring was worn in each of the perforations of the left ear. This side was more visible than the right, for the hair was cut off even with the top of the ear. The hair on the right side was left very long and, when loose, almost reached the ground. Usually this long hair was folded and tied up with red strings so that it hung only to the shoulders.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes it was decorated with white clay, leaves, or trinkets. Tufts of feathers were worn by the warriors in battle, the leader—and also the shaman—being distinguished by elaborate head-dresses of horns and feathers.<sup>50</sup>

It was the usual practice for men to keep the face free of hair: even the eyelashes and eyebrows were removed. A small glass mirror and a pair of tweezers were carried in the breechcloth for this purpose. The face and upper part of the body were painted with vermilion, minium, or red and yellow ochre, especially

46 Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 96; Descripción, *op. cit.*; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 123; James Mooney, *Our Latest Cannibal Tribe* (Harper's Monthly Magazine, vol. 103, pp. 550-555, 1901), p. 555; Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

47 Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

48 J. R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua* (2 vols., London, 1854), vol. 1, pp. 77, 79; Matilda Houstoun, *Texas and the Gulf of Mexico* (2 vols., London, 1844), vol. 2, p. 197; Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

49 Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

50 *Ibid*; Descripción, *op. cit.*; Wislizenus, *op. cit.*; Diario. En que Yo el Coronel D. Juan de Vgalde . . . Instruíó los parlamentos que tube con las Naciones Gentiles, 1788, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 111, f. 165; Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

in preparation for battle. The color was applied to the face either in patches or in a single streak across the face and over the edge of the eyelids. Body painting was practiced only in warm weather when the buckskin shirt was not generally worn.<sup>51</sup>

Women wore their hair long, either loose or in a single braid down the back. They also streaked their faces with paint and wore earrings and necklaces of beads or shells strung on copper wire.<sup>52</sup>

*Habitations.* The Lipan Indians preferred to set up camp alongside a running stream, for water was essential for their animals. In cold weather, however, they sought the southern slopes of hills. In time of danger, they either camped on high bluffs overlooking a river—strategic spots for observing the movements of the enemy—or fled to hilly country where they could more easily be concealed.<sup>53</sup>

Among the Lipan Apache the skin tipi was used more frequently than any other type of dwelling. It was constructed by first setting a number of light poles in the ground in a circle. The narrower ends of these were lashed together at the top, leaving a smoke-hole. Next, bison skins dressed on both sides, or occasionally bear skins, were spread over this framework. An opening was left on one side for a door; this had a special skin cover. The smaller tipis were occupied by only three or four persons; the larger ones, which were usually more numerous, housed ten to twelve individuals.<sup>54</sup>

Spanish sources note that the Lipan also built huts by bending over or arching a number of branches or slender poles. However, no clear description of these dwellings is given. Occasionally, both huts and tipis were found in the same encampment.<sup>55</sup> The brush lodges were frequently abandoned when the Indians left to hunt the bison or feared an enemy attack. The tipis, on the other hand, were dismantled and transported by the horses and mules, the heavier poles serving as travois. Finally, a few families appear to have lived from time to time out in the open without even a simple lean-to for protection.<sup>56</sup>

51 Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 90; Descripción, *op. cit.*; Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 79; William Bol-laert, *Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas* (Journal, Ethnological Society of London, vol. 2, pp. 262-283, 1850), p. 278; Olmsted, *op. cit.*, pp. 290, 293.

52 Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

53 *Idem*, pp. 99-100.

54 Descripción, *op. cit.*; Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Page, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Testimo. de los autos, *op. cit.*, fs. 71, 170; Diligencia sobre llamar al capitán Chiquito para que exprese la voluntad de su gente, May 29, 1757, *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande*, vol. 23, f. 163; Olmsted, *op. cit.*, p. 290; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 116.

55 Descripción, *op. cit.*; Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Diario . . . de Vgalde, *op. cit.*, f. 174.

56 Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 98; El Cavallero de Croix to Antonio Bucareli y Ursua, November 23, 1778, *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México*, 1777-79, legajo 89-4-14, f. 21; Page, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Diario . . . de Vgalde, *op. cit.*, f. 174.

Buckelew mentions a large rectangular shelter which was erected specifically for a dance. This was reportedly fifty feet long and thirty feet wide. The side walls were of twigs and brush. Both ends of the structure, however, were left open.<sup>57</sup>

Before a new dwelling was occupied, it was "blessed" by the shaman. While conducting his rites, he reportedly "assumed the form of a buffalo." Afterwards, a ceremonial dance was held.<sup>58</sup>

Inside the Lipan dwelling a fire was kept burning in cold weather. The occupants sat on antelope hides spread on the ground. Beds, which were slightly raised from the floor, were made by laying down boughs of cedar or pine and covering these with a layer of leaves or straw two or three inches thick. This stuffing was changed at intervals. On top of it were spread, fur-side up, a number of soft skins. The customary procedure was to roll up in one of these, lie down on the bed, and cover the body with another hide. When on the trail at night, a Lipan Indian made a sleeping pallet by setting the horse's saddle blanket on the ground and covering it with a bison skin robe.<sup>59</sup>

*Weapons.* The bow and arrow was the most important weapon and remained so even after firearms were readily obtainable. Bows were made from well-seasoned mulberry, cedar, or screwbean wood. Both the simple- or self-bow and the bow strengthened with sinew were used. The first was about four feet long, and was shaped into a simple arc or an arc with slightly recurved ends. On the other hand, the sinew-backed bow characteristically had a double curve. Sinews for this bow were obtained from the hind leg of a horse and were extracted by means of an awl. After the transverse fibers had been removed, the longitudinal fibers which remained were combed until they were soft and loose. A number of these were moistened in the mouth and placed along the back of the bow. They were tied on with other sinew strings or attached by means of glue made by boiling a cow's horn with a piece of deerhide.<sup>60</sup>

To make the bowstring, three or four bison, cattle, or deer sinews were twisted together. One end of the bowstring was tied to an end of the bow; the other terminated in a loop which slipped over the opposite end of the bow to facilitate unstringing the weapon when it was not being used.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>58</sup> Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 19; *Relacion de las Misiones*, *op. cit.*, f. 136.

<sup>59</sup> Aleš Hrdlička, *Physiological and Medical Observations among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 34, 1908), p. 32; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 75, 92-93, 116; *Descripción*, *op. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 118; *Descripción*, *op. cit.*

<sup>61</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 118; *Descripción*, *op. cit.*

Arrow shafts were of hard, well-seasoned wood and characteristically had four longitudinal flutings. Generally, three feathers were tied to the nock end by means of sinew strings; to the opposite end was affixed an iron point. The shafts were straightened by simply passing them between the teeth. Also, it was the practice to stain the arrows red by dipping them in animal blood. Buckelew notes that arrows used in warfare were sometimes poisoned, but he fails to mention the specific substance used.<sup>62</sup> Hoffman, however, states that the Lipan dipped them in the sap of *Yucca angustifolia*, a non-poisonous plant which nonetheless was believed to have a "mystic power."<sup>63</sup> Finally, the bow and the arrows were carried in cylindrical quivers of deer, calf, or mountain-lion skin. These were usually about four feet long and were worn suspended from the left shoulder by a strap.<sup>64</sup>

The lance was important both in hunting and in war. This was ten to twelve feet long and consisted of an iron point set in a wooden shaft, held by a brass ferrule. In addition, the Lipan used pikes, spears, and long-bladed steel knives.<sup>65</sup> Guns, powder, and bullets were regularly obtained through trade. In late times, however, they learned from the Whites how to manufacture their own gunpowder.<sup>66</sup>

The Lipan Apaches made oval shields with a convex front; these had dimensions of approximately two by three feet. To make the shield, a piece of wet cowhide was tightly stretched, then allowed to dry for several days. Next the hair was removed by scraping. An oval piece about two feet wide and three feet long was cut out of the dressed hide and soaked in water. A shallow depression corresponding exactly to the desired shape of the shield was dug in the ground and the bottom lined with grass; the wet skin was placed in this and was smoothed and patted until thoroughly dry. The shield was then removed from its mold, and two slits were cut on each long side for the insertion of buckskin loops. Finally, a large oval piece of buckskin was placed over the front of the shield and the overlapping edges drawn behind; this buckskin cover was pulled tight by means of a drawstring, leaving the face of the shield very smooth.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, 57, 118-119, 131; Descripción, *op. cit.*; Abbé Em. Domenech, *Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America* (2 vols., London, 1860), vol. 2, p. 270.

<sup>63</sup> W. J. Hoffman, *Poisoned Arrows* (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 4, pp. 67-71, 1891), p. 69.

<sup>64</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>65</sup> Ynforme del Gobernador, *op. cit.*, f. 45; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 86, 119.

<sup>66</sup> Descripción, *op. cit.*; Expediente Sobre Comercio Reciproco entre las Provas de la Luisiana y Texas, 1778, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 182, pt. 2, f. 10.

<sup>67</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-118.

An Indian held the shield before his body by placing his left arm through both of the buckskin side-loops. Thus, he was quite well protected except while delivering an arrow. Rifle shot, unless it hit "dead center," usually glanced off these convex shields. The Lipan also covered their horses with a kind of "armor" consisting of a number of hard, untanned bison skins.<sup>68</sup>

*Containers.* The Lipan Apache wove small-mouthed jug-shaped baskets which were coated inside and out with pitch. These reportedly had a capacity of five to six gallons and were used for carrying and storing water. A woman carried the water jug on her back by passing a long rawhide strap under the bottom and through the two side-loops. The strap was then crossed over the shoulders, one end of it being held in each hand. (A similar method was used by the women in carrying bundles of wood.)<sup>69</sup>

Nothing is known of pottery among the Lipan except for a clay vessel drum which had a deerhide stretched across the mouth.<sup>70</sup> The Indians also used as containers, wooden bowls and water bags made of skins or from the stomach or intestines of an animal. In addition, provisions for travel were placed inside a carefully stripped-off, complete deerskin or wrapped in large pieces of hide. These bundles were carried on the backs of horses and mules and, when streams had to be crossed, were floated on the water, guided by swimmers. An individual carried supplies wrapped in skins by passing his arms through holes cut in the ends of the bundle and raising this to his back.<sup>71</sup>

*Horse trappings.* Other items of material culture were saddles, bridles, bits, spurs, quirts, lariats, and saddle blankets of bison or antelope hide with the hair left on.<sup>72</sup> To make the saddle, two forked pieces of "hackberry" (probably juniper) were set about two feet apart on the animal's back and joined by two flat pieces of the same material which served as the seat of the saddle. A cover of green rawhide was then tightly fitted over the framework and sewed with buckskin thongs; when dry it became very rigid. The saddle was held in place by a girth. Finally, a pommel was carved from the front fork and stirrups made to fit the whole foot. Pack saddles were similar to riding saddles, except that they lacked pommel and stirrups.<sup>73</sup> Saddles stuffed with straw were also reported.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Idem*, p. 118; *Informe del Gobernador*, *op. cit.*, f. 45; *Diario . . . de Vgalde*, *op. cit.*, f. 165.

<sup>69</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, 123.

<sup>70</sup> *Idem*, p. 106.

<sup>71</sup> *Idem*, pp. 43, 59-60, 72, 98; Page, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>72</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 110, 116; Ramon de Castro to Conde de Revilla Gigedo, July 21, 1791, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 224, pt. 1, f. 32.

<sup>73</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>74</sup> *Texas State Times* (Austin, Texas), September 8, 1855, p. 2.

## THE LIFE CYCLE

Concerning the Lipan Apache life cycle, only brief descriptions of customs connected with childbirth, child-rearing, marriage, and death are available in the historical records.

A woman in labor assumed a kneeling position while an assistant held her firmly by the shoulders. If some difficulty arose an old woman merely washed her with several jars of cold water. Immediately after the child was born, the umbilical cord was severed four inches from the body, first having been tied off at about an inch and a half. The placenta was thrown where no animals would find it. After the mother had bathed herself, the infant was washed with warm water carried in a bison horn. It was then held up in turn to "the four points of the compass" and also "shown to the sun." When it was just a few days old the father named it after some natural object, such as an animal, stone, tree, or flower.<sup>75</sup>

The mother was not supposed to nurse the child until it was at least two days old. Only after four days could she leave the house. A cradle-board was specially made for the infant when it was four days old. This was constructed by stretching an elaborately beaded buckskin over a wooden frame and lacing the ends together in front. Before it was placed inside, the child was wrapped in a cloth and laid on a skin covered with certain "weeds" called *tlo-til-spai*. It was kept in the cradle during the day but was taken out at night to sleep with the mother.<sup>76</sup>

Only scattered bits of information are available on the rearing of children. A disobedient child was doused with water but seldom beaten. Also, it was part of the training of youths to roll naked in the snow, to expose themselves to the burning sun, and in general to risk danger. They were eligible to become warriors at about eighteen years of age.<sup>77</sup>

To secure a wife a man first asked permission of the girl's father, brother, or other male relative. Before giving his approval, this individual was supposed to consult with his own wife. If both agreed, preparations were made for the wedding. First, however, the suitor was required to present gifts of horses, bison skins, or firearms to the girl's parents.<sup>78</sup>

The Lipan Apache marriage ceremony seems unique. First a large cowhide was spread on the ground, fur-side down. Heated stones were placed in it to make it curl into a "basin," which was then partially filled with water. Holding

<sup>75</sup> Descripción, *op. cit.*; Hrdlička, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 74; Relación de las Misiones, *op. cit.*, f. 136.

<sup>76</sup> Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Hrdlička, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 74.

<sup>77</sup> Descripción, *op. cit.*; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278.

<sup>78</sup> Descripción, *op. cit.*; Affleck, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

hands, the bride and groom stepped into the skin receptacle and walked around in the water for a while. After the nuptials, a ceremonial dance was held and the couple presented with furnishings for their new home.<sup>79</sup>

Contrary to the statements of Opler and Gifford, polygyny was permitted and practiced. Usually, however, it was limited to the chiefs and most outstanding warriors.<sup>80</sup> Little information on family life is extant. However, husbands were reported to be extremely jealous. Adultery on the part of the wife was punished by cutting off the ears or end of the nose, by beating with sticks, and even by death. Occasionally the husband simply left his wife and joined another Lipan band.<sup>81</sup>

Apparently these Indians believed in life after death: a Lipan was buried with food, water, and weapons for his journey to the afterworld. A chief or a warrior was dressed in his best clothing, and many of his possessions were broken up and buried with him. Often his favorite horses were shot over the grave and also interred. The burial site was covered with several alternating layers of earth and brush. Sometimes grass was scattered over this and an archway of branches formed to serve as a shelter for the grave. If death occurred away from camp—in battle or on the trail—the body was simply left in a cave or deposited in a thicket or hole in the ground.<sup>82</sup>

Mourning ceremonies lasted a whole night and were marked by profuse weeping on the part of relatives. The widow usually shaved the hair from her head and went into seclusion for a number of days. The entire band participated in mourning ceremonies for a chief or a warrior.<sup>83</sup>

#### SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

*Religious and medicinal practices.* The historical accounts indicate that the Lipan Apache believed in a "supreme power." Also, they "worshipped" the sun, the moon, and the stars. An individual chose a certain star for himself and named it; in time of need he directed prayers to it. In addition, the Lipan had shamans

79 Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

80 Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 17; *Relacion de las Misiones, op. cit.*, fs. 136-137; Affleck, *op. cit.*, p. 305; Juan Antonio Padilla, *Memoria sobre los Yndios infieles de la Provincia de Texas, December 27, 1819, The Austin Papers; Descripción, op. cit.; Bollaert, op. cit.*, p. 277; *Texas Centinel, op. cit.*

81 *Descripción, op. cit.*

82 *Relacion de las Misiones, op. cit.*, f. 136; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278; Emanuel Domenech, *Erinnerungen aus Amerika, insbesondere aus Texas* (Marburg, Germany, 1856), p. 4; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

83 Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

who claimed personal contact with a number of lesser spirits.<sup>84</sup> Other duties of the shamans were to "bless" a new dwelling, to determine whether a bison hunt should be undertaken, to prognosticate the approach of enemies, and to assist in directing the warriors in battle. Also, these individuals were said to perform skillful tricks, such as the handling of snakes, and to cause and prevent both floods and droughts.<sup>85</sup> No mention is made of the use of special structures by the shamans. However, they carried with them "idols" fashioned from stuffed skins with the faces painted to resemble human beings. These were focal points in a common religious rite in which the Indians filled their pipes with tobacco and other herbs and blew smoke toward the idols.<sup>86</sup>

The shamans also engaged in "curing," making use of medicinal herbs.<sup>87</sup> In addition, each family had its own collection of herbs for treating a number of ailments, including rattlesnake bite. The twigs of *Hedeoma reverchoni* were rubbed in the hands and the aroma inhaled as a remedy for headache. *Artemisia dracunculoides* provided roots which were pounded and mixed with water, then applied to bruises and fractures to prevent swelling. Infusions for the treatment of fever were prepared from the bark of the wild cherry tree. The Lipan were also said to be skillful in setting bones. Finally, rough kneading and massaging of the abdomen by an old woman was a standard treatment for indigestion.<sup>88</sup>

*Political organization.* Typically, the Lipan were organized into a number of politically autonomous bands. Individuals seem to have been free to move from one to another.<sup>89</sup> In the eighteenth century, particularly, these bands scattered widely to obtain food and thus had little contact with each other except during major deer and bison hunting expeditions. The earlier records note that each band was led by a chief. However, later accounts mention both a war chief and a civil chief, the latter generally exercising the greater authority. In addition, there were a number of lesser chiefs.<sup>90</sup>

No evidence was found for the existence of a Lipan chief for the entire

84 Descripción, *op. cit.*; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, p. 278; Relacion de las Misiones, *op. cit.*, f. 136; Chabot, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

85 Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Relacion de las Misiones, *op. cit.*, f. 136.

86 Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Relacion de las Misiones, *op. cit.*, f. 136.

87 Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Relacion de las Misiones, *op. cit.*, f. 136; Descripción, *op. cit.*

88 Hrdlička, *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 238; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 127.

89 Descripción, *op. cit.*

90 Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, p. 278; Affleck, *op. cit.*, p. 305; John H. Rollins, September 25, 1850, Correspondence Concerning the Texas Rangers, Walter Prescott Webb Collection (University of Texas Archives).

tribe. During the 1780's, the Spaniards attempted to unite the Lipan Apache on a tribal basis under the leadership of the chief of the Lipillán, a Texas Apache group.<sup>91</sup> This move was unsuccessful, however, for the various Lipan bands were at that time forming two loose aggregations—the Upper and the Lower divisions. This schismatic process was intensified during the Mexican Revolution and reached its peak in the Texas-Mexican conflict, when the two large groups joined opposing sides under the leadership of two main chiefs who rallied most of the people about them. After the hostilities, however, a number of lesser chiefs broke off to form new bands.<sup>92</sup>

Chiefs were usually chosen by the group on the basis of certain personal qualities held to be desirable in a leader, e.g., bravery and experience. Also, a type of hereditary chieftainship seems to have existed. Lesser chiefs were sometimes sons, sons-in-law, or nephews of the principal chiefs, and achieved the rank of head chief upon the death of the latter. Some leaders "retired" when they grew old; however, they were consulted in all matters of import and still wielded much authority. In some cases, if a band became displeased with a chief, it forced him to relinquish his position.<sup>93</sup>

*Warfare.* War-making was a vital part of Lipan Apache life. In the first place, a man's prestige was greatly enhanced by a display of courage in battle.<sup>94</sup> Secondly, the desire to avenge the death of a warrior was a strong incentive to launching an attack upon the enemy; even the chiefs were sometimes unable to restrain the relatives and friends of the deceased from taking this step.<sup>95</sup> Economic considerations were especially significant as a cause of war. Many of the early documents refer to the deep-seated animosity between the Lipan and the Comanche which grew out of competition for possession of the rich bison lands of western Texas. During a period of more than a century, the Comanche and their allies carried on a veritable "war of extermination" against the Lipan Apache.<sup>96</sup> No limit seems to have been placed by either side on the destruction

91 Oficios y respuestas del Comandante General del Oriente Dn. Juan Vgalde sobre Mes-caleros, Lipanes, y Lipianes, 1787, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 111, f. 33.

92 *Spanish Archives of Laredo*, June 11, 1838; *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston, Texas), November 19, 1845, p. 2; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

93 *Spanish Archives of Laredo*, February 4, 1832; Huson, *op. cit.*, Bollaert, *op. cit.*, p. 278; Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Descripción, *op. cit.*; Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Bartlett, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 79; John H. Rollins, September 25, 1850, *op. cit.*

94 Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Descripción, *op. cit.*

95 John H. Rollins, September 25, 1850, *op. cit.*

96 Some of the more important documents are: Carta del gobernador de Coahuila, D. Lorenzo Cancio al virrey sobre el avance de las naciones indias enemigas del norte sobre la provincia de Texas, April 15, 1763, *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande*, vol. 18; Sobre las

of property and the taking of lives. This struggle, then, had few of the elements of a "game," such as characterized Plains Indian warfare. Finally, both economic and political factors led to conflict with the White man.<sup>97</sup>

Theoretically, any warrior could organize a war party or a raid for horses. He merely announced his intention, and whoever wished to join him could do so. The night before an assault against the enemy, the Lipan held a dance. Shortly afterwards, the old women withdrew to a distance for mourning rites which lasted the entire night.<sup>98</sup> The next day the warriors set out on horseback in small groups. The individual who had first proposed the expedition was usually its leader; however, this leadership was effective only for the duration of the raid. Frequently the shaman accompanied the war party in a position of some authority. Also, women—particularly the wives of chiefs—went with the men on some of their forays.<sup>99</sup>

The Lipan seem to have been well informed about the movements of other Indian tribes and of the Spanish and American forces. In this they were aided by smoke signals and by messengers sent by other Eastern Apache groups. In addition, the Lipan regularly sent out scouts in relays on reconnaissance missions. When an enemy attack seemed imminent, the warriors stood ready beside their best horses, while the women and children mounted the other horses and fled to the hills. When the Lipan themselves attacked, they relied heavily upon surprise assaults by small groups, often at night. Then they quickly withdrew, leaving Comanche arrows or other items to confuse their pursuers.<sup>100</sup>

Immediately after a successful battle, portions of the slain victims, particularly if they were Comanches, were cut off and eaten. Scalps were taken, and captives—either men or women—were led back to camp for the victory celebra-

---

intenciones de Dn. Felipe Nolan en las Provincias Ynternas, 1800, *Archivo General y Público de México, Historia*, vol. 413, pt. 1, fs. 68, 74; Expedientes sobre el establecimiento del Pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli, April 9, 1774, *Archivo General y Público de México, Historia*, vol. 51, f. 20; Pedro de Nava to the Viceroy, May 14, 1799, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 12, f. 216.

97 *El Bejareño* (San Antonio, Texas), July 31, 1855, p. 2; *Spanish Archives of Laredo*, October 24, 1828, July 28, 1832; Huson, *op. cit.*

98 Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Descripción, *op. cit.*

99 Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Diario . . . de Vgalde, *op. cit.*, f. 165; Arricivita, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-348; Descripción, *op. cit.*

100 *Report of the Secretary of War, 1881* (47th Cong., 1st Sess., House Executive Document, no. 1), p. 128; Ynforme del Gobernador, *op. cit.*, fs. 74-75; Memorial presentado por el R. P. Presidte. Fr. Mariano de los Dolores al capn. Dn. Thorivio de Urrutia, September 19, 1750, *Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro*, K, legajo 7, no. 7; Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 100-103; El Baron de Ripperda, April 22, 1770, *Archivo General y Público de México, Historia*, vol. 84, pt. 3, f. 12.

tion. After the group had arrived at the Lipan village, the warrior who had seized an enemy captive delivered him to the chiefs, who "tortured" him for a while. Next the prisoner was pushed into the fire, but quickly removed to be stabbed with sharp-pointed instruments or burned with hot coals. Some of the old men and old women played a prominent role in the proceedings, cutting off pieces of flesh and then roasting and eating them.<sup>101</sup> When night came, the old women again withdrew to a point outside the camp, where they sang in a solemn ceremony.<sup>102</sup>

On the appointed day, the Indians carefully washed the captive and then led him in a procession, singing military songs. Next the prisoner was bound to a tree or specially prepared post. Young boys, as part of their training in the handling of enemy captives, were expected to shoot arrows into the victim for a time. Afterwards, the men assisted in killing him with the bow and arrow or with pikes, lances, or knives. Immediately, sometimes before he was actually dead, the onlookers rushed up and literally tore him apart, hacking off pieces of flesh which were roasted or eaten raw. Afterwards, the head chief commended the captor, and those who had participated in the orgy presented the latter with horses, rifles, tanned deerskins, or bison-skin robes.<sup>103</sup>

A scalp dance has also been reported: this may have constituted part of the victory ceremony.<sup>104</sup>

Special raids were undertaken for White boy captives, generally under ten years of age, who could be made to perform the drudgery about the camp. A boy captive was usually "adopted" by the warrior who had seized him. Upon arriving at the Lipan village, the prisoner was struck by his captor's wife, then also by the children and old women, who lined up for this purpose in order of age. Next his prospective foster-mother drew the edge of a knife several times across his throat, just touching the skin. Afterwards, his face and body were painted, his ears were pierced for earrings, and he was dressed in Lipan clothing. From that time on, he was expected to call his owner and his owner's wife "father" and "mother," and their children "brother" and "sister."<sup>105</sup>

*Miscellaneous customs.* A Lipan dance held in the large open-ended brush

101 Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Descripción, *op. cit.*; Relación de los indios de Nuevo México, February 28, 1763, *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande*, vol. 22, f. 17; Hermann Seele, *Die Cypresse und Gesammelte Schriften* (New Braunfels, Texas, 1936), p. 116.

102 Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 111-115.

103 Descripción, *op. cit.*; Relación de los indios, *op. cit.*, f. 17; Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

104 Nicasio Sánchez to José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, August 23, 1825, *Béxar Archives*; Antonio Trevenio, January 20, 1791, *Archivo General y Público de México, Provincias Internas*, vol. 224, pt. 2, f. 507.

105 Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-89.

shelter has been described by Buckelew. In this ceremony, the Indians rattled long chains of disc-shaped bones, struck pairs of smooth sticks together, or beat pottery-vessel drums. A Lipan warrior dressed in a cowhide or a bison skin and wearing a set of horns on his head danced for a time, then was chased out by the members of the audience, who stripped him of his costume. However, he soon returned to repeat the performance, dressed in quite different attire.<sup>106</sup> In another ceremony, rows of women and girls danced with slow, rocking steps while some individuals sang and others rattled gourds or beat on stiff bison hides.<sup>107</sup>

Lipan men spent much of their time smoking cigarettes made by rolling tobacco in a sotol shuck. Other favorite pastimes were gambling, playing cards, drinking whiskey, horse racing, and target practice with the bow and arrow. Young boys imitated the warriors in sham battles fought with shields and diminutive bows with blunt arrows.<sup>108</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

The historical materials have clarified the cultural position of the Lipan Apache by bringing to light certain traits which were not known to be Lipan and by providing specific details concerning aspects of their culture which were merely mentioned by Opler or Gifford. Those anthropologists who have attempted to place them in their proper culture area have overemphasized the Plains orientation of these Indians.<sup>109</sup> Thus, Gifford wrote that the Lipan Apache were "definitely a Plains rather than a Southwestern people."<sup>110</sup> Kroeber, in commenting upon Gifford's material, described them as an aberrant Athabascan group and felt that a number of the similarities between the Mescalero and the Lipan had resulted from acculturation during the reservation period.<sup>111</sup>

It is significant that Gifford's conclusion concerning Lipan culture was to a considerable degree based upon the fact that no evidence was found for the existence of certain traits which were common to all (or almost all) the other Southwestern Apaches.<sup>112</sup> Among these are: agriculture; polygyny; hereditary chieftainship; the role of the shamans in curing, making and stopping rain, and the handling of snakes; the pottery-vessel drum with skin cover; and the pitched

106 *Idem*, p. 106.

107 Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 97

108 Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 59, 106-107, 129; Bollaert, *op. cit.*, p. 277; Padilla, *op. cit.*

109 Neither Opler nor Hoijer was directly concerned with the problem of assigning the Lipan to a specific culture area. Their materials, however, support the conclusions of this study.

110 Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

111 *Idem*, pp. 202-203.

112 *Idem.*, p. 194 *passim*.

basketry water bottle. But the historical materials reveal that the Lipan actually did possess these traits in pre-reservation times. Also, they resembled the other Apaches of the Southwest in their ceremonial life, general political organization, and patterns of warfare. And although the Lipan Indians were "Plains-like" in their dependence upon the bison and their use of the skin tipi, skin clothing, and the sinew-backed bow, these same traits were found among the Mescalero and the Jicarilla, groups usually classified as Southwestern Apache. Thus, we may conclude that because of their close affiliation with the other Southwestern Athabaskan tribes, the Lipan Apache rightfully belong in the culture area of the Southwest.

AUSTIN, TEXAS