Native American Peoples of South Texas

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Community Historical Archaeology Project with Schools Program
The University of Texas – Pan American
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Dedicated to

Dr. Thomas R. Hester

Pioneering Scholar of

South Texas Prehistory
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Preface

More than 120 years ago, Frederick Jackson Turner commented on the closing of the American frontier as a defining characteristic of America. Today, “parts unknown” and “terra incognita” are not terms we normally associate with our knowledge of the modern United States. Over these six score years, the country has been mapped by geographers, its natural resources have been documented by geologists, and its Native peoples, both prehistoric and historic have been studied by anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians. Yet, in some corners of the country, our knowledge of these aspects of our past is slim to nonexistent, a tabula rasa. The interior of deep south Texas-Hidalgo, Starr, and Zapata Counties- is one such region.

Bounded naturally by the Rio Grande and Nueces rivers, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Edwards Plateau, south Texas is an area of little water, open grass and brush lands and, until recently, few people. The documentary history of the area dates to the 1750s when Spanish colonial communities were established along the Rio Grande from Laredo to its mouth near Brownsville. There, ranching and subsistence farming began. In 1900, irrigation transformed southern Hidalgo County into a center for commercial agriculture. Two decades ago the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement transformed Hidalgo and neighboring Cameron County into manufacturing and trans-shipment hubs. This spurred great and rapid population growth such that lands which only a generation ago grew cotton and citrus now grow housing developments and related aspects of urban sprawl. As a result of these changes, the preserved aspects of our past are being rapidly erased without documentation.

In 2009, the Community Historical Archaeology Project with Schools (CHAPS) Program was founded at the University of Texas Pan American to salvage and preserve this rapidly fading regional history. Through the efforts of CHAPS-affiliated faculty in anthropology, biology, geology, and history, the story of the human adaptive experience is being told against changes in the larger natural and cultural landscape. The program works with
teachers and students in K-12 grade levels to inspire a new
generation to study and learn from the past through oral history
and the scientific study of the local world. This book is one step
in this process.

Funded in part through the largess of the Summerfield G.
Roberts Foundation as part of a workshop for K-12 teachers, this
book considers the first people who lived in this region. For more
than ten thousand years, these ancestral Indians or First or Native
Americans lived along the Rio Grande and Nueces where fresh
water was plentiful. Through the endeavors of the CHAPS
Program we now know that the seemingly harsh interior was
successfully occupied and necessary resources such as stone and
salt moved widely in the region. The past two centuries witnessed
population changes with the arrival of new Native Peoples who
left their mark on the area. Today, their descendants continue to
call Texas home and share their legacy with the general public
through Powwows. Teachers will find in this book and the
CHAPS Program web page ways to bring this information to their
students.

On behalf of the CHAPS Program team I hope your will
enjoy The Native American Peoples of South Texas.

Russell K. Skowronnek, Ph.D.
Director of the CHAPS Program
Professor of Anthropology & History
ONE

Introduction to South Texas Prehistory

Bobbie L. Lovett

Humans first occupied south Texas more than 11,000 years ago (Hester 1980, 2004) and although much has been learned about these first Americans in recent years, certain critical aspects concerning these peoples still require research. These were the first peoples to live in what today we call the Rio Grande region. We do not know their names or the languages they spoke. They left no written records. We know that much later groups known as Coahuiltecans, Lipan Apache, and Comanche lived in the region. It is through archaeology that researchers have been able to tell the “story” of these preliterate and so, “prehistoric” peoples of the region. Archaeology and its home discipline anthropology are historical sciences like biology and geology. It has been through the efforts of archeologists using technologies like radiocarbon dating, classificatory schema and the careful use of ethnographic analogy focusing on known peoples that the story of these people is beginning to be told.

The Late Prehistoric period, the last three or four hundred years prior to the arrival of the Spanish settlement along the Rio Grande, serves as a case in point. The populations known collectively as the Coahuiltecans, lived in this area and were described (Kelley 1959:283) as a clearly surviving archaic culture slightly modified by addition of the bow and arrow. What more can be said about them?
The lack of records and information concerning the many groups that comprise the Coahuiltecans has fostered many answered questions: were the mission Indians the cultural and genetic descendants of an 11,000 year native tradition in south Texas and northeastern Mexico, or were they more recent arrivals, following the buffalo into the area in the 14th and 15th centuries and remaining as the buffalo populations moved back to the north (Hester 1989:5)? If they were recent arrivals, what of those earlier Archaic peoples in the region? Were they displaced or eventually absorbed? Barring the unlikely revelation of some as yet unknown comprehensive set of documents, answers to the questions concerning the Coahuiltecans may have to be found in the archeological record.

The Coahuiltecans occupied southern Texas below the Edwards Plateau to the Gulf coast as well as parts of the Mexican states of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas east of the Sierra Madre Oriental. The area consists of riparian habitats surrounded by thorny brush savanna. The natives, therefore, followed a hunting and gathering existence (Garant 1989:21) which was subject to regional and temporal variations (Hester 1981:119). Intraregional cultural diversity resulted from spatially- and temporally-localized resources within the area, and perhaps shifting spheres of extra-areal cultural influences.

Hester (1981) suggests two broad adaptive models to explain the prehistoric cultural patterns that can be observed in southern Texas. The maritime adaptation found along the south Texas coast consists of a subsistence regime based largely on the resources of the bays, lagoons, barrier islands, the Gulf, and the contiguous prairie environments. The concentration of resources along the coastal strip afforded their use without the degree of mobility required in the interior.

The savanna adaptation found in the interior reflects the utilization of savanna grasslands and riparian zones. Variations in the physical environment across the region are likely reflected in the archeological record in terms of "high resource density" and "low resource density". Low density resources probably resulted in higher group mobility and the subsequent broader dispersal of
archeological materials. High density probably afforded less mobility, a seasonal cycle of exploitation, and the reuse of preferred campsites situated in locations with varied and abundant resources (Hester 1981:122).

Around A.D. 1300-1400, the long-lived Archaic pattern ended as evidenced by changing settlement patterns and the introduction of new cultural traits, particularly the bow and arrow, beveled stone knives, and a core-blade lithic technology. This may reflect adjustments to environmental change associated with a period of cooler weather; however, the new cultural inventory is distinctly different from that of the archaic period (Hester 1975:121). These widespread new cultural similarities are observable over a vast region stretching from north-central and west-central Texas to deep south Texas, and seem to have emerged in the southern Plains and spread southward. Two hypotheses may account for this phenomenon: population movement or cultural diffusion (Black 1989).

The population movement hypothesis posits that people originating in the southern plains moved into the area, assimilating or displacing native groups (Black 1989). However, had new groups moved in, there should be some recognizable evidence of co-existing native peoples who did not accept the new traits. A consideration of the overall picture indicates that the new traits of the late prehistoric are widely distributed throughout the savanna area while the older archaic traits are absent (Hester 1975:122).

The cultural diffusion model, marked by the expansion southward of the bison range around A.D. 1200-1300 and the influx of a faunal component largely absent during the Archaic period, may offer a more feasible explanation. While the Archaic peoples of south Texas probably did not become full-fledged bison hunters, they undoubtedly had to make some readjustments in their subsistence system, and perhaps in the placement of settlements (Hester 1975:122). Such changes, associated with the archaeological Toyah Phase to the north, along with a new lithic technology and tool kit adapted to exploiting bison would have spread relatively uniformly across the entire region in a relatively short interval of time (Black 1989).
With the onset of the Little Ice Age in the fourteenth (1300s) century, the cooling and drying environment encouraged the bison population to move back to the northern grassland prairies. As a result, bison were no longer a viable resource for exploitation and it is likely that the ancestral Coahuiltecan populations returned to their former successful archaic subsistence pattern. Also, it is likely that the even before the Little Ice Age the environment was unable to support large herds of the animals. As a result, the local inhabitants were not ever solely dependent on them for their sustenance. Bison hunting did not become so integral to their lifeway that the bison leaving the area was a matter of great concern. The technology, however, would remain, perhaps to be adapted to some other use within the existing subsistence system.

The environment of south Texas is considered to be a harsh one, even prior to modern times, when it was cooler and moister. It is a semiarid landscape crossed by rivers and streams which offer the only secure sources of water. That is not to say that people did not venture into the area between the Rio Grande and Nueces River. In this interior region at water holes, also known as deflation troughs (see González and Gonzalez this volume), we find evidence of prehistoric peoples by these resource nodes. Nonetheless, the rivers and streams acted as funnels for the movement of human and animal populations across the landscape. The riparian environments along their banks provided the food resources necessary for survival, as well as water. The availability of fresh water is an all important factor in survival. It is therefore likely that any records of human habitation or land use will be found within a certain distance of water sources. It is further likely that these groups did not wander at random along the rivers and streams, isolated from contact with others. As Taylor (1964:199) suggests, not only did water have to be a dependable resource, there also had to be some sort of assured recognition of ownership, or right of preemptive use between the varied groups that laid claim, either formally or informally, to the surrounding territory. It is not difficult to envision a network of information and goods that stretched along the course of the major rivers and their drainages. Nor should it be expected that this network was limited to
interaction between those groups who would later be labeled Coahuiltecan. They co-existed with cultures different from their own, trading with the sedentary Huastecs who lived along the Pánuco River in the northeast region of modern Mexico and with other central Texas groups (Garza 1989:27).

There is as yet much to be determined about the lifeways ascribed to the Coahuiltecs and their ancestors. While the documentary evidence indicates that a number of groups inhabited south Texas and northeastern Mexico prior to the Europeans arrival, it is too incomplete to recognize discrete languages and cultures (Salinas 1990:69). Until such time as discrete cultural differences may be discerned, perhaps in the archaeological record, the prehistoric Indians of South Texas will be categorized as ancestral Coahuiltecan.

Situating South Texas Prehistory

“South Texas” lies in Texas Archaeological Region #9. During the past forty years a growing volume of research on the South Texas Plains has shown that there is evidence that the area has been occupied since the Pleistocene (e.g., Black 1989a and 1989b; Hartmann et al. 1995; Hester 2004, Mallouf et al. 1977, Terneny 2005). These studies have shown that high resource areas and low resource areas manifest different archaeological records (Hester 2004:127).

The archeological record indicates the presence of Native American populations in this region for at least 11,000 years (Hester 1980, 2004), beginning with the Paleo-Indian period (9200 B.C.-6000 B.C.) and continuing through the Archaic period (ca. 6000 B.C.-2500 B.C.), the Late Prehistoric period (A.D. 800-1600), into the early Historic period (ca. 1600) (Black 1986:48-57). All of the prehistoric populations were nomadic with open occupation or camp sites the norm; some of which are stratified or repeatedly reused (Hester 2004:129). Site types and features have been characterized by Black (1989a, 1989 b) and these include stone quarries for tools (e.g., Kumpe and Krzywonski 2010), camp sites, cemeteries (e.g., Terneny 2005), hearths, and rarely rock art (e.g., Hester 2004: 129-132). Anthropologists draw on the
reconstructed models of Coahuiltecan culture to understand the prehistoric story of South Texas. In subsequent chapters in this book, Coahuiltecan culture, plant and animal foods, and other resources (water, stone, salt) are described in some detail. What sets these varied time periods apart are their respective hunting technologies and projectile points.

Atlatl Technology

Atlatls and spears with or without dart points made up the primary weapons kit for prehistoric Texas Indians from around 9200 BC through the early Christian Era and beyond. In some regions of the state, the atlatl was used until a few centuries before the Spanish Conquest (Turner et al. 2011:3).

An atlatl (spear-thrower) is a narrowed, flattened hardwood stick about 2 feet long. One end, held in the hand, sometimes has a pair of animal-hide loops for finger insertion for a better grip. The opposite end has a short groove and projecting spur on its upper surface. The spur engages a small depression in the base of the dart. The atlatl with dart is held over the shoulder and bringing the arm forward quickly releases the dart, propelling it toward the target (Turner et al. 2011:3).

The atlatl is an effective tool in that it allows the dart to be thrown harder and farther. A spear thrown by hand relies on the amount of force propelling it and that depends largely on the length of the arm. An atlatl makes use of centrifugal force that moves an object outward from the center of rotation and this action is compounded by effectively lengthening the arm (Turner et al. 2011:3).

Prehistoric Texas Indians often used a compound dart with two main parts—the main shaft and the fore shaft. The fore shaft is a short piece of wood, about 6 inches long, that is tapered at one end. The opposite end is notched to hold a projectile point fastened with sinew, sometimes strengthened with pitch or asphaltum. The tapered end is rough, so it will fit snugly into the hollow end of the main shaft. (3) When fully assembled, the spear would be 50-70 inches in length (Turner et al. 2011:5).
Some fore shafts were not fitted with stone points. The wooden tip was sharpened to a point and fire-hardened. Some fore shafts were fitted with a sharpened bone point (Turner et al. 2011:5).

**Projectile Points of South Texas**

Dart points and arrow points comprise the two major forms of projectile points in Texas (Turner et al. 2011:3). The sizes and shapes of stone projectile points have changed through time, allowing for the creations of typology (Dickson 1985:24). Most types have regional distribution and fairly limited time spans, making them “time markers”. As such, it becomes possible to date excavated archaeological deposits or surface sites found during surveys (Turner et al. 2011:3).

The variation in size and shape of projectile points is also presumed to relate to usage. In general, the line of thinking has been that atlatl dart points must have been larger than arrowheads because the larger points and shafts were too heavy to be propelled by bow and arrow (Dickson 1985:25). Spencer (1974, cited in Dickson 1985) proposed the use of large points on atlatl darts had a practical advantage in that a too light point gave the dart uplift in flight pattern. A complete discussion and alternative theories can be found in Dickson (1985).

Dart points are generally large and thick (5-10mm). Arrow points are small, delicately chipped, and thin (1-4mm). They were introduced into this region, along with the bow and arrow, in the Late Prehistoric (A.D. 700-1000) (Turner et al. 2011:5).

Projectile points of the Rio Grande Valley vary greatly through time. A full discussion of every point here is beyond the scope of this paper. However, selected examples from the different time frames that have been found locally illustrate the long human occupation of the region. Names of the gracious individuals who shared their collections with us and allowed us to use them on our CHAPS projectile point poster are noted in parentheses. Descriptions are taken from *Stone Artifacts of Texas*.

The First People- Paleo-Indian (9200-8000 B.C.)

The Paleo-Indian era (9200-8000 BC) is evidenced by a Folsom point (J. Boland) found south of Mission TX. This is a lanceolate point made from a black chert. Folsom is easily recognized by excellent chipping, thinness, and distinctive fluting which is usually found on both sides and extends almost to the top of the point. (102) A Golondrina point (D. Kumpe) from Zapata County is lanceolate in form, with a deep basal concavity. Lateral edges of these points are often beveled and basal corners, or “ears”, are somewhat flared (110).

Early Archaic (6000-3500 B.C.)

The Early Archaic (6000-3500 B.C.) is represented by 2 Abasolo points, a Hidalgo point, and a Lerma point. The Abasolo points (T. Eubanks, D. Sekula) are large, unstemmed triangular points with distinctive, well-rounded bases. They often have impact fractures, reflecting their use as dart points. (56) The Hidalgo point (Atwood Farm) is a sturdy point with an expanding stem and a bulbous base. These points are usually biconvex in cross section and few are less than 10 mm thick. (113) The Lerma point (D. Kumpe) is slender, with the characteristic bi-pointed outline and longitudinal symmetry. Some scholars assume that Lerma points are Paleo-Indian in age and there is some evidence suggesting the presence of a small, bi-pointed form in Mexico and south Texas within that time frame (129).

Middle Archaic (2500 B.C.)

The Middle Archaic (2500 BC) is represented by Pedernales and Refugio points. The Pedernales (D. Kumpe) is the most common dart point type in central Texas, but is also found in south Texas. They vary greatly in overall size and types of barbs, and technology. On preforms, the stems are usually finished before the body is thinned and the lateral edges are straightened.
There is so much variation in the type that scholars hope to review the data in order to define regional or temporal differences within they type (148). *Refugio* (D. Kumpe) is an elongate, triangular point with a rounded base and convex lateral edges. Within the type, size varies considerably and it is possible that some, or most, are actually preforms or knives (154).

**Late Archaic (1000 B.C.)**

The Late Archaic (1000 B.C.) is represented by the *Marcos* and *Matamoros* points. Marcos points (D. Kumpe) are often exceedingly well-made. They have broad triangular bodies with straight lateral edges and expanding stems created by precise corner-notching. They are always barbed (130). *Matamoros* points (T. Eubanks, D. Kumpe, D. Sekula, R. Smith) are small, triangular points ranging from 3.2–4.7 mm in thickness. They often have impact fractures at the distal end and are sometimes made of heat-treated chert (133).

**Transitional Archaic (300 B.C.)**

The Transitional Archaic (300 B.C.) is represented by *Ensor* and *Fairland* points. Ensor (T. Eubanks, D. Kumpe, D. Sekula) is a key marker of this period. It is found mainly in campsites, but also in burials and cemeteries. Ensor varies in all dimensions but is identified by a broad expanding stem, shallow side- or corner-notches, and generally straight bases (94). *Fairland* (K. Norquest) is a large, broad, triangular point with an expanding stem formed by broad corner notches that produce a strongly flaring base that is usually as wide as, or wider, than the shoulder. The base has a wide, deep concavity that sometimes has fine chipping along its edge (99).

**Late Prehistoric (A.D. 1200-1700)**

The Late Prehistoric (A.D. 1200-1700) saw the appearance of arrow points in the region, suggesting that the use of bow and arrow began in this region during this period of time. Points include *Cameron, Caracara, Perdiz, Revilla, Scallorn,* and *Zapata*. *Cameron* points (J. Gonzalez, D. Sekula) are tiny, usually
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Table 1. Projectile point type chart of points found throughout the Rio Grande Valley of Texas that represent all historical eras. The points in the above chart are not actual size. The CHAPS Program at UTPA has developed a comprehensive “Projectile Point Type” poster with photographs of projectile points in their actual size found within Hidalgo, Starr and Cameron counties.
equilateral triangular points with straight to convex edges. *Caracara* points (D. Kumpe) are side-notched, small, and very thin. The convex to nearly straight lateral edges are often finely serrated. Some were found in several burials in the Falcon Lake area, where some were embedded in human bones, evidence of violence or warfare (183).

*Perdiz* points (D. Kumpe) are found throughout most of Texas and Louisiana, and also into the border area of the lower Rio Grande and into northern Chihuahua. The distinctive, contracting stem arrow points usually have pointed barbs. Reasons behind their spread is unclear. They are a key element of the Toyah phase tool kit, along with beveled knives, end-scrapers, bone-tempered ceramics, and bison hunting. In other areas, *Perdiz* is present but not in the “Toyah context” of bison hunting and processing (206).

*Revilla* points (D. Kumpe) are very thin, finely made arrow points of excellent quality chert. They are generally triangular with distinctly deep (4mm) concave bases. Prominent serrations begin at the basal corners, usually three to seven per side (207).

*Scallorn* points (D. Kumpe) are triangular, corner-notched, with straight to convex lateral edges and well-barbed shoulders. The expanding stem varies from a broad wedge shape to extremities as wide as the shoulders. The base may be straight, convex, or concave. They are chronological markers of the Austin Phase, often found with burials (as grave goods) and in burials (as cause of death). *Scallorn*-related woundings and deaths are evidence of warfare among the ancient groups in central, south, and coastal Texas (209).

*Zapata* points (J. Boland) are triangular to lanceolate in form, unstemmed arrow points. They have slight to markedly convex lateral edges near the base, which has the widest measurement. The stem and basal areas are slightly to moderately concave and have a “bow-legged” appearance. The points are usually made on flakes and may retain much of the original flake
surface. Some appear to have been re-sharpened while hafted (217).

Historic era (A.D. 1600-1800)

The Historic era (A.D. 1600-1800) is represented by the Guerrero arrow point (D. Sekula). This triangular to lanceolate point was made during the Spanish Colonial era (1700s) of Coahuila and Texas. They are often referred to as “mission” points, as they are primarily found in mission Indian middens or garbage heaps. But they also occur at ranchos and historic Indian occupations sites. Some are knapped from shards of glass (194).
Coahuiltecs of the Rio Grande Region

Russell Skowronek and Bobbie L. Lovett

Indigenous populations occupied south Texas for more than 11,000 years (Hester 1980). The Native Peoples of the Rio Grande region of southern Texas and northern Mexico have been known to anthropologists as Coahuiltecans for more than one hundred years. The term Coahuiltecan derives from the state of Coahuila, Mexico, and refers to the language spoken by a large number of Indian groups in southern Texas and northeastern Mexico during the Spanish colonial period (Ruecking 1953: 480). The term was first used in a linguistic sense by J. W. Powell in 1891, to refer to the related dialects spoken throughout the area (Troike 1961:57), and applied ethnologically to a number of linguistically related bands of nomadic hunting and gathering Indians (Troike 1959:301). Based on the linguistic ties, early regional perspectives place nearly all of the native groups under the generic designation "Coahuiltecan." This term was based on limited linguistic evidence that suggested an affinity between their languages (Ruecking 1955; Swanton 1915, 1940). That said, the languages within this “Coahuiltecan family” were as disparate as English, German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. While the Spanish did refer to the speakers of these linguistically-related groups as “Coahuiltecos”, the term “Coahuiltecan” was never used by the Spanish or by any of these language speakers. However, it is not unusual for linguistic affinities to be the basis for an appellation. In the San Francisco Bay Area of California, anthropologists referred to the various groups as “Costanoans,”
derived from “costeños,” the Spanish name for these coastal dwellers. Today, the descendants of these varied groups use a number of identifying terms derived from preserved fragments of their languages as well as “Costanoan.”

Similarly, there was not a “nation” with a single identity in South Texas. Rather there is evidence that more than five dozen “polities” (Campbell 1983: 348) were scattered across a wedge- or triangularly-shaped region south of modern San Antonio, that ran from the mouth of the Guadalupe River on the Gulf of Mexico west to Eagle Pass, then running southeast on the east side of the Sierra Madre through portions of the States of Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas to the Gulf coast. In an account of his travels through the area in the 1530s, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca noted the extreme density of Indian populations in the Rio Grande delta and the lands to the south of it (Suhm et.al. 1954:135). At least 49 separate groups were linked to the Rio Grande delta area in the decade 1747 to 1757, and there may have been others who were never recorded (Salinas 1990:69). These populations were later described (Kelley 1959:283) as a clearly surviving Archaic culture slightly modified by the addition of the bow and arrow throughout coastal areas. Within about a century of the advent of the Rio Grande settlements in 1749, the native peoples of south Texas ceased to exist as a distinct cultural entity. Their disappearance is thought to be the result of periodic epidemics, conflicts with other native groups, and high infant mortality rates. Further, movement to Spanish missions resulted in their transformation into Spanish-speaking, Roman Catholic farmers and ranchers. Intermarriage with local settlers also took a toll on the varied cultural entities (Hester 1989:4). Remnants of the native groups were absorbed into the Spanish towns around the missions. The Spanish kept few records regarding these groups, and where records were kept, the many local groups were generally given a variety of names. After 1747, an increase in the number of Spanish names for the Indian groups met with a corresponding decrease in the number of native names recorded. The Spanish simplified the identity problem by applying descriptive Spanish names to the Indian-associated groups. Some of the names applied to the delta Indians were also applied to unrelated groups in other areas, adding to the confusion found in
trying to sort out the individual native groups. Further, the Spanish documents rarely equate native and Spanish names (Salinas 1990:69). The basic knowledge concerning these groups is that they were hunting and gathering peoples, organized into rather small autonomous bands. In the late nineteenth century, long after the native groups had disappeared, the term "Coahuiltecan" began to be applied to them (Hester 1989:4).

Difficulties in Identifying People and Places

The identification of names for groups is problematic. Most cultures refer to themselves as “the people” or “the human beings” with other modifiers which may refer to a key food, their local environment, or an adornment or body paint associated with their group. For example, here in the Rio Grande delta the Segujulapem were the people “who lived in huisache thickets” while the Perpepug were the people with the “white heads” and the Peupuetam were those who spoke a “different language” (Salinas 1990:30).

Of the locally known names, more than half refer to local topographical and vegetational features. Others refer to specific flora and fauna, body decorations, or are names given to them by the Spanish and others peoples from other areas of Mexico (Campbell 1983:347). In what is today Hidalgo County, the Sepinpacam are the people who lived near La Sal del Rey and other salt lakes (Campbell 1983; 357; Salinas 1990:30). To the southeast of them lived the Catanamepaque (Salinas 1990:31). In the same vicinity were the Cotonames (Salinas 1990:40-41).

There were six groups that lived farther upriver between Laredo and Mier. They are known to us only by their Spanish and Nahuatl names. Between Camargo and Reynosa were 14 more groups, with the vast majority of their names being of Spanish origin (Campbell 1983:354, 357; Salinas 1990).

At the mouth of the Rio Grande and along the adjacent littoral of the Gulf of Mexico where resources from the sea, the
estuary (Laguna Madre) and the riverine environment of the delta were at the greatest, there are many more names recorded. The names for all of the above mentioned groups are listed by area in Table 1 (Campbell 1983:354, 357; Salinas 1990; Swanton 1940).

In 1915 (35) and again in 1940 (55), John R. Swanton noted that six groups of Coahuilteco speakers referred to the Rio Grande as “ganapetuan”, a large body of water (Table 2). They, it might be said, were the “People of the Ganapetuan.” In another vocabulary of terms collected by Albert S. Gatschet in 1886 and reported in Swanton (1940) we find for the Comecrudo people who lived near the mouth of the Rio Grande the term “Atmaú pakmaú” for the river and “Somná-u” for people or human-being (Salinas 37-38; Table 2). Thus, we might also say Somná-u Atmaú pakmaú for the People of the Rio Grande. Lastly, a very small fragment of Cotoname vocabulary was also collected by Gatschet and also reported by Swanton (1940). The Cotoname were recorded as living on both sides of the “Áx katám” or Rio Grande, near Reynosa and Hidalgo County (Salinas 1990:40-41; Swanton 1940:118, 121).

Social Organization

Relying on data derived from historic documents, Ruecking (1953, 1954, and 1955) presented a detailed account of the Coahuiltecan economic system, ceremonies, and social organization. Extrapolating from Santa Maria's Relación Historica, de Leon's Relación y Discoursa, and other primary and secondary sources, Ruecking (1953) describes a semi-nomadic people with a wide territorial range whose culture was based on a subsistence economy. The Coahuiltecans successfully adapted to their environment, developing the necessary technology for the procurement of food, clothing and shelter. Trade between groups developed to obtain materials not available in their own localities.

Socially, these were egalitarian peoples and probably what anthropologists classify as a “band- or tribal-level” society, depending on the complexity of their social organization. This
meant that the only distinctions within the groups were based solely on age and sex. They were semi-nomadic gatherers, hunters and fishers who subsisted on the wild edible resources of the area. Because neither food nor water was in abundance, the population is thought to have been small. According to Campbell (1983:350) population estimates have greatly varied from a ridiculously low estimate of 2,000 to about 100,000. It is impossible to know an exact number because these were preliterate peoples and there were no census takers. Beginning in the sixteenth century, European observers, including Cabeza de Vaca, provided some information about the indigenous peoples, but it is far from accurate. That said, these observers did provide some insights regarding the size and nature of communities. Salinas (1990:139) noted that most recorded villages were home to populations of 120-300 people living in about 40-100 houses. Yet Campbell (1983:352) notes that one settlement in what is now Nuevo Leon had 8-10 people associated with each house. This is indicative of the inherent problems associated with estimating population based on number of houses.

The harsh environment of the region necessitated a less-complex and unsegmented social organization. The largest social unit consisted of the band comprised of related kinsmen. There was no political entity that could be considered a tribe, and the bands themselves were not strong, cohesive groups. Small family groups that followed a seasonal foraging rhythm were the only social unit throughout most of the year. (Newcomb 1960:6) Congregation of the bands called “mitotes” occurred during times of plenty, and coincided with ceremonial seasons associated with puberty rituals, marriages, family gatherings and other communal activities (Newcomb 1960:7).

Subsistence and Material Culture

These were mobile peoples who moved seasonally to obtain their sustenance. None were associated with any forms of gardening or the use of domesticated plants. Their only domesticated animal was the dog. Foraging territories or
catchment areas varied in size based on the density of comestibles in the region (Campbell 1983:352). For example, the Mariames ranged over an eighty mile area (Campbell 1983:349 and Salinas 1990:139). Salinas (1990:139) found that in one setting there were some 70 villages within a sixty mile diameter circle around Cerralvo. With this in mind, ethnoarchaeological research on catchment areas suggests that hunters and gatherers living in groups of about a hundred or fewer exploited an area that could be traversed in two hours or about a ten kilometer (6.2 mile) radius. This size area could vary to include larger areas which would be seasonally exploited.

Newcomb (1960:4-6) suggests that the many inland groups which comprise the Coahuiltecans entity within the western Gulf region lived in a very harsh environment wherein they were forced to utilize almost every edible plant and animal food available. The types of tools required by the foragers in this region were simple, as it did not require complicated equipment to harvest agave bulbs or catch lizards. Tool kits included hunting and gathering equipment. The Coahuiltecans neither made nor used ceramics (Campbell 1983:351-352) which were heavy and fragile and not conducive to a mobile lifestyle. Instead, more durable containers of basketry, as well as bags of skin or fiber were preferred (Salinas 1990:127-128). Reportedly, habitations were constructed of pole and thatch or woven mats. These were easily dismantled and seasonally moved to new procurement camps. According to Swanton (1915:26) the word for “house” in Coahuilteco was “ixam” and in Comecrudo “wamak”.

Rediscovering the Coahuiltecans

The Coahuiltecan’s region was not actively incorporated into the Spanish empire until the second half of the eighteenth century with the arrival of José Escandón and settlers from near Monterrey. Prior to that date the region was traversed to reach the missions and presidios of Texas. It was no doubt through such casual contact that communicable diseases such as small pox were introduced in the 1670s (Dobyns 1983:15, 281). After 1750,
many Coahuiltecans joined Franciscan missions located in San Antonio, Mier, Camargo, Revilla, Reynosa and other locales (Campbell and Campbell 1985: 43, 62-63, 70-75, Salinas 1990:148-162). It appears that many were displaced by horse-riding newcomers to the region, namely the Lipan Apache and the Comanche (Campbell 1983:345-346).

Obviously, there was a great diversity of peoples and languages in the lower reaches of the Rio Grande in the contact and colonial eras, i.e., 16th-18th centuries. Our information on their language and culture prior to joining the Spanish colonial world is limited. The varied languages of the region were gone by the end of the nineteenth century, replaced by the languages of the invaders- Spanish and English. However, descendants of these peoples live on as part of the population of the region. They are celebrated in the National Park Service film “Gente de Razón, People of the Missions” (1998/2005), and in the genealogies of thousands in south Texas and Mexico, including the “San Antonio River Missions Descendants” group in San Antonio founded by Epifanio Hernandez, which traces their lineage back to some of the Coahuiltecan peoples of south Texas, as does the Indigenous Cultures Institute, a nonprofit organization in San Marcos, Texas, co-founded by Mario Garza, Ph.D. of the Meakan/Garzas Band of Tap Pilam (Coahuiltecan for “the People”). As a result of the linguistic limitation, we might wish to refer to them as the Coahuiltecan Peoples or “Tap Pilam” of the “Ganapetuan,” “Atmaú pakmaú,” or the “Áx katám.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laredo-Mier</th>
<th>Camargo-Reynosa</th>
<th>Rio Grande mouth and adjacent littoral Gulf of Mexico</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cacalotes, Carrizos</strong></td>
<td>Comosellamos, Cueros, Crudos, Cueros Quemadas</td>
<td>Alcalerpaguet, Apenanpem, Aretpeguem, Atanaguypacam, Auyapaguim, Auyapem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garza</td>
<td>Guape</td>
<td>Clanchuiguynuen, Concuyapem, Coospacam, Cotoname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malnombre</td>
<td>Huaraque</td>
<td>Goajopocayo, Guiguypacam, Gummesacapem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tepemaca, Tortugas</strong></td>
<td>Malguita</td>
<td>Inyopacan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narizes, Nazs</td>
<td>Lugplapiagulam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajaritos</td>
<td>Manyateno, Masacuajulam, Mayapem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tampacua, Tarequano, Tejones</td>
<td>Parampanatju, Perpacug, Perpepug, Peupuetam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venados</td>
<td>Samacoalapem, Saulapaguem, Segujulapem, Segujulapacam, Sepinpacam, Sicujulapaguet</td>
<td>Tenicapem, Tugumlepem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Umakayapem, Unpuncliegut, Uscapem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Named Groups (Campbell 1983:354, 357; Salinas 1990; Swanton 1940).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Coahuilteco</th>
<th>Comecrudo</th>
<th>Cotoname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human –being, people</td>
<td>Gente</td>
<td>Pilam po (32, 52)</td>
<td>Somná-u (95)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio Grande, large body of water</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ganapetuan (55)</td>
<td>Atmahaú pakmát or Atmaú pakmáu (60, 86, 115)</td>
<td>Áx katám (118, 121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hombre</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gnáx (65)</td>
<td>Xuanáxé (119, 121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Indian man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gná estók (64)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Carrizo Indian</td>
<td>Un Indio Carrizo</td>
<td>Estók kuák iyopém (64)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Indian</td>
<td>Indios bravos</td>
<td>Estók selakampó m (64, 112)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Comecrudo Indian</td>
<td>Un Indio Comecrudo</td>
<td>Estók palái (64, 109)</td>
<td>Xaíma aranguá (119)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotoname Indians</td>
<td>Indios Cotonames</td>
<td>Estók somixó (64, 109)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comanche</td>
<td>Wild Indian</td>
<td>Selakampó m (94, 109)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Some vocabulary from south Texas and northern Mexico (Swanton 1940)
Figure 1. Coahuiltecan Indians c. 1500. Drawing by José Cisneros. Courtesy of the Margaret H. McAllen Memorial Archives, Museum of South Texas History
South Texas is known today as a land of dense thickets and scrubland, as well as hot dry weather. It is often said if the resident plants and animals do not “bite, scratch, or sting” they are not native. With such admonitions, it would appear to some that the environment was so hostile that few people occupied it prior to the modern era. That, however, is anything but true. For thousands of years, this seemingly harsh and forbidding semi-arid landscape was home to egalitarian bands of foragers; the most recent of whom are known as Coahuiltecs to anthropologists because of their shared linguistic similarities (Campbell 1983:343). The land was not empty; bands roamed the area and were able to survive in the region known today as south Texas.

Twelve thousand years ago, during the Pleistocene epoch, south Texas enjoyed a cooler and wetter climate. The result was a mixed environment of grassland and forest features. This relatively lush environment was home to the grass-eating mammoths and the tree-browsing mastodons (Solis 2009:3). Evidence of both of these great mammals has been found north and south of the Rio Grande River. Smaller game animals such as deer and camelids, and fish, as well as a wide range of localized wild plants, many of which were edible, were found in the area (Campbell 1983:344). As a result, we find evidence of
the first human population in the region in this distant era.

The environment changed ten thousand years ago with global climate change. In south Texas, the Holocene environment was marked by warmer temperatures and reduced rainfall. Previously, during the late Pleistocene, rivers carried more water and traveled faster in the Texas plains. With the change in climate and the rise of sea level, the rivers slowed down and allowed for the creation of oxbow lakes. In the interior, waterholes formed. These features provided water and food resources to hunting and gathering peoples located away from the rivers (Hall 1998:1). The dry and arid landscape we know today was fully developed by 300 B.C. (Hester, ed. Perttula 2004:127). With these drastic changes in climate, the plants and animals adapted to survive in this new environment. Some, like the mammoths and mastodons did not, and became extinct.

For thousands of years, the hunting and gathering bands lived off the land and the resources available. Plant foods included fruit of the prickly pear cactus, agave, pecans, grass seeds, mesquite beans, stool, and other roots (Table 3; Campbell 1983:351-352). The Coahuiltecans and neighboring groups first came into the historic record in the sixteenth century in the account of Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. He was a castaway on the Texas coast along with three other survivors of the 1528 Narváez La Florida expedition. With the help of local native peoples, the four men spent eight years wandering across Texas, New Mexico, and northern Mexico in search of food, water, and a way home. His observations and those of later explorers and settlers provide the firsthand accounts of the subsistence patterns of south Texas. The archaeological record also helps to understand how the Coahuiltecans used the plants and animals around them to survive in the south Texas region.

South Texas Gathered Foods

South Texas was not a land of abundant floral and faunal resources, but those who knew the land never went hungry. Since floral materials are rarely preserved in the archaeological record,
the knowledge of flora remains scarce. The large majority of information concerning the plants used for subsistence came from European explorer accounts. In the account by Cabeza de Vaca, he recalls the local foods gathered, prepared and eaten by the south Texas peoples. Yucca flowers and wild garlic were just some of the wild plants the Coahuiltecans collected and ate in south Texas (Campbell 1983: 344,351,352; Newcomb 1961:40-43; Salinas 1990: 99,115-120). The prickly pear fruit was growing in abundance along the lower Nueces River and along the northern banks of the Rio Grande in the area of what is now Cameron, Hidalgo and Star counties (Campbell 1988:12). Among the thorny vegetation and intermittent streams, mesquite bean pods, maguey root crowns, pecans, acorns and various other tubers were available. There were many more.

The Malhado were the first group encountered by Cabeza de Vaca when he landed on the Texas coast. This group survived the winter on wild roots. Another group, the Yguanzes, also subsisted on roots which were roasted for two days prior to their consumption. Cabeza de Vaca described the food as bitter and hard to find (Cabeza de Vaca, ed. Adorno and Pautz 2003:106). Known as geophytes, the roots were dug from the ground in the fall when they were edible (Roots and Fish of Coastal Foodways, Texas Beyond History). The exact species is still unknown, due to the vague descriptions offered by Cabeza de Vaca in his account. Similarly, Alonso de León, governor of Coahuila in 1600s, in his account of the Indian peoples of Nuevo León, told of collecting fruits in the summer and gathering roots in the winter (Alonso de León. ed. Garza 1985:21). Knowledge of the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of resources was a central aspect of the lifeway of foragers. The Coahuiltecans participated in such seasonal rounds in the lands surrounding the Rio Grande.

Cactus

The prickly pear cactus was one of the main wild plants in the south Texas region and northern Mexico, extending across south Texas from the Nueces River to the Rio Grande and beyond,
which made it a dependable and widespread food source for Coahuiltecan bands (Hall 1998:2). As a year-round comestible, the prickly pear (Opuntia sp.) had a number of edible parts—its flower, fruit, and paddles. In the spring, cactus blossoms are edible and in summer months Coahuiltecan bands traveled considerable distances to collect the bountiful red fruit, or tuna. First, the fruit is carefully twisted from the plant. Next the exterior is lightly charred to remove the sharp glochids, or spines, which protect the fruit. Once cut open, the sweet, edible fruit is revealed. The paddles, or nopales, were available year-round. Once removed from the plant, the spines were burnt from the paddles. Young paddles could then be cut into pieces and cooked or sun dried and stored for later consumption. The dried nopales were then reduced to flour on stone mortars (Salinas 1986:223, Newcomb 1961:41).

**Roots and Bulbs**

Other widely used and consumed plant foods were the smooth-leaf sotol (Dasylirion leiophyllum), the Maguey lechuguilla (Agave lechuguilla) and the yucca (Yucca reverchonii). There is evidence that leaves from these plants were used to make baskets, mats, twine, and sandals (MacGregor 1992). Another important shared aspect is that all of these plants have edible central stems or “hearts.” Preparation required the removal of the spine-covered leaves and severing of the plants’ tap root. The central stem is then cooked for 24-36 hours in an earth oven to break down toxins and fibers. The cooked pulpy flesh was then pounded and sun dried. Because of the amount of processing necessary to make these plants palatable, it is thought that these were only used as “starvation foods” to be exploited in times of duress. Nonetheless, those who did invest the labor to process these plants would find the resulting chewy and nutritious patties tasted like nutty molasses syrup (Dering 1999).

Earth ovens, as suggested by the name, were pits in the ground described in a study of the Lower Pecos region. These underground ovens were used to cook plant material such as sotol, lechuguilla, yucca, and prickly pears (Salinas...
1990:118). Such plants were cooked for approximately two days, making them safe to eat (Dering 1999:668). In his study of the Pecos River region, Phil Dering speculated that tribes used this method in times of need where food resources were low (1999:661, 668).

The ancestral Coahuiltecs used locally available fuels to cook their foods. For example, in the Hinojosa site, located in present day Jim Wells County, the main sources of fuel were the mesquite and the huisache, also known as acacia, which were used for cooking and fires (Hinojosa Site, Texas Beyond History:8).

The Hinds Cave earth oven contained “a 3-m-deep accumulation of dried and charred plant remains, mingled with fire-cracked rock, ash, bone, organic waste, and dust” indicating that rocks were utilized as a heating element (Dering 1999:661). At the Choke Canyon site, excavation uncovered mesquite beans, oak, and other plants used in “hearths, earth ovens, and burned rock accumulations” (Hester 2004:139).

Bean and Nuts

Mesquite (Prosopis sp.) was found throughout the South Texas region and was not only used as fuel. Mesquite trees were part of the native landscape of the region, yet they were concentrated near the rivers by 4000 B.C. (Hester 2004:127). The bean pods of the mesquite were gathered by Coahuiltecan bands for food as they were a good nutritional source (McMahan et al. 1984 cited in Hall 1988:7). Pods were collected and consumed in several different ways. Early in the summer, the first beans could be eaten raw. Later, when the pods had dried, further processing was required. Cabeza de Vaca also chronicled a ritual using the mesquite bean pod by an Indian group, either the Cuchendados or the Arabados, which he encountered near what is now Falcon Lake. He believed that this mesquite bean was used in a ceremony or special social event within the tribe. The pods were placed in a hole in the ground, pounded into a flour consistency with a large and heavy wooden pestle and mixed with handfuls of earth. The pod flour and earth were put into a basket where water
was added to make a paste. The tribe members scooped out some paste and put it in their mouth. The larger, unpulverized pieces were spit out and returned to the mixture where the process repeated itself several times. The result was distended abdomens for the participants so Cabeza de Vaca concluded that this exercise had to be for ceremonial ritual purposes rather than nutrition (Campbell 1988:37).

Two other trees, the pecan (*Carya illinoinsensis*) and the oak (*Quercus sp.*), produced comestible nuts (Campbell 1986:344 and Hall 1998:4). Collected in the fall, pecans were a “predictable” food resource but, like other wild plants, yields could vary greatly from year to year (Hester 1976:7). Pecans were important in the Coahuiltecan diet because they were easily processed and consumed and because “70 percent of the nut meat consists of fat” (Hall 1998:4). Andrés Dorantes, another survivor of the Narvaez expedition, collected nuts from the Colorado River in Texas with an Indian band (Adorno and Pautz cited from Ponton and McFarland 1999, vol.2: 217). Acorns were another potential food resource, but one which would require a great amount of processing to make them edible. Oak trees and their acorns are high in tannins. To remove this toxin, acorns would be ground into a meal and then the meal would have to be repeatedly washed with fresh water to remove the tannins. This was a very laborious and time consuming endeavor.

The Coahuiltecans were knowledgeable of their surroundings and the plant resources available to them because their survival was predicated on it. Coahuiltecans scheduled their migration from region to region to the season of the greatest abundance of the various plant resources. This mobility allowed them to harvest the plants and fruits but meant there were no permanent settlements.

**Fauna**

As was discussed in Chapter 1, during the Pleistocene the Paleo-Indian peoples of Texas hunted with spears and atlatls (spear throwers) tipped with Clovis and other points. In the
excavation at the Gault Site, located in central Texas, the remains of mastodon, horse, bison, whitetail deer, turtle, rabbit, and even a bear were found in association with Clovis-era artifacts (Waters, et al. 2011:1-4, 156-157). After the end of the Pleistocene, large animals like the mammoth, mastodon and the Ice Age bison became extinct. In the dry and arid climate that came to characterize south Texas, grazing animals such as the modern bison were rarely seen as there were insufficient grasses present to sustain them (Waters et al. 2011:156, Salinas 1986:213-214).

A variety of animals were hunted by the Coahuiltecans throughout northern Tamaulipas and the south Texas region (Salinas 1986:212). These included deer, bison, and other mammals, as well as insects, fish, birds, rodents, and reptiles (Campbell 1983:344, 351, 352; Newcomb 1961:40-43; Salinas 1990: 99,115-120). Archaeological evidence in the form of cut and burnt bone from hunted and cooked fauna litter sites across the region. While these discoveries reveal some nuances of the lifeway of the ancestral Coahuiltecans, it is written records which provide the details of these activities.

Cabeza de Vaca’s account is the first eyewitness record of deer hunting. White-tailed deer was one of the most hunted animals in the region (Campbell 1983:344; Hester, 2004:147). Deer were hunted for their meat and skins (Cabeza de Vaca, ed. Adorno and Pautz 2003:121). Communal hunts of deer herds were common. One method involved setting fire to brush to drive the herd toward the hunters. Another strategy required the group to track the deer for days until the exhausted animals could be easily approached and dispatched (Campbell 1983:344).

In south Texas, animals such as wild turkeys, birds, armadillos, rabbits, rats, mice, and peccary were also hunted with bow and arrows and other weapons (Campbell 1983:344, 351, 352; Newcomb 1961:40-43; Salinas 1990:99,115-120). Rabbits, like deer, were communally hunted. Beaters drove the animals by slowly advancing while pounding on the ground. The frightened animals would run toward fiber nets set to trap them and become entangled, where they would be killed. Peccary, or javelinas, were

From the ocean, estuary (Laguna Madre), and the Rio Grande and its tributaries other food sources were exploited. These included frogs, crustaceans, shell- and fin-fish (Campbell 1983:351; Hester 1976:8, Salinas 1986:216). In addition to hooks, spear, and bow fishing, fiber nets made from yucca and other plants were used by the Coahuiltecan bands to capture their prey (Campbell 1983:351). Fish were roasted and eaten fresh or were dried and pulverized in a mortar to make flour (Newcomb 1972:40-41; Tienda de Cuervo 1929:403; Newcomb 1972:41).

If it moved it was eaten. This included spiders, ant eggs, and land snails (Campbell 1983:351). Lizard, salamander, and snake meat was also consumed and what bones remained were collected and pulverized (Cabeza de Vaca ed. Adorno and Pautz 2003:106; Campbell 1983:351). Nothing went to waste.

Conclusion

The hunting and gathering peoples of South Texas subsisted for thousands of years on native plants and animals. Their knowledge, earned through generations of experimentation, allowed them to flourish in the seemingly harsh lands of the region. Although little evidence was left behind, we can still see plants and animals native to the region and understand how basic hunting and gathering methods were easy to employ, thus creating sustainable bands and groups within the region for over 11,000 years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scientific/Common Name and Uses</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agave lechuguilla Maguey—used for baskets, mats, twine, and sandals, edible central stems</td>
<td>Year round</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allium sp Wild garlic and onion.</td>
<td>Cooler weather</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carya illinoinsensis Pecan-nuts</td>
<td>Fall</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasylirion texanum Sotol—used for baskets, mats, twine, and sandals, edible central stems</td>
<td>Year round</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Flora resources available to prehistoric and historic Indians of south Texas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scientific/Common Name and Uses</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opuntia sp. Prickly Pear Cactus (official plant of Texas) both the fruit (tuna) and the paddles (Nopales, Nopalitos) are eaten</td>
<td>Fruit (tuna) late spring.</td>
<td><img src="image1.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosopis sp. Mesquite- beans</td>
<td>June through September</td>
<td><img src="image2.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quercus sp. Oak- acorns</td>
<td>Fall</td>
<td><img src="image3.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucca sp. Yucca, Spanish Dagger- stems, leaf bases, flowers, emerging flower stalks, and fruits</td>
<td>Spring</td>
<td><img src="image4.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 (cont.) Flora resources available to prehistoric and historic Indians of south Texas.
Sustaining human life requires more than the animal and plant foods detailed in Chapter 2. It also requires the regular ingestion of water and certain minerals. To procure these essential resources of water, stone and minerals, humans need certain materials which can be transformed into tools. These three resources are not spread equally across the landscape. This meant the prehistoric inhabitants of south Texas were repeatedly drawn to certain locations for sustenance and these resources.

Water

Within the South Texas Plains, the area broadly defined by the Rio Grande to the south and the Nueces River to the north, a distance of more than 150 km, water is a scarce and precious resource. Yet, prehistoric evidence of open human occupation is remarkably abundant. Because it is predominantly a region of loose, sandy soils and active and relict sand dunes where wind processes dominate, the area is known as the South Texas Sand Sheet (STSS). There is no running water within the STSS, all streams are ephemeral and occupy small-incised valleys (Brown et al., 1979). Existing drainage systems are small, localized and not integrated, carrying water only for a few weeks, after the passage of a storm. The lack of running water makes human occupation
on this semi arid area even more remarkable. Nevertheless, fresh surface water is the nexus for plants, animals and people in prehistoric deep south Texas. That said, according to Hester (1980:34) more surface water was available in the prehistoric period, historic accounts confirm that the major rivers, creeks, and numerous smaller tributaries flowed year-round. Overgrazing and the resulting watershed destruction eventually led to muddy runoffs that clogged the springs feeding the creeks. Coupled with this was the lowering of the water table in many parts of south Texas through intensive deep-well irrigation for farming. This observation suggests that the location of these earlier water sources were locales for prehistoric peoples.

Rivers

Since the 1950s, the flow of the Rio Grande has been severely limited through the construction of Falcon and Amistad reservoirs and a number of dams on tributary rivers in Mexico. These water control projects were undertaken to control floods and to provide water for agriculture. Today the Rio Grande has a very narrow, and shallow flowing channel yet for nearly a century steamboats plied its waters from its mouth below Brownsville to Laredo. In prehistory, the Rio Grande was the focal point for the region, attracting plants, animals and people (Mallouf, 1977). There are many known archaeological sites within an hour’s walk of the river.

Oxbow Lakes or Resacas

Another source of fresh water located along the first terrace adjacent to the Rio Grande were oxbow lakes or “resacas”. Found in the low-lying delta (Hidalgo and Cameron Counties) region, these were former channels of the river, which were cut off through erosional processes associated with the flooding of the river. Long after they were formed, these resacas continued to hold water and fish and were replenished by the regular flooding of the river. Of course fauna, flora and people were drawn to them for their sustenance.
Seeps or Springs

Other than rivers, the only other prehistoric sources of fresh water originating from the underground aquifer were seeps or springs. The best source of information on these water sources may be found in Brune (2002). These springs were usually of a sodium sulfate or chloride type, slightly saline and alkaline (Brune 2002:228). In Hidalgo County, only a few are known. One flowed southeast from springs in Brooks County into Callo Pedrones (Pedrones Depression). The San Juanito Springs are found fifteen miles or about nineteen kilometers northwest of Linn, on what is now the McAllen Ranch. Closer to Linn, at only about six miles or eight kilometers northwest are the Santa Anita Springs. According to Brune (2002:228) the springs and an associated well dug by the Indians was identified in 1794 when it was noted that the water attracted deer, antelope, rabbits, snakes, javelina, coyotes, wolves, and other carnivores. A few other springs are known in Hidalgo County. One in the northern portion of the county, associated with Sal del Rey is discussed below. Three others are closer to the Rio Grande. Tampaguas Springs is located north of the city of Hidalgo. Ojo de Agua is located southwest of Mission near the community of Abram and Ojo de Agua de Arriba is located east of Sullivan City (Brune 2002:229). There are other springs located more than fifty miles north of the Rio Grande and thirty miles south of the Nueces. These include Casa Blanca Springs, located south of San Diego and another, Rosita Creek, rises northwest of Alice (Brune 2002:171). Another well-known one, Charco Redondo (round waterhole), lies in two counties, Brooks and Duval. The Charco Redondo location is at the present day intersection of state highways 285 & 339 or about halfway between Falfurrias and Hebbronville on state highway 285. The Charco Redondo was created when the south and north branches of Palo Blanco Creek converged, forming a large basin. Through the centuries, waters running down through the creeks collected in this basin and provided a valuable drinking resource for both humans and livestock. After time, the growth of hackberry trees or palo blancos, led to the name Charco Redondo del Palo Blanco. Water from the pond flowed southeast into the
*Laguna Salada.* From there, the creek ran east before dying in present day Kenedy County, Texas (Duaine 1987:274-275).

**Deflation Troughs**

The intervening wind deflated areas between sand dunes of the STSS are populated by hundreds of small and shallow elongated deflation troughs and other inter-dune depressions. Most of these poorly drained swales retain seasonal fresh-water that sustains high-moisture plants and are ephemeral wetlands. A small percentage of them hold water year round (Brown et al., 1980). Oral histories with local farmers in Edinburg reveal the presence of “wet” areas which regularly hampered plowing (Salinas et al., 2012). Others recall the extended pooling of water near McCook, which drew enough cranes, ducks, geese and coots to make them attractive hunting locales in the early years of the 21st century (Wilson personal Communication to Juan Gonzalez and Russell Skowronek 8 November 2013).

![Deflation trough with standing water near McCook, Texas November 2013.](image)

Figure 2. Deflation trough with standing water near McCook, Texas November 2013.
Salt

A necessary crystalline mineral for human survival is sodium chloride (NaCl), or salt. Salt is an essential mineral for maintaining human health. It is a major mineral in blood and other bodily fluids and plays an important role in regulating blood pressure, dehydration, and muscle and nerve control. The body’s daily requirement of salt to maintain good health is small, only about 5 grams (about a teaspoonful). Salt is mainly used as a seasoning for and as a preservative of foods. Today, salt is commercially acquired by mining or by the evaporation of seawater or mineral-rich spring water.

Prehistorically the inhabitants of the interior of south Texas had access to three salt lakes in what today are Hidalgo and Willacy Counties—La Sal del Rey, La Sal Vieja, La Sal Blanca (East Lake). The origin of the salt is not fully understood but it originates either from salt domes in the subsurface, or ground water that is locally salty and given that there is an annual deficit of rain fall, salty water moves to the surface and precipitates salt crystals during dry periods.

The salt crystals can be easily gathered by hand. Spanish accounts record stories that salt from the lakes may have made its way to central Mexico prior to contact (Cisneros 1998:46-47). Whether or not those accounts are reliable, we know that a number of prehistoric camp sites have been recorded in the...
vicinity of the lakes, suggesting they were exploited by the Coahuiltecans and their predecessors in the region. According to Brune (2002:229) these lakes attract ducks, teal, geese, and cranes.

![La Sal del Rey, view is towards the center of the lake. A layer 10 cm thick of salt had precipitated and covered the surface of the lake at the time the photo was taken.](image)

**Figure 4.** La Sal del Rey, view is towards the center of the lake. A layer 10 cm thick of salt had precipitated and covered the surface of the lake at the time the photo was taken.

### Stone

Evidence of long pre-Hispanic occupation of south Texas comes primarily from a wealth of lithic tools. There were ground stone tools such as axes, hammerstones, mortars (fig 4), and metates made from igneous rocks such as granite. There were also chipped or knapped stone tools, including projectile points for atlatls, spears, and arrowheads, as well as knives and scrapers. This latter group was made from rocks such as chert, quartz, agate or even petrified wood (fig. 5). Like salt and water, these resources could only be found in certain places.

Four sources of lithic materials were known to stone toolmakers in south Texas. The “Rio Grande Gravels” along
Figure 5. Side and top views of a well-worn ground stone mortar with a diameter of 25 cm (10 inches) and weighing 15 kg (33 pounds) found near Rincon in central Starr County, approximately 28 km (15.5 miles) north of the Rio Grande. The stone described as a gray granite by Kumpe et al., 2009 is not found locally and probably originated in the mountains in Mexico (photo courtesy of Richard McReynolds)

Figure 6. Petrified Wood point actual size 7/8” wide, 1 5/16” tall (courtesy Danielle Sekula Ortiz Collection)
the corridor of the Rio Grande, consist of the alluvium transported as bed load by the river, as well as gravels deposited in river terraces adjacent to the river channel. Due to the large number of man made dams and other river interventions, the bed load gravels are only found today between the city of Roma and the town of Los Ebanos in Starr County, but most likely in prehistoric times they were common farther down river. The Rio Grande Gravels contain cobbles of red, black, green and other colorful cherts as well as quartzites and basalts from the Big Bend area (Turner, Hester and McReynolds, 2011).

The Pliocene Goliad Formation that locally consists of thick beds of conglomerates containing cobbles of quartz, agate, chert of many colors and petrified wood, occupies large areas of the surface geology in Starr County. Outcrops of the Goliad Formation gravels tend to be partially cemented with calcium carbonate, but they could be easily mined and without a doubt provided abundant material for many groups living in the area. Evidence for this comes from field observations of outcrops north of Rio Grande City and east of La Joya, where large amounts of lithic debris, probably from initial reduction, were left scattered over a large area.

The Pliocene to Pleistocene Uvalde Gravels occur as patches farther west in Zapata County, which extend from the town of Zapata along the margin of Falcon Dam to north of Roma. The Uvalde Gravels, usually small lag gravels of chert, quartz, quartzite, jasper and silicified wood, occur widely in the state and are especially common in south Texas where they cap the hills and high terraces (Turner, Hester and McReynolds, 2011). In contrast to the Goliad gravels, the Uvalde Gravels are not cemented and could be easily mined. There, too, is abundant evidence of exploitation from initial reduction. Man-made flakes found in Zapata that have the original lithic cortex on the exterior show they were once a piece of rounded gravel, which is consistent with the surrounding environment. This could indicate that the primary source of knappable material for the people who once inhabited the Zapata area comes from its own local gravel sites.
Figure 7. Outcrop of Goliad Formation 10 km east of Rio Grande City. Note gravels are partially cemented with caliche and form a resistant cliff.

Geologic Epochs of the Late Cenozoic Era

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Epoch</th>
<th>Time Range</th>
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<tr>
<td>Holocene</td>
<td>10,000 ya - Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pleistocene</td>
<td>2.6 mya - 10,000 ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliocene</td>
<td>5.3 mya - 2.6 mya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miocene</td>
<td>23 mya - 5.3 mya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oligocene</td>
<td>34 mya - 23 mya</td>
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Figure 8. Geologic time scale for last 10 million years
Figure 9. Pieces of El Sauz chert in varying colors

Figure 10. Hammerstones at El Cerrito Villarreal outcrop of El Sauz Chert
For over fifty years, lithic artifacts made of a distinctive light gray, but sometimes colorful high quality chert have been known to collectors along the Rio Grande in Starr, Hidalgo and Cameron counties in south Texas, and the Mexican states of Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas. This lithic resource, known as “El Sauz chert”, (Mallouf and Tunnell, 1978) was extensively used by stone toolmakers. Kumpe and Kryzwonski (2009) report that artifacts made of El Sauz chert range in age from Early Archaic (Hidalgo points) to Late Prehistoric (Caracara points), suggesting that many groups of native Americans used this colorful chert for a long time. Distinctive characteristics of El Sauz chert are vugs (cavities) that contain crystalline calcite and a pale gray colorization with oranges, pinks, purples, golds, yellows, caramels, and reds which produce irregular bandings on the chert. There are two known outcrops of El Sauz chert in Starr County. Kumpe and Kryzwonski (2009) refer to these outcrops as El Cerrito Villarreal and El Cerrito Garcia because both outcrops are centered on the top of small mounds or knobs. Both outcrops are described as being centered on a hill top with tons of lithic debris being littered throughout the bedrock, which was caused by reduction activities from native people. Hammerstones and possibly abraders for knapping were observed lying within the debris field. Malouf and Tunnell (1979:n.a.) note that the material is a silicified clay where iron oxide staining caused the coloration. The material probably has its origins in the volcanic activity associated with the Catahoula Formation dating from the Oligocene to the Miocene. The volcanic ash was deposited from ash fall when volcanoes were active in the Trans Pecos volcanic field in the Big Bend region of Texas (Kumpe and Kryzwonski 2009:3). El Sauz chert is within what Banks (1990) recognizes as one of the most widespread sources of lithics in the state of Texas, the Catahoula. Ongoing work, by members of the CHAPS Program, on the geochemistry of El Sauz chert indicates that it contains unusually high amounts of aluminum, up to 11% by weight, which in combination with its unique physical appearance could be used to study how far it was dispersed by trade (figure 8).

Some areas that lack lithic resources locally are less concentrated with lithic material from elsewhere (i.e., Cameron
County), whereas other areas also lacking local lithic resources have an abundance of imported lithic material (i.e., eastern Hidalgo County). Hidalgo County has a wide array of projectile points and other implements whose source is the El Sauz chert outcrop (Kumpe and Kryzwonski 2009:37). There are up to 100 recorded entries of El Sauz chert artifacts found in Hidalgo county (Kumpe and Kryzwonski 2009:37). Eastern Hidalgo county, like Cameron County, is an area that lacks lithic resources for knapping (Kumpe and Kryzwonski 2009:37), so it is expected for there to be imported material present in the area, but in the case of Cameron County, not very many lithic artifacts have been found, especially made of material originating from the El Sauz outcrop (Kumpe and Kryzwonski 2009:37).
Nancy Minor, author of the *Light Gray People*, states that “to speak the name ‘Lipan’ brings forth no vision of people because they had no buildings or pottery to be excavated” (2009:3). Because they left behind minimal amounts of material evidence, the Lipan Apache are often misunderstood relative to the historical impact they had in both New Mexico and Texas. Today, scholars have worked with historical records and oral histories of Lipan Apache descendants and others, who passed along stories of the Lipan from generation to generation (Robinson 2013). Most of the common knowledge about the Lipan was gained through the use of linguistic research, which found the Lipan among other bands who originated from the southern Athapaskan-speaking family groups that migrated from the Pacific Northwest to the Southwest between A.D. 1100 and 1600 (Tweedie 1968: 1132). The Lipan made the migration as part of a larger group. Factions broke off into smaller bands at various points, and are grouped into Western and Eastern Athapaskan speakers.

The Western group consists of the Mescalero, Navajo, Western Apache and Chiricahua, while the Eastern group consists of the Lipan and Jicarilla. The Lipan, who once resided with the Mescalero in eastern New Mexico, moved into western Texas in the sixteenth century. The meaning of the tribal name ‘Lipan’ is said to be “*The Light Gray People*,” which may have originated
from two Lipan words, lépai for the color gray and ndé, meaning the people (Minor 2009:6). Minor also states that the word Lipan is directly linked to the directional emergence myth of the Lipan and the migration out of Canada to Texas (2009:6). The word ‘Apache’ is thought to originate from the Zuñi word ápachu, meaning “the enemy” (Dunn 1911:202). The Lipan are considered a Southern Plains tribe, but as Martin Salinas states, they “lacked some of the cultural frills which many minds typify Plains Indians” (1990:109).

Food and Material Culture

The Lipan Apache were a nomadic people (Hester 1980:53). Following the move south, the Lipan Apache adapted to the new environment and hunted small and large game animals. Prior to the introduction to the horse, hunting, especially for larger game, proved very difficult. With the horse, the Lipan Apache could hunt for bison, peccary, and deer with greater ease. Hester states that the Lipan Apache hunted bison along the lower Nueces and the Guadalupe Rivers. In northern Coahuila, deer and antelope, as well as javelina (peccary), were hunted by horse because it was considered too dangerous to pursue certain animals on foot (1980:53). They also hunted other animals like rats, wild cattle and turkey.

Besides hunting, the women gathered a variety of essential plant foods for their sustenance including, “a wide variety of cactus species, cactus fruit or tuna, yucca (Y. aloifolia and Y. gloriosa), mescal (Agave), tule, palm and mesquite beans (G. Prosopis) that were used as a supplement for meat in the Lipan diet” (Minor 2009:62). These foods were often gathered in the spring and early summer months by the entire band (Minor 2009:65).

While food was a vital part of the Lipan’s existence, so were the areas in which they chose to live. Residing in homes that were easy to erect and move, the Lipan constructed two types of dwellings; the tepee and wickiup, or as the Spanish would call it; the jacal. The conical shaped tepee varied in size and could hold
anywhere from three to twelve people (Minor 2009:49; Sjoberg 1953:87). Tepees were constructed with long poles of wood, yucca or stool in order to produce a strong, light frame that was easily transported (Minor 2009:50). The frames of the tepee were initially covered with buffalo hides. In the nineteenth century, when the number of buffalo dwindled, the Lipan substituted cow, deer or antelope hides (Minor 2009:51).

The wickiup, or jacal, is a thatched dome-shaped dwelling usually constructed by the women. Made of “mesquite, cottonwood, or willow poles, bound with yucca fiber, and covered with brush and bear grass” (Josephy, Jr., 1991:170), wickiups also varied in size from small to large. During cold months, the Lipan would cover the thatched dome with animal hides to further insulate them from the cold (Josephy Jr., 1991:170). The wickiup had an opening in the top center of the dome to allow smoke from fires to vent and to allow air to enter the dwelling during hot days.

Clothing

The style of dress worn by the Lipan prior to contact with Europeans varied by gender and age. Men wore a simple breechclout, leggings, and moccasins in the hot months and added a buckskin shirt and animal skin cloak in the winter (Salinas 1990:110). The Lipan women wore either a two piece dress with high moccasins (Minor 2009:43; Josephy Jr., 1991:170) or a “knee length deerskin skirt with knee high boots” (Salinas 1990:110). “Children wore long shirts of buckskin, but once they became teenagers, they dressed like the women and men” (Apache--Lipan 1999:5; Salinas 1990:110). After contact with the Spanish, clothing made of cloth was one of the first gifts given to the Lipan by Don Felipe de Rábago y Terán, in 1761 (Minor 2009:47). Subsequently, the Lipan often traded deer and bison pelts for cloth in such far-flung areas as Saltillo, Coahuila, and Victoria, Texas, to make their clothing (Hester 1980:53).

Introduction of the Horse

Before contact with Europeans and the introduction of the
horse, America Indians moved from place to place on foot. While it is noted that some Apache groups had dogs to help transport belongings, the Lipan are not included among those groups (Minor 2009: 28). Acquiring the horse in the late 1600’s, the Lipan Apache and other Texas Apaches were quick to take full advantage of the benefits the fast and strong animals provided (Chipman 1992: 15-16; Minor 2009:28).

There is no clear answer as to how the Lipan acquired their horses. It is likely that they acquired horses using various methods - perhaps through raids on Spanish settlements and other native peoples, or by trade, but it is noted that “the early Lipans probably acquired many of their horses through their wars with the Jumanos and Tejas” around 1670 (Minor, 2009:29). The horse allowed a reconfiguration of the roles men and women played in the tribe. For women, introduction of the horse meant that when the group traveled, they could move at a faster pace and with greater ease. Women no longer had to carry food, children, and shelter on their backs (Minor 2009:28).

Raiding and Warfare

The Lipan Apache were skillful trackers, which benefitted them in both raiding and warfare. They had the ability to estimate the time that tracks were made in the ground, if the horse was weighed down by goods, and the number of people traveling (Minor, 2009:111-112).

In the seventeenth century, after the initial Lipan Apache migration and settlement in western Texas, the Comanche entered the region. Soon, the two groups, Comanche and Lipan Apache, were feuding over control of the southern plains region where there were buffalo. Outnumbered, and suffering many casualties, the Lipan were displaced to the south by the Comanche. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Comanche and the Lipan continued their dispute with small raids to steal horses or to take captives. Hester states that “warfare was an important part of the Lipan Apache life because the Comanche and their allies tried for more than a century to eliminate the Lipan, and no mercy was shown on either side in their numerous encounters” (1980:54).
In 1723, the Lipan waged an attack on the Comanche that resulted in a grueling nine day battle in Wichita River country that resulted in a victory for the Comanche and many lives lost for the Lipan (Minor 2009:32-33; Reeve, 1946:194). The blood shed on those days resulted in the Lipan Apaches’ move into the south Texas region that “further interrupted the lifeway’s of the Coahuiltecans and other south Texas hunters and gatherers catching them in a vise with the Lipan Apaches and later Comanche pushing them from the north and Spanish moving up from the South” (Hester 1980:53).

Spring and summer were the Lipan Apache seasons for raiding in Texas and northern Mexico. San Antonio was one area subject to repeated attacks between 1718 and 1731 following the founding of the presidio and missions. So intense were these attacks, the San Antonio region was nearly abandoned in this period (Minor, 2009:113). One of the first documents regarding the Lipan Apache in Texas was recorded in “1732 when Governor Bustillo y Zevallos led a military expedition against the Ypandie (pronounced Yeh-pande) and three other tribes who were massing north of San Antonio in order to launch attacks on the settlements” (Minor 2009:7).

In the late eighteenth century many areas were raided by the Lipan. The Lipan Apache camped on the north side of the Rio Grande before raiding three presidios (Agua Verde, Monclova Viejo, San Vicente) in Coahuila. In raids between 1771 and 1772, they stole 1,500 horses (Minor, 2009:113; Moorhead, 1968:27-28, 34). The Lipan attacks on the presidios continued for years, culminating in the June 19, 1776 raid when five soldiers from San Antonio Bucareli de la Babia presidio were attacked by 25 to 30 raiders (Minor 2009:114). Spanish colonists led by José de Escandón who settled the Villas del Norte along the Rio Grande were attacked by the Lipan in the 1770s. While the Spaniards conquered native peoples and brought them into their communities as subordinate members of society, the Lipan and the Comanche were “unconquerable Indians [who] successfully resisted Spanish efforts to subjugate them” (Valerio-Jimenez...
By the 1820s, the Lipan Apache needed an alliance due to the continued aggression of the Comanches (Yancey, 2008:11-12). They found some support from Anglo settlers led by empresario Stephen F. Austin, who had settled north of the Nueces River. Overall, their relationship with the settlers continued peacefully throughout the 1800’s. Hester notes that a group of Lipan visited and traded with the U.S. Army when they were encamped at Corpus Christi in September of 1845. However, they had “embarked in conflicts with smaller Indian nations” along the Rio Grande in the 1820s and 1830s, such as the Carrizo Indians of Camargo and the Garza Indians of Mier (Valerio-Jimenez 2013:47).

After Texas gained its independence from Mexico in 1836, the Republic viewed the Lipan Apache as a useful buffer group against further attacks from Mexico. Two years later, on January 8, 1838, the first treaty was signed by the Lipan and the new government of the Republic of Texas. Known as the Live Oak Point Treaty, it concentrated on ending the theft of livestock by the Lipan Apache while promising to protect them from the Comanche (Minor 2009:140). This agreement, like others, was repeatedly broken. Another, the Tehuacana Creek Treaty, was signed on October 9, 1844 (Minor, 2009:146). It promised lands for the Lipan north of Austin in territory claimed by the Comanche, Wacos and other tribes (Minor 209: 146). Within a year of this treaty, the Republic of Texas began to consider Indian removal (Minor 2009: 150).

Plans for the complete removal of all Indian people onto reservations began to take shape when the Republic of Texas became part of the United States in 1845. In this transitional decade, while the Lipan and Comanche continued to raid in Coahuila, they were in turn being raided by the Texas Rangers and the settlers of the Republic (Minor 2009:155; Reeve, 1946:204). Despite attempts to formulate new treaties (e.g., the Council Springs Treaty of May 15, 1846), the Lipan did not come to an agreement with the United States until October 28, 1851, when the
San Saba Treaty was formalized. The Indian tribes were forced to surrender all Mexican captives, to move off their homeland and onto reservations, which were to be secure havens from the attacks of other Native peoples and settlers (Minor 2009: 159-160; Watson 1994: 15). That notwithstanding, the United States government could not guarantee the protection of the Lipan and they were driven from Texas (Minor 2009:161; Opler 1983: 21). By 1860, some Lipan Apache fled to Mexico to escape attacks by the Texas Rangers, while other groups of Lipan settled with the Mescalero Apache in southern New Mexico, the Comanche and the Kiowa Apache (Minor 2009:177).

The Lipan continued their raids on villages along both sides the Rio Grande well into the 1870’s (Hester 1980:54). During the American Civil War, 1861 to 1865, and the French Intervention in Mexico, 1862 to 1867, the Lipan took advantage of the upheaval that existed on both sides of the border and renewed their raids for livestock and goods. Due to the international boundary, the United States could not to send troops to pursue the Lipan across the Rio Grande into Mexico. In a blatant violation of Mexican sovereignty, U.S. Army Colonel Ranald Slidell Mackenzie of Fort Clark at Las Moras Springs in Kinney County, Texas, led troops across the border into Mexico to forcibly return the Lipan, Mescalero, and Kickapoo to their reservations (Ivey 2010: 141; Minor 2009: 181). On the night of May 18, 1873, the U.S. Army, with assistance of Seminole scouts, attacked three camps near Remolino, Coahuila, in Mexico. In only a few minutes, nineteen Indians died, sixty five horses were rounded up, and one of the principal chiefs of the Lipan, Costillietos, and forty women and children were captured (Ivey 2010:141; Minor 2009: 185).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Lipan had joined the Mescalero and other Apache groups on reservations just north of Mexico, along the New Mexico/Arizona border. In 1904, one hundred eight Lipan resided on the Mescalero Reservation north of Alamogordo (Minor 2009:195).
Figure 11. Lipan Apache warriors c. 1500. Drawing by José Cisneros. Courtesy of the Margaret H. McAllen Memorial Archives, Museum of South Texas History.
The Comanche

Ashley Leal

Known as the Lords of the South Plains (Wallace and Hoebel 1952), the Comanche ranged from Oklahoma and eastern New Mexico across Texas and as far south as Durango and Chihuahua City in Mexico in the nineteenth century but they were relative newcomers to this region. The Comanche linguistically, historically and culturally are connected to the Northern Shoshone of the Great Basin area (Tefft 1961:254). The Shoshone and Comanche are both of the Uto-Aztecan language family from the Great Basin region. This connection is one of the ties that helped linguists and anthropologist link the two groups as being one large group before the eighteenth century. Anthropologists have determined that the Shoshone and the Comanche were one group until the latter seventeenth, then separated in eastern Wyoming and moved south along the eastern slope of the Rockies into the Southern Plains (Cash and Wolff 1974:2-3; Josephy 1968:119; Lacey 2010:14).

These nomads walked from the Great Basin accompanied by their dogs. For their sustenance they gathered wild plants and hunted deer, elk, antelope and other wild game. Their homes, constructed of wood and brush, were round in plan and domed in shape. These wickiups or jacals were widely used across the Great Basin and into Texas and the Southwest.

In their Shoshone dialect the Comanche call themselves Numinu, meaning “the people” or the “human beings” (Cash and
After separation from the Shoshone, the name “Comanche” may have originated from the Ute word *Komántcia* meaning “enemy” or “anyone who wants to fight me all the time” (Hoebel & Wallace 1952:4). Another theory suggests that the name was a corruption of the Spanish words *Camino Ancho* “broad road” which referred to how the tribe would move spread out across the plains. Whatever the origins of their commonly known name their eighteenth and nineteenth century homeland on the Southern Plains was known as Comancheria and it extended over parts of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Oklahoma and Kansas (Hoebel & Wallace 1952:4). By the end of the eighteenth century, the many Comanche bands—Penateka, Nokoni, Tanimas, Tanawas, Kotsoteka, Yamparika, Quahadi, --had completed their migration into the Southern Plains and began to adapt to the new environment using an important new addition to their culture- the horse (Tefft1961:257).

The Horse

It is uncertain exactly when the Comanche first encountered horses in their perambulations but by the eighteenth century the presence of the animal had drastically changed their way of life. The women benefited from the horses ability to carry heavy loads while traveling and the men benefited from more successful hunts and war parties. Children were acclimated to the horse from infancy when they were carried on a cradleboard and were rocked to sleep in the rhythmic movements of the walking animal. Later, the boys learned to be trick riders (Hoebel and Wallace, 1952: 48). With such training, the Comanche were able to swing to the side of the horse and precisely release an arrow (Hoebel and Wallace, 1952: 48-49). Overall, the horse provided a better means to move at a quicker pace and catch larger game with greater ease.

After obtaining horses, Comanche bands moved into the plains to get closer to the large herds of buffalo. The Comanche would gain renown as horse breeders , and through raids, would come to possess many horses (Fehrenbach, 1974: 94).

Fehrenbach states “bands that had rarely numbered more than
sixty in all swelled to two hundred, five hundred, and then into the thousands, until their camps strung out for miles” (1974:97). It is estimated there were 7,000 Comanche in 1690 (Thornton 1987:131).

Food and Material Culture

The most important food for the Comanche was bison. The buffalo not only provided food for the people but necessary resources such as tools, weapons, fuel, clothing, and shelter (Table 3). Bison were hunted from horseback using bows and arrows and lances as well as from stealth by hunters crawling to the edges of the herd while wearing animal skin costumes. Large numbers of bison were also killed by driving them over the edge of cliffs or into mud holes where they would become mired and more easily dispatched by hunters (Fehrenbach, 1974:23). The best time to hunt the buffalo was during late summer or fall, when the animals were fat from the summer grasses and their hides had already grown thick and heavy for the winter (Fehrenbach, 1974: 105). It is worth noting that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were 40,000,000 buffalo in North America. By 1850 that number was halved and by the end of the century only a few thousand remained. Other foods were also hunted and gathered. This included antelope, elk, deer and rabbits. In the fall, the Comanche supplemented their diet with fruits, berries, nuts, and roots (Fehrenbach, 1974: 108). Fehrenbach also states that the Comanche enjoyed a storable ration made from pounded and formed “mesquite beans and bone marrow, and dried meat strips flavored with crushed nuts, fruits, or berries, called pemmican” (1974:108).

As nomads, the Comanche moved regularly in order to have access to food, water and forage for their horses (Hoebel and Wallace, 1952: 14). The ideal locations would, of course, have all of these as well as being situated to ensure the safety of their band. Once the location was found, the women could set up a tepee in fifteen minutes (Fehrenbach, 1974:109). The conically-shaped tepees were covered with “tanned bison hides sewn together with the flesh side out and fitted over slender pine or cedar
poles” (Fehrenbach, 1974: 108-109). While the tepee stood up to various weather conditions and kept the Comanche warm, Fehrenbach notes that they lived in tents in the cold and switched to brush arbors in the summer months (1974:108). The dwellings were set up in accordance to the importance of an individual. The chief’s lodge would be located at the center of the campsite, and surrounded by the most important men and their families (Hoebel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Buffalo Uses:</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meat</strong></td>
<td><em>Food and ceremonial use</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fat and Marrow</strong></td>
<td><em>Food, paint, and cosmetics</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bones</strong></td>
<td><em>Tools, weapons, knives, pipes, soup, sleds</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brain</strong></td>
<td><em>Food, used to tan hides</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intestine</strong></td>
<td><em>Cord</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hoofs</strong></td>
<td><em>Implements, utensils, glue, jewelry, food, ceremonial use</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bladder</strong></td>
<td><em>Storage pouches</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rawhide</strong></td>
<td><em>Moccasin soles, shields, containers, ornaments, rattles, snow shoes, mortars, lariats, bridles, boats, luggage, food boiling, medicine bundle, saddles, thongs, stirrups</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hide</strong></td>
<td><em>Tipis, robes, dresses, gloves, breech cloth, shirts, leggings, moccasins, bedding, dolls, regalia, cradleboards, implements, drums, tipi furnishings</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skull</strong></td>
<td><em>Ceremonial use</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Horns</strong></td>
<td><em>Implements, ornaments, ceremonial use, games</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hair</strong></td>
<td><em>Rope, stuffing, ornaments, ceremonial use</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dung</strong></td>
<td><em>Fuel</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sinew and Muscle</strong></td>
<td><em>Thread, cord, bow strings</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tail</strong></td>
<td><em>Fly brush</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stomach</strong></td>
<td><em>Cooking vessel, container for carrying/ storing water</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comanche women not only erected the tents but were in charge of all the “daily tasks like preparing food, tanning hides, and making tepees and clothes, while the men spent their time discussing important matters [like] raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play and the children played or helped their mothers with their work” (Hoebel and Wallace, 1952:15).

Raiding and Warfare

Warfare for the Comanche was more than a political endeavor. Rather, war was for social prestige, goods, revenge, and to control buffalo hunting grounds in the southern portion of Comachería. In the attacks, the Comanche obtained mules, horses, and occasionally slaves in raids on settlements in Texas and Mexico (Tefft, 1961:257).

Successful in their raids and battles, no one or nothing was out of range for the Comanche to dominate or own. Comanche prowess on the battlefield displaced the Lipan Apache from northwest Texas into the south Texas region. Even after their exit, the Comanche still continued to battle and push the Lipan Apache ever southward. It was as part of these attacks on the Lipan that Spanish settlers in San Antonio first recorded seeing the Comanche raiders in 1743. A year later, Padre Jacob Sadelmeyer reported that the Comanche raided the Rio Grande Valley settlements for horses, livestock, and captives (Hoebel and Wallace, 1952:45). In an attempt to forestall their advance, the Spanish in 1757, built Mission Santa Cruz de San Sabá and the nearby San Sabá presidio among the Lipan about one hundred miles from San Antonio near what is today Menard (Daniels, 2007: 24; Hoebel and Wallace, 1952: 290).

On March 16, 1758, within a year of its founding, the Comanche joined with the Wichita and other groups to destroy Mission Santa Cruz de San Saba. It was an attack “that demonstrated how aggressive and fierce the Comanche
were” (Daniels, 2007: 24). In the course of the battle ten were killed including three priests (Gwynne, 2010:66-67). Subsequent encounters with the Spanish did not end well either.

Comanche raids into the settled areas of Texas and Mexico continued into the nineteenth century, often thwarting the efforts of the armies of Mexico, and the Republic of Texas, to stop them. Yet, one retaliatory attack in 1840 into Comancheria by Colonel John Moore and ninety of his Texas Rangers, aided by Lipan Apache scouts, fell upon a Comanche camp three hundred miles northwest of Austin. The night attack killed 135 and captured thirty four women and children (Cash and Wolff 1974:40). Nonetheless, the Comanche later extended their operations south of the Rio Grande (Dunn, 1914: 398-402; Gwynne, 2010: 79-80). Local evidence of these raids may be seen along the Rio Grande. Dating from 1830, the Jesus Treviño fortified sandstone home in San Ignacio is an example of how settlers attempted to deal with these raids. The raids were felt into Jalisco and Querétaro in Mexico.

Travelers in Texas may encounter historical markers commemorating some of these battle sites in south Texas. In Alice stands an historical marker for the May 29, 1850 surprise attack by the Texas Rangers on a camp of Comanche. “To rid the Nueces to Rio Grande area of Marauders that resulted in seven Comanche wounded, four killed and one ranger killed and two other wounded” (Texas Historical Commission).

Just North of San Antonio is another marker for the peace treaty of March 1-2, 1847 between twenty Comanche chiefs and the German colonist, Otheried Hans Freiherr Von Meusebach (1812-1897) “that has never been broken” (Texas Historical Commission).

Hostilities continued following the admission of Texas to the United States. In 1858, John S. (Rip) Ford who would later gain fame as a Confederate officer in the lower Rio Grande, led a devastating raid across the Red River and deep into Comancheria. There, in a day-long pitched battle, Comanche Chief Iron Jacket
and seventy five warriors died. Additionally, eighteen prisoners and 300 ponies were captured (Cash and Wolff 1974:55). While there was some resurgence in Comanche raids during the upheaval associated with the American Civil War (1861-65) and the invasion of Maximilian in Mexico (1862-67), the Comanche would feel increasing pressure to end their attacks. The Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 was signed on the 21st of October between the United States and representatives of the Comanche and Kiowa peoples. It established a reservation in what is now Oklahoma in exchange for traditional tribal territories. It was a drastic change for the Comanche to cease living off the land to living off government rations. Houses, barns and schools were built and the tribes were annually provided with food, clothing, equipment, weapons and ammunition (Hoebel & Wallace, 1952: 329-330). In the summer of 1875, the last band of the Comanche led by Quanah Parker surrendered to the United States (Tucker, 2011:191). They joined their kinsmen on the reservation in Fort Sill, Oklahoma. By 1890 their population had dropped to about 1,600; a reduction of 77% from their estimated population of 15,000 in 1690 (Thornton 1987:131).

Present day Comanche

Today the Comanche are a federally recognized tribe of about 15,000. Their reservation is located near Fort Sill, a few miles north of Lawton, Oklahoma and is home to the Comanche National Museum and Cultural Center and the Comanche Nation College.

As do many other Native American tribes, they still face difficulty in preserving their culture, but continue to press forward by educating their youth to learn the language and continue their culture so it will be always known.
Illustration provided by artist Daniel Cardenas.
In the period following direct or indirect European contact, the lifeways of Native Peoples were inexorably changed through a combination of population dislocation and decline, and the introduction of new foods and technologies (Thornton 1987). As these were preliterate, societies we will never know the population of Native Americans north of the Rio Grande prior to 1500. Estimates vary greatly from two to eleven million people. By 1788, Caldwell and Schindlmayr estimate that the number of Native American people living north of what is now the border with Mexico was between 300,000 to 1,500,000 (2002:201). It is clear is that by the end of the nineteenth century the American Indian population in North America declined to fewer than a quarter of a million.

Today, the total number of people identifying themselves as American Indian and/or Alaskan Native is on the rise. In 2010, 5.2 million people identified themselves as American Indian in the census. This number represents a 39% increase from those enumerated in 2000. Of this number, 2.5 million people in the United States identified themselves as being solely of American Indian or Alaskan Native descent (U.S. Bureau of Census Briefs, 2010). This indicates that Native American people are a viable population as they serve society as teachers, students, librarians, construction workers, lawyers, and in other professions. In 1990, more than fifty percent of American Indians lived and worked in
urban areas (La Vere, 2004:226) and since then, the numbers have increased. This requires acculturation to a new environment and accentuates the struggles that native people face in retaining their sense of identity as persons of American Indian descent. The native peoples of south Texas experienced similar changes.

Coahuiltecans, Comanche, and Lipan Apache

In south Texas, the Coahuiltecans lost their land and transformed their identity in the eighteenth century through informal means such as intermarriage with Spanish colonial settlers, or more directly within Roman Catholic missions. Many joined these communities because of what they materially offered or because they were feeling competition for their wild resources from other Indian peoples like the Lipan Apache and Comanche. As was discussed in Chapter 2, Coahuiltecans became largely invisible as a distinct cultural entity in the early nineteenth century.

The Lipan Apache and Comanche, like the Coahuiltecans, were nomadic hunters and gatherers prior to contact. In the seventeenth century, their lives were changed when they obtained horses. With horses they were able to move out onto the Plains and follow the migratory herds of bison. As these animals declined and more people came to the area, their ability to maintain boundaries was compromised. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century they were settled on reservations.

During the twentieth century, the lives of native peoples continued to be transformed on their reservations. In 1924 the Indian Citizenship Act became law, making all native peoples residing in the United States citizens.

Traditional social practices, including religion, changed. Through the efforts of missionaries, many converted to Christianity. Others joined the Native American Church (Stewart, 1987:3). This pan tribal religion mixes aspects of animism and Christianity through prayer, meditation, singing, and sometimes dance, with the ingestion of peyote a hallucinogen (Stewart,
Peyote, (*Lophophora williamsii*) grows on both sides of the Rio Grande. Its hallucinogenic properties have been prized by the native peoples of the region for millennia. At the end of the nineteenth century, when reservations became omnipresent, the Native American Church was founded. Peyote allowed its users the ability to communicate with the spirit world. Peyote is still used in religious practices today, but can only be purchased by a member of a federally recognized tribe and official member of the Native American Church (Maroukis, 2010:227).

Another important change among native peoples was the loss of their language. At the beginning of the twentieth century, mandatory education in English was initiated in government-run schools. This single act may have brought about the most change because it is through the nuances of language that culture is transmitted. Yet, as historians will note, it was the very complex Native languages that helped the United States during World Wars I and II. In addition to the famed Navajo “Code Talkers” who served with the Marine Corps in the Pacific theatre of the war, seventeen Comanche were also recruited by the Army Signal Corps as code talkers during World War II (Meadows, 2002:98). These Comanche code talkers transmitted orders and information in Europe which the Germans could not decipher (Meadows, 2002:106). Through the educational system, service in the military, and living and working off the reservations, native peoples were gradually losing their distinct cultures and were being assimilated into the larger American society.

In the balance of this chapter, the reader will gain an inside look into modern day American Indians and how they have adapted in an urban environment. With the assistance of tribal members of the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas, we look into the many ways in which native peoples in south Texas continue to identify themselves through social gatherings, education, and within their families.

**What It Means To Be “Indian”**

The idea of “what’s in a word” is often reflected when the
identifying word *Indian* is used in reference to identify a person or group of people. For many American Indians, the word does not offend or even insult them when it is used as an identifier, because it is simply a shorter way to say American Indian. For others, “the term is an unhappy legacy of Christopher Columbus’ so-called discovery and that the term is, therefore, a legacy of the subsequent colonization of the lands of the Native peoples of the Americas” (Fleming 2006:214). Today, Americans are becoming aware of the frustrations among American Indian groups resulting from sports team logo portrayals of the Indian and chants by fans. Further, Vine DeLoria Jr., a Standing Rock Sioux, author and native activist, expresses his thoughts about how non-native people portray American Indians in movies in his book, *The Pretend Indian: Images of Native Americans in the Movies* in stating that:

> Whites are sincere but they are only sincere about what they are interested in, not about Indians about whom they know very little. They get exceedingly angry if you try to tell them the truth and will only reject you and keep searching until they find the Indian of their fantasies (DeVoss and Lebeau 2010:54).

This fantasy feeds directly into the stereotyped images that society applies to a variety of American Indians into what many believe; that all “Indians” look, act, and/or dress alike. There is no universal image that fits a person of American Indian descent.

**Social Gatherings**

Growing tired of the stereotypical images placed on them, native people in the Rio Grande Valley decided that the best way to get non-Indians to understand their Indian culture is to open the doors and invite them to traditional annual gatherings. The most common type of gathering practiced today is the powwow. Powwows are social gathering places for native people of all backgrounds to socialize through dance, drumming, and singing. The public is invited to watch and participate in social dances as a type of educational tool for the community.
In south Texas, the Lipan Apache began rediscovering their roots in the 1970s, when the Soto family started holding family gatherings and dances on their front lawn in McAllen, Texas (Robert Soto personal communication 2012). Originally, in the 1990s, the tribe was known as the Lipan Apache Band of Texas. In 2007 the name was changed to the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas. Today, Robert Soto is the Vice Chairman of the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas and founder of the south Texas Indian Dancers Association. They are dedicated to educating others in the south Texas region about the Lipan people. Joined by many tribal members, the family holds an annual powwow in McAllen, to promote cultural awareness and provide a gathering place for other American Indians.

Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine offer a good explanation of what powwows are and what they symbolize by stating that:

In the modern world, where Indian people of different tribal backgrounds constantly gather and interact, celebration activity provides a meeting ground, a common context for communicating diverse identities and understandings through a shared language of performance, honor, and respect (2005:42).

It is important to note that celebrations and gatherings such as the South Texas (Way South) Powwow held every fall in the Rio Grande Valley provide more than a gathering place for native people. It also “shows pride and respect for one’s family, community and tribe as well as expressing a sense of identity and belongingness among people of whom share specific or a general history” (Albers and Medicine 2005:42).

While the powwow is a large part of native people’s lives, this type of gathering is only one way in which they develop a sense of identity and express their heritage. Modern American Indians also continue to keep their traditions and language alive through education. For tribes like the Lipan Apache, educating
tribal community members, especially the youth, through creation of cultural centers is one way to get them more involved. Cultural centers for American Indian youth have created more of a “personal and community identity, which is significant because it address[es] broader concerns on diversity and [the] effort to develop culturally sensitive pedagogy” (Maduram 2011:24).

The education of youth in American Indian communities is a key to the revival of cultural practices that were lost many years ago, and a way to keep the native languages alive (Suina 2004). The foundation of self-identification begins at home and with family. How the family lives and the languages they speak are all key factors in how individuals view their culture and the world around them. Elyse Ashburn (2007:B15) states that of about the “three-hundred or so native languages once spoken in North America, only about 150 are still spoken - and the majority of those have just a handful of mostly elderly speakers”. Unfortunately, only bits and pieces of the Lipan Apache language are preserved. The Jicarilla Apache language is considered closest to the original Lipan and is being used in an effort to piece together their original and unique vernacular.

The Comanche also lost much of their language, but still have just over 25 individuals nationwide who speak the language (Mangan 2013). The Comanche actively record elders who know much of the language and use it as instructional tools for future generations (Mangan 2013). Language revitalization plays a key role in the formation of identity and the future of American Indian populations. For many American Indians today, identification as such doesn’t always reveal itself through the instruction of elders, but through the heart – as some might claim.

On March 18, 2009, the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas was recognized by both the Texas Senate and House of Representatives for their historical presence in Texas. In this acknowledgement, the tribe was also recognized by the state, making the Lipan Apache the only state recognized tribe in Texas. The Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas has over 3,000 registered members living in the United States, with a majority of their
members residing in South Texas. The Lipan or Ndé are not extinct, but very much alive and actively continuing their ancestral traditions.

Figure 12. South Texas Indian Dancers Intertribal Powwow 2011.
Photo courtesy of Reynaldo Leal Jr.

Figure 13. Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas—Tribal Shield
Courtesy of Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas
Texas Kidneywood
Eysenhardtia

Illustration provided by artist Daniel Cardenas.
EIGHT

NATIVE PEOPLES IN THE CURRICULUM

Roseann Bacha-Garza and Edna C. Alfaro

Anthropologists study multiple indigenous cultures of the Americas. Archaeologists analyze the material culture that these peoples left behind. Physical items, also known as artifacts, remain at archaeological sites all over the world; yet to be uncovered. In order to develop curriculum and lesson plans pertinent to this subject, we can use anthropological and archeological findings and incorporate them into memorable lesson plans across several different subject matters.

Specifically, the Community Historical Archaeology Project with Schools (CHAPS) Program at UTPA focuses its curriculum and lesson plan development within a place-based learning model. Utilizing placed-based learning enables us to unite curriculum with local environmental and cultural landscapes within deep, south Texas, which includes characteristics of local indigenous peoples and the interpretation of their modern traditions (PEEC 2010). The importance of integrating culturally and locally relevant curriculum is highlighted in the cognitive science literature. For example, Gutstein and colleagues noted that an individual’s ability to learn and understand new concepts is dependent on the individual’s ability to “make the connections to their existing knowledge” (Gutstein et al. 1997:711). As school-aged children experience lessons with recognizable elements, they are more apt to remember the lesson and apply what they have learned to future classroom experiences. As we infuse lessons
about “cultural aspects of community life, environmental issues, economic development and civic involvement”, we further validate the lesson’s importance by “connecting classrooms more firmly to their communities” (Smith and Sobel 2010:43). Thus, we hope to inspire local students to take pride in their communities and aspire to be future stakeholders in the historic preservation of their communities and in the growth and development of their municipalities. We do this by immersing students in local heritage, culture, ecology, and landscapes as a foundation for the study of language arts, mathematics, social studies, science, and other subjects. Consistent with the tenets of place-based education, we view the community as an invaluable resource and acknowledge the community’s capital, which assists in fostering the students’ attachment to the community (Duffin et al 2004). These programs are likely to help students feel and act more connected to the community in which they live. Teachers can then use these points as a springboard to related discussions about regional, national and global issues. Our aim is to combine required curriculum guides by bringing the surrounding environment into the classroom and “acquaint the students with both the human and non-human assets encountered in their home places” (Smith and Sobel 2010:47).

In addition to the impact of place-based education on student outcomes, place-based and community-based learning has been shown to help the students because it increases parental involvement (PEEC 2010). It is important to include culturally relevant context into the curriculum as this approach lends itself to the inclusion of family members at home such as parents and grandparents. Once the subjects covered in the curriculum and lesson plans have grabbed the interest of household members, reinforcement of learning grows stronger as the family continues discussion of the students’ lessons outside of school hours, i.e., at the dinner table or at a weekend family gatherings.

The study of native peoples is an ideal topic to discuss utilizing place-based learning methods. For example, in order to capture and keep the attention of the local area K-12 students, the inclusion of familiar items such as native plants (e.g., the prickly
pear and mesquite beans) and animals (e.g., rattlesnake, deer and javalina) can create more memorable lesson plans, thus igniting the desire to advance and learn more. As noted in previous chapters, prehistoric and historic Indians have existed within the region we call the Rio Grande Valley for thousands of years; long before the arrival of Euro-Americans. Subsistent on wild resources, Indian peoples along the Rio Grande spoke different dialects and sported different identifying characteristics (for specific details see Chapter two, five and six). Therefore, curriculum development covering the subject of south Texas Indians has many possibilities.


In chapters one and four we cover lithic tools and the local geological resources from which these artifacts were made. These items are part of the material culture left behind by ancient peoples. Evidence of indigenous life in the Rio Grande Valley has been uncovered in the form of stone tools and projectile points that date 11,000 years back to 9,200 B.C. (Turner et al. 2011:42, 45). “Stone tools provide evidence about technologies, dexterity, particular type of mental skills, and innovations that were within the grasp of early human tool makers” (Smithsonian website 2013). Today we are able to examine and study these items using electron microscopes and nuclear reactors. Extensive and ongoing archaeological research shows the chronology and developmental phases of stone tool production. For example, that the larger the point, the older it is. We also see shape and intricacy differences between various regions and time periods (Turner et al. 2011:43-44).

The CHAPS Program has created a learning tool in our “Point Types” poster which shows photographs of projectile dart points and arrowheads that have been found in the middle to upper Rio Grande Valley; in particular, within Hidalgo, Starr and Zapata counties. This poster was created to provide an easy avenue for artifact identification. As young students see these posters hanging in their classrooms, we hope to inspire these students’
curiosity for discovery so that they encourage family members who have found these items to come forward and have their collection analyzed. As the CHAPS Program team reviews private collections, we continue to gather information in order to create a map delineating the location of settlements of prehistoric and historic Indians throughout the Rio Grande Valley.

Growing DNA evidence indicates that the majority of prehistoric peoples in the Americas originated in Asia and then crossed the Bering Strait’s land bridge over ten thousand years ago (Dixon 1993:11). Some may also have arrived by boat or canoe from Asia or Europe. However, according to Native American genesis stories, they originated in the Americas (McKenzie 2005:21). It is important to teach the students about the physical evidence that has been uncovered which proves the existence of native peoples in the Americas deep into the past and explains how they made their journey into the American continent. It is just as imperative to highlight the value of spiritual beliefs as well. Since Native Americans today express themselves through music and dance, the lyrics to their songs and choreographed dance steps directly relate to their sacred rituals and professions of faith. The CHAPS Program traveling trunk includes items that are tangible, such as stone projectile points, as well as a drum to be used to reproduce musical sounds to inspire song and dance. This enhances a total hands-on experience through physical touch, sound and active participation. As we gather data and interview artifact owners, we strive to provide thought provoking information for students of all ages so that once they matriculate into university level studies, they will develop hypotheses for undergraduate research papers, master’s theses or doctoral dissertations.

The CHAPS Program focuses its research on several counties along the Rio Grande region of south Texas and the existence of peoples throughout time beginning with the Paleo-Indian period (9200 B.C.), throughout the Early (6000 B.C.), Middle (2500 B.C.), Late (1000 B.C.), and Transitional Archaic periods (300 B.C.), to the Late Prehistoric (A.D. 700 – 1200) period and into the more modern Historic period (A.D. 1600-
1800). By the time the Spaniards, led by Hernán Cortez, arrived in Mexico in 1519, a shipwrecked European sailor named Gonzalo Guerrero had assimilated among the regional Indians, married and fathered the first mestizo children (Diaz del Castillo 1963:60). Two centuries later, Spanish farmers and ranchers arrived in the Rio Grande Valley. There they founded the Villas del Norte beginning in the 1740s. These original towns included Camargo, Mier, Reynosa, Revilla (Guerrero) and Laredo. Matamoros, an important, riverside trade center, was first named Refugio and was settled later in 1794 (Valerio-Jimenez 2013: 52). As these Spanish settlers acclimated themselves to the region, they intermarried with the local Indian peoples creating today’s populace. Students can be inspired to learn more about these particular peoples and many others that were present during the Spanish colonial period.

![Figure 14. Sketch by Paulette Jumeau McFarlan found in Book of American Indian Games by Allan A. McFarlan](image)

**Cultural Progression**

Indians of south Texas are classified as Plains Indians. Paulette Jumeau’s illustration of North American Indians in Allan McFarlan’s *Book of American Indian Games* shows five specific
culture areas in North America. As we address the broad subject of the Indians of South Texas, we can narrow the spectrum to include information about Paleo-Indians, Prehistoric Indians, and Historic Indians specific to the region between the Rio Grande and San Antonio. This area was referred to at one time as “La Costa” because it was a “large sheet of waterless, inland sand dunes” (Texas Almanac website 2013). Native peoples had scattered campsites in the interior away from the rivers. There they utilized the water-filled deflation troughs and their associated plants and animals. Historic Indians of south Texas, for example, include the Coahuiltecs, and later, the Comanche and the Lipan Apache. Martin Salinas names a multitude of bands and tribes located at the southernmost point along the Rio Grande such as the Comecrudos (those who eat raw foods) and the Cotonames (Salinas 1990:35-37, 40). This source can also be used to show the correlation between actual Indian names for specific groups and those applied to them by Spanish speakers. There were Indian groups of various names that inhabited the region along the Rio Grande at that time. As contact was made and relationships were formed, the Spaniards dubbed each group with a name that reflected specific descriptive characteristics. We can capitalize on this opportunity to have students discuss racial phenotypes and culture. Spanish colonial river villages such as Camargo and Refugio, and Reynosa were neighbors to the following tribes located nearby (Valerio-Jimenez 2013:30, 38):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camargo</th>
<th>Refugio (Matamoros)</th>
<th>Reynosa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cueros Quemado</td>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>Comecrudo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tejones</td>
<td>Mulatto</td>
<td>Cotoname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrizo</td>
<td>Anda en Camino</td>
<td>Campacuase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specific characteristics of certain groups raise questions of race and ethnicity. For example, Salinas says that the tribe referred to as the Negros contained ancestors who were African slaves shipwrecked near the mouth of the Rio Grande prior to the 1750s (Salinas 1990: 54). As we look into the faces of today’s residents of south Texas, we detect a variety of characteristics in the shape of the eyes and noses as well as the tone of one’s skin color. Historical evidence and recent literature reveal ancestral relations
of Rio Grande Valley residents with ties to Spanish Sephardic Jews, Lipan Apache and African ancestors. “While some area Hispanics may indeed have Jewish heritage, it does not necessarily make them Jews. Rather, the Jewish heritage has become part of the Mestizo culture” (Whitehead 2005). In the late 1500s, a large number of Jews settled in the region we know today as northern Mexico which includes towns and cities such as Monterrey and Cerralvo where many of them married into the local Indian population and other cultural groups. There are cultural traditions that linger in today’s rituals such as the leaving of a stone at one’s gravesite. Rabbi Steven Rosenberg of Temple Emanuel in McAllen said, “the Jews don’t believe in flowers at gravesites because they wither and die. A rock is a lasting sign. The tradition of putting rocks on gravesites goes back to Biblical times. When someone died, the body was buried in a cave and covered with rocks. It grew into a symbol of putting a rock on top of the grave, as a sign of respect” (Whitehead 2005). As we review the components that result in the mixture of cultures present in today’s residents of south Texas, we understand the underlying traditions kept alive, whether deliberately or unwittingly, by the modern populace.

We can look further into these ritual practices and determine if there is a cross-cultural influence with respect to funerals and burials, i.e., are different aspects of cultures combined in today’s Rio Grande Valley traditions? Oral history interviews of community elders provide insight into heritage principles and lifestyle practices and how they evolved through the past two centuries. Native storytelling has great value in maintaining customs, principles and ethics of regional Native Americans. For the past two decades, various Native American tribal members from the South Texas Indian Dancers Association (STIDA) come together every October to create exhibitions and performances of native singers, musicians and dancers. They showcase this event in McAllen, and call it The South Texas (Way South) Pow Wow. Class trips can be organized to attend this annual event which is held at the Lark Community Center. Similar events are held in the region such as the San Benito Indian Cultural Powwow. Students can get a first-hand look at local
Native Americans and experience past and current lifestyle trends through art, costume, song, dance, and culinary items. Students can prepare questions in advance to ask the Lipan Apache tribe members and other native peoples present at the Powwow. Responses can be recorded in each student’s journal and brought back to the classroom for further discussion and analysis.

Curriculum Components

Lesson plan development can cover various subject matters yet follow the same pattern and layout. A lesson plan that covers, for example, the stone tools of prehistoric and historic Indians of south Texas can be developed with the following curriculum components and strategies for effective development:

1. **Objectives:** Students will gain an understanding of the customs and lifestyles of the prehistoric and historic Indians of South Texas. To accomplish this objective, students will read and research information on stone tools. They will organize information on a chart. Using their findings, they will determine some of the possible reasons that led to the particular design of the stone tools of a particular period. They will discuss and summarize their findings.

2. **Subjects:** Social studies (history, geography), Science (geology, and biology), language arts

3. **Materials:** Instructions for flint-knapping raw stone, map of region at time of first Spanish contact, tool identification worksheet. Other (available in your class rooms): World map and or globe, maps of Texas and the Rio Grande Valley; pencils, pens, highlighter markers; journals

4. **Key events, concepts, and vocabulary:** Ice age, Pleistocene, Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bering Strait, land bridge, migration, chert, limestone, basalt, atlatl, projectile point, dart point, arrow point, preform, artifact, flake, cobble, core, hammerstone, haft, uniface, biface, blade, artifact
5. **Set the Stage:** As you begin to prepare the students for the lesson, create an activity through which they make their own journal booklet. Some of your students may already keep a journal which includes their own personal thoughts, feelings, ideas and concepts. Explain to them that journals are also maintained for professional reasons and that this particular journal will record the daily lesson’s data for easy tracking of information at the end of the lesson. Set up the journal with your students and stress the importance of being neat and organized. Discuss the many reasons one may keep a journal and the benefits of such.

6. **Procedure:** Review the process from start to finish beginning with the cobble, hitting it with the hammerstone to reveal the percussion (breaking) point, etc. If striking an actual cobble in the classroom, make sure students have protective eyewear. Discuss the hardness of the stone and the amount of time it would take through each process. Discuss different types of stone, the differing levels of hardness, availability throughout the region and massive events that may have altered the stone tensile strength, such as a volcanic eruption, etc. Talk about other daily activities in the lives of Native Americans during prehistoric and historic periods and the amount of time per day one was able to dedicate to the making of the necessary stone tools.

7. **Journal (The Journal Entry),** it is important for the students to keep a journal of daily activities as they pertain to this project. This will prove to be beneficial as questions arise or when tasked to think of a research project/paper with relation to this subject matter.

8. **Skills:** Knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis.

9. **Duration:** Making journals–1 class period; Map work–1 class period; Chronology work–2 class periods; Journal writing–1 class period

10. **Instructional Groupings:** individual and small group

11. **Closure:** Presentation of final projects/maps/analyses

12. **Evaluation:** what did we learn that we did not know
before? Are we inspired to learn more about this subject matter? Perhaps study it in college?

Another approach to lesson plan development within this subject matter can focus on general aspects of Native American life. We can utilize the chapters within this book to build a lesson plan that encompasses a broad base as follows:

1. **Brief introduction to the lesson plan:** Consistent with TEKS 113.15 (Social Studies, Grade 4), this lesson will provide students with information on the origins, similarities, and differences in Native American groups.

2. **Guiding Questions**
   A. Who were the Native Americans and why were they important?
   B. How does culture influence our lives?
   C. How do we learn about events in the past?
   D. How do past events relate to current events in the Rio Grande Valley?

3. **Learning Objectives**
   A. Understand how various sources provide information about the past.
   B. Understand how physical characteristics of places and regions affect people’s activities and settlement patterns.
   C. Understand the historical significance of landmarks and celebrations in the community and the state.

4. **Detailed Background**
   A. Visual aids/maps of physical area of research; i.e., *porciones* map of Hidalgo and Starr Counties, map of Nuevo Santander, today’s maps superimposed over *porciones* maps.
   B. Utilize the atlatl, darts and projectile points included in the travel trunk to discuss hunting and gathering habits of local Native Americans.
   C. Gather photos of plants and vegetation native to the region, such as nopales, prickly pear, and mesquite bean pods.
5. **Lesson Activities**
   
   A. Review names of local area Indian tribes and discuss the Spanish influence with regard to those names. Discuss the specific characteristics that pertain to the naming of the tribes, e.g., Negroes, Comecrudos, etc.
   
   B. Create a target on the grounds of your school by utilizing a bale(s) of hay with a sketch of a buffalo or other animal native to the region. Give the students hands-on experience throwing the atlatl and teach them about the application of Newton’s Second Law of Motion ($F=ma$).

6. **Assessment**
   
   A. Recall of information remembered by the students.
   
   B. Ask students to teach a portion of what they have learned to another group of students.

7. **Skills to be targeted**
   
   A. Knowledge
   
   B. Comprehension
   
   C. Application
   
   D. Analysis

8. **Resources**
   
   A. Native Peoples of South Texas: A Traveling Trunk for K-12 created by UTPA’s CHAPS Program, websites such as Texas Beyond History, Texas Almanac, the Witte Museum of San Antonio, the Museum of South Texas History.

In order to develop successful place-based and community-based learning modules, it is important to spark the desire to learn and grow by relating the material to recognizable elements in the students’ lives. Students feel more successful in the learning process if the material learned is easily recalled. By infusing regional, cultural and familial elements into the curriculum, students will identify more readily with the daily lesson plans and be more apt to participate in class and achieve
Agarito
Mahonía trifoliolata

Illustration provided by artist Daniel Cardenas.
Protecting Archaeological Sites: Doing the Right Thing

Russell K. Skowronek and Bobbie L. Lovett

If you grew up living or working on a farm or orchard, or if you hunt and fish in south Texas, chances are you, or someone you know probably found evidence of the ancient ancestors of the Coahuiltecan or other Indian peoples. As discussed in this book, in the interior counties of south Texas this evidence might include chipped stone projectile points, knives and scrapers, ground stone mortars and, very rarely, seashell. If you have or do discover such things, be a good steward of these precious non-renewable resources, because once the information is gone it can never be recovered. The following information is derived from the Texas Historical Commission.

If I let an archeologist record or study an archeological site on my land, will I risk losing my property?

No. The Texas Historical Commission has no legal authority to acquire property through eminent domain. Texas Historical Commission regional archeologists work with landowners and can recommend voluntary actions to take to protect and preserve important sites. Protective measures, including designations and easements are most effective when landowners understand what archeological resources occur on their property and where they are located.
Will the government confiscate the artifacts I find on my property?

No. Artifacts from private land are the property of the landowner.

Who owns the materials?

In the United States, on private property the landowner is the owner of everything on their property, including archaeological materials. If you are on private land and you find something, do not pick it up without the permission of the landowner.

What if I am on vacation and find archaeological materials?

On public lands, including state and national parks, seashores, and historic sites ALL artifacts belong to the people of Texas and the United States. NEVER pick up artifacts on public lands. It is a felony. Do the right thing and inform rangers or interpreters of the discovery. Do NOT tell other people about the location of the site as they might not do the ethical thing and may illegally collect materials.

Why shouldn't I keep these items? There must be more.

Archaeological sites are non-renewable resources. Once an object is removed from a site its physical relationship to the other artifacts that make up the site is lost. If the diagnostic artifacts are all collected from a site we will never know the age or cultural affiliation of the site.

What should I do if I find or have found something on my property?

It is important to know exactly where each object was found. Recording the location of the discovery will allow future researchers to better understand its place in the past. Ideally, you will use your hand-held GPS unit to mark the location of the site. Another way is to use Google Earth images to exactly pinpoint the location of the site.
Be certain to write the location on the bag in which you store the artifacts and record it on a sheet of paper you place in the bag.

I have some artifacts I have collected over the years. Are they important?
Artifact collections have the potential to shed important light on the sites from which they were collected. An important factor is if artifacts from specific sites were labeled or kept separately from other site collections. If so, then archeologists can study and compare the collections with other artifacts retrieved from the same site or area. Collections that lack this information have either limited or no research value. While the artifacts may be interesting to look at, without identification and location information, they tell us little or nothing about past occupations at a specific locale.

What can I do to protect a site on my property?
If you are involved in crop agriculture, each disking or plowing episode will further mix the artifacts. Avoidance of the artifact concentration is preferred. Livestock can destroy artifacts and archaeological sites by trampling. Fencing would limit this impact. Finally, replacing trees or ditching for irrigation in orchards can also adversely affect a site. If avoidance is impossible, ask an archaeologist or an archaeological steward (see below) to monitor during digging. The Texas Historical Commission's (THC) Archeology Division has regional archeologists who can assist private landowners in identifying and recording archeological sites. Members of the THC’s Texas Archeological Stewardship Network can also assist property owners. For assistance, contact the THC’s Archaeology Division.

Why is that important?
Other materials found on your property might represent occupations dating from other eras. Should the materials become mixed, important information about all the sites will be compromised.
What should I do after I have found a site, not disturbed it and recorded its location?

If you live in Hidalgo or Starr Counties, contact the CHAPS Program Office at the University of Texas Pan American. We will photograph, identify, and record your site. ALL artifacts will be returned to the owner following analysis, along with a copy of our site report.

Are the artifacts valuable?

Archaeologists do not put dollar-values on artifacts. The value is in what they can tell us about the past. That is why it is imperative that the exact location or context of the discovery must be recorded. Artifacts without context are simply curios or curiosities.

Why should I care?

While individuals or their families may own land today in the future it will pass out of their hands. Some people act as stewards or protectors of their land to ensure it is not compromised. One family in Edinburg purchased a farm a century ago. In 2011, at their request, archaeologists discovered that other families had lived on that land for the previous eighty centuries. That information has now been recorded in perpetuity and can now be shared with interested researchers and future generations of residents in the region. When that property is sold and subdivided the unique information from this multi-component archaeological site will be preserved and will be forever known by the landowner’s family name.

The Texas Historical Commission produces a number of useful brochures relating to these issues and others. Titles include “A Property Owner’s Guide to Archeological Sites,” “Artifact Collecting in Texas,” “Destruction of Archeological Sites in Texas,” and “Laws that Protect Archeological Sites.” These articles and other information on archaeology may be found at the Texas Historical Commission webpage at: www.thc.state.tx.us
About the Authors

Edna C. Alfaro (Ph.D. Arizona State University) is an assistant professor in the School of Family and Consumer Sciences at Texas State University. Dr. Alfaro utilizes the ecological and academic resilience frameworks to better understand the processes by which environmental, cultural, and familial factors interact with one another and impact Latino adolescents’ academic outcomes. Additionally, her work has focused on understanding how the processes associated with Latino adolescents’ academic success differ based on the gender. Her long-term research plan includes further investigating how school and family resources buffer the negative effects of poverty and discrimination on academic success both at the high school and undergraduate levels.

Roseann Bacha-Garza earned a Master of Arts degree in August of 2013 with a major in History from the University of Texas-Pan American in Edinburg, Texas. Outlined in her thesis, “San Juan and its Role in the Transformation of the Rio Grande Valley” is the succession of Spanish land grantees, displaced Civil War families, Anglo entrepreneurs and Mexican Revolution refugees and their migration to San Juan at various stages of municipal development. Currently she is the project coordinator for UTPA’s CHAPS (Community Historical Archaeology Project with Schools) Program. During her studies, she immersed herself in several towns and cities along the Rio Grande Valley to learn about this region of the country that has so much history left to uncover. In February of 2010, the book Images of America: San Juan was published; authored by Roseann Bacha-Garza and the San Juan Economic Development Corporation. In May 2012 this book won Preservation Texas’s Heritage Education Award. She also developed the San Juan Heritage Tourism Trail with a grant sponsored by the Texas Tropical Trials program.

Federico Gonzalez Jr. earned his BA in anthropology from UTPA in 2013. His interests in flint knapping and geology brought him to the attention of the CHAPS Program. He has volunteered 436 hours at the International Museum of Art & Science, where he
embraced the task to identify and inventory a count of 1495 Mesoamerican artifacts, which include vessels, figurines, spindle whorls, lithic/shell beads, obsidian prismatic blades, labrets, ear spools, etc. Gonzalez is fixated on pursuing a career in museum and field studies.

Juan L. González (Ph.D. Tulane University) a native of Colombia, González joined the Department of Physics and Geology at the University of Texas Pan American in 2009 and the CHAPS program the same year. His research interests reside at the interface of three disciplines, Geomorphology, Sedimentology and Geochronology. His ongoing projects include, constructing a detailed sea level curve for the Caribbean coast of South America, initiating the chronology of the Rio Grande and studying archeological water and lithic resources in south Texas.

Of Lipan Apache descent, Ashley Leal (BA University of Texas – Pan American) has danced in the powwow circle for over fifteen years as a fancy shawl dancer. This love for her people led her to further her education and is now matriculated in the MA program in Interdisciplinary Studies with a focus in anthropology at the University of Texas – Pan American. She is in the completion process of her thesis and research on cultural and ethnic identity within the Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas. During the academic year of 2012-2013, she worked for the CHAPS Program as a Graduate Research Associate and now currently resides in Northern Virginia with her husband and son.

Bobbie L. Lovett (MA University of Texas-Pan American) has been a lecturer both part-time and full-time in the Department of Anthropology, UTPA, for the past eighteen years and has been with the CHAPS Program since its inception. Lovett has twenty-five years of archeological experience working at prehistoric archeological sites on the northern coast of Peru, as well as experience with lithic technologies and projectile points in south Texas.

Russell K. Skowronek (Ph.D. Michigan State University) is the founding director of the Community Historical Archaeology
Project with Schools (CHAPS) Program at the University of Texas-Pan American. Skowronek has forty years of experience conducting archaeological research on prehistoric and historic, terrestrial and underwater sites in the Americas and Asia. A Research Associate of the Smithsonian Institution he is the author or editor of six books and dozens of articles and reports.

Maria Vallejo earned her MA in History at UTPA in 2013. Her thesis, “The Llano Grande Grant: The Transformation of Land Ownership in the Rio Grande Valley, 1749-1910” described the subdivision of a Spanish land grant. She began working with the CHAPS Program in 2010 as an undergraduate student. As a student in the CHAPS Program-sponsored academic course “Discovering the Rio Grande Valley,” she is a co-author of a report and book on the Norquest family of Edinburg, Texas. Ms. Vallejo plans to pursue a Ph.D. in history at the University of Texas at El Paso.
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