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An Earlier Chapter in Kiowa History

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AN EARLIER CHAPTER OF KIOWA HISTORY

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KIOWA TRIBAL MEMORY harks back to a mythic time of emergence amid the great mountains around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. From that ancestral cradle an epic migration carried the Kiowas eastward to the Black Hills, and ultimately to the southern plains, where their lives would center about the Wichita Mountains. The rich legendary dimension of their hegira has been carefully told from generation to generation. Lately, tribal concern for the faithful preservation of their traditions has resulted in publication of two beautifully conceived and executed volumes, *Kiowa Voices,* to which all may look for Kiowas' sense of themselves.[1]

In contrast, the written record that the historian must seek has appeared to be meager for the early years. Those invaluable tribal documents, the Kiowa calendars, extend back only to the mid-1830s, about the time that Kiowas began dealing directly with the United States. At that juncture they were already caught up in the pressures and processes that would swiftly erode the Kiowa world and within four decades confine them on the reservation in present Oklahoma. Between the Kiowa calendars, reported by anthropologist James Mooney in the 1890s,[2] and rather sparse American, Mexican, and Texan documents, there can be gleaned some inkling, though by no means a satisfactory understanding, of the events of that period. The documentary evidence thickens rapidly for the reservation years onward, and from that tragic era historical knowledge of the Kiowas largely derives.

But an earlier epoch of Kiowa history can be traced in Spanish documents of the northern frontier of New Spain, principally reflecting their voluntary interaction with New Mexicans. Then, "in

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the beginning," just emerging from the shadows of history, Kiowas had much greater choice about their lives than their descendants would know for generations to come. The manner in which the Kiowas handled those choices contrasts significantly with the stereotypes of Kiowa behavior that developed on Anglo frontiers.

That earliest recorded chapter of Kiowa history is particularly complex because of the intricate fashion in which Kiowa fortunes entwined with those of numerous nations of the upper Missouri basin. Some of the nomenclature in the documents can be reliably equated with tribal names presently known; some are unsolved puzzles. The Spaniards of New Mexico called them collectively the Nations of the North, or *Norteños*.[3]

French fur traders of the Illinois country knew the Kiowas in the 1790s as allies of the Cheyennes, roving the streams of the upper Missouri basin.[4] References to Kiowa friendship with the Cheyennes also occur in documents of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New Mexico and Texas, casting doubt upon Mooney's notion that the Cheyennes were long-time enemies who had helped the Sioux oust the Kiowas from the Black Hills. However, the Kiowas and their neighbors were feeling severe pressures in the 1790s, not only from Sioux but from Anglo Americans, who menaced Indians of the northern plains from the outset of their nationhood.

Seeking counterweight and perhaps refuge, the Kiowas and their associates first looked directly southward to Spanish Texas. Their emissaries were Skidi Pawnees, who enjoyed ready entree through their friends, the Wichitas and Taovayas of Red River, who had themselves a long-established treaty relationship with the Spaniards of Texas. In February 1795, a dozen Skidis, escorted by Wichitas and Taovayas, visited Gov. Manuel Muñoz in San Antonio. They told him that they had fled their former home because of injuries inflicted by the Americans and that they spoke for thirty-three other nations who wished to be friends with the Spaniards. Among those nations were the Kiowas.[5]

Pedro de Nava, commandant general of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, rejoiced at the prospect of so many Indian nations wishing to align themselves with the Spaniards against the Americans. Unfortunately, the dithering old governor of Texas proved

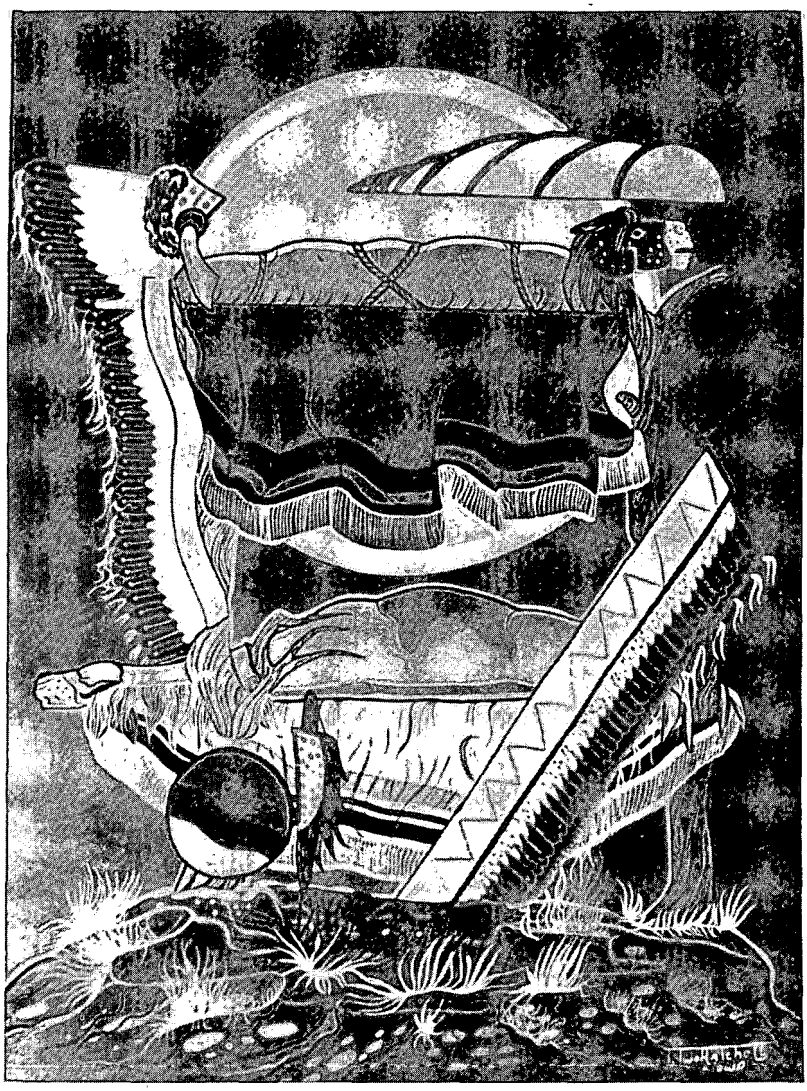
incompetent even to report the situation adequately to his superiors, much less respond satisfactorily to the Indians who brought the proposition. The Skidis recognized his uselessness and gave up on negotiations at San Antonio, but they did not relinquish hopes of a Spanish alliance. In June 1795, Skidi Chief Yrisac led representatives of those thirty-three nations to Laredo and thence to the capital of Nuevo Santander (now the state of Tamaulipas) to negotiate with the more able governor of that province. But Conde de Sierra Gorda, taken completely unawares and lacking adequate interpreters for the languages of those northern nations, could give them no immediate satisfaction. The visitors went home disappointed, leaving the commandant general to mourn the opportunity for strategic Indian alliances that his subordinates had fumbled.

Five years later the Kiowas and their friends looked to New Mexico for a Spanish connection. Actually, Kiowa men and women had been turning up in New Mexico at least since 1727: by 1800, church records showed thirty-five Kiowas baptized and six buried in that province, all presumably captives cast upon the New Mexican frontier by the internecine turmoils to the north and east.[6]

It was in the early autumn of 1800 that Kiowas first probed the northern frontier of New Mexico deliberately and in some force. They came with Apaches del Norte, Pawnees, and Skidi Pawnees, some three to five hundred men altogether, with a horse herd of two thousand. Clearly, that was no ordinary raiding party. However, from a base in the front range of the Rocky Mountains, they did enough damage in the Abiquiú area to incense the Jicarillas and Utes. The latter not only reported them to the Spanish authorities, but proposed a joint expedition to drive them away. Before genízaro scouts and Spanish troops could reconnoiter their camp, however, the invaders headed north towards home.[7]

Comanches suspected that the intruders had been guided by a Skidi Pawnee captive whom they had reared to adulthood, only to have him betray six Comanche warriors into the hands of Skidis to whom he escaped. The New Mexicans and their Indian allies wondered whether and why the Nations of the North had launched a war upon their frontier and braced themselves against worse to come.

The Norteños did come back the following spring. This time nine



Contemporary Kiowa art, Two-Hatchet, artist. Courtesy Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe.

nations were said to be camped together in the front range, whence the Apaches del Norte launched overtures to the Jicarillas and Navajos. They explained that they wanted to be friends with those nations because they were in fact the same kind of people, who spoke the same language, but had been cut off from their linguistic brothers long ago when the Comanche wedge shattered the eastern Apachería, an event of the 1720s. Here, obviously, were the people who would become known in American history as Kiowa Apaches, that little isolated Apache group who had somehow in the turmoils of the eighteenth century found a place in the Kiowa camp circle.

The Jicarillas responded graciously to that appeal, stocking a mountain rendezvous with bundles of tobacco and making themselves available to meet with the Nations of the North. Still other eastern Apaches heard of the lost kinsmen. Lipanes turned up on the eastern frontier of New Mexico for the first time in many years, explaining that they had come to join their relatives, the Jicarillas and the Apaches del Norte, in vengeance on the Comanches. That was alarming news for the Spaniards, whose control of the northern frontier depended heavily upon their alliance with the Comanches in New Mexico and Texas. They wasted no time in ordering the Lipanes to go back to Texas and Coahuila, where they had lived in alliance with the Spaniards for half a century.[8]

However menacing the grudges of their Apache associates, the Nations of the North did not threaten the Spaniards. Instead, in the summer of 1801, from the camp of Jicarilla Chief Pajarito, they sent to Taos three crosses to signify their desire for friendship and trade and advised that their representatives would soon come to Taos bearing that same symbol. Twenty-three Norteño delegates, including five chiefs, showed up at Taos early in October and were escorted to Santa Fe to visit Gov. Fernando Chacón. They wished to establish themselves on the Arkansas River and to trade at Taos. Governor Chacón assured them that they would be welcomed as friends and allies on the same terms as the other allied nations.[9]

But what of the Comanches, those most important allies of the Spaniards, who had controlled the upper Arkansas for half a century? The Nations of the North set about ousting them. Little more than a month after their visit to Santa Fe, a large party of Norteños fell upon a camp of Cuchantica Comanches on the Arkansas. The

Comanches, who lost considerable property in the raid but no lives, warned a party of New Mexican buffalo hunters against more than a thousand Norteños roving the hunting grounds. Alarmed, the hunters scurried back to Santa Fe without meat. Meanwhile, the Comanches reported the attack to the governor, making no secret of their indignation that he had offered the Norteños alliance on equal terms with them.

The ensuing spring of 1802 brought no cheer to the northern Comanchería. By March they had lost four men and many horses to Pawnees and six men and more than thirty horses to Utes. But their vengeance focused principally upon the Norteños, whom they were determined to drive back to their old homelands. In midsummer the Jupe Comanches delivered a strong blow, killing twenty-four Kiowas and seizing much of their property and in fact drove them away from the Arkansas. At virtually the same time, fifteen chiefs of the Nations of the North were visiting Santa Fe, renewing their request for peaceful relations and for permission to establish themselves in New Mexico. Again, Governor Chacón responded favorably, but when he heard shortly afterwards of the Comanche victory over the Kiowas and of the Norteños' preparations for vengeance, he guessed that their antipathy would make it impossible for Kiowas and Comanches ever to dwell in peaceful proximity.[10]

Few Norteños visited New Mexico during the next two years. Forty of their men and women did come to Taos in July 1803 to trade very quickly for blankets, hatchets, and punche tobacco, but they would not take time to send an envoy to Santa Fe. Only a week later the principal leaders of the western Comanches stopped by Santa Fe on their way home from a fruitless ninety-six-day campaign against the Kiowas and Skidi Pawnees, whom they had been unable to find. Those Comanches did encounter in Santa Fe a delegation of Pawnees, but the mortal enemies treated each other with the perfect courtesy required of all visitors to the Spanish capital, and New Mexicans escorted the departing Pawnees as far as the Arkansas River to ensure that no violence marred their visit to the province.[11] The next summer another small delegation of Pawnees came to Santa Fe to renew their treaty relationship, but the rest of the Nations of the North stayed away.

That aloofness worried the Spaniards, who knew that Lewis and

Clark were pushing up the Missouri, aggressively wooing Indians for the United States as they explored the terrain. New Mexico countered with a small expedition to the Platte River to contact the Pawnees and Apaches del Norte and particularly to try to make peace among the Indian nations who were friendly to Spain. The expedition's leader, veteran interpreter Pedro Vial, sponsored peace talks between Pawnees and Comanches and brought Pawnee leaders back to Santa Fe to reaffirm their commitment to Spain.[12]

Perhaps New Mexico's show of good faith and interest in the nations of the Platte encouraged the Norteños to resume negotiations. Perhaps also the assiduous courtship of their Sioux adversaries by Lewis and Clark alarmed them. Whatever the reason, in June 1805, two Arapaho chiefs visited Santa Fe to solicit peace, alliance, and trade with New Mexico, not only for themselves but for the Cheyennes and Skidi Pawnees with whom they were allied.[13]

They found at Santa Fe more generous hospitality than ever and the standing offer of trade and alliance on the same terms as the other allied nations, subject to a visit by the principal chiefs of each nation to affirm the treaty. The two Arapahos hurried home as fast as they could, slowed only slightly by the measles they developed at Taos. Within the month, another six Arapaho chiefs came to Taos with 130 men, bearing a red flag with a white cross and requesting peace. They could spare only three days to trade hides for gunpowder, blankets, and horses, but they promised that their nation would return in the fall to pay their respects to the governor and properly ratify a lasting peace.

Norteños always seemed to be in a great hurry, quite unlike the Comanches, who customarily sent advance notice that they were coming and then spent several days ceremoniously visiting and trading. Perhaps that reflected the profound insecurity of the Norteños then, especially their anxiety to rush back to families left behind in camps vulnerable to enemy attack while their men made the dangerous trek to New Mexico. Just how hazardous that journey had become was proved in the fall of 1805, when the governor dispatched Vial with a load of presents to winter among the Norteños and counteract American influence. A large party of mounted Indians with plenty of guns jumped Vial's party at the Arkansas

River and seized so much of their equipment that they could only limp back to Santa Fe to report failure.[14]

The identity of the attackers was a puzzle. Vial thought they certainly were not Pawnees because Pawnees never fought on horseback as these had done; moreover, the Pawnees seemed truly faithful friends. Not Kiowas, for these warriors were fully clothed in white, red, and blue, with cloths tied on their heads, and Kiowa warriors never wore cumbersome gear into battle. Furthermore, there was every reason to think the Kiowas' peace overtures to New Mexico had been sincere, even if they were now said to be waging a hot war against the Timpagnogos Utes.[15]

In fact, the Kiowas now seemed the most promising avenue to the Norteños. Another of Santa Fe's ablest interpreters, Carbineer Juan Lucero, volunteered to lead a party north from Taos to find the Kiowas, and perhaps through them reach the other Norteños whom Vial had hoped to contact through the Pawnees. He left Taos on 27 November 1805 with twenty-five hand-picked settlers from Taos and in just eleven days found a warm welcome in the winter camps of the Kiowas. Their chiefs had been giving considerable thought to ways of maintaining good relations with the Spaniards and hoped through Spanish mediation to gain peace with the Comanches. If that could be accomplished, the Kiowas believed, they could bring ten other tribes to make peace with the Spaniards. They sent the chief called El Ronco back with Lucero to talk with the governor.[16]

By Christmas Day, El Ronco had accomplished his mission in Santa Fe. He desired two Spanish flags and presents of good quality. In particular, the Kiowas required properly engraved medals for their chiefs, not the shoddy adapted pesos that were the only medals then on hand in Santa Fe. More important still, El Ronco wanted Gov. Joaquín del Real Alencaster to send runners to find the Comanches and invite them to Santa Fe to celebrate peace with the Kiowas. Afterwards, he proposed, the celebrants should ride with Spanish escorts to visit the camps of both nations in order to affirm the peace before all their people. Now El Ronco set a time when the Kiowas would come to Santa Fe with their principal chief, Bule,[17] to ratify with the governor their permanent friendship. El Ronco left for his camp on 26 December, again riding with Lucero, who reported back to Santa Fe on 18 January 1806.

Might a treaty between Comanches and Kiowas produce a coalition powerful enough to threaten the Spaniards? Despite the apparent sincerity of the Kiowas and the proven reliability of the Comanches, Gov. Real Alencaster worried about bringing them together. Fortunately, while he wondered how to avoid the issue, the Kiowas and Comanches worked out a treaty without the governor's help. Perhaps they did use the good offices of Juan Lucero, who had long enjoyed excellent rapport with the Comanches and had recently become a friend of the Kiowas too. That would account for the Kiowa tradition that a Spanish intermediary brought about their peace with the Comanches.

Whatever the details of the negotiations, it was in the first half of 1806 that the Kiowas and Comanches celebrated the enduring peace between those two markedly different nations. The Kiowas dealt with the principal chief of the Yamparica Comanches, generally known as Somiguaso and recently dubbed General Carlos by the Spanish authorities. The tradition recorded by Mooney is that the Kiowa chief Guik' áte, second only to the principal chief, went to make the peace at the Comanche camps on the Double Mountain Fork of the Brazos.[18] Spanish records show that the five rancherias of Somiguaso's followers had moved the year before from their long-time residence in the north (presumably on the Arkansas) to the upper Colorado River, near the Concho. That had brought them close to the eastern Cuchanticas, who dealt principally with Texas, but Somiguaso had promised to continue the annual visits to New Mexico that his people had made ever since the peace treaty at Pecos in 1786. Surely the Guik' áte of Kiowa tradition was the chief whom the Spaniards knew as El Ronco. To cement the alliance in 1806, he married a daughter of Somiguaso and went to live with the Yamparicas.[19]

Negotiation of the Kiowa alliance with the Spaniards progressed much less speedily. In the spring of 1806 the Kiowas scheduled a meeting with five other nations whom they hoped to bring with them to Santa Fe to join the accord. But surprise attacks by Skidi Pawnees, with whom they had not been at war, so disrupted the lives of those nations that they had to postpone their meeting with the Kiowas until summer's end. Consequently, the Kiowas' principal chief, Bule, deferred his visit to Santa Fe until his friends could come. Lucero learned of that decision when he went to look

Contemporary Kiowa art, Mitch Boiddle, artist. Courtesy Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe.

for the Kiowas in the early summer and found them in the area of present Salida, Colorado. Camped with them he found thirteen ranchos of Orejones, who lived near the Missouri River. They had come to talk with the Kiowas about going to Santa Fe, despite lavish presents from Frenchmen who wanted to keep them in the Missouri Valley.

Lucero promised to come back in September to escort the delegates to Santa Fe, but upon returning in the fall he could find nothing of the Kiowas except trails leading towards the Missouri River. Lucero guessed that they had been scared away by the rumors, or perhaps the smokes, of the Facundo Melgares expedition, a six-hundred-man force that had marched from New Mexico that summer to counteract the American expeditions of Lewis and Clark and of Pike. The disappointed Spaniards could only wait and hope that the Kiowas would come to Santa Fe in their own good time.[20]

The next spring, 1807, many Kiowas and other Norteños gathered about the headwaters of Fountain Creek and along the upper Arkansas, in the vicinity of modern Pueblo. In mid-May, a well-armed party of Arapahos and Flechas Rayadas hailed a Spanish patrol from Taos to give them a friendly message: they planned to visit the governor to verify their friendship; now they were hunting and would soon come to Taos to trade pelts for things that they needed.[21] Responding promptly, Gov. Real Alencaster sent Lucero northward with a flag and modest gifts, to urge the principal leaders of each of the nations to come to Santa Fe to ratify the peace and receive appropriate symbols of authority and presents.

Meanwhile, scouts reported that the gathering Norteños seemed to have the idea of joining with the Comanches in a live war against the Pawnees. Certainly the Kiowas had made contact with the Yamparicas. A Kiowa leader and his Yamparica counterpart stopped by Santa Fe in June to pay their respects to the governor in the course of their reciprocal visits to each other's camps, and the Kiowa assured the governor that Chief Bule would come soon.

And so he did. On 3 August 1807, fourteen Kiowas took part in the treaty ceremony in the Palace of the Governors. Governor Real Alencaster hung about the neck of Chief Bule a large silver medal with the king's picture and handed him a silver-headed cane, the

traditional symbols of the reciprocal obligations of vassalage to the Spanish crown. Two lesser Kiowa chiefs received the smaller medals of secondary leadership. Three Arapaho chiefs accepted the one large and two small medals and the symbolic cane for their nation. All received presents of textiles, tobacco, mirrors, and tools, a bounty from the sovereign to which their treaty would entitle them every year thereafter.[22]

The treaty terms were like those the Comanches and the Spaniards celebrated at Pecos in 1786.[23] In this treaty, the Kiowas pledged not to injure any subjects of the Spanish king; in return, they would be entitled to his protection. They could settle and subsist near Spanish settlements and freely enter the settlements to trade; their chiefs would enjoy free passage to Santa Fe and access to the governor as they wished. In addition, leaders would make one official visit to the governor each year to reaffirm the alliance and receive the king's presents. Such treaty terms had proved quite workable over the past two decades. Now, the Kiowas would readily fit into the well-established pattern of friendly interaction between nomadic Indians and the people of New Mexico.

One aspect of the obligations of vassals of the Spanish crown posed particular difficulties: the responsibility not to injure any of the king's other vassals and to hold as their enemies only those whom he recognized as enemies. Although the Comanches, Navajos, Utes, and Jicarillas each maintained successful treaty relationships with New Mexico, they had found it nearly impossible to submerge their deeply rooted intertribal enmities. The Spaniards accepted that reality. They could only insist that enemy tribesmen behave harmoniously when they met within settled areas of New Mexico, especially when visiting Santa Fe. To minimize the possibility of clashes, New Mexican authorities routinely provided safe conduct to the outer bounds of the province for departing Indian visitors.

The Kiowas met such tests from the beginning. Forty Pawnees were in Santa Fe for their ceremonial renewal of treaty relations at the time of the Kiowa and Arapaho treaty ceremonies. Presumably the delegates of the three nations shared the government's guest quarters for Indian allies. They were also together at Taos

the next month when the alcalde slaughtered two beeves to provision them for their homeward journeys.[24] But they did not make their encounter an occasion to reconcile the differences that had led the Kiowas and Arapahos earlier in the year to talk of joining the Comanches in war against the Pawnees.

Whatever the difficulties among the tribes, after 1807 the Kiowas figured in the New Mexican record as one of the allied nations who maintained harmony and tranquility with the province.[25] In Santa Fe they enjoyed the hospitality of the governor's table and of the quarters for the allied nations that the government maintained, presumably in the presidio. There the crown supplied food and firewood. In addition, servants were on hand to make tortillas and see to their comfort, under the supervision of a soldier assigned to duty at the quarters. The visitors also had access to a special store for the allied nations, probably also in the presidio as was the warehouse of gift articles. In that store they could purchase finer and more varied goods than were generally available in the frontier trade. But of all its stock they liked best the *piloncillos,* those dark sugar loaves purveyed by the thousands, of which there never could be enough to sate the Indians' appetite for sweets.

The alliance operated smoothly. Towards the end of 1808 two Kiowa leaders came to Santa Fe to honor their treaty obligations and carried home the appropriate gifts. The commandant at Taos furnished them an escort of six soldiers and fourteen settlers and Indians of Taos to see them safely home.[26]

Only two months later, in February 1809, Kiowa Chief Dos Hachas arrived with the largest delegation of Norteño leaders yet seen in Santa Fe. Chief Lobo Blanco of the Arapahos claimed to be the recognized leader of all the nations represented in the delegation—the Kiowas, Apaches del Norte, Piernas Delgaditas, and Barrigones—as well as others not present. Since other chiefs in the delegation vouched for his story, Gov. José Manrrique gave him the Spanish flag and the chiefly medal and cane that he requested. Lobo Blanco expressed great enthusiasm for the Spanish alliance, and he promised to return to trade at Taos with many Norteños, also urging that New Mexicans be permitted to accompany them back to their own territory. Again, Manrrique granted

his request, licensing a large party of Taoseños to go to trade with the Norteños.[27]

Thus were the Kiowas and their associates drawn into a system of trade between settled New Mexicans and their roving Indian neighbors that dated back to pre-Columbian times and flourished in the early nineteenth century. In succeeding decades, Anglo-Americans would call it the Comanchero trade and consider it a peculiar Mexican wickedness. But it was in fact an efficient vital exchange of agricultural and manufactured products of New Mexicans for hides and meats and tallow supplied by nomadic hunting peoples.

While Kiowas would exercise their right to trade at Taos in the coming decades, that exertion was hardly necessary because tens and even hundreds of New Mexicans trekked regularly to Kiowa camps. Certainly the greatest volume of the trade was with the Comanches, who were far the most numerous of the allied nations; but the Kiowas and other Norteños, the Utes, the Jicarillas, and the Navajos were just as often the destination of New Mexican trading parties from northern settlements and pueblos. Spanish law required that the traders be licensed, but Governor Manrrique encouraged the traffic by liberal licensing policies. Not only did it yield reciprocal economic advantages for his citizenry and the allied nations; it was an effective, cost-free means to maintain the lively interaction necessary for Indian alliances to thrive. It was also an indispensable source of news from the outermost reaches of Spanish territory.[28] All traders were obliged to report to the authorities any unusual developments that they noticed; so were the Indian allies, who met that obligation zealously. New Mexico thus gained a surprisingly efficient network of surveillance against foreign interlopers.

There was plenty of news to report, not only of ever-increasing incursions of traders and trappers from the Anglo-American frontier, but of intertribal strife as well. In the summer of 1809, Comanches reported that Pawnees had abandoned their village to escape a fierce onslaught of Kiowas and Arapahos.[29] That autumn, Utes and Jicarillas left their families on the New Mexican frontier for safety and rode together to the front range to hunt buffalo and to campaign against the Kiowas if the opportunity should arise.

They had the great misfortune to find near the Arkansas an encampment of Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos, who drubbed them.

Among the heavy casualties the Utes suffered was their principal chief, a greatly valued ally of the Spaniards. The Utes were infuriated that they, such long-standing friends of the Spaniards, should have been so aggrieved by the Spaniards' newer friends, and they threatened to wreak their vengeance upon New Mexico. Fortunately for the peace of the frontier, a trusted interpreter convinced the Utes of the governor's argument that, while he maintained strict neutrality in intertribal disputes and made every effort to prevent their injuring each other within his province, he could not possibly control conflicts far beyond the settlements.[30]

Intertribal relations never ceased to be volatile, but the Kiowa peace with the Comanches proved stable and so to a useful extent did the Kiowa alliance with New Mexico. Surrounding conditions were anything but stable. Anglo-American trappers and traders surged into the southern Rockies, making Taos their hub and introducing the distilled spirits so grievously harmful to the Indian populace. Shortly after the mountain men came the Santa Fe traders, who soon made the plains an arena of conflict with Indians whose overriding desire for trade they would give no credence.

The turmoils of the ten-year Mexican struggle for independence also affected the Kiowas. Spanish authority held firm in New Mexico, but in Texas a combination of revolutionaries and filibusters destroyed Spanish authority for the summer of 1813, and the Comanche alliance in Texas broke down for more than a decade in the aftermath. When the king's forces regained control of San Antonio in August 1813, many insurgents fled north and west to Indian camps and villages, whence they sparked devastating raids against Texas and Coahuila. Their purpose was to make those provinces untenable for the royalists, and they very nearly succeeded.

By 1816 the insurgents had engineered a peace between the Comanches and the Lipanes in Texas, despite decades of profound enmity between those nations. For the first time since the 1720s, Lipanes could safely reach across the vast Comanchería to their lost kinsmen in the north. So the Lipanes sent an emissary to invite the Apaches del Norte and their friends to join them amid the

splendid hills and valleys of the upper Colorado and Guadalupe rivers, which the new accord with the Comanches permitted Apaches to enjoy once more. In the summer of 1818, five or six hundred families of Apaches del Norte, Kiowas, and Arapahos were seen moving southward down the plains under the guidance of the Lipan messenger.[31]

Thus Kiowas ventured toward Texas in the closing years of New Spain's bloody internecine struggles over the issue of independence, coming as associates of the Lipanes and Comanches in whose camps Spanish fugitives fomented raids against Texas and Coahuila. Newly independent Mexico moved promptly after 1821 to repair the ruptured alliances with Lipanes and Comanches in Texas, but Kiowas appear to have had little part in those accords. While their relations with New Mexico remained relatively peaceful, the Kiowas would never find a basis for, or perhaps even incentive to seek, an accord with Mexican Texas, much less its succeeding Anglo-American regimes. Vendettas burgeoned inexorably into the wide wars that, in the 1870s, finally cost the Kiowas and their friends the freedom of the southern plains. Since the perception of Kiowas in American history is rooted principally in that era of warfare, they are generally remembered only as fiercely implacable warriors.[32]

Hence the particular usefulness of the Spanish records of New Mexico as a source of balancing perspective. Not only do they demonstrate the crucial importance of New Mexicans, Hispanic and Indian, as brokers in a key arena of cultural confrontation, they also display the Kiowas in their purposeful quest for security and commerce, before they were caught up in the relentless warfare that characterized the Anglo-American frontier. The result is a fairer perception of the Kiowas, a people whose arts and traditions attest one of the richest and most appealing of Plains Indian cultures.

NOTES

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1. Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices,* 2 vols. (Forth Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1981, 1983).

2. James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1895–96,* Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898). An illuminating analysis of the importance of the calendars and of the context in which they were collected appears in John C. Ewers's introduction to the reprint edition published by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1979.

3. The term *Norteños,* or Nations of the North, is potentially confusing: in Spanish Texas it denoted the nations in the northerly reaches of that province (principally the Wichita, Caddo, and Tonkawa peoples), and that meaning figures in much of the historiography of the northern frontier of New Spain.

Insofar as possible, this essay employs the names by which tribes are known today. However, scholars may wish to see the nomenclature that has been translated. Fortunately, the Spanish rendition of Kiowa is usually obvious (Caigua), but in San Antonio in 1795 they were reported as Chaibao, apparently the Spanish rendition of the Wichitas' term for the Kiowa (see note 5 below). Other translations are as follows: Pawnees = Pananas; Kiowa Apaches = Catacas = Abajoses = Apaches del Norte = Apaches de los arenales; Arapahos = Cuampes = Come Perros; Skidi Pawnee = Aas = Aguages = Panismahas. No identification has been ascertained for Orejones, Flechas Rayadas, Piernas Delgaditas, and Barrigones; help would be welcomed.

Recently the group who have been labeled as Kiowa Apaches for the last century have themselves rejected that term as misleading and confusing. Unfortunately, their remedy, incorporating themselves as the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, only compounds confusion. Kataka Apaches might have been preferable for clear distinction and historical accuracy. From the era of this essay, Apaches del Norte has been selected as clearest in meaning.

4. "Truteau's Description of the Upper Missouri" in A. P. Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1795–1804* (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952), 2:379–80.

5. Rudolph C. Troike, "A Pawnee Visit to San Antonio in 1795," *Ethnohistory* 11 (Fall 1964):380–93; Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French, 1540–1795* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 764–65.

6. David M. Brugge, "Some Plains Indians in the Church Records of New Mexico," *Plains Anthropologist* 10 (No. 29, 1965): 181–89.

7. Pedro de Nava to Fernando Chacón, Chihuahua, 7 October 1800; Chacón, Summary of Events in New Mexico from 1 October to 25 November 1800; Chacón to Nava, Santa Fe, 24 November 1800, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM), State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. (Unless noted otherwise, all documents cited henceforth are in SANM).

8. Chacón to Nava, Santa Fe, 10 June, 29 August 1801; Chacón, Summary of

events in New Mexico from 1 April to 12 June 1801, Santa Fe, 12 June 1801. This evidence from SANM contradicts the hypothesis, based upon glottochronology, that the separation of Kiowa Apaches from other eastern Apaches occurred centuries before the historic period.

9. Chacón, Summary of events in New Mexico, 6 to 31 August 1801; Chacón to Nava, Santa Fe, 29 August 1801; Chacón, Account of expenses for gifts to allied Indians, Santa Fe, 31 October 1801; Nava to Chacón, Chihuahua, 28 December 1801.

10. Chacón, Summary of events in New Mexico from 20 November 1801 to 31 March 1802; Chacón to Nava, Santa Fe, 30 August 1802; Nava to Chacón, Chihuahua, 18 September 1802.

11. Chacón, Summary of events in New Mexico from 29 June to 31 August, 1803.

12. A. P. Nasatir, "More on Pedro Vial in Upper Louisiana" in John Francis McDermott, ed., *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762–1804* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 105–19.

13. Nemesio Salcedo to Joaquín del Real Alencaster, Chihuahua, 19 July 1805; Real Alencaster to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 1 July, 1 September 1805.

14. Salcedo to Real Alencaster, Chihuahua, 12 September, 2 October 1805; Real Alencaster to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 20 November 1805. Other pertinent documents appear in Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 428 ff.

15. Real Alencaster to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 20 November 1805.

16. Salcedo to Real Alencaster, Chihuahua, 16 January 1806; Real Alencaster to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 25 December 1805, 18 January 1806.

17. Also reported as Bole and as Dientecito.

18. Mooney, *Kiowa Calendar,* pp. 162–63. Kiowas now recall that chief's name as Kooy-skaw-day; both versions are translated as Wolf-lying-down. Current Kiowa memory of that Comanche chief's name agrees with Mooney's report: Pareiya (Afraid-of-water) (Boyd, *Kiowa Voices,* 1:16). SANM documentation clearly negates Mooney's long-accepted conjecture that the Kiowa-Comanche peace occurred in the 1790s. The situation in the Comanchería at the time of the treaty is analyzed in John, "Nurturing the Peace: Spanish and Comanche Cooperation in the Early Nineteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 59 (October 1984): 345–69.

19. Real Alencaster to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 20 November 1805, 30 August 1806, SANM; Salcedo to Antonio Cordero, Chihuahua, 1 June 1806, Béxar Archives, University of Texas Archives, Barker Texas History Center, Austin, Tex. (BA).

20. Real Alencaster to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 30 August, 20 November 1806.

21. Real Alencaster to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 23 May, 13 June 1807.

22. Real Alencaster, Extraordinary costs of expeditions and special gifts to the allies, Santa Fe, December 1806 to October 1807; Salcedo to Real Alencaster, Chihuahua, 17 September 1807.

23. John, *Storms,* pp. 671–75.

24. Real Alencaster, Accounts of expenses for Indian affairs, 1 November 1806 to 31 October 1807.

25. Pedro Bautista Pino, *Exposición sucinta y sencilla de la Provincia del Nuevo Mexico* in H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard, eds., *Three New Mexico Chronicles* (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1942), 135 fn.; see also the monthly reports of the Santa Fe Company in SANM. The other nations listed were Comanches, Utes, Navajos, Jicarillas, and Pawnees.

26. Summary report of the Santa Fe Company, September 1808; José Manrrique to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 9 March 1809.

27. Manrrique to Salcedo, 3, 9 March 1809.

28. Manrrique to Salcedo, 19 July 1810; Diary of events in New Mexico from 1 July to 31 August 1809.

29. Manrrique to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 31 August 1809.

30. Ignacio Sánchez Vergara to Manrrique, Xémes, 29 October 1809; Manrrique to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 21 March 1810.

31. Joaquín de Arredondo to Antonio María Martínez, Monterrey, 29 September 1818, BA.

32. Some continuities between early New Mexican records of Kiowa contacts and subsequent Anglo-American reports are usefully traced in Forrest D. Monahan, Jr., "The Kiowas and New Mexico, 1800–1845," *Journal of the West* 10 (January 1969): 67–75. Kiowas also figure in Charles L. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican Plains Indian Relations* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969). Three more books from the University of Oklahoma Press provide the best available information on the Kiowas in the decades following the era of the present essay: Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (1962); Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers* (1945); Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *Bad Medicine & Good: Tales of the Kiowas* (1962).