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# Notes on the History and Adaptation of the Apache Tribes

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*Sometime between A.D. 1100 and 1600 a group of Athapaskan-speaking tribes migrated from northwestern North America into the southwestern United States, where most eventually came to be referred to as Apaches. Compared with the majority of Amerindian tribes, relatively little is known about this group, specially about their life prior to the arrival of Europeans in the seventeenth century. This paper is an attempt to gather together widely scattered information about their prehistoric movements, their economy, and their general style of adaptation to the Southwest.*

IN THE southwestern United States, mainly in Arizona and New Mexico, are found seven Athapaskan-speaking tribes that were originally part of the larger group of Athapaskan peoples of northwestern North America before they migrated to the Southwest, apparently sometime between A.D. 1100 and 1600. These tribes have been called by various names at different times and by different peoples, the earliest records available indicating that they were named according to bands with no names for the larger tribal groups. Only gradually did groups of bands come to be called by the common names now used: Western Apache, Navaho, Jicarilla, Kiowa Apache, Chiricahua, Lipan, and Mescalero. All of these except the Navaho are generally called "Apache" (enemy), a name probably given to them by the other peoples of the Southwest whom they raided.

The best known accounts of the Apache are the heroic stories of Cochise and Geronimo, two leaders of Chiricahua bands who have been made famous through movies, television, the Chicago World's Fair, books, and the cry of World War II paratroopers. Their fame arose because they led the last of the Indian "nations" to surrender to the U. S. Army in the nineteenth century, a fact that sometimes leaves the incorrect impression that there must have been thousands of Apaches. This illusion quickly fades when it is realized that most of the tribes numbered only from 300 to 800, and only rarely were their raids carried out by groups larger than four or five men.

When and by what route the Apaches

came to the Southwest is uncertain, although there have been various theories about their appearance in this area, some of which seem more substantial than others. About A.D. 1300 the Pueblo farmers in New Mexico and Arizona began to concentrate scattered settlements into larger pueblos and cliff dwellings. Some have suggested this might have been for protection from Apaches who were entering the area and raiding. By 1400 or shortly thereafter the region was abandoned altogether by these people (Goodwin 1942, Underhill 1956). Krieger believes that the Mogollon (Pueblo-influenced) prehistorical cultural phase probably ended in the fourteenth century with its destruction by Apache tribes (Krieger 1953:251). However, there are other equally plausible explanations for the decline of the Pueblos so it is not entirely safe to attribute this to the arrival of the Apache. The most significant evidence to indicate a date at which the Apaches actually arrived are the remains of hogan-type dwellings in Colorado, thought to have been built before A.D. 1000, and the ruins in Governador, New Mexico, dated by dendrochronologists as being built in 1540. The first written historical accounts are those of the Spanish in the early seventeenth century. In 1590 Gaspar Castano de Sosa came to New Mexico on a scouting expedition and his camp was raided by some of these people (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946).

## GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS AND HISTORIC MOVEMENTS

The mythology of the Western Apache tells of a north to south migration. They

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claim to have lived in a legendary place called *t aya kq wa* with the Navaho, Hopi, and others. Three hypothetical locations for this place are given as:

- (1) north of the Little Colorado River (modern Hopi country),
- (2) east of the White Mountains (Zuni country),
- (3) west in Yavapai country.

In these times they carried on raids against people to the south.

During the eighteenth century the Navaho had many Pueblo refugees with them, presumably because they were withdrawing before the Spanish. However, the Western Apache would have been living to the south of them long before this time (perhaps since approximately 1400). Goodwin does not even suggest that the Navaho and Western Apache were originally of the same group but considers them two distinct peoples, thus suggesting that the two groups had been separated for many years.

Western Apache mythology also refers to prehistoric ruins on the Gila River that belonged to hostile people who raided them and who were then living in the mountains to the north. They called these people *inda* (meaning enemy) or *ba tci* (a corruption for the word Apache) and also sometimes referred to them as Mexicans. They say that these two peoples built the ruins and then moved farther south (Goodwin 1942). It seems likely that they were the Chiricahua and some other group (Mescalero?).

Kroeber generally assumes that the Chiricahua had been with the Western Apache and decided it was because they had moved to the Mescalero Reservation that they were not included in the Western groups by Goodwin since he was only including those who now lived on reservations in Arizona (Kroeber 1939:36, fn. 10).

Gifford as a result of his 1935 survey gave past locations of the Chiricahua as:

- (1) San Francisco and Alamos Rivers, upper Gila drainage in New Mexico,
- (2) Hauchuca Mountains (Nogales-Bisbee area),
- (3) Tucson,
- (4) Sonora

and indicated that the Mescalero were:

- (1) east of the Rio Grande,

- (2) in the Capitan Mountains near Sierra Blanca,
- (3) in Coahuila (these people he called half Lipan),
- (4) in Chihuahua (either Chiricahuas or Mescaleros) (Kroeber 1939:36, fn. 12).

The largest band, the present day Mescaleros, were mainly in the Sierra Blanca Mountains but some were also in the Davis Mountains (by the big bend of the Rio Grande) and in the Guadalupe Mountains (Sonnichsen 1958) as well as in those places listed above.

A somewhat popular theory is that the other Apache groups arrived in the southwest later than the Navahos, because the Navahos have absorbed more of the Pueblo culture, and that the Pueblos had been driven out of the country before these groups arrived. Goodwin (1942) suggests that the other Apache groups probably came in from the Plains country to the east because the reports of Coronado's expedition mention large numbers of people on the Plains in New Mexico. Another suggested theory is that the Apaches, coming from the north, arrived later, found the area already settled (by the Navaho) and passed on to New Mexico and the southern Rocky Mountains (Underhill 1956). Based on later data that I will present, these theories all seem impossible.

The first proven sign of the Navaho is from a site forty miles north of Gallina, dated at about 1541. It was probably about 1485 according to Navaho tales. This is in the present Jicarilla reservation, but the Navahos still claim it as Old Navaholand. Their myths speak of two places of origin. Some were created beside the western sea (North Pacific coast?) and some were created in Old Navaholand near Silverton, Colorado. Old Navaholand is said to be located in the area bounded as follows:

- (1) Big Sheep, in the La Plata Range of Colorado (north),
- (2) anywhere from Blanca Peak in Colorado to Pelado in the Jemery Range of New Mexico (east),
- (3) Mt. Taylor, near Grants, N. M. (south), and
- (4) San Francisco Peaks, western side of Arizona (west).

After the settling of old Navaholand more

clans joined them from the west. Their tales tell of some people coming through California and Nevada and some down through Colorado. This appears to be substantiated by the differences in the food, climate, and other aspects of the areas through which they passed (Underhill 1956).

The Navaho may have also traveled farther to the north and east. There are several archaeological sites (Dismal River Aspect) in eastern Colorado, western Kansas, southwestern Nebraska, and southern Wyoming that seem to contain artifacts of that group Wedel refers to as the Plains Apache. The Dismal River sites give evidence of a primarily hunting and gathering culture that also engaged in agriculture on a limited scale and used some pottery. Although some artifacts reflect Pueblo influence, the Dismal River people seem to show many more of the Central Plains traits (Wedel 1961). The area in which Dismal River sites have been found includes:

- (1) the High Plains (100 to 200 mile wide strip of land west of the 100th meridian, stretching from Texas almost to the Black Hills of South Dakota),
- (2) the sandhills of western Nebraska,
- (3) the Colorado Piedmont (Gunnerson 1960a).

This Apache culture seems to have existed in the High Plains between about 1525 and 1700. Evidence from the Upper Republican and Nebraska sites in the Western Plains indicates that there were fixed villages strung along the Missouri River bluffs for about 400 miles and that agriculture was present. It is not known what became of these people, but their villages were all abandoned by A.D. 1500. Wedel suggests this may have been caused by the arrival of the Apaches, whom he speculates may have been warlike or hard pressed for food and therefore plundered the villages, causing the inhabitants to move farther east. He also suggests, as an alternative hypothesis, that drought may have driven them out. However, the Apaches, according to the report of Coronado's march into the Plains, had recently destroyed several towns near the Pueblo of Cicuye (Pecos), subsequently raiding them unsuccessfully (Wedel 1961). At the other end of this period, or about

1700, the horse was introduced, and it is believed probable that the Apaches were forced to move farther south to escape the raiding Comanches.

Material collected from Promontory Point in north central Utah is very much like that found in the Dismal River area. It too contains Puebloid material as well as material having much in common with the Plains culture. James Gunnerson (1956) agrees with Steward's idea that the Promontory people were probably Athapaskans and believes that the best explanation for the Promontory material is that it represents a movement by some Apache group, probably Navaho, from the Great Plains into the Great Basin, principally near Great Salt Lake. The exact time period represented by the Promontory sites is quite unclear, but it is known that it was of a relatively short duration.

The sites of the Fremont culture of Eastern Utah have produced some materials similar to those of the Dismal River and Promontory sites, although it is less clear which groups are represented. The Fremont culture existed for about two and a half centuries prior to A.D. 1200 and may have originated from a blending of Virgin Anasazi culture (Pueblo) with some cultural traits of another desert people (Apaches?) (Gunnerson 1960b, Taylor 1958).

The Jicarilla Apache are now living on a reservation located in what was part of Old Navaholand. Gifford has recorded that they were primarily a Plains group ranging from the upper Rio Grande north to the Arkansas and east to the Canadian Rivers. However, some lived west of this main area. Kroeber (1939) indicates that the Jicarilla and Mescalero Apache are "southwest, by general estimation, in the plains near the Rocky Mountain foothills." He places the main groups of Jicarilla primarily near the headwaters of the Rio Grande, and between the Rio Grande and Pecos Rivers. Between the Pecos and Colorado were a group whom he called Llaneros (Jicarilla). The Mescalero during this period hunted buffalo in the Pecos River area, which fronted on the Plains.

Brant, (1950, 1953), although primarily interested in the Kiowa Apache, suggests that the Jicarilla had been forced into the Plains and that the Comanchean movement

southward in the early eighteenth century forced them to return to northern New Mexico.

James Mooney (1898) speaks of a small group attached to the Kiowa known as the Kiowa Apache, which "leads to the mistaken idea that they are a detached band of the Apache Nation of Arizona." He further states "they have never had any political connection with the Apache proper, and were probably unaware of their existence until about 100 years ago. They have come with the Kiowa from the extreme north. Both tribes say they have no memory of a time when they were not together." In 1681 La Salle reported that the Kiowa were living near the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and had horses stolen from the Spanish in New Mexico. However, Eggan (1937) gives the date that the Kiowa Apache first remembered seeing a white man as 1872. They either did not consider the Spaniards from whom they had stolen horses white men or else they did not have direct contact with the Spanish and had gotten them from other tribes. The Apaches of New Mexico and the Pueblos were the first to use the horse and appear to have transmitted it to the people east and north of them on the Plains (Secoy 1953). However, authorities agree that the Kiowa Apache culture is historically derived from that of the Apache of the Southwest.

Since most historians do indicate that the Kiowa Apache traveled south with the Kiowa, Brant (1949, 1953), after giving substantial reason to believe they originally were with the group in the Southwest, offers the suggestion that they, as well as the Lipan and Jicarilla, had been forced into the Plains into the Dismal River area in Kansas and Nebraska and that the Comanchean movement southward in the early eighteenth century cut them off from other Apaches living marginal to the Plains. They then, presumably, joined with the Kiowa for protection. In 1811 they were reported to be north of the Black Hills (Mooney 1898) but most historians agree that the two tribes began their move back toward the south in the 1700s (Brant 1953).

Compared to the Kiowa Apache, who probably never numbered over 300 people, the Lipan were a large group. In 1760 some 3,000 Lipans were reported in Texas (Sjoberg 1953). However, it is possible that the

Spanish could not tell the Chiricahua or other non-Apache groups from the Lipan. They have traditionally been called by names meaning "Big Water People" referring to the Texas Gulf Coast and "Woodland People" referring to the northeast part of Texas or eastern Louisiana where they traveled to trade with the French and to escape from the Comanche (Kroeber 1939). They appear to have lived on or near the Rocky Mountain foothills of the Great Plains until the Comanche invasion in the eighteenth century. Possibly at the time of the first European contacts (early seventeenth century) the Lipan were in eastern Colorado and/or in eastern New Mexico. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a number of them were forced south and east into Texas by the Comanches who had gotten firearms and horses from the French. By 1732 they were reported to be as far south as central Texas. In 1770 some moved to the east coast of Texas where they lived and intermarried with the Bidai, Atakapa, and Akokisa Indians. Between 1796 and 1850 the Lipan were invaded by the Kickapoo from Illinois and a smallpox epidemic sent them northwest to the southern part of the Guadalupe Mountains where they united with the Mescaleros (Opler 1953). By 1865 some had moved north and joined the Kiowa Apache at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma (Sjoberg 1953).

According to earlier historical accounts the Lipan were the only ones who were in central and east Texas and did not begin leaving the Plains until the Comanche movement. However, there are written records by the Spanish saying that numerous tribes in west, southwest, and east Texas were requesting protection from the Spanish against Apaches in the seventeenth century. These Apaches had leather armor for horse and rider that indicated prolonged Apache contact with the Spanish (Secoy 1953). There were likewise raiders in New Mexico who had this same type of leather armor for rider and horse. Dolores Gunnerson (1956) has also found evidence that sixteen years before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1525 two groups, called Teyas and Querechos by the Spaniards but undoubtedly Apaches who were from the north and very familiar with the Plains area, severely threatened several Pueblos and destroyed Tanos. Artifacts dis-

covered at Pecos suggest that this was the beginning of a fairly rapid exchange of cultural items between the Pueblo and the Plains people that lasted for about a century. Gunnerson believes that the Teyas were likely the Lipans and that the Querecho were likely the Navaho, but that at any rate at least two groups of Apaches were involved.

Lipan legends speak of their "emergence" from "down under" as coming from the west. They say that the Blue Mountain Chiricahua and the Western Apache stopped nearest the cave, Mescalero of the mountains stopped next, then Mescalero of the Plains, and finally the Lipan. The people came up on a path, not a ladder or a reed (Opler 1953).

#### FOLKLORE

A comparison of the folklore of the several tribes indicates that the chief hero, Killer of Enemies; the elaborate story of emergence from the underworld; the monster Big Owl; Tale of the Hollow Log; and so on are found in Western Apache, Jicarilla, Navaho, and Lipan mythology but not among the Chiricahua and Mescalero.

One point, interesting for speculation but useless for theory, is that it seems likely many of the folk tales, although supernatural in essence, do refer to real geographical locations and incorporate real happenings of the group's past. The Grand Canyon was a "retreat" used by the Navaho and perhaps by others during the stressful period with the U. S. Army and the Spanish. Accounts of this period always specify whether they came up out of the canyon on ropes made of vines or on a path (HRAF). Lipan folklore (and that of the others with the emergence story) also points out that they came up on a path and did not use a ladder or reeds. One theory is that the ancestors of these groups arrived from the north by two routes; if so, it is possible that one group could have been following the Colorado River southward and found themselves deep within the Grand Canyon. That would probably be a very "different" experience for such a group of people and would as well cause them to wonder how they would eventually get out. It might very well impress them enough that it would become a tale to tell their children.

The qualities and deeds of heroism in Kiowa Apache tales is similar to Lipan and Jicarilla examples. Although Lipan and Mescalero folklore are different on many points, both have a story indicating that they were in the Guadalupe Mountains at the time they got their first horses (Opler 1953). This may indicate that earlier Lipan and Mescalero experiences were different, but that some of their later ones were similar. Lipan stories of their discovery of peyote say that they were on the "other side of New Mexico," which also may indicate a closer association with the Mescalero (Brant 1950).

#### LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS AND GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY

From an analysis of the Athapaskan language Hoijer has divided the speakers into eastern and western groups corresponding to their geographical location: those west of the Rio Grande, except for the Mescalero who have detached themselves recently from the Chiricahua to live east of the Rio Grande, and those groups on or fronting the Plains (Hoijer 1930):

##### (I) Western Group

- (IA) Navaho
- (IB1) San Carlos
- (IB2) Chiricahua and Mescalero

##### (II) Eastern Group

- (IIA1) Jicarilla
- (IIA2) Lipan
- (IIB) Kiowa Apache

Hoijer later (1956) conducted another type of analysis of these languages, making use of Swadesh's glottochronology method, which uses 100 common (or universal) words or, alternatively, words from a supplementary list of 100 words when some of the first 100 are not found. This analysis is based on changes that take place in the pronunciation (actually on the apparently uniform retention rate of 81 percent per millennium of separation). The result is to give the approximate number of years of separation between two languages. An initial analysis was made by Hoijer using a list containing 78 words from the preferred list and 22 from the supplementary, and the 81 percent retention rate. Hymes (1957) criticized the retention rate used by Hoijer and said that it should be used only on an earlier list of

TABLE 1

Tribes	Hymes (86% rate)		Hojjer (81% rate)
	78 items	100 items	100 items
Navaho-Chiricahua	205	205	149
Navaho-San Carlos	424	387	279
Navaho-Jicarilla	311	387	279
Navaho-Lipan	348	460	335
San Carlos-Chiricahua	348	311	227
San Carlos-Jicarilla	424	460	335
San Carlos-Lipan	460	579	419
Jicarilla-Chiricahua	205	274	200
Jicarilla-Lipan	205	311	227
Chiricahua-Lipan	168	311	227

which the two Hojjer used are a revision. He then did two additional analyses on the 78 words available from the preferred list and on the 100 item modified list using an 86 percent retention rate. The results of these three tests are shown in Table 1. Hymes feels the 78 item list using the 86 percent rate to be the most accurate.

Although there are differences in the three lists, on the whole they are quite similar. However, all of the dates are judged to be somewhat smaller than expected, probably because all five groups have continued to have some contact with each other during the last two or three hundred years (Hojjer 1956). Kiowa Apache informants say that they can converse with Lipan and Jicarilla speakers better than with Mescalero or Chiricahua, and the Chiricahua is more closely

related to Mescalero than to the others linguistically (Eggan 1937).

Using the time periods given by Hojjer, the original geographical grouping of these people would look approximately as shown in Figure 1a. Figure 1b shows the original grouping using the periods Hymes believes to be more accurate. (The solid lines in the figures indicate the division into eastern and western language groups given by Hojjer; this coincides with a division in basic social structure.) The geographical distributions in either case are similar. Since the separation periods for the Chiricahua are, on the whole, smaller in both, it must be assumed that the Chiricahua (and also the Mescalero, if we accept the point that their languages are similar) remained in contact with all of the groups longest, which could perhaps

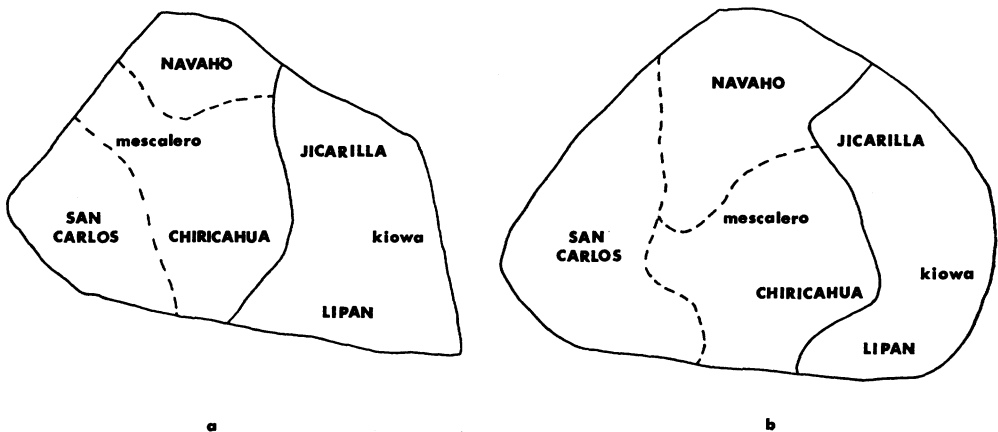


FIGURE 1. Possible original geographical relationship of the Apaches based on glottochronology.

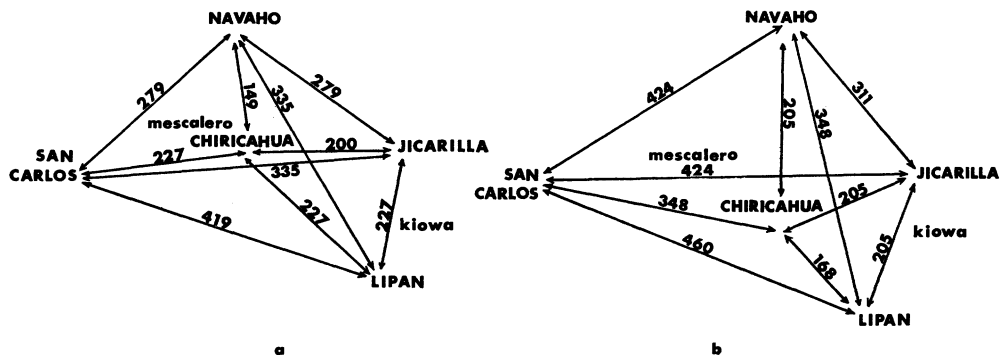


FIGURE 2. Possible geographical divergence of the Apache groups based on glottochronology.

mean that the Chiricahua and Mescalero were more nomadic and carried on more raiding and trading in all directions than the other groups. The distributions shown also coincide well, for the most part, with the main historical locations and distances known for these people.

If the times based upon divergence of language are used to indicate relative spacial distributions, a possible fanning out of the various groups would appear as shown in Figure 2. These two methods of dispersion are also similar. In both distributions the San Carlos group separated earliest. This is interesting in several ways. First, the San Carlos group of the Western Apache are geographically closer to the Chiricahua (and to the Chiricahua's presumed location during the earlier period) and the North and South Tonto of the Western Apache are geographically farther away. Goodwin (1942) has said that the North and South Tonto are more similar to the Chiricahua than any of the other Western Apache groups but from this information it appears the Chiricahua, while moving south, remained to the north of these Western Apache groups. This would fit in well with the tales from Western Apache mythology that tell of a people living to the north who raided them and later went farther south. It is difficult to assume that the Chiricahua were living in a "place" however, because of the close contact they kept with Lipan and eastern groups. It is more likely that they moved around within the circle formed by the more stationary groups on the fringes.

Since Kiowa Apache language is presumably more like Jicarilla and Lipan than

Chiricahua-Mescalero, it would be a safe assumption that they left the original group (or groups) before the Lipan and Jicarilla, or at least that these had been between them and the main groups.

Also, from the data given by either of the alternatives considered, it appears the Navaho and Jicarilla were in contact with each other for at least a short period after the Lipan had (more or less) lost contact with the Jicarilla and the Navaho. This, plus the fact that the Lipan changed locations frequently, easily explains why the Jicarilla were more influenced by the Puebloan agriculture. This might lead us into saying that they did not know about agriculture at the time the Lipan left or that they had no contact with it. However, to assume this on the basis of linguistic dates will lead us into wondering why the Mescalero and Chiricahua did not, then, have or practice agriculture since they were in the area much longer than the Lipan. It would also be difficult to explain why the Western Apache did have agriculture, since they left before the Lipan.

#### ECONOMY

Many authorities say that all of the Athapaskan groups practiced agriculture "more or less." I think that there is enough difference between the more and less that we can safely say agriculture did become important to the Western Apache, Navaho, and Jicarilla and that it was not important to the way of life of the Mescalero, Chiricahua, Kiowa Apache, or Lipan. The Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Lipan did not adapt well to agriculture even after the U. S. Army occupation and the establishment of reservations,



although the Kiowa Apache (and whatever Lipans were left with them) apparently did. However, we shall deal only with prereservation days, although our analysis could be extended to cover the later period.

It is generally assumed that at the time these groups arrived in the Southwest they were living in smaller bands and their economy was hunting, gathering, and raiding (Secoy 1953, Hoijer 1938). The use of bifurcate collateral kinship terminology was apparently more common in the past; this would indicate such a way of life. And in this sort of society the division of labor is such that women are likely to be left in a group for gathering with perhaps only a few men for protection while the rest of the men are away from camp hunting or raiding. Whatever the particular division of labor, at least the women are often left together while the men are gone. (Unless otherwise indicated all comments on social structure in this section are based on Bellah 1952.)

It seems safe to say that as some of the bands moved farther out in search for food, they became more and more isolated from the original group. Since the Western Apache retained the bifurcate collateral terms originally used, they probably separated from the others before agriculture had become well established and before strong extended families had replaced the previous loose structure. The Navaho remained in the area to which the groups had originally migrated and gradually absorbed Pueblo culture, both through raiding and as a result of the period following the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680 when the Pueblos joined them for protection from the Spanish (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946). With this developed a well-organized extended family; consequently the terminology changed to bifurcate merging. The Western Apache, who were moving into Pueblo territory, also had the opportunity to adopt agricultural methods and other aspects of Pueblo culture. As these groups began practicing agriculture, hunting and raiding became less necessary, although these did not end completely. The more sedentary life caused the Navaho and Jicarilla to develop a more elaborate kinship structure, eventually including clans. The Navaho have a normal Iroquois structure that is thought to be changing toward Crow. The Jicarilla have a Matri-Yuman structure,

which Murdock says is an unstable type and in transition.

The Kiowa Apache, who moved eastward, may have separated from the others before there was much Pueblo influence since they do not have the masked dancing cult the other six have borrowed. Even if they knew agricultural methods, they made little use of them; if historical records are at all accurate, they were nearly continually on the move while they were on the Plains. They have an elaborate set of ceremonies adopted from the Kiowa, and otherwise seem to have maintained a hunting and gathering type of social structure with the original loose extended matrifamily.

The Lipan moved out into the dry plains of north Texas. It is impossible to determine whether they had a knowledge of agriculture since the area into which they traveled can be farmed only by irrigation but even for that there is no reliable water supply. However, most probably the Lipan were split off from the Jicarilla about 1700, according to Opler, after which time the Jicarilla incorporated Pueblo culture (Opler 1953). The Lipan have also borrowed ceremonies and myths from the Pueblo, but not the same ones; therefore Opler assumes the tribes had split before these were incorporated.

The Lipan social structure is similar to that of the Jicarilla, matrilocal with bifurcate merging kinship terminology. Earlier I suggested that merging of kinship terms occurred when the extended family was made stronger in Navaho society. With the Navaho this could come about because the group was relatively sedentary and the elaboration would allow for better organization than in nomadic groups. Now, what are we to make of the same condition in Lipan society, which was continually on the move as pressure from other groups caused it to travel from place to place? To elaborate on my earlier statement that "the sedentary life" caused the development of a more elaborate kinship structure, perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the need for protection (i.e., among the Navaho for protection of their farms against raiders) made it necessary to develop a strong extended family. This argument could apply as well to the Lipan. They were continually in danger from others, especially from the Comanche who forced them south to the Gulf of Mexico. Bellah

(1952) suggests that this situation also brought about other changes such as monogamy (although polygyny is usually associated with merging terms), which made it possible to drop the mother-in-law avoidance (also usually associated with this type of system). In this way they could all live together for protection more easily. However, although the Lipan developed a strong extended family, they did not develop clans.

The Jicarilla seem to have remained in closer contact with the Navaho than have the other groups and had sufficient contact with Pueblo culture to absorb a great deal of it. From historical accounts it appears they lived on the edge of the Plains and journeyed out onto them only for buffalo hunting. Some accounts suggest that the Jicarilla had moved out into the Plains and were forced back to their present location by Comanches. This might explain why it has been thought that the Navaho were agriculturalists at an earlier date (Brant 1953, Mooney 1898). The few contacts that the Pueblos had with the Plains were mainly by the uppermost group on the Rio Grande, so the Jicarilla may have had contact with the Pueblos even later than with the Navaho (Kroeber 1939).

The Mescalero and Chiricahua have been closest to the Navaho, Western Apache, and Jicarilla groups linguistically and geographically and yet for some reason are not agricultural, and the Chiricahua, at least, have the most divergent social structure of the seven groups. It seems difficult to explain why a people would choose a section of the Southwest that is so godforsaken that it has been chosen for a nuclear testing area, a section whose land should be irrigated even to grow good cacti. Why didn't the Chiricahua follow the other groups out onto the Plains or go up into Northern Arizona with the Tonto? How do we account for the fact that their social system is the most divergent and that their speech shows that they have been in contact with all the groups the longest? I think we must come to the conclusion that trading and raiding kept them in contact with all the other groups.

It would be tempting to say that they lived by trading and raiding because that is the only way anyone in that land could live. However, we would still be faced with the problem of why they lived there. They were

apparently living marginal to the Navaho and other groups, and possibly they traveled south in a search for food or to carry on raiding in Mexico. At any rate, they were in a good position to be the first to get the horse. If we assume raiding to be the main business of these people, perhaps this would make it easier to understand other things. They may have found that raiding and horse trading were such valuable incomes that they "set up business" in the unpopulated southwestern wastelands and made it their base for such activities. Was this the beginning of their extensive raiding and trading? Because of their earlier closer contact with all the groups, and because trading and raiding were characteristic of the whole larger group, I think we are forced to say that these were probably always the basis of the Chiricahua economy. But only they seem to have elaborated on that particular aspect of the original culture. Regardless of the possible explanations, we do find the Chiricahua in the midst of a country where raiding is about the only possible means of existence.

On the surface, the Lipan seem to have followed a similar course. However, I believe there is a significant difference between these two. The Lipan, although also having a raiding economy, were continually forced to defend themselves against other powerful tribes such as the Comanche. We remarked on the need for protection that may have strengthened the extended family and produced related social changes. None of this is true of the Chiricahua. Their extended family is very loose; they are one of the two groups having bifurcate collateral terminology; and beyond the nuclear family it is the local group or band that is important. This seems to be consistent with the following facts: (1) they had no crops or land to protect, (2) they continually raided at such great distances that there was no necessity for developing an extended family, and in fact such a structure would be difficult to maintain, and (3) they used hideouts in the mountains for protection, an advantage the Lipan lacked on the flat Texas plains.

The Mescalero, living primarily in the Rocky Mountains of southwestern New Mexico, presumably lived by raiding, hunting, and gathering. It appears they may have assumed an intermediate position between

the agricultural groups to their north and the raiding Chiricahua to the south. They, along with the other groups, probably had to choose between "joining them or fighting them." Since the spots of land available to them for farming would have supported only small groups, certainly not large enough for protection from the continually raiding Chiricahua, they probably did not attempt it, at least to any extent. Since their language and social system are very similar to the Chiricahua, it is probable that there was considerable contact between the two, in fact more than would have occurred merely through Chiricahua raids. However, the Mescalero position is very unclear. They are certainly not like the Chiricahua in every respect. They have apparently changed from a collateral to merging terminology for some reason, either because they found it necessary to strengthen the extended family, or as a result of the influence of contact with other groups. If Brant (1953) is correct in his statement that the Lipan were related to and intermarried with the Mescalero, part of this influence may have come from there. Opler also comments that in the early 1800s the Lipan, after being invaded by the Kickapoo, made contact with the southernmost settlements of the Mescalero and united with them (Opler 1953). Brant may be referring to the integration, what there was of it, of this episode.

#### SUMMARY

Thus the geographical location, the economy suitable for it, and the pressures from outside groups have had considerable influence upon the social structure and distribution of these people. We know that they were originally a hunting and gathering society. The groups are still matrilineal, but when agriculture became more important to the Jicarilla and Navaho a more elaborate social structure appeared.

The Lipan developed a strong extended family just as did the Navaho and Jicarilla, but they do not have clans. In this respect, it did make a difference that the Navaho and Jicarilla were settled and engaged in agriculture and that the Lipan were continually moving. Although it was possible for the Lipan to have strong extended families, it would have been nearly impossible to form clans. Such a structure could not be main-

tained by people continually in flight. But to the Navaho and Jicarilla these were a necessary means of social regulation required by the increasing size of their groups.

The Chiricahua and Western Apache seem to be the only two groups to have retained bifurcate collateral terminology and fairly loose extended families. Agriculture seems to have been adopted as a partial means of existence for the Western Apache, similar to the Navaho and Jicarilla, but the Chiricahua persisted in a totally hunting, gathering, and raiding existence in primarily desert country where agriculture was impossible. The retention of the bifurcate collateral terms and what appeared to be little need for strong extended family groups in these groups may be the result of limited contact within the tribes as well as between these tribes and others who might have been in a position to exert pressures on them necessitating more internal organization. The Western Apaches were geographically further from the raiding Comanches and seem to have remained primarily in a more mountainous region. There are also no accounts of either the Chiricahua or Western Apache gathering together in large groups to go into the Plains for buffalo hunting, an activity that also may require more internal social organization than farming in isolated mountain areas. And it is possible that agriculture did not become very important to the Western Apache, at least not until a much later time than with the Navaho and Jicarilla.

Both the economy and social organization of the Mescalero is less clear. They seem to have remained in small groups for hunting, gathering, and raiding much as the Chiricahua but there are also accounts of them organizing into larger groups for hunting buffalo on the edge of the Plains. They did develop stronger extended families but it is unclear if this occurred before they lived closely with and intermarried with the Lipan, a group who also developed a stronger extended family using bifurcate merging terms. Linguistically and geographically they have always been closer to the Chiricahua.

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