
Seeking Friends, Avoiding Enemies: the Jumano Response to Spanish Colonization, A.D. 1580-1750

Nancy Adele Kenmotsu

ABSTRACT

Many Native American groups living in Texas at the time of European contact have been understudied or mistakenly assumed to be subsets of other tribes. Reconsideration of these groups has the potential to reveal a complex network of interactions among the multitude of small-scale societies that the Spanish encountered in the 16th century. The complexity of the network has implications for interpreting the archeological record. In this study, Spanish documents are used to indicate that between 1580 and 1750, the Jumanos of west central Texas responded to the challenge of European colonization through alliances that promoted their persistence as a viable group. The alliances centered on who was, or could be, their friend and who was, or would be, their enemy.

INTRODUCTION

When the Spanish established the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya (modern Chihuahua), New Mexico, and Texas in the 16th and 17th centuries, they identified by name scores of Native groups that they called "nations." The term nation was not used to convey socio-political status, but to denote recognizable bands, each of whom was distinguishable from other bands (Griffen 1969:v). In northern Nueva Vizcaya, southern New Mexico, and west central and West Texas, most nations were hunters and gatherers; many did not survive colonization (Griffen 1969, 1979; Salinas 1987; Kenmotsu 1994; Levine 1995). The reasons they failed to survive are several. The Masames were slaughtered by their enemies, the Tobosos, around 1652 (AGI 1654). The Nonojes, greatly reduced in number after a series of rebellions against the Spanish, coalesced with the Tobosos (AHP 1677C; Griffen 1969:141). Others succumbed to European diseases (Griffen 1969:83-84), and yet others were resettled by the Spanish south of Nueva Vizcaya (Griffen 1979). Spanish documents testify to a rich, complex network of relations and alliances between nations and between these nations and the Spanish.

Unfortunately, many of these nations have been archeologically invisible, understudied, and/or subsumed under other, larger nations (see discussions

of archeological invisibility in Trigger [1985] and Schmidt and Patterson [1995]). For many, their demise occurred prior to the 18th century, and the only legacy of their existence and their efforts to persist are in hand-written Spanish documents and in the archeological remains of their camps. However, these documents have rarely been utilized by archeologists, perhaps because the richness of the data or how it might relate to the study of the archeological record is not recognized (see Boyd, this volume, for another view). Access to the documents, housed at archives in Mexico and Spain, with some copies at major universities in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, further limits their use by archeologists. Ethnohistorians, too, have contributed to the understudy of these nations by utilizing a subset of the documentary evidence (Hickerson 1994), and/or subsuming a large number of nations under a single name (Forbes 1959). Furthermore, only recently have ethnohistorians moved beyond that discipline's early focus on acculturation (Trigger 1985, 1986). These factors, added to the plethora of names, extinctions, and movements of groups, create a confusion that archeologists, faced with limitations of time and funding, find difficult to overcome, and archeological interpretations remain embedded in discussions of the hard evidence (sherds, points, lithic tools, etc.) at hand. As a consequence, few archeologists working in regions of

New Spain in Texas have associated their data with the Chisos, Salineros, Cibolos, Hapes, or other nations who occupied these lands at, and presumably before, European contact.

The present study seeks to address some of these concerns by looking at the documentary evidence for one nation, the Jumanos, during the period 1580 to 1750. It will depart from earlier studies of the Jumanos that have attributed their movements to trade (Hickerson 1994) or subsumed them as a subset of other nations (cf. Hodge 1910a, 1910b; Scholes and Mera 1940; Forbes 1959, 1980). This study takes the perspective that the Jumanos were a distinct nation, and that their movements reflect efforts to persist as a unique group. It focuses on the concept of homeland that was employed by the Jumanos to maintain their viability. While the Jumanos ultimately failed, Spanish documents will be used to suggest that for approximately 200 years, this hunting and gathering nation survived by seeking powerful alliances with multiple friends and avoiding enemies. Finally, this perspective of the Jumanos is compared to the archeological evidence. Because the archeological data are meager, a series of expectations are offered that can be used to test the validity of the conclusions presented here.

Since the study relies heavily on documentary sources, inherent problems with these sources must be acknowledged: (1) the Spanish were not trained observers, and their documents are an incomplete recording of what they saw or heard (Galloway 1991:455; Swagerty 1991:474; Naylor and Poltzer 1986:12); (2) the authors of the documents had personal agendas, and may or may not have reported details accurately (Galloway 1991:454); (3) the earliest documents were written at a time when few Natives could speak Spanish, and fewer Spaniards could speak Native languages; (4) simply reading these documents is a task that must overcome handwriting legibility, water-staining, and other effects of time (Kenmotsu 1994:62); and, (5) since few orthographic or grammatical rules existed to guide scribes in the 16th through the 18th centuries, hundreds of abbreviations of common words add a layer of difficulty to transcription and translation (Barnes et al. 1981:19). Despite these cautions, Spanish documents provide valuable information that can assist in the analysis and interpretation of the archeological and ethnohistorical record (Trigger 1985:30; Rogers and Wilson 1993:viii).

WHO WERE THE JUMANOS AND WHERE DID THEY LIVE?

Because the Jumanos have been the subject of many studies that disagree about who these people were and where they lived (cf. Hodge 1910a; Bolton 1911; Scholes and Mera 1940; Kelley 1986; Hickerson 1994), it is necessary to briefly review those studies. In part, the disagreement stems from the fact that the number of Spanish documents that deal with the Jumanos are few, and, although first named in the 1582-1583 Espejo expedition (Hammond and Rey 1929; Espejo 1871a, 1871b, 1871c), not until the 17th century were they discussed in any detail (Thomas 1982; Ayer 1965; AGN 1689-1778). Another reason for the confusion is that the documents relating to the Jumanos seem to contradict each other. The Jumanos (also Humanos, Xumanos, Xomanes, Chomanos, or Chumanos)¹ were first described (Hammond and Rey 1929:124-125) living in small *rancherías* along the Pecos River in modern Texas² (Figure 1). Bison were part of their subsistence and the hides of these animals were utilized for clothing, tents, and trade (Hammond and Rey 1966:124). Several 17th century documents (cf. AGN 1683a, 1683b, 1689-1778; AGI 1693; Ayer 1965:157-169; Massanet 1957; Paredes 1962; Thomas 1982) also placed the Jumano homeland between the Pecos and Concho rivers of Texas. Those documents describe them as hunters and gatherers, subsisting on bison and "the meals that the land will give them [because] they do not sow" (SFG 1691).

In contrast to those descriptions, three pueblos, located in east central New Mexico near several large, important salines, were called by the name "Humanas pueblos" in 1598 (Bolton 1916:225). The structural remnants of these pueblos have been identified (Ivey 1991:13-20). Las Humanas (also called Cueloce, Cataoce, or Quelozey by the Spanish) is today known as Gran Quivira. Tabira (Pataoce or Patozey) is Pueblo Blanco. The third, Genobey, is the archeological site of Pueblo Pardo. While these pueblos were of interest to the Spanish, Las Humanas did not receive a mission until 1629; even then, it was only sporadically used until the construction of a larger church began in 1661 (Ivey 1991:185). By 1672, the Humanas pueblos were abandoned (Ivey 1991:198). Given their presence on the fringes of Spanish New Mexico and the limited attention that the Spanish could afford them,

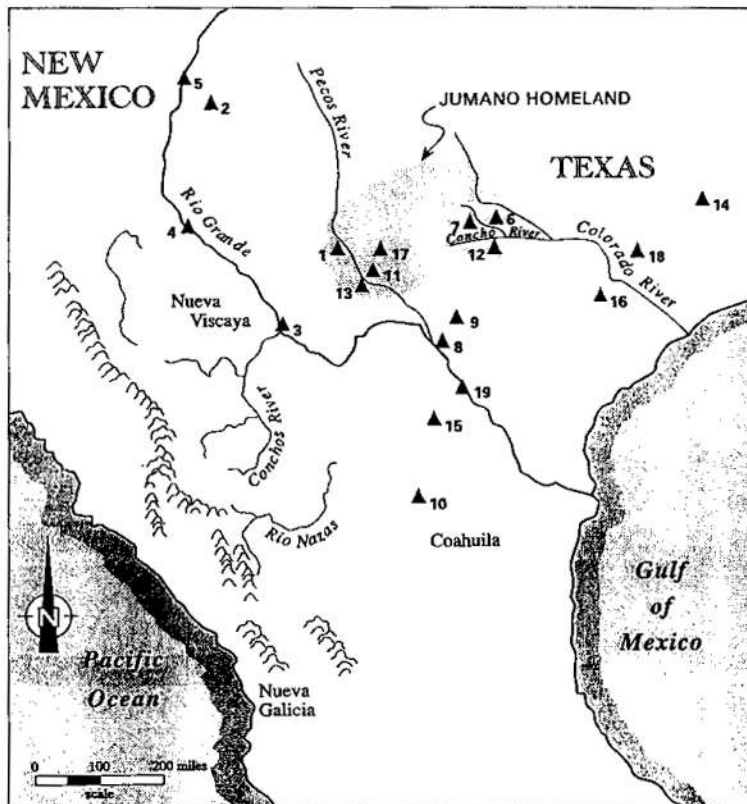


Figure 1. Map of the locations where the Jumanos were cited in Spanish documents. See Table 1 for key to numbered locations.

the documents related to the Humanas pueblos and their occupants are not as detailed as the descriptions of, for example, Pecos Pueblo (Kessell 1979).

With these documentary inconsistencies, reconciliation of the Jumanos as hunters and gatherers, sedentary Puebloans, or both, have troubled scholars (see Bolton [1911] for an early summary of the problem). Adolph Bandelier (1890) believed that the Jumanos were bison hunters on the Southern Plains at the time of the 16th century Spanish entradas, but formerly occupied the Humanas pueblos as well as the villages at La Junta de los Rios (the confluence of the Conchos River of Mexico with the Rio Grande). As relatives of those sedentary groups, the Jumanos continued to maintain relations with them until around 1700, the approximate date when Bandelier believed that they “disappeared” from the historical record. Hodge (1910a, 1910b), relying on several documents from Spanish archives, linked the Jumanos to La Junta de los Rios but concluded that, by 1600, they had migrated to the Humanas pueblos, later moving to the Southern Plains, then to Central Texas, and,

finally north to join the Wichita. Their homeland, the Rio de las noezes (River of the nuts), was, in his opinion, the Arkansas River. Sauer (1934), in a broad survey of cultural and linguistic ties among Native groups north of Mexico City, linked the Jumanos to both the La Junta villages and the Southern Plains, but felt that they were culturally and linguistically affiliated with the Sumas east of El Paso. Forbes (1957, 1959, 1980) also linked the Jumanos to La Junta and the Sumas. Focusing on documents from Spain, he concluded (Forbes 1959:116, 138) that all nations northeast of Casas Grandes were closely related Athabaskan speakers; in other words, they were Apaches. More recently, Ivey (1991) opined that the Jumanos were the occupants of the Humanas pueblos, and the nomadic visitors to their villages were the Apaches, while Hickerson (1994:24, 35, 105, 215) believed that the Jumanos were the Teyas of the Southern Plains, the Tompiros of New Mexico, the Sumas

near El Paso, and the Otomoacos and Abriaches of La Junta de los Rios. Each of these studies employed a subset of the documentary evidence.

Other studies of the Jumanos did not share this flaw. Bolton's (1911) brief, but succinct, rejection of Hodge concluded that the Rio de las noezes is not the Arkansas, but rather “one of the upper branches of the Colorado [River], in west-central Texas” (Bolton 1911:71). Decades later, the “Jumano problem,” as Bolton called it, was revisited by Scholes and Mera (1940). Using archival and archeological data, they convincingly argued that the word Jumano indicated people who painted or tattooed (*rayado*) their bodies, and that, at the same time, it was used as the name of a particular nation that occupied lands along the Pecos River of Texas. Thus, the eastern pueblos were called “Humanas” for two reasons. First, some residents of Genobey, Cataoce, and Pataotzey had stripes on their noses (AGI 1601). Since residents of other pueblos were not *rayado* (AGI 1602), facial markings of the people of the Humanas pueblos distinguished them from other Puebloans, and resulted in

their being called Humanos. Second, writing in 1634, Benavides (Scholes and Mera 1940:280) stated that the pueblos were called "Xumanas because this nation often comes to it to barter and trade." The Pueblos of Humanas, then, were tied to the Jumanos in the same way that the residents of Pecos pueblo were tied to the Apaches (Kessell 1979:123). The preponderance of Alibates chert recovered during Kidder's (1932:30-36) excavations at Pecos substantiate that pueblo's ties to the east, and archeological data from the Humanas pueblos evidence similar contacts with the Southern Plains, albeit in smaller quantities (Hayes 1981:11, 198).

Finally, the seminal work of J. Charles Kelley (1986:9) clearly distinguished the Jumanos as a unique nation and attempted to close the gap between the archeological and ethnographical data: "There did exist a specific Indian group known to the Spaniards and the French, to other Indian groups, and probably among themselves as well, as Jumanos." Unfortunately, while written in 1947, his work was unavailable until 1986 and modern archeological sequences do not fully correlate with his work. Kelley (1986:143) gives the following description of this nation:

Such fragmentary data as we possess regarding Jumano culture and behavior point conclusively to a Plains orientation: an economy based on bison hunting, raiding, and trading; nomadic existence both with and without the aid of the horse; the use of the tipi and apparently Plains-style skin clothing; the Plains stone complex, which includes the snub-nosed scraper, double-pointed stone knife and graver; and various other items and characteristics. In spite of their close association with the Patarabueyes, I am unable to identify traits of Southwestern origin in their culture; the same applied to Mexico, and, with the possible exception of style of hair dress, to the Southeast as well.

The Jumanos, then, were a distinct nation, originally residing between the Pecos and Concho rivers of Texas. Their travels, however, took them long distances and much of the archival data related to the Jumanos was generated when they were found in places far from their homelands (see Figure 1). Their presence in far-flung places here is viewed from the

perspective of persistence. This type of persistence has been described by Sheridan and Parezo (1996:xxiv): "[Native Americans] have defined and redefined themselves in response to changing natural and human environments...[and] have continually incorporated new symbols, ceremonies, and material items into their cultures as they have interacted with one another and the European newcomers." Incorporation of the new and redefinition of the old in such circumstances is balanced by retention of something that "remind[s] people of their identity and distinguish[es] them from others" (Sheridan and Parezo 1996:xxviii). As they point out, an oft recurring symbol is the group's homeland, even when it is no longer accessible to them.

The view taken here also rests upon the perspective that a "realistic view of egalitarian societies must take into account that these societies may comprise networks of more or less articulated, *interdependent* systems" (Spielmann 1986:279, emphasis in original). Studies indicate that social networks operate in times of peace as well as times of stress and serve to reduce environmental, social, economic, and technological risk and increase the group's potential to survive (cf. Barnard 1992:40; Cashdan 1979:7, 17; Ford 1972; Kenmotsu 1994; Schortman and Urban 1992; Spielmann 1982, 1986, 1991; Trigger 1985; Wilmsen 1989; Wilson and Rogers 1993).

THE JUMANOS, AN EXAMPLE OF PERSISTENCE

The documentary data indicate that the Jumanos defined and redefined themselves in response to the changes in their world, at times embracing new ceremonies and symbols. They further indicate that their presence in the Humanas pueblos, at La Junta, and elsewhere reflects a network of carefully cultivated alliances that provided them the means to redefine themselves. In other words, their alliances, considered in other studies to represent their cultural and linguistic affiliation with different nations, instead represented a mechanism to maintain and/or seek friendships and to avoid enemies for the better part of 200 years (Table 1). At the same time, documentary evidence indicates that the Jumanos' ties to their homeland constituted the glue that held them together as a group until approximately 1750. Viewed in this way, the actions of the Jumanos evidence their efforts to survive, and to persist.

Table 1. Places Where the Spanish Encountered the Jumanos, 1580-1750.

1. Pecos River near Toyah Creek (Espejo 1871a, 1871b; Hammond and Rey 1929)
2. Humanas Pueblos (Ayer 1965:57-58; Scholes and Mera 1940; Thomas 1982; Vetancurt 1871)
3. La Junta de los Rios (AGN 1683a, 1683b, 1689-1788; Hammond and Rey 1929)
4. El Paso (Vetancurt 1871; AGN 1683a, 1683b, 1689-1788)
5. Isleta (Vetancurt 1871; Ayer 1965:57-58)
6. Rio de los noezes (Rio Concho), 1629 (Ayer 1965:57-58; Thomas 1982)
7. Rio de los noezes (Rio Concho), 1654 (Thomas 1982; Vetancurt 1871)
8. Sacatsol, 1674 (SFG 1674)
9. Dacate, 1675 (SFG 1675)
10. Rio Sabinas 1689, 1691 (SFG 1691; Leon 1909:322)
11. Pecos River, 1683 (AGN 1683a, 1683b, AGI 1689-1788)
12. Rio Concho, 1683 (AGN 1683a, 1683b, AGI 1689-1788)
13. Rio Salado (Pecos River), 1689 (Massanet 1957)
14. Tejas Villages (Caddo), 1688 (AGI 1688)
15. Rio Sabinas, 1690 (De Leon 1909)
16. Guadalupe River, 1691 (Massanet 1957:360)
17. Four days north of La Junta (AGI 1693)
18. North of Colorado River, 1691 (Massanet 1957:363)
19. Mission San Bernardo (SFG 1706)

PERIOD I: 1583-1628

In this first period, the Jumanos were visited only once, although they were sporadically referenced in documents dating from the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The Jumanos and their homelands were first visited in 1583 when the Espejo expedition to New Mexico returned to Mexico along the Pecos drainage. The expedition's progress down the Pecos can be followed in the expedition's diary that gives the leagues traveled each day (Hammond and Rey 1929:119-132). For days, the men saw no Natives, and encountered little game to eat, something that "greatly troubled" them (Hammond and Rey 1929:122). Then, in the vicinity of the Toyah Creek confluence with the

Pecos (see discussion of the route in Kelley [1937]), three Jumanos came across the expedition and led the Spanish to their camps. From the diary, we learn that dispersed Jumano camps were situated along the Pecos, its tributaries, and adjacent to active springs at the bases of mountains. They cordially greeted the Spanish and shared with them catfish, sardines, and other fish, roasted and raw calabashes, and prickly pears. Most evenings were filled with music and dancing. While brief, these descriptions indicate a contented people. They also emphasize that the Jumanos had no fear of the newcomers.

While their lack of fearfulness may reflect their distance from colonized regions, other documentary data suggest that the Jumanos were able and willing to defend themselves. In 1599, Apaches on the Southern Plains requested Spanish aid "against the Xumanos, as they call a tribe of Indians who are painted after the manner of the Chichimecos" (Bolton 1916:225). The descriptions also illustrate that the Jumanos were familiar with the confluence of the Pecos and the Rio Grande, and La Junta; their ability to guide the Spanish to the latter

indicates that some or all had traveled to those regions in the past.

In this early period, then, the documents attest to a network of alliances between the Jumanos and three other nations. The nature of those networks was variable. The closest of the three was, as noted above, the Jumano alliance with three Pueblos of east central New Mexico (Oñate 1871a:266, 1871b:306). The fact that the occupants of the pueblo marked their faces may imply one or more of the following social mechanisms: (1) they admired this physical adornment of their friends; (2) they intermarried with them; or (3) they sought to put their allies at ease. This relationship apparently mirrored similar relationships between other Plains nomads and eastern pueblos such as the one Oñate

described when he encountered Plains nomads returning "from trading with the Picuries and Taos, populous pueblos of this New Mexico, where they sell meat, hides, tallow, suet, and salt in exchange for cotton blankets, pottery, maize, and some small green stones" (Bolton 1916:227). At times, these plains/pueblo relationships engendered competition among the Plains nomads (see Coronado 1870:263). The Jumanos, as noted above, were enemies of the Apaches in 1599 (Kessell 1979:21).

The Jumanos had at least one other friendly relationship during this first period, but one that was well removed physically from the Humanas pueblos. This was their friendship with the Patarabueyes of La Junta de los Rios. The Jumanos' guide service to La Junta indicates a long-standing, friendly alliance with the Patarabueyes. Yet, in contrast to their close alliance with the Pueblos, documentary data indicates that this relationship was different. The distinctiveness of this alliance is first noted in the greeting they received in La Junta, which was warm, but polite. Goods were exchanged but the documents do not express the conviviality encountered in the rancherías of the Jumanos. While this may simply reflect the Spaniards' lagging interest in their expectations and their interest in returning to Spanish settlements to the south, other documentary data suggest that the Jumanos were not as close to these Natives. Scores of documents from the Archivo del Hidalgo del Parral, written between 1583 and 1682, contain data related to La Junta, but none mention the Jumanos (Kenmotsu 1994). Instead, the Jumanos relationship with the Patarabueyes during this early period seems to have been more distant, with less frequent visits, and designed to maintain sporadic contact.

The third relationship documented in these early descriptions was their efforts to initiate a long-term alliance with the Spanish themselves. Clearly, the Jumanos knew of the Spanish prior to their arrival on the Pecos. Slavers had been to La Junta (Hammond and Rey 1929), and Coronado (1870:260-270) had visited both New Mexico and the Southern Plains. Yet, when the Spanish arrived in their homelands, the Jumanos received them in a cordial, friendly manner, not as fearful strangers. While that relationship remained dormant for some time, it appears to have been positive and would affect Jumano/Spanish relationships in subsequent periods.

PERIOD II: 1629-1654

From 1583 to 1628, documentary evidence of the Jumanos is confined to a few secondary references. Then, in 1629 Benavides (Ayer 1965:157-180) wrote of the "miraculous conversion of the Xumana nation," a nation living "112 leagues" from the Humanas pueblos. The conversion described by Benavides was undertaken in 1629 by Fray Juan de Salas, who journeyed to the Jumanos after repeated requests for a mission in their homeland (Ayer 1965:157; BN 1631). In 1632, Salas again visited their camps, leaving a priest among them for six months (Thomas 1982:466). In 1650, soldiers, led by Captain Diego del Castillo, traveled 200 leagues southeast of Santa Fe and spent six months in the Jumano homeland on the rio de las Nueces (Thomas 1982:57). During the latter, pearls were discovered and the Spaniards explored a large part of what appears to have been Central Texas, reaching, but not entering, the Tejas (Caddo) lands. This was followed by another military expedition in 1654, in part to acquaint the Spanish with nations located north of the Jumanos (i.e., Cuitoas, Aijados, and Escanjaques).

The documents describing these visits are brief, secondhand summaries written for military and religious officials. Yet, taken together, they illustrate a growing alliance between the Jumanos and the Spanish; alliances among the Jumanos and other nations residing nearby; a growing Jumano concern for maintaining their hold on their lands; and the redefinition of Jumano ceremonial and religious life.

Evidence of the growing alliance between the Spanish newcomers and the Jumanos is abundant in this period. Both Benavides and Posada, who had the benefit of reading the original documents, indicated that the Jumanos had traveled in peace to the Humana and Tompiro pueblos; in turn, the priests' journey to the Jumano homelands was peaceful. During Salas' first visit, messengers from surrounding nations arrived (Ayer 1965:162), again suggesting a peaceful situation. In 1650, the Spanish "stayed [on the Rio de las Nueces] for six months because the [Jumano] Indians exhibited such affection for them," and, in 1654, the Spanish fought at the side of the Jumanos against the Cuitoas (Paredes 1962:467-468).

The documents state that other nations were allied with the Jumanos during this period as well, including the Humanas pueblos (Scholes and Mera

1940), and the “other nations who border on their land” (Ayer 1965:162). Only two of the latter nations were named (Iapies [Hapes] and Xabatoas), but it is presumed that others were present since Benavides stated that 80,000 souls were baptized. Moreover, the Jumanos had an alliance with the Aixaos. This nation sent ambassadors to meet the Spanish in the Jumanos rancherías (Ayer 1965:165), and were still friendly with the Jumanos in 1650. By 1654, however, they were at odds with the Jumanos (Thomas 1982:27-29).

Although the documents indicate that the Jumanos peacefully interacted with these other nations and with the Spanish newcomers, they also imply a growing Jumano concern for their homelands. First, a severe, multi-year drought was in progress by 1629. Waterholes had dried up; the herds of buffalo “on which these nations sustain themselves” moved north, and the people were forced to travel away from their homelands to obtain food (Ayer 1965:161). Disease was also beginning to take its toll on the nations on and adjacent to the Southern Plains (Ayer 1965:162; Kessell 1979:163). Given these circumstances, the repeated pleas of the Jumanos for a mission strongly suggest that their purpose was to draw the Spanish, the powerful newcomers, to their homeland in an effort to preserve that homeland. It appears that the Jumanos had concluded that persistence in the face of these difficulties would benefit from an alliance with the Spanish.

Alignment with the Spanish to preserve their homeland may have been reinforced by the actions of the Spanish in the early years of colonization. Given their location, the Jumanos would have known that the Spanish were anxious to establish trade with plains nomads (John 1975:69-70). While the Spanish traded and bartered for hides and other goods, slaves to work the silver mines were an equally important commodity (AHP 1632, 1645A; John 1975:71; Jones 1988:85). Although Benavides (Ayer 1965) only mentions the Jumanos’ desire for conversion, it is possible that the Jumanos recognized that it would behoove them to befriend the Spanish rather than be their slaves. Spanish military activity in New Mexico also must have impressed the Jumanos. In 1600, the Humanas pueblos incurred the wrath of Oñate (Zaldiver 1871) and were swiftly punished (Scholes and Mera 1940:279). As allies of the Humanas pueblos, the Jumanos would have been well aware of this inci-

dent and thus wary of similar conflicts with the newcomers. Over the ensuing three decades, the Humanas pueblos were slowly “brought within the fold of the Church” and the Spanish military umbrella spread over them (Scholes and Mera 1940:279). To retain their ties with the Puebloans, it would have been in the Jumanos’ best interest to develop amicable relations with the Spanish.

Documents indicate that the Jumanos’ efforts to align themselves with the Spanish included efforts to redefine their ceremonial and religious activities. Familiar with the iconography of Catholicism by the time of Salas’ visit, the Jumanos apparently incorporated that iconography into their own belief systems and received the Spanish “in procession, with two crosses” (Ayer 1965:160). When the priests, in turn, took out their crucifixes, “each person came to kiss them and venerate them as if these people were Christians of long standing.” They also kept their eyes on their feet, “something that we all admired.” At the same time, the Jumanos claimed to have been visited by “a woman like the one painted in the church [at the Tompiro mission] who spoke to each one of them in their own language saying that they should come to seek the priests to ask them to teach and baptize them [the Jumanos], and to not be lazy. This woman was dressed...as the woman in the painting but her face was not like [the one at the church]” (Ayer 1965:158). Finally, when the priests were on the Concho River with the Jumanos, a large cross was erected on a hill, and “thousands” were baptized and the sick cured.

These aspects of Jumano deportment impressed the priests as did their request to learn all aspects of Christianity. Combined, they suggest that the Jumanos, aware of the military potential of the newcomers and also aware that the newcomers’ religion was being adopted by their Puebloan allies, sought to incorporate several Christian symbols and ceremonies into their own beliefs. Whether these symbols were embraced as a belief system is not clear. However, we do know that the Jumanos realized that their world and their homelands were threatened. By extending their hands to the Spanish in friendship, maintaining alliances with old friends, and by adopting Spanish symbols and ceremonies, the Jumanos sought an alliance with a new nation, perhaps with the hope that the newcomers would help them in troubled times and afford them a *de facto* aura of protection against the Apaches.

THE THIRD PERIOD: 1655-1700

Any hope that the visits of the Spaniards would aid them was squashed in the years between 1655 and 1700. During the early part of the period, the Humanas pueblos were embroiled in a conflict among the Church, the governors of New Mexico, and the Apache (John 1975; Scholes and Mera 1940:280-283). Described in 1661 as "the most populous [pueblos]...in those provinces" (Hackett 1923-1937, Vol. 3:159), shortly thereafter these Pueblos struggled with Apache attacks (AGN 1663), harsh encomiendas, and severe drought (Scholes and Mera 1940:283). Archeological evidence indicates that at about the same time missionaries destroyed their kivas (Hayes 1981:9), likely as a means of crushing old, non-western religious values. By 1672, the Xumanas pueblos were largely abandoned. Given the difficulties experienced by the Xumanas pueblos, it is not surprising that no documents from 1655-1673 name the Jumanos of west central Texas. Then, in 1674, they were mentioned just north of the Rio Grande (SFG 1674). The next year, the Spanish encountered the Xoman (Jumano), on the Pecos River north of the Rio Grande (Portillo 1886:116-118). In 1682, a party of Jumanos traveled to El Paso via La Junta to again request a mission in their homelands (AGN 1683a, 1683b, 1689-1788; AHP 1685D). Later documents mention the Jumanos in south central Texas (Massanet 1957:257), in Coahuila (Leon 1909:322; SFG 1691), Central Texas (Massanet 1957:360; Salinas Varona 1968:287, 298; SFG 1692), La Junta (AGI 1693; AHP 1687A), and in their homelands (AGI 1693). These documents indicate that: (1) as the Jumano/Spanish alliance began to erode, alliances to the south and east were sought or enhanced; (2) their homelands continued to be a paramount concern; and (3) they again sought to incorporate symbols that would allow them to redefine themselves.

Jumano alliances stretching east and south appear to have built upon alliances forged in earlier times. Equally important, they included efforts to attract nations that were powerful or populous, including the Spanish. In the area directly south of their homelands, near the confluence of the Pecos with the Rio Grande, their efforts were directed toward building alliances with a broad consortium of hunting and gathering groups, some of whom were actively involved in hostile relations with the Spanish in Coahuila. Thus, in 1674, they were with

the Boboles, Xico Cosses, Bauanes, Xupulames, Yoricas, Xianco Cadames, and Yergibas (SFG 1674), and in 1675 with the Teroodan, Teaname, and Geimamar (Portillo 1886:116-118). In 1670, those same nations were gathered north of Saltillo, plotting with others against the Spanish (AHP 1670A). Although the nations named in 1670 did not include Jumanos, one name, Chaamaneas, is phonetically close to Choumanes, a variant of Jumanos, and may indicate that they, too, were among those plotting against the Spanish. Individually, each nation was small (Campbell 1988; Griffen 1969; Salinas 1990). Together, they would have been sizeable. While the rebellion never took place, the Jumanos' alliances with several nations present at the gathering (i.e., Bacarames, Yoricas, Mescales, Hapes, Boboles, Xupulames [Cibolos], and Erviapiames) endured (AGN 1691, 1692; Leon 1909:322; Massanet 1957:360; SFG 1691; SA 1700), and another alliance (with the Hapes) existed at least as early as 1630 (Ayer 1965:158).

To the southwest, on the other hand, the Jumanos focused on maintaining or renewing their alliance with the Spanish. Cleverly, their solicitations were flavored with promises to introduce the Spanish to many nations with the hint that an introduction from the Jumanos would ensure a peaceful reception. To accomplish their goal, they traveled to El Paso through La Junta, a region known to be coveted by the Spanish clergy for missionization (AGI 1689-1788), and one with which they had old ties (Hammond and Rey 1929). Their travel through La Junta suggests that they sought to strengthen ties with the Natives in that region, and, at the same time, to use that alliance to convince the Spanish of their goodwill. Once in El Paso, the Jumano leader, Juan Sabeata (AGN 1683a, 1683b), argued that if the Spanish would travel east with him to his homelands, he would introduce the Spanish to the people in La Junta (AGN 1683b). Sabeata also promised introductions to a host of other nations, and the powerful Tejas (Caddo) were held out by the Jumanos as a ripe plum for the Spanish. The Jumanos, Sabeata declared, knew the Caddo well, and the Caddo held them "with great affection." He would recommend the Spanish to this powerful nation (AGN 1689-1788). That the Spanish, still reeling from the Pueblo Revolt, put together a military and religious entourage to travel back to his homelands suggests that he argued eloquently. Moreover, generally favorable impressions of the

Jumanos and the potential for settlement and missions in west central Texas were expressed by both the military leader of the expedition, Mendoza (AGN 1683a, 1683b), and Lopez (AGN 1689-1788), the religious leader, upon their return. At the end of the trip, the Jumano/Spanish alliance appeared well-grounded.

Spanish interest in the Jumanos, however, waned after discovery of French intruders on the Gulf Coast (AGI 1688; Hackett 1923-1937, Vol. 2:256-289). Interested in maintaining her hold on Texas, Spain shifted her focus to East Texas and the Gulf Coast (AGN 1691, 1692; de Leon 1909). Despite a redirected Spanish focus, there are indications that the Jumanos continued to pursue an alliance with them by undertaking a series of trips to and from the Caddoan region and the Gulf Coast. They brought news of "a dark skinned person with an arquebus living near the Caddo," information on the slaughter of the French by the Natives, and other details of events in those far lands (AGI 1688). Their willingness to inform the Spanish about the French activities suggests a continued desire to align themselves to the Spanish.

The Jumanos did not, however, restrict their alliances to the Spanish between 1655-1700. Although the Jumanos used the Caddo as an enticement to encourage the Spanish to travel to their homelands, their descriptions of the Caddo indicate that, in fact, they did know the Caddo well. The Caddos' agricultural economy (augmented by hunting bison on the plains), their hierarchical society, and their interaction with other nations were described in considerable detail by the Jumanos (AGN 1689-1788). Caddoan archeological and ethnohistorical data confirm the descriptions given by the Jumanos (Perttula, this volume). As well, Sabeata and his people described the general ecology of the East Texas woodlands where the Caddo resided, informing the Spanish that a Tigua Indian of New Mexico lived among the Caddo and could serve as translator (AGN 1682-1683). Testimony in 1688 (AGI 1688) and 1690 (Weddle 1987:257), and the writings of Casañas (Gomez Canedo 1968:53), priest at Mission San Francisco de los Tejas in 1691, also verify their friendship with the Tejas and their interactions with that nation in trade fairs at certain

Table 2. Nations That Traveled with Mendoza in 1682-1683.

Jumanos	Suajos	Hinehis
Ororosos	Ylomes	Quitacas
Beitonijures	Cunquebacos	Siacuchas
Achubales	Quicuchabes	Hanacines
Jediondos	Los que asen Arcos Toremes	Cajalos

seasons of each year. All descriptions indicate a close alliance.

The list of 16 nations (Table 2) traveling with Mendoza and the Jumanos in west central Texas, and the 44 nations (Table 3) that they awaited, also suggest that the Jumanos had extended their hand in friendship to other nations, some potentially powerful. While many names in the list are obscure, a few are recognizable. The Huicasiques (Hueycasales), Bobidas, Injames, Humez, Bibis (Bibits), and Puchames were among the small nations east of the Jumanos' homeland. In subsequent years, the Jumanos were often in the company of one or more of these nations. Others in the lists were the Yoyehis, Ascanis, and Isconis, Wichita groups (Newcomb and Campbell 1982:37) who, in the 17th century, were moving south into Texas (Newcomb 1993:33).

Otermin wrote that the Jumanos were close friends of the natives of the La Junta area, and his statements are verified by the testimony of the Jumano chief, Juan Sabeata (AGN 1683a). While awaiting the arrival of a new Governor, Sabeata and his people spent time in the Presidio Bolson, helping build a series of temporary chapels requested by Father Lopez (AGN 1689-1778). These reports demonstrate that the Jumanos maintained a relationship with the nations of the Presidio Bolson in the late 17th century, much as they had in the 1580s. Moreover, the Jumanos were accompanied by one or more other nations, some of whom were known to have old ties with the villages at La Junta (Kenmotsu 1994). These include the Cibolos (AGI 1688; Massanet 1957:360-361), Cholomes (Massanet 1957:359-360), Mescales (AHP 1670A; AGI 1692; de Leon 1909:322), and Salineros (AGN 1683b).

In the midst of these efforts to reach out to other nations as well as the Spanish, the need to retain their homelands surfaces again and again. In El Paso, the Jumanos were not simply asking the

Table 3. Nations Expected by the Jumanos on the Plains 1682-1683.

Huicasique	Aielis	Aguidas
los Flechas	Chiquitas	Echancotes
Bobidas	Injames	Dijus
Colabrotes	Unogitas	Juanas
Yoyehis	Acanis	Humez
Bibis (Bibit)	Conchumuchas	Teandas
Hinsas	Pojues	Quisabas
Paiabunas	Papanes	Puchas
Puguahianes	Isconis	Tojumas
Pagaiames	Sabas	Bajuneros
Novraches	Pulchas	Los de Tobites
Puchames	Abau	Oranchos
people of the River of the Tejas (Caddo)	Anchimos	

Spanish to visit or make treaties with them. They wanted the Spanish to actually establish missions and settlements in west central Texas and, at the same time, "to defend them against their enemies, the Apaches" (AGN 1682a). Later, Sabeata stated that if the Spanish would help them with the Apaches, then Spanish trade on the plains could resume as it had in the past (AGN 1683b). The Jumano's concern for their homelands was real. The Apaches plagued the Mendoza expedition (AGN 1683b), and a few years later Posada stated that "this nation [the Apaches]...is the owner and possessor of all the plains which they call Cibola" (Thomas 1982:41). He recommended construction of a presidio on the Rio de las Nueces, stating: "[It] will undoubtedly have the support of the Jumana nation...because it is their land which the Apache nation took away from them and whom they hold as enemies" (Thomas 1982:56).

Despite Posada's statements that the Apaches had taken the homelands of the Jumanos, slightly later documents suggest that the Jumanos continued to maintain at least a toe-hold on those lands. In 1688, General Retana traveled four days north-east of La Junta to meet with the Indians that were to bring him word of the French on the Gulf Coast,

and he was greeted by Juan Sabeata, "who was very glad to see the Spanish *in his lands*" (Hackett 1923-1937, Vol. 3:256, italics added). Four days travel northeast of La Junta would place the meeting in the vicinity of the Pecos River. When encountered along the eastern edge of the Edwards Plateau in 1691, the Jumanos stated that their saddles were acquired in a war with the Apaches (AGN 1691) and that their homeland was the "rio salado" or Pecos River. In sum, at least as late as 1691, the Jumanos were partially successful in maintaining their homelands.

Jumano incorporation of Spanish ceremonial and religious expressions continued during the 1655-1700 period. An oft-repeated refrain was the request for baptism (AGN 1683b; Gomez Canedo 1968:243; SFG 1674; 1675). Other expressions of Christianity include touching the habit of Fray Juan de Larios (Portillo 1886; SFG 1675), and kissing the habit of Fray Nicolas Lopez (AGN 1683b), symbolically touching a form of clothing worn by few and, therefore, perhaps, powerful individuals. The Christian cross was another prominent symbol adopted by the Jumanos. A large cross of nine colors, likely the one erected during the Spanish visits of 1629 and 1654, had rotted and fallen down by the time the Jumanos homeland was visited in 1682-1683. Nonetheless, Mendoza and his party were told that many visitors to the Jumanos lands had stopped to see this important symbol (AGN 1683b). Even their enemies had fallen under its spell, and it was claimed that the power of this religious symbol had aided the Jumanos' success in a raid on an enemy camp of 78 tents, and had later halted an Apache raid on their own camps when the raiders saw the cross. In 1691, the cross was again prominently displayed when the Jumanos were encountered along the eastern edge of the Edwards Plateau (AGN 1691). Led by Juan Sabeata, several nations paraded in front of the Spanish with a cross that they had "cared for for many years" (AGN 1691).

When Governor Otermin, a lame duck governor weary of the trauma of the Pueblo revolt and the starvation in El Paso, asked the Jumanos to withdraw from El Paso to await the arrival of his

replacement, the Jumanos returned to La Junta where they helped the villagers to erect *hermitas* (temporary chapels). These structures were erected to persuade the Spanish that the Jumanos were sincere in their desire to be missionized (AGN 1689-1788). That they were able to build the *hermitas* with no aid from the Spanish indicates the extent of their familiarity with the religion of the newcomers.

It should be noted that incorporation of Spanish religious expressions was not unique to the Jumanos. Indeed, it was encouraged by the Spanish themselves. Baptism, crosses, and other Christian symbols appear elsewhere as symbols to deter enemies. On their trip down the Rio Grande to La Junta, Mendoza and his party encountered several camps of Sumas: "they asked my favor and help against our common enemy, the Apaches...[who] would not let them stay in their homelands...I told them I would help them on my return trip, and in the crest of a hill I put a cross" (AGN 1683b). Just above La Junta, one hundred Julimes requested baptism (AGN 1683b). Jumano adoption of Spanish iconography, therefore, suggests the sincerity of their appeal for a long-term alliance.

In sum, during the years from 1655 to 1700, the Jumanos, blocked by the Apaches and the Pueblo Rebellion from their old alliances with the Tompiros and other Natives of New Mexico, sought closer alliances with the powerful Caddo of East Texas, some Wichita bands, a multitude of nations in Central and South Texas who were individually small but collectively numerous, and the villagers at La Junta. At the same time, they continued to seek the friendship of the Spanish. The period began with hope that the Spanish would extend their settlements and missions to the Jumanos' homelands, affording them protection against encroachment from the Apaches. It ended with the realization that the colonization of their Pecos River homeland was less important to the Spanish than the French threat on the Gulf Coast.

THE FINAL PERIOD: 1700-1750

During the years 1700 to 1750, Jumano efforts to seek friends and avoid enemies underwent a dramatic shift. In the opening years of the 18th century, there is almost no documentary evidence of the Jumanos. Importantly, when they reappeared, they were no longer resisting the Apaches. Instead, the documents indicate that the Jumanos had allied

with the Apaches, at least some of whom were now living in their homelands (AGI 1716). Moreover, in ensuing decades, they were fighting alongside their former enemies to protect those same homelands (BA 1729). Reasons for this dramatic reversal are not well described in the documents, but appear related to the abandonment of Spanish interests in settlement of their lands, the Spanish need for slaves, a reduction in bison and an increase in disease vectors, and the presence of a new enemy on the horizon: the Comanche.

Abandonment of interest in west central Texas was a pragmatic issue for the Spanish in the 18th century. With the intrusion of the French into the Gulf of Mexico at the end of the 17th century, Spain refocused attention on her competition with France for control of the Mississippi Valley and East Texas (Chipman 1992:86). Although Juan Sabeata's statements to Mendoza and Lopez in 1683 indicated his desire to introduce the Spanish to the large and powerful Caddo nation (AGI 1689-1788), he was never afforded the opportunity. Instead, the Spanish traveled to East Texas and the "kingdom of the Caddo" without the Jumanos (Massanet 1957). At the same time, Spain was reconquering New Mexico, while Indian wars west of Parral and in Sonora were escalating (AHP1695A). These activities fully engaged the military in New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya. Finally, new silver deposits, far richer than those at Parral, were found in Chihuahua in the early 18th century (Jones 1988:120). Subsequent military efforts in that region focused on protecting the deposits and the farming lands that fed the growing population. Another consequence of the silver strike was the renewed requirement for Indian slaves to work the mines. Given these interests, the promises of Mendoza and Lopez in 1683 to make inquiries about establishing missions, settlement, and presidios in the homelands of the Jumanos were discarded as lesser priorities.

With Spanish attention diverted elsewhere, the region occupied by the Jumanos was deeply affected by the reduction of bison, increases in disease, and the arrival of the Comanche. Bison herds had once been described as abundant along the Pecos (AGN 1683a, 1683b; Thomas 1982), but, in 1708, were "rarely seen" (AGI 1708). Measles and other diseases affected the nations north and northeast of La Junta (cf. AHP 1704A; AGI 1708, 1716; Ayer 1714; SFG 1706). While the Jumanos are not among the nations listed with these diseases, the

territory is the land that they had previously claimed, suggesting that they, too, were affected. Finally, the presence of the Comanches appears to have affected relations between the Apaches and Jumanos. First mentioned in a 1706 document from Taos, the Comanches desire to control the horse trade created conflicts with the Apaches, and by 1730 those conflicts were generally settled in favor of the Comanches (Kavanagh 1986:60).

During and after the Comanche wars, the Apaches pushed south and east (AGI 1746) to El Paso (AHP 1704A), La Junta (AGI 1716), and northeast and east of Parral (AGN 1747). Their push to the south impacted the Jumanos. Faced with limited options, the documentary evidence indicates that the Jumanos bowed to the inevitable: they became their enemy, the Apache. The first indication of the change came in 1716 when Fray Ramirez, priest at La Junta, was invited by an Apache "to go with him to his lands...which are in the plains, are very large, and where there are fat grapes, fruit trees of the Spanish and a river where there are many conch shells with pearls...and a River Colorado...where many times the Spanish had come with the Jumano Indians" (AGI 1716). At first blush, the statement suggests that the Jumanos had been exterminated by the Apaches. However, a few years later, the term "Apaches Jumanos" was employed in a report by the Captain at San Juan Bautista that discussed hostile Apache activity (AGN 1729): "Indians of the nation Apaches Jumanes and Pelones...are the most numerous that exist, and these [nations] are molesting the presidio of San Antonio de Balero and this presidio of San Juan Bautista." Four years later, testimony detailed crimes of the Apaches, Pelones, Jumanes, and Chenttis (AGN 1733; BA 1734). At approximately the same time, reports place the Jumanos east of Pecos pueblo, engaging in hostile activities similar to the hostile actions of the Apache (Kessell 1979). Taken together, these statements indicate that the Jumanos had abandoned efforts to forge an alliance with the Spanish, turning, instead, to their former enemies, the Apaches.

At first, the Jumano solution seems contradictory, but with the understanding that the Jumanos options were limited to two (survival or death), the solution seems eminently practical. By coalescing with the Apache marauders, they were able to maintain their hold on their lands on the Pecos for a few more decades.

SUMMARY AND ARCHEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In summary, between 1580 and 1750, the Jumanos were one of many nations who had to accommodate the pressures created by the Spanish and Apache intrusion into their homelands. Their accommodations focused on maintaining harmony, surviving and persisting through alliances with friends while avoiding enemies. In the early years, brief glimpses of the Jumanos indicate a contented, secure nation living in the vicinity of the Pecos River (Hammond and Rey 1929), closely allied with the Humanas pueblos of east central New Mexico and friendly with the Patarabueyes of La Junta, but engaged in conflict with the Apaches, relative newcomers to the plains who competed with other nations for alliances with the New Mexican Pueblos. For a time, the Jumanos were successful. The Apache threat did not cease, however, and the Jumanos knocked at the Spaniards' door to seek protection of their homelands. Priests, missions, and settlements were requested (Ayer 1965; Thomas 1982; Vetancurt 1871) as the Jumanos began to redefine themselves, incorporating Christian symbols and expressions into their ceremonial activities. Through these efforts, the Jumanos successfully forged a strong alliance with the Spanish while maintaining a pre-existing alliance with the Humanas pueblos as well as the Hapes, Caddos, Axiados, and possibly with other nations as well.

The years 1655 to 1700 brought turmoil to the Jumanos' world. Blocked by the Apaches and then by the Pueblo Rebellion from old friendships with the Tompiros, Piro, and natives of other Pueblos, they began to seek closer ties of friendship with nations to the south and east as well as with Spaniards in El Paso and northern Coahuila. Documents indicate that the Jumanos continued to incorporate Christian symbolism into older traditions. While there may have been several reasons for the adoption of Christian symbols, such redefinition constituted, in part, an effort to persist in uncertain times. At times, their efforts cost them: General Retana told Sabeata that the Sisimbles "and other nations killed...Jumanos because they [the Jumanos] would not join with them against the Spanish" (AGI 1693).

Between 1700 and 1750, Jumano alliances shifted away from the Spanish. Buffalo were dwindling, and diseases affected many nations.

Additionally, the arrival of the Comanche increased the southward movement of the Apaches. In light of these factors, the Jumanos appear to have been forced to reconcile themselves with their former enemy, and the phrase “Apaches Jumanos” surfaced in selected documents, indicating that the Jumanos had joined their former enemy, yet again redefining themselves to persist. Extending their hand to the enemy was risky, but this was their only remaining accommodation and allowed them to retain their hold on their ancestral lands.

Since the documentary record informs us that Jumanos adjusted to the changes that occurred in their world through a series of alliances with other nations, these alliances, and the mechanisms used to forge them, lead to certain archeological expectations. To understand such expectations, the ethnohistorical record must be reconciled with the archeological record. The Jumanos’ homelands skirt the southern edges of the Southern and Rolling Plains (see Figure 1). Archeological sites dating from the Late Prehistoric and early Historic periods that have been identified in these areas are generally part of what is known as the Toyah complex or culture. When first defined by Kelley (1947, 1986), the Toyah culture was believed to include South, Central, and Trans-Pecos Texas, with possible extensions south of La Junta into northern Nueva Vizcaya. In a recent summary, Johnson (1994) has refined the broad geographic expanse of this culture, distinguishing sub-regions that contain “classic” Toyah traits from those dominated by Toyah material culture but with traits and artifactual styles borrowed from other regions nearby. Given these variations, Johnson (1994:242) maintains that Toyah material culture represents a “collage” of “culturally determined behaviors”:

By culture I mean more than inanimate tools...I also mean specific knowledge and habits, whether such knowledge was held universally or shared by only some Toyah societies...[and] includes specific preferences for certain foods and raw materials...; given ways of moving about the landscape to acquire and use those resources; a preferred social structure or way of living together in groups; and given means of making and using specific forms of tools, containers, shelters, etc.

The Toyah complex was a widespread cultural phenomenon (see Boyd, this volume, Johnson 1994:243 and Figure 105), dating between A.D. 1300 and 1650 (Johnson 1994:258). The Toyah folk are believed to have moved into these regions “in response to the reappearance of buffalo in those places after many centuries of absence,” bringing with them distinctive lithic tools and ceramics (Johnson 1994:271). Throughout its geographic distribution, the Toyah complex “appears full-blown as if sprung from the brow of Zeus” (Johnson 1994:277), strongly suggesting that it represents the migration of people rather than in situ development. Lithic assemblages at Toyah sites are dominated by Perdiz arrowpoints, informal knives and scrapers, and a variety of stone tools (end scrapers, perforators/drills, and points) fashioned from flakes, along with Harahey and Covington knives, and a blade technology. Ceramics from Toyah complex sites often exhibit vessel smoothing using a wide stick, beveled rims, application of a thin wash to vessel interiors, and frequent use of bone temper (Johnson 1994:269). Through careful examination of excavated Toyah complex sites and an analysis of the Buckhollow site, Johnson (1994) hypothesized other Toyah traits. These include the evidence that the Toyah folk did not restrict their diet to bison or even deer, but rather “gathered, killed, grew, and ate...what comestibles were locally available, and in what season of the year its people found themselves” (Johnson 1994:262). Groups generally consisted of small family or extended family households, and group mobility appears to have been limited. Limited mobility patterns may be the mechanism that created the regional variants of the Toyah culture complex that have been noted by Quigg (1997), Quigg and Peck (1995), Johnson (1994:265-279 and Figure 106), Creel (1990), and Treece et al. (1993).

The Jumano homeland is within the northwestern portion of the area dominated by the Toyah culture. While Johnson (1994:280) concludes that the Jumanos were too mobile to represent true Toyah folk, I believe that they should be counted among the Toyah for two reasons. First, the initial encounters with the Jumanos indicated that they resided contentedly just south of the Southern Plains, annually hunted buffalo on those plains, and were close friends of the residents of the Xumanas pueblos. While the Jumanos knew the Patarabueyes and other nations, the documents suggest limited contact with those nations and lead to the inference

that Jumano mobility at the time of European contact was relatively restricted. The presence of the Jumanos in distant regions after 1650 was an artifact of Spanish colonization and the Apache migration to the south, and represents the mechanism used by the Jumanos to survive, namely efforts to solicit closer friendships south, east, and southwest of their homelands.

Second, although much of the archeological evidence from the Jumanos' homeland is confined to surface collections (Rogers 1972; Walters and Rogers 1972), the material culture that has been reported (Creel 1990; Mallouf 1985:134; Quigg and Peck 1995; Treece et al. 1993) is consistent (i.e., Perdiz arrow points, formal and informal knives, scrapers, bone-tempered ceramics with a thin interior wash, etc.) with that recovered from sites in other regions occupied by Toyah folk. Moreover, it contrasts with the artifact assemblages recovered from contemporaneous sites on the Southern Plains (Boyd, this volume; Collins 1971:89; Habicht-Mauche 1987; Spielmann 1982), La Junta (Cloud et al. 1994; Kelley 1986; Mallouf 1990), and El Paso (Miller 1988). Given these factors, I conclude that the Jumanos were one of the regional variants of the Toyah folk, and several archeological expectations follow.

The first, rather obvious, expectation is that exotic artifacts would be present in sites in the Jumano homelands dating between A.D. 1300 and 1650, a reflection of their interaction with other nations that is described in the documents. Certainly, this expectation can be verified. Many Toyah complex sites in the Jumanos' homelands contain exotic goods. Mallouf (1985:134), Walters and Rogers (1975), and others have noted the presence of Caddoan, Southwestern, and other types of sherds in Toyah complex sites. Similarly, lithic tools in Toyah assemblages from the area depicted in Figure 1 include pieces made of Tecovas jasper from the Texas Panhandle as well as other exotic cherts (Creel 1990:89).

Second, based on the documentary data, it would be expected that these non-local artifacts would not be from a single nation, a single region, or a single language group. The Jumanos' network of alliances included other nations (e.g., the Hapes, Ervipiames, and Jediondos) who occupied lands where Toyah complex sites are found, and were likely Toyah folk themselves. The Jumanos were also at home in the company of hunters and gatherers from lands located some distance from their own and outside the area occupied by the Toyah

culture folk. The Cholomes occupied the region south and west of La Junta, and are believed to have spoken a Conchos dialect (Griffen 1979:31), while the Cantona were from the region of north central Coahuila (AHP 1670A; Campbell 1988:136; SFG 1674), and the Catqueza were from the region just north of modern Guerrero, Mexico (Campbell 1988:172-188). The Jumanos also maintained alliances with the sedentary villagers of the Humanas pueblos, the Caddo, and the Patarabueyes of La Junta, who spoke different languages and had cultural traditions distinct from their own. Such networks were commonplace among the nations residing in Texas, Nueva Vizcaya, and New Mexico (Kenmotsu 1994), and would have provided the opportunity for exotic artifacts to enter the archeological record either through exchange as a means of sealing bonds between families or as a reflection of the presence of members of other nations in Jumano rancherías. As noted above, individual Jumano sites do contain non-local material from a variety of other regions.

At the same time, the data lead to the expectation that younger Jumano sites should contain a preponderance of non-local artifacts from regions to the east, south, and southwest while non-local artifacts at older sites should be dominated by objects from the north and northwest of their homeland. The relationships of the Jumanos with the Caddo, the Patarabueyes, the Cholomes, and other distant nations became closer as the 17th century drew to a close, and the archeological assemblages from Jumano sites should evidence a concomitant increase in archeological evidence of contact with those nations. This expectation can only be partially evaluated. Few Jumano sites dating after 1630 have received excavations. Sites dating from A.D. 1300-1630, however, tend to conform with this expectation. Garza and Harrell projectile points, generally associated with archeological complexes on the Southern Plains, have been recovered in small numbers at the Rush (Quigg and Peck 1995:88) and O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Treece et al. 1993) sites as well as at 41TG91 (Creel 1990:89), and exotic cherts, where present, are typically from the Southern Plains (Creel 1990:89). Non-local ceramics have only been recovered from 41RN169 and 41TG91. These data suggest ties to the north and northwest for the period from A.D. 1300 to 1630. Nonetheless, the data are, at best, tentative and further excavation of later sites is sorely needed. As Creel (1990:143) summarizes:

A considerable variety of ceramics occurs at late sites in West Central Texas; generally, the larger the sherd collection from a site, the greater the variety of ceramics. Not infrequently, the more common locally made ceramics occur with sherds from vessels closely resembling various Caddoan wares from East Texas and with sherds from vessels of various Southwestern wares.

One final expectation that is derived from the documentary record is that while the Jumanos exchanged bison and bison hides, much of their exchange focused on non-material goods after 1620 (e.g., AGN 1682a, 1683b, 1689-1788; Portillo 1886:118). Exchange can be a form of foreign policy (Ford 1972:43), and for the Jumanos, exchange appears to have represented efforts to establish a network of friends. Thus, in exchange for the baptism of thousands, the Jumanos sought Spanish priests and settlement in their lands rather than material goods. They also offered to act as goodwill ambassadors to the Caddo in exchange for Spanish military support. These types of intangible exchanges will be difficult to distinguish archeologically. However, the fact that non-local artifacts are not plentiful in any Jumano site may represent one aspect of the archeological evidence for this intangible exchange. All but three lithics at 41TG91 could have been manufactured from the raw material available in local gravel bars of the South Concho River, and the majority of the ceramics were locally-made (Creel 1990:89, 143). Low quantities of exotic materials were also present in Toyah culture sites at O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Treece et al. 1993), the Rush site (Quigg 1997; Quigg and Peck 1995), and in surface finds at sites along the Pecos River (Mallouf 1985). Similarly, the quantities of trade goods from the Southern Plains and/or the region occupied by Toyah folk that have been recovered from the Humanas Pueblos (Hayes 1981), La Junta (Kelley 1986; Cloud et al. 1994), and the Caddoan area (Perttula, this volume) are small.

These and other archeological expectations from the documentary record merit further study utilizing both the archeological and the documentary records, focusing on the multitude of nations in Texas at the time of European contact, and seeking to understand the mechanisms used by each nation to accommodate the changes wrought in their world by Spanish colonization. Those mechanisms are clues to their eventual survival or demise, and they are the keys to compre-

hending how societies in the past were able to persist. Employed separately, neither record is sufficient. Employed together, they offer the possibility of enhancing our understanding of the ways nations accommodated the newcomers.

NOTES

1. Some researchers (Forbes 1957, 1959; Griffen 1979:34; Sauer 1934:65ff) add Sumanas to this list of Jumano variants. I do not. With few exceptions, Spanish documents clearly distinguish the Sumas as a nation distinct from the Jumanos (cf. AGI 1678-1689).

2. Espejo (1871a:105-106, 1871b, 1871c) caused additional confusion by stating that the natives of La Junta de los Rios (modern Presidio, Texas, and Ojinaga, Mexico) were the Patarabueyes, "who for another name are called Jumanos." However, Espejo did not write during the expedition nor were his recollections of the trip detailed or accurate. Moreover, the official diary of the expedition is quite detailed and does not support the conclusion that the villagers of La Junta were the same people as the Jumanos. Other documentary data support the distinction between the Patarabueyes and the Jumanos. Scores of documents from the Archivo del Hidalgo del Parral written between 1583 and 1682 contain data related to La Junta (Kenmotsu 1994). During these 100 years, not one of the documents mentions the Jumanos. Based on these lines of evidence, the Jumanos were familiar with the Natives of La Junta in the 1580s, but were a distinct nation. Unfortunately, while Scholes and Mera (1940) and Kelley (1986) noted Espejo's error some time ago, it continues to be adopted by researchers (cf. Forbes 1959; Hickerson 1994) who use it to support their conclusion that the Patarabueyes of La Junta were Jumanos.

3. The reader is reminded that none of the documents related to La Junta mention the Jumanos, even in passing (Kenmotsu 1994).

4. Kelley (1986) first hypothesized that the Jumanos were Toyah folk, but subsumed a multitude of other nations under the Jumanos, including the Patarabueyes. Here, the Jumanos are restricted to the archeological sites shown on Figure 1.

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42 *Texas Archeological Society*

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