

CHAPTER 2



Early Borderlands

The Southwest

Indigenous-European encounters in North America began in the early sixteenth century, when Spanish, French, and English explorers, traders, missionaries, and soldiers began to probe the continent. Distinctive borderlands of sustained cultural interpenetration emerged in the seventeenth century, when imperial bridgeheads consolidated into colonial societies, and when those societies had to come to terms with powerful indigenous groups on their fragile borders. This chapter explores the emergence of early borderlands in the North American Southwest, where Spanish and French colonists clashed, contended, and eventually compromised with indigenous realities.

Spanish conquistadors pushed into the Southwest in the early sixteenth century, hoping to replicate the lucrative conquests of the Aztec and Inca empires in Mexico and Peru in the 1520s and 1530s. But North America yielded few immediate riches, and conquistadors gave way to priests, farmers, and soldiers; Spanish colonialism in the far North became largely a missionary enterprise backed by military force and systematic exploitation of native labor. In 1598, Don Juan de Oñate founded New Mexico in the upper Rio Grande valley, and over the following decades the region's many Pueblo Indian societies were bound to the Spanish colonial system through forced conversion and labor drafts. Spain was the only European power in the Southwest until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when France established a string of small communities along the Mississippi valley in an effort to secure a foothold on the Gulf Coast and dominate Indian trade in the interior. The Spanish Crown saw these outposts as threats to its silver mines in Mexico and founded the colony of Texas to block French advances to the west. Seen from Mexico City, Texas was a defensive borderland that would protect the empire's vital areas from foreign intrusion.

These various colonization projects extended the Spanish and French empires into the Southwest and implanted a distinctive colonial community on its landscape: isolated, economically fragile, male-dominated, and multiracial. They also marked the beginning of a new era for the hundreds of indigenous societies living in the Southwest. Native peoples encountered lethal microbes, hostile settlers, eager traders, and indomitable missionaries,

and they suffered vast losses of lives, land, culture, and autonomy. But nowhere were Indians powerless, passive victims of European colonization. European newcomers expected quick and complete native submission within colonial realms, but they frequently faced fierce resistance that sometimes erupted into rebellion. Independent native peoples living outside of colonial realms were also drawn into close relations with Europeans through war, diplomacy, and commerce, and their lives changed irrevocably through the introduction of new diseases, technologies, ideas, and markets. Some native groups struggled to find a place in the rapidly changing borderlands world, but others grew increasingly powerful, marginalizing rival native groups while forcing Europeans to adjust to their ways of doing things. These expanding Indian groups had learned how to make the presence of European colonists on their borders to serve their interests. For a very long time, the balance of power in the borderlands tended to favor them over the European newcomers.

DOCUMENTS

In 1680, after decades of Spanish rule and exploitation, the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico began a concerted rebellion under the leadership of the charismatic Popé. The Pueblo Revolt was the most successful indigenous uprising against colonial rule in North America, and it kept the Spaniards away from New Mexico for over a decade. Document 1 is the testimony of Ginés de Herrera Horta, an auditor and legal assessor, on the effects of Spanish rule on the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1601, three years after Don Juan de Oñate had led the first colonist to the upper Rio Grande Valley. Appearing at a hearing in Mexico City, Horta discusses the abuses, punishments, and tribute payments that fueled resentment among the Pueblo people. In the second document, Pedro Naranjo, a Keresan Pueblo, offers his view of the rebellion and its causes in 1693. Recorded a year after the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico, Naranjo's account helps illuminate several key questions about the revolt and its causes. What role did religion play in the revolt? Pueblo Indians killed several hundred Spanish colonists during the rebellion; how does Naranjo explain this violence? Document 3 is from the report of Bishop Benito Crespo, who inspected New Mexico in 1730, thirty-four years after the suppression of another, much smaller, Pueblo revolt in 1696. In the aftermath of the second rebellion, Spanish officials abolished the *encomienda* system in New Mexico and took measures to protect Indian lands and legal rights, and Franciscans adopted a more tolerant stance toward traditional Pueblo religious ceremonies. Crespo found in New Mexico a socially charged world marked by deep cultural divides and distrust, and he struggled to understand the social life in the colony that defied many of his expectations.

Document 4 is the report of Franciscan Father Francisco Casanas de Jesús Maria on Spanish efforts to win the allegiance of the Caddo Indians, who lived in the region between French Louisiana and Spanish Texas and New Mexico. Both Spanish and French colonists strove to extend their presence among the strategically located Caddos, and both had to adhere to Caddo customs to do so. Casanas's account, written in 1691, reveals the cultural differences, misunderstandings, and disputes that shaped the relationships between Caddos and

Spaniards. Document 5 illustrates how, in distant borderlands on empires' edges, colonists from rival nations often found it more beneficial to work with, rather than against, their enemies. In 1721, Spaniards built Los Adaes, a small fort that served as the capital of Spanish Texas until 1773, near a French post of Natchitoches, hoping to weaken French influence among the Indians and block French intrusions toward Spanish settlements. The document shows how Philibert Ory, the controller general of finances in the French court, viewed the situation in the borderlands and how he wished Louisiana to respond to the challenge posed by Los Adaes.

Document 6 is from the account of the French captain, Pierre Marie François de Pagès, who toured Spanish Texas and the Texas-Louisiana borderlands in 1767, five years after France had ceded Louisiana to Spain. Pagès describes the pastoral ranching economy of Texas and the Indian-European relations on the borderlands, reporting on continual Indian raids and discussing why Spaniards failed to contain the Apaches. He also notes the complex ethnic composition of the borderlands: Although Nacogdoches was a Spanish town, it hosted many French traders who had stayed behind after Louisiana was transferred to Spain in 1762.

1. Ginés de Herrera Horta Testifies on Spanish Treatment of Pueblo Indians, 1601

In Mexico, July 30, 1601, Factor Don Francisco de Valverde called as witness the bachiller, Ginés de Herrera Horta, a resident of this city, who took his oath in due legal manner and promised to tell the truth. On being questioned the witness stated that he went to the provinces of New Mexico about a year and a half ago, more or less, as chief auditor and legal assessor to Don Juan de Oñate, governor of the said provinces....

Asked what good and bad experiences the Spaniards had encountered, what opposition, what modes of offense or defense the Indians had offered from the time the governor arrived in the province ... this witness states that, in discussing the conditions of the country with the leading persons, both friars and laymen, they told him in detail what had happened to the Indians of a pueblo named Acoma, which is situated on a high rock.

The maese de campo at that time was Don Juan de Zaldívar, nephew of the governor. He had gone with twelve or fourteen men to explore and seek new things not yet known. This witness was told that unless they found something worthwhile, he intended to return to New Spain with his men. While they were on this exploration, they came to the pueblo of Acoma, where they asked the Indians for provisions. The natives furnished them some, and the Spaniards proceeded on their journey about two leagues beyond the pueblo.

Then the maese de campo, Captain Escalante, Diego Núñez, and other men turned back to ask again for provisions, fowl, and blankets, and even to take

them by force. When the Indians saw this, they began to resist and to defend themselves. This witness was told that the Spaniards had killed one or two Indians. Then the Indians killed the *maese de campo* and Diego Núñez and the others with rocks and slabs of stone. When the governor learned of this, he declared war by fire and sword against the Indians of the pueblo and named Sargento Mayor Vicente de Zaldívar, his nephew, and brother of the slain *maese de campo*, as chief of the punitive army. He set out with seventy soldiers to punish the aforesaid Indians. Afraid of what the Spaniards might do, the natives refused to surrender, but defended themselves.

Thus the punishment began, lasting almost two days, during which many Indians were killed. Finally, overcome and exhausted from the struggle, the Indians gave up, offering blankets and fowl to the sargento mayor and his soldiers, who refused to accept them. Instead, the sargento mayor had the Indians arrested and placed in an *estufa* [kiva]. Then he ordered them taken out one by one, and an Indian he had along stabbed them to death and hurled them down the rock. When other Indian men and women, who had taken shelter in other *estufas*, saw what was going on, they fortified themselves and refused to come out. In view of this, the sargento mayor ordered that wood be brought and fires started and from the smoke many Indian men, women, and children suffocated. This witness was told that some were even burned alive. All of the men, women, and children who survived were brought to the camp as prisoners. The governor ordered the children placed in the care of individuals. The men and women from eighteen to nineteen years of age were declared slaves for twenty years. Others were maimed by having their feet cut off; this witness saw some of them at the said camp. He was told that most of the slaves had run away, that they had tried to reestablish the pueblo, and that the governor neither authorized nor prevented this, but dissimulated, although this witness heard that he wanted to send someone or go himself to see the said pueblo.

The reason why the commissary charged this witness on his conscience to tell this story was because he considered the punishment and enslavement of the Indians unjust and that the viceroy should order the prisoners liberated.

Asked whether the governor had levied any tribute or personal service on the friendly and peaceful Indians under his jurisdiction to work the fields, harvest the crops, or do other necessary labors in his camp, the witness said that all he knows is that every month the soldiers go out by order of the governor to all the pueblos to procure maize. The soldiers go in groups of two or three and come back with the maize for their own sustenance. The Indians part with it with much feeling and weeping and give it of necessity rather than of their own accord, as the soldiers themselves told this witness. If any kernels fall on the ground, the Indians follow and pick them up, one by one. This witness has seen this happen many times. Some of the Indians, men and women, who formerly lived at this pueblo where the camp now is, remained there and bring wood and water for the Spaniards, so that the latter would give them some maize. This witness has seen it himself. He was told that the Indians store their maize for three and four years to provide against the sterility of the land, for it rains very seldom, although there is much snow, which helps to moisten the ground so that they may harvest what they plant.

The tribute which the governor has levied on the Indians requires that each resident give a cotton blanket per year. Those who have no blankets give tanned deerskins and buffalo hides, dressed in their usual manner. The lack of blankets is due to the scarcity of cotton grown there. This witness has seen the cotton next to the maize fields of the Indians. He was assured that, in the pueblos where the soldiers went, if the natives said that they had no blankets to give, the soldiers took them from the backs of the Indian women and left them naked.

As for personal services, this witness does not know that they have been imposed on the natives, except that when there is need to repair a house the Spaniards ask the governor's permission to bring some Indian women to repair it, for, as he has stated, the women are the ones who do this. The Spaniards also employ Indians to help plant the vegetables and cultivate the soil. This witness has seen Spaniards plowing all by themselves, without the assistance of Indians. He has heard that wheat does very well, and that this is because at the camp there is water for irrigation, which is not found elsewhere, and so wheat is grown only there. He does not know nor has he heard that it is planted anywhere else.

Asked whether the Indians of those provinces were of such habits that they could be brought to our holy Catholic faith by the normal diligence of the friars, the witness said that the reason the Indians did not associate with the Spaniards was because they were afraid of them. This witness believes that if they were well treated and attracted, their conversion would be easy, because they are extremely quiet, gentle, and friendly, not known to possess any vices. This witness considers these people of better habits and nature than the people of New Spain.

The people are also troubled by the sterility of the land, so they will lack provisions for some time to come, and also because the Indians are few and the pueblos more than eighty leagues apart, including those that are said to have more people, as they are at that distance from the camp. For these reasons, this witness does not think that the people could be maintained without great cost to his majesty in provisions, clothing, and other things. Even if this majesty should incur much expense to help them, this witness believes that if the people were free to choose they would prefer to abandon the land and seek their livelihood around here. He never heard a single one say that he was there of his own will, but through force and compulsion. What his excellency, the viceroy of New Spain, should know and remedy is that the orders he transmits to those regions are neither obeyed nor carried out.

2. Pedro Naranjo (Keresan Pueblo) Explains the Pueblo Revolt, 1681

In the said plaza de armas on the said day, month, and year [December 19, 1681], for the prosecution of the judicial proceedings of this case his lordship caused to appear before him an Indian prisoner named Pedro Naranjo, a native

Charles Wilson Hackert, ed., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682*, trans., Charmion C. Shelby (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1942), 2: 245-249.

of the pueblo of San Felipe, of the Queres nation, who was captured in the advance and attack upon the pueblo of La Isleta. He makes himself understood very well in the Castilian language and speaks his mother tongue and the Tegua. He took the oath in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth concerning what he knows and as he might be questioned.

Asked whether he knows the reason or motives which the Indians of this kingdom had for rebelling, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, and committing such grave and atrocious crimes, and who were the leaders and principal movers, and by whom and how it was ordered; and why they burned the images, temples, crosses, rosaries, and things of divine worship, committing such atrocities as killing priests, Spaniards, women, and children, and the rest that he might know touching the question, he said that since the government of Señor General Hernando Ugarte y la Concha they have planned to rebel on various occasions through conspiracies of the Indian sorcerers, and that although in some pueblos the messages were accepted, in other parts they would not agree to it; and that it is true that during the government of the said señor general seven or eight Indians were hanged for this same cause, whereupon the unrest subsided. Some time thereafter they [the conspirators] sent from the pueblo of Los Taos two deerskins with some pictures on them signifying conspiracy after their manner, in order to convoke the people to a new rebellion, and the said deerskins passed to the province of Moqui, where they refused to accept them. The pact which they had been forming ceased for the time being, but they always kept in their hearts the desire to carry it out, so as to live as they are living to-day. Finally, in the past years, at the summons of an Indian named Popé who is said to have communication with the devil, it happened that in an estufa [kiva] of the pueblo of Los Taos there appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians who never came out of the estufa. They gave the said Popé to understand that they were going underground to the lake of Copala. He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies, and that one of them was called Caudi, another Tilini, and the other Tleume; and these three beings spoke to the said Popé who was in hiding from the secretary, Francisco Xavier, who wished to punish him as a sorcerer. They told him to make a cord of maguey fiber and tie some knots in it which would signify the number of days that they must wait before the rebellion. He said that the cord was passed through all the pueblos of the kingdom so that the ones which agreed to it [the rebellion] might untie one knot in sign of obedience, and by the other knots they would know the days which were lacking; and this was to be done on pain of death to those who refused to agree to it. As a sign of agreement and notice of having concurred in the treason and perfidy they were to send up smoke signals to that effect in each one of the pueblos singly. The said cord was taken from pueblo to pueblo by the swiftest youths under the penalty of death if they revealed the secret. Everything being thus arranged, two days before the time set for its execution, because his lordship had learned of it and had imprisoned two Indian accomplices from the pueblo of Tesuque, it was carried out prematurely that night, because it seemed to them that they were now

discovered; and they killed religious, Spaniards, women, and children. This being done, it was proclaimed in all the pueblos that everyone in common should obey the commands of their father whom they did not know, which would be given through El Caydi or El Popé. This was heard by Alonso Catití, who came to the pueblo of this declarant to say that everyone must unite to go to the villa to kill the governor and the Spaniards who had remained with him, and that he who did not obey would, on their return, be beheaded; and in fear of this they agreed to it. Finally the señor governor and those who were with him escaped from the siege, and later this declarant saw that as soon as the Spaniards had left the kingdom an order came from the said Indian, Popé, in which he commanded all the Indians to break the lands and enlarge their cultivated fields, saying that now they were as they had been in ancient times, free from the labor they had performed for the religious and the Spaniards, who could not now be alive. He said that this is the legitimate cause and the reason they had for rebelling, because they had always desired to live as they had when they came out of the lake of Copala. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked for what reason they so blindly burned the images, temples, crosses, and other things of divine worship, he stated that the said Indian, Popé, came down in person, and with him El Saca and El Chato from the pueblo of Los Taos, and other captains and leaders and many people who were in his train, and he ordered in all the pueblos through which he passed that they instantly break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired. In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments. They did this, and also many other things which he does not recall, given to understand that this mandate had come from the Caydi and the other two who emitted fire from their extremities in the said estufa of Taos, and that they thereby returned to the state of their antiquity, as when they came from the lake of Copala; that this was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, the Spaniard's God being rotten wood. These things were observed and obeyed by all except some who, moved by the zeal of Christians, opposed it, and such persons the said Popé caused to be killed immediately. He saw to it that they at once erected and rebuilt their houses of idolatry which they call estufas, and made very ugly masks in imitation of the devil in order to dance the dance of the cacina [kachina, or spirit]; and he said likewise that the devil had given them to understand that living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors, they would harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and that they could erect their houses and enjoy abundant health and leisure. As he has said, the people were very much pleased, living at their ease in this life of their antiquity, which

was the chief cause of their falling into such laxity. Following what has already been stated, in order to terrorize them further and cause them to observe the diabolical commands, there came to them a pronouncement from the three demons already described, and from El Popé, to the effect that he who might still keep in his heart a regard for the priests, the governor, and the Spaniards would be known from his unclean face and clothes, and would be punished. And he stated that the said four persons stopped at nothing to have their commands obeyed. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked what arrangements and plans they had made for the contingency of the Spaniards' return, he said that what he knows concerning the question is that they were always saying they would have to fight to the death, for they do not wish to live in any other way than they are living at present; and the demons in the estufa of Taos had given them to understand that as soon as the Spaniards began to move toward this kingdom they would warn them so that they might unite, and none of them would be caught. He having been questioned further and repeatedly touching the case, he said that he has nothing more to say except that they should be always on the alert, because the said Indians were continually planning to follow the Spaniards and fight with them by night, in order to drive off the horses and catch them afoot, although they might have to follow them for many leagues.

3. Bishop Benito Crespo Is Confounded by New Mexico, 1730

I have seen, understood, and heard in all the pueblos that the precept prescribing annual confession and communion is not fulfilled in any one of them, because there has not been, and is not, any minister who understands the language of the Indians. And the latter do not confess except at the point of death because they do not want to confess through an interpreter. They told me before I reached the said [province] that they [the interpreters] made their sins public. And because I was ignorant of this, whenever I preached I exhorted and especially the Indians through an interpreter, telling them that the confessors, even though they might be killed for it, could tell nothing. The latter thanked me for it. But afterwards I learned the reason [for the Indians' reluctance], which is that they make said confessions through an interpreter belonging to the same Indians. And since the final conquest, which took place in the year 1696, there is no case when there has been a minister who knows the language of the Indians, which must [cause wonder?]. And as a unique thing, they tell of two, Fray Antonio Miranda and Fray Francisco Irazabal, who know the language, not in general but only that of the Zuñi Indians. [Irazabal] is at present minister of Spaniards at the aforesaid capital of Santa Fe, and he is now in this pueblo [of El Paso]. Fray Antonio Miranda is [the minister] of the Keres Indians, whose tribe consists of the pueblo of Acoma, [where] he has been about twenty years. And at present he is blind, as

"Documents Concerning Bishop Crespo's Visitation, 1730," *New Mexico Historical Review* 28 (July 1953): 229-230.

is evident from his statement about the place of Moqui. And with regard to the rest, for there are many who have been in residence eighteen or twenty years, not one has dedicated himself, and they are as alien as if they had had no dealings with the said Indians. I have seen learned this, and I have heard that the same thing has been going on since time immemorial.

For this reason not many of the pagans on the borders are converted. They are bartering and trading with them every day, as I have seen. And all the pueblos of said missions remain in their paganism and idolatry, as the fathers themselves affirm, and they apostatize daily. It is the common opinion that this has been the origin of the uprisings that have occurred in said province. And the reason why they have not revolted since the last conquest has been the royal presidio which is in the said capital. And the reciprocal lack of love, both of the father ministers for the Indians and of the latter for the said fathers, arises from this, and especially when the languages are not so difficult that they cannot be comprehended in a short period of friendly intercourse and communication; because in those I heard, I found ease of pronunciation, which is not the case with many others of this diocese. All the Indians in general complain of this, telling me that they are Christians and that for this reason they lack what is most important; as well as asking how they are to believe what is preached to them if they see the contrary done by the very father ministers in general, since scarcely four out of them all are exceptions, and two of these, newcomers to said missions.

4. Father Francisco Casanas de Jesús Maria on How to Win the Allegiance of the Caddo Indians, 1691

I trust that by the grace of the Most High, through the protection of our Most Holy Mother and the good wishes of our Catholic Majesty and of your Excellency, all these tribes will be subdued. This will be true if those who come from Spain to this country to live will furnish a good example. This done, and the spirit of the evangelical ministers being joined therewith, it is inevitable that much glory and fruit for the two Majesties can be expected.

The dissatisfaction of all the Indians is great when the Spaniards live among them without their wives. I say also from what I have experienced that, if it be possible, it would be to our interest if no man came without his wife. However, I realize that, on account of what little there is in the mission, it is impossible unless the Indian patches are robbed. Before I left the mission of Santiago, a letter was written me giving the information of the people that were on their way to Texas, and of the flocks they were bringing. I read this letter to the captains and nobles who were altogether in a council. The first thing they noticed in the letter was that the men were coming without their wives, and they knew that

Mattie Austin Hatcher, trans., "Descriptions of Tejas and Asinai Indians, 1691-1722," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly Online* 30 (April 1927): 287-290, 294-295, 300-301, 303. URL <http://www.tshaonline.org/shqonline/apager.php?vol=030&pag=287> (Accessed 25-01-2010)

there would [necessarily] be additional men to guard the stock. If objections be made to these few, how much greater objection will be raised, your Excellency, if a great number come into this country to stay. Every day these Indians ask me whether the Spaniards are going to bring their wives with them when they come back. I tell them yes. But in spite of everything they do not give me any credence. They tell me that I must write to Your Excellency, their great captain, and tell you in this missive that they want to be friends, but if the Spaniards want to live among them it must be under such conditions that no harm will be done to the Indians by the Spaniards if they do come without their wives; but, if the Spaniards bring their wives, the Indians will be satisfied.

I must say that the demand of these Indians is just and reasonable. And it has already been agreed to. I know from experience gained upon two occasions when duty to the church called me to the work of conversion that this will be wise; and it will be well to leave for my protection three or four unmarried men. I have been much distressed and feared to lose all the fruit that might be produced; and, therefore, prostrate at your feet, I beg of Your Excellency to look with favor upon this work which is so pleasing to the Lord, that it should not be lost. And do not send criminals taken from the prisons, or bachelors, or vagabonds, who, when they are here, away from home where there are no Christians, would commit great atrocities, and, by their depraved lives and bad example, counteract the efforts of the ministers, depriving them of the fruit of these souls of the Indians. It would be better for that class of men to be sent somewhere else where they can be kept down with lash in hand.

In this way, and in no other, may their souls be saved. For, God knows, souls cannot be saved by one who does not regard his own soul; by one who does not believe in human justice nor acknowledge the justice of God. What a pity.

It is to be feared that these poor things will bewail their souls in Hell because of [their] superstitions.... The demon put it into their heads that we had brought the epidemic into the country; and, when they saw that during the scourge which the Lord sent upon them in the year 1691 some three or four hundred persons—more or less—had died in that province during the month of March, they maintained their superstition even more firmly, saying that we had killed them. Some of them tried to kill us. When I found this out, I went to the house of the governer. I found that he was in conclave with the old men. The first thing they all said to me was the above. I asked them if they had killed Father Fray Miguel Font Cuberta and the soldier who had died soon after arriving in their country. They all said no. I answered that they had spoken well, and that they were quite right, as it was God who killed him; and that whenever He wishes He will kill us but that neither I nor anyone knows why it is done. I told them that we must all die, but as to how, when, and from what cause not even the great captain of the Spaniards knew, nor did I know; but that I did know that as sure as the sun sets my hour would come—while to some of those present it might come at dawn. I told them that all who love God must submit to His holy will; and that when He wishes to do so, He will kill the Spaniards as He was now killing them; and that, therefore, whatever God does we must believe is done for the best.

I gave them these and other arguments which made such a great impression upon them that nobody disputed me.

I trust by the Grace of God that, as soon as the ministers are able to speak the language perfectly and when we have the protection and watchful care of the Spaniards, we will uproot all the discord which the mortal enemy of our souls has sown in this county and that the faith will be planted with greater perfection than in other sections: especially as we enjoy the protection of our Catholic king and of Your Excellency who tries to encourage this work with so much zeal and order by sending ministers and by doing everything else which you may think necessary, since it is for the service of God, our Lord, without which all that has already been done will be lost, if God does not intervene. †

The Lord knows that in this whole matter I am inspired only by the desire I have that not a single soul shall be lost and that these poor miserable people may die only after receiving the holy baptism. It would certainly be a great misfortune if they should perish for want of encouragement because it has not yet been ascertained, nor is it not known, whether there are other unconverted tribes who are more civilized and settled than these Indians and their more immediate neighbors; for all of them cultivate their fields. They do not lack for food. They never abandon their houses nor their country, although they do go to war with their enemies.

They are an industrious people and apply themselves to all kind of work. Indeed, if during the year and three months I have been among them if I had had some bells, some small clasp knives, some glass beads, and some blue cloth—which they greatly prize,—some blankets, and other little things to exchange with these Indians, I could have started a convent with the articles it would have been possible to make from the best materials that are abundant here. I, therefore, declare that it will be well for the ministers to have some of these things—not that one person only should have them—because the Indians are of such a nature that they have no love save for the person who gives them something. So strong is this characteristic that only the person who gives them something is good while all others are bad. They do not even want to receive the holy sacrament of baptism except from some person who has given them a great many things. Even the ministers are not able to persuade them, nor will it ever be possible to develop the mission without these presents. During my stay of one year and three months in this country and during the ten months since I started this, Your Excellency's mission, under the name of Santísima Nombre de María, I have not had a scrap or anything else. I have born even my bittered garments up to give to some Indian for helping me. The governor of this mission of yours can vouch for this.

I have information that the *Cadauhacho* have hopes that the French will return, because they promised when leaving the country that they would return when the cold season again set in, and that a great many of them would have to come in order to occupy the country completely. This is nothing but Indian gossip, though for several reasons it is to be feared that they speak as they are instructed to speak. The French may also be compelled to return on account of their companions whom they left here. I know nothing more of this matter than

that in the month of February there were nine or ten Frenchmen at a feast which the Indians had in a neighboring province, about thirty leagues from us called the province of *Nacaos*.

Most Excellent Sir, I know well that much of what I have related does not concern me, but I have had no motive in so doing save the desire I have of bringing souls to the Lord. Although there are many of the tribes who have died, there is no lack of material for conversion for all the ministers who may come. In the name of our Saviour and that of the blessed Mary, prostrate at their feet, I pray for aid and protection and that His Divine Majesty may grant you good health in order that Your Excellency may be the patron of a work which is so pleasing to God.

5. Philibert Ory Urges Louisiana to Open Trade with Spaniards in Natchitoches, 1730

I pass on to the commerce with the Spaniards ... you ought to fix your sights in the direction of the land, where I should think commerce easier or at least more secret, and it is at the Natchitoches that I should like to make an establishment, that is to say merely to put that post in a state of defense with its garrison and warehouses in which in the future there would be a good quantity of merchandise suitable for trade. The post of the Adais [Adaes] belongs to the Spaniards. They also have a mission there. It is only fifteen leagues distant. It does not appear to me difficult to enter into trade by means of the missionaries, governor, or other persons of that sort whom it will be necessary to interest by promising them a certain percentage of all the money that they would cause to be obtained for our merchandise in the places upon which we would agree with them. Mexico in the direction of New Mexico and still more New Mexico are not guarded at all. The governors, [who are] not at all strict and usually without opportunities to enrich themselves, will eagerly grasp the means that will be presented to them to do so, so I do not foresee that the missionaries, who besides have great influence with the Spaniards, will have much difficulty in winning over the governors, especially when all will find their profit in it. If you add to that the excessive prices at which goods coming from Old Mexico are priced when they have arrived in New [Mexico], you will see that everything ought to contribute to success.

I think, then, that Sieur Macmahon, to whom you will communicate what I am writing you on the subject of the Spanish commerce, ought to have an agent go to the Natchitoches with a considerable quantity of merchandise, especially chosen, and give him instructions for attempting to open up commerce through the Adais. He must see to it that this agent understands and speaks the Spanish language sufficiently not to need an interpreter, because ordinarily people do not like to have a third person present at such negotiations. I do not put any limit at all to what you are to promise the missionary or to the gratuity to

Patricia Kay Galloway, Dunbar Rowland, and Albert G. Sanders, eds. and trans., *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion* (Baton Rouge: Baton Rouge Louisiana State Historical Society, 1984), 4: 49-50. Reprinted by permission.

the agent, leaving you and Sieur Macmahon the authority to act according to the situations and circumstances that you find. You will call Sieur Macmahon's attention to the fact that he must fix the prices of the merchandise that he will have taken to the Natchitoches on a higher level than that which is established at New Orleans and to make them proportionate to those of the merchandise in New Mexico, being watchful, however, to establish them in such a way as to make them distinctly attractive to the Spaniards in order to induce them to resort to this direction.

6. Captain Pierre Marie François de Pagès Reports on Texas, 1767

We arrived at the river Guadeloupe [Guadalupe], the last of any consequence on the road to San Antonio: and here the same tedious and irksome method of passing on paths was repeated in four days more we came to plantations of Indian corn, from the appearance of which I could easily perceive that the inhabitants of this settlement are not so miserably idle as those of Adaés. The crops are large and beautiful, and interspersed with meadow ground, upon which are reared herds and flocks of almost every denomination.

At this post [San Antonio], the second in the same direction belonging to the Spaniards, I met with the new governor of the province, whom I had just seen at Adaés. In the countries bordering on those rivers reside the savage tribes named Tegas and Apaches, the last of which entertain an implacable enmity against the Spaniards. The Apaches, after driving them from a settlement in those parts, called San Xavier, were repelled in their turn, and obliged to seek habitations in more northern regions. Although the population of savage nations is not expected to be very considerable, yet from the province of Louisiana to San Pedro we passed their villages at intervals of twenty-five and thirty leagues, and sometimes at a shorter distance. But that vast country situated on this side of the San Pedro villages, and which stretches all the way to Rio Grande, is totally destitute of inhabitants. It is true, those regions are still frequented by savages; but they have no other object in view than to make war upon the Spaniards, to drive off their cattle, to hunt the buffalo, and to gather *plaquemines* [persimmons] and chestnuts, with which they retire to their villages in the north. Owing to their very frequent incursions, however, they have been improperly represented as wandering tribes.

Whilst I remained at this settlement, the savages through whose boundaries we had passed at San Pedro, incensed against the governor on account of his prohibition of their trade with the French of Naquadoch [Nacogdoches], made an irruption into the country, and carried off four hundred horses from San Antonio. The alarm being given, the garrison beat to arms, and mounting their horses, pursued to the distance of a hundred leagues, with being able to come up

with the enemy. The Spaniards were on their return home, and had reached the river Guadeloupe, when another party of the same nation rushed from the woods, and made a smart fire upon them. The garrison, after making a vigorous resistance for the space of three hours, at last yielded to superior numbers, and lost on this occasion, besides other property, a hundred and fifty horses. A few days after the garrison was insulted again by a detachment of the same tribe; and the governor began to see the necessity of putting the fort in a better state of defense.

Fort San Antonio stands in a valley of an oblong form, one side of which fronts an angle of a small river in its vicinity. The different avenues leading to the settlement are defended by large pallisadoes, while the houses built upon its circumference serve the purpose of walls: but being of very considerable extent, and as many of the houses are in ruins, it is but weakly fortified, and has much occasion for a stronger garrison. It is besides much incumbered from without by several miserable villages, which give encouragement to the incursions of the enemy. The space too inclosed by the angle of the river is crowded by a multitude of huts, which are occupied by a number of emigrants from the Canary Isles.

In the settlement of San Antonio we find a Spanish colony from the Canary Isles; whilst all their other stations consist merely of soldiers, and a few Indians who have been seduced from the innocence of savage life. Their principal employment is to rear horses, mules, cows, and sheep. Their cattle, commonly allowed to roam at large in the woods, are once in two months driven into fields adjoining to the houses of their owners, where every means is used to render them tame and tractable. After having been subjected to hunger and confinement, they receive their liberty, and are succeeded by others, which experience in their turn a similar course of discipline. Such of the inhabitants as are at pains to prevent their herds from running entirely wild, are found to possess five or six thousand head of cattle.

They have likewise the use of tame animals, which, besides being serviceable to them in milk, supply them with fat and dried flesh for their extensive peregrinations. Their horses and mules are no sooner a little broken in, than they are offered to sale; but here the marked price is so extremely low, as indeed may be imagined, that I have seen a good horse sold for a pair of shoes. Having only one or two keepers for all the cattle of the settlement, even their domestic animals run day and night in the woods.

ESSAYS

The Spanish colony of New Mexico has traditionally been viewed as a hybrid biracial society where Spaniards and Pueblo Indians clashed, intermingled, and for over two centuries, coexisted. In the first essay, Dedra S. MacDonald, lecturer in history at Hillsdale College in Hillsdale, Michigan, adds nuance to this picture by unearthing a forgotten thread in the history of Spanish New Mexico: the presence of African peoples in the province. MacDonald shows how Indians and Africans found commonalities under the Spanish rule that marginalized and disempowered both and how they came together to resist colonial exploitation. Indians and

Africans intermarried, had children, built small *zambo* communities, and formed anti-Spanish criminal alliances. MacDonald also sheds new light on the pivotal event in the history of Southwest borderlands, the Pueblo Revolt, by emphasizing the central role of mulattoes in the uprising. In her telling, the revolt emerges as a broad multiracial rebellion of oppressed people who had found a common cause in their position at the bottom of a colonial society. MacDonald makes a case for a Black history of colonial New Mexico, and she concludes her essay by asking why that history has been so neglected. She argues that a key reason can be found in growing class-consciousness in late eighteenth-century New Mexico, where elites—both Spanish and Indian—became preoccupied with ideas of racial purity and strove to erase the memory of Black ancestors.

The second essay shifts the focus from cross-cultural contestation within colonial realms to Indian-European interactions in fluid borderland places where independent powers contended with one another. Juliana Barr, professor of history at the University of Florida, examines a long-neglected but central borderlands institution: Indian slave trade. The origins, expansion, and eradication of chattel slavery in the American South has long captured the attention of historians, who only recently have begun to explore the many different slave systems that have existed in North America. For over three centuries, native peoples across the continent participated in various slave systems that defy easy racial categorization: Indians themselves captured, sold, bought, and enslaved Indians, as too did Spanish, French, and English colonists. Indian slavery fueled violence and warfare and dismantled entire societies, but it could also bring stability: Exchanges of slaves between rival groups could lubricate diplomacy and cement alliances. Barr illuminates such paradoxes of Indian slavery as they unfolded in eighteenth-century Louisiana-Texas borderlands, where Spaniards, French, and various Native Americans competed for power, wealth, and space. She shows how some native groups benefited from the traffic in Indian slaves, while others grew increasingly weak. She also shows how female captives became pawns in a male-dominated international diplomacy that, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, brought peace to this war-ridden borderland world. Like the California missions discussed in Chapter 5, Indian slave trade emerges here as a site of both indigenous exploitation and indigenous survival.

Indians and Africans Collaborate in Colonial New Mexico

DEDRA S. MACDONALD

In 1539, Esteban de Dorantes of Azamor, an enslaved Black Moor, ventured into Pueblo Indian territory in the vanguard of Fray Marcos de Niza's expedition to the unexplored north. Esteban had traveled in the northern reaches of New

Dedra S. MacDonald, "Intimacy and Empire: Indian-African Interaction in Spanish New Mexico, 1500-1800," in *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America*, ed. James F. Brooks, pp. 21-46 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

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Spain before—he, along with three Spaniards including the famed Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, had survived Panfilo de Narváez's disastrous attempt to colonize Florida. Cabeza de Vaca's tales of the group's eight years of wanderings through present-day Texas and northern Mexico piqued Spanish interest in the "Northern Mystery." Although the survivors repeatedly claimed to have seen no signs of exploitable wealth in the north, New Spain's viceroy, Antonio Mendoza, and others hoping to find an "otro México" planned an expedition. Cabeza de Vaca, however, refused to return to the north, and Mexican officials could not allow a slave to lead this expedition. Hence, Viceroy Mendoza purchased Esteban and selected Franciscan Fray Marcos de Niza to head the journey northward, to be accompanied by Esteban.

Ranging several days ahead of Fray Marcos with a group of Christianized Pimas (who had followed Cabeza de Vaca to Mexico) and Mexican Indians (Tlaxcalans), Esteban reached the Zuni settlement of Hawikuh. He was the first non-Native to visit Pueblo lands, an event made more significant by his African, rather than European, heritage. During his travels north to Zuni, Indians had treated Esteban as a "black god," regaling him with gifts of turquoise and women. Although no one knows for sure what transpired when Esteban entered Hawikuh, legend has it that his arrogance led him to expect similar privileges and to make demands for gifts and women. This angered the Zunis, who killed him. Another twist to the legend involves a gourd rattle Esteban carried as part of his "black god" persona. The gourd rattle offended the Zunis, thereby leading to the slave's death. Additionally, some scholars have postulated that Esteban interrupted Zuni ceremonies, thereby angering them to the point of murder.

Zuni oral tradition corroborates the tale of Esteban's demise related in Spanish documents. While living at Zuni during the late nineteenth century, Smithsonian ethnologist Frank Hamilton Cushing heard stories of a murdered Black Mexican. In a lecture given to the American Geographical Society in 1885, Cushing admitted that when he first heard the "Zuni legend of the Black Mexican with the thick lips," he had no knowledge of Fray Marcos de Niza's 1539 northern expedition. Cushing described the story to archaeologist Adolph Bandelier, who matched it to events described in Spanish documents. In Bandelier's account of the events in Hawikuh, "The Zunis definitely informed Mr. Cushing, after he had become . . . adept by initiation into the esoteric fraternity of warriors, that a 'black Mexican' had once come to O'aquima [Hawikuh] and had been hospitably received there. He, however, very soon incurred mortal hatred by his rude behavior toward the women and girls of the pueblo, on account of which the men at last killed him." Hence, both Zuni oral tradition and Spanish written documents recorded the ill-fated encounter between Native Americans and the advance guard of the Spanish conquerors. As Bandelier noted, "A short time after that the first white Mexicans, as the Indians call all white men whose mother-tongue is Spanish, came to the country and overcame the natives in war."

What transpired at Hawikuh between the Zunis and Esteban resulted in a black kachina known as Chakwaina, or monster kachina, throughout the Pueblo world. Esteban served as a harbinger of the Spanish conquest, which permanently altered Pueblo life. Thus, Chakwaina kachina emerged as a

tangible symbol of Pueblo interpretations of the Spanish conquest. According to anthropologist Frederick Dockstader, legendary accounts attribute the impetus for Chakwaina to Esteban. Dockstader notes that "the appearance of this kachina and the fact that Chakwaina is known in all the pueblos as a horrible ogre, support this legend. Esteban would be remembered because of the color of his skin, because he was the first non-Indian seen in Cibola, and because of the circumstances surrounding his fate." Anthropologist E. Charles Adams argued that in modern western Pueblo societies, kachinas in the form of ogres and whippers fill the role of disciplinarians and overseers of communal work groups. As the impetus for the ogre kachina Chakwaina, Esteban lives on, reminding us of changes wrought in the Pueblo world by the aggressive presence of White and Black outsiders. Although they effectively defused the threat posed by Esteban, the Zunis could not so easily evade the Spaniards who followed. Scarcely a year passed before explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and his entourage of several thousand Spaniards and Mexican Indians appeared in Zuni lands, occupying Hawikuh from July to November of 1540.

This less-than-auspicious beginning for African-Indian relations in today's American Southwest, however, did not keep the two groups apart. Sometimes at odds with one another, other times brought together in the most intimate of relations, sexual liaisons sometimes resulting in formal marriage—African descendants and Native Americans in northern New Spain interacted throughout the Spanish colonial era. These interactions formed a web in which one group's actions affected the other group, resulting, for example, in the Pueblo kachina Chakwaina or, in the case of the Black Seminoles, in ethnogenesis, the formation of a new group of people. Children of African and Native American sexual unions, known throughout the early colonial period as mulattoes and later as *zambos*, at particular times and places formed new, third groups, such as the Black Caribs or the Black Seminoles. In New Mexico, however, a third group never emerged. The small African population—at the very least 2.5 percent, according to one scholar—was partially responsible for this failure. The close connection between the absence of mixed-blood group formation and exploitation, however, provides a better explanation for the absence of a New Mexico version of Black Indians.

Despite the relatively small African population in colonial New Mexico, the Spanish system of racial stratification and coerced labor placed Africans and Indians in a context of deep intercultural contact.... This essay will examine interactions between Indians and persons of African descent in New Mexico, the northernmost outpost of New Spain, focusing on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. First, the essay will briefly survey the history of Spanish American slavery and initial relations between Africans and Indians....

Next I will discuss specific intercultural contacts, particularly episodes in which Africans and Indians worked together—episodes that emanate from the marginalization and disempowerment the two groups faced.... [H]owever, Native Americans and Africans did not automatically become allies. Indeed, the Spanish government frequently sought to keep the two groups apart, implementing "divide and conquer" policies in an attempt to prevent episodes like

the Pueblo Revolt. Additionally ... Africans at times emulated Spaniards, exploiting Indians through their higher status as artisans and supervisors of native agricultural workers.

Third, this essay will examine sexual liaisons and intermarriages, the ultimate deep intercultural contact, and the cultural discussions surrounding the creation of new bloodlines, such as the mulatto and the *zambo*, as illustrated in a popular eighteenth-century genre of paintings known as *las castas*.

Finally, this study will draw some conclusions responding to the central question raised by Esteban's reincarnation as the Chakwaina kachina and by Indian and Black collaboration in Spanish colonial New Mexico: What is the nature of interaction between Blacks and Indians in New Mexico, and what do those interactions suggest about the relationship between the absence of mixed-blood group formation and imperial exploitation?

Africans accompanied the earliest Spanish explorers in the Americas and thereby made contact with Native Americans from the beginning of the Spanish conquest.... By the middle of the sixteenth century, as many as 18,500 Africans and their descendants populated New Spain (Mexico).

Because Indians and Africans both were considered laborers, if not outright slaves, the first extensive relations between the two groups centered around their mutual enslavement.... Interracial unions likely occurred first in the West Indies, particularly due to the highly imbalanced sex ratio among Africans brought to the New World.... Another motivation for African men to intermarry with Indian women centered on the Spanish law of the womb; that is, a child's freedom rested on that of its mother. This motivation became even more salient after 1542, when many Native Americans gained liberation from formal slavery. After that year, Indian women, at least theoretically, could not be enslaved. For their part, Indian women may have found motivation for intermarriage in the sexual imbalance in their villages.

Given the above incentives, the population of free "Red-Black people" rose steadily throughout the sixteenth century. [Historian Jack] Forbes maintained that "this free population, freed not by individual Spaniards but by its native mothers' status, represented a threat especially whenever [that population] existed near hostile native groups or communities of Red-Black. Sixteenth-century Spanish authorities issued numerous laws and decrees in often futile attempts to control Indian-African alliances and offspring. A 1527 law required that Blacks only marry other Blacks. In a similar vein, a 1541 decree required slaves to marry legally, in reaction to reports that African slaves frequently kept "great numbers of Indian women, some of them voluntarily, others against their wishes." A decree (*cédula*) issued in 1551 and reissued in 1584 note "that many negros have Indian females as *mancebas* (concubines) or treat them badly and oppress them." In 1572, authorities issued a law requiring children of African men and Indian women to pay tribute "like the rest of the Indians [although] it is pretended that they are not [Indians]." King Philip II in 1595 ordered that unmarried non-Natives living among Natives be expelled from Indian villages. These shifting laws governing the status of African descendants reveal the Spanish colonial state's ambivalence over the racial/ethnic identity of this group.

Another branch of decrees and laws focused on revolts and communities of runaway slaves. A 1540 decree allowed for *cimarrónes* to be pardoned only once. A decree issued the same year stated that *cimarrónes* should not be castrated as punishment for having run away. Two years later, laws appeared that placed limitations on Black mobility. As of 1542, Blacks were not permitted to wander through the streets at night. Additionally, in 1551, Africans could no longer serve Indians and neither free nor enslaved Blacks or *lobos* (offspring of Indians and mulattoes) could carry weapons. In a further limitation of African freedom, a 1571 law forbade free and enslaved-Black and mulatto women from wearing gold, pearls, and silk. An exception could be made, however, for free *mulatas* married to Spaniards, who had the right to wear gold earrings and pearl necklaces.

New Mexico's status as a province of New Spain meant that the above laws applied to Indians and Africans living on the far northern frontier. The Spanish Archives of New Mexico include copies of decrees and declarations of kings and viceroys that clarified or changed earlier rulings. For example, a 1706 order compelled African descendants to attend church. In 1785, New Mexico governor Joseph Antonio Rengel received a letter advising that the custom of branding Africans on the cheek and shoulder had been abolished. A 1790 viceregal order granted freedom to slaves escaping into Spanish territory. In the interests of agriculture, in 1804 King Carlos IV renewed the privilege held by Spaniards and foreigners of importing African slaves into specified Spanish American ports. A related 1804 *cédula* renewed the privilege of free importation of African slaves. Finally, in 1817, King Fernando VII abolished the African slave trade. Hence, extant documents in New Mexico archives trace the gradual abolition of African slavery. These same archives, however, contain no evidence of continued attempts to exert Spanish authority over African-Indian relations.

Beginning with their initial contact, Native Americans and Africans collaborated in committing armed resistance against Spanish exploiters ... On the 1594 Leyva y Bonilla expedition, which wandered as far as Wichita tribal lands in present-day Kansas, soldier Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña murdered Leyva y Bonilla and then took over the expedition. At Quivira, Wichitans killed the entire entourage, except for one Spanish boy, Alonso Sanchez, and a mulatto woman who was half-burned. A 1601 expedition led by New Mexico colonist Juan de Oñate learned that the boy and the woman still lived and endeavored to locate them. Oñate, in fact, brought to New Mexico in 1598 several African slaves. Given the proximity of the initial Spanish settlement at San Gabriel to San Juan Pueblo, it is probable that Oñate's slaves frequently intermeshed with the San Juans.

In the decades leading up to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, intense church and state rivalry for jurisdiction over the Pueblos, among other things, split the less than two hundred *vecinos* (citizens, including Spaniards, mestizos, and African descendants) into two vitriolic factions. In 1643, Governor [Alonso] Pacheco [de Heredío] executed eight leading citizens of Santa Fe. Incensed Franciscan friars claimed he could not have done so without the support of strangers, a Portuguese man, mestizos, *zambahigos* (sons of Indian men and African women), and mulattoes. This charge suggests the existence of a "racial cleavage in New Mexico, with the persons of non-Spanish ancestry supporting the secular side of the dispute."

Such venomous disputes between New Mexico's civil and religious authorities showed Puebloans the weaknesses in the Spanish governing structure.

On the other hand, marginalization and intolerance by Spanish colonials also threw [Indians and Africans] together in attempts to oust their oppressors. Rumors surrounding the Pueblo Revolt illustrate this type of cooperation. In 1967, Fray Angelico Chavez published an article on the successful 1680 revolt, arguing that it was not led by the Puebloans themselves, but by a mulatto. Employing a racist argument in which he questioned the intelligence and ability of Pueblo Indians to pull off a successful rebellion, Chavez sought to give credit for the organization and leadership of the entire uprising to Naranjo, a big Black man with yellow eyes mentioned in Indian testimonies about the revolt. Comparing Puebloans and Africans in words reflective of racist assumptions of the 1950s and 1960s, Chavez claimed that the revolt was "not the first time that an African spoiled the best-laid plans of the Spaniard in American colonial times, but it was the most dramatic. More active and restless by nature than the more passive and stolid Indian, he was more apt to muddle up some serious Hispanic enterprise." Using records of Indian testimonies, Chavez argued that Naranjo, a mulatto of Mexican Indian roots who called himself the representative of Pueblo god Pose-yemu, directed the course of the Pueblo Revolt from his hiding place in a Taos kiva. Some twenty-three years later, in 1990, historian Stefanie Beninato challenged Chavez's controversial argument, interpreting the same documents but using a wider cultural framework. She agreed that a mulatto worked with the Puebloans as a tactical leader but postulated that a non-Pueblo man could not have been a leader in the revolt. Hence, she suggested that Naranjo's roots were Puebloan rather Mexican Indian.

Both Chavez and Beninato, however, overlooked the significance of the mulatto Naranjo's involvement in an event that epitomized Indian resistance to Spanish colonial rule. According to Jack Forbes, the Pueblo rebels included "mestizos and mulattoes and people who speak Spanish." Since the early sixteenth century, Spaniards had feared just such an alliance, and with good reason. The Pueblo Revolt had been preceded by numerous similar alliances throughout Spanish America. Forbes argued that slavery and general labor oppression created an atmosphere of resistance among marginalized peoples, making conditions favorable for the establishment of intimate relationships between African descendants and Native Americans.

Reports by New Mexico governor Antonio de Otermín and his military officers demonstrate that African-Indian interaction in the province led to what Spaniards perceived as a frustrating and threatening alliance. In a document dated 9 August 1680, the day Puebloans launched their attack on the Spaniards, Otermín related events reported by captured Indians. "There had come to them from very far away toward the north a letter from an Indian lieutenant of Po he yemu to the effect that all of them in general should rebel, and that any pueblo that would not agree to it they would destroy, killing all the people. It was reported that this Indian lieutenant of Po he yemu was very tall, black and had very large yellow eyes, and that everyone feared him greatly." Encouraged by the successful example set by the Puebloans, neighboring tribes also planned

revolts. Worried Spaniards recorded these rumors in reports and letters as they tried to ascertain the extent of the threat. On 29 August 1680, Andrés López de Gracia wrote to don Bartolomé de Estrada concerning a Suma plot. Similar to the 1667 Concho and Suma rebellion discussed above, this revolt resulted from a mulatto servant's abuse of Indians. López de Gracia reported that the Suma actions were "instigated by only a few Indians, who do not number more than eight.... According to the information I have, the cause of it all is a mulatto who is the Río de los Janos, a servant of ... Father Juan Martínez, because of what he did to an Indian, whose ears he cut off." In hopes of defusing the Suma rebellion, López de Gracia ordered the mulatto servant arrested. Mis-treatment from any source incurred Indian retaliation.

Rebel Indians also formed alliances with other mistreated groups, making the Pueblo Revolt even more widespread and threatening to Spaniards. Otermín on several occasions noted his frustration with such alliances. In order to counteract a rear action conducted by mounted Pueblo and Apache Indians and led by Picuris leader Luís Tupatú, the ousted New Mexico governor retreated downriver toward his Isleta stronghold. In his report of this action, Otermín described a much-feared alliance formed by Tupatú's followers and "the confident coyotes, mestizos, and mulattoes, all of whom are skillful horsemen and know how to manage harquebuses and lances, together with the main body and column of the rest of the people of all the nations." Several days later, in a report regarding the pacification of Isleta Pueblo, Otermín castigated the Pueblos and their allies:

Obstinate and rebellious, they have left their pueblo houses, the grain upon which they subsist, and other things, taking their families, and fleeing with them to the roughest of the sierras, joining together to resist and willing to lose their lives rather than submit. Many mestizos, mulattoes, and people who speak Spanish have followed them, who are skillful on horseback and who can manage firearms as well as any Spaniard. These persons incited them to disobedience and boldness in excess of their natural iniquity.

The importance of these alliances to Pueblo strategy remains unknown, but Spaniards forced to abandon New Mexico viewed *casta* (mixed blood) cooperation with Indians as a disloyal and threatening act, particularly in that such alliances symbolized the rejection of Spanish civilization. Although scholarship and extant documents surrounding the revolt do not reveal whether the Indian-*casta* alliance continued after 1682, it is likely that allied mestizos and mulattoes intermarried with Puebloans during the revolt years (through 1696). Native Americans and *castas* shared a marginal status in Spanish New Mexican society, in which pretensions to power required at least the illusion of *limpieza de sangre*. Both groups stood to gain from rebellion against Spanish authority. By joining Pueblo rebels, New Mexico *castas* constructed a group identity as "not-Spanish," which meant they would no longer acquiesce, at least for the revolt years, to Spanish domination over Puebloans and *castas* alike.

Witchcraft provided another means for the two groups to work together toward a specific end. In one such case, mulatto Juana Sanches, wife of Captain Juan Gomes, obtained herbs from a Tewa Indian woman living at San Juan Pueblo. Juana Sanches wanted to make her husband stop treating her badly. She claimed that he beat her and that he was engaged in a "bad friendship" with a concubine. The Indian woman gave Sanches two yellow roots and two grains of blue corn with points of white hearts inside. She chewed the corn and anointed her husband's chest with it and repeated the exercise with the herbs. Sanches added to her 1631 testimony to New Mexico's agent of the Inquisition that ten or twelve years prior, Hispanicized (*ladino*) Mexican Indian Beatris de los Angeles, wife of the *alférez* Juan de la Cruz, visited her. Finding Juan Sanches to be sad from her husband's mistreatment, Beatris de los Angeles counseled her to take a few worms that live in excrement and toast them, then put them in her husband's food. With this, he would love her very much and stop beating her. Sanches did this, but to no avail. The potion did not alleviate her situation.

Sanches also implicated her sister, Juana de los Reyes, also a mulatto, in committing similar activities. Sanches declared that five or six years before, her sister claimed to know something about herbs and roots, which she had given to her husband, mulatto Alavaro Garcia, so that he would stop visiting concubines. An Indian woman supplied Reyes with the herbs and roots to anoint her husband's chest. Juana de los Reyes made her own declaration, stating that she had been very sad because her husband was sleeping around and not staying in the house with her. So, she asked her sister, Juana Sanches, for help. Sanches said that she had an herb, given to her by an Indian woman, that was good for such occasions. She gave Reyes three or four grains of corn, and Reyes gave this potion to her husband in his food twice and also made an ointment for his chest. With this potion, her husband loved her very much and forgot his vices. She gave him the potion another time in his food and anointed his chest once more, with the result that he woke up, threw off her hand, and left her. Because the potion now had no effect, she left the situation in God's hands. Juana de los Reyes also described another remedy told to her by the Indian woman: Suck on your two big fingers and give the saliva from the sucked fingers to your spouse in his food and he will love you well and stop seeing concubines. Reyes declared that she tried this once and did not want to try it again because it made her nauseous and it had no effect on her husband. Finally, at the same time that the above testimonies were made, Beatris de la Pedraza also made a declaration. She claimed to be the Indian woman who gave advice and herbs to Sanches and Reyes.

[An] interesting question surrounds the two *mulata* women's close working relationship with Indian *curanderas*. How they made connections with Indian women and why they did not implicate medicine women by name in their depositions remain unanswerable questions. Perhaps gender concerns brought Native American and African women together. Additionally ... in early Spanish colonial usage, *mulato* frequently referred to a person of Indian and African heritage rather than its later usage as a referent for the offspring of African and European unions. Given this insight, it is possible that Juana Sanches and her sister, Juana de los Reyes, sprang from African and Indian parentage. If so, they

may have long held knowledge of Indian and African *curanderas* and the types of situations that could be remedied with herbal potions. Additionally, Sanches and Reyes used their connections with Indian medicine women in desperate attempts to control their husband's abusive behavior. In order to gain control, the women relied on female knowledge and cross-cultural community.

Despite imperial efforts to keep Africans and Indians apart, social and economic disempowerment sometimes led those at the bottom of the Spanish empire's racial hierarchy to join forces against exploitive *ricos* (elites) and middling Hispanos. On 23 June 1762 in Santa Fe, testimony began in the criminal case against mulatto Luis Flores and *gentízar* (detribalized Indian) Miguel Reaño for the robbery of a cow. Santa Fe officials surveyed the houses of all citizens living on the edges of the mountains on the outskirts of town, searching for signs of a recently butchered beef cow. They found what they were looking for at the home of Luis Flores. He had indeed butchered the cow, and Miguel Reaño had brought the animal to Flores's home. New Mexico governor Tomás Velez Cachupín ordered that the beef be distributed among Santa Fe's widows and other poor men and women and that the two suspects be imprisoned.

The testimonies that follow reveal a confused situation in which middling Hispanos seem to have taken advantage of their poorer and hungrier neighbors. Miguel Reaño testified that Antonio Sandobal owned the cow and that his son, Juan Sandobal, had sold the cow to him in exchange for a horse. In his declaration, Flores claimed that he planned to cut the brand from the cow and give it to Antonio Sandobal, the owner of the cow, and that he and Reaño would share the meat. Juan Sandobal, however, declared that he had not sold a cow to Reaño and that he had not left his house at all, much less to barter with Reaño. Two witnesses verified that Sandobal had not left his house except to look for a horse to ride to mass, so he could not have engineered the sale of a cow.

In light of these testimonies, Governor Velez Cachupín declared Flores and Reaño guilty as charged for the robbery of a cow and condemned the "criminals" to pay for the animal. Because Reaño had no personal effects other than his labor, Velez Cachupín ordered him to serve Antonio Sandobal until he had earned one-half the cost of the cow. Luis Flores, for pain of his sin and for setting a bad example for the Indian Miguel Reaño, was sentenced to repair Santa Fe's royal adobe buildings. The bureaucratic language that Spanish interrogators and scribes employed makes it difficult for readers two and a half centuries later to determine guilt. It does seem, however, that Luis Flores and Miguel Reaño, as members of the lowest rung in Spanish society, never stood a chance. In all likelihood, the Sandobals passed off a rejected cow on the unsuspecting duo, gaining a monetary return, a horse, and free labor to boot. The town of Santa Fe benefited as well, gaining food for its poor as well as free refurbishing work on royal buildings. Flores and Reaño stood as the only losers. More important, this case illustrates the ease with which Native Americans and African Americans interacted.

Spanish colonial censuses and marriage registers contain records of numerous legal unions between Native Americans and African Americans—unions regulated under the same "divide and conquer" strategy that guided colonial officials' thinking in matters of crime and legal slavery. Social laws forbade marriages between

elite Spaniards and mixed bloods. Many unions between these groups took place, however, despite efforts to maintain social honor and "pure" bloodlines.

Intermarriages between the two groups involved people in a variety of circumstances: Indian and African slaves; free people of color in the Americas; Africans who fled to Indian nations and were initially enslaved but later became members of the group through marriage and adoption; Africans who escaped slavery to form *quilombos* or *cimarrón* (runaway) communities; and individual African runaways. Thus, especially in New Mexico, frontier areas served as a "cultural merging ground and a marrying ground." In historian Gary Nash's pithy words, "Nobody left the frontier cultural encounters unchanged."

Marriage records in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe show the extent to which New Mexico fit the above description. Although pre-1680 ecclesiastical documents disappeared in the Pueblo Revolt, many of the records from the 1690s forward have survived. Marriage investigations (*diligencias matrimoniales*) and entries in Roman Catholic matrimonial books (*libros de casamientos*) record significant numbers of marital unions between persons of African descent and Native Americans throughout New Mexico's colonial period. Moreover, *diligencias* often provide information beyond the names and racial or ethnic identities of betrothed couples. Details about personal histories, such as work or residential mobility, are mentioned in these documents. Pieced together, *diligencias* and other sacramental records depict a landscape of interaction between Indians and African descendants on the intimate level of marriage, as well as in society and the economy.

From 1697 to 1711, several mixed couples residing in New Mexico initiated marital proceedings. In 1697, mulatto widower José Gaitín, native of San Luis Potosí, married Indian widow Geronima de la Cruz, native of San Felipe, Chihuahua. Likewise, in 1711, mulatto Fabián Naranjo married Tewa Indian Micaela de la Cruz. Both spouses were New Mexico Natives. Similar unions took place in El Paso del Norte, which was a part of New Mexico throughout the colonial period. María Persingula, Indian from Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, married free mulatto Cayeano de la Rosa, native of Santa Fe, in 1736. Two other marriages between mulatto men and Indian women took place that same year. The following year, Apache Indian María Ysidora, who had previously been married to a mulatto slave, united in matrimony with another Apache, Salvador María. In 1738, another Apache woman, Antonia Rosa, married free mulatto Juan Pedro Vanegas. Yet another Apache-African union occurred in 1760, between Black slave and Congo native Joseph Antonio and Apache Indian servant Marzela. A similar marriage took place in 1764. Finally, two 1779 unions featured Indian grooms and free mulatto brides.

While frontier fluidity facilitated cross-cultural unions, it also fostered a chaotic atmosphere in which bigamy flourished. In one such case, occurring in 1634, two traveling soldiers discovered that mulatto Juan Anton, a recent arrival in New Mexico from Nueva Vizcaya, had two wives. He had married a Mexican Indian named Ana María in Santa Fe. The soldiers met Juan Anton's first wife, an African slave woman, in Cuencamé, Nueva Vizcaya, while en route to Mexico City. The first wife had four or five children, all fathered by Juan Anton.

When he heard that denunciations had been made against him for the crime of bigamy, he disappeared. Juan Anton's choice of wives—first a Black slave and then a free Mexican Indian—comprises a striking element of this case. He may well have chosen his second wife in order to facilitate the birth of free rather than enslaved offspring, as the status of children followed that of the mother. Additionally, his marriages illustrate the ease with which *castas* and Indians intermarried. Indeed, New Mexico Inquisitor Fray Estevan de Perea declared in 1631 that New Mexico's population consisted of mestizos, mulattoes, and *zambohijos* (offspring of Indians and mulattoes).

Similarly, the 1750 Albuquerque census well illustrates the deep intercultural contacts precipitated by frontier demographics and dynamics. Out of 191 families, 18 households included both Native Americans and African descendants. Some of these households, like that of mulatto couple Juan Samora and Ynes Candelaria, included Indian servants. In this case, nine-year-old María served Samora, Candelaria, and their four children, who ranged in age from two years to nine years. In other households, Indians and mulattoes lived together as husbands and wives. For example, mulatto Chrisanto Torres, age thirty, and his forty-year-old wife, Indian Luisa Candelaria, lived with their four daughters, who ranged in age from two to ten years. Out of the eighteen mixed households, however, fifteen featured Indians in service roles, although in some cases Indians served alongside mulatto or Black servants. Clearly, by 1750, some mulatto families achieved socioeconomic distinction over the Native Americans with whom they had once been equally marginalized.

Other Indian and mulatto families, however, joined forces in land grant ventures. In 1751, Governor Velez Cachupín issued the Las Trampas grant as part of New Mexico's Indian defense policy. The grant location would serve as a barrier to nomadic raiders and would increase the amount of agricultural land available to Santa Fe's poor. Las Trampas petitioners hailed from the Barrio de Analco region of Santa Fe, whose residents were primarily presidio soldiers, Mexican Indian servants, and *genízaros*. Additionally, Las Trampas settlers included African descendant Melchor Rodríguez, his son, and his daughter. Hence, Las Trampas settlers represented mixed *genízaro*, Tlaxcalan, African, and Spanish bloodlines. As in the *genízaro* settlements of Abiquiu and San Miguel del Bado, "the task of holding frontier outposts against Indian attack fell primarily to other Indians and mixed-blood Spaniards."

Additionally, after 1750 only one marriage between Indians and African descendants gained mention in the marriage record books for Albuquerque, the 1763 union of mulatto Gabriel Barrera and Apache Indian María. This lack of marriage records could be attributed to a change in the way priests recorded marriages: As the eighteenth century progressed, priests recorded ethnicity less and less frequently. Or the lack of evidence for marriages between African Americans and Native Americans may signal that class and racial distinctions became far more salient in the late colonial period. Indeed, historian Ramón Gutiérrez argues that increasing numbers of *castas* in New Mexico frightened *ricos*, "who expressed concern over the pollution of their blood lines and the loss of honor." In an attempt to control these racial demographic changes,

New Mexico elites turned to a legal skin color-based categories, borrowing heavily from schema adhered to in central New Spain.

A genre of paintings known as *las castas* appeared in New Spain in the mid to late colonial period. While these paintings depicted the complex mixtures of people in Spanish America, they also underscored the colony's strict social hierarchy, based largely on skin pigmentation. Mexican scholar Nicolás León's 1924 pamphlet, *Las castas del México colonial o nueva España*, detailed this genre of paintings. According to León, the *castas* distinction arose from a societal understanding that the products of intermarriages could not be considered of equal category and importance before society. Therefore, the distinction of castes emerged, "each one with a special name according to the class of the original primitive element that formed it."

Caste paintings simultaneously illustrated awareness of racial distinctions and the widespread nature of racial mingling. They showed husband, wife, and their mixed-blood child, usually with a label describing the process. For example, a *casta* painting by Ignacio Castro, now housed in Paris, proclaims, "*De indio y negra, nace lobo*" (of a male Indian and a female Black a lobo is born). In this portrait, the Black woman is young, gracious, and operates an open-air food stand. Her husband, the Indian, extends his hand to receive a plate of chiles, which the little lobo hands to him with a look of curiosity. In sum, this caste painting embodies a scene of domestic tranquillity.

On the other hand, caste paintings also carried overt messages regarding the vices of the lower classes—vices that interracial unions exacerbated.... Inscriptions on caste paintings ensured that audiences would understand the artist's message about dangerous racial mixtures. Yet, one wonders if *casta* artists captured the mood of Spanish colonial society with such portraits or if they served a more didactic purpose, providing yet another means through which colonial officials attempted to "divide and conquer" the lower classes.

Another interesting element of caste paintings concerns their implicit encouragement of interracial relationships between Spaniards and other groups. Some paintings suggested that domestic tranquillity increased in direct proportion to amounts of Spanish blood, or *limpieza de sangre*. Inscriptions even went so far as to credit success and intelligence to the presence of European blood. For example, one family portrait announces that "the pride and sharp wits of the mulatto are instilled by his white father and black mother." In contrast, the *cambujo* (child of a lobo father and Indian mother) "is usually slow, lazy, and cumbersome."

One type of caste painting featured a chart of racial mixtures, beginning with the highest level of Spanish blood and ending with the lowest level. Even the names given to offspring of the latter intermarriages indicated societal disdain. For instance, the product of a union between a *calpan mulata* and a *sambaygo* carried the name *tente en el aire* (grobe in the air). The next lower rung, the child of a *tente en el aire* and a *mulata*, was called *no te entiendo* (I don't understand you). Finally, the offspring of *no te entiendo* and an Indian woman became known as *hay te estas* (stay where you are). Hence, the upper rungs of Spanish colonial society, or at least the artists, did not oppose interracial marriages as such. They

did, however, associate danger and violence with unions between the most marginalized and disempowered groups. The marriage records cited above indicate that intimate relations between Native Americans and African Americans continued, albeit at a reduced rate, in late-eighteenth-century New Mexico, despite class-based assumptions about lower-class intermarriages. Indeed, it is likely that racist assumptions embedded in caste paintings had little impact on the very groups depicted. Caste paintings served to buttress upper-class attempts to distinguish themselves from lower classes rather than to discourage interracial marriages.

In addition, caste paintings symbolized elite attempts to revise New Mexico's racial heritage. Father Juan Agustín de Morfi penned an *Account of Disorders* in 1778, in which he delineated the myriad problems facing New Mexico. One area of great concern to Morfi centered on the exploitation of Indian Pueblos by other *castas*. The priest lamented that laws prohibiting Spaniards, mulattoes, mestizos, and Blacks from living in Indian pueblos were not enforced. "And," Morfi added, "it is difficult to judge if the resulting intermingling of races is useful or harmful to the Indians themselves and to the State." For their part, Morfi continued, Spaniards and *castas* find life in Indian pueblos much preferable to farming their own lands, and all too often "they shrewdly take advantage of the natural indifference of those miserable people to heap upon them new obligations." These obligations include domestic service and the elections of mulattoes and coyotes as Indian pueblo governors. According to the priest, "this rascal's treatment of the Indian is guided by hatred and arrogance." Morfi recommended that all outsiders be expelled from Indian pueblos, and non-Indian partners in mixed marriages should not hold public office in the pueblo. Interestingly, Morfi had nothing but scorn for non-Indian *castas*, particularly mulattoes, whom he viewed as exploiters of victimized Pueblos. While he certainly disapproved of *casta* pretensions, Morfi by no means ignored their presence. His *Account* stands as one of the latest documents to include African descendants and to link them in interactions with Indians.

Writing some thirty-four years later, New Mexico *rico* don Pedro Baptista Pino, in his *Exposition on the Province of New Mexico, 1812*, declared that "in New Mexico there are no *castas* of African origin. My province is probably the only one with this prerogative in all of Spanish America. At no time has any *casta* of people of African origin been known there." In making this claim, Pino deliberately revised New Mexico's racial history, denying the existence of a small yet visible group of Africans and their descendants, many of whom held Indian heritage as well. Pino's denial symbolized an overt attempt by elites to obliterate a history of racial mixtures and alliances born of resistance to dominate group exploitation. As Pino's comments suggest, constructions of racial identity in New Mexico increasingly moved toward a fantasy "White" heritage decades before Anglo-Americans arrived on the scene. Such racial reification all but obliterated African descendants and their interactions with Native Americans from the historical record.

Captivity, Gender, and Social Control in the Texas-Louisiana Borderlands

JULIANA BARR

Increasing attention to the enslavement of Indians has pushed United States historians beyond identifications of North American slavery as primarily an African American experience and of North American captivity as primarily a white experience.... [S]cholars also are beginning to focus attention on women as the victims of that slave trade. Their scholarship is deepening understandings of the roles of Indian women in their peoples' interactions with Europeans. Women often stood in unique positions to learn languages, to act as translators and emissaries in cross-cultural communications, and to create ties between cultures. Though scholars have recognized that the conflicting European and native systems of power in which native women operated constrained the women's opportunities, an emphasis on women's agency has obscured the more coercive traffics in women that were equally central to Indian-European relations. In seeking to redeem the humanity of such women and to recognize their important roles in trade and diplomacy, scholars have often equated agency with choice, independent will, or resistance and de-emphasized the powerlessness, objectification, and suffering that defined the lives of many. Perhaps the best-known example of this trend in American history and popular culture is Sacagawea, whose capture at the hands of raiding Hidatsas turned into enslavement when she was purchased by the French Canadian trader Toussaint Charbonneau—bondage that continued through her time with the Lewis and Clark expedition. The violence and coercion that reduced her to the status of a slave among Euro-Americans has been lost as popular preference casts her as Charbonneau's "wife" and a celebrated mediator of Indian-European diplomacy.

The scholarly focus on mediation and accommodation as women's characteristic activity in Indian-European relations often leads us to overlook the importance of women in political economies of war and imperial rivalry. Multiple coercive traffics in women became essential to European-Indian interaction long before Sacagawea fell into the hands of her captors. Recognition of the diversity of trafficking not only enriches our understanding of the gender dynamics of European-Indian diplomacy and conflict but also enables us to move beyond the homogeneous conception of slavery suggested by using only African American enslavement, specifically, racial chattel slavery (defined here as a form of property and system of compulsory labor entailing permanent and hereditary status) to explore bondage and unfreedom in America. In fact, the very heterogeneity of Indian bondage suggests comparisons with range of slave practices in Africa, Asia, the Mediterranean, and other parts of the world where at different times and places persons, primarily women, were held and used as

not only economic but also social and political capital—comparisons that resonate with growing scholarly discussions of slavery in a global perspective.

The confluence of Spanish, French, and Indian peoples in the areas later known as Comanchería, Apachería, Spanish Texas, and French Louisiana makes them an ideal venue for exploring the forms that traffic in women might take and the kinds of currency that women might represent to Indian and European men who exchanged them. Distinct systems of captivity, bondage, and enslavement developed in a matrix of expanding Indian territories, French mercantilism, and Spanish defensive needs during the eighteenth century. At the end of the seventeenth century, steadily increasing numbers of Spaniards coming north from Mexico and Frenchmen coming south from Illinois and Canada began to invade the region and establish neighboring, competing provinces. At the same time, the territories of bands of Apaches and later Comanches and Wichitas were shifting to include increasingly large areas of present-day north and north-central Texas. As those groups converged in the eighteenth century, European and Indian men—as captors, brokers, and buyers—used captured and enslaved women to craft relationships of trade and reciprocity with one another. A key difference between such exchanges and those involving intermarriage was that the women whom men captured and enslaved were strangers or enemies to their kinship systems. When Indian bands brokered marital unions in the service of diplomacy, a woman's own family or band leaders usually negotiated on her behalf, as in the fur trade of Canada, the Great lakes region, and the American Southeast. In contrast to such women, who may have expanded their existing social and economic authority through intermarriage, enslaved Indian women in Texas and Louisiana remained outside the kin relations of the households that made them objects of exchange. Not only did Indians of another group suffer the loss of their women when their enemies sought to build trade ties with Europeans through captive women and children. If efforts to cement diplomatic and economic ties did not succeed—as often happened between Indians and Spaniards—military and state officials made punitive war, seeking out captives and hostages in retribution for failed negotiations. Thus hostility as much as accommodation was the context for the traffic in women. The political and commercial aspects of the exchanges also set them apart from most Indian practices of captivity and from European systems of enslavement: Indians did not take the women to avenge or replace the dead, as they took most captives; nor did Europeans intend to use them as a servile labor force, as they used most slaves. Instead, the exchanges interwove the categories of captivity and slavery and thereby transformed Indian women into valuable commodities of cross-cultural war, diplomacy, and power.

In the hands of Spanish and French buyers and enslavers, women faced fates from sexual servitude to consignment to labor camps to use as political capital in attempts to win or impose alliances or to signal the failure of those efforts. The multiplicity of experiences reflected not only differences of culture or race but also different understandings of how to govern, how to express power, and how to seek and build political relationships with other men and the nations they represented, whether native or European. This, then, is the story I would

like to explore: the ways Spanish, French, and Indian men sought to forge or coerce bonds of obligation through a trade in female pawns. The diverse conditions to which such women were reduced reveal new ways of understanding bondage and unfreedom.

Our story begins with French-Indian captive trade across the Plains and along the Texas-Louisiana border. Initial European observations at the end of the seventeenth century suggest that natives in the southern Plains and the Red River valley did not maintain captives as a source of labor. Instead, Indian peoples took a few captives in warfare only for ritualized ceremonies of revenge or, less often, for adoption. Men rarely allowed themselves to be captured, preferring death on the battlefield; those captured most often were destined for torture, which furnished the opportunity for the honorable warrior's death denied them in battle (the honor acquired by enduring pain). In contrast, captors deemed women and children easier to incorporate into their communities. Outside the realm of war, exchanges of women and children more often took a peaceful form, particularly in the service of diplomatic alliance. Inter-marriage often united bands in political and economic relationships, such as the Hasinai, Natchitoches, and Kadohadacho confederacies created by the alliance of various Caddo bands by the end of the seventeenth century. Children might also be exchanged among Wichita and Caddoan bands and adopted into their communities as signs of alliance and insurance of peace.

After the French province of Louisiana was established in 1699, French officials decided to orient their trade interests to the west and north. In 1706 the Spanish expedition leader Juan de Ulibarri reported to New Mexican officials that Wichitas in the southern Plains had begun to sell captive Apache women and children to the French. Attempts to find routes to New Mexico put the French in contact with Indian bands whose reactions to the French newcomers further signaled their spreading reputation as slave raiders.

Frenchmen next attempted to open trade with Apaches, the very people who were losing relatives to French enslavement. In 1724 Etienne de Bourgmont sent a twenty-two-year-old woman and a teenage boy of sixteen whom he had purchased from Kansas Indians back to their village among Plains Apaches. Three months later, he traveled there and tried to build on this gesture in seeking trade relations with Apache leaders. Standing in the midst of trade goods he had carefully laid out for display—rifles, sabers, pickaxes, gunpowder, bullets, red cloth, blue cloth, mirrors, knives, shirts, scissors, combs, gunflints, vermilion, awls, needles, kettles, bells, beads, brass wire, and rings—Bourgmont both symbolically and rhetorically made the case that the Apaches would derive advantage from trade with Frenchmen. Apache leaders, though, saw quite a different gain to be had and quickly grabbed the opportunity. "We will go to visit the French, and we will bring horses to trade with them," an Apache chief first informed Bourgmont. The next day, as negotiations continued, he neatly and publicly committed the French to supplying much more than the goods so carefully advertised by Bourgmont. Standing before more than two hundred warriors and an equal number of women and children who served as audience to the ceremonial meetings, the Apache leader announced: "You see here the

Frenchman whom the Great Spirit has sent to our village to make peace with us.... Henceforth we shall be able to hunt in peace.... They will return to us our women and children whom they have taken from us and who are slaves in their country in exchange for horses that we will give them. The great French chief has promised this to us." But both men's machinations would be in vain.

Despite Bourgmont's peaceful intentions and the Apache chief's persuasive rhetoric, French posts in western Louisiana had already become, and would remain throughout the eighteenth century, nuclei of a slave trade in Apache captives brought by Caddos, Wichitas, and later Comanches.

The Indian peoples with whom Frenchmen sought trade enjoyed powerful positions in the region, and almost all of them used the European presence to maintain and even strengthen those positions. Caddo, Wichita, and Comanche willingness to trade war captives to Frenchmen in exchange for European material goods indicates that the three groups—displaying a range of socioeconomic systems—did not secure captives with the intention of keeping them in their own communities for labor or other purposes. Caddoan peoples maintained three affiliated confederacies spread thickly over hundreds of square miles in present-day Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. The multiple communities in those confederacies rested economically on steadily intensifying agricultural production and a far-reaching commercial exchange system, involving trade in hides, salt, turquoise, copper, marine shells, bows, and pottery with New Mexico, the Gulf Coast, and the Great Lakes. By the end of the seventeenth century, Wichita-speaking peoples had moved into the lower southern Plains to establish fifteen to twenty consolidated, often palisaded, villages scattered across the northern regions of present-day Texas, most in fertile lands along rivers where they could successfully farm without jeopardizing their defensive capabilities. The trade connections Wichitas then developed over the first half of the eighteenth century with Frenchmen and Caddos to the east and newly allied Comanches to the west secured a steady supply of guns and horses as well as critical alliances needed to defend their populous and productive communities against Osage and Apache raids. Like Wichitas, Comanches had moved onto the southern Plains by the early eighteenth century, operating as independent, bison-hunting groups loosely tied to one another in defensive and economic alliances. By midcentury Comanche, Wichita, and Caddo bands had formed mutually beneficial trade relationships that brought European material goods, Plains hides, and Spanish horses together for exchange. All three also shared common enemies—multiple bands of Apaches living in mobile encampments across central Texas and western New Mexico—and all three took increasing numbers of Apache captives for trade in Louisiana.

The economic visions of Frenchmen in Louisiana dovetailed with those of native groups, as the French extended their involvement in the native trade networks that crisscrossed the southern Plains and lower Mississippi Valley. Though plantation agriculture increasingly garnered the attention of Frenchmen in south and central Louisiana, the Indian hide trade remained an important component of the province's economy to the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, a satellite system of trading posts gradually began to line the western and northern reaches

of the French province with a mandate to establish and maintain the economic and diplomatic relations that underwrote that trade. The Frenchmen of the outlying posts did not have the numbers or force to subjugate Indians or dispossess them of their lands, nor did they wish to. Rather, they sought to establish profitable exchange, and as a result, they entered into egalitarian relations with dominant Caddo, Wichita, and, by extension, Comanche peoples. Frenchmen offered European trade goods that the Spaniards in Texas would not, thus stealing a march on their rivals to the west. French demographic and settlement patterns further contributed to their success as traders. In the Louisiana hinterlands, French social and familial intermixing with Indians was widespread, as the French built their trading and military posts in or near native villages and consequently joined with Indians not only for trade but also for subsistence, family building, and daily life. Community ties, in turn, brought Frenchmen into the heart of Indian political economies and offered foundations for long-lasting alliances.

As such ties developed, bands of Caddos, Wichitas, and Comanches found female Indian captives to be as valuable as hides and horses in French markets in Natchitoches and other western Louisiana posts. In exchange, French trade offered native groups guns and ammunition essential not only for hunting but also for defense in the context of increasing competition and militarization among the region's native peoples. To its Indian participants, the developing slave trade represented two sides of native conventions of reciprocity. Caddos, Comanches, and Wichitas obtained their trade goods from a range of sources: the hides from hunting, the horses from raids on Spanish settlements in Texas, and the captives from warfare with native enemies (primarily Apaches). One aspect of native conventions dictated that the three groups took captives only from those they designated enemies or "strangers" to systems of kinship and political alliance—thus they took captives only in the context of war. On the flip side, once captive women became desirable commodities in Louisiana, they also served as tools Comanche, Wichita, and Caddo men could use to build trade relations with Frenchmen. In the eighteenth century, therefore, the French markets gave new value to an old by-product of warfare.

The trade in women following their capture resulted in more than individual benefit or profit, however. Like diplomatic exchanges, the Indian slave trade brought together men of French and Indian nations in an exchange that served both utilitarian and prestige purposes. Reciprocal relations both required and created kinship affiliation. Participation in exchanges made groups less likely to engage in confrontation and violence and brought them into metaphorical, if not real, relations of kinship. Caddo, Comanche, and Wichita men cast trade alliances in terms of fictive kinship categories of "brotherhood" and male sodalities. The women who were the objects of the exchange did not create or constitute the tie of personal or economic obligation. The exchange process itself created relationships, binding men to each other in the act of giving and receiving. Practices of intermarriage, adoption, and symbolic kinship relations among different Indian peoples and among Europeans and Indians meant that "kinship" expanded to include relations beyond those of only familial (biological) descent.

Economic ties could not be separated from political ones, and trading partners were also military and political allies. Quite simply, one did not fight with brothers, just as one did not trade with enemies.

Though the relations formed by the trade were between men, the female sex of the majority of enslaved Indians determined the supply, the demand, and thus the very existence of the trade network. Women were what Frenchmen wanted, and women were what Indian warriors had for exchange. Caddo, Comanche, and Wichita men traded only captive Indian women and children to Frenchmen (captive men were tortured and killed). In turn, the French market for female captives was not merely a response to the availability of such commodities in native societies but represented the needs of soldiers and traders in such French frontier settlements as Natchitoches. Unlike settlers in the British colonies and New France (Canada), those in French Louisiana made little systematic attempt to exploit enslaved Indians as a labor force. The minimal use of Indian slaves in the establishment of French plantation agriculture and the French preference for enslaved African Americans as a servile labor force indicated that the continuing *Indian* slave trade held importance primarily for male domestic demands in the hinterlands of French settlement.

French settlers and traders by and large came from Canada rather than France and brought with them a social and cultural heritage of intimate association with Indian peoples. Intimate unions with women of allied nations and later with female slaves acquired for sexual exploitation were thus not new to the Frenchmen who emigrated to Louisiana. Because single male traders and agents, who often lived among their native trading partners, originally predominated in the French occupation of Louisiana, Frenchmen needed to intermarry if they were to have wives and families. Abbé Guillaume-Thomas-François de Raynal, writing in the 1770s and looking back over the century, argued that the French had brought to Louisiana "the custom of living with the savages, which they had adopted in Canada" and which often involved marrying Indian women with the "happiest results." "There was never observed the least coolness in the friendship between these two so diverse nations whom matrimony had united," Raynal continued, because "they have lived in this intercourse and reciprocity of mutual good-will, which made up for the vicissitudes of events brought by the passage of time."

In this spirit, Frenchmen at posts such as Fort St. Jean Baptiste aux Natchitoches formed marital unions with their Caddo trading partners and sexual unions with the captive Apache women who were the objects of French-Caddo trade. Sexual and marital relations solidified French relationships with Caddoan peoples as demonstrable acts of permanence and commitment. The slave trade played a crucial role in supplementing the female population at Natchitoches throughout the eighteenth century. French colonial officials linked the Indian slave trade directly with a "licentious" mode of living that they considered a challenge to the colonization and development of Louisiana. Despite such concerns at the imperial and provincial levels of church and state, however, the number of Apache women among enslaved populations and in Louisiana households steadily increased as trade networks in hides, horses, and captives

grew between the French and Caddos and, through Caddos, extended to Wichitas and Comanches.

On the other side of the Texas-Louisiana border, Indian enslavement exerted quite a different influence on the early invasion and settlement of the Spanish province of Texas. The advance of the Spanish frontier northward over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into the regions claimed as the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and Nuevo León (south of what became the province of Texas) had brought with it the spread of European diseases and the intrusion of slave-raiding expeditions seeking forced labor for Spanish mines and ranches—inexorable forces that preceded much of the colonization of those regions. Epidemics that began in the 1550s had, by the 1700s, scythed 90 percent of the native population of those northern regions of Mexico. Under law, moreover, the Crown might assign to Spaniards the labor and tribute of a specific Indian community in an arrangement termed an *encomienda*. Consequent Spanish demands for labor on farms and ranches and in mines brought their own brand of annihilation. By 1600 trafficking in enslaved Indians had become an established way of life in Nuevo León. Once the Spaniards there had killed off all the nearby Indian peoples by congregating them in crowded, unsanitary work camps where disease or overwork devastated their numbers, they extended the relentless reach of their slave raids ever northward. A 1672 royal cedula reiterated the royal prohibitions against the enslavement of Indians first expressed in the New Laws in 1542—reconfirmed in the 1680 Recompilation of the Laws of the Indies—and required their Christian conversion instead. But Spaniards in the region merely renamed their *encomiendas*, calling them *congregaciones* (Indian communities nominally congregated for acculturation and religious instruction) and continued their raids into the mid-eighteenth century in search of Indian bodies for labor, not souls for salvation.

Just as Indian groups had done when they encountered the early French traders on the Plains, Indians in Texas quickly learned what would be of value to the Spaniards whose expeditions had targeted the region even before permanent Spanish settlement was attempted in the 1690s. For some time rumors and evidence had been reaching them that the Europeans from Mexico and New Mexico were both buyers and actual enslavers of Indians.

Others sought their own advantage in Spanish labor systems and thereby pulled native peoples from the southern Plains into an increasingly commercialized exchange system to the west in New Mexico. Many eastern Apache groups, who had been victims of Spanish slave raiding in New Mexico, began to bring their own captives to New Mexican markets. As early as the 1650s, the Franciscan missionary Alonso de Posada reported that in addition to hides and chamois skins, some Apaches now sought "to sell for horses some Indian men and women, girls and boys" taken from Wichita bands from the lands of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's fabled Quivira (the southern Plains). Such Wichita women and children became members of a population of detribalized and enslaved Indians known as *genízaros* that grew to be a significant element in the New Mexico settlements. *Genízaros* aided the expansion and defense of New Mexico's borders as members of slave militias and frontier communities.

To the east, as Spaniards sought a toehold in Texas in the 1710s, they focused on building a cordon of mission-presidio complexes as bulwark to protect the silver mines of New Spain's northern provinces against French aggressors. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, the Spanish government faced serious problems attracting settlers, soldiers, and native converts to populate colonial centers so far north. The Spanish population of the Texas province at its height in 1790 was only 3,169. Spanish colonial development also remained rigidly hemmed in by far more populous and powerful Indian nations—both indigenous to the region (such as Caddos) and newly arrived (such as Lipan Apaches and later Comanches and Wichitas). Spaniards thus found that even in the limited areas claimed by Spanish settlement, their imperial policies regarding Indians involved, not imposing rule on others, but defending themselves against superior native rivals.

Of the four native powers, Lipan Apaches were the first to challenge the Spanish presence in Texas; as a result Spanish-Indian relations there took a different path than did the relations enjoyed by the French to the east, and the path led to a different form of bondage—one defined by punitive war. Though now less well-known than their western relatives, Lipan Apaches represented a widespread and formidable power throughout the eighteenth century. Eastern Apaches living in what is now Texas had gained an early advantage among Indians there with horses acquired in the seventeenth century through trading and raiding in New Mexico. By the 1740s, "Lipan" had become the designation used by Spaniards to refer to the easternmost Plains Apache groups. Their economy centered on hunting and raiding for bison and horses, which did not allow permanent settlement, though they did practice semicultivation. Social units farmed and hunted in *rancherías* (a Spanish term for Indian encampments) that might cluster together for defense and ceremonial ritual. No central leadership existed, and group leaders made decisions in consultation with extended-family headmen, but unity of language, dress, and customs maintained collective identity and internal peace.

Apache economies came under attack in the early eighteenth century, however, as Comanches and Wichitas migrated south to challenge Apache bands for the rich bison territories of northern and north-central Texas. Hostilities quickly erupted that pitted Apaches against Comanches and Wichitas as well as Spaniards, and the treble embattlement gradually weakened Apaches' defenses, making them increasingly vulnerable to all three opponents. Apache women and children thus became the focus not only of raids by Comanche and Wichita warriors seeking captives for French markets in Louisiana but also of Spanish military campaigns seeking prisoners whom Spaniards could use to coerce or punish their Apache foes. Throughout the 1720s, 1730s, and 1740s, Lipan Apaches mounted raids on the horse herds of San Antonio de Béxar missions, civilian ranches, and presidio to sustain a supply of horses crucial to the mobility and defense of their family bands amid mounting conflicts. In turn, Spanish fear and frustration escalated when presidial forces proved unable to stop the warriors' attacks and led to desperate bids by Spaniards to stem the raids. Spanish officials, making war to achieve peace, ordered Apache women and children to be taken

captive to force diplomacy, arguing that the best way to manipulate native groups was through their captive kinsmen or, more accurately, kinswomen. Sometimes Spaniards went so far as to single out as political hostages the wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers of leading chiefs and warriors.

Spanish captive policy devastated many Lipan Apache bands by preying on their women and children. Indian captive taking involved small numbers of individuals; Spaniards introduced captive taking on a scale unimaginable to most Indian nations. To use captives for political coercion may have seemed a logical tactic to Spanish officials, who could refer to long traditions of prisoner and hostage exchange in European warfare. Yet, when Spanish forces attacked Apache rancherías, took captives, and then tried to force peace with the bands they had attacked, they sought to forge alliance through an act of hostility. Moreover, even by Spanish terms of hostage exchange, their captive policy was fundamentally unequal because it never represented an exchange of Indian women for Spanish women. Unlike the Comanche warriors in New Mexico who took Spanish women and children as well as horses as the booty of their raids, Apache men in Texas focused their raiding on horse herds.

Not surprisingly, Spanish actions brought only more hostilities with Apaches. For the Apache women and children held prisoner in San Antonio de Béxar, the situation worsened. As captivities lengthened from months into years, officials distributed the Apache women and children as "servants" among soldiers and civilians in Texas and other provinces to the south. Spaniards, who had long found ways around the Crown's legal prohibitions against the enslavement of Indians, now rationalized their decision to keep such women and children in bondage by claiming the necessities of defense. By sleight of interpretation, they deemed the only *cautivos* in New Spain's northern provinces to be Spaniards captured by Indians—Apache women and children captured by Spanish forces were *prisioneros* (prisoners of war). Critics, however, clearly saw that officials and civilians alike sought profit rather than peace through such enslavement.

Some of the Apache women distributed by Spanish authorities may have remained as slaves in Spanish communities and households, but unlike Indian women in French trading posts, they were not often involved in intimate unions with their captors. Although, like the French in Louisiana, Spaniards needed to increase their settler population, there is no indication that they intermarried with either the native peoples they sought as allies or the native captives whom they manipulated in the service of peace. Intermarriage with Indians was not uncommon in Spanish America, but by the eighteenth century it was no longer used as a means of diplomacy and alliance with *independent* Indian nations. Rather, Spanish-Indian sexual relations and intermarriage took place only within Spanish society, involving Indian individuals who had been incorporated into that society as subjects of the Spanish church and state.

Having proclaimed defensive needs as their *carte blanche* for wartime enslavements, [Spanish] militia groups made up of soldiers and civilians devastated Apache family bands, causing repeated loss of kinswomen and children, and nearly brought on their own destruction at the hands of infuriated Apache leaders and warriors until a peace treaty in 1749 ended hostilities for twenty years. During those twenty

years, Apache leaders would strive without success to regain family members lost in the 1730s and 1740s. By the 1760s, intensifying Comanche and Wichita pressures on both Apaches and Spaniards brought their brief experiment with peace to an end. By then, Spanish officials had decided to ditch Apaches as allies, preferring their more powerful Comanche and Wichita enemies.

It is at this point, in the late 1760s, that our two stories (and the two slave networks) come together. French trade relations with powerful Caddo, Wichita, and Comanche bands—relations underwritten by the traffic in women—had been all too clear to watchful Spanish eyes since the beginning of the century. For as long as French traders had been operating in the region, Spanish missionaries and military officials in Texas had been trying to effect alliances of their own in the hope of offsetting the influence of their French rivals. Throughout the first half of the century, however, such efforts had met with abject failure even as the Spaniards watched Indian-French ties steadily strengthen. Reports filtered in from all across the Plains and New Mexico detailing how Frenchmen had expanded their native alliances and their slave trade. Imperial Spanish officials feared that growing trade relations signaled military alliance and the potential for a united French-Indian attack on Spanish territories. Such laments remained focal points of Spanish rhetoric as they watched first Caddos, then Comanches and Wichitas, build economic ties to the French colony. The ever-increasing military power of Comanche and Wichita nations soon became far more daunting than that of the French, however. The armaments acquired through French trade had equipped Comanche and Wichita bands better for the raids that from the 1740s on plundered Spanish horse herds in civil and mission settlements in both Texas and New Mexico. By 1758 officials in Mexico City feared Comanche *invasion* of the Spanish provinces south of the Rio Grande.

Yet without the finances to offer competitive trade of their own or the military power to stop French-Indian alliances by force, Spaniards in Texas found they could do little to offset French advantage. It was not until the 1760s that the cession of Louisiana from French to Spanish rule following the Seven Years' War opened up new possibilities for Spanish officials. Spanish law officially prohibited the enslavement and sale of Indians, and Alejandro O'Reilly, then serving as governor of Louisiana, extended that prohibition to the province with the formal assumption of Spanish power in 1769. Spanish officials saw an opportunity to cut off the trade that put guns into the hands of native groups deemed "hostile" to the Spanish government. Local imperatives ensured the enforcement of the ban in the Red River valley along the Texas-Louisiana border, particularly among Wichitas and Comanches. Spanish officials finally had the means to sever the commercial ties that had allied native bands in Texas and the southern Plains with Frenchmen. Thus in response to O'Reilly's edict, officials in Natchitoches forbade the trade in horses, mules, and slaves from those Indian nations, and they recalled from their subposts or homes among "hostile" Indians all licensed traders, hunters, and illicit "vagabonds"—many of whom the Natchitoches commander Athanase de Mézières described in 1770 as men "who pass their scandalous lives in public concubinage with the captive Indian women whom for this purpose they purchase among the heathen, loaning those of whom

they tire to others of less power, that they may labor in their service, giving them no other wage than the promise of quieting their lascivious passion."

Once at Natchitoches, the traders and hunters had to answer questions about their native trade relationships and to register their Indian slaves. In fear of losing their slaves, some Frenchmen sought to secure the women by whatever means possible. Though government officials recognized provisional ownership pending a royal decision on the status of enslaved Indians in the province, some men clearly chose not to let their fate rest on the vagaries of a royal decree. Many married their slaves or promised freedom if the women swore to remain with them as servants or consorts. Intimate relations thereby became a means of prolonging women's servitude.

Meanwhile, reports from Natchitoches indicate that despite the new trade prohibitions on the books, the slave traffic along the Texas-Louisiana border kept up a steady, if illicit, flow of women from west to east on the ground. As late as the 1780s, peltries (primarily deerskins) still made up a significant portion of Louisiana's exports, indicating the continued importance of Indian trade and the extensive network of trading posts that supported European-Indian exchange. Marriage and baptism records in Natchitoches were testament to the continued role of enslaved Apache women as consorts, wives, and mothers through the end of the eighteenth century. Maria Modesta, the "natural" daughter of Marie Magdalena, an Apache slave of Jean Louis le Court, grew up to marry Jean Laurent Bodin and have a son, while Therese Lecompte, the natural daughter of an enslaved Apache woman also named Therese, married Louis Metoyer, a free man of color. Another Apache woman named Marie Rosalie married Louis Guillori, an Opelousa Indian. The unions of the two Louises indicate that French traders were not the only men in the market for Indian wives. Unlike the black population in urban New Orleans, the black residents of Natchitoches, both slave and free, were predominantly male, leaving them with fewer potential consorts among enslaved or free women—a demographic factor that may have encouraged their intermarriage with Indian women. Official censuses only hinted at the numbers, and sacramental records—listing almost two hundred enslaved Indian women and children in the Natchitoches area over the century—also offer only a partial accounting. Nevertheless, by 1803 almost one-quarter of the native-born European population in north-west Louisiana counted Indian slaves in their ancestry, and 60 percent of that number claimed descent directly from an enslaved Indian parent or grandparent.

Most enslaved women appear in records only as the subjects of baptism at their French owners' behest or as mothers of natural children whose fathers usually, but not always, went unnamed in sacramental registers. Thus the lives of most enslaved Indian women rested on the whims of their owners, and a woman might find her world turned suddenly upside down if she were used to pay medical bills, exchanged for horses, seized for debt, or enumerated in a will. The experiences of these women began in war, when they were torn from their communities by brutal force, and culminated in their sale into sexual and labor relations defined by coercion.

The position of power enjoyed by Comanches and Wichitas stood in stark contrast to that of Apaches, as the Comanche and Wichita women who fell prey

to Spanish bondage were few and Comanche and Wichita men more easily regained those who did.

Spanish officials increasingly chose to negotiate truce and alliance with Comanche and Wichita warriors by ransoming from them any enemy captives they took in war. In the process, Spaniards also attained for themselves, by commercial rather than violent means, captive Indian women to use in diplomatic relations with the women's families and peoples. Most commonly, they purchased Apache captives from Comanche and Wichita men. Native captive raiding may have risen in response to Spanish attempts to broker deals with victims' family members. Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita asserted that while Apaches might take captives in war to sell to other nations, they equally took them "to exchange them for some of their relatives who have been made prisoners." Spanish diplomatic traffic in women was not limited to transactions with Comanches and Wichitas. For instance, when eighty Apache warriors led by seven chiefs captured a woman, one girl, and two boys in a revenge raid on a Tonkawa ranchería in 1779, Texas governor Domingo Cabello offered eight horses for the captives. He claimed to want the children because they "could become Christians by virtue of their youth," but his desire for the woman was purely political, since she could be restored to a Tonkawa band as "proof of friendship." Interestingly, the Apache men refused to give him any of the captives, not because eight horses was an unfair price, but because they saw little political gain to be had from the Spanish governor at that time. Further proof of the Apache men's careful assessment of where their interests lay came when chief El Joyoso chose instead to give one of the children, a ten-year-old Mayeye girl, to his "good friend Don Luis Menchaca," a Spanish merchant in San Antonio who had long traded with Apache peoples and shown them good faith (sometimes against the wishes of the provincial government).

Caddos and Wichitas also found remuneration by ransoming Spanish women whom they had acquired from Comanches who had captured them in New Mexico. The payment received by Taovayas (Wichitas) from the trader José Guillermo Esperanza for a New Mexican woman, Ana María Baca, and her six-year-old son spoke to the possible profits. For Ana María Baca, Taovayas received: "three muskets, three netted cloths, two blankets, four axes, three hoes, two *castetes* with pipe, one pound of vermilion, two pounds of beads, ten knives, twenty-five gunflints, eight steels for striking flints, six ramrods, six awls, four fathoms of wool sash, and three hundred bullets with necessary powder." For Baca's son, Esperanza gave Taovayas: "one otter hide, one hundred bullets with necessary powder, one ax, three *castetes* with pipe, one and one-half quarter pounds of vermilion, one netted cloth, one blanket, and one musket." Notably, in this exchange Taovayas were not the only ones who planned to profit from Ana María Baca's captivity. The Nacogdoches lieutenant Christóbel Hilario de Córdoba, to whom Esperanza had related his purchase, reported with outrage that Esperanza went on to say that he planned to take the woman and sell her in Natchitoches "where there could not but be plenty of Frenchmen to purchase her and bother her, as is their custom, since she still is attractive." Córdoba forestalled the woman's sale into concubinage by taking her and her son into

protective custody. Córdoba's intervention (which Spanish officials vehemently supported) made clear how aberrant it was that Ana María Baca's Spanish identity had not excluded her from the category of women whom Esperanza felt he might acceptably sell into the sex trade.

Although Spanish officials spent much time bemoaning the loss of Spanish women to Indian captivity, the charge remained rhetorical in eighteenth-century Texas. Spanish captives were few in number, and the new Spanish-Indian traffic in "redeemed" captives remained primarily one of Indian women. The rhetoric about Spanish female captives in Indian hands was meant to appeal to government superiors in Mexico and thereby to gain more military men and supplies with which to defend the province against indomitable Comanche and Wichita forces, but that tactic often failed. In response to complaints from the commandant of the Interior Provinces that Texas officials had failed to contribute to the alms that Spanish law demanded all settlements in the provinces collect for the ransoming of Christian captives held by Indians, Cabello explained that no captives from Texas had been taken, thus little local imperative to give to such a fund existed in Texas. In Texas, then, fictitious Spanish women were objects of persuasion and real Indian women were the objects of exchange—whether in French trade markets or in Spanish diplomatic negotiations.

The gradual stabilization of relations among Spaniards, Comanches, and Wichitas in the waning years of the century meant only ill for Apaches, as the maintenance of the three groups' peace agreements often involved the enslavement of Apaches still deemed enemies by them all. Whether captured by Spanish presidial forces or ransomed to them by Comanche or Wichita warriors in diplomatic exchange, Apache women and children continued to fall victim to punitive Spanish policies that sent younger children to missions for conversion and all other to labor camps or prisons in Mexico City and, beginning in the 1780s, in the Caribbean. Many died in transit to Mexico. Most never saw their homes again. Despite the impossibility of return, back home their husbands and fathers received promises of the women's return if they agreed to treaty negotiations. Thus when, in one instance, Apache men arrived at a meeting site and did not find their wives among the women brought for exchange, officials responded by offering them their pick of other women captured elsewhere. For those Spanish officers, Apache women had become so commodified that they were interchangeable. Spanish records rarely detail the suffering of women themselves, but a handful of incidents give mute testimony to it, none more powerfully than the stories of women who tried to take their own lives rather than remain captive. The Comanche woman who tried to kill herself upon recapture after she escaped from the San Antonio mission in 1772 was not alone in preferring death to enslavement. Jean Louis Berlandier recorded that another Comanche woman captured early in the nineteenth century "asked for a knife to remove a thorn she said was hurting her foot, but when they gave it to her she plunged it into her heart." The fate of these captive and enslaved Indian women signified irremediable moments of Spanish-Indian interchange in eighteenth-century Texas. Theirs is the story that remains to be written.

Beyond telling of warfare and its spoils, the stories of enslaved Apache women and children document the ways European and Indian men used them as social and political capital in efforts to coerce and accommodate one another. Looking at how bands and empires or traders and diplomats transformed women into currency allows one to see multiple sources and forms of bondage: from pre-Columbian indigenous warfare that created captivity as an alternative to battlefield deaths, to captive raiding and commercial trade that created human commodities, to hostage taking and deportation that created prison labor. Pressed into service, women became objects for sex, familial reproduction, and reciprocal trade relations; gifts that made peaceful coexistence possible for their captors; or victims who paid the price for their captors' hostility. This diversity of slaveries unfolded from the confrontations and collusions of European and native political systems that structured economic behavior, battlefield enmity, and diplomatic maneuvering. Putting standardized categories of slavery and unfreedom to the test in complicated borderlands where two imperial powers sought to negotiate multiple configurations of Indian social and political organization shows how wanting those categories can be. Slavery in North America has been cast as a monolithic, chattel-oriented system of coerced labor, thus making it a distinctive and anomalous model when compared to forms of bondage instituted in other times and places. Meanwhile the forms of captivity and exchanges of women involved in European-Indian relations in the Americas have fallen into categories often perceived to be more benign. If bondage could prove such an infinitely variable institution in just one region of colonial North America, imagine what we may find as we piece together experiences across the entire continent.

Explicating such diversity will bring American practices of slavery into better global perspective and more fruitful comparison with colonial geopolitics and cultural geographies around the world.

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