

Chapter 4

Translation and Meaning of the Tribal Name *Lipan*

The Light Gray People

The urge to name an unknown or newly-encountered object, animal or human group by its form, function or observable characteristics is a basic human impulse. And, in most cases, once an object, animal or group is given a name, an identifiable body of knowledge is built around that name over time so that, if one speaks the name "elephant," a picture of that animal, its physical characteristics and perhaps even its habitat comes to mind. So it is with many of the Apache tribes of the American Southwest. If the name "Chiricahua" is spoken, a picture of that tribe's nineteenth century leader Geronimo comes to mind, as well as the body of knowledge about that tribe contained in nineteenth century records. If the names "Mimbres" or "Navajo" are spoken, one can point to their weaving or pottery as an expression of their tribal identity. Traces of the modern Tonto (or Coyotero) Apaches and Gileños Apaches can be found in their early settlements near Spanish presidios in Arizona and New Mexico. If the name "Mescalero" is spoken, one can point to their present-day location on a map of their reservation, as well as Spanish documents dating from 1725 which identify that tribe by the name "Mescalero."

None of this holds true for the Lipan Apaches; to speak the name *Lipan* brings forth no vision of the people. They left no buildings to be excavated by archeologists. In truth, Texas archeologists have had more success in identifying Archaic sites (3,000 years BC), than success in identifying sites occupied by the Lipans from 1600-1800 AD. The baskets woven by the Lipans have not survived; the beadwork on

their clothing has turned to dust. There is no Lipan Reservation in Texas, nor is the reservation they share with the Mescaleros located within territories once claimed by the Lipans. Linguist Harry Hoijer noted that at the time he recorded the Zwazwa history (1939), "there were very few Lipan; today (1975) there are no Lipan speakers; ... the Lipan are... wholly extinct." ¹ The Lipan Apaches enter the historical record in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as indistinct shadows, poorly defined and with very little substance. Then, in 1743, the Lipan spring, fully formed, into the historical records of Texas, yet even then, they are not called *Lipans*, but the *Ypandes* or *Ypandis*.

Although their language and culture were studied by some of the most eminent anthropologists and linguists of the twentieth century, only one man ever asked the Lipans to translate or define their tribal name. In 1897, James Mooney was told by his Lipan informants in New Mexico that the tribal name *Lipan* was "...a Spanish corruption of a name applied by some other Indian tribe." ² Unfortunately, Mooney never probed beyond this explanation, nor did he probe the origin of the word he recorded as being the name by which the Lipan tribe called themselves, *Ná-izhán* (translated by Mooney as "Ours" or "Our kind of people"). ³ If Mooney had looked a bit deeper, he would have found that the name *Ná-izhán* probably derived from the *Natahe* ("Mescal People") or *Natagés* (*Nah-tah-hays*), a Mescalero-affiliated group of Apaches who lived on the Pecos River. ⁴ The *Natagés* and Lipan leadership were united through marriage in the early eighteenth century and the Lipans eventually absorbed some *Natagés* remnants after 1800. It seems Mooney's informants were *Natagés* descendants and they provided little information that could aid in translating the tribal name *Lipan*.

Early Spanish explorers were generally anxious to record cultural observations regarding the Indian tribes they encountered so as to

better understand future adversaries or acolytes, but from 1541 on, the Plains Apaches were tagged with such a bewildering series of names that it is almost impossible to untie the knot and determine which Spanish observations relate to the early Lipan Apaches. Thus, growth of the body of knowledge surrounding the tribal name *Lipan* has been stunted and many scholars have adopted a "dump and jump" approach. Many of the early Plains Apache groups named by the Spanish are "dumped" into the Lipan tribe, as scholars have assumed such groups as the Ochos, Rio Colorados, or various groups of Cuartelejo Apaches were early versions of the later Lipans. At this point, scholars have combed Spanish records for clues mentioning these early Plains Apache groups, without finding any solid evidence to link any of these groups to the Lipan Apaches. Nor has any evidence been found in early Spanish records which would provide any clarity regarding the tribal name, so scholars have assumed that the name *Lipan* represented either the name of a chief or the name given to the tribe by their enemies.⁵ Then, having muddied the waters and obscured any clear picture of the early Lipans, most scholars have "jumped" into the historical record and taken up the tribe in its fully formed incarnation. None of these approaches have led to a greater understanding of the Lipan Apache tribe.

Rather than look at the tribal name *Lipan* as a name bestowed by others, such as the Spanish or tribal enemies, a more fruitful approach is to look for a definition within the language of the Lipan people. Once this is done, solid evidence can be found which not only translates the tribal name, but goes to the very essence of the way in which the Lipans viewed themselves, their place in the world, and the very planet itself.

In order to fully understand the translation of the tribal name *Lipan*, as well as the symbolic extrapolations that spin off from that

translation, one must take a short trip through Lipan cosmology and look at the world through their eyes. I use the word cosmology not to describe a branch of astronomy dealing with the origin and structure of the universe, but in a more general sense to describe the Lipan view of the way in which their universe (consisting not only of the physical world around them, but of the entire planet) was structured.

For the Lipans, all life existed within a circle. Just as the inside of a Lipan tepee was circular, with the frame anchored in place by four primary poles, so all tribal life existed within the circle of the camp. Myths were passed from generation to generation, religious rituals were conducted and war or raiding victories were celebrated as the tribe stood or sat in a circle. The entire tribe would make seasonal migrations which corresponded to a rough circle as they moved from camp to camp hunting buffalo, or gathering and processing *agave*, wild fruits or cactus tunas. Indeed, the existence of the very earth on which they trod was envisioned as a circle in space, anchored at the four points of the compass. Out of this original vision grew a complex cosmology, as certain compass points, numbers or colors began to be viewed as more sacred than others. For the Lipans, the number four was sacred and items grouped in a set of four (such as the four points of a compass) were imbued with that sacredness. Out of the four compass points, however, the east was considered by the Lipans to be the most sacred direction; of all the colors, the colors blue and black were considered sacred colors.

The Lipan view of the world was not unique, but was a view shared by all of the Apachean groups. However, what differentiated the Lipans from the other Apache tribes was the particular color scheme they assigned to the four points of the compass, as well as the use of their cosmology to provide a link between tribal myths and the tribal name.

The Lipans ordinarily associated the following colors with the four points of the compass- North/white, East/black, South/blue and West/yellow. The white of the north could also be represented in a spotted or variegated manner.

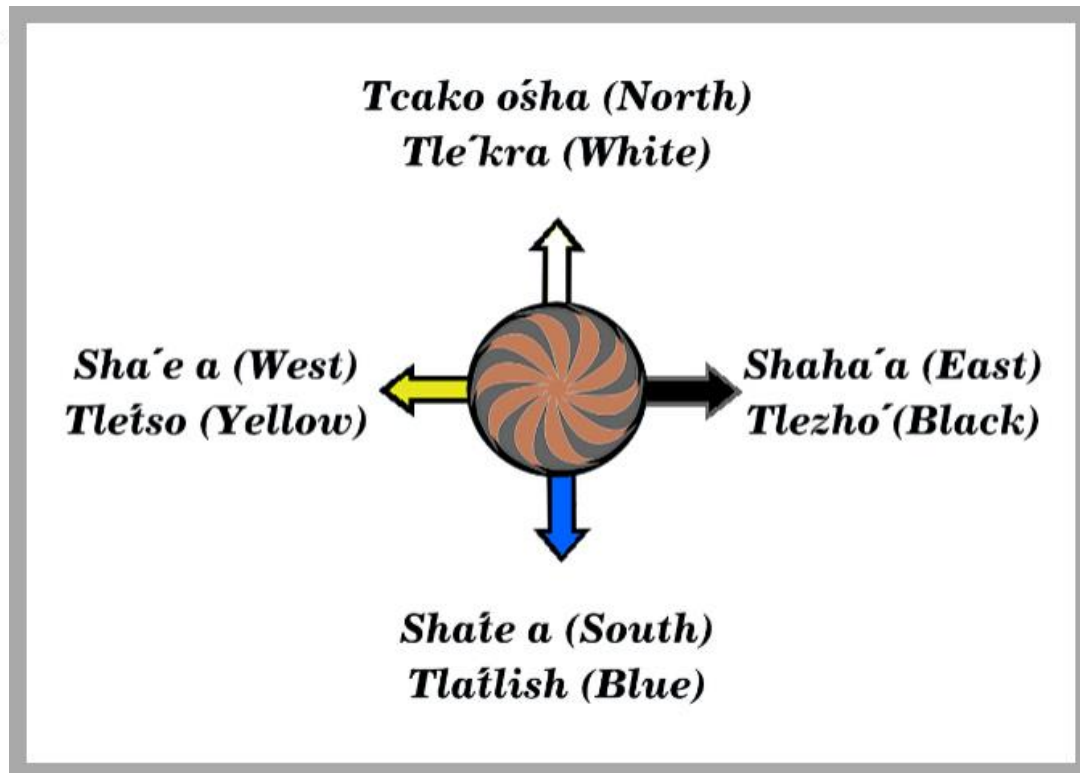


Figure 1.0

Lipan Apache World View (in English and Lipan).

(Source: Opler, *Myths and Legends*, 18 note 3; and Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Lipan Vocabulary Taken at Ft. Griffin, Texas, September-October 1884*, Schedules 7 and 14, MS 81-a-b, NAA.)

After the Lipans "emerged" from the north, their myth stated that they circled the world in a clockwise fashion. While some Apache tribes settled in the west and others settled in the north, the Lipans continued their journey, finally settling in the east. When the Lipans combined their emergence myth with their cosmology (the unique view of the world they inhabited), adding in all the color-directional symbolism attached to their view of their universe, they produced a

rich tapestry full of symbolic meaning. The Lipans were saying, in their emergence myth, that in the ancient past, they had moved from the north, represented by the color white, toward the east, represented by the color black. If this migration is seen in terms of a color palette, as the Lipans moved to the east, they were adding the color black to the color white, resulting in the color gray.

The word in the Lipan vocabulary for a light gray hue was *ʔlépai* (pronounced *hleḥ-pie*), which could be abbreviated in the form of *pai*, *páyi*, or seen in the prefix *pá-*.⁶ The Lipan word designating the concept of the tribe, or The People, was *ndé* or *inde*.⁷ When the two words were combined, the result was *ʔlépai-ndé* (pronounced *hleḥ-pie-endeḥ*), or "The Light Gray People." When the guttural first syllable (*hle-*) is pronounced, it sounds much like "leh." If the second and third syllables (*-pai ndé*) are elided together (resulting in syllables that sound like "pandeh"), the result is the word "leh-pandeh" or *Lipan*. Thus, the tribal name *Lipan* meant "The Light Gray People." Embodied within the tribal name was the color-directional code directly linking the Lipan emergence myth, their ancient migration out of Canada and their eventual settlement in Texas.

The Lipan choice of a color to designate their tribal identity is interesting, providing much insight into the Lipan people and their view of themselves. When Albert Gatschet recorded the first Lipan vocabulary in 1884, he stressed, through heavy underlining, that the Lipan word for gray (*ʔlépai*) referred only to a light hue and not to a dark or charcoal gray. This distinction receives added importance when viewed through the prism of Lipan color-directional belief. The east was a sacred direction and the Lipans never claimed that their journey after emergence took them as far eastward as it was possible for them to go in a geographic sense. In other words, the Lipans did not claim

possession of the east, represented by the color black. They merely claimed that they journeyed toward the east and reached an eastward point. The Lipans saw themselves in a continuous process of journeying, always moving from the white of the north toward the black of the sacred east. The east was sacred because it was the home of the rising sun, home of their primary spirit deity, Killer-of-Enemies. Yet the Lipans would always remain in the gray area, not only because they had no fixed abode and were always compelled to follow ancient seasonal migratory paths, but because they were always in a process of journeying toward a better knowledge of the sacred. Of all the Apache tribes, the Lipans believed that they alone were tinged with an extraordinary degree of sacredness, since their tribal name indicated that some of the sacred black power of the east resided among them. In addition, the sacred power made itself available to Lipan tribal members so that the tribe could use that power to harness the world around them. And, of course, the Lipans believed that their sacred powers, the possession of which was revealed in the tribal name, always triumphed over the powers of their enemies, particularly the Comanches.

As the Lipans undertook their continuous, circular journeys of seasonal migration, they walked or rode across the limestone, caliche and alkali rising from the Balcones Escarpment above San Antonio and running west to New Mexico. As the tribe moved, their feet stirred these particles of white dust. Chalky flakes floated up and coated the clothing and skin of the people, causing them to look as if they were covered in a fine layer of gray ashes. In addition to the white, dusty covering they received as they traveled, the Lipans also "...smeared themselves with and put white dirt in their hair." ⁸ The act of coating the body and hair with a paste of "white dirt" had ritual significance but the paste also acted as a sunscreen. Thus, the tribal name *Lipan*,

or "The Light Gray People," had a ritual and physical component, as well as a mythic, symbolic meaning.

When the Comanches came into contact with the Lipans after 1700, they must have seen Lipan warriors whose skin and hair appeared whitish-gray in color due to a coating of alkali or limestone paste.⁹ The Comanches incorporated this Lipan physical characteristic with their distain for these new enemies, christening the Lipans with the name *Esikwita* ("gray buttocks"), which not only described the color of the paste covering Lipan hair and skin, but described the posterior view the Comanche hoped to have in battle, as the Lipan ran away in fear.¹⁰ The prefix *Esi-* (meaning the color gray) in the Comanche word was also an acknowledgement of the Lipan tribal name as the "Light Gray People."

When a Spanish priest, Fr. Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, first began to designate the Lipan people by using a specific tribal name in 1743, he spelled the tribal name as *Ypandi* or *Ypande* (pronounced *Yee-pandeh* or *Yeh-pandeh*). This would seem to indicate that Fr. Fernández was trying to capture the peculiar guttural, throat-clearing sound (*hleh*) made deep in the back of the throat when the first syllable of *lépai-ndé* is pronounced. It was not until 1762, and under the pen of a second Franciscan priest named Diego Ximenez, that the Lipans began to be named in a modern form as *Lipanes*. Ximenez did not substitute the letter "I" for the letter "Y," although the two letters are interchangeable in Spanish. Instead, he used the letter "L" resulting in *Lipanes* instead of *Ipanes* or *Ipandes*. In writing the tribal name using the letter "L," Ximenez was indicating the sound produced in modern Spanish by the *ll-* prefix (as in *llama*, pronounced *yah-mah*). Thus, Ximenez was indicating that the tribal name was pronounced as "Yee-pan-nes." This distinction was soon lost, however, and the tribal

name quickly evolved into *Lipanes* (*Lee-pahn-nes*). When the tribal name was translated from Spanish into English, it became *Lipan* (*Lee-pahn*).

Spanish Names for the Lipan Apaches

It took twenty-five years of contact, harassment and thefts before the Spanish in central Texas were able to pin a specific name on the source of their problems. From the moment of the founding of the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar and its accompanying mission in 1718, reports and letters flew back to the Viceroy complaining of "Apache" harassment, but it wasn't until 1743 that a Franciscan priest of Mission San Antonio de Valero, Fr. Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, was able to provide a more detailed and specific picture of the "Apaches" who were proving to be such an annoyance.

Father Fernández can be credited with being the first Spaniard to look upon the Lipans as anything other than the enemy. Born in Berán, Spain in 1707, the twenty-four year old priest was sent to Texas in 1731 to oversee the San Antonio de Valero Mission. ¹¹ His first experience with the Lipans was not a pleasant one, occurring as soon as he had crossed the Rio Grande into Texas. A group of Lipan raiders attacked Fernández and a fellow priest on the road, "robbing them of their baggage and horses and killing two of the five soldiers who accompanied them." ¹² In spite of this inauspicious first contact, Fernandez came to believe that a more effective means of ending Lipan raids was through gentle inducement and persuasion, rather than through punitive military campaigns. ¹³ Toward this end, he sent a series of letters to the Viceroy advocating the establishment of Apache missions. As part of his argument for such establishments, Fernández outlined for the Viceroy the information he had gathered on the Lipan tribe.

Fernández began his series of letters in March, 1743, with a summary of the Apache problem:

"The entire sum {of Apaches} are bandits and pour out from many hideouts eating up the land; they have been recognized making entrances into Saltillo, Nuevo Leon, the Province of Texas, Louisiana, and all the Provinces from Nueva Viscaya to New Mexico. They have left these places in the west and besieged more to the North searching for an expanded country and {a country} populated by many people, ones that can give them very good horses and {the Apaches are} armed with cutting lances and good *azeradas*, a kind of pointed hatchet, bows of bone or animal horn and arrows feathered up to the flint." ¹⁴

In a second letter written on the same date, Fernández then narrowed the scope and addressed the problem of the Lipans in Texas, whose constant attacks had caused the Spanish at San Antonio such aggravation:

"The Indians that wander around and occupy this country are divided into three portions that the Spanish call *Ypandes*, *Apaches* and *Pelones*, and, in the language of the Indians of the North- {the} *Azain*, *Duttain* and *Negain*. The *Ypandes* and the *Apaches* have about 500 warriors {literally 'Indians of bow and arrow'}, and the *Pelones* have about 800; these latter ones live very remote from this Presidio and from all the rest and are less bold and they live in stillness because they have small numbers of horses. The *Ypandes*, who are more immediate to this Presidio, almost always live united with the *Apaches* who have numerous horses, but this does not slake their appetite to have many more, for with robbery, these bandits steal things along the road that

passes from New Mexico to Texas; they take the lives of many fellow Indians and Spaniards without forgiveness." ¹⁵

The March 1743 letter from Fernández to the Viceroy is the first record of Spanish use of the tribal name *Lipan*, although the name appears as *Ypandes*. Fr. Fernández described the three Apache groups in Texas- *Ypandes*, *Apaches* and *Pelones*- stating that the "Indians of the North" called them the "*Azain, Duttain and Negain*;" these terms are phonetically similar to tribal names given by the Caddo-affiliated tribes of east Texas to their neighbors and they probably derive from the *Tejas* or *Bidais* languages. ¹⁶

I. *Ypandes*- These were the Lipans who inhabited central Texas and the area around San Antonio. In other words, this was the Forest Lipan division mentioned in the Zwazwa history. From the time of the first appearance of the tribal name in 1743, this Lipan group was always called the *Ypandes*, and later the *Lipanes*. Fernández stated that the *Ypandes* "almost always live united with the Apache," indicating a unity between these two groups through marriage, kinship and shared goals such as robbery. Fernández estimated the *Ypandes* and *Apaches* contained a total of 500 warriors, an estimate much too low given more precise population totals obtained two decades later.

In April 1745, Fr. Fernández accompanied the Captain of the Béxar Presidio, Thoribio Urrutia, on a campaign against the Apaches in central Texas. They found the *Ypandes* near the Colorado River. Fernández described their seasonal migrations, stating that *Ypandes* "go in as far as the Rio Salado {Pecos River} in the months of June and July, and then in the autumn all go to the San Sabá, Xianas {Chanas or Llano River}, Almagre {Honey Creek}, and the Pedernales rivers, from

which they pass to the Colorado along that region where the road to Los Adays (sic) crosses, since this country is the home of the buffalo of which they sustain themselves." ¹⁷

II. *Apaches*- Fr. Fernández used the general term "Apache" to refer singularly and specifically to the Mescalero-affiliated *Natagés* (*Nah-tah-hays*). In a 1745 letter to the Viceroy, Fernández clarified, "The *Natagés* Indians, reputed among the Indians of the north as true Apaches, lived on this occasion not far from and to the west of the *Ypandes* (i.e. west of the Colorado River). They are fewer in number, but prouder and more overbearing than the rest, and their chief man was captain of the *Ypandes*." ¹⁸ This last detail speaks to a shared leadership between the two groups. In another paragraph of the same letter, Fernández stated that the *Ypandes* were "intimate friends and relatives" of the *Natagés*, indicating a unity through marriage and kinship.

The Spanish had found the *Natagés* living on the Pecos River as early as 1729, when a map of northern Coahuila not only indicated the settlements of the *Natagees*, but called the Pecos the "rio Salado o del *Natagees*," or the "Salty River of the *Natagees*." ¹⁹ Fr. Fernández also noted the Pecos River orientation of the *Natagés*, saying, "Their own country is on the said Rio Salado (Pecos River), where they enter into the jurisdiction of Conchos;" however, they caused trouble on either side of the Rio Grande as far west as modern-day El Paso. ²⁰

<Insert Ill. 1.0- Map of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon in 1729, Barreiro>

The close relationship and aspects of shared leadership between the *Natagés* and the Lipans would lead one to logically assume that the

Natagés were actually part of the Plains Lipan division spoken of in the Zwazwa history. However, Fr. Fernández believed the *Natagés* to be Mescalero Apaches, explaining to the Viceroy in 1745, "The body of these *Natagés* comprises in itself the Mescaleros and Salineros Indians, or better, shall I say that they are one and the same Indians with different names which the Spaniards have given them in the various localities {*terreños*} in which they have seen them." ²¹

The equation of the *Natagés* with the Mescalero Apaches was echoed by a second priestly observer in 1762. Fr. Diego Ximenez stated that the Indians robbing and murdering in Texas were "those ones called *Natagés*, *Mescaleros*, *Pelones*, *Faracnes*, and proper {true} Apaches, who {all} live separated from the *Lipanes* and {who live} to the northeast and west {of the Lipans}... We suspect some from those nations {*Natagés*, *Mescaleros*, etc.}, their followers, and others comprised under the name Apache have intermarried with some *Lipanes* (a custom no longer practiced), {and} it is true that each has preserved some trading {with each other}." ²² Fr. Ximenez' knowledge of this aspect of Lipan life probably came from Felipe de Rabago y Teran, the Spanish military commander who assisted Ximenez in establishing two missions for the Lipans on the Nueces River in Texas. Rabago himself believed the *Natagés* to be part of the Mescalero Apaches. ²³ Modern scholars also group the *Natagés* with the Mescalero Apaches. ²⁴

The curious note in the Fernández letter stating that "...the chief man {of the *Natagés*} was captain of the *Ypandes*," indicated marriage ties between the *Natagés* and Lipan leadership. These unions were made to cement a political alliance but, as noted by Fr. Ximenez, the practice had begun to decline by the mid-eighteenth century. However, the grand political alliance of *Natagés* and Lipan Apaches formed the basis for historic Lipan claims of kinship with the Mescaleros.

III. *Pelones (Bald Ones)* - Fr. Fernández described this Apache group as living far from the Presidio of Béxar at San Antonio as well as living far from the *Ypandes* and *Natagés (Apaches)*. Although able to field more warriors than the other two Apache groups (Fernández estimated they had 800 warriors, which would yield as estimated population of 1,600 to 2,400 persons), the *Pelones* were described as less warlike because they had fewer horses. Since the sources for the Texas Lipans' acquisition of horses were either the Spanish in New Mexico or the Spanish across the Rio Grande, the logical inference from Fr. Fernández' remarks is that the *Pelones* inhabited an area of east or northeast Texas (i.e. the direction farthest away from the primary sources of horses). In fact, Fernández later specified the *Pelones* inhabited lands "irrigated" by the Red River; this description places the *Pelones* in north central and northeast Texas. ²⁵ Soon after Fernández wrote these words, Apaches began a series of attacks on the new missions of San Xavier (1746-1755) and San Ildefonso (1749-1755), located in northeast Texas between the Colorado and Brazos Rivers. ²⁶ Although the affiliation of the Apache attackers was never stated, it seems probable that the Apache raiders were the *Pelones*. The statements of Fr. Fernández were validated in 1763 by Fr. Diego Ximenez, who stated that the *Pelones Apaches* lived to the northeast of the Lipans in central Texas. ²⁷

If evidence is contradictory regarding the affiliation of the *Natagés* and the Lipans, there is no question that the same evidence is very clear in equating the *Pelones Apaches* with the Lipans. Because their range was far to the north of San Antonio, it also seems clear that the *Pelones Apaches* were the same people as the Plains Lipans of the Zwazwa history. In fact, by 1732, the Spanish at San Antonio were calling the Plains Lipans the *Ypandis alias Pelones*. ²⁸ By 1760, however, the *Pelones* no longer appear in Spanish records as a

separately named Texas Apache group leading to the assumption that Comanche pressure forced them southward, where they merged with the Forest Lipans of San Antonio.

Although a translation of the name *Pelones* as "baldheaded ones" might seem to indicate a group readily identifiable by its lack of hair, the Spanish applied this appellation to a number of Indian groups in Texas and northern Mexico, so context is important in determining which group of "baldheaded ones" were affiliated with the Lipans and which were of Coahuiltecan origin. Generally, what the Spanish wanted to indicate in calling an Indian group *Pelones* was a distinctive cultural aspect of that tribe wherein part or all of the hair of the head was removed. There are some clues in the historical record relating to the type of hairlessness practiced by the *Pelones Apaches*, or Plains Lipans. Nineteenth century observers of the Lipans all noted that many Lipan men never cut their hair and wore it over one shoulder in a long braid reaching to the ground. However, Jean Louis Berlandier stated, upon observing a band of Lipans who had ridden into Laredo, Texas in 1828, "...I know that they pull out all their facial hair, being particularly careful to remove the eyebrows." ²⁹ Berlandier's observation was echoed by Frank Buckelew, a Lipan captive in 1866-1867. Buckelew's captivity narrative noted that Lipan men plucked the hair from their eyebrows and chins daily and that this practice was "an ancient custom." ³⁰ Since the Lipans were, by the nineteenth century, plucking out all facial hair (and since Buckelew noted that this was an "ancient custom"), it seems probable that the Spanish appellation *Pelones*, when applied to the Plains Lipans, referred not to a bald head, but a face devoid of facial hair.

There are, however, some fascinating bits of evidence which indicate the appellation *Pelones Apaches* might have been applied to the

Lipans because of a noticeable genetic trait. Sprinkled throughout the names of Lipan chiefs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are several that stand out because, when translated, their names indicate that they were bald. The Big Bend area Lipan chief known as *Picax-andé Yns-tinsle* (1788) was also known in Nueva Vizcaya as *El Calvo (The Bald One)*.³¹ In 1787, a Mexican Lipan chief previously known as *el Bermejo* or *Bigotes el Bermejo (The Red One or the Red Whiskered One)* was given the new appellation *Bigotes el Pelón (Bigotes the Bald One)*.³² In the nineteenth century, Lipan chief *Magoosh* (born in Texas ca. 1830), who rose to leadership of the tribe once they had been placed on a reservation in New Mexico, was known to be bald. Another Lipan tribal member explained that the chief "...was a great and good leader- and the only bald Apache I ever saw. There were people who thought that he had been scalped, but that wasn't true. Why no hair grew on his head I don't know..."³³ These several examples of bald Lipan chiefs provide anecdotal evidence that the Plains Lipan group called *Pelones* might have been given that name by the Spanish not only in acknowledgement of their practice of facial hair removal, but because some of their elders were bald, and as the Plains Lipans, or *Pelones*, were united with the Forest Lipans after 1760, the genetic anomaly that produced baldheaded *Pelones* passed through to the general Lipan population.

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1. Hoijer, *History and Customs*, Introduction, APS.
 2. James Mooney, *Tribal Names and Divisions of the Jicarillas, Lipans & Mescaleros*, 1897, MS 3785, NAA.
 3. Mooney, *Tribal Names*.
 4. Tunnell and Newcomb, *A Lipan Apache Mission*, 148.
 5. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 768.
 6. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *Lipan Vocabulary Taken at Ft. Griffin, Texas, September-October 1884*, Schedule 7, MS 81-a-b, NAA. The Lipan word for light gray color (**lépai*) is the only word in the Lipan

vocabulary that had an abbreviated form, indicating both its importance and its wide-spread general usage.

7. James Mooney, *Comparative Vocabularies: Mescalero Apache and Lipan*, 1, 5, MS 425, NAA.

8. Fr. Diego Ximenez, "Description of the Customs of the Apache Indians," 1761-1763, ASFEG, *Material from Various Sources*, 2Q256, Vol. 407, 27, CAH.

9. Author's interview with William Chebahtah, San Antonio, TX, January 24, 2006.

10. Comanche Language Committee, *Our Comanche Dictionary*, 3.

11. Habig, "Benito Fernández de Santa Ana," 984.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Fr. Benito Fernández de Santa Ana to the Viceroy, March 5, 1743, AGM, *Provincias Internas*, 2Q215, Vol. 531, 95, CAH.

14. Fr. Benito Fernández de Santa Ana to the Viceroy, March 3, 1743, AGM, *Provincias Internas*, 2Q215, Vol. 531, 65, CAH.

15. Fr. Fernández to the Viceroy, March 5, 1743, 89-90.

16. Foster, *The La Salle Expedition*, 290-308.

17. Dunn, "Apache Relations," 266.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Francisco Alvarez Barreiro, "Plano corographico de los Reynos de Nuevo Estremadura o Coaguila y el Nuevo de Leon," (*Map of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon in 1729*), Bryan (James P.) Map Collection, CAH.

20. Dunn, "Apache Relations," 266.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Fr. Diego Ximenez' response to Cansio's questionnaire, Sept. 19, 1763, AGI, *Historia*, 2Q178, Vol. 349, 168-169, CAH.

23. Don Phelipe de Rabago y Teran to the Viceroy, Dec. 31, 1761, AGI, *Historia*, 2Q184, Vol. 373, 165-166, CAH.

24. Tunnell and Newcomb, *A Lipan Apache Mission*, 148.

25. Fr. Fernández to the Viceroy, March 5, 1743, 92.

26. Minutes of a meeting at Béxar presidio between capt. Thoribio Urrutia and Don Joachin de Ecay y Musquiz, Commander of presidio of Santa Rosa, Coahuila, June 20, 1750, AGI, *Provincias Internas*, 2Q151, Vol. 105, 2-4, CAH.

27. Ximenez' response to Cansio's questionnaire, Sept. 19, 1763, 168.

28. Dunn, "Apache Relations," 267 and 267 note 4.

29. Ewers, *Berlandier*, 129.

30. Dennis, *F.M. Buckelew*, 56-57.

31. Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier*, 203.

32. Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier*, 242.

33. Ball, *Indeh*, 267.