A Line in the Sand

Indigenous Peoples and the Emergence of the US-Mexico Border, 1840s-1860s
Overview

- Native Peoples
- Origins, Course, Legacy of the War
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
  - Article 11
- “A Line Runs Through Their Nations”
  - Regional dynamics
  - Texas, Arizona-Sonora
- Gadsden Purchase
- Rebellions, Movement, Power, and Space
Origins and Course of the War

- Texas & National Context
- Border Disputes
- Apache & Comanche, Kickapoo, “old & immigrant” Indians
- 1840 *Council House Massacre* of Comanches
- “Seeing Through” Native People
- Independent Republic of Texas annexed by the US in 1845
Native People in Mexico

- 1840s Mescalero & Comanche alliance carved up territories and facilitated expansion
  - Comanche and Mescalero conquered territory
  - Villages depopulated
- Chihuahua & Sonora increased bounties for Apache scalps, fueling an expanding scalp trade economy
  - James “Santiago” Kirker
- Smaller bison herds fueled raids deeper into Mexico
- Chiricahua expansion in AZ-Sonora Borderlands
- Mayo, Opata, *genizaros* used in defense
- Sparked conflicts between Sonora & Chihuahua
“American Blood Shed on American Soil”

- “Disputed Territory” between Rio Nueces & the Rio Grande
- Mexico refused $ for land
- Polk decided on war
  - Zachary Taylor to Rio Grande
  - Blocked the international port at Matamoros
  - Violated disputed area
  - Mexican troops defended themselves ("crossed into American Territory")
  - U.S. troops died
- Secret War in California
“...Ever More a Wicked War...” U.S. Grant, memoirs

- Zachary Taylor, Corpus Christi
  - Warned TX to disband Rangers

- Stephen Kearny-NM
  - “Bloodless take-over”
  - 1847 Taos Rebellion: Pueblos, Hispanos and some Navajos attacked provisional government
    - Alexander M. Doniphan & El Paso
    - Martial Law in New Mexico

- Navajo expansion increased
- Winfield Scott into Mexico City
The Treaty and Its Legacy

- 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo
  - Article 8: US citizenship for Mexicans (citizens)
  - Article 11: Raids and Captives
  - US Sec. State Nicolas Trist
    - Restrain Indians in the north, return Mexican captives

- Rio Grande = Border
- 500,000 square miles
- $15 million for California, NM, UT, NV
- Respect land grants
Post-War Issues & Patterns

- War did not end tensions between Natives and US/Mex
  - How would everyone react to the new border?
  - How much control did Indigenous nations have?
  - Local and regional realities vs. policies
  - Raiding, captives, racial tensions
  - Expansion, reservations, Indian Bureau, War Dept., treaties

- Comanche
  - West Texas, relations with state/fed, Anglos, other Indians

- Apaches
  - Eastern and Western

- Arizona-Sonora Peoples
  - Yaqui, Mayos, Opatas, Tohono O’Odham, Apaches
Texas and U.S. Indian Policy

- Indian policy based on Texas ethnic cleansing
  - Mirabeau Bonapart Lamar (2nd Pres of I. R. Tex)
- String of military forts: Ft. Davis, Ft. Bliss, Ft. Stanton to work with reservations in northern Texas, and ultimately, removal from state
- State asked for US military support but undermined it with settler expansion and vigilantism of Rangers
- Sul Ross & John R. Baylor
  - Independent vigilante Texas Ranger campaigns
  - Stoked whites’ fears of “depradations”
  - Harassed and killed Comanche and Wichita on res.
  - “Filibusters” into Mexico
THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST
SOME POSTS, TRIBES, AND BATTLES
OF THE INDIAN WARS
1860–1890

NOTE: State boundaries are shown to identify the location of historical sites.

100 200 300
MILES
California and “Genocide”

- Gold Rush into California
- Massive immigration
- Statehood
- Demographic collapse
- California Indian Law, 1850
- Legalized slavery of children
- Mission Indian land loss
- Senate rejected treaties / reservations
Military Expeditions & Overland Trail

- Overland Trail
- Military topographical mapping missions for trail and rail, Indians, resources
- Growing conflicts with Mescalero in W. Texas
  - Davis and Guadalupe Mountains in present Hudspeth and Culberson Counties
  - Presidio, Big Bend, Ojinaga
  - Northern Chihuahua
- Significance of El Paso & Tucson
Mesilla Treaty / Gadsden Purchase

- Despite proclamations that US would stop cross-border movements, it could not
  - Instability of region contributed to renegotiation

- Inaccurate survey of the border miscalculated El Paso to Yuma boundary line

- Renegotiated Treaty with Gadsden Purchase in 1853/4
  - Included a “pay out” to absolve US from Article 11 of Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo
  - New Boundary line west of El Paso, below Tucson, to Yuma

- Incorporated a lot of Apache and O’odham land

- Mexico rejected the cancellation of Article 11
  - Confirmed belief that Americans helped Apache & Comanche
Trans-National Kickapoos

- Migrated south from Great Lakes
- First entered Spain in 1810s
- 1849 Kickapoos from OKLA followed Coacoochee (Wild Cat), escaped Seminole War in Florida
- Recruited Shawnee, Seminole, Africans, Creek, some Tonkawa, in cross-border attacks
  - Agreements with Mexico
  - El Nacimiento, Muzquiz, Coahuila
  - Cross-border movement continued through 1870s
- 1873-5 Col. Ranald McKenzie led 4th Cavalry into MX
  - Remolino Massacre / Lipan
- Many went to OK but some remained in MX
Crossing the Border

- Unauthorized US incursions “chasing Indians”
- 1855 Military & Rangers under James Callahan followed Lipan into Piedras Negras
- 1861 Ft. Bliss and 1863 New Mexico proposed reciprocal border crossing agreement, but MX rejected
  - Ft. Bliss troops chased Mescalero into Chihuahua
- 1866 Benito Juarez agreed on reciprocal crossing
  - Military campaigns into Texas launched from FT. Bliss
  - Chihuahua first supported, later rejected the agreement
- Both states blamed the other as Apaches crossed at will to evade militaries chasing them
Militarization of the Borderlands
New Borders: Reservations

- Concentration: clear land for Anglo Settlement and trails/rails/resources
- Civilization: program of language, culture, private property, de-tribalization, agriculture, “assimilation”
- North Texas Reservations
  - 1854 Brazos Reserve (Caddos, Wichitas, Tonkawas, others)
  - Clear Fork Reserve (Penetaka Comanche)
- Settlers surrounded and attacked, poached
- 1854 mob attacked and killed dozens
- Agent Robert S. Neighbors escorted them to Indian Territory with military to protect them from Rangers/Anglos
- Removed by 1859
Tigua Indians

- Article XI vs. VIII (savage Indians or Mexicans?)
- 1854 Ysleta Relief Act recognizing Spanish land grant
- Texas should have respected land grant regardless of their status as “Indians or Mexicans”
- Reservation or Land Grant? Neither?
Tiguas “Invisibility”

- Texas Indian Agent Robert S. Neighbors failed to “see” them on his excursions in 1849-54
- Texas Railroad Commissions surveyed land in the west
- 1859 Incorporation of Ysleta denied Tigua voting rights
  - Ignored 1750s Land Grant and Article VIII of Treaty of G-H.
- Establish a “title chain” in Texas law, to extinguish Spanish grant
  - Process delayed during Civil War
  - Anglos “claimed title” since “no-one owned” the land
  - Ignored Tigua land grant and prior occupation
- President Lincoln recognized NM Pueblos in 1864 with “canes” but ignored Tigua b/c they were in Texas (CSA)
Mescaleros Visibility

- Bands of Mescalero
- Tensions with Hispano communities in Dona Ana, Mesilla, Alamo, Tularosa
- New Mexico Territorial Governor & NM Indian Agent
- Westward expansion, Boundary Commission, trails, mapping, railroad surveys, Overland Trail, military forts
Initial Confrontations

- 1842 “peace” between Chihuahua and Mescalero
  - Signed in “El Paso,” Chihuahua
  - Violated fairly quickly
- 1849: Lt. Whiting of the Topographical Corps of Engineers surveying a road through Davis Mountains
  - Met “Chief” Gomez, Cigarrito and Chinonero
- Cigarrito/Chinonero convinced Gomez to let them pass
  - Showed them sources of water and safe passage
  - Informal agreement to “tax” some westward migrants
- Mescalero control of region
- Willingness to cooperate
Initial Confrontations

- 1850: Headman Santana to Lt. Enoch Steen that he had 2,000 warriors ready to retaliate if Steen’s troops entered Organ Mountains in pursuit of Mescaleros that Steen said attacked migrants south of the Guadalupes.
  - The bluff worked and Steen drew back his troops
  - Santana lacked control of the responsible group

- 1850-1851: General Garland, Commander of the Department of New Mexico, launched attacks into Mescalero country in retaliation for cattle thefts in Socorro and Dona Ana, which increased as Comanche pressured Apache, and as Mescaleros had to compete with a Hispano population for resources.

- Several Apache leaders expressed these concerns to Captain A. W. Bowman, an army quartermaster from Ft. Stanton, in 1850
Nov 1850: Mescalero leaders Simon Manuale and Simon Porode reacted to Garland’s campaigns
- Gathered at San Elizario with Major Jefferson Van Horn.
- Agreed NOT to raid migrants if migrants respected Mescalero lands.

Bands (including Josecito) traveled to Santa Fe in 1852 to discuss peace with New Mexico Superintendent for Indian Affairs, John Grenier.
- “Settlement” that southern Mescalero ignored, attacked wagon trains.

Mescalero leader Josecito told Gov. William Car Lane that their new peace treaty did not cover all Apaches in the area because only northern bands considered Josecito their headman.
Apache Treaty of 1852

Major John Grenier, Superintendent for Indian Affairs in New Mexico

Governor William Carr Santa Fe, NM

WHEREAS a Treaty was made and concluded at Santa Fe, New Mexico, on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, by and between Col. E. Y. Sumner U. S. A., commanding the 9th Department, and in charge of the Executive Office of New Mexico, and John Grenier, Indian Agent in and for the Territory of New Mexico, and acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs of said Territory, representing the United States, and Cuentas Aztles, Blanco, Negrito, Captain Simon, Captain Yuelta, and Margus Colorado, chiefs, acting on the part of the Apache nation of Indians, situated and living within the limits of the United States, which treaty is in the words fol-

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

FRANKLIN PIERCE

TO ALL AND SINGULAR TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

July 1, 1852
Articles 1 – 3

1. U.S. authority
2. Peace to Exist
3. Good treatment of U.S. citizens by nations at peace

Article 1. Said nation or tribe of Indians through their authorized Chiefs aforesaid do hereby acknowledge and declare that they are lawfully and exclusively under the laws, jurisdiction, and government of the United States of America, and to its power and authority they do hereby submit.

Article 2. From and after the signing of this Treaty hostilities between the contracting parties shall forever cease, and perpetual peace and amity shall forever exist between said Indians and the government and people of the United States; the said nation, or tribe of Indians, hereby binding themselves most solemnly never to associate with or give countenance or aid to any tribe or band of Indians, or other persons or powers, who may be at any time at war or enmity with the government or people of said United States.

Article 3. Said nation, or tribe of Indians, do hereby bind themselves for all future time to treat honestly and humanely all citizens of the United States, with whom they may have intercourse, as well as all persons and powers, at peace with the said United States, who may be lawfully among them, or with whom they may have any lawful intercourse.
4. Aggression against Apaches handled by the U.S.; Apaches must submit to U.S. law

5. Prohibits “incursions” into Mexico; taking captives or livestock from Mexico; surrender captives and livestock


**Article 4.** All said nation, or tribe of Indians, hereby bind themselves to refer all cases of aggression against themselves or their property and territory, to the government of the United States for adjustment, and to conform in all things to the laws, rules, and regulations of said government in regard to the Indian tribes.

**Article 5.** Said nation, or tribe of Indians, do hereby bind themselves for all future time to desist and refrain from making any “incursions within the Territory of Mexico” of a hostile or predatory character; and that they will for the future refrain from taking and conveying into captivity any of the people or citizens of Mexico, or the animals or property of the people or government of Mexico; and that they will, as soon as possible after the signing of this treaty, surrender to their agent all captives now in their possession.

**Article 6.** Should any citizen of the United States, or other person or persons subject to the laws of the United States, murder, rob, or otherwise maltreat any Apache Indian or Indians, be it or they shall be arrested and tried, and upon conviction, shall be subject to all the penalties provided by law for the protection of the persons and property of the people of the said States.
Articles 7 – 9

7. Free passage of Anglos
8. U.S. military posts agencies, licensed trading houses
8. U.S. shall “at its earliest convenience” settle and designate their boundaries

ARTICLE 7. The people of the United States of America shall have free and safe passage through the territory of the aforesaid Indians, under such rules and regulations as may be adopted by authority of the said States.

ARTICLE 8. In order to preserve tranquillity and to afford protection to all the people and interests of the contracting parties, the government of the United States of America will establish such military posts and agencies, and authorize such trading houses at such times and places as the said government may designate.

ARTICLE 9. Relying confidently upon the justice and the liberality of the aforesaid government, and anxious to remove every possible cause that might disturb their peace and quiet, it is agreed by the aforesaid Apache’s that the government of the United States shall at its earliest convenience designate, settle, and adjust their territorial boundaries, and pass and execute in their territory such laws as may be deemed conducive to the prosperity and happiness of said Indians.
ARTICLE 10. For and in consideration of the faithful performance of all the stipulations herein contained, by the said Apache’s Indians, the government of the United States will grant to said Indians such donations, presents, and implements, and adopt such other liberal and humane measures as said government may deem meet and proper.

ARTICLE 11. This Treaty shall be binding upon the contracting parties from and after the signing of the same, subject only to such modifications and amendments as may be adopted by the government of the United States; and, finally, this treaty is to receive a liberal construction, at all times and in all places, to the end that the said Apache Indians shall not be held responsible for the conduct of others, and that the government of the United States shall so legislate and act as to secure the permanent prosperity and happiness of said Indians.
Signatures and Witnesses

F. A. CUNNINGHAM,
Paymaster, U. S. A.

J. C. McFERRAN,

CALEB SHERMAN.

FRED. SAYNTON.

CHAS. McDougall,
Surgeon, U. S. A.

S. M. BAIRD,
Witness to the signing of Mangus Colorado.

JOHN W. OPE,
Bvt. Capt. T. E.

E. V. SUMNER, [seal.]

JOHN GREINER, [seal.]

CAPITAN VUELTA, his x mark [seal.]
Cuentas Azules, his x mark [seal.]

BLANCITO ——, his x mark [seal.]

NEGRITO ——, his x mark [seal.]

CAPITAN SIMON, his x mark [seal.]
Mangus Colorado, his x mark [seal.]
Cycles of War and Peace

- Decentralization prohibited unilateral decision-making
  - Different reactions by bands

- Northern Mescalero faced greater pressures in NM, which had Indian agents and more forts

- Southern bands had access to cattle ranches, migrants, and Rio Grand settlements
  - Entered Mexico at will

- Military campaigns out of Ft. Conrad, Craig, Fillmore and Bliss hit Sierra Blanca Mescalero harder than southern bands, which were hard to track and contain

- Negrito, Jose, Pluma denied fault for 1853 deaths of emigrants in Dog Canyon, Guadalupe Mtns.
  - Gen. Garland’s punitive expeditions in 1854

- 1855 Expeditions by Longstreet & others
Cycles of War and Peace

- Military pressure convinced a Mescalero delegation led by Josecito and Barranquito to approach Indian Agent Michael Steck at Fort Thorn.
- This meeting led to a larger conference in June of 1855, and Meriwether concluded a treaty at Ft. Thorn with band leaders.
- This 1855 “treaty” was the first to explicitly raise the issue of an exclusive reservation for Mescalero between the Sacramento Mountains and the Rio Pecos.
  - Meriwether lacked authority and the Senate rejected the agreement.
  - The Mescaleros, nonetheless, were expected to relocate to the recently created Ft. Stanton, near Ruidoso, NM
- Confusion and conflict for another 20 years until the government created a “permanent” reservation in 1874/5
Arizona-Sonora Borderlands
Arizona-Sonora Borderlands
Program of civilization

- Clothing, language, housing, religion, behavior
- Opatas/Eduve’s colonized quickly
- Tended to intermarry more than others, served as military for SP against other peoples.

Missions and Reducciones

Labor systems

Seris remained beyond the empire

- Diseases hit closely knit peoples hardest
- Reducccion did not disrupt them as much as it did the Tarahumaras to the east
Identities @ 1800

- Indios Barbaros
- Coyotes
- Serranos
- Naborias (free mulattos)
- Genizaros
- Vecinos
- Mestizos
- Gente de Razon

Economic & labor status
- Jornaleros (servants)
- Gambusinos (miners)
Mexico Policy Towards Indigenous

- Attacked the church and secularized the missions
- “Citizenship” of Indigenous peoples
  - Rising power of secular society and the state, emphasized *land allotment and private interests*
- Mexican state-Indigenous conflicts grew
  - Seri lost more land through the early 1800s
  - Opata defense against Apache
  - Mayo rebellions
- Ethnic cleansing against Seri by private landowner named Pascual Encinas, 1850s
- Yaqui remained independent through the 1880s
Banderas Rebellions

- Yaquis thought they would gain representation in Mexican Congress as independent state/peoples
- Privatization of land led to disputes
  - Yaqui Wars from 1820s through 1830s
  - Juan Bandera “rebellion” against Sonora and sought alliances with the Mayo, Opata, Tohono O’Odham, & Seri
  - Juan de las Banderas
    - Multi-tribal coalition, Virgin of Guadalupe & Moctezuma
    - Captured in 1835 and executed
    - Rebellion continued, led by Seri
    - Yaquis, Mayo, Opata, Pima & Seri held tremendous influence over Sonora through the 1860s
Yaqui Resistance

- Cajeme born near Hermosillo in 1830s
  - Fought for Mexico against Native people in 1860s
  - Acalde Mayor of Rio Yaqui
- Began training Yaqui and Mayo as soldiers in a growing Sonoran civil war
- Politicized and Radicalized
  - Expelled whites from Valley in 1870s
  - Became Indigenous leader
- Full rebellion in 1876, Mayo joined in 1877
  - Truce and independence through 1882
- Diaz regime cracked with 1,000’s of troops
  - Yaqui diaspora
Sonora and Apaches

- 1780s: *Establicimientos de paz* for Apaches
  - Under presidial oversight
  - Farming and agriculture, food, civilization
- Mexico ended the reserves, rations and support
- 1833 *Juan Jose’ Compa* led Apache exodus from Janos, precipitated rebellions
  - Moved to New Mexico
- Sonora implemented extermination policies, frequently seeking aid from Mayos and Opatas
  - Scalp bounties
Apache-Arizona-Sonoran Borderlands

- Sonora subjected to growing Chiricahua expansion
  - Controlled region between northern Sonora, NW Chihuahua, southeastern Arizona, and southwestern NM
- 1850 Sonora-Apache peace failed
- 1851 victory of Mangas Coloradas’ Pinals against troops
- 1850 US policy contrasted with Sonoran policy
  - Treaties, rations, tools, implements, gifts
  - 1852 Apache Treaty in Santa Fe
- Mexican & American villages sought agreements or “calico treaties” with specific bands for food & resources
  - 1856-9: Indian Agent Michael Steck, Charles Poston, and Pinal Chiricahuas in S.E. AZ btwn Tucson & Apache Pass
Apache-Arizona-Sonoran Borderlands

- Confusion over local agreements & US policy
  - US Military failed to stop southern raids, protect settlers and migrants in new Gadsden territory
- Cochise Chiricahuas emboldened by US weaknesses continued raiding Mexican villages
- US mines paid money to Apaches NOT to attack
- Conflicts btwn US/AZ and MX/Sonora: encourage raids into Sonora so Americans could exploit it
- MX weakness and US policy allowed raids
- 1859-1861 Tensions erupted after attempted arrest of Cochise by Lt. Bascom out of Ft. Buchanon
- Exploded into so-called “Apache Wars” in region…
Conclusions across the region?

- Foreign line across Indigenous territories
  - Ignored it, used it
- Confusion about the Articles of the Treaty of GH
- US Policy differed from local realities
  - Reservations, military forts, Office of Indian Affairs
- Apache diaspora and loose “empire”
- Transformation of many Mexican Indigenous peoples into “citizens” and agricultural-labor-village classes
  - Peasant classes
- Pockets of rebellion and resistance in Yaqui-Mayo-Opata-Seri alliances mirrored occasional alliances between Mescaleros and Comanches
- Nation-state tensions and different Indian policies