

*An Assessment of the Archeological,  
Geographical, and the Oral and  
Written Historical Findings  
Regarding the Presence of the  
Apache in Boulder, Colorado*

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As is proper, I first submitted this report to the Elder's Council of the Genízaro Apache Tribe of Colorado to assure its accuracy and that it met with the approval of the Elder's Council. In that way, this report can be regarded as an official document of the Genízaro Apache Tribe of Colorado. I am grateful to the Council for their support and encouragement. I am the author of this report but it is the voice of the Genízaro Apache Tribe of Colorado.

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The tribal elders and members who agreed to be interviewed helped to make this report a living document; one that reifies a continuous presence in Boulder for the Apache people. Colonization has had an undeniable impact on the lives of Apache people and that is reaffirmed in the interviews. The elders who consented to travel to the sites around Boulder, remembering the names, purposes and relationship to the land helped to reconnect us with this ancestral place we call home. I am grateful for their stories and re-membering.

Nimitzmaca cenca tlazocamati huelmiac nona ica nochi noyollo pampa nochi tlamantli.

*Ilaada idaa nadaiłtsé'da daa doo altso danahigha nit'aalé da hinda.*

(Long ago the invaders tried to get rid of us, killing the Native people, but we're still here)

## Abstract

On August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2016, the Boulder City Council passed an ordinance declaring October 12<sup>th</sup> as Indigenous People's Day. Since then, efforts have been made to celebrate and recognize the Indigenous communities of Boulder. Unfortunately, there has been an emphasis on recognizing primarily the Arapaho people. There are a number of Indigenous communities who regarded Colorado and particularly, Boulder, as their home. One of these communities is the Apache. Focusing on the Arapaho is a departure from historical facts. The Arapaho did not arrive in Colorado until the early 1800's. Because Thomas Aikens and his group of illegal immigrants were met by a group of Arapaho at the mouth of Boulder Canyon in 1858, it has been assumed that Boulder resides on Arapaho territory. In fact, Boulder had been the home of the Apache and Nahua speaking communities for millennia before the Arapaho, and Cheyenne communities arrived.

This report corrects the historical assertions that privilege the Arapaho, who no longer reside in Colorado, and corrects the historical record recognizing the Apache as one of the original peoples of the Boulder Valley. It asserts that Boulder is and always has been home to the Apache people. It refutes the notion that the only legitimate American Indian people are those recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It provides a historical narrative about Indigenous communities that departs from the popular narrative about reservation Indians. Furthermore, it refutes the belief that Indian Country is restricted to the territories and internment camps set aside to imprison Indigenous communities reminding the reader that all



of the Americas is Indian land. Using historical, archeological and contemporary accounts, this report rectifies the belief that Boulder is exclusively Arapaho country calling for the Boulder City officials to acknowledge Boulder as home to the Apache people.



## Part I: Introduction

There has always been a continuous Apache presence in Colorado even before the Apache were regarded as a distinct Indigenous community. Despite the genocide and ethnic cleansing of Colorado by the white invaders, Apaches have continued to live in Colorado and in Boulder adapting to the political changes. According to J. Donald Hughes, by 1500 the Apache controlled the Colorado plains.<sup>1</sup> There is substantial evidence of a prolonged Apache presence in the foothills and plains of Colorado. In the early 1800's there were two primary languages spoken in Colorado: Indeh (Apache), and Nahua. Since then, the two primary languages have become Spanish and English substantiating how the area was colonized and by whom. The evidence demonstrating a continuous presence of the Apache in Boulder, Colorado will be presented in this report.

### Deconstructing Academic Narratives

This report, while unconventional, conforms to an Indigenous liberation epistemology wherein Indigenous form, structure and narration is averred. In order to chronicle the presence of the Apache in Boulder, Colorado, it is necessary to contest the conclusions of previous research that diminishes or dismisses the Indigenous assertions of historical ties to the Americas—and more specifically, the Apache tie to Boulder. It is almost impossible to find a book written by white scholars that does not begin with the premise that the Original Peoples of the Americas migrated here from Asia. Despite Western scientific narrative that homo sapiens migrated out of Africa, only the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas have their legal claim to the land disputed based upon the assertion of a migration myth. Only the

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<sup>1</sup> Donald Hughes, *American Indians in Colorado*, (University of Denver, 1977), 30-1.

Indigenous peoples of the Americas have their right to land questioned in every historical document written about them.

“We are faced today with a concept of world history that lacks even the most basic appreciation of the experiences of mankind as a whole. Unless other cultures and nations have some important relationship with the nations of Western Europe, they have little or no status in the interpretation of world history. Indeed, world history as presently conceived in the Christian nations is the story of the West’s conquest of the remainder of the world . . .”<sup>2</sup>

The migration myth is founded in the theft of land by the White Christians as a means to justify the theft. It is necessary, then, in this report to critically analyze the conjecture from which all assertions about Apaches (and other Indigenous peoples) are made by white scholars so as to reframe the context of this narration through an Indigenous lens.

This report references historical records including maps, origin stories, archeological evidence, cultural references and interviews of Apache people to affirm Boulder, Colorado as a continuous, historical home of the Apache peoples. Core questions necessary to arrive at such a thesis include: What is an Apache? What constitutes Apacheness? How has the Apache changed and adapted over time; particularly in regards to invasion and colonization from the South and the East by both Indigenous and white invaders?

While many books have been written about Apache people, almost all of the books have been written by non-Apaches. Enshrined within the writings of non-Apaches are

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<sup>2</sup> Vine Deloria, Jr. *God is Red*, (Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994), p. 108.

attempts to define Apacheness using an outsider lens. Categorizations of Apacheness are boxed and labeled from a western paradigm of fragmentation from the whole and comparisons are made to a white, western template as the standard of civilization and progress. Indigenous peoples, Apaches included, have been dissected and dismembered so extensively that any attempts to re-member are not only challenging, they are met with hostility because the surgeons loath to have their carnage meddled with; especially by their actual victims. Key aspects of the lenses through which Indigenous people, and particularly Apaches, have been dissected must be deconstructed and reframed for the purpose of this report.

### Addressing white paradigms

As an introduction to understanding this report, it is necessary to deconstruct and address Western paradigms that intrude upon analysis of Indigenous existence in the Americas. Egregious conclusions have been and continue to be made about Indigenous people without contestation precisely because the Indigenous voice has been systemically silenced and excluded in the discourse. Therefore, calling attention to the primary assumptions made, i.e. the lens through which Indigenous people are summarily categorized, when drawing conclusions about Indigenous communities must be addressed. Failure to do so results in the same erroneous conclusions, thereby perpetuating the same misinformation about Indigenous communities of the Americas. “Since the time of Columbus’s ‘rediscovery of America’ to the later decades of the twentieth century, educators have been wrong on

almost every count in their assessment of the antiquity and significance of civilization in the Americas.”<sup>3</sup> For the sake of this paper, the following conclusions will be disputed:

- knowledge must be categorized into specialized areas or compartments
- the Bering Strait myth is science
- the eugenics philosophy is a universal presupposition
- ownership of property is a universal foundation
- nature is something to be tamed
- time must be fragmented into measurable and linear sections
- everything must be inanimately nounced
- Apache existence must be relegated to a historical past

If you ask a white American where he is from, he will argue vehemently for a connection to the soil upon which he stands even when there is no question that he descends from Europe. Although he could never justify his right to the land upon which he stands (given that it was all stolen), it does not prevent him from asserting his right to the land in accordance to his creation, origin and migration stories. If we are to believe the origin myth of the scientists, then it could be argued that we are all Africans. But we are not all Africans and our connections to the land upon which we reside is important and validates who we are even if there are discrepancies in the telling. There is relevance in the creation, origin, migration and historical narratives of every community. To privilege one community’s story over another’s is wrong. It can never be justified. Nevertheless, entire communities have been erased from history because “the victors” have edited, omitted or censored the

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<sup>3</sup> Ivar Zapp and George Erikson, *Atlantis in America*, (Adventures Unlimited Press, 1998), p 56.

narratives of the subaltern. Unfortunately, western educational institutions have also restricted what qualifies as not just viable narratives, but proper convention for viable narration. There is a form to which research and narration must comply to be regarded as legitimate and conforming to (white) standards. This report deviates from (western) convention.

An essential part of this paper is to re-member the Apache being, change the Indigenous narrative and integrate Apachería into a contiguous whole to provide a more unified and realistic analysis of an Apachería historical narrative which is accurate and comprehensive. For this report, I reference the Southwest as including the states of California, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas [Nuevo Méjico]. From a Mexican perspective we would have to include the states of Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, Sinaloa and Durango, (Nueva Vizcaya). Apachería includes all of these states along with Montana, South Dakota, Wyoming, Nebraska, Kansas and Idaho [See fig. 1]. The territory that pertained first to New Spain and later to Mexico as Northern Mexico only became the U.S. Southwest in 1848. While many scholars might regard the state of New Mexico as the “southwest”, Indigenous people never made such a distinction. Historical research cannot be so myopically isolated. Colonization of Apachería happened from the northeast by other Indigenous communities, from the south from white and Indigenous communities, and from the east by the white community.

### Defining Apache territory

Athabascan people have been divided into three groups: those in Canada/Alaska, those of the Pacific Northwest and those of the “south” (Apachería). This report focuses on

the Apache people of the Southern Athabascan area known as Indetah or Apachería prior to 1850, Nuevo Méjico (1540 – 1848) and Colorado and New Mexico post-American colonization (1840 – 1880) [See fig. 1]. It does not reify assertions by white scholars that continue to misalign Indigenous peoples as “immigrants” to the Americas. Indigenous people of the Americas have always lived in the Americas and have never regarded any other place in the world as “home” or a place they “came from.”

Boulder, Colorado sits on what has always been Apache land; not exclusively Apache land, but Apache land none-the-less.

Furthermore, Indigenous communities did not utilize the eugenic racism trope, typical of the colonizing invaders, as a means to categorize individuals and communities. On the



*Figure 1 Indetah or Apachería extended from the Missouri River to the Mapimi Desert, from the Colorado River to the Mississippi River.*

contrary, Indigenous communities always intermarried and intermixed sharing culture, customs, technology and genealogy such that Apaches have always been related to others groups that also lived in the area from the beginning either by marriage, adoption or later by force. “As they ranged within the historic period from Canada to central Mexico and from Arkansas to the borders of California, they came in contact with nearly all the tribes on this



side of the Columbia river region and were visitors in peace or war at most of the military and trading posts within the same limits.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Seventeenth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1895-96* by J.W. Power, in two parts – part 1. Washington, Government, Printing Office 1898.

## Part II: Categorization of Knowledge into Compartments

It is a Western imperative to put everything into boxes. Everything must be dissected and categorized in order to be understood. Even though no such boxes exist in nature, the Western world is compelled to dissecting everything as a way of making sense of their world. There are boxes for geography, for language, for race, for communities, for associations, for time, DNA, geographic movement, height, weight, color, gender, religion, spirituality, governance, commerce, political thought; everything has a box to which it is assigned. Consequently, the Indigenous peoples of the Americas have been stuck into so many boxes—boxes that become cages—that it becomes impossible to fully grasp the Indigenous worldview. Any statement made about Indigenous peoples is a systemic proclamation about the box into which assignments are made.

Jack Forbes in his book, *Columbus and Other Cannibals*, coined the term *wétiko* to describe “the disease of aggression against other living things and, more precisely, the disease of consuming of other creatures’ lives and possessions.”<sup>5</sup> I have utilized the term *gringismo* to reference the white, Christian hegemony that is the U.S. paradigm under which we live and that shapes and informs the indoctrinated Indigenous being.<sup>6</sup> As Indigenous beings regard themselves, they do so utilizing terminology, historicity, and relationship to place as determined by invaders. This impacts self-identity. It is unfortunate that Indigenous

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<sup>5</sup> Jack Forbes, *Columbus and Other Cannibals*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1979), 24-5.

<sup>6</sup> The term *gringismo* comes from the word *gringo*, which translates as foreigner, and is the best descriptive term found by this author to succinctly describe those individuals who are usually, but not always, white and who embrace a genocidal, patriarchal, Christian, colonialist, capitalistic, white supremacist epistemology and privilege called *gringismo*. The term *gringo* is used in its original meaning, which is neither pejorative nor offensive (See, Young, 1994).

beings have been complicit in inculcating externally imposed notions of self. Forbes introduces the language to communicate the how Indigenous peoples of the Americas have been infected with the *wétiko* disease, thereby becoming complicit in their own oppression. With the imposition of Christian values, a token system of exchange, capitalism, racism and all of the *wétiko* illness associated with *gringismo* (white supremacy), the Indigenous individual has a fractured sense of self and identity.

Current self-identifying terms used by Indigenous people residing on Turtle Island range from American Indian, Native American, Indian, First Nation, Native, Aboriginal, to Indigenous. Yet none of these terms have any relation to the original names used by the original peoples of this hemisphere and are more of a reflection of geopolitical borders than Indigenous concepts of “self.” Even many of the “tribal” names popularly used to identify Indigenous communities are labels imposed by other groups: Apache for the Ndé from a Zuñi word *Apachu* meaning enemy, Sioux for the Lakota/Dakota/Nakota from French meaning “cutthroat”, Pueblos for the Tihua, Tehua, Keresan, Tohua, Hopi, Zuñi, which is derived from the Spanish word for people or town, etc. In every instance each community had a name for itself that usually referenced itself as “the people,” for example: Lakota – the people, Diné – the people, Hopituh Shi-nu-mu - The Peaceful People, Tehua [Tewa] – We, Tohuah [Towa], Our children, etc. Moreover, “many American Indian youth experience cultural conflicts and difficulties in identity development due to differences between the values and expectations of their tribal traditions and those of mainstream American social and educational systems”.<sup>7</sup> Self-regard, how Indigenous individuals and communities locate

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<sup>7</sup> M. T. Garrett, “Two People: an American Indian narrative of bicultural identity.” *Journal of American Indian Education*. 36(1), 1996, 1-14.

themselves spatially and temporally are reflections of an externally imposed notion of identity in relation to gringismo.

As Indigenous communities have been displaced and become landless<sup>8</sup> their validity as Indigenous people has been intentionally undermined and “scientifically” challenged by the imposition of such notions as “blood quantum”.<sup>9</sup> Native Americans have been categorized as Reservation Natives, those who are enrolled in a federally recognized tribe and reside on a reservation; Off-Reservation Natives, those who are enrolled in a federally recognized tribe but reside off of the reservation; and Non-Reservation Natives, those who are enrolled in tribes that do not have a land-base and are not federally recognized.<sup>10</sup> It is important to remember that reservations are internment camps. I introduce a fourth category, the Displaced Natives, those Indigenous communities and individuals who have been removed both from their original tribal communities and had their land-bases stolen and occupied by the invading colonizers. The Displaced Natives have also been referred to as the “throw-away” Indians because they are rejected by both tribal communities and gringos.<sup>11</sup>

### Governmental impositions

Identity is only further complicated in that tribes are required to be federally recognized

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<sup>8</sup> Landless, “owning no land,” implies having no land. The concept of “ownership” of land is a foreign concept. In the case of the African slaves that were brought to the Americas landless is an appropriate term as they have been removed from their original homeland. For Indigenous people that continue to reside on their traditional homeland alongside the invading gringos, *dislodged* is a more appropriate term meaning “to remove from an established or fixed position” according to the Oxford dictionary.

<sup>9</sup> See L. Ross, *Inventing the Savage*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); J. Doerfler, J. “An Anishinaabe Tribalography,” in *American Indian Quarterly* 33(3), 2009, 295.

<sup>10</sup> Ross, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Vivian Delgado, *You’re Not Indian, You’re Mexican*, (Broomfield, CO: Turtle Island Press, 2007).

by the United States Government before they can make any claim to land or exercise any “sovereign” rights. “Sovereignty is a fragile concept whose meaning is shaped and reshaped by legislation and court decisions”.<sup>12</sup> Rickard writes “Sovereignty is the border that shifts indigenous experience from a victimized stance to a strategic one.”<sup>13</sup> So in the absence of sovereignty there is the feeling of being victimized. It has been through the machinations of the government that federal statutes dealing with Indian rights and governance laws like the Dawes Act, the Indian Reorganization Act and the Indian Civil Rights Act (also known as the Indian Bill of Rights) that the “rights” of Indigenous people have been eroded. U.S. federal law recognizes a special kind of Indigenous sovereign authority to govern ourselves, subject to an overriding federal authority. Indigenous tribes are considered by federal case law to be “domestic, dependent nations”.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the inherent sovereignty of Indigenous nations, gringos have utilized every means necessary to undermine Indigenous sovereignty prompting Chief Justice John Marshall to comment on the matter--*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 1831*--in an attempt to protect Indigenous sovereignty.<sup>15</sup> Sovereign authority extends to Indian tribal courts, which adjudicate matters relating to Indian affairs but is very limited. The *Assimilative Crimes Act* of 1825 limited the number of crimes committed on Tribal Land that Tribal governments could prosecute.<sup>16</sup> The U.S. Supreme Court heard a case in 2008 concerning the extent of

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<sup>12</sup> Ross, op. cit.

<sup>13</sup> Jolene Rickard, “Sovereignty: A Line in the Sand,” in *Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices*, (New York, NY: Aperture Foundation, 1995), 51.

<sup>14</sup> E. F. Bennett, *Federal Indian Law*, (New Jersey: The Law Book Exchange, LTD, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> David Getches, et. al., *Federal Indian Law*, 5th edition, (St. Paul: West, 2005), 104-122. See also, Ward Churchill, *A Little Matter of Genocide*, (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1997).

<sup>16</sup> See Deloria and Lytle, 1983; Ross, 1998

tribal courts' jurisdiction. In *Plains Commerce Bank v. Long Family Cattle Co.* (07-411), the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed a long-held principle that tribes do not have jurisdiction over non-Indians conducting activity on a non-Indian fee simple, even if on an Indian reservation, unless the activity threatens the welfare of the tribe. In effect, Indigenous people even within tribal boundaries remain “wards” of the federal government. The *General Crimes Act* of 1817 enacted by the U.S. Congress granted federal jurisdiction over Indigenous people wherein tribes retained exclusive jurisdiction only over offenses in which both the offender and the victim are Indigenous.<sup>17</sup> In all other cases, tribes now hold concurrent jurisdiction with the federal government.<sup>18</sup>

On October 9, 2018, the Supreme Court declined to rule on a case, *Brakebill v. Jaeger*, 586, U.S. (2018), that effectively denied Indigenous people from North Dakota the right to vote. The Supreme Court chose not to hear the case because “last-minute [c]ourt orders affecting elections, especially conflicting orders, can themselves result in voter confusion and consequent incentive to remain away from the polls.”<sup>19</sup> In short, it was better to prevent Indian people from voting than to confuse them about voting. The Supreme Court’s decision not to hear the case leaves the earlier ruling in place. The lower court’s ruling denies Indian people from voting because the lower court ruled that they have to have “residential-address identification”, i.e. a state ID that gives a precise location on the reservation where they live. Because such precise addresses do not exist, post office boxes are used by Indian people on reservations. It is akin to asking incarcerated convicts to

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<sup>17</sup> R. Barsh, “Kennedy’s Criminal Code Reform Bill and What It Doesn’t Do for the Tribes,” in *American Indian Journal* 6(3), 1980, 2-15.

<sup>18</sup> Ross, op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> *Brakebill v. Jaeger*, 586 U. S. (2018), Supreme Court of the United States, Ginsberg dissenting.

provide ID with their specific cell location. Convicts are not allowed to vote and Indian people on reservations are regarded as convicts despite their only crime being that they were the original inhabitants of the land. American Indians are treated as convicts even as their restrictions have been eased and they are now regarded as members of “sovereign nations”. The point being made here is that the Supreme Court continues to be an enemy of state to Indian people and that there is a precedent to continuously diminish Indigenous rights.

The *U.S. Supreme Court and Congress* have not only disempowered nations of Indigenous people from governing themselves but they *have also determined that only states and the federal governments can declare who can be legally identified as “Indian”* for the purpose of receiving state and federal benefits. According to the United States government a legal Indian is “Any person who has the certifiable Indian blood quantum to meet the enrollment requirements of a federally recognized tribe”.<sup>20</sup> Even though tribes have the authority to determine who qualifies as a member of the tribe, this determination is often influenced by federal guidelines enforced by the Department of the Interior regarding federal recognition.<sup>21</sup> There are only 566 federally recognized tribes in the United States, with a total membership of about 1.7 million.

Federal recognition formally establishes a government-to-government relationship between the tribe and the U.S. Government. Recognition provides tribes exemptions from state and local jurisdiction on tribal or “Indian” lands. These exemptions generally apply to lands that the federal government has taken into trust for a tribe or its members. Additionally, federally recognized tribes are eligible to receive federal assistance for community service

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<sup>20</sup> G. Russell, *Native American FAQ's Handbook*, (Russell Publications, 2000), 42-5.

<sup>21</sup> Doerfler, *op. cit.*

programs like health clinics, schools, BIA services, tribal court development monies, educational scholarships, etc.

Many tribes were granted recognition through treaties, by the Congress, or through administrative decisions within the executive branch. In 1978, the Bureau of Indian Affairs established a regulatory process for recognizing tribes. The current process for federal recognition, found in 25 C.F.R. 83, is a rigorous process requiring the petitioning tribe to satisfy seven mandatory criteria, including historical and continuous American Indian identity in a distinct community. Each of the criteria demands exceptional anthropological, historical, and genealogical research and a presentation of evidence to the courts requiring exhaustive legal fees. The vast majority of petitioners do not meet these strict standards and/or cannot afford the cost resulting in far more petitions being denied than are accepted. Since 1960 only about eight percent of the total number of recognized tribes have been individually recognized. There are several hundred groups seeking recognition, a process that oftentimes takes decades to complete.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, a good number of the small tribes looking for federal recognition are more interested in building casinos than preserving Indigenous thought and culture.

Failure to achieve federal recognition places an added burden on those tribes and individuals who are denied recognition. It results in denied access to services promised under the many treaties signed between tribes and the federal government, appropriation of tribal land, and the *de facto* assignment of the status of *persona non grata*, literally an “unwelcome person” for those individuals that are members of these tribes. These unwelcome individuals

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<sup>22</sup> B. T. Hill, *Indian Issues: Improvements Needed in Tribal Recognition*. Report to Congressional Requesters, (Washington, DC: United States General Accounting Office, 2001).



are then relegated to the categories of “wanna-be Indians,” “plastic medicine men,” “drug store Indians” and “Mexicans”.<sup>23</sup> A study conducted of Indigenous identified individuals of Colorado found that:

“. . . genocide is very much an on-going and present mechanism of the U.S. government. There is a very present and real danger in the lives of most of these participants that warrants a heightened awareness about potentially dangerous situations that are part and parcel of the mechanism of genocide. One participant talked about the ways Indigenous people treat one another that create a “hierarchy of Indian-ness” which he regarded as “buying into a system of genocide.” Many urban Indians, Chicanos included, experience being placed somewhere along this hierarchy which felt pejorative and restrictive. It is bad enough that one beats up on oneself because of all the messages received from friends, family, schooling, media, etc. about how one does not qualify to call oneself Indian, but to add insult to injury “rez Indians” or those someplace higher up along this constructed hierarchy contribute to this disqualification of Indian-ness that results in various forms of lateral violence; a form of hostility and bashing that may reify for the basher how Indian s/he is but contributes nothing to the truth of indigeneity.<sup>24</sup>

There is an on-going systemic agenda of genocide which mandates severing the ties to land from the descendants of the original inhabitants of the land through a process of

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<sup>23</sup> Delgado, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> See, D. Atepatzin Young, *Chicano Indigenous Identity and Lateral Violence: A Qualitative Study of Indigenous Identified Individuals in Colorado*, (Ann Harbor, MI: UMI Publishing, 2011).

attrition, disqualification and disregard for the truth of the historical bond. Laws, policies and historical erasure and amnesia have been effective in justifying the breaking of treaty promises and re-relegating Indigenous people to a “minority” status rather than one of nation-to-nation status.

It is rare for any scholar to question the box into which Indigenous individuals or communities have been assigned. The assignments are problematic for the Indigenous beings upon whom they are imposed and it has no relevance to Indigenous thought. For example, the very basic notion of family, as asserted in the epistemology of white America, is reduced to a nuclear unit of heterosexual father, mother and children. Indigenous constructions of family extend to include aunties and uncles as parents, cousins as siblings, clans as extended family with adoptions regarded as blood relatives. Familial relations are not bound by Christian constructs of gender, gender role, race or the many ways in which white paradigms exclude individuals.

The underlying theme that is at the core of the white “scientific” conclusions about Apache people are intrinsically rooted in a white supremacist perspective of the world and history: geography + culture + linguistics + skin color = race. It is impossible for white science to ascribed boxes to people (who are not white) that do not terminate in some racial categorization. And, that racial purity (marrying only into one’s own racial category) was an Indigenous quality that prevails into today. Nothing could be further from the truth. Using language to racially categorize a community would be the same as assuming all U.S. citizens speak English Only and are therefore white. It behooves us then, to avoid categorizing Indigenous peoples, and Apaches specifically, into boxes that restrict the potential for

growth, change or options that differ from the ascribed notions. Apache people, like the rest of the universe, are in flux. Apaches change and adapt to their environment, as needed, to survive and thrive. Such adaptation has allowed Apache people to be resilient despite the myriad invasions, violence, religious, cultural and political impositions. Still, Apache people must contend with the paper genocide that seeks to erase, rearrange or silence the Apache narrative and cosmology.

### Regarding the Apache

Almost all precolonial Indigenous self-references could be translated to mean “one of us”, “we the people”, “the people”, or “people in association with a geographical reference.” Chienneh N’deh is a reference to a (Apache speaking) people affiliated with red mud (alongside a river or creek). On the 1852 map of *North America and Northern Mexico, Sheet XV*, there is a place along the Arkansas River just east of Pueblo called Chienne that is an Apache word for “red mud” [See fig. 2]. Indigenous associations have to do with relationships rather than compartmentalization rooted in empirical notions of sameness or difference. Naming of geographical spaces by Apache people are categorical references in a proscribed order to: location markers, emotional associations with a given location, and interactive relationship with the ascribed space.



Figure 2 Chienne alongside the Arkansas River in Indian Territory, 1852 Map. Chienne means "red mud".

Linguistically, the Apache language was (and is) spoken from Mexico to Alaska with its many variances over time. “Similarities in languages make all of the known Athapaskan languages or dialects mutually intelligible to some degree; and all of the groups belonging to the Southern Athapascans were at some time referred to as Apaches.”<sup>25</sup> At the same time, Nahuatl has been spoken from Canada to Costa Rica along with all of its variants over time. Nahuatl was the primary language of the Pueblos, including Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and many of those along the Río Grande. It was also spoken throughout the Rocky Mountains by the Utes, Paiutes, Shoshone, Comanche, and in the deserts by the Hopi, Mohave, Pima, Yaqui, as well as others further south. Many of these communities are unique and distinct but

<sup>25</sup> Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), xi.

clearly have a strong ancestral connection as affirmed by the linguistic bond. Today, we regard all of the communities as “Americans” i.e., U.S. citizens based on the imagined notion of “nation”. Which begs the question, at what point do we regard communities as connected or separate? At what point do similarities and differences outweigh connections or distinctions? How do we determine who goes into what box? What significance is there in dissecting Indigenous communities that are more similar than distinct? It keeps Indigenous communities divided and weakened when confronting gringismo. All manner of division of Indigenous communities—blood quantum, tribal identification, pedigree, linguistic categorization, cultural attributes, historical references—are part of the strategic tools of gringismo and genocide to eradicate the Indigenous being from U.S. soil.

### Part III: The Bering Strait Myth

*In the beginning there was only darkness for all living things dwelt in an underworld. It is the place where all things were created out of clay. After the sun and moon were created, the humans and the animals played a game to determine if the world would be filled with light or darkness. Light prevailed and some animals retreated to the dark, like the owl, the bear, the panther and the raccoon for they preferred the dark. With the light, the people could see that there was another world above the underground place where they lived. Through trial and error and with the cooperation of the animals the Apache eventually left the darkness to populate the top of the earth leaving the original grandfather and grandmother behind for they were too old and tired to make the journey. “You will return when you die,” the elders said. Once upon the earth, the Apache traveled in a sunwise direction, following the sun, until they had traveled over much of Turtle Island. At last they decided to settle in the center, in the heart of Inde’tah (Apachería); within the territory bound by rivers of the Missouri, the Mississippi, the Rio Grande, and the Colorado. [Origin story of the Genízaro Apache].*

In her book *The Apache Peoples*, which Jessica Palmer touts as a book “designed to cover all groups, all bands and all tribes from the Western Apache to the easternmost Lipan and the northern Plains or Kiowas Apache,” Palmer devotes the first two chapters reifying the Bering Strait myth.<sup>26</sup> Interpreting an Apache creation story, Palmer writes, “the world upon which the supernatural being and humanity’s forebears arise is a watery world, which could indicate the period around the melting of the Laurentide ice sheet, approximately

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<sup>26</sup> Jessica Dawn Palmer, *The Apache Peoples*, (McFarland & Company, 2013), p 2.

12,000 years ago.”<sup>27</sup> Ignoring that this is purely speculation on her part, Palmer expends considerable ink attempting to prove a migration of the Athabascan peoples (she uses the term Nadene coined by white anthropologists) from Asia, the Near East, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean Europe, and the Altai Mountains of east-central Eurasia, east of the Gobi Desert. Palmer attempts to strengthen her argument citing genetics, archaeology, linguistics and anthropology.

The friar José de Acosta who in his 1589 writings, *Historia Natural y Moral du Las Indias* declared that Indigenous people had all arrived in the “new world” by crossing a bridge of ice between Asia and Alaska.<sup>28</sup> “Under apologist Acosta’s theory the Americas were settled by primitive hunters who had originated in the most remote and primitive part of Asia—Siberia”.<sup>29</sup> Acosta missioned in Peru. He never set foot on the North American continent. He never traveled to Alaska or Asia, and yet, felt justified in making grand proclamations about an entire hemisphere of people to accommodate his failure to regard Indigenous peoples as his equal. Despite the fact that there is no evidence to support his land bridge theory, and that there is compelling evidence that contradicts this fable, it has become science. “A rather flimsy theory, based on no actual research, received universal acceptance from the scientific community and found its way into our body of scientific knowledge. It has remained there long enough that it is now considered conventional wisdom.”<sup>30</sup> It is near

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>28</sup> José de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral du Las Indias*, 1589.

<sup>29</sup> Zapp and Erikson, *Atlantis, op. cit.*, pp. 56-7. See also, Stuart j. Fiedel, *Prehistory of the Americas*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

impossible to open any book about Indigenous people that does not begin the first chapter with the Bering Strait fable.

Affixed to the Bering Strait fable is the second fabrication that Indigenous people arrived in the Americas 12,000 years ago (more recent scholarship has moved the date back to 20,000 years ago). It is only one of the many big lies told about Indigenous peoples of the Americas but it is not without a purpose. The thinking goes that if the Original Peoples of the Americas just arrived a few thousand years before Columbus, then the Indigenous peoples have no real claim to the land because they are also immigrants. Therefore, land theft, genocide and murder of Indigenous people is justified because “survival of the fittest” is natural law.<sup>31</sup> “The land title of the United States relates back to the famous doctrine of Discovery, whereby Christian nations were allowed by the pope to claim the discovered lands of non-Christian peoples.”<sup>32</sup> Despite overwhelming scientific evidence to the contrary, the Bering Strait myth and the recent arrival (12,000 years ago) myth prevail because of the purpose that they serve, i.e., justification of genocide, ethnic cleansing, displacement of Indigenous communities and land theft. In the words of the American Indian philosopher, John Trudell, “We are the survivors. We are the evidence of their crimes. They don’t want us as a reminder of what they did.”

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<sup>31</sup> The United States has justified the Armageddon that it has visited upon the Indigenous people of the country by rooting the U.S. Constitution to convoluted Christian Law via the 1823 U.S. Supreme Court case of *Johnson v. McIntosh*. Conquest, the right of might, is the justification given to “extinguish the Indian title” because “Indian inhabitants are to be considered merely as occupants” and to leave Indians in possession of their country “was to leave the country a wilderness.” See, David Getches, et. al. *Federal Indian Law*, (St. Paul: West, 2005), pp. 1-71.

<sup>32</sup> Vine Deloria, Jr. *God*, op. cit. p. 112.



It is worthwhile to add that, according to scientists, no proper civilization existed in the Americas before the birth of Christ. Almost all dating of ancient Indigenous civilizations in the Americas have a start date of about 2,000 years ago at the earliest. To exist before that time frame becomes an affront to Christian thought. While Christ bestowed upon the world a New World order, the rest of the world was too elementary in thought and morality to propose or contest such a blessing (or so the shrouded thinking goes).

### Archeological evidence to the contrary

Anthropologists have established timeframes into which they group Indigenous archeological findings: Paleoindian Period – 12,000 Before Present (BP); Archaic Period – 7800 to 1850 BP; and the Prehistoric and protohistoric/historic periods – 275 BP. Because the Paleoindian period only extends back 12,000 before our present time, Anthropologists find it difficult to accept archeological evidence that predates that timeframe. It is important to remember that the timeframes asserted by anthropologist are arbitrary. No such timeframes exist in Indigenous thought. Nahua and Apache communities share stories of the four worlds of man, a succession of attempt and failure on the part of the powers that be to create a habitable and harmonious world for humans, plants and animals. All Indigenous framing of epochs are relational: gods, nature, land, creatures and humans. All the Indigenous people of the past are our ancestors, our grandfathers, our grandmothers. Indigenous relationship and reference to the ancestors are not rooted in an arbitrary Christian calendar.

There is evidence to support the presence of Indigenous people in North America as far back as 130,000 years ago near present day San Diego, California.

Here we describe the Cerutti Mastodon (CM) site, an archaeological site from the early late Pleistocene epoch, where *in situ* hammerstones and stone anvils occur in spatio-temporal association with fragmentary remains of a single mastodon (*Mammuth americanum*). The CM site contains spiral-fractured bone and molar fragments, indicating that breakage occurred [sic] while fresh. Several of these fragments also preserve evidence of percussion. The occurrence and distribution of bone, molar and stone refits suggest that breakage occurred at the site of burial. Five large cobbles (hammerstones and anvils) in the CM bone bed display use-wear and impact marks, and are hydraulically anomalous relative to the low-energy context of the enclosing sandy silt stratum. Th/U radiometric analysis of multiple bone specimens using diffusion–adsorption–decay dating models indicates a burial date of  $130.7 \pm 9.4$  thousand years ago. These findings confirm the presence of an unidentified species of *Homo* at the CM site during the last interglacial period (MIS 5e; early late Pleistocene), indicating that humans with manual dexterity and the experiential knowledge to use hammerstones and anvils processed mastodon limb bones for marrow extraction and/or raw material for tool production . . . The CM site is, to our knowledge, the oldest *in situ*, well-documented archaeological site in North America and, as such, substantially revises the timing of arrival of *Homo* into the Americas.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Steven R. Holen, et. al., “A 130,000-year-old archaeological site in southern California, USA.” In *Nature* 544, (27 April 2017), pp. 479-483.

Scientists remain in conflict about the time in which Indigenous peoples arrived in the Americas as they struggle to force-fit the timeframes that have been ascribed; “all analysts agree that any reasonable set of estimates indicates that people must have lived in North America significantly longer than the available radiocarbon record suggests they did . . . the archaeology that we view as the residue of the first migrants to the continent actually represents people who lived many generations later in time than those first migrants.”<sup>34</sup>

Three infants were found in frozen earth in Upward Sun River, Alaska. Two of the infants were DNA tested. Findings revealed that the infants were buried approximately 11.5 thousand years ago. The DNA revealed that the infants were “most closely related to Native Americans, but falls basal to all previously sequenced contemporary and ancient Native Americans.”<sup>35</sup> In short, their DNA did not match any other DNA in the data banks of the scientists for Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. Because of the unexpected difference, “we infer that the Ancient Beringian population and ancestors of other Native Americans descended from a single founding population . . .”<sup>36</sup> Of course, what other conclusion can be drawn if the entrenched belief is that all Indigenous peoples of the Americas are related and crossed the Bering Strait? Because the belief that all Indigenous peoples of the Americas were funneled into the Americas via one route 12,000 years ago, all Indigenous people have to be related. Rooted in a Christian epistemology of one father and one mother, no other

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<sup>34</sup> Douglas B. Bamforth, “Clovis Caches and Clovis Knowledge of the North American Landscape,” in *Clovis Caches: Recent Discoveries and New Research*, ed. Bruce B Huckell, J. David Kilby (University of New Mexico Press, 2014 ), 40.

<sup>35</sup> J. Victor Moreno-Mayar, Ben A. Potter, et. al., “Terminal Pleistocene Alaskan genome reveals first founding population of Native Americans”, in *Nature*, 11 January 2018, Vol 553, 203.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

conclusions can be drawn. There is an obvious failure to acknowledge DNA that is specific to the Americas.

In a report in the journal of *Nature*, Rasmussen, et al., sequenced the genome of a male infant (Anzick-1) from Montana. The bones dated back to approximately 12,556 to 12,707 years before our present time. These bones were associated with what are called Clovis tools. In 1968, the skeleton of a young boy, believed to be about 18 months old when he died, was found at what is now called the Anzick burial site in western Montana. The site was carbon dated to 12,600 years BCE. The child has been assigned by white scientists as belonging to the non-existent “Clovis” people. The child is believed to be the ancestor of “most Native Americans living today” provided that, “the population of humans living in the New World about 13,000 years ago was very small and every member was closely related to the others.”<sup>37</sup>

We assessed the genome-wide genetic affinity of the Anzick-1 individual to 143 contemporary non-African human populations by computing outgroup f<sub>3</sub>-statistics, which are informative on the amount of shared genetic drift between an individual and other populations. The data set included 52 Native American populations, for which genomic segments derived from recent European and African admixture have been excluded. We found that the Anzick-1 individual showed a statistically significant closer affinity to all 52 Native American groups than to any extant Eurasian population.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ker Than, “Oldest Burial Yields DNA Evidence of First Americans,” in *National Geographic*, February 12, 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Morten Rasmussen, et. al, “The genome of a Late Pleistocene human from a Clovis burial site in western Montana,” in *Nature*, Vol 506, 13 Feb 2014, 225.

While determining that the Anzick boy is as Native as all Native Americans and clearly not Euroasian, the scientist still declare that the child is Asian and an ancestor to all Indigenous peoples across three continents. As proposed, Anzick boy would have had a very large family to populate the entire hemisphere. There is not an Indian alive today that has relatives across three continents and an entire hemisphere. The conclusions drawn by the scientists make no sense to anyone, and yet they persist.

Michael Waters, director of the Center for the Study of the First Americans at Texas A&M University and co-author of a DNA study done on the remains said, "This shows very clearly that the ancestry of the very first Americans can be traced back to Asia," Waters also goes on to say, "Unfortunately, we don't have much genetic material for native people living in the United States, if you look at the genetic map [of humans around the world], the U.S. is a big [blank] spot." It begs the obvious question, if you have no DNA reference markers for determining "Native American" DNA because "Native American groups in the U.S. have been reluctant to share their DNA, or the DNA of their ancestors, with scientists," how can any claim be made that the Indigenous peoples of the Americas that span thousands of miles are therefore all related to a small family that came from Asia?<sup>39</sup> The leaps that white people make to prove the Bering Strait myth are just incredible.

Ben Potter, University of Alaska Fairbanks archaeologist, and Eske Willerslev, University of Copenhagen geneticist, put together a diagram of the proposed DNA influences that make up the people of the Americas [See fig. 3]. There is diversity in the findings from several sources across the Americas. However, there is an urgent need to force fit all the diversity and populations of Indigenous peoples into "one family tree" of immigrants from

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<sup>39</sup> Than, *op. cit.*

Asia that trudged their way across miles of snow and ice to populate the entire hemisphere. The need to force fit the relationship of findings over time confounds the scientists because the truth is not so simple.

It is safe to conclude that any and all evidence of humans in the Americas can be directly attributed to the ancestors of today's Indigenous communities; an ancestry that spanned the hemisphere. It does not necessitate a single emergence point. It does not require complicity to an imposed Bering Strait migration myth. Race is not a category that makes any sense to Indigenous thought. The Americas have only ever been populated by Indigenous peoples of the Americas from the beginning of humanity until the time of invasion by the Christians. Any evidence found indicating a presence before the arbitrarily set date of 12,000 years ago merely reifies what Indigenous people have always claimed, we have always been here and that there has always been as much diversity in the Americas as everywhere else in the world.

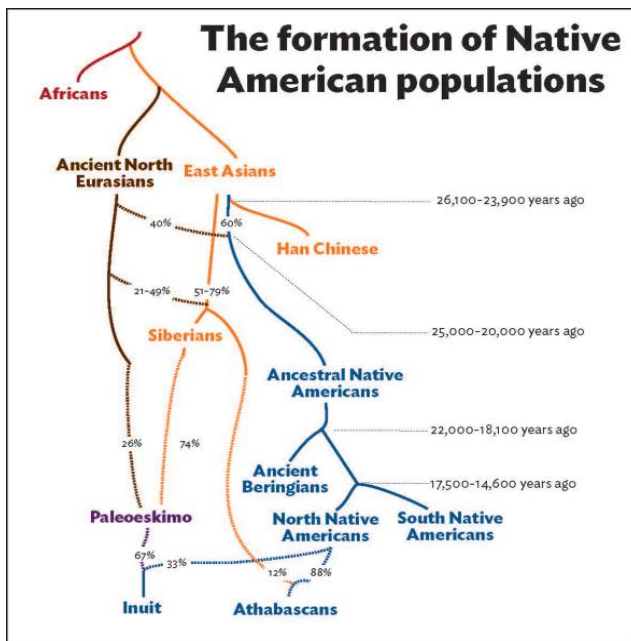


Figure 3 Proposed DNA tree for Indigenous Populations of the Americas.

Scientists have not over concerned themselves with migration stories for the thousands of species of mammals, some very similar although now extinct, that have occupied the Americas such as the camels, horses, mammoths, monkeys, deer, dogs and cats. Did all of these species also cross the land bridge? In what direction and when? Western scientists insist on a migration narrative for humans based on a handful of bones found in Southern Africa. Speculation is not science or fact. Too much of the field of anthropology is speculation and founded in false assumptions about Indigenous communities.

### Archeological Evidence of Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island (North America)

Ancient remains found in a cave named Cueva de Puyil, in Tacotalpa, Tabasco Mexico, indicate that the site was used for burials over 7,000 years ago. Analysis attributes the site to Mayan ancestors. “Esa hipótesis se plantea luego de que análisis genéticos demostraron de que los 29 restos óseos que ahí se alojaban, la mayoría eran del período maya, pero tres eran de más antigüedad, uno del período Preclásico Temprano (2500 a 1200 a.C) y dos del Arcaico (8000 a 2500 a.C).”<sup>40</sup> The intentionally deformed craniums and burial rituals indicated sophisticated burial practices for [supposed] relatively recent migratory arrivals and a continued use of the site for thousands of years.

If the geological record has been correctly interpreted and much of the northern and southern hemispheres were icecaps ten to fifteen thousand years ago, then it is reasonable to postulate that the areas of this hemisphere most likely to have been populated were closer to the equator where the weather was warmer and food was more abundant. Although science supports this, historians, anthropologists and perpetrators of colonized thinking continue to

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<sup>40</sup> Abida Ventura, *El Universal*, Compañía Periodística Nacional S. A. de C. V. <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/cultura/cueva-de-puyil-en-tabasco-un-espacio-ritual-para-los-mayas#fig.n-1>, 7/8/2018.

insist that Indigenous people of the Americans migrated here from Asia over the Bering Strait, in the harshest of winter conditions and following in their wake was a mass extinction of large mammals on the American continents.<sup>41</sup> Recent scholarship refutes such illogical and narcissistic thinking.

While a few bands of adaptable and transient men twelve thousand years ago seemingly preferred severe cold and drought and managed to survive at the extremities of Clovis cultures from New Mexico to Maine, logic tells us that most of mankind, would have chosen to live along warm seas near a bounty of food supply. None would have chosen the straight [sic] of Beringia where there was no plant food, no pollen evidence of plant food, no Caribou to follow, not even any water because the cold was too dry to produce water or ice, and only extreme, debilitating cold. And the archeological record reflects this obvious preference. Beringia was settled much later, *after* the ice and cold abated.<sup>42</sup>

The evidence just does not support the myth that science, history and anthropology insist on asserting; that we as Indigenous people recently arrived in the Americas in the last 12,000 years and began a migration southward eventually populating all of the Americas.

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<sup>41</sup> "...the idea of Beringia migration was first broached in 1590, not by a scientist, but by a padre of the Roman Catholic Church. Fray José de Acosta, in an apparent attempt to explain man's presence in the New World ...[theorized that] the Americas were settled by primitive hunters who had originated in the most remote and primitive part of Asia – Siberia. ...Later, science seized on the idea, and, as often has, followed the Church's lead, incorporating religious dogma into scientific dogma." Stuart J. Fiedel, *Prehistory of the Americas*, (Cambridge University Press 1992).

<sup>42</sup> Ivar Zapp, and George Erikson, *Atlantis in America*, (Kempton, IL: Adventures Unlimited Press, 1998), p. 347.



In Paisley Caves near Paisley, Oregon, archaeologist Dennis Jenkins and a group of students found the oldest (to date) latrine and trash dump. They found and tested the DNA of coprolites (human feces) radiocarbon dated to 14,300 years ago. It is evidence that Indigenous people were already in the Americas before the theorized time of the land bridge.

Pendejo Cave in New Mexico has provided evidence of Indigenous peoples living in the U.S. Southwest 35,000 years ago. The cave has revealed numerous stone artifacts, hearths, butchered animal bones and a clay fragment with a fingerprint dating back at least 35,000 years. Richard MacNeish, research director of the Andover, Mass., Foundation for Archaeological Research, has been the lead archeologist on the Pendejo Cave site. Because the site has been undisturbed, the credibility of the radiocarbon dating is increased. The finding of a broken stone spearhead point embedded in the bone of a horse's foot, dated to 12,000 years ago, further debunks the claim that Indigenous peoples first began arriving in North America during the last ice age.<sup>43</sup>

In 2008, a landscaping crew digging a fishpond at a Boulder residence east of Gregory Canyon unearthed an 83-piece tool cache packed away in a small space under about two feet of soil. The cache had been there for millennia. The resident, Patrick Mahaffy, contacted University of Colorado Anthropology professor Doug Bamforth. The cache is on display in the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History on campus. Bamforth was astonished by the find. "It looked like someone gathered together some of their most spectacular tools and other ordinary scraps of potentially useful material and stuck them all

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<sup>43</sup> R. S. MacNeish, D. Chrisman and G. Cunnar, "Human Modification of Animal Bones in Pre-Clovis Zones of Pendejo Cave, Orogrande, New Mexico, USA," (The Andover Foundation for Archaeological Research), 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Seattle WA, 26 March 1998, Presenter, D. Chrisman, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Department of Anthropology.

into a small hole in the ground, fully expecting to come back at a later date and retrieve them.”<sup>44</sup> The Mahaffy cache includes large sized bifacial knives, a double-bitted axe and a number of smaller blades imported from west of the Continental Divide. Protein residue tests on the tools identified camel and horse proteins dated back to 13,000 years ago.<sup>45</sup> Tools also showed evidence of use on sheep, and bear. The stones used to make the tools were transported from two primary sites; one located near the Uinta Mountains in Utah, the second in the Green River Basin in Wyoming.

The long trip necessary to transport these tools asserts two truths. The first is that the individuals who “owned” the cache knew precisely where to locate the type of stone needed to create the tools, i.e., the quarries in Utah and Wyoming. “The bulk of the collection is made either from Kremmling chert or from . . . Bridger Basin chert, Green River Formation chert, or Tiger chert . . . Kremmling chert is found at the south end of Middle Park, west of the Continental Divide in the northern part of the Colorado Rocky Mountains. Tiger chert is a fossilized stromatolite that occurs in the Green River Basin of northwestern Colorado and southwestern Wyoming.”<sup>46</sup> Three of the bifaces are made from two kinds of quartzite “identical to hand specimens from the Uinta mountains in northeastern Utah.”<sup>47</sup> One of the tools, a Uinta quartzite biface [see fig. 4] is remarkably similar to an obsidian biface tool from the Fenn cache in Southeastern Idaho. “The flaking patterns on these two artifacts differ in detail, but they are virtually exact copies of one another in size,

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<sup>44</sup> “13,000-year-old stone tool cache set for exhibit at CU-Boulder,” in *CU Boulder Today*, Oct. 7, 2015, University of Colorado at Boulder.

<sup>45</sup> Robert M. Yohe II, Douglas B. Bamforth, “Late Pleistocene protein residues from the Mahaffy cache, Colorado” in *Journal of Archaeological Science*, Volume 40, Issue 5, May 2013, 2337-2343.

<sup>46</sup> Op cit., Bamforth, *Clovis Catches*, 42-3.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

width/thickness ratio, and outline form.”<sup>48</sup> The similarity is so striking that it is believed that both tools were made by the same toolmaker. The similarity “makes it reasonable to argue that the cache is also Clovis.”<sup>49</sup> If the tools were made by the same toolmaker then they would have to have been made within the lifetime of the artist fixing a more precise date for the Mahaffy cache. The owners of the Mahaffy cache knew where the quarries were located and the roads to get there.



*Figure 4 The size and shape of this blade is identical to one belonging to the Fenn Cache in Idaho dated to 13,000 years ago.*

Secondly, the owners knew that the stone necessary for making tools did not exist in Boulder Valley. It was necessary to travel a great distance to specific sites to acquire the required stone to make the tools needed to hunt and butcher the sheep and now extinct cave bear, horses, and camels that roamed the area. “The variety of stone sources suggests a trip up the Yampa River, over a pass through the northern part of the Gore Range into Middle

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<sup>48</sup> Douglas B. Bamforth, “Clovis Caches and Clovis Knowledge of the North American Landscape,” in *Clovis Caches: Recent Discoveries & New Research*, ed. Bruce B. Huckell and J. David Kilby, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 52-3.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

Park, and then into the headwaters of the Colorado River and over one of the passes in or south of present-day Rocky Mountain National Parks into the vicinity of Boulder.”<sup>50</sup> Such knowledge could not be “newly acquired” knowledge for recent arrivals. It would have taken generations of traveling, trading and hunting, to gain knowledge of the terrain and its resources. The style of tool made also contributes to the timeframe to which the tools are ascribed. The Clovis time period is 11,500 BC to 9,000 BC.

The cache is very heavy. Many individuals must have helped carry the cache the hundreds of miles that it was transported. Rather they were tools to be used by the community transporting them or rather they belonged a “merchant” who saw opportunity we will never know. We can safely assume that transporting them was burdensome enough that a decision to hide them away for later retrieval was the decision made. The fact that they were never retrieved leaves us with tangible evidence that Boulder was home to Indigenous people over 13,000 years ago.

It has been an Apache custom to hide caches of supplies across the countryside in caves or nooks in the event that danger or a cataclysm required that the community flee. While I am not asserting that the Mahaffy cache is an Apache cache, it gives evidence to a custom that prevailed into the recognized time of the Apache. Ideas that support survival are transmitted through generations and across cultures. Did the cache belong to a community or a merchant? Was it hidden away for later retrieval to be sold or in the case of an emergency? We will never know and can only postulate.

Near Colorado Springs, there is an archeological site known as Franktown Cave. The site has been a popular and familiar site to scientists and boy scouts. When looking for

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<sup>50</sup> Bamforth, *Clovis Caches*, op. cit., 58.

evidence of Apache presence in Colorado, Franktown Cave has provided some of the most compelling evidence of Apache presence. Moccasins found at the site are related to a style typically found in Alaska giving argument for cultural similarity across a vast territory.

Based on AMS dates and artifact types that have been dated at other sites in the region, Franktown Cave was occupied periodically during the Early Archaic (6400–3800 BC), Middle Archaic (3800–1250 BC), Late Archaic (1250 BC–AD 150), Early Ceramic (AD 150–1150), Middle Ceramic (AD 1150–1540), and Protohistoric periods (AD 1540–1860) as defined for northeastern Colorado. Only the earliest occupation at the site by Early Archaic people is defined solely by the presence of artifacts typical of these cultures and not by radiocarbon dates. Two projectile points characteristic of the Late Paleo-Indian period (9400–7000 BC) may represent an even earlier occupation of the site, but because only two of these artifacts are present, it is uncertain whether they represent an occupation by these early people or items collected and reused by later people.<sup>51</sup>

The finding of moccasins, made in a style particular to Athabascan communities in Alaska indicates a connection. The moccasins are old. Franktown Cave evidence tells us that Apache people resided in Colorado from 6,400 BC until 1860 – about the time that ethnic cleansing began in earnest. “Explorers documented their observations of remnant ‘Indian’ campsites, artifacts, and interactions with or sightings of native populations.”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Gilmore, Kevin. "Franktown Cave." *Colorado Encyclopedia*, <http://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/franktown-cave>. Accessed 13 March 2018.

<sup>52</sup> Heidi L. Guy Hays, *Palmer Divide as a Vital Prehistoric Place*, (ProQuest LLC, 2008), 3. See also, Gardner 1993; Lavelett 1975; Whiteley 1999.

Franktown cave resides within an area known as the Palmer Divide on the Eastern Front Range of Colorado. It is unique from the surrounding environments. Roughly 25 square miles, the area is rich with evidence of occupation and settlement. “this unique region was actively sought out by prehistoric populations and was inhabited and exploited by prehistoric cultures”<sup>53</sup>. Archeological data indicates that “Palmer Divide was an important place for cultures to continuously visit, exploit, and occupy throughout time.”<sup>54</sup> “The quantity and types of projectile points from the collections indicated that there had been intensive hunting activities within the Palmer Divide occurring with the same consistency throughout prehistory . . . I also found that there was no prehistoric period that was represented by the artifacts more than the others, indicating that people during all prehistoric time periods were equally utilizing this area . . . Palmer Divide was important to prehistoric cultures through time.”<sup>55</sup>

The evidence from the Palmer Divide area and Franktown in particular, give strong indication that Indigenous communities used the site for close to 10,000 years. “[T]he quantity and types of projectile points from the collections indicated that there had been intensive hunting activities within the Palmer Divide occurring with the same consistency throughout prehistory.”<sup>56</sup> One of the Indigenous communities that used that site from the earliest of times were Apache people. This contrasts sharply with the historians that argue that Apaches only arrived in Colorado in the sixteenth century.

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<sup>53</sup> Hays, *Palmer*, *op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Hays, *Palmer Divide*, *op. cit.*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

In the 1930s, Julian Steward did extensive archaeological research in two caves near Salt Lake City known as Promotory Caves. Over the course of several years Steward was able to amass a collection of evidence that reflects an Apache presence. Most revealing was the number of moccasins found in the enquiry. “Moccasins frequently signal cultural identity, provide an avenue through which (primarily) woman can show the skill through which they care for family members, and are often conservatively retained long after other elements of western dress become common.” (623). Steward’s discovery included 250 items of footwear dominated by a particular style of moccasin called the Promotory style ( $n = 237$ ). The quality of the moccasins, the attention to detail, the porcupine quill decoration and preparation process represents a complete cultural departure from earlier Great Basin footwear patterns. Steward concluded that the soft-soled Promotory moccasins were typical of the Canadian north, i.e., Athabascan communities. When the moccasins were revisited more recently, Ives, et. al., concluded that construction of the moccasins was “significant in that it means Promotory populations knew both common Subartic variants that would remain in use during the historic period . . . . Because of this, and because of the sharp discontinuity between Promotory moccasins, Steward’s conclusion that they were northern elements in the assemblages continues to be accurate.” (626-7)

The similarity of the moccasin found at Franktown Cave is noted by Ives. “The single moccasin reported from Franktown Cave in Colorado by Gilmore (2005) is in fact a small Promotory-style moccasin (i.e. BSM 2 [Bb]) that slightly precedes the Promotory examples in age.” (627) Ives goes on to say, “they are not simply isolated instances: detached moccasins fashioned in the same way as Promotory moccasins were being made in the proto-Dene homeland roughly seven centuries prior to the onset of Promotory Phase occupation . . . .

A pene-contemporaneous moccasin in the same style also occurs in the Colorado Rockies – at another location in which it would not be surprising to find that Apachean ancestors were present.”

There is strong evidence that Boulder Valley was home to Apache people. The foothills all along the Front Range, and Boulder Valley in particular, served as winter camping grounds; “. . . the mountain front zone north of the Arkansas . . . renders it the favorite resort of the Indians during the winter months, and enables them to subsist their animals in the severest seasons . . .”<sup>57</sup> The area between the entrances of Boulder Canyon and Left Hand Canyon, the confluence of the creeks at Valmont Buttes, and the cliffside at White Rocks were all favorite camping sites of the Apache. In addition, there were several locations in Lyons favored by the Apache. “Forty miles north of Denver, at the foot of the mountains, the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, Sioux and Apaches are greatly annoying to settlers, by stealing cattle and other depredations . . .”<sup>58</sup>

There are two sites in Lyons, Colorado where Apache people lived for extended periods of time. One of the sites is closed to the public on the recommendation of the United Tribes of Colorado (UTC). The UTC is consulted whenever anything of significance to Indigenous Peoples of the area will be impacted by findings or decisions made by local governments. In the early 1990s consultation about Indian Mountain, owned by Cemex, was held when the cement company decided to give the land to the Indigenous communities. The

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<sup>57</sup> Thomas Fitzpatrick, “Report of Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick.” *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1853*. Washington, D.C. See also, Elizabeth Ann Morris, “Mountain-Plains Interaction Patterns in the South Platte Drainage, Northeastern Colorado,” in *Networks of the Past: Regional Interaction in Archaeology*, (Department of Anthropology, University of Calgary), 295-307.

<sup>58</sup> Louise Barry, ed. “Albert D. Richardson’s Letters on the Pike’s Peak Gold Region,” in *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12(1):14-57.



property is managed by Boulder County Parks and Open Space. Specifically, on Indian Mountain “tipi rings” have been identified dating back two thousand years.

The site on Indian Mountain was excavated in 1983 by E. Steve Cassells and Robert Noel Farrington.<sup>59</sup> According to Cassells the site “appears to be a multi-component Plains Woodland encampment consisting of a number of stone circles . . . Dates at the site range from 1120 +/- 200 years B.P. to an early 2140 +/- 200 B.P.”<sup>60</sup> Cassells believes the site “to have been the scene of prehistoric camp activities during a minimum of two separate episodes” and consists of “10 stone circles in three discrete areas.”<sup>61</sup> Dating of the site consisted of comparing charcoal flecks recovered from three rings. “The laboratory calculated an age range in ‘real years’ through a tree-ring calibration of C-14 age against tree-ring age . . . Ring 4 was dated 2140 +/- 200 years B.P. Two thousand years ago, there were two primary groups that occupied the area; the nomadic Nahuatl speaking communities related to the Tehuas of Chaco Canyon (primarily Utes, possibly Shoshone) and the Apache. Given that wikipups were an Apache structure, it is more likely that the site is Apache.

In addition, there is evidence of winter camps on Rabbit Mountain (See fig. 5). According to Carol Beam, Cultural Resource Specialist with Boulder County Parks and Open Space, “over the years the county has done extensive class 3 level survey (field work)” of the clusters on Rabbit Mountain. The results indicate that Indigenous communities utilized the areas over a protracted period of time. While the areas have been picked over by looters

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<sup>59</sup> See, E. Steve Cassells and Robert Noel Farrington, “Excavations at the Indian Mountain Site, 5BL876: A Multi-Component Stone Circle Site in Colorado’s Northeastern Foothills,” in *Plains Anthropologist*, Vol. 31, Num. 112, 1986, pp. 129-139.

<sup>60</sup> Cassells, *Indian Mountain, op. cit.*, pp. 129.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

before being acquired by Boulder County, there is still strong evidence of Indigenous presence.

When I homesteaded on Rabbit Mountain in 1915 [east side of Dowe Valley], there were seven tipi rings near the cabin. The land to the west of the homestead was plowed up, and through the years wind-blown soil has completely covered these seven rings. I also destroyed dozen of rings while clearing fields for farming. The artifacts left by the ‘Ring Makers’ have been almost entirely cleared from the surface by generations of souvenir hunters.<sup>62</sup>



*Figure 5 A view of Rabbit Mountain from Indian Mountain.*

Archeologists refer to circles of stones as tipi rings. This is speculation. While Apaches did use tipis—technology they shared with the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Lakota—

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<sup>62</sup> Jack Moomaw, “The ‘Ring Makers,’” in *Southwestern Lore* 25(4):5-9, 1960.

they preferred the wikiup for longer stays [See figures 6 and 7]. Tipis, if set up properly, do not require stones to anchor them into the ground. The ground of Indian Mountain is stone and very difficult to dig into.<sup>63</sup> For building wikiups, it would have made more sense to use stones to anchor the boughs used to build the wikiups.



*Figure 6 One of the many tipi rings at Indian Mountain.*

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<sup>63</sup> Bill Center, a Lakota holy man, maintained a sweatlodge on Indian Mountain for many years. As his apprentice, I helped build the sweatlodge numerous times. It was difficult to anchor the sweatlodge because the ground on Indian Mountain is stone. Consequently, we found ourselves constantly rebuilding the lodge until we learned how to work with the stone ground. It required iron tools the Apache did not have.



*Figure 7 Another of the tipi rings at Indian Mountain.*

The plains are cold and uninviting during the winter months. The Apache preferred to camp up against the foothills, which provided some protections from the wind and snow, and gave access and visibility to the plains. The areas along the eastern foothills provide protection, ample victuals with ready view and access to the herds of buffalo, deer, elk, prong horn and small game that came down from the mountains during winter foraging [See fig. 8].



*Figure 8 A view of the plains from Indian Mountain winter camp.*

## Emerging Civilizations

The earliest evidence of “civilization” in the Americas is an urban complex in the Norte Chico valleys of Peru along the Fortaleza, Pativilca, Supe and Huaura rivers. These sites can be definitively dated back to 3500 B.C. with evidence that Indigenous people lived there as early as 9210 B.C. or almost 12,000 years ago (when Indian people were just making their way across the land bridge). According to western scholars there was only one other urban complex in existence at the same time, Sumer in modern Iraq—oldest of all complex polities. A little further south history’s first mummies were created by the Chinchorro people of the Atacama Desert just south of Peru on the Chilean shore sometime before 5000 B.C. These mummies predate the Egyptians mummies by a thousand years.<sup>64</sup> The development from a nomadic hunting gathering people to an agrarian civilization migrating across a hemisphere thousands of miles inside of one millennia is a theoretical reach for the best of scientists.

In the Norte Chico valleys, a harsh and unfriendly environment for farming, they irrigated crops—one of the most important of them being cotton.<sup>65</sup> Cotton was needed to weave the nets used to harvest fish. Recent studies found that maize was a primary component in the diet of people at Norte Chico. Soil evidence, stone tools, coprolites (ancient feces), and established 200 Carbon-14 dating indicate that agriculture was the basis for the emerging civilization in Peru. Thirteen sites in the desert north were studied looking at trash pits, ceremonial rooms, and campsites. There was an abundance of maize pollen in the

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<sup>64</sup> Mann, Charles C. *1491*. New York. Vintage Books. 2005, 6:193-209

<sup>65</sup> There are over 40 species of cotton worldwide but only four have been domesticated, two in the Americas and two in Asia and the Middle East. The majority of the cotton used worldwide comes from the Mexican species, *Gossypium hirsutum*, the type the Aztecs grew.

microscopic soil samples. Of 126 soil samples, 61 contained maize pollen, consistent with finds in the rest of the ancient world. Of 14 stone tools analyzed, 11 had starch grains on them. Of 62 coprolites studied, 69% contained maize starch. Thus, maize was grown widely in the area and was a major food source.<sup>66</sup> Translated this means that in the span of a few short years, a family of people made their way across a sheet of ice, traveled thousands of miles to South America, built a large civilization and cultivated corn from a grass to what we know today, and populated three continents in the process.

Maize, the world's most important crop, is not the only contribution to the table made by the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Beans, tomatoes, chili, most forms of squash, potatoes, amaranth, and quinoa, to name but a few, are now found the world over. Inside of a millennium, Indigenous people quickly cultivated many hybridized crops. Migration and commerce provided opportunity for shared knowledge and food sources. The science of growing many different crops spread across the Americas and eventually around the world. Once the issue of food had been solved, it left the people time and energy to explore other realms of knowledge: writing, art, music, science, astronomy, mathematics, religion, and social governance.

One of the oldest archeological sites in Mexico is Cuicuilco. Cuicuilco, the “place of prayer” or the “place of the rainbow,” was a farming village built up around a ceremonial center that contained a circular pyramid. At its apex, the population is estimated to have been an impressive 20,000 people. It is the oldest known civilization of central highland

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<sup>66</sup> Jonathan Haas, Winifred Creamer, Luis Huamán Mesía, David Goldstein, Karl Reinhard, and Cindy Vergel Rodríguez. “Evidence for maize (*Zea mays*) in the Late Archaic (3000–1800 B.C.) in the Norte Chico region of Peru.” *PNAS*, (February 25, 2013 DOI:10.1073/pnas.1219425110).

Mesoamerica. The town possessed the earliest hydraulic system of the region and a stele at the base of the pyramid shows glyphs that were associated with the agricultural cycle. What is so special about Cuicuilco is that the pyramid, small and rudimentary relative to other archeological sites in Mexico, is covered by a lava flow that happened after its construction was complete [See fig. 9]. The Pedregal lava flow is 7000 years old. Further evidence indicates that the village had been occupied for centuries before the lava flow.



*Figure 9 Cuicuilco building with lava flow.*

The evidence makes Cuicuilco not only the oldest pyramid in highland Mexico but it also predates other famous pyramids in the world. One of the figures found at the site is that of

*Huehueteotl*, a deity that has endured to present day religious beliefs [See fig. 10].<sup>67</sup> It makes *Huehueteotl* one of the oldest “gods” in the world.

### The Hunting to Extinction Myth

Indigenous peoples have been credited with causing the extinction of many of the large land mammals that once roamed the Americas due to overhunting. Scientific study refutes the claim. There is more evidence to support a mass die-off due to cataclysm caused by a cosmic impact than by over-hunting. “The Younger Dryas boundary (YDB) cosmic-impact hypothesis is based on considerable evidence that Earth collided with fragments of a disintegrating  $\geq 100$ -km-diameter comet, the remnants of which persist within the inner solar system  $\sim 12,800$  y later. Evidence suggests that the YDB cosmic impact triggered an “impact winter” and the subsequent Younger Dryas (YD) climate episode, biomass burning, late Pleistocene megafaunal extinctions, and human cultural shifts and population declines.”<sup>68</sup> Extinctions were due to a cosmic impact that resulted in the onset of an impact winter or early ice age. Large fires and an unprecedented winter climate caused



the conditions that resulted in the mass death and extinctions. Indigenous communities were also impacted by the climate change. Knowledge was lost or disrupted resulting in changes in technology (flint knapping) leading anthropologist to draw erroneous conclusions about early civilizations in the Americas.

<sup>67</sup> Zapp and Erikson, 1998.

<sup>68</sup> Wendy S. Wolbach, et. al. "Extraordinary Biomass-Burning Episode and Impact Winter Triggered by the Younger Dryas Cosmic Impact  $\sim 12,800$  Years Ago. 1. Ice Cores and Glaciers," *The Journal of Geology* 0, no. 0 (-Not available-): 000.

<https://doi.org/10.1086/695703>



The exaggerated claims that Indigenous peoples migrated across an ice bridge 12,000 years ago cannot be substantiated. The archeological evidence does not substantiate the claim. On the contrary, there is more archeological and DNA evidence to substantiate the Indigenous claim that “we have always been here.” There are many Indigenous creation stories, migration stories, and stories that root communities to the geographical spaces that they have occupied and continue to occupy. There are no stories that tell of migrations across an icy terrain. The Apache presence in Colorado as going back many centuries becomes evident with the findings in Franktown Cave, Indian Mountain, and when compared to similar evidence at sites also within the Apachean domain. The problem with imposing an immigrant narrative to the Indigenous communities is that it intrinsically displaces them as foreigners on their own land, and disputes any “legal” claims to the land now “owned” by foreign invaders. It is a box that disregards any claims made by the Indigenous peoples.

## Part IV: White Eugenics Philosophy vs. Apache Cosmology

*Usen, the creator, is neither masculine nor feminine but both. As both, Usen represents a duality that is consistent throughout all creation. Usen does not concern itself with humanity, the doings of humanity or with its creation. Usen has created and it is done. The creation (the universe), however, because it is alive has a consciousness that learns and grows from things that work and things that do not work. As a consciousness it learns, remembers, experiments within its capacity. From experience comes life, including human life, from which it also learns. Everything that has been created is interconnected. The relationship of interconnectedness is at the core of Apache and all Indigenous thought. White Shell Woman gave birth to the first humans. The first, Child of Water, was fathered by the rain and the second, Child of the Sun was fathered by the Sun. These were the first grandparents to whom Apache people pray when intervention is sought. The Genízaro Apache hold annual ceremonies to honor Our Revered Grandmother, White Shell Woman and our grandfathers, Child of Water and Child of the Sun. All life is a gift to be respected.*

*The Apache regard lightning and wind as essential for life. They are the animators that give life to humans.<sup>69</sup> Lightning represents the fire that courses through our body, the heat that we generate, it is the electricity that makes our bodies move. The wind represents our breath, without which we would not be alive. Take either of these away and life ceases to exist. We are talking about fruit.*

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<sup>69</sup> Report of Texas governor Prudenziio de Orobio Bastera, 1738, Bexar Archives Translations, microfilm copy (BAT), series 1, reel 2, vol. 11, April 9, 1739-August 26, 1739, Hunter Room, University of Texas at Brownsville: William Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly* 14 (1911), 236-38.

## Defining the Apache people: Inanimate Naming

The Apache people have been called by many names. Over time the names used to reference the Apache have changed. Anthropologists divide Athabascan people into three groups: Alaska/Canada Athabascans, Northwest Pacific Coast Athabascans, and the Apache. “The Athapascan language family can be divided geographically into three major divisions: the southern, the northern (Canadian-Alaskan), and the Pacific Coast . . . the southern division was as large as the northern in pre-European contact times and cannot be considered as an offshoot of the northerners.”<sup>70</sup>

While other tribal communities have had names by which they referred to us, including the word Apache, the Christian invaders from the south (typically but erroneously called Spaniards) were the first who attempted to categorize us as a homogenous community. The Christian invaders from the East (calling themselves American but made up of a collection of Dutch, Anglo and Franco interlopers) also attempted to lump us all into a homogenous tribal community for the sake of justifying the genocide visited upon us. But it has been the paper genocide over the last 150 years that has been the most impactful. The bureaucrats, scholars, anthropologists, historians and policymakers have had the most impact in how we, as Apaches, are regarded and categorized. The assertions about the Apache, in writings, maps, photographs and treating making have frozen the Apache in an 1800s interpretation and misunderstanding about who the Apache are and have been.

We call ourselves *N'deh*, *Dineh*, *Ch'ndeh*, *T'ndeh* or *Tindi* and *Ka-ta-kas*. The terms can be understood to mean “the people”. Among ourselves we say *Ná-izhan* meaning “ours”, “our kind” or “one of us”. We have regarded ourselves as a people of the mountains even

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<sup>70</sup> Forbes, *Apache, op. cit.*, xii.

though we have lived in a variety of environments from the coast to the tundra, the mountains, the plains, and the desert. The mountains are sacred to the Apache and the creation stories bear this truth. For like the bosoms of our human mothers, the mountains have provided ample nourishment to “the people”. While we regard ourselves as a mountain people, the truth is we continue to reside on both sides of the backbone (Sierra Madres) that traverses Turtle Island (North America) from Alaska to Mexico adapting to a variety of climates and conditions. It is the adaptability of the Apache to the environment that should define the Apache and not the environment to which the Apache has adapted or been assigned by historians. The Apache is not a desert, mountain or plains people but rather a people that can live in the desert, mountain or plains. The Apache is adaptable, across environments and across time. It is not the geography that categorizes the Athabascan or the Apache, it is language.

### The Apache in Colorado

It is a Genízaro Apache belief that when you name something you take away it’s life force. The universe is animated. It is constantly in a state of flux, moving from one state of being to another. When we attach a name to something we hold it in stasis. We extract the life out of it, for it is no longer in a state of being but rather in a fixed state of inanimation. The many names given to Apache people have become cubicles to which Apaches are assigned in time and place prohibiting growth and development. It is akin to catching the wind in a box. Apaches, in the minds of white-eyes, have become polaroid snapshots of a long past era.

Many terms have used to refer to the Apache people of the plains, to which Colorado belongs. According to John Upton Terrell, “almost all names by which Plains Apache groups

and bands are designated were initially given them by Spaniards and are either corruptions of Athapaskan words, Spanish idiom, or reflective of some Apache characteristic or custom.<sup>71</sup>

Terms for the Apache of the Colorado plains have included Cipaynes, Cipayanes or Lipayanes, Chilipaines, Canecy, Caralanas, Jicarillas, Kataka or Kiowa Apache, Lipan or Ipa-n'deh, Northern Lipan, Llaneros, Oyeros, Penxayes, Sierra Blancas and more contemporarily Genízaro and Chicano [See fig. 11]. The Spanish invaders had many names for the Apache people.

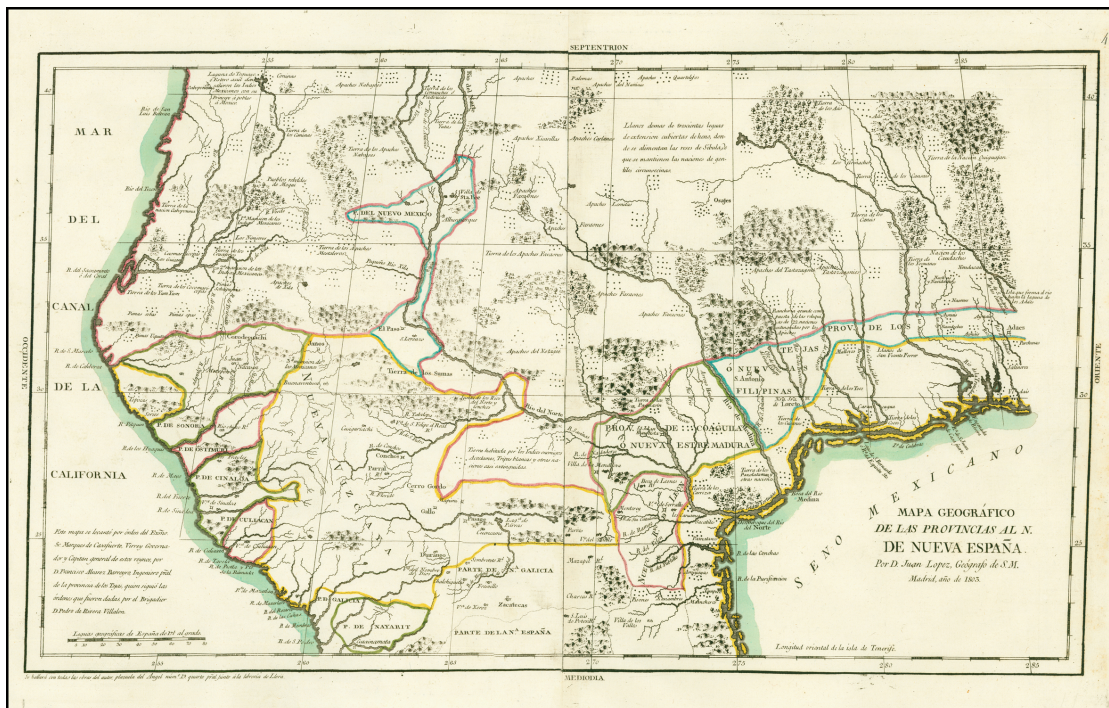


Figure 11 Map of Nueva España with Apache group names and their territories.

The Apache people were spread over what today is known as Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, Utah, Colorado, Kansas, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon and parts of Durango. At no point was Apachería regarded as a “nation” (The idea of nation was imagined into being in the later 1700s

<sup>71</sup> John Upton Terrell, *The Plains Apache* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975), 15.

according to Anderson. Prior to that the “civilized world” was still governed by monarchies and religious orders in Non-Native histories<sup>72</sup> ).

Apache people were and continue to be (outside of reservation life) starkly individualistic respecting the individualism of others. Apache individualism is not to be confused with American egocentric self-interest. Rather, it is an individualism rooted in self-mastery over life. Apache people do not like being told what to do by others. Hence, central governance is a rejected notion. Apache leaders, within the family, the clan or the band were, and continue to be, individuals that hold great influence. Strict social customs have maintained order and harmony within Apache communities. In Apache communities if the influence of a leader ever diminished, then another leader might be followed. Apache customs and ways of being have traditionally maintained the peace. Children have been taught from a very early age how to fend for themselves, how to weather the environment and how to live in harmony with others and with nature. Violations of the teachings or taboos usually resulted in consequences that kept most Apaches in check. Unfortunately, foreign intrusions of Christian ideals of selfish-individualism have plagued Apache teachings and many of today’s youth no longer remember Apache customs and ways of being.

The Apache had no central government, no elected officials, none of the structure that U.S. citizens regard as “civilization” yet democracy prevailed. The Apache were freer yet more civilized than American society today. The Apache were unencumbered by politics, political manipulation, marketing, religious dogmatic in-fighting and imposed laws. Election of leaders has always been a foreign concept to Indigenous communities. Indigenous leadership has only ever lasted as long as the individual could influence the community.

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<sup>72</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 4.

Leaders have never governed the community. Electing of Apache leaders to govern Apache communities was instituted and imposed by the BIA in the 1930s and has disrupted traditional forms of Indigenous tribal governance.

At those times when conflicts arose with a particular individual that could not be easily resolved, the solution was banishment of the individual from the community. Where there might be a disagreement between groups of people, one the parties would go their separate way. There was plenty of land and an abundance of resources to support those who chose to live differently. Banishment is far more humane than prison or execution and less costly.

There are three stories passed down over the generations that reference banishment or separation. There was a point in history when the community fractured. The two incompatible groups separated and went off in different directions with one group traveling as far away as Canada and Alaska. The instruction to the generations that followed was that the two communities were never to reunite for fear of great harm. While at a gathering in Canada in the late 90s, I met up with a Diné woman from western Canada. She reminded me that her community had not forgotten their instructions and that we had to be wary and respectful in our interactions.

The second story tells of the formation of the Navajo. According to my brother-in-law, MacArthur Bryant who is a Road Man and Apache Medicine man, at times there have been members of the community who are too unruly, too violent or too offensive to remain in the community. The U.S. custom is to lock these people away in institutions and thereby remove them from society. The Apache did not have such resources nor did they think in that way. Individuals that could not function within a community were banned from the

community. Banishment was a common practice for most Indigenous communities. The individuals that were banned from various communities in present day New Mexico and Colorado formed a new community incorporating cultural elements from Apache and Pueblo religious beliefs and practices. The new community became known as the Navajo. As a reminder, adoption of individuals from other communities was not predicated on ideas of race, nationality or religious beliefs. Indigenous communities were often adopting others into their families and their communities, including people from other communities. The practice is still prevalent today in Indigenous communities across Turtle Island.

The third story tells of an early time (pre-1700s) when a group of Apache were living at the extreme sources of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, near present day Butte, Montana. They lived with the Kiowa people not far from the Flathead people. While on a hunting expedition, two rival chiefs got in an argument over possession of a female antelope udder, a delicacy. The fight only got worse and the chief who lost the argument left along with his band which included both Apache and Kiowa community members. They traveled northwest, crossing the Yellowstone river arriving in a place where they met a new group of people, the Crow. With permission of the newly met elders, the Apache camped just east of the Crow and north of their friends the Kiowa. A long-term friendship developed between the Apache, the Crow and the Kiowa.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> James Mooney, “Calendar History of the Kiowa”, in *Seventeenth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1895-96* by J.W. Power, in two parts – part 1. Washington, Government, Printing Office 1898. Pp. 152-160.



## Apache Social Structure

For centuries, Apache people only concerned themselves primarily with the family unit. Apache communities were extended family groups. There were many taboos, however, that prevented marriage within the family or clan. It would necessitate marriage outside of the family unit and trading with other communities provided opportunity to renew the bloodline. For the well-being of the nomadic family units, it was necessary to maintain healthy relationships with the other tribal communities. Trading buffalo meat and hides in exchange for corn, squash, beans and cotton items from the Tehuah was common and resulted in a symbiotic relationship between the Apache and the Tehuah.

After the family group came the clan, extended family kinship ties, followed by the band. A band is a collective of family units united for a particular purpose. Pre-U.S. colonization, a band's purpose was hunting, raiding or to settle offenses against the family members against outsiders (usually non-Apaches and later on, particularly the white-eyes). Bands would also meet annually or occasionally to hold ceremony, trade and renew kinship ties. The Boulder Valley was one such gathering place, el Cuartelejo was another, the mouth of Cimarron Canyon was another. These gathering places were abundant in resources. Game was plentiful, hunting was good, the forest provided plenty of wood for burning, for building wikiups; there was plenty of water and there were many plants for medicinal and victual needs. It was not uncommon for family groups to settle for a protracted period of time along the foothills where they could watch and wait for the buffalo to arrive during their migration. At which point, they might move camp to follow the buffalo to assure an abundance of all that the buffalo could provide.

Unfortunately, Apache bands, often referenced for some characteristic of the band, became categorized by U.S. Federal Indian Law as “tribes”. The tribal references became codified and fixed precluding the potential for any other expressions of Apacheness. Blatantly disregarding differences between Apache groups, U.S. Government herded various groups of Apaches together to be locked away in internment camps. Each internment camp was assigned a tribal designation and the naming became doctrine. It became commonplace for the Spanish, Mexican and American governments to make treaties for peace with one band, then turn around and commit genocide on them when another band, that had not treated, warred with non-Apaches. The peaceful bands became scapegoats for the actions of other bands. The genocide was justified because they were all regarded as members of one nation of Apaches without respect for the differing Apache communities. It would be akin to killing all English speakers around the world for the aggressive actions of U.S. invasions. Categorization became a manipulative convenience for easy killing and eradication but not for negotiation and sovereign recognition.

### Language

When we draw conclusions about communities based on language we are prone to make egregious mistakes. Using English as an example, categorizing communities as “white” based on their use of the English language is confounded when regarding places like the Bahamas. The Bahamas is a “racially black” country and the country’s language is English. When we analyze the relationship of black Africans to the white English language we find the slave trade as a mechanism for the switch from African languages to English as the *lingua franca*. The slave trade explains how a racially black community speaks a typically white language. While English can be attributed to white people from an island in northern

Europe, other factors, i.e., colonization, have made English a language found around the world. It raises the question, what were the factors that spread the Athabascan language across such a vast area of North American? If the Bering Strait hypothesis were true, why is the Athabascan language not found in Asia, particularly if it is so recent?

A map titled, Linguistic Stocks of American Indians North of Mexico by J.W. Powell published in the late 1800s as a part of the *Seventeenth annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1895-96* by J.W. Powell was an attempt at categorizing and simplifying Indigenous communities. [See fig. 12]. The “Athabascans” to which the Apache are assigned, encompass large areas of western Canada into Alaska and further north; areas around present-day Oregon and Washington and along the pacific coast; and from Montana/South Dakota east to the Mississippi River and south into Northern Mexico [Fig. 4]. The assumption is that because there is similarity of language spoken from Alaska to Mexico, there must be connections that are racial, cultural, social, political, religious, etc. Despite the diversity of geography, climate and necessary living accommodation, radically and culturally different communities have all been systematically lumped together because of a linguistic similarity. While from an outsider’s perspective it may make sense to box myriad communities together in such a fashion, the communities themselves would find it difficult to justify such categorization. The only connection and history that can be attributed to linguistic similarity is one of exposure and extended contact. Anything else is speculation.



*Figure 12 Map of Linguistic Stocks of American Indians. Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology Vol 7. J.S. Powell, 1890.*

### Languages of Colorado

The two dominant languages of the U.S. today are Spanish and English, thanks to colonization. Five hundred years ago, there were also two prominent linguistic groups in the Southwest. Although dozens of languages were spoken throughout the Southwest, there were two that dominated the landscape: Nahuatl and Indeh. Over millennia these languages morphed into “hablarios” (dialects) that derived from the two primary linguist roots. Indeh, regarded by western scholars as Athabascan or Apache, has been spoken from Northern Mexico to Western Alaska. Nahuatl, referred to by scholars as Uto-Aztecan, has been spoken from Canada to Costa Rica.

The Apache speaking peoples have been in Colorado for thousands of years and Indeh became the lingua franca of the mountains and plains. While there are differences in how the language is now spoken among the few remaining speakers relegated to internment camps across Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, the differing tribal communities can still communicate with each other in Indeh/Dineh across Apachería. Despite the differences, they cannot realistically be regarded as distinct languages if they are still able to communicate with each other.

Nahuatl is the older of the two languages in the area. Because of the ebb and flow of migration between Central Mexico and Apachería, the dialects have diverged enough to make communication between communities more of a struggle. For thousands of years people of the Tehuayo have been speaking some variant of Nahuatl. Tehuayo is the name the Nahuatl speakers used to reference the area they occupied within Apachería.

The oldest people of the area are now regarded as Tehua people. The Tehua people were spread out across Colorado, New Mexico, Northern Mexico where they built permanent homes first as pit houses, later as pueblos (Chaco Canyon, Aztec, Chimney Rock, Sand Canyon, Puye), retreating to cliff dwellings (Bandelier, Monument, Mesa Verde), eventually settling primarily along the Río Grande. A thousand years ago, the four corners area was the most densely populated area in the Southwest settled by Tehua or Puebloan peoples.<sup>74</sup>

“Pueblo people appear to have derived from several distinct ancestral populations that were still distinct in the late prehispanic period.” Genetic studies using development defects of the axial skeleton, indicate relationships between the people of Mesa Verde, Puye, Sand Canyon

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<sup>74</sup> Hill, et. al. 2010

and the Tehua Pueblos.<sup>75</sup> The population concentration shifted and moved alongside the Río Grande for the farming communities displacing Apache communities settled along the Río Grande.<sup>76</sup>

Springs and rivers played a key role in where Tehua communities settled as they became more dependent on crops and more sedentary in their lifestyle. The mountains and especially the foothills provided the most abundant food sources. The Tehua peoples found that larger communities were best suited to cultivating the most food possible to survive the winter months. However, larger sized populations also invited conflicts and developed into unhealthy hierarchies of social stratification. There was always a steady influx of genetics, technology, religion, ideas, commerce and governance that influenced the Tehua communities who were originally from central Mexico.

Political structures that flourished in Mesoamerica failed in Apachería, contributing to disputes and social problems. Winter weather that crowded small communities together in confined spaces (kivas) resulted in discord. Whereas in Central Mexico people can spend time outside throughout the year. In Tehuayo, the Tehua people were confined to indoor spaces, i.e., kivas, to avoid adverse weather. Tehua communities were smaller than the cities of Mexico and more dependent upon each other. Therefore, they were more adversely affected by hierarchical stratifications and crowding. The result was toxic infighting and violence that could not be sustained. The conflict put the Tehua communities on a trajectory

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid. See also, Barnes, 1994; Kuckelman, 2008:120.

<sup>76</sup> See, Alonso de Benavides, *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*. (trans. and ed. by Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey), 81; also, Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, "*Historia de la Conquista, Perdida, y Restauración de el Reino y Provincias de la Nueva México en la América Septentrional*," c. 1698, manuscript in Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Madrid, Spain.

toward a more sustainable sized community and with cultural and social structures that better served the communities. Eschewing the stark individualism of hierarchical social structures of their ancestors in Central Mexico, the Tehua or Puebloan people moved toward an emphasis on communal harmony and away from individualism. Humility, group will and harmonious social norms prevailed.

Clans, smaller kivas (communal spaces) and smaller dispersed communities were established to help relieve the tension posed by larger congested communities. Advances in the design and building of adobe homes resulted in more defensible housing complexes providing better protections from the attacks and raids of adversarial communities. Perseverance by avoiding conflict and violence was preferable to population attrition due to armed defense. Housing units were built to minimize defensive combat with hostile outsiders in exchange for retreat. It also encouraged community cohesiveness. Division of leadership to summer/winter divisions, distribution of ceremonial leadership and councils displaced hierarchical structures.

Living together in such close quarter, the Pueblos had long striven for conformity of behavior. Passive assent to the group will, suppression of individuals, and the pursuit of uniformity in all things characterized Pueblo tradition. There was no place in the rigidly controlled Pueblo community for the boastful self-assertiveness esteemed among some plains tribes.<sup>77</sup>

The success of the Tehuan lifestyle can be attested to by the diversity of the many pueblos that once lined the Río Grande. Despite linguistic and perhaps cultural diversity, Puebloan communities adopted a similarity for communal living. Categorized linguistically,

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<sup>77</sup> John L. Kessel, *Kiva, Cross and Crown*, (University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 12.

some of the languages spoken in the pueblos included Piro, Western Keres, Keres, Tompiros, Tanos, Tohuas, Tehuas and Northern and Southern Tihuas. Outliers included the Zuñi and Hopi pueblos. The Tohua, Tehua, Tihua, Piro and Hopi are Nahuatl speaking people who had migrated north over time from Central Mexico. The Shoshone, Comanche, Ute, Paiute, opted for a nomadic lifestyle rather than an urban one. At some point, one community broke off from the sedentary Tohua speaking people to become the nomadic Kiowa.

DNA evidence links the ancestral pueblos with the Nahua speaking people of Mexico. “LeBlanc and others (2007) extracted ancient mitochondrial DNA from quids and aprons found at Basketmaker cave sites and compared the resulting mtDNA haplogroup frequencies with those of living populations to suggest that the western Basketmakers were a migrant group from Mexico who introduced maize agriculture to the Colorado Plateau.”<sup>78</sup> It is safe to assume that Nahuatl, the lingua franca of most of Mexico, and the language of commerce, was a primary language of early puebloan or Tehua peoples. Other Nahuatl speaking people include the Yaqui, Mohave, Pima, and Tohono O’odham of Arizona and California areas.

Looking at linguistic similarities, cultivation and archaeological evidence gives support to the idea that there was a strong Nahua connection to Apachería.

The most significant result of this investigation is the evidence apparently showing contact between a Uto-Aztecan language, potentially the ancestor of proto-Nahua, and proto-Otopamean. This suggests that either Uto-Aztecan

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<sup>78</sup> Scott G. Ortman, *Winds from the North: Tewa Origins and Historical Anthropology*, (University of Utah Press, 2012), <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed August 22, 2018).



presence in Central Mexico goes back much earlier than is usually believed, or alternatively that proto-Otopamean was spoken further to the Northwest in the Bajío area in contact with Corachol and pre-*proto-Nahua*. This result is compatible with the proposal of Beekman and Christensen (2003) who argue that *Nahua* speakers began migrating into the Valley of Mexico from the Bajío area in the sixth century CE when the climate in this region became drier. This proposal would mean that the also [sic] the Otomian languages and their homeland was probably further to the Northwest than where it is usually located – perhaps in Querétaro, and that the ancestral otomi-Mazahua speech community probably migrated into the Valley of Mexico together with speakers of Nahuatl, where they came into contact with the inhabitants of Teotihuacan during the last phase of development of the metropolis.<sup>79</sup>

There is much debate about the geographic birthplace of *Nahua* as well as the timeframe for its inception, however, “most linguists today accept 5,000 to 6,000 years as a minimum age for the proto-language thus establishing a baseline between approximately 4000-3000 B.C.”<sup>80</sup> Hill and Bellwood suggest that agriculture, i.e., the cultivation of maize, was introduced into the Southwest by a migration of Uto-Aztecan speakers from central

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<sup>79</sup> Magnus Phraao Hansen, “Language contact and lexical borrowing involving proto-Nahuatl and Western Mesoamerican languages,” Academia.edu, August 26, 2018, 31. See also, Christopher S. Beekman, and Alexander F. Christensen, (2003). “Controlling for Doubt and Uncertainty Through Multiple Lines of Evidence: A New Look at the Mesoamerican *Nahua* Migrations,” in *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 10(2), 111-164.

<sup>80</sup> Jonathan B. Mabry, John P. Carpenter, and Guadalupe Sanchez, “Archaeological Models of Early Uto-Aztecan Prehistory in the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands,” in *Archaeology Without Borders*, eds., Laurie Webster, Maxine McBrinn, and Eduardo Gamboa Carrera, (University Press of Colorado, 2008), 157.

Mexico. Hill proposed that the migration of Uto-Aztecan speakers introduced maize from central Mexico as domesticators of maize and beans, and that the initial expansion into Tehuayo occurred between 4,000 and 3,000 years ago. At some point Nahua speakers (Ute, Piute, Shoshone, Comanche) in the extreme north abandoned agriculture.<sup>81</sup> There have been waves of migration between Apachería and Central Mexico for thousands of years. Isolation versus repeated contact has shaped the development of the hablarios spoken over time and in particular communities which accounts for similarity or differences in the language.

Projectile points found at Chaco Canyon alongside Maize pollen have been dated to approximately 4,000 B.P.<sup>82</sup> Projectile points are used to make associations between communities and these particular points reflect a connection with communities from Central Mexico. In addition, troughed flat board and flush or slightly raised spurred atlatls correspond with distribution of Uto-Aztecan Languages.<sup>83</sup> However, the dates for archeological evidence predates that arrival of maize. “Some archeological data point to the possibility of a pre-agricultural expansion of PUA [Proto-Uto-Aztecan] speakers into the Southwest, creating a linguistic-cultural continuum across which maize and pepo squash later

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<sup>81</sup> Jonathan B. Mabry, *Archaeological Models*, op. cit., 158. See also, Jane H. Hill, “Proto-Uto-Aztecan: A Community of Cultivars in Central Mexico?” in *American Anthropologist* 103(4): 913-934, 2001; and Peter Bellwood, “Prehistoric Cultural Explanations for Widespread Linguistic Families,” in *Archaeology and Linguistics: Aboriginal Australia in Global Perspective*, ed. P. McCovell and N. Evans, (Oxford University Press, 1997), 123-134; Peter Bellwood, *Austronesian Prehistory and Uto-Aztecan Prehistory: Similar Trajectories?*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Department of Anthropology Lecture Series, January 27, 1999).

<sup>82</sup> Alan, H. Simmons, “Chronology,” in *Prehistoric Adaptive Strategies in the Chaco Canyon Region, Northwestern New Mexico*, Volume 3: Interpretation and Integration, assembly, 1982. A. H. Simmons 807-825. Navajo Nation Papers in *Anthropology* 9. Navajo Nation, Window Rock, Arizona.

<sup>83</sup> See Alan Ferg, and William D. Peachey, “An Atlatl from the Sierra Pinacate,” in *Kiva* 64(2): 175-200, 1998.

spread . . . The implication is that some early farmers in the Southwest spoke indigenous languages while others spoke Proto-Uto-Aztecan.”<sup>84</sup> Mabry argues that archaeological data points to the possibility of a pre-agricultural expansion of Proto-Uto-Aztecan speakers in the Southwest later influenced by farming techniques and crops.<sup>85</sup> This supports the idea of waves of migration and dispersion of technology, culture, genetics and linguistic influences into the Southwest from Mexico.

Apachería, then, became the nexus point for the union of two distinct linguistic groups, the Athabaskan speaking people of the north and the Nahuatl speaking peoples of the south. The best example of the most harmonious co-existence of these two communities was that of the Kiowa/Apache fellowship. Colorado, then, has always been a bilingual, if not multilingual, landscape.

### Race and Language

According to DNA analysis the Navajo are regarded as “racially different” from other Apachean communities. Yet, the Navajo are culturally Apache, linguistically Apache, socially Apache even as they exhibit Puebloan traits. To understand how it is possible for two racially different (in the eyes of white anthropologists) communities to speak the same language, we must also analyze the relationship between the Navajo community and the Apachean language. The same is true for all other linguistically related communities. The question that needs to be posed is one that looks at the relationship between the community and the language rather than asking questions about race as consistently raised by white scholars. If we look historically at how communities are related to the languages they speak,

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<sup>84</sup> Jonathan B. Mabry, *Archaeological Models*, op. cit., 172.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

we will find three primary themes that contribute to language acquisition: survival, commerce and conquest or some combination of these themes. Black Africans in the Bahamas, originally an Indigenous enclave was changed with the slave trade, a direct consequence of commerce and conquest. When one considers that the many Africans captured and enslaved spoke a myriad of languages, it was necessary for survival to find a common language for communication. English, the language of the slave traders, became the *lingua franca*. What then was the relationship of the Apachean language to the communities that now speak some derivative of the language across centuries and vast territories? One can only conclude that survival played a key role in determining the adoption of Indeh/Dineh where some other language may have been used before. The Apachean language must have been the *lingua franca* of a vast area out of necessity resulting in its adoption by a large number of communities. Which begs the question, is language a viable tool for categorizing various communities as a unified whole or as racially similar?

When we categorized communities as a collective, how accurate are such categorizations? And, do such categorizations remain viable over time? Obviously, language is not and cannot be used to uniquely categorize communities of people as innately associated. The only relationship of the English-speaking West Indies populations who are primarily, racially black is one of an egregious history of slavery perpetrated by racially white Englishmen. Beyond the language there is little to connect these two dissimilar communities. The point being asserted here is that any conclusions made about linguistically related communities fails to account for the historical influences that predicated moving from one language to another. While there may be linguistic similarities it cannot be assumed that

the communities were ever part of a congruous origin. The Athabascan languages have been spoken from Alaska to Mexico, but that is where the similarities end.

Using DNA to ascribe people to geographical locations is intrinsically racist and fails to take into account an Indigenous truth: Indigenous people had extensive trade networks wherein all communities interacted with other communities who were culturally, linguistically and even genetically different and everything was shared from food, to language, to culture, to religious ideas, to blood. “Athapascans were not possessors of a radically intrusive or foreign way of life but were in general related culturally to their neighbors.”<sup>86</sup>

There are two things that make a person Apache: having Apache ancestry—usually through the mother, or adoption into an Apache community. The other qualifiers that white America would like to assign as qualifiers have become irrelevant over time. Most Apache people no longer speak the Apache languages. Many Apache people have married non-Apache spouses giving birth to children who are becoming over the generations less and less racially Apache. After 500 years of slavery, following the first wave of colonization, which included the stealing, adoption, inter-breeding and rape by the colonists of Apache people, it would be erroneous to regard any Indigenous community of the Southwest as “racially pure.”

The Puebloan peoples often took refuge with Apache people in the first two hundred years of colonization. Marriages would have resulted from such interaction. The adoption from other communities of adults and children would have resulted in inter-mixing. The rape of Native women by the colonizers, some white, some Indigenous from Mexico, would have

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<sup>86</sup> Forbes, *Apache, op. cit.*, xiv.

resulted in mestizo children. While race can be regarded as a qualifier to determine Apacheness, it cannot be regarded as an exclusive determinate of Apacheness.

Today, all Apache people have adapted to a modern, white, western lifestyle that has little to no relationship to an ancestral past and all Apaches have been Christianized—even if they choose to no longer be Christians. English has become the primary language of Apache communities even if some communities are bilingual. Traditional matrilineal customs contrast sharply with white American patriarchy which erode old practices. Traditional lifestyles can no longer be used as the sole measuring stick for determining Apacheness.

There are Apaches that are registered and pedigreed as Apaches by the U.S. Government using arbitrary criteria refined over two centuries of genocide. However, the original racial criteria defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been circumvented by tribal communities so that white people and black people are now categorized as “American Indian full-bloods” when they in fact are not. Conversely, racially, full-blooded Indian people are disregarded as “American Indian” because their ancestors were not imprisoned in an internment camp, now politely referred to as reservations, so they have no recorded ancestral connection to a federally recognized tribal community. The most insidious and genocidal act of white colonialism has been the racial categorization of Indigenous communities into an assignment that will never align with the Indigenous worldview. It is a paper genocide that is on-going.

## Part V: Capitalism and the Ownership of Property

The Apache have lived in a vast territory that encompassed an area from present day Canada down through northern Mexico. Before white invasion, the Apache lived a safe, comfortable life in the mountains, on the plains, and in the desert. Invasion brought war, death and unmitigated loss of family members, loss of safety, and access to food and shelter. Invasion introduced slavery, human trafficking, violence, and the need to become more nomadic to survive. Today, the Apache must navigate systems of racism, oppression and exclusion constantly warring with the cultural, spiritual, linguistic and racial extermination practices of assimilation.

Before invasion, the Apache established semi-permanent settlements where they were able to access wild plants for food and medicine, hunt deer, antelope, elk, and small game. It was customary for scouts to follow the buffalo and keep the community informed so that when necessary the Apache would move camp closer to the buffalo where they would hunt to obtain the food and other needs that the buffalo could provide. The semi-settled camps allowed for some planting and harvesting of crops.

The buffalo were not stationary. Following the seasons, the buffalo had a migratory pattern that extended from present day Canada to Mexico. Because the buffalo are such large animals they provide an abundance of both food, tools from bones and hides for clothing and shelter. It was economically sound to hunt buffalo. But it required that the Apache accommodate the migratory patterns of the buffalo. Moving camp was a necessity. Moreover, as specialists in hunting buffalo, the Apache were able to trade hides for commodities available from the settled mountain and river communities (Tehuah). Trade gave a reason to visit the settle communities, offered festive occasions and provided a means

by which to obtain a marriage partner. The Apache had semi-settled villages until the arrival of the invading colonizers from the south. With the introduction of slavery, settled communities became targets for both the colonizers and the Indigenous communities that chose to engage in the capture and sale of women and children in exchange for horses, guns, metal and manufactured goods. Colonization required that the Apache become more nomadic than before to avoid capture for slavery and death.

### Oral Histories

The Nadiisha Indeh remember the time in the 1600s when they lived in the area that borders Montana and Idaho. They had lived there for a long time before a dispute sent them further east and south. They traveled with the Kiowa (a Nahua people) meeting up with the Crow. They stayed with the Crow for a while but eventually all three groups moved further east. At some point the Crow headed south and the Apache continued on to the Black Hills where they stayed for many generations. They were eventually displaced by the Sioux people who moved in from the east and the Cheyenne, who crossed the Missouri from the northeast in the late 1700s.<sup>87</sup>

Initially, the Nadiisha Indeh defended their home in the Black Hills. Fighting on two fronts warranted that they move south from the Black Hills into Colorado, which was occupied at the time by the Comanche—an aggressive band of the Shoshoni. The Comanche (a Nahua speaking group) had already displaced the previous Lipan Apache who had occupied Colorado for thousands of years before the arrival of the Comanche from the north. Whereas there were areas across the Colorado foothills, plains and San Luis Valley, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Texas where Lipan Apache historically camped for protracted

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<sup>87</sup> James Mooney, “Calendar History of the Kiowa”, op. cit.



periods of time over hundreds of years, favorite sites were abandoned in an effort to avoid Comanche aggression. The Comanche would steal women and children and kill Apache warriors.

The Lipan moved further south, later followed by the Comanche, particularly as the Nadiisha Indeh (who currently refer to themselves as Kataka) and Kiowa moved south from the Black Hills. In the early 1800s the Arapaho, Cheyenne and Lakota slowly moved into Colorado, displacing all previous groups including the recently arrived Kataka Apache and the Indeh. Over time, the Apache, Kiowa and Comanche communities extended their range further south across the Rio Grande and into northern Mexico. By this time there were many Apache communities spread across Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Coahuilla, Sonora and Chihuahua (Nuevo Vizcaya, Nuevo Mexico and Nueva Extremadura).

### The Nefarious Practice of Indian Slavery

While the Apache may have dominated the plains before invasion of the colonizers from Europe, all of that changed with the advent of first colonization from the south and later colonization from the east. Before the invasion, there was like-mindedness among the many tribal communities that lived in Indehtah. While there may have been disputes, skirmishes, raids and defense of territorial occupation, tribal communities were relatively small and loss of life was expensive therefore minimal. There was no benefit to any community to wage war on another community.

The idea of fighting over property did not exist. Ownership of property is a concept introduced by the invading colonizers. Humility, hospitality and generosity are values that persist in traditional Indigenous community to date. Aggression, individuality and self-

promotion put any tribal community in danger resulting in violence internally or from outside of the community. Violence usually resulted in unwanted deaths.

Many of the animosities that exist to date between tribal communities are not conflicts over property. They are conflicts that arose because one tribal community sided with the invaders resulting in large loss of life to another tribal community. The betrayals have not been forgotten. Invasion, colonization and the imposition of Christian values of economics, property, ownership and violence dismantled centuries of harmonious existence among tribal communities in Indetah.

There is not an Indian in Apachería today whose ancestors were not impacted by slavery. If you look along the family trees of tribal peoples of Apachería, you will find multiple examples of family members who were stolen and sold into slavery or family members who participated in the capture and sale of slaves. Slavery was the most prevalent commercial intercourse practiced in Apachería/Nuevo Méjico from the moment the first Christian invaders from the south arrived to the first half of the twentieth century. It could legitimately be argued that the human trafficking and the stealing of immigrant children as practiced today across the Mexico/U.S. border is a remnant of the early Christian practice of stealing woman and children to sell to the highest bidder. Regarding people as property and thereby commodities to be bartered and sold on an open market has always been a Christian capitalistic enterprise.

The Christian Crusades in Europe and into the Ottoman Empire were greatly influenced by the conflicts between Islamic and Christian grasps for power and control. As the Crusaders established a foothold in Europe, conflicts arose between the Christian monarchies as they began to colonize areas of Africa in search of wealth to finance their

capitalist and religious endeavors. Two monarchies in particular, Portugal and Castile, when at odds turned to the Pope to settle their disputes.

The kingdoms of Portugal and Castile had been jockeying for position and possession of colonial territories along the African coast for more than a century prior to Columbus' "discovery" of lands in the western seas. On the theory that the Pope was an arbitrator between nations, each kingdom had sought and obtained papal bulls at various times to bolster its claims on the grounds that its activities served to spread Christianity. In response, on June 18, 1452 Pope Nicholas V signed into international law the papal bull, *Dum Diversas* which was responsible for "ushering in the West African slave trade"<sup>88</sup> granting the Kings of Castile and Portugal "...by these present documents, with our Apostolic Authority, full and *free permission to invade, search out, capture, and subjugate* the Saracens and pagans and any other unbelievers and enemies of Christ wherever they may be, as well as their kingdoms, duchies, counties, principalities, and other property [...] and to reduce their persons into perpetual slavery" [emphasis added].<sup>89</sup> By this bull, all of the Christian monarchies were granted religious freedom to enact slavery.

On January 8, 1454, Nicholas V signed a second bull *Romanus Pontifex* which granted these kingdoms the right "to invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed, and the kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, dominions, possessions, and all movable and immovable goods whatsoever held and possessed by them and to *reduce their persons to perpetual*

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<sup>88</sup> D. A. Love, *The Color of Law on the Pope, Paternalism and Purifying the Savages*. ZNet, 2007.

<sup>89</sup> F. G. Davenport, ed. *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648*, (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 20-26. The original text in Latin is in the same volume, at pp. 13-20.

*slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit*” [emphasis added].<sup>90</sup> Pope Calixtus III reiterated the bull in 1456 with *Etsi cuncti*, renewed by Pope Sixtus IV in 1481. In 1514, Pope Leo X also reiterated the bull with *Precelse denotionis*. Collectively, these bulls granted Christians unfettered right to steal, rape, kill, enslave and claim land “in the name of god” for selfish purpose, a percentage of which lined the coffers in Rome.

After Columbus had returned from his first voyage to the “New World” in 1492, three new bulls were issued on May 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> by Pope Alexander VI called *Inter caetera* to, once again, address the disputes between Portugal and Castile over the lands they wanted to lay claim to in the Americas. The bulls were favorable to Castile because Pope Alexander VI was a native of Valencia and a friend of the Castilian king. The importance of this particular bull is critical. The *Inter caetera* “became a major document in the development of subsequent legal doctrines regarding claims of empire in the ‘new world.’ The bull assigned to Castile the exclusive right to acquire territory, to trade in, or even to approach the lands lying west of the meridian situated one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. An exception was made, however, for any lands actually possessed by any other Christian prince beyond this meridian prior to Christmas, 1492”.<sup>91</sup> The bull stated:

. . . especially the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread, that the health of souls be cared for and that *barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith* itself. . . do by tenor

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Nativeweb.org

of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south . . . [emphasis added].<sup>92</sup>

These documents are now referred to collectively as the Doctrine of Discovery and became the “international law” under which all of the European countries operated when they invaded and colonized the “new world.”

As Spain began to settle, first in the West Indies and later in New Spain, the Spanish military invaders carried with them a document based on the papal bulls declaring sovereignty and war. This document called the *El Requerimiento* asserted Spanish sovereignty over the Americas. It was written by Juan López de Palacios Rubios, in 1513 and was used to justify the assertion that God, through Saint Peter and his Papal successors, held authority as ruler over the entire Earth, and that the *Inter Caetera* conferred title over the Americas to the Spanish monarchs.<sup>93</sup> This document was read to every new indigenous community encountered in the new world. The expectation was that the community, upon hearing it read, would immediately surrender to the Spaniards and become Christians or face

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<sup>92</sup> Davenport, *European Treaties*, *op. cit.*

<sup>93</sup> S. James Anaya, *Indigenous Peoples in International Law*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004).

war.<sup>94</sup> It required “you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world, and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen Doña Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this Tierra-firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid”.<sup>95</sup> Upon hearing the document read, refusal to submit was cause to be warred against. The *Requerimiento* continued,

. . . if you do not do this, and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; *we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them* as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do you all the mischief and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us . . . [emphasis added].<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross and Crown*, (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

<sup>95</sup> Juan Lopez de Palacios Rubios, “El Requerimiento, 1513,” in *Indigenous Peoples in International Law*, S. James Anaya, ed., (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), 36.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

Reading of the document was a formality to lessen the guilt of the Spaniards transgressions since the Indigenous communities had no idea what was being read to them given that they did not understand Spanish. By reading the document, the Spaniards were setting the stage for the slaughter, theft and enslavement that followed in their wake.

#### British interpretation

The British Crown as it began to settle the Americas had its own interpretation of the *Doctrine of Discovery* since, as an independent Protestant community, it had freed itself of papal regulation. The “Norman Yoke” asserted that if an owner demonstrated a willingness and ability to “develop” his property in accordance with scriptural obligation thereby exercising “dominion” over nature, then, he had legal claim to land title post discovery. An individual could claim that land which he could transform from “wilderness” to a “domesticated” state. This gave English settlers an inherent right to dispossess Indigenous peoples of the Americas of their land so that it might be cultivated. Moreover, this gave the Protestant Crown legal standing to take land from other monarchies that failed to cultivate the land they claimed.<sup>97</sup>

The English believed that it was in their best interest to treat with the Indian communities whose land they desired in order to acquire land. The invaders from the European monarchies upon colonizing the Americas presumed that the Indigenous peoples of the Americas “shared the view that political power must be located in a specific person and they attributed immense absolute powers to those spokesmen of other nations who dealt with them.” It was erroneously believed that a given spokesperson for a community of people

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<sup>97</sup> Ward Churchill, *Perversions of Justice: Indigenous Peoples and Anglo American Law*, (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2003), 4.

represented the nationhood of that people.<sup>98</sup> Whereas political theorists such as John Locke and Charles Montesquieu referenced the Iroquois Confederacy as a nation worthy of being accorded national status because of their governing institutions, “the English preferred not to mention Indian nations and the idea of political sovereignty in the same context”.<sup>99</sup> Despite English prejudices, they commenced treaty making with Indian communities. They also imported their conflicts from abroad, conflicts that initially had nothing to do with the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Indians were coerced into wars between the British and the French. The English found themselves in wars on fronts they could not sustain and Indigenous communities were pulled into conflicts they never started.

### Colonizing Apachería

The major factors that influenced and displaced the Apache people in the Boulder Valley were: 1) the white (Spanish) and Tlaxcallan invasion and colonization of Apachería from the south (Mexico) with the consequent introduction of the slave trade, guns and horses; 2) the Nahua (Ute, Shoshone, Comanche) invasion from the northwest emboldened by horses and guns; 3) the Franco-Anglo world war and the resulting colonization from the east and northeast by the Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho; and 4) the Rocky Mountain gold rush and consequent white invasion and colonization of Apachería from the east. Whereas the Apache dominated the plains of Colorado for thousands of years, the invasions of foreigners to Apachería forever disrupted life on the plains for the Apache.

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<sup>98</sup> Vine Deloria, Jr., (1996). “Self-determination and the Concept of Sovereignty,” in J.R. Wunder, ed. *Native Americans and the Law: Native American Sovereignty*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 118-124.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.



The first colonizers of Apachería came up from Mexico. While they are often regarded as “Spaniards,” it is important to recognize that in the sixteenth century there were no countries, only monarchies in league with the Catholic Church or the Church of England. Mexico was invaded and colonized by Castellanos, from the monarchy of Castillo, not Spaniards. They referred to themselves as “Cristianos” because Christianity provided them cohesion and the permissions they needed to commit egregious acts against Indigenous peoples.

While the early invaders and colonizers of Apachería (Nuevo Méjico as they called it) were operating under the flag of a united Castillo (complete in 1512), the idea of nationhood did not develop until the 1700s. “. . . it is necessary to turn to the large cluster of new political entities that sprang up in the Western hemisphere between 1776 and 1838, all of which consciously defined themselves as nations . . . For not only were they historically the first such states to emerge on the world stage, and therefore inevitably provided the first real models of what such states should ‘look like’ . . .”<sup>100</sup> Castillo, then, did not represent a “nation of Spain” but rather a monarchy’s seat of power; a united geographical space but a monarchy none-the-less.

It would be easy to attribute credit for the idea of nationhood to the Western World. However, it was the Indigenous ideas of sovereignty that influenced colonizers of the Americas toward the nation-state when they sought independence from the monarchies under which they were governed. There was no model in Europe, Asia or Africa for a nation-state. All of these geographic spaces were ruled, and in some cases continue to be ruled, under monarchy constructs of governance. The U.S. constitution was shaped and informed by the

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<sup>100</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (New York: Verso, 2006), 46.

Iroquois confederacy. The idea of a nation-state, then, can be directly attributed to Indigenous ideas and constructs of governance and sovereignty. It is disingenuous to attribute Western ideas of nationhood and democracy to a progressive development of the monarchy governance trajectory. Tyranny, the hoarding of wealth—as practiced in capitalism—imperialism, and neoliberalism, are natural remnants of the rule of monarchy sanctioned and informed by Christian values and morality.

What the colonizers from Mexico brought with them to Apacheria was a Christian custom of violence and patriarchy rooted in a lust for gold. There was no gold to be pilfered in the Southwest, as was the case in Mexico, so the Christian invaders turned to the next most valuable commodity; slavery, i.e., labor. The template for enslaving Indians was codified by Columbus.

When the ships from the Iberian Peninsula first washed ashore what would later be called the West Indies or the Caribe, the Christians found a very peaceful and humble people. Columbus himself wrote, “The Indians are so naïve, and so free with their possessions that no one who has not witnessed them would believe it. When you ask for something they have, they never say no. To the contrary, they offer to share with anyone.”<sup>101</sup>

Such cordiality and hospitality was soon met with a level of violence that the inhabitants had never known. Columbus continues in his writings, “They would make fine

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<sup>101</sup> Letter from Christopher Colom [Columbus]: to whom our age owes much; on the recently discovered Islands of India beyond the Ganges. In the search for which he had been sent out eight months earlier under the auspices and at the expense of the most invincible Ferdinand and Helisabet [Isabella], rulers of Spain: addressed to the magnificent Lord Gabriel Sanchis [Sanchez] treasurer of these most serene highnesses; which the noble and learned man Leander de Cosco translated from the Spanish into Latin on the third day before the calends of May [i.e., 29 April] 1493, in the first year of the pontificate of Alexander VI, (The Gilder Lehrman Collection GLC01427).

servants. . . With fifty men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want.”<sup>102</sup>

A childhood friend of Columbus, Michele da Cuneo, who was on the voyage with Columbus, describes in a letter how he raped a Carib woman:

While I was in the boat, I captured a very beautiful Carib woman, whom the said Lord Admiral gave to me. When I had taken her to my cabin she was naked—as was their custom. I was filled with a desire to take my pleasure with her and attempted to satisfy my desire. She was unwilling, and so treated me with her nails that I wished I had never begun. But—to cut a long story short—I then took a piece of rope and whipped her soundly, and she let forth such incredible screams that you would not have believed your ears.

Eventually we came to such terms, I assure you, that you would have thought that she had been brought up in a school for whores.”<sup>103</sup>

Bartolome de las Casas, the priest who accompanied Columbus on his conquest of Cuba, detailed the abuse and murder of the Carib population:

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> See, Michele de Cuneo's Letter on the Second Voyage, 28 October 1495 “The original letter has disappeared. The existing manuscript, a copy made about 1511 by one Jacopo Rossetto, belongs to the Library of the University of Bologna, whose librarian, Olindo Guerrini, first gave it to the world in 1885. Its authenticity was then challenged because of inconsistencies in style; but it has passed the scrutiny of the paleographer Carlo Malagola, Director of the Archives of Bologna, of Henry Harrisse, and of Cesare de Lollis, who printed it in full in his *Raccolta Colombiana* III ii 95-107. De Lollis's text is the one used for this translation, which Miss Luisa Nordio, then Assistant Professor of Italian at Vassar College, made for me in 1940, and which is, I believe, the first complete one to be published.” *The Second Voyage of Discovery 1493-96*, (author unknown), online PDF at: <http://www2.fiu.edu/~cookn/cuneo1.pdf>. See also, Geoffrey Symcox and Blair Sullivan, *Christopher Columbus and the enterprise of the Indies : a brief history with documents* (Boston, MA : Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005).

Endless testimonies . . . prove the mild and pacific temperament of the natives. . . . But our work was to exasperate, ravage, kill, mangle and destroy. . . . And the Christians, with their horses and swords and pikes began to carry out massacres and strange cruelties against them. They attacked the towns and spared neither the children nor the aged nor pregnant women nor women in childbed, not only stabbing them and dismembering them but cutting them to pieces as if dealing with sheep in the slaughter house. They laid bets as to who, with one stroke of the sword, could split a man in two or could cut off his head or spill out his entrails with a single stroke of the pike. They took infants from their mothers' breasts, snatching them by the legs and pitching them head first against the crags or snatched them by the arms and threw them into the rivers, roaring with laughter and saying as the babies fell into the water, "Boil there, you offspring of the devil!" Other infants they put to the sword along with their mothers and anyone else who happened to be nearby. They made some low wide gallows on which the hanged victim's feet almost touched the ground, stringing up their victims in lots of thirteen, in memory of Our Redeemer and His twelve Apostles, then set burning wood at their feet and thus burned them alive. To others they attached straw or wrapped their whole bodies in straw and set them afire. With still others, all those they wanted to capture alive, they cut off their hands and hung them round the victim's neck, saying, "Go now, carry the message," meaning, Take the news to the Indians who have fled to the mountains. They usually dealt with the chieftains and nobles in the following way: they made a grid of rods

which they placed on forked sticks, then lashed the victims to the grid and lighted a smoldering fire underneath, so that little by little, as those captives screamed in despair and torment, their souls would leave them....<sup>104</sup>



*Figure 13 Murder of the Caribe people by the Spaniards.*

Historian Laurence Bergreen estimates that there were 300,000 Natives on Hispaniola when Columbus arrived; by 1550, there were just 500. Many of the Natives had been killed by disease or Spanish soldiers while others had been enslaved and sent back to Spain. A huge number simply took their own lives rather than live under Spanish rule.

“When the Spaniards had collected a great deal of gold from the Indians, they shut them up in three big houses, crowding in as many as they could, then set fire to the houses, burning alive all that were in them, yet those Indians had given no cause nor made any resistance.”

“They would cut an Indian’s hands and leave them dangling by a shred of skin . . . [and] they would test their swords and their manly strength on captured

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<sup>104</sup> See, Laurence Bergreen, *Columbus: The Four Voyages, 1492-1504* (Penguin Books, 2012).

Indians and place bets on the slicing off of heads or the cutting of bodies in half with one blow . . . [One] cruel captain traveled over many leagues, capturing all the Indians he could find. Since the Indians would not tell him who their new lord was, he cut off the hands of some and threw others to the dogs, and thus they were torn to pieces.”

“They threw into those holes all the Indians they could capture of every age and kind . . . Pregnant and confined women, children, old men [were] left stuck on the stakes, until the pits were filled . . . the rest they killed with lances and daggers and threw them to their dogs who tore them up and devoured them.”

“As the Spaniards went with their war dogs hunting down Indian men and women, it happened that a sick Indian woman who could not escape from the dogs, sought to avoid being torn apart by them in this fashion: she took a cord and tied her year-old child to her leg, and then she hanged herself from a beam. But the dogs came and tore the child apart; before the creature expired, however, a friar baptized it.”

“With my own eyes I saw Spaniards cut off the nose, hands and ears of Indians, male and female, without provocation, merely because it they summoned pleased them to do it . . . Likewise, I saw how the caciques and the

chief rulers to come, assuring them safety, and when they peacefully came, they were taken captive and burned.”

“The Spaniards treated the Indians with such rigor and inhumanity that they seemed the very ministers of Hell, driving them day and night with beatings, kicks, lashes, and blows and calling them no sweeter names than dogs . .

.Women who had just given birth were forced to carry burdens and thus could not carry their infants because of the hard work and weakness of hunger.

Infinite numbers of these were cast aside on the road and thus perished.”<sup>105</sup>

Despite all efforts by the Native people of the islands which Columbus and his fellow invaders colonized, there was no escaping the hell that was visited upon them. They would escape to the hills only to be chased down, captured, enslaved, mutilated and in the case of the women, raped and eventually killed. These Christians brought with them a living hell only they could envision and execute. The Armageddon that Columbus and his men visited upon the Indigenous peoples of the Caribe established the template that would determine how all subsequent Indigenous communities would be met.

Two principal and general customs have been employed by those, calling themselves Christians, who have passed this way, in extirpating and striking from the face of the earth those suffering nations. The first being unjust, cruel, bloody, and tyrannical warfare. The other—after having slain all those who might yearn toward or suspire after or think of freedom, or consider escaping from the torments that they are made to suffer, by which I mean all

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

the native-born lords and adult males, for it is the Spaniards' custom in their wars to allow only young boys and females to live—being to oppress them with the hardest, harshest, and most heinous bondage to which men or beasts might ever be bound into. . . . <sup>106</sup>

In order understand how pervasive and common human trafficking became in the Southwest it is imperative to review the history of how the slave trade became entrenched in Apachería. The point being that human trafficking of Indigenous peoples of Apachería was an institution of colonization of the area by Spanish speaking Christians centuries before English speaking Christians colonized the same area. [See insert: Map of 1793].



Figure 14 Map of Mexico with an inset map of the Environs of Mexico (city). For the Reverend D. Robertson's *History of America* published in 1793. Shows Mexico reaching into New Mexico, with a "Great Space of Lane Unknown" to the west of Louisiana, and New Albion.

<sup>106</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account Of The Destruction Of The Indies*, written 1542, published 1552. Excerpted by the National Humanities Center, 2006: [www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/pds.htm](http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/pds/pds.htm). From Bartolomé de las Casas, *An Account, Much Abbreviated, of the Destruction of the Indies*, with Related Texts, ed. Franklin W. Knight, & tr. Andrew Hurley (Hackett Publ. Co., 2003), pp. 2-3, 6-8. Permission pending. De Bry engravings in de Bry's 1598 edition of *Destruction*; digital fig.s reproduced by permission of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.



The story of Cabeza de Vaca and his Black slave, Esteban, is well known. They were party to Pánfilo Narváez's expedition to Florida and were shipwrecked on the coast of Texas. Most of the party died, but Cabeza de Vaca and his slave managed to walk back to Mexico City over the course of many years. While it is debatable rather or not they encountered any Apaches, they did encounter communities that were in contact with the Apache. In an area where the Río Grande and the Río Conchos of Chihuahua meet, the Cabeza de Vaca party made contact with an agrarian community, probably around 1535. They also made contact with the people living at Casas Grandes. The "Teyas" a Plains Apachean group, met Coronado in 1541 and remembered having seen Spaniards.<sup>107</sup>

By the time that Coronado set out for what would become Nuevo México in 1540, the Indigenous communities of the Southwest (Pueblos and Apaches) already had a good idea of what the Spaniards were capable of doing. While Esteban's earlier visit in search of the Seven Cities of Gold left a negative impression on the people of the places he visited, it was the reports from the south of the Spanish slave hunters out of Culiacán that left the biggest impression. Fray Marcos de Niza noted in 1539 that Spaniards were raiding for slaves as far north as the Río Sinaloa.<sup>108</sup>

Coronado traveled with an advanced party of a much larger group of invaders. In his party there were seventy-five mounted soldiers and thirty servants. The entire group was too large to feed and so Coronado invaded Pueblo after Pueblo, dispatching the inhabitants to occupy their homes and raid their stores of food. Murder, rape and pillaging became the norm. The invaders slaughtered community after community of Indigenous people, burning

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<sup>107</sup> George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. eds. and trans., *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 1542, 301.

<sup>108</sup> Report of Fray Marcos de Niza, in *Coronado Narratives*, Hammond and Rey, *op cit.*, 64.

Pueblos and enslaving women and children everywhere they went. After two years of reigning hell upon the Indigenous peoples of the Southwest, Coronado returned to Mexico City.<sup>109</sup> The damage and the impression that he left in his wake was never forgotten.

Slavery was outlawed by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella in 1500. In 1503 the crown authorized the enslavement of “cannibals”. In 1504 the Crown of Castillo allowed the enslavement of Indians taken in “just wars”. In 1506, the monarchy allowed for Indians enslaved by other Indians to be “ransomed” and kept by Spaniards as slaves.<sup>110</sup> So while slavery was technically illegal in the New World by the colonizing *Christianos*, loopholes in the law allowed slave trading to continue unabated. “Just war” was the primary premise the colonizers of Apachería used to “technically” wage war against peaceful Indigenous communities often ignorant of colonizer presence. The raids were economically beneficial while expanding territory for colonization.

The first slave raids were instituted against the Indigenous communities on the northern most outposts of New Spain. The colonizers continuously and relentlessly instigated “wars” against Indigenous communities with the explicit intent of obtaining food, booty and slaves for personal use or sale. From 1563 to 1572, Francisco de Ibarra was the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. It was during his governorship that *entradas* were made into Apachería. The *entradas* served the “dual purpose of punishing hostile Indians and capturing slaves to be used in the mining regions of Parral, Santa Bárbara, Indehe, and Nueva Galicia.”<sup>111</sup> Raids were made along the Conchos River, as far as La Junta and the Texas border.<sup>112</sup> When

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<sup>109</sup> Forbes, *Apache, op. cit.*, 8-25.

<sup>110</sup> Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 41-2.

<sup>111</sup> Forbes, *Apache, op. cit.*, 47.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

Hernando Gallegos contacted the Cabri Indians near La Junta in 1581, he later wrote that the Indians fled in fear “because the latter [Spaniards] had taken and carried off many of their people during the raids of the captains who had sallied forth by order of de Ibarra.”<sup>113</sup>

It can be stated with certainty that the animosity and the constant and relentless warring between the Spanish speaking invaders and the Indigenous communities of Apachería from 1535 to the early twentieth century had less to do with defending territory than it did with an opposition to the stealing of Indigenous family members to be sold and kept as slaves. Under the pretense of saving the heathens from the devil, Christian invaders killed, raped, stole, sold and enslaved countless Indigenous individuals, mostly women and children in greedy pursuit of wealth. The degree to which the slave trading prevailed cannot be overstated. There are no people Indigenous to New Mexico and Colorado, regardless of the self-identifiers they now use, whose ancestors were not on one side or the other of the slave trading industry that prevailed for almost 400 years.

The closest we can get to measuring the pervasiveness of the slave trade in the Southwest is by looking at church baptismal records. In accordance to the dictates of the papal bulls, slavery could only be justified if the enslaved were Christianized. There were no churches or missionary efforts made in the Apache, Comanche, Navajo, Paiute, or Ute territories, so the baptismal of individuals from these communities (as recorded) could only have been of captured slaves. “Records of various New Mexican parishes reveal that during a fifty-year period – from 1700 to 1760 – nearly 800 Apaches were anointed with oil and holy water, and baptized into the Catholic faith. These were not willing converts. No missionaries

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<sup>113</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, “Declaration of Hernando Gallegos,” in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 1542-1706, 144.

had been at work among the Apache bands. They were women and Children, taken against their will by slave raiders, and distributed by lot among the captors.”<sup>114</sup>

In 1637 Luis de Rosas became governor of the territory of Nuevo Méjico. In his insatiable thirst for money, he legalized human trafficking as a commodity. He sent slave raiders deep into the plains where they killed “a great number of friendly Apaches” and “they captured them [Apaches] in this unjust war, and they took them to sell in *tierra de paz* [in Nueva Vizcaya].” This information is culled from the Testimony of Francisco de Salazar, July 5, 1641.<sup>115</sup> The capture and profit off of Native children became a norm of commerce that has endured into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>116</sup> An example of one of the baptismals is found on file in the records of the Navajo Lands Claims Department. It reads:

In this Mission of Señor San Joseph de la Laguna on the third day of . . . June 1778, I, Fray Tomas Salvador Fernandez, Minister and Teacher of the Doctrine of this mission, baptized solemnly . . ., and blessed as is directed by the Roman ritual a child of three years of age, to whom I gave the name Rosalia, Indian of the Navajo Nation, servant in this pueblo to Polina

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<sup>114</sup> L. R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*, (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966), 19.

<sup>115</sup> “Testimony of Francisco de Salazar, July 5, 1641,” *Patronato*, Vol. 244, AGI, quoted in Forbes, *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 132.

<sup>116</sup> See, Neil Goodwin, *The Apache Diaries* (University of Nebraska Press, 2000) for an account of the continued hunting and capture of free Apaches lasting into the 1930s; L. R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*, (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966); John Burnett, *As Asylum Seekers Swap Prison Beds for Ankle Bracelets, Same Firm Profits*, on National Public Radio, Morning Edition, November 13, 2015, 4:15AM ET, <https://www.npr.org/2015/11/13/455790454/as-asylum-seekers-swap-prison-beds-for-ankle-bracelets-same-firm-profits>, accessed Monday, September 10, 2018, 1:09AM.

Trasiztcha, who she has recognized as mother from the age of three months, who purchased her.<sup>117</sup>

Governor Mogollon launched a campaign against Faraone Apaches in 1714. The commanding officer was instructed not to kill Apache women and children. Instead, they were to be captured and turned over to the Governor as his personal property.<sup>118</sup> In the 1800s there were numerous sanctioned and clandestine slaving expeditions against the Navajo. Baptismal records indicate that over 250 Navajo captives were baptized in the first two decades of the century. This does not include the many “Indians” baptized that were most likely also Navajo.<sup>119</sup>

New Mexicans, challenged by difficult living circumstances, frequently organized expeditions against Navajos and Apaches—usually without official army sanction. In a detailed report by Ramon Luna, prefect of the County of Valencia to the territorial Secretary of State evidences one particular raid where he reports, “I therefor went on . . . to ‘Mesa de la Vaca’ [Black Mesa], there I divided my forces and scattered them on various routes to the Navajo country. I succeeded in chastising the Indians and taking . . . stock amounting to 5000 sheep, 150 riding animals, 11 oxen and 28 [female] prisoners, also 24 [males] . . .<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Extracts of records of Missions of San Esteban de Acoma and San José de la Laguna, selected by J. Lee Correll and David M. Brugge; on file with Navajo Lands Claims Department, Window Rock, Arizona. A copy of these translations is also on file at the Arizona Pioneers’ Historical Society, Tucson

<sup>118</sup> Mogollon to Hurtado, August 26, 1715; in Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727*, (Norman: Univeristy of Oklahoma Press, 1935), p. 87

<sup>119</sup> This data was taken from a tabulation of baptismals prepared by David M. Brugge, for a paper delivered at the 1965 Ethnohistorical Conference, Tucson, Arizona. See also, Bailey, *Slave Trade, op. cit.*, 84.

<sup>120</sup> Nathan Bibo, “Reminiscences of Early Days in New Mexico,” *Albuquerque Evening Herald*, June 11, 1922).

The slave trade did not end with the acquisition of the territory by the United States. After New Mexico became U.S. territory, human trafficking continued sanctioned by the Secretary of War. In July 1851, James S. Calhoun, Governor of New Mexico and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, issued a proclamation authorizing volunteer companies to campaign against Apache and Navajo Indians.<sup>121</sup> Calhoun reified and legalized the continued hostilities against Indians as had been the custom—payment would be the “booty” collected by the volunteer companies.

I further direct and order that the property which may be captured from any hostile tribe of Indians, by any company raised under the foregoing provisions, *shall be disposed of in accordance with the laws and customs heretofore existing in this territory*—until legislative actions shall be had upon the subject, either by the Congress of the United States or the Legislative Assembly of the Territory.” [emphasis added].<sup>122</sup>

By Calhoun’s declaration, human trafficking, slave trading and ownership could continue on what had become U.S. soil.

The decade of the 1860s almost 800 Navajos were baptized in territorial churches. In Colorado alone, in the southern counties of Conejos and Costilla, a federal investigation revealed 145 Indians held as captives. “Of these 110 were Navajos – taken during the years 1862-64; 8 were Paiutes, and 15 were Apache. The remaining individuals were of other tribal

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<sup>121</sup> Proclamation (dated March 20, 1851); *Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun while Indian Agent at Sante Fe and Superintendent of Indian Affairs*, (Washington: 1915), pp. 300-305.

<sup>122</sup> Proclamation “to the People of Said Territory,” by James S. Calhoun (dated March 8, 1851); National Archives, New Mexico Territorial Papers, 1851-60.

affiliations.”<sup>123</sup> As a reminder, there were no missionaries in these Indigenous territories. The baptized were captured women and children, i.e., slaves.

### Divide and Conquer

The slave trade of Nuevo Méjico was strategic in addition to being lucrative. It was tied to the Spanish and later Mexican policy for contending with resistance to colonization by the numerous, nomadic Indigenous communities. In addition, the rivalry for control of the trans-Mississippi west between Spanish and French interests used and manipulated Indigenous communities into conflict and human trafficking in exchange for horses, guns, ammunition, metal implements, and alcohol. “By subtle courting of Indian allies, and using them to conduct slave raids against hostile groups, the Spanish were able to maintain their balance of power in a far-flung empire. The seeds that Hispanic officialdom planted, however, germinated into a commerce so vile that it kept animosities alive for generations – causing trouble for subsequent administrations of Mexico and the United States.”<sup>124</sup>

The economic importance of human trafficking pitting one tribe against another developed into a cultural standard for New Mexicans. What began as the capture and enslavement of Apache women and children blossomed into a way of life that endured for centuries. Relationships between all groups of both the colonized and the colonizers were profoundly shaped by the threat and fear of stealing one another’s children. For the most part, it was Indian children that were stolen, never to live amongst their tribal community again. Consequently, many of the assaults on the colonizers by Indigenous communities were either retaliation for stolen children or an effort to rescue the captured children. For Indigenous

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<sup>123</sup> Bailey, *Slave Trade, op. cit.*, p. 186. For a tabulation of captives see Lafayette Head to John Evan, July 17, 1865; New Mexico Superintendency Papers, 1865.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 20.

communities, colonization, Christianity, capitalism and greed resulted in a progressive deprivation of everything held dear by Indigenous people; territory, resources, freedom of movement, food, family, children, culture, and safety. That there remains today, any Indigenous people with any semblance of who they are in relation to an ancestral past is no less than miraculous and attests to the resiliency of Indigenous people over time.

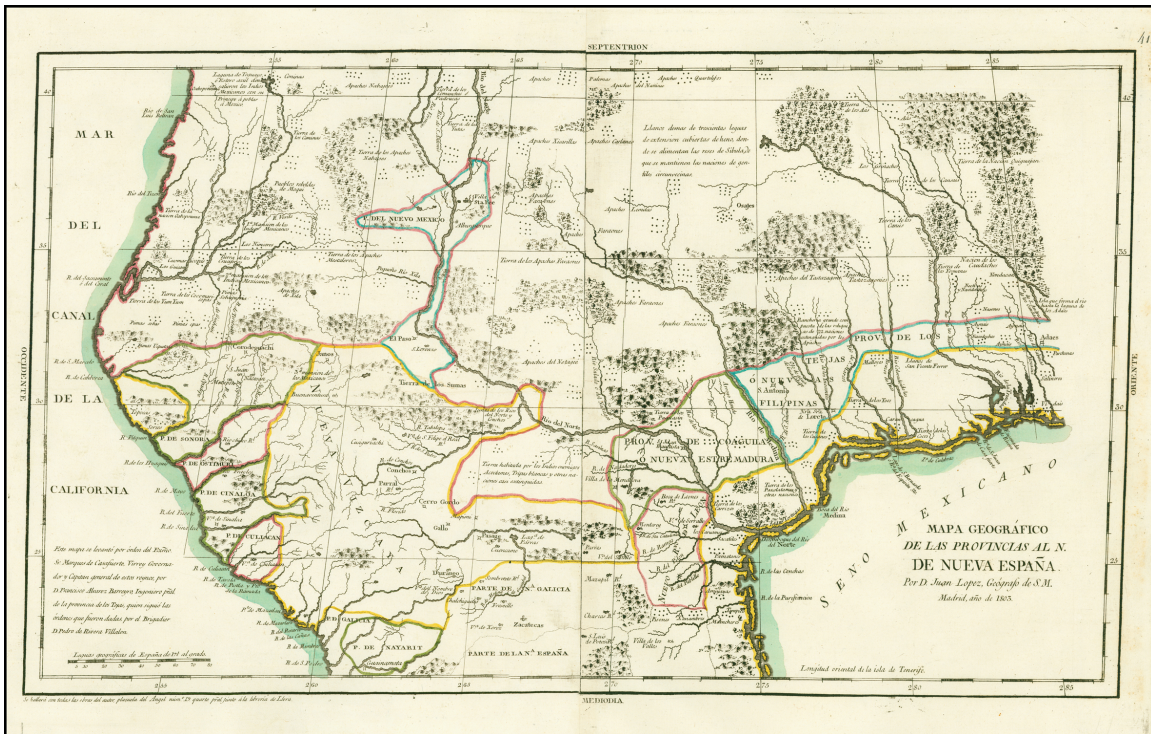


Figure 15 Mapa Geográfico de las Provincias al N. de Nueva España, 1803 shows Apachería with some of the “tribal” affiliations as assigned by the colonizing Christians.



## The Genízaro

The term *genízaro* was the term used commonly until 1821 to refer to Indigenous captive slaves, mostly women and children, who served in Spanish, Mexican and later American households.<sup>125</sup> Captives were stolen from Apache, Comanche, Navajo, or Ute tribes, then, sold by slave traders in New Mexico and Southern Colorado primarily to “Spanish” households where they were baptized and assimilated into Spanish colonial customs. As Genízaros, many were raped and brutalized. The number of detribalized captives was substantial. A 1750 census lists a Genízaro population for Nuevo Méjico at thirty-five percent.

After a time, many of the adult captives complained of mistreatment by their masters and were thus freed and allowed to settle land grants on the periphery of the Spanish settlements. Genízaros were unable to return to their original homes/tribes because of their capture and assimilation into Spanish customs. They had been Christianized and forced to learn foreign ways and language. Genízaros were no longer welcomed back into the tribal communities they were born into. Consequently, they established their own villages, which served as buffer communities for the protection of the Spanish towns from attack by nomadic tribes.<sup>126</sup> Juan Agustin Morfi in 1778 described the settlements of Tomé and Belén, just south of Albuquerque, thusly:

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<sup>125</sup> Genízaro is believed to be derived from the Turkish word, *yeniçeri*, ‘select guard,’ *janissary* meaning “auxiliary or new troops” referencing enslaved boys who were turned into soldiers or from Latin roots meaning “a child begotten by parents of different nations.” Silverberg, *The Pueblo Revolt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970) 50-3; Chavez, “Genízaros” *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 9, 1979 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution), 198.

<sup>126</sup> For more information on Genízaros, see: Chavez, *Genízaros*, *op. cit.*, 198-200; Delgado, *You’re Not Indian, You’re Mexican* (Broomfield, CO: Turtle Island Press, 2007); Silverberg, *The Pueblo Revolt*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).

In all the Spanish towns of New Mexico there exists a class of Indians called genizaros. These are made up of captive Comanches, Apaches, etc. who were taken as youngsters and raised among us, and who have married in the province... They are forced to live among the Spaniards, without lands or other means to subsist except the bow and arrow which serves them when they go into the back country to hunt deer for food... They are fine soldiers, very warlike... Expecting the genizaros to work for daily wages is a folly because of the abuses they have experienced, especially from the alcaldes mayores in the past... In two places, Belen and Tome, some sixty families of genizaros have congregated.<sup>127</sup>

Genízaros settled, during the Spanish and Mexican period, in several New Mexican villages such as Belén, Carnué, Los Lentos, San Miguel del Vado, Socorro, Tomé, and Valencia. Genízaros also lived in Abiquiú, Albuquerque, Atrisco, Chimayó, Las Vegas, Santa Fe, and Taos. In Colorado, the San Luis Valley was also settled by Genízaros.

Most Genízaros were Apache, Kiowa Apache, Comanche, Navajo, Pawnee, Paiute, Pueblo, and Ute. Apache and Navajo comprised the majority of Indian slaves during the early American period (1821-1880). During negotiations with the United States military, Navajo spokesmen complained that over half the tribe were servants in Mexican households. Most did not return to the Navajo Nation but remained as the lower classes in the Spanish villages.<sup>128</sup> Today, descendants comprise much of the population of Atrisco, Pajarito and Los

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<sup>127</sup> Juan Agustín Morfi. *Account of Disorders in New Mexico 1778*, Ed. Marc Simmons (Historical Society of New Mexico, 1977), 1-43. Original from the University of Michigan.

<sup>128</sup> Silverman, "Indian Slavery: The Genizaros of New Mexico." *Native Peoples*. July/August 2011. 50-53.

Padillas in the South Valley of Albuquerque, and significant portions of the population in and around Las Vegas in Eastern New Mexico.

Genízaros, estranged from their tribal roots, adopted Spanish customs and language. They had little connection to their original tribal communities. A census done in 1821 counted a population for New Mexico of some 40,000 people, a quarter of whom were Pueblo Indian. That left 30,000 people recorded as “Spanish and other classes” that had been Hispanicized. There had not been, by that time, such a large influx of Spaniards meaning that the majority of those counted were, in fact, Indigenous.<sup>129</sup>

Over time, the Genízaro communities were incorporated into the larger New Mexican community post-American colonization. The distinction between white American and Manito (Brown people of New Mexico) was greater than the distinction between “Spaniard” and Genízaro. After 1880, when the New Mexico territory was denied statehood, the narrative changed making both the descendants of the colonizers and the descendants of the Genízaro “Spanish” or white thereby deserving of American citizenship and statehood. The Genízaro became even further displaced from his Indigenous roots. As American colonizers stole the land of New Mexican landowners, including Genízaros, the Manitos began to move into Colorado, back to their original homeland for economic reasons.

I have had ample opportunity, both formally and informally, to speak with a large number of people who identify as Indigenous, and in particular, Apache. I found that many of these individuals had family stories to tell that involved slavery.<sup>130</sup> In some instances, grandparents were stolen as children and raised in “Spanish” households where they were

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<sup>129</sup> Weber, ed., *Foreigners in their Native Land* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), 14.

<sup>130</sup> Young, *Chicano Indigenous Identity*, 116-18.

inculcated into the family or the grandmother was given to a Spanish household as a wife or to be raised as part of an agreement. In other instances, a family member had been stolen and never heard from again. These stories are post U.S. abolition of the slave trade, yet the practice for Indigenous people of New Mexico persisted in a fashion contrary to law. The old census records refer to these household members as “domestic servants.”<sup>131</sup> Many of the family stories I recorded involved domestic and sexual violence including rape and incest. These inter-generational traumas continue to haunt and plague Indigenous people of today.

One of the forms that genocide has taken historically is a paper genocide that involves the renaming of the surviving Indigenous people as a process of indoctrination. This is part of an *identity trauma* that continues to plague Indigenous people of the Americas.<sup>132</sup> Renaming distances a population from its ancestral record of belonging. It disposes a people of their heritage and ancestral roots. Following the conquest of Mexico, then Nuevo Méjico, by the Spanish invaders, the Indigenous peoples of New Spain were forced to become baptized into the Catholic Church and to embrace Christian beliefs.<sup>133</sup> “In baptism the indigenous rulers had to adopt Christian, i.e., Spanish, names. Generally they chose those of the Spanish officials or nobles of their own rank, like the viceroy of the local Spanish landowners

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<sup>131</sup> See 1860, 1870, 1880, census data, (USGenWeb, <http://www.usgwcensus.org/>. Copyright: 2007).

<sup>132</sup> *Identity trauma* is the susto or trauma experienced by colonization wherein the colonized is renamed by the colonizer and thereby distanced from historical connection resulting in confusion of self and community identity. The colonized begin to emulate “whiteness” and reject indigeneity resulting in self-hate and hostility toward anything “Indian.” See Part 2 Chapter 12.

<sup>133</sup> Ruiz de Alarcón, Hernando 1629. *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions That Today Live Among the Indians Native to This New Spain*, translated and edited by J. Richard Andrews and Ross Hassig (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); Durán, Diego. *The History of the Indies of New Spain* translated by Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyeden (New York: Orion Press, 1964); Córdova, P. *Christian Doctrine: For the Instruction and Information of the Indian*, translated by S. A. Stoudemire (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press 1970).

(*encomenderos*).”<sup>134</sup> The Indigenous communities that were forced into contact with the Spanish invaders were baptized and Christianized forcefully. Their names were changed and they took on new identities.

Nieto-Phillips in his book addresses Spanish heritage as a “source of collective identification with the land and with a historical discourse of conquest, settlement and occupation.” “Heritage” he posits, “is decidedly a language of empowerment or, from another perspective, coercion.” Nieto-Phillips addresses the historical antecedent that led to racial categorization with Spanish conquest.<sup>135</sup> The people of the Iberian Peninsula overly concerned with *limpeza de sangre*, blood purity, believed that one’s blood “captured the essence of one’s spiritual purity and nobility.” Catholic Spanish blood was considered superior to Indian, Moorish and Jewish blood, and required confirmation by a church official. This eugenic thinking arrived in the Americas on the backs of the invaders resulting in the establishment of a caste system that constructed *español* as a social category not based on “strict genealogy or ‘pure’ bloodlines” but rather on honor, conquest and Christian heritage. It remained in place until 1820 when Mexico achieved independence from Spain. Thereafter, two castes emerged, Indians on the one hand, and Spaniards and people of other classes or ‘vecinos’ on the other. “Those who were not clearly ‘indios,’ or Pueblo Indians living with the corporate pueblo as accepted members, were deemed “españoles.” These references were

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<sup>134</sup> Jansen, Maarten, and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *Codex Bodley* (Cambridge: University of Oxford Press, 2005), 27-8.

<sup>135</sup> At the time that the people of the Iberian Peninsula invaded Anahuac they were not yet unified as one cohesive Spanish nation and referred to themselves as *castellanos*, whereas the people of Anahuac called them *coyotes* and *cristianos*. See Leon-Portilla, *The Broken Spears* (Boston: Beacon Press 1962).

less about degrees of blood purity or racial mixture than they were about “cultural, ethnic, and geopolitical boundaries that separated Pueblo Indians from the amorphous vecinos.”<sup>136</sup>

The use of the term Genízaro fell out of vogue with Mexican Independence from Spain. In 1821, Mexico declared independence from Spain drafting a document known as the *Plan de Iguala* that abolished the caste system and provided that all peoples regardless of their racial origin or admixture were to be designated in legal documents, both civil and religious, only as “Ciudadanos Mexicanos” [Mexican citizens].<sup>137</sup> This ended the use of the term Genízaro, “those who were assimilated along with the former *genizaros* into the Spanish-speaking community, whether through some Hispanic intermarriage or none at all, became ‘Mexicans.’” Genízaros began referring to themselves simply as *Mejicano*.<sup>138</sup> It was not until the advent of the civil rights movements that Genízaro Apaches felt safe enough to proclaim their indigeneity despite maintaining Apache customs, culture, and forms of governance.

The Genízaro Apache Tribe of Colorado intentionally incorporates the term Genízaro in its title with the explicit intent of reminding all of the atrocious slave trading experience

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<sup>136</sup> Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press 2008), 8-37.

<sup>137</sup> The Plan de Iguala titled, *Plan de la Independencia de Mexico proclamada y jurada en el Pueblo de Iguala en los días 1 y 2 de marzo de 1821*. . . states as declaration 12, “Todos los habitantes de la Nueva España, sin distinción alguna de europeos, africanos ni indios, son ciudadanos de esta Monarquía con opción á todo empleo, según su mérito y virtudes.” (Taken from the original document known as Plan de Iguala located in the National General Archive of Mexico. Available online at: <http://www.agn.gob.mx/independencia/Fig.nes/index1.php?CodigoReferencia=MX09017AGNCL01FO003GVSE013IOUI0060USPI>). Originally, the architects set up a monarchy establishing Agustín de Iturbide as the first (and only) Emperor of Mexico. The *Plan* was abolished in 1824 with the adoption of the Mexican Constitution. The constitution explicitly prohibited slavery but Nuevo Méjico, as a territory and not state of Mexico, did not abide by the ruling.

<sup>138</sup> Chavez, *Genizaros, op. cit.*, 198-200. Italics in original.

that is embedded in the historical narrative of the Apache people. Apache people today are not separate from the Armageddon visited upon them by the Christian slave traders from the south and as well as the illegal Christian invaders from the east. The scars of the colonization suffuse the Apache flesh with unforgettable reminders of white Christian invasion. To ignore the assaults of colonization is offensive and unproductive.

## Part VI: Time Exists in Measurable Fragments

It is critical to recognize that time, and in particular, historical time is a construct of Christian doctrine. Because Western science is rooted in Christianity, it follows that time is accordingly ordered and structured. The calendar in use today is a Christian calendar. It has as its zero point the life of a Christ and a particular Christian event: the crucifixion of Christ. The consequence is that Indigenous events are measured by a 2000-year metric, usually in segments of 500 years. History, and in particular Christian history, becomes the matrix against which Indigenous time is measured. “Christianity has always placed a major emphasis on the idea of history. From the very beginning of the religion, it has been the Christian contention that the experiences of humankind could be recorded in a linear fashion, and when this was done, the whole purpose of the creation event became clear, explaining not only the history of human societies but also revealing the nature of the end of the world and the existence of heaven, or a future world, into which the faithful would be welcome.”<sup>139</sup> Christianity has define how history is to be regarded.

In contrast, Indigenous communities perceived time differently. Events are not measured in chronological time but rather in their emotional impact on the community. Significantly emotional events are remembered and recounted. Events are also geographically located. Time and place are intrinsically intertwined. Place outlasts memory, ideas, histories and human occupation. Time, a hypothetical construct, can only be grounded in the concrete landscape.

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<sup>139</sup> Deloria, *God*, op. cit. p. 103.



The “when” of the event has less significance than the where and how it impacted the community. The emotional impact of the Armageddon visited upon the Indigenous communities of the Americas by the Christian invaders is such that it will never be forgotten or diminished, nor should it be. Its emotional impact is as powerful today as it was 500 years ago. All of the events that have occurred to and been visited upon the many Indigenous communities, consequent to white, Christian invasion, are just as emotionally memorable. They happened on Indian land, continuously disrupting and displacing Indigenous security. Indigenous people remain “unsafe” on their ancestral homeland.

While it may benefit the white community for Indian people to “just get over it and move on,” everything dear to Indigenous people and communities has been stolen, exploited, destroyed, criminalized or killed. And, despite the many accommodations made by Indigenous communities, the killing, exploitation, erasure, exclusion and genocide has not stopped.

This report is a critical reminder that Indigenous histories have been deliberately erased and excluded from a comprehensive American history. Moreover, the Indigenous voice is consistently absent from the narrative. Given that there is a paper genocide that continues, it remains critical that Indigenous communities remain vigilant and suspicious about each and every little thing white people do that relates to Indigenous people. It would be foolish to presume that white scholars writing about Indigenous communities are doing so because of their concern for the well-being of Indigenous people. While Indigenous studies and Indigenous history may be irrelevant to white America, it is imperative for Indigenous people retain a connection to a historical past that is not pejorative, denigrating and does not

relegate indigeneity to an inconsequential status; a mythical and unimportant past. “A major task remains for Western man. He must quickly come to grips with the breadth of human experiences and understand these experiences from a world viewpoint, not simply a Western one . . . In addition to surrendering the historical Adam and his successors, we must surrender the comfortable feeling that we can find a direct line from ancient times to the modern world via the Christian religion. This involves, of course, giving up the claim by christianity of its universal truth and validity.”<sup>140</sup>

Indigenous people generally measure time by events and those events are always tied to place. For Apache people, the land upon which we walk is as alive as the plants, animals and people that occupy the land. The land is as active a participant in the events that play out between humans, time, space and all other living creatures. While relationships may change, improve, or sour, the relationships remain an indelible part of the history of experience. It is not possible to undo all of the events that resulted in Apaches becoming criminals, prisoners and fatalities on their own land because of Christian invasion. The Christians are not leaving nor are they going to give back all that they stole. And this must be accounted for in any Apache narrative. That does not necessitate, however, that the Apache submit to narratives and assignments that are erroneous or egregious—neither in time nor place.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid. p. 109.

## Part VII: Apache Oral Histories

*Remember those who came before us and held on to these ways so that we could have them today. Stay focused and do not let negative people influence your walk in life. There are those people who are angry and unhappy in life for whatever reason and they dwell in their own sorrow; don't let them bring you down. Some will take your words and twist them to their own liking and condemn you for them. – Itsa Shash, Apache Sundance Chief*

### In Our Own Words

It is not possible to write about the presence of the Apache in Boulder, Colorado without talking about the Apache of Apachería. The artificially imposed boundaries of city, county, state and nation have no meaning to traditional Indigenous people. We have been traversing the landscape of Turtle Island for millennia. That has not changed. While this report has focused on the Apache in Boulder, by necessity, it has addressed the Apache people in geopolitical context, historical context and social context. Apache people have always lived in Colorado, which includes Boulder. Despite the ethnic cleansing, we never left, we just adapted.

The Apache people continue to thrive in Colorado. There are weekly ceremonies held all along the Front Range, traditional homeland of the Apache. Change of season ceremonies are held at the beginning of each season across the state. Traditional wedding, naming and birth feasts are held throughout the community. There are yearly fasting ceremonies held in the mountains of Colorado and there is an annual sundance held in Aztlán, near Gardner, Colorado where over 200 Apache people attend every July. The Apache people spread across the state of Colorado are in constant communication and support each other, visit with one

another and participate in regular ceremonies. The Apache community of Colorado is thriving.

While the context of this report is primarily historical, it is important to acknowledge that Apache people cannot, and will not, be relegated into a historical past that prevents a contemporary capacity for growth, adaptation, and excelling in a society that still disregards Indigenous people as mere historical refuse. As important as it is to convey the story of the Apache as being more than the narratives imagined by the anthropologists, historians, or BIA bureaucrats, it is even more important to document and exclaim the continued Apache presence residing adjacent to the colonizing invader. It is incumbent upon the people who now regard themselves as the stewards of Indian land to recognize how Indigenous people remain connected to the very land they steward. As such, familiarity with Apache doctrine can only improve relations.

Interviews were conducted with Apache individuals who reside in Boulder, and other areas of Colorado in an attempt to ascertain relationship to the land, longevity, and cultural artifacts exhibited despite the ethnic cleansing and genocide experienced since white American colonization. The themes of slavery, rape, genocide, racism and discrimination continue to play out in the lives of the people interviewed. Self-identity is a struggle where Indianness and Apacheness are measured by externally imposed metrics with an objective of erasing the Indian. Community, ceremony and political consciousness are the life rafts that help those interviewed to maintain a sense of self. Being Apache in today's political climate becomes an act of resistance. Resilience is dangerous yet necessary to thrive as Apaches.

What follows are the stories, in their own words, of the individuals who were interviewed. The interviews were simultaneously painful and healing. These were stories that

the participants felt compelled to share. There is an undercurrent of strength, resiliency, determination and hope in the words that speak to being Apache, today in Boulder, Colorado with promise for a future that will remember and revere the millennia of Apache presence in Colorado. The names of the individuals interviewed have not been changed. Anonymity would serve no purpose. They continue to reside in Boulder Valley where their children have been born and attend local schools. It is not possible to relegate the Apache people of Colorado to a barrio, ghetto, town or reservation. The contemporary Apache of Colorado lives in the towns and cities along side the colonizer taking advantage of the same privileges promised to all American citizens. What follows is a rich tapestry of pain, loss, resilience, liberation, empowerment and establishment of an Apache ethos.

## Ixpanhueyotzin

Dora Ixpanhueyotzin Esquibel was born in New Mexico. She lived primarily in Colorado, particularly, Boulder, Colorado where she graduated from the University of Colorado. She has been regarded as a long-time activist in Colorado fighting on behalf of the Indigenous community. She is well known for her advocacy for the rights of Indigenous women, holding regular women's circles of empowerment. Her parents moved often living in New Mexico, Colorado and Wyoming--traditional Apache homeland. They eventually settled in Colorado. Dora's mother, Dometilia, was a traditional healer as were other women in the family.



*Figure 16 Dora Ixpanhueyotzin Esquibel*

Right now I identify as Native American. For long periods of time I identified as Mexican-American, Mexican, Spanish and others that I can't even remember. Since the late 60's and 70's [the terms] Hispanics, Latinos, and Chicanos have been added. Chicano being the only identity chosen by the Chicano people, therefore, I don't mind being called. Chicano and Native American are the only identities I allow anyone to call me. The Chicano ID to me is a political statement and as an activist in the Chicano Movement since the 60's, I accept that title with pride and honor, as a compliment for my activism and protests of atrocities and injustices against our Native American people.

I am now involved with Native American spiritualism, enjoy doing it and realize it was something I could never find although, without knowing it, I

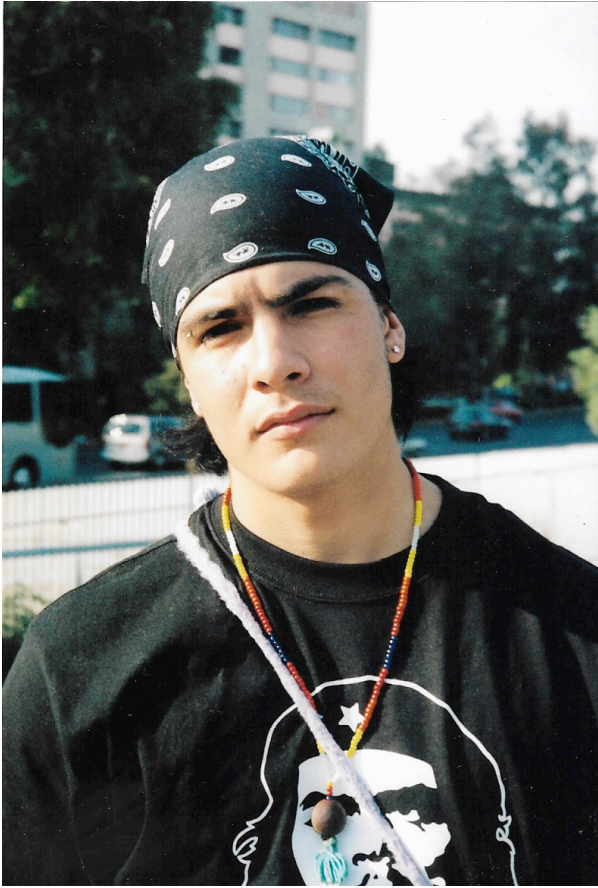
had been looking for it. I grew up Catholic, but I could never feel what I have found with Native American spiritualism; which is the calling of the drums—aside from the spiritual beings that we have tried to deny all our lives because we have been taught that it is wrong to accept the fact [that] spirits do exist. I have always known since I was young that they were there, I could not bring it up or mention it because it would make people think I was crazy and [they might] put me in a state hospital for even thinking about it. I believe that it is the people in control who try to keep us in control by not allowing us to accept that spirits are there. That is one of the reasons I enjoy spiritualism. I feel more freedom in the experience.

I will not allow myself to be called a Latina because that insinuates that I am not a citizen from United States of American, and I will not give up my roots when my ancestry goes back not generations, not centuries, but eons of time in this country. The word Hispanic was a creation to divide the brown people's forces and to do away with the Chicano ID chosen by the people. When I use the word Native American or call myself that, I am referring to the name the Indians chose for themselves during the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties and the seventies. Because of my tribal enrollment, I now identify as Indian, Indigenous or Native American. I respect the Indian's choice so I call myself Native American. A lot of people call themselves Native, but the real Natives are ourselves, the Indigenous people.

I feel that the impact that I have acquired as results of my federal enrollment, has not been so much on my identity, since I have always known that I was Indian. My confusion was not the results of not knowing who I was, but the results of not being accepted for who I was. The positive impact that I have received is the federal recognition rights to my identity and to be myself—the right to say this who I am and this is what I am, without having to decide what title to use. It also gives my children and their children the answers to the questions that I grew up with: Who am I? What am I? I have struggled long and hard for recognition for me and mine, and acquiring it is the greatest triumph.

I do not see that many benefits other than identity. The federal benefits that once existed are being taken away from the Indian constantly, so that financially there isn't much left. For ourselves, there might be financial aid for education and medical in being federally recognized, but I don't know about those things yet since we just currently enrolled in the Genízaro Apache Tribe.





*Figure 17 Xiuhtekpatl Serrano*

## Xiuhtekpatl

Xiuhtekpatl Serrano, 33, was born in Boulder, Colorado. His parents are from Boulder County. His grandparents were from the Greeley area.

[Being Apache] means that for one I'm not an immigrant. My ancestors are not immigrants, we've never migrated or traveled to this land. We've always been here. We come from here. Our blood is rooted in this soil, is rooted in this land. So it gives us a legitimate claim to being here, to living here and walking on this land. And so for me it's being able to walk without apologies and say this is my home and this is where I'm from. It also means for me reclaiming that history that has been stolen, erased and forgotten of where our people come from. Throughout the years and as a product of colonization and conquest our people have been, their minds have been erased of this legacy, of this history of being Indigenous of being Native."

When asked about what makes him Indigenous, Xiuhtekpatl replied:

For me, I really try, and I've worked over the past few years of kind of reclaiming my history. Learning more about my history. Being able to know more exactly where I come from. But also, participating in ceremony, in going to the lodge, going to different circles. Participating in those traditional, cultural aspects of practicing Indigenous spirituality. But also, attempting to learn those things so that I can in turn pass those on and keep that going for my family and for my children and for my children's children. Taking in that culture and making sure that it's preserved and passed on. But I also think that it's, and I'm not perfect by any means, I'm still going through this process of decolonization and trying to incorporate the cosmovision, if I can borrow from our conversations that we've had, kind of the cosmovision of our ancestors. And really, beginning to integrate that into my life, into my walk. So that as I walk, I honor those ways. It's a way to keep yourself from getting lost in this western Christian world. And again, I'm still working at that. I think that in going to ceremony and learning these ways and reclaiming that history, reading and finding out what has been stolen. The knowledge that has been stolen and kept from us; reclaiming that and incorporating that into the way you see the world. That way you act, the way you walk. That's kind of how I've been doing that. That's what I do that makes me Native.

When I got to college, my whole world was kind of shocked and blown open. Everything that I thought I knew, I had to relearn. I started taking classes in Ethnic Studies and I was just so angry that I had been lied to for so long. Finding these things out about my history and about where I come from,

about people I never heard of, it was an amazing experience . . . I started going to sweatlodges. I started going to different ceremonies and participating in that way. As I started participating in those ceremonies, I realized; this is me, finally. I found something. The first sweatlodge that I went to, it was my freshman year of college at the end of my freshman year. It was just the most healing experience. It is an experience that I have a difficult time putting words to. I went home and I just lied in my bed and I just cried. Not because I was sad or anything, it was just this release of, oh my goodness, I've been looking. I've been searching so long, so lost and it's been here the whole time. It finally made sense to me. This is where I belong. This is who I am. I felt such a connectedness to it and I felt like I belonged. And I hadn't felt like that ever.

As I began to participate in those ceremonies and feeling this connectedness and feeling of belonging there, I sought out different opportunities to begin to learn more about that aspect, learn about those ceremonies, learn about the history, the tradition in that so that I could begin to integrate that into who I am, learn that and reclaim that for my family, my kids and their kids and their children's children. So that it can continue to be passed down so that they wouldn't have to be lost like I was. And so that's kind of how the process went for me.

Some people think you need a card. Some people think you need to be full-blooded. Some people think you need a whole plethora of things that make you Native. For me, what makes me Native is, I have it in my blood. I

may not be pure blood. I may not be 100%. But I have that lineage in me. I have that legacy, that bloodline of being Native. But I think, also and equally as important is the mindset. You have to, in order to really, in this colonized western white world, to be Indian, to be Native you really have to resist those forces of colonization that beat down on us every day. And so it's partly a mindset thing, really considering and evaluating; what does it mean to call yourself Native? What does it mean to call yourself Indigenous? What do those words mean? What do they imply, beyond just this racial/ethnic categorization? What does it say about you as a person? And so it's partly changing the way you view the world, the way you think; the way you act. It's kind of a more holistic approach of looking at this identity. What does it mean? What makes you Native? You have that blood. I think that's important. You can't just pretend to be an Indian. You can't come to Indian ceremonies, Native ceremonies and say, 'Oh, I'm gonna be an Indian.' I think you do need that bloodline. But I also think that it's a mindset, a way of changing the way you see things the way you think about things the way you act, the way you walk.

## Lucille

Lucille Contreras was born in San Antonio, Texas where she grew up. Her dad's Apache parents were from Coahuila. "My dad grew up knowing that *siempre decia que mi abuela decia somos Apache, somos Apache.*" Her mom is from San Antonio. Lucille has lived in Boulder County for over 30 years.



Figure 18 Lucille Contreras

I remember my dad telling me when I was little that my grandmother was from a tiny town called Candela in Coahuila; Candela right by this Mesa de Las Catojuanes. The Catojuanes were other Native people that lived in the area and as you know Apache people went all the way up from Colorado to Northern Mexico. And that's where my grandmother was and she said a lot of times people would trade venison, deer for things like sugar and salt. Mostly, there were those types of stories like trading things for survival. I also have stories on my mom's side of my grandfather's childhood but see it was really hard for my granpo, who was an orphan but he knew he was mestizo. But like I said earlier I think sometimes people identified as Mestizo just so they wouldn't be as oppressed. My grandfather was an orphan and got adopted by an hacienda and basically was like a slave until he was able to leave during

the revolution and come to San Antonio. I know all my grandparents identified as Indigena/Indio but assimilated just to survive.

I identify myself definitely as an Apache/Azteca woman. What it means for me it's the way that I live my life, it's the way that I pray, it's the way that I believe in life in all of creation. It's the way that I raise my children—all of my children on [their] birth certificates are Native American. We're not part of a federally recognized tribe because Lipan Apache in Texas is not federally recognized. Although there's some Lipan in Mescalero [reservation]. But yeah, Aztec/Apache woman. I'm strong. I'm a warrior. I take care of my children; I take care of my family. I try to raise my children in a traditional way. We have drums in our house. We have our altar in our house. We pray everyday. I use copal. I use sage. So yeah, it's part of who I am. It definitely led up to my identity, my childhood, my family hiding things from me and my sisters, as we were growing up. Like I mentioned before, there was a big assimilation just to survive as Indigenous people, as *Indigena* people in Mexico in the 1800's. You got a little bit further if you said you were just Mexican rather than *Indigena*. So when they came to Texas, they got a little bit further, and I mean I guess socially and economically, if they identified as Mexican American or Chicano. And so here my generation, I'm actually going back two generations and I'm identifying myself and my children as Native American, as Apache, as Aztec.

I started asking my dad and my mom, 'tell me more about our family, tell me more about my grandma, tell me more about this, tell me more about

that.’ Finally, they started letting go of some of the stories. ‘Well, your *abuelita* used all of these different *yerbas* because she knew how to cure people. She knew how to help people. People would come to her.’ And so finding out that my grandparents were Indian was like a rude awakening to me because I was like, ‘well no wonder. We’re Indian, we’re not Hispanic, we’re Indian.’ I started finding things out on my own. I was twenty years old and I realized San Antonio was not the place for me, socially. I felt very unsafe in San Antonio and I felt very frustrated with the community just accepting the way things are and not trying to change. And I’m sure there are people that try to change things but I didn’t come across them very often. So I came to Boulder when I was twenty.

I would say that what makes me Apache is the way that we believe, the way that we live our life. Apaches in particular pray with cattail pollen. Why have I always had an affinity for cattail my whole life? This is one of the tools we use to pray with. So I would say that the tools that I use to pray with, the way that I live my life, the history of my own family that I now know about and acknowledge. It’s in my roots. I would love to learn the language; I would love to learn songs. I feel that will come one day.

The Lipan Apache are not federally recognized, part of it is that the federal government doesn’t acknowledge that most people of *Mexicano* descent are actually Indigenous people. How threatening would that be to the United States Government if many of the Chicanos in Texas started to identify themselves as Apache or Comanche or one of the tribes that was in Texas?

There would be an overwhelmingly huge amount of Native people in Texas because it's predominantly *Mexicano-Americano*, Chicano. So maybe having blood quantum regulations and rules is just a way of justifying keeping the federally recognized numbers down. Because more people that would identify themselves as Native American in Texas would definitely cause somewhat of a small revolution in Texas. I really, really believe that. I think it would change people's lives to the point where, like myself, identifying myself as Native American, embracing that and loving that, has enabled me to be a strong and confident person and also be able to help me guide the way I raise my children. Politically and spiritually it's part of my whole belief. So if people started standing up and saying 'we're Lipan Apache and we're going to change some things' it would be very threatening to the government, very threatening to Texas. I think blood quantum is sort of a way that the government uses to regulate and keep numbers down because apparently we're still [a] threatening people to the government.

Identifying as Native American I have to also speak up for my kids and say my kids are Native American; this is the way that we live. It is looking at the big picture because that's how we live our lives . . . I've been able to help raise awareness in our community here in Boulder. Here specifically in the school district. I would say that everywhere I go, I present myself as a Native American woman. I haven't ever had any negative issues with that, all positive and healthy. So I feel like being a Native American woman, in Colorado, in Boulder, is just supportive for other Native people



because we can stand up and say, 'yes we are here. Yes we're still alive and we're related to many other cultures.'



*Figure 19 Tlaloc Shash*

## Tlaloc

Tlaloc Shash, 34, grew up in the foothills of Southern Colorado just outside of Aguilar in Breeze Hill Canyon. His grandparents were from the White Mountain Apache and the Tehua people. He is a sundancer and runs ceremonies for the community.

My dad was telling me about how there were always exchanges with Mexico. Lots of times Apaches would go across and steal wives from Mexico. There was some

intermarriage that way. One of my great-grandma's on my dad's side, she was a slave, actually, she was stolen from the Apaches and she was pretty much sold into slavery into Mexico.

I identify as Native American. For this means that I have blood that is indigenous to this land, that I can pick up the soil and say that 'this is the blood and bones of my ancestors that have fought to maintain this culture, this spirituality that I practice.' I have always had this identity. Ever since I was born they took me into the sweatlodge and I've grown up my whole life being Native American. I would say, what makes me Indigenous, obviously I'm mixed, not a full-blood per se. I don't know how many full-bloods there are left. What makes me Indigenous is, part of it is biological, inheriting this, my skin color, how I feel about myself; being recognized by other Natives as being Indigenous. What makes me Indigenous is my spirituality, knowing my roots, knowing that my ancestors, at least on my dad's side, came from this land that we know as Turtle Island. That's what makes me Indigenous.

I've met some Natives who are card carrying, federal Natives and they got blond hair and blue eyes and they've got maybe 1/32 of who knows what type [of Native blood] and they are considered Native Americans. And then there's other people that you'll find [who] are dark skinned and, like my great-grandma on my dad's side, her name was *Geronima*. The female version of *Geronimo*. But she swore up and down that we were Spanish from Spain. If you've seen anyone from Spain, you know that they don't look like that. So blood has something to do with it. A big part of it is how you are about yourself. What you do, how you take being Native in your everyday life.

My dad's told me about it, about schools where you weren't allowed to speak the language or they wash your mouth out with soap. There is also the 1% law which happened here in Colorado and that is if you were 1% anything other than white, they would take your land and they would take your belongings. It's been something that's been shunned upon for a long time, for survival. Consider yourself Hispanic or even better if you can pass as white then you're even doing better for yourself.

I've run into some card carrying Natives. Some of them are real light skinned some of them aren't but because I speak Spanish, they say "Oh, you're not Indian. You're a Mexican." So I have run into that. It's just even practicing my own spirituality. We've practiced on these lands for such a long time. I can't carry eagle feathers, people are going to come down and they are going to take my eagle feathers and stuff because I don't have a federal card. People want to go through your belongings and stuff. I am enrolled in a Native American Church and through that, now I have certain rights. I can carry eagle feathers and things like that but it's not from birth. I wasn't always allowed to do this. Even though I've always had eagle feathers have I ever killed an eagle? No! We believe that eagles are the most sacred so I carry eagle feathers and I pray with eagle feathers. I always try to honor that being.

We were in a ceremony one time and this Navajo guy came out and he was half black but he didn't tell anybody that he was half black. We just kind of figured it out later on. But he came out to one of our ceremonies and we

were singing some of our songs in Lakota, some in Navajo some of them are Nahuatl. They are from the *Azteca/Mexicas*. So we were singing some songs like that and he really got on all of us, like ‘Hey, you should only sing Navajo songs.’ But at the same time he is choosing not to recognize Nahuatl as being Native American, which it is. It’s Native American, maybe not to these lands, but Nahuatl was spoken in Mexico. Mexico is part of the Americas, yes it’s an Indigenous language. That happened recently, that wasn’t too long ago, that that happened. That’s just one of the many kinds of discrimination that I can tell you about.

Being federally recognized, it’s a game, it’s a paper game. And the more people that [white people] can get off of being recognized, the more people that they can label as Hispanic and pushed to the side; ‘you’re just a minority’. I feel like they don’t want to recognize us a being Native because then they would have to accept the fact that they immigrated here after, that we were here first caretaking of the land. They don’t want to accept, it’s easier for them, for their conscience to accept that, ‘okay that you guys immigrated here also’. But that’s not how it went down.

There were so many different Nations on this land and it makes me sad to think about the state of our people, of the Native American on this land, to see how many of us have Native American blood but a lot of us can’t prove it. Before the English were here [in Apachería], the Spaniards were here and what did they do? They taught us Spanish first. So that’s why a lot of us know Spanish or our grandparents know Spanish. Again, that’s just another language from the invader. We’ve had to adapt. We’ve been squashed. Our families have been squashed. Our grandparents, our grandparent’s parents have been shipped off to boarding schools, ‘cut your hair, don’t speak that language’, trying to Americanize us all the way and shun us for being Native American and then all these years later saying, ‘Oh you’re Native American? Now prove it to me’. It’s just a slap in the face to everything that our families have been doing, that our ancestors have been doing. We didn’t even get the Native American Freedom of Religious Act until the 70’s. It wasn’t even that

long ago. This is their whole game. This is what they're doing; they're trying to wipe us out. It's going to get to the point where there are no Native Americans, everyone's Hispanic. That's what they've been trying to do, unless we can form together and at least get religious freedom by forming churches and being able to practice our spiritual rights. At least we can do that for ourselves. And just bring more people to this consciousness, this awareness. A lot of people don't have any idea what's happening to Native American People. So many people think we're out living in tipi's still. There' are so many stereotypes.

## Tatahuitzilli

Tatahuitzilli Saiz, 36, grew up in Denver with frequent trips to Albuquerque, New Mexico. His family is primarily from New Mexico. He is director of a Title VI program for Indigenous youth.



*Figure 20 Tatahuitzilli Saiz*

I'm just Indian, . . . in High School the only people I could go to was the Indian community, my cousins and my aunts and uncles. And those are the only people I hung around with and that's 'cause my dad wasn't there. My uncles were the ones that helped me out, you know? And so these are the people that love me for who I am, for the struggles. As for the Spanish side, on my mom's side [they would say], 'You know your other grandma, on your dad's side, she wears those dresses cause she pees all over herself because she doesn't know how to be a woman, she's Indian.' Why are they hating on me for who I am? As to where the Native side doesn't. So why would I want to associate with the people who hate me? I'm just Indian . . . I can't run from being who I am, I can't run, I have Spanish blood. I ain't brown-skinned completely like straight up full-blood folks, you know? My features, I have Spanish features in me too, you know, I can't hide it. So what am I gonna do?

It's a big messed up situation, is what I think blood quantum is. It has very little good and the good it has it's really messed up but I can understand why people see it. But at the same time in all actuality, if the US were gone, then blood quantum does matter, you know? To me it doesn't matter. I've seen

for a lot of Native kids that are three tribes but they're full-blooded, or four tribes and they're full-blooded, they're denied that recognition. And I really feel like to a lot of American Indian people, even though I think blood quantum's bad, like, being enrolled, I think [for] some people it does say something. It's like people recognizing their identity. I think that's what's hard is that what makes you who you are, is that people around you recognize you for who you are. If you say you're Native and everyone around you says 'You are not Native; you're not Native.' That's the form of what white folks and what Spaniards and all kinds of people were doing to Indian from the get to. 'You're not this, you're not this, you are this.' And that's what I think blood quantum did. But I think also now too, people have taken to where like, identity, that blood quantum shows that they made it across. That's how I see it. They identify their Indianness through that. And although I think it's messed up, I can kind of see where they're coming from.

My grandma was always talking about my great-grandma, that she went to like boarding school. She was taught how to clean, how to be a maid. Then eventually, she ended up at some Spanish man's house and from there she got raped. That's how our family came about. And so my grandma was born from that. All I know is, that all my aunts and all my uncles on my grandma's side, they hated their dad. They hated, evil man, an evil man. That's all I know. She would say that 'he was a Spaniard and not a good man. I hated him.'" I think from the moment she was born, she had that hate in her. She would say that what he would do is that like when they would brand horses, he would do more than just brand them, he would like burn them just to burn them. And he would beat them. From the beginning that's how it was. Talk about being a slave, from the beginning.

My family's a big mess. And I associate that with the Spaniards. I associate that with the Spanish, and not so much the language but the ethnicity. I associate it with colonization. I associate it with brute force, anger and hate for Indian people. So I guarantee you if it hadn't happened I wouldn't be here. Now I feel like I have to live with it. My child is going to have to live with it.

Anybody that comes from me is going to have to live with that. And I think that's why my mom doesn't care about culture. She associates the hardships that we went through in New Mexico with our culture. And I think my cousin's that do the same. They associate the struggles with culture. They don't understand why it's that way. The culture has given me a way to try to balance it, to come to terms with that."





Figure 21 Tekpatl Ybarra

## Tekpatl

Tekpatl Ybarra was born in Arizona but has lived the majority of his life in Colorado. He runs ceremonies in the community and is regarded as a spiritual leader and healer. He is Apache and Yaqui.

My mother's stories were about medicine.

She was a *curandera* and she was in a line of *curanderas*. Her mom did it before her and her grandma did it before her, her great mom, great-grand mom, it can go back about six generations. My father's stories are of war; war with United States, with my grandparents on that side. From fighting alongside with Pancho Villa, to fighting off the federales. The Yaqui, the Apache people fighting with the machetes, fighting off the soldiers [who were] killing the people. So there's a lot of revolution from Mexico up into the States.

Mikey, one of my older cousins, he told the story of his great grandpa who was abducted by traders on a vessel, taken captive and put in on a ship and stolen as a slave. He jumped off, they tied him to the mast with another Indian and he jumped off the ship off the coast of Florida, fought his way through those Indians, fought his way back to the desert into Arizona and basically settled in the Arizona area from Mexico because they picked him up from Mexico on Guaimas, right there below the coast. They picked him up and took

him that way and he had to fight his way through hostile tribes and *comancheros* [slave traders], *federales* and also when he got into the States he had to fight tribes to get back home, he never reached home because he settled in the Arizona area. So he tells that, he told me that story last time I was in Arizona, they tell a lot of traditional stories.

The way I was taught is being an Indian, to be a Native was to be poor and be dirty and be lazy and just be on the reservation. So I never wanted that, because that was the label they gave 'being an Indian'. I was a in-town Indian. In Casa Grande you're surrounded by reservations. You have Zacaton to the north, you have Casa Blanca and Black Water to the west, you have the reservation of Tucson to the east, you go down south and you hit Chuchu and then you hit Cells and then you hit Mexico. And if you go into South Phoenix, you have Guadalupe with the Yaquis and if you got in to Tucson then you have another branch of Yaquis. So [you are] basically surrounded by reservations but for some reason my mother and my father choose to live in the city because they were considered Mexican. They weren't considered Indian but at the same time they were so dark skinned that he was considered Mexican Indian

My cousins the young ones and my brothers, we all know that we are Indians but if you ask a lot of the old ones, aunties that have passed on and uncles from my mother's side; their answer would be their not Indian, they're Hispanic, they're Mexican. They are from Spain—but most of them are real dark so it doesn't make any sense. And then, if you ask my dad's uncles, or my uncles from my dad's side, my dad's brothers they'll tell you 'yeah, we're Pima, we're Yaqui, we're Apache; we're from Texas, we have relatives in Texas and relatives in California.' They talk about how they ethnic cleansed the area and anyone that was caught on this side of the border had to claim Caucasian and anyone that was caught in that side of the river were Mexican and so they didn't want to be Mexican so they wanted to be Americans so they claimed Caucasians.

I identify myself as an Indian American; I mean I am very patriotic. I know a lot of patriotic Native Americans. I really like this country. I really like who and what we are but I'm also not ignorant to the term 'American'. I mean, yeah, I was born in to it. Yeah, I was raised this way. Yeah, I know the history, but I also know how much of a lie it is because being Native on Turtle Island and Snake Island. Mexico and the United States have been built on a lot of pain and suffering. So, I'm not ignorant to what that means. Identity, that's the biggest frustration in a lot of people who live a real traditional life as best they can without a reservation, or without a census number. I mean, the view of the Native American people—it's almost dangerous to answer that question. It's almost dangerous. You have to know what to say in certain companies. Some of them will paint a different picture of your answer.

[Federally recognized] Indians, they basically have become the blue blood of the Native nations. They have seen the oppression done to them over, and over and over and over through generations, that they have adopted this same sickness and turned it on Natives who are trying to find that word of identity, that source of identity. And so now, I have a sundance uncle from Arizona, that I sundance with, he said it best. He said, 'In the beginning, when all of this started to change and being Native, being an Indian was a expression of pride once again, when the pride was given back to the people by coming back to the old ways, in those days,' he said, 'it was the government and the institutions and the laws and the people who made all the rules, all the.... The system said that we couldn't pray this way, that we couldn't be proud to be Indian. And even speak our own language, and they said we couldn't do this. Now, it's Indians telling Indians that they can't do this because they're not pure enough.'

People who are Indian are not proud of having a census number. People who don't understand what it is to be an Indian rule their life by that number because they need something to complain about because standing up to the system, I guess, is too big of a fight or too much to bear. So they'd rather fight amongst other Indians so that they can feel their self worth.

I remember one time I was playing next door, across the street with my best friend, Mario. I was very, very young. I must have been about eight years old. Right after my mother passed on and they shipped me into a foster home. My mother died when I was seven. It was right around eight. My dad fought and fought for about a year to keep me and they wouldn't let him keep me 'cause there was no one there at the house to watch out. So it was summer time, and I was playing with my friends and I knocked on the door to use the bathroom and the lady opened the door. It must have been Mario's grandmother or auntie. She said, 'yeah, what do you want?' and I said, 'Can I use your bathroom?' She says, 'You live across the street, why don't you just go home?' And slammed the door. Well I figured they must be doing grown up stuff or what not, and turned around to walk home and the window was open so I could hear them talking. The lady says, one of her friends says, 'Who was it?' she say's 'Oh it was that dirty little boy, that dirty little Indian boy from across the street.' And I stopped. And it kind like, it kind of hit me like with a force. And she say's, 'You know, the little boy that doesn't have a mother.' And so, I kind of drug my feet and cried all the way home. It was the longest street that I've ever crossed being a child that small—and hearing something like that from a grown up.

That is the sickness that the Native people have ingested into their spirits. The pain of watching or hearing the stories, or watching the stories or having the stories told to them about how the land was raped, and how the people were killed, and how the land was taken from the people. Of how we were put in the schools and had our heads shaved and forced not to talk our language, you name it, all those ugly stories, the people, all nations still carry the pain. They still carry the anguish. So understanding it? Yeah, I understand it.

Understanding why anyone would want to carry it in a hateful, spiteful, ugly way, I don't believe our people were that way. I believe our people were turned into that. They were so hurt by what the European conquest did to the people that they became what they loathed. They became

sick with hate. A wise man once told me, he says, 'you seem like a very bright young man. I want to tell you this. You're angry at the white nation now that you know you're an Indian. Cause you're angry you want to go out and you want to fight and you want to start the revolution. There's many ways of fighting that revolution. You can go out with a gun, go out on the front line, take out as many as you can and I'm pretty sure a lot of these warriors are going to praise you, and they're going to sing songs about you, and they're going to talk about you, that way. They might even write a song about you. But that's all. Then it's over. And all your families, and your kids, and your partners, everybody suffers because you're no longer there. Not to mention we're short one more, good warrior for the nations. Or you can go in and educate the people. You can educate them about who and what we are. Maybe if you teach them something good about who and what we are as Indigenous people of the continent and into Mexico and into Canada, maybe they'll understand us enough to leave us the hell alone when we're trying to pray our way.

## Tomás

Tomás Itsa Shash is a sundance chief, holding the only Native sundance held in Colorado. It is an Apache *čanupa* way sundance passed down from Lakota people. Chief Itsa Shash can be credited with setting the Apache people of Colorado on a path of sovereignty, self-determination and liberation through spiritual practices that incorporate *čanupa way*, *mexicayotl* and Native American Church meetings.



Figure 22 Tomás Itsa Shash

My family is both Apache and *Mejicano*. Our family's history is from Victorio down in Chihuahua. A lot of people know about Gerónimo, but Victorio was a pretty [important] chief. He did a lot of his stuff down in Chihuahua. Victorio had five wives; some of them were Apache, some of them were *Mexicana*. Have you heard of Chihuahua? He was an Apache chief. He was half Apache and half Mexican. What he did, he was real important for the strategies of his band because what he would do is he would dress like a Mexican, *sombrero puesto*, and go into the pueblo. He spoke Spanish, and he would hear what's going on, the campaigns they were planning against the Apache. Then, he would leave and put his [tradition Apache clothing] and tell them what's going down. So that's the family I come from. My name is Itsa Shash, it means Eagle Bear. A lot of people know me right here as Oso. My whole life, I guess, I have been raised both, I have been following the Native American tradition at the same time following the *Mexica* tradition.

When [my eldest son] Lalo was about six months, we took him to Mexico, and he got named down there by my *compadre* who's a *curandero*. He's a *Mexica* medicine man, his name is Kuiz Lopez Kalkoatl. He named him according to the *calendario*, and that's Lalo, it really Tlaloc. I have a picture of Kuiz here. He's highly respected in Mexico. He's been ordained a *Mexica* priest. He went through all the steps, he didn't just ordain himself a *Mexica* priest, he went through the whole process, so he's well known. I met him in 1980 when I met Walt Black Hawk at the United Nations. I met them together. I've done sweat lodges with him in a *Mexica* way and we've done a lot of going up the mountains with him. He went through the whole apprenticing of becoming a *Mexica* man. A lot of his knowledge doesn't come from the books, a lot of his knowledge comes from just him knowing through generations and generations. And then I took him to sundance with me, in 1983. I took him to South Dakota.

I danced with, I don't know if you've heard of Eagle Feather or Fool's Crow. Well Fool's Crow, when the sundance first started in 1956 in South Dakota, when it first came back in 1956—the first sundance ever held in about 40 years since about 1910—was with Fool's Crow and Eagle Feather. Fool's Crow was the intercessor and Eagle Feather was the only *jefe*. Fool's Crow pierced Eagle Feather and that was the first time they ever did piercing in public.

So I danced with Eagle Feather. When I danced, Eagle Feather just passed away and his son and grandson took over, Titus. I did the fire for his grandson for four years because I promised once his grandfather died that I would do fire for him for four years, take care of the fire for him. I took care of the fire for him until 1986. In 1986 I did two dances, I did South Dakota and the one in the East Coast because that was our first year in the East Coast. When we did it on the East Coast in '86, Fool's Crow was there. Fool's Crow was the one that helped us get started. He is the one who did the first piercing out there. We had seen it done but we had never done it ourselves. He was real good. He came out; we carried him out. He was 97. He just fell down on his

knees and his hands were good. He couldn't tie it, his hand were too weak to tie it, so we'd tied it for him. He'd cut and we would just tie it. But that was our first dance. We first got started with Eagle Feather and then Fool's Crow helped us get the dance going. That was 1986.

My first sweatlodge that I went in was in 1974 with the *Lacandon*es in Mexico. There are the old Maya. They're the last ones though. They never made it to Spanish because they were way in [middle of the] jungle. See the *españoles*, they couldn't get into where they were, they were way in the jungle. That was the first sweat I went into before I even got into Lakota sweats. They [the Maya] sweat just like the *Azteca* in square boxes. So I ended up doing the lodges for six months. I was about 21, 22. From there I went to Mexico, back to Mexica sweatlodges and *temazcales*. And I guess I just been doing that my whole life.

I was born on a reservation. I still got relatives on the reservation at Isleta del Sur. I was born there. I didn't know it was a reservation 'til I was about 18. I was raised on the reservation my whole life. But I took off when I was 8 years old. I went to East LA. I grew up in East Los—in my junior high and high school years I was in East Los. It was only after that that I went to the *rez* and I said, 'hey man, what's all my *familia* living on a rez for?' Now it's just a suburb of El Paso.

In 1978 I got involved in the Longest Walk. During the Longest Walk, that's when I met the Chief [Eagle Feather]. He was on of the speakers there. Once I got involved with him, then I got involved with the sundance. He would go out to sundance every year with his son. When I got involved with them I got my pipe and I wanted to do this [sundance]. Bit I wasn't so sure, see, because in the Apache tradition we don't cut ourselves. We never cut ourselves. But in the Mexica tradition we do. So I talked to my mama and stuff about it. I have respect for her. She said, 'go ahead and do it, but just do it for one year'. Normally, you're supposed to do it for four years. So I went to the Sundance Chief and told him that I was only going to do it for one year. I gave him my condition; I do it for one year, but I'll help you with your fire



and that is for four years after that, and the first year I'll hang [to the tree]. All my brothers tried to talk me out of it. [The Chief] said, 'Ok, that's your vow. Go ahead and complete your vow'. So I did. I danced one year, I hung for the first year, and I hung for about fifteen minutes. And the year after that I just helped them out and did fire out there for four years. In fact, I think it was five years.

Then we started the sundance in the East Coast. I didn't go back to South Dakota anymore because I figured I did my commitment. During those five years when I learned a lot about the Lakota way because of the yuwipi ceremonies and the lowampi ceremonies, I would get invited to, and the healing ceremonies *y todo*. When you're firemen you get involved in a lot of stuff like vision quests; we would take people up on vision quests. So I got to see a lot of stuff that normally I wouldn't have seen. Because I was in that position of fireman, that opened a lot of doors for me.

We were out there [East Coast] since 1978 to about 1989 and that's when my kids were growing up. I was talking to [my wife] María at that time, I was saying, 'we don't want to bring up our kids this way. I want to bring them up with *tortillas* and *frijoles*, the way I was brought up'. So that's why we left the East Coast.

Once coming back out here, bringing my kids back out here finding nada—all these people up and down my neighborhood, nobody had ever been in a sweatlodge. I organized the first *primavera* in 1989. It was the first time we had the *primavera* up there in Aguilar. We picked up a lot of people after that. Some of them have become sundancers now. So that's how it's always been. The thing that I've always thought that is important is, it's one thing doing it the Lakota way, it's another thing to find your own roots. I've always told people that it's OK, the Lakota way opened your door, started you on the road, but know you gotta find your own road. So that's what I try to push. I do sundance medicine, I do Mexica sweats, Apache sweats—we've done them in this area because there are a lot of Apache.

This year will be our 19<sup>th</sup> year [of sundance]. As we have grown, our dance has matured. There is less drama and more prayer in our lives. Our dancers prepare for the dance by involving their families in gathering their give-a-way and their sacred items together. Those who are able, complete a *hanbečia* (crying for a vision). This will be the 44<sup>th</sup> Sundance that I have helped in. To this day I am completing my vow. As our lives have evolved away from a traditional way of life, so has our dance evolved to compensate for that loss. The original classic dance was two days and two nights. But after the ban in the 1890's, the elders saw that they could not hide the fire at night so, the decision was made to make the 48-hour two-day dance in to 4 twelve-hour days to make up for the loss of night dancing.

I never asked to lead Sundance. I was happy doing my work helping. But sometimes we are not in control of our fate, and when we are asked to help we do what is best for the people. Life has brought before me many teachers who I am forever thankful to. I never thought that I would be sitting next to Old Man Henry Crow Dog at Rosebud, watching fire, and listening to his stories. I still remember his black-beaded eyes, embedded in his eye sockets like two beads in an ancient sacred space. His son, Leonard, is a man that I have high respect for, he has lived the life of a true human being, despite his shortcomings, which we all have. I remember meeting the Iron Shells, the Chasing Hawks, the Runnings family, old man Moses (yuwipi singer), the Left Hand Bulls, the White Hats, the Eagle Feather family and all the other old timers there.

It was before then, during the longest walk of 1978 that I became involved with AIM, and met Chief Billy Redwing Tayac of the Piscataway Nation, Dennis Banks, and Milo Yellow Hair. During many years of working with Chief Billy, I was privileged to be in a position where I would be able to meet many of the founders of the American Indian Movement. A few of us would head over to Washington Dulles Airport to greet Russell Means with the AIM song, and get him settled in. When Bill Means, Vernon Bellecourt or Russell came to D.C., we accompanied them in whatever actions they needed

to accomplish. With Vernon it was going over to the Guatemalan embassy and spilling blood over their front door, or with Russell Means, bringing the drum to whatever venue he had a speaking engagement at.

I was honored to have stay with me, in 1980, Louie Bad Wound of the Lakota Indian Treaty council. We had sweatlodge with Louie at the Piscataway Burial Grounds, and traveled with him around the state as he did his work around the state. It was in those days that I was at the hearing of the Black Hills in Congress; when I got to meet Chief Kills Enemy of the Lakota Nation. I will never forget his words that day, and others who were there saw a Warrior amongst our elders.

When Chief Esquino of the Maya, Nahua and Lenca Indians of El Salvador came to Washington D.C., I was honored to travel with him and Chief Billy as he went through Congress seeking justice for his people. It was then that Chief Esquino and I met with John Trudell, during his many visits to Washington. I then found out that my grandfather rode with John Trudell's grandfather in Pancho Villas' army.

Never to forget, Leonard Peltier. During congressional hearings regarding Leonard's case in the 1980's, I was privileged to meet Winona La Duke, Nino Butler and others who were working to Free Leonard. It was during those times that I met Floyd Westerman—another AIM member , musician, composer who did much for native people.

Woman elders have been very important in my life, those who held on and stood strong in the face of poverty. I was honored to meet and work with Roberta Black Goat of the Navajo Nation as she fought to keep the government and coal mining out of her tribal lands. And, Rose Woman-Who-Stands-Strong, of the Cree Nation, who came to Maryland to make alliances with Native people.

In 1983, AIM, together with Thomas Banyanca of the Hopi Nation, Wallace Black Elk, and the work of John Hill (Splits the Sky) of the Mohawk Nation, went to the United Nations in New York to present the Hopi message to Mica (United Nations). During one of the conferences held then I was able

to meet Kuiz Lopez Kalkoatl of the Mexica Nation, and together we set up an altar inside the United Nations where all the Natives that entered could set their sacreds on. This was big to us as we were told (by the security) that we would not be allowed to carry smoke inside. Yet, we did, old school with coals that were tucked away, ready for the sage as we entered the house of Mica.

In 1987, I traveled to the Six Nations to meet with Chief Oren Lyons. I sought his help in assisting Native Salvadorean people that were residing in Canada. I caught up with him at the university as he was teaching a class on Native America and, on that day, the AIM movement. It was during that time that I met Jay Hill of the Mohawk Nation at the community house in Canada.

During one of the congressional hearings in Washington D.C., I had the honor of meeting Mad Bear Anderson of the Wampanog Nation, the Chief of the Nanticoke Nation. I was able to meet Winona La Duke's father, Sun Bear in Washington D.C., and to meet with elders and people of the Six Nations, as one of their sons, Sugar Montour, led Sundance for several years at Piscataway. Another person to lead Sundance at Piscataway was Jimmy Dick of the Cree Nation, I was privileged to meet his family as they supported year after year.

In 1986, as we were getting ready to begin our first Sundance at Piscataway, we were all honored to have met with Chief Frank Fool's Crow and his family. They carried the drum for our Sundance for many years and during our 20<sup>th</sup> and final year, they came back to close it up for us.

Today, some will say that our [Apache] dance is not legitimate. For 18 years, our dance has been blessed by the Creator—that is the only authority we need. My children where all born into the Sundance, they have helped in Sundance since childhood, some of them have danced, carried the drum, taken care of the fire for years, and have the backing and support of Native people and non-Native people throughout Turtle Island.

The Sundance has many roots. The Cheyenne Sundance was a heavy influence on the Lakota dance, being they are neighbors. The Hidatsa

Sundance, the Blackfeet Sundance in Canada, Arapahoe Sundance, the Ute Sundance, all have their influences on one another. Chief Leonard Crow Dog, who I had the honor of knowing when I was a young man at Rosebud, has taken the Sundance throughout Turtle Island. In Mexico, in a small town south of Mexico City named Chama, Crow Dog helped with the growth of that Sundance amongst the Mexica people.

My family comes from the *Warm Springs Indeh* people on my mothers side, and *Indeh/Mexica* on my fathers side. My great grandmother, Isabel Cruz, was taken to Florida as a young girl on the same train that took Geronimo and other Apaches to a prison in Florida. My grandfather on my father's side rode with Pancho Villa during the Mexican revolution. I spoke with John Trudell once about how our grandfathers both rode in the same war with Villa. Our families have been involved in the Movement since the moment the first *Indah* [non-Apache] appeared on our lands.

So, I look to pass this information on to my children and my friends, so that they know who we are, where we come from, and where we are going. No one can stop us moving forward; neither the government, unhappy people, negative people, or 'hang around the fort Indians' who are acting like 'white men trying to tell the Natives what to do'. Stay strong, stay on the road, do not let anyone put you down, and stay positive; no need to dwell in those negative people's wickedness. Remember to wear a seven-layered skin, and don't let them anger you; for it is them that is hurting. To all my relations, Shiki, Shikitzin, asho, thanks.



*Figure 23 Ty Smith*

Ty Smith was born in New Mexico, as were his parents and grandparents. They still speak the old language. He is director of an Indian center that serves college students.

I know my clans so I think that's pretty important to me, knowing your clans. I think identity is my, obviously with the clans, connection to my family, acknowledgement of my mother, my grandmother, the matrilineal side, that's how our clans are set up and then really knowing who I'm related to. So that whole identity helps me understand who I am, my relationship to others. I think it's a tremendous loss not having that, not knowing who your relatives are and not seeing or participating in some of our ceremonies. I would think what would be important also, is understanding your own culture. Rather it be a little bit about it, but I think that having some understanding of some things about your culture whether it be some of the origin stories, you know, what really ties us to that part of the country. Some of those things I think, understanding some of our traditions, practices.

I can share with you stories I would have heard about from my grandfather. It was kind of interesting that when the whole shift towards boarding schools happened, my grandfather was really young. He was probably less than ten years old. He got sent to a boarding school in Ignacio, which is southwest of Durango, CO. He got sent up there but he wasn't there very long. There was a group of other Apache boys that were there a little bit

older than him. They decided they were going to take off and run away. So, the story goes that he joined them. They took off from Ignacio and made their way all the way back home. According to what I heard, it was, of course, a several day trip for these kids. He was really small and some of those areas down there are mesas and big sandstone cliffs, so the route they chose to go, they encountered a lot of that. As a little boy he was really scared and he cried quite a bit. These kids practically helped him climb these rocks and get up over them to finally make it home. So he avoided the boarding school fiasco. I was with my aunt one time, in my early twenty's and there was an elderly Navajo man that came over to talk to my grandfather. They kind of chuckled and talked about some things. He laughed and that was when my aunt told me that story. She said 'that man that you just saw was one of those older boys, they helped him'. Even to this day they tease him about crying, about being a crying baby. Even recently, it's funny because that story, my mother bought a t-shirt for my oldest son. It has a picture of some of the Navajo leaders and then on the bottom it says boarding school dropouts. So when I saw that shirt I thought of my grandfather immediately.

I've heard other stories about the long walk. I know of one grandmother, I don't know she would have been a great, great, great grandmother, but she made the trip back from Fort Sumner by herself. [She] took off and came back and the stories I heard about that was, you know, how really how dangerous of a journey that was; on how on her travels back, how cold it was. Down in that area there's a lot of cedar trees. The type of bark that those trees have, I heard that she used; she stripped some of those and used it as leggings around her legs. I think [she did so] to kind of ward off the cold and probably bushes and prickly stuff. But I heard that was quite an ordeal for her to make it back to where my family was originally from.

Way back when, we had another grandmother of mine too, of course she would have been older, stolen by some of the Hispanic folks, probably from around the Dulce area [from] a little community called Lumberton. I

heard that that's where the family figured that she ended up, was out there somewhere.

My mother was talking to me one time about how when she was small. If my grandfather was gone or you know an older adult male, if somebody like that wasn't around the house and say you had visitors come at night; when it was an automobile driving up, just by the headlights, like my great-great-grandmother and my grandmother would actually take people out of the house, you know, younger kids. And they would go out into the alfalfa fields and they would lie down. I never understood that. When I try to think back to some of my earliest memories, and I don't know if I just dreamed it or because of that story but I really think I experienced that too as a young, young kid of being taken out into the field. My family, and laying down in the alfalfa fields at night when a car would drive up and it would leave and we'd get up and go back in the house. When I think back about that experience, I really think that it had to do with all that raiding that went on, you know, you didn't know who was coming, was it a habit or a way of survival that my great-grandmother had if they didn't know who was coming or was it just natural? To protect yourself and the younger kids; to go out and hide or something. So that's something that I think about and stories that I've heard.

[This] is our ancestral home. Seeing things that are a part of our stories, where we emerged or certain ceremonies or how they were identified in our stories, the importance of certain geological areas and how significant they are. I think that for me that's important to understand your own stories; some part of your identity. For me, for my tribe, is understanding where these important landmarks are. It could be a mesa, could be a lava dome or a mountain peak that stands up by itself. Stories associated with those areas are another way of being tied to that place, a tie to where your tribe is from. I just know a handful of stories, there's a lot of stories I don't know. I feel on the one sense I should know more but on the other sense I'm glad I know what I know.



## Part VIII: Remembering Boulder



*Figure 24 Pointing out Boulder locations.*

Place names of specific locations in the Boulder area according to interviews.



*Figure 25 Nchaago inlwozh "Big canyon/valley" as pictured from the east.*



*Figure 26 Nchaago inlwozh “Big canyon/valley” as pictured from the south.*



*Figure 27 Ilhosh (green mountain, bear peak) “He is sleeping”.*



*Figure 28 Dáshiná' okqahago goz'qq "praying while hungry place". A hill used for fasting near present day NCAR.*



*Figure 29 Yahichii' "Red rises up". A view of the flatirons from the south.*



*Figure 30 K'aiyishcho túńlįj' "white willow river". Boulder Creek in winter.*



*Figure 31 Ha'ánálséh nagoznil "The gathering place". An area of long-term settlement before colonization.*



*Figure 32 Hadigai “place where white extends along it”. White rock was an Apache village.*



*Figure 32 Ch'igó'áá “the way out”. An escape route out of the Boulder Valley during times of danger.*



*Figure 33 Nohwigowa yéde' "in our home". A village settlement area now called White Rock.*

## Conclusion

The challenge for this report, and any narrative from an Indigenous being, is to contest the canon of Indigenous history, of Indigenous relegations, of Indigenous assignments to assert a narrative that is both truthful and respectful of the Apache and other Original Peoples of the Americas.

In other words the Christians ask us to accept that there is a history, that there is a central event making the rest of the history intelligible, and that because there is a central event, there must necessarily be a history. The logic is clearly a precursor of the catch-22 rule. Whenever we focus on one of the very important events of that line of history, we are told by Protestants, Roman

Catholics, and Jews alike that what happened was really just the growth of legend, folklore, and glorification, not a spectacular event. Yet these thinkers insist that a whole chronology of nonexistent events constitutes an important historical timeline that is superior to any other explanation of the human experiences.”<sup>141</sup>

For thousands of years the Apache people shared the territory now called Colorado and beyond with Nahua speaking peoples (Comanches, Kiowas, Pueblos, Utes, Comanche, Shoshone, Tehua). The Apache occupied the mountains, the eastern plains and the San Luis Valley. After the arrival of the Christian colonizers from the south, horses, guns, and slavery impacted how Indigenous communities related to one another. Insignificant communities, like the Comanche, became new players in defining territory with the power of horses and guns, displacing sedentary Apache communities into a more nomadic lifestyle. As the Comanche demanded more captives to trade for guns and horses, life in Colorado became unsafe for Apache people. With the advent of the Franco/Anglo world war of the mid-1700s, (locally it was called the French/Indian war) the Sioux, Arapaho and Cheyenne dropped down out of the northeast from the Great Lakes area with guns and horses received from the Franco invaders. They further displaced Apache and Kiowa people, who thereby displaced Comanche people. As the white Christian invaders from the east colonized Colorado, chasing gold, ethnic cleansing removed the Sioux, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Shoshone, and most of the Ute and Apaches from Colorado.

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<sup>141</sup> Deloria, *God*, op. cit. p. 121.

Today, the Denver/Boulder Metro Area dominated by white people for over 100 years is slowly being repopulated by Indigenous populations from across Aztlán, Mexico and Central America changing the complexion, culture and political ethos of Colorado.<sup>142</sup> Spanish remains the second language of the state because the Spanish-speaking colonizers preceded the English-speaking colonizers by 300 years. The white community must re-evaluate its position in relation to the growing Indigenous population even as the Indigenous populations find new terminology to reference themselves and adapt traditional lifeways to accommodate contemporary needs.

There is a difference between genocide, ethnic cleansing and displacement. Indigenous communities displaced one another over the centuries. The Apache were displaced by Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Lakota and Ute communities. Apaches were not eradicated by these communities. Apaches continued to thrive and exist even on the lands from which they were displaced albeit covertly. The Christian invaders from the south (Mexico City) introduced the slave trade that decimated the Apache populations as cohesive communities while enlarging the Genízaro populations (captured Indians) and growing the urban Christian populations. In contrast, the white American invaders instituted genocide and ethnic cleansing. They effectively cleansed Colorado of Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and most Ute peoples. The Apache, however, hid away on rancherías, farms, and in small communities blending in as “Mexicans” to avoid death and incarceration primarily in

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<sup>142</sup> In 1968, a Chicano youth conference was held at the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Colorado. At that conference *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* was drafted as a manifesto of the Chicano Movement. It was at that conference that Aztlán was defined and asserted. Aztlán is the Chicano homeland that incorporates the states of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Nevada and California.



Southern Colorado returning to Denver and other areas in the north when the killing had stopped. Census data for 2017 indicate that the Apache (6,000) and Navajo (10,000) population is at about 16,000 people for Colorado.<sup>143</sup> It is larger than any other Indigenous population in the State. It is a testament to the continued presence of Apache people in Colorado.

While it is convenient to relegate American Indians to internment camps for accounting purposes and the feeling of safety on the part of white America, the truth is over seventy percent of Indigenous people live in urban settings. Apache people have been living alongside white Americans in Boulder, Colorado since it was first colonized in the 1850s. There is no fence around the Apache community of Colorado. Still, all of the Apaches living in Colorado, and especially Boulder, are on their ancestral homeland.

‘Ixehe (thank you)



*Figure 34 Women's Council members: Vivian Delgado, Mishi Delgado, Corrie Santos, Roberta Maldonado*

<sup>143</sup> Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census. Summary File 1, Tables PCT1, PCT2, and PCT3.

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