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Introduction

NANCY MCGOWN MINOR

Monday, May 16, 1870, began innocently enough for the family of Philip Buchmeier, a German settler living with his family in a small cabin located about twenty-five miles northwest of Fredericksburg, Texas. Philip Buchmeier had spent the morning in the fields, returning to the cabin around noon. His wife, Augusta Johanna Lehmann Buchmeier, had spent her morning caring for their seven children—six older children from her marriage to Moritz Lehmann plus one younger child from her marriage to Philip. Six months pregnant with her eighth child, Augusta moved slowly in the early spring heat that hung heavily inside the small cabin, preparing lunch for her husband. The older children would eat after Philip had been served; in an effort to keep them busy, she had sent them outside to scare away the birds from a small patch of wheat growing near the house. Willie and Herman Lehmann flopped down on the ground at the edge of the wheat, while Caroline Lehmann tended to her two-year-old stepsister, Gusta.¹ Inside the cabin, Philip Buchmeier sat down at the table and began to eat his lunch. Suddenly, he heard one child's panicked voice yelling, "Indians!" That single shout turned his lunch into ashes in his stomach.

A group of eight Indians had appeared at the rock fence that surrounded the wheat field and cabin. Jumping over the fence, some of the Indians grabbed the three older children, successfully making off with two of them. The abductors had plaited hair, and some were wearing U.S. Army jackets and coats, even though the weather was warm. Philip Buchmeier sprang up from the table and ran for his gun; as he snatched it up and raced for the cabin door, he could hear several gunshots. Fearing the worst, he burst through the open door only to see his stepdaughter, Caroline, lying on the ground, while the Indians slung his two stepsons, Willie and Herman, onto the backs of their horses. The Indians galloped away with their captives before Buchmeier could fire a shot.

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Caroline proved to be unhurt. Willie escaped from his Indian captors several days later and was returned home by local teamsters, but no trace would be found of Herman. When Philip Buchmeier described the missing boy several months later, he stated that “the boy stolen is about 11 years old, slender built, sandy haired, freckles about the nose, blue eyes, rather bashful. His name is Frederick Herman Lehmann.”²

A raiding party of Mescalero Apaches, on their way home from a raid into Mexico, had kidnapped Herman Lehmann. Carried off to the Mescalero stronghold in New Mexico, Herman was harshly initiated into Apache culture. Yet in spite of his harsh and often brutal treatment, he came to embrace that culture, living with the Mescaleros for five years and only leaving the band after the death of one of his captors. He then joined a band of Comanches and ended up at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma, where he was discovered and, through the influence of Quanah Parker, was returned in 1879 to his family. Herman never quite made the adjustment back to his former life. He had lived as an Indian for nine years—from age eleven to age twenty—and had formed his identity amid Indian culture. He thought of himself as an Indian, and when he was removed from the Comanche Reservation and restored to his family in Texas, he found himself caught between two worlds and not entirely comfortable in either one.

The story of the captivity of Herman Lehmann was first published in 1899. Titled *Indianology*, it contained the reminiscences of Herman and his family. In 1927 his story was again published under the title *Herman Lehmann: Nine Years among the Indians, 1870–1879*, edited by J. Marvin Hunter. Since the 1927 publication, it has been reprinted a number of times and remains one of the most fascinating and well known captivity narratives. Written in a manner sympathetic to the Indians who had captured him and often pointing out the encroachments and attacks perpetrated by Anglos, Herman’s story created quite a sensation when it was first published and remains an excellent source of information on Apache and Comanche life. In frank, matter-of-fact language, Herman Lehmann details the facts of his capture, naming the Apaches who had captured him as Carnoviste and Billy Chiwat. As he tells the story of his captivity, the reader can

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follow his integration into the tribe and his change in status from captive to warrior. Most of the episodes he describes are tales of warfare and raiding, and Herman tells his story much as a warrior would recount his valorous deeds and exploits. When he speaks of his life after being reunited with his family, it is with a resigned tone, and when he recounts visiting again with old Indian friends many years later, he recalls their friendship with warmth.

One Apache given a prominent role in Lehmann's book is Billy Chiwat. He, along with Carnoviste, had kidnapped Herman that May afternoon in 1870, yet Herman called Chiwat his "life long friend" and "a pretty good old Indian."³ Billy Chiwat was known by several variations on his name—Chiwat, Chebahtah—but he always referred to himself as Chevato (pronounced *she-va-to*). Born in Mexico to a family of Lipan Apaches, orphaned at a young age when Mexican soldiers killed his parents, Chevato joined with the Mescalero Apaches, where his name was spelled in the proper Spanish manner—Chivato. In middle age, however, he left the Mescaleros and became a Comanche through the intervention of Quanah Parker. When his name was translated into the Comanche tongue, it became Chevato, and thus, in this manner, it has passed down to us today.

My coauthor, William Chebahtah, is the grandson of this remarkable man. After serving honorably in the U.S. Marine Corps, Mr. Chebahtah began a civil service career in San Antonio, Texas, where he worked for a number of years with members of my husband's family. When I met him, he recognized my interest in history and began to tell me "Chevato stories." Although well aware of the pitfalls of oral history, I found it amazing that so many facets of Mr. Chebahtah's stories rang true to the historical record. Because of this fact, we both thought that it was important that Chevato's oral history be preserved; the preservation project had additional importance to Mr. Chebahtah, as he was the last of Chevato's grandchildren who retained the complete story, and he wanted to pass it on in its entirety to his relatives.

In the process of recording and transcribing the oral history, a number of questions arose. Mr. Chebahtah has been raised in the traditions of the

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Comanche tribe and was not familiar with some of the Apache cultural norms; in addition, he wanted to know if some of the events Chevato described had really occurred. I offered to do some research to help answer some of these questions—the result is this book. The chapters contain Chevato's story in italics, exactly as he passed it down to his son, Thomas David Chebahtah. Thomas David chose his second son, William Chebahtah, to learn and pass on the story of his grandfather. What follows each italicized story is the larger historical picture, the background against which Chevato's life played out.

This is the story of Billy Chiwat; this is the story of Chevato, passed down to his son because Chevato recognized that his children lived in a different world from the one he had known as a boy. How did Chevato come to be standing in the Buchmeier yard that May afternoon, swinging Herman Lehmann onto the back of a horse? How did the lives of this Apache man and Texas-German boy come to be intertwined? How did Herman's captor become his good friend? The answers to these questions are only part of Chevato's strange and fascinating tale.

Introduction

WILLIAM CHEBAHTAH

My name is William Chebahtah, and I was raised as a Comanche Indian. My grandfather, Chevato, was a Lipan Apache who came from Zaragosa, Mexico, so my heritage contains traditions of both the Apache and Comanche. I was told this story by my father.

My tribe has, in past years, had a tradition that one child, a male child, would take the history of each family, and he would be schooled in this train of thought. He would be told the family story over and over so that he would become quite proficient. Then the father would test the one he had selected to carry on the history of the family to make sure that the individual would be able to carry on that story, to make sure he would be most effective and most correct. This is the story of my family, as told to me by my father, who was given the story by his father, Chevato.

1. The Lipan Apaches

My grandfather came from a little town in Coahuila, Mexico, called Zaragosa. He belonged to the Lipan Apaches that lived in Mexico. In earlier times, the Lipan had moved out of Texas into Coahuila, had taken up residence there and acquired the customs of the people of that time. They had small plots of land, goats, and a few head of horses. They would farm their land and grow their crops as best they could. My grandfather was given the name Guillermo, which means William, and was also given the nickname Chivato, or “little goat.”¹ Later, as he lived with English-speaking people, he was known as Billy.

The Lipan Apache were akin to the Mescalero because the Lipan and the Mescalero are both Apaches. The Mescaleros were the type of people who were more nomadic and liked to travel, go across the border, and do what they wanted. In doing this, they became a great thorn in the side of the Mexican government because they raided into Mexico and got cattle and horses, whatever they wanted.

In doing so, they would stop at the Lipans in Zaragosa, since the Lipans were akin to them and sympathetic. The Lipans would give them food and mounts, and then the Mescalero would go on their way. When the Mexican government found this out, they were very upset. First, they were going to get the Lipan to convert to the Catholic Church. They sent priests to talk with them. Since the Lipan had their own tradition of worshipping, they didn't want to convert to Christianity and the Catholic Church. And this upset the Mexican government very much. Then the government, knowing they were also aiding the Mescalero, gave them an ultimatum—embrace the Catholic Church and do not aid the Mescalero. So, the answer came back from the Lipans, saying that this could not be done because they had kinship with the Mescalero. Furthermore, they said that they already had a religion and that they didn't need another one.

The Mexican government's demands were not the only threat the Lipans

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facéd. Sometimes, the Lipans in Mexico would also go on raids. Once, while Chevato and his younger brother Dinero were on a Lipan raid in Mexico, they met up with a hostile band of Kickapoos and had to do battle with them. The Kickapoos were outbattling the Lipan, and the Lipan had to fall into retreat. Dinero was knocked off his horse during the retreat, and, as the rest of the Lipan got away, they forgot about Dinero. When they reached a point of safety, Chevato asked them where Dinero was and was told that he was back at the battle site in a ravine. My grandfather told the Lipan to go on their way, but that he had to go back for his brother and would catch up with them later. They told him it would be almost suicide to go back into the ravine where the Kickapoo still were, but he said, "Nevertheless, I'm going to get my brother." So he went back into the ravine.

Sure enough, he had to sneak by those Kickapoos. Chevato was very quiet sneaking in, and he was crawling in the bushes when he ran into Dinero. He told Dinero that there was a horse a few yards upstream in the dry creek bed; he told Dinero that he should go toward the horse and get it, since there were no Kickapoos near the horse. Dinero should then go back to the rest of the Lipans. So Dinero started up the dry creek bed.

While Chevato was in the ravine, two Kickapoos came up and began shooting at him and Dinero. Dinero made his escape, but in battling the Kickapoos, one of them shot my grandfather in his lower abdomen. Chevato just happened to be looking down when he was hit, and, even though he tried to close his eyes, he could see the spurt of blood when the bullet broke the skin. When Chevato saw his own blood, he knew that he was in grave danger. He was losing strength, and he fell into the bushes and passed out. Before he passed out, he said the short prayer, "If it is at all possible, let my life be spared." But he knew that he was in a dangerous situation and that he must use his knowledge of herbs if he was to have any chance to live. In the pouch around his waist, he always carried a first-aid kit of herbs—herbs that he could use as a compress, herbs to put on a wound to stop the bleeding. After his prayer, he took his kit, took the herbs and put them over his lower abdomen. He banded himself with a sash, and then he lost consciousness.

When he realized that he regained consciousness, he was lying on his back

in the ravine and looking up. He was lying in such a way that he could see a Kickapoo at the top of the ravine; behind the Kickapoo, he could see the sun. The Kickapoo was turned toward the sun—they were sun worshippers—and he had an old musket with the ramrod out. The Kickapoo was giving thanks to the sun god, and Chevato knew that the Kickapoo would kill him when he had finished his prayer. So, he felt for a weapon around him, but found nothing. But he always kept a derringer tied to a small strip of rawhide around his wrist. That's the only thing he had. He grasped the handle of the derringer and realized that he was not too far out of range. He cocked the hammer and the Kickapoo did not hear it. Then he shot the Kickapoo in the back.

He had just enough strength to crawl, and, by chance, he came across a horse. He climbed on the horse, got out of the ravine, and rejoined the rest of the Lipan. It took a long time for him to heal himself of that wound, but Chevato felt that he had survived because of his prayer and the use of his herbs. This is just one of the many incidents and scrapes that Chevato and his brother Dinero encountered living in the wilds.

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Lipan Creation Story

Down in the lower world, at the beginning, there was no light; there was only darkness. Down there, at the bottom, were some people. They knew of no other places; they lived there.

They held a council down there. They discussed whether there was another world. They decided to send someone above to find out. They looked at each other and asked who should be sent out.

One said, "How about Wind?" They asked him. Wind agreed to go.

Wind went upward. He was a whirlwind. He came to this earth. Nothing but water covered the earth then. He rolled back the water like a curtain.

After the wind had rolled back the water, land appeared. The water was all to one side. . . . At that time the land was very level. There were no mountains on earth. The ground was just like ashes or like the places where there is white alkali on the earth's surface now. . . .

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Then they sent Crow out to look over the dry land. . . . The Crow never came back. The people wondered what had happened to him. They wanted news. So they sent Beaver out. [The Beaver never came back], so they sent Badger out. He was faithful to his fellows in the lower world. He came up and looked around. He saw that it was all dry up there. He went back and told the others. Then they were all happy, for he was the only one who did faithful work.

Then they sent four others after that, four men, to look over this world above. These first four who came up on earth to prepare it were called by the word that means Indians. . . . The four chose one from whom was to be made the things of the earth as we know it now. They selected Mirage. They put up Mirage in the form of a ball. They walked away from Mirage and looked. It looked very pretty. That ball of Mirage became part of the earth.

Now they fixed the world. They were going to make hills and mountains. They made a little lightning. They made little arroyos, and water came running to them. That is the way the earth and the mountains, the hills and the water were made. At first it was all level, but of Mirage they made all the things of the earth.

Now all was ready on the earth. Springs and channels were made. All was prepared for the people of the lower world. Then the people of the lower world prepared to ascend. They came to the upper world. They are here now.

After they came up, they moved around the edge of the earth clockwise. All those people were animals, birds, trees and bushes. The real humans were not here yet. Animals, birds, grass and trees were people at that time and could talk as humans do. They had one language and all understood each other. These were the first people. . . . The different kinds of animals and birds, the different grasses and trees, each represents a different tribe.

Then the real humans came out. When they started from the place of emergence, the first to stop were the western people, the Chiricahua [Apaches], perhaps. As they went along clockwise, different peo-

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ples dropped off. As they stopped, they became different tribes and had different languages. “You shall be such and such a people and speak this language,” they were told. That is how all these different tribes and languages were made. . . .

At the very end of the journey the Tonkawa dropped off with the Lipan. The Lipan were the very last to stop the journey and find a home.²

Ta-á kuho shekaú nete (That is all I will tell).³

The Lipan Apaches are one of six southern Athapascan or Apachean-speaking groups who “migrated out of the Canadian Mackenzie Basin, [arriving as] latecomers to today’s American Southwest some time between AD 1300 and 1500.”⁴ A hint of their early origins was preserved in the general tribal name by which the Lipans called themselves—*tcici* or *tcicihí*, meaning “People of the Forest.”⁵ Anthropologist Morris Opler, who studied the cultures of these southern Athapascan groups and who conducted extensive interviews in 1935 with a Lipan friend from Chevato’s childhood named Antonio Apache, theorized that despite obvious late connections between the Lipans and the Mescaleros, the Lipans were actually most similar, both linguistically and culturally, to the Jicarilla Apaches. Opler believed that the Lipans were “an off-shoot of a Lipan-Jicarilla group [who migrated] east to the [Great] Plains.”⁶ The separation of the Lipans from the Jicarillas must have occurred at an early date, however, because a comparison of the myths of the two groups shows that “Lipan mythology looks like a simplified edition of Jicarilla mythology from which late ceremonial flourishes have been eliminated.”⁷ The separation of the two groups probably occurred during the time period when both ranged across the southern Great Plains, living in buffalo-hide tepees and using large dogs to transport their camps. After the separation, the Jicarillas moved down into the Four Corners area of New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, and Oklahoma—an area they believed to be the “center of the earth.”⁸ The Lipans continued on, moving into north-central and western Texas, finding both buffalo and antelope on the plains as well as congenial camps along the river bottoms. They acquired horses from early Spanish settlements, becoming excellent

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horsemen, and adopted a seminomadic life; they planted maize, pumpkins, beans, and squash in a haphazard manner in rich river-bottom soil and camped nearby only long enough for the seeds to sprout and produce, before moving on in search of game, wild fruit, and cactus tunas.

By 1700 the Lipans in north-central Texas were feeling increased pressure, as hostile Comanches launched attacks on many plains Apache bands living on the southern edges of the Great Plains. Sporadic attacks soon turned to war, as Comanches battled Apache bands east of the Pecos River. The ferocity of the Comanche attacks on the Lipans, combined with superior battle tactics, resulted in a series of Lipan defeats.⁹ These defeats at the hands of the Comanches were the catalysts that pushed the Lipan bands into central and southwest Texas and northern Mexico, where they displaced smaller groups of Coahuiltecan-speaking people. By 1750 the Lipans lived in from ten to fourteen bands averaging 400 to 500 persons each, ranging from the Pecos River on the west, east to San Antonio and the lower Gulf Coast, south into Mexico, and north to the Colorado River.¹⁰

Lipan Bands and Territories

Eastern Lipan (Lipan *de arriba*)

1. Tséral tuétahä—"Red Hair" band; this band ranged below the Nueces River in Texas, led in 1739 by Cabellos Colorado (Red Hair). This band was extirpated by 1884.
2. Tche shä—"Sun Otter" band; this band ranged from San Antonio, Texas, south to the Rio Grande; primary camp was known as El Atascoso, south of San Antonio.
3. Kó'l Kahä—"Prairie Men" band; this band ranged in central Texas along the upper Colorado River.
4. Tchó kanä—"Rubbing, Pulverizing" band; this band ranged to the west of Ft. Griffin, Texas, to the west side of the Rio Grande. This band was possibly extirpated by 1884.
5. Kóke metcheskó lähä—"High Beaked Moccasin" band; this band ranged south of San Antonio into Mexico, led in 1790 by Zapato Sas (Shoe Cut on a Bias).

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6. Tsél tátlidshä—“Green Mountain” band; this band ranged east of the Rio Grande along the lower Guadalupe and Nueces rivers of Texas.
7. Ndáwe qóhā—“Fire Circle” or “Camp Circle” band; this band ranged southwest of Ft. Griffin, Texas, along the Colorado, San Saba, and Llano rivers.
8. Shä-ä—“North” band; this band lived “on the other side of a big mountain, near the Dapéshte River.” This band of about 300 persons was removed to the Washita Agency in Oklahoma by 1884.
9. Tsés tsēmbai—“Head of wolf, body of man” band; this band lived toward sundown between the upper Brazos and Colorado rivers.
10. Te’l kóndahä—“Wild Goose” band; this band’s name was associated with a type of bird. They were renowned as fighters and ranged west of Ft. Griffin.

Western Lipan (*Lipan de abajo*)

1. Kúne tsá—“Big Water” band; this band originally ranged along the Texas bank of the Rio Grande but had moved into Coahuila, Mexico, by 1750. This was Chevato’s band.
2. Tsésh ke shénde—“Painted Wood People”; this band lived at Lavón, Mexico; possibly extirpated by 1884.
3. Tüzhä; Täzhä—“Uplanders”; this band lived along the upper Rio Grande and in southern New Mexico by 1850 and had close contact with the Mescalero Apaches.
4. Tcha shka-ózhäyê—“Little Breech-Clout” band; this band lived on the Pecos River in Texas and was closely tied to a group known to the Spanish as the Natagés; the Natagés were affiliated with the Mescalero Apaches. The later designation of the band as Little Breech-Clout may have been taken from the chief circa 1780, Poca Ropa (Little or Scant Clothes).¹¹

Caught between their Comanche enemies to the north and the Spanish to the south, the Lipans sought alliance with Spanish missionaries in Texas and northern Mexico. They were adept at playing the Spanish padres against the Comanches, at times attacking other tribes and leaving behind Comanche articles to fool the Spanish into believing the Comanches

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had been the attackers. They requested that the Spanish establish missions for them, seeking only the military protection afforded by the presidios attached to such missions, as well as a source of food or other gifts provided by the missionaries. The first Spanish mission designated to minister to the Lipans was San Lorenzo in Coahuila, Mexico, located ten miles west of the newly founded villa of San Fernando de Austria (later known as Zaragoza). By March 1755, at least 52 Lipans had entered the mission, with another 2,000 camped nearby. However, the Lipans soon became disenchanted, stating that they had only entered San Lorenzo in Coahuila because the Spanish had refused to give them missions in Texas; furthermore, the food they received from the missionaries was not as plentiful as promised. The Lipans' first mission experience lasted little more than seven months; on the night of October 4, 1755, they revolted, burning all the mission buildings and riding away into the night.¹²

The failure of the first Lipan mission “was attributed, and justly, no doubt, to the natural inconstancy of the Apaches and their reluctance to live in missions outside of the region which they habitually frequented—that is, north and northwest of San Antonio, in the section traversed by the Pedernales, Llano and San Sabá Rivers.”¹³ Intending to remedy this shortcoming, the presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas and its accompanying mission were established for the Lipan in 1757 on the San Sabá River, near present-day Menard, Texas. The mission, however, existed for only one year, for on the morning of March 16, 1758, over 2,000 Comanches and their allies surrounded the mission shortly after the priests had finished their morning prayers. “Half carried French guns, which they fired in the air as they circled the stockade. However, they spoke pleasantly to the guards, assuring them that they intended the Spanish no harm; they only sought the Apaches [i.e., Lipans] who had killed some of their people.”¹⁴ The Lipans, however, were not at the mission, having vanished into the surrounding countryside upon hearing rumors that the Comanches were about to attack. The Spanish padres, anxious to prove to the Comanches that the Lipans were not there, allowed them to enter the gate to inspect for themselves, thereby placing the mission at the mercy of the

intruders. Two priests and eight others were killed, and the mission was sacked and burned.

On January 23, 1762, the Spanish made a final attempt at founding a mission for the Lipans, establishing Mission San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz along the upper Nueces River in an area known as El Cañon (located today in Uvalde County, Texas). Two weeks later, a second Lipan mission was founded near a spring on the west bank of the Nueces about ten miles south of San Lorenzo. The second mission was named Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria del Cañon.¹⁵ In a 1762 report sent to the viceroy, Fr. Diego Ximenez stated that there were about 3,000 Lipans in the area, with about 400 of them gathered at the two missions along the Nueces. Yet the Comanches in the area remained a constant threat. Fr. Ximenez wrote, "Already the enemy knows of these missions because they have spied upon us; they will come to destroy these pueblos. They will find no resistance because our Lipans only seek to hide themselves in these critical times. The soldiers who accompany us are, in proportion to the enemies, very few and inept. Only God will defend us, if indeed we do not perish."¹⁶ The Comanches and their allies began to harass the Nueces missions within a year of their founding, and by 1766 the Lipans had been driven away from the area.¹⁷

The Comanche attacks after 1750 had penetrated deep into Lipan hunting and settlement territories, plunging a feathered lance into the Lipan homeland. Major attacks, as well as continuous, harassing actions directed against Lipan bands living in central Texas, forced many bands southward, fleeing the aggressive Comanches. Many Lipan groups faded into the hills near the upper Nueces and Frio rivers, while others dispersed into south Texas or crossed the Rio Grande, seeking shelter in the rugged mountains of northern Mexico. The primary result of over half a century of Comanche harassment was a division of the Lipan tribe into two large groupings. The Lipans *de arriba* (the Lipans above), or Eastern Lipans, were a loose grouping of ten bands whose seasonal wanderings were generally confined to the Texas side of the Rio Grande. These bands ranged from the buffalo-hunting grounds on the San Saba and Llano rivers southeast to the

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lower Guadalupe near the Gulf Coast and west as far as the upper Nueces and Frio rivers. The presidios and missions at San Antonio, la Bahía (Victoria County, Texas), and Laredo suffered their repeated attacks. The Lipans *de abajo* (the Lipans below), or Western Lipans, were a loose grouping of four bands whose primary territory stretched from the lower Pecos River and Big Bend area of Texas south into northern Coahuila and Nuevo Leon. The Western Lipans were, through most of their history, allies of the Mescalero Apaches of southern New Mexico and were composed of an amalgam of Apachean-speaking groups known to the early Spanish as Natagés and Lipiyans, as well as Lipans who had fled into Mexico to escape the Comanches. Chevato was born into the Kúne tsá band of Western Lipans, a band that had been pushed out of Texas by Comanche aggression and had inhabited northern Coahuila since the first Lipan had entered the mission of San Lorenzo in 1755.

In 1767 “Nicholas de Lafora, an engineer accompanying Rubí’s inspection of New Spain’s northern frontier, reported that many Lipan Apaches inhabited the mountains of Coahuila.”¹⁸ He found them living, along with some Mescalero Apaches, in the Bolsón de Mapimí, “a rugged mountain and desert badlands running southward from the Rio Grande between the Sierra Madre Occidental of Coahuila on the east and the Conchos Valley on the west.”¹⁹ Rubí’s inspection tour resulted in recommendations for the defense of the northern frontier that reversed all previous Spanish policy. Recognizing the fact that the Apaches (particularly the Lipans) were incapable of honoring treaty commitments, Rubí recommended that the Spanish government ally, instead, with the Comanches and their allies. The Spanish Crown accepted most of Rubí’s recommendations, yet paid homage to the long Spanish tradition of attempted peaceful conversion of the Indians. The resulting Regulations of 1772 “proclaimed the prime objectives of the king on the northern frontier to be peace, the welfare and conversion of the pagan tribes, and the tranquility of the northern provinces. Even Apaches were entitled to peaceful coexistence if they sincerely wished it.”²⁰ When the new Indian policy was combined with military actions in the Bolsón de Mapimí, the resulting campaigns drove the Lipans