
INDEX

Italic page numbers refer to figures and tables.

- Adams, John Quincy, 2, 3, 6, 25, 218, 227, 231
- Adams-Onís Treaty, 2, 3, 20, 28
- African Americans, 2, 23, 27
- Alamán, Lucas, 25, 26–27, 28, 29–31, 71, 72, 299
- Alamo, battle of, 73, 357n22
- Almonte, Juan Nepomuceno, 70, 178, 349n11, 353n35
- Anglo-Americans: as colonizers of Mexico, 4–5, 18, 22, 27, 29, 30, 72, 229–33, 235, 346–47n40; and New Spain, 12; and Comanches, 19–20, 43, 51, 76, 212–14, 217, 218, 224, 234, 241, 244, 305–6; and Texas independence, 73, 227; and trade, 90, 92, 101–5; and weapons, 104, 218; as bounty hunters, 160, 243
- Anza, Juan Bautista de, 13, 30
- Apaches: peace agreements of, xv, 14, 63, 143–45, 149–50, 155–59, 214, 271, 277, 304; raids of, xvii, 10, 12, 35, 109, 144, 154, 156, 183, 194–95, 197, 237, 242, 253, 277, 280, 284–85, 298, 308, 373n52; and U.S.–Mexican War, xxi, 254, 267; Comanches attacking, 11, 13, 49, 53, 55; Mexico’s policy toward, 23, 26, 163; and northern Mexico, 53, 155, 172–74; Comanches aided by, 127; vengeance motivating cooperation of, 133, 145, 156, 243, 245; Mexican ration program for, 143–44, 201, 373–74n4; policy coordination of, 144, 187, 213, 304; Mexicans collaborating with, 146, 148; as Mexican citizens, 158–59, 160; Mexican campaigns against, 187; population of, 374n6. *See also* Chiricahua Apaches; Kiowa Apaches; Lipán Apaches; Mesquero Apaches; Western Apaches
- Arapahos: and Comanches, 41, 48, 78–80, 102, 182; and Great Peace of 1840, 80–81, 83, 182–83, 359nn34, 35; and trade, 90, 100, 108–9; and Kiowas, 131, 182
- Arista, Mariano: campaign against Comanches, 111, 184–90, 192, 198–99, 206, 242, 271, 382nn48, 49; and federalist uprisings, 178–82, 185, 188, 379n23, 380n29; portrait of, 185; and Texas, 189, 190, 192, 382n53; and peace treaties, 209; and U.S.–Mexican War, 254, 260, 272, 280; and article 11 payments, 297–98; as president, 299, 303; and Paredes, 391n64
- Armijo, Manuel: on Navajos, 170; and Mexican identity, 171, 182; portrait of,

- Armijo, Manuel (continued)
 171; as New Mexico governor, 172; and Arista, 199; and Comanches, 243; and U.S.–Mexican War, 255, 265, 275–76; and peace agreements, 384–85ⁿ¹⁰
- Arreola, Vicente, 114, 128
- Austin, Stephen F., 4–6, 18–19, 27, 73, 228–29, 233–34
- Autonomous/independent Indians: geopolitical significance of, xiv, 31, 84–85, 117, 343ⁿ⁴; political traditions of, xviii–xix; and New Spain, 10–14, 17, 30; and interimperial rivalries, 14, 30–31; and Mexico, 17–19, 26, 30–31, 35–36, 49, 57, 61–64, 74, 84; war between, 40–43, 350ⁿ¹⁸; U.S. government policy on, 308. *See also* Indian raids in northern Mexico; Northern Mexicans/independent Indians, relationship of
- Barreiro, Antonio, 148, 149, 151, 154, 224, 375ⁿ¹⁵
- Belt, Richard, 226–27, 242
- Bent, Charles: and trade, 78, 80, 102–3, 104, 363ⁿ³⁰; and captives, 91; on Comanches, 199, 349ⁿ¹¹; and Armijo, 255; as New Mexico's territorial governor, 257, 278, 279; on Navajo population, 377ⁿ²
- Bent, George, 41, 110, 389ⁿ⁴⁵
- Bent, William, 78, 80, 88, 91, 102–3, 104, 363ⁿ³⁰, 369ⁿ²⁸
- Benton, Thomas Hart: and Adams, 3; on Texas, 28, 245; on Kirker, 243; on U.S.–Mexican War, 262, 286; on Reid, 269–70, 294; on Navajos, 278; and article 11, 296
- Bent's Fort, 93, 102, 103, 104, 364ⁿ³⁴
- Berlandier, Jean Louis: on Comanches, 21, 40, 42, 48, 55, 60, 120, 121, 124, 125, 141, 361ⁿ¹¹, 368ⁿ¹⁵, 371ⁿ⁴⁵; on Indian removal, 43; on northern Mexico, 52, 353ⁿⁿ³⁵, 36, 38; on bear grease trade, 58; on trade, 101, 105; on Carrizos, 179–80; on Chariticas, 349ⁿ¹⁰; on Lipán Apaches, 354ⁿ⁴³; on captives, 361ⁿ¹³
- Bison hunting, 41, 80, 190, 216–17, 271–72, 306, 309, 371ⁿ³⁷, 389–90ⁿ⁴⁸
- Blackfeet, 41, 93, 369ⁿ²⁷
- Bolsón de Mapimí, 127–28, 200, 271, 276, 285, 308, 370ⁿ³³
- Buchanan, James, 247, 295
- Burnet, David G., 41, 91, 95, 137, 360ⁿ⁸, 361ⁿ¹⁴, 372ⁿ⁴⁶
- Burr, Aaron, 1, 2, 15
- Bustamante, Anastacio: and Iturbide, 16–19; and Lipán Apaches, 17, 54; and campaigns against Comanches, 19–20, 35, 63; and Mexican frontier, 22–23, 25–26, 27, 222; and Jackson, 23, 27–28, 29; and Alamán, 26–27, 28, 29–30; and Paruakevitsi, 35, 36, 38; Texas campaign of 1827, 57, 62; and domestic stability, 71; and Mexican debt, 72, 163; and finances of Mexico, 152–53; portrait of, 153; and taxes, 162, 163, 184, 190–91; and France, 164, 173; and New Mexico, 170–71; and federalist uprisings, 172–73, 177; and Arista, 185, 190; and Herrera, 299
- Bustamante, Carlos María, 218, 223, 285–86, 378ⁿ¹⁰
- Bustamante, Ignacio de, 156–57, 158
- Butler, Anthony, 1–6, 28, 29, 30–31, 345ⁿ¹⁴
- Butler, Pierce M., 133, 239, 259–60, 351ⁿ²³, 362ⁿ²⁴
- Cabezón, Pisago, 144, 156
- Caddos, 36, 105, 106, 107, 240
- Calderón de la Barca, Fanny, 23, 71, 183, 191
- Calhoun, John C., 2, 218, 227, 232, 291–92, 294
- California: lack of Comanche raids in, 131; U.S. offer to purchase, 223, 247, 248, 289; and U.S.–Mexican War, 253, 257, 267, 275, 284, 288, 290, 292; as free

- state, 301; and cholera epidemic, 305; population of, 383n13
- Calvo, José Joaquín, 146, 148
- Camp Holmes, 66, 102, 357n14
- Canales Rosillo, Antonio, 175, 177–82, 188, 190, 214, 280, 379n26, 383n57
- Captives: narratives of, xix–xx, 83, 294; trade in, 58, 87, 88, 90, 91–92, 103, 104, 265, 360n7, 364n33; redemption of, 66, 203, 217, 261–62, 268, 270, 302, 316, 393n26; ransoming of, 69; treatment of, 77, 92, 93, 358n29, 372n51; and Comanche raiding, 86, 90–95, 110–12, 115, 123, 132, 136, 194, 222, 238, 298, 366n52, 393n26; assimilation of, 93–95, 110, 361n13, 366n52; killing of, 136, 372n51; and Apache raiding, 144; Navajos as, 167, 169; and Arista, 190; on policy coordination of Indians, 213; casualties offset by, 305, 406n19; rape of, 368n18; and federalist uprisings, 380n32
- Carlos III (king of Spain), 12, 14
- Carlos IV (king of Spain), 14
- Castro, Cuelgas de (Lipán Apache leader), 54, 76, 271, 358n27
- Castro, Ramón (Lipán Apache leader), 271
- Catholic Church, 71, 72, 210, 263
- Catlin, George: and Dodge expedition, 65, 66; *Comanche Meeting the Dragoons*, 66; *Túnkahtóhye, Thunderer, a boy and Wunpántomee, White Weasel, a Girl*, 67; *Comanche Village, Women Dressing Robes and Drying Meat*, 94
- Centeno, Miguel, 406–7n23
- Chacón, Albino, 167, 168
- Chamberlain, Samuel, 261, 264, 280, 397n12
- Cherokees: relocation of, 4, 387n29; and Texas, 5–6, 20; Americans' feuds with, 7; and Comanches, 43, 70, 74, 107, 240, 350n18; and Sam Houston, 65, 76; and weapons, 106; and trade, 108, 272
- Cheyenne Killing Two Kiowa Women* (Cheyenne ledger art), 42
- Cheyennes: and Comanches, 41, 48, 78, 79, 80, 102, 182; and Great Peace of 1840, 80–81, 83, 182–83, 359nn34, 35; and Kiowas, 80, 131, 182; and horses, 87, 88; and trade, 90, 100, 108–9
- Chimayó Rebellion, 166, 168–69, 172, 174
- Chiricahua Apaches: and Comanches, 63; and horses, 86; as tribal group, 144; and Opatas, 156; raids of, 198, 277, 384n10; and trade, 198–99; peace agreements of, 201, 277, 304; population of, 374n6
- Chisholm, Jesse, 107, 108, 259
- Choctaws, 4, 106
- Chouteau, Auguste Pierre, 65, 79, 102, 104, 359n31, 370n28
- Clark, William, 9, 15
- Clay, Henry, 3, 6, 158, 218, 220, 231, 234, 301
- Coffee, Holland, 101–2, 104, 259, 363n28
- Comanche powder horn, 107
- Comanche raiding: material motivations of, xix, 86–88, 117, 118, 123, 138, 367n6; in New Mexico, 12, 13, 19, 236, 355–56n3; and smallpox, 15, 79; and Anastacio Bustamante, 19–20, 35, 63; and Lafuente, 36; and Indian enemies, 48, 53, 54, 55, 64, 68, 78–79; and trade, 59, 68, 70, 75, 79, 88, 90, 92–93, 99–109, 110, 112, 113, 272, 359n32; expansions in, 61, 62, 68–69, 70, 71, 75, 78, 81, 82, 83–84, 109, 113, 117, 135, 159, 164, 183, 214, 216–17, 221, 317, 359n36, 361n14, 365n45, 389–90n48; Mexican retaliation against, 62–63, 74; and horses, 69, 75, 79, 86–87, 88, 95–98, 101, 103, 106, 109, 110, 114, 123, 128, 129, 136, 186, 237, 238, 361n14, 367n6, 369n25; and Texas independence, 74–75, 76; and captives, 86, 90–95, 110–12, 115, 123, 132, 136, 194, 222, 238, 298, 366n52, 393n26; and miscellaneous plunder, 90–91, 132–35;

- Comanche raiding (continued)
 and leadership structure, 96–101, 117, 118–19, 133, 371n45; and comancheros, 110–11; interpretations of, 115, 117–18; campaign of December 1840–January 1841, 116; political coordination of, 117–18, 125, 127, 133, 270–71; vengeance as motivation for, 118, 123–26, 129, 131–35, 137, 138, 245, 367n8, 369n25, 372n46; and dances, 120, 121, 124, 125; women's contributions to, 120–22, 368–69n19, 371n42; and rape, 121, 368n18; practical aspects of, 126–29; and Bolsón de Mapimí, 127–28; trail system of, 127; and casualties, 129, 131–35, 187, 371nn42, 44; retaliation methods of, 135–38; Mexican defenses against, 154, 178–79; and federalist uprisings, 174, 175–77, 179, 180; and U.S.–Mexican War, 253, 254, 270–73, 279–83; in post U.S.–Mexican War era, 298, 302, 305, 406n17
- Comancheros, 90, 91, 100, 110–11
- Comanches: peace treaties of, xv, 13–17, 19, 20, 36, 38, 50, 53, 55, 63–64, 66, 68, 70, 74, 75, 80, 84, 85, 106, 182, 186, 239, 259–62, 271, 353n35, 357n14, 358n25, 375n16; and U.S.–Mexican War, xxi, 259, 260; American offer to subdue, 6–7, 22, 345n14; Apaches attacked by, 11, 13, 49, 53, 55; and horses, 11, 15, 18, 40, 41, 43, 48, 49, 58, 68, 69, 80, 95–96, 105, 216, 304; Wichitas as allies of, 11, 36, 48, 350n18; and smallpox, 13, 15–16, 38, 80, 309; and trade, 13, 18, 49, 58–60, 63, 64, 68, 80, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 99–104, 107–8, 110, 199, 304, 309; and Anglo-Americans, 19–20, 43, 51, 76, 212–14, 217, 218, 224, 234, 241, 244, 305–6; Berlandier on, 21, 40, 42, 48, 55, 60, 120, 121, 124, 125, 141, 361n11, 368n15, 371n45; Mexico's policy toward, 23, 26, 35, 163, 380n30; Jackson's attitude toward, 30; territory of, 31, 39, 40–41, 46, 47, 48, 51, 77, 83, 88, 260, 349n11; Kiowas as allies of, 38, 40, 47–49, 349n10; policy coordination of, 38, 47, 48–49, 71, 80, 84–85, 117, 118–19, 123–26, 125, 141, 187, 213, 304, 305, 360n38, 369n24; population of, 38, 40, 239, 309, 349n11, 394n27; hunting and trading resources of, 40, 43, 46, 47, 49, 95, 96, 216; Indian enemies of, 40–43, 47, 48–49, 53–55, 60, 62, 63–64, 66, 68, 78, 79, 80, 100, 126, 355n53; and Osages, 41–42, 48, 64, 66, 68, 70, 84, 126, 356n10; and eastern Indian refugees, 43, 66, 68, 74, 80–81, 83, 84, 102, 106, 107, 240; bands as political unit of, 44–46, 47, 123, 350n22; community organization of, 44–49, 119–23, 125, 309, 351n27; and kinship obligations, 44–45, 46, 47, 93–94, 99, 122, 124, 133, 367n8; divisions as political unit of, 45–48, 123, 124, 133, 350–51n22; leadership structure of, 45, 46, 60, 63, 69, 71, 84, 96–101, 103, 117, 118–19, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 350n22, 362n18; marriage customs of, 45–46, 95, 123; Shoshones kinship ties with, 48, 352n30; and Lipán Apaches, 53–56, 76–79, 126, 270–71, 309, 354n43, 399n32; diplomacy of, 54, 59–60, 74, 80, 107; economy of, 57, 90, 93, 95, 99, 113, 117, 118, 123, 129, 131–32, 134; and U.S. government, 64, 66–67, 70, 239, 259–60, 282, 306, 357n14; and Dodge expedition, 65–66, 357n14; and Republic of Texas, 76–77, 79, 108, 126, 189, 244; Council House Massacre, 77–78, 97, 98, 126, 208, 209, 358n29, 359n35; and Great Peace of 1840, 80–81, 83, 182–83, 359n34, 35; women of, 92–93, 97, 103, 120–22, 125, 129, 187, 361n11, 371n42; political economy of, 95–100; and gifts, 96–97, 99, 100, 101; and weapons, 104, 105–9, 107, 218, 240,

- 244, 395n36; social distinctions among, 115, 117; and dances, 120, 121, 124, 125; and lobos, 120, 121–22, 368n15; vengeance motivating cooperation, 123–26, 133, 245; and multidivisional gatherings, 124–25, 129, 369–70n28; and U.S. Army, 127, 308–9, 400n1; conceptions of Mexicans, 131; and presidio system, 154; as Mexican citizens, 158, 160; Zapata fighting, 165; American discourse on, 231–35, 237–41; on reservations, 309–10; and Reid, 398n25
- Comanche war whistle, 134
- Compromise of 1850, 301, 307
- Creeks: and Florida, 3; and Jackson, 4, 25; Americans' feuds with, 7; and Almonte, 70; and trade, 90, 272; and weapons, 106; and Comanches, 240; and Mexican land grants, 298
- Creoles*, 23
- Crockett, Davy, 73, 241
- Davis, Jefferson, 65, 295
- Delawares: relocation of, 4; and Comanches, 43, 70, 240; and Dodge expedition, 65; and Almonte, 70; and horses, 87; and trade, 90, 92, 107, 108, 272; and weapons, 105, 106; as bounty hunters, 160; reputation of, 394n29
- Díaz, Porfirio, 307
- Dodge, Henry, 65–66, 70, 107, 357n14
- Doniphan, Alexander, 257, 266–69, 278–79, 281, 285–86
- Douglas, Stephen A., 295, 301
- Eastern Indian refugees: and Indian Territory, 4; and Jackson, 8–9; and Comanches, 43, 66, 68, 74, 80–81, 83, 84, 102, 106, 107, 240; and weapons, 43, 240; and horses, 68, 106, 107; and Sam Houston, 76; and trade, 91, 105, 107, 108; and peace treaties, 357n14
- Ecueraacapa (Comanche leader), 13, 14
- Edwards, Hayden, 5–6, 19
- Emory, W. H., 236, 237, 298–99, 393n20
- England, 8, 12, 14, 105, 153, 288
- Escalante y Arvizu, Manuel, 146, 150
- Escudero, José Agustín, 148–51, 154–55, 201, 207–8, 224, 286
- Falconer, Thomas, 244, 394n26
- Farnham, Thomas, 238, 239, 394n27
- Field, Joseph, 228–29
- Field, Matt, 241, 243
- Fillmore, Millard, 301
- Florida, 2–3, 6, 25, 28, 30
- Foster, Morris, 350–51n22, 351n27
- France, 11–12, 14, 28, 105, 163–64, 173, 177, 191
- Fredonia, Republic of, 5–6, 19
- Frémont, John C., 247
- Frost, John, "Indian Atrocities in New Mexico," 292
- Gadsden Purchase, 303, 304, 406n14
- Galán, Juan José, 136, 208, 209, 216, 380–81n33
- Gálvez, Bernardo de, 12–13, 30, 155
- García Conde, Pedro, 220, 222, 257
- Geronimo (Apache leader), 309, 407n28
- Gift economy, 96–97, 99–101, 362n18
- Gilliam, Arthur, 239–40, 244–45
- Gómez Farías, Valentín, 72, 154
- Great Peace of 1840, 80–81, 83, 102, 182–83, 190, 359n134, 35
- Great Peace of 1840* (ledger art by Howling Wolf), 81
- Gregg, Josiah: on captives, 69, 94, 356n13; and trade, 101, 105, 110; on Comanches, 121, 240, 241; on Apaches, 236, 240, 245; on Navajos, 237; on Kirker, 243; and Reid, 268–69, 398n25; on depopulation of northern Mexico, 282; on Mexican guerrillas, 284
- Griffen, William, 313, 314, 315
- Guerrero, Vicente, 25, 26, 27–28, 185

- Guonique (Comanche leader), 17, 18, 19, 36, 54
- Herrera, José Joaquín de, 211–12, 220–24, 247, 297–99
- Hidatsas, 100, 105
- Hide Quiver War Expedition, 83
- Hoebel, E. Adamson, 350n20, 369n25
- Hois (Timber People): as Comanche division, 45, 47, 48; and trade, 70, 90, 103, 108, 109, 110; and Republic of Texas, 75–76; raids of, 77, 83, 244; and Lipán Apaches, 79; and Sam Houston, 83, 103, 134, 208–9, 214, 216, 349n10; and horses, 87; leadership of, 97–98, 99; and weapons, 104; vengeance as motivation of, 131, 133–35; peace treaties of, 208–9; and Southern Lipanes, 270–71; and cholera epidemic, 305; and Kiowas, 349n10
- Horn, Sarah Ann, 90, 91, 92, 110–11, 268, 360n7, 365n49
- Horseshoe Bend, 8, 64, 345n20
- Houston, Sam: and Comanches, 64–65, 76, 108; motives of, 65, 356n7; and Texas independence, 73; and Hois, 83, 103, 134, 208–9, 214, 216, 349n10; and trade, 103, 364n36; on conditions in Texas, 291; on article 11, 295; on Cherokee attacks on Comanches, 350n18
- Howling Wolf, *Great Peace of 1840*, 81
- Humboldt, Alexander von, 148–49
- Huntsman, Adam, 232, 244
- Indian raids in northern Mexico: and U.S.–Mexican War, xiv, 342n3; and peace agreements, xv; effects of, xvi–xviii, 51; political responses to, xviii–xix; and disagreements among Indians, 19; and Mexican independence, 35; defenses against, 48; and U.S.–Mexico relations, 64. *See also* Comanche raiding; War of a Thousand Deserts
- Indian Territory, 4, 65, 68, 106, 308
- Indios bárbaros, los*. *See* Autonomous/independent Indians
- Iturbide, Agustín de, 16–19, 25, 71
- Jackson, Andrew: and Texas, 1–6, 10, 23, 27–29, 163, 227, 231, 289; and Florida, 2–3, 6, 25, 28; and native peoples, 4, 5, 7–9, 25, 159; and Mexico, 26, 289–90; and Sam Houston, 64–65; and Polk, 218–19
- Jefferson, Thomas, 1, 2, 14, 15, 28, 219, 233
- Jicarilla Apaches, 53, 265, 398n21
- Johnson, John James, 160, 267
- Juárez, Benito, 307
- Kavanagh, Thomas W., 349n10, 367n6
- Kearny, Stephen, 255, 257, 265–67, 275–77, 398n21
- Kendall, George Wilkins, 98, 237, 243, 261, 264, 398n18, 402n25
- Kennedy, William, 229, 234, 235, 236, 241, 243
- Kickapoos, 4, 36, 70, 107, 108, 298
- Kiowa Apaches: political actions of, xix; as Comanche allies, 38, 40, 47, 48, 349n10; and horses, 41; relationship with Mexicans, 61; and peace treaties, 68, 84; and smallpox, 79; and trade, 90; and captives, 91, 360n8; leadership of, 99, 103; and multidivisional gatherings, 124, 370n28; vengeance motivating cooperation in, 133
- Kiowas: and peace treaties, xv, 68, 84, 85, 182; policy coordination of, xiv, 118, 213, 304; raids of, 19, 75, 78, 82, 83–84, 96, 109, 113, 117, 126, 129, 186, 194, 369n25; Mexico's policy toward, 23; as Comanche allies, 38, 40, 47–49, 349n10; and Osages, 42–43, 105, 131; recorded history of, 42, 78–79, 84–85, 129, 133, 137, 272, 373n55, 390n48; bands of, 47–48; and horses, 48, 95–96, 216; offensive cam-

- paigns of, 48–49; and Sun Dance, 48, 124; relationships with Mexicans, 57–58, 61; and trade, 58, 64, 68, 90, 100, 104, 107–10; leadership of, 63, 99, 118–19; and Dodge expedition, 65–66; and eastern Indians, 68; and Cheyennes, 80, 131, 182; and Great Peace of 1840, 80–81, 83, 182–83, 359nn34, 35; and Hide Quiver War Expedition, 83, 84–85; on handsome lads, 83, 96, 359–60n37; and weapons, 105–6; military societies of, 119–20; women of, 122; vengeance motivating cooperation of, 123–24, 129, 131, 132, 133, 138, 245, 369n25; and Comanche multidivisional gatherings, 124, 370n28; casualties of, 129, 130, 131–35, 187; and Arapahos, 131, 182; conceptions of Mexicans, 131; vocabulary of, 131, 352n32; and presidio system, 154; Zapata fighting, 165; and Anglo-American settlers, 305–6; and cholera epidemic, 305; U.S. Army campaigns against, 308–9
- Kirker, James, 160, 161, 206, 243, 257, 267, 277, 298, 395n35
- Kotsotekas (Buffalo Eaters), 45, 47, 48, 79, 90, 99, 108, 109
- Lafuente, Manuel, 35, 36–38
- Lamar, Mirabeau B., 76–77, 83, 98, 190, 208, 214, 216, 382n53
- La Salle, René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de, 2, 11, 28
- Letcher, Robert, 302–3
- Lewis, Meriwether, 15
- Lewis, M. G., 259, 260
- Lincoln, Abraham, 307
- Lipán Apaches: raids of, 15, 54, 406n17, 407n28; peace treaties of, 17, 53, 76; and Comanches, 53–56, 76–79, 126, 270–71, 309, 354n43, 399n32; and presidio system, 154; Zapata fighting, 165; resettlement of northern Mexico, 195; and Wool, 265; and horses, 360n3; and Reid, 398n25. *See also* Northern Lipanes; Southern Lipanes
- Lockhart, Matilda, 77, 358n29
- Lofero, Francisco, 204, 226–27
- Long, Stephen H., 10, 41
- Louisiana Purchase, 2, 14, 219, 233, 290
- Mandans, 79, 100, 105
- Mangas Coloradas (Apache leader), 144, 156, 245, 267, 277
- Manifest Destiny, xiv, xx
- Martínez, Antonio José, 216–17, 225, 364n34
- Maverick, Mary, 77, 358n29
- Maximilian I (emperor of Mexico), 307
- Mayos, 159, 173
- Mendinueta, Pedro Fermín de, 12, 13
- Mescalero Apaches: raids of, xvi; and Comanches, 53, 63, 271, 399n33; as tribal group, 144; peace agreements of, 201, 304; population of, 374n6
- Mestizos, 23, 24, 206, 246
- Mexican identity: and relationship of northern Mexicans/independent Indians, xvii, 131, 158–60; emergence of, 142–43; and federalist uprisings, 169–73, 180–82, 192, 383n57; and mutual defense, 201
- Mexican Revolution of 1910, 308
- Mexico: reaction to Indian raids, xviii–xix, 145–51, 152, 154, 158, 160, 161, 162–63, 164, 166, 178–79, 182, 183–85, 189, 192–93, 213, 222–24, 227, 232, 241–42, 264, 265, 278, 285, 297; Anglo-American settlers of, 4–5, 18, 22, 27, 29, 30, 72, 229–33, 235, 346–47n40; and Jackson, 5–6; inability to subdue Comanches, 6–7; and War of Independence, 15–16, 35, 51, 52, 147, 151; independence of, 16–23, 24; and independent Indians, 17–19, 26, 30–31, 35–36, 49, 57, 61–64, 74, 84; and Constitution of 1824, 18, 25, 56, 71,

Mexico (continued)

- 72, 158, 169, 175, 222, 230, 258, 354n46; early political history of, 23–31; economy of, 24, 26, 30, 60, 75; and nationalism, 141–43, 184, 373n3, 382n49; financial resources of, 151–54, 161–63, 178; and trade, 151, 163; and Constitution of 1836, 162, 168, 173; and France, 163–64, 173, 177, 191; and internal rebellions, 163, 166, 168–69, 377n50; federalist uprisings in, 165, 166, 168–70, 172–78, 179, 180–82, 185, 188–90, 192, 378n10, 383n57; and patriotism vs. treason discourse, 171, 172, 173, 180–82; and Constitution of 1843, 223; American perceptions of Mexicans, 244–46; liberal reforms of, 306–7; and Constitution of 1857, 307–8. *See also* Northern Mexico; U.S.–Mexican War; U.S.–Mexico relations
- Mier y Terán, Manuel, 21–22, 27–30, 105, 147, 233, 355n53
- Mishkin, Bernard, 366n5, 369n25
- Mooney, James, 349n10, 352n32
- Moore, Francis, 240, 241
- Moquehucope (Hois leader), 99, 208, 216, 260, 305, 351n23
- Mora, Ignacio, 156–57, 158
- Muguara (Comanche leader), 77, 99, 388n33
- Najar, Jesús, 111–12
- Napoleon Bonaparte (emperor of France), 14
- Napoleon III (emperor of France), 307
- Narbona, Antonio, 352–53n32
- Nation-states, 23–24, 31, 119, 141–43, 304, 367–68n14
- Native peoples: and interimperial conflicts, xiii–xiv, 12, 14, 30; political traditions of, xviii–xix; Jackson's attitude toward, 4, 5, 7–9, 25, 159; of New Spain, 9–10, 345n20; exclusion from American polity, 23; of Mexico, 23–24; and wealth, 115, 117–18, 366n5; and resistance model, 138. *See also specific peoples*
- Navajos: peace agreements of, xv, 14, 164, 166–67, 168, 266, 278, 304; raids of, xvii, 10, 12, 154, 164, 167, 183, 194, 198, 236, 242–43, 253, 255, 265, 266, 278, 302, 396n4; and U.S.–Mexican War, xxi, 254; attacks on Apaches, 13; Mexico's policy toward, 23, 26, 163; defenses against raids, 48; trade in blankets, 58, 355n50; as Mexican citizens, 158, 160; Pérez fighting, 165, 168; political organization of, 166, 213, 304; and Pueblo Indians, 170; and Civil War, 308; population of, 377n2
- Newell, Chester, 228, 231
- New Mexico, Mexican territory of: Comanche raids in, 12, 13, 19, 236, 355–56n3; Comanche peace treaty in, 13–14, 20, 109, 141, 243, 375n16; War of Independence from Spain, 15; Indian campaigns of mid-eighteenth century, 36; defenses against raids, 48; and trade, 50, 57, 58–59, 63, 92, 100, 104, 109, 110, 198–99, 236, 352n30, 384n10; economy of, 51, 198, 278, 375n16; territorial status within Mexico, 56, 168; retaliation against Indians, 74, 167, 187, 199, 378n4; and captives, 91, 167, 169; lack of Comanche raids in, 131; Apache raids in, 144, 384n10; and presidio system, 147, 154; Barreiro's book on, 149, 154, 375n15; protection of, 151, 375n21; Navajo raids in, 164, 167, 183, 187, 214, 236, 242–43, 265, 266, 278, 302, 396n4; and federalist uprisings, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170, 172, 378n10; and Mexican identity, 169–72; and U.S. annexation proposal, 170–71; population of, 196, 198, 352–53n32, 383n3; Mexican unity lacking in, 202; and Republic of Texas, 210, 212; U.S. offer to purchase, 223, 247, 248, 289; American perceptions of, 236; and U.S.–

- Mexican War, 253, 255, 265–66, 284, 288–89, 290, 292, 294
- New Mexico, U.S. territory of, 301
- New Spain: native peoples of, 9–10, 345n20; Indian policy of, 10, 11–12, 13–16, 17, 30, 80, 346n30; presidio system of, 147, 244; cooperative policies of, 155, 158, 159; and U.S. government, 233
- Northern Lipanes, 271, 399n32
- Northern Mexicans/independent Indians, relationship of: American opinions of, xvii, 9, 227, 228–35, 236, 237, 240; and Mexican identity, xvii, 131, 158–60; and diplomacy, 13–14, 15, 20, 36, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 70, 74, 147; and colonization, 18, 19; and peace treaties, 20, 35, 63, 70, 145; and Mexican political instability, 24; and tejano campaigns against Indians, 35, 36–38; and Comanche territory, 39; and horses, 40, 361n14; and trade, 49, 50, 57–60, 63, 64, 68, 70, 92, 104, 110, 111, 141, 146, 147, 354n49, 355n50; and Lipán Apaches, 53–55; transition from peace to war, 61; and alliance, 62–64; and weapons, 104, 105; and violence, 118, 129, 367n10; and Apaches, 144–46; and presidio system, 147–48, 152, 210; and bounty hunting, 159–60; and federalist uprisings, 166; and discourse of war, 205–8. *See also* War of a Thousand Deserts
- Northern Mexico: economy of, xv, xxi, 51, 183, 196–98, 303, 374n8; and U.S.–Mexican War, xvii–xviii, 221–22, 224, 225, 253, 258–59, 262–70, 283–84, 286, 290, 297, 397n15; population of, xxi, 51, 52, 146, 147, 150, 176, 194–96, 198, 276, 281–82, 298, 303, 383–84n4, 395n44; settlements of, 50–53, 57, 60; agriculture in, 51–52, 53; drought as threat to, 51, 52, 56, 298; ranching economy of, 51, 53, 56; women's weaving of, 51, 58, 91, 353n36; and Apaches, 53, 155, 172–74; and debt peonage, 53, 353–54n40; community in, 56–60, 303; political structure of, 56–57, 141, 354n46; vulnerability to raiders, 56, 141; and interethnic violence, 141, 154, 215; and Mexican identity, 142–43, 159–60, 192; presidio system of, 147–48, 154, 174, 175, 176, 178, 183, 224, 244, 374–75n12, 388n36; and cooperative defense, 154–58, 198–201, 203–5, 222, 298, 302, 308, 385n12; leadership of, 155, 158, 159, 164; vengeance as motivation of, 156, 157, 189; and federalist uprisings, 165, 166, 168–70, 172–78, 179, 180–82, 188, 192, 378n10, 379n23, 383n57; and national government's role, 165; and taxation, 168, 169, 172, 178, 183, 197–98, 264; and weapons, 176–77, 178, 184, 279–80, 379n23; and Arista's campaign against Comanches, 188–90; and trade, 195, 197; Mexican unity lacking in, 201–5, 207, 208; American perception of, 235–38, 239, 240, 246–47, 290–94; and bounty hunters, 298. *See also* Indian raids in northern Mexico
- Oglala Sioux, 87, 90
- Opatas, 155, 156, 159, 173
- Oregon, 103, 219, 288
- Osages: and Indian removal, 4; and Comanches, 41–42, 48, 64, 66, 68, 70, 84, 126, 356n10; and Kiowas, 42–43, 105, 131; and Dodge expedition, 65, 357n14; and smallpox, 79; and trade, 90, 91, 106, 108, 272; and Chouteau, 102
- Pahayuco (Hois leader), 98, 99, 108, 134, 208, 216, 260, 362n24
- Papagos, 173, 381n35
- Paredes y Arrillaga, Mariano, 223–24, 258, 262, 391n64
- Paruakevitsi (Comanche leader), 17, 20, 35–38, 46, 55, 122, 349n7
- Pawnees, 4, 105, 108

- Pérez, Albino, 165–70, 187, 192
 Pia Kusa (Hois leader): and raids, 77, 98, 133–34, 271, 272; and peace treaties, 208–9, 216, 388n33, 389n47; and U.S.–Mexican War, 260–61, 262, 264, 270, 397n12; and cholera epidemic, 305; as Santa Anna, 362nn21, 22
- Pike, Albert, 242, 243, 245
- Plummer, Rachael, 48, 352n30, 370n28
- Poinsett, Joel, 6, 22, 27–28, 158
- Polk, James K.: and Jackson, 218–19; portrait of, 219; and U.S.–Mexico relations, 223, 247–49, 290; and U.S.–Mexican War, 253, 284, 286, 288, 290, 292, 293–94, 402n26; and Comanches, 260; and article 11, 300
- Potsanaquahip (Hois leader): and raids, 77, 98, 131, 133, 244, 271, 272; writers on, 98–99; and peace treaties, 208–9, 216; and Pierce M. Butler, 259–60, 351n23; and Anglo-American settlers, 305–6; and Indian reservations, 308; and Kiowas, 349n10; age of, 362n22
- Preston, William, 232–33
- Pueblo Indians: and New Spain, 10, 12; and Comanches, 11, 50; rebellion of, 11, 279; and trade, 100; as allies of New Mexico, 167, 199, 242, 288; and Navajos, 170; and Mexican identity, 172
- Race: and Mexican citizenship rights, 23–24; and discourse of war, 205–6, 387n26; U.S. racism, 205, 206–7, 245–46, 387nn26, 29; and American perceptions of Mexicans, 244–47, 299, 303
- Red Stick Creeks, 4, 8
- Reid, John, 267–70, 294, 398n25, 401n18
- Rivaya Martínez, Joaquín, 367n8, 368n18
- Robinson, H. R., *Major General Zachary Taylor*, 263
- Ronquillo, José, 62, 63, 355n2
- Rubí, Marqués de, 12, 30
- Ruiz, José Francisco: as intermediary with Indians, 17, 20, 36, 58, 74; and Berlandier, 21; on Comanches, 48–49, 54, 58, 100, 121, 124, 126, 349n11, 361n11, 371n45; and Texas independence, 73; and Chariticas, 349n10
- Ruxton, George, xvi–xvii, 274–78, 281, 343n9
- Saenz, Bernardino, 69, 356n13
- Sánchez, José María, 21, 27, 48, 147
- Sánchez–Navarro family, 52–53, 195, 197, 202, 258, 398n25
- Sánchez y Tapia, Lino: *Comanche Family*, 21, 21; *Comanches in War Dress*, 22; *Koasatis*, 44; *Lipanes*, 55; *Carrizos*, 180; *Presidial Soldier*, 211
- Santa Anna, Antonio López de: and Bustamante, 71; and Gómez Farías, 72, 154; and Texas independence, 72–73, 104, 162, 183; and New Mexico, 164; and Pérez, 165; and Canales, 178; and France, 191; portrait of, 191; obsession with Texas, 192–93, 211; and peace treaties, 208–10, 388n34; exile of, 211; and Constitution of 1843, 223; Gilliam on, 244–45; and boundary of Texas, 248; and U.S.–Mexican War, 257–58, 275, 284–87, 402n21; and article 11, 303; and trade, 364n34; and captives, 365n49
- Santa Fe expedition, 210, 212, 255, 396n3
- Santa Fe Trail, 59, 101, 236, 271–72
- Sarony, Napoleon, *James K. Polk, Freedom's Champion*, 219
- Saviah (Hois leader), 77, 260
- Scott, Winfield, 286–87, 288, 402n26
- Seminoles, 2, 3, 272, 298
- Seminole War (1817), 2, 239
- Seven Years' War, xiv, 12
- Shaw, Jim, 108, 259, 364n37, 365n40
- Shawnees: relocation of, 4; and Indian wars, 7; and Comanches, 43, 76, 240, 394n29; and Almonte, 70; and weapons,

- 105, 106, 364n37; and trade, 107, 108, 272; as bounty hunters, 160
- Sherman, William Tecumseh, 308–9
- Shoshones, 11, 48, 124, 352n30, 370n28
- Slavery, 2, 27, 234, 246, 292, 300–301, 392–93n18
- Slidell, John, 223, 247–48
- Smallpox, 13, 15–16, 36, 38, 79, 80, 309
- Smith, D. W., 241–42
- Smith, Ralph Adam, 313, 342n3, 396n2, 402n26
- Southern Cheyennes, 41, 78, 102
- Southern Lipanes, 54, 270–71, 399n32
- Spain: and Texas, 1, 2, 10, 15, 233; and Florida, 2–3; and Mexico, 6, 16, 152; native allies of, 8; and Aztecs, 9; and Jefferson, 28. *See also* New Spain
- Spaniards, of Mexico, 23, 25, 71
- Stanley, John Mix, 99, 259
- Tabequena (Tenewa leader), 102, 370n28
- Tawakonis, 36, 37, 48. *See also* Wichitas
- Taylor, Zachary: and captives, 91; and U.S. invasion of Mexico, 248–49, 254–55, 257–60, 280, 285, 286; and northern Mexicans, 262–64; portrait of, 263; and Comanche raiding, 264, 266, 267; and Mexican guerrillas, 284; as president, 300–301
- Tejanos: population of, 27; campaigns against Indians, 35–38; and Texas independence, 73, 74–75; and trade, 92, 110; and aid to Comanches, 112, 355n1; American perceptions of, 228–29
- Tenewas ([those who stay] Downstream): as Comanche division, 45, 47, 48; and Paruakevitsi, 46; and Republic of Texas, 75–76; and Lipán Apaches, 79; and trade, 90, 102, 103, 108; leadership of, 99; and Chouteau, 102; vengeance as motivation of, 133
- Texas, Mexican state of: and Butler, 1–2, 3, 5, 28, 345n14; Jackson's interest in, 1–6, 10, 23, 27–29, 227, 231, 289; Spanish presence in, 1, 2, 10, 15; and Louisiana Purchase, 2, 14, 219, 233; Comanche peace treaties in, 13–14, 19, 20, 141; Mexico's commission on boundary of, 20–21; Indian campaigns of mid-eighteenth century, 35, 36; and Almonte's negotiations with Indians, 70; independence from Mexico, 72–74, 84, 102, 163, 178, 227, 231, 245, 248, 391n3; Indian policy in, 74; and presidio system, 147
- Texas, Republic of: boundary of, 73–74; and Comanche raiding, 74, 98, 212, 214, 217, 218, 244, 395n36; and Indian confrontations, 75–76; and Comanches, 76–77, 79, 108, 126, 189, 244; and trade, 100, 101, 102, 104, 108, 189; population of, 103; Jackson's recognition of, 163; bandits of, 174, 175, 179, 182; and federalist uprisings in Mexico, 179, 181, 182; racism of, 205, 206–7, 387n26; and New Mexico, 210, 212; U.S. annexation movement, 214, 217–20, 223, 227, 229, 232–36, 392–93n18; and peace treaties, 216
- Texas, U.S. state of: boundary of, 247–49, 253, 262, 289, 290, 300–301, 395–96n44; and U.S.–Mexican War, 253, 289
- Texas Creation Myth, 228–35, 240–41, 246, 290–91, 293, 392n8
- Texas Rangers, 76, 261, 284, 306
- Thompson, Waddy, 238, 240, 247, 393n26
- Tonkawas, 76–77, 234
- Torrey, John, 103
- Torrey, Thomas, 259
- Torrey and Brothers, 103, 104, 105
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: article 11, xiii, xiv, 294–303, 405n13, 406n14; ratification of, xiii, 289, 296; and Comanches, 304–5
- Treaty of Velasco, 73
- Trías, Angel, 278, 391n64

- Trist, Nicholas, 287, 288, 295, 404n42
- Tyler, John, 214, 218, 220, 236
- Urrea, José, 173–74, 175, 177, 284, 381n35
- U.S. Army: and horses, 103; and Comanches, 127, 308–9, 400n1; and Texas boundary, 248; and U.S.–Mexican War, 254, 278–80; role as savior of northern Mexico, 263–69, 283, 398n25, 401n18; and cross-border raids, 301–2, 309
- U.S. Civil War, xx, 307–8
- U.S. government: and Comanches, 64, 66–67, 70, 259–60, 282, 306, 357n14; and annuities to eastern Indians, 105, 106; and New Spain, 233; and Indian reservations, 308
- U.S. Indian Removal policy, 4, 8–9, 43, 246
- U.S.–Mexican War: and Indian raids, xiv, 342n3; and interethnic violence, xv; and northern Mexico, xvii–xviii, 221–22, 224, 225, 253, 258–59, 262–70, 283–84, 286, 290, 297, 397n15; results of, xx–xxi; and American invasion of 1846, 143, 221, 249, 254–55, 257–58; and Comanche raiding, 253, 254, 270–73, 279–83; strategy of, 253–54, 286, 402nn25, 26; northern theater of, 256; and Comanche peace treaties, 259–62; and American atrocities, 280–81, 401nn13, 14; and Mexican guerrilla units, 280, 283, 284, 287, 401n14, 402n20; and Mexican cession, 288–96; critics of, 293; effects of, 300–301; Justin Smith on, 396n2, 402n26. *See also* Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
- U.S.–Mexico relations: and U.S. offer to purchase Texas, 1–6, 22–23, 27, 28–30; and location of border, 3, 5; and Mexican independence, 18; and Indian raids, 64; and northern Mexicans' appeals for government aid, 150–51; and Texas independence, 163; and Comanche raiding, 212, 217–18, 364n33; and U.S. plans to annex Texas, 214, 217, 218, 219–20; and Polk, 223, 247–49, 290; and unpaid American claims against Mexico, 223, 247, 289
- U.S. racism, 205, 206–7, 245–46, 387nn26, 29
- Utah, U.S. territory of, 301
- Utes, 49, 214, 265, 278, 389n45
- Van Buren, Martin, 1, 5–9, 22, 26–28, 217, 218, 220, 231
- Victoria, Guadalupe, 19, 25, 28, 153
- Vizcaya Canales, Isidro, 313, 342n3
- Walker, Robert, 231, 246
- War of 1812, xiv, 2, 7–8
- War of a Thousand Deserts: context of, xv–xvi; foreigners' descriptions of deserts, xvi–xvii; and population, xvi, xxi, 135–38, 146, 176, 194–96, 198, 237, 298, 383–84n4; and U.S.–Mexican War, xvii–xviii, 221–22, 224, 225, 249, 253–54, 258–59, 264, 265, 266–70, 274, 279–88, 290–95, 297; and U.S.–Mexico relations, xvii–xviii, xxi, 212, 217–18, 220, 224, 364n33, 365n49; motivations of, xix–xx, 88, 100, 114–15, 134, 137, 138, 303–4; and captives' labor, 92–93, 94; and social advancement, 97; leaders' shaping of, 99; northern Mexicans' contributions to, 110–13, 365–66n50; and Saltillo attack, 114–15, 117, 118, 135, 183–84, 188, 213, 366n4; vengeance as motivation for, 123–26, 129, 131–35, 137, 138, 145; and Bolsón de Mapimí, 127–28; fall and winter campaigns of, 128; and Comanche casualties, 129, 131–35, 179, 187, 217, 305, 306, 339, 340, 371nn42, 44, 380n29; and property damage, 135–38, 194–97, 386n20; and retaliation methods, 135–38; and Mexican casualties, 136–38, 194, 217, 298, 302, 315–16, 339, 340, 372–

- 73n52, 373n53, 394n26; consequences of, 141, 166, 194–97, 225, 304, 309–10; and Mexican nationalism, 143; Mexican government's reaction to, 145–51, 152, 154, 158, 160, 161, 162–63, 164, 166, 178–79, 182, 183–85, 189, 192–93, 213, 222–24, 227, 232, 241–42, 264, 265, 278, 285, 297; and presidio system, 147–48, 152, 154; and cooperative defense of northern Mexico, 154–58, 198–201, 203–5, 222, 298, 302, 308, 385n12; and federalist uprisings, 172–78, 179, 180; and Arista's campaign against Comanches, 184–90, 192, 382nn48, 49; and Mexican unity, 188, 193, 201–5; and Mexican injuries, 194, 383n1; and economy, 196–98, 384n7; and laborers, 196–97, 237, 316; and profiteering, 202–3; discourse of, 205–12, 213; American perceptions of, 227, 228–32, 235–38, 241–47, 290–93; accounts of, 274–79, 400n7; continuation of, after U.S.–Mexican War, 298–99, 301–5, 406n17; and cholera epidemic, 305; table of campaigns, 318–38; as a total war, 372n48
- Warren, Abel, 104–5
- Washington, George, 7, 8
- Webb, Josiah, 343n9, 361n14
- Webster, Daniel, 302
- Webster, Dolly: on Comanche plunder, 90; on Comanche trade, 91, 363n28; on assimilated captives, 94–95; on Comanche vengeance, 131; on Comanche casualties, 179, 380n29; on Lockhart, 358n29; on Comanche gatherings, 369–70n28; on treatment of captives, 372n51
- Western Apaches, 144, 304, 374n6
- Western Sioux, 105, 108–9
- Wharton, William, 228, 391n5
- Wichitas: and Indian removal, 4; Comanches as allies of, 11, 36, 48, 350n18; peace agreements of, 14; raids of, 15, 19, 35, 36, 48, 64; and smallpox, 36; and Lafuente, 37; and Dodge expedition, 65–66, 357n14; and trade, 100, 101–2, 107, 108; and weapons, 105; and multidivisional gatherings, 124, 370n28; and Stephen F. Austin, 234. *See also* Tawakonis
- Wilkinson, James, 14, 239
- Wilmot, David, 300
- Wislizenus, Frederick, 268, 398n25
- Wool, John, 261, 264–65, 268
- Yamparikas (Yampa–Root Eaters), 45, 47–48, 79, 86–88, 90, 99, 108–9, 133
- Yaquis, 159, 173, 307, 381n35
- Yellow Wolf (Cheyenne leader), 41, 78
- Zapata, Antonio, 165, 166, 181–82, 192, 208, 380nn32, 33
- Zarcillos Largos (Navajo leader), 266
- Zavala, Lorenzo de, 24–25, 26
- Zépkoeéte (Kiowa leader), 129, 131, 133, 137
- Zúñiga, Ignacio, 148, 149–51, 154, 172, 224