




2015

## Gettysburg Historical Journal 2015

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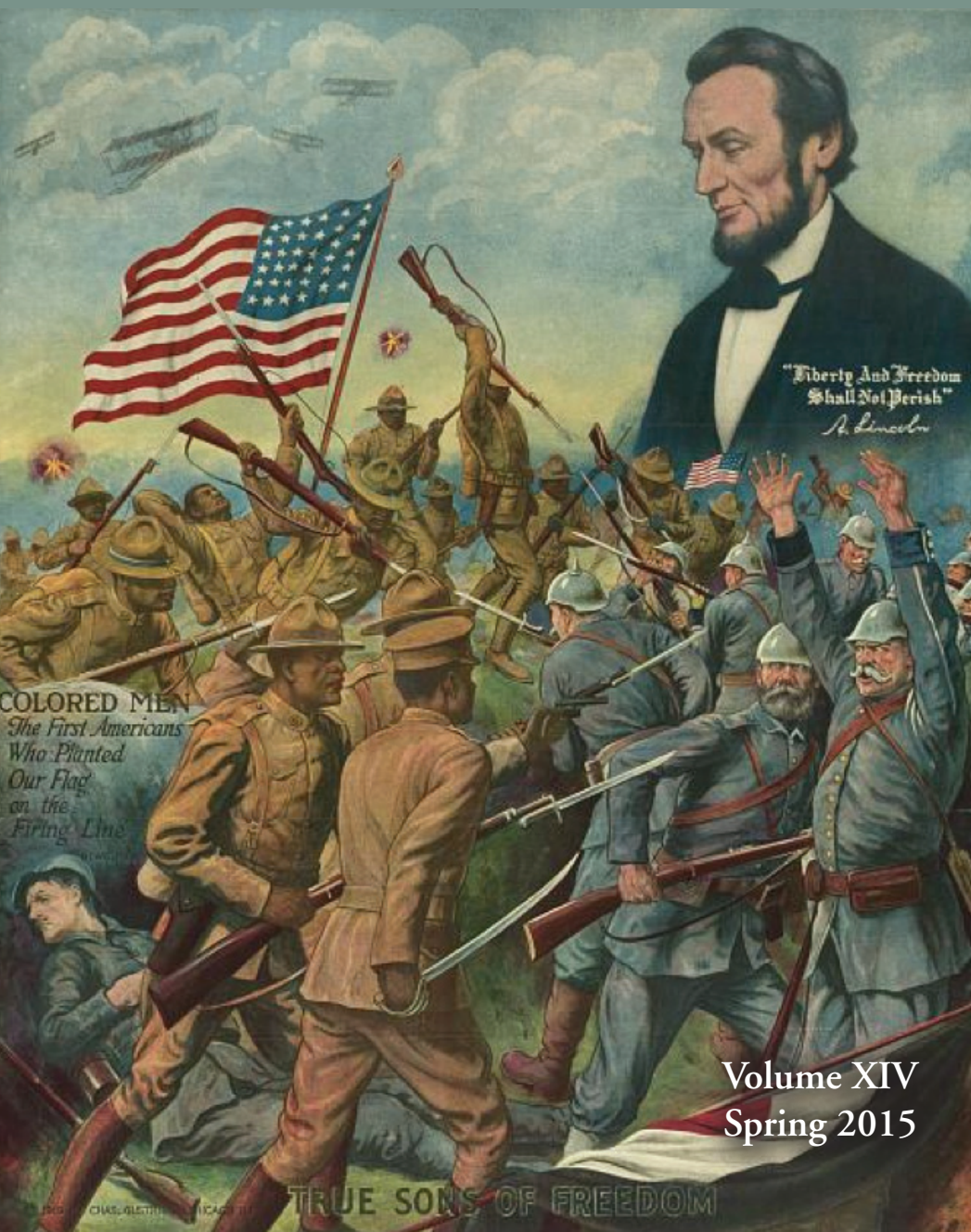
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# Gettysburg Historical Journal 2015

## **Keywords**

Anglo-Saxon Britain, Early Medieval Britain, Roman Britain, Anglo-Saxon Invasions, Gildas, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Veterans, World War I, WWI, Great War, Black History, Colonial, New Mexico, Women's Rights, Bicycle, Transportation

# *The* GETTYSBURG HISTORICAL JOURNAL



COLORED MEN  
The First Americans  
Who Planted  
Our Flag  
on the  
Firing Line

Volume XIV  
Spring 2015

TRUE SONS OF FREEDOM

**The Gettysburg Historical Journal**  
**Volume XIV**  
**Spring 2015**

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**The Gettysburg Historical Journal**  
**Volume XIV**  
**Spring 2015**

**Foreword**

The *Gettysburg College Historical Journal* embodies the History Department's dedication to diverse learning and excellence in academics. Each year, the Journal publishes the top student work in a range of topics across the spectrum of academic disciplines with different methodological approaches to the study of history. In the words of Marc Bloch, author of *The Historian's Craft*, "history is neither watchmaking nor cabinet construction. It is an endeavor toward better understanding." In the spirit of this maxim, our authors strive to elucidate the many facets of human societies and cultures. Whether these young scholars' research is focused on politics, religion, economics, environmental history, or women gender and sexuality studies, the editorial staff is consistently proud of the diverse subject matter we select for publication.

With the assistance of the *Cupola*, Gettysburg College's online research repository, and the distinguished College faculty, our authors' work has received both serious scholarly attention and national accolades. Past authors have also gone on to publish follow-up work in refereed journals, or to present their work at undergraduate and professional academic conferences. *The Historical Journal* is primarily a student-run organization, and as such, it provides undergraduate students with a unique opportunity to gain valuable experience reviewing, editing, and organizing academic articles for publication. In all cases, authors and editors have also had the opportunity to apply these skills to their future careers, or to their work as Graduate students.

This fourteenth edition of *The Historical Journal* continues the tradition of scholarly rigor of past volumes, while broadening both the diversity of historical perspectives and the methodologies employed by each author. Each of the following works selected for this edition exemplify the varied interests of the History students at Gettysburg College. In his article, "On



the Ruin and Conquest of Britain,” Brian Caswell analyzes the medieval historiography of a seminal event in the history of the British Isles: the departure of Roman cultural influence in the face of Anglo-Saxon immigration. A comparison of the textual record with the physical record uncovered by modern archaeological study reveals several discrepancies, and this article seeks to explain their origins. In “The Bicycle Boom and Women’s Rights,” Jenna Fleming examines the connection between the rise in the bicycle’s popularity among women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States. She argues that women’s use of the bicycle became the nexus for political and cultural conflict over the expansion of women’s rights during this period. The article also considers the opportunities the bicycle presented to women, popular criticism and support of its use, and the reactionary opposition to women’s dress reform.

In her article “Water, Bison, and Horses: Natural Resources and their Impacts on Native Raids and Relations in Late Spanish Colonial New Mexico,” Dori Gorczyca analyzes the effects of environmental factors, such as the availability of natural resources, on the history of New Mexico during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The article argues that the desire for and conflict over natural resources directly impacted the frequency of nomadic raids on Spanish and Pueblo settlements, ultimately playing a crucial role in creating the settlement patterns and social interactions of the area. Finally, in her examination of the agency of militant civil rights activism of black First World War veterans, S. Marianne Johnson adds complexity to the narrative of the race riots during the ‘Red Summer’ of 1919 in her article, “Learning the Fighting Game: Black Americans and the First World War.” Collectively, these articles not only show the hard work and careful research of our student authors, but they also exemplify the diverse interests of our undergraduate students and the many research opportunities available to them at Gettysburg College.

The General Editors,

R. Shaw Bridges

Melanie L. Fernandes

## **Acknowledgements**

The staff of the *The Gettysburg Historical Journal* would like to thank all the professors of the History Department for encouraging our history majors to produce excellent work. We would also like to thank Professor Timothy Shannon, Department Chair, for providing guidance to the journal staff as our faculty advisor. We would like to thank Lauren Roedner for her vital help in publishing the journal. The editors would also like to thank the omega chapter of phi alpha theta for producing excellent works of scholarship and their continued support of this journal's publication.



## Editor Biographies

**R. Shaw Bridges '15** is graduating with a double major in History and Philosophy and a minor in Economics. This is Shaw's second year as a member of the *Journal* editorial board, and his first year as Co-Editor-in-Chief. This past year, he served as President of Phi Alpha Theta, Vice President of Omicron Delta Kappa, Treasurer of the Inter-Fraternity Council, and House Manager of the Sigma Chi Fraternity. Shaw published his article "This Fire of Contention," in the 2014 edition of the *Journal*, and has since written the foreword to an inter-disciplinary book on the same topic by Dr. Franklin Mixon Jr., titled *Public Choice Economics and the Salem Witchcraft Hysteria*. He and Dr. Mixon are now in the process of co-authoring "The Economics of Conversion and Salvation," analyzing the politics surrounding the adoption of the Halfway Covenant in early New England parishes, to appear in the *Forum for Social Economics*. This summer, Shaw is excited to assistant teach a college-preparatory course on Literature and Composition at Northfield Mount Hermon, a private boarding school in Massachusetts.

**Melanie Fernandes '16** is a rising senior with a History Major, and Theatre Arts and Education Studies minors. This is Melanie's second year working as an editor for the *Historical Journal* and her first year as a Co-Editor-in-Chief. She looks forward to being the Editor-in-Chief again next year. This spring Melanie was a Fortenbaugh Intern in Special Collections. She is also a member of the Phi Alpha Theta history honor society and volunteers at the Gettysburg Community Theater. Melanie will be spending her second summer doing interpretive work at the Boston African American National Historic Site as a Pohanka Intern. Next spring Melanie will serve as a Peer Learning Associate for the Education Department.

**Kevin Lavery '16** is a junior History major with minors in Peace and Justice Studies and Education. He is a Fellow at the Civil War Institute and is a regular contributor to the *Gettysburg Compiler* blog. He has also twice served as the Peer Learning Associate for the First-Year Seminar "The Pity of War." In addition to his work with the *Gettysburg Historical Journal*, he is also co-chief editor for the *Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era*.

**Ryan Nadeau '16** is a junior with a double major in History and Political Science. Aside from the editorial board, Ryan also serves as the President of Gettysburg College's chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta National History Honors Society and as Secretary and Compliance Officer for TEDxGettysburgCollege. Additionally, he holds membership in the Pi Sigma Alpha National Honors Society in Political Science and researches as a fellow at Gettysburg College's Civil War Institute.

**Bobby Novak '15** is a senior, History Major and Civil War Era Studies Minor from Marietta, Georgia. This is Bobby's first year with the *Historical Journal* as well as Gettysburg College's *Journal of the Civil War Era*. Last semester, Bobby completed an independent research study, "A Profile of Deserters: Adams County Run-Away's during the Gettysburg Campaign" as well as thesis research under Dr. Peter Carmichael in "'ALL inferiors are required to obey strictly...' Disciplinary Issues in the Army of the Potomac under Grant during the Overland Campaign."

Bobby will be attending West Virginia University in the fall to pursue a Master's Degree and PhD. in History.

**Kyle Schrader '16** is a rising senior with a major in History and a minor in Classics. This is Kyle's first year as a member of the Journal editorial board. He is also currently the House Leader for Peace and Justice House, the Sergeant for the Student Patrol Program, a History Writing PLA, President of Amnesty International Gettysburg College Chapter, and a member of the Phi Alpha Theta and Eta Sigma Phi honors societies. This summer, Kyle is excited to be a Pohanka Intern working at the Lutheran Seminary Museum, as well as an intern for the construction firm PJ Dick Incorporated. He looks forward to another successful year at Gettysburg College, as well as further work with the *Gettysburg Historical Journal* and its editorial staff.

**Sophia Vayansky '16** is a junior at Gettysburg College pursuing a History major with minors in Studio Art and Public History. Sophia is a member of the Bullets Marching Band, the Gettysburg College Symphony Band, and the Gettysburg Dance Ensemble. She is also a member of Phi Alpha Theta, a national honors fraternity for history students, and she works at Collaborating for Youth, an organization that works to encourage leadership and healthy habits in the youth of Adams County. This is her second year working with the Gettysburg Historical Journal.

**Julian Weiss '15** is a History major and Middle East Studies minor at Gettysburg College. Julian is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, the opinions editor for the campus newspaper, *The Gettysburgian*, and Vice President of the Ultimate Frisbee Team. He is particularly interested by the impact of America's foreign policy in the late 20th century. Julian was published in the International Affairs Forum for his paper "From Front to Back: Changes in American Policy on Striking Libya between Reagan and Obama" (2014). His undergraduate thesis examines how violence fractured the nationalist movement during the Revolution of Angola. After graduating in 2015, he will pursue a career in foreign policy and advocacy.

## Author Biographies

**Bryan Caswell '15** is a senior at Gettysburg College majoring in History and minoring in Civil War Era Studies and Classics. He is a Civil War Institute Fellow, President of the Gettysburg College Civil War Club, and one of two chief editors for the Gettysburg College Journal of the Civil War Era. Bryan has served as a Peer Learning Associate for the History and Civil War Era Studies Departments as well as working in Gettysburg College's Special Collections and College Archives. Bryan has been accepted to Oxford University, where he intends to pursue a graduate degree in British Imperial history.

**Jenna Fleming '16** is a junior at Gettysburg College with a double major in History and English. She is vice president of Phi Alpha Theta, the history honors society, and a member of Sigma Tau Delta, the English honors society, and Sigma Alpha Iota, the international women's music fraternity. She works as a student assistant in the Special Collections department at Musselman has Library and served as the Diane Werley Smith '73 summer intern. Her work has been published in *The Mercury* and she is a recipient of the Edwin T. Greninger '41 Award for writing in History. This summer Jenna will be working at the Gettysburg Seminary Ridge Museum as part of the Civil War Institute's Brian C. Pohanka Internship Program.

**Dori Gorczyca '15** is a senior with a double major in Environmental Studies and History. Dori is the vice president of the Civil War Club, the treasurer for the Interfaith Council, and a member of both the Phi Alpha Theta History Honors Society and Phi Beta Kappa. She also works as a Peer Learning Associate for the History department and as a conservation assistant in Special Collections. This semester, Dori presented her thesis "Water, Bison, and Horses" as part of the MCEAS Undergraduate Research Workshop at the University of Pennsylvania. Dori is excited to be working as an Interpretive Park Ranger at Glacier National Park in Montana after her graduation.

**S. Marianne Johnson '15** is graduating from Gettysburg College with a History Major and Civil War Era Studies Minor. She is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Alpha Theta. She has written numerous blog posts for the Civil War Institute blog, *The Gettysburg Compiler*, and is also the author of "Growing up in the Trenches: Fritz Draper Hurd and the Great War," published in the *Adams County Historical Journal*. She has been a fellow at the Civil War Institute for three years and has been the Peer Learning Associate for various Civil War and History Department classes. She also served in leadership for the Gettysburg College chapter of Disciple Makers Christian Fellowship.



## **The Bicycle Boom and Women's Rights**

By: Jenna Fleming

For approximately two decades during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, citizens of the United States remained captivated by a revolutionary and wildly popular innovation: the bicycle. Cycling offered opportunities for transportation, exercise, and social interactions, connecting Americans by providing them with a shared experience. The bicycle was particularly influential upon women, and as a result of its rapid rise in popularity, a nationwide conversation about gender roles and relations was ignited. Female riders, also known as “wheelwomen,” took initiative to refute criticisms of bicycle use within both the public and private spheres.<sup>1</sup> The organization and collaboration these women employed, along with the sense of unity they achieved, became a factor in the advancement of the movement for women's rights during the twentieth century.

Though early incarnations of the bicycle were first made available in North America during the 1860s, these primitive models failed to gain widespread use. Following a variety of improvements that increased the bicycle's safety and availability, growing enthusiasm for the sport emerged in the late 1880s.<sup>2</sup> While the bicycle was used extensively by Americans from approximately 1885 to 1905, it was during the 1890s that the machine enjoyed the height of its popularity. The terms “bicycle boom” and “cycling craze” are therefore most often used to refer to this decade, though a definition of the trend cannot be restricted to any such sharply defined period of time.<sup>3</sup> It is also important to note that different regions of the United States experienced peaks in the popularity of bicycling at different times; large urban centers like Boston and Philadelphia saw early appearances of the trend, while more time was necessary for its diffusion to rural areas.

The new form of transportation presented by the bicycle was accessible and attractive to both men and women of middle- to upper-class backgrounds. The extent to which the invention permeated American society can be seen through the frequency with which it was addressed in publications and popular culture of the time. Stories about cyclists could be found in many

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<sup>1</sup> Ellen Gruber Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women,” *American Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1995): 67.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Harmond, “Progress and Flight: An Interpretation of the American Cycle Craze of the 1890s,” *Journal of Social History* 5, no. 2 (Winter 1971-1972): 236.

<sup>3</sup> David V. Herlihy, *Bicycle: The History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 282.



widely-read publications, such as *Godey's Magazine* and *The Saturday Evening Post*, and songs that referenced the subject, like "Daisy Bell," became well-known. Depictions of the machine appeared in illustrations and advertisements, and some of the first celebrity athletes gained fame as a result of the sport.<sup>4</sup>

Statistics regarding nationwide bicycle use during the years of the boom are not widely available, but smaller-scale observations can be used to make inferences about general trends. In 1895, officials in Minneapolis, Minnesota, kept records of traffic patterns, which provide some insight into the prevalence of the bicycle in urban centers. Conducting a survey of traffic at the busy central intersection of Nicollet Avenue and Fifth Street, city engineers noted that "the average bicycle count on Nicollet Avenue in 1895 might have been around 4,000 per day – close to half of all traffic."<sup>5</sup> Though exact figures are not available, estimates of sales by the largest bicycle manufacturers suggest that by 1896, about four million Americans were participating in the pastime.<sup>6</sup> Clearly, cycling was a leisure activity enjoyed by many citizens, and it held a unique status as a one in which both men and women could partake. This possibility brought many criticisms of as well as diverse opportunities for female cyclists.

With the rapid increase in the popularity of cycling for women came objections from several sources concerned with preserving traditional gender roles. Victorian social ideals were widely accepted at the genesis of the bicycle boom in the late nineteenth century. Within this system, the sexes were relegated to distinct social spheres, with men occupying the public world of business and women confined to the private life within the home. Female independence was discouraged as popular culture portrayed women as sensitive, vulnerable, and submissive to authority. Conversely, bicycling involved young women spending a substantial amount of time outside of their homes, unsupervised by family members or other acceptable chaperones. Access to the vehicle allowed them the freedom to travel where, when, and with whom they chose.<sup>7</sup> It was feared that this increased sense of liberation would provide young women with the opportunity to be led into dangerous situations or make irresponsible choices, compromising their morals and jeopardizing their reputations.

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<sup>4</sup> Herlihy, *Bicycle*, 255.

<sup>5</sup> Ross D. Petty, "Bicycling in Minneapolis in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century," *Minnesota History* 62, no. 3 (2010): 88.

<sup>6</sup> Harmond, "Progress and Flight," 240.

<sup>7</sup> Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle," 67.

The family was seen as the central unit of society during the Victorian era. Middle- and upper-class parents felt that it was important to find advantageous matches for their daughters in order to secure their stable and respectable futures. Because marriage and motherhood were the primary goals for young women, the distraction cycling posed from this prescribed path was often met with disapproval. As participation in the sport grew, a prevalent view arose that girls would become preoccupied with riding and the pursuit of adventure rather than focusing on the all-important work of finding a husband, building a home, and bearing and caring for children.<sup>8</sup>

Questions about the social propriety of bicycling and its impact upon traditional femininity were accompanied by medical concerns. Riding a bicycle requires a substantial physical effort, and towards the beginning of the boom this aspect of the hobby drew negative comments from medical professionals and untrained citizens alike. Many assumed that the female body was too delicate to endure intense labor, and it was believed that any use of the bicycle should be closely supervised to ensure that women did not exceed their own limits. Some doctors conceded that moderate usage could be beneficial to a patient in good health, “provided she does not over-exert herself while riding too long a time, or too fast, or up too steep hills,” as Dr. J. West Roosevelt wrote in an 1895 *Scribner’s Magazine* article.<sup>9</sup> Other physicians fully opposed their female patients’ use of the machine, warning that the shape of the seat could prove harmful to the female anatomy and even threaten women’s fertility.<sup>10</sup>

Medical warnings surrounding the bicycle were essentially an extension of social concerns about women. The necessity for close supervision of women’s cycling habits, frequently repeated by medical professionals of both sexes, came in response to the threat female freedom posed to conventional authority.<sup>11</sup> The prevailing social views of the time contributed to the expectation that women could not make decisions and judgments about their own health. Furthermore, the level of interest expressed in cycling’s impact on female reproductive abilities reflects perceptions of women’s roles. Because bicycling had the potential to prevent women from fulfilling their primary roles as wives and mothers, it was criticized as inappropriate and hazardous.

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<sup>8</sup> Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle,” 74.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Sarah Hallenbeck, “Riding Out of Bounds: Women Bicyclists’ Embodied Medical Authority,” *Rhetoric Review* 29, no. 4 (2010): 327.

<sup>10</sup> Hallenbeck, “Riding Out of Bounds,” 331.

<sup>11</sup> Hallenbeck, “Riding Out of Bounds,” 335.

In addition to protestations from the general public and medical community, female cyclists combated opposition from church leaders. Protestant pastors of the late nineteenth century expressed fears that increased mobility offered by the bicycle would present women with opportunities to stray from the moral pattern they were expected to follow. Increased access to alcohol, greater privacy within courtships, and decreased church attendance were possible consequences of women's partaking in bicycling as a leisure activity.<sup>12</sup> However, these concerns were not always restricted to female riders, and church leaders questioned the decency of men's participation in the sport as well. The machine posed a threat to traditional gender roles by distracting both men and women from their designated duties in the professional and private sectors. For the Protestant church, the amusement also offered all citizens a dangerous alternative to spending time at the church or in contemplation of the Bible.<sup>13</sup> Religion therefore represented another form of opposition that female advocates for the bicycle would have to overcome in order to justify their pastime.

No one was more qualified to speak out against these challenges than wheelwomen themselves, and the frequency with which they did so is a testament to their affinity for and dedication to the sport. The advertising-supported popular magazine was a journalistic medium that experienced a surge in popularity in the period contemporary to the bicycle boom.<sup>14</sup> These magazines had a wide circulation and were issued frequently, and because the content often addressed relevant social issues, they presented a perfect platform for debating perceptions of the bicycle. Periodicals such as *Godey's Magazine* and *Harper's Bazaar* published articles by established female journalists as well as testimonials from riders who felt compelled to share their stories with other women.<sup>15</sup> Bicycling was a popular topic for articles in newspapers of major cities and small towns alike, and women expressed their views through composing their own pieces or writing letters to the editor.

Women of a more prominent social standing naturally had a greater ability to communicate their views on cycling. Many of the most well-known female activists of the time took advantage of their distinction to voice support for use of the bicycle. Women including

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<sup>12</sup> Michael Taylor, "Rapid Transit to Salvation: American Protestants and the Bicycle in the Era of the Cycling Craze," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 9, no. 3 (2010): 349.

<sup>13</sup> Harmond, "Progress and Flight," 245.

<sup>14</sup> Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle," 82.

<sup>15</sup> Hallenbeck, "Riding Out of Bounds," 329.

Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Frances E. Willard published books and essays or delivered speeches on the subject. In addition to making use of these public forums, they addressed the topic in private writings such as letters. Through various forms of writing, women of differing social positions took responsibility for publicizing the merits of the bicycle and sharing their own experiences.

One of the primary goals of female bicycling advocates was to dispel misconceptions surrounding the exercise and its relationship to women's health. Myths about cycling were most often propagated by male doctors, and in many cases the women who wrote in opposition of the activity had never actually tried it for themselves.<sup>16</sup> Thus fears about loss of sexual purity and fertility through bicycle use and ideas about inherent female weaknesses were supported without any real evidence to the fact.

In response, wheelwomen with firsthand experience of cycling's beneficial aspects were eager to share their observations with others, taking to widely-circulated public magazines in order to do so. In 1896, a rider named Mary Bisland penned the article "A Woman's Cycle," published in *Munsey's Magazine*. Bisland vividly described the sensations experienced through physical activity, recalling that

At every turn of the rubber tires... fresh oxygen whips up the blood, and from crown to toe the sinews spring back and forth in obedience to new motions.... speed means accelerated circulation and a sense of mental buoyancy that purifies the brain.<sup>17</sup>

Many women followed this theme, depicting exercise as invigorating and maintaining that cycling actually increased their energy levels rather than sapping them, as doctors had so often warned. Mary Sargent Hopkins, a reporter for *Frank Leslie's Weekly* magazine, wrote in an 1899 article that thanks to the bicycle, "the languid and delicate woman, whose sensitive nerves were always on edge, has gone entirely out of fashion."<sup>18</sup> Using her own testimonial as well as endorsements from other women as evidence, Hopkins used her position as a journalist to challenge popular misconceptions. Engaging her readers and urging them to keep an open mind to the possibilities for better health presented by cycling, she asserted that "a change has

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<sup>16</sup> Hallenbeck, "Riding Out of Bounds," 327.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Hallenbeck, "Riding Out of Bounds," 335.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Hallenbeck, "Riding Out of Bounds," 337.

come to our women, and who shall say, as they gaze on their glowing faces and finely-developed figures, that it is not for the better?"<sup>19</sup>

Women whose audiences were of a smaller scale nevertheless took it upon themselves to advocate for cycling as well. The case of Jessie McQueen serves as an example of this grassroots movement, and her circumstances illustrate the scope of the bicycle's influence. McQueen was a young, unmarried teacher from eastern Canada who had moved to the western province of British Columbia in pursuit of a job at a newly established school.<sup>20</sup> Though she was under the supervision of school board members, McQueen's independence offered her numerous opportunities, and some of her activities, including cycling, incited concern from her parents. In an 1899 letter she addressed their fears, writing, "Don't be afraid about me & my wheel, mother. I'll never be a reckless rider – have only had it out once as yet, but I see dozens of them about town now – the streets are improved so much."<sup>21</sup> In citing the popularity and approval of the machine in the more liberal Canadian frontier, McQueen attempted to change her mother's view of the bicycle.

Following the pattern set by other female writers, she used her own experiences to combat unfounded medical concerns: "After dinner I thought I'd try my wheel for exercise to warm me up. By the time I had dragged it up two hills I was some warmer, but I didn't ride very long.... But it did me good – set my blood a-moving."<sup>22</sup> Simply by acknowledging her own limits in regards to exercise, Jessie McQueen disproved the claims of many physicians that women were unable or unfit to participate in this physical activity.

While female writers were outspoken on many aspects of bicycle culture, perhaps the most prominent of these was their fondness for the freedom of transportation riding offered. A certain level of caution was required in expressing these views due to the prevailing social environment, which supported traditional Christian values and prescribed gender roles. Still, women were enthusiastic in communicating the kind of liberation provided by the bicycle, which they were quick to qualify was still appropriate and beneficial. In her autobiographical work *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, Frances Willard insisted:

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<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Hallenbeck, "Riding Out of Bounds," 337.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Barman, Jessie McQueen, and Annie McQueen, *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004; EBSCOhost eBook Academic Subscription Collection): 35.

<sup>21</sup> Barman, *Sojourning Sisters*, 197.

<sup>22</sup> Barman, *Sojourning Sisters*, 197.

I always felt a strong attraction toward the bicycle, because it is the vehicle of so much harmless pleasure, and because the skill required in handling it obliges those who mount to keep clear heads and steady hands. Nor could I see a reason in the world why a woman should not ride the silent steed so swift and blithesome.<sup>23</sup>

Willard's status as president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union gave her authority to speak on this subject. An endorsement of bicycling from one so closely involved with the promotion of prohibition of alcohol, religious ideals, and public health initiatives would be respected by many. Additionally, Frances Willard was one of the first wheelwomen to draw connections between the pastime and the contemporary, burgeoning movement for increased women's rights. In her eyes, the two social developments could and should be adopted jointly: "She who succeeds in gaining the mastery of the bicycle will gain the mastery of life, and by exactly the same methods and characteristics."<sup>24</sup>

Other prominent women's rights activists of the time adopted a similar approach, and the bicycle itself, as well as the habits and practices of the women who rode it, came to represent liberal views of gender roles and relations. In an 1889 speech addressing the members of a women's social organization, noted political advocate and bicycle proponent Elizabeth Cady Stanton referenced the invention's positive and powerful impact on those who used it, saying, "Our women who ride on the bicycle have thrown the petticoat aside and appear in tights."<sup>25</sup> Citing this new equality of dress, she claimed that it would not be impossible for women to achieve an improved social situation comparable to that of men. She continued, "I believe that men and women are created equally.... It is necessary that the influence of both men and women should be felt in the government.... I do not mean that men and women are just alike, the fact that they are not alike makes it all the more important that each should be represented."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Frances E. Willard, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle: Reflections of an Influential 19<sup>th</sup> Century Woman*, ed. Carol O'Hare, introduction Edith Mayo (Sunnyvale, CA: Fair Oaks Publishing, 1991), 18 - 19.

<sup>24</sup> Frances E. Willard, *Let Something Good Be Said: Speeches and Writings of Frances E. Willard*, eds. Carolyn De Swarte Gifford and Amy R. Slaggell (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 208.

<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Volume 5: Their Place Inside the Body-Politic 1887 to 1895*, ed. Ann D. Gordon (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009; ProQuest ebrary): 206 - 207.

<sup>26</sup> Stanton, *The Selected Papers Volume 5*, 207.

Many female authors were keen to depict the bicycle as a moralizing agent. Wheelwomen justified their devotion to the hobby by communicating views of the machine as a method of learning discipline. In sharing their stories, bicycling advocates including Frances Willard were unafraid to acknowledge the difficulties they faced in learning the mechanics of riding. In *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, Willard described the process itself, which she undertook at the age of fifty-three. She recalled that upon starting out, she required the assistance of three young men simply to stay upright on her “wheel.”<sup>27</sup> However, with proper instruction and perseverance, “I finally concluded that all failure was from a wobbling will rather than a wobbling wheel.”<sup>28</sup> Female proponents of cycling made an effort to dispel previously held ideas about the bicycle through connecting its use to conventional values like determination and teamwork.

Partaking in the cycling craze afforded women a sense of community they would have been unable to find nearly anywhere else. Women of different ages were able to ride together and even had the opportunity to join cycling clubs, no doubt fostering friendships over a shared interest in the sport.<sup>29</sup> Willard spoke of connections she was able to make with other women as a result of her interest in bicycling, remembering “when I grew somewhat discouraged and said that I had made no progress for a day or two, my teacher told me that it was just so when she learned.”<sup>30</sup>

The largely cooperative effort through which greater approval of bicycling was achieved served as a basis for further movements towards women’s rights during the twentieth century. The first of these was the effort for dress reform, which was directly inspired by the bicycle boom. An 1895 article published in the *Illinois State Journal* describes “How the Unique Club Disciplined Two Members Who Appeared in Skirts.”<sup>31</sup> The association of female riders, based in Chicago, was made up of about fifty women dedicated to the pursuit of riding and insistent upon the need for a practical style of dress for female bicyclists. Following the refusal of two club members to follow this second stipulation, “The president and the captain held a consultation, and then, taking several strong armed members with them, fell on the skirt wearers

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<sup>27</sup> Willard, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, 28.

<sup>28</sup> Willard, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, 31 – 32.

<sup>29</sup> Taylor, “Rapid Transit to Salvation,” 352.

<sup>30</sup> Willard, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, 37.

<sup>31</sup> “Bloomers and Bloomer Etiquette,” *Illinois State Journal*, July 15, 1895, quoted in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908 – 1984) 34, no. 3 (Sep. 1941): 378.

and stripped them down to their bloomers.”<sup>32</sup> Certainly this type of reaction was not a typical occurrence during the cycling craze era, but the example serves to illustrate the fierceness with which some supporters of dress reform were willing to defend their beliefs.

With the advent of the bicycle’s popularity in the late 1880s came the first calls for a more appropriate method of outfitting female riders. Most women found it difficult or impossible to ride in their everyday clothing, which typically included restrictive corsets and cumbersome full skirts.<sup>33</sup> It was difficult enough for many women unexperienced in physical activity to learn how to ride a bicycle, and their obstructive clothing was just another complication of the already challenging process. Due in large part to the agency and independence that cycling afforded women, riders took it upon themselves to invent alternative costumes to wear while participating in their sport.<sup>34</sup> The proposed garments most often included a less constricting bodice paired with a shorter skirt and some version of trousers. This last component was the most radical, as American women had at no time in the past suggested the regular, intentional adoption of a garment reserved entirely for men.<sup>35</sup> Although the forms of pants worn by female cyclists were usually heavily modified from those worn by men, the move nevertheless incited an outcry from conservatives unable to conceive of the concept.

Despite the objections they faced, wheelwomen continued to take a practical approach to the issue. When confronted with accusations that their riding costumes would make them unfeminine or encourage sexual deviance, they responded by citing the necessity for dress reform to ensure their own safety. Willard addressed the issue sensibly, noting towards the end of *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*:

It is needless to say that a bicycling costume was a prerequisite. This consisted of a skirt and blouse of tweed, with belt, rolling collar, and loose cravat, the skirt three inches from the ground; a round straw hat, and walking shoes with gaiters. It was a simple, modest suit, to which no person of common sense could take exception.<sup>36</sup>

Willard’s practical view of her riding outfit, as well as the evident efficiency of the garment itself, would serve to assuage readers’ fears about dress reform. Though bloomers,

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<sup>32</sup> “Bloomers and Bloomer Etiquette,” 378.

<sup>33</sup> Gayle V. Fischer, “‘Pantalets’ and ‘Turkish Trowsers’: Designing Freedom in the Mid Nineteenth-Century United States,” *Feminist Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 111.

<sup>34</sup> Monro 617.

<sup>35</sup> Fischer, “‘Pantalets’ and ‘Turkish Trowsers,’” 114.

<sup>36</sup> Willard, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, 75.



pantaloon, and other variations on female trousers were supposedly masculinizing and inappropriate, testimonials like the one included in *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle* demonstrated their necessity.

It must be recognized that all female riders did not blindly support any and all efforts at dress reform. Some women took it upon themselves to police the movement even as they remained involved in it, discouraging their fellow activists from straying too far from social conventions in order to retain popular approval. An 1895 article published in the *Illinois State Journal* provided a list of “Don’ts for Women Riders,” which outlined rules for cycling etiquette and costuming practices.<sup>37</sup> Some of these pieces of advice were sensible and could be beneficial, such as “Don’t wear clothes that don’t fit,” and “Don’t overdo things. Let cycling be a recreation, not a labor.”<sup>38</sup> However, the majority focused on the need for moderation in unconventional behaviors related to cycling, warning “Don’t wear a man’s cap,” “Don’t go to church in your bicycle costume,” “Don’t discuss bloomers with every man you know,” and “Don’t use bicycle slang. Leave that to the boys.”<sup>39</sup> Clearly, not all women felt that an immediate change could be effected when it came to dress reform; the call for gradualism in shifting from conventions was not only present but also vocal.

While the connection between the cycling craze and the movement for dress reform seems natural, some scholars argue that the campaign for improvements to women’s clothing would have taken place regardless of the sport’s popularity. An article published in *The Ladies’ Home Journal* of the 1880s quotes Amelia Bloomer, perhaps the most well-known name connected to the effort for dress reform. She traces the origin of adult women adapting the traditional child’s garment of pantaloons for their own use to the year 1851, attributing responsibility for the idea to a friend.<sup>40</sup> Regardless of the association between the two movements, it cannot be denied that the rise of the bicycle during the final decade of the nineteenth century helped to further the subsequent popularity of the dress reform movement. Whether they rode bicycles or not, women like Elizabeth Smith Miller recognized the need for an improved outfit adapted to their changing needs. In 1892 she listed the benefits as well as the

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<sup>37</sup> “Don’ts For Women Riders,” *Illinois State Journal*, July 15, 1895, quoted in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908 – 1984)* 34, no. 3 (Sep. 1941): 378.

<sup>38</sup> “Don’ts For Women Riders,” 378 – 379.

<sup>39</sup> “Don’ts For Women Riders,” 378 – 379.

<sup>40</sup> D. H. Monro, “Godwin, Oakeshott, and Mrs. Bloomer,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35, no. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1974): 618.

disadvantages of her newly adopted garment of a mid-calf length skirt and full trousers reaching to the ankle:

its lightness and cleanliness on the street, the ease and safety with which it allowed me to carry my babies up and down stairs, and its beautiful harmony with sanitary laws.... The dress looked tolerably well in standing and walking but in sitting, it produced an awkward, uncouth effect.<sup>41</sup>

A great deal of experimentation would be needed before women found a new form of clothing appropriate for cycling, and in large part, it amounted to the rider's personal preference. However, the basis of agency provided by the activity itself encouraged women to find their own solutions to problems posed by clothing, and to defend those solutions against unjust challenges.

The attempt to gain approval for the bicycle proved to American women that anyone, no matter her social status or the size of her sphere of influence, could contribute to the success of women in general. Activists like Willard, Anthony, and Stanton enjoyed the most visibility and could communicate to an expansive audience through published works or lectures. Average women could become involved in furthering their own social agenda through writing pieces for local newspapers, communicating their views to other women, and initiating discussions within their families. Having seen the way in which a collective campaign could accomplish a shared goal, middle- and upper-class women would later mobilize their resources to lead other social crusades.

Anthony expressed related ideas in a letter to Harriet Taylor Upton dated October 22, 1891. Referencing the past success achieved when women of different situations worked together to challenge social inequality, she wrote that "our strength lies in all being united in one great society for political action – no matter what our personal likes & dislikes may be."<sup>42</sup> This new consciousness would be an important contributing factor in the eventually successful push for women's suffrage during the early twentieth century. Though it may seem an arbitrary component in the lengthy history of this campaign, the bicycle played an important part through providing women with a cause to support as they learned how to unify to advocate for much-needed reform.

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<sup>41</sup> Quoted in Monro, "Godwin, Oakeshott, and Mrs. Bloomer," 619.

<sup>42</sup> Stanton, *The Selected Papers Volume 5*, 403.

Regardless of differences in age, location, and social situation, female bicyclists of the late nineteenth century shared a common quality: a fondness for the sport that led them to speak out in support of it. Those who wrote about the experience of cycling almost always noted feelings of freedom, self-sufficiency, and enjoyment unmatched by any other leisure activity. In 1896 Mary Bishand described “the astonishing sense of exhilaration and gratitude that a woman experiences when she first becomes mistress of her wheel.”<sup>43</sup> That same year, a woman named Maria Ward published a pamphlet entitled *Bicycling for Ladies*, in which she attested, “Riding the wheel, our own powers are revealed to us.... You have conquered a new world, and exultingly you take possession of it.”<sup>44</sup> The near-universal sense of joy and accomplishment with which women regarded their bicycling experiences explains the need they felt to defend and promote the activity against a host of critics. They hoped to allow other women the opportunity to benefit from the activity, just as they did. The closing lines of Willard’s account of her involvement with cycling express a similar wish, as she recalled with pride, “I had made myself master of the most remarkable, ingenious, and inspiring motor ever yet devised upon this planet. Moral: Go thou and do likewise!”<sup>45</sup>

The influence of the bicycle upon the social environment of the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries should not be minimized. Through offering opportunities for transportation, organization, and communication, it provided women with prospects for more active roles in society, to which they eagerly responded. The community that arose around the defense of women’s ability and right to ride had a part in laying the foundation for later movements that called for recognition of more universal rights. The bicycle was therefore important in instilling a deep-seated sense of independence and progress in American women during the 1890s.

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<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Hallenbeck, “Riding Out of Bounds,” 335.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Garvey, “Reframing the Bicycle,” 72.

<sup>45</sup> Willard, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, 76.

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**Learning the Fighting Game:  
Black Americans and the First World War**

By: S. Marianne Johnson

Not unlike the larger legacy of the First World War, the legacy of the African American experience in the war is fraught with ambiguity and ambivalence. Added to the reductive and yet popular narrative of a futile war is an element of racial hopes dashed against the rocks of white supremacy. Wartime achievements of black soldiers and hopes for the end of Jim Crow washed away in a river of blood during the Red Summer of 1919 when lynching and race violence rose

to an unparalleled level.<sup>46</sup> The intensity of the violence, however, masks the unprecedented black militancy, assertion of civil rights, and the right to fight, both politically and physically against injustice during the war and in its immediate aftermath. Without denying the impact of the sufferings inflicted on the African American community during the Red Summer, this study seeks to explore ways in which African Americans sought agency and laid the foundation for later decades more readily associated with the Civil Rights Movement. Rather than entering the First World War with naïve illusions of equality and empty idealism, African Americans carefully and shrewdly used the war as an opportunity to broadcast America's racial hypocrisy internationally and, by doing so, begin raising conscious awareness of the Pan-African diaspora.

Early on in 1917, black activists such as W.E.B. Dubois recognized the war as opportunity for the black American. Through his magazine *The Crisis*, Dubois was able to convey his attitudes about race to black America. Started in 1910, *The Crisis* enjoyed a readership of ten thousand in its first year alone and became renowned for having the most militant black voice in America.<sup>47</sup> In May of 1917, *The Crisis* urged its readers to treat the war as an opportunity. Already, the magazine noted, the Russians had used the war to overthrow cruel czarism and British suffragettes had gained the vote through the war. Dubois, watching the international developments coming out of the war, encouraged black American men to enlist and win their rights on the field of battle.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> There are several standard texts for the African American experience in the First World War which put forth this argument to one degree or another. Richard Slotkin, *Lost Battalions: The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), 488; Nina Mjagkij, *Loyalty in Time of Trial: The African American Experience During World War I* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 143; Arthur Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 175-176. Chad Williams acknowledges the increased violence and disappointments suffered by African Americans in the years after the war, but also credits black militancy and the newfound ability to fight back against white supremacy as laying the foundation for later Civil Rights reform. Chad Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 253-255, 349.

<sup>47</sup> Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., *"Investigate Everything": Federal Efforts to Compel Black Loyalty during World War I* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2002), 118.

<sup>48</sup> *The Crisis*, May 1917, 8. Accessed via GoogleBooks.

For one seeking to understand the mind of the average black American during the beginning of the twentieth century, it becomes very difficult to understand how a man who had been subjugated by Jim Crow and treated as a citizen could then enlist in a Jim Crow segregated army claiming to be fighting for the safety of democracy. In addition to the Dubois interpretation of winning rights by fighting, one other prevalent argument in the historiography of the black experience of the First World War claims many blacks were apathetic about or outright opposed world war because they recognized the transparency of Wilson's "Safe for Democracy" motto.<sup>49</sup> These African Americans noted that the Germans had never done anything to them personally, and fighting for democracy in a Jim Crow army was simply too ironic to bear.<sup>50</sup> According to this argument, many who did support the war did so less out of a conscious political choice and more out of dedication to a loved one in the service or were drafted without understanding the causes for war.<sup>51</sup> Certainly, there were individuals opposed to the war, notably the young A. Philip Randolph. In addition, some uneducated sharecroppers may not have understood the global conflict and instead supported the war effort because of loved ones overseas. However, to leave the question of motivation at uneducated, blind support of family members does a serious injustice to the political thinking of African Americans at the turn of the century.<sup>52</sup>

Rather than misunderstanding the political scene or struggling to choose between loyalty to race or loyalty to nation, the black press provided interesting insight into ideas of what it meant to be an American. What quickly became apparent from numerous newspaper editorials and opinion sections was just how willing many black Americans were to serve. Drawing on a long history of service, from the Revolution to the turn of the century, from Crispus Attucks to the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts to Col. Charles Young, black America recalled its history of patriotism with pride. Indeed, as the black press gloried in their proud heritage, it could not help from jabbing at the uncomfortable heritage of the white South as former rebels to the Union.<sup>53</sup> "We

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<sup>49</sup> President Wilson rationalized the American entry into the war as a moral obligation to "make the world safe for democracy." The irony hit home to African Americans who had not experienced America as the supposed beacon of Democracy.

<sup>50</sup> Williams, *Torchbearers*, 24.

<sup>51</sup> Williams, *Torchbearers*, 60; Mjagkij, *Loyalty in Time of Trial*, 122.

<sup>52</sup> Margaret Black's Corner, "Doing Your Bit," *Baltimore Afro-American*, April 26, 1918; Black, "Women's Department," *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 3, 1917.

<sup>53</sup> The term "white South" is problematic because it reduces an entire population



have a record to defend,” Col. Young, writing in *The Crisis*, declared, “but no treason, thank God, to atone or explain.”<sup>54</sup> Others displayed similar sentiments, writing, “The Negro is far more loyal to his country and its ideals than the white Southern American. He has never been a disloyal rebel. He never fought for slavery in a land of liberty.”<sup>55</sup> It was argued the black soldier’s stellar service record and heritage of true patriotism in the face of enslavement and mistreatment made him more American than white Southerners and served as a potent threat to white supremacy.<sup>56</sup> Interpreting the drums of war as the death knell of the white supremacists of the former Confederacy, *The Crisis* also declared, “The slave-thinking South is beset by fear of losing these [African American] peons...”<sup>57</sup>

The powerful implications of this rhetoric were not missed by the white South. Many white Southerners did not want blacks to serve in the military. Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, speaking out against a universal draft, stated, “Universal military service means that millions of Negroes who will come under this measure will be armed. I know of no greater menace to the South than this.”<sup>58</sup> The Ku Klux Klan, reestablished in 1915, stepped up violence and lynching increased steadily throughout the war years.<sup>59</sup> When whites proved unable to block African American military service, southern white civic leaders took to reporting on so-called seditious black newspapers and accusing them of disseminating German anti-American propaganda. White informants reported to the FBI that black publications such as *The Crisis*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, and *The Chicago Defender* were outside agitators inciting race violence in the South and serving as agents of German sabotage to destroy the American home front.<sup>60</sup>

There was nothing unusual or uncharacteristic about the white South invoking images of an outside agitator. From abolitionists and newspaper reporters, to the later Freedom Riders and activists of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, the white South systematically refused to

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without acknowledging nuances, but for the purpose of this study, “white South” refers to the widespread white support of segregation and Jim Crow in the South.

<sup>54</sup> *The Crisis*, May 1917, 22.

<sup>55</sup> *The Crisis*, May 1917, 8.

<sup>56</sup> “Colored Citizens Show Patriotism,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, April 28, 1917.

<sup>57</sup> *The Crisis*, May 1917, 8.

<sup>58</sup> Senator James Vardaman, quoted in *The Crisis*, May 1917, 23.

<sup>59</sup> Mjagkij, *Loyalty in Time of Trial*, 143.

<sup>60</sup> Kornweibel, “Investigate Everything”, 119-122.

recognize discontent in southern blacks and refused to take responsibility for their own actions, scapegoating the ever-elusive “outside agitator.” What was unusual, however, was the black response. Boldly and candidly in June of 1917, *The Crisis* pointed out that without black mobilization, America would not have enough manpower to win the war. In an editorial directed toward the white South, the article closed with an ultimatum:

So there you are, gentlemen, and take your choice,-- We'll fight or work. We'll fight and work. If we fight we'll learn the fighting game and cease to be so “aisily lynched.” If we don't fight we'll learn the more lucrative trades and cease to be so easily robbed and exploited. Take your choice, gentlemen. “We [white southerners] should worry.”<sup>61</sup>

Boldness in response like this was something not seen since Radical Reconstruction. Recognizing and using the ability to harness economic power through work and physical power through military training in order to gain civil rights offered a new level of confidence that had not been seen before from black America. In the same article, *The Crisis* published a detailed list of demands to be gained in return for fighting that to the well-read historian of the black freedom struggle will seem somewhat reminiscent of the famous World War II Double V campaign.<sup>62</sup> The First World War version of Double V called for black officers, universal suffrage, an end to lynching, the abolition of segregated railcars, the repeal of segregation ordinances, and equal rights in all public institutions.<sup>63</sup> By July 1917, the black community experienced two blows that had the potential to derail the whole campaign. Race riots broke out in East St. Louis. Militiamen and police stood and watched while white rioters set fire to buildings, mowed down blacks trying to escape the flames, and beat or lynched any black man, woman, or child in sight. One black woman was drug from a street car by two white teenage girls and beat senseless with her own shoes. In Memphis, a sixteen year old black girl was found raped and beheaded with an ax.<sup>64</sup> With this devastating news in hand, *The Crisis* called on men to “ENLIST! With Memphis and East St. Louis fresh in our memoires, we know that the fight

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<sup>61</sup> *The Crisis*, June 1917, 62.

<sup>62</sup> The Double V, a term coined by the *Pittsburg Courier*, was a campaign during the Second World War aimed at victory of fascism abroad and white supremacy at home. For a more detailed understanding of Double V, see Beth Bates, “Double V for Victory Mobilizes Black Detroit, 1941-1946,” in *Freedom North: Civil Rights Struggles Outside the South, 1940 – 1980*, ed. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard (New York: Palgrave, 2003): 17-40.

<sup>63</sup> *The Crisis*, June 1917, 60.

<sup>64</sup> *The Crisis*, August 1917, 176-178, 185.

for humanity and democracy abroad is not more important than the fight for humanity and democracy at home.”<sup>65</sup> These demands and the willingness to fight for them demonstrate a new level of commitment to gain rights.

What caused this newfound confidence and willingness to be more vocal about injustices? This time, the world was watching. Often the practice of using media to broadcast American race hypocrisy internationally is seen as a Cold War tactic. Yet, a casual glance through the black press in 1917-1918 severely rebuffs that notion.<sup>66</sup> The German invasion of Belgium and the atrocities committed by invading German soldiers provided the Allies with effective propaganda to frame the war as a crusade against the barbarous Hun. Horror stories of raped women and bayoneted babies circulated among the Allies and justified the war in moral terms.<sup>67</sup> For America, however, the condemnation of German activity in Belgium served as double-edged sword when the all too easy parallel to Southern lynch mobs became standard. Photographs and descriptions of graphically lynched men and women accompanied by headlines such as “NOT BELGIUM-AMERICA” and the aforementioned riots described as “worse than anything the Germans did in Belgium” became part and parcel of black newspapers and magazines.<sup>68</sup> By exposing the shockingly brutal realities of lynching in the South and race riots in the North, black Americans hoped to gain the attention of the world and pressure Wilson into supporting his high idealism with practical reform.

Drawing international attention to America’s double standard worked. An editorial appeared in *The Crisis* signed “An Asiatic Gentleman” ridiculed Americans for allowing black women and girls to be dragged into the streets and beaten while their menfolk served overseas.<sup>69</sup> Before this international attention could firmly enact change, the frantic federal government

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<sup>65</sup> *The Crisis*, August 1917, 1.

<sup>66</sup> See Mary L. Dudziak, “Brown as a Cold War Case,” *Journal of American History* 91 (June 2004): 32-42. Dudziak argues that *Brown v. Board* was less the product of racial progressivism and more the product of a desire to stop the Soviet propaganda ridiculing the United States for being a country that supposedly supports freedom and equality while it keeps its own black citizens in second-class inferior status.

<sup>67</sup> Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 10-15, 67, 136, 145, 150, 246; See also Chapter Two in Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002).

<sup>68</sup> Some examples include *The Crisis*, August 1917, 177-178; *The Crisis*, April 1918, 270, 282; Kornweibel, “Investigate Everything”, 120.

<sup>69</sup> *The Crisis* August 1917, 163-164.

began actively investigating and silencing black newspapers deemed seditious. Under the Espionage Act, publications could be banned and post offices could refuse to distribute them. The Military Intelligence Bureau (MIB) sent black investigator Major Walter Loving to suppress the *Chicago Defender*, a publication that had criticized Wilson for his support of segregation and his passivity towards lynching. The MIB adopted a no tolerance policy for anyone disagreeing with or even constructively criticizing American institutions.

Direct threats were received by the *Defender* and the NAACP board to reign in their editors. White civic leaders in the south became so afraid of the power of these condemnations they actually called for the execution of leading black editors.<sup>70</sup> The federal government came down heavily on these criticisms beginning as early as mid-1917 and had effectively quieted *The Defender* by 1918, when more patriotic articles began to appear. *The Crisis*, however, largely due to the protection afforded by the whites in NAACP leadership positions and Major Loving's reluctance to suppress black newspapers, remained relatively insulated and continued to publish graphic lynching stories and point out the all too obvious contradictions in Wilson's ideology.<sup>71</sup>

Merely silencing black newspaper editors, however, was not enough. The damage had been done and Wilson and the white press were forced to cope with it. In 1918, Wilson gave a public statement strongly condemning lynching.<sup>72</sup> *The New York Times* called for an end to lynching, not because it was morally wrong, but because it was "Hunlike."<sup>73</sup> "The United States," the *Times* wrote, "can never properly appear as the exemplar of justice to the world as long as the negro, because he is a negro, is denied justice in certain sections of the country."<sup>74</sup> Admonishments and actions against lynching were enacted not because of human compassion for the rights of others, but because it was in the best interest of United States foreign policy to save face by condemning injustice within her own borders.

Abroad, it became clear that the world war was anything but a white man's war. Colonial soldiers from Africa and the West Indies, laborers from Asia, and entire fronts of battle in the Middle East and Eastern Europe meant that world war truly was a global experience. For the

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<sup>70</sup> David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 76-77; Kornweibel, "Investigate Everything," 122-124, 141-142, 149; Mjagkij, *Loyalty in Time of Trial*, 124.

<sup>71</sup> Kornweibel, *Investigate Everything*, 124, 133.

<sup>72</sup> Slotkin, *Lost Battalions*, 451.

<sup>73</sup> "Hughes Condemns Lynching of Negro," *New York Times*, May 6, 1919.

<sup>74</sup> "Hughes," *New York Times*.

first time, the African diaspora met on the fields of France. Watching the way the great powers of the world mustered and exploited minority labor, black Americans increasingly saw the war as a vital moment which would impact the future of the nonwhite races of the world.<sup>75</sup> More and more, black publications began to refer to the war as a race war. Interpreting the aggression of Imperial Germany and its desire to colonize in Africa as a serious threat to fate of nonwhites, publications such as *The Crisis* increasingly implored American blacks that German victory equaled black doom.<sup>76</sup>

Although the coming together of the diaspora in France was quite difficult due to language and cultural barriers, it was the first time that anything like this had happened. Black Americans saw that racism was a global issue, not just an American one, and colonial soldiers proved themselves to be surprisingly aware of the political and social situation in America and began to question their own colonial subjugation.<sup>77</sup> Black newspapers took a specific interest in African soldiers and frequently published photos of African units in full uniform and drill, demonstrating a shared race pride. *The Crisis* tallied up the number of blacks serving in Allied armies and arrived at a total number of over 50 million members of the African diaspora serving in fighting units, on ships, as laborers, etc.<sup>78</sup> On the Western Front, of all places, is where the first true steps towards pan-African unity were made. Although communication was difficult due the language barrier, men, especially officers, were able to communicate through rudimentary French, broken English, and interpreters. One humorous anecdote involved a conversation between a black major and a French colonel with a sign around his neck that read “English spoken here.”<sup>79</sup> The soldier, Arthur Little, would go on to describe other incidents with the men “swanking” with the French and “chattering in the most atrocious and wholly ununderstandable French.”<sup>80</sup> By the end of their time together, French officers had picked up on some American slang and the many of the Hellfighters, especially the officers, had learned enough French to engage in basic conversation.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Williams, *Torchbearers*, 146, 149; Slotkin, *Lost Battalions*, 515.

<sup>76</sup> *The Crisis*, November 1917, 20, May 1918, 13, 21, June 1918, 59-60, 72; July 1918, 111.

<sup>77</sup> Williams, *Torchbearers*, 176-180.

<sup>78</sup> *The Crisis*, May 1918, 21.

<sup>79</sup> Arthur Little, *From Harlem to the Rhine: The Story of New York's Colored Volunteers* (New York: Convici Friede Publishers, 1936), 146.

<sup>80</sup> Little, *From Harlem*, 145.

<sup>81</sup> Little, *From Harlem*, 218.

Interpreting German desire to colonize Africa for its resources and gold as a new kind of slavery, *The Crisis* succinctly and proudly proclaimed, “The children of the slaves are marching on to Germany, singing in a tone of doom the songs that prophesy freedom to those whom the Kaiser has enslaved.”<sup>82</sup> Included in the standard calls for an end to Jim Crow were now added demands that rights that colonial revenues go to the benefit and well-being of the colonies. Accompanied by one such call was a political cartoon titled “WAR: THE GRIM EMANCIPATOR.”<sup>83</sup> The cartoon shows a young, strong Negro Wage Worker chained to the bulwark of Economic Slavery. From behind, Aries, the God of War, armed with a sword named War Work breaks the chain, freeing the young man, who is stepping forward and upward. Participation in the war through service or support work was viewed as a legitimate avenue to attain freedoms.

As the war ended and the thousands of black veterans began home, uncertainties about the future of the race and the meaning of the war were already in question. A newspaper article appeared in the black newspaper *The Washington Bee* reassuring whites of the loyalty of the black soldier and attempting to quell their fears of thousands of armed and demobilized black men while simultaneously admonishing black soldiers not to instigate fights when they returned.<sup>84</sup>

Initially, large welcome home parades took place across the country, where crowds both black and white in both North and South cheered returning black units. One of the best examples of these parades is the return of the famed 369<sup>th</sup> Regiment, better known as the Harlem Hellfighters. The Hellfighters parade in early February of 1919 drew a crowd of both white and black citizens hoping to catch a glimpse of the renowned unit. Many white spectators had come out to be entertained by stereotyped jazz as the soldiers marched. Instead, the 369<sup>th</sup> marched proudly in French phalanx formation to only French marches. The 369<sup>th</sup>, cast off by its own country and lent almost as an afterthought to the French, served proudly and returned proudly, choosing not to stoop to the Sambo minstrel jazz show the white spectators were expecting. They marched with a steady and determined step in the style of the country who had respected

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<sup>82</sup> *The Crisis*, May 1918, 22. This statement conveniently ignored the fact that the French and British were also using forced labor in their respective colonies as well.

<sup>83</sup> *The Crisis*, June 1918, 72.

<sup>84</sup> “The Negro and the South After the War,” *The Savannah Tribune*, January 25, 1919; “Don’t Start It,” *The Washington Bee*, August 2, 1919.

them, France. On the same day, Chicago welcomed back its own 8<sup>th</sup> Illinois black regiment, who also honored the French by wearing French-style uniforms. One jubilant man recalled that on these parade days, no one acknowledged the color line.<sup>85</sup> Little wrote that the biracial crowd cheering them on welcomed them back not because they were a famous colored regiment or in spite of being a famous colored regiment. Instead, he specifically stated that the crowd cheered, “...because ours was a regiment of men, who had done the work of men.”<sup>86</sup> Parades like this gave black veterans opportunities to demonstrate and display pride in the masculinity denied them by Jim Crow.

And yet, the color line was firmly reestablished in the days following the welcoming parades. The narrative of the Red Summer is a familiar story, twenty six race riots in one year, seventy-seven lynchings, eleven of whom were veterans still in uniform, and the pushing back of African American activism into obscurity until the 1940s.<sup>87</sup> The disillusioned black veteran, who fought for the country that afterwards forced him back into Jim Crow subjugation became a hugely popular literary trope. And yet, this trope plays on the larger problem of reducing the First World War to a series of stunted, futile failures. Lynching is not what makes the post war years unique. What is unique is that for the first time since the Colfax massacre of 1873, blacks began arming themselves and fighting back on a mass scale.<sup>88</sup> Harkening back to the warning from *The Crisis* in early 1917, black veterans had learned the fighting game and many were willing to play it. Across the country, north and south, race riots broke out in unprecedented numbers. But this time, race riots did not always mean a mob of whites beating and killing unarmed, helpless blacks. This time, blacks believed, “race wars are going to be race wars.”<sup>89</sup>

Chicago in July of 1919 demonstrates the ways black defense had changed. After black teenager Eugene Williams was purposely drowned for crossing the invisible color line in a swimming area, black Chicago readied itself against the same crowds who had just welcomed

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<sup>85</sup> “Welcome Eighth!” *Chicago Defender*, February 22, 1919; *The Crisis*, December 1918, 73; Williams, *Torchbearers*, 214-220; Barbeau, *The Unknown Soldiers*, 171. Little, *From Harlem*, 361.

<sup>86</sup> Little, *From Harlem*, 361. Williams, *Torchbearers*, 214. Italics added for emphasis.

<sup>87</sup> Williams, *Torchbearers*, 340; Kornweibel, “Investigate Everything”, 276; Slotkin, *Lost Battalions*, 488; Mjagkij, *Loyalty in Time of Trial*, 143-144.

<sup>88</sup> Williams, *Torchbearers*, 298, 339. At Colfax, Louisiana, black Civil War Veterans and civilians were slaughtered while trying to defend themselves from belligerent ex-Confederates.

<sup>89</sup> Slotkin, *Lost Battalions*, 436.

the black 8<sup>th</sup> Infantry home. Armed veterans were used to enforce the peace and quell rioters. They also set up defensive positions they had used on the Western Front: sniper nests, guards posted on top of buildings, and in one case, even the utilization of a machine gun on rioters added a dimension of serious black militancy that had not been seen since Reconstruction.<sup>90</sup> Merely focusing on black victims of lynching without looking at the other side of black defense and even offense severely limits the understanding of the immediate post-war period.

Because of the prevalence of the myth of the Lost Generation and the acceptance of the Red Summer as a fully debilitating event, little attention has been given to black activism after the war. Although many attempts did end in disappointment, many developments in civil rights activism in the latter parts of the twentieth century can be directly linked to the immediate post-war years. Just months after the Armistice, W.E.B. Dubois and Senegalese politician Blaise Diagne coordinated a conference in France that was made up of fifty-seven delegates from Africa, America, and the West Indies to discuss the future of the race. Although the conference digressed into disagreement and squabble between Dubois and Diagne, for the first time black political organization opened a door for networking and the beginnings of the Pan-African movement that had not been available before.<sup>91</sup>

At home, black veteran activism proved adaptable to the circumstances. The American Legion, the association for veterans of the war, was unsure of how to handle race. 350,000 black men had served in the American Expeditionary Force, almost half of the entire AEF. Officially, the Legion did not order segregated posts. However, white Southerners were outraged and refused to adhere. The result was mixed and confusing. In the North, some posts were integrated, and some were segregated. In the South, there were several segregated black posts, the largest being in Louisville, Kentucky comprising 110 members.<sup>92</sup> Recognizing the political power an organization such as the Legion would have, *The Crisis* urged its veteran readers in January of 1920 to do whatever it took to integrate the Legion. By 1920, three fourths of the states allowed black membership but South Carolina, Virginia, and Alabama remained adamant

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<sup>90</sup> *Pittsburg Courier*, January 18, 1919; *Cleveland Advocate*, December 21, 1918; Williams, *Torchbearers*, 253-255.

<sup>91</sup> Williams, *Torchbearers*, 182.

<sup>92</sup> William Pencak, *For God & Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 66-69; "The American Legion and the Negro," *Savannah Tribune*, December 6, 1919.



hold-outs. *The Crisis* told veterans, “We must not give up. We cannot give up...Fight harder. Agitate, protest—join the American Legion and never give it one hour’s peace until every black soldier is a member.”<sup>93</sup>

And yet, there was no mass protest by black veterans to join the Legion. Many did not express interest in joining what they perceived as yet another Jim Crow organization. Instead, many joined Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association, UNIA. Garvey welcomed the militant black veteran and the energy he brought. “The new Negro,” Garvey wrote, “is no coward. He is a man, and if he can die in France or Flanders for white men, he can die anywhere else, even behind prison bars, fighting for the cause of the race that needs assistance.”<sup>94</sup> Large numbers of black veterans participated in UNIA marches with a truly international and Pan-African focus.

Although the lynching and race riots of the Red Summer make it seem that all war-time achievements ended in disillusioned disappointment, it is important to see past the mythologized literary trope of the lynched veteran and look at the practical legacy of the war. Thirty years later, when another world war threatened, specific lessons learned from the First World War impacted the way black activists handled the second. A. Philip Randolph recognized fighting alone had not won rights in the First World War and coupled fighting with economic pressure and the March on Washington Movement to push President Roosevelt into making reforms. The rhetoric of Double V itself comes directly from successes and failures of the First World War movement. A key difference, however, lies in the way the campaigns were conducted. During the First World War, black activists encouraged enlistment first in hopes that out of war service would flow civil rights. Seeing how that vision had not come to pass, the Second World War civil rights Double V campaign hinged war support as being contingent upon reforms paid up front. The March on Washington movement was different because it threatened to remove war support unless reform was achieved, whereas during the First World War blacks continued to support and serve hoping the ironies and inconsistencies would become too much for the Wilson administration to sustain while saving face.<sup>95</sup> The international focus begun in the First World War laid the foundations for a thriving Pan-African movement several decades later and the

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<sup>93</sup> *The Crisis*, January 1920, 108.

<sup>94</sup> “Editorial Letter by Marcus Garvey,” June 10, 1919. Cited in Williams, *Torchbearers*, 290.

<sup>95</sup> *The Crisis*, May 1918, 7; Bates, *Double V*, 17-18.

militancy adopted by many veterans had similar rhetoric used later in the Black Power movement.<sup>96</sup>

Black activism in the First World War is overlooked because of the violence of white resistance during the Red Summer of 1919 and the lack of concrete reforms. Hindsight hinders scholars in that it is all too easy to write off black veterans and activists of the First World War as naïve men and women who believed merely serving in the armed forces would gain respect and rights. Lastly, the image of the lynched black veteran still in his uniform is absolutely debilitating to the possibility that any important change took place. And yet, that narrative is reductive and inaccurate. Black activists saw winning the war as a vital step towards freeing the colonized races of the world from colonial rule. Black veterans serving on the front lines began the unification of the African diaspora. They started conversations that no level of violence has been able to end ever since. They learned the fighting game and brought it home with them, defending themselves in Chicago, becoming Garveyites and using the lessons they learned to re-strategize with the Double V campaign of the Second World War. Black First World War veterans were not a Lost Generation doomed to naïveté. Rather, they were a Strong Generation.

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<sup>96</sup> Mjagkij, *Loyalty*, 146-147; Williams, *Torchbearers*, 349; Slotkin, *Lost Battalions*, 546.

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## Appendix



**WAR. THE GRIM EMANCIPATOR**

*The Crisis*. June 1918, 72. Accessed via GoogleBooks.



## **“Of the Ruin and Conquest of Britain”: The Anglo-Saxon Transformation of the British Isles**

By: Bryan Caswell

The collapse of the Western Roman Empire during the fifth century has traditionally been portrayed as a sharp break in history, ending the ‘civilized’ rule of the Roman state and heralding the rise of ‘barbarian’ successor states across much of the old Empire’s dominions in Europe. Recent scholarship has challenged this narrative of abrupt collapse, demonstrating that many of these successor states possessed varying degrees of continuity with the Empire of Late Antiquity. The notion of a European Dark Age resulting from Rome’s fall has also largely been dispelled, as an ever-increasing body of sources illuminates this previously dim period of history. Only in the British Isles do the traditional themes of collapse and darkness retain much of their value. Rome’s abandonment of Britain in the fifth century set in motion a chain of events that would alter the very identity of those who called the island home, characterized most famously by the arrival of Anglo-Saxon peoples from the European continent. The study of this Anglo-Saxon transformation of Britain has conventionally been the study of those few native British and later English writers who attempted to record the tumultuous events of the centuries following Rome’s withdrawal. These sources, ranging from the mid-sixth century to the twelfth century, portray the advent of Germanic peoples to Britain as a great and terrible invasion of pagan hordes, one which devastated Britain’s cities and reduced its people to ruin. Current archaeology and scholarship raise grave reservations concerning the nature of this invasion narrative, however. In examining such emerging sources more closely, it becomes apparent that the Anglo-Saxon transformation of Britain occurred not as a massive invasion but as a piecemeal migration of small Germanic family units who cohabited peacefully with the native Britons. It is only in later centuries that a tradition of Anglo-Saxon violence and British resistance come to serve as an explanation for the demise of Roman influence in Britain.

Any study of fifth-century Britain must begin with the writings of Gildas Sapiens, a monk of the sixth century who recorded much of the history of Britain under and after Roman rule in his *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae*, or *Of the Ruin and Conquest of Britain*. Later canonized as a saint, Gildas was most likely born in the late fifth century in the burgeoning state of Dumnonia in the far southwest of Britain, in the region which is today known as Cornwall. Though the exact date of the *De excidio* is hotly debated, many scholars agree that it was most

likely written by Gildas in the early to mid-sixth century, either between AD 515 and 530 or 546 and 547.<sup>97</sup> The use of Gildas's work herein as a source for the Anglo-Saxon transformation of the British Isles in the fifth and sixth centuries is not itself dependent upon any exact chronology, however, and so requires a definite date for neither Gildas nor his writings. It is enough that he has been conclusively determined to be contemporary with or only slightly removed from the events he describes with such righteous passion.

Gildas's *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* follows the outline of many medieval texts, recording historical events not as any effort to chronicle the past but rather as an exercise in religious polemic.<sup>98</sup> As is denoted by the title, Gildas is particularly concerned with the 'ruin and conquest of Britain' conducted by Germanic peoples. In the first half of the *De excidio*, sometimes referred to as 'The History,' Gildas explains that Britain had been laid low by these Germanic tribes due to its own people's sin and Godlessness. According to Gildas, Germanic warriors were first invited to Britain by a native British leader to help combat the perennial invasions of the Scots and Picts, two un-Romanized peoples of the northwest and far north, respectively. By seeking help from heathens, however, the Britons "sealed [their country's] doom by inviting among them (like wolves into the sheep-fold) the impious Saxons, a race hateful both to God and men ... Nothing was ever so pernicious to our country, nothing was ever so unlucky."<sup>99</sup> Now aware of the inability of the Britons to defend themselves, the Germanic tribes began to migrate to the British Isles in ever-greater numbers, inundating the native populace with foreigners. Finally, unsatisfied by the Britons' initial promises of compensation, the Anglo-Saxons turned on their hosts, ravaging the land and destroying what ruling structure had been left by the Romans; "the fire of vengeance ... spread from sea to sea ... destroying the neighboring towns and lands."<sup>100</sup> Most Britons who were not killed or enslaved retreated into the hills, but a small group rallied under the command of one Ambrosius Aurelianus, "who of all the Roman nation was then alone in the confusion of this troubled

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<sup>97</sup> Thomas D. O'Sullivan, *The De Excidio of Gildas: Its Authenticity and Date* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 77, 178.

<sup>98</sup> Robert W. Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 61.

<sup>99</sup> Gildas Sapiens, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, c. 23, J.A. Giles, trans., *Six Old English Chronicles* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), 310.

<sup>100</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, cs. 23-24, p. 311.



period,” and managed to inflict a stunning defeat upon the invaders.<sup>101</sup> Gildas indicates that an extended period of conflict followed between Romano-Britons and Anglo-Saxons, the greatest battle of which occurred at Mons Badonicus and resulted in an overwhelming native victory, though it was not enough to drive the invaders completely from the shores of Britain.<sup>102</sup>

This diatribe against the Britons and their Anglo-Saxon assailants serves as a prefatory example to Gildas’s ulterior purpose: Christian kingly instruction and the history of salvation. Indeed, the historical narrative of the *De excidio* is only comprised of the first twenty-six chapters, while the instructive ‘epistle’ occupies the remaining eighty-four. Using the tale of woe so artfully crafted in his first twenty-six chapters as a springboard, Gildas proceeds in those last eighty-four chapters to instruct his contemporary rulers in the proper manners and methods of good Christian kingship and, more often than not, to rail against the un-Christian behavior of his contemporary rulers. The key to this and, by extension, the entirety of Gildas’s writings is the word ‘Christian.’ As a monk of the early medieval period, Gildas’s view of his world was dominated by Judeo-Christian scripture and iconography. Gildas cites only one outside source for the duration of the *De excidio*: the Christian Bible.<sup>103</sup> It is through his scriptural knowledge that Gildas conveys his interpretation of historical events and their meaning, and it is through ubiquitous scriptural examples that Gildas attempts to instruct kings on proper conduct.<sup>104</sup>

The writings of Gildas make clear that though the physical manifestations of Roman dominion in Britain may have crumbled, Roman influence remained strong in at least part of the island even into the sixth century. Gildas himself was thoroughly Romanized. Indeed, Dumnonia and Wales seem to have been the only regions of Britain in which Romano-British Christianity survived the Anglo-Saxon transformation.<sup>105</sup> The *De excidio* is unfailing in its praise of Roman civilization while simultaneously denigrating the native inhabitants of the British Isles. Britons are alternately called “indolent and slothful,” “stiff-necked and stubborn-minded,” “ungratefully rebels,” and “unwarlike but faithless.”<sup>106</sup> Rome, in contrast, is portrayed as a beacon of wisdom and civilization: “the fierce flame which they kindled could not be

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<sup>101</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, c. 25, p. 312.

<sup>102</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, c. 26, p. 313.

<sup>103</sup> J. A. Giles, *Six English Chronicles* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), vii.

<sup>104</sup> Hanning, *The Vision of History*, 50; Gildas, *De Excidio*, cs. 24, 31, 47; 311, 317, 331.

<sup>105</sup> John Blair, “The Anglo-Saxon Period (c. 440-1066),” *The Oxford History of Britain*, ed. Kenneth O. Morgan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 67; Hanning, *The Vision of History*, 63.

<sup>106</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, cs. 1, 4, 5, pp. 299-301.

extinguished or checked by the Western Ocean, but passing beyond the sea, imposed submission upon our island without resistance, and entirely reduced [it] to obedience.”<sup>107</sup> It is only with the assistance of Rome that Britain was saved from the depredations of the first three Scot-Pict invasions, and it is only through the refusal of further Roman aid that the hiring of Germanic mercenaries is made necessary to combat the fourth. Even after the Western Roman Empire had collapsed, leaving Britain bereft of aid, Gildas attributes a man of Roman descent, Ambrosius Aurelianus, with organizing the only effective British resistance to the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>108</sup>

The second, and arguably most famous, author to chronicle the events surrounding the ‘Fall of Britain’ lived a century and a half after Gildas. Bede, oft-times known by the epithet ‘the Venerable’, was a Northumbrian monk born in the second half of the seventh century. Bede was the author of forty-four works, yet his fame is largely derived from only one: the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, written in approximately 731.<sup>109</sup> As is evident from the title of his work, the Germanic settlers of the fifth and sixth centuries had taken firm root in their new homes, so much so that by the eighth century the Celtic identity of ‘Britain’ had been replaced with the Anglo-Saxon identity of ‘England.’ Two centuries removed from Gildas at the time he was writing the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede was forced to rely on existing sources for much of his history, including Gildas’s *De excidio*.<sup>110</sup> Indeed, nearly the entirety of Bede’s treatment of the arrival of Germanic peoples in Britain and their conflict with the island’s native inhabitants is taken verbatim from the writings of Gildas.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, Bede offered his own contribution to the evolving narrative of the Anglo-Saxon transformation, identifying the main ethnicities of the invaders as those known as the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes of mainland Europe.<sup>112</sup> Himself a monk like Gildas, Bede’s monastic use of history mirrors that found in the *De excidio*, functioning not to chronicle the events of the past but rather to tell the story of

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<sup>107</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, c. 5, p. 301.

<sup>108</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, cs. 13-20, 24, pp. 304-308, 312.

<sup>109</sup> Bertram Colgrave, “Historical Introduction,” *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), xix; George Hardin Brown, *Bede the Venerable* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 1.

<sup>110</sup> Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, p., *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 5.

<sup>111</sup> M. Miller, “Bede’s Use of Gildas,” *The English Historical Review* 90, No. 355 (1975), 244; Alan Thacker, “Bede and History,” *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 174; Hanning, *The Vision of History*, 76.

<sup>112</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, l.xv, p. 51.

God's plan for the conversion of the English people.<sup>113</sup> It is for this reason that, according to Bede, the great sin of the Britons was their failure even to attempt to convert their new Germanic neighbors.<sup>114</sup>

The third source for the Anglo-Saxon transformation derives from a different tradition than the Roman-Christian monks Gildas and Bede. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a compilation of manuscripts with their origins in the late ninth century. Commonly thought to have begun under the reign of King Alfred the Great as part of his efforts to encourage literacy and revive culture in England after the Viking incursions of the ninth century, the *Chronicle* records the happenings of each year from the birth of Christ to the death of Harold Godwinson in 1066 and the fall of Anglo-Saxon England to the Normans.<sup>115</sup> As a result, Christian providence does not enter into the events therein recorded to the degree it is seen in the *De excidio* and *Ecclesiastical History*, and the Germanic peoples are given more agency in their settlement of Britain. For the first time, names are given to the leaders of the Saxon mercenaries called to fight on behalf of the Britons: Hengest and Horsa. These two war-leaders are not the only Germanic tribesmen mentioned by name, either, as *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recounts the many battles and deeds of a host of other men and their followers.<sup>116</sup> This same formula is copied in a related manuscript of the ninth century, another chronicle attributed to an author known as Ethelward.<sup>117</sup> These battles do not appear to be large affairs, however, and most are more akin to small-scale raids than the depredations of an invading horde. Nowhere do such accounts appear in Gildas or Bede, and it is unclear where the ninth-century chroniclers garnered this information. Most likely it stemmed from oral histories and traditions of family genealogy passed down by generation.

The final two medieval sources for the fall of Britain are also the most fantastical. The first, the *Historiae Britonnum*, is a compilation of writings from numerous authors. The date of the *Historiae* is highly uncertain, with estimates ranging up to two centuries apart. It is most

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<sup>113</sup> Colgrave, "Historical Introduction," xxx; Brown, *Bede the Venerable*, 85-86.

<sup>114</sup> Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.xxii, p. 69.

<sup>115</sup> Michael Swanton, "Introduction," *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Michael Swanton, trans. (New York: Routledge, 1998), xviii.

<sup>116</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, cs. 448-508, Michael Swanton, trans. (New York: Routledge, 1998), 12-14.

<sup>117</sup> Fabius Ethelward, *Chronicon*, 1.449-509, J.A. Giles, trans., *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. J. A. Giles, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), 6-9.

likely, though, that an author by the name of Nennius compiled the *Historiae* in the end of the tenth century, approximately 994.<sup>118</sup> A strange hybrid of Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British traditions of the fall, the *Historiae* attempts to establish the validity of British resistance after the departure of Rome.<sup>119</sup> Ambrosius Aurelianus is again mentioned, but, instead of a Roman paragon of resistance, here he is portrayed as a prescient boy who advises a Romano-British king named Vortigern on his mistakes in dealing with the Germanic invaders. A list of battles appears in the *Historiae Britonnum* just as in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, yet these battles are not Anglo-Saxon victories but Romano-British.<sup>120</sup> The final battle listed is that of Mons Badonicus, further connecting with Gildas and Bede, yet the leader to whom these victories are attributed is an entirely new entity: Arthur.

Indeed, the genesis of the Arthurian cycle of legends has its origins in memories of native resistance to the Anglo-Saxon invasions of the fifth century. Though the *Historiae Britonnum*'s treatment of Arthur is not yet infused with fantasy, the twelfth century would see the completion of the mythologizing of these events with the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Author of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Geoffrey penned an account of the events of the fifth and sixth centuries that is nothing short of wondrous.<sup>121</sup> Here the Arthurian tradition has taken root in its fully fictionalized form, with prophesying wizards and magical antics. Ambrosius Aurelianus is here the uncle of Arthur, and Arthur himself is said to have killed four hundred and ninety-four Saxons in a single battle.<sup>122</sup> By possibly the tenth century and most definitely the twelfth, then, the introduction of such flights of storytelling drastically reduce the utility of sources for the Germanic migration to Britain.

Save for the myth-making of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth, modern historical scholarship has conventionally accepted the accounts of most of these medieval authors as largely accurate. Of the four reliable sources discussed above, Gildas's veracity is questioned the most by historians of both Late Antique and Early Medieval periods despite his greater

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<sup>118</sup> J. A. Giles, *Six English Chronicles* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), viii; Hanning, *The Vision of History*, 91.

<sup>119</sup> Hanning, *The Vision of History*, 101.

<sup>120</sup> Nennius, *Historiae Britonnum*, cs. 42, 50, J.A. Giles, trans, *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. J. A. Giles (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), 402-403, 408-409.

<sup>121</sup> Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, viii-ix.

<sup>122</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, VI.viii, VI.xviii, IX.iv, J.A. Giles, trans., *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. J. A. Giles (London: George Bell and Sons, 1901), 182, 192, 233.

proximity to events. Gildas makes numerous errors in his characterization of Roman Britain before the fifth century, the most egregious of which is attributing the building of Hadrian's Wall and the more northern Antonine Wall to the fourth century instead of the (correct) second.<sup>123</sup> When coupled with Gildas's focus on Christian virtue and the history of religious salvation, these small inaccuracies have led historians such as Leslie Alcock to discard Gildas entirely as a reliable source while paradoxically continuing to accept Bede.<sup>124</sup> Even the compilation of Nennius and the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth have spawned a sect of medieval and literary historians bent on isolating the kernels of historical fact that might lead them to the 'true' King Arthur.

Regardless of the degrees to which the medieval authors are accepted as accurate, their common themes have been accepted nearly universally. After the withdrawal of Rome from Britain, local leaders attempted to hire foreign mercenaries for protection against tribesmen from the north. These mercenaries revolted against the Romano-British and, despite valiant but isolated attempts at resistance, a massive influx of Germanic peoples drove the native Britons out of their land through violence. This framework provided the context for J. A. Giles' *Six Old English Chronicles*, published in 1901, and scarcely changed throughout the course of the twentieth century. Indeed, the vast bulk of scholarship concerning the Anglo-Saxon transformation of Britain has focused on either establishing an exact chronology for the invasions, estimating the size of the reinforcements that joined the initial force of Saxons, or determining the extent of Anglo-Saxon settlement throughout Britain.

This first chronological avenue of inquiry has received by far the most attention, as few of the medieval sources discussed include explicit dates. Timothy O'Sullivan devotes an entire book to discussing the chronology of Gildas, concluding that the Battle of Mons Badonicus took place in 493, while Ambrosius Aurelianus's victory most likely occurred between 447 and 457.<sup>125</sup> Michael Jones and John Casey have used two fifth-century Continental documents known as the Gallic Chronicle to date the Anglo-Saxon arrival in Britain, placing the initial incursion in 410 and the establishment of Anglo-Saxon dominion over the island in 441.<sup>126</sup> The

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<sup>123</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, cs. 15, 18, pp. 305-306.

<sup>124</sup> Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology, AD 367-634*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (New York: Penguin, 2001), 21.

<sup>125</sup> O'Sullivan, *The De Excidio of Gildas*, 139, 178.

<sup>126</sup> Michael E. Jones and John Casey, "The Gallic Chronicle Restored: A Chronology for the

points of contention regarding Anglo-Saxon reinforcements and dispersal have also received substantial attention, though through less orthodox methodology. Linking the open-field method of agriculture to Germanic immigrants, George Homans has attempted to map out the extent of Anglo-Saxon settlement in central and eastern England by examining the prevalence of open-field agriculture in later centuries.<sup>127</sup> Mark Thomas, Michael Stumpf, and Heinrich Harke have attempted to address both of these debates through genetic research of the peoples of southern Britain, specifically on buried remains from cemeteries of the sixth and seventh centuries. Substantial genetic contribution from the European Continent was indeed found, yet results were not conclusive enough to establish an estimation of the size of the original Anglo-Saxon population.<sup>128</sup>

Though scattered attempts had been made to supplement early medieval textual analysis with archaeological evidence, the first scholar to examine the physical record unencumbered by assumptions based on the traditional sources has been Robin Fleming. In her landmark book *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise, 400-1070*, Fleming analyzes the archaeology of Britain for the entire Anglo-Saxon period from Rome's withdrawal to the Norman Conquest. Of particular note are the first two chapters in which she relates the corpus of archaeological evidence for Britain and the lives of its inhabitants under Rome in Late Antiquity and then after Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries. Included within this discussion is of course the advent of Germanic peoples to the British Isles. Fleming contends that the physical record thus examined bears no support for the statements of Gildas, Bede, and the later chroniclers. There is evidence of neither violent conflict nor a highly-militarized culture intruding in native Romano-British society.<sup>129</sup> Indeed, much of the chronology established by modern scholars is also called into question, for Fleming notes that very little evidence for the presence of Germanic peoples exists in the physical record before the middle of the fifth century.<sup>130</sup> Migration sites, as Fleming calls those settlements in which Germanic presence can be established, flourished in the half-century

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Anglo-Saxon Invasions and the End of Roman Britain," *Britannia* 19 (1988), 367, 379.

<sup>127</sup> George C. Homans, "The Anglo-Saxon Invasions Reconsidered," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 71 (1953-1957), 44.

<sup>128</sup> Mark G. Thomas, Michael P. H. Stumpf, and Heinrich Harke. "Evidence for an Apartheid-Like Social Structure in Early Anglo-Saxon England," *Proceedings: Biological Sciences* 273, No. 1601 (October 2006), 2651.

<sup>129</sup> Robin Fleming, *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise, 400-1070* (New York: Penguin, 2011), 29.

<sup>130</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 41-42.

between 470 and 520, thirty years later than Anglo-Saxon dominion was supposed to have been imposed over all of Britain according to the Gallic Chronicle. These sites are also unfailingly small and would appear to house only a low number of settlers, most likely a close family unit of some kind.<sup>131</sup> Fleming argues that open-field agriculture was adopted later than proposed by Homans as well, this time by centuries.<sup>132</sup>

Fleming ascertains the archaeological presence of Germanic peoples using a variety of methods, among them the existence of German-style dwellings also seen on the continent and the discovery of ceramics commonly found in continental Germanic contexts. The most significant source of information for Fleming, however, is the study of burials in fifth-century Britain. The exhibition of certain funereal practices denotes the presence of Germanic peoples, in particular that of cremation, which had gone out of fashion in the Roman world in the third century.<sup>133</sup> Burials that employed inhumation also offer signs of Germanic settlement, as interments of this period yield a wealth of grave-goods. Items buried alongside or adorning remains, these grave goods offer invaluable insight into the material culture and identity of those people with whom they were entombed. The inclusion of weapons in some burials indicate foreigners, as not even military burials of the Roman period include weapons or other martial paraphernalia.<sup>134</sup> The brooches included in a large number of female burials are even more informative. Different styles of metalwork and design used in these brooches have been established as characteristic of Roman, British, or Germanic artistic inspiration, and so the specific brooches adorning a buried woman can in theory indicate that woman's cultural identity. A significant number of Continental Germanic brooches have been excavated in burials across England, confirming the presence of Germanic peoples. A surprisingly large number of brooches in those same Germanic contexts are not of Continental ancestry, however, but are either native British, Roman, or a fusion of Romano-British and Germanic design.<sup>135</sup> These findings lead Fleming to conclude that not only did Germanic immigrants to Britain cohabitate

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<sup>131</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 45.

<sup>132</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 43.

<sup>133</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 45.

<sup>134</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 46-47.

<sup>135</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 48.

peacefully with their native Romano-British neighbors, but that a gradual system of intermixing and acculturation took place involving both parties.<sup>136</sup>

Considering this overwhelming archaeological evidence to the contrary, how could Gildas and his sources of the sixth century have viewed the fifth century as one filled with violent upheaval and military strife? The first key to the puzzle lies in the state of British towns and cities after the disappearance of Roman dominion over the island. The second half of the fourth century was a period of unparalleled prosperity for Britain. It was in this period that the Romanization of Britain reached its zenith, with the construction of lavish villas prevalent throughout the island and mass-produced commodities from the continent reaching as far north as the forts along Hadrian's Wall. British cities supported themselves with the surpluses produced and traded through the intricate trade networks established throughout the Western Roman Empire. Raids launched by barbarian peoples of the north, namely the Scots and Picts, began to disrupt this delicate system in the end of the fourth century.<sup>137</sup> The opening of the fifth century saw the Western Roman Empire in crisis and, unable to defend both the continent and Britain, the decision was made to abandon the British Isles. Cut off from the infrastructure that had sustained it, the urban society of Roman Britain quickly withered. The inhabitants of cities flocked to more easily defensible areas such as Roman fortifications in the north or ancient pre-Roman hill-forts of the Iron Age, the better to secure their own livelihoods from bandits and rival settlements.<sup>138</sup> Gildas himself recognizes this movement, but attributes the ruin of cities and flight into the hills to the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>139</sup> The temporal distance of Gildas from the events he recorded seems to have obscured their origins, and, when these events were viewed through the radical contraction of Christian influence in Britain, were seen by Gildas and later chroniclers as the aftermath of a titanic military struggle for the fate of Britain. In reality these phenomena were the result of economic and institutional collapse, not warfare.

Though Gildas may have misinterpreted the skeletal remains of Roman influence in Britain during the sixth century, his tradition of Germanic mercenaries in British employ may not have been entirely inaccurate. The few archaeological traces of Germanic individuals in

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<sup>136</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 52.

<sup>137</sup> Nicholas Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 41.

<sup>138</sup> Fleming, *Britain after Rome*, 28-29; Higham and Martin, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 46, 54.

<sup>139</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, c. 25, p. 312.



fourth-century Britain are found in military context, and a number of military buckles in particular indicate that men of Germanic heritage were in the employ of the Roman military as auxiliaries.<sup>140</sup> The language Gildas uses to describe the Saxon mercenaries hired by native Britons is interesting in this regard. Gildas calls these Saxons ‘federates,’ the term used to denote barbarian mercenaries employed by both halves of the Roman Empire throughout the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>141</sup> The use of this terminology in the *De excidio* was no accident, for Gildas also uses the official terms describing the supplies granted those federates when he describes the promised compensation bestowed upon the Saxons by the Britons.<sup>142</sup> As many scholars have noted, Gildas also does not specifically name the native ruler who invited these Saxons to Britain; the name Vortigern was only supplied by later authors starting with Bede.<sup>143</sup> This has led Guy Halsall to suggest that Saxon mercenaries were used in Britain not in the fifth century but in the fourth as a supplement to the defense of Roman Britain as the island’s official garrison was called to campaign on the European continent.<sup>144</sup> A discrepancy in chronology is not outside the realm of possibility for Gildas, who has previously been demonstrated to have a tenuous grip on the progression of historical events at best. Here then is the most probable origin of the tradition of Anglo-Saxon mercenaries in Britain: stories of Germanic federates in service to a British authority reached Gildas, who associated that service with the peaceful and unrelated settlement of Germanic peoples later in the fifth century.

Only one conundrum therefore remains: whence came the tales of Romano-British resistance to a supposed invasion of Anglo-Saxons? What was the inspiration for such characters as Ambrosius Aurelianus and Arthur, for such events as the battle of Mons Badonicus and the forceful exile of Britain’s native inhabitants? The answers to this question lie in a synthesis of the theories presented so far. As a fully Romanized Christian, Gildas considered these German tribes to be “fierce,” “impious,” “a race hateful both to God and men.”<sup>145</sup> Whether of a violent nature or not, the inexorable march of these Angles, Saxons, and Jutes was

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<sup>140</sup> Higham and Martin, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 78.

<sup>141</sup> E. A. Thompson, “Gildas and the History of Britain,” *Britannia* 10 (1979): 217; Charles-Edwards, Thomas, “Nations and Kingdoms: A View from Above,” *After Rome*, ed. Thomas Charles-Edwards (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 24.

<sup>142</sup> Thompson, “Gildas and the History of Britain,” 217.

<sup>143</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, c. 23, p. 310; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.xiv, p. 49.

<sup>144</sup> Guy Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur: Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 215.

<sup>145</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, c. 23, p. 310.

accompanied by the spread of pagan religious practices and the subsequent decline of Roman and Christian traditions throughout most of Britain, save for two final enclaves of Romano-British peoples to the southwest and west, the former from which Gildas most likely hailed. This cultural shift can only have seemed catastrophic to the overtly Roman, Christian Gildas, and when observed alongside the remains of cities abandoned in the course of the collapse of Western Europe could very well have left the impression of titanic struggle and savage ruin. For Gildas, the survival of some Romano-British elements in England in this context could only have stemmed from successful military resistance to the Germanic hordes extinguishing the light of Christianity throughout the isles, and so was born the tradition of Romano-British resistance to the Anglo-Saxons. This tradition could have been given further weight in and after the ninth century, in which Alfred the Great repelled the incursions of the Vikings and united England under one ruler. This experience of successful Christian resistance to the depredations of pagan warriors may well have been projected backwards into the history such authors as Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth were attempting to record.

The archaeological evidence unearthed within the first decade of the twenty-first century has thus called into question the conventional history of Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries, raising serious objections concerning the veracity of key historical writings. The invasion narrative of the Anglo-Saxon transformation of Britain must be discarded; in its place a model of small-scale, peaceful migration and acculturation of Germanic peoples must be substituted. The tales of King Arthur and general British resistance to a violent Anglo-Saxon invasion should in this model be relegated to the studies of historical memory and conceptions of British identity, but cannot be taken as accurate representations of historical events.

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# **Water, Bison, and Horses: Natural Resources and their Impacts on Native Raids and Relations in Late Spanish Colonial New Mexico**

By: Dori Gorczyca

## **Introduction and Historiography**

Power, violence and trade: three concepts that comprise recent definitions and descriptions of the Spanish colonial New Mexican frontier experience during late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.<sup>146</sup> Power struggles came from Spanish dominion and missionary forces in various settlements and pueblos. Violence manifested on the northern frontier of New Mexico through wars and campaigns between the Spanish and the natives, as well as internal native struggles for power and goods. Trade shaped the frontier through native commerce with both the Spanish and outside groups, such as the French and Americans. Although historians have analyzed how power, violence, and trade shaped the New Mexican frontier, the ecological factors and impacts of the indigenous raids is absent from the narrative. Robert MacCameron's groundbreaking article published in 1994 on environmental change in New Mexico directed interest towards the relationship between land and the people of New Mexico, specifically the changes that occurred to the land due to those interactions over time.<sup>147</sup> Despite the passing mention of various environmental factors within the context of the New Mexican frontier, historians have excluded a strong connection between natural resources and their influence on the development of the area. In New Mexico during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the desire for and conflict over natural resources, primarily water and horses, directly impacted the motives and reasons for nomadic raids on Spanish and Pueblo settlements and played a crucial role in creating the settlement patterns that shaped northern New Mexico into a multi-dimensional frontier.

Multiple native groups, Spanish settlers, missionaries, and traders of various ethnicities all contributed to the formation of colonial New Mexico. In order to understand the implications of a new analysis on natural resources and raiding effects on New Mexican history, one must first trace the historiographical tradition it builds upon. The task of outlining historians'

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<sup>146</sup> Natale A. Zappia, "Indigenous Boderlands: Livestock, Captivity, and Power in the Far West," *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (2012): 195.

<sup>147</sup> Robert MacCameron, "Environmental Change in Colonial New Mexico," *Environmental History Review* 18, no. 2 (1994): 18.

arguments proves difficult because authors have often overlooked various ethnic groups or approached the discussion of New Mexican history with one particular focus in mind. As Natale Zappia, a historian of the area, pointed out, many of these histories “stopped at state and national borders, even though the region was interconnected by Native political, economic, and cultural exchange.”<sup>148</sup> Over the past hundred years, historians have studied various aspects of northern New Mexico’s history, and particular chorological trends appear in the record, with three main topics: Spanish political power and policy, Native American influence, and ecological factors of colonization and settlement. The differences between authors and their scholarship over time do not necessarily lie in their arguments, but in their analytical approach to the colonial New Mexican frontier.

The historian Alfred B. Thomas, famous for his work on the New Mexican area and other Latin American frontiers, monopolized the early writings on the New Mexican border during the Spanish colonial period. Thomas translated and edited numerous documents relating to Spanish exploration, policy, and the officials’ correspondences involved in controlling New Mexico in the 1930s and 40s, primarily focusing on the time after the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.<sup>149</sup> The historical introductions Thomas provided in the beginnings of his collections of primary source material covered broad swaths of time and did not focus on any particular theme or specific aspect of the New Mexican Frontier. The beginnings of New Mexican frontier history focused on the timeline of events and making the source material available to other historians and to the public.

Historians wrote little on New Mexico after Thomas’ work until the latter half of the twentieth century. Joseph *Park* and Oakeh Jones, writing in the 1960s, primarily discussed Spanish policy or conquest and emphasized a Spanish viewpoint over that of native groups; the

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<sup>148</sup> Natale A. Zappia, “Indigenous Borderlands,” 218-219.

<sup>149</sup> Alfred B. Thomas, trans. and ed., *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista De Anza Governor of New Mexico 1777-1787* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932); Alfred B. Thomas, trans. and ed. *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935); Alfred B. Thomas, trans. and ed. *Theodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941); Thomas also wrote *Governor Mendieta’s Proposal for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778*, another example of this type of early scholarship, though this book will not be used in my own analysis. Thomas studied under Eugene Bolton, one of the most prominent historians on American history in the context of other nations; he developed this theory known as the Bolton Theory. Bolton was a student himself of Frederick Jackson Turner, one of the first historians to write on the “frontier,” which will be discussed below. The concept of providing broad context to studying a specific place influenced Thomas’ research and scholarship on the New Mexican frontier. Edward H. Moseley, et al., “The Ideas and Influence of Alfred Barnaby Thomas: A Second Generation Boltonian,” *Secolas Annals* 23 (1992): 5-22. The uppercase Pueblo refers to the ethnic group while the lower case pueblo references the Pueblo people’s settlements.

analyses were more political than social.<sup>150</sup> The American Indian movement during this same period brought more inclusive historical studies of New Mexico to the forefront. John L. Kessell's book on the Pecos Indians of New Mexico heralded the beginning of historical interpretation on social groups, native culture, and the importance of the people and their interactions to the history of a place.<sup>151</sup> The 1990s brought a resurgence to the field of New Mexican scholarship. Historians have continued to follow Kessell's research program by placing their discussion of Spanish policy or conquest in the context of the socio-political influence of the indigenous population.<sup>152</sup> Violence on the New Mexican frontier also became popular with historians who connected it with cultural and social developments.<sup>153</sup>

Scholars were mostly silent on the subject of environmental history in New Mexico until the larger environmental movement in the 1970s. The affects and importance of water, stock animals, grazing, and modern gullying all contributed to this emergent area of scholarship.<sup>154</sup> Robert MacCameron's paper – noted earlier – on the environmental history of New Mexico in 1994, took the first steps towards bridging the gap between environmental analyses and more historically focused topics.<sup>155</sup> In the 2000s, historians began to address environmental components of their historical analyses in relation to frontier policy, diplomacy, and social relations. Pekka Hämäläinen, Ned Blackhawk, and Natale Zappia are examples of modern historians with a more holistic approach to their studies of the Spanish colonial period.<sup>156</sup> Their

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<sup>150</sup> Joseph F. Park, "Spanish Indian Policy in Northern Mexico, 1765-1810," *Arizona and the West* 4, no. 4 (1962): 325-344; Oakeh Jones Jr., *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966).

<sup>151</sup> John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico 1540-1840* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of Interior, 1979); An article published in 1976 also demonstrates the movement towards a more inclusive frontier history. Antonio Jose Rios-Bustamante, "New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century: Life, Labor and Trade in La Villa De San Felipe de Albuquerque," *Aztlan* 7, no. 3 (1976): 357-389.

<sup>152</sup> Adrian Bustamante, "'The Matter Was Never Resolved': The *Casta* System in Colonial New Mexico, 1693-1823," *New Mexico Historical Review* (1991): 144; Malcolm Ebricht, "Advocates for the Oppressed: Indian, Genizaros, and their Spanish Advocates in New Mexico, 1700-1786," *New Mexican Historical Review* 71, no. 4 (1996): 305-339; Charles R. Cutter, "The Administration of Law in Colonial New Mexico," *Journal of the Early Republic* 18, no. 1 (1998): 99-115.

<sup>153</sup> A short list of such articles follows: James F. Brooks, "Violence, Justice, and State Power in the New Mexican Borderlands, 1780-1880," in *Power and Place in the North American West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 23-60; Ned Blackhawk, "The Displacement of Violence: Ute Diplomacy and the Making of New Mexico's Eighteenth-Century Northern Borderlands," *Ethnohistory* 54, no. 4 (2007): 723-755; Douglas Richmond, "The Climax of Conflicts with Native Americans in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (2005): 55-86.

<sup>154</sup> William M. Denevan, "Livestock Numbers in Nineteenth-Century New Mexico, and the Problem of Gullying in the Southwest," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 57, no. 4 (1967): 691-703; Marc Simmons, "Spanish Irrigation Practices in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (1972): 135-150.

<sup>155</sup> Robert MacCameron, "Environmental Change," 17-39.

<sup>156</sup> Pekka Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," 833-862; Ned Blackhawk, "The Displacement of Violence," 725; 734; 744; Natale A. Zappia, "Indigenous Borderlands," 193-220.

arguments do not derive from a purely environmental or ecological standpoint, but instead draw heavily on the influence of natural resources on native raids of in the borderlands of New Mexico. These articles demonstrate the transition towards a multi-disciplined approach to frontier history, especially in regards to economics and diplomacy between native groups and Spanish settlers. This recent scholarship represents a new way of analyzing New Mexican colonial history, approaching the interpretation with a broad scope of research.

One of the most recent pieces of scholarship criticizes previous authors and their obsession with the frontier. As Hämäläinen and Truett boldly state, “Americanists run the risk of loving borderlands to death.”<sup>157</sup> The two authors advise borderland historians to focus on the “entanglements” of the frontier history, instead of attempting to “unravel” it.<sup>158</sup> Frontier, as it appears in the context of this analysis, describes the area where various groups of people work against or with one another for survival, along with the relationships between groups, with formal borders or boundaries influencing these interactions. Although various authors have written in an effort to untangle the forces that drove the formation and shaped the interactions on the frontier, none have worked towards an overarching understanding of the various ways in which natural resources affected native raids on settlements and their influence on the formation of social relations and structural features on the frontier. As Hämäläinen and Truett suggest, this study considers the larger picture and the impact environment and native raids had on northern New Mexico during the Spanish colonial period. Raids themselves represent the conflict, tangled alliances, and peaces formed between the various groups.

At various times in New Mexico’s history, certain groups sought out or were forced to accept peace agreements with the Spanish. The Spanish had resided in New Mexico since the sixteenth century. Utilizing missionaries as the primary source of conquest, the Spanish attempted to pacify and incorporate the Pueblo Indians.<sup>159</sup> In 1680, the Pueblo people revolted, overthrowing Spanish control of New Mexico until 1690 when a new Spanish governor pacified the region.<sup>160</sup> During the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the Spanish attempted a different approach that was based more on military force than missionary influence. Spain

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<sup>157</sup> Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, “On Borderlands,” *The Journal of American History* (2011): 348.

<sup>158</sup> Hämäläinen and Truett, “On Borderlands,” 361.

<sup>159</sup> “Pueblo” is the name of a group of Native Americans, but is also utilized as the term for the settlements in which the Pueblo people lived. The name Pecos is also used in various scholarly articles for the Pueblo people, based on an Europeanized version of a population pueblo village. For this analysis, the capitalized Pueblo indicates the people, the lowercase pueblo indicates the Pueblo settlements. Kessell, “Kiva, Cross, and Crown,” 6-7.

<sup>160</sup> Douglas W. Richmond, “The Climax of Conflicts,” 57.



placed a limited number of troops on the northern front of their New World Empire, which stretched from California to Texas. Only twenty-two *presidos* (a garrison-type center) existed containing a total number of men numbering slightly under one thousand.<sup>161</sup> With such a limited number of forces on the frontier, New Mexico fell under the hostilities of various nomadic Indian groups. As a way of bolstering these limited military numbers, the Spanish utilized the Pueblo people, as well as other Native American tribes who entered into peace agreements. The Utes, Apache, Navajo, Comanche, Mojaves, and Yokuts acted as powerful players on the frontier, both as raiders of the Spanish and Pueblo settlements and as Spanish allies at various times.<sup>162</sup>

From 1705, when the Spanish first observed large groups of Comanche people venturing into New Mexico, to the mid-1780s when Bautista de Anza, the governor of New Mexico, made peace with them, the Comanche undertook numerous raids on Spanish settlements and pueblos. The Comanche people, although nomadic, mainly resided to the east and north of colonial New Mexico. For the first half of the eighteenth century, the Ute people, another nomadic tribe who resided on the New Mexican border, allied themselves with the Comanche and their combined forces harassed the settlements, taking captives and livestock.<sup>163</sup> After the Comanche grew stronger due to the raids and their bison-based economy, the Ute became less useful to the alliance and sued for peace with the Spanish in the middle of the century. These peace settlements with the Comanche occurred over the years 1785 and 1786.<sup>164</sup> After establishing peace with the Comanche, the Apache became the next prominent threat to New Mexico. The Apache people, who came from Southern New Mexico, did not make peace with the Spanish until the very end of the eighteenth century and into the beginning of the nineteenth.<sup>165</sup> Many of these conflicts between native groups and settled people stemmed from issues of water availability; contemporary maps demonstrate the importance of water to New Mexico.

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<sup>161</sup> Jones, *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest*, 8.

<sup>162</sup> Zappia, "Indigenous Borderlands," 196.

<sup>163</sup> Blackhawk, "The Displacement of Violence," 736-737.

<sup>164</sup> Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, xv.

<sup>165</sup> Matthew Babcock, "Rethinking the Establecimientos: Why Apache Settled on Spanish-Run Reservations, 1786-1793," *The New Mexico Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2009): 82-383.

## Water: Life's Little Necessity

A 1779 map of the Interior Province of New Mexico, made in Santa Fe, highlights the stream systems and river valleys, along with water's importance, in incredible detail. The Rio Grande runs directly through New Mexico, north to south. The map details this major river, along with various other smaller tributaries and the location of villas, pueblos, and other settlements. The writing "*enemigos Cumanchis*," Comanche enemies, appears along the right side of the map.<sup>166</sup> In small print, at the bottom of the map, the cartographer indicated the "*Frontera y principio de le sierra de Jila*."<sup>167</sup> This translates to "Frontier and the beginning of the Gila [Apache]." The map places the Comanche and Apache Indians into their location in relation to the eighteenth century Spanish province of New Mexico.

One of the striking aspects of this map is the close association of the settlements to the Rio Grande and the river valleys that drain into the Rio Grande. The map demonstrates a clear pattern of civilization on the banks of the various streams and dense habitation in and along the river valleys of New Mexico. No settlement, Pueblo or otherwise, falls in an area without a water body nearby.<sup>168</sup> The dearth of settlements near a water source provides insight into the valued commodities for the people living in the area at the time, namely agriculture. The reliance on water also begs the question of how nomadic tribes, such as the Comanche and Apache, dealt with the lack of a permanent settlement near a water source. For instance, the Pueblo had historic water conflicts. Large Pueblo migrations of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as an example, resulted from arroyo cutting and the destructing of irrigation techniques in the previous century.<sup>169</sup> The map's focus on the water systems in New Mexico illustrates the need for a more extensive analysis on the role of natural resources in the raiding culture.

Life revolved around water in New Mexico. All accounts related to native raids during this time period mentioned water, often repeated multiple times. When Bautista de Anza undertook an expedition in 1779 to rid the province of Comanche raiders, water appears ten separate times in the space of nine journal entries, spanning four printed pages. On the seventeenth of August, the expedition crossed the Rio del Norte; on the eighteenth, they stopped

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<sup>166</sup> Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, "Map of the Internal Province of New Mexico" in *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, ed. and trans. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 2-3. The map can be accessed at: <http://dev.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=30>.

<sup>167</sup> Pacheco, "Map of the Internal Province of New Mexico, 1779," 2-3.

<sup>168</sup> Pacheco, "Map of the Internal Province of New Mexico, 1779," 2-3.

<sup>169</sup> Deneva, "Livestock Numbers," 694.

at the Rio de Las Nutrias; they spent the night of the nineteenth at the Rio de San Antonio, and so on.<sup>170</sup> An expedition in 1776 undertaken by Father Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante also focused on water. From July twenty-ninth, when they started their journey from Santa Fe, to August fifth, when they reached the New Mexico-Colorado border, they wrote about water in every single journal entry, often more than once per entry.<sup>171</sup> The explorers specifically mentioned “dry arroyos” - a creek bed that is often dry, but can fill with water after rain – on August first, second, third, and fifth.<sup>172</sup> As indicated by the explorers’ encounters of these often dry arroyos at least once a day while traveling through New Mexico, the Spaniards not only valued water enough that it consistently made it into journals and records, but the water itself was often difficult to obtain. Both Bautista de Anza’s diary and the Domínguez and Escalante diary tracked their progress through New Mexico based on their location in relation to water sources.

The villages of sedentary groups in New Mexico depended on streams. Communities and societies in New Mexico relied upon the water system, and both the Spanish and the Pueblo adopted certain European irrigation techniques for agricultural practices. Each settlement had a small stream for watering the fields.<sup>173</sup> An American explorer in the early 1880s noted, “the necessity of irrigation has confined...agriculture principally to the valleys of the constant and flowing streams.”<sup>174</sup> If a location, such as Cañada, did not permit access to irrigation water, that lack exposed them to frequent famine.<sup>175</sup> From the countless mentions and references made regarding access to water by travelers to the creation of towns and villages based on the irrigation needs, the sedentary population of New Mexico relied on water for sustenance. From

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<sup>170</sup> “Rio” indicates river in Spanish. Thus, most of the movements and stops of Bautista de Anza’s troops were qualified by their placement near water bodies. Bautista de Anza, “Diary of Governor Anza’s Expedition Against the Comanche National, August 15-September 10,” in *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 123-126.

<sup>171</sup> Father Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante, “Itinerary and Dairy,” in *The Domínguez and Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, ed. Ted J. Warner, trans. Fray Angelico Chavez, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 3-9.

<sup>172</sup> Domínguez and Escalante, “Itinerary and Dairy,” 5-9.

<sup>173</sup> Zebulon Montgomery Pike, *Exploratory Travels Through the Western Territories of North America*, (Denver: W. H. Lawrence & Co., 1889), 246. Originally published in London: Paternoster-Row, 1811.

<sup>174</sup> Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies, A Selection*, ed. David Freeman Hawke (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970), 48-9.

<sup>175</sup> Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi, “Geographical Description of New Mexico,” in *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas, 87-114 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 99. The area, as described by Father Morfi, contained excellent land for pasture and fields for cultivation, but that lacking a consistent water supply opened the settlement to vulnerability.

the analysis of water's importance to these sedentary groups, water resources must also have been a vital concern for nomadic societies, such as the Comanche, Apache, and Ute. Understanding the need for stable water supplies contributed to the understanding of raids by these nomadic people. The historian Frances Leon Quintana stated that working towards improving irrigation and "the shared struggle for survival against frequent incursions of nomadic Indian" helped foster friendship and peace between the Spanish and the Pueblos, though she failed to mention the impact of water on the nomadic incursions themselves.<sup>176</sup>

The importance of water and horses became apparent early on in the history of the New Mexican province. In the early seventeenth hundreds, the Spaniards held a council of war against the Faraon Apache. In explaining the reasoning for fighting against this group of Apache, the governor of New Mexico stated that the Faraon Apache committed "thefts of animals" in both the Santa Fe and Cañada districts.<sup>177</sup> He went on to write that if anyone were to visit the land of the Apache, they would find a land filled with dry grass and "many mules and horses in their possession which [the Apache] have stolen from [Santa Fe]."<sup>178</sup> To travel to the land of dry grass of the Apache, one had to traverse an area with no roads and no sufficient areas of water for five days.<sup>179</sup> The nomadic Apache desired the horses and mules because they saw it as a natural resource that they could utilize in a dry land with limited rainfall and numerous bison. Although MacCameron wrote that raiders longed for horses because of the ease of which horses could be herded from the settlement, the horse could also help Apache "search for and kill bison with exhilarating ease and travel farther to trade, raid, and wage war."<sup>180</sup> For the Spanish, the raids carried off an important resource to them and posed a threat large enough over which to wage war. The mention of both dry grass and stretches of land without significant water implies the importance of water to those living in New Mexico. For the Apache, raiding for goods and

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<sup>176</sup> Frances Leon Quintana, "Land, Water, and Pueblo-Hispanic Relations in Northern New Mexico," *Journal of the Southwest* 32, no. 3 (1990): 290.

<sup>177</sup> Don Juan Ygnacio Flores Mogollón, "Council of War, Sante Fé, July 20, 1715" in *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico: 1696-1727*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 80. It is interesting to note that that on the map of New Mexico published in *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, the areas of Sante Fe and Cañada are located in the northern section of the province, away from the area labeled with the name "Jila." Pacheco, "Map of the Interior Province of New Mexico," 2-3. Because there are multiple groups of Apache people and due to the difference in time, it is not unlikely that the Faraon Apache raided in those northern areas.

<sup>178</sup> Mogollón, "Council of War, 1715," 80-81.

<sup>179</sup> Mogollón, "Council of War, 1715," 80.

<sup>180</sup> MacCameron, "Environmental Change in New Mexico," 22; Hämäläinen "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Culture," 836.

horses would improve their lifestyle in a location where they depended on the horse for fast travel between stretches of dry land and better hunting opportunities. As demonstrated by the 1779 Pacheco map and the description of dry areas, natives and Spanish depended on water for sustenance and this reason held constant throughout time in New Mexico.

An example of the connection between nomadic raider hostilities, horses, and the importance of water for sustenance comes from the description of a map made by Pacheco, the same mapmaker as mentioned previously, in the 1770s. Pacheco created the map to display the area where the Spanish had proposed placing a new presidio. He identified the proposed location as a place with “good water resources for farming and many convenient places for pasture, firewood, and timber,” but that it “must necessarily be very strong because of its location in the midst of the habitation of the enemy Apaches.”<sup>181</sup> Pacheco drew a connection between a location beneficial to the Spanish because of access to natural resources, but also expressed fear that these good resources may draw raids from the Apache people. The map description also adds evidence to the theory that rivers and water directly impacted settlement in New Mexico. The Spanish believed that if they could place a successful presidio at the specified location, the Rio Grande “could easily be populated all the way from New Mexico down to El Paso.”<sup>182</sup> The sedentary people of New Mexico concerned themselves with creating areas with easy access to water, though nomadic raiders also desired the same natural resources.

## **Livestock**

As alluded to previously, both the Spanish and pueblo settlements and the nomadic Indians coveted livestock. The interaction between the raiders and the livestock raised by the Spanish and pueblo settlements created a dynamic that shaped the New Mexican frontier economy. Sheep became one of New Mexico’s greatest commodities. While raiders could drive horses and cattle away easily, sheep would simply scatter and the Spanish and Pueblo could therefore quickly recover them.<sup>183</sup> Father Domínguez and Escalante also emphasized the excess of the good pastureland they passed through as they made their way northward towards Colorado. The entries from August second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh, and eight all mention

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<sup>181</sup> Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, “Map of the Rio del Norte from San Elzeario to the Paraje de San Pascual,” in *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, ed. and trans. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956): 268-269.

<sup>182</sup> Pacheco, “Map of the Rio del Norte,” 269.

<sup>183</sup> MacCameron, “Environmental Change,” 22.

“abundant pastures,” or areas “very abundant with pastures.”<sup>184</sup> For the Spanish and Pueblos, these pastures became the ideal land on which to raise sheep. According to Pike’s estimates in 1807, New Mexico annually exported over thirty thousand sheep.<sup>185</sup> The raids, the desire for horses by native groups, and the environment - which promoted pastureland - all contributed to the emphasis on livestock, particularly sheep, goats, and mules. Because of the raider’s focus on horses, raising sheep and goats became more lucrative for settled Pueblo and Spanish people, an example of ways in which raids shaped the social economy of New Mexico. A poignant statement about the land available for grazing in New Mexico comes from Josiah Gregg, an American explorer and trader, who traveled the southwest in the 1830s. Gregg published a book on his observations in 1844, claiming:

The most important indigenous product of the soil of New Mexico is its pasturage. Most of the high table-plains afford the finest grazing in the world, while, for want of water, they are utterly useless for most other purposes. The scanty moisture which suffices to bring forth the natural vegetation is insufficient for agricultural productions, without the aid of irrigation.<sup>186</sup>

Gregg, writing in the period after Spanish officials had subdued natives, made it clear that the raids and the lack of water for irrigation spurred the vast number of sheep as described by Pike in the early nineteenth century and highlighted the importance of pastureland as New Mexico’s best feature. For many historians, when discussing the commercial and economic impact of these raids, the dialogue focuses on horses and cattle, not sheep; for the New Mexicans, natives raiding specifically for horses and the scarcity and competition for water meant the people developed and cultivated other commodities instead.

A substantial portion of the livestock in Spanish colonial New Mexico consisted of goats. When Spanish colonists introduced goats to North, Central, and South America they quickly became the “poor man’s cow,” surviving best in areas with poor vegetation; natives, such as the

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<sup>184</sup> Domínguez and Escalante, “Itinerary and Diary,” 5-11. It should be noted that in many locations where sheep prosper, the land itself can experience degradation due to intensive grazing by livestock such as sheep and goats. This process proves poignantly relevant in the changes seen in Mexico because of the introduction of grazing animals by the Spanish. Gullying and erosion, two processes that are linked with water scarcity, resulted from overgrazing and environmental degradation in Mexico. Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 114.

<sup>185</sup> Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, 304.

<sup>186</sup> Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies: A Selection*, 52.

Pueblo and other Southwestern Indian groups adopted the goat as well.<sup>187</sup> The number of livestock, primarily composed of sheep and goats, reflected the impact raids had on the number and type of animals the New Mexicans raised. In 1697, New Mexico had only 4,000 sheep; in 1757, there were 112,182 sheep and goats; in 1779, there were 69,000 sheep; in the 1820s, there were 240,000 sheep and goats.<sup>188</sup> The beginning of native raids in the early eighteenth century and the realization that raising sheep and goats had benefits over horses and cattle, such as ease of collection after raids, accounted for exponential increase in sheep and goat numbers from the late seventeenth century to the mid eighteenth century. Additionally, the height of Comanche raids, based on Baustista de Anza's decision to pursue peace with the group in the late eighteenth century, corresponds to a decrease in the upward trend in livestock numbers. The change in livestock numbers in New Mexico demonstrate the realization that sheep and goats are more useful in a society living under threats of hit-and-run raids, as well as how the raids themselves resulted in a loss of a key food source and commodity.

### **The Bison and the Horse**

Although the bison cannot be classified as "livestock," they too played a vital role in shaping the horse culture of the plain Indians, the subsequent raiding on the New Mexican border, and the ultimate interactions on the frontier. In 1812, Pedro Bautista Pino wrote about New Mexico, describing various aspects of the province, ranging from its history to geography to the Indians to the natural resources.<sup>189</sup> Pino emphasized the importance of the meat and skin of the bison to the people of the area, citing the animal as "more important and more profitable" than any other smaller game in New Mexico.<sup>190</sup> Although he described it with the interests of

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<sup>187</sup> Dan Scurlock, "A Poor Man's Cow: the Goat in New Mexico and the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review* 73 (1998): 10-11; Columbus first brought goats to the Caribbean islands on his second voyage to the 'New World,' and from this, subsequent Spanish explorers and settlers introduced the goat to various lands as they moved up and down the Americas. Scurlock, "A Poor Man's Cow," 10.

<sup>188</sup> Chart accessed from Scurlock, "A Poor Man's Cow," 11. Original source John O. Baxter, *Las Carnerada: Sheep Trade in New Mexico 1700-1860* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

<sup>189</sup> Pino wrote the account along with a co-author and consulter, and though the account never explicitly named a co-author, the editor to a 1942 edition believed it to be a man named Juan López Cancelada. Pino and Cancelada composed the report in response to a call from Spain to assess the province of New Mexico due to Spain's own weakness as an empire at the time. In 1849, the account was published, with two additional commentators from later dates. For this analysis, only Pino's original observations in 1812 will be utilized. "Editors' Introduction," in Pedro Bautista Pino, *Three New Mexico Chronicles: The Exposición of Pedro Bautista Pino, 1812; the Ojeada of Anonio Barreiro, 1832; and the Additions of José Agustín de Escudero, 1849*, eds., H. Bailey Carroll and Juan Villasana Haggard (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1942), xv-xvii.

<sup>190</sup> Pino, *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, 99.

the Spanish crown in mind, as Pino was a New Mexican delegate to the Spanish Crown, this importance and profitability of the colony most likely applied to both the Spanish settlers and the natives of the area.

Bison changed the way that western Indian societies operated as well. The American Southwest had not always sustained bison populations; after a severe drought ended in the fourteenth century, the area underwent a period with a more cool and wet climate, which correlated to a rise in bison populations.<sup>191</sup> Between the late seventeenth century and the late nineteenth century, around thirty-five Native American groups adopted a bison-hunting culture.<sup>192</sup> According to Pino's report, the "wild Indians" killed thousands of bison each year and, specifically referencing the Comanche people, they "spend their time hunting the bison."<sup>193</sup> The bison represents 'traditional' Native American in popular culture, and though the perception of Native Americans during the twentieth century often carried incorrect connotations, the bison acted as a crux for many Plains Indian societies. The importance of the bison society created a need for an additional natural resource, the horse, which raiding New Mexican groups (the Comanche, Ute, Navajo, and Apache) coveted.

The horse held a place of high esteem in New Mexican culture. For the Comanche people, the horse became the means to maintain the culture that developed around hunting the bison. Early in the 1700s, Spaniards recognized that because the nomadic Indians "live where there is hunting" they subsequently relied on the horse to carry out their livelihood.<sup>194</sup> Many of the nomadic tribes around New Mexico adopted a way of life that centered on the bison. Pueblo Indians who had left Spanish control taught the Apache people how to ride and utilize horses by the 1650, and by the early eighteenth century, the Ute people taught the Comanche and the Comanche-Ute alliance allowed a flourishing of the horse culture.<sup>195</sup> The increase in bison and the switch to a bison-centered culture for various native groups - such as the Comanche and Apache - developed a need for horses designed for swiftness. Thus, the logical step for these

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<sup>191</sup> Dan Flores, "Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy," 466.

<sup>192</sup> Flores, "Bison Ecology," 469.

<sup>193</sup> Pino, *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, 102; 130.

<sup>194</sup> Mogollón, "Council of War, 1715," 81.

<sup>195</sup> The horse changed the way that Native groups performed various activities, such as trading, hunting (as described above), and waging war. It is important to note, though, that the horse also changed the social structure of various nomadic societies. The horse created disruptions in gender relations, changed political and social hierarchies, and created more intense competition for resources. Hämmäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," 836-837.



societies became raiding the Spanish and Pueblos for horses. Countless accounts from New Mexico during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries describe horses as one of the resources for which natives consistently raided both permanent and nomadic settlements.

Spanish settlers and officials understood the connections between the horse, hunting bison, and the raids on Spanish and Pueblo settlements. Early in the eighteenth century, before the raids on New Mexican settlements came to their peak, natives raided in order to capture horses. A second council of war in 1715 described a need to go to war against the Apache. A chief of one of the presidios cited the theft of the entire horse herd from the Picuríes Pueblo, and that the Apache had stolen horses at various other times as well.<sup>196</sup> This incident demonstrated the universality of these raids; The Apache raided a pueblo, not just some Spanish settlement, indicating that they had a desire for horses more so than just a desire for resistance against the Spanish presence. Instructions made by presidio officials to the commander of the resistance against the Apache again highlights the importance of the horse, both to the raiders and to the expedition itself, as well as enforced the purpose of the raids as robberies for horses, not personal attacks. The Spanish officials warned the officer to protect the horse herd so they did not lose it, and also to not kill women or children but instead to punish those Apache who committed the robberies.<sup>197</sup> Ever since the raids began in New Mexico in the early parts of the eighteenth century, the natives focused on the horse and the Spanish recognized and acknowledged this motive. Again, the desire for horses directly corresponds to the bison culture that developed for the Comanche, Ute, Apache, and Navajo, whereas the settled Pueblo people had no need to participate in the raids and became the victims along with the Spanish.

## **Raiding and Trading**

The bison and horse became two of the central players in the cycle of raids, which fed a larger cycle of trade between the Spanish settlers and nomadic groups. The Pueblo and Plains Indians had participated in a trading cycle for at least a hundred years before the Spanish arrived in the area, and once the Spanish did arrive, they became incorporated into the trading patterns

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<sup>196</sup> Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón and Roque De Pinto, "Order for Council of War, July 22, 1715," in *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico: 1696-1727*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: 1935), 84.

<sup>197</sup> Don Juan Ignacio Florez Mogollón and Roque de Pinto, "Order to Hurtado, Santa Fé, August 26, 1715," in *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico: 1696-1727*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: 1935), 87.

as well.<sup>198</sup> Eventually, all three groups - the Pueblo people, native nomadic groups from the plains and the Spanish - became reliant on the trade of one another. With increased trade with the French and English, native access to guns increased the violence and changed the trading dynamics.<sup>199</sup> What developed out of these conditions became a trading-raiding cycle. Nomadic groups would raid for goods and supplies, primarily livestock and horses, which natives used for hunting and resold the goods to the Spanish. Because of the growing reliance on European goods, plains Indians would raid in order to complete their balance of trade.<sup>200</sup> Specially, the Comanche people gained horses from the Spanish. This development of a horse-culture led to their development of a trade economy based in bison and deer with other European nations in the Americas. The Comanche people traded these goods for horses, metal wares, and guns. This encouraged them to raid sedentary settlements more to gain horses and human captives.<sup>201</sup> Native groups strove to acquire more goods for a favorable balance of trade, resulting in raids on Spanish and pueblo settlements for more horses to not only increase their hunting capability but also to increase their strength to conduct raids.

Raids continued throughout the eighteenth century, with the horse as the focal point, as accounts from the 1770s established. The Apache continued to seek out horses through raids later in the eighteenth century. Phelipe De Neve, the commander who oversaw attacks on the Apache at this time, made the plans for his campaign in mind that “it is most important to secure advantages over an enemy to whom flight is the greatest defense [...]”<sup>202</sup> Neve explained the horse as the Apache’s main way of transportation and device for warfare. The Comanche people required horses for their lifestyle as well, and Bautista de Anza, the governor of New Mexico, acknowledged the reliance the Comanche had for their horses numerous times. In his diary of his expedition against the Comanche, Bautista de Anza echoed the ideas and thoughts of Neve when he wrote that his plan aimed “to fatigue as much as possible the horses of the enemy, in whose swiftness [they] placed [their] confidence for attacking and escaping [...]”<sup>203</sup> From what

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<sup>198</sup> Martha A. Works, “Creating Trading Places on the New Mexican Frontier,” *Geographical Review* 82, no. 3 (1992), 269-272.

<sup>199</sup> Works, “Creation of a Trading Place,” 273-274.

<sup>200</sup> Works, “Creation of a Trading Place,” 276; Frederick J. Athearn, “A Time of Transition: New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century,” *Southwestern Lore* 59, no. 1 (1993), 16.

<sup>201</sup> John Tutino, “Globalizing the Comanche Empire,” *History and Theory* 52 (2013): 69.

<sup>202</sup> Phelipe De Neve, “Neve’s Plan of Operations, February 22, 1784,” in *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bastista de Anza Governor of New Mexico 1777-1787*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 251.

<sup>203</sup> Bautista de Anza, “Diary of Governor Anza’s Expedition,” 135.

Baustista de Anza stated, it is clear that the Comanche utilized their horses *for* raiding as well as an object to obtain *through* raiding.

As Anza's company proceeded, a group of friendly Ute Indians joined with them. The Ute explained that barely a month before the Comanche had "attacked a greater force of Ute who were camped there with their families...the former succeeded in the darkness of the night in capturing all the Ute horses."<sup>204</sup> Just like the example of the Picurías Pueblo, raiders targeted the Spanish and Pueblo as well as other nomadic groups as a potential resource for horses as well. For the Comanche and others that raided the New Mexican border, the identity of the victims was not important, only the outcome: gaining horses and supplies. Not only did Baustista de Anza write about the Comanche's trust on the horse, but also the importance of the horse to his own means. Before militia and accompanying Pueblo Indians set out against the Comanche, Bautista de Anza provided his troops with three horses each and gave any Indian or poor settler who lacked enough horses a spare mount from the extra herd he himself kept.<sup>205</sup> Because the enemy relied on horses to fight their opponents and it proved a fast way to travel between the scarce water sources, the horse became a vital aspect of the Spanish and Pueblo lifestyle in response to the method of raiding utilized by the Comanche and Apache.

The issues of raids on the New Mexican communities concerned religious figures as well as political ones. In 1775, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, who compiled a description of all the New Mexican missions and also undertook the 1776 exploration with Escalante, wrote a letter to the Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo explaining the situation and asking for guidance. Domínguez expressed distress over the theft of all the horses and mules from various pueblos, referring in particular to the Presidio of Janus where the Apache took the entire herd of horses.<sup>206</sup> Domínguez pointed out an issue that those in New Mexico faced when it came to protecting themselves from the raids; "But if when they [the military] seek the raiders in one place, they are already in another, how are they going to grapple with them?"<sup>207</sup> The nature of the raiders created a paradox where the horses allowed the natives to be swift in their raids and

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<sup>204</sup> Bautista de Anza, "Diary of Governor Anza's Expedition," 127.

<sup>205</sup> Bautistia de Anza, "Diary of Governor Anza's expedition," 123.

<sup>206</sup> Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez to Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, November 4, 1775, in *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez with Other Contemporary Documents*, ed. and trans. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico press, 1956), 270-273.

<sup>207</sup> Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez to Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, November 4, 1775, *The Missions of New Mexico*, 273.

maintain a nomadic society, but created a reliance on the horse, in turn creating a motive to raid for more mounts in the first place. The problem of nomadic raiders revolved around the horse as a natural resource and drove both the causation and potential solutions.

Horses continued to affect raiding into the nineteenth century. Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike described the deserted villages and towns, due to the Comanche raids. He specifically cited the Comanche, “subsisting solely by the chase,” carrying off two hundred horses from one particular village.<sup>208</sup> More intriguing is Pike’s description of a peace meeting between Spanish officials and the Comanche. He claimed that the Spanish leader came with “five hundred men all on white horses, excepting himself and his two principle officers, who rode jet black ones,” evidence for the importance of the horse as a natural resource and symbol of status and wealth for the Spanish as well as the native people.<sup>209</sup> Pike also described Apache hostilities at the time during his travels. He wrote that the Apache lived a “wandering and savage life...which is so injurious to an increase in population, and in which they are extremely pinched by famine.”<sup>210</sup> The commentary alluded to the coming decrease in bison populations – caused by the environmental degradation from agricultural practices and climatic changes – which influenced population size and spurred famines for various native groups.<sup>211</sup> Frequent famines, such as described by Pike, led groups such as the Apache to raid permanent Spanish settlement and pueblos further to procure more horses and goods from places with stable and sustainable irrigation designs. The raids for subsistence have connection with water availability as well.

Writing at the end of the period in question, Josiah Gregg, author of *Commerce of The Prairies*, also addressed the role of the horse in New Mexico. His account provides a way of looking back at the time when natives raided more frequently; by the 1840s when Gregg traveled in New Mexico, the Spanish had mostly made peace with the various native groups. According to Gregg’s observations, there had been “little attention paid to the breeding of horses in New Mexico...from the fact that...the continued depredations of the hostile Indians discouraged them from their favorite pursuit [horses].”<sup>212</sup> As Gregg looked back on the trends in livestock, he saw that although New Mexicans prided themselves in their horses, raiders

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<sup>208</sup> Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, 202.

<sup>209</sup> Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, 202.

<sup>210</sup> Pike, *Exploratory Travels*, 307.

<sup>211</sup> Hämäläinen, “The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Culture,” 844.

<sup>212</sup> Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 57.

compromised the practicality of raising horses for the Spanish and Pueblo due to that intense competition by these nomadic raiders for natural resources.

### **The Multidimensional Frontier**

Natural resources, primarily water and horses, directly impacted the reasons for raiding and also influenced the way that the Spanish and native sedentary peoples handled the attacks on their villages and towns. The environment affected native groups and spurred them to raid, but how did those environmental factors contribute to the social and physical structure of the northern New Mexican frontier? The raids themselves and the environmental consequences affected social relations and created a fluid frontier, which had no defined boundaries and shifted over time. Location of towns, although previously discussed before in relation to water sources, became a consequence of these raids.

The unique aspect of the raids that characterized the New Mexican frontier during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries revolved around the concept that the raids were not simply Native American against Spanish. The conflict included many more players and often natives and Spaniards found themselves fighting on the same side against a mutual enemy. The Apache, Ute, and Comanche act as examples for the way in which allegiances changed, both between native groups and between the Spanish and natives. For the first forty years of the eighteenth century, the Ute and Comanche peoples upheld an alliance with one another. As an allied body, they conducted raids on the New Mexican border for both resources and strategic gains.<sup>213</sup> Due to the increase in raiding-trading success by the Comanche, the alliance eventually fell apart in the mid 1700s, leaving the Comanche and Ute on their own. Certain groups of the Ute chose instead to ally with the Spanish for protection against other nomadic tribes. In response, the Comanche people unified and continued raiding until Bautista de Anza made peace with them in the late eighteenth century.<sup>214</sup>

By the 1780s, Teodoro de Croix, the commander general of the interior provinces of New Spain, described the Ute as a “numerous and valiant” people that aided the Spanish “happily against the Comanche.”<sup>215</sup> Bautista de Anza experienced the alliance of the Ute people on his

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<sup>213</sup> Backhawk, “The Displacement of Violence,” 736.

<sup>214</sup> Pino, *Three New Mexican Chronicles*, 130.

<sup>215</sup> Teodoro de Croix, “General Report of 1781,” in *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 105.

expedition against the Comanche. A few days after starting out, two hundred Ute and Apache men appeared and asked to join Bautista de Anza.<sup>216</sup> The Ute had promised friendly relations with the Spanish when Bautista de Anza assumed the governorship, “provided [he] go on a campaign against the Comanche.”<sup>217</sup> While the Ute and Apache peoples had participated in raids on the Spanish settlers in the past, and certain bands within the tribes would continue to do so in the future, they also acknowledged the benefits of joining with the Spanish in order to defeat a common enemy. Bautista de Anza utilized intriguing word choices in this entry. He claimed that the Ute asked and “reiterated incessantly with prayers” that they join in friendship with the Spanish and that Bautista de Anza defeat the Comanche.<sup>218</sup> The diary paints a position of subservience by employing the word “prayers,” which commutates disparity on the part of the Ute. Because Bautista de Anza, a Spaniard with considerable power, wrote the account, it becomes difficult to determine whether the Ute desperately needed the friendship for protection against Comanche raids, or whether Bautista de Anza over exaggerated the Ute people’s plea. Regardless, the diary establishes that in colonial New Mexico, the frontier was neither static nor divided simply between native and non-native. The Ute and Apache’s alliance with Bautista de Anza demonstrate the multi-sided nature of the frontier, including the intra-ethnic conflicts between the Spanish and natives, as well as its ability to change through time.

The Ute people were not the only nomadic group that came into conflict with other tribes and felt the impact of raids and hostilities. Twice on the Domínguez and Escalante expedition in 1776, two assemblages of Indians approached the group and asked for aid. The first, five Subuagana Yutas, spoke to the two leaders about the quarrels they were experiencing with a subgroup of the Comanche people and urged Domínguez and Escalante to fear for their safety.<sup>219</sup> Although the men did not heed the warning and continued on their journey, the fear with which the Yutas spoke of the Comanche in addition to their insistence on the danger the Comanche posed, demonstrated that various nomadic groups did not limit their violence and raids to just the Spanish, but attacked other nomadic groups as well. In the second encounter, an unidentified Indian from New Mexico requested Domínguez and Escalante to appeal on his people’s behalf for “aid or defense from these foes,” identifying his enemy as the Navajo

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<sup>216</sup> Bautista de Anza, “Diary of Governor Anza’s expedition,” 125.

<sup>217</sup> Bautista de Anza, “Diary of Governor Anza’s expedition,” 125.

<sup>218</sup> Bautista de Anza, “Diary of Governor Anza’s expedition,” 125

<sup>219</sup> Domínguez and Escalante, “Diary and Itinerary,” 27.

Apaches.<sup>220</sup> Both instances exemplify the way in which various groups attacked one another and utilized the Spanish to gain men and support in their conflicts. A third example of violence between native groups in response to raids and ecological factors presented itself in the massacre of Moqui natives, described by de Croix in 1781. A group of Moqui Indians came into the province of New Mexico, driven there by “hunger, pestilence, and war,” but the Navajo Apache murdered forty families in response.<sup>221</sup> Although de Croix never provided a specific reason for their murder, it seems likely that the Navajo Apache desired the land that the Spanish allotted the Moqui because of its natural resources.

Governor Anza displayed another example of how the frontier became dynamic and fluid because of raids through the way in which he played native hostilities against one another. After the issues with the Comanche began to settle, Bautista de Anza recognized the Apache as the next looming threat for the province. In order to deal with the threat, Governor Anza utilized native politics and instigated the dissolution of the Navajo-Gila Apache alliance. In a letter between Spanish officials in August of 1785, Joseph Antonio Rengel, the ad interim Commander-General of the Interior Provinces, affirmed the split in the alliance. He confirmed that the Navajo Indians split from “the secret collusion which they maintained with the Gila Apaches, the principle enemies of this frontier” and that Rengel had proof they made an alliance with the New Mexicans “to make war on the Gilas.”<sup>222</sup> Rengel wrote that because “the Navajos are persecuting them, [the Comanches] are drawing nearer to the sierras of the opposite frontier, where if they could be sought and punished with various strong detachments, they would see themselves forced to settle down or perish.”<sup>223</sup> This last section of the letter tells historians two things. First, Rengel confirmed that not only had the Spanish facilitated the breakdown of the alliance, but that the Navajos actively pursued and fought the Comanche in conjugation with the Spanish. Second, the Spanish desired the Comanche to settle down; this indicates that living a nomadic lifestyle with horses and bison hunts increased raids on sedentary settlements. Rengel drew a direct connection between a nomadic lifestyle and raids of Spanish and Pueblo settlements, most likely because of competition for natural resources. Furthermore, once the

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<sup>220</sup> Domínguez and Escalante, “Diary and Itinerary,” 110-112.

<sup>221</sup> Teodoro de Croix, “General Report of 1781,” 109.

<sup>222</sup> Joseph Antonio Rengel to Don Joseph de Gálvez, August 27, 1785, in *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza Governor of New Mexico 1777-1787*, ed. and trans. Alfred B. Thomas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 257.

<sup>223</sup> Rengel to Gálvez, August 27, 1785, in *Forgotten Frontiers*, 257.

Comanche themselves sued for peace with the Spanish, the Spanish encouraged native tribes even outside of New Mexican to join with the New Mexican troops and the Comanche to make war on the Apache.<sup>224</sup> Tribes that had once been at war with the Spanish often became their allies against other enemies.

While the Spanish utilized political tension between native groups to improve their own success in New Mexico, the native groups found ways to manipulate the Spanish to their advantage as well. As the Spanish power began to wane in the early nineteenth century, the Navajo people found it most beneficial for them to raid Spanish societies, and then make peace, only to raid again.<sup>225</sup> Although by the time of Mexican Independence, the Navajo and the Spanish found a more permanent peace, it does not detract from the ways in which native tribes utilized raids and peace for their own advantage against the Spanish in New Mexico. Certain Apache groups also utilized the Spanish to their benefit during the period of most intense Indian hostilities in the late eighteenth century. Portions of the Apache people, those not at war with the Spanish, chose to settle on reservations for protection against both the Spanish military operations and their native enemies.<sup>226</sup> By Native American peoples, such as the Apache and Navajo, seeking protection and utilizing the Spanish to their advantage the New Mexican frontier became dynamic place where alliances changed frequently and no physical borders separated interactions between groups.

In a similar manner that the raids forced the Spanish to interact and negotiate with various nomadic groups and vice versa for protection or troops, the raids also drew the Pueblo people and the Spanish settlers closer. Most accounts describing the military activity against Comanche, Apache, or other nomadic groups contain Pueblo Indians. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, the Spanish brought the Pueblos into a military partnership and provided them with goods and supplies under the condition that the Pueblo people would fight with the Spanish.<sup>227</sup> In many cases concerning nomadic raiders, those who made enemies of the Spanish also attacked the Pueblo people. When Father Domínguez wrote the 1775 letter discussed previously in relation to the theft of horses, he also gave a description of the fighting forces that

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<sup>224</sup> Park, "Spanish Indian Policy," 335.

<sup>225</sup> Douglas W. Richmond, "The Climax of Conflicts with Native Americans in New Mexico," *The New Mexican Historical Review* 80 (2005): 60.

<sup>226</sup> Mathew Babcock, "Rethinking the Establecimientos: Why Apaches Settled on Spanish-Run Reservations, 1786-1793," *The New Mexican Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (2009): 366-367.

<sup>227</sup> Richmond, "The Climax of Conflicts," 57-58.



pursued the raiders. Both Spanish soldiers and Pueblo men comprised the force. The most significant aspect of the description, though, comes from the ratio of Pueblo men to official Spanish soldiers; the expedition in question contained forty soldiers from a nearby presidio and three hundred men from the El Paso Pueblo.<sup>228</sup> This large outnumbering of Pueblo men to Spanish military occurred at various other instances as well. When Governor Bautista de Anza set off on his campaign against the Comanche in 1779, he recorded the type and number of men that comprised his force. In a similar fashion to the force Domínguez described, Indians also consisted of the largest part of Bautista de Anza men; two hundred fifty-nine Indians compared to only eighty-five soldiers and two hundred three militiamen.<sup>229</sup> Once the additional two hundred Ute and friendly Apache troops joined the Governor a few days into the expedition, the ratio of Indians allied with the Spanish to the number of men from Spanish heritage increased substantially.

One final way that the nomadic raids shaped the frontier manifested itself in the ways in which they shaped and defined towns and population centers. As described above, availability of water resources affected the location of settlements; water also played a role in the conduction of the raids by nomadic groups. Subsequently, these nomadic raids added another dimension to where Spanish and Pueblo New Mexicans could settle and how they designed and fortified their settlements. Referring back to the map discussed above, created by Pacheco, Domínguez criticizes the arrangement of the houses and small communities, describing them as “extremely ill arranged” and “scattered about at a distance from one another.”<sup>230</sup> This distance also added to the feasibility for raiders to take horses. He alluded to the benefits of creating communities that resemble the ways in which the Pueblos built their structures, which were better suited against attacks. Later on in his account, Domínguez refers to the benefits of certain Pueblo towns because of their “high adobe walls with two gates...for resistance again the enemy.”<sup>231</sup> Raids often influenced the way that both the Spanish and Pueblos envisioned and erected their structures. Josiah Gregg exemplifies the consequences when he wrote “the depredations of the Apache have been of such long duration, that...haciendas and ranchos have been mostly

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<sup>228</sup> Domínguez to Murillo, November 4, 1775, in *The Missions of New Mexico*, 271.

<sup>229</sup> Bautista de Anza, “Diary of Governor Anza’s Expedition,” 122.

<sup>230</sup> Domínguez, *Missions of New Mexico*, 4.

<sup>231</sup> Domínguez, *Missions of New Mexico*, 137.

abandoned, and the people chiefly confined to towns and cities.”<sup>232</sup> Looking back in time, Gregg’s observations show that because of the raids, the characteristic clustering of population directly resulted from native hostilities. Recent scholarship has determined that during the Spanish colonial period of New Mexico, approximately ninety-nine percent of the population occupied only one percent of the land.<sup>233</sup> This striking statistic emphasizes the way in which raids shaped the development of habitation in New Mexico.

In New Mexico during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, natural resources and raids shaped one another as well as the distribution of people along with social relations between natives and those of Spanish or mixed descent. MacCameron described the area around the Villa of Santa Cruz as a hub of activity, part of the one percent of occupied land in New Mexico, because of its proximity to a supply of water and the ability of a larger conglomeration of people to discourage raiders.<sup>234</sup> Water drastically influenced the distribution of habitation and settlements as well as influenced the nomadic raiders’ need for horses. Horses became essential to the way that the Apache, Comanche, and Navajo – among others – fought and hunted. Because of the increase in bison and the creation of a horse-bound Plains Indian culture, nomadic raiding became the way in which nomadic groups dealt with Spanish presence and their changed societies. This reliance created a cyclical system of raiding for horses in order to provide for a nomadic system that placed its foundation on access to water and bison, both of which depended on the native’s ability to access horses.

Although the natives themselves left few records and the majority of this analysis came from Spanish or American documents, military records, travel logs, and official correspondences, it still showcases the overwhelming presence of natural resources in the lives of both sedentary and nomadic peoples. By analyzing the ways in which groups raided the pueblos and other settlements, it also becomes apparent that natural resources heavily influenced the events and the ways in which the Spanish and Pueblos retaliated. Others had explored the details of raids and relationships between the Comanche, Navajo, Ute, Apache, Spanish many times before in various contexts; power, violence, and trade, yet the historiography had, until now, lacked the environmental perspective. As Hämäläinen and Truett advise, focusing on the entanglements instead of untangling them elucidate the larger patterns of water scarcity,

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<sup>232</sup> Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 95-96

<sup>233</sup> MacCameron, “Environmental Change in New Mexico,” 20.

<sup>234</sup> MacCameron, “Environmental Change in New Mexico,” 21.

competition for natural resources, and the importance of livestock and the horse. The formation of New Mexican settlements and social relations found its roots in ecological factors and the raids of various Native American peoples.

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