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Authors

Mager, Elizabeth A.
Monk, Heather Dashner

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Ethnic Consciousness in Cultural Survival: The Morongo Band of Mission Indians and the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas

Elisabeth A. Mager

(Translation by Heather Dashner Monk)

Although there are many ways to approach a discussion of the forces underlying Native American tribes' diverse forms of resistance when facing challenges to their physical and cultural survival, one possible explanation is that "ethnic consciousness" is an important tool for resisting outside threats. The aim of this article is to analyze ethnic consciousness and resistance to demonstrate the effects on the cultural survival of North American tribes, specifically the Morongo Band of Mission Indians in California and the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas.

The research method is analytical-synthetic, both deductive and inductive, in which theoretical analysis is proven in practice (and vice versa) to achieve the most objective results possible. Documentary research is supported by field research through participatory observation and interviews, among other techniques. I begin with theoretical considerations, followed by an examination of the role of ethnic consciousness in the struggle for the cultural survival of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians and the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas. In both cases, the key role of the land, where tribes perform ceremonies that unite the groups and strengthen their members' ethnic

ELISABETH A. MAGER is a professor at the Language Center at the Acatlán School of Higher Studies of the National Autonomous University of Mexico and a national researcher in anthropology and linguistics with Conacyt. Her publications include *Lucha y Resistencia de la Tribu Kikapu* and *Casinos y Poder: el Caso del Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino*, as well as many articles focusing on ethnic identity, cultural resistance, assimilation, and lost languages of North American tribes.

consciousness, must not be underestimated. I summarize tribal histories through contemporary times in order to depict their integration into global society.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Acculturation and Cultural Assimilation

When one people makes contact with another, elements of acculturation and cultural assimilation emerge, especially in asymmetrical situations, that is, social interactions in conditions of unequal or asymmetrical power between two parties.¹ Sociologist Dennis H. Wrong speaks of an “integral power,” in which decision-making and initiatives to action are centralized and monopolized by one party,” in contrast to “intercursive power,” or “relations characterized by a balance of power and a division of scopes between the parties.”² However, in modern times, this difference in power has a tendency to decrease, and Wrong reasons that

in the case of the power of the state in modern times, attempts to limit it take a form other than that of transforming integral power into an intercursive power system. Integral power may be restricted without either reducing the decision-making autonomy of the power holder or countervailing it by giving others power over him with reference to particular scopes.³

However, “there must be real countervailing power centers able to enforce limits on the power of the integral power holder, and, insofar as this is required, the distinction between intercursive and integral power is not an absolute one.”⁴ Therefore, the asymmetry of power can be softened to a certain degree, above all by an increase in the economic power of the subordinate party. The asymmetry of power present in integral power can exist, for example, between a dominant society and ethnic minorities, dominant and oppressed classes, colonizing and colonized nations, and central and peripheral nations. Thus, the hegemonic powers incline toward domination, exploitation, and discrimination of the subordinate peoples due to their economic dependency. Therefore, in order to decrease this asymmetry between dominant and subordinate societies it is very important that minorities be able to accede to economic power.

According to Dieter Haller, culture in general is broadly understood as everything human beings do to dominate their natural and artificial surroundings, but also a reality constructed by humanity.⁵ In general, interrelations between two unequal peoples is characterized by the cultural influence of the dominant people in the subordinate culture. Often this involves ethnic groups with a specific culture, whose ethnicity defines who belongs to this group and who does not (“us” and “the others”).⁶ As a process occurring in different stages, interrelationship begins with a peripheral contact of *acculturation* and the acceptance of certain cultural traits from the other culture. Hartmut Esser refers to this stage as the cultural dimension: a cognitive phase which he understands as an adaptation or adjustment to a standard of roles and norms.⁷ Acculturation is an appropriation of cultural elements from an “alien” culture, a process observable in different cultures worldwide and a natural human trait,

according to Guillermo Bonfil Batalla.⁸ In this process, the culture itself is enriched with the cultural traits of another people; it changes in its own way without modifying its original essence, preserving its ethnic identity.

The cognitive phase is characterized by rational decisions. In contrast, *assimilation* is expressed as an internalization of the dominant culture. Because assimilation consists of turning oneself over to the alien culture, it risks the loss of one's original social values and qualities. Esser calls this the personal dimension: the perceptive phase.⁹ Sociologist Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt initially considered this loss to be part of a process of assimilation, but he later used the term *absorption* to describe a process of dispersion and merger with the destination society in which the group identity is very often lost.¹⁰

In North American tribes, cultural assimilation is more likely to occur due to asymmetrical power relations. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, US Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall disparaged tribes by labeling them "dependent domestic nations."¹¹ Vine Deloria Jr. criticized the United States government, in particular the Department of the Interior, as exercising "their absolute power over the lives and lands of American Indians."¹² In this context, the sovereignty of these tribes comes into question, and, according to historian Francis Paul Prucha, they still remain within the territorial confines of the dominant nation, but separate from the land of the white population.¹³

Ethnic Consciousness, Ethnic Resistance, and Cultural Survival

Considering the danger of assimilation into the dominant society, ethnic consciousness plays an important role in countering external threats since it is essentially a force concentrated inside the group. In the words of Miguel Alberto Bartolomé, ethnic consciousness can be distinguished as an "intrasocietal" force or the "being for itself." An "ethnic identity," on the other hand, is a "being in itself" that is defined by contrast and establishes an "intersocietal" relationship between the ethnic group and the others of different societies.¹⁴ Such concepts of identity come from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who argues that consciousness or self-awareness implies an obligation to moral action.¹⁵ In the field of anthropology, this "being for itself" emerges through a force that is often transmitted by spiritual leaders who generate an ethnic consciousness inside the group, which then has the ability to resist external influences and preserve the group's ethnic identity.

Further, if we take into consideration Émile Durkheim's concept of collective or common consciousness, solidarity derived from similarities reaches its maximum when the collective consciousness takes precedence over individuality.¹⁶ This form of closely knit cohesion among the members means that individual personalities fade away in favor of the collective. Individual or organic consciousness strengthens the group's cohesion, but only in the sense of the division of labor.¹⁷ However, this conviction of being a member of an ethnic group, strengthened by spiritual guides, generates the strength of the resistance to external influences.

This resistance, in turn, has both a passive (or cultural) side, and an active (or political) side. Both are important protective weapons for the group in the face of alien influences. The passive, cultural form of resistance refers to the consciousness of daily life and ceremonial activities. By comparison, active resistance moves into the political sphere, where decisions are made and political actions are taken to guarantee the group's future.¹⁸ This ethnic resistance is normally activated in the face of threats to the group's survival, to assimilate or to weaken the group's cohesion.

In short, ethnic consciousness and its inherent tendency to resist incursions on its autonomy is most effective when aiming to foster the group's self-determination in a search for its own way forward. In other words, it is useful for the cultural transformation of the tribe, which can accept alien cultural elements without losing its ethnic identity. Above all, according to the Mónica Vereá Campos, in the process of globalization, different cultures come into contact, which means that it is "a process of continual negotiation about the existing cultural differences in the social consciousness, which surpass predetermined categories. In this sense the notion of hybridity has become the most frequently used concept for representing the meaning of cultural differences in identity."¹⁹

MORONGO BAND OF MISSION INDIANS' STRUGGLE FOR CULTURAL SURVIVAL

Cahuilla Spirituality

The Morongo Band of Mission Indians, a California tribe that belongs to the Pass-Cahuilla,²⁰ includes different ethnic groups, mainly the Cahuilla and the Serrano,²¹ both from the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family of the Takic branch.²² Their natural environment was extremely hostile due to variations in temperature and storms, leading to droughts, flooding, earthquakes, and fires.²³ According to Lowell John Bean, the Cahuilla²⁴ organized in clans and moieties (Wildcat and Coyote),²⁵ and historically practiced a style of survival based on mutual aid, respect, and responsibility by tribal members. As reflected in the tribe's social organization and ceremonial life, an exalted spirituality shored up their struggle for survival. In the words of Bean,

The *net* was the key individual in Cahuilla society, corresponding to what is usually called "chief". . . . The responsibilities of this office pervaded all Cahuilla life. The *net*, as ceremonial leader, was responsible for the correct maintenance of ritual and the proper care and maintenance of the ceremonial bundle (*maiswat*) and ceremonial house (*kis'amna'a*). Without these, the structure and support of the Group would have disintegrated, because the ritual activity kept the environment in proper balance.²⁶

The Cahuilla are noted for having spiritual healers, or *puul*, who belonged to the society of the *puvalam*.²⁷ According to one researcher, Willard Z. Park, "Among the desert Cahuilla, shamans are supposed to derive their powers from *Mukat*, the creator,

but power is conferred through the medium of guardian spirits. These are probably the animals such as owl, fox, coyote, bear, and others that act as messengers to shamans.”²⁸

The spiritual force, or *iva'a*, could express itself positively or negatively; it could avert or cause natural disasters and changes in the exercise of social or political power. For this reason, members of the tribe were prepared to negotiate with adverse phenomena to maintain equilibrium in the group.²⁹ According to JoMay Modesto, a Cahuilla tribal elder, it was very important in the group to be aware that “basically, everybody that was a part of the community had to be contributing, and you were groomed to whatever part of society you were needed in.”³⁰ However, this cohesive mentality changed over the course of their history due to invasions by Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

Historic Background

In the Spanish period, Franciscan missionaries settled in 1770 in the San Bernardino valley and, with the help of the Cahuilla, built dikes to irrigate the countryside.³¹ Digging the irrigation ditches was hard labor with scant remuneration and the Spanish treated the Cahuilla people like peons. Further, introducing cattle into the countryside eventually destroyed the ecosystem and its habitats, bringing sudden changes to the Cahuillas' socioeconomic structure and culture. The Spanish missionaries also forced the Indians to attend mass and be instructed in the Catholic faith. The late Katherine Siva Saubel, a Cahuilla tribal member and first president of the Malki Museum,³² recalled her father's experience with the Spanish missionaries:

[The Spaniards] would force them in [into missions]. . . . They really mistreated the Indians. . . . They would make [the Indians] work. They suffered terribly. Many of our relatives are dying. . . . They kidnapped a lot of Indians. They forced the Indians. . . . It was as if they were slaves. . . . They are abusing us.³³

Working conditions did not improve for the Cahuilla in the Mexican period, which dates from the winning of independence from Spain in 1810 to the secularization of the California missions in 1848. Promised half of the land as well as animals, Natives instead received a small part or nothing at all as Mexican ranchers drastically reduced Native territory. They were allowed to cultivate only a few small lots of land that was not the most fertile.³⁴ In the United States period, commencing with the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, circumstances became worse for the Cahuilla. The treaty promised protection to the Indians and their land, but it really did not respect their ancestral property and also denied them the right to testify against whites. For that reason, the Americans always won their cases in court.³⁵

During the period from 1842 to 1863 a widely-recognized Cahuilla leader emerged: Juan Antonio. According to Cahuilla historians Louis Doody and Betty Kikumy Meltzer, Antonio was born in 1780 into the Costa family, probably members of the Anza Valley community in the Cahuilla mountains. In 1820 he was appointed captain of the Rancho San Jacinto Indians who lived near Guachama, where among other activities he taught the Cahuilla how to build ditches and plant grain.³⁶ Although his

leadership spanned the Spanish, the Mexican, and the United States periods, according to Harry C. James he never opposed the Spaniards, Mexicans, or Americans in order to achieve benefits for his people. This restraint can be seen in his protection of the Mexican Lugo family of the San Bernardino Rancho—at times against Indian groups like the Luiseños and the Utes—but he also led Cahuilla warriors' attacks against gold-seekers such as the Irving gang.³⁷

When the Cupeño leader Antonio Garra organized different indigenous groups to rise up against the US government to fight the taxes it had levied on them, Juan Antonio captured Garra. In 1852 he signed the Treaty of Temécula, which was supposed to bring peace and friendship between the Cahuilla and a California government grateful for Antonio's aid. They promised the Cahuilla a thirty by forty-mile reservation as well as food, tools, and education.³⁸ But the US government neither ratified this treaty nor respected its promises. Subsequently, white Mormon colonists entered Cahuilla lands.³⁹ In addition, when the Southern Pacific Railroad crossed their land, many colonists, landowners, and railroad companies occupied the best land and did not respect the Natives' human rights.⁴⁰

The Cahuilla population declined as a result of territorial conflicts, violence perpetrated against the Cahuilla, an 1863 smallpox epidemic, and the backbreaking work on the ranches. However, alcoholism, hunger, and attacks from the whites caused yet more deaths, so many that only a few dozen families were left in El Potrero.⁴¹ Agent D. A. Dryden described the deplorable situation of the Cahuilla in 1875:

At every place I have visited, their homes are being invaded by settlers with their stock. In one settlement, Morongo, in San Bernardino County, the people have all been driven off at the point of the revolver. Everywhere the sad complaint is that their Gardens are being invaded and their pastures consumed by the stock settlers; the water turned away from their ditches.⁴²

In 1884 this situation became better known when Helen Hunt Jackson published her best-selling novel *Ramona*, a fictitious but historically accurate account of the brutal killing of a Cahuilla man, Juan Diego. Named "Alessandro" in the novel, he is the husband of Ramona Lubo, a Mountain Cahuilla tribal member.⁴³ The novel depicts a common occurrence: after Diego's death, the Cahuilla tribe had no legal access to justice.

The whites' mistreatment and their expropriation of a large part of Cahuilla land was the reason so many Cahuilla abandoned their homes in areas such as Guachama, Yucaipa, Aekit, Saahatpa, Pepisha, and Bonopiapa, to take refuge at the current reservation of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians in El Potrero (Riverside County). In 1878, John Morongo, who was the nephew of Cabazon, a venerable leader of the Agua Caliente Cahuillas, mounted a significant written defense of reservation land rights. While serving as the interpreter between the Indian agents, the Cahuilla chiefs, and the head chief of all the Cahuilla tribes, he wrote a letter to the president of the United States, Rutherford B. Hayes. The concern underlying this letter was their struggle with John North and Richard Gird, two businessmen from the town of Banning who wanted to take over a large part of Cahuilla territory, including water

rights to the Banning Water Canyon. In that letter, signed by the different chiefs, Morongo outlined their rights to the land where Cahuilla ancestors had lived for many years and expressed the dissatisfaction of the Cahuilla with the agents.⁴⁴

On May 15, 1876 President Ulysses S. Grant created a series of reservations for the Indians of Southern California, the Potrero Reservation among them. But because 74,000 acres were transferred to the public domain on the newly created reservation, only 14,000 acres remained of the original 88,000. Later, the reservation's portion increased with President Rutherford B. Hayes's August 25, 1877 executive order.⁴⁵ With the support of different social organizations, such as the Women's National Indian Association, the Indian Rights Association, and the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians, the Cahuilla land rights issues were finally resolved in a court decision on November 11, 1892. The court awarded the Morongo Indians lands adjacent to the railroad in exchange for the Banning Water Canyon.⁴⁶ This was not ideal, but it was the best they could achieve; according to Doody and Meltzer, "The Potrero was saved and the Morongo Reservation was secured."⁴⁷ Years later, a Banning Water Company employee commented, "None of the lands in the Banning Canyon were included in the reservation except for Section 34 at the mouth of the canyon. Patent to the lands selected for the reservation was issued to the Morongo Indians on December 4, 1908."⁴⁸ More recently, in the twentieth century, the reservation increased to 33,000 acres.⁴⁹

In addition to territorial problems and physical violence, in the United States period the boarding schools established for Native children, usually off the reservations, had significant effects on the youth, their families, and Native Americans' worldviews. In these institutions, Native students were forbidden to speak their language or they would face severe punishment. At the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, for instance, the aim was that the students adopt US customs and culture: Catholic bishops and nuns taught Christian beliefs and practices to "civilize" the Indians and turn them into servants of the whites.⁵⁰

Is the Cultural Survival of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians in Danger?

In the late 1980s, the Cahuilla of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians and of the Cabazon Band took advantage of a US policy that permitted the establishment of casinos on reservations. Since they had been discriminated against and mistreated historically, they aimed at greater self-determination by strengthening their tribes economically.⁵¹ After long litigation, in 1987, the Supreme Court found in favor of the Morongo and Cabazon Bands, authorizing them to set up bingo parlors on their reservations.⁵² In December 2004, with the support of the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, they set up the Morongo Casino Resort and Spa on their reservation in Cabazon, between Banning and Palm Springs, California. The success of this casino can partly be attributed to its location on Interstate Highway 10, which connects Los Angeles to Phoenix, Arizona. Since it is only 89.5 miles from Los Angeles, many city residents spend weekends at the resort, and like Palm Springs nearby, the resort draws guests from Hollywood's entertainment businesses.⁵³ Over the course of their history,



FIGURE 1: *Morongo Casino Resort & Spa on the Morongo Reservation, Cabazon, CA, 2011. All photographs by the author.*

in meeting existential challenges as well as different cultural influences, the Cahuilla of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians have adopted many of the practices of the mainstream culture.

Today, their income is mainly derived from the resort. It is important to point out that this is a luxury casino hotel, the income from which turned the Morongo Band of Mission Indians of California into millionaires. In addition, the tribe expanded its income when it became part of the Southwest Energy Consortium in partnership with the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians (Serrano ethnic group), the Agua Caliente Band, the Fort Mojave Tribe, and the Aha Macav Power Service. Created in Denver, Colorado, on November 8, 2007, the consortium is affiliated with Arrowhead Mountain Spring Water. In 2015 the Morongo Band of Mission Indians opened a Hadley Fruit Orchards business in Cabazon; it also owns the Morongo Golf Club in Tukwet Canyon.⁵⁴ The earnings from its casino and other companies made the tribe members financially comfortable, which means they have no need to craft objects for sale.⁵⁵ However, in recent years the Cahuillas' ethnic consciousness has led to the revitalization of crafts such as making baskets, pottery, and bead objects.⁵⁶

Although in the past the Cahuilla could only marry a member of a different moiety, such as a union between a Wildcat and a Coyote, the assignation of clans and moieties has been lost throughout the years. Today, the Cahuilla do not adhere to the rules of the moieties, according to Katherine Saubel and Aaron Siva (both Cahuilla of the Coyotes Band).⁵⁷ In addition, few Cahuilla individuals speak their native language. The causes of language loss include the lack of transmission of tradition and language from elders⁵⁸ and interethnic marriages, which are related to the lack of moieties and contact with the global society.⁵⁹ Siva's view is that as a result, everyone seeks their

own interests so that their personal futures are not united with that of the tribe. Similarly, in Sandra Hale Schulman's opinion the loss of traditions and wider social integration resulted in greater individualism among the new generations.⁶⁰ For all these reasons, Bean and Saubel consider that the Cahuilla culture barely exists, nor can it be restored.⁶¹ All that remains are a few cultural elements and documentary evidence that has been preserved. Saubel says, "We have to document it any way we can. There is no way that the culture of our ancient ancestors will ever come back."⁶²

Attempts to Recover the Culture of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians

However, a small group of people are still attempting to recuperate the Cahuilla identity. United States ethnologist Eric Elliott, for one, gives Cahuilla language classes on the Morongo Band of Mission Indians reservation; on June 21, 2012, nine Cahuilla students from the different tribes were in attendance.⁶³ In the past, Katherine Saubel gave classes to the Cahuilla, as did the Cahuilla Walter, an older gentleman, who teaches the language to seventh graders at the reservation's school and sings the Bird Song at ceremonies.⁶⁴ Today, only five Cahuilla speakers are left, mainly elderly people, according to Elliott, but several others are passive speakers, who understand the language when it is spoken to them.⁶⁵ The Morongo Band of Mission Indians also organizes Cultural Heritage Days on the reservation, where they display crafts from the Cahuilla and other tribes and visitors are taught how they are made.⁶⁶



FIGURE 2. *Basketry Exhibition and Sale on the Morongo Reservation, Cabazon, California,, Cultural Heritage Days 2012.*

Mrs. Sue Hill, a Mountain Cahuilla from the Anza Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians, sells traditional baskets of her own manufacture at this fair. In addition, she gives basket-weaving classes for the Morongo Band of Mission Indians Cultural Department so the new generations can learn this art and it is not forgotten.⁶⁷ Donna Largo, a well-remembered figure from the Santa Rosa Reservation, also promoted this art form when she was the coordinator of the Hemet School District's Indian Education Program.⁶⁸ Today, some Cahuilla are very aware that they represent Cahuilla culture and traditional education: David Largo, Donna Largo's son, discovered the traditional art of pottery, awakening the interest of young Cahuilla;⁶⁹ Monica Madrigal teaches basket-making and the preparation of Cahuilla food;⁷⁰ and the vice chairman of the Anza Cahuilla Band, Gerald Clarke, introduces young people to the whole world of Cahuilla culture at the Idyllwild Arts School.⁷¹

At the Cultural Heritage Days, traditional Cahuilla dances and Bird Songs are performed, a tradition preserved in different Cahuilla tribes up until today.⁷² In addition, the Cahuilla still play traditional games, although without the participation of the clans. They only compete with neighboring ethnic groups like the Mohave. In 2012, the traditional songs were no longer performed in Cahuilla, but in English because none of the young people knew how to sing them in the original Cahuilla.⁷³ According to Katherine Siva Saubel only a few people participated in these ceremonies and many of the rites were lost.⁷⁴



FIGURE 3. *Traditional Cahuilla dance on the Morongo Reservation, Cultural Heritage Days 2012.*



FIGURE 4. *The Malki Museum on the Morongo Reservation, 2011.*

The establishment in 1964 of the Malki Museum on the Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, which was financed by voluntary donations and was the first museum on a Native American reservation, demonstrates the strong ethnic consciousness of its founders, Cahuilla women Jane Penn and Katherine Saubel.⁷⁵ Behind the museum is the traditional garden or *Temalpakh*, cared for by Cahuilla Aaron Siva in honor of his grandmother, Katherine Saubel, the museum's founder. The garden's purpose was to transmit medicinal knowledge to museum visitors as well as to the new generations of Cahuilla.⁷⁶ The museum's publishing house has put out more than thirty-five publications, among them several books by Katherine Saubel and her coauthor Eric Elliott.⁷⁷ Since 1972, the museum has published the *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*.⁷⁸ These documentary efforts are helping to guarantee the cultural survival of this tribe.

ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE CULTURAL SURVIVAL OF THE KICKAPOO TRADITIONAL TRIBE OF TEXAS

Ethnic Consciousness through History

The Kickapoo were an Algonquin tribe of hunters and gatherers from the Great Lakes.⁷⁹ To survive, they wandered through almost the entire region of the Great Lakes, from Lake Michigan and Lake Erie, south of the current state of Michigan, to northwestern Ohio.⁸⁰ According to Bill Wright and John Gesick, Jr., "like many of their fellow Algonquian tribes, the Kickapoos were semi-sedentary but migrated when survival dictated."⁸¹ They hunted deer and bear in the winter and gathered wild fruit, cultivated maize and beans, and fished in the summer.⁸²

This way of life suffered when they came into contact with Europeans, first the French and then the English and US Americans. The French period, which lasted from 1610 to 1763,⁸³ was characterized by commercial fur trade with the French who came to Canada's Great Lakes region. The immigrants' initial interest was in fur trading and later, the land itself. The trade in pelts divided the indigenous nations among themselves, primarily because of the competitive mentality that developed among them after the Europeans arrived. The indigenous became more dependent on the demand for European products, and their lands were drastically reduced due to the French and English invasions. Thus, in 1658, the Kickapoo were displaced toward the west of Lake Michigan, to the southwest of the current state of Wisconsin.⁸⁴ The land appropriated between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan in the War of King William (1688–1697) was no longer considered indigenous land, but French property,⁸⁵ and the land freed up by the French and Indian War (1754–1761), was considered English because "the imperialist powers did not take the indigenous into account once they had won."⁸⁶ From that time on, the Kickapoo were forced to divide into different bands to fight the European invasion: the Prairie Band established itself in Illinois and the Vermillion Band settled west of the Wabash River in Indiana. Later, when France ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1763, a smaller Kickapoo band, commanded by Chief Serena, moved next to the Mississippi.⁸⁷

The Europeans' territorial expansionism was accompanied by cultural expansionism, which brought structural and ideological changes. When furs began to be traded for European goods, different tribes left behind their original activities and pace of life to carry out the more lucrative activity.⁸⁸ Thus, their old tribal values—the fraternal relationship of indigenous hunters with animals and their natural world—were diminished. In addition, systematic hunting caused the number of animals to drop and brought about famines, which, together with "fiewater," an opiate in misery, made the indigenous economically dependent on the Europeans.

A pan-Indian resistance emerged against this cultural and economic threat under the prophet Neolin ("The Illuminated One") of the Delaware tribe, and Pontiac, the powerful chief of the Odawa tribe from around what is now Detroit. They made an alliance with the peoples of the Great Lakes against the British soldiers and their colonists in 1762.⁸⁹ This pan-Indian union, which also included the Kickapoo, laid siege to Fort Detroit in 1763; according to Carl Waldman, Pontiac ordered attacks on the surrounding settlements resulting in the deaths of approximately 2,000 colonists in the spring and summer of that year. Several other British forts in the region also fell, such as Fort Sandusky, south of Lake Erie; Fort St. Joseph (Niles, Michigan); Fort Miami (Fort Wayne, Indiana); Fort Quiatenon (Lafayette, Indiana); Fort Michilimackinac (Mackinac), and others in the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes Region. "At the end of July, Captain James Dalyell, who had managed to get through to Detroit with reinforcements, was defeated at Bloody Run, when he tried to foray out against Pontiac's warriors."⁹⁰ Finally, Commander Lord Jeffrey Amherst sent out smallpox-infected blankets, as did Captain Simeon Ecuyer, sparking an epidemic among Pontiac's troops surrounding Fort Detroit.⁹¹

The tribes also lost interest in the siege because they no longer hoped for victory and, since winter was approaching, they needed to hunt and gather food for their families.⁹² In the words of Alvin M. Josephy, the tribes were not used to fighting together or being away from their homes for long periods. For these reasons, many withdrew after the first victories, allowing the English to retake some of the forts.⁹³

The September 1783 Peace of Paris formally put an end to the colonies' War of Independence, and the British ceded Indian lands to the United States Americans, without regard for the sovereignty of the Natives.⁹⁴ The next day, Pontiac ordered his troops to withdraw from Fort Detroit. He had little luck in organizing a new pan-Indian alliance because "various tribes of the Old Northwest were pacified. . . . Although unable to organize the western bands, he did perhaps sow the seeds for future regional revolt." However, Pontiac's death in 1769 at the hands of a Peoria Indian, the causes of whose actions are unknown, put an end to the pan-Indian struggle.⁹⁵

Two other large leagues of Indian warriors were formed to resist the advance of the US Americans in the Ohio Valley:⁹⁶ one under the supreme command of Little Turtle, war chief of the Miami, and the other under the supreme command of Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawnee, who undertook military vengeance expeditions.⁹⁷ After a defeat of the US army on October 19, 1790, near Fort Wayne, Indiana, the United States Americans retaliated with the attack at Fallen Timbers in 1794, which resulted in the loss of almost two-thirds of the Indian northeast forest lands, codified in the Treaty of Greenville of 1795.⁹⁸

This stripping of the Indians' land caused a great deal of discontent among the different tribes, above all when new flows of immigrants began to displace them and make the number of animals for the hunt dwindle. The worst aspect, however, was that the Indians became dependent on the US Americans due to the reduction of their natural sources of provisions. This caused a loss of dignity and led to alcoholism,⁹⁹ which, in turn, demoralized the rest of the tribes.

Two great figures from the Shawnee tribe emerged who would strengthen the Indians' identity: Tecumseh, or "celestial puma," and his younger brother, the prophet Lalwethika or Tenkwatawa ("open door"). "Everything from the whites,' [Tenkwatawa] said to his followers, 'must be rejected, including Christianity.'"¹⁰⁰ Tecumseh took the spiritual teachings of his brother and translated them into a political and military movement of Indian resistance.¹⁰¹ Historian Élise Marienstras comments that the two brothers took advantage of the last opportunity to unite the indigenous peoples to recover their lands and reject the "white man" who was never "satisfied and does not stop invading us."¹⁰² So in 1808 they established a religious community beside the Wabash River, later called Prophetstown;¹⁰³ from there, Tecumseh brought together the tribes from the Northeast and the South, to the displeasure of General William Henry Harrison.¹⁰⁴

However, this pan-Indian movement ran counter to the tribes' political structure, which is why many older chiefs rejected the idea, particularly those from tribes from the South, who had adapted more to United States American civilization and had less interest in this union.¹⁰⁵ This disunity weakened their military force. When United States ships destroyed the British fleet on Lake Erie on September 13, 1813, and a

United States army marched on Detroit, the British withdrew to the east, leaving the land to the Americans. Despite this defeat, Tecumseh and his warriors fought 3,000 United States troops to the death.¹⁰⁶

The result of this defeat was that in 1819, the Kickapoo had to move west of the Mississippi, as did many other tribes, such as the Illinois Kickapoo with the Treaty of Edwardsville (July 30, 1819) and the Wabash Kickapoo with the Treaty of Fort Harrison (August 30, 1819). Reservation life was not free. The limitation of their territory, first to the Missouri reservation (2,048,000 acres) and later on the Kansas reservation (768,000 acres) and the mere 150,000 acres at Grasshopper River, changed their lives from that of hunters to farmers, which created a great deal of discontentment among the Kickapoo, according to A. M. Gibson.¹⁰⁷ Above all, they were bothered by the boarding schools' ideological control and the continual division of the land on their reservations, first in Kansas and later in Oklahoma. Land division took away the possibility of hunting and cultivating the land, part of their cultural and economic base. In addition, they lacked experience in mercantile transactions, so they were often the victims of fraud, especially by railroad companies like Trans-Western Railroad, whose transcontinental railroad would cross their territory.¹⁰⁸

When the last tribal resistance fell with the Sauk Indian Black Hawk at Bad Axe, near Rock River, Wisconsin, on August 3, 1832, many Indians were discouraged.¹⁰⁹ However, not all the tribes resigned themselves.¹¹⁰ Thanks to ethnic consciousness and the courage of their resistance, the most rebellious—the Illinois Kickapoo from the Kansas reservation, or the “war-makers”—opposed their confinement to the reservation and decided to emigrate to southern Texas and then to Mexico. George R. Nielsen mentions a Kickapoo migration to Mexico that began in 1838 when the Texas army expelled Mexican troops from northeast Texas. Wildcat, a Seminole warrior, attempted to establish an indigenous colony in Mexico and the Kickapoo accepted the invitation to migrate there under the orders of their chief Papequah because of their hatred of the Texans and the welcome the Mexican government offered the Seminole Kickapoo. Due to the Mexicans' act of generosity, the Kickapoo felt obligated to defend Mexico's northern border against the Apaches and Comanches.¹¹¹

In 1859, Benito Juárez gave the Kickapoo tribe 3,510 hectares of communal land in perpetual ownership at El Nacimiento, land that had been expropriated from the landowner Carlos Sánchez Navarro, in exchange for defending Mexico's northern border against the “savage groups.”¹¹² In the time of Lázaro Cárdenas, the land was expanded to 7,022 hectares due to the increase in *ejido* communal land endowed for cattle-raising.¹¹³ In the nineteenth century, the Kickapoo sought economic sustenance as farmers and cattle ranchers as well as the freedom to hold their ceremonies in El Nacimiento in the Mexican state of Coahuila. Above all, they managed to avoid being assimilated into an alien culture, which is why they refused formal education in Mexico. Their intent, however, was not to deny themselves formal education on principle, but rather to foster teaching in accordance with their own culture: “We would want a school in which a well-trained teacher could help us instruct our children in accordance with our own beliefs, with our religion, with our way of looking at life and of living it, a right we are not willing to renounce.”¹¹⁴ This quotation from

Kickapoo philosopher Meníscika reflects the high level of Kickapoo ethnic consciousness in terms of preserving their worldview and traditions. They attributed enormous importance to the freedom to hunt; according to Alfonso Fabila, for the Kickapoo the greatest happiness in eternal life consists of a perpetual deer hunt.¹¹⁵ Due to the geographical limitations of El Nacimiento and the restrictions on moving through their neighbors' territory, hunting only had a ceremonial function.¹¹⁶

In the 1940s a prolonged drought in El Nacimiento forced the Kickapoo to emigrate temporarily to the United States to work as farmworkers. Older people and the priests stayed behind in El Nacimiento because this is the Kickapoo place of traditions. The younger Kickapoo would stay six months a year to cultivate the land and carry out religious rituals, and would go work in the United States as farm laborers the other six months.¹¹⁷ Arriving from the subordinate Mexico and only temporarily incorporated into the capitalist system of the dominant United States, the Kickapoo were on the low end of the social scale. Emigration led them to become exploited for their labor power, while the internalizing negative factors and merging of contradictory identities made them vulnerable to alcoholism and drug addiction.¹¹⁸ To be able to escape this poverty, the Kickapoo acquired federal land in the United States and later set up a casino on that reservation. In addition, acquiring United States citizenship and recognition from the federal government was indispensable for obtaining the benefits guaranteed to United States tribes.

Business in Texas and Refuge at El Nacimiento

In 1983, thanks to the Kickapoo Trust land Acquisition Committee and support from different Protestant churches and Indian organizations (the Native American Rights Fund, for example), the Kickapoo, once established as Natives of the United States, were able to purchase a small, 125.43-acre piece of land for \$165,000.¹¹⁹ The land is in Maverick County, next to Rosita Valley, about 7.25 miles southeast of Eagle Pass, Texas.¹²⁰ At first, this land was used by Kickapoo farm laborers to rest on their way to work on US farms. But in the mid-1990s, when the farm laborers were largely replaced by machines, the demand for workers dropped and the Kickapoo of Texas had to seek another source of income. They planned a casino on their reservation, which they opened in August 1996. This was possible because the land was federal trust land, since casinos are illegal in the state of Texas.¹²¹

As the only casino in Texas,¹²² its earnings allowed the Kickapoo to build a new casino in 2004.¹²³ And, in 2014, a three-and-a-half-star hotel was inaugurated next to the Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino. The large number of guests who visit from different parts of Texas and Mexican northern border states provides jobs for most of the Kickapoo.¹²⁴ In addition, casino income has allowed the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas to purchase new lands, like the Spofford Ranch in Kinney County,¹²⁵ the Pecan Farm, land along the new Rosita Valley highway to the casino, as well as land in El Nacimiento.¹²⁶

However, the danger of culturally assimilating into US society can be seen in adaptation to an American lifestyle, which is promoted by formal education in Texas



FIGURE 5. *Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino Hotel on the Kickapoo Reservation, Maverick County, Texas, 2015.*

schools and is also necessary for working in the casino.¹²⁷ For example, because US education and training does not include either Kickapoo culture or language, English predominates among the young; they speak their own language only when they are talking to their parents or grandparents.¹²⁸ In addition, television programs change the worldviews of children, such as fostering consumerism. The parents who are most conscious of these effects still teach their children the Kickapoo language and ensure that the reservation's kindergarten includes their culture and language.¹²⁹ Some are also interested in having their stories and myths published in Kickapoo, Spanish, and English for the benefit of future generations.¹³⁰

In recent years, few women have been making crafts because they work in the casino. It was therefore something of a surprise when a Kickapoo woman took the initiative to sell tribal crafts that could not be found in the casino hotel gift shop, including deerskin bags and moccasins (*teguas*) and bead necklaces and earrings, among other items.¹³¹

Despite their integration into US society, young Kickapoo prefer their traditions and tribal unity (cohesion) and are greatly interested in participating in the ancestral ceremonies at the Ceremonial Center in El Nacimiento, Coahuila, Mexico, particularly in the deer hunt and traditional dances. They request time off from work in order to attend.¹³²

THE REFUGE AT EL NACIMIENTO, COAHUILA

On the El Nacimiento *ejido* communal land in Mexico, the Kickapoo spiritual guide and priests play an important role in revitalizing the tribe's traditions. The tribe has a traditional government and the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas council. Members of the traditional government, with the chief and the spiritual leader in the



FIGURE 6. *Adolfo Ánico (Pemosaaaua) spiritual leader of the Kickapoo of Coahuila (1971–2001), 1998.*

lead, transmit the traditions. In most cases, the traditional chief is also the head priest; Alfonso Fabila recognizes him as the civil, military, and religious authority, supported by a council of elders or priests.¹³³ This figure is crucial to creating ethnic consciousness, through which the group can resist external influences. The same is true of the spiritual guide, who brings together both pragmatic and spiritual aspects.

In other words, El Nacimiento is the sacred land; in part, the Kickapoo survive culturally because they have a place in Mexico where they can bury their dead and celebrate their traditional rites. There they can hunt to obtain deer meat, which is indispensable for Kickapoo rituals in which deer meat is distributed to all participants.¹³⁴ This creates strong cohesion in the group, putting all internal conflicts aside. The dances—historic and religious practices of the tribe—also unite its members emotionally. These include dances for both men and for women and for the New Year, or *Nemij Kamiki*, the biggest ceremony of the year, attended by the Kickapoo of Texas and of Oklahoma.¹³⁵ Ceremonies also include traditional rites in the form of games, played by the *oskasa* and the *kiiskooha*, the tribe's two halves, or moieties.¹³⁶

Kickapoo women still build their traditional reed grass houses for winter (*apakue-nikane*) and summer (*utenikane*) and temples to the Great Spirit, or *Kitzigiata*, where the sacred flame burns and Kickapoo masses are said. Kickapoo ceremonies have also recently been performed in McLoud, Oklahoma. These practices demonstrate a living culture of ancestral origin, which exists because they have a place to exercise their



FIGURE 7. *Tákana, Kickapoo Traditional drummer of El Nacimiento, Coah, 2008.*



FIGURE 8. *Traditional Summer House (utenikane) in the village of El Nacimiento, Coahuila, Mexico, 2006.*

traditions where the older Kickapoo can dedicate themselves to both a spiritual and day-to-day existence.

Since many members of the tribe reside permanently in the United States, these Kickapoo may only visit their relatives in El Nacimiento on weekends and during ceremony seasons and vacations. Others go to Mexico more often to retire to the tranquility of the countryside and to inspect the fields and cattle which in their absence are cared for by *mascogos* and Mexicans.¹³⁷

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that today, the Kickapoo of El Nacimiento are situated between economic progress and preservation of tradition; what will survive and thrive will depend to a great extent on their ethnic consciousness, but also on the economic support that makes the exercise of their culture possible. The difference between the Cahuilla of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians and the Kickapoo of Texas/Coahuila is to be found in their histories and the availability of a space to take refuge and practice their ancestral ceremonies. While the Cahuilla people were exposed to servitude and their lands diminished by the Spanish missionaries, Mexican local ranchers, and US landlords, the Kickapoo were expelled from their native territory and confined to the reservation in Kansas; from there, the most conscious left to seek their freedom in Mexico. This allowed them to escape the ideological control of both missionary schools and government boarding schools, where children were forbidden to speak their language and were distanced from their customs by indoctrinating them with the values of the “civilized” world.

In contrast, the Cahuilla were threatened by the adventurers who sought gold in California as well as the railroad companies that stole their land. For them, therefore, the reservation provided a certain protection—a protection fought for by historically important Cahuilla figures. In addition, the fight to set up casinos on their land was key to Cahuilla economic survival. Above all, the proximity of Hollywood to their land guaranteed them a more upscale clientele. Similarly, setting up the Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino made it possible for the Kickapoo to avoid farm work and increase their territory.

If setting up casinos on the reservations could lead to greater cultural assimilation and thus endanger ancestral values, it also makes it possible to finance cultural events and classes to recover language and crafts, among other valuable cultural traditions. In this way, finance capital becomes cultural capital and vice versa; it is in this sense that John L. and Jean Comaroff hope that casino revenue will open the doors to a new cultural tourism business.¹³⁸ In this context, ethnic consciousness plays an important role in ensuring the tribe’s cultural survival. This does not mean that their culture will be merely folklore or material for museums, but that they will transform it themselves, taking into account the multicultural contact that occurs in times of economic and cultural globalization.

NOTES

1. J. A. Bustamante, "Frontera México-Estados Unidos: Reflexiones para un Marco Teórico," *Frontera Norte* 1, no. 1 (1989): 11, https://www.colef.mx/fronteranorte/articulos/FN1/1-f1_front_Mexico_EU_Reflexiones.pdf.

2. Dennis H. Wrong, *Power: Its Forms, Bases, and Uses* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2004 [1923]), 11.

3. Ibid..

4. Ibid., 12. However, Wrong notes that Theodor Geiger had already formulated this distinction.

5. Dieter Haller, *dtv-Atlas Ethnologie* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2005), 29.

6. Ibid., 95.

7. Hartmut Esser, *Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie: Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten. Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse* (Darmstadt-Neuwied, Germany: Hermann Luchterhand, 1980), 19.

8. G. Bonfil Batalla, "Descolonización y Cultura Propia," in *Obras Escogidas de Guillermo Bonfil*, vol. 4, ed. Lina Odena (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, INAH, Dirección General de Culturas Populares, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Fideicomiso Fondo Nacional de Fomento Ejidal, Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria, CIESAS, 1995), 352; G. Bonfil Batalla, "La Penetración Cultural Imperialista en México," in *Obras Escogidas de Guillermo Bonfil*, 489.

9. See Esser, 22–23.

10. S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Place of Elites and Primary Groups in the Absorption of New Immigrants in Israel," *American Journal of Sociology* 57, no. 3 (1951): 222–31; S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants: A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), 11–12, 260–62.

11. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 US 1 (1831), in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 4th ed., by David H. Getches, Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, Jr. (St. Paul, MN: West Group, 1998), 106.

12. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985 [1974]), 117–18.

13. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2–5.

14. Miguel Alberto Bartolomé, "Conciencia Étnica y Autogestión Indígena," in *Indianidad y Descolonización en América Latina*, ed. Segunda Reunión de Barbados (Mexico City: Nueva Imagen, 1979), 314–15. The result of the "intersocietal" relationship is a differentiated, contrasting identity that is generated through what Fredrik Barth calls the "ethnic frontiers," marking the borders between the members of different groups; see Fredrik Barth, *Los Grupos Étnicos y sus Fronteras. La Organización Social de la Diferencias Culturales*, trans. Sergio Lugo Rendón (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1976), 36. However, in times of globalization "have an impact on pluralizing social experiences and identities"; see Hernán Salas Quintanal, "Identidades y Globalización en el Espacio Fronterizo del Noroeste de Sonora," in *Migración, Diversidad y Fronteras Culturales*, ed. Cristina Oehmichen Bazán and Hernán Salas Quintanal (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas-UNAM, 2011), 126–27.

15. G. W. F. Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1987 [1807]), 561, 450.

16. Émile Durkheim, *La División del Trabajo Social*, 6th ed. (Mexico City: Colofón, 2007 [1893]), 140.

17. Ibid., 142.

18. Elisabeth A. Mager Hois, *Lucha y Resistencia en la Tribu Kikapú*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Facultad de Estudios Superiores Acatlán-UNAM, 2008), 284–313.

19. Mónica C. Vereá, *Migración Temporal en América del Norte: Propuestas y Respuestas* (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte-UNAM, 2003), 47.

20. The Cahuilla come from three regions: the Pass-Cahuilla (the Morongo Band of Mission Indians, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians); the Desert-Cahuilla (the Torres-Martínez Desert Band of Cahuilla Indians, the Augustine Band of Cahuilla Indians); and the Mountain-Cahuilla (the Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians, the Coyotes Band of Cahuilla and Cupeño Indians, the Ramona Band and the Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Indians).

21. The Morongo Nation website entry "Language & Culture" also mentions the Cupeño, <http://www.morongonation.org/content/language-culture>; and in discussion with the author, Lowell John Bean mentioned the ethnic groups of the Luiseños (Palm Springs, CA, June 21, 2012).

22. According to Goddard, the Serranos belong to the Serrano-Gabrielino subdivision, and the Cahuilla to the Cupan subdivision; see Ives Goddard, "Introduction," *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 17: "Languages," ed. Ives Goddard (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 7. According to Michael K. Foster, there is also a division between Proto-Northern Uto-Aztecan (equivalent to Shoshonean) and the Southern Uto-Aztecan; see Michael K. Foster, "Language and the Culture History of North America," *ibid.*, 91. This is why Alfred Louis Kroeber catalogues the Luiseño-Cahuilla, and the Cahuilla in general, as Shoshonean; see A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California 2* (La Vergne, TN: Kessinger Publishing, 2009), 689. For Eric Elliott, the Cahuilla are from the Northern Uto-Aztecan or Shoshonean, of the Takic branch and the Cupan subdivision; in contrast, Goddard does not differentiate between the Uto-Aztecan of the north and the south, but rather divides them into different branches, such as the Numic, which the Shoshonean belong to, and the Takic, which includes the Cahuilla, among others.

23. L. J. Bean, *Mukat's People: The Cahuilla Indians of Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 29–35.

24. The Cahuilla called themselves 'ivi'lyu'atum, which refers to people who speak Cahuilla; Bean, *Mukat's People*, 85. In Kroeber's definition, the term *Cahuilla*, which probably means "masters," comes from Spanish and was pronounced "Kwawia" or "Kwawila." However, the Cahuilla are called 'Yuhikt-om' or 'Kwimkuch-um' ('easterners') by the Luiseño, 'Tamikoch-em' by the Cupeño, 'Kitanemun-um' by the Serrano proper, 'Kwitanem-um' by the Chemehuevi, 'Hakwicha' by the Mohave." A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, vol. 2 (La Vergne, TN: Kessinger Publishing, 2009), 693.

25. John R. Brumgardt and Larry L. Bowles, *People of the Magic Waters: The Cahuilla Indians of Palm Springs* (Palm Springs, CA: ETC Publications, 2007), 21–32; Lowell John Bean, *Mukat's People*, 85–86. According to Bean, the Cahuilla were divided into two moieties, the *tuktum* (Wildcats) and the *'istam* (Coyotes).

26. Bean, *Mukat's People*, 104–5.

27. *Ibid.*, 108.

28. Willard Z. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America: A Study in Cultural Relationships* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1938), 48, qtd. in Bean, *Mukat's People*, 109.

29. Bean, *Mukat's People*, 161–62.

30. JoMay Modesto, qtd. in Deborah Dozier, *The Heart is Fire: The World of the Cahuilla Indians of Southern California* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998), 39.

31. Betty Kikumi Meltzer and Louis Doody, *Glimpses of History: The San Geronio Pass in the 19th Century* (Banning, CA: Malki Museum, Inc., 2011), 2.

32. The first museum founded by Native Americans, the Malki Museum, Press, and Cultural Center, located on the Morongo Reservation in Banning, CA, is more than 50 years old. See <http://www.malkimuseum.org>.

33. Katherine Siva Saubel and Eric Elliot, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish. A Dried Coyote's Tail*, vol. 1 (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 2004), 112–14.
34. Louis Doody and Betty Kikumi Meltzer, *Losing Ground: The Displacement of San Gorgonio Pass. Cabuilla in the 19th Century* (Banning, CA: Malki Museum, 2007), 23.
35. Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 36.
36. *Ibid.*, 52–53.
37. Harry C. James, *The Cabuilla Indians* (Morongo Indian Reservation, CA: Malki Museum Press/Westernlore Press, 1995 [1960]), 115–17.
38. *Ibid.*, 63–64.
39. James, *The Cabuilla Indians*, 120–22.
40. Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 89–90; Meltzer and Doody, *Glimpses of History*, 11–12.
41. Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 120.
42. *Ibid.*, 90.
43. James, *The Cabuilla Indians*, 101–10.
44. Office of Indian Affairs, Southern California 31, *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received 1824–1880* (Washington, DC, 1958), NARA Roll 234–50; Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 95.
45. Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 100, 119–20; Meltzer and Doody, *Glimpses of History*, 23.
46. “The Banning Water Company acquired the Banning Water Canyons thanks to Barker’s recommendations to the Smiley Commission,” according to Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 118; C. O. Barker, was one of the owners and the director (or manager) of the Banning Water Company.
47. Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 120.
48. Penn Rowe, “Preliminary Report on Value of Water Development and Transmission System Banning Water Company” (Banning, CA: Banning Water Company, December 1948), 3, 10–11.
49. Doody and Meltzer, *Losing Ground*, 120.
50. Tanya L. Rathbun, “Hail Mary. The Catholic Experience at St. Boniface Indian School,” in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 159.
51. Aaron Siva (Katherine Siva Saubel’s grandson), personal communication with author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians reservation, June 16, 2012.
52. Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 333.
53. Many film and music celebrities (such as Elizabeth Taylor, Dean Martin, Elvis Presley, and Frank Sinatra, among others) had homes in Palm Springs; see Christopher P. Baker, *Palm Springs & Desert Resorts* (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 2009), 97–106.
54. The Morongo Band of Mission Indians, “Economic Story,” <http://www.morongonation.org/content/economic-story>.
55. According to a Morongo Casino Resort & Spa craft store employee, “The Cahuilla have no need to work or make crafts. They acquire them from other tribes, like the Navajo, to sell in the shop in their casino.” Personal communication with the author, Banning, CA, July 2008.
56. The Malki Museum craft store sells beadwork necklaces, bracelets, broaches, and earrings, as well as baskets, among other items. According to store employee Mrs. Laury, more Cahuilla women are now spending time making crafts thanks to the courses given at the reservation’s community center. Mrs. Laury in discussion with the author, July 14, 2011.
57. According to Aaron Siva, the Cahuilla can marry anyone, whether a citizen of China, the United States, or anywhere else, and they respect no rules in this matter. Personal communication among author and Aaron Siva and Katherine Siva Saubel, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, July 15, 2011.

58. Katharine Siva Saubel, personal communication, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, July 15, 2011.

59. Employees of the Morongo Casino Resort & Spa, personal communications with author at the hotel, July, 2008, and Sandra Hale Schulman, "The Morongo Band of Mission Indians: A Lot of History, Many Descendants, Many Challenges," *Indian Country News*, September, 2009. Schulman notes that Cahuilla now intermarry "especially with Afro-Americans, but also with Mexicans, among others."

60. Schulman, "The Morongo Band of Mission Indians."

61. In support of this view, Lowell John Bean reasons, "There's only a bird dance and a few singers; often they only know a few words from recordings that they imitate. The Cahuilla ceremonies do not reflect the Cahuilla culture, such as was the case of the *nukil* ceremony (the ceremony of death) because it's only a get-together. There are also no traditional governments on the different reservations; all that's left are councils. It's all over. There aren't any shamans; the last one was Salvador Lopez from the Torre Martinez Band. He could walk on hot coals; he would put one in his mouth and spit it out until fire came out of his mouth" [retranslation]. Lowell John Bean, personal communication with author, Palm Springs, CA, June 12, 2012. Katherine Siva Saubel has written, "Lots of young people say, 'We are going to revive the Cahuilla culture, just like our *ancestors* used to do, our culture, the culture of the Cahuilla people, the young people say. / But the young people don't know. / You cannot bring it back once your culture has died out"; K. Siva Saubel and Eric Elliott, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish=A Dried Coyote's Tail*, vol. 2 (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 2004), 1007.

62. Saubel and Elliott, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish*, 1007.

63. Participatory observation field research at Eric Elliott's Cahuilla language class, June 21, 2012. The classes last two hours, from 5pm to 7 pm every two weeks. Eric Elliott learned Cahuilla from Katherine for 25 years. Elliott, in discussion with the author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, June 21, 2012. According to Malki Museum director Mr. Dean, 45 students are studying Cahuilla with Eric Elliott; Dean, in discussion with the author, Malki Museum, June 16, 2012.

64. Walter, a Cahuilla, in discussion with the author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, July 19, 2011. Victoria, a young Cahuilla girl, said, "The children go to the Morongo Reservation Elementary School until eighth grade; every Friday they learn a little bit of the Cahuilla language and their culture." Victoria, in discussion with the author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, July 18, 2013. Sue Hill, a basket-maker and basket-weaving instructor, says, "The Cahuilla lost their language and culture in the boarding school, where the students were forbidden to speak their own language and were taught nothing about their culture." Sue Hill, in discussion with the author, Morongo Reservation Community Center, July 18, 2013.

65. Eric Elliott, interview with author, Morongo Reservation, June 21, 2012.

66. Participatory observation field research at the Cultural Heritage Days fair on the Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, June 23, 2012. The Cultural Heritage Days were held June 22, 23, and 24, 2012.

67. Basket-maker Sue Hill, in discussion with the author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, June 23, 2012, and July 18, 2013. On the Cahuilla Reservation, Rosa, the sister of Cahuilla Rudi Hamilton, also makes baskets and sells them, according to her brother. Rudi Hamilton, in discussion with the author, Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians Reservation, July 17, 2013.

68. Deborah Dozier, *The Heart Is Fire: The world of the Cahuilla Indians of Southern California* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998), 122–25.

69. *Ibid.*, 130–13.

70. Monica Madrigal, promoter of Cahuilla culture, personal communication with author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, June 23, 2012.

71. Gerald Clarke says, "The Anza Cahuilla also make traditional pots and baskets, but only a few of the older Cahuilla know how to speak the language. They no longer have a traditional government, but only a council. Of the Cahuilla ceremonies, the only ones left are the Bird Dance and the funeral ceremony. Clarke, in discussion with the author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, June 23, 2012.

72. This was confirmed by the Cahuilla Mike, of the Torre Martínez Band; Mike, in discussion with the author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, June 23, 2012, and Rudi Hamilton of the Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians, in discussion with the author, Morongo Reservation, July 17, 2013. Alvino Siva, Saturino Torres, and Robert Levi, among others, were famous Bird Singers who sang in their own language and trained new generations of bird singers and bird dancers. See Deborah Dozier, *The Heart is Fire*, 84, 90, 92.

73. Field research, the Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, June 23, 2012.

74. Katherine Siva Saubel, in discussion with the author, Morongo Band of Mission Indians Reservation, July 15, 2011.

75. The museum has an exhibit of old baskets and ceramic pots, as well as utensils for day-to-day living and ceremonies; the book shop sells books published by the Malki Museum publishing house.

76. Field research, Morongo Band of Mission Indians reservation, 2008 to 2013.

77. Siva Saubel, Katherine, and Eric Elliot, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish. A Dried Coyote's Tail*, vols. 1 and 2 (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 2004).

78. Field research, Morongo reservation, 2011 to 2013; see <http://www.malkimuseum.org/journalhistory.htm>.

79. The Spanish term for the tribe is *kikapú* (*kikapu*, *kikapús* o *kikapúes*), while the name in English is "Kickapoo." These words all come from the term *kiikaapoa*, whose meaning is unknown. Arnulfo Embriz and María Christina Saldaña say the word means "those who roam the Earth;" see Embriz and Saldaña, *Kikapúes* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1993), 5. Some authors also mention the words *kiwigapawa*, *kiwikapawa* or *kiwegapaw*, which mean "he who moves from here to there"; see Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs Bulletin 30, "Kickapoo" (Bureau of American Ethnology, 1910). The spokesperson or former chairman of the Kickapoo tribe, Raúl Garza, stated it means "guardian of the world"; Garza is quoted in Ernesto Perea, "Kikapúes, Grupo Indígena Posmoderno," *El Nacional* (Mexico City, DF, May 27, 1996).

80. Lee Sultzman, "Kickapoo History," <http://www.tolatsga.org/kick.html>.

81. Bill Wright and John Gesick, Jr., *The Texas Kickapoo: Keepers of Tradition* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1996), 5.

82. Martha Rodriguez, *Historias de Resistencia y Exterminio: Los Indios de Coahuila durante el Siglo XIX* (Mexico City: CIESAS, Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1995), 114.

83. Stephen Hardin, *Conference on South Texas Studies 1994* (Victoria, TX: The Victoria College Press, 1994), 167.

84. Sultzman, "Kickapoo History."

85. Elisabeth A. Mager Hois, *Kikapú. Pueblos Indígenas de México Contemporáneo* (Mexico City: Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas, 2006), 7.

86. Mager Hois, *Lucha y Resistencia*, 65.

87. Wright and Gesick, *The Texas Kickapoo*, 7.

88. Alvin M. Josephy, *500 Nations: Die Illustrierte Geschichte der Indianer Nordamerikas*, trans. Veronika Strass (Munich, GDR: Frederking und Thaler, 1996), 230.

89. *Ibid.*, 255.

90. Carl Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indians*, illus. Molly Brown (New York: Checkmark Books, 2000 [1985]), 129.

91. *Ibid.*, 143.

92. Ibid., 130.
93. Josephy, *500 Nations*, 258.
94. Ibid., 276.
95. Waldman, *Atlas*, 130.
96. Sultzman, "Kickapoo History."
97. Josephy, *500 Nations*, 289.
98. Ibid., 303.
99. Ibid., 304.
100. Ibid., 305 [translation by the author].
101. Ibid., 308.
102. Élise Marienstras, *La Resistencia India en los Estados Unidos, del Siglo XVI al Siglo XX*, trans. Uxoia Doyhamboure and Oscar Barahona (Mexico City, DF: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1982), 103–04 [translation by the author].
103. According to Robert M. Utley and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Indian Wars* (New York: American Heritage Press, 2002 [1977]), 118, "Delawares, Wyandots, Ojibwas, Kickapoos, and Ottawas came to settle and live there in austere harmony."
104. In 1809, Harrison procured a cession of land from drunken chiefs while Tecumseh was away; as a result, Tecumseh gathered 1,000 warriors in Prophetstown to enforce his statement that any occupation of Indian land would be repelled. See Utley and Washburn, *Indian Wars*, 118.
105. According to Utley and Washburn, above all the older chiefs withdrew from the pan-Indian union because they depended upon government annuities. Ibid., 121.
106. Josephy, *500 Nations*, 312–17.
107. Arell M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 80–81, 119.
108. Ibid., 125.
109. According to Gloria Jahoda, disgruntled Kickapoos joined Black Hawk's warriors. See Gloria Jahoda, *The Trail of Tears: The Story of the American Indian Removals 1813–1855* (New York: Wings Books, 1995), 132.
110. Utley and Washburn, *Indian Wars*, 137.
111. George R. Nielsen, *The Kickapoo People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1975), 50–51.
112. Ana María Dardón Martínez, *El Grupo Kikapú* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1980), 2.
113. Edward J. Gesick, "Texas-Mexican Kickapoos at a Crossroads: Where to from Here?," in *Conference on South Texas Studies 1994*, Victoria College, ed. (Victoria, TX: The Victoria College Press, 1994), 171; Martha Rodríguez, *Historias de resistencia y exterminio: Los indios de Coahuila durante el siglo XIX* (Mexico City: CIESAS, Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1995), 118–19; Arnulfo Embriz O., and María Cristina Saldaña Fernández, *Kikapúes* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1993), 12.
114. Emilio N. Acosta, *Meniscika* (Mexico City: Minerva, 1946), 29.
115. Alfonso Fabila, *La Tribu Kickapoo de Coahuila* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1945), 88.
116. Spiritual leader Chacoca Ánico, personal communication with the author, El Nacimiento, Coahuila, December 28, 1996.
117. Raúl Garza (former chairman of the Council of the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas), interview by the author, El Nacimiento, Coahuila, January 29, 1997.
118. Field research done in El Nacimiento, Coahuila, and at the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas Reservation, 1995 to 2008.

119. The Traditional Kickapoo of Texas, "Land Acquisition Committee Report, 1981–1984," McLoud, OK, 1984.
120. The source of the reported distance from Eagle Pass, Texas, to the Kickapoo Reservation in Maverick County is the Eagle Pass Chamber of Commerce, June 8, 2006.
121. Elisabeth A. Mager Hois, *Casinos y Poder: El Caso del Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Facultad de Estudios Superiores Acatlán, 2010), 113.
122. The prosperity of the Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino can be explained because it is the only one in the state since the Tigua tribe's Speaking Rock Casino and the Alabama Coushatta tribe's Alabama-Coushatta Casino were closed down in 2002. See Tom Wanamaker, "Tigua Casino Closes after Supreme Court Rejects Appeal for Stay," *Indian Country Today*, February 16, 2002, <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/tigua-casino-closes-after-supreme-court-rejects-appeal-for-stay/>.
123. Employees of the Kickapoo Lucky Eagle Casino, in discussion with the author, December 2006.
124. Mager Hois, *Lucha y Resistencia*, 196; former Chairman Raúl Garza, interview by author, April 21, 2000, El Nacimiento, Coahuila; Chairman Juan Garza, interview by author, July 8, 2005, and casino treasurer, December 2005, Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas reservation.
125. Arturo Delgado, former director of Healing Grounds; interview by the author in Spofford, Texas, August 15, 2002. Former Chairman Raul Garza, interview by the author on the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas Reservation, July 2000; deer are hunted with carbines from Kickapoo trucks, according to the head of the Spofford Ranch in discussion with the author, August 15, 2002.
126. Chairman Juan Garza, interview by author, Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas Reservation, July 8, 2005.
127. Mager Hois, *Kikapú*, 35.
128. Interview with the counselor, Rosita Valley Elementary School, March 1, 1999.
129. Cuquina Rodríguez, Juan Garza's wife, in discussion with the author, December 2012.
130. Cuca Ponce and her daughters Cuquina and Xochitl Rodríguez, in discussion with the author, July 2012, Eagle Pass, Texas.
131. Rosa Irene Salazar, a Kickapoo salesperson, in discussion with the author, March 5, 2015.
132. Field research on the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas and El Nacimiento, Coahuila Reservations, from 1996 to 2015.
133. Alfonso Fabila, *La Tribu Kikapoo de Coahuila* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 2002), 94.
134. *Ibid.*, 144.
135. The date of the Kickapoo New Year, or *Nemij Kamiki*, is not fixed, but rather is established by the tribe's captain according to certain natural signs. See Felipe A. Latorre and Dolores L. Latorre, *The Mexican Kickapoo Indians* (New York: Dover Publications, 1991 [1976]), 275; Mager Hois, *Lucha y Resistencia*, 275; Robert E. Ritzenthaler and Frederick A. Peterson, *The Mexican Kickapoo Indians* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1956), 47.
136. Felipe A. Latorre and Dolores L. Latorre, *The Mexican Kickapoo Indians*, 151–52; Dillingham, qtd. in William C. Sturtevant and Bruce G. Trigger, eds., *Handbook of North American Indians, Northeast*, vol. 15 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 660.
137. "Mascogo" is the name given to the descendants of Seminoles or African-Seminole slaves.
138. John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.* (The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 9.