JICARILLA APACHE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

BY

H. CLYDE WILSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Volume 48, No. 4, pp. 297–360, 2 maps

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EDITORS (LOS ANGELES): R. L. BEALS, J. B. BIRDSELL, HARRY HOIJER

Volume 48, No. 4, pp. 297–360, 2 maps

Approved for publication February 15, 1963
Issued February 21, 1964
Price, $1.50

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
CALIFORNIA

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, ENGLAND

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

THIS STUDY is based upon field work among the Jicarilla Apache Indians from October, 1958, to September, 1960, conducted as part of the Jicarilla Apache Project in Applied Anthropology, Contract Research 290–200, University of New Mexico. The Jicarilla Apache Indian tribe, through its governing body, the Representative Tribal Council, financed the project. Harry W. Basehart and Tom T. Sasaki of the University of New Mexico, were the co-directors and I was the research assistant on the project actively engaged in field work for the twenty-three-month period. The work was assisted by my wife, Betty, who was employed by the Jicarilla Apache tribe as clerk to the Chief Tribal Accountant and to the Tribal Loan Officer for the period November, 1958, to June, 1959. She, too, was a research assistant on the project from October, 1959, to September, 1960, and worked primarily with the children attending the Dulce Public School. Dr. Basehart was actively engaged in field work for two months during the summer of 1959 when we conducted a survey among Jicarilla livestock owners on attitudes toward proposed changes in range management.

While engaged in the field work I occupied an office in the tribal office building. I was free to attend meetings of the Tribal Council and the various tribal committees and to confer with tribal and Bureau of Indian Affairs officials. After I became known in the community, Jicarilla and non-Jicarilla spent up to eight hours a day in my office. Most of the information was collected during these casual conversations. Twice I tried using paid informants but found this to be much less successful than informal interviews; neither the informants nor I was comfortable with the situation. Informants felt they would be criticized for spending so much time with a white man, and I found they were less likely to give information during a formal interview than in a casual conversation. I also found that formal interviewing was too confining and that it discouraged people from casually dropping into the office. Moreover, I did not want to confine my interviews to a few people because examining a cross section of the population is essential in describing a rapidly changing society.

During the first year of the field work I made frequent visits to the Jicarilla at their homes. At the end of the first six months of field work, Lewis Vigil, an interpreter, and I visited every home on the reservation. The information obtained during the household survey far exceeded my expectations. The Jicarilla often interpreted our visit as a social call, and I was able to talk to that segment of the population which did not visit me in my office. I found the Jicarilla to be friendly, coöperative, and frank. Out of the 223 households we visited, only one individual refused to give us the information we requested, and the individual came to my office a few days later to give me the information.

Another source of information was the files of the Jicarilla Apache Agency and the Jicarilla tribal office. Much of the material is filed or stored in such a way that it is not possible to provide references which lead to the source but some of the unpublished material consists of formal reports and may be located. These sources have been listed in the bibliography under "Unpublished References Cited" and have been annotated to give the reader an idea of their value and extent. However,

a few general remarks should be made about the accuracy and historical coverage of the written materials.

The files contain a number of periodical reports—extension reports, industrial reports, superintendent's annual reports, annual livestock counts, and the like. The quality of the information and the regularity with which they are issued vary greatly. For example, there is an annual report from the U. S. Extension Agent for the years 1934 through 1953. Starting in 1954 the extension service was turned over to the state of New Mexico and both the type and quantity of data reported changed drastically. It is obvious that much of the quantitative material in some of the reports is estimated and often reflects the special interest of the reporter rather than actual conditions. Sharp changes in the quantitative information often indicate a change in personnel rather than a change in the condition. In one year the figure for the number of horses on the reservation increased by 2,000 and remained high for four years, then dropped to the former level. During those four years the figures were estimated by a government employee who was interested in a program to remove all unused horses from the reservation; he apparently revised the figures to indicate that horses were taking up a great deal of the available range land.

I have tried to establish the accuracy or the reasonableness of the quantitative data used in the study by reading reports and letters written around the time the quantitative data were reported and by talking to informants about conditions at that time. The quantitative data, then, add support to changes established from other sources.

This study was also aided by work being done in connection with the Jicarilla Apache land claim against the United States government. The work on the claim has led to several studies which seek to establish the extent of the Jicarilla territory at the time of first contact with Europeans and at various periods following contact up to the time the Jicarilla arrived at their present reservation. Much of this material is not available for publication because the Jicarilla's case is still in the courts, but we were able to draw some valuable information from A. B. Thomas' historical materials and from the report on natural environment by B. L. Gordon *et al.* Both reports are listed in the bibliography under "Unpublished References Cited."

The Jicarilla Apache were studied by Morris E. Opler in 1934–1935. Extensive use was made of his materials in providing background on pre-reservation Jicarilla culture. I made no effort to collect information systematically on this period of Jicarilla culture, but have concentrated instead on the post-reservation period.

We are indebted to many individuals and organizations for aid during this study. Foremost among these are the individual Jicarilla Apache who spent many hours talking to us about the Apache way of life and their problems. The official representatives of the tribe, James D. Garcia, Chairman of the Tribal Council; Charlie Vigil, Vice-Chairman of the Tribal Council; and Alfred Velarde, Secretary of the Tribal Council, gave their full support to this work. Gabriel Abeyta, Chief Tribal Accountant, gave freely of his time and his knowledge of the Jicarilla as he has known them during the ten years he has worked for the tribe. Our work was considerably enriched by his contribution.

This work would have been impossible without the coöperation and approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Wade Head, Area Director, and Walter Olson, Assistant Area Director, both of the Gallup Area Office, supported and encouraged the study. The late John B. Keliiaa, Superintendent of the Jicarilla Apache Agency during the period of the study, was highly instrumental in establishing the contract between the Jicarilla Apache tribe and the University of New Mexico. His interest in the study facilitated the field work in all areas; his death was a personal loss to me and a loss to the area of applied social research.

It is difficult to single out individual members of the Jicarilla Apache Agency staff who have contributed to this study. Mention should be made, however, of Leo Wolfe, Land Operations Officer; Wallace O. Craig, Social Science Analyst; and Kenneth Long, Tribal Loan Officer. Mr. Long has served the Jicarilla Apache reservation in various capacities for about thirty years. He is a keen observer with a very good memory. During the early months of the field work, I spent a great deal of time traveling about the reservation with him. Mr. Long's tacit endorsement of me highly facilitated my acceptance by the Jicarilla.

We also received the coöperation of the staffs of the Public Health Service, the Dulce Public School, the State Extension Agents, the Dutch Reformed Church mission, and the local trading post. We found all of these sources willing to make available the information we requested.

Grateful acknowledgments are due Dr. Harry W. Basehart and Dr. Tom T. Sasaki. I benefited greatly from their direction and counsel based on years of experience among Athabaskan speakers.

My wife contributed to the work both as co-worker and as critical observer. Her training and experience in social work provided a stimulating contrast to the anthropological point of view. At this point it is impossible to separate her contributions and ideas from my own.

This monograph is a revision of a dissertation presented to the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Walter Goldschmidt, Eshref Shevky, and Councill Taylor supervised my graduate work there and the writing of the dissertation. They encouraged me to work with problems which interest me and to approach these problems with the methods and theories I thought most useful. To have been treated as a responsible student has been most gratifying; this study is a modest effort to justify that trust.

H. C. W.

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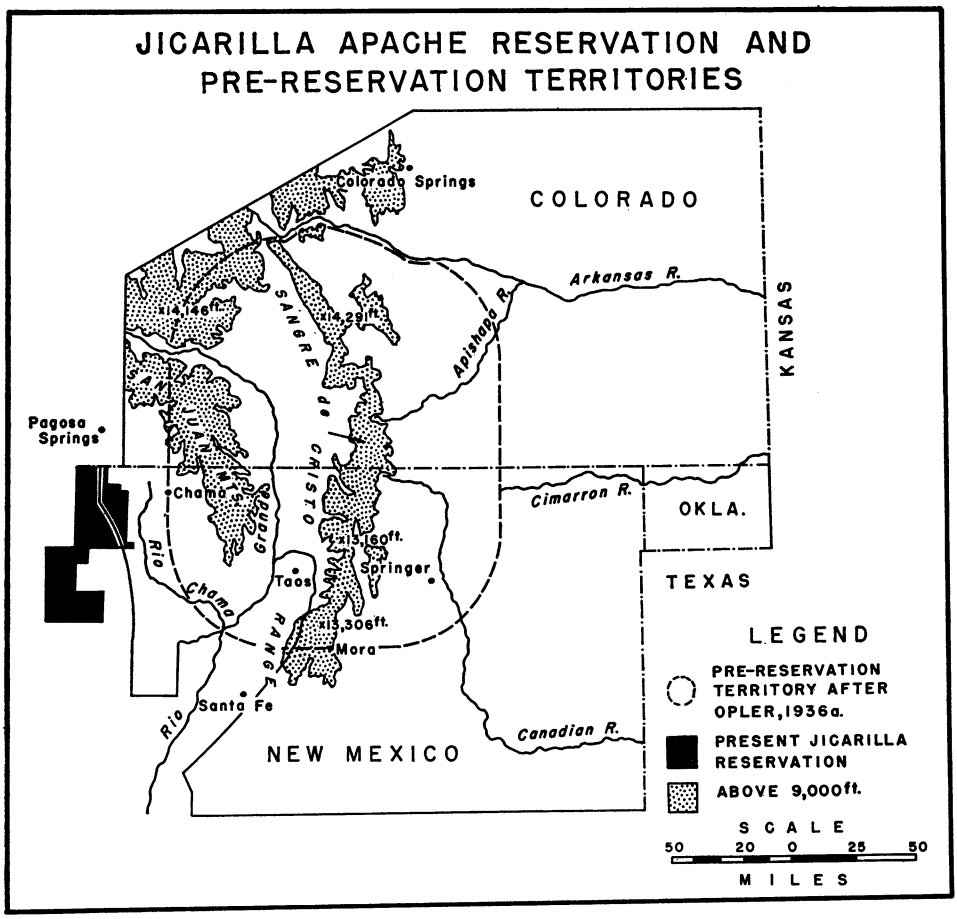


Map 1. Jicarilla Apache Territorial Boundaries. Base map is of the claim area; pre-reservation territory according to Opler and modern reservation as indicated.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE MODERN Jicarilla Apache tribe has about 1,300 members living on a 750,000-acre reservation in north central New Mexico. The Jicarilla Apache have been in contact with a number of different cultures during the historical period, and their present-day culture manifests changes resulting from these contacts. Many of these changes occurred after the Jicarilla were placed on a reservation in 1888. This study will describe and analyze some of the major changes which have occurred in the Jicarilla political and economic structures in the period from 1888 through 1960.

This chapter will give the cultural, geographical, and historical background for understanding changes during the reservation period. It concludes with a brief statement of the theoretical framework in which this descriptive analysis will be presented.

CULTURAL POSITION

The Jicarilla Apache are a group of the Southern Athabaskans living in the southwestern part of the United States. Hoijer (1956: 324), on the basis of kinship terminology, has divided the Apachean substock into an eastern (Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache) and western (Navaho, San Carlos, Chiricahua, and Mescalero) group. He finds the eastern group to be more closely related to Proto-Athabaskan than the western group and tentatively suggests the eastern group may have migrated from the north somewhat later and perhaps by a different route.

In historic times, Opler (1936*a*: 202) finds that the Jicarilla culture is a combination of Southern Athabaskan, Plains, and Pueblo cultures. The material culture, the raiding pattern, and buffalo hunting show a definite Plains influence. The contact with the Pueblos of the upper Rio Grande has left its impression in the development of the Jicarilla corn complex and in the religious sphere. Despite these changes, Opler says the Jicarilla are basically Southern Athabaskan. He thinks they are more closely related to the Navaho than any of the other Southern Athabaskan groups.

The diversity of the Jicarilla technology, ranging from simple hunting and gathering to mounted buffalo hunting to agriculture, was possible because of their intermediate cultural position and the diversity of the geographical environment in which they lived.

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

The present reservation of the Jicarilla is on the western limit of their pre-reservation territory. It is necessary, therefore, to discuss the pre-reservation and the reservation environments under separate headings.

PRE-RESERVATION ENVIRONMENT

In their land claims before the United States government, the Jicarilla Apache claim an area of over 61,000 square miles covering parts of northeastern New Mexico, southeastern Colorado, and the Panhandle of Oklahoma (see map 1). Actually, they claim a much broader area that extends into western Kansas, the

Panhandle of Texas, and west Texas. However, certain political commitments made by the United States government make it impossible for the Jicarilla to claim these additional areas. The historical evidence uncovered during investigation of the Jicarilla land claims clearly indicates they did at times range over this broad territory. Opler (1936*a*: 202) defines the former territory as being bordered on the north by the Arkansas River, extending to Mora, New Mexico, on the south, and extending from Chama, New Mexico, east to the Canadian River (see map 1).

The claim area includes five principal physiographic provinces: (1) the Southern Rockies extending from southern Colorado into north central New Mexico, (2) high intermontane basins, (3) basin and range provinces, (4) plateaus and mesas, (5) the high plains. This area extends in elevation from about 14,000 feet in the Southern Rockies down to about 3,500 feet where the high plains grade off into the southern plains (Gordon, *et al.*, 1960: 1–3).

Climate and vegetation vary widely in this type of topography. The growing season varies from about 40 to 200 days (Gordon, *et al.*, 1960: map 2) and precipitation varies from 8 to 30 inches (Gordon, *et al.*, 1960: map 3). The Alpine areas in the high elevations grade into spruce, fir, and aspen above 8,000 feet. The western yellow pine is found between 8,000 and 9,000 feet grading off into scrub oak and juniper and piñon between 6,500 and 7,500 feet. In the high intermontane basins and the high plains are found a wide variety of grasses—blue grama, black grama, buffalo grass, blue grass, and wheat grasses. The total claim area is about 67 per cent grassland; about 12 per cent open woodland with piñon and juniper; about 16 per cent forest area with pine, spruce, and fir; about 1 per cent Alpine area above the timberline; and about 4 per cent desert scrub area made up of sagebrush and greasewood (Gordon, *et al.*, 1960: 40–43).

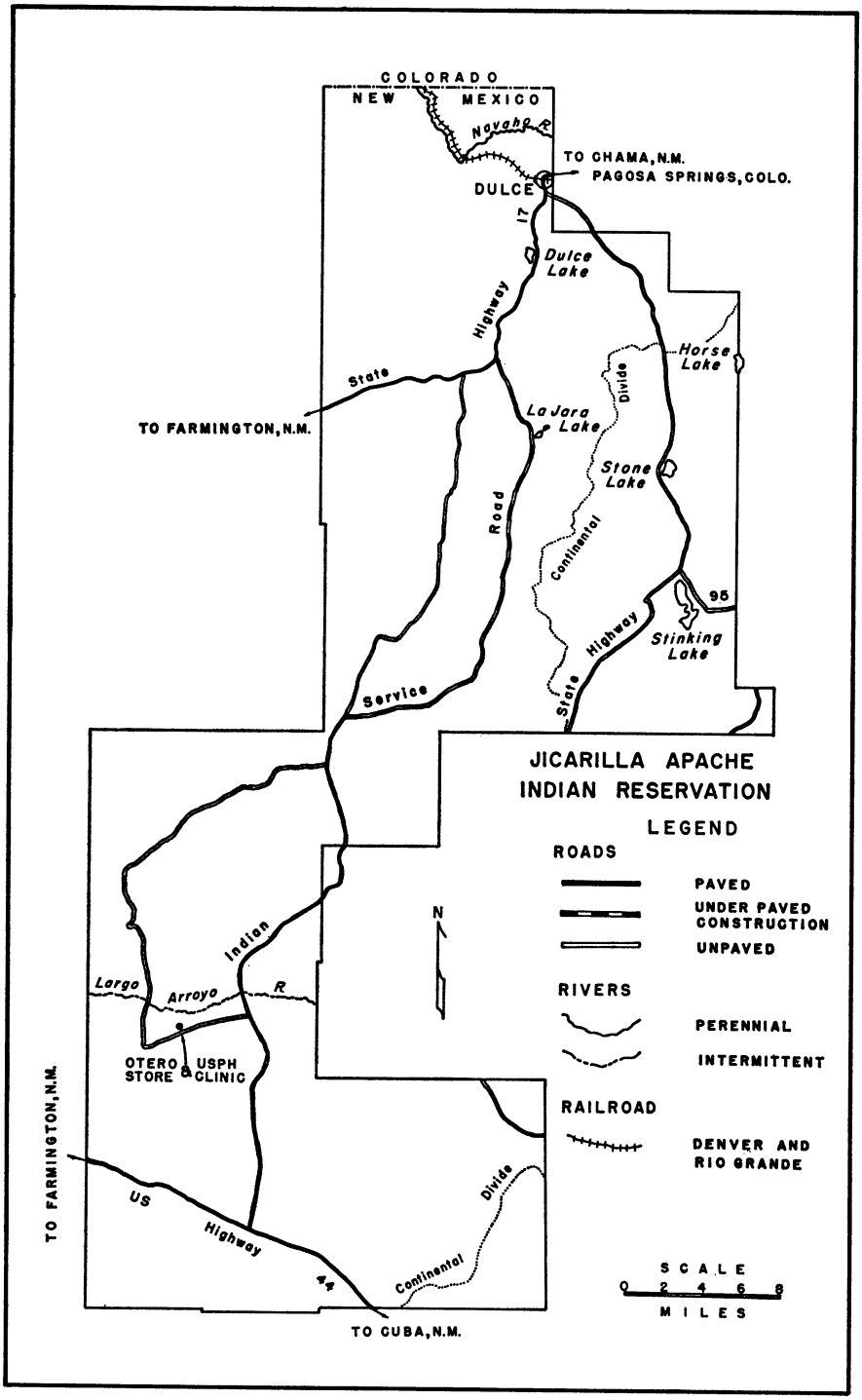
The principal rivers in this area are the Rio Grande and the Pecos in the southern portion, the Canadian in the east central portion, and the Arkansas system in the northern portion.

The primary large game hunted in this area by the Jicarilla were buffalo, deer, and antelope. Piñon and chokecherries were the primary seeds gathered, and corn was their primary cultivated crop.

RESERVATION GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT

The present Jicarilla Apache reservation, except the extreme southern portion, is located in Rio Arriba County in north central New Mexico. The northern boundary of the reservation is the Colorado–New Mexico State line. The area of the reservation is about 750,000 acres; its length is about 65 miles north and south, and the width is about 25 miles east and west (see map 2).

The only village on the reservation is Dulce located in its extreme northern part on the Denver and Rio Grande narrow gauge railway. State Highway no. 17 passes through Dulce and was in the process of being paved in the summer of 1960. This highway will connect with U.S. 84 fourteen miles east of Dulce and extend southwest 90 miles to Farmington, New Mexico. U.S. Highway 44 cuts across the extreme southwestern part of the reservation. In addition, State Highways 95 and 112 cut across the extreme southeastern part of the northern half of the reservation. The nearest shopping centers to Dulce are Farmington, New Mexico, to



Map 2. Modern Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation.

the west, Chama, New Mexico, 30 miles to the east, Española, New Mexico, 100 miles to the south, and Pagosa Springs, Colorado, 50 miles to the north.

The village of Dulce has a population of about 400 non-Indians and 600 Indians. Another 400 Jicarilla live within the radius of about 10 miles of Dulce. Dulce has one trading post, a post office, a garage, a tribal building, the agency buildings, the public school, the Public Health Service, and a café. During the winter months a small store is operated on the southern half of the reservation, and a clinic near the store is staffed by a Public Health nurse at least one day a week. Recent oil and gas development on the southern half of the reservation has resulted in two small housing settlements for the oil fieldworkers.

The reservation is topographically divided into a southern and northern half. The northern part of the reservation is characterized by a rough terrain cut through with deep canyons. The elevations vary from about 6,000 to 9,000 feet. The extreme elevations are characterized by a few fir, spruce, and aspen areas. At elevations between 6,000 and 8,000 feet is found primarily ponderosa pine. This tree makes up about 98 per cent of the commercial timber on the reservation. At between 4,500 and 6,500 feet are found piñon and juniper along with scrub oak. The canyon valleys are grasslands of blue grama, blue grass, and various wheat grasses. In some areas which have been overgrazed the sagebrush has pushed out the grasses.

The Continental Divide cuts across the eastern part of the north half of the reservation. Drainage to the east goes into a large intermontane basin containing three lakes—Stone, Stinking, and Horse lakes. These lakes drain into the Rio Grande through the Chama system. The Navaho River drains west along the extreme northern boundary of the reservation and empties into the Colorado River through the San Juan system.

Weather information is taken from the weather station at Dulce. These records extend back to 1906. Mean annual precipitation for the period 1906 through 1958 was 17.04 inches. A great deal of this precipitation is in the form of snow which averages between 60 and 65 inches a year. The heavy snowfall occurs in December, January, and February. The heaviest rains commonly occur in July and August, and the lightest rains occur in June. The mean annual temperature for the period 1906 through 1930 was 43.6 degrees Fahrenheit; the mean annual temperature for the period 1931 through 1952 was 43.4 degrees Fahrenheit. The maximum mean is about 62 degrees Fahrenheit and the minimum mean is about 25 degrees Fahrenheit. Nighttime temperatures in December, January and February often drop to 10 to 30 degrees Fahrenheit below zero. Daytime temperatures in this period range from 40 to 60 degrees Fahrenheit above zero. Summer temperatures in June, July, and August range into the nineties in the day and drop into the fifties and sixties during the night.

The southern half of the reservation is a fairly level area broken, however, by deep arroyos and high mesas. This is an area primarily of grassland and sagebrush with a few piñon and juniper trees found at some of the higher elevations. The principal drainage is the Largo Arroyo which drains west into the San Juan system. The climate of the southern half of the reservation is generally milder than that of the northern half. Snowfall is lighter and is quickly melted by high

winds. The differences in the climates of these two areas have led to a semiannual migration of the livestock on the reservation. The livestock is moved from the northern half of the reservation in November. After the danger of snowstorms has passed in April or May, the livestock is moved back to the summer range on the north half of the reservation.

Agriculture is possible on the reservation only to a limited extent. Annual rainfall varies from 8 to 30 inches making dry farming very hazardous. Only one Jicarilla on the reservation has an irrigation system. Added to the problem of fluctuating rainfall is the problem of the highly fluctuating growing season. The growing season averages about 100 days; however, it varies from about 70 to 120 days. The last killing frost may occur as late as the middle of June and the first as early as the last week of August.

The three major resources on the reservation are gas and oil, timber, and range land. Total income from gas and oil has amounted to over $15 million and represents the highest potential source of income known on the reservation. Total income from the sale of timber has amounted to over $1 million. The range land, although owned by the tribe as a corporate group, is used by individual Jicarilla livestockmen. At present they do not pay for the use of range land although pressure is being applied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to charge the livestockmen grazing fees.

History

The history of the Jicarilla Apache, like the geographical environment, can best be understood in terms of its pre-reservation and the reservation periods.

PRE-RESERVATION PERIOD

The history of the Jicarilla Apache during the pre-reservation period before 1888 is fairly well documented as a result of land claims. The material collected during the work on land claims has been reported in a mimeographed paper, Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *The Jicarilla Apache Indians: A History, 1598–1888,* which I summarize briefly here.

During the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, a band of Jicarilla allied with the Taos and Picuríes to aid in the expulsion of the Spanish from the Picuríes Pueblo. After the reconquest of New Mexico in 1696, the Jicarilla maintained fairly friendly relations with the Spanish. The Jicarilla, along with the Ute and other tribes, formed a buffer between the Spanish in the southwest and the Plains tribes and the French to the northeast. The Jicarilla often joined with the Spanish in efforts to keep the Comanche from extending their range to the west. The Jicarilla made frequent raids on the plains extending as far east as the Pawnee settlements. There they obtained horses and other trade goods which they brought back to trade with Pueblos and Spanish.

After the United States negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, traders began to move into the Jicarilla territory along the Arkansas River. About the same time the Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians also moved into the region of the Arkansas River. In 1830 the United States government issued licenses to trading companies employing a large number of trappers in the Arkansas River region. These traders armed the Plains Indians by exchanging guns for buffalo, deer, antelope, beaver,

and other pelts. The general policy of the Mexican government was not to issue arms to the Indians, so the Jicarilla had no weapons with which to defend themselves. After 1846, when the New Mexico territory became part of the United States, the whole of Jicarilla territory was opened to occupation by American settlers and trappers.

In the period from about 1848 to 1855 the United States government pursued a policy that seemed primarily designed to exterminate the Jicarilla in New Mexico. The program, along with the scarcity of game resulting from the large-scale trapping and hunting operations of the Americans, made the Jicarilla primarily dependent upon raiding the settlers for their livelihood. The raids, in turn, intensified the efforts of the United States government to eliminate the Jicarilla problem.

Toward the end of the period of attempted extermination, there was a growing awareness in some of the government officials that it might be cheaper to assimilate the Jicarilla than to exterminate them. Governor Lane wrote, in 1853:

> My plan is to locate these Indians . . . in suitable places, of their own choosing, and to instruct them in simple modes of agriculture,—to encourage them to engage in pastoral pursuits, to induce them to surrender forever the Lex Talionis—and to make Municipal laws, for their own government; to choose officers,—according to their own free will—to administer their laws,—and to whom, the U.S. can look, for the preservation of peace and good order . . . [quoted in Thomas, 1958, Pt. III: 4].

Governor Lane's policy was not supported in Washington, and he wrote in defense of his plan:

> And I will only say, further, that the subject of the Indians must be now fairly met, by the government; and, fortunately, the solution of the problem is easy. . . . Depend upon it, one half of the money, which is now expended upon the Army in New Mexico,—would keep all the Indians in New Mexico, quiet; and reclaim them from barbarism in a few years [quoted in Thomas, 1958, Pt. III: 4].

The government, after recognizing the failure and cost of the extermination policy, began, in 1855, a series of attempts to make a treaty with the Jicarilla. All attempts were unsuccessful, due primarily to the objections of the Mexican and American settlers to having land taken from them, and the government continued a varying policy of attacking the Jicarilla for their raids against the settlers and attempting to issue them a few rations and supplies to take care of their basic needs.

In 1868, the government began negotiations to get the Jicarilla to settle on a reservation in Colorado with the Ute. The Jicarilla objected to the plan saying they would only accept a reservation in New Mexico. Reports of the negotiations are interesting because they throw some light on the political organization of the Jicarilla Apache tribe at that time. General N. H. Davis wrote of the Indian agent's dealing with the Jicarilla:

> It is in result pernicious and conductive to hostilities . . . to treat them in a deceptive and unauthorized manner, with only a portion of them, or with unauthorized or irresponsible men of their tribe. . . . [The Apache] wisely said it was necessary to have all the head men of the tribes who were designed for the same reservation in council [quoted in Thomas, 1958, Pt. III: 11].

A private citizen of Santa Fé wrote, in 1869, of the Jicarilla:

They will not comply with, observe, or respect, any treaty made at Washington City, by a few carpet bag Captains of the tribe, induced to go there by curiosity, or the hope and promise of reward [quoted in Thomas, 1958, Pt. III: 11].

From 1872 to 1885, the United States government intensified its efforts to place the Jicarilla on a reservation. In 1873, the "chiefs of the principal Jicarilla bands" signed a treaty establishing a reservation for them in northern New Mexico but the treaty was not ratified by the United States (Thomas, 1958, Pt. III: 12). At the same time (1873) other attempts were being made to persuade the Jicarilla to move to the Mescalero reservation in southern New Mexico. By 1875, about thirty-two Jicarilla had moved to the Mescalero reservation, but the others refused to move and that effort was abandoned.

In 1880, a reservation for the Jicarilla was again established in northern New Mexico, but strong pressure from the cattle interests in Colorado and New Mexico again blocked ratification. Instead, a new plan to remove the Jicarilla to the Mescalero reservation was initiated. The removal was accomplished between August and October, 1883, and the Jicarilla remained on the Mescalero reservation until the fall of 1886 when they began to move back to northern New Mexico in small groups.

The failure to establish the Jicarilla on the Mescalero reservation resulted in the Executive Order of February 11, 1887, which established a reservation in the same location it had been in 1880. Those Jicarilla remaining on the Mescalero reservation were moved to northern New Mexico in June, 1887, and this began the present reservation period of Jicarilla Apache history.

THE RESERVATION PERIOD

The northern half of the present reservation was established by Executive Order of February 11, 1887. The area contains approximately 397,200 acres. The winters in this area, as had been indicated in the preceding section, are too severe for livestock. This led the Jicarilla to take their horses to a milder climate off the reservation during the winter months. In order to establish an area for the livestock on the reservation during the winter months, the southern part of the reservation was established by Executive Order of November 11, 1907, and modified somewhat by an Executive Order of January 28, 1908. The total area of the northern part of the reservation was 341,179 acres. Some of the reservation area was made part of the Carson National Forest by the Proclamation of March 2, 1909, but then restored in full by Executive Order of February 17, 1912. Except for the addition of a few homesteads within the boundaries of the reservation, the area of the reservation has remained essentially the same since 1912.

In 1891 allotments of land were made to 845 Jicarilla. The total area of allotments was 129,313 acres on the north half of the reservation. These allotments were cancelled in 1907 because of the difficulty of identifying the allottees. In 1907 a census was taken, and 795 members of the Jicarilla tribe were reallotted 352,461 acres on the north half of the reservation between the years 1909 and 1928. These allotments were to remain in trust for a period of twenty-five years; however, before the period of trust expired, it was continued indefinitely under the Indian Reorganization Act, June 18, 1934. The allotted land ranged from 2.5 to 10 acres of agricultural land and 160 to 480 acres of grazing land per allottee.

The Jicarilla Tribal Council on April 28, 1939, adopted a resolution favoring and approving the return of all allotted lands of the Jicarilla reservation to tribal status. All land and resources on the reservation are now in tribal status and owned by the members of the Jicarilla Apache tribe as a corporation.

The task of the government, when the Jicarilla were placed on the reservation, was to see that they stayed there and did not interfere with the white settlers in the surrounding areas. The government attempted to accomplish this by issuing enough rations and supplies to keep the Jicarilla from raiding the cattle herds of the ranchers. The natural resources—timber, minerals, and range land—were also the trust responsibility of the government. There seems to have been little concern for the Jicarilla people in the first thirty years of the reservation period.

In the years 1915–1920 the Jicarilla population was greatly reduced due to disease. This apparently caused the government some concern, and it took active steps to better the conditions of the Jicarilla. Sheep were bought and issued to the Jicarilla with the money from the sale of the reservation timber, and a sanatorium-school was established to take care of the health and educational needs of the children. The government's interest in the welfare of the Indians was further expressed in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Jicarilla voted to come under this Act in 1937. In 1952 the government reversed its position, at least from the point of view of the Jicarilla, when it stated its program of withdrawal from participation in Indian affairs. There was great opposition to the program, both inside and outside the government, and this program apparently has not been taken seriously by the government personnel at the Jicarilla Agency.

The changes in Jicarilla culture will be discussed in the following chapters. There has been general improvement since 1920 in the health and economic conditions of the Jicarilla. Their income from sheep and, more recently, from gas and oil has provided them with some opportunities to improve their economic position. Evidence of the improved health conditions is provided by the population data.

Jicarilla Population Data

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has kept a census of the Jicarilla population extending back at least to 1891. From these records, plus the records of the Public Health Service and various reports in the agency and tribal files, it was possible to obtain figures for 56 years of the 70-year period from 1891 to 1960. The two largest gaps in these data are the 5-year period from 1892 through 1896 and the 3-year period from 1945 through 1947. A great deal of time was devoted to working with the population data which proved to be a valuable source of information on the Jicarilla. An analysis of changes in the Jicarilla population structure is planned as a separate report.

The annual population for the years for which information is available is given in table 1.

The fertility ratio for the Jicarilla population has been computed for each decennium beginning in 1899 and extending through 1959. The fertility ratio is, of course, influenced by several factors other than birth rate. It is given in table 2 without interpretation.

The Jicarilla population today, as would be expected from its recent increase, is a young population. The Stanford Research Institute (Stanford Report, 1958,

TABLE 1

ANNUAL JICARILLA APACHE POPULATION, 1891–1960

Year	Month and day	Number	Year	Month and day	Number
1891	.....	824	1927	June 30	627
1897	June 30	752	1928	June 30	636
1899	.....	830	1929	June 30	639
1900	June 30	815	1930	April 1	647
1901	June 30	805	1931	April 1	652
1902	.....	797	1932	April 1	664
1903	.....	774	1933	April 1	666
1904	June 30	782	1934	April 1	680
1905	.....	795	1935	January 1	706
1906	June 30	784	1936	January 1	718
1907	June 30	776	1937	January 1	714
1908	June 30	766	1938	.....	727
1909	June 30	791	1939	January 1	743
1910	June 30	743	1941	January 1	753
1911	June 30	720	1942	January 1	761
1913	June 30	669	1944	January 1	799
1914	June 30	659	1948	January 1	890
1915	June 30	642	1949	December 31	949
1916	June 30	642	1951	June 30	968
1917	June 30	645	1952	June 30	1006
1918	June 30	621	1953	June 30	1030
1919	June 30	603	1954	June 30	1076
1920	June 30	588	1955	February	1099
1921	June 30	594	1956	Spring	1143
1922	June 30	596	1957	Spring	1166
1923	June 30	608	1958	Spring	1196
1924	June 30	616	.....	December 31	1241
1925	June 30	635	1959	December 31	1281
1926	June 30	638	1960	April	1300

SOURCE: Official Agency Censuses, Tribal and Public Health Records.

TABLE 2

JICARILLA FERTILITY RATIO BY DECENNIUM, 1899–1959

Year	Ratio of children (0-4 years old) to women (15-49 years old)
1899	1.018
1909	.749
1919	.686
1929	.731
1939	.902
1949	.817
1959	.741

SOURCE: Official Agency Censuses, Tribal and Public Health Records.

I: 15) estimates the population growth rate will be about 3.5 per cent annually for the 20-year period 1957–1977. The total increase in this period is expected to be 1,355 persons or approximately 108 per cent. The increase will create new stresses in the Jicarilla culture, especially on the economic structure.

Summary

In the past three hundred years Jicarilla culture has had to adjust to a variety of changes in both the natural and cultural environments. Changes in the cultural environment include contacts with the Pueblos in eastern New Mexico, the Plains Indians, the Spanish, and the Americans. The contact with the Americans led eventually to a situation where the Jicarilla culture was subordinate to another culture. Contacts with other cultures also brought about changes in the natural environment. First, the Jicarilla expanded their area of operation into the Plains as mounted buffalo hunters; later they experienced a reduction of area as the Americans depleted the game in their traditional hunting areas and took over their lands. The end of this process brought the Jicarilla to the reservation where they were confined to a relatively small area.

Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze some of the changes which have occurred in the Jicarilla Apache political and economic structures during the period 1888 through 1960. The method of analysis attempts a synthesis of the traditional historical approach of anthropology and the more recent structural approach of sociology and British social anthropology (see Eggan, 1954). The structural analysis is derived especially from the statement of Levy, *The Structure of Society*. Politics and economics were chosen as the structures for consideration because of our belief that the allocation of power and allocation of goods are two of the most important aspects determining the total configuration of a cultural system. The base line from which change in Jicarilla culture is considered is 1888. We were guided by Wagner's statement in choosing this base line:

> To determine the basis from which the contact process started it is not always necessary or even desirable to go back to the beginning of the contact process as a whole . . . but only to the situation before a particular set of contact influences became effective [Wagner, 1936, quoted in Beals, 1953: 633].

The present reservation was established in 1887, and the Jicarilla moved onto the reservation that year. The following year marks the beginning of the post-reservation period, a period in which a new set of contact influences became effective.

This study falls into the general category of culture contact and culture change, or simply acculturation, studies. However, it is necessary at the outset to disclaim any relationship to those studies of acculturation which regard culture contact as the process of acceptance (or rejection) of culture traits by a subordinate culture from a dominant culture. Something more than simple trait exchange takes place during culture contact. Fortes (1936: 53) states: "Culture contact has to be regarded, not as a transference of elements from one culture to another, but as a continuous process of interaction between groups of different culture." Spindler and Goldschmidt (1952: 68) agree with this position and

define acculturation as "the process which takes place within a culture, a population, or a social system, in response to the impact of stimuli from other cultures or populations." This study is in essential agreement with this view, explicitly, culture is regarded as the mechanism by which a group of people adapt to their environment, both natural and cultural. Further, the culture of a people is regarded as integrated so that changes which occur in one sector of a culture are reflected in other sectors of the culture.

The two preceding statements, that culture is an adaptive mechanism and that the culture of a people is integrated, are generally accepted among anthropologists. Anthropologists are not in agreement on definitions of culture, as opposed to the culture of a people; society; cultural system; and social system. A study which is primarily descriptive analysis, such as this one proposes to be, is not the place for extended theoretical statements. However, it is necessary to define some of the basic terms and concepts which will be used here. An agreement of terms is not asked for; if the statements are clear enough so the reader can translate to his own system of terms and concepts, then the purpose will have been served.

The basic data with which all social scientists are concerned we refer to as "culture." This is that "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1874, Vol. I:1). More precisely, culture is defined as a class of phenomena which depends upon man's unique ability to use symbols (see White, 1949). "The culture of a people" is defined as that part of the complex whole or the class of phenomena which characterizes a given human population or group of people. Thus, "Jicarilla Apache culture" is a part of "culture." There is some agreement that "culture" can be divided into three basic categories—objects, acts, and ideas (White, 1949: 130–140; Parsons, 1951: 4; Huxley, 1958: 437). When these objects, acts, and ideas are observed as ongoing processes, we refer to them, respectively, as technology, society, and ideology. These three descriptive terms have their counterparts in analytic terms—technological system, social system, and ideological system. These three systems make up the cultural system.

In this study the primary focus is on the Jicarilla Apache society and the Jicarilla Apache social system. Something further needs to be said about these two entities. A society is a concrete structure, i.e., a membership unit defined by a pattern of action (acts) (Levy, 1952: 88). The society is further composed of smaller concrete units, e.g., a household, camp, moiety, and tribal council. Chapter ii describes the primary concrete units of Jicarilla Apache society. A social system is an analytic structure and is composed of several smaller analytic structures, i.e., patterned aspects of action separated from the concrete structures (Levy, 1952: 89). In this study we are concerned with only two of the analytic structures of the Jicarilla Apache social system: the economic structure which is defined as the allocation of goods and services and the political structure which is defined as the allocation of power and responsibility (Levy, 1952: 330–331, 468). Chapter iii deals with the Jicarilla Apache political structure and chapter iv with the Jicarilla Apache economic structure. Chapter v discusses the relationship between these two analytic structures and concludes with a few observations concerning culture contact and culture change.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURE OF THE JICARILLA APACHE SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

AN UNDERSTANDING of the political and economic structures of the Jicarilla social system must be based upon an understanding of the society as a whole. This chapter attempts to outline in broad terms the basic structure of Jicarilla society.

Each member of Jicarilla society operates, at least in theory, within six concrete units: the household, the camp, the kindred, the moiety, the tribe, and Western society. These six concrete units will be discussed in order from the smallest to the largest unit.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The household is defined by the Jicarilla as the members of a common dwelling who eat together. Ideally, the household is a nuclear family. The Jicarilla, in fact, generally regard the household and the family as synonymous, and it will so be regarded in this study. Evidence from both the present and past support the conclusion that the household has always been the smallest unit of Jicarilla society.

There were 223 households on the Jicarilla reservation in the spring of 1959. The number of individuals in these households ranged from 1 to 15. The mean household had 5.05 members and the median household had 4.51 members. An analysis of 95 households which belong to the low-income group showed that 60 of them were made up of nuclear or incomplete nuclear families. (An incomplete nuclear family is defined as one parent with one or more children or a couple without children.) In addition, there were 2 extended families (a nuclear family plus married and unmarried children); 12 incomplete extended families (one parent and married children); and 6 composite families (a nuclear family with one or more related or nonrelated persons). There were also 4 joint families and 11 individuals living alone.

A new Jicarilla household is usually established when a couple marries. Each Jicarilla adult is expected to marry and marriage is considered a part of adult status. Of 173 males who were over 30 years of age in 1959, 13, or 7.5 per cent, had never married. Of 156 females over 30 years of age, 11, or 7.1 per cent, had never married. Those adults who have not married are usually the deaf-mute, deformed, or incompetent. The median age of marriage for all males born before 1935 is 22.9 years. The median age at first marriage for all females born before 1940 is 19.0 years. In recent years there has been a tendency for males to marry younger than formerly and for females to marry older than formerly.

A period of courtship precedes marriage. Most young people are acquainted with each other; they have had occasion to meet at school, dances, rodeos, and visits between families. The couple has a chance to be together informally for awhile, and then the boy begins to visit at the girl's house. At this time he attempts to please the girl's parents by bringing them presents and doing jobs for them. After a period of frequent and lengthy visits the boy finally stays over-

night. Often the couple has already a sexual relationship but now is when it is acknowledged by the girl's parents. As far as the girl's parents are concerned, the couple is married when the young man begins to stay overnight. It is expected that soon he will build a house or set up a tent near the girl's parents' house.

There are three types of marriage extant among the Jicarilla. The first type is called "Indian custom," i.e., marriage in the traditional manner involving an arrangement between the two families of the couple, often gifts from the groom's family, and concluded with a one-day ceremony presided over by a priest. Informants vary as to whether or not marriage by Indian custom is still practiced. One said he did not think there had been an Apache marriage ceremony on the reservation in the past thirty years. Another claimed his mother's sister's daughter was married by Indian custom in 1958.

The second type of marriage is "common law." This is a term applied by whites to any Indian couple living together who are not legally married. The Jicarilla call this type of marriage "Indian marriage." The common-law marriage is established when a couple sets up a separate household, and it is confirmed when the couple has a child. During the early period of this type of marriage, one or both of the couple may deny to whites that they are living together.

The third type of marriage is legal marriage. In 1946 the Jicarilla Tribal Council passed a resolution recognizing only legal marriage on the reservation. Legal marriage often follows either of the first two types of marriage. The couple may be married by a justice of the peace or by one of the missionaries. It is quite common for a legal marriage to take place when the woman is pregnant. This is, in part, the result of pressure from the non-Indian segment of the Dulce community.

I have not been able to determine precisely the extent of incest rules. Marriage seems to be forbidden with any of the descendants of ego's grandparents, grandparent's siblings, or classificatory siblings; with parent's real or classificatory siblings and their descendants; and with real or classificatory siblings and their descendants. Marriage is also forbidden with spouse's parents and their real or classificatory siblings. The genealogies show cases of the sororate and the levirate. There are also four cases of a man having a child by his stepdaughter during the time he was married to the girl's mother. This might indicate polygyny. There is only one acknowledged case of polygyny on the reservation: a man is married to a Jicarilla woman and a Taos woman. There are two cases known of marriage between a classificatory brother and sister, one case of marriage between a stepbrother and a stepsister, and another case of a half-brother and half-sister having children although they were never acknowledged to be married. Several informants said these marriages would not have been allowed in the past.

The Jicarilla are expected to marry within the tribe and this is strongly sanctioned by mythology and social pressure (Opler, 1947*a*). The Jicarilla males living in 1959 had entered into a total of 336 marriages; 35 of these marriages have been to Indians other than Jicarilla, 7 to Spanish-Americans, and 2 to Anglo-Americans. The remaining 290 marriages have all been to Jicarilla women. The Jicarilla women living in 1959 had entered into 319 marriages; 35 of these had been to Indians other than Jicarilla, 6 to Spanish-Americans, and 7 to Anglo-

Americans. The remaining 271 marriages had all been to Jicarilla. The number of marriages outside the tribe and to non-Indians both increased in the last 30 or 40 years.

The next step in the establishment of the nuclear family is the birth of a child. The median age at the birth of the first child for Jicarilla women is 19.5 years. The fact that there is only half a year's difference between median age at first marriage and median age at birth of first child indicates the marriage is not recognized, at least on the tribal census, until the couple has a child. It also indicates that many of the Jicarilla women have children before they are married. Of 382 births recorded between 1951 and 1959, 72 have no father listed on the birth certificate. The Jicarilla claim this is a recent phenomenon; however, the genealogies and census records indicate some unmarried women had children in the past.

Formerly Jicarilla births took place at the home of the mother where she was assisted by female relatives. Now most children are born at the local clinic or at a hospital; of 59 births recorded in 1958, only 10 occurred at home. Nearly all of the mothers received prenatal and postnatal examinations at the clinic.

A Jicarilla couple normally wants children and very little attempt is made to control the number of children a couple has. Most Jicarilla do not practice any modern form of birth control, although some are known to use a type of native medicine. Mothers usually nurse their children, although supplementary bottle-feeding is becoming more and more common. The woman is expected to abstain from sexual relations for a period of six months to a year after the birth of a child. It is said that sexual relations during this time will cause a child to be weak and sickly. In the 10-year period following the birth of the first child, a Jicarilla woman will have 3 or 4 children. The largest known number of children born to a Jicarilla woman is 15. The median number of children born to Jicarilla women 45 years and older is between 7 and 8. A woman has her last child when she is about 40 years of age.

If a couple does not have a child in the first two years after they are married, they will often adopt a child. I have no evidence indicating barrenness as a reason for divorce. The couple will, if possible, adopt a child of the woman's sister. However, any available child might be adopted.

I shall not attempt in this study to give an analysis of the Jicarilla kinship system. Information on the topic has been reported by Opler (1936*a*: 216–222; 1936*b*: 620–633; 1947*b*), Hoijer (1956: 309–333), and Bellah (1952). Harry Basehart's material collected on the Jicarilla kinship system in 1956 and my own field notes are in essential agreement with these earlier reports, with the exception that our later information indicates a wider range of behavior for each kinship category. The most important element of the kinship system within the nuclear family with respect to the structure of the total Jicarilla system is that the strongest ties exist between mother and daughter and between sisters.

The nuclear family is broken up by death, divorce, and marriage of the last child remaining in the home. The last is not common since both parents would be between the ages of 65 and 75 when the youngest child married. Also, the breakup of the nuclear family by divorce and death often leads to the establishment of

a new nuclear family since remarriage is common. The 213 males living in 1959 who have been married at least once had entered into a total of 336 marriages. About 26 per cent of these marriages were terminated by divorce and another 19 per cent by the death of the wife. The 238 females living in 1959 who had been married at least once had entered into 319 marriages. About 23 per cent of these ended in divorce and another 14 per cent ended in the death of the husband. Thirty per cent of the married males and 26 per cent of the married females have been married more than once.

Divorce among the Jicarilla seems to be as casual and informal as marriage. The couple is considered separated when the husband leaves the house. They are not considered divorced until the husband or wife begins to live with someone else, or until a certain period of time has passed since the separation. The man usually goes to his mother's house or the house of one of his sisters, unless he immediately takes up residence with another woman. The wife, on the other hand, continues to live in the house and the children usually remain with her. If the couple has been legally married, they will sometimes seek a legal divorce.

The Camp

The camp is ideally a matrilocal group made up of the man, his wife, their daughters, and their daughters' families. This was formerly the group of production and consumption. Today it is a unit of production only in those cases where the camp jointly owns livestock, and consumption takes place at the nuclear family level. The camp is the largest local group within the modern Jicarilla tribe.

Each camp has a definite idea of the territory which it claims. If the camp does not own livestock, this territory may be only an area with a radius of about two hundred yards. If the camp owns livestock, the size of the territory will depend on the size of the herd and usually will consist of two areas, one on the north end of the reservation and one on the south end. Families not related to the camp are strongly discouraged from moving into the camp territory. Most of the disputes that I am aware of were between families and camps over territorial boundaries.

If the camp is defined as a local group composed of two or more nuclear families, then most of the Jicarilla today live in some form of camp. However, this camp is not necessarily the ideal of the matrilocal group mentioned above. In cases where the camp is no longer a local group, relationships are often maintained since rapid transportation can keep relatives in frequent touch with each other. There are three types of camp on the reservation today: matrilocal, patrilocal, and mixed. Matrilocal camps are of two types: (*a*) the ideal camp mentioned above, and (*b*) a camp made up of sisters and their families. Patrilocal camps are also of two types: (*a*) a man, his wife and their sons and sons' families, and (*b*) a camp made up of several brothers and their families. Mixed camps are composed of (*a*) a man and his wife, their sons and their families, and their daughters and their families, (*b*) brothers and sisters and their families, or (*c*) families that are not connected by the parent-child or sibling relationships. The most common form of camp is matrilocal, both (*a*) and (*b*), and mixed, type (*a*).

As defined above, the camp is made up of several nuclear families. The nuclear families, although participating in camp life, are also independent. The nuclear

family usually manages its own budget, its members eat together, and it may move from the camp whenever it chooses. Those nuclear families within a camp owning livestock apparently have less freedom than those nuclear families in camps that depend on wages and per capita payments. The camp that owns livestock is a production unit in the sense that its income comes primarily from the sale of livestock. However, even in these camps the nuclear families are apparently the consumption unit. This change has apparently occurred in the last eight or ten years.

In camps in which the nuclear family derives its income from wages and per capita payments, the camp is not the unit of production, although the nuclear family is still the unit of consumption. This weakens the relationship between the nuclear families and gives them more freedom to move away from the camp.

When a young woman marries she and her husband usually establish residence in the camp of the girl's parents. They will probably build a house or set up a tent within a hundred yards of the girl's parents' house. The girl's relationships within the camp have been established from birth; it is the girl's husband who must form a new set of relationships. His new relationships include those with his wife's father, wife's mother, wife's sister, wife's sister's husband, and wife's sister's children. If the wife has brothers still living in the camp, he must also establish a new relationship with them. The man marrying into a camp, thus, is a newcomer to the camp and must conduct himself accordingly. His relationship with the other members of the camp usually depends exclusively on his relationship with his wife. He is expected to maintain an attitude of respect toward his in-laws, especially his father-in-law and his mother-in-law. Ideally he should completely avoid the latter. If the couple should be divorced later, the husband leaves his wife's camp and returns to the camp of his mother. If there have been children, they usually stay with the mother in her camp.

A marriage also tends to establish a close mutual relationship between two camps, and this is increased after the couple has children. These relationships are not necessarily terminated by divorce, especially if there are children. The death of one of the spouses within the camp is even less likely to terminate the relationships between the two camps, since affinal relations are not necessarily terminated by the death of the linking member. The sororate and the levirate also tend to maintain the relations between camps after the death of one of the spouses.

Probably the most important kin relation tying two camps together is that which exists between sister's husband and wife's brother. The relationship is not a mutual one; wife's brother seems to have greater obligations to sister's husband than sister's husband does to wife's brother. This relationship is understandable in terms of Jicarilla social structure. Sister's husband would take over the male responsibility for a man's natal camp. The responsibility for the care of the man's parents and his sister's and the prestige of a man's natal camp would rest primarily with sister's husband. Today, wife's brother will help sister's husband get a job, acquire tribal loans, acquire assignments to desirable grazing lands, and generally aid him to improve his economic and social positions. Although this is not a mutual relationship, sister's husband still has obligations to the wife's brother. The aid in this direction is of the same kind as the aid in the other direction; the difference here is in the degree to which aid is expected. Also, brothers may maintain a strong

kinship bond, although this is based more on personal choice than upon expected behavior.

The camp usually breaks up into several new camps when the daughters of the camp leader have children and grandchildren of their own. This is especially likely to occur on the death of the camp leader. The breakup establishes another set of bonds between camps, since kinship ties between sisters remain strong even when they are in different camps. It is also at this point that the male who married into a camp of in-laws becomes the head of his own camp. The absence of any unilineal rule of descent uniting camps (see section on the kindred) prevents two or more camps from forming discrete kin groups for political and economic action.

The camp as the local group is rapidly disappearing among the Jicarilla. Twenty years ago most of the population lived in well-defined camps scattered throughout the north end of the reservation. Since that time, there has been an increased tendency to move into or near the Dulce community, and this tendency has apparently been accelerated in the last ten years. There are still small clusters of vacant houses on the reservation which used to be camps; the former occupants now live near Dulce. Even though the families from a single camp may still live close together in town, the congestion has resulted in unrelated families also living very near to each other. Now camps often have to be defined in terms of the kinship relations between various houses in an area, rather than as a well-defined local group isolated from other such groups.

Formerly there was a local group in Jicarilla society larger than the camp. This group is called the "local group" by Opler (1936*a:* 203), but we call it the band. The band was composed of several camps which were united by bilateral consanguineal and affinal ties, common interests, and friendships. The members of a camp were free to leave the band whenever they chose, and in fact the camp often operated as an isolated, self-sufficient unit. Informants say there were six bands, or large local groupings made up of several camps, when the Jicarilla first settled on the reservation. Each band had a leader, although informants were unable to say who the leaders were, how they came to be leaders, nor specify the extent of the leaders' authority.

There is no evidence of the band existing on the reservation today. There might have been bands as late as 1937, although this is not clear. Historical evidence indicates there were twelve bands in the early 1800's, six in each moiety. If there were bands during the early reservation period, these were, at least in part, broken up by allotments of land and later by grazing-land assignments. Also, as will be discussed later in this study, the band organization had very little function in the reservation setting.

The Kindred

The Jicarilla recognize a large number of bilateral relatives extending beyond the household and the camp. This kin group is called the kindred (Murdock, 1949: 45–46, 56–62). The kindred is not a concrete structure in the way the household and camp are concrete structures. The latter are based on the criteria of kinship and locality; the kindred is based on the criterion of kinship alone. Also, an individual belongs to only one household or camp, but may belong to several hundred kindreds, since there is theoretically a different kindred for each ego. The kindred

is nevertheless a concrete structure in the sense that the membership of the kindred of any given ego can be exclusively defined: an individual is or is not a member of a given ego's kindred.

The limits of the kindred are not well defined by the Jicarilla. The kindred includes grandparents, grandparents' real and classificatory siblings, and the descendants of these; ego's siblings' children, children's children, and the descendants of these. It often includes individuals to whom ego cannot trace any known relation: "She is my sister in the old Apache way, but I don't know how we are related." Moreover, the Jicarilla regard affinal relations as belonging to one's kindred. One man sixty years of age listed about half the adult members of the tribe in his genealogy, although he said some of these kin relations were unimportant. Whether or not an individual regards another as part of his kindred depends on his conception of the closeness of the relationship, propinquity, and his personal liking for the individual.

Probably the most important structural consequence of the kindred for Jicarilla society is that pointed out by Murdock (1949: 60–61):

> Since kindreds interlace and overlap, they do not and cannot form discrete or separate segments of the entire society. Neither a tribe nor a community can be subdivided into constituent kindreds. This intersecting or non-exclusive characteristic is found only with bilateral descent. Every other rule of descent produces only clearly differentiated, isolable, discrete kin groups, which never overlap with others of their kind. . . . Hence under circumstances favorable either to the communal ownership of property or to the collective responsibility of kinsmen, the kindred labors under decided handicaps in comparison to the lineage or sib.

What this means for modern Jicarilla society is that as differentials in economic assets and political authority increased (see chapters iii and iv), economic and political alliances did not form among exclusive kin groups above the camp level. No economic or political entities based on kinship exist between the level of the camp and the level of the tribe.

Today there are forces both external and internal to Jicarilla culture stressing the importance of the nuclear family. The result of these pressures may be to decrease the importance of other kin relations; certainly other studies of similar contact situations support such a conclusion. Also, one is struck by the stresses and strains on the Jicarilla kin relations reflected in criticisms and accusations that one is neglecting his kinship obligations. At the same time, one is also struck by the fact that the Jicarilla constantly judge the performance of other members of the tribe in kinship terms. While there is convincing evidence that Jicarilla kinship relations are undergoing change, these relations still remain the primary means of determining social action among the members of the tribe.

The Moiety

In the pre-reservation period the Jicarilla tribe was divided into two divisions, the Llanero and the Ollero. The Llanero was the division to the east and was that part of the tribe more closely associated with the Plains. The Ollero was the division to the west and was closely associated with the Pueblos. Each moiety was said to have been divided into six bands. The moieties were not kinship groups and were what Murdock (1949: 47) calls "pseudo-moieties." White (1959: 158–159) refers to this type of dual organization as "nonkinship moieties" and says they are "simply

halves of a social whole, distinguished for the purpose of performing reciprocal or complementary functions; any connection with kinship is merely incidental." A man's affiliation was usually determined by the group to which his wife belonged, since he would be living in the territory of her moiety. However, there was no set rule, and a man or woman could belong to either division he chose.

When the Jicarilla settled on the reservation, they apparently retained their moiety divisions. The Llanero settled in the northwestern region of the northern half of the reservation and the Ollero settled in the southeastern region of the northern half of the reservation.

A report written in 1891 showed that out of an estimated population of 824, there were 309 (32.5 per cent) Olleros and 515 (62.5 per cent) Llaneros. A survey of individuals 19 years of age and older in 1959 is shown in table 3.

TABLE 3

MOIETY AFFILIATION OF JICARILLA APACHE
19 YEARS AND OVER, 1959

Moiety affiliation	Number	Percentage
Llanero	212	35
Ollero	273	45
Llanero-Ollero	6	1
Unknown	115	19
Totals	606	100

A great deal of effort was devoted to an attempt to determine the economic and political aspects of the moiety. My conclusion is that the moiety plays very little role in these areas in Jicarilla society today. The major importance of these two divisions, as far as I have been able to determine, is ceremonial. The two groups function primarily during the September Fifteenth Fiesta. Although the ceremony has changed since Opler (1946) described it, it is still basically the same.

Informants report there were three leaders or prominent men in the tribe before the adoption of a formal political organization in 1937. Two of the men belonged to the Ollero division and the other to the Llanero division. The two Ollero men are said to have been in general agreement on political matters, and the Llanero man led an opposition group. All three were elected to the first tribal council. However, I have found no conclusive evidence that these three men represented or were leaders of the moieties.

There is some evidence that the Ollero today are the "progressives" and that the Llanero are the "conservatives." This conclusion is based on the fact that most of the people who actively support programs for change are Olleros, and those who actively oppose change are Llaneros. The younger people seem to take very little interest in the divisions, although this may change as they become older.

THE TRIBE

The tribe was formerly an endogamous linguistic and cultural group. It is still recognized as such by most Jicarilla, but today it is also much more. Since 1937, the Jicarilla Apache Tribe, Inc., has been a corporation chartered by the United

States government. The powers and responsibilities of the corporation are established by a written constitution and bylaws, subject to any restrictions in the Constitution and laws of the United States. The corporation is administrated by the Representative Tribal Council elected by members of the corporation, that is, officially enrolled members of the tribe.

The head of the Tribal Council is the tribal chairman. He is assisted by a vice-chairman, an executive secretary, an executive committee, and several permanent and temporary committees appointed by the council. The permanent committees deal with such matters as loans, scholarships, welfare, and land assignments. The Jicarilla police force and the judicial system are also under the control of the council. The political organization of the tribe will not be discussed further here, since it is taken up in detail in chapter iii.

An individual Jicarilla gains many economic and social advantages from tribal membership. The economic advantages will be discussed in chapter iv; the social advantages are derived from membership in a group where he has friends and relations and where he finds protection from the world outside the reservation. It is difficult to say to what extent social stratification exists on the reservation today. Informants, both Jicarilla and non-Jicarilla, say there were two apparent social groups on the reservation before 1950. The members of the larger group were very poor and did not have the prestige and influence to improve their position; the members of the smaller group, primarily livestockmen, were in a position to acquire most of the advantages of tribal membership.

Today there are three evident social strata based on occupation. The first, the livestockmen, probably have the highest social status although they do not necessarily have the highest income. This group is rather small since only 69 out of 223 households own livestock. The position of the livestockmen is not as high today as it was before 1950. Part of the reason for this is that all members of the tribe have been receiving per capita payments since 1952. Before per capita payments, many Jicarilla depended for support on their relatives with livestock. This economic support carried with it both social and political control. After per capita payments began, a livestockman no longer had to support his relatives with no income. This was to the advantage of both groups; but it also lessened the prestige and control of the livestockmen. The change has been one only of degree. Asked to name the ten most important men in the tribe a Jicarilla will usually list all livestockmen, in spite of the fact that other men make more money from wages than many of the men named gross from their livestock. Individuals are reluctant to sell their livestock, even though they are losing money on the operation, because they feel they will not be as highly regarded by other members of the tribe.

The second social group earns wages as permanent employees of the tribe or Bureau of Indian Affairs. Their earnings range from $4,500 to $8,000 a year. Their annual income, except in a few cases, is greater than the net annual income of the livestockmen. Some live in modern houses although most such houses are owned by the tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This group, it should be noted, includes the tribal officials.

The third group is characterized by income from per capita payments and part-time work and is the largest of the three. An analysis in 1958 showed that 95 households did not have enough earned income to provide the basic necessities ac-

cording to Jicarilla standards. This meant, for example, that a family of two adults and three children earned an income of less than $650. Per capita payments in 1958 added another $1,400 to this family's income. The differences between this group and the other two are not great if measured by such things as diet, manner of dress, and, except for living either in tribal or government dwellings, house type. The major difference is that individuals in the low-income group do not have the prestige and influence to improve their condition. They do not receive special consideration for loans, land assignments, jobs and so on, although they do receive per capita payments, welfare, and free medical care as do all members of the tribe.

The three strata are unimportant factors in the structure of Jicarilla society at present. Kinship relations cut across these groups in all directions and are usually the dominant factor in determining social behavior, but as kinship obligations weaken it is possible these groups will take on more importance.

Western Society

The Jicarilla system has been changing in response to contact with Western society for at least three hundred years. The types and extent of these contacts before the beginning of the reservation were indicated in the preceding chapter. Here we will be concerned with the influences of Western society after the Jicarilla were placed on the reservation in 1888.

Jicarilla society has been in contact with only selective parts of Western society: the Dulce community, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the missions, the traders, and the public school.

THE DULCE COMMUNITY

Dulce was first established as a center for the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and as a trading post. It is located on the railway line which until about eight years ago was a primary means of transportation for both freight and passengers. Only a very few Jicarilla families lived in the Dulce community in the past. A map of the location of households on the reservation in 1938 shows that 68 of the 171 families lived within a radius of 10 miles of Dulce. However, probably not more than 20 families actually lived in the Dulce community. Today about 80 per cent of the population lives permanently within a radius of 10 miles of Dulce, and about 50 per cent of the population lives within the Dulce community proper

There is a sharp social division between the Indians and non-Indians within Dulce. The major area of contact between them is in business, and, with a few exceptions, Indians and non-Indians do not visit each other's homes. The division is recognized and accepted by both groups. The location of the government houses in a cluster in the center of the community reinforced the division in the past. Now the spacial division is disappearing: government houses have been built in areas on the periphery of the community, some government houses are occupied by Jicarilla, the tribe has built houses among the government houses, there is a new settlement for schoolteachers, and some individual Jicarilla are building houses in the center of the community where they have access to both water and sewage connections. Still, most Indian houses are located on the outskirts of the community "behind the mission" and south of the arroyo. Not more than six Indian-owned houses had both running water and a sewage outlet in 1958.

About ten times a year, the Dulce Community Club has a community function

such as a potluck dinner, dance, or amateur show. Some Jicarilla are assigned to the committees planning these activities, and a few Jicarilla attend all the community functions. Some functions are well attended by the Jicarilla, and the Jicarilla usually outnumber the non-Indians at the community dances. However, even at these activities the sharp division between the two groups remains. It is unusual to see an Indian family and non-Indian family seated together at a table, or an Indian dancing with a non-Indian. Social interaction between these two groups is increasing, but it will undoubtedly be some time before these relationships become common.

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, as represented locally by the Jicarilla Apache Agency, has probably been the dominant influence on the Jicarilla system since 1888. The influences on the economic and political structures will be given in detail in the following chapters; here we shall mention only some influences on other aspects of Jicarilla society.

The government, operating through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has touched upon all aspects of Jicarilla culture, but its influence, although still considerable today, is decreasing. Tribal organizations are taking over functions formerly carried out by the government. The Bureau of Indian Affairs played a part in establishing the high prestige enjoyed by the livestockmen noted earlier. The Bureau of Indian Affairs initially introduced livestock to the reservation and they praised and rewarded those members of the tribe who were successful in the livestock business. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has also rewarded with jobs people who have shown they are willing to accept Western standards of scheduling and conformity. Government officials are in a position to recommend or approve tribal loans, welfare, scholarships, per capita payments, grazing assignments, and similar benefits. Through these mechanisms they may reward or punish those members of the tribe who meet or fail to meet Western standards. Local government officials have informally served as the primary models for Western behavior.

One great influence the Bureau of Indian Affairs has had upon Jicarilla social structure has undoubtedly been in the area of education. Until 1956, the Jicarilla attended schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Since then the schools have been operated by the county and state. However, at least half the Jicarilla children of school age still live nine months of the year in the Bureau of Indian Affairs–operated boarding school. While there they are introduced to and expected to conform to Western standards. They are also introduced to such things as electric lights, hot and cold water, telephones, and television. Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools have been operated on the reservation at least since the early 1920's. Before that time, some Jicarilla attended boarding schools off the reservation. Until about four years ago, all Jicarilla who attended high school went to government schools located away from the reservation. Since the establishment of the public school in 1956, the Jicarilla students attended high school in Dulce. The public school will be discussed under a separate heading.

Government officials, probably without intending to do so, have attempted to force the Jicarilla kinship system into the Western pattern. They have recognized the nuclear family as the only important unit of the Jicarilla kinship system, and

the husband-father as the head of the household. The official census lists the tribal members by family with the husband-father listed as the household head and the other members of the family listed beneath his name. They have encouraged nuclear families to be independent of the camp unit and to develop along lines prescribed by Western standards. They have encouraged pregnant women to get married and all couples to be married according to the laws of the state of New Mexico. The husband-father has been encouraged to accept the responsibility only of his wife and children and to ignore responsibilities he might feel for other relations. All these actions have introduced stresses into the Jicarilla kinship system, and, therefore, into the social structure generally.

The local clinic is operated by the Public Health Service, although until about 1952 it was operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It now has a staff with one doctor, two nurses, a clerk, and several janitor-drivers. From November to April the clinic maintains a branch on the south end of the reservation. The Jicarilla have been exposed to modern medicine since at least 1909 when there were 772 Jicarilla enrolled at the agency. By 1920 only 588 were enrolled, a decrease brought about by influenza, measles, mumps, smallpox, and tuberculosis. From 1920 to the present, health conditions on the reservation improved and the population has steadily increased. In a report dated January, 1924, Dr. George L. Wyckoff, the physician on the reservation, gave the following reasons for the improved health conditions between 1920 and 1924:

> For the last three years the tribe has been increasing. The reason they have been increasing may be summed up in one word, sheep! The sale of their timber made it possible for them to have sheep. Having sheep made it possible for them to have plenty of food and an occupation suitable to their health needs. As their economic circumstances have advanced their mental attitude has improved. Ten years ago the Indians all said, "In just a few more years there will be no more Apaches." The psychological effect of better circumstances has changed the pessimism to optimism.

So many children on the reservation had tuberculosis in the 1920's that the agency schools was turned into a sanatorium. Thus contact with modern medicine was intensive. Some of the old Jicarilla claim that had it not been for the medical care they received there would probably be no Jicarilla today.

There is no problem of getting the Jicarilla to go to the clinic. Dr. Lewis Crawford, a former physician on the reservation, reported that the per capita clinic visit for the Jicarilla was higher than the national average, although belief in and use of native medicines has not died out. In 1958, of children of ages 1 to 4, 87.3 per cent had received DPT immunizations, 80.9 per cent had been vaccinated for smallpox, and 67.0 per cent had received inoculations for poliomyelitis. In a 3-year period from June, 1956, to June, 1959, only 22.7 per cent of the children born to women living on the reservation were delivered at home. Despite these encouraging figures, health conditions on the reservation can be improved. For example, for the 7-year period 1950–1956 the death rate on the reservation was 14.6 per cent; the death rate for New Mexico during this same period was 7.4 per cent. A survey of 86 homes on the reservation in 1959 showed that none had satisfactory protection of their water source, and 47.7 per cent had unsatisfactory sewage disposal.

The Jicarilla, in dealing with the Public Health Service, are made to conform

to Western standards of scheduling and routine. The clinic is open only at certain hours, physical examinations for children are scheduled for one afternoon a week, medicine is to be used on schedule, appointments are expected to be kept promptly, and so on.

It is difficult to determine the influence of modern medicine on the role and status of native shamans and priests. The Jicarilla are reluctant to discuss native medicine with a non-Indian because they fear ridicule for holding such beliefs. To some extent Jicarilla of nearly all age groups believe in and use native medicines. There are at least nine shamans, that is, those who have obtained supernatural powers through dreams or visions, and at least three priests, that is, those who may conduct ceremonies after having served an apprenticeship. In addition, most old people on the reservation claim some special power or knowledge concerning medicine. Since the use of native medicines is widespread on the reservation, it appears incongruous that the Jicarilla would visit the clinic so readily. There are four apparent reasons why they do: first, the clinic services are free; second, the clinic treats minor ailments which the shaman would not consider worth his efforts; third, the shaman is reluctant to use his powers since he is supposed to die when his powers have been used up; and, fourth, there are certain illnesses which the shaman does not know how to treat. Informants say that none of the young people are interested in becoming shamans and priests. If this is so, it would indicate a declining status of the shaman and priest in the Jicarilla social structure, but evidence in support of this statement is not conclusive.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

The schools on the reservation have variously been under the control of the government, the missions, and state and local governments. From 1912 to 1918 the government operated a boarding school on the reservation for the first eight grades, although there is no record of enrollment of students beyond the fifth grade. Some of the Jicarilla attended Indian schools off the reservation before and during this period. There was no school on the reservation after 1918 until 1921 when the Dutch Reformed Church established a mission boarding school. This school taught the first eight grades and was operated until 1936. In 1926, the government opened a combination school and sanatorium for children with tuberculosis. Those who were well continued to attend the mission school. This arrangement continued until 1936 when the government took over the education of all children. From that time until 1956 Jicarilla children attended Indian schools maintained by the government either on the reservation or off. In 1956, a county public school was established in Dulce. Indian and other children in the community attended this school. In December, 1959, the public school, together with two schools not on the reservation, were combined to form the Dulce Independent School District.

There are about five hundred students in the Dulce school of whom approximately 80 per cent are Jicarilla. The other 20 per cent are made up of Navaho, Spanish-Americans, Anglo-Americans, and a few Negroes. At least half the Jicarilla children of school age still live nine months of the year in Bureau of Indian Affairs dormitories. This tends to isolate children from their Jicarilla background and places them in intensive association with various representatives of Western culture.

The public school is responsible for the formal education of the Jicarilla children. Informal education also takes place within the school setting, and this may eventually be as important as formal education. It involves participation in such activities as dances, home-coming parades, trips to places off the reservation (the senior class of 1960 took a trip to Los Angeles), and sports. There is also the informal education acquired through the children's contact with non-Indian children and adults.

This isolation from close contact with other members of Jicarilla society and the intensive socialization in Western standards is certain to have important effects on Jicarilla social structure. Offsetting factors in this trend are the tendency for Jicarilla children to isolate themselves socially from non-Indian children and adults and the present plans of the government to extend the school bus routes so that as many children as possible may live in their own homes during the school year.

THE MISSIONS

The history of the missions on the reservation begins about 1900 when the Presbyterian Church opened a small school which closed about 1910. The next mission on the reservation was established by the Dutch Reformed Church in America in 1914. This mission has been the most important one by far in the lives of the Jicarilla. It was concerned not only with religion but also with the health and education of the Jicarilla. From 1921 through 1935 many Jicarilla attended the mission school. The mission also provided recreation facilities and rooms for people who came to town overnight to visit the children, handled a great many welfare problems, and generally saw to the spiritual and physical needs of the Jicarilla. According to the Gelvin Report (1939) there were 15 staff members at the mission in 1938 when the church no longer operated the school. Indications are that the staff was much larger in the preceding period. By 1958 the staff was down to 5 members and shortly thereafter was reduced to a missionary and his assistant. However, in the last 10 years Mormon and Assembly of God churches have been built on the reservation and a Baptist mission has been established off the reservation about two miles from Dulce. Children living in the dormitories are still required to attend Sunday school and Bible instruction on Wednesday evening. They may attend any of the churches listed above, but most of them attend the Reformed Church mission. During the summer months, attendance drops sharply; there are usually less than twenty Jicarilla adults and children at Reformed Mission services during June, July, and August. The Gelvin Report (1939) said there were 181 adult members of the Reformed Church. Information gathered on 449 adults in 1960 revealed that 10.9 per cent of them were Christian, 5.3 per cent were both Jicarilla and Christian, 78.7 per cent followed the Jicarilla religion, and 5.1 per cent were members of the Native American Church and also followed the Jicarilla religion. There were 157 additional individuals whose religious affiliation was unknown.

One effect of the missionaries on the reservation has been to make the Jicarilla ashamed of their beliefs and reluctant to discuss them with non-Indians. Some of the older mission workers who were interviewed expressed the attitude that belief in the Jicarilla religion is an indication of superstition, ignorance, and heathenism.

The Jicarilla religious ceremonies, such as the Bear Dance, Coming-Out Dance, and the September Fifteenth Fiesta are regarded as occasions for drunkenness and sexual promiscuity. Methods used in the past to encourage Jicarilla to attend the mission included persuasion, force, and gifts, all of which left the modern Jicarilla with a rather negative attitude toward Christianity. The present missionary does not share these views and shows a genuine interest in the old Jicarilla culture.

Today the missions on the reservation serve many functions for the Jicarilla. Besides funerals and marriages, they have a year-round schedule of social activities such as swimming parties, skating, and picnics. Except for the social activities, including church services, the mission plays a relatively minor part in Jicarilla life today.

THE TRADERS

The traders have had a profound influence on Jicarilla social structure. The trading post on the reservation was operated by Emmitt Wirt from about 1912 to 1937. He had married a Jicarilla woman and two of their children are enrolled in the tribe. It is said that he took an active part in helping individual families and camps plan their domestic economy. He introduced the Jicarilla to the credit system and attempted to establish certain standards of dependability and Western-style responsibility. He was able to exert a great deal of influence through his control of primary credit to the Jicarilla.

The tribe bought the trading post from Wirt in 1937 and operated the store as a tribal enterprise. However, from that time until it closed in 1955, it was operated by non-Indian managers. It was in this period, beginning about 1950, that the Jicarilla began to acquire cars and trucks through the credit system at the tribal store. Before 1950, only about ten families on the reservation had cars. Now about 70 per cent of the families have cars, and most of the remaining 30 per cent have access to them. The acquisition of rapid transportation has been a primary factor in breaking up the camp groupings and concentrating the population in or near Dulce. The need for water, wood, and range land formerly required that settlements be located in areas where such resources were available. With modern transportation, however, wood and water can be hauled to any location and the livestock owner can live in Dulce and visit his herd and herder several times a week.

The tribal store was leased to a private trader in 1956 and is now operated as a private commercial enterprise. One policy change in the operation of the local store which has strongly influenced Jicarilla social structure is the definition of the credit unit. Wirt and some of the non-Indian managers apparently recognized the camp as the unit. The account at the store was carried in the name of the head of the camp, and all members of the camp charged purchases to his name. This policy has now changed and only the nuclear family is recognized as the credit unit. To the Jicarilla it emphasizes that the nuclear family is regarded by non-Indians as a unit of production and consumption.

The traders still exert a great deal of influence over the domestic economy of the nuclear family. They know fairly accurately the amount of income the family may expect during a year and actively encourage families to spend in terms of what they can realistically repay. In this task they are encouraged and aided by the tribal officials who can give accurate information on the estimated worth of the family.

The economic control of local traders is declining. The increasing income to tribal members in the last eight years has aroused the interest of traders off the reservation in cities within a radius of 150 miles of Dulce. Eager for Apache trade, these merchants have been quite willing to extend them credit. Agency records show that in 1956 there was an estimated $200,180 in credit obtained by the Jicarilla from sources off the reservation. By 1959, this amount had risen to $369,600. In late 1960, a bank established a local branch in Dulce which should further encourage the trend.

Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the six primary concrete units which make up Jicarilla social structure. It was not meant to be an exhaustive treatment but only a framework to provide an understanding of the analysis in the following chapters. The behavior of the individual Jicarilla is oriented by his participation in these six units, and his actions can only be understood in terms of the way he is influenced by his participation in one or more of the units.

The theoretical justification for the inclusion of Western society as a unit of Jicarilla society is discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER III

CHANGES IN THE JICARILLA POLITICAL STRUCTURE

THE CHANGES in the Jicarilla political structure can best be discussed in terms of periods of significant or marked change. This does not imply that the changes occurred abruptly in the years designated as the breaking point. Some changes occur at so imperceptibly slow a rate as to be recognized only in a period of crisis. Other changes are dramatic on the surface, but lead to meaningful changes in the period following the dramatic event. However, these dates are not completely arbitrary as will be shown. The same is true for the periods used to discuss the economic structure in the following chapter.

This discussion of the Jicarilla political structure is divided into five periods: (1) the pre-reservation period; (2) the government trusteeship period from 1888 to 1936; (3) the period of formal organization and governmental control from 1937 to 1951; (4) the period of increasing tribal power and authority from 1952 to 1959; and (5) the revision of the formal organization in 1960.

THE PRE-RESERVATION PERIOD

There was no formal political organization among the Jicarilla during the pre-reservation period; therefore, there was no concrete structure which was primarily politically oriented. There was no over-all tribal leader, and I have found no evidence of the tribe acting as a unit before arriving on the reservation. It is clear from historical references in the nineteenth century that there were many Jicarilla "chiefs" and the size of their following varied from 40 to 250 individuals. There is confusion between being the head of a camp or of a band. Seven references to "bands" in the 23 years from 1849 to 1871 give the following band sizes: 40, 50, 50, 110, 130, 250, and 300. The 3 lowest figures probably represent camps; the figures 110 and 130 probably represent bands made up of 2 or 3 camps; the figures 250 and 300 probably represent bands made up of 5 or 6 camps. The variable size of local groups is to be expected in the absence of a formal band organization to hold the camps together. The leader of a band was usually also the leader of a camp temporarily elevated while several camps were in association. The band leader by common consent led those camps within his band, and any camp leader who chose to could take his camp from the band.

During the pre-reservation period the highest authority, on a year to year basis, rested with the camp leader. He was usually the father of the women making up the second generation within the camp. He held his position through his kinship relations arising out of the nuclear family, that is, he continued to exert a certain amount of authority over his daughters, his daughters' husbands and their children. His position was further strengthened by his age, wisdom, and proven ability to lead. He made decisions concerning the movements of the camp, who could live in the camp, the division of labor within the camp, and he controlled to a large extent the distribution of economic goods obtained by the combined efforts

of the camp. His position as leader was also reinforced by the nonempirical belief that the camp leader should be respected and obeyed. This is a specific instance of their general belief that old people are to be respected and obeyed.

The family head within the camp could withdraw his family from the camp group if he chose. The need for protection and security for his family more or less dictated that he join another camp immediately. A man could form a camp of his own only when he had enough sons or sons-in-law to furnish the manpower for the protection of the group.

The band may have been a more stable unit in the period before the native subsistence and territorial patterns were disrupted by the intrusion of Plains Indians and American traders and hunters. Evidence on this topic will probably be available when the historical studies related to the Jicarilla land claims are released and analyzed.

Government Trusteeship, 1888–1936

When the Jicarilla were placed on the reservation in 1888, they were under the direct control of the agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The agents accepted the responsibility both for the welfare and the control of the Jicarilla. At first the Jicarilla were confined to the reservation and could leave only with written permission of the government agent. Since the Jicarilla were primarily dependent on government rations for their subsistence, the government had the power to exert strong controls over their activities. The primary interest of the government during this period was to see that the Jicarilla were quiet and did not cause any difficulty for white settlers. Apparently the policy was to issue enough rations to keep the Indians from leaving the reservation and raiding the cattle herds belonging to white owners in the area.

Political authority during this period was divided between the camp heads and the United States government. The camp, especially after the Jicarilla became important livestock owners in 1920, was the unit both of production and consumption; the political structure (allocation of power and responsibility) of the camp unit was compatible with the economic structure (allocation of goods and services). The camp leader made decisions regarding the management of the herds. He also decided to what extent each member or family within the camp would participate in the income derived from the herd. The government was primarily responsible for the protection of natural resources and the preservation of peace as it related to major crimes and the Jicarilla's relations with Western society. The two major resources at that time were grazing land and timber. The use of timber was completely controlled by the government and, except as firewood and building material, was of little concern to the Jicarilla. The government also controlled the income from all timber sales, and it was from this income that the first sheep were bought and issued to the Jicarilla in 1920. Grazing land, on the other hand, was of primary concern to the Jicarilla, but since there was no shortage of range land at that time controls in this area were minimal. There is no record before 1937 of the government attempting to reduce the number of livestock or otherwise regulate the range land; controls were limited to land assignments, to regulations concerning seasonal movements of the herds, and to settling disputes. The government manifested its control by force when necessary. For example, federal authorities could arrest, convict, and confine Jicarilla for a major crime.

The Jicarilla settled into six local groupings when they arrived on the reservation, groupings which may have been based on band organization. It is apparent that the political divisions established on the reservation in 1937 conformed fairly closely to these local divisions. I have found no evidence to support the conclusion that the band was an important unit in the political structure during this period. The allotment of land in the early 1900's and the assignment of range land after 1920 probably contributed to disrupting any organization existing in these local groupings. In any event, as was noted in the preceding chapter, there is no evidence of band organization today.

The political aspects of the moieties were also noted in the preceding chapter. In the early 1930's the acknowledged leaders, at least from the viewpoint of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, represented the Llanero and Ollero divisions. It is not clear to what extent these leaders were recognized and followed by the members of the two divisions. Today the moieties represent the "conservative" and "progressive" groups on the reservation. However, there are no known leaders of these divisions nor any other division of political organization as such. Decisions on major issues seem to be based on individual attitudes regarding the issue rather than on membership in or identification with a particular division.

The political structure, during the trusteeship period, consisted of the government exerting power and responsibility in matters which pertained to the tribe as a whole. There was no over-all tribal organization with which the government could deal, and a superintendent of the Jicarilla Agency wrote, in 1927:

> These Indians are not yet advanced far enough to fully understand the purpose of business organization for the furtherance of their industrial, moral, and political activities, particularly by electing their own leaders and the policy has been to select the most substantial men in each community and direct them, through their influence, to direct the others [quoted in Treaty and Statutory Rights, 1960].

Tribal representatives, as this quote indicates, were selected and directed by the government. Otherwise, power and responsibility, as it pertained to the local groupings, were retained by the camp heads.

In 1934, the government passed the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18 which was to establish a formal political organization among Indian groups in the United States. The superintendent's report in 1934 commented upon the possibility of the Jicarilla formally organizing under the terms of this act:

> The sentiment of the Tribe does not favor reorganization at present and it is possible that any action towards organization might cause trouble and rejection of the Act. The Tribe generally feels that they are not ready for self-government. Some years ago they were under tribal government and a great deal of friction arose. They are afraid of renewing their old troubles and prefer to stay unorganized for the present. As they become interested in organization and self-government every effort should be made to aid and assist them in ironing out their troubles and helping them to form a harmonious, coöperative tribal organization [quoted in Treaty and Statutory Rights, 1960].

The tribal organization referred to in this report probably was an earlier attempt by the government to recognize one man as leader and representative of the tribe. The Jicarilla informants mention two men who were so recognized by the government, but point out these men never represented the tribe.

Three years after the above report was written the Jicarilla accepted formal organization under the Indian Reorganization Act.

Formal Organization and Government Control, 1937–1951

The formal organization of the tribe in 1937 established three important changes. First, it set up a formal political organization to take over power and responsibility from the government. Second, the formal political organization was to take over power and responsibility from the camp leaders. Third, it set up the tribe as a corporation. The fact and extent of these changes were not immediately evident.

In an election held July 3, 1937, the members of the Jicarilla Apache tribe approved the "Constitution and By-Laws of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe of the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation, New Mexico" by a vote of 242 to 2. The constitution provided for a tribal council made up of eighteen members elected from six districts. A map of the location of families on the reservation in 1938 (Gelvin Report, 1939) shows there were 28 families in district one (4 representatives), 21 families in district two (2 representatives), 22 families in district three (2 representatives), 18 families in district four (2 representatives), 14 families in district five (2 representatives), and 68 families in district six (6 representatives). The Tribal Council was to meet in May and October each year or at any other time a special meeting was called. Five members of the council were to be elected to the executive committee. The members of the council, including the executive committee, served only during the time the council or executive committee was in session.

No notes or minutes of meetings of the Tribal Council or the executive committee for the period from 1937 to the fall of 1946 could be located. One agency employee said he had once seen a list of resolutions passed during this period, but there were no minutes. Informants, both Indian and non-Indian, say they do not think minutes were kept at these meetings. The general population did not understand the purposes and functions of the council. One informant, who was a council member in 1937, said the people thought the formal political organization was a joke.

It is difficult to determine how council members were selected in the districts. Some informants say there would be a general meeting on a special day in a district and the people at the meeting would decide who would be the councilman. One former councilman said he was appointed to the council by the superintendent. Another informant said the councilmen served until they got tired of the job and then turned it over to one of their relatives. I have found a list of the initial Tribal Council but no listings for the period from 1939 to 1945. At least ten of the council members active in 1945 had been elected to the first Tribal Council in 1937, indicating little change in the membership of the council during the six-year period. Two councilmen who served during this period have told me they do not know from which district they were elected.

From 1937 to about 1952 the superintendent called the Tribal Council to meeting in his office. The superintendent sat behind his desk and the council sat in chairs before him. The superintendent conducted the meeting, gave resolutions to the tribe which they were to pass, asked for the vote, ascertained whether or not the resolution had passed, and adjourned the meeting when the business had been concluded.

It is apparent that the council had power and responsibility only so far as it extended the authority of the government. It acted in name, but it acted primarily as an agent of the government. The formal organization of the tribe did not immediately result in authority shifting to the tribe; actually the authority of the government was increased. The government had long sought to deal with a central organization of tribal authority instead of with a number of camp leaders, and the Tribal Council became such an organization. One of the first acts (1938) of the Tribal Council was to restore all resources to tribal status, an act which conformed to government policy at that time. The following year (1939), the council returned all land allotted individuals to tribal status, another step following government policy. In 1943, it approved grazing regulations and a land code, part of the trust responsibility of the government to protect natural resources. Three years later (1946), the council approved a resolution that all marriages be in accordance with the laws of New Mexico and requested the reservation superintendent to enforce among Jicarilla the state ordinance pertaining to school attendance—again, two steps conforming to government policy but of little interest to most Jicarilla even as late as 1960. The government, thus, extended its authority, through the Tribal Council, into such areas as ownership and use of land and other resources, marriage, and control over the children, which were formerly reserved to camp and family leaders.

The government's position over the Tribal Council as the ultimate source of power and responsibility had not changed by 1952, at least in the government's estimation. The superintendent's report on the possible withdrawal of government trusteeship in 1952 concludes, "the Jicarilla Apaches are not competent to handle their affairs independently of the Bureau [of Indian Affairs]." Some of the specific reasons for this conclusion were:

1. The Representative Tribal Council which is made up of a cross section of the group cannot carry on a Business Meeting without the guidance of the Superintendent or other Bureau employee.
2. Older leaders are passing from the picture and new leaders have not developed.
3. Do not have clear knowledge of handling monetary matters.
4. Too few can manage their own personal affairs.
5. Individuals will seldom take exception to group actions and cannot stand criticism by tribal members.
6. Have been too reliant on the Superintendent and his staff to manage their personal affairs and problems.
7. Have not had experience in general day-to-day dealings with the outside public.
8. Many feel that they have "made out" through the past years and have no desire to change which literally means—The Bureau managing not only their business affairs but supervising their livestock dealings, i.e., selling wool, lambs and cattle along with settling family disputes and personal problems.
9. They do not realize the problems involved with the withdrawal of the Bureau nor are they certain in their own minds which direction to go, what plans to make, nor do they have any program to follow.
10. Many of these points are not the fault of the Apaches but are due to lack of training and education.

The formal political organization was also meant to replace the traditional authority of the camp leaders with the legal authority of a representative body.

The superintendent's report quoted above and other evidence indicate this had not taken place by 1952. The Jicarilla did not regard the Tribal Council but the government as the ultimate source of political authority. Tribal representatives, sitting in session only twice a year, were not in the position to know what was going on nor able to act in situations which might arise from day to day. In many cases which directly affected the Jicarilla, such as assignment of grazing land, the government representatives made no pretense at acting through the Tribal Council. Some of the government-supported resolutions of the council were largely ignored, e.g., the requirement regarding legal marriages, and others were passively accepted, e.g., the requirement to send children to school. There apparently was a decline in the power and responsibility at the camp level before 1952, but the gain was to the government and not to the legal tribal representatives.

The third change, which occurred in 1937, was the recognition of the Jicarilla Apache tribe as a corporate group. The Jicarilla Apache tribe, as incorporated by the United States government, had those features of a corporate group as defined by Weber (1947: 145–146):

> A social relationship which is either closed or limits the admission of outsiders by rules, will be called a "corporate group" so far as its order is enforced by the action of specific individuals whose regular function this is, of a chief or "head" and usually also an administrative staff. These functionaries will normally also have representative authority.

Article III of the "Constitution and By-Laws of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe of the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation, New Mexico" states:

> Membership in the Jicarilla Apache Indian Tribe shall be extended to all persons of Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation of 1937: and to all children of one-fourth or more Indian blood not affiliated with another tribe, born after the completion of the 1937 census roll to any member of the Tribe who is a resident of the Jicarilla Apache Reservation. Membership by adoption may be acquired by a three-fourths majority vote of the tribal council and the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

Article VI of the constitution outlines the "Powers of the Representative Tribal Council" including such powers as the tribe had in the past, the powers given in section 16 of the act of June 18, 1934 (48 *U. S. Stat. at L.* 984), and the powers given in this article. These latter include management of tribal lands, expenditure of tribal funds for public purposes and for expenses of the tribal government, maintaining peace and order on the reservation, and conducing tribal business.

The fact that the formal organization was initiated and controlled by the United States government does not make the Jicarilla Apache tribe any less a corporate group, for according to Weber (1947: 148):

> A corporate group may be either autonomous or heteronomous, either autocephalous or heterocephalous. Autonomy means that the order governing the group has been established by its own members on their own authority, regardless of how this has taken place in other respects. In the case of heteronomy, it has been imposed by an outside agency. Autocephaly means that the chief and his staff act by the authority of the autonomous order of the corporate group itself, not, as in the case of heterocephaly, that they are under the authority of outsiders. . . . It is also possible in both respects for a corporate group to have both characters at the same time in different spheres. . . . A corporate group, which is at the same time completely heteronomous and completely heterocephalous, is usually best treated as a "part" of the more extensive group, as would ordinarily be done with a "regiment" as part of any army. But whether this is the case de-

pends on the actual extent of independence in the orientation of action in the particular case. For terminological purposes, it is entirely a question of convenience.

There are important structural differences between the corporate group which includes all members of the tribe and the corporate lineages of segmental social systems (Fortes 1953: 25–39). These differences do not bear upon this present study and will not be discussed here. The important corporate characteristics which concern us are: (1) membership in the corporate group was restricted to descendants of those people claiming tribal membership in 1937; (2) all tribal members, regardless of age or sex were to share equally in the assets of the corporate group; and (3) a formal organization was established to administer the affairs of the corporate group.

The organization of the Jicarilla Apache tribe into a corporate group was a structural change in the social system which, although initially unimportant, became one of the most important features of the system. The corporate group established in 1937 was both heteronomous and heterocephalous. The order governing the group was not established by its own members, and the Tribal Council, although elected by the corporate group members, did not in fact hold power. The members of the tribe were not aware of the new structure, and were little affected by its existence. Newborn Jicarilla were enrolled in the tribe by government employees. There were a few cases of children born off the reservation adopted into the tribe, but tribal membership had almost no meaning for those unable to take immediate advantage of the natural resources such as land and timber. After 1952 the situation changed: individuals sought to enroll their children in the tribe and adults came forward to claim tribal membership. This interest in tribal membership was primarily economic, but it also indicates an awareness of the corporate nature of the tribe and the rising power and responsibility of the corporate administration.

Increasing Tribal Power and Responsibility, 1952–1959

The formal political organization adopted in 1937 established the framework for the control of both the external and internal relations of the tribe to rest with the administrative staff of the corporate group. As indicated in the preceding section, this did not happen immediately. However, there is evidence that by 1952 the Tribal Council had begun to take over the power and responsibility formerly held by the government or the camp leader, and this trend has accelerated up to the present. Some of these changes can be quantitatively defined.

If the council was to have a part in determining the affairs of the tribe, then it must meet as often as the business of the tribe required. The constitution adopted in 1937 assumes that two meetings a year would be sufficient to take care of tribal affairs. No records of council meetings before 1946 have been located, but Jicarilla who were on the council during this period say it did not meet often, and some of them think there may have been years when the council did not meet at all. The council must not only meet, but it must also pass laws stating its powers and responsibilities in affairs both external and internal to the Jicarilla tribe. There is no information on the number of resolutions passed before 1946, but since that time the records are complete. The annual number of council meetings and the number of resolutions passed are given in table 4.

This table has two sharp breaking points. From 1946 to 1951 there were never more than 5 council meetings in a year. Beginning in 1952, there have never been less than 9 council meetings in a year. From 1946 through 1953 there were never more than 53 resolutions passed in a year. In 1954 the number increased to 128 and after that year there have never been less than 252 resolutions. The rise in the number of council meetings precedes by 2 years the rise in the number of resolutions passed by the council. Several situations were developing in 1952 which required attention of the council: a request for the first per capita payment, a plan to establish a tribal loan program, an attorney contract for the land claims, and

TABLE 4

THE ANNUAL NUMBER OF COUNCIL MEETINGS AND THE ANNUAL NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE JICARILLA APACHE TRIBAL COUNCIL: 1946–1960

Calendar year	Number of council meetings	Number of resolutions passed
1946	2	32
1947	4	53
1948	3	39
1949	5	41
1950	3	21
1951	3	18
1952	11	27
1953	9	44[a]
1954	10	128
1955	11	152
1956	13	283
1957	15	499
1958	17	567
1959	17	327
1960	18	409

[a] Beginning in 1953, the number of resolutions passed included those also passed by the executive committee.

adoption of a plan for leasing land for oil and gas exploration. Some of the meetings were called to discuss these problems and no resolutions were passed. In 1953 such matters as an investment of tribal securities, a new plan of operation for the coöperative store, the transfer of the title of the reservation land to the Jicarilla Apache tribe, and discussion of workmen's compensation and tribal insurance required an increase in the number of council meetings. Again only a few resolutions were passed after a great deal of discussion.

The extent of these changes is even greater than indicated by the quantitative data. At first the council alone took care of the business of the tribe. Increasingly, however, the power and responsibility was delegated to committees appointed by the council. For example, the first record of the executive committee meeting was in 1953 when it met 4 times. In 1959, the executive committee met over 20 times. In addition, there were 5 permanent committees—land, loan, scholarship, finance, and health and welfare—and two "temporary" committees—constitution and family plan—which met almost every week.

The council also expanded its executive powers at roughly the same time it exercized greater legislative responsibility. The form of this executive power was the development of an effective police force and a tribal court. Before the tribe was organized in 1937, police and judicial matters were primarily the responsibility of the government. The superintendent's report of 1927 states: "No Indian judges are allowed but in some cases two or three Indians are called in to hear and decide cases in conjunction with the superintendent." Although the tribe was granted the authority to establish its own law and order code under the constitution adopted in 1937, it was not done immediately. The Gelvin Report (1939) indicates law and order was still primarily the responsibility of the government. A general review of conditions on the reservation in 1944 states:

> Law and order is not a serious problem on this reservation. The Jicarillas under their constitution are doing a fair job in maintaining law and order among their own people. One policeman of their own tribe is on the Government payroll. This is believed to be enough. Court procedure is under the direction of the council. This is believed correct.

This situation apparently changed. When the council found it could not enforce its resolutions, it turned to the government for support. In 1946 the council requested that the superintendent enforce the resolution requiring children to attend school. The same year a resolution was passed requiring that all marriages and divorces must conform to the state regulations. An acting superintendent commented on this resolution in a letter (January 14, 1947):

> . . . enforcement of the resolution must be left to persuasion and public opinion. This is true of all resolutions of the council, for there is no Indian Court operating here nor suitable place to confine violators should a court be established.

From 1947 through 1952 the tribe budgeted about $3,000 annually for law and order. This included a policeman's salary, the salary of deputies who served when needed, the operation of a police car, and the salary of a part-time tribal judge. The government officials repeatedly suggested to the council that a law and order code be established. Committees to draw up such a code were appointed in 1947 and again in 1952, but there is no record of reports from these committees. Finally, in 1952, the council passed a resolution granting authority to the superintendent to serve as the enforcement agency on the reservation and to serve as judge. The resolution was in violation of the tribal constitution and was disapproved.

In 1954 the council requested that the government submit a law and order code. This was submitted but rejected. The tribal attorney drew up a code immediately thereafter but no action was taken on it by the council. The following year the superintendent suggested the tribe hire their own special officer to set up a code and organize a police force and the council agreed. A special officer was hired in February, 1956.

The special officer, or chief of police, was a non-Indian with some training in law enforcement. He set up a law and order code which was adopted by the tribe in June, 1956. He also organized a police force and trained some of the Jicarilla. When he left in 1958, a Jicarilla became chief of police but was unable to maintain the established organization, and another non-Indian was hired in the summer of 1959. In 1960 there was a fully operating police force with a chief, a lieutenant, a sergeant, five patrolmen, and a clerk. The law and order budget for the fiscal year 1961 was $52,119.

The 1956 code established an official court known as "The Jicarilla Apache Indian Court of Offenses." It was noted earlier that court procedure was under direction of the Tribal Council as early as 1944, and the minutes of the council refer to the "Tribal Court" in 1946. However, the letter of January 14, 1947, quoted above indicated there was no tribal court in 1947; this statement probably meant there was no *effective* tribal court. The first mention of a tribal judge was in 1950, although there were tribal judges before this time. The code established three tribal judges, a chief judge and two associate judges all of whom were required to be tribal members.

The jurisdiction of the tribal court extended to all offenses committed by Indians on the reservation, with the exception of some major crimes such as homicide which were under the jurisdiction of the government. The code specifically listed forty-five offenses under the jurisdiction of the tribal court, including assault, theft, fraud, disorderly conduct, illicit cohabitation, adultery, failure to support dependent persons, failure to send children to school, making false reports of livestock owned, trespass, and peyote violations. Also, the tribal court had jurisdiction over "domestic matters" such as determination of paternity and support, determination of heirs, and approval of wills.

The Jicarilla have found it very difficult to find satisfactory judges. A judge must not be related to anyone involved in a court case, and it sometimes happens that all three judges in a case are disqualified for this reason. Judges are often accused of prejudice in their decisions because they know personally the individuals appearing before them. This was corrected shortly after the end of this study by the hiring of a non-Indian judge who is a qualified judge in Colorado and holds court on the reservation two days a week.

The administrative staff has extended its power and responsibility with the establishment of a formal court and an effective police force. The extension has been primarily at the expense of the camp leaders and other sources of informal power within the tribe.

Another measure of increasing power and responsibility is the extent to which the Tribal Council and its committees have control over the allocation of economic goods and services. Information on the expenditures of the tribe's money by the council for the years 1942 and 1947 through 1960 is given in table 5. The increase in the power and responsibility of the administrative staff is clearly indicated by these figures. The total expenditures, excluding "special funds," rose from about $11,000 in 1947 to over a million dollars. Expenditures for operating expenses rose from $11,000 to almost half a million dollars. The implications of increases in the allocation of goods and services in relation to increases in the allocation of power and responsibility will be discussed in chapter v.

The quantitative changes which had been taking place under the formal organization established in 1937 were climaxed by two qualitative changes which occurred in 1958. First posts of tribal chairman and executive secretary were made full-time positions. This gave the tribe a full-time administrative staff which was concerned with tribal business and available for consultation and decisions on external and internal matters. This administrative strengthening was aided, although apparently not so planned, by the agency offices moving to a building away

from the center of town and away from the tribal administrators. Second, a commercial accounting system for the tribe was established separate from the government's accounting system which placed expenditures directly under control of tribal officials. The government still retained ultimate control over the tribe's money because the tribe could spend only money placed in their commercial account by the government. However, day-to-day expenditures were in the hands of tribal officials without immediate governmental control.

The changes in the political structure since 1952 have clearly been an increase in the power and responsibility of the Tribal Council and its committees at the ex-

TABLE 5

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES APPROVED BY THE JICARILLA APACHE TRIBAL COUNCIL: 1942, 1947–1960

Fiscal year	Per capita payments	Special funds	Operating expenses	Total
1942			$ 200	$ 200
.....			.....	.....
1947			11,030	11,030
1948			35,537	35,537
1949			50,023	50,023
1950			51,126	51,126
1951		$ 20,000[a]	105,020	125,020
1952	$299,500	218,515[b]	260,274	778,289
1953	515,000	3,051,716[c]	137,713	3,704,429
1954	538,000		204,423	742,423
1955	550,000		209,959	759,959
1956	857,250		274,893	1,132,143
1957	583,000		266,044	849,044
1958	598,000		520,221	1,118,221
1959	499,200		434,956	934,156
1960	390,000		498,263	888,263

[a] This amount was placed in the Tribal Revolving Stock Fund.
[b] Of this amount, $188,515 was loaned to the coöperative store and $30,000 was loaned to the Soil Conservation Fund.
[c] Of this amount, $2,501,116 was used for the purchase of Treasury Bonds and $555,000 was used to establish the Tribal Loan Fund.
NOTE: These figures were derived from tribal budgets, tribal audits, and government audits which are presented in different ways thus making it difficult to derive comparable figures for various years. Two changes in the accounting system were other complicating factors. Gabriel Abeyta, examined each financial statement with me. In general, we have excluded expenses connected with tribal enterprises and expenses which were simply transfers from one account to another.

pense of the power and responsibility of the government and the camp units. The operation of the tribal government observed during the period of field work indicated tribal affairs were by and large run by tribal officials. Council meetings were conducted by the tribal chairman and government representatives were usually present only when they had business with the tribe. Nevertheless, the government still retains a great deal of power and responsibility, particularly in the form of veto power, e.g., the government must approve the tribal budget, approve expenditures of large sums of money, approve tribal loans, and so on. Also, the government is in a position to encourage and support any plan it has. Both the family plan and the constitution revision in 1960 were initiated and largely conducted by government officials working with tribal committees, although in both cases the tribal organization held veto power. In three cases observed where there

was direct conflict of interest between government and tribal policies, one case was settled in favor of the tribe, one case resulted in a compromise which favored the tribe's position, and one case was settled in favor of the government's position after it had been submitted to a vote of tribal members. The government recognizes its loss of power and responsibility and the treaty and statutory rights report cited in this study is an attempt by the government to define clearly the power and responsibility of the government as it pertains to the tribe.

The tribal officials' power and responsibility have replaced the power and responsibility of the camp unit insofar as the decisions of the former directly relate to individuals and nuclear families. This change has two aspects. First, tribal authority has taken over in areas formerly controlled by the government, e.g., the assignment of land; and second, tribal authority has extended its control into areas which were formerly reserved to camp leaders. It is in this second area where changes have been most notable and have further reduced the political aspects of the camp unit.

The position of the camp leader depends both on empirical and nonempirical controls (Levy 1952: 241). The nonempirical controls, such as respect for age and kinship relation, still are important today, although some of them, e.g., knowledge and wisdom, are becoming considerably less important. The empirical controls rest primarily upon the camp leaders' controls over the distribution of the goods and services produced by the camp's members. It is in this area where obvious changes occurred in the period 1952–1959. Since the distribution of goods and services rightfully belongs in the chapter on economic structure, we shall merely summarize here and reserve a more detailed discussion for the following chapter.

The administrative staff of the tribe deals almost exclusively with the subunits of the camp and ignores or even directly attempts to remove any power and responsibility the camp leader might have. Loans are made directly to individuals and nuclear families; on one case a young man was given a loan to buy sheep with the condition that he would not run his sheep with the herd of his father-in-law. State and tribal welfare relieves the camp organization of the responsibility of caring for its members who need aid. Tribal control over the distribution of jobs (wages) and per capita payments has made subunits of the camp independent of the distributive controls of the camp leader; tribal officials, for example, determine the schedule for making per capita payments. Land assignments are made to individuals and nuclear families, although the camp may occupy the area within these assignments. Men who desert their families are made to support their children by the tribal court, relieving the camp of its responsibility to force individuals to fulfill the kinship obligations. Tribal officials deal directly with the parents of truant school children rather than approach the camp leader. All of these activities on the part of the tribe have clearly demonstrated the power and responsibility of the administrative staff, and individuals approach the tribal officials directly for aid or fear them when they have failed to meet expected norms. The change has taken place to varying degrees within the different camps, and apparently it is in the camp which owns livestock where the controls of the leaders are still the strongest.

Revision of the Formal Organization, 1960

A constitution committee appointed by the Tribal Council in 1959, in conjunction with various agency personnel, revised the 1937 constitution. This revision was approved by the council and forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior for approval. It was approved by the Secretary and returned to the council to be approved by referendum of the people. A revised charter was submitted to referendum at the same time. In the balloting, 244 voted for the constitution and 9 voted against it; 172 voted in favor of the charter and 11 voted against it. Forty per cent of the qualified voters voted in this election. The approval of this constitution changed the formal tribal organization for the first time in 23 years. These changes sought to do two things: first, to define more specifically the relationship between the tribal administration and the government, and, second, to relate the tribal administration more directly to the individual members of the tribe.

The Tribal Council was given the power to declare dividend payments to members of the tribe without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Also, the amount of indebtedness which the tribe could incur without government approval was increased from $2,000 to $10,000, and the limit for a contract involving the payment of money in a year was increased from $5,000 to $10,000 without government approval. Both the old and new constitutions had the provision that any resolution passed by the Tribal Council "which, by the terms of this Constitution, is subject to the review of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be presented to the Superintendent of the reservation, who shall, within ten days thereafter, approve or disapprove the same." It had been the policy in the past for the superintendent to approve or disapprove all resolutions. Now it is the policy to submit for approval or disapproval only those resolutions subject to review. The formal changes with respect to power and responsibility between the government and the Tribal Council are not marked. The first constitution in 1937 gave the council a great deal of power and responsibility, but it was not until after 1952 that this authority was finally realized.

The new constitution calls for a meeting of the Tribal Council once a month, whereas the 1937 constitution called for regular meetings twice a year. The older constitution does not mention the position of chairman, although the charter has a statement that the vote on the charter must be certified by the chairman of the Tribal Council, and all available records indicate there has been a chairman since 1937. The constitution adopted in 1960 states how the chairman shall be elected and spells out his powers and responsibilities. Article IX, section 3, of the 1960 constitution states:

> The Tribal Chairman shall be the presiding officer of the Representative Tribal Council and shall vote in Council proceedings only in the cases of tie-votes. He shall function as the chief executive officer of the Tribe, be responsible for the general direction and supervision of the administration of tribal affairs in accordance with the ordinances and resolutions of the Representative Tribal Council, execute official documents on behalf of the Tribe, and exercise such other powers and duties as may be delegated to him by the Representative Tribal Council.

The powers and duties in this article were already exercised by the tribal chairman in the period 1952–1959 before the constitution was revised; this is simply formal recognition of a change that was already fact. It is also formal recognition by the

government that the power and responsibility it formerly held had passed to the tribe's administrative staff.

The most marked changes in the new constitution and charter concern the relationship between the members of the tribe and the administrative staff. The number of council members was reduced from 18 to 10. The district system was abolished and 8 councilmen are elected at large, a step that removed the remaining kinship influence from the election of the council members. For example, in the elections held in August, 1959, under the district system, 1 man was elected by a total vote of 4 which included the vote of the man and his wife and his wife's father and stepmother, and another council member was elected by a total vote of 7 which included his two brothers and the brothers' wives and his sister. In the election held in 1960 under the new constitution, the councilman elected at large with the least number of votes had a total of 117.

Under the new constitution, both the council chairman and the vice-chairman are elected at large. Before they were elected by the Tribal Council from among its members. The tribal chairman was elected by a total of 74 votes in a field of 6 and the vice-chairman was elected by a total of 129 votes in a field of 2. Since the members of the tribe feel they have a direct part in the election of tribal officials, there is an increasing feeling that these officials are directly responsible to them.

The new constitution also places new requirements concerning membership in the tribe. To become a member an individual must be one-fourth Jicarilla (formerly it was one-fourth Indian) and his parents must be legally married (formerly there was no marriage requirement). The last change is to force couples to marry according to the laws of New Mexico if they want their children to be assured the advantages of tribal membership. This places recognition of marriage directly at the tribal level rather than at the level of the family or camp. The council is the final authority in questions regarding tribal membership.

Finally, the full recognition of the Tribal Council as the administrative staff is expressed in the adoption of the Family Plan Program in 1960. The program, to be discussed in detail in chapter iv, specifies direct areas of control over the nuclear families and individuals in matters pertaining to economics and marriage. It defines the family as "a legally married man and wife and their children; except that couples married by tribal custom before September 4, 1937, single persons eighteen years and older, and unattached minors under eighteen years of age shall be considered separate units for family planning." Thus, another pressure, along with the revised definition of tribal membership, that it be given automatically to offspring of *legally* married couples, is applied to force Jicarilla to marry according to the laws of New Mexico. This definition of the family also officially ignores the camp as a significant unit of the social structure. These changes tend to increase further the power and responsibility of the administrative staff at the expense of the camp unit. The camp unit has not yet been effectively destroyed, but there is every indication that it will be.

Summary

During the pre-reservation period power and responsibility were maintained primarily at the camp level, although to some extent they passed to the band level when the camp joined with other camps. In the early reservation period up to 1937

the political structure was composed of the allocation of power and responsibility at the camp level and with the government exerting generalized control in matters affecting the whole tribe and their relations to Western society. The acceptance by the tribe of formal organization established it as a corporate group and gave it an administrative staff. The political implications of this change were not immediately realized, and the immediate effect was to increase the power and responsibility of the government. About 1952 the administrative staff of the tribe began to take over authority from both the government and the camp unit. This trend was accelerated until 1960 when the new power and responsibility of the administrative staff were formally recognized by the adoption of a revised constitution. The constitution enables the administrative staff to exert more control over individuals and nuclear families and lessens the power and responsibility of the camp. This in turn makes the relationship between the staff and individuals and nuclear families more direct and tends to ignore the camp as a unit of Jicarilla society.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN THE JICARILLA ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

THE CHANGES in the economic structure of the Jicarilla Apache social system can be divided into five periods as were the changes in the political structure: (1) the pre-reservation period; (2) the government dependency period up to 1920; (3) the pastoral period from 1920 to about 1952; (4) the wages–per capita period from 1952 to 1960; (5) the planned economic change period beginning in 1960. It will be noted that these periods do not correspond at all points to the five divisions of the political structure. A change occurred in the economic structure in 1920 without a corresponding change in the political structure, and a change occurred in the political structure in 1937 without a corresponding change in the economic structure. The lack of correspondence of these two dates is discussed in the following chapter.

THE PRE-RESERVATION PERIOD

Just as there was no formal tribal organization among the Jicarilla in the pre-servation period, there were also no economic activities in which the tribe participated as a unit. Neither did the moiety have any economic function other than the symbolic function associated with the annual September Fifteenth ceremonial relay race (Opler 1936*a*: 206, 215–216). The primary economic function of the band seems to have been the defense of a common territory and coöperation on large raiding parties. It was, however, the camp which was the primary economic unit of the pre-reservation Jicarilla social system.

The intermediate position of the Jicarilla between the Pueblos on the west and the Plains on the east gave their economy a diverse and complex nature. They retained many of the characteristics of the old Athabaskan hunting and gathering economy and had added both agriculture and mounted buffalo hunting (Opler 1936*a:* 206–208). Opler (1936*a:* 206) says that agriculture was rapidly gaining in importance at the time of white occupation.

The disruption of the Jicarilla economic structure after the arrival of the Americans has already been described. This led to a period in which the Jicarilla either starved or raided, as indicated in a 1866 report of General James H. Carleton:

> I found that the Ute and the Apache Indians who reside near this place are wholly destitute of food; the game has entirely gone, and they are forced to kill the stock of people or starve. . . . In this matter the Indians cannot be blamed. The Indian Department does not feed them, and there is really left but one alternative for the Indians, that is to kill stock. . . . We cannot make a war upon people driven to such extremities. We have taken possession of their country, the game is all gone, and now to kill them for committing depredations solely to save life, cannot be justified. . . . This is not only a true story, but the whole story [Thomas, 1958, Pt. III: 10].

The economic structure of the Jicarilla when they were placed on the reservation in 1888 was a combination of raiding and government rations, along with the older hunting and gathering subsistence pattern.

Government Dependency, 1888–1919

When the Jicarilla were confined to the reservation, they were almost completely dependent upon the government for their subsistence. There was some attempt by the government to encourage the Jicarilla to engage in agriculture, but the limited rainfall and the short growing season made agriculture highly uncertain. The government issued rations and supplies to keep them from leaving the reservation. The annual report in 1899 states:

> About half the support of the Apache Indians is derived from the issue of Government Rations, though the rations issued are not half enough sufficient to supply their actual needs.

TABLE 6

Annual Income to Individual Jicarilla Apache: 1913–1919

Year	Supplies and rations	Agriculture	Government employment[a]	Other employment
1913	$13,119	$5,730	$29,531	$21,501
1914	14,569	4,365	26,548	17,408
1915	14,170	6,333	16,148	21,390
1916	14,402	6,847	20,747	25,560
1917	8,101	8,765	17,925	22,287
1918	[b]	[b]	36,609	37,405
1919	11,922	[b]	50,426	[b]

[a] These figures may include non-Indian employees.
[b] Complete information is not available.
Source: Jicarilla Agency Files. Compiled by W. O. Craig, Social Science Analyst, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

About 1903 there was an attempt to stop the issue of rations to the Jicarilla; however, the annual report for 1905 states:

> About 30 per cent of the tribe is now on the regular ration roll. While this may seem to be a large proportion, yet the number cannot be reduced without entailing suffering upon the needy and helpless.

The annual report in 1910 shows that 150,000 pounds of gross beef, 20,000 pounds of net beef, 2,500 pounds of coarse salt, 2,120 pounds of fine salt, 40,000 pounds of flour, 17,500 pounds of feed, and 75,000 pounds of oats were delivered to the Jicarilla Agency. Presumably, all or part of these supplies were issued to the Jicarilla.

Information available in the Jicarilla Agency files indicates the proportion of income during 1913 through 1919 which came from government sources. These figures are presented in table 6. The figures indicate that roughly between 40 and 60 per cent of the total income to the Jicarilla was derived from government rations, supplies, and employment. Another indication of the importance of government aid is given by linguistic data. The Jicarilla words for the days of the week are all Spanish, except for Friday and Saturday. The Jicarilla use an Apache word for Friday which means "gut" or "to butcher"; this was the day cattle was butchered and beef given to the people. The Jicarilla use an Apache word for Saturday meaning "ration"; this was the day of the week when rations were issued by the government.

There is no indication in the written reports or in the statements of informants that the camp unit was destroyed or lost its political and economic functions during this period. The economy was still at a subsistence level and the security of the nuclear family was still tied to coöperation within the camp.

Livestock Period, 1920–1951

In the period from 1912 to 1922 the government sold $242,152 worth of timber from the Jicarilla reservation. The money was deposited in the United States Treasury and used for the benefit of the Jicarilla. In 1920, the government began to buy sheep with it for the Jicarilla. Sheep were issued to the Jicarilla on a per capita basis from 1920 to 1932. Table 7 shows a schedule of these issues.

There is no record indicating the Jicarilla were consulted about buying the sheep, and none of the Jicarilla informants recalled having heard of the Jicarilla being consulted. However, the Jicarilla seemed to have developed into pastoralists

TABLE 7

Number of Sheep Issued to Individual Jicarilla Apache: 1920–1932

Year	Number of sheep issued
1920	9,316
1921	7,662
1923	5,200
1924	2,494
1925	1,460
1926	1,744
1930	8,770
1932	15,096

rather quickly, for by 1931 there were 37,504 sheep on the reservation. A severe winter in 1931–32 killed most of the livestock on the reservation, and a large issue of 15,096 was made to replace this stock. Table 8 gives the number of cattle and sheep on the reservation for the period 1932 through 1959.

It is evident from these figures that livestock, primarily sheep, was one of the most important elements in the Jicarilla economic structure from 1920 to about 1952. All families owned sheep at one time, since they were issued on a per capita basis, but some families did not retain their sheep while others increased their herds. The number of sheep on the reservation began to decline in 1944, and, except for five years, has continued to decline. The decline can be attributed in part to a prolonged drought on the reservation extending from 1942 through 1958 and in part to changes in the amount and extent of credit available to the livestockmen. The drought, during which annual precipitation was almost five inches below the mean for the years 1906 to 1941, brought about a reduction in the available forage and subsequently a reduction in livestock on the reservation. There was a brief increase in the number of sheep on the reservation from 1953 through 1955 which seems to be related to the beginning of per capita payments providing the sheepmen with additional capital with which to expand their operations. However,

sheep numbers declined again in 1956. This decline corresponds to the closing of the tribal coöperative store which had provided almost the sole source of credit for the Jicarilla stockmen. Left without credit, the sheepmen sold their breeding stock to meet daily expenses. The credit system was stabilized again in 1957 and a loan program was effectively operating. Since that time, the number of sheep on

TABLE 8

ANNUAL NUMBER OF CATTLE AND SHEEP ON THE JICARILLA APACHE RESERVATION: 1932–1959

Year	Number of cattle	Number of sheep
1932	154	22,000
1933	220	24,500
1934	465	23,359
1935	515	25,841
1936	862	22,889
1937	1,094	25,705
1938	1,403	27,512[a]
1939	1,611	28,776[a]
1940	1,471	32,319[a]
1941	1,345	33,501
1942	1,372	36,001
1943	1,431	38,654
1944	1,559	37,312
1945	1,670	36,698
1946	1,729	33,614
1947	1,747	27,830
1948	2,099	25,549
1949	2,112	21,710
1950	2,091	20,617
1951	1,956	18,916
1952	1,845	15,690
1953	1,798	17,152
1954	1,155	17,480
1955	1,401	18,922
1956	1,100	15,988
1957	1,177	15,029
1958	1,226	15,144
1959	1,068	15,768

[a] Number of sheep for these years includes from 1,000 to 2,000 goats.

NOTE: Figures for a given year vary depending on whether or not tribal and government sheep were counted and the time of the year the count was made. The figures for the number of sheep are accurate, the figures for the number of cattle are less so.

the reservation has increased slightly. (See Wilson and Wolfe, 1961, for a detailed analysis of the causes of the changes in sheep numbers on the reservation for the period 1947–1958.)

The Jicarilla camp structure was not adversely affected by the introduction of pastoralism; in fact, there is reason to believe the camp was strengthened after 1920. Records, maps, and informants indicate most of the Jicarilla nuclear families living together in a camp ran their sheep together as one herd. Detailed

information for 1937 showing the number and arrangement of these herds is given in table 9.

These data indicate that 18.2 per cent of the owners ran their sheep alone on the summer range and only 8.4 per cent ran their sheep alone on the winter range. The northern half of the reservation where the summer range is located is cut by deep canyons, and there is only a limited amount of space in which a given number of sheep may graze. The southern half of the reservation where the sheep graze in the winter is relatively open range and it was possible to form larger, and therefore fewer, herds. The Jicarilla say that a man and his sons-in-law usually ran their sheep together in a herd; this would indicate the pre-reservation camp

TABLE 9

THE NUMBER OF SINGLE AND COMBINED SHEEP HERDS ON THE JICARILLA APACHE RESERVATION, 1937

Number of owners of a single herd	Number of herds	Total number of owners
Summer range		
1	21	21
2	14	28
3	12	36
4	5	20
5	2	10
Total	54	115
Winter range		
1	9	9
2	6	12
3	8	24
4	5	20
5	6	30
6	2	12
Total	36	107

NOTE: There is no explanation why there are eight fewer owners on the winter range than on the summer range.

composition. A check on the relationships among some of the individual owners who ran their sheep in composite herds in 1937 shows some camps were composed of a man and his sons, or a brother, or individuals of varying relationships.

The camps were units both of production and consumption as they had been in the pre-reservation period, only now the production was livestock instead of agriculture, game, and wild plants. This pattern of camp economic activity is still seen today in those camps owning livestock.

While pastoralism was probably the most important element of the Jicarilla economic structure in the period 1920 to 1952, there were other important sources of income such as labor, welfare, and agricultural products consumed at home.

Also, there were still some hunting, trapping, and gathering activities. The annual Agricultural Extension reports for the period 1933 to 1953 give detailed information on these activities. The number of acres in garden crops during this period ranged from 1 to 113, and the annual amount of total food consumed at home—livestock, garden crops, and so on—ranged in value from $9,242 up to $57,406. A comparison of income from livestock, wages, and unearned income will be taken up in the following section.

During the period 1920 to 1952, the government was directly involved in the economic structure of the Jicarilla social system in issuing sheep, teaching individuals better methods of livestock care, building water tanks and drilling water wells, encouraging the stockmen to practice methods of range conservation, trying to improve the quality of stock through selective breeding, and providing sources of employment. The last became very important when the Civilian Conservation Corps–Indian Division was operating on the reservation during the 1930's. At the same time, other events were taking place which did not immediately affect the economic structure of the Jicarilla social system, but which were to have important results at a later period.

Wages–Per Capita Period, 1952–1959

The beginning of this period has been arbitrarily set at 1952. Several things were happening but, although related, they did not occur simultaneously. The date could have been set at 1944, the year the number of livestock on the reservation began to decline; or 1947, the year the first reservation land was leased for oil and gas exploration; or 1954, the year income from wages first exceeded income from livestock; or 1952, the year the first per capita payments were made. In order to examine this period in detail, we shall begin with a discussion of the government's economic activities.

The government continued to sell timber from the reservation after 1922, and from 1923 through 1936 the Jicarilla realized an additional $290,782 from these sales. The expenditure of this money was the responsibility of the government. I have not been able to determine how this money was spent, since it seems to have been combined with other monies contributed by the government. Some of the money was probably spent for the sheep issued between 1923 and 1932, some was probably spent for welfare, and some for range and water development. There were no timber sales in the period 1937 to 1945, and income to the tribe, as a corporate group, was very low judging by the few years for which information is available. The tribe realized $46,998 from timber sales in the period 1946 to 1951 and another $383,967 in the period 1956 to 1959. Through its administrative body, the Tribal Council, the tribe had some control over the expenditure of this money after 1937, but, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, this control was minimal until 1952.

While income from timber amounted to about $400,000 in the period after the tribe was formally organized in 1937, this was a small amount compared to income from other sources. An agency report written in 1960 states:

> The first activity in oil and gas exploration on the Jicarilla lands began with a small amount of leasing in 1947, with heavy expansion in 1950 thru 1953 when 37,000 acres were leased. This

was the beginning of a new source of income for the Jicarilla Apache Tribe [Treaty and Statutory Rights Research, 1960].

Income from gas and oil and attendant activities has amounted to $15,168,159 for the period 1947 through May, 1960, an average of more than $1 million a year. Table 10 gives the annual income from gas and oil, timber, and other sources for the years for which information is available from 1937 through June, 1960.

Several points should be made to explain table 10. All money from timber and oil and gas sales is deposited in a special fund of the United States Treasury. Some of the money, but not all, is transferred to the local tribal fund as the tribe

TABLE 10

ANNUAL INCOME TO THE JICARILLA APACHE TRIBE FOR SELECTED YEARS: 1937–1960[a]

Fiscal year	Timber	Oil and gas	Other	Total
1937[b]			$ 3,220	$ 3,220
1938[b]			2,815	2,815
1939[b]	$ 163		684	847
1940			15,312	15,312
1942			559	559
1944			685	685
1947	12,640	$ 57,751	20,868	91,259
1950	350	20,112	2,311	22,773
1951		1,125,110	9,728	1,134,838
1952			2,623	2,623
1953		3,357,892	614,627	3,972,219
1954	2,167	1,812,874		1,815,041
1955		1,128,416	548,560	1,676,976
1956	23,787	534,144	11,199	569,130
1957	109,380	496,371	120,325	726,076
1958	44,124	3,020,971	246,281	3,267,252
1959	80,266	1,716,175	261,335	2,057,776
1960		1,330,881	263,534	1,594,415

[a] Tribal income was computed from the same sources as tribal expenditures with the assistance of Gabriel Abeyta.
[b] It is not clear whether the years 1937-1939 are fiscal or calendar.

needs additional money. The income figures represent the amount of the transfers from the Treasury to the tribal fund. Actual income figures, that is, the money deposited in the Treasury, would show a more consistent annual income. The tribe is aware of the amount deposited in the special Treasury fund and makes its budget accordingly, knowing that the money will be transferred when it is needed. Some of the money in the Treasury fund is not transferred to the tribal fund but is spent directly by the government for authorized services to the Jicarilla. After 1947, some of the money listed under "other" seems to have been money for rights of way and damages connected with the oil and gas operations and probably should have been included with income from oil and gas.

All such income belonged to the tribe as a whole, and therefore equally to each member. The expenditure of the money became increasingly the responsibility of the Tribal Council and its committees.

The fact that this income came from without the Jicarilla culture produced a situation not found in cultures experiencing change in a noncontact environment.

The *production* of the goods and services to the tribe had almost no effect on the internal economic structure of the Jicarilla social system. There was no new division of labor, no change or increase in the specialization of labor, no new social positions related to occupations, and no system of rewards for special knowledge which would be expected with a rapid increase in the production of the tribe. The tasks of production were accomplished by agents of the government and private industry and took place entirely outside the Jicarilla culture. The tribe became the consumptive unit but not the productive unit, and the tribal council became, in Weber's terms, a budgetary unit (see table 5). However, the fact that the administrative staff had the power to *distribute* goods and services did bring about changes in the internal economic structure of the Jicarilla social system. To understand these changes we shall turn to a consideration of production within the system.

The three main sources of income to the Jicarilla have been livestock, labor, and unearned income. The last includes welfare payments, rations and supplies, and per capita payments. To investigate the changing relationship among these three sources, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the livestock period in 1920. These data are given in table 11.

Several trends are evident from these figures. First, income from livestock increased in importance from 1920 until sometime between 1945 and 1953 when income from wages became important. From 1936 to 1940, wages were important in relation to income from livestock, and in one year (1939) income from wages exceeded that from livestock. This was when the government operated the CCC-ID on the reservation and many Jicarilla were employed under the program. After it was discontinued, income from wages made up less than 20 per cent of the total income in the years 1942 to 1945. In spite of the fact that the number of livestock on the reservation was declining, rising prices kept income high until the peak year, 1951. The evidence for 1953 indicates wages began to increase in the proportion of income somewhere between 1946 and 1953, but lack of data for these years makes it impossible to determine exactly when this trend began. In 1954, income from wages exceeded income from livestock and has made up an increasing majority of the earned income.

The second important trend concerns the relation of unearned income to income earned from livestock and wages. Scattered information indicates unearned income declined rapidly after the early 1920's and remained at only a few thousand dollars a year until 1952. An agency report written in 1944 states: "The unearned income of this tribe is so low that it has little bearing on the economy of the people." However, in 1952, unearned income was over one-quarter of a million dollars, and it has remained at least that high for each year since then. Unearned income has been paid to members of the tribe in the form of per capita payments; each member of the tribe, regardless of age or sex, receives these payments.

Since 1952, income from wages and per capita payments has been greater than income from livestock; the Jicarilla economic structure can no longer be characterized as predominantly pastoral. The change can be directly attributed to the increase in the amount the Jicarilla derive from government employment and to distribution of tribal income from gas, oil, and timber.

The government has followed a policy of hiring qualified Jicarilla whenever possible, and more Jicarilla have become government employees as the general level of education of the population has increased. Table 12 gives information for government employment for the four years for which data are available.

At the same time income from government employment was increasing, there was an increase in tribal employment. Tribal employment increased as a direct

TABLE 11

ANNUAL INCOME TO INDIVIDUAL JICARILLA APACHE FROM LIVESTOCK, WAGES, AND UNEARNED SOURCES : 1920–1959

Year	Livestock	Wages	Unearned	Year	Livestock	Wages	Unearned
1920.....	$ 18,290	$ 34,777	$ 16,650	1941.....	$149,701	$ [a]	$ [a]
1921.....	16,814	24,260	8,720	1942.....	183,369	35,040	[a]
1922.....	36,707	23,338	11,726	1943.....	208,677	37,333	[a]
1923.....	50,309	14,812	2,524	1944.....	193,683	34,558	[a]
1924.....	58,948	14,574	[a]	1945.....	214,810	41,086	[a]
1925.....	76,456	22,738	[a]	1946.....	197,375	[a]	[a]
1926.....	68,058	23,322	[a]	1947.....	234,833	[a]	[a]
1927.....	63,517	19,567	[a]	1948.....	309,106	[a]	[a]
1928.....	80,999	31,784	[a]	1949.....	271,533	[a]	[a]
1929.....	61,783	24,887	[a]	1950.....	281,502	[a]	[a]
1930.....	33,920	20,724	[a]	1951.....	403,341	[a]	[a]
1932.....	32,467	[a]	2,150	1952.....	157,316	[a]	299,500
1933.....	43,034	[a]	[a]	1953.....	166,974	154,202	515,000
1934.....	21,609	[a]	1,200	1954.....	148,820	155,331	538,000
1935.....	47,599	[a]	[a]	1955.....	149,563	181,541	550,000
1936.....	66,342	55,636	[a]	1956.....	150,133	193,836	857,250
1937.....	79,524	42,730	[a]	1957.....	188,693	[a]	583,000
1938.....	67,950	46,020	3,600	1958.....	175,999	248,501	598,000
1939.....	79,374	81,127	[a]	1959.....	212,549	360,512	499,200
1940.....	114,224	79,127	[a]				

[a] Complete information is not available.

SOURCES: Most of these figures are taken from records in the agency and tribal files and are subject to the qualifications of accuracy discussed in the preface. Figures for 1938 are taken from the Gelvin Report (1939) and are based on an actual survey. Figures for 1958 and 1959 are also based on surveys, the latter by Kenneth Long. Figures for livestock are generally reliable, and figures for unearned income 1952-1959 are actual before deductions.

result of the income from gas, oil, and timber which provided the tribe with resources to furnish its members with goods and services. The increase in tribal employment is given in table 13 for the five years in which data are available. Although information on tribal employment is not available before 1950, we can arrive negatively at figures for some years. The total tribal budget for 1942 was $200 and for 1947 it was $11,030. We can conclude from this that tribal employment for these years could not have been any greater than these amounts. All evidence points to the fact that income from tribal employment has become important only in the ten years from 1950 through 1959. We know it could not have been great before 1947 since the tribe had no money to spend for employment.

The increased income from government and tribal employment, while sig-

nificant, has been somewhat overshadowed by the increase in unearned income. In the six years for which information is available, 1952 to 1959, per capita payments comprised between 45 per cent and 70 per cent of the Jicarilla's total individual income. Except for 1959, this percentage has been over 50 per cent of their total income. All income from per capita payments has not been in the form of fluid

TABLE 12

ANNUAL INCOME TO INDIVIDUAL JICARILLA APACHE FROM GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1938–1959

Year	Number of employees	Total earnings	Mean earnings	Number of full time
1938	99	$ 21,416[a]	$ 216	9[b]
1956	25	27,250	1,090	[c]
1958	42	116,706	2,778	27[d]
1959	52	145,316	2,552	30[d]

[a] The income from CCC-ID is not included.
[b] Based on the number earning $1,000 or more.
[c] Complete information is not available.
[d] Based on the number earning $2,000 or more.
SOURCES: 1938 data from Gelvin Report, 1956 data from Stanford Report (1958, II: 22), 1958 data from field notes, 1959 data from Kenneth Long.

assets; from 1954 to 1959, half the per capita payments to minors was placed in a trust fund to be turned over to them when they reached the age of 18, and some tribal members have had to use part of their per capita payments to repay old debts owed to the tribe. Nevertheless, irrespective of how the money was spent or how long they must wait to spend it, the total per capita payments for the years 1952 through 1959 amounted to an income of $3,889,950 for a mean population of 1,129. Agency letters and reports commonly point out the detrimental effect on the Jicarilla population of dependency on per capita payments. Whether or not the effect is detrimental is questionable (see Wilson and Wolfe, 1961), but there is no

TABLE 13

ANNUAL INCOME TO INDIVIDUAL JICARILLA APACHE FROM TRIBAL EMPLOYMENT FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1938–1959

Year	Number of employees	Total earnings	Mean earnings
1938	none		
1950	[a]	$ 21,000	[a]
1956	130	97,500	$750
1958	177	137,539	777
1959	188	174,136	926

[a] Complete information is not available.
SOURCES: 1938, Gelvin Report; 1950, tribal files; 1956, Stanford Report (1958, II: 22); 1958, field notes; 1959, Kenneth Long.

doubt that per capita payments in the past eight years have been the most important single element of the internal Jicarilla economic structure. This has resulted in greater dependency on income from outside Jicarilla culture, so the culture is dependent on forces over which it has no direct control or even understands.

The changes which occurred in the economic structure of the Jicarilla social system between 1952 through 1959 were the result of changes in the distributive functions of the concrete units of the system. The Tribal Council, operating as the budgetary unit of the tribe, had about three-quarters of a million dollars or more to spend each year (see table 5). Some of the money was distributed to the members of the tribe in the form of per capita payments, loans, scholarships, welfare payments, improvements on individually utilized resources, and wages. Figures in tables 11 and 13 show that income to individual Jicarilla Apache from per capita payments and tribal employment amounted to $735,539 in 1958 and $673,336 in 1959. These figures reveal the extent to which the distributive function has been taken over by the administrative staff of the tribe.

The administrative staff not only became important as a distributive unit, but, as noted in the preceding chapter, tended to disregard the camp unit by distributing goods directly to the nuclear families. When goods are fairly evenly distributed among the nuclear families within the camp, the family derives a certain amount of economic security from camp membership. However, when a nuclear family in the camp has an income considerably greater than other families, it is to the advantage of the more wealthy one to move from the camp. Differential wealth within the camp would perhaps not necessarily lead to a breakup of the camp unit; but, where independence of the nuclear family is supported by the attitudes of the dominant Western culture this is more likely to occur. (Cf. Watson, 1952: 87–91.) One of the most common criticisms heard during the course of this field work was directed toward wealthier families that would not help related families. There were several cases of nuclear families with relatively more income moving from the camp unit.

The changes occurring in the economic structure in the period 1952 to 1959 correspond very closely to the changes occurring in the political structure, i.e., the administrative staff and the nuclear family took an increasingly more important role in the distribution of goods; the role of the camp in this function became less and less important. Even more extensive changes in this direction are indicated by events occurring in 1960.

Planned Economic Change, 1960

In the latter part of 1958, the Jicarilla began to consider a program of planned economic and social change. This plan, called the Family Plan, was suggested and encouraged by the government. The Tribal Council set up the Family Plan Committee to study the program and to outline methods for carrying it out. The committee worked very closely with government agents. The Family Plan was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for approval in the spring of 1960 and, after some revisions, was approved October 12, 1960. The program provides for giving each member of the tribe $1,600. The money must be combined with the monies of the other members of the individual's family and spent according to a plan agreed upon by the family and approved by an elected committee of Jicarilla. The family, as noted in chapter iii, is defined as a man and woman who are legally married and all of their children under the age of eighteen years. The money may be spent for economic improvement, e.g., buying livestock, and/or social improve-

ments, e.g., housing. The program will cost $2,230,000, including $70,000 for administrative expenses, and is to be carried out over a three-year period.

The Family Plan program has the effect of relating the domestic economy of the nuclear family directly to the administrative staff of the tribe. In doing so, the camp is ignored, and families, as well as unattached individuals, are encouraged to develop as separate units. The distribution of a large amount of money, over $2 million, is controlled by the administrative staff. This should further reduce the importance of the camp and the camp leader in the economic structure of the Jicarilla social system. Some tasks of distribution of goods and services now held by the camp leader will be taken over by the administrative staff; other areas of distribution will be taken over by the head of the family. Thus, both the administrative staff and the nuclear family should gain in the distributive aspects of the economic structure at the expense of the camp.

Summary

The changes in the economic structure of the Jicarilla social system must be regarded in terms both of developments taking place within the system and developments taking place without, but which have a direct bearing on the internal structure. The first change which occurred when the Jicarilla were placed on the reservation came from without the system. The old economic structure was destroyed or substantially changed, and rations and supplies were fed into the system so it could survive. A second change introduced from without the system in 1920 was planned to establish a pastoral base for the economy of the system and to place the task of production within the internal economic structure of the system. This plan was relatively successful for about thirty years, although wages and, to a lesser extent, unearned income, supplemented income from livestock. The "livestock period" was internal to the extent production took place within the social system, but it was directly related to the external environment since it depended on an outside market for its products.

Beginning about 1950, the Jicarilla economic structure shifted away from internal production and in time was altered by the distribution of goods and services dependent on production outside the system. The importance of livestock as a resource declined at the same time the importance of wages and unearned income increased. A major part of income from wages, i.e., tribal employment, and almost all unearned income were directly related to outside production. The changes which took place in the last ten years have been those based on distribution and consumption rather than production. This has produced an anomaly found only in the contact situation.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THE PURPOSE of this study has been to describe and analyze changes in Jicarilla political and economic structures. Up to now the political and economic structures have been discussed separately. This chapter will consider the relationship between them. It concludes with some observations on the study of culture contact and culture change.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JICARILLA POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

An argument on the close relationship between the political and economic structures of a society is probably not necessary here. As Levy (1952: 98) has observed, "There is, empirically speaking, no concrete act in which an allocation of power and responsibility is involved that does not involve some allocation of goods and services." We do not have to be concerned here with the question of cause and effect: "Patterns only analytically distinguished from the same concrete phenomenon cannot cause one another to do anything; both depend on the maintenance or change of the concrete phenomenon of which they are aspects" (Levy, 1952: 97–98). We do have to be concerned, however, with the nature of this relationship. To quote Levy (1952: 490) again:

> If the structure of economic allocation is to remain unchanged, limits to the range of variation of the structure of political allocation can be sought by examining the implications of economic allocation for political allocation. The reverse of this proposition may also be advanced as an hypothesis.

In this section we shall examine the relationship between the Jicarilla economic and political structures at the various times of change; we shall pay particular attention to the range of variation in one structure as the other structure changes.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN 1888

In 1888, the Jicarilla were finally settled on a reservation and placed under the protective custody of the United States government. The economic structure of the immediately preceding period, based on hunting, gathering, agriculture, and raiding, was radically altered. Hunting, gathering, and agriculture were extremely curtailed by the geographical environment in which the Jicarilla were restricted. Raiding was completely prohibited by the threat of force. The United States government supplemented the Jicarilla's economic base with issues of supplies and rations, and a new element, dependency on sources outside Jicarilla culture, was added to the economic structure.

This change in the economic structure was accompanied by a change in the political structure. Whereas the principal sources of power and responsibility had once rested within the camp unit and, to a lesser extent, the band, now much of this power and responsibility was shifted to the United States government. The Jicarilla had been threatened with extinction from starvation and military force; the government's rations and protection removed both threats. Jicarilla culture,

then, adjusted to the changing environment by losing some of its political autonomy and gaining economic and biological security.

The changes which occurred at this time were not only compatible but necessary if the culture was to survive. Any meaningful unit which could be called a band seems to have been effectively destroyed when the Jicarilla came to the reservation. The camps settled into districts which were known by place names and the camps within these districts maintained close relationships. However, there was no band organization as such. This is what might be expected from a general knowledge of the function of bands among hunters and gatherers. Two of the primary functions of the band, at this level of development, are protection of both the population and the territory and economic coöperation of the member camps (Opler 1955: 180–181; Linton 1936: 210–215). Neither of these functions was important on the reservation.

The camp, however, continued as an effective unit. Some of the camp leader's power, e.g., the decision to move camp if this involved going off the reservation, and responsibility, e.g., to see that the members of the camp had food, were curtailed, but otherwise the government took no steps which would actively destroy the position of the camp. Thus, the political structure of the camp was realigned so as to be compatible with the political structure involving domination by another culture. Reduction of the political powers of the camp was at the same time accompanied by reduction of the camp's functions of production and distribution.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN 1920

In 1920, the government bought and issued sheep to all Jicarilla. This again altered the Jicarilla economic structure and began a period of increasing importance of pastoralism and of declining importance of rations. There is no information available on the effects of this change on hunting, gathering, and agricultural activities. The members of a camp ran their sheep in a single camp herd and the camp again became the unit of production.

There is very little information concerning the changes which occurred when pastoralism became an important element of the economic structure. The little that can be said about this change is based on a few written statements, a few statements from informants on what they remember of the changes, and evidence from the operations of sheep-owning camps ten to forty years later.

The camp unit, having survived the earlier reservation period, was the most important concrete unit in the Jicarilla society in 1920. The productive and distributive functions of the camp had been reduced because of the increased importance of rations in the economic structure. However, the rations had not been sufficient for the Jicarilla's needs, as noted in the 1899 report cited in chapter iv, and the camp had not entirely lost its productive and distributive functions. There is no reason to suppose that the camp leader taking over the responsibility of providing for its members lessened his power and responsibility within the camp unit; in fact, there are many reasons to suppose his power and responsibility were increased. It is in any event safe to make the assumption, based largely on the negative fact that no evidence of change in the political structure occurring in 1920 has been found, that the introduction of pastoralism into the Jicarilla

economic structure was compatible with the political structure at that time. In Levy's terms, this would mean that the changes which occurred in the structure of economic allocation were within the limits of variation of the existing structure of political allocation.

CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN 1937

The Jicarilla accepted formal tribal organization in 1937 and established the Tribal Council with constitutional authority to conduct tribal matters. However, the Tribal Council did not immediately become a part of the internal political structure of the tribe and affected the internal political structure only in that it extended somewhat the power of the government. The reasons the Tribal Council remained outside the internal political structure are several. First, there was no historical precedent for a tribal governing body. Perhaps this was not important since one could argue there was no historical precedent for pastoralism when sheep were introduced in 1920. Second, the Tribal Council was set up in such a way that it obviously could not function effectively as an administrative unit: the council was to meet only twice a year for one or two days and no permanent offices were maintained so tribal officials could be aware of and act upon tribal matters. Again this was probably not an important deterrent to acceptance of this new element of political organization since we see that in a later period, under the same constitution, the council met on the average of more than once a month and maintained full-time official positions. Third, and most important for our discussion here, the Tribal Council was delegated power and responsibility at the tribal level while the allocation of goods and services existed at other levels.

When the official tribal organization was established in 1937, the government and the camp leaders had an established division of political allocation in those areas most vitally linked with the economic structure: the government was primarily responsible for protecting the natural resources and for economic relations between the tribe and the national economy; the camp leaders were primarily responsible for management of the herds and for economic relations existing within the camps and between camps. Evidence that this arrangement was satisfactory is that there were few cases of conflict between the government and the camp leaders in the 1920's and 1930's. Many older tribal members regard this period as one of the best since the Jicarilla came to the reservation and feel that tribal matters were handled better by the government than the Tribal Council.

Demand for a change in the political structure of the tribe had come from the government at the national level, i.e., it was part of a general program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Indian Reorganization Act sought to deal with matters which did not exist on the Jicarilla reservation or were not problems of immediate concern to the Jicarilla. An official tribal organization was a concept which had come from outside Jicarilla culture and, since it bore no functional relation to other aspects of Jicarilla culture, it remained essentially outside the culture and was nonfunctional. Such a situation could arise only in a contact situation where a dominant culture could introduce and maintain concrete units from outside the subordinate culture.

The conclusion reached from this discussion is that the tribal organization in-

troduced in 1937 was not within the range of variation of the existing economic structure.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN 1952

In 1952 it was evident that three important changes in Jicarilla economic and political structures were occurring: two in the economic and one in the political. We shall discuss these changes in the apparent order in which they occurred.

First there was a great increase in the economic holdings of the tribe as a corporate group. In 1947, the Jicarilla tribe began to receive income from oil and gas resources on the reservation and this income averaged over $1 million a year. The average annual corporate income after 1947 was greater than the total corporate income during the post-reservation period up to 1947. Annual corporate income was greater, in some years several times greater, than the total income earned by all members of the tribe. This represented a new source of wealth to the tribe, but not immediately to the individual members of the tribe. This wealth was, in fact, produced by agents external to Jicarilla culture.

The substantial increase in corporate holdings could not be dealt with under the existing political structure of the tribe. Power and responsibility in 1947 rested with camp leaders and the government. Neither unit, according to the constitution of the tribe, had the official delegated authority to manage tribal income. However, the same act which had established the constitution had also provided for such an official delegated authority—the Tribal Council. The Tribal Council, as pointed out, was not a functional part of the internal political structure of the tribe until about 1952. Beginning that year, the Tribal Council met more often, passed more resolutions, and spent more money; in brief, it began to realize the potential power and responsibility built into the formal organization fifteen years earlier. This power and responsibility was further supported by establishment of an effective judicial and enforcement branch.

The increase in corporate holdings did not immediately affect the internal economic structure of the tribe. However, as the Tribal Council became a functional part of the tribe's internal political structure, it began to distribute tribal wealth to individual tribal members. There followed a second change in the economic structure of the tribe. The first distributions were in the form of special services and wages. The increase in wages available through tribal employment accelerated the current trend of wages becoming increasingly more important than income from livestock. The balance shifted, quantitatively, in favor of income from wages in 1954. The shift to an emphasis on wages was secondary, however, to the issue of per capita payments beginning in 1952. Unearned income, distributed by the authority of the Tribal Council, became quantitatively the major factor in the internal economic structure of Jicarilla society.

This period of change further supports Levy's hypothesis concerning the relationship between economic and political structures. The expansion of corporate holdings was not within the range of variation of the functional political structure of the tribe. The political structure was consequently expanded by inclusion of the Tribal Council as a functional part of the political structure by exerting its distributive authority over the tribal wealth. The internal economic structure of the

tribe was correspondingly changed as income from wages increased and as per capita payments were made to tribal members.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN 1960

In 1960, changes occurred in the economic and political structures which were in fact formal recognition of changes occurring in the preceding eight years. The new constitution and charter adopted by the tribe was recognition by the government of the increasing power and responsibility of the Tribal Council. With the employment of full-time tribal administrators in 1958, the tribe took over many details of administration formerly handled by the government and had much greater control over tribal income. A second aspect of change in the political structure concerned the relationship of the camp unit to the nuclear family and the individual. The administrative staff of the tribe established policies dealing directly with the family and the individual, without regard for the camp unit. This weakened what authority remained at the camp level and at the same time related the family and individual directly to the tribal administration.

The economic structure changed as the administrative staff became more involved in economic planning for the family and the individual. This is something which had progressed in the past several years through control of such matters as the loan program, scholarship program, and issue of per capita payments. The Family Plan program adopted in 1960 represented formal recognition of the tribe's power and responsibility to participate in the economic activities at the family and individual levels.

The period from 1952 to 1960 was one of rapid change in both the economic and political structures of the Jicarilla system. An economic and political structure on the levels of the camp unit and the government shifted to an economic and political structure on the tribal level with lessened government controls. As the limits of one structure have been shifted, there has been a corresponding shift in the limits of the other. Formal recognition of the compatibility of the structures of economic allocation and political allocation occurred in 1960.

Culture Contact and Culture Change

There are two basic methodological problems in the study of culture contact and culture change. The first of these is the definition of the units under consideration. The second is the treatment of historical data in a way which retains the time perspective of change while illustrating the integrative character of the culture at given historical periods. The concluding remarks will discuss these two problems as dealt with in this study.

THE DEFINITION OF UNITS

The Jicarilla Apache tribe could be treated as a culture, a subculture, an ethnic group, a minority group, a social class, and so on. The way a unit is defined is, in Weber's words, "entirely a question of convenience." However, some definitions would appear to be more useful and fruitful than others. We have chosen to deal with the Jicarilla Apache tribe as a distinct and separate culture.

Regarding the Jicarilla as a distinct culture does not imply that it is isolated

or self-sufficient. It is neither. Railways, highways, television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and frequent contact between members of the Jicarilla tribe and Western society belie any attempt to regard Jicarilla culture as isolated. Nor is Jicarilla culture self-sufficient. It is difficult to imagine the 1,300 Jicarilla on their 750,000-acre reservation depending on their own resources for survival. There would be no schools, no modern health care, no oil and gas development, no windmills and stock tanks, no motor transportation, insufficient food and clothing, and so on. Under these conditions, Jicarilla culture would decline to a level unknown in historic times, since many of the old adaptive techniques such as hunting with bow and arrow have been lost; and the population would be greatly reduced, if it survived at all. Although the use of "as if" conditions is generally valid in scientific studies, any attempt to treat Jicarilla culture "as if" it were isolated and self-sufficient severely distorts reality.

There is considerable justification for regarding the Jicarilla Apache tribe as a distinct culture. This justification is found in the corporate nature of the tribe, extensive kinship arrangements relating the members of the tribe, common residence within a definite territory, a shared body of beliefs and attitudes setting the members of the tribe apart from the surrounding communities, a common distinct language, and so on. Casual observation makes one aware of the distinct character of Jicarilla culture and systematic observation convinces one of it.

Our position in this study has been that we were dealing with contact between two cultures which have made adaptations because of contact. The adaptations pertaining to Jicarilla culture have been of two types: (1) adjustments in internal structural relations and (2) adjustments in external structural relations by incorporating structural features of Western culture (see Levy, 1952: 497–502). During the period under consideration, Jicarilla culture made several changes of both types. The shift from pastoralism to wages and unearned income was an internal adjustment in the economic structure; the change of the primary source of power and responsibility from camp leader to the Tribal Council was an internal adjustment in the political structure. The price paid for oil and gas taken from the reservation is an aspect of the economic structure of both cultures; the power and responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in regard to expenditure of tribal monies is an aspect of the political structure of both cultures. It is, therefore, not enough to say that Jicarilla culture is influenced by the economic structure (e.g., the condition of the oil industries) and the political structure (e.g., the appointment of the Secretary of the Interior) of Western culture. The structure of the Jicarilla culture cannot be understood unless some aspects of the structures of Western culture are considered as being a part of Jicarilla culture. Why, for example, did the Tribal Council pass a resolution in 1960 for a $400 per capita payment and then reduce it to $300? The answer is that the power to approve this expenditure rested ultimately with the Secretary of the Interior, and the local representatives of the Secretary let it be known that the larger per capita payment would not be approved.

To the extent that Jicarilla culture and Western culture share common structures, an individual Jicarilla Apache must be able to operate in both cultures. Taxes, market prices for livestock, banking procedures, liquor regulations, range-

land regulations, approval of per capita payments, and so forth, are part of the world of the Jicarilla. This is the justification for including Western society as one of the concrete units of Jicarilla society. We have tried to emphasize the fact that the Jicarilla do not move back and forth between two cultures but operate in a single integrated culture which is adapted to the contact situation.

A SYNTHESIS OF HISTORICAL AND STRUCTURAL APPROACHES

Professor Eggan, in his presidential paper to the American Anthropological Association, states: "We need to adopt the structural-functional approach of British social anthropology and integrate it with our traditional American interest in culture process and history" (Eggan, 1954: 745). The same point is made in Beals's (1953: 638) extensive review of acculturation. This study has attempted such an integration, although the structural approach has been that of American sociology. We have examined the Jicarilla Apache political and economic structures at those times when important changes occurred in one, or the other, or both. We have also sought to describe the relationship between these two structures at each of the critical periods. The result is a series of static structural descriptions at given historical periods—1888, 1920, 1937, and so on. Further, we have sought to relate these static structures dynamically by describing events bringing about change from one period to another—the introduction of pastoralism, the creation of a tribal governing body, the discovery of gas and oil on the reservation, and so on. Combining the historical and structural approaches has given some understanding of changes in Jicarilla Apache culture during the post-reservation period. Any attempt to study culture contact and culture change without combining these two approaches must result in a collection of culture traits of diverse origins or a set of anomalous structures without historical roots.

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