"Bridging" Tejano Identity and Indigenous Ancestry Using Archaeological Collections

by

Jennifer Herrera

B.A. (Anthropology), University of Texas at San Antonio, 2011

B.A. (Mexican American Studies), University of Texas at San Antonio, 2011

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the

Department of Archaeology

Faculty of Environment

© Jennifer Herrera 2023

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Fall 2023

Declaration of Committee

Name: **Jennifer Herrera**

Degree: **Master of Arts**

Title: **"Bridging" Tejano Identity and Indigenous Ancestry Using Archaeological Collections**

Committee: **Chair: Dana Lepofsky**
                       Professor, Archaeology

                       John R. Welch
                       Supervisor
                       Professor, Archaeology

                       Ross Jamieson
                       Committee Member
                       Associate Professor, Archaeology

                       Lilliana Saldaña
                       Committee Member
                       Associate Professor, Mexican American Studies,
                       University of Texas at San Antonio

                       Patricia Markert
                       Examiner
                       Assistant Professor, Archaeology
                       Western University

Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

a.   human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics

or

b.   advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University

or has conducted the research

c.   as a co-investigator, collaborator, or research assistant in a research project approved in advance.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed with the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Update Spring 2016

Abstract

Archaeology is vital in understanding the history and culture of Indigenous peoples in South Texas, but there is a lack of collaboration between archaeologists and Coahuiltecan tribes of south Texas. The Coahuiltecan have faced challenges in safeguarding and conserving their cultural legacy, including archaeological sites. This results in Tejano descendants with Indigenous ancestral connections, unaware of archaeological evidence of their ancestral heritage due to lack of an accurate post-contact historical documentation in Texas. The research examined and sought to establish a connection between Tejano identity and Indigenous ancestry through archaeological collections from four Texas repositories. The repositories indicated that there might be artifacts in the collections that could be associated with Coahuiltecan Indigenous peoples. However, no such artifacts were found in the collection. Structured interviews were conducted with representatives of three Coahuiltecan tribes residing in south Texas: 1) the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation; 2) the Carrizo Come Crudo Tribe of Texas; and 3) the Miakan Garza Band. The interviews focused on unattributed diagnostic lithics from four archaeological sites. Analysis of the interviews utilizing inductive coding identified three themes that partitioned the interview data for fuller examination: artifacts, repositories, and Tejanos. The results suggest that as the Coahuiltecan tribes engage with repositories in collaborative archaeological efforts like community-based archaeology unidentified and unattributed artifacts archaeological collections have particular importance. Archaeological collections hold promise for giving tangible evidence for Tejanos to use in connecting their identities with Indigenous ancestries.

Keywords: Indigenous; Tejano; Coahuiltecan; Decolonization; Community-Based Archaeology; Collections

Dedication

Con todo mi corazón, dedico esta tesis a mi papa, Humberto Herrera, quien ha estado a mi lado desde el primer día. Me has demostrado que no hay límites para lograr lo que quiero en la vida. También quiero dedicar esta tesis a mi abuelita, Irma Campos Herrera, quien no llegó a completar este camino conmigo. Sin ti no sería la mujer que soy hoy; te llevaré en mi corazón hasta el día en que nos volvamos a encontrar para nuestra taza de café y pan dulce.

With all my heart I dedicate this thesis to my dad, Humberto Herrera, who has been there by my side since day one. You have shown me that there are no limits to achieving what I want in life. I also want to dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, Irma Campos Herrera, who did not get to complete this journey with me. Without you I would not be the woman I am today; I will hold you in my heart until the day we will meet again for our cup of coffee and sweet bread.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Acronyms

CAR	Center for Archaeological Research
CAS	Center for Archaeological Studies
TARL	Texas Archeological Research Laboratory

Glossary

Artifact	An artifact is a human-made object, such as a tool or decoration, particularly one that holds historical significance.
Diagnostic Artifact	A cultural artifact that represents a specific era or cultural community.
Pre-contact	Denotes the period preceding the arrival of European colonizers.
Post-contact	Denotes the period following the arrival of European colonizers.

Preface

This research has been a very personal journey to find my own bridge connecting my Tejano identity and my Indigenous ancestry especially as an archaeologist. My journey started twenty-seven years ago as a middle schooler hanging out with her paternal grandmother (Abuela) and great-grandmother (Bisabuela) on a sweltering summer night. Great- grandma was 95 years young and telling her stories, all in Spanish of course, but the one that stood out for me was the story about having "sangre azul" or being "blue-blooded" from Spain with the blessing of thousands of acres of land from the King and Queen of Spain themselves. This family history was new to me but hearing grandma tell me that being "blue-blooded" meant we were descendants from Spaniards meant something to me.

When I received a DNA kit for Christmas and did my DNA test, more out of curiosity than anything else. Turns out I'm only 34% Spaniard, and 35% Indigenous from the Northeastern Mexico/Tamaulipas/Neuvo Leon/Coahuila regions. In 2019, I traveled to Spain for an archaeological field school where I met the field school team comprised of mostly three women from the Catalonia region of Spain. It was during this time that one of them casually pointed out that for being an "Herrera" I looked "Indigenous." While the concept of colonization probably wasn't normally brought up in conversations in Spain, I mentioned that I was a Tejana and that my familial ancestors were from Mexico and left it at that. I could have explained where one of my Spanish ancestors came from (Burgos, Spain) but could not for my Indigenous ancestry. My curiosity of my Indigenous ancestry never left my thoughts. Thus, growing the concept of this thesis research from a simple thought and a feeling to actual research has helped me understand the complexities involved and will help me find a path that will one day fill the gaps in my quest to connect to my Indigenous ancestry.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Archaeology in Texas is essential to understanding the history and culture of the native south Texas Indigenous peoples. However, there is a collaborative disconnect between archaeologists in Texas and the south Texas Indigenous tribes. Non-federally recognized Indigenous tribes, like the south Texas Coahuiltecan tribes, often face significant challenges in protecting and preserving their cultural heritage, including archaeological sites. In many cases, these tribes have limited resources and political power to advocate for their rights and interests concerning archaeological research and management. This results in their exclusion from decision-making processes and may make it challenging to advocate for their interests and concerns. Because of this, crucial south Texas Coahuiltecan cultural materials and potentially significant archaeological site discoveries are unattributed by the archaeological community. This leaves Tejano descendants — Mexican Americans born in Texas with Indigenous ancestral ties— unaware of archaeological evidence of their ancestral heritage, primarily due to the lack of accurate post-contact historical documentation in Texas.

As a female archaeologist that identifies as a Tejano, I grapple with the simultaneous task of maintaining their cultural identity while integrating into a professional setting that may not fully comprehend or value their distinctive heritage. The intersectionality of being a female archaeologist with Indigenous roots adds a multifaceted layer to the professional archaeological landscape. Moreover, it has the potential to enable a female archaeologist of Indigenous descent, such as myself, to raise awareness about matters concerning like cultural conservation, thereby fostering a more comprehensive methodology in archaeological investigation. Kaitlin Brown agrees as she states, "By incorporating feminist and Indigenous perspectives, archaeologists have reflected upon current identity (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, class, status) schemas and their intersections within the sociopolitics of our own research agendas" (Brown 2018:189). On a personal level, I take great responsibility of representing and honoring a cultural heritage that represents the Tejano people.

According to Texas archaeologist, Parker Nunely, the name "Coahuiltecan" appeared in the "nineteenth century and given to bands of hunting-and-gathering Indians southern Texas and northeastern Mexico" (Nunley 1971:302). During that time, they were the most extensive ethnic group in northeast Mexico and southern Texas, living throughout the Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas. "The Coahuiltecan tribes were made up of hundreds of small autonomous bands of hunter-gatherers" (Schmal 2021:34). Historical accounts from Spanish explorer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Spanish missionary Damián Massanet discuss Indigenous practices in broad detail; however, they fail to differentiate between the tribal bands due to the sparse placement of the Coahuiltecan population.

According to two Texas history websites, Texas State Historical Association Handbook of Texas (TSHAonline.org 2023) and Texas Beyond History (Texasbeyondhistory.net 2023), Coahuiltecans of South Texas are extinct or were absorbed by Spanish secularization. The Texas State Historical Association Handbook of Texas states that, "by 1800 the names of few ethnic units appear in documents, and by 1900 the names of groups native to the region had disappeared" (TSHAonline.org 2023). While Texas Beyond History contends that by the early eighteenth century, "there are voluminous records of native families, their marriages, baptisms, and conversions" (Texasbeyondhistory.net 2023). Due to their geographic origins spanning the area from northeastern Mexico to south Texas, cultural extinction may be a less accurate explanation than cultural absorption.

Most academic literature concludes that by the mid-nineteenth century, "the San Antonio Mission Indians were so unrecognizable as a distinct Indigenous ethnic group that de facto extinction through Hispanicization was the only plausible explanation of what happened to the Indigenous people of South Texas" (Chavana 2019: 25). Additionally, through this absorption, today's South Texas Tejanos with Indigenous ancestry are descendants of Spanish colonizers and Indigenous people but born in Texas. Mardith Schuetz states, "There is no evidence that any of the early Coahuiltecan tribes were intrusive to the area such a continuum should be archeologically demonstrated. Given the current state of archaeology, it is only partly so" (Schuetz 1980:8). As a result of the lack of identifiable archaeological evidence, the south Texas Tejanos have no awareness of their Indigenous ancestry. San Antonio local museums like the Witte Museum and the Institute of Texan Cultures use the term "people of the

lower Pecos" which covers the region of Val Verde County, Texas expanding eastward into south Texas. There are no specific Indigenous tribes named under the umbrella of "people of the lower Pecos." The Miakan-Garza band, Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation tribe, and Carrizo ComeCrudo tribal bands of San Marcos and San Antonio are native Tejanos with Coahuiltecan ancestral heritage.

All three tribes maintain a connection to their early Coahuiltecans' ancestral heritage through oral histories, and little archaeological evidence attributed to the ethnic group has been identified in the past few decades by archaeologists in Texas. The Carrizo ComeCrudo Indians were a "Coahuiltecan people who in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries lived in northern Tamaulipas and by the late eighteenth century lived along the South Texas Rio Grande delta" (TSHAonline.org 1995). The Miakan-Garza Band creation story starts within central Texas at *Ajehuac Yana*; Spring Lake in San Marcos, Texas (Nxumalo and Montes 2023:3–4). The American Library Association identifies The Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation as a collective of ten affiliated bands and clans that populated lands across what is now called Northern Mexico and South Texas. *Yanaguana* or "Land of the Spirit Waters," also known as San Pedro Springs in San Antonio, Texas is the ancestral homeland to one of the affiliated bands; the Payaya (ALA.org 2021). This research aims to see what level of interaction and collaborative efforts the Miakan-Garza band, Tap Pilam Nation Coahuiltecan Nation, and Carrizo Come Crudo have had to identify archaeological collections from the counties of origin for the three Coahuiltecan tribes named in this research housed in south Texas repositories.

Exploring archaeological collections from south Texas repositories to connect Tejano identity to Indigenous ancestry, this study examines three related research questions.

1. What archaeological evidence curated in repositories in south Texas has been identified as Coahuiltecan by archaeologists?

2. What awareness and interaction do south Texas Coahuiltecans have with these repositories and the identified artifacts contained therein?

3. What are some pathways to better collaboration between archaeologists and south Texas Coahuiltecans, including improved awareness among south Texas Tejanos about their Indigenous heritage?

The research addressed if 1). There is attributed archaeological evidence maintained in curated collections within repositories 2). Archaeologists, repositories, and local Indigenous people in south Texas have current collaborative efforts 3). Employing other collaborative efforts to help identify unattributed archaeological collections so that Tejanos better understand and assist in connecting with their Indigenous past. The methodological approaches to answering these questions involved searching for archaeological collections containing attributed Coahuiltecan artifacts with the following four repositories: University of Texas at San Antonio Center for Archaeological Research (CAR), Texas State University Center for Archaeological Studies (CAS), University of Texas at Austin Texas Archeological Research Laboratory (TARL), and the Witte Museum. The reason for choosing these four repositories is that these facilities reside in or close to the counties or cities where the Mikan-Garza band, Tap Pilam Nation tribes, and Carrizo Come Crudo tribal bands have existed in documentation by scholars.

By employing decolonizing methodologies, such as community-based archaeology and Indigenous archaeology approaches, this study aims to identify diagnostic artifacts in collections from sites in the counties of each Coahuiltecan tribal community. These artifacts will then be presented in a collaborative interview setting to gather Indigenous perspectives on Coahuiltecan cultural material, oral traditions, and heritage. The goal is to compare these perspectives with the archaeological data obtained from the four south Texas repositories. These collaborative-based interviews sought tribal interpretation of diagnostic artifacts within a collection subject to previous archaeological study and interpretation to determine if decolonial archaeological methodologies can create a "bridge" for more South Texas Tejanos to identify with their Indigenous ancestry. This research focuses on a small group of Coahuiltecans of South Texas who are all non-federally recognized. There is the possibility that a Tejano does not identify with ancestral indigeneity due to the heavy influence of colonized secularization of Tejanos in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

In Chapter Two, the literature review provides details of the origins of Coahuiltecans and Tejanos. This literature review examines decolonization theory and how that works for decolonizing Indigenous histories, while considering colonial vs. Indigenous paradigms and if collaborative methodologies such as community-based and Indigenous archaeology play a role in bridging one's identity and Indigenous ancestry.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework for this research, including the interview questions, participant selection, the qualitative interview approach, and the inductive thematic coding used in the following chapter, and finally, limitations touched on in Chapter One.

Chapter Four examines the initial elicitation to the four chosen repositories regarding collections containing archaeological evidence linking the Coahuiltecan culture to, or being identified by, them. Following this, the justification for the choice of specific archaeological sites for the purpose of this study is explained. A comprehensive overview of each site is presented, including detailed information pertaining to the diagnostic artifacts discovered during the excavation procedure.

Chapter Five presents the research questions classified according to the three overarching themes delineated in the third chapter: Tejanos, Repositories, and Artifacts. An explanation of the origin of each theme will be provided, along with the interview questions and corresponding responses selected from the transcribed interviews. Then, the data revealed through the responses provided throughout the interview is analyzed.

The sixth and concluding chapter summarizes the results, conclusions, and recommendations of the study, including suggested future research is presented.

Chapter 2.

Cultural History and Theoretical Framework

This chapter reviews the literature concerning how collaborative archaeological methodologies, such as community archaeology and Indigenous archaeology, contribute significantly to how the archaeological community, including repositories, have opportunities to work with archaeological collections to fill in the gaps and bridge Tejano identity and Indigenous ancestry. The review starts with a historical overview of Tejano identity and anthropological literature of Coahuiltecans in Texas. I then review decolonization theories, including works pertaining to decolonizing Indigenous histories. I do this by comparing post-colonial theory and Indigenous paradigms. I also examine the methodological approaches of community archaeology and Indigenous archaeology.

2.1. Tejanos

Researcher and Historian Gary Nash discusses the term *Mestizo*, the Spanish term given to the offspring of Spaniards and the Indigenous peoples: "Through concubinage and intermarriage, Indigenous women became enmeshed in Spanish life" (Nash 1995:950–951). "The mestizo offspring were usually recognized for exactly what they were: mixed-race children. Today, most of the Mexican population is "mestizo-testimony" to the early assimilation of much of the Indian population" (Nash 1995:950-951). Since the Spanish colonized the regions of what is now known as northeastern Mexico, one can draw a connection between Tejanos and the Spanish colonization of the Indigenous people of the Mexican territory based on Nash's explanation of the term "*Mestizo*."

 "*Tejano*" as an ethnic identification has many rooted ancestral identities. The word "*Tejano*" defines the people of these colonized regions over the last five hundred years. The term originates from another Texas Indigenous tribe, the Caddo, from Texas' eastern regions. The word "Tejas" in Caddo represents friends or allies. Spanish Damian Massanet wrote of his interactions with the Indigenous as they self-described as friends or "thecas," as Massanet understood (Fry 2016). *Tejanos* are "Tejanos or Mexican Setters of Spanish- Indian- African ancestry who have resided in Texas since the early

6

eighteenth century" (Poyo and Hinojosa 2011:ix). Poyo and Hinojosa described Tejano identity spanning 250 years as a "reorientation" of Mexican states bordering Coahuilan, Tamaulipas, and Nuevo Mexico communities from a Mexican identity to a Texas identity (Poyo and Hinojosa 2011: ix). This reorientation accelerated following Texas' independence from Mexico in 1836 (Figure 1).

In his 1989 paper, "An American "melting pot" in the Coahuiltecan Homeland," Roberto Mario Salmon offers a similar position. He uses the term Tejano – a vital part of the identity evolution of south Texas Tejanos. Salmon (1989:33) states:

> Beginning in the late 1600s, Spanish missionaries sought to incorporate Indian bands in the congregation of their communities by Indian acceptance of the mission fathers, as well as by the imposition of work routines and church attendance. In contrast, secular officials urged their incorporation through the organization of Indians into auxiliary fighting forces, their work contributions in agrarian or livestock centers, and sometimes their financial contributions in the form of tribute, the redistribution of Indian land, and the encouragement of mestizaje. These were both firm programs that molded a distinctive Tejano breed by the 1790s.

Tejano identity is characterized by the amalgamation of Indigenous, European, and Mexican influences, distinguishing them from other Hispanic communities in the United States. Tejanos can be traced back to the Spanish explorers and settlers who arrived in Texas during the 16th and 17th centuries. A crucial element of the Tejano identity lies in their profound bond with the land. The province of Coahuila and Texas was created by the Mexican Congress in 1824. Leaders did this to break the two apart when Texas could maintain enough population to self-govern (De la Teja 2021).

The term "Tejano" has deep roots to denote individuals of Mexican heritage residing in Texas, signifying the synthesis of cultures and historical connections to the area. Nevertheless, the adoption of this term and the wider cultural identity by external entities, such as the dominant Anglo-American population in Texas, has resulted in unequal distribution of power, erasure of culture, and the marginalization of Tejano communities. The late Chicana poet Gloria Anzaldua describes this in her book Borderlands/La Frontera, "In the 1800s, Anglos migrated illegally into Texas, which was then part of Mexico in greater and greater numbers and gradually drove native Texans of Mexican descent from their lands, committing all manner of atrocities against them. It became (and still is) a symbol that legitimized the white imperialistic takeover" (Anzaldua

1999:21). While the term may have been given as a colonized identifier, over the years Tejanos have taken it the term and used it to self-identify in a unique way.

Adan Benavides, Jr. mentions that following the Mexican War of Independence in the early nineteenth century, the term "*Coahuiltejano*" appeared. According to Benavides, Jr., this term referred explicitly to Mexican citizens of Coahuila and Texas (Benavides Jr. 2017). A distinction that was self-given by Tejanos, upon accepting their position as a department of Coahuila y Texas, while actively contributing to the drafting of colonization laws that extended invitations to Anglo-Americans to settle in Texas (sonsofdewittcolony.org 2023). Despite knowing that this decision would place them in a disadvantageous position within Mexico, they remained committed to it as many Tejano families have resided in what is now Texas for multiple generations. In David Montejano's Book, *Anglos and Mexican's: In the Making of Texas, 1838-1986*, he calls Tejano's a "people of paradox". As prominent Tejano figures Jose Antonio Navarro and Juan Seguin had believed it possible to be both proud Mexicans and loyal Texans (Montejano 1987:86). This could have been further from the truth, at least for Juan Seguin, after he helped in the fight and won Texas their independence he was exiled back to Mexico after death threats from Anglo Texans. As Andres Resendez put it, "scores of Mexican Texans went from Spanish subjects to Mexican citizens, to Texans, and wound up as Americans, in the short span of a lifetime" (Resendez 2005:2).

The term Tejano used for this research does not mean to exclude those of Coahuiltecan descent who may identify with Indigenous ancestry or by other ethnic terms including Coahuiltejano, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Hispanic, Latinx, Béxareños (Tejano residents of Bexar County, San Antonio, Texas), etcetera.

2.2. The Coahuiltecans

The earliest written records indicate that many of the bands of hunting-and-gathering Indians across southern Texas and northeastern Mexico spoke dialects of the same language. According to Thomas Campbelle's 1977 report, "Ethnic Identities of Extinct Coahuiltecan Populations: Case of the Juanca Indians", the Spanish had a collective name for the Indigenous bands until the nineteenth century, when scholars "began referring to this aggregate of similarly oriented peoples as Coahuiltecan and their language as Coahuilteco" (Campbell 1977:2). Mexican ethnographer and linguist Manuel

Orozco y Berra coined the term "Coahuilteco" for one of the lists of languages he recorded in the mid-nineteenth century (Powell 1891:68). Both words Coahuiltecan and Coahuilteco are derived from Coahuila, a Spanish colonial province that included lands extending from modern Saltillo, Coahuila, northeastward to the Medina-San Antonio River valley of Texas (Campbell 1977:2; Figure 1).
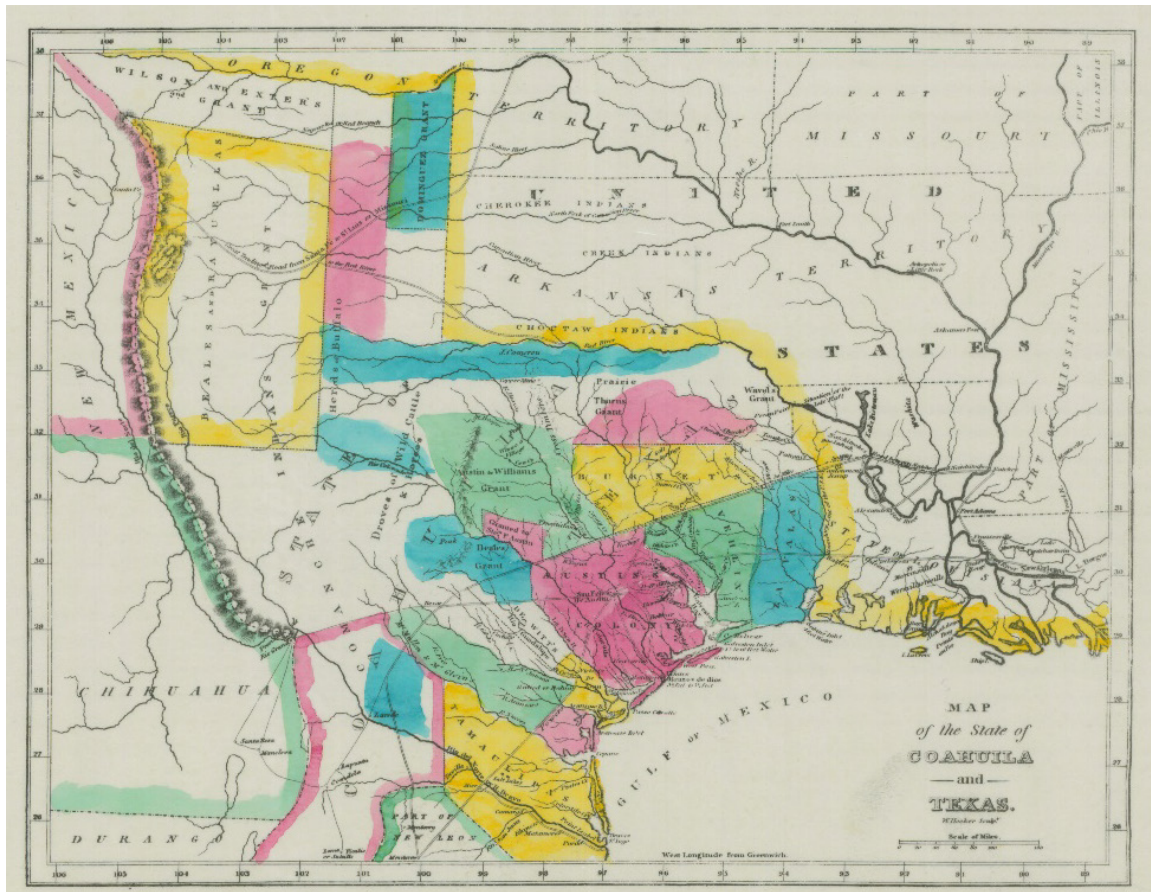
Figure 1.   Map of the State of Coahuila y Texas 1833.
Map 01607b courtesy of Texas State Library and Archives Commission

This notion was closely tied to the belief in the superiority of Western civilization and the idea of manifest destiny, which justified the expansion of Euro-American influence across the continent. The process of "civilizing" the Indigenous populations often involved coercive measures and compelled to adopt European customs, language, and religion. Hester also describes that there were dozens, if not hundreds, of distinct small tribes or bands of "Coahuiltecan" who lived similarly and were of targeted interest to the Spanish missionaries (Hester 1980:39). In fact, regarding the Christianization of early Texas through missionaries, Juan Alfaro points out that, "Two friars documented

the language in manuals for administering church rituals in one native language at some missions in southern Texas and northeastern Coahuila. Neither these manuals nor other documents included the names of all the Indigenous people who initially spoke Coahuilteco" (Alfaro 1990:60).

Anthropologist William W. Newcomb, Jr. conducted the bulk of research into Coahuiltecan history and culture in the early twentieth century. Newcomb (1961:31) states that "the prehistoric part of South Texas Coahuiltecans is not well known, which is not surprising considering the fact that such crudely equipped hunter and gatherers as these prehistoric people must have been left behind, few imperishable items for archaeologists to find." While Newcomb implies that the Coahuiltecans seemed to have died away together with other tribes, researchers like Mardith Schuetz challenge the extinction assertion by claiming that a lifeway extinction does not translate to Indigenous peoples' end. Anthropologists from the nineteenth and early half of the twentieth centuries assume that if an essential native culture incorporated into a more advanced civilization such as that of the Europeans, the basic culture failed. One of the most common phrases associated with this concept is "going extinct". Which conjures up an image of people, in association with the culture, regulated to the realm of the semi-mythic like the dodo bird" (Schuetz 1980:2).

Schuetz questions the validity of such assessments whereby the modern assumptions that native people's ethnic identities remain intact after encountering other cultures. Schuetz asserts that while "anthropologists generally take the view that when simple Indigenous cultures are assimilated by a more sophisticated one, the former somehow "fails" (Schuetz 1980:2). Schuetz also contends that several residents near mission San Jose associate themselves proudly with mission Indians (Schuetz 1980:331). Schuetz explains that some families at the time of his research residing next to missions established in the eighteenth century claim they are descendants of the mission Indians. Bobbie L. Lovett and colleagues share the same line of questions in their article, "the lack of records and information concerning the many groups that comprise the Coahuiltecans has fostered many unanswered questions: were the mission Indians the cultural and genetic descendants of an 11,000-year native tradition in south Texas and northeastern Mexico" (Lovett et al. 2014:2). It was not until 1994 that the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT) erected a marker recognizing that the Alamo site had once contained Indigenous burial grounds (Thoms et al. 2021:385)

Schuetz also contends that several residents associate themselves proudly with mission Indians (Schuetz 1980:331). Schuetz explains that some families at the time of his research residing next to missions established in the eighteenth century claim they are descendants of the mission Indians. Bobbie L. Lovett and colleagues share the same line of questions in their article, "the lack of records and information concerning the many groups that comprise the Coahuiltecans has fostered many unanswered questions: were the mission Indians the cultural and genetic descendants of an 11,000-year native tradition in south Texas and northeastern Mexico" (Lovett et al. 2014:2). It was not until 1994 that the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT) erected a marker recognizing that the Alamo site had once contained Indian burial grounds (Thoms et al. 2021:385).

2.2.1. Carrizo Come Crudo (Esto'k Gna)

According to a 2019 article on the non-profit newsroom website, Intercontinental Cry (IC), the Carrizo ComeCrudo Tribe of Texas is currently based south of San Antonio in Floresville, Wilson County, Texas (Blier 2019). When Blier's published his article "Resisting the Border Wall: In Defense of Indigenous History and an Underground Railroad Outpost," it indicted there were a total of 1,600 Carrizo ComeCrudo nation members at the time. The Carrizo ComeCrudo or Esto'k Gna, in their native language, are Indigenous to both sides of the Rio Grande River (Blier 2019). The Esto'k Gna was assigned Carrizo ComeCrudo Tribe their Spanish name by the Spanish explorers who documented their observations of the ComeCrudo food food being consumed half raw (Campbell 1995). The tribe's name combines "Carrizo" and "Come Crudo." "Carrizo" refers to the river cane, which grows along the waterways in their ancestral lands (Campbell 1995). In his article, "The Coahuiltecans Over Time: Past and Present," historian John Schmal states that anthropologist Frederick Ruecking, Jr. referred to the Coahuiltecan Indians along the lower Rio Grande and extending upstream as "the Carrizo Cluster" (Schmal 2022:35).

2.2.2. Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation

According to Chavana (2019:21–27), there were more than sixty nomadic bands of Coahuiltecan people who lived without a central polity in what is now South Texas prior to the arrival of the Spanish. In 1994, five families of eighteenth-century San

Antonio Mission Indian descendants united out of political necessity. They formed the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation and its non-profit agency, American Indians in Texas at the Spanish Colonial Missions (AIT) (aitscm.org 2023). As indicated in chapter one, the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation's ancestral foundations are based on ten affiliated bands: Payaya, Pacoa, Borrado, Pakawan, Paguame, Papanac, Hierbipiame, Xarame, Pajalat, and Tilijae Nations (ALA.org 2021). The ancestral bands that made up the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation, as detailed by the American Library Association, "positioned their villages near rivers and similar bodies of water" (ALA.org 2021). The article "Who Were the Coahuiltecans?" from Texasbeyondhistory.net specifies one of the ancestral bands, the Payaya, made their homeland in "modern Bexar and Medina counties" (Texasbeyondhistory.net 2023).

2.2.3. Miakan-Garza Band

The Miakan-Garza Band are descendants of Zaragoza Garza, a cacique of the Band of the Garza Tribe (Schmal 2022:42). Schmal described the "Garza Indians" as a "Coahuiltecan band living on the South Bank of the Rio Grande near Mier and Revilla" (Schmal 2019:18). The Miakan-Garza Band believes that their creation story or "Napako" is documented in a 4,000-year-old rock art painting near Comstock, Texas (Indigenousculturesinstitute.org 2020). The painting referred to as "The White Shaman Panel", according to Miakan-Garza Band, depicts four fountain springs illustrating the geographic locations of sacred sites. The four fountain springs are Barton Springs in Austin, the springs in San Marcos, Comal Springs in New Braunfels, and the San Antonio headwaters (Indigenousculturesinstitute.org 2020). The Miakan-Garza Band and its non-profit organization, Indigenous Cultures Institute, are presently located near the springs in San Marcos.

2.3. Decolonization Theory

Decolonization as a term makes an appearance as early as the 1930s in Asia but not popularized for another 30 years (Betts 2004:1). Some scholars argue that it gained momentum ten years earlier, in postcolonial theorist's Frantz Fanon's work regarding "anticolonial movements in Africa and Asia that sought to dismantle European colonial rule" (Stein and Andreotti 2016:2). Stein and Andreotti contend that there is not a

12

"singular genealogy" for decolonization but point out that it has roots in the "resistance of racial and colonial violence since the fifteenth century" (Stein and Andreotti 2016:2). This is when Europeans first initiated their modern-day goal of exploiting Indigenous colonization and Black servitude to achieve worldwide supremacy and dispossession" (Stein and Andreotti 2016:2).

The fifteenth century fits other scholarly descriptions, as Robert Stam and Ella Shohat come to a similar conclusion regarding postcolonial theory discussing eurocentrism relating to Jewish, Muslim, "Indian" Black, and African people after the Spanish Inquisition and conquest of the new world (Stam and Shohat 2012:372–373). In their book, On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis, Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, also contend that "Decoloniality has a history, herstory, and praxis of more than 500 years. From its beginning in the Americas…" (Mignolo and Walsh 2018:16). Since the Spanish invasion of "America" what some felicitous term the conquest, the struggles, movements, and actions of people native to the lands and those brought here from Africa by force have been and still are against what the "Kichwa intellectual and historical leaders Luis Macas calls the colonial yoke or tare" (Mignolo and Walsh 2018:18). Jennifer O'Neal, in her article "The Right to Know": Decolonizing Native American Archives, expresses the same sentiment as she describes Spanish colonization as a "Spanish invasion" that would later morph into "America's efforts to colonize the Indigenous people, Native American history has been wrought with conflict, destruction, genocide, severe poverty, and the continued loss of culture and collective memory" (O'Neal 2015:4).

Mignolo and Walsh speak about action as, "decolonization is more the usual word for the efforts to confront the ongoing colonial condition; to decolonize, or to undertake and make decolonizing acts and actions are the most frequent terms of reference and doing" (Mignolo and Walsh 2018:49). Decolonization is not merely a metaphor; it represents a tangible and complex process aimed at dismantling the structural, cultural, and institutional legacies of colonialism. It encompasses efforts to repatriate tangible culture, acknowledge and redress past atrocities, and foster genuine self-determination for Indigenous peoples. Decolonization necessitates collaboration and allyship with Indigenous communities, recognizing that the path to decolonization is not a one-size-fits-all approach and must be adapted to the specific cultural, social, and historical contexts of each Indigenous group. Susana Caxaj in her article, expresses the

same sentiment by utilizing Indigenous storytelling as a decolonization approach. "Originating among Mestiza/Indigenous actors in Latin America facing colonial and political violence is that of a testimonio. Testimonios, described as narraciones de urgencia (emergency or urgent narratives) are a means to bear witness to injustices through spoken or written word" (Caxaj 2015:2-3). She goes on to contend that the testimonios and other Indigenous storytelling practices exhibit shared values of interconnectedness, justice-seeking, truth-telling, resistance, and survival, which can be observed through their overlapping characteristics (Caxaj 2015:3). Decolonized testimonios contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the complex intersections of culture, identity, and resistance, highlighting the ongoing struggles and resilience of Indigenous communities of south Texas. This approach acknowledges the agency and lived realities of Indigenous individuals, fostering a more inclusive and accurate representation of their histories within the broader context of the country's cultural tapestry. The process of decolonization requires ongoing commitment, self-reflection, and collective effort to redress the impacts of centuries of colonization and promote a more just and equitable future.

2.4. Decolonizing Indigenous Histories

Based on this review of the roots of decolonization theory, I now examine colonial vs. Indigenous paradigms. However, Stein and Andreotti infer that "de-Westernization of curricula" in higher education can produce "movements" fought against the way that Indigenous peoples were framed by colonization (Stein and Andreotti 2016:2). For archaeologists and archaeological repositories, "privileged ownership" of cultural materials in the continual efforts of preservation is still by means of colonial control (Bruchac 2020:2072). Margaret Bruchac asserts that "for Indigenous and ethnic communities around the world, the reclamation of Indigenous rights to property and culture is key to recovering from colonial domination" (Bruchac 2020: 2072).

While examining the decolonial lens, the avoidance of colonization altogether cannot be an option as Sium and colleagues state, "the starting point of decolonization is not a rejection of colonialism" (Sium et al. 2012:3). Thus, it is important to acknowledge that colonialism has distorted and erased Indigenous histories, leading communities to decolonize knowledge as we know it today. Tsim Schneider and Katherine Hayes state that the "absence or loss [of] archaeological evidence due to European settlement

requires some degree of replicating or reproducing the evidence based on colonial archaeological practices" (Schneider and Hayes 2020:128, 134). Rather than replicating or reproducing archaeological evidence based on colonial archaeological practices, decolonized methodologies would involve Indigenous peoples to see if Indigenous histories even be replicated or reproduced. Archaeologists and repositories cannot sit back as "spectators" to what colonial knowledge has created, but instead they should "demand" decolonization of such histories (Sium et al. 2012:3).

The implementation of a more inclusive and culturally aware method of artifact identification is a crucial component of this collaboration. As Krystiana Krupa and Kelsey Grimm point out, "many of America's repositories, collections adhere to colonial descriptive terminology and organizational models that were developed in the nineteenth centuries" (Krupa and Grimm 2021:49). They go on to state that naming conventions, classification schemes, and informational hierarchies perpetuate colonial perspectives over Indigenous ones (Krupa and Grimm 2021:49). However, Indigenous peoples can contribute their distinct viewpoints and oral histories to aid archaeologists, repositories, and museums in comprehending the background, function, and importance of cultural material. This aids in both the precise identification of cultural materials and the production of thorough records and documentation that honor the cultural significance and values attached to these artifacts. Archaeologists along with repositories are actively correcting historical wrongs and forging closer ties with Indigenous people by encouraging collaboration.

2.5. Collaborative Methodologies

In their 2010 article, "Consultation and Collaboration with Descendant Communities", Stephen Silliman and Thomas Ferguson express, "collaboration with descendant communities has become increasingly popular in the last 40 years spurred largely by the inclusion of Native American tribes, First Nations, and other descendant communities in the historic preservation program of the US" (Silliman and Ferguson 2010:51). Collaborative methodologies in archaeology foster a greater degree of inclusivity, as Indigenous communities, local stakeholders, and the public can be actively involved in the research process. Engaging with local Indigenous peoples and respecting their cultural knowledge and perspectives is essential in promoting responsible and sustainable archaeology. By applying diverse voices, including those of

descendants of the studied cultures, collaborative methodologies help address historical biases and prejudices in archaeology, resulting in a more comprehensive and culturally sensitive approach to understanding the past.

Anthropologist Chip Colwell used the terms dynamic and fluid to describe collaborative archaeology as it is not one set of practices (Colwell 2016:116). These collaborations often involve shared decision-making, knowledge exchange, and the use of Indigenous experts and traditional knowledge to decipher the cultural and historical significance of items held in museum collections. In their 2002 article Moser and colleagues emphasize shared decision-making indicating that, "collaboration does not simply refer to a one-way process of communication, rather, the aim is to achieve a continuous dialogue or two-way communication that enables us to interpret and present the heritage" (Moser et al. 2002:229). Stephen Silliman and Thomas Ferguson agree that "in the participatory mode, archaeologists confer with descendant groups and invite them to be involved in research activities." They each formulate the research's objectives separately. By virtue of their involvement, descendant groups are given a say in how the study's findings are interpreted (Silliman and Ferguson 2010:52). Of course, when put into action this not only helps archaeologists and repositories gain a deeper understanding of the cultural material collections but also ensures that Indigenous peoples are active participants in the process. Hedquist and colleagues support this type of collaborative effort of collections research stating, "collaborative based research provides renewed opportunities to engage with descendant communities; to humanize the archaeological record and give voice to descendants when interpreting items left by their ancestors" (Hedquist et al 2023:185). Under the umbrella of collaborative archaeological practices are community-based archaeology and Indigenous archaeology.

2.6. Community-based Archaeology

Indigenous perspectives and knowledge are often marginalized in archaeological investigations. Collaborative approaches, however, actively involve Indigenous community members in the planning, executing, and interpreting of archaeological projects. Sonya Atalay, Indigenous archaeologist, points out that, "in many communities where archaeologists work, local residents have limited access to the knowledge and other benefits from the research that is taking place in their own backyards" (Atalay

2012: 3). Collaborative archaeological methods like community-based archaeology have emerged as a powerful tool for fostering positive relationships between archaeologists, repositories, and Indigenous communities. Creating the opportunity for local communities to be involved and contribute in what is happening in their "backyards." In a later article, Atalay strongly conveys this by stating, "Indigenous archaeology and community-based frameworks within archaeology bring different forms of knowledge together" (Atalay 2019: 522).

George Nicholas and Julie Hollowell provide more context as "Postcolonial community-based archaeology also requires negotiating equitable and appropriate terms for sharing local knowledge and the tangible and intangible products of research" (Nicholas and Hollowell 2007: 68). Creating equitability in community archaeology gives both the archaeological and Indigenous peoples the ability to promote alternative or otherwise omitted histories allowing for "disenfranchised" communities to account for their knowledge and allowing their voices to be heard (Rizvi 2008: 121). The archeological community cannot shy away from creating equity among their collaborative relationships past, present or future. McAnany and Rowe admit that "challenges collaborative archaeology should not be underestimated," and that aligning priorities is necessary to demonstrate a commitment to collaborating with communities in the deeper goal of making their pasts relevant (McAnany and Rowe 2015:7). These deeper goals in making the past relevant that McAnany and Rowe refer to could also be applied to the repository collections.

Community-based archaeology involves collaborative efforts as St. Amand and colleagues acknowledges that, "legacy collections entail obligations and long-term curatorial responsibilities, such as defining the cultural significance and sensitivity of materials, which may impact the availability of specific materials for research. (St. Amand et al 2020:8289). By delving into archaeological collections that are not attributed, archaeologists and Indigenous peoples can uncover artifacts, tools, and remnants of ancient settlements that directly connect to the cultural practices and lifestyles of their ancestral past. Prioritizing inclusivity and respecting the rights and interests of community stakeholders, archaeologists can work towards a more balanced and respectful approach to uncovering and interpreting the shared heritage of a region. In the end, community-based archaeology aims to create a more equitable and mutually

17

beneficial partnership by bridging the gap between the lived experiences of the people it serves and the academic field of archaeology.

2.7. Indigenous Archaeology

In contrast, the focus of Indigenous archaeology is the active involvement and management of archaeological efforts carried out by Indigenous people. Jennifer O'Neal refers to Indigenous archaeology as the "restoration movement that started a little over forty years ago by Indigenous communities creating their repositories for collections for more authority over the conservation and communication of their history" (O'Neal 2015:7). In her 2006 article Sonya Atalay states, "Protests by Native American activists over these types of injustices regarding the treatment of ancestral remains forced archaeologists in North America to take notice and address the concerns of Indigenous peoples over archaeological research (Atalay 2006: 288). Though the research in this thesis does not involve ancestral remains or Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) compliance, which was enacted into law in 1990. Atalay's assertion that Indigenous activism "forced" some form of collaboration between the archaeological community, including repositories and Indigenous peoples reaffirms Silliman and Ferguson's reference that collaboration with descendant communities "become increasingly popular addition in the last 40 years" (Silliman and Ferguson 2010:51).

Michelle McGeough expressed related thoughts in her published work regarding curatorial practices and methodologies, "Native American stakeholders have consistently advocated for specific changes in the ways that Native American people and their stories are to be presented in institutions such as museums" (McGeough 2012:15). Utilizing Indigenous archaeology as a collaborative tool can help to remove barriers between archaeologists and Indigenous communities. As Atalay states, consultation does not necessarily allow for Indigenous people to play an active role in the entire research process, including research design, grant writing, and funding processes, analysis and interpretation of results, production of reports, and sharing of research results in a culturally effective way with community members (Atalay 2006: 293). This effort allows archaeologists and repositories, who are underfunded and understaffed, to begin the process of identifying and attributing archaeological collections.

By applying collaborative efforts such as community-based archaeology and Indigenous archaeology, archaeologists and repositories can help substantiate tangible and intangible archaeological evidence to support bridging Tejano identity with Indigenous ancestry. These methodological practices will provide Tejanos with more than just a blanketed "People of the lower Pecos" the next time they visit a museum, a public archaeological site or begin their journey into their ancestral past. Schaepe and colleagues., in "Archaeology as Therapy Connecting Belongings, Knowledge, Time, Place, and Well-Being," explains, "For many with whom we have worked, objects become bridges to individuals who made and used them, gifts from their ancestors that present reminders of who they are, where they are from, and how to live in a good way" (Schaepe et al. 2017: 13). The ability to learn and know about our multiple ancestries reflects a deep desire to bridge the gaps between generations and is a powerful reminder that our lives are a product of our ancestry that have persevered, adapted, and thrived having contributed to our genetic makeup.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

The chapter first describes the methodologies employed for the six-question interviews conducted in collaboration with the Coahuiltecan tribal bands mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2 in this research. Next, the chapter provides an overview of how I sought out participants and the ethical precautions and deliberations relevant to the participants before, during, and after the interviews. Finally, the chapter closes by examining the analytical strategies employed in analyzing the interview data and evaluating the constraints encountered in this study.

This research utilized qualitative methods, such as constructive grounded theory involving collecting and analyzing relevant documents, along with structured interviews of key participants. By using constructive grounded theory, the researcher conducts data analysis through a process of continuous comparison, initially comparing data sets with each other, then continuing to comparisons between their own interpretations, which are translated into codes and classifications, and further data (Mills et al 206:27). Using constructive grounded theory enables more flexibility and gives the participants the ability to construct meaning in their answers to interview questions.

Along with constructive grounded theory the research involved using photo-elicitation to examine diagnostic lithic artifacts from archaeological collections. While the option of interviewing at the repository with artifacts from the collections, the participants chose to interview outside the facility. Photo-elicitation is a method that integrates photographs into research interviews. The method demonstrates reflexivity by incorporating images into the in-depth interviews to stimulate participants' perspectives, prompting reflection, and producing extensive data (Kyololo et al 2023:1). The photos diagnostic artifacts that were presented during the interviews were not labeled with lithic classification and typology. This was done purposefully to the photos to provide the physical context of cultural occupation and daily life tools of Indigenous ancestors and provide the participants the opportunity to make connections to tangible culture without the presence of western archaeological categorization. By utilizing the perspective of Indigenous peoples— that value cultural continuity and ancestral ties to objects and

locations—we can gain insight into the past (Hedquist 2023:186). The process of archaeological site selection will be discussed in the next chapter. Moreover, chapter four will provide succinct site descriptions for the four selected archaeological sites, which were utilized for their representative sampling of diagnostic artifacts.

The in-person interviews were arranged to work cohesively and respectfully with each participant's schedule according to the dates and times provided. Each participant was allotted 90 minutes of interview time; however, they were informed that they could have more time if necessary. All participants were asked the same six questions in the same numeric order each time The structured questions asked to each of the participating tribal members were as follows:

1. Please share your thoughts about these artifacts. What do you see here that is of interest to you? What specifically would you like to know about these artifacts?

2. Do any specific artifacts or groups of artifacts hold particular meaning to you and your community?

3. Are there oral histories, documents, or traditional knowledge that your tribal community might be willing to provide to enhance understanding of the values and uses of these artifacts?

4. How do you see your community and the collection repositories working together in the analysis and interpretation of artifacts?

5. Could working together with the collection facilities help build Indigenous cultural bridges in the Tejano community? Could such collaborations strengthen tribal sovereignty? What are good ways to share our findings with your community? With Tejano and other Indigenous communities?

6. Could you share with me reasons behind the community's decision to interview outside of a repository? What factors or concerns could influence the strengthening of collaborative relationships?

All participants were presented with a sheet of paper with the site trinomial associated with the artifacts and the Texas State Library and Archives Commission. Participants were informed they could follow up with the researcher for guidance in finding and accessing stored public records (redacted reports) for each site. This follow-up could also include guidance and connection with the repositories for further collection access.

3.1. Participants

Utilizing a collaborative approach to community-based participatory research (Atalay 2012:23) by engaging with local Coahuiltecans Indigenous communities: Miakan-Garza band, Tap Pilam Nation tribes, and Carrizo Come Crudo after formally introducing myself as the researcher and proposing my research to them. Communications prior to the formal interviews made clear that the study was on a volunteer participation basis, with no compensation involved. Study participants were Coahuiltecan community individuals (18 years or older males) who identified as points of contact or representatives of a specified tribal community. All interviews were conducted in person in a one-to-one session ranging from 15 to 58 minutes between July 2023 and August 2023.

3.2. Measures

Measures were used to ensure accurate data collection, including structured questions that were approved by Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics (ORE) on July 18, 2023 and are in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS 2) institutional guidelines including completing the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans Course (TCPS 2: CORE 2022) provided by the University, as well as compliance with United States and Texas federal and local accordance. All three Indigenous communities confirmed that they did not have any ethical by-laws that would have required any extra measures. No personal names are used in recording or reporting the study. All participants did agree to anonymize their identities for this research. This is to protect the identity of all participants; they were coded as Coahuiltecan 1, Coahuiltecan 2, and Coahuiltecan 3. Only the researcher and the Principal Investigator are in possession of the code identifiers, and audio recordings from the recording device were transferred over to an encrypted USB in accordance with the protocols set by Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics (ORE) and agreed upon between the researcher and the participants. All participants were also provided with phone and e-mail addresses for Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics (ORE) in case they have questions or concerns regarding the research. As part of the interview, each participant was asked for verbal consent at the beginning of each recorded session after being read the following:

You have been invited to take part in this research study because you are a South Texas Coahuiltecan. We are doing this study to learn more about collaborative efforts on bridging Tejano identity and Indigenous ancestry with archaeological collections. This study is through Simon Fraser University, Department of Archaeology, Heritage Resource Management Master of Arts Program and is supervised by Dr. John Welch.

We will be conducting interviews with continued approval of collaboration as part of the research to verify cultural material identified as Coahuiltecan by archaeologists. As well as discuss how might collaborative efforts by the four South Texas archaeological repositories; UT-San Antonio Center for Archaeological Research (CAR), Texas State University Center for Archaeological Studies (CAS), UT- Austin Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory (TARL) and the Witte Museum and Coahuiltecan communities better bridge Tejanos to their Indigenous ancestry.

Your participation in this research is voluntary, at any point during the interview you may still chose to withdraw from the study without any negative consequence. If you choose to enter the study and then decide to withdraw later, you may also withdraw from participation up until right before distribution of research analysis results. After distribution of the research analysis results it may be impracticable, if not impossible, to withdraw results. If you choose to withdraw from participation before that time all data collected about you during your participation in the study will be destroyed.

If you still agree to participate in this research, this is how we will proceed with the research study. I will ask you to participate in an interview which includes six questions. The interview should last no longer than 90 minutes in a single sitting. We are fully vaccinated with both boosters and will abide by the latest health guidelines in relation to the COVID19 pandemic. Part of the interview will include viewing photos of artifacts from local areas that the ancestral Coahuiltecan inhabited and giving your feedback on them.

We will be audio recording via a deactivated apple iPhone device. The audio file will be transferred to an encrypted UBS drive that will be stored in a confidential and safe location. Once the recording is transferred the file will be deleted from the apple iPhone device. Your confidentiality will be respected; participants will be identified only by a unique code number. Participants will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study.

We do not think there is anything in this study that could harm you or be bad for you. Please let one of the study staff know if you have any concerns. If you do have any concerns about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, please contact the Director, SFU Office of Research Ethics, at dore@sfu.ca or 778-782-6593. By consenting to participate in this research participants have not waived any rights to legal recourse in the event of research related harm.

There is no compensation for participating in this study. However, your participation will be a valuable addition to this research and findings could lead to greater understanding not just in the archaeological community but Tejanos seeking their ancestral roots.

The results of this study will be reported in a graduate thesis and may also be published in journal articles and books.

Do we have consent to continue with the interview?

3.3. Data Analysis

Audio files were transcribed by a SOC 2 Type II Security Compliance Certification transcriptionist website, Rev.com. The participants were assigned the code identifiers Coahuiltecan 1, Coahuiltecan 2, Coahuiltecan 3, and J. Herrera as Interviewer in the transcripts to maintain participant privacy and confidentiality. In addition, the de-identification process entailed redacting identifying information, such as the names of individuals and tribal identifiers mentioned during the interview. Transcripts were analyzed initially with inductive coding. Inductive coding is a systematic approach to analyzing textual data using categories and themes that emerge from the texts. Inductive analysis encompasses various methodologies, "including open coding (also known as initial coding), in vivo coding (codes derived from participants' own words), and continual comparative analysis" (Bingham 2020:135). In vivo coding, a specific method within inductive coding, focuses on identifying and preserving participants' words or phrases, ensuring the authenticity of their voices in the analysis. This approach promotes the credibility and thoroughness of the research results, as it ensures a thorough examination of the data and an analysis that accurately represents the perspectives and experiences of the participants. In vivo coding for this research identified three emerging theme codes: artifacts, repositories, and Tejanos. These themes represent the thoughts and responses to the six questions that correlate to the research question as described in chapter one. In chapter 5 each theme has its own section and will be discussed at the beginning of each section,

3.4. Limitations

This research focuses on the thoughts and opinions of a representative member of the three Coahuiltecan tribal communities mentioned in Chapter two. The research identified two other tribal bands of Coahuiltecan Indigenous peoples from the south Texas region, the Tejuan Mission Indians, and the Mission San Jose y San Miguel de Aguayo Indians. They were not included in this research due to a lack of published literature, or contact could not be established. The Tejuan Mission Indians have an established website (tehuanmissionindians.org 2023) and contact information, and attempts were made to engage in conversations but were unsuccessful beyond the initial contact. The Mission San Jose y San Miguel de Aguayo Indians had no published contact information. Upon performing preliminary online searches, a solitary news story was published in July 2022 by the Pleasanton Express. The article pertains to the Mission San Jose y San Miguel de Aguayo Indians celebrating the 300th year of establishment of the mission (Pleasantonexpress.com 2022).

The researcher's role, as discussed in chapter two, is regarded as a limitation. The critical constructivist approach and analysis offer the researcher the ability to interpret subjectively due to its flexibility (Kilian et al. 2019: 508). As a researcher, research training, including instruction on maintaining objectivity in our field study, particularly concerning data collecting and analysis, is still a Westernized methodology process (Dattan 2018:4). This can impede the efficacy of implementing constructive grounded theory approaches in this research and can only be effective if approached from a decolonized mental process.

Additionally, the number of repositories used in the research is a limitation. The researcher only considered four repositories for this research due to the proximity of the counties where the Indigenous communities reside. However, there are a total of seventeen repositories across the state of Texas. Suggestions for expanding the research design and either adding more repositories to the research or all the Texas repositories in future research will be discussed in chapter five.

Chapter 4.

Examining Repository Collections

This chapter investigates the presence of archaeological evidence at the University of Texas at San Antonio Center for Archaeological Research (CAR), Texas State University Center for Archaeological Studies (CAS), University of Texas at Austin Archaeological Research Laboratory (TARL), and the Witte Museum that has been identified or associated with the Coahuiltecan culture by archaeologists. Subsequently, I present the rationale for selecting archaeological sites for this research. I then summarize each site, describing specific information regarding the diagnostic artifacts unearthed throughout the excavation process. This chapter concludes with an analysis of findings regarding Coahuiltecan artifacts in response to research question one: What archaeological evidence curated in repositories in south Texas has been identified as Coahuiltecan by archaeologists?

The responses and interaction from the four repositories are discussed below and will also be part of the thematic analysis regarding repositories in attempting to answer research question three. Initial contact with all four repositories was conducted via e-mail from May 2023 to July 2023 with the follow correspondence Jennifer Herrera (J. Herrera personal communication 2023):

> Dear Curator,
>
> I'm contacting you to possibly assist me with collection questions I have regarding my thesis research. Below are my questions related to my thesis research:
>
> 1. Do you have any attributing cultural materials in the collection that have been determined to be of Coahuiltecan origin including any of the following tribal bands: Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation, Miakan-Garza Band, or Carrizo Come Crudo Tribe of Texas?
>
> - Time Period I would be looking for would be post-contact (Spanish-colonial) including any mission related collections.
>
> - Region of Texas would be south/central Texas and possibly northern Mexico.
>
> 2. If there are no attributing cultural materials in collection, are there any records where documented sites have been determined to be

predominantly inhabited by the Coahuiltecan? Including anything of the three tribal bands mentioned above.

Thank you for your time and help with my research.

Jennifer Herrera

The consensus response from the four repositories was that they did not have or did not know of any specific collections that were either identified or attributed to any of the three Coahuiltecan tribal communities. It is important that this research acknowledges that the Witte Museum and its repository, although established in 1926, did not become a curatorial facility certified by the Texas Historical Commission until 2021. No further information regarding the housing of artifacts prior to 2021 was provided. This is not to imply that the museum was not already following an in-house protocol standard of curatorial care. Follow up telephone conversations with the curator of the Witte Museum confirmed that collaborations with the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation are underway to identify artifacts diagnostic of Coahuiltecan identity. Later in this chapter further collaborative work between the Witte and with the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation tribe will be discussed.

I also received responses from curators at the University of Texas at Austin Archaeological Research Laboratory (TARL), Head of Collections (TARL staff member, personal communication 2023), wrote:

> "There are likely some items in the collections that with some expert research could be linked to material cultural traditions specific to one or the other of these groups. Work of this type has not really been done on these collections since they were recovered, and it would be wonderful if someone with cultural knowledge specific to these groups wanted to come in and assess them. We would very much welcome you to carry out some of that research if you are interested."

The acknowledgement that there are likely some artifacts within the collections that could be linked to the Indigenous communities connected to this research is a start. In another repository response, I received a similar invitation. This invitation, from the Curator at Texas State University Center for Archaeological Studies (CAS), specifically included the Indigenous communities, (CAS staff member, personal communication 2023):

"Researchers, Tribes and other descendant groups are always welcome to access the collections housed in CAS's archaeological repository for their own research or ceremonial needs."

These invitations by repository curatorial staff re-enforce collaborative measurements empower the involved Indigenous communities by acknowledging their perspectives, facilitating cultural revitalization, and addressing historical wrong. As both Alison Brown and Laura Peers in their article Museums and Source Communities, agree that "face-to-face interaction is important for building the relationships necessary for collaboration, therefore collaborations between geographically distant communities and museums tend to be more sporadic and difficult" (Peers and Brown 2003:3).

Correspondence with the four repositories confirmed the absence of identified or attributed Coahuiltecan artifacts. The research conducted by archaeologist Thomas Hester encountered difficulties in determining artifact cultural affiliations to the Coahuiltecan who resided in south Texas. Hester's research in the late 1970s on the lithic technologies from northeastern Mexico and those of the mission Indigenous in Texas is valuable. Hester says, "A handful of other arrow point types are present at the missions. These include late prehistoric forms, like Perdiz and Scallorn (the latter particularly at San Xavier in central Texas), and a series of miscellaneous stemmed and unstemmed variants (Hester 1977: 10). Alexander and colleagues. in their 2001 study, "Reassessing Cultural Extinction: Change and Survival at Mission San Juan Capistrano, Texas" continue to connect an affiliation of artifacts to Coahuiltecans. The study states, "Projectile point inventories from excavations at the Spanish missions are dominated by Zavala and Guerrero points. Guerrero points, having both lanceolate and triangular forms" (Alexander et al. 2001: 104).

Archaeological sites 41BX1888, 41WN120, 41HY160, and 41HY165 are in Bexar, Wilson, and Hays Counties respectively were selected as part of the research for the following reasons. First, due to their proximity to Missions San Jose, San Juan Capistrano, and Mission Rancho de las Cabras. The historical literature mentioned in Chapter two places secularized Coahuiltecans within the mission walls. Second, when the Spanish built the missions, their locations are in vicinity of the San Antonio River or "Yanaguana" according to the Coahuiltecan (Chavana 2019: 21). The yanaguana or "spirit waters" are an integral part of the Coahuiltecan creation story as told by oral history accounts. As mentioned in Chapter two, the spirit waters are represented in the

mural by the four fountain springs of the Coahuiltecan creation story, Comal Springs, Barton Springs, San Marcos Springs, and San Antonio Springs. As author Sally Said points out, "placemaking is one strategy to assure sustainability, to create a relationship between a people and a place that allows for continuance of a culture in collaboration with the natural world" (Said 2009:116).

4.1. Site Descriptions

The archaeological sites 41BX1888, 41WN120, 41HY160, and 41HY165 were chosen based on the counties where each tribal band or nation has a recorded history that was mentioned in the previous section. Site 41BX1888 located in Bexar County on a terrace adjacent to the San Antonio River is a prehistoric campsite. The Center for Archaeological Research (CAR) at The University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) conducted an intensive archaeological survey in 2011. Following the survey, CAR staff additionally supervised the implementation of drainage piles inside the designated project site. The fieldwork involved the excavation and meticulous documentation of six backhoe trenches (Ahr et la 2012: iii). Archaeological monitoring revealed the presence of cultural artifacts, including a Guadalupe adze and a St. Mary's Hall point (Ahr et la 2012: 35).

Archaeological site 41WN120 is in Wilson County on a terrace of the San Antonio River. The site consists of a buried prehistoric surface with a surface scatter of lithic material. CAR conducted testing involved six mechanical backhoe trenches, twelve hand auger bores, seven hand excavation test units, and forty-five shovel tests (Munoz and Mauldin 2011: 10, 13). One diagnostic artifact, a Refugio dart point, was recovered from this multi-component site on a dirt road skirting the plowed field (Munoz and Mauldin 2011: 11). The upper component produced one temporally diagnostic artifact, a Marcos point. The lower component contained three diagnostics, an Early Triangular point, an Angostura point, and a Guadalupe tool. (Munoz and Mauldin 2011: 40,41).

Site 41HY160 is in Hays County and is recorded as a State Antiquities Landmarks (SAL). The site is situated along the base of the Balcones Escarpment in eastern central Texas (Lohse et al 2013:11). Fieldwork was performed by the Center for Archaeological Studies (CAS) at Texas State University from 2011–2012 (Lohse et al 2013:1). Fieldwork consisted of four hand excavations of 1×1 m units and the monitoring

of mechanical scraping and trench excavation for the installation of associated y 60 cm below the opening elevation, an unmarked gas line was encountered running diagonally across Units 1 and 2, and the two units were abandoned. depth of three meters below datum with the same recovery utilities 39 auger excavations, 12 in (ca. 30 cm) in diameter and reached a maximum depth of 6 ft (1.85 m) (Lohse et al 2013: 31- 33). Excavations yielded twenty distinct types of diagnostic lithics including, Martindale, Merrell, Uvalde, Gower, and Bell (Calf Creek), Nolan, Travis, Langtry, Bulverde, Pedernales, Lange, Castroville, Ensor, Ellis, Edgewood, Fairland, Darl, Scallorn, Perdiz and untyped (Lohse et al 2013: 64).

Site 41HY165 in Hays County sits near the center of the Balcones Escarpment (Campbell et al 2013:7). Initially recorded in 1979 as a State Antiquities Landmarks (SAL) site 41HY165 was recorded by James Garber in 1984. Subsequent excavations were conducted at 41HY165 during 1996, 1997, and 1998 by field schools sponsored by Center for Archaeological Studies (CAS) at Texas State University (Campbell et al 2013:18) During these excavations the following diagnostic lithics had been recovered: Big Sandy, Golondrina, Gower, Travis, Pedernales, Morhiss, Montell, Marcos, Elli, Frio, Ensor, Fairland, Darl, Scallorn, Edwards, Perdiz, and Guerrero projectile points (Campbell et al 2013:58) . Following the three field school sessions in 2000 - 2001 CAS conducted archaeological monitoring and trenching excavations in 2003. This yielded numerous prehistoric and historic artifacts were uncovered during these projects, most of the encountered deposits appeared in a mixed context. In either case, no site update form or redrafting of the site boundaries were submitted to the Texas Archaeological Site Atlas (Campbell et al 2013:28)

The collections for the sites 41BX1888, 41WN120, 41HY160, and 41HY165 were held in two of the four repositories mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Representative samples of the photographed diagnostic lithics of Scallorn and Perdiz projectile points from site 41HY165 are shown in figures 2 and 3 (Campbell et al 2013:78-79). Representative samples from site 41HY160 also containing photographs of projectile points Scallorn and Guerrero (Figures 4 and 5) (Lohse et al 2013: 64-65). This is important to note as Hester and Alexander and colleagues mention that these points are most associated with the missions and affiliations with the Coahuiltecan. All diagnostic lithics utilized in this research and their designated time periods are listed in table 1 for review.

Figure 2.   Scallorn arrow points from 41HY160.
Artifact photograph courtesy of Texas State University's Center for Archaeological Studies

Figure 3.   Perdiz arrow points from 41HY160.

Artifact photograph courtesy of Texas State University's Center for Archaeological Studies
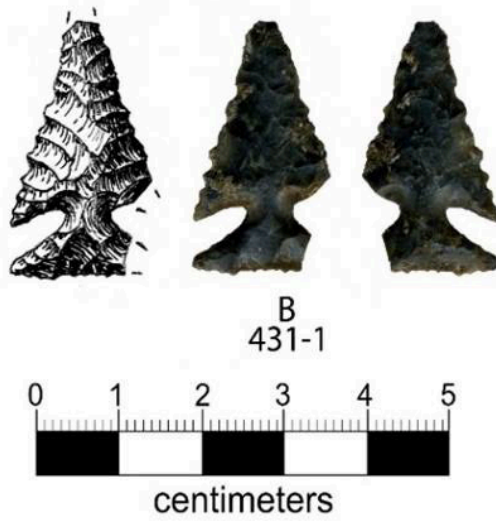
Figure 4   Scallorn arrow points from 41HY165.

Artifact photograph courtesy of Texas State University's Center for Archaeological Studies
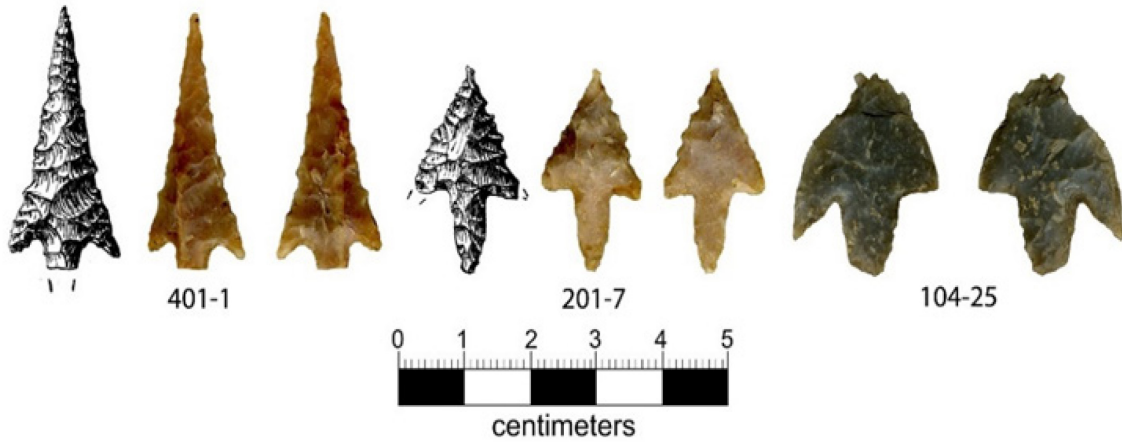

Figure 5.   Guerrero projectile point from 41HY165.

Artifact photograph courtesy of Texas State University's Center for Archaeological Studies.

Table 1. **Typology and time periods of all diagnostic lithics utilized in interviews.**

Point Types	Time Periods										
	Historic 1700-1600	Late Prehistoric II 1200	Late Prehistoric 700	Transitional Archaic 300 BC	Late Archaic 600-1000	Middle Archaic 1200-2500	(Early Middle) 3100	Early Archaic 3500-6000	Late Paleo-Indian 6500	Middle Paleo-Indian 7000-8200	Early Paleo-Indian 8500-9200
Guerrero	X										
*Perdiz		X									
Cuney		X									
Bonham		X									
Alba		X									
McGloin		X									
Fresno		X									
*Edwards			X								
*Scallorn			X								
Sabinal			X								
Zavala			X								
Ensor				X							
Darl				X							
*Frio				X							
Ellis				X							
*Fairland				X							
*Montell					X						
Marcos					X						
*Pedernales						X					
Bell								X			
*Early Triangular								X			
*Gower								X			
Guadalupe								X			
Clear Fork								X	X		
Angostura									X		
*Golondrina									X	X	
*St. Mary's Hall										X	
Dalton											X
Refugio									X	X	
Travis										X	
Baird											
Langtry						X					
Castroville											
Uvalde					X				X		
Edgewood				X							

* Denotes the diagnostic lithic came from either Bexar, Hays, or Wilson County

As discussed in the previous chapter, the diagnostic lithics from each site were unclassified and untyped images of exclusively diagnostic lithic artifacts from archaeological collections. This allowed the interview participants to establish connections with tangible cultural elements, free from the influence of Western archaeological classification. Indigenous archaeological methods have been employed by Texas archaeologists on Caddo ceramic vessel types. Lambert et al. discuss the invaluable information gained by decolonizing westernized ceramic vessel typologies and collaboratively renaming the artifacts to align with "tribal cultural beliefs, perspectives, and protocols into archaeological practice" (Lambert et al. 2022:8).

To summarize this section and answer research question one, the four repositories did not have any archaeological evidence identified as Coahuiltecan curated in their collections. The repositories welcomed research by both archaeologists and Indigenous community members, including collaborations to identify and attribute cultural material as Coahuiltecan. This positive reinforced research identified the four archaeological collections utilized for participant interviews and is, in its own way, the start of a collaborative effort. The next chapter discusses the thematic analysis of the participant interviews and addresses research questions two and three.

Chapter 5.

Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the conducted interview and provides an analysis of the information related to the four themes and interview questions. The six research questions are categorized under the three themes outlined in chapter three, namely Artifacts, Repositories, and Tejanos. Discussion of each theme will include an account of its emergence, accompanied by the interview questions and responses extracted from the transcriptions. I will then furnish an interpretation of the data presented by the responses given during the interview. The analysis is tailored to answer the research questions two and three:

2. What awareness and interaction do south Texas Coahuiltecans have with these repositories and the identified artifacts contained therein?

3. Will better collaboration between archaeologists and south Texas Coahuiltecans and improve awareness among south Texas Tejanos about their Indigenous heritage and prompt stronger identification with Indigenous ancestry?

5.1. Theme 1: Artifacts

Artifacts emerged as a prominent theme due to the emphasis placed on participants providing their personal feedback regarding their thoughts to the presented artifacts. The interview questions listed in chapter three, specifically questions one, two, and three, are categorized under this theme as they pertain to the artifacts discussed in the preceding chapter. This theme allows the researcher to gain better understanding and allows for a less westernized view of the participants personal connection with tangible cultural material of the past. As expressed by Schaepe et al, "we borrow two key concepts from Indigenous worldviews to complement Western understandings and archaeological applications of object-time-place relations: a principle of interconnectedness and an understanding that knowledge resides in belonging" (Schaepe et al. 2017: 1). The three interview questions one is asks the participant to share their thoughts on the photos of the untyped diagnostic lithics to stimulate culturally relevant reflections in interviews. Each participant gave a remarkably similar if not equally poignant response when asked each question.

Question 1: Please share your thoughts about the artifacts that I have shown you, and the pictures. What do you see here that is of interest to you, and what specifically would you like to know about these artifacts?

> Coahuiltecan 1: It would be interesting too, because I think that that would give us a better understanding of where some of these places are located here in the county, and we can preserve it because now it's starting to gentrify here also. The protection of the area, and maybe it may make it more viable for our own federal recognition. We can also utilize it for things that'll keep the land more sacred and reduce some of the violent changes that are occurring right now in the world globally.

> Coahuiltecan 2: Well, I mean they're what people call arrowheads or points. They're different types that they're in different degrees. Now, most of them have been broken up based on how old they are. And I mean, I know that our ancestors used this [sic] points for different purposes, either to hunt or to cut or to scrape hides. They all had different functions. Who has them and why do they have them?

> Coahuiltecan 3: These smaller points are, like I said, smaller game. They're more historic, they're different names, but [inaudible] comes to mind. These are the bottoms of bigger points. These would probably be more like spears than [inaudible]. These are diagnostic. These are knives. This is also a knife. This is most likely a knife. In fact, these are pretty common out there by the Peyote grounds. Here's a pandale. This is a pandale right here, my favorite. And these are most likely scrapers. What is the conclusion of collecting these? I want to know who's getting the authority of accreditation. I have an elder that produces documentation to the people [inaudible]. They don't give them credit at all, so things like that.

Coahuiltecan 1 talks about understanding the locations of where the artifacts came from. This plays an important part as land frequently functions as a tangible and symbolic storehouse of a community's historical, cultural, and individualistic characteristics. Through a thorough grasp of the historical and cultural importance of a particular geographic area, Indigenous peoples can promote policies and initiatives that protect their distinct identity. This comprehension enables inhabitants to withstand the pressures of gentrification, safeguarding not only the tangible spaces but also the intangible elements of their culture—such as language, traditions, and community ties. In their article Jay Johnson and Soren Larsen talk about how Indigenous geographies are primarily shaped by comprehensive and subjective connections to the land. Indigenous geographies exhibit profound interconnections with extensive experience passed down through generations of inhabiting the land (Johnson and Larson 2013:199).

When asked the question one during their interviews both Coahuiltecan 2 and Coahuiltecan 3 expressed their knowledge in archaeological jargon by acknowledging the distinction of "arrowheads/points", Coahuiltecan 3 did identify a few specific names in relation to diagnostic typology. Coahuiltecan 3 answers were quite similar but a little bit more knowledgeable on diagnostic typology. While not surprising can be a useful knowledge tool when working to collaborate with archaeologists and repositories. In their research Hedquist and colleagues noted that, "resulting insights established a strong basis for further research elements, elucidating, for instance, the symbolism and commutative characteristics underlying lithic artifacts in their contemporary usage" (Hedquist et al 2023: 186). Another prominent issue raised about the artifacts that Coahuiltecan 2 and Coahuiltecan 3 both mentioned was regarding the housing and the whereabouts of artifacts.

Question 2: Do any of the specific artifacts, or groups of the artifacts that you looked at, hold particular meaning to you in the community?

> Coahuiltecan 1: I think that just about every one of them does because they were touched by my people, and that's the connectedness that I have. Even if I were to see one on top of the ground and I went to handle it, I know that one of my ancestors handled it for me. And I know that there's a lot of these villages along the San Antonio River, along Wilson County. It's a problem, and I think that we need to start recognizing the connections that are there. We teach those connections with our hands because I think there's a lack of respect that we have no intellectual property like science, like philosophy, like any kind of interconnectedness with the environment, and I think that this would be important to be able to continue to develop a policy, or a plan, to be able to start decolonizing somewhat. Not everybody, some of the people, that understand and have a connectedness to the land that has never been talked about before. You're talking about decolonization; you're talking about going back to something that's very simple. We hear a lot of people that are empath, and that empath leads them to places to ask questions, difficult questions. Like even you, you're asking difficult questions about something that has never been.

> Coahuiltecan 2: No, just the fact that they used to belong to our ancestors, and they were used by ancestors for different purposes.

> Coahuiltecan 3: Oh, yeah. Yeah. Oh, absolutely. These points represent death according to elders that have taught me either for survival, for food, or for protection of the family. So these carry a lot of spirit when they're making it. They're very important.

It's a way of living. [in sharing oral histories, documents, or traditional knowledge about community] That would be not my decision though. It would come from the tribal council.

Coahuiltecan 1's response to question two not only speaks to the "interconnectedness" as Schaepe et al. describes, by providing insight into Coahuiltecan occupation near the water ways and springs from Bexar County, Wilson County and Hay County. Coahuiltecan 1 also described that physically interacting with an artifact may provide a deep and meaningful link to their cultural heritage, enabling them to engage with the past through touch and sensory experience. Touching artifacts frequently carries spiritual importance, establishing a direct connection to ancestors and the narratives ingrained within the items. The San Antonio River's starting point is a group of natural springs just north of downtown San Antonio and continue 180 miles southwest through the counties of Wilson, Karnes, and Goliad counties (Donecker 2023). Whether this was an occupational route pre-contact or an occupation route that follows the connection between Spanish missions is not clear but could be worth further research. This also emphasizes the importance of waterways considering water itself to be significant as cultural material.

When asked question two, Coahuiltecan 2 responded with a short and direct answer, "No, just the fact that they used to belong to our ancestors, and they were used by ancestors for different purposes". It speaks to past and current inequities between what archaeologists and repositories know and disseminate and what the Indigenous communities retain of their ancestral past. t is important to note that all three participants acknowledged a common correlation between the artifacts and their ancestors. Schaepe and colleagues. explore this as they explain that by "applying local, Indigenous principles, practices, and theory, the social science of archaeology provides a mechanism for bringing the past into the present in an active way" (Schaepe et al. 2017: 15).

Coahuiltecan 3 shared a bit more in their connection and interpretation of the meaning of the artifacts but did express that disseminating the information to the public would be a cohesive decision of the community. My thoughts on this echo those in the previous paragraph regarding creating an effort that is not just based on a community representative but the community as a whole. The sense of touch is a connection to the

38

ancestral past, while the technique of photo-elicitation was used during the interviews, the ability to have a visual confirmation of the physical or tangible artifact still produces a reaction similarly to what Brown and Peers (2013: 272) describe as "touch and the sense of spiritual energies, some people used the sense of smell to feel a sense of contact with the past and their ancestors" when Indigenous individuals are given the opportunity interact with the archaeological collection. By actively interacting with the artifacts, the use of this practical approach could have improved the level of comprehension, enabled more precise examination, and contributed to a thorough interpretation of the artifacts within their cultural and historical frameworks. While photos offer visual insights into an object's appearance and condition, the absence of tactile engagement with the actual tangible artifacts may have limited researchers' ability to gather nuanced information about materials, craftsmanship, and other tangible aspects.

Question 3: Are there any oral histories, documents, or traditional knowledge that your tribal community might be willing to provide, or enhance understanding of the values and uses of these artifacts?

> Coahuiltecan 1: One of the assumptions, I think that has become very common is that the handprint was like a signature, but in actuality, the handprint was a number of days. And I think that a lot of people don't recognize that, and that's why I did the YouTube narrative on teaching of the hands. And you can look it up and see that, what it talks about, because you can count one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 sections on your fingers on both hands, 14 and 14 is what? 28?

> Coahuiltecan 1: And how many days in the moon cycle?

> J. Herrera: About 28.

> Coahuiltecan 1: There is, it's 28. And how many days, how directions are there?

> J. Herrera: Four.

> Coahuiltecan 1: So, there's four cardinal points, but each one of them has seven. So, seven times four, it's 28.

>> Okay. So, the number 28 is important too because you can take those little 28 joints in your fingers, multiply them by the 13 major joints in your body, and if you multiply 13 times 28, you come up with 364. So, we actually had our own calendar, and we lived in a very arithmetic, mathematical rhythm with nature. And if you look at your hand, you can also have the winter solstice, the spring equinox, the summer solstice, and the fall

equinox. And on the other hand, you have February 2nd, May 4th, August 5th, and November 2nd, which is the quarter markers, the cross quarters. And then there's the cross quarters markers, which is around the 15th of each month. And these are all special days for us. And if you notice that a lot of the rituals that the Catholic Church has picked up down here, is to modify that. They even modified our dancing, and brought in that Portuguese danced the a, so that the people in the missions could still continue to dance, because that's all we did, we danced. We were the people of the dance, we danced.

And a lot of what you see today has been kind of structured and distorted in a way. Let me put it this way, distorted structurally, to create what's the Native American church. But we had a dance, and we danced that dance for the medicine when we took it, and we didn't take it as much as they do now. But the thing is that we had to understand that there was a reason for it to happen, and there was a reason that we had it. We know that patience and respect, humility and sincerity are very important in our lives. Those are the four things, and it takes a lot of courage to be able to have all those four upfront before you have your narcissistic courage, your narcissistic embellishment of, "I need love." But our teachings come from, I don't have to leave my people to actually help my people, because sometimes you never come back, you leave, and you never come back. You stay over here because you become very colonized.

So, for us, as long as I'm helping my people and I'm here, I'm helping myself too. So, I don't have to help myself by leaving, I have to help myself by understanding what it is to be this person that is affiliated with this ancestral teaching of group emphasis. And a lot of times these people don't understand that, and they don't want to talk about it because they're individually oriented. And that's where you come in, what I was telling you earlier about the whole thing with the native tribal values versus urban industrial, because urban industrial is all about individualism, and native tribal is versus the group emphasis, not the individualism.

Coahuiltecan 2: Not that I have.

Coahuiltecan 3: That would not be my decision though. It would come from the tribal council.

Question three was meant to give the interviewer some insight into Coahuiltecan intangible traditional knowledge and context in relation to the artifacts presented in the interview. Coahuiltecan 1 gave an insightful start however did not specify a particular artifact or artifacts were in relation to the traditional knowledge. While this may look like an oversight it perhaps the researcher still processing Indigenous traditional knowledge

in a colonized and western thought process it is worth mentioning. In her article, "Connectedness and Relationship: Foundations of Indigenous Ethics Within the Tribal Museum Context" Alyce Sadongei contends that "If mainstream museums were aware of how central Indigenous ethics are to the contemporary expression of tribal cultural knowledge, the active process of collaboration could be seen as a vital avenue to sharing authority, building solidarity, overcoming social injustice, and allowing communities to heal" (Sadongei 2021:152). Perhaps decolonizing the western mindset would open the door to digesting Coahuiltecan's ancestral knowledge and begin to grasp the entire cultural connection. Coahuiltecan 2 did not add details for interview question three. Coahuiltecan 3 could not answer question three without prior approval from the community council. Respectfully, the question was not pushed, and the interview moved forward to the next question. Interpretive feedback from community-based methods such as ethnographic conversations between Indigenous communities, archaeologists, and repositories for unidentified or unattributed artifacts could assist in identifying artifacts as Coahuiltecan. Coahuiltecan 1 does express similar viewpoints, but while not directly indicating any methodologies, their answer demonstrates a willingness for collaboration.

Providing Indigenous peoples with access to unidentified and unattributed artifact collections is an essential step toward acknowledging and providing equity for Indigenous community heritage and traditions that are not often shared or are overlooked in archaeological collaborative efforts. Often imbued with profound historical and spiritual significance, artifacts hold the key to preserving and passing down ancestral knowledge. It is a crucial measure towards reconciliation and a testament to respecting and recognizing Indigenous sovereignty and cultural rights.

5.2. Theme 2: Repositories

Repositories play a crucial role in this research. As mentioned in the previous chapter, without their involvement in collaborative archaeology, Indigenous peoples are unable to initiate research on unattributed collections. Interview questions four and six serves as catalyst for future collaborative efforts that could be made between the Indigenous communities and repositories both involved in this research and those that come to learn about this research. Like interview question one, interview question five is in multiple parts and while there is mention of repositories within the question, interview question five is better addressed under the theme of Tejanos.

Question 4: How do you see your community and the collection repositories working together in the analysis and interpretation of artifacts?

> Coahuiltecan 1: I think it's important that they start asking us and asking us to be able to realize that we have a big part in this. It's not just something that because we don't exist. You find a lot of papers about our people, and they'll say that we're extinct. I got a letter from there that's dated 1907 that says, Who's responsible for the Peyote ceremonies?" And the interior department tells them that we're extinct now. So even what's his name? The guy who wrote it, Salinas, who wrote the book, in his book also said that we were extinct. And that's because that's the trend that they put into it to try and exterminate us. So that's extermination in the worst kind because, out of mind, out of sight. I don't see you in my mind, I don't see you alive. You don't exist. You're just another Mexican.

> That's what they did a lot. That's what that border has done. And except for us who were able to move away from the border and grow up in places like close to the Pan-Am, where we grew up. And that makes a big difference because then we can see the importance of staying connected to where we originally... My great-great-great-grandfather was the sole survivor of that place, and it's there, nobody asks because nobody looks for it. Because all they do, they live within this little tunnel vision thing of how they're going to see this, and how they're going to interpret it, because that's their funding. And I think that that's important to start expanding that vision to understand that there are people alive who still exist.

> Coahuiltecan 2: I mean, it has been my experience with all this depositories [sic] that they're not that cooperative with Indigenous communities.

> Coahuiltecan 3: Well, our community. Today, I was out there by myself and an elder came. Yesterday and today, they would come and support me, and it felt good. So yeah, I got community effort, communal interest.

Coahuiltecan 1 response to the question again proves that early anthropologists' deductions about Coahuiltecan tribal extinction hold no base today and that secularization and the *mestizaje* (being of Spanish and Indigenous ancestry) created this lumping of Indigenous families as Mexican or, more specifically, Tejanos. In an article in Texas Highways also suggested this was the case for the Karankawas: "The Karankawa are not extinct, and almost everything you thought you knew about them is wrong" (Lomax 2022). Lomax explains that assimilation is the reasoning behind the label of "extinct" people who were forced to accept new ethnic titles such as Hispanic and Tejano (Lomax 2022). This extinction or absorption of Indigenous peoples is a factor in

smaller, non-federally recognized tribal communities. Archaeologists and repositories interact; less is known or documented from a Westernized standpoint. Collaboration archaeology is not easy (Angelbeck Grier 2008: 519). Bill Angelbeck and Colin Grier explain that collaboration is more than just consultation, as collaboration begins with engaging the communities more in-depth with an "integration of goals, interests, and practices" (Angelbeck Grier 2008: 519). The same could be said for collection repositories.

Coahuiltecan 2 has experienced unfavorable prior interactions with repositories. Their response affirms that archaeologists, Indigenous peoples, and repositories still face significant challenges to achieve advancements in collaborative efforts to decolonize Westernized practices involving archaeological collections. Coahuiltecan 3 did not give much detail about their interaction with the repositories; however, they expressed that continued dialogue with each to keep the communication lines open and foster a healthy relationship between archaeologists, repositories, and their communities.

Question 6: Could you share with me reasons behind reasons behind the community's decision to interview outside of a repository?

> Coahuiltecan 1: No, I would admit, I would like to do it over there too. I mean, it would be nice to see what's there.

> Coahuiltecan 2: Well, the thing is that I'm familiar with depositories [sic], the four depositories that you're involved with, and we have a good relationship with CAS, at Texas State. We don't have a good relationship with the other three, and we would like to get the human remains back that the other three have so we could re-intern them the way they were initially intended to, so they could go back. Because we believe that two processes happen when a person dies. When a person dies, only the physical body dies, and the person is buried. And that physical part of the person starts disintegrating and reunited and becoming part again of Mother Earth, and that completes a physical cycle. The other one is a spiritual one where the spirit goes on his spiritual path or her spiritual path, and that is also part of that person's cycle. So, when you disturb a human grave, which is what they have been doing.
>
> And by them, I mean, I don't know, whatever you want to call them, the colonizers, the invaders, they have started destroying those two processes, and they have caused a great unbalance in this world and that it's contributing to, I mean, that's why it's so hot now. I mean, they have been unbalancing

Mother Nature, that balance that normally existed before white people came here. And we are never going to return to that balance unless people start acting, getting back to the natural way, which is the way that Native people are teaching them or emphasizing.

Coahuiltecan 3: Oh, well, I would like it inside because that would help to start a dialogue with them. It could start building a relationship, but out here is fine. It's our home, it's our environment, and we're building here. So, it would be good for them either to come here or for us to go there.

Coahuiltecan 1 and 3 are open to future collaborative work with repositories, their curiosity is seen "what's in there" gives indications that they are unfamiliar with how repositories function as a collections and research facility. Coahuiltecan 3 expresses they are ready and willing to build a relationship with repositories and provides positive outlooks on future efforts of collaboration. Recommendations for future follow-up and opportunities will be discussed in the next chapter. Coahuiltecan 2 discussed the connectivity between their spiritual beliefs, balance, and Mother Earth. This belief system connecting the individual to nature is echoed by Christina Kreps, discussing Indigenous curation and intangible cultural heritage, "if we think of curators as caretakers and guardians of culture, we can see how certain individuals in many societies, such as priests, ritual specialists, shamans, and elders, are curators" (Kreps 2008: 195).

To speak to recent and current collaborative efforts made by the repositories in this research, it is worth mentioning efforts made regarding compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGRPA). It is essential to note that NAGPRA compliance is not a topic of this research; the following literature demonstrates the established relationship and collaboration between the repositories and the Coahuiltecans. In 1999, on the grounds of Mission San Juan Capistrano, the remains of approximate 150 individuals were reinterned as part of a collaborative effort between the Archdiocese in San Antonio, the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation, and UT-San Antonio Center for Archaeological Research (CAR), the Texas Historical Commission (THC), and the National Park Service (NPS). According to Adrian Chavana, the reinternment "served as a very visual representation of what Texas A & M archeologist Alston Thoms has labeled as a Coahuiltecan resurgence" (Chavana 2019:23).

Similarly, in 2015 uncovered remains in Hays County San Marcos were repatriated to the Miakan-Garza as the Center of Archaeological Studies at Texas State

University stated, "a relationship of shared group identity can reasonably be traced between the human remains and the Miakan-Garza Band of the Coahuiltecan people, a non-federally recognized Indian group" (Falcon 2022:46). Finally, in an article from Spectrum 1 News published September 2023 the Witte Museum will repatriate the remains of "63 individuals who were excavated between the 1930s and the 1980s to the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation" (Arredondo 2023). Again, this research does not involve the discussion of NAGPRA compliance, it asks the reader to consider the relationship established between the repositories mentioned in chapter one and that of the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation, the Miakan-Garza Band, and the Carrizo ComeCrudo which is useful when furthering the collaborative efforts in attributing unaffiliated archaeological collections.

With both awareness and interaction established between the Tap Pilam Coahuiltecan Nation, the Miakan-Garza Band, Carrizo ComeCrudo and the four repositories, strengthening efforts to identify unattributed artifacts with collaborative archaeological practices such as community archaeology and Indigenous archaeology can be built upon.

5.3. Theme 3: Tejanos

As express earlier in chapter two Tejano identity did not start solely on Spanish colonization and is not exclusively, nor as easily, as just associated with Spanish ancestry. Which is why Tejanos is the final theme is Tejanos. As Tejano identity is multifaceted, however the facets that involve Indigenous ancestry are not as clear. The effects of Spanish colonization do not have to continue for Tejanos wanting to know more about their Indigenous ancestry. Interview question five attempts to answer the final research question and provide the researcher audience thoughts for exploration and bridging of their own ancestries.

Question 5: Could working together with the collection facilities help build Indigenous cultural bridges in the Tejano community? Could such collaborations strengthen tribal sovereignty? What are some good ways to share our findings with your community?

> Coahuiltecan 1: I'm just trying to... You keep using the word Tejano, and when you use the word Tejano, you're calling yourself an ally, a native. So, I think that that's important to understand. I have been in this kind of work for so long and trying to develop

45

a more serene foundation for our people that are coming in. They're afraid to fight, and don't want to fight. Ally is one word, which means I'm here, I'm an ally. But when you become an accomplice, then you're right there in the fight. You're in the fight and you're there for real. That really shows your participation in wanting to be who you are and take care of your ancestor, take care of your future generations, and you have as much to lose as the rest of us. An ally doesn't have that much to lose, they can pull out anytime they want to. And we have a lot of those allies, and the thing is... But Tejano of course, it comes from the word Tejas, which is a Caddo word, and they were talking about us, that we were the allies.

So, we do work with them, and I try too. And for me, I'm not going to get no for an answer if there's something going on, but there's villages that belong to us along those areas, and there's all these new people that have come in, these new reformed Indians, they've created their own tribes, and they're not even tribes. Some of them are some of our clans, but because they think they know everything, overnight, they read a book, they become knowledgeable more than those of us that grew up with the old people. I didn't grow up in no city. I didn't grow up in Austin, I didn't go up in San Antonio where it seems to be the, what do you call it? The hubs of everything that is supposed to be Mexican American history now. I can tell you a story really quick. They became Mission Indians, they're missionized, and that's why you get a lot of the mentality from that mentality. And I'm not being ugly toward them, it's just that they are very ugly toward us because we won't accept the fact that they accepted it. And I'm not going to, because I'm not that colonized. And I'm learning to get more decolonized from those ideas, and it's hard. And to be decolonized, it's to be exactly who I am. It's just to walk away from them, from the concepts that they want to throw at you, to make you who you are.

So, what is real? What is real to the archeological community? What's real to them? Because what's real to them might not be real to me, or to any of the other native people in Texas, or across that river, because we have people across the river that are related to us. So how do you collaborate with that? How do you create those collaborations? We need them. We need to know what's really happening. Because right now, the way it's set up, it's the colonial settler mentality, including that wall, and including all what's happening.

Coahuiltecan 2: I do not believe that this depositories [sic] have any intention of building bridges with Indigenous communities. I mean, they, a lot of them think that we're gone, a lot of them would prefer to think that we're gone so they don't have to make any amends. Tribal sovereignty is something that non-Native communities are interested in, so they would prefer for us to just disappear. Well, to publish them in different journals. Another thing is to return them to the communities. We're in

the process of establishing a cultural center, It would be good to have some exhibits there. See, but even like, you mentioned Texas State and they have a lot of artifacts. But actually, the ones that they show publicly are duplicates of the original ones, which they somehow have store in some private places, and they don't let the public see them. Well, again, by publishing them in journals or manuals, and to... And I know that there's a lot of books that deal with all these points.

Coahuiltecan 3: Absolutely. I say that with capital letters because for years I've been trying to get an example of sandals they've recovered from caves, and I want to do what we call experimental archeology; that's to create what was made, what we found. So yeah, by all means, I don't have easy access to that as an Indigenous archeologist. For example, going back to the sandals, my son is a head [inaudible] dancer for our clan, and I'm trying to create archeologically a sandal for him to dance with, because we didn't wear moccasins or boots. The boots came in because we were the first cowboys of Texas, because we were herding cattle and goats and all that for our community. So, there's documentation of cowboys or vaqueros, they're injured and dying, and the priest would come and say his last rights. That's logged in the Catholic archives. So, this was way before George Washington was even born. So that's why I'm saying we're the first cowboys. So, I'm proud to wear my [inaudible].

Coahuiltecan 1 does supply plenty of information to digest throughout their interview. However, Coahuiltecan 1 did point out something important to the research: how does collaboration work with not just repositories and other communities in Texas but also in Mexico? Indigeneity, one identity to their Indigenous roots, may look different internationally. Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that "it is in our disadvantage and our struggle for the recognition of our rights that we are united." There is a progression "as communities rediscovered themselves and connected nationally, regionally, linguistically and then internationally" (Tuhiwai-Smith 2021: 128). Coahuiltecan 1 does make it clear that they were categorized under the Coahuilteco umbrella by the Spanish missionaries and are affirming they do not consider themselves Coahuilteco. Instead, they consider themselves under their own band community that originates in Northeastern Mexico and along the modern-day Mexico/Texas border.

Coahuiltecan 2 did not claim identification as a Tejano but offered insight into how Tejanos could start with simple research into their histories. Coahuiltecan 2 consistently contended that cultural artifacts stored in repositories should be returned to their respective communities. Alyce Sadongei's suggestion that collaborative challenges

for museums is how to dictate policies considering cultural material as "living entities" (Sadongei 2021:153) may be a consideration for repositories moving forward in the creation or alteration of curatorial policies as the cultural material in archaeological collections is considered an extension of each Indigenous community. Coahuiltecan 2 acknowledgment of their invalidation over the years by repositories does validate the notion that up until fifty years ago, Indigenous Coahuiltecan were considered extinct. Revisiting Brown and Peer's assertion that Indigenous community Elders and youth had concerns that the inability to interact with their cultural heritage due to a "lack of cultural awareness and the limited resources available to them" (Brown and Peers 2013: 274) could also be applied and be a contributing factor in Coahuiltecan 2's response.

Coahuiltecan 3 does believe collaborative efforts with repositories help build Indigenous cultural bridges in the Tejano community as well as building sovereignty for their community. Their example of woven footwear and moccasins could lead to start in establishing that connection between unattributed and unidentified artifacts within archaeological collections and their own community. The fact that they were able to make a correlated connection between the woven sandals moccasins and cowboy boots documented in Catholic archives is a positive reach in the direction that this research hopes to go in.

Concluding each interview with the participants allowed the researcher to evaluate and acknowledge the process of decolonizing thought processes. While each expressed their experiences and concerns about past collaborative efforts with the four repositories, one has more of a concern about the dissemination process for sharing oral histories in connection with Indigenous activism with relevant issues such as environmental and land ownership policy. Formal land acknowledgments or environmental policy changes to recognize Indigenous communities and their relationship to Mother Earth may not be on the priority list for the state of Texas. Still, it can be something that archaeologists and state-certified repositories consider when working on their collaborative projects with the local Indigenous communities. Although the interviews did not extensively delve into the idea of self-identifying as a Tejano, it can be interpreted that Tejanos, who are not actively seeking their Indigenous heritage, are regarded as supporters of Indigenous communities. This is a contemplation that the researcher will ponder while pursuing further investigations.

Chapter 6.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to gather perspectives from Coahuiltecan communities on unidentified and attributed artifacts from curated archaeological collections to see if current collaborative conditions and policies could allow for future identification and attribution of archaeological evidence so that south Texas Tejanos could connect their identity with Indigenous ancestry. The interviews conducted with the three Coahuiltecan participants along with their responses to the artifacts provided answers sought by the three related research questions. Each participant welcomed the research it represented not only an opportunity for academic inquiry but also a demonstration of the researcher's commitment to fostering collaborative efforts that prioritize the well-being and interests of the tribal community.

Each of the four repositories chosen for this research could not provide artifacts attributed to Coahuiltecans in general or to a specific Coahuiltecan community. However, the willingness of the four repositories to create collaboration and respectful partnerships with the Indigenous communities involved in the research gives the researcher confidence for future meaningful engagement and dialogue. Including initiatives for self-run repositories that are led by Indigenous communities promote a decision-making process that is more inclusive and collaborative. These initiatives ensure that Indigenous voices are not only acknowledged, but also actively participate in the research design, interpretation, and preservation strategies.

 The diagnostic artifacts used in the interview portion of the research were chosen from archaeological collections associated with sites that the Coahuiltecan could have occupied, based on factors such as migration travel patterns along sacred environmental elements like the San Antonio River and natural springs. Post-contact, these routes stayed the same as the Spanish-built missions and acequias with the labor of local Coahuiltecan along the springs and river. While secularization and colonization during the Spanish-colonial era was thought to have been the driving force for the Coahuiltecan and their tribal or band cultures to extinction, this is not the case as descendant

Coahuiltecan Indigenous communities are present and retain some of their heritage knowledge through oral histories and traditions.

The analysis described in Chapter 4 established that all three Coahuiltecan communities are aware of the four repositories mentioned during interview: UT-San Antonio Center for Archaeological Research (CAR), Texas State University Center for Archaeological Studies (CAS), and UT-Austin Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory (TARL) and the Witte Museum. All three participating Coahuiltecan community members stated in their interview to having interacted with curatorial staff regarding the NAGPRA compliance and repatriation of human remains. Though, it must be noted, information regarding other repositories in the state of Texas was not mentioned by either the researcher or the Coahuiltecan participants during initial communication efforts or during interview. Through the analysis it was revealed that collaborative efforts with the repositories were not always clearly communicated between participants and repository staff. It is not the researcher's intent on placing blame on either the repository or the Coahuiltecan communities but simply to acknowledge the current situation and future considerations when working with Indigenous communities.

The end goal of this research is to enable collaborative efforts like community-based archaeology and Indigenous archaeology to give Tejanos the ability to add missing that correlation between their Tejano identity and their Indigenous ancestry. Tejanos have a rich sense of history. They have a culture that has been molded and formed by peoples from three different continents: Europe, South America, North America. However, Tejano origins and their ancestral knowledge are documented from the viewpoint of the European (Spanish) ancestors. For Tejanos with Indigenous ancestry, the documentation of origins and ancestral knowledge did not always happen with as much as accuracy.

As descendants of the Coahuiltecan come forward with practices, traditions and oral histories, collaborative archaeological methods like community-based archaeology more time and importance can be placed with unidentified and unattributed artifacts archaeological collections. When artifacts are separated from their cultural context or incorrectly attributed, it contributes to the erasure of their unique histories, traditions, and practices. Precise attribution enables Indigenous communities to uphold a concrete connection to their history, facilitating the transfer of cultural knowledge and traditions to

subsequent generations. Additionally, it plays a crucial role in cultivating a feeling of pride and establishing a sense of identity within the community. Failure to provide proper attribution to artifacts increases the likelihood of them being removed from their original context and potentially being misunderstood or used inappropriately. This can contribute to a larger narrative that disregards or oversimplifies Indigenous histories. The physical engagement of artifacts facilitates a closer and more individualized bond, enabling Indigenous individuals to regain control over their cultural legacy within the repository setting. This change in viewpoint questions the traditional portrayal of repositories as impartial custodians of Indigenous history and instead presents them as cooperative environments that recognize and honor the dynamic essence of Indigenous cultures. Furthermore, the incorporation of interactive components in museums can foster a mutually beneficial connection between the Coahuiltecan and cultural institutions.

Indigenous-run museums can transform into dynamic platforms for cultural exchange by offering the Coahuiltecans the chance to reclaim agency over their narratives and cultural representations and share their perspectives, stories, and knowledge with the Tejano community. Giving more tangible archaeological evidence to the Tejano audience the next time they visit a museum or learn about Tejano identity via educational resources. This serves as a powerful reminder that the lives of Tejanos are a product of countless generations that have persevered, adapted, and thrived in diverse landscapes around the world.

6.1. Follow-up

After interviews with Coahuiltecan participants, the researcher informed all participants they would receive a copy of the research if they requested one and suggested that participants could create a continued dialogue with the researcher. Several follow-up conversations developed with the participants that related to starting the process of accessing the archaeological collection. Which included filling out collection request forms, what collection to start looking at, and what conversations to have with repository staff about target collections to consider. The positive and inquisitive reaction to the research design and interview is more than the researcher had envisioned. The theoretical framework suggesting community-based and Indigenous archaeology for more efficient collaboration is working. The researcher will be tracking the progress of

this follow-up, keeping in mind the end goal is to provide Tejanos with a "bridge" between their identity and Indigenous ancestry.

6.2. Recommendations and Suggestions for Future Research

The researcher recommends that the Coahuiltecan communities continue to grow and invest in Indigenous archaeological methods. This includes future conversations with the Coahuiltecan communities about creating the position or designating a community member as the community archaeologist. This would consist of formal training and education in cultural resource management (CRM) and/or archaeology. The recommended programs of choice would be geared towards a decolonized Indigenous archaeology program as the Bachelor of Arts in Indigenous Archaeology from the University of Washington, the Archaeological Conservation Certificate for the non-traditional route offered at Texas A&M University, to name a couple of options within the U.S.

This provides equity among those in the Coahuiltecan communities who are considered or appointed to be "tribal monitors;" it gives the "seat at the table" when examining cultural materials, both in the field and as part of archaeological collections. This recommendation does not take the archaeologist out of the game. It creates colleagues among archaeologists and Indigenous archaeologists. A suggestion for future research would be to carry out the theoretical framework that was designed for this research. Considering the continual dialogue and open communication during this research between the researcher, Coahuiltecan communities, and repositories, there is no better time than the present to begin testing the strength behind the research theories.

To conclude, the research has answered all three research questions. The theoretical framework and design of this research come from a place of increasingly decolonized thoughts and practices. Admittedly, the process of continuing a decolonized mindset is still something to be worked on by the researcher. Approaching the relationships between archeologists, Coahuiltecan communities, and archaeological collection repositories from a decolonized perspective has significant benefits for Tejanos looking to develop and maintain a healthy sense of "interconnectedness" to their

Indigenous ancestry. Gloria Anzaldua put it plainly when she wrote, "my identity is grounded in the Indian woman's history of resistance. I feel perfectly free to rebel and rail against my culture. I fear no betrayal on my part because, unlike Chicanas and other women of color who grew up white or have only recently returned to their native roots, I was totally immersed in mine" (Anzaldua 1989:44). Growing up with a lack of knowing one's native roots, adhering to the colonized past that had been ingrain in the Mexican-Tejano household.

Living decolonially is a continuous journey of learning, unlearning, and taking intentional actions that contribute to the dismantling of colonial legacies. It is an ongoing practice of introspection, deliberate decision-making, and proactive involvement with one's surroundings. Acknowledging the historical white-washing and continuous effects of colonization on Indigenous communities and their cultures, including my own. In her book, You Sound like a White Girl: The Case for Rejecting Assimilation, Julissa Arce resonates with me as a Tejana archaeologist when she maintains that "We must state with how we see ourselves, not how white America sees us. Reclaiming our identity is about addressing the battles within our community" (Arce 2019:139).

To prioritize decolonization, one must critically examine and confront deeply rooted beliefs and practices that sustain colonial systems. This entails conducting a thorough analysis of education curricula and societal narratives, especially in Texas, in order to identify and dismantle colonized barriers.

References

Ahr, Steven W., Kristi Miller Ulrich, and Cynthia M. Dickey
    2012   Intensive Archaeological Pedestrian Survey and Construction Monitoring of the VFW Boulevard Drainage Improvements Project, Segment I, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. Center for Archaeological Research. The University of Texas at San Antonio

Alexander, Dawn AJ, Rhonda Brinkmann, Julia M. Gottshall, Jennifer L. Logan, and Christopher H. Sasser
    2001   Reassessing Cultural Extinction: Change and Survival at Mission San Juan Capistrano, Texas." Center for Ecological Archaeology, Texas A&M University Reports of Investigation No. 4 and San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, Texas National Park Service

Alfaro, Juan
    1990   The Spirit of the First Franciscan Missionaries in Texas. *US Catholic Historian 9, no. 1/2* p49-66.

American Library Association
    2021   Indigenous tribes of San Antonio, Texas. https://www.ala.org/aboutala/indigenous-tribes-san-antonio-texas, accessed October 30, 2023.

Anzaldua, Gloria
    1987   Borderlands/la Frontera: The New Mestiza, fifth edition. 5th ed. Aunt Lute Books

Arce, Julissa
    2022   You sound like a white girl: The case for rejecting assimilation. Flatiron Books, New York, NY.

Arredondo, Jose
    2023   Witte Museum returns Indigenous remains to tribe. Spectrum News 1 South Texas / El Paso. https://spectrumlocalnews.com/tx/south-texas-el-paso/news/2023/09/04/witte-museum-returns-indigenous-remains-to-tribe, accessed October 4, 2023.

Atalay, Sonya
    2006   Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice. *American Indian Quarterly*, no. 3/4, p280–310. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4139016, accessed March 31, 2023
    2012   *Community-based archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and local communities*. Univ of California Press, 2012.
    2019   Can archaeology help decolonize the way institutions think? How community-based research is transforming the archaeology training toolbox and helping to transform institutions. *Archaeologies*, 15, 514-535.

Barnett, Tracy
  2016   San Antonio missions preserve Native American history.
          Houstonchronicle.com. https://www.houstonchronicle.com/life/travel/weekend-
          getaways/article/San-Antonio-missions-preserve-Native-American-7237657.php,
          accessed January 2023

Benavides Jr., Adán
  2017   Tejano, Handbook of Texas Online.
          https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/tejano. Published by the Texas
          State Historical Association, accessed October 25, 2023,

Betts, Raymond F.
  2004   *Decolonization*. 2nd Edition. Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group. New York

Bingham, Andrea
  2020   Qualitative analysis: Deductive and inductive approaches. Andrea J.
          Bingham, Ph.D. https://www.andreajbingham.com/resources-tips-and-
          tricks/deductive-and-inductive-approaches-to-qualitative-analysis, accessed
          November 5, 2023.

Blier, Garet
  2019   Resisting the Border Wall in Defense of Indigenous History and an
          Underground Railroad Outpost, https://intercontinentalcry.org/resisting-the-
          border-wall-in-defense-of-indigenous-history-and-an-underground-railroad-
          outpost/, accessed December 2022

Brown, Alison K., and Laura Peers
  2003   Museums and source communities: A Routledge reader. *Routledge*, 2005.
  2013   The Blackfoot Shirts Project: "Our ancestors have come to visit"." *The
          international handbooks of museum studies*, p263-287.

Brown, Kaitlin
  2018   Gender, Race, and Mentorship: A Perspective from California Archaeology,
          California Archaeology, 10:2, 187-209

Bruchac, Michelle M.
  2020   Decolonization in archaeological theory. *In Encyclopedia of global
          archaeology* (pp. 3199-3207). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Campbell, Thomas Nolan
  1977   Ethnic Identities of Extinct Coahuiltecan Populations: Case of the Juanca
          Indians. Texas Memorial Museum, The University of Texas at Austin
  1983   Coahuiltecans and Their Neighbors. *In Handbook of North American Indians
          Vol. 10: Southwest,* edited by Alfonzo Oritz, 343-358. Washington, DC:
          Smithsonian Institution.
  1995   Piedras Blancas Indians. Handbook of Texas Online.
          https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/piedras-blancas-indians, accessed
          January 2022

1995   Comecrudo Indians," *Handbook of Texas Online*.
        https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/comecrudo-indians, accessed
        October 30, 2023,

Campbell, John A., Kandace D. Hollenbach, Carole A. Leezer, Jon C. Lohse, Lori B.
Love, Amy E. Reid, Timothy E. Riley, Cinda Timperley, Steve Tomka, Kristi Ulrich, and
David M. Yelacic
    2013   Prehistoric Life along the Banks of Spring Lake: Results and Analysis of the
            Southwest Texas State Schools (1996–1998) at 41HY165, San Marcos, Hays
            County, Texas Center for Archaeological Studies Texas State University-San
            Marcos

Chavana, Adrian Vicente
    2019   "Reclaiming tribal identity in the land of the spirit waters: the Tap Pilam
            Coahuiltecan Nation." Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Caxaj, C. Susana.
    2015   Indigenous storytelling and participatory action research: Allies toward
            decolonization? Reflections from the peoples' international health tribunal. *Global
            qualitative nursing research* 2 p.1-12

Datta, Ranjan.
    2018   Decolonizing both researcher and research and its effectiveness in
            Indigenous research." *Research Ethics* 14, no. 2 p. 1-24.

De La Teja, Jesús "Frank"
    2021   Coahuila and Texas. Handbook of Texas Online.
            https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/coahuila-and-texas, accessed
            December 2022

Donecker, Frances
    2023   San Antonio River. Texas State Historical Association.
            https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/sanantonioriver. Published by the
            Texas State Historical Association, accessed July 2023.

Falcon, Maribel
    2022   An investigation into Repatriation for Indigenous People of Texas. Master's
            thesis, School of Information, The University of Texas at Austin. Austin, Texas.

Fry, Phillip L.
    2016   Texas, Origin of Name. Handbook of Texas Online.
            https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/texas-origin-of-name. Published by
            the Texas State Historical Association, accessed December 2022

Hedquist, Saul L., Leigh Anne Ellison, and Will G. Russell.
    2023   Shelves to Knowledge. Pushing Boundaries in Southwestern Archaeology:
            Chronometry, Collections, and Contexts. Pp. 183-193

Hester, Thomas R.
    1977   The Lithic Technology of Mission Indians in Texas and Northeastern Mexico. *Lithic Technology*. p. 9-13.
    1980   Digging into South Texas Prehistory: A Guide for Amateur Archaeologists. United States: Corona Publishing Company
    1989   Texas and Northeastern Mexico: An Overview. *In Columbian Consequences*, Vol. 1: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West, edited by D. H. Thomas, pp. 191-211. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.

Indigenous Cultures Institute
    2020   Indigenous Cultures Institute, https://indigenouscultures.org/

Texas Beyond History
    2006   South Texas Palins: Who Were the Coahuiltecans? https://texasbeyondhistory.net/st-plains/peoples/coahuiltecans.html. Last modified September 18, 2006, accessed December 2022

Johnson, Jay, and Soren C. Larsen
    2013   A deeper sense of place. Stories and Journeys of Indigenous-Academic Collaboration

Kelley, Alan D., Angela J. Neller, and Carlton Shield Chief Gover.
    2022"Some Indigenous Perspectives on Artifact Collecting and Archaeologist–Collector Collaboration." Advances in Archaeological Practice 10, no. 1 (2022): 10-13.

Kilian, Alexandra, Tyee Kenneth Fellows, Ryan Giroux, Jason Pennington, Ayelet Kuper, Cynthia R. Whitehead, and Lisa Richardson.
    2019   Exploring the approaches of non-Indigenous researchers to Indigenous research: A qualitative study. *Canadian Medical Association* Open Access Journal 7(3):504–509.

Kreps, Christina.
    2008   Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage. In Intangible heritage, pp. 207-222. Routledge, Taylor, and Frances, New York.

Krupa, Krystiana L., and Kelsey T. Grimm. "
    2021   Digital repatriation as a decolonizing practice in the archaeological archive. *Across Disciplines*. 18, no. 1-2 p. 47-58.

Kyololo, O'Brien M., Stevens, Bonnie J., & Songok, Julie.
    2023   Photo-Elicitation Technique: Utility and Challenges in Clinical Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods 22* p. 1-8

Lambert, Shawn P., Jeri Redcorn, Chase Earles, and Timothy K. Perttula.
    2022   Decolonizing in Practice: Renaming of an Ancestral Caddo Ceramic Vessel Type. *Caddo Archaeology* 32. p.5-10.

Lomax, John
    2022   The Karankawa are not Extinct, and Almost Everything You Thought You Knew About Them is Wrong. Texas Highways. https://texashighways.com/culture/people/karankawa-descendants-are-reclaiming-their-heritage-after-being-written-off-extinct/, accessed June 2023

Lohse, Jon C., Amy E. Reid, David M. Yelacic, and Cinda L. Timperley with contributions by M. Katherine Spradley and Michelle D. Hamilton
    2013   Data Recovery and Analysis at the Texas State University Ticket Kiosk Project, Located at 41HY160, Spring Lake, Hays County, Texas Center for Archaeological Studies Texas State University-San Marcos

Lovett, Bobbie L., Juan L. Gonzalez, Roseann Bacha-Garza, and Russell K. Skowronek
    2014   Native American Peoples of South Texas. University of Texas--Pan American. Community Historical Archaeology Project with Schools Program (CHAPS). Community Historical Archaeology Project with Schools (CHAPS) Publications.

McAnany, Patricia A., and Sarah M. Rowe.
    2015   Re-visiting the field: Collaborative archaeology as paradigm shift. *Journal of Field Archaeology 40*, no. 5 p. 499-507.

McGeough, Michelle
    2012   Indigenous Curatorial Practices and Methodologies. *Wicazo Sa Review 27, no. 1*, p13-20.

Mignolo, Walter D., & Walsh, Catherine E.
    2018   On decoloniality: Concepts, analytics, praxis. Duke University Press, Durham, England

Mills, Jane., Bonner, Ann., & Francis, Karen.
    2006   The Development of Constructivist Grounded Theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5(1)*, pp. 25-35.

Montejano, David
    2010   Anglos and Mexicans in the making of Texas, 1836-1986. University of Texas Press.

Moser, Stephanie, Darren Glazier, James E. Phillips, Lamya Nasser El Nemr, Mohammed Saleh Mousa, Rascha Nasr Aiesh, Susan Richardson, Andrew Conner, and Michael Seymour.
    2002   Transforming archaeology through practice: strategies for collaborative archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt. *World Archaeology 34, no. 2* pp. 220-248**.**

Munoz, Cynthia M.
    2011   National Register of Historic Places Eligibility Testing of 41WN120 at the Helton San Antonio River Nature Park in Wilson County, Texas. Center for Archaeological Research. The University of Texas at San Antonio

Nash, Gary B.
  1995   The Hidden History of Mestizo America. *The Journal of American History 82, no. 3* P. 941-964

Newcomb Jr, William W.
  1961   The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times. University of Texas Press. Austin and London.

Nicholas, G., & Hollowell, J.
  2007   Ethical challenges to Postcolonial Archaeology: The legacy of scientific colonialism. Archaeology and capitalism: from ethics to politics, 1, 59-82.
  2009   Using ethnographic methods to articulate community-based conceptions of cultural heritage management. *Public Archaeology*, *8(2-3)*, PP. 141-160.

Nunley, Parker
  1971   Archaeological Interpretations and the Particularistic Model: The Coahuiltecan Case. *Plains Anthropologist* 16, no. p. 302–10.

Nxumalo, Fikile, and Pablo Montes
  2023   Encountering creative climate change pedagogies: Cartographic interruptions. *Research in Education*. PP. 1-16

O'Neal, Jennifer R.
  2015   The Right to Know: Decolonizing Native American Archives. *Journal of Western Archives: Vol. 6: Issue. 1, Article 2*. PP. 1-17

Pleasanton Staff Writer
  2020   San Jose y San Miguel de Aguayo Indian Mission 300th year observance. *Pleasanton Express*, July 22, 2020. https://www.pleasantonexpress.com/articles/san-jose-y-san-miguel-de-aguayo-indian-mission-300th-year-observance/, accessed November 5, 2023.

Powell, John Wesley
  1891   Indian linguistic families of America, North of Mexico. No. 7. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 1891.

Poyo, Gerald E., and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, eds.
  2011   Tejano origins in eighteenth-century San Antonio. University of Texas Press

Reséndez, Andrés.
  2005   Changing national identities at the frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850. Cambridge University

Rizvi, Uzma Z.
  2008   Decolonizing methodologies as strategies of practice: operationalizing the postcolonial critique in the archaeology of Rajasthan. *In Archaeology and the postcolonial critique*. Rowman Altamira.

Sadongei, Alyce
    2021   Connectedness and Relationship: Foundations of Indigenous Ethics Within the Tribal Museum Context. *ICOFOM Study Series, (49-1)*, pp.150-158.

Said, Sally E.
    2009   From Oral Tradition to Legal Documents. *Rhetorics, Literacies, and Narratives of Sustainability*. Taylor and Frances p.116-131

Salmon, Roberto Mario
    1989   An American" Melting Pot' in the Coahuiltecan Homeland. More Studies in Brownsville History: 32. Pan American University at Brownsville. Brownsville, Texas.

Schaepe, David M., Bill Angelbeck, David Snook, and John R. Welch
    2017   Archaeology as therapy: Connecting Belongings, Knowledge, Time, Place, and Well-being. *Current Anthropology 58, no. 4*, p502-533.

Schmal, John P.
    2019   Indigenous Nuevo León: Land of the Coahuiltecans. Indigenous Mexico. https://indigenousmexico.org/nuevo-leon/indigenous-nuevo-leon-land-of-the-coahuiltecans/, accessed April 3, 2022.
    2019   Indigenous Tamaulipas: Ancestors of the Tejanos. Indigenous Mexico. https://www.indigenousmexico.org/articles/the-coahuiltecans-over-time-past-and-present?rq=coahuiltecan, accessed October 31, 2023
    2021   The Indigenous People of Northeastern Mexico: Past and Present. Indigenous Mexico. https://www.indigenousmexico.org/articles/the-indigenous-people-of-northeastern-mexico-past-and-present?rq=coahuiltecan, accessed October 31, 2023
    2022   The Coahuiltecans Over Time: Past and Present. Indigenous Mexico. https://www.indigenousmexico.org/articles/the-coahuiltecans-over-time-past-and-present?rq=coahuiltecan, accessed October 31, 2023

Silliman, Stephen W., and Thomas J. Ferguson.
    2010   Consultation and collaboration with descendant communities. *Voices in American Archaeology.* P. 48-72.

Schneider, T. D., & Hayes, K.
    2020   Epistemic colonialism: is it possible to decolonize archaeology? *The American Indian Quarterly, 44(2)*, P. 127-148.

Schuetz, Mardith
    1980   The Indians of the San Antonio Missions, 1718-1821. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. The University of Texas at Austin.

Sium, Aman, Desai, Chandni, & Ritskes, Eric
    2012   Towards the "tangible unknown": Decolonization and the Indigenous future. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. September 16; 1(1) P. I-XIII

St. Amand, Frankie, S. Terry Childs, Elizabeth J. Reitz, Sky Heller, Bonnie Newsom, Torben C. Rick, Daniel H. Sandweiss, and Ryan Wheeler.
    2020   Leveraging legacy archaeological collections as proxies for climate and environmental research. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 117, no*. 15 p. 8287-8294.

Stein, S. & Andreotti, V.D.O.
    2016   Decolonization and higher education. In M. Peters (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory*. Singapore: Springer Science Business Media.

Stam, Robert, and Ella Shohat.
    2012   Whence and whither postcolonial theory? *New Literary History, 43(2)*, P. 371-390.

TCPS 2: CORE
    2022   TCPS 2: CORE, https://tcps2core.ca/welcome, accessed March 2023

Tejano Origins in Mexican Texas. *Sonsofdewittcolony.org*.
    2000   http://www.sonsofdewittcolony.org/tejanoorigins.htm, accessed November 13, 2023.

Tejuan Mission Indians
    2023   San Antonio mission. tehuanmissionindians. https://www.tehuanmissionindians.org/, accessed November 5, 2023b.

Texas State Historical Association
    2019   Coahuiltecan Indians. *Texas State Historical Association*. https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/coahuiltecan-indians. Accessed November 5, 2023.

Thoms, Alston V., Ramon Juan Vasquez, and Art Martinez de Vara
    2012   Battling the Alamo: Toward preservation and protection of Coahuiltecan legacies and CampoSantos. In Routledge Handbook of the Archaeology of Indigenous-Colonial Interaction in the Americas, pp. 374-395. Routledge, 2021, New York, New York

Tuhiwai-Smith, Linda
    2021   Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples. 3rd Edition. Bloomsbury Publishing. New York.

Yellowhorn, Eldon Carlyle
    2002   Awakening internalist archaeology in the Aboriginal world. "PhD dissertation. Department of Anthropology. McGrill University. Montreal, Quebec