THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

STRUCTURE AND STRESS: SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE FORT SILL APACHE AND THEIR ANCESTORS 1870 - 1960

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

BY

WILLIAM GROSVENOR POLLARD, III

Norman, Oklahoma

1965

STRUCTURE AND STRESS: SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE FORT SILL APACHE AND THEIR ANCESTORS, 1870 - 1960

A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express sincere gratitude to the following individuals from whom assistance was obtained in the preparation of this study. In particular, appreciation is extended to Alex F. Ricciardelli, for advice and corrections rendered during his direction of this study, and to William E. Bittle, for advice rendered during the field investigations. This field research was made possible by a grant-in-aid from the National Science Foundation, administered by the Research Institute of the University of Oklahoma, during the summer of 1963.

I am also indebted to Gillett Griswold, Director of the United States Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, for granting permission to use an unpublished genealogical study of the Fort Sill Apache, compiled by the museum. Mr. Griswold also provided copies of the papers of Colonel Hugh L. Scott, obtained from the National Archives, Washington, D. C., and gave many valuable suggestions on the use of informants.

I also wish to acknowledge Benedick Jozhe, for providing documentary and ethnographic materials otherwise inaccessible; Mary Lacer, for granting permission to use data contained in the Allotment Records at the Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma; Alice M. Timmons, for assistance in locating documentary materials in the Frank Phillips Collection, Bizzell Memorial Library, University of Oklahoma; and the

Reverend Andrew Kamphuis, for granting permission to use the Apache Reformed Church, Apache, Oklahoma, for the interviews.

I wish to express deepest appreciation to my five Fort Sill Apache informants, and other members of the tribe who voluntarily supplied information. Without their testimony, this study would have been impossible to complete.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LIST OF MAPS		vi
LIST OF TABLES		vii
LIST OF CHARTS		viii
INTRODUCTION		1
Chapter		
I.	TRIBAL IDENTITY AND COMPOSITION: 1750-1860	8
II.	ABORIGINAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	31
III.	ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION BEFORE 1860	53
IV.	THE SEPARATE RESERVATION POLICY: 1870-1875	82
V.	FACTIONALISM: 1876-1886	103
VI.	EXILE AND CONFINEMENT: 1886-1913	125
VII.	FORT SILL APACHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE	152
VIII.	CONCLUSIONS	172
BIBLIOGRAPHY		177
APPENDIX I: TRIBAL ORIGINS OF THE APACHE PRISONERS OF WAR AT THE TIME OF THEIR RELEASE IN 1913		182
APPENDIX II: TRANSLATIONS OF THE CHIRICAHUA BAND NAMES		184

LIST OF MAPS

Map		Page
1.	Territorial Boundaries of the Chiricahua Apache Bands: 1800-1860	18
2.	Warm Spring and Bedonkohe Apache Territories: 1750-1860	28
3.	"Gila" and Chiricahua Apache Reservations: 1860-1879	99

A copy of an original map showing the location of the villages and farms of the Apache prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, is enclosed in an envelope at the end of this study.

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1. Chiricahua Kinship Terms for Collateral Relatives. 35

2. Warm Spring Kinship Terms for Collateral Relatives. 38

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart		Page
1.	Chiricahua Apache Kinship Chart.	36
2.	Warm Spring Apache Kinship Chart	37

STRUCTURE AND STRESS: SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE FORT SILL APACHE AND THEIR ANCESTORS, 1870 - 1960

INTRODUCTION

Basic Aims

The basic aims of this study are as follow:

(1) To discover the process by which the social structure of the Fort Sill Apache has evolved.

(2) To discover and account for the changes in the social structures of their ancestors--the Chiricahua, Warm Spring and Bedonkohe Apache--which may have produced the social structure of the Fort Sill Apache.

(3) To discover the extent to which these changes and the social structure of the Fort Sill Apache are the result of stress in the contact between Americans and the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, Bedonkohe, and Fort Sill Apache.

The first aim was suggested by the comments of the author's informants concerning the present relations between kinsmen. They felt that the traditional kinship behavior observed by their ancestors--the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe Apache--had been modified to the point of no longer being functional. They asserted, with one accord,

that they felt themselves to be an "independent" people, in the sense that mutual aid can no longer be expected of collateral kinsmen and that the nuclear family is now the focus of their social life. What they wished to know was whether their interpretations of their social structure were correct, and if so, how its divergence from the aboriginal social structures of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe Apache can be accounted for. These are precisely the questions the author hopes to answer in this study.

The second aim also deserves some explanation. In 1886, practically all of the members of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe Apache tribes were removed from the White Mountain Reservation (the present Fort Apache and San Carlos Apache Reservations), Arizona, and imprisoned for twenty-seven years in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. In 1912, the Apache prisoners of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, were given the choice of being relocated on the Mescalero Apache Reservation, New Mexico, or settling upon allotments in Oklahoma. One hundred and eighty-one of them elected to be removed to the Mescalero Reservation. This group refer to themselves as "Chiricahua Apache," in spite of what their true tribal origins may be. The Fort Sill Apache are the descendants of the eighty-one former Apache prisoners of war who remained in Oklahoma.[1]

Cultural stress, referred to in the statement of the third aim, is defined by John J. Honigmann as follows:

---

[1]See Benedick Jozhe, "A Brief History of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1961-1962), 427 and 432; and Appendix I of this study.

> When two or more ways of life come into contact a profussion of stress will very likely be encountered. Culture contact occurs wherever people who have been socialized in one tradition interact with representatives of a different way of life. . . .
>
> Often what happens in culture contact is this: an invading group fails to understand the values and expectations of its hosts. Demands are made on the hosts for which the latter lack established patterns of response. The foreigner's behavior appears strange and nearly wholly incomprehensible. Tension piles up on both sides of the relationship. . . . Pursuing imitation at the expense of the standardized behavior patterns may engender social and personal conflict.[2]

The author will concentrate on the following categories of the social structures of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, Bedonkohe, and Fort Sill Apache: (1) kinship behavior, (2) marriage regulations, (3) the maturation process, (4) the treatment of deceased relatives, (5) subsistence and economic organization, and (6) political organization. The aboriginal social structures of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe are discussed in the second and third chapters. The changes in these social structures during American contact, until 1913, are discussed in Chapters IV through VI. Chapter VIII contains a description of the social structure of the Fort Sill Apache.

The Application of the Ethnohistorical Method in This Study

The author has used the ethnohistorical method throughout this study. Among the current definitions of this method, the one felt to be the most applicable was given by Charles A. Valentine in a discussion of

---

[2]John J. Honigmann, Culture and Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1954), p. 413.

its uses in studies of culture contact and acculturation:

> The systematic exploitation of [sic, historical documents as a resource], in conjunction with ethnographic investigation and many other forms of field research found useful in dealing with a particular problem, constitutes an ethnohistorical method. . . . the use of such an integrating method leads to a cultural-historical description which portrays the development of one or more ethnic groups through time. Such a portrayal may be termed an ethnohistory.[3]

As one contemporary writer on the uses of the ethnohistorical method has pointed out, there are as yet no rules for the ethnohistorian to use in analyzing historical documents.[4] However, Valentine offers several suggestions which are pertinent to the scope of this study. He says that "Most ethnohistorical treatments of acculturation deal with rather long-term sequences extending well beyond the limits of living memory." Frequently in such studies there is a certain lack of consistency between the data taken from historical sources and those gleaned by ethnographic methods. Under such conditions, the two types of data are not readily comparable or easily integrated.[5]

Valentine has suggested that--

> On the contrary, short-term contact sequences within the compass of living memory provide ideal conditions for adequate control of data on the acculturation process as a whole without sacrificing attention to the historical dimension of the problem. In dealing with the problems so defined, both ethnographic and historical evidence bearing on all stages of the acculturation sequence can be meaningfully integrated. It is in such a context that

---

[3]Charles A. Valentine, "Uses of Ethnohistory in an Acculturation Study," Ethnohistory, VII, No. 1 (Winter, 1960), p. 2.

[4]Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Ethnohistory: An Ethnological Point of View," in "Symposium on the Concept of Ethnohistory," Ethnohistory, VIII, no. 1 (Winter, 1961), p. 83.

[5]Valentine, op. cit., p. 3.

> ethnohistory can make its greatest contribution to the analysis of culture contact and acculturation.[6]

It is necessary, in this study, to deal with many events in the contact between Americans and the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe Apache which are found only in the historical sources. These events were not mentioned by the author's informants nor reported in any ethnographic source dealing with the above three tribes. Where it is possible to do so, the author will attempt to show the possible cause and effect of these events by drawing upon the ethnographic evidence which bears a relationship to these events. These events will be recorded without comment where this integration of the historical and ethnographic evidence is not possible.

The author has made no attempt to deal with American contact with the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe before 1870 by the ethnohistorical method. A portion of the fourth chapter has been devoted to a discussion of this contact, beginning with the earliest with each tribe. However, this discussion is based on the evidence from the historical sources along. The ethnohistorical method is used to discuss those changes in the social structures of these tribes and their resistance to change which occurred between 1870 and 1913. As there is little documentary history of the Fort Sill Apache, the discussion of their social structure in the seventh chapter is taken primarily from the statements of the author's informants.

---

[6] Valentine, op. cit., p. 4.

The Use of Native Testimony

There are three sources of native testimony used in this study. These are: (1) the statements of the author's informants, (2) the statements of Chiricahua and Warm Spring informants contained in published ethnographic sources, and (3) the statements of Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe informants contained in documentary, autogiographical, and genealogical studies.

Where appropriate, the author has quoted his five informants, changing nothing but the grammar they used.[7] Any information they gave which is felt to be either questionable or slanderous has been omitted. Where the informants included the names of individuals, these have been shortened to the initial letter, except in cases where these persons have been made well known in the documentary sources or their complete names are needed to clarify the statements. This has been done to protect the privacy of those Fort Sill Apache who may not wish their private lives, or those of their relatives and ancestors, to be made public knowledge. The names of the author's informants have been withheld, as their comments on intertribal relations and their attitudes towards the Government could, conceivably, subject them to ridicule.

Several of the documentary sources used in this study contain ethnographic notes obtained through native testimony. Rather than

---

[7]The author spent seven weeks during the summer of 1963 interviewing four members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe who reside on their allotments near Apache, Oklahoma. A fifth member of the tribe volunteered enough information to be considered as a fifth informant. One of the informants was born on the Hot Springs Reservation in 1875. The other four were born during confinement in Alabama or at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

requoting these informants, the author has given their statements in straight descriptive style. This rule has also been applied in using the ethnographic and historical data contained in Geronimo's and Betzinez's autobiographies.[8]

---

[8] Samuel M. Barrett (editor and recorder), Geronimo's Story of His Life (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1938); and Jason Betzinez with Wilbur Strutevant Nye, I Fought with Geronimo (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1959). These are both valuable historical and ethnographic sources but should be used with caution, as both Geronimo and Betzinez were over seventy years old when these books were written.

CHAPTER I

TRIBAL IDENTITY AND COMPOSITION: 1750-1860

"Tribe" and "Band"

The term "tribe," as used in this study, refers to an ethnic group whose members shared a common identity and culture. As the reader shall discover in a later chapter of this study, the Chiricahua appear to have achieved a sense of tribal unity through the mutual exploitation of band territories and the fact that the three northern bands of this tribe recognized the authority of a common leader. The two bands of the Warm Spring tribe were united with the Bedonkohe tribe in 1858 under the common leadership of Mangas Coloradas.[1] Evidence will be given in later chapters that this tribal unity persisted, and that it was strengthened through kinship ties resulting from intermarriage.

As will be shown in a later chapter, the limited distribution of food resources in the territories of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring forced these Apache to live in isolated local groups. Those local groups living close enough to each other to form alliances for defense or aggression, and able to attend each other's social functions, formed loose confederations, or "bands." Consequently, territorial limits were recognized

---

[1] See Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938), pp. 96-97. This is a valuable source on Southwestern Apache history, but can be used only for reference.

only at the band level among these tribes. The term "band," as used in this study, refers, then, to a political and territorial subdivision of the tribe. It will be shown later in this chapter that the Bedonkohe were apparently a separate and distinct ethnic group before the 1830's, but affiliated politically with the Mimbreno band of the Warm Spring during this decade.

Problems of Group Identification

Jozhe says that "The Fort Sill Apache Tribe are the descendents of three Apache Tribes: the Warm Spring Apache Tribe, the Chiricahua Apache Tribe and the Nednai Apache Tribe."[2] These three groups have usually been identified in the ethnological literature, since the appearance of Morris Edward Opler's ethnography of Chiricahua aboriginal culture, as the "Eastern Chiricahua band," the "Central Chiricahua band," and the "Southern Chiricahua band," respectively.[3] E. W. Gifford stands alone in identifying the same three groups as bands of the Warm Spring tribe.[4] It is the author's opinion that neither Opler nor Gifford weighed the group identifications given them by their informants against the evidence contained in historical documents. Opler devoted only two pages of his ethnography of Chiricahua culture to the history of the "bands" he

---

[2] Jozhe, op. cit., p. 427.

[3] Morris Edward Opler, An Apache Life-Way, the Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 1-2. This classification is originally Opler's.

[4] E. W. Gifford, "Culture Element Distributions: XII, Apache-Pueblo," Anthropological Records, IV, No. 1 (Berkley: The University of California Press, 1940), p. 4. It is shown below that Gifford also designated a "Huachuca Mountain Apache," who appear to have been a Chiricahua band.

designated, but did not mention any events before 1870.[5] Gifford did not mention any historical events before 1860. They are included only in the explanatory notes appended to his culture element distribution list. It is obvious that he included them for no other purpose than to explain the origin of the Warm Spring culture elements he notes. As the reader shall discover in the following sections of this chapter, there is good documentary material on the history of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring for as far back as 1634. The author found no evidence in any of these sources that they were regarded as bands of the same tribe. As will be shown below, there is good evidence that the Nednai were a band of the Chiricahua, though they did not exist before 1763.

There is evidence in an unpublished genealogical study of the Fort Sill Apache that two of their original eighty-one members were Bedonkohe Apache. It is shown in the same source that the Bedonkohe were a separate and distinct tribe before the 1830's, but became affiliated with the Warm Spring during this decade and with the Chiricahua in 1861.[6] Harry W. Basehart is the only ethnologist who mentions the Bedonkohe, though he admits some confusion as to their proper identity.[7]

---

[5]See Opler, op. cit., pp. 2 and 4.

[6]United States Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum, The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, Antecedents, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1958-1962, unpublished. This study was conducted by the staff of the museum as a project to mark the graves of those Apache prisoners of war who were buried on the Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma, from 1894 to 1913, inclusive. This has been one of the most valuable sources used in this study. The authors are hereafter referred to as USAAMCM.

[7]Harry W. Basehart, Chiricahua Apache Subsistence and Socio-Political Organization, written with the assistance of Richard N. Henderson. A report of the Mescalero-Chiricahua Land Claims Project,

It is the author's purpose, here, to review the evidence from the Spanish, Mexican, and American documents, as well as from all ethnographic sources, in an attempt to correctly identify and locate these groups and their component bands from 1750 to 1860. Were this analysis of the documentary sources extended back further than the year 1750, a serious problem would be encountered. This is because the various names given the Southwestern Apache in the Spanish documents before 1750 are difficult, if not impossible, to correlate with the names for the same Indians appearing in later sources. Those found in the Spanish documents after this date are easily correlated with those appearing in the Mexican and American documents after 1830. However, where it can be demonstrated that the groups named in the earlier documents were the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, or Bedonkohe, the evidence supporting such assumptions is included in this chapter.

The author has made no attempt to identify the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe, or the component bands of the first two tribes, from the evidence of their group leaders before 1860.[8] This is because many of the American documents of the 1850's contain a host of names of group leaders who could not have all been band leaders, since the number of leaders is not proportionate to the number of bands designated. However, this problem applies only to the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe. As the author believes that the majority of these leaders were what Opler

---

Contract Research No. 290-154 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico, March, 1959), Section II, p. 85.

[8] As the reader shall discover below, the Bedonkohe tribe did not consist of bands before the 1830's.

calls "local group leaders," only those who appear to have possessed authority over specified groups before 1860 will be noted in this chapter.[9]

The evidence of tribal identities and composition given in the sections below is presented in the following order in each section: (1) the evidence from native testimony, (2) the evidence from ethnographic sources, and (3) the evidence from documentary sources. A commentary and critique of Opler's and Gifford's identifications of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring tribes is given in the final section.

The Chiricahua Apache Tribe

The Evidence from Native Testimony. According to one of the author's informants, there were four bands of the Chiricahua tribe: (1) the /čók'ánén/, (2) the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/, (3) the /ʒìɬʔɣáná/, and (4) the /kái·àhéné/. Translations of these band names are given in Appendix II.

The /čók'ánén/ were said to have been located in the Dragoon Mountains of southeastern Arizona. As will be shown below, it is probable that their territory included the Chiricahua and Dos Cabezas Mountains to the east as well.

There was some disagreement among the informants concerning the proper identity of the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/, or Nednai. Two informants stated positively that they were a Chiricahua band, while two others identified them as a separate tribe. It seems that the latter identification is due to the composition of the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/. Betzinez says that "They were outlaws recruited from other bands, and included in their membership a few Navajoes as well as Mexicans and whites who had been captured while

---

[9]See Opler, op. cit., pp. 463-464.

children and who had grown up as savages."[10] One informant reported that this band was located partly in southeastern Arizona, northeastern Sonora, and northwestern Chihuahua. This is the same territorial distribution Opler gave for his "Southern Chiricahua band."[11]

While the /kaí·ɬahéné/ were not located by any of the informants, one of them stated that the /ɜɬʔɣáná/ were located in the northern part of Chiricahua territory. This was apparently in either the Northern Peloncillo or Pinaleño Mountains of southeastern Arizona. These locations must be taken as being tentative, as there is no mention of this band in the ethnographic sources on the Chiricahua.

The Evidence from Ethnographic Sources. Basehart's informants gave the following locations as having been regular /ʔcók ʔánén/ centers: Apache Pass, the western foothills of the Chiricahua Mountains, the Dos Cabezas Mountains, and the Dragoon Mountains. The Whitewater Baldy in the Mogollon Mountains of New Mexico was their most important ceremonial center. En route to it, this band camped in the vicinities of the present Safford, Arizona, and Maple Peak, in Greenlee County, Arizona. They also frequented the Chiricahua, Southern Paloncillo, Hatchet, and Florida Mountains, and visited the /ⁿdé·ɬⁿdaí/ band in the vicinity of Batepito, Sonora.[12]

The /ⁿdé·ɬⁿdaí/ centers were in the Sierra de la Madera; east of Bavispe; at Batepito; along the eastern bank of the Yaqui River, from

---

[10]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 15.

[11]Opler, op. cit., p. 3.

[12]Basehart, op. cit., Section II, p. 84 and Maps 1 and 5.

Teras to below Oputa; the Alamo Huecos and Animas Mountains of the New Mexico panhandle; and the vicinity of the present Duncan, Arizona. Frequent visits were made to the Chiricahua Mountains and Apache Pass, where they camped with the other Chiricahua bands. Warm Spring centers visited by the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ included the Tres Hermanas and Florida Mountains and the vicinity of the present Dusty, New Mexico.[13]

The /káí·ìahéné/ are evidently Gifford's "Hauchuca Mountains Apache," or "Shaiahene" band. Basehart shares this opinion, though one of his informants who was of this band, was born near Apache Pass; had helped gather agave in the vicinity of the Whitewater Baldy of the Mogollon Mountains; and had camped with his band near the base of the Sierra de la Madera in /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ territory.[14]

The Evidence from Documentary Sources. Jack Douglas Forbes has positively identified the "Jocome" of the Spanish documents before 1750 as the /čok'ánén/ band of the Chiricahua:

> The identity of the Jocome with the Chiricahua Apache is definitely established . . . by the fact that Jocome appears to be a Spanish derivation from the Apache name of one of the Chiricahua bands, the precise band that occupied the same territory assigned to the Jocome. This group of Apache called themselves Cho-ko-nen or Cho-kon-e. The Spanish commonly substituted the letters X, H and J for the gutteral Indian CH and thus Chokone would have been rendered Hocone, Xocone, or Jocone. This corresponds closely with the Hispanic Jacone and Jocome.[15]

---

[13]Basehart, op. cit., Section II, p. 86 and Maps 1 and 5.

[14]Basehart, op. cit., p. 86, and Maps 1 and 5; and Gifford, op. cit., p. 4.

[15]Jack Douglas Forbes, "The Janos, Jocomes, Mansos and Sumas Indians," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXII, No. 4 (October, 1957), p. 324.

Apparently, the Chiricahua had a much more limited distribution before 1763 than they did at the time of Mexican and American contact during the 1850's. Basehart says that "The major differences are that prior to 1763, the Pimas occupied the San Pedro valley, while before 1600, [sic, 1700] Opata inhabited the region south of the Chiricahua Mountains."[16]

Edward H. Spicer notes that, as late as 1697, the Opata occupied the region along the Eastern Bavispe River, and depicts Opata territory as extending eighteen miles north of Fronteras and just east of Bavispe and Bacerac, Sonora, about 1750. This would imply that the /ⁿdé·ì ⁿdáí/ were not in northeastern Sonora before the late eighteenth century, unless they occupied the region about San Bernadino and the Sierras Caballeros and de San Luis.

Spicer says that prior to 1760 the San Pedro valley was occupied by the Sobaipuris, an Upper Pima group. Apache raids on their settlements finally forced the Sobaipuris to abandon it and retreat westward in the early 1760's.[17] While giving no references, Basehart says that the rout of the Pima from the San Pedro valley took place in 1763. Afterwards, ". . . the southern portion of the valley as far south as the Huachuca Mountains became Chiricahua country."[18] It is quite evident that, if Basehart is correct, the /káí·ahéné/ band were not in the Huachuca Mountains before 1763.

---

[16]Basehart, op. cit., Section I, pp. 22 and 24.

[17]Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 235 and Map 7, p. 90 and pp. 238-239.

[18]Basehart, op. cit., Section I, pp. 25-36.

The /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ were apparently well entrenched in northeastern Sonora by the nineteenth century. Alexandre de Humbolt's "Map of the Kingdom of New Spain," drawn in 1811, shows the "Apaches Chiricaguis" in Sonora between Terrenate and San Bernadino, north of Fronteras, and extending northward into the Chiricahua Mountains.[19]

James H. Tevis, who was involved in the first American contact with the Chiricahua, did not name any of their bands. He recognized three of them, however, all located north of the international boundary between the United States and the Republic of Mexico in southeastern Arizona. The first, under the leadership of Cochise, consisted of seven hundred warriors; the second, under Old Jack, consisted of over five hundred warriors; and the third, under Esconolea, numbered over three hundred persons.

Tevis, was apparently unaware of the existence of the /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ band. He says that Chiricahua raiding parties left Apache Pass every winter for the Sierra Madres of New Mexico and returned in the spring, but he makes no mention of a regular occupation of these mountains.[20]

While Cochise's and Esconolea's bands remained primarily at Apache Pass, Tevis speaks of annual encampments in the Dragoon Mountains, at Steins Peak in the Northern Peloncillo Mountains, and at Laguna de

---

[19] See Carl I. Wheat, Mapping the TransMississippi West: 1540-1861, Vol. I: The Spanish Entrada to the Louisiana Purchase: 1540-1804 (San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartigraphy, 1957), facing p. 134.

[20] Captain James H. Tevis, Arizona in the '50's (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1954), pp. 95-96, 98, and 100. This is the first publication of the original manuscript completed in September, 1886.

Gúzman. All of these areas except the last, which is in northern Chihuahua, are well within the territory Opler assigned to his "Central Chiricahua band."[21]

It is significant that Tevis' memoirs do not contain one shred of evidence that the Apache of southwestern New Mexico were a band of Chiricahua. Opler has designated these Apache as the "Eastern Chiricahua band,"[22] Tevis, on the other hand, speaks of the "Copper Mine Indians," under the leadership of Mangas Coloradas, and the "Mimbres Indians," under Elias, both inhabiting southwestern New Mexico. He mentions two councils attended by these chiefs, Cochise, and Esconclea at Apache Pass in the late 1850's. The second council was attended by the Coyotero Apache under Francisco and the Mescalero Apache under Chino as well. Both councils were apparently the result of close political ties between the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, Coyotero, and Mescalero, and were convened for the purpose of deciding a common policy toward the Americans and planning a joint raid into Navaho territory.[23]

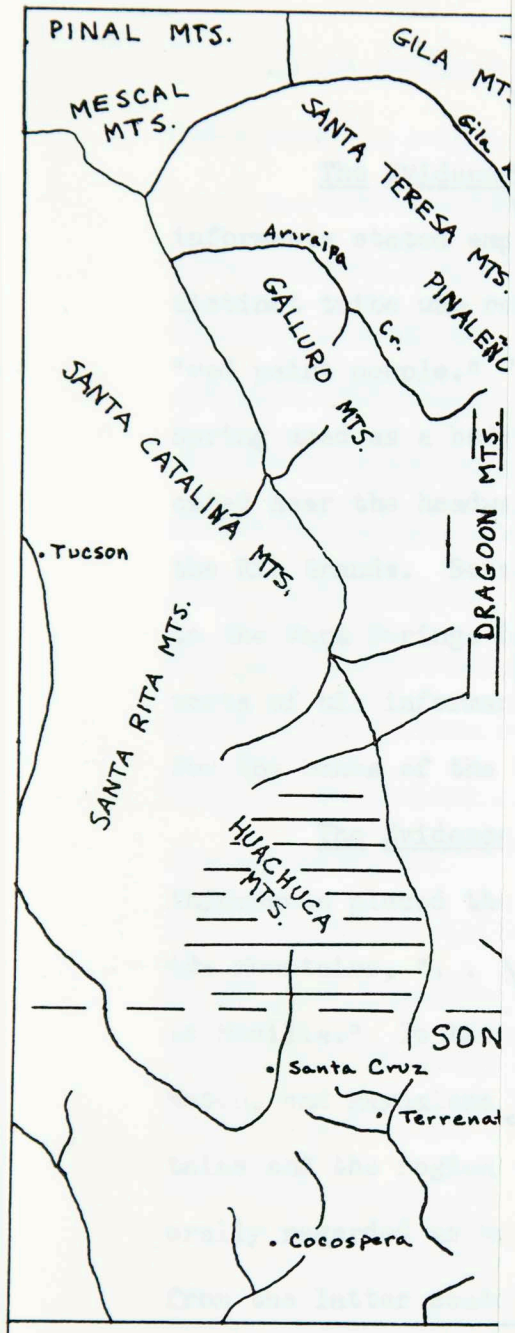
The territorial distribution of the Chiricahua bands from 1700 to 1860 is depicted on Map 1, being based on the ethnographic and historical evidence presented above.

---

[21] Ibid., pp. 79, 106, and 125; and Opler, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[22] Opler, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

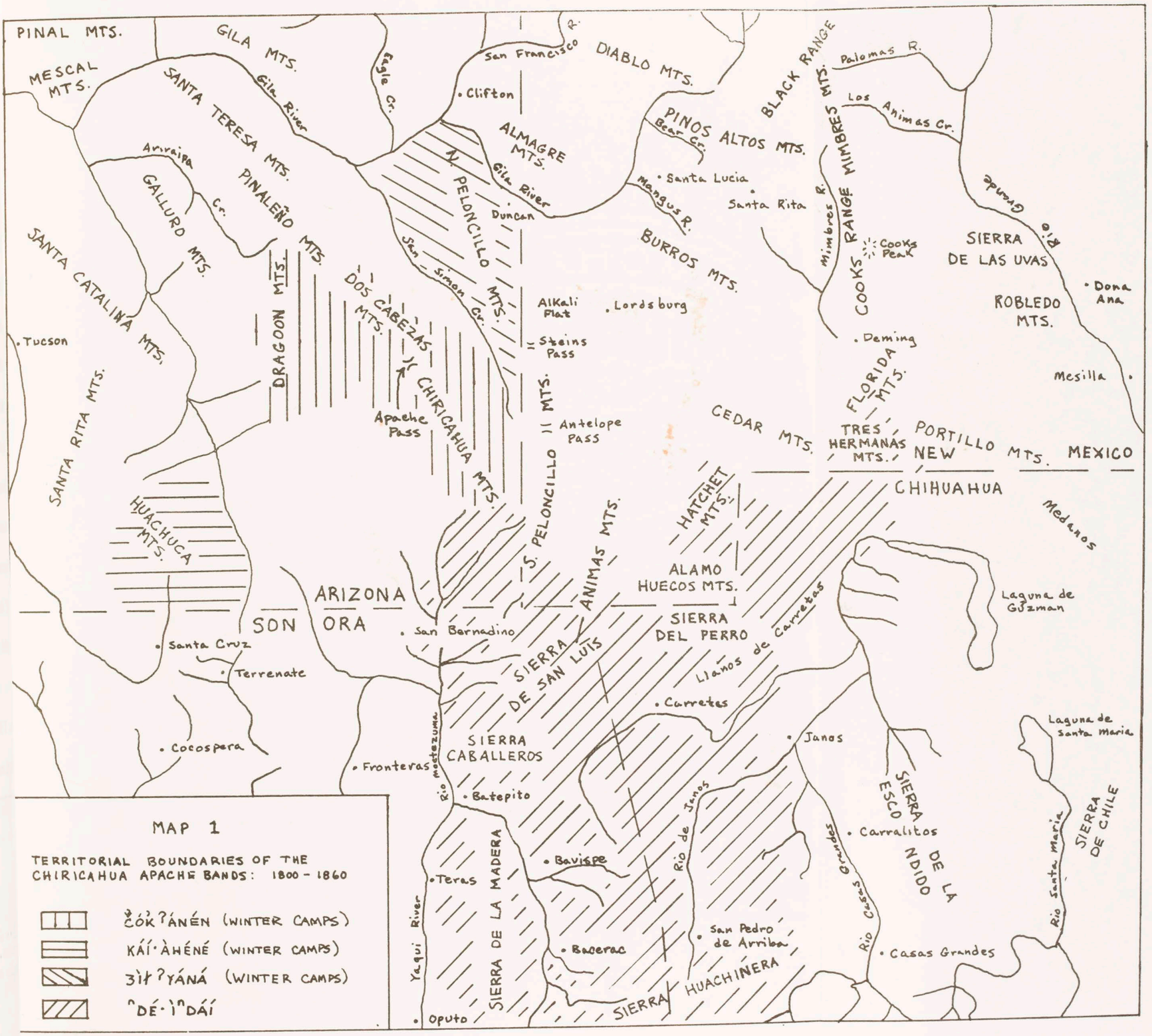
[23] Tevis, op. cit., pp. 116, 138-142, and 165-166. Spicer, op. cit., p. 256, identifies the Coyotero as the White Mountain and Cibecue Apache. The "Copper Mine" and "Mimbres" Apache are undoubtedly the two bands of the Warm Spring tribe.



MAP 1

TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES OF TH
CHIRICAHUA APACHE BANDS: 1800

- ČÓK?ÁNÉN (WINTER C
- KÁÍ·ÀHÉNÉ (WINTER C
- 3ìł?YÁNÁ (WINTER
- ˆDÉ·ìˆDÁÍ


PINAL MTS.
MESCAL MTS.
GILA MTS.
Gila River
Eagle Cr.
SANTA TERESA MTS.
Arivaipa Cr.
GALLURO MTS.
PINALEÑO MTS.
SANTA CATALINA MTS.
Tucson
SANTA RITA MTS.
DRAGOON MTS.
DOS CABEZAS MTS.
CHIRICAHUA MTS.
Apache Pass
HUACHUCA MTS.
ARIZONA
SONORA
Santa Cruz
Terrenate
Cocospera
San Bernadino
Fronteras
Rio Mostezuma
SIERRA CABALLEROS
Batepito
SIERRA DE LA MADERA
Teras
Yaqui River
Oputo
Bavispe
Bacerac
SIERRA HUACHINERA
San Pedro de Arriba
Rio de Janos
Janos
Carretes
Llanos de Carretas
SIERRA DEL PERRO
ALAMO HUECOS MTS.
S. PELONCILLO II MTS.
ANIMAS MTS.
HATCHET MTS.
Antelope Pass
CEDAR MTS.
TRES HERMANAS MTS.
PORTILLO MTS.
NEW MEXICO
CHIHUAHUA
Medanos
Laguna de Guzman
Laguna de santa Maria
SIERRA DE CHILE
Rio Santa Maria
SIERRA DE LA NDIDO
Carralitos
Rio Casas Grandes
Casas Grandes
SIERRA DE ESCO
Steins Pass
Alkali Flat
Lordsburg
PELONCILLO MTS.
San Simon Cr.
Duncan
Gila River
ALMAGRE MTS.
Clifton
San Francisco R.
DIABLO MTS.
Eagle Cr.
Gila River
PINOS ALTOS MTS.
Bear Cr.
Santa Lucia
Santa Rita
Mangus R.
BURROS MTS.
BLACK RANGE
Palomas R.
Los Animas Cr.
MIMBRES MTS.
Mimbres R.
COOKS RANGE
Cooks Peak
Rio Grande
SIERRA DE LAS UVAS
Dona Ana
ROBLEDO MTS.
Deming
FLORIDA MTS.
Mesilla
MAP 1
TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES OF THE CHIRICAHUA APACHE BANDS: 1800 - 1860
ʔCÓKʔÁNÉN (WINTER CAMPS)
KÁÍ·ÀHÉNÉ (WINTER CAMPS)
ʒìɬʔYÁNÁ (WINTER CAMPS)
ˆDÉ·ìˆDÁÍ

The Warm Spring Apache Tribe

The Evidence from Native Testimony. All of the author's informants stated emphatically that the Warm Spring were a separate and distinct tribe who referred to themselves as /čihén·ⁿdá/ , meaning "red paint people." This name originated with the fact that the Warm Spring used as a body paint a red clay obtained from a small knoll located near the headwaters of the Alamosa River, a western tributary of the Rio Grande. Betzinez used the name "Chihenne" as if it applied only to the Warm Springs band.[24] The author is inclined to accept the statements of his informants, who all declared that there were no native names for the bands of the Warm Spring tribe.

The Evidence from Ethnographic Sources. One of Basehart's informants placed the Warm Spring east from the Pinos Altos to the Florida Mountains, ". . . thence to Elephant Butte and the Rio Grande as far as Mesilla." To the north, their territory included the Mimbres, San Mateo, and Magdalena Mountains and the Black Range. The Florida Mountains and the region about the headwaters of the Alamosa River were generally regarded as having been their major centers. Migrations were made from the latter center to the Whitewater Baldy where frequent contact and intermarriage with the Chiricahua (and Bedonkohe) occurred. Other migrations were made to the vicinities of Willcox, Safford, and Apache Pass, Arizona. None of Basehart's informants gave any specific information on

---

[24]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 2 and 9.

Warm Spring utilization of the New Mexico panhandle; neither did the author's.[25]

Betzinez does not recognize the existence of the Warm Spring Apache tribe, but locates two bands who occupied southwestern New Mexico, the Warm Springs and Mimbreño. He places the former in the Black Range, and says that their principal chief before 1850 was Baishan, known to the Mexicans and Americans as Cuchillo Negro. After his death at Ramos, Chihuahua, he was succeeded by Tudeevia, known to the Mexicans and Americans as Delgadito. The Mimbreño band lived in the vicinities of Santa Rita and Pinos Altos, New Mexico, and were under the leadership of Mangas Coloradas, whom Betzinez claims was never a leader of the Warm Springs band.[26] The latter statement is not entirely true, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Several informants regarded the headwaters of the Alamosa River as the most important center of the Warm Springs band. Here, the valleys between the Black Range and the San Mateo Mountains form four plains extending in the four cardinal directions. For this reason, the Warm Spring called this area /tì·gó·tél/ , meaning "four broad plains."

The Evidence from Documentary Sources. The first mention of the Apache of southwestern New Mexico by a Spanish chronicler was in 1628 by Fray Alonso de Benavides. He called them the "Apache de Xila" and located them some twenty-four miles west of the pueblo of San Antonio de Senecu,

---

[25]See Basehart, op. cit., Section II, p. 84 and Maps 1 and 5.

[26]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 2, 4, 8-9, and 43. Betzinez did not name Pinos Altos as a Mimbreño center, but this appears to be one of the locations to which he referred.

which was eleven miles south of the present Socorro, New Mexico. From this point--somewhere in the Magdalena Mountains--their territory extended north for more than one hundred and twenty miles to the frontier of the Rio Grande Pueblos, and beyond to the territory of the Navaho. The entire region was heavily populated with their encampments.[27] The term "Apaches de Gila" was used by the Spanish until the cessation of their colonial rule in Mexico in 1813.

Using a scale of the statute miles on a current map of the State of New Mexico, it appears that Benavides probably meant that the territory of the "Apaches de Xila," as it existed in 1628, extended north to the Rio San Jose. Joseph Antonio Rengel reported, in 1785, that the boundary between the territories of the Navaho and the "Gila Apaches" was the "Rio de la Laguna," and that the heart of the latter's territory was the "Sierra Azul." Alfred Barnaby Thomas has identified the "Rio de la Laguna" as the present Rio San Jose and the "Sierra Azul" as ". . . probably the present Datil Mountains."[28]

In the next section of this chapter, it shall be seen that Benavides and Rengel were probably referring to the territory of the Bedonkohe Apache, not of the Warm Spring, except to a small degree. Opler's informants were the only ones who reported that the Warm Spring

---

[27]Frederick W. Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey (ed. and trans.), Fray Alonso de Benavides' Memorial of 1634 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1945), pp. 82 and 85.

[28]Alfred Barnaby Thomas (translator, editor, and annotator), Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787, from the Original Documents in the Archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 259, 260, and 383.

occupied the Datil Mountains.[29] As stated above, the Magdalena Mountains were in the extreme northeastern part of their territory. There is no evidence in any of the ethnographic or documentary sources surveyed that the Warm Spring occupied any territory further north than these mountains.

Antonio Cordero, in his 1796 discourse on the Southwestern Apache, named two groups that occupied what is now southwestern New Mexico: the "Gileño" and the "Mimbreño." The former were located south of the headwaters of the Gila River, between the "Chiricahuis" to their west and the "Mimbreño" to their east, although a few of their encampments were located near the present Janos, Chihuahua. Cordero distinguished between two groups of the "Mimbreño": (1) the "upper," who had formerly lived closest to Nueva Vizcaya (the present Mexican State of Chihuahua), but lived then in the presidios of Janos and Carrizal; and (2) the "lower," who lived closest to the Province of Nueva Mexico, presumably in the Black Range.[30]

These same groups were designated in the Mexican documents of the 1830's as the "Mimbreño" and "Warm Springs" Apache, apparently referring to Cordero's "Gileño" and "Mimbreño" respectively. They were often

---

[29] Opler, op. cit., p. 2.

[30] Daniel S. Matson and Albert H. Shroeder (ed.), "Cordero's Description of the Apache--1796," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXII, No. 4 (October, 1957), pp. 351-353. This is a reproduction of a translation of Cordero's original manuscript, which bears the title "Year 1796--Notes about the Apache Nation composed in the Year 1796 by Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Cordero at El Paso del Norte by Order of the Commandant, General Field Marshal Don Pedro de Nava." It is found in a volume of manuscripts entitled Historical Documents Concerning Durango, which belongs to the collection of Licenciado Don Fernando Ramirez. The text has been carefully annotated by these editors.

allied in raids into northern Mexico, but were never considered one people. Until 1837, the chief of the "Mimbreño" was Juan Jose Campa.[31]

American observers of the Apache of southwestern New Mexico in the 1850's referred to those inhabiting the region between the Rio Grande and the San Francisco River as "Copper Mine Apaches" or "Gila Apaches."[32] However, they were careful to distinguish between group leaders.

Michael Steck was appointed Indian Agent for the Apache inhabiting the southern part of the Territory of New Mexico in 1855. In his annual reports, he designated three bands who occupied the region between the Rio Grande and the San Francisco River. These were: (1) the "Mogollon," located in the Almagre and Mogollon Mountains; (2) "those of Mangas Coloradas," located in the Pinos Altos and Burros Mountains, and as far south as the Sierras de San Luis and Caballeros; and (3) the "Mimbres," located between the Mimbres River and the Rio Grande as far north as the San Mateo Mountains. He argued that these three bands constituted a single tribe by virtue of a common territory, language, and culture, and the bonds of intermarriage.[33] It will be shown in the next section of this chapter

---

[31]See Ralph A. Smith, "Apache Plunder Trails Southward, 1831-1840," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXVII, No. 1 (January, 1962), pp. 21-25. This article is based upon the Mexican documents of the period. It contains many facts of Southwestern Apache history that cannot be found elsewhere.

[32]See John Russell Bartlett, Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, During the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53, I (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1854), p. 323; and John Pope, Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad near the Thirty-second Parallel of Latitude, from the Red River to the Rio Grande, Thirty-third Congress, First Session, House Executive Documents, No. 129, XVIII, part II (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, printer, 1855), p.19.

[33]See the Report(s) of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

that the "Mogollon" were probably the Bedonkohe Apache tribe.

The Bedonkohe Apache Tribe

The Evidence from Native Testimony. All of the author's informants reported that the Bedonkohe were separate and distinct from the Chiricahua and Warm Spring. Two of the informants reported that one other, who died during the period the author spent in the field, had been of the opinion that the Bedonkohe were a small tribe who had migrated from Mexico to Arizona, where they established themselves northeast of the Chiricahua. However, the facts that the Bedonkohe lived in hide-covered tipis and practiced flood-water farming suggest that their culture was much closer to that of the Warm Spring than it was to that of the Chiricahua.[34] It will be shown in the next chapter that the social structure of the Bedonkohe showed a tendency toward patrilineal forms, while that of the Chiricahua showed one toward matrilineal forms. If the Bedonkohe were originally located in Mexico, it seems that their cultural patterns should have been more nearly like those of the Chiricahua.

The Evidence from Ethnographic Sources. Basehart's informants reported that the Bedonkohe centers were in the vicinities of the Whitewater Baldy; Maple Peak; Duncan and Safford, Arizona; the Huachuca Mountains; and the Rio Bavispe in Sonora. They were said to spend part of

---

Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the Year(s) 1855, 1857, 1858, and 1859 (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, printer, 1856; William A. Harris, printer, 1858; and George W. Bowman, printer, 1860), pp. 187; 289-91; 197-198; and 344-345, respectively.

[34]See Barret (ed.), op. cit., pp. 20 and 31; and Opler, op. cit., p. 386.

every year at Apache Pass and to trade often at Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. It is obvious, given this testimony, that the Bedonkohe lived with the Chiricahua much of the time. However, Basehart states that the term "Bedonkohe" was not applied systematically by any of his informants to a major Chiricahua sub-division.[35]

Betzinez says that the Bedonkohe were concentrated around the present Clifton, Arizona.[36] Clifton, Duncan, and Maple Peak all lie within the present Greenlee County, Arizona, east of the Blue River. With the subtraction of those locations reported as Chiricahua centers from those reported for the Bedonkohe, it appears that the territory of the latter lay north of the Gila River between the Mogollon Mountains and the Blue River.

The Evidence from Documentary Sources. As the Bedonkohe are not mentioned in any documentary source, it is necessary to search the documents for a group who occupied the same territory. Basehart indicates that the "Mogollon Apaches" are such a group.[37] These Apache were first mentioned by the Mexican chroniclers of the 1830's as those who occupied the Mogollon Mountains.

Not much was known about the "Mogollon Apaches" until 1856, when Vernon St. Vrain made a report on his explorations of the Gila River, Rio

---

[35]Basehart, op. cit., Section II, p. 85 and Maps 1 and 5.

[36]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

[37]Basehart, op. cit., Section I, p. 46.

[38]See Smith, op. cit., p. 21.

Prieto (the present San Francisco River), and Mogollon Mountains areas. He stated that the territory claimed by these Apache extended north of the Gila River to the pueblo of Acoma, and west of the Mogollon Mountains to the "Sierra del Fierro" and the "Culebra River." Their fields of maize were located along the latter and the San Francisco River.[39] The author assumes that the "Sierra del Fierro" were the San Francisco Mountains, while the "Culebra River" was the Blue River. Had the territory of the "Mogollon" extended any further west than the Blue River, it would have infringed on that of the San Carlos Apache.[40]

St. Vrain probably erred in reporting the northern extent of "Mogollon" territory, as neither the Mexican chroniclers nor Steck placed these Apache further north than the Mogollon Mountains.[41] In spite of this discrepancy, it is obvious that the territory of the "Mogollon Apaches" as reported by St. Vrain was the same supposedly occupied by the Bedonkohe. The author assumes, therefore, that these Apache were the same people.

If the "Mogollon" and Bedonkohe were the same people, the numerous leaders of the former mentioned in the documents of the 1850's must have been either band or local group leaders.[42] The Bedonkohe do not seem to have been divided into bands before the 1840's.

---

[39]See Basehart, op. cit., Section I, p. 40, and Section II, p. 109, no. 36.

[40]See Spicer, op. cit., Map 15, p. 237, and p. 244. The San Carlos Apache were formerly known as the "Pinaleño" and "Arivaipa."

[41]See Smith, op. cit., p. 21; and Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1856, p. 187.

[42]See Basehart, op. cit., Section I, pp. 39-41.

The territories of the two Warm Spring bands and of the Bedonkohe, or "Mogollon,"Apache from 1800 to 1857 are depicted on Map 2.

Commentary and Critique

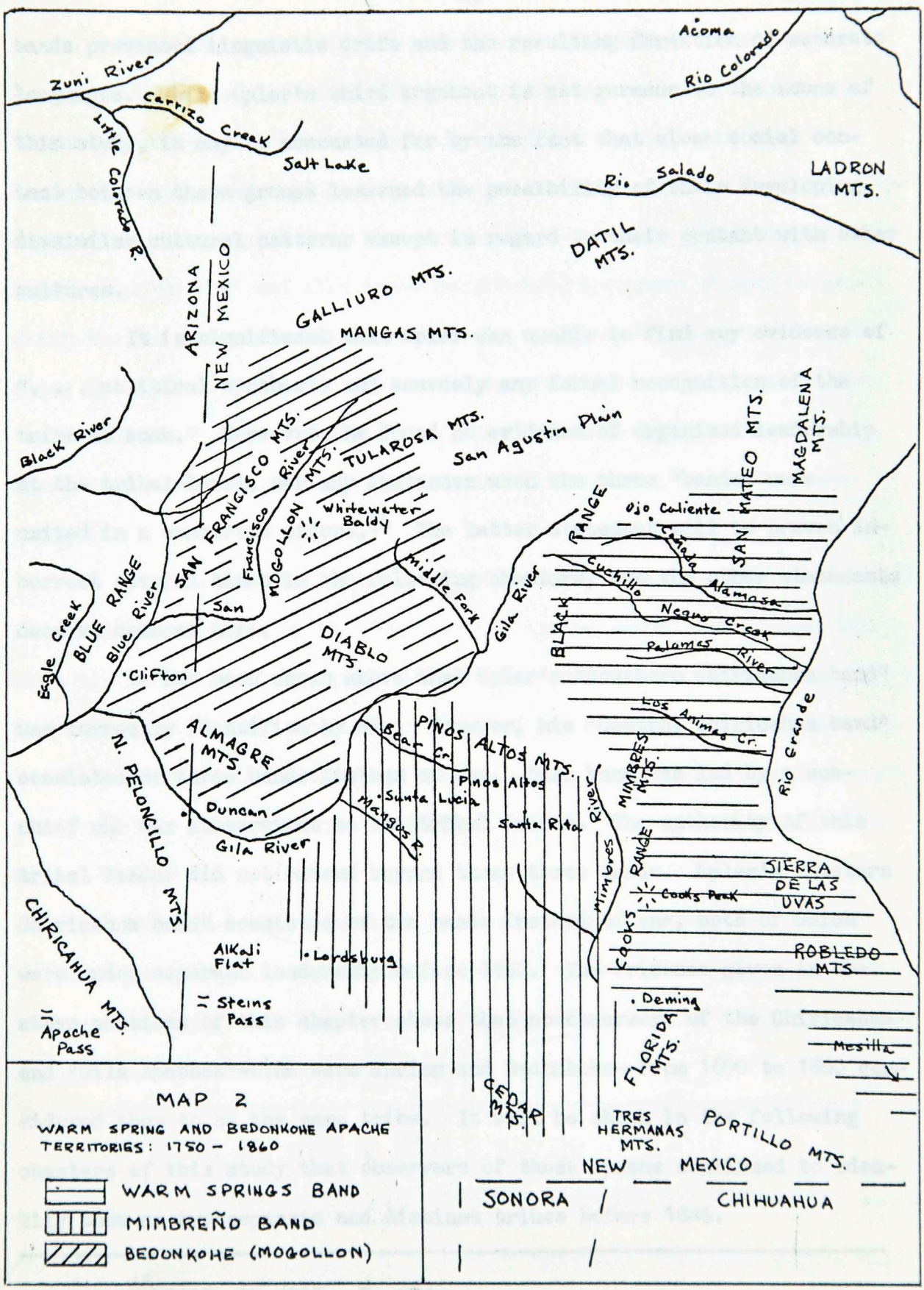
In the above pages of this chapter, the author has challenged Opler's and Gifford's identifications of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring Apache tribes, and has presented documentary evidence that they were two separate tribes rather than one. This has been done, however, without the reader having the benefit of observing Opler's reasons for having designated the Warm Spring as the "Eastern Chiricahua band," or Gifford's for having called the /ˇcók'ánén/ and /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ bands of the "Warm Spring Apache tribe." Both positions are examined below and weighed against the evidence presented in the above sections of this chapter.

Opler's basic reasons for having called the /ˇcók'ánén/ , /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/, and /ˇcihén·ⁿdá/ "bands" of the "Chiricahua Apache tribe" were as follow: (1) there was mutual use of each other's territories, (2) they spoke three dialects of the same language, (3) there were great similarities in their religious orientation, mythology, and material culture, and (4) social relations between them were intimate and never hostile.[43]

As the reader shall discover in later chapters, Opler's arguments can be accounted for by the facts that the Chiricahua and Warm Spring used each other's territories in their annual subsistence cycles, and were bound together in a political alliance preserved through intermarriage. Frequent contact between the three groups Opler designated as the Chiricahua

---

[43]See Opler, op. cit., p. 462.



MAP 2

WARM SPRING AND BEDONKOHE APACHE TERRITORIES: 1750 – 1860

WARM SPRINGS BAND

MIMBREÑO BAND

BEDONKOHE (MOGOLLON)

bands prevented linguistic drift and the resulting formation of separate languages. While Opler's third argument is not germane to the scope of this study, it may be accounted for by the fact that close social contact between these groups lessened the possibility of their developing dissimilar cultural patterns except in regard to their contact with other cultures.

It is significant that Opler was unable to find any evidence of ". . . political synthesis and scarcely any formal recognition of the tribe as such." Moreover, he found no evidence of organized leadership at the tribal level, nor any instances when the three "bands" were united in a concerted effort.[46] The latter statement will be proven incorrect several times in the following chapters, but the other statements deserve comment here.

It has been shown above that Opler's "Southern Chiricahua band" was correctly identified by him. However, his "Central Chiricahua band" consisted of three bands instead of one. Each band was led by a subchief who was subservient to the tribal leader. The authority of this tribal leader did not extend beyond these three bands. Opler's "Eastern Chiricahua band" consisted of two bands instead of one, both of which were under separate leadership before 1858. The evidence given in the above sections of this chapter shows that no observers of the Chiricahua and "Gila Apaches"--the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe--from 1690 to 1860 considered them to be the same tribe. It will be shown in the following chapters of this study that observers of these Apache continued to identify them as two separate and distinct tribes before 1886.

---

[46]Opler, op. cit., p. 463.

Opler suggests that the presence of agriculture among the Warm Spring, while it was almost completely lacking among the "Central" and "Southern" Chiricahua bands, can be accounted for by the fact that the former had more sustained contact with the Spaniards and Mexicans.[47] This argument is not supported by the documentary evidence. Spanish military expeditions in 1745 and 1775 found cultivated, irrigated fields of maize along the San Francisco River north of the present Clifton, Arizona, and along the Mimbres River.[48] These were apparently the first Spanish contacts with the Apache of these areas, the Bedonkohe and Warm Spring. Thus, it may be assumed that these Apache were farming before Spanish contact.

Gifford gave no reason for having designated the /čóḱʔánén/ and /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ as bands of the "Warm Spring Apache tribe" except that his Warm Spring informant reported this.[49] The fact that the Chiricahua and Warm Spring have lived together since 1872 may have led this informant to be confused as to the proper identity of these bands. This may also explain why Opler's informants identified the Warm Spring as a Chiricahua band.

The author hopes that he has sufficiently proven the existence of the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe Apache tribes, for his assumption that they were separate and distinct from the Chiricahua is of vital importance throughout the remainder of this study.

---

[47]Opler, op. cit., p. 372.

[48]See Basehart, op. cit., Section I, p. 25; and Thomas, op. cit., p. 43. Basehart's reference is incorrect.

[49]Gifford, op. cit., p. 4. This informant was supposedly a member of the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring Apache (USAAMCM, Op. cit., p. 156).

CHAPTER II

ABORIGINAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

As the social organization of the Chiricahua Apache has been fully described in several ethnographic sources, and the social organizations of the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe Apache were nearly identical to it, the author will use that of the Chiricahua as a basis for the following discussion and summarize the details. However, contrasts in the social organizations of these three tribes are noted under the appropriate headings.

Structural Units

The largest structural unit of Chiricahua, Warm Spring, or Bedonkohe society was the tribe. The nature and composition of this unit was discussed in the last chapter. The next largest unit was the band, followed by the local group and the extended family. The structure of these social units is discussed below under a separate heading for each.

The Band. As the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe Apache got much of their subsistence before 1884 from wild plant foods and game, it was impossible for all of the members of any of these tribes to live together in the same location. The variable distribution of these plant and animal resources required that the tribe spread out over a large area and organize in social groups of graded sizes. These groups, or

structural units of the tribe, were held together by loose bonds and often merged into groups of a larger size.[1]

As stated in the last chapter, the Bedonkohe were not organized into bands before the 1840's and merged with the Warm Spring and Chiricahua tribes after 1858. Therefore, the diagnostics on the structure of the band presented here apply only to the Chiricahua and Warm Spring bands.

The Chiricahua or Warm Spring band consisted of the members of the tribe who lived in an area small enough to permit concerted action for mutual defense or offense against an enemy. Its primary function was, therefore, military in nature. The band territory was not well defined and was not inviolate. The members of one band visited freely within the territory of another band without causing friction between them.[2] It will be shown in the next chapter that the Chiricahua and Warm Spring bands often gathered wild plant foods in each other's territories.

Opler claims that there was rarely an opportunity when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all of the members of a tribe. A Chiricahua's or Warm Spring's meaningful social contacts were by necessity limited to members of his own band.[3] As the reader shall discover in later chapters of this study, neither statement is entirely true. It may be stated here that the two Warm Spring bands and the Bedonkohe were

---

[1]See Morris E. Opler, "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, ed. Fred Eggan (2nd edition; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 176-177.

[2]Ibid., p. 177.

[3]Ibid., p. 179.

united in 1858, farmed together in the same locations, and were under the leadership of Mangas Coloradas. The Warm Spring bands ceased to function as separate social units after this date, and the Bedonkohe ceased to exist as a separate and distinct tribe. The frequent intermarriage between members of different bands and tribes certainly extended the meaningful contacts of a single Chiricahua or Warm Spring Apache beyond the structural limits of his own band. This fact is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The Local Group. Within the territory of each band, there were favorite landmarks--natural strongholds and spots where the winter's food supply could be safely stored. These were used as bases from which the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe conducted their subsistence activities. The groups of families who camped at these landmarks constituted the third smallest social groups of these tribes; they are designated by Opler as "local groups."

Each local group took its name from the landmark that served as its base.[4] Basehart collected information on fifty-four separate Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe local groups, some of which consisted of the members of more than one tribe. He provides their native names, the translations of these names, their location and tribal or band affiliation, and historical notes relating to each.[5]

Ceremonial events, social dances, and the girls' puberty rite were all held at the local group level, though other members of the band

---

[4]Opler, "Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," pp. 179-180.

[5]Basehart, op. cit., Section II, pp. 70-82.

or tribe might be present at these events. The local group was also the primary social unit for raiding and warfare. As will be seen later, it was also the unit responsible for the training of young men for participation in these activities.

The local group was a highly unstable unit, for, while the families that constituted it were usually related through marriage, there was no reason for them to camp together. They were there simply because they considered the location a favorable one or wished to ally themselves under a local group leader who was especially successful at raiding. They could leave one local group at any time and ally themselves with another. Food shortages, epidemics, the death of a local group leader, or factionalism often caused the dissolution of local groups.[6]

The Extended Family. The individual families which constituted the local group are what Opler calls "extended families." Among the Chiricahua, they were undoubtedly constituted on the basis of matrilocal residence. Its members consisted, then, of the parents, their unmarried sons, their daughters, and the husbands and children of their married daughters. As the reader shall discover below, the Bedonkohe and Warm Spring extended families were constituted primarily on the basis of patrilocal residence.

The members of the extended family stood in a definite relationship to each other which was clearly defined and obligatory. The extended family was responsible for the early training of the child, and tested his manhood, or her womanhood, in later years. It governed whom he or

---

[6]Opler, "Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," pp. 181-182.

she might or might not marry. The disgrace of one member of the family fell upon all of the other members. If one member of the family was killed, it was the obligation of the other members to avenge his or her death. Deceased members of the family were buried by the other family members.[7]

Kinship Terminology

Relationship among the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe has always been bilateral--that is, it is reckoned on both the father's and the mother's side. The kinship terms used in the native dialects of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring, and their applications, are shown on the following charts and in the following tables.

TABLE 1*

CHIRICAHUA KINSHIP TERMS
FOR COLLATERAL RELATIVES

A.	šǐnálé	H.	šǐmá·?
B.	šǐčiné	I.	šǐɣóyé, šǐdái
C.	šǐcóyé	J.	šǐkǫ̀·
D.	šǐcó	K.	šǐkis
E.	šǐtà·	L.	šǐlǫ̀h
F.	šǐdè· dé·?	M.	šǐɣé? šǐzą̂·
G.	šǐbé· žè?	N.	šǐyáčè?

*The letters (A,B,C, etc.) refer to the relatives on Chart I. These terms and this system of representing their applications were taken from Opler, An Apache Life-Way, Appendix, p. 479.

---

[7]Opler, "Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," p. 183.

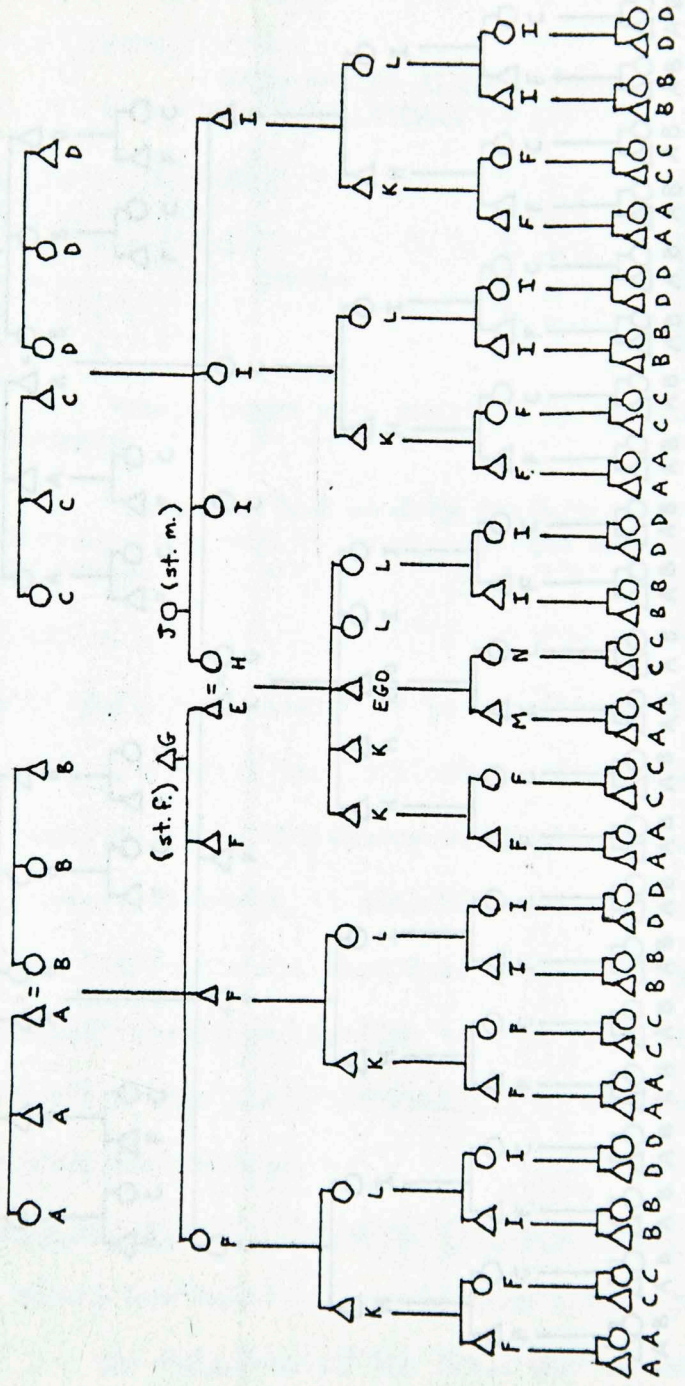


CHART 1. CHIRICAHUA APACHE KINSHIP CHART

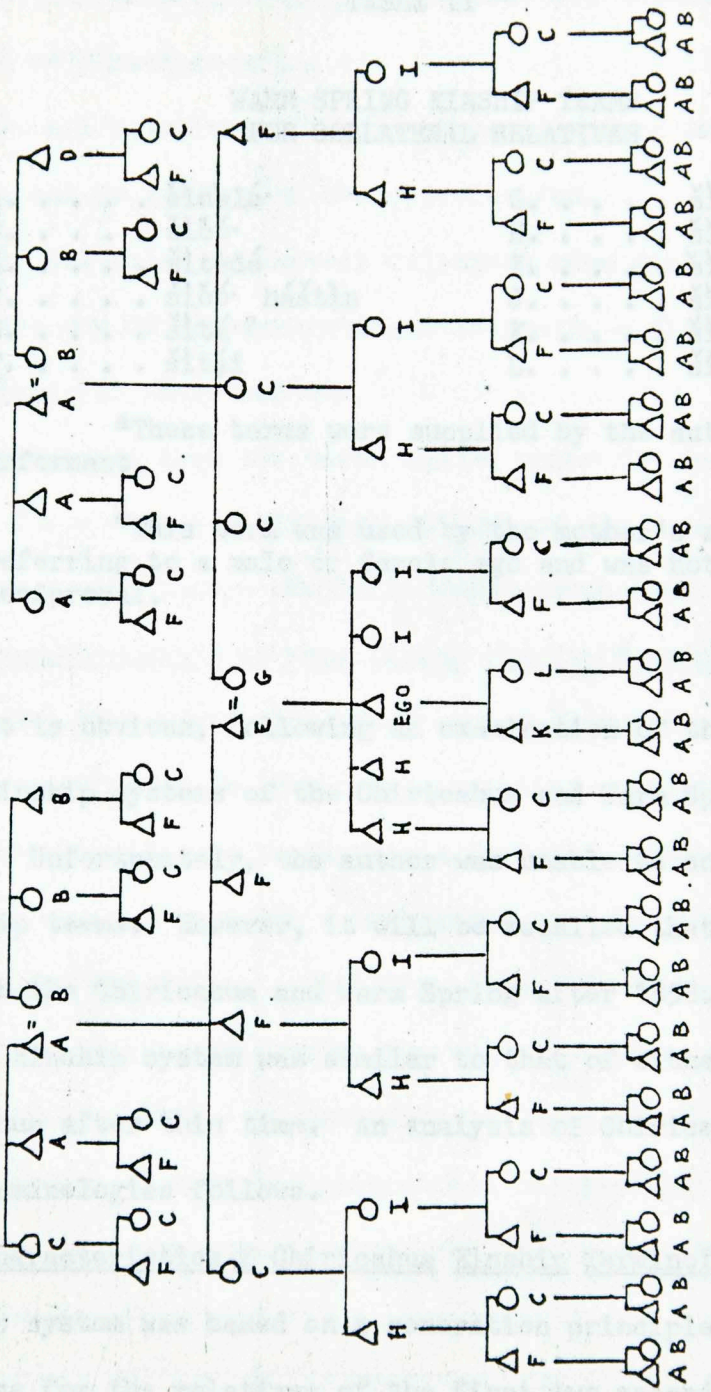


CHART 2. WARM SPRING APACHE KINSHIP CHART

TABLE II [a]

WARM SPRING KINSHIP TERMS
FOR COLLATERAL RELATIVES

A.	sídélé·	G.	sima·?
B.	sícó·	H.	síkis
C.	sítédé	I.	sí·á·
D.	sícó· hástin	J.	síɣwé·yé· [b]
E.	sitá·?	K.	síza·
F.	sitái	L.	siyécé·

[a]These terms were supplied by the author's oldest informant.

[b]This term was used by the mother's sister when referring to a male or female ego and was not self-reciprocal.

It is obvious, following an examination of these kinship terms, that the kinship systems of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring were not identical. Unfortunately, the author was unable to collect the Bedonkohe kinship terms. However, it will be recalled that these Apache merged with the Chiricahua and Warm Spring after 1858. It is assumed that their kinship system was similar to that of either the Warm Spring or Chiricahua after this time. An analysis of Chiricahua and Warm Spring kinship terminologies follows.

Characteristics of Chiricahua Kinship Terminology. The Chiricahua kinship system was based on a generation principle, with bifurcation of the terms for the relatives of the first two ascending generations. Following Robert N. Bellah, the characteristic features of Chiricahua kinship terminology may be listed as follow:

1) The terms within the nuclear family, except those for siblings,

were not extended to other relatives.

2) All terms for collateral relatives outside of the nuclear family were self-reciprocal.

3) All relatives of ego's generation were termed either sibling of the same sex or sibling of the opposite sex.

4) All other collateral relatives were distinguished by generation and the sex of the connecting relative in a direct line of descent, without regard for their own sex.[8]

Opler says that the terms listed under "I" were used interchangeably for a mother's sibling. Either of the terms listed under "M" was used for a son, though the latter one was the more common.[9]

Characteristics of Warm Spring Kinship Terminology. The Warm Spring kinship system was also based on the generation principle, but the terms for relatives of the first two ascending generations were bifurcate merging, except those for the father's father's sister and the mother's mother's brother. The author's informants reported that the relationship between ego and his father's father's sister was the same as that with his father's sister. Thus, these two relatives were referred to by the same term. The /háštìn/ appended to the term for the mother's mother's brother is a sign of respect, rather than relationship, and means "he who is old." The characteristic features of Warm Spring kinship terminology can be stated as follow:

---

[8]Robert N. Bellah, Apache Kinship Systems, The Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Prize Essay for 1950 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 70 and 72.

[9]Opler, "Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," p. 188.

1) The terms within the nuclear family, except those for siblings, were not extended to other relatives.

2) All terms for collateral relatives outside of the nuclear family, except that of the mother's sister for nieces and nephews, were self-reciprocal.

3) All relatives of ego's generation were termed either sibling of the same sex or sibling of the opposite sex.

4) The same terms were used in referring to the father's brother and the mother's brother, and for the father's sister and the mother's sister. This is called bifurcate merging terminology.

5) The father's mother's siblings and the mother's father's siblings were referred to by the same term, without regard to their sex. The father's father's brother and the mother's mother's sister were also referred to by the same term. The terms for the father's father's sister and the mother's mother's brother were discussed above.

6) Grandchildren and the children of grandparents siblings were referred to either as /sídélé·/ or /sícó·/.

Extension of Kinship Terms. Both the Chiricahua and Warm Spring extended the terms for siblings to all collateral relatives of their own generation. There was no terminological differentiation of parallel or cross-cousins, nor of older or younger siblings. Opler says that the Chiricahua extended the terms for relatives of any generation as far as collateral relationship would allow them to go.[10] The author's informants reported that the Warm Spring extended the use of collateral kinship

---

[10]Opler, "Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," pp. 188-189.

kinship terms only to the fourth generation of relationship. Thus, a Warm Spring could marry no one more than four generations related to himself or herself.

Consanguineal Kinship Behavior

Parent-Child Relations. The parents were primarily responsible for the care of their children, though other members of the extended family might help. The discipline of the child rested firmly in the hands of the parents, who were the sole agents of physical discipline. Opler says that Chiricahua parents rarely resorted to corporal punishment except when it was deemed absolutely necessary. The mother usually relied upon the folk beliefs of the tribe concerning evil omens or mythological creatures to keep the child in line. Geronimo indicated that the same method of discipline was employed by the Bedonkohe.[11]

The author's informants reported that the Warm Spring used both ridicule and corporal punishment to discipline children. Any adult in the local group might ridicule a child, whether a relative or not, though only the parents had the right to use physical punishment. When a child was living with his maternal grandparents--Warm Spring children visited their paternal grandparents, but did not live with them--his grandparents would send for the father if the child misbehaved.

Chiricahua boys were gradually drawn away from the nuclear families through their training for warfare and raiding by the local group leader, and when they married, they shifted their residence to their wive's camps. After his marriage, the Chiricahua man often visited his

---

[11]Opler, "Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," pp. 191-192; and Barrett (ed.), op. cit., pp. 19 and 25.

parents and could be called on by them for aid. In the event of divorce or the death of his wife, the man could always return to his parents' camp.[12]

The author's informants indicated that Warm Spring boys were usually trained for warfare and raiding by their mothers' brothers, while their fathers, father's brothers, or either grandfather were responsible for their training in hunting. When a Warm Spring man married, he took residence in his wife's camp until the first child was born, then returned with his family to that of his parents. Therefore, Warm Spring men spent most of their lives in close contact with their parents, while the women left their extended families and local groups to take residence with those of their husbands. Geronimo indicated that the same customs were observed by the Bedonkohe.[13]

Grandparent-Grandchild Relations. Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe grandparents took as much active interest in their grandchildren as possible. As Chiricahua children lived in matrilocal extended families, their contacts were stronger with their maternal grandparents than with their paternal ones, though the grandparent-grandchild relations were no different in the case of the latter.[14]

The author's informants reported that, though residence was usually patrilocal among the Warm Spring, children lived with their maternal grandparents after they were approximately two years of age,

---

[12]Bellah, op. cit., p. 72. Bellah drew his information on Chiricahua social organization from several sources by Opler.

[13]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., pp. 37 and 38.

[14]Bellah, op. cit., p. 73.

but did a lot of visiting between their mother's extended family and their father's. Thus, their contacts with their paternal grandparents and their maternal grandparents were about equal. Geronimo did not indicate which grandparents the Bedonkohe child lived with, though it is assumed that these were the paternal ones. As the reader shall discover below, the Bedonkohe appear to have had much closer relations with their paternal relatives than their maternal ones.

The behavior of the grandparents toward their grandchildren was one of indulgence and great affection. Although the relations between these relatives were friendly and relaxed, there is no evidence of a joking relationship between them. When the grandchildren were grown, they were expected to provide for their grandparents. They could inherit ceremonial power and knowledge from their grandparents as well as their parents, but nothing else was inherited from either by the Chiricahua.[15] It will be shown in the next chapter that Warm Spring children inherited agricultural land from their parents or grandparents.

Sibling and Cousin Relations. Behavior between siblings and cousins of the opposite sex was reserved and respectful. These relatives were forbidden from each other's company after they reached adolescence. Joking of a sexual nature was also forbidden. One of the author's informants stated that joking of a sexual nature was also forbidden among Warm Spring siblings and cousins of the same sex. Incest between siblings and cousins of the opposite sex was equated with witchcraft and still is among the Fort Sill Apache. Formerly, such persons were burned or beaten to death.

---

[15]Bellah, op. cit., p. 73.

Avoidance on request was practiced by cousins of the opposite sex, but never by actual siblings. Cousins who avoided each other were obligated to give each other whatever was asked for.

The relation between siblings and cousins of the same sex was strongly solidary and familiar. These relatives were each other's confidants, companions, and defenders. If a person were murdered or offended by insult, his sibling of the same sex would likely demand retaliation. Sisters shared many everyday tasks, while brothers were frequently companions on the raid and warpath.[16]

One of the author's informants reported that older children among the Warm Spring were obligated to care for their younger siblings when the parents were away from home.

> It's mostly the girls who care for their younger brothers and sisters, but, if they don't have an older sister, an older brother has to do that. I know that I did that at Fort Sill. I was the oldest and often I had to care for my younger brothers and sisters--do the cooking, the washing, change their diapers, and fix their bottles. All of the time these older kids are taking care of the younger ones, they're picking up as they're going along from still older ones. . . .

This informant stated positively that this practice of leaving the care of the young children to their older siblings was designed to make siblings dependent upon each other.

Parent's Sibling-Sibling's Child Relations. Among the Chiricahua, no joking patterns or specialized obligations were observed by ego and his parents' siblings, though economic assistance in the time of need or in the giving of ceremonies was expected.[17] The author's

---

[16] Bellah, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

[17] Ibid., p. 75.

informants reported that economic assistance was expected of these relatives among the Warm Spring, and the girl's aunts and uncles were usually the ones who sponsored her puberty rite. However, ego was forbidden from joking in a risque manner with his parents' siblings. There were also specialized obligations between the mother's brother, the mother's mother's brother, and a male ego.

Although Warm Spring boys might be trained for warfare and raiding by either the father's brother or the mother's brother, it was usually the latter who fulfilled this responsibility. The mother's mother's brother trained his great nephew if the mother's brother were deceased. This custom was in keeping with the parents' delegation of the responsibility for the care and training of children to older siblings and grandparents. In effect, Warm Spring males were driven towards independence from their extended families, who depended upon them when they reached adulthood. After the boy had been on four raids as an apprentice and was accepted as a full-fledged warrior, he frequently went on raids or the warpath with his mother's brother. The two were expected to defend each other in times of danger and were close companions at all times. Geronimo indicated that Bedonkohe boys were trained for warfare and raiding by their fathers.[18]

The author's informants reported that, among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring, the parents' siblings were expected to become the foster parents of their nieces and nephews who were either orphaned or abandoned. Geronimo reported that the eldest son assumed the care of his mother and

---

[18]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 19.

siblings after the father's death.[19] Apparently, Bedonkohe children had much closer contact with their parents throughout life than did the Warm Spring, as all of Geronimo's statements indicate.

The author's informants stated that the child's cradle and the married man's first dwelling among the Warm Spring were constructed by the father's sister.

The Treatment of Deceased Relatives. As stated above, it was the members of the extended family who were responsible for the burial of their deceased members. Among the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe, the personal property of the deceased was burned or otherwise destroyed, and all of his stock were killed. Warriors were buried with their weapons and favorite horses.[20]

One of the author's informants reported that--

> Among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring . . . when people close died, like a father, brother, or uncle, they shot off a lot of ammunition. They didn't shoot at anything, just fired here and there in the air. They did that because they thought he [the relative] would have preferred to die in battle. They never did this with a bow and arrows; just with guns.

Among all three tribes mentioned above, it was taboo to speak the name of a deceased relative. Since the aboriginal system of naming caused an individual to have a name that also signified a plant, animal, or historic event in which he had participated, any part of his name which was used in everyday speech was replaced by a synonym until the memory of the deceased relative was long forgotten.[21]

---

[19]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 37.

[20]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 472-475; and Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 36.

[21]This information was given by the author's informants.

The author's informants reported that most of the mourning was done by the women. The mourning period lasted from six months to two years, during which the mourners wore old clothing. At the end of the mourning period, the old clothing was burned. Female mourners who were closely related to the deceased cut their hair extremely short as a sign of their grief. It is understandable that the close relations between collateral relatives caused considerable sadness when one of them died or was killed.

Marriage

As stated above, a Chiricahua was forbidden from marriage with any collateral relative, no matter how far removed. Warm Spring were forbidden from marriage with any collateral relative within four genera-tions of relationship. The girl's parents had the decisive voice as to whom she should marry. As the boy's parents supplied the wedding gifts --always horses--they had considerable influence in his choice. A go-between handled the arrangements between the two families. This was rarely a relative of the prospective groom, since his collateral rela-tives contributed to the bride price. Although Opler's informants stated that there was no bride price among the Chiricahua, since the prospective groom simply offered gifts which, if accepted, signified his acceptance by the girl's parents, Tevis makes it very clear that the girl's father stated the number of horses he would accept for her.[22] The author's informants reported the same practice among the Warm Spring.

---

[22]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 162; and Tevis, op. cit., p. 128. Geronimo (Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 38) stated positively that a bride price was observed by the Bedonkohe.

As stated above, Chiricahua men took residence with their wives' extended families after marriage, while the Warm Spring man lived in the vicinity of his wife's extended family only until the first child was born, then returned with his family to his extended family's camp. The Bedonkohe, as stated earlier, apparently took residence after marriage with the husband's extended family.

Affinial Kinship Behavior

Immediately after marriage, a Chiricahua, Warm Spring, or Bedonkohe man was obligated to aid his affinal relatives, especially his parents-in-law, in all ways possible. This is reflected by the affinal kinship terminology. Chiricahua and Warm Spring men and women referred to their affines as "one for whom I carry burdens," and were referred to by their affines as "one who carries burdens for me."[23] The Warm Spring extended these terms to their spouses and the spouses of their collateral relatives. The burden referred to was game among the Chiricahua, and game and agricultural products among the Warm Spring. Each married man among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring had to provide for at least four couples: (1) himself and his wife, (2) his parents-in-law, (3) his paternal grandparents, and (4) his maternal grandparents.[24]

Chiricahua and Warm Spring men were obligated to avoid their wives' parents and both grandmothers. All of their wives' collateral relatives might be avoided on request. Chiricahua and Warm Spring women were expected to show formal respect for their mother-in-law's siblings

---

[23] See Bellah, op. cit., p. 76.

[24] These statements were made by the author's informants.

and parents' siblings, as well as their father-in-law's siblings and parents' siblings. They did not avoid or show formal respect for their parents-in-law or the parents of their parents-in-law.[25]

Men among both tribes might marry as many women as they could afford, and their plural wives were often sisters. Gifford says that the post-mortem sororate was obligatory among both tribes if the widower's parents-in-law so ordained it. Among the Warm Spring, a widower might forfeit a horse for a breach of the post-mortem sororate. Chiricahua widowers might marry within a few months of their wives' death with the permission of their parents-in-law, though widows and widowers were expected to wait one to two years before remarriage among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring. If the deceased wife had no close relatives of marriageable age, the widower did as he pleased.

The post-mortem levirate was also required, and Chiricahua and Warm Spring women who evaded it were punished as adulteresses by having their nasal septums amputated. Among the Warm Spring, the offender was sometimes killed instead, while Chiricahua offenders and their new husbands might have to pay horses and other property to the woman's former parents-in-law for a breach of the levirate. Warm Spring men occasionally married their brother-in-law's daughter or their mother's brother's widow, while this was the rule among the /káí·ahéné/ band of the Chiricahua.[26]

---

[25]See Bellah, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

[26]Gifford, op. cit., pp. 67 and 164.

Adultery and Divorce

Adulterous wives among the Warm Spring were punished by either killing them or cutting off their nasal septums--and occasionally the ears too. The injured husband among the Chiricahua was required to get his father-in-laws's approval through a go-between before he punished his wife. However, his parents-in-law might ask him to take payment for the offense instead. The wife's lover was always killed among the Chiricahua, while the injured husband among the Warm Spring might seize or destroy his wife's lover's property instead.[27]

Although Gifford's informants reported that sterility was a cause for divorce among both the Chiricahua and Warm Spring, one of the author's informants stated that this was not always the case among the latter. A man whose wife was unable to bear him children might take Mexican children captive on a raid and he and his wife would then raise these children as their own. Adultery was always a cause for divorce, as was idleness on the part of the husband or wife. Among both tribes, divorce was accomplished by physical separation. The children were left in the custody of the mother, who let the father keep them after she remarried.[28]

Maturation

The essential features of the girl's puberty rite among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring, as reported by the author's informants, were as follow. To be eligible for participation in this ceremony, a girl must

---

[27] Gifford, op. cit., pp. 68 and 165.

[28] Ibid.

have passed her first menses and be still chaste. If she were not a virgin, no ceremony of this type could be performed. Those women who participated in the girl's puberty rite were those who had the highest status in the tribe and, therefore, brought a higher bride price.

The ceremony lasted for four days, in which the girl, or girls, of the extended family for whom the rite was held lived in a conical brush dwelling set apart from the rest of the camp. Their female cousins who had already participated in the puberty rite might live there with them and assist them in the observance of their duties. During the day, the girl was required to run four times around a post set upright in the ground one hundred paces in front of the door of the dwelling. The dwelling faced on the east, and the course was between the door of the dwelling and the post. A basket of fruit was placed on top of the post on the fourth day, and was distributed to the young children of the extended family on the conclusion of the rite.

On each of the four nights of the ceremony, the girl and her companions participated in the ritual Fire Dance, or "dance of the Mountain Spirits."[29] They danced with short, quick steps, in time to the beat of the shaman's drum, between the four masked dancers and the clown. Their participation in this, the most sacred of Apache rituals, served to insure them of stable marriages, healthy children, successful childbirth, and their acceptance by the entire local group as having attained the full status of womanhood.

---

[29]For a full description of this dance, see Morris Edward Opler, "Mountain Spirits of the Chiricahua Apache," The Masterkey, XX, No. 4 (July, 1946), pp. 125-131.

The training of boys in warfare and raiding began before the age of puberty--about the age of nine or ten--and included early morning sweat baths, baths in cold water, and tests of physical endurance. After the boy had reached the age of fifteen or sixteen, he went on four raids as an apprentice. He was not allowed to participate in the fighting or seizure of stock and other property, but was required to gather firewood for the warriors, tend their horses, clean their rifles, or any other menial tasks they asked of him. After having gone on four raids, the boy was accepted as a full fledged warrior. One of the author's informants reported that the Warm Spring referred to these boys as /nèsìnʎí·/, meaning "You have become a man"--

> But that isn't enough. You've got to say why. So they tell him, " nèsìnʎí· dìkáyè· báyá·." That means, "You have become a man, You have completed all of your training." He is eligible to go to war then, to get married and raise a family, and to take all of the responsibilities a man has.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION BEFORE 1860

Seasonal Group Movements

Certain food resources, medicinal plants, and wild tobacco were either scarce or totally lacking in the former territories of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe. These deficiencies were met through the mutual use of certain tribal and band territories, as is shown by the evidence of seasonal group movements.

The winter camps of the Chiricahua were concentrated in the Huachuca and Chiricahua Mountains and the Sierra Madres. Small groups or allied families would migrate to the agave grounds in the spring. After the harvest, some groups migrated to the Chiricahua, Animas, or Florida Mountains; others spent the summer in the Almagre and Mogollon Mountains in Bedonkohe territory. All of the groups began to return to the winter bases in early fall, harvesting acorns and other indigenous staples *en route*.

Basehart says that some Warm Spring groups--

> . . . appear to have roamed in the spring from northern bases to the Chiricahua Mountain area to gather mescal [*Agave parryii*, et. al.] and *Yucca elata*, [italics mine] while others moved into the Mogollon or Burros Mountains. Journeys into Mexico might also be made at about this time. For the most part, summer and fall camps shifted throughout the Gila wilderness, with hunting and gathering the major

> occupation. Some groups, it was said, regularly returned to the Chiricahua Mountain area at this time in order to collect datil [the fruit of Yucca baccata].[1]

Woodworth Clum remarks that the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring made annual summer migrations from Janos, Chihuahua, to Santa Rita, New Mexico.[2] It is presumed that these migrations were not for the purpose of trade with the Mexicans alone. As seen in the first chapter, the Bedonkohe frequently camped with the Chiricahua at Apache Pass, in the Huachuca Mountains, and along the Rio Bavispe. They were, therefore, able to draw on food resources outside of their own territory.

In the following discussions of the subsistence patterns of these tribes, no attention will be given to gathering, fishing, or raiding methods. Hunting and farming methods, however, shall be discussed in detail, as they provide a necessary background by which to analyze changes in male roles.

Gathering

The gathering of wild plant foods held first place among the subsistence activities of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe, and was primarily a female pursuit. However, whole families were involved in the harvesting of acorns, piñon nuts, and agave. The men also accompanied

---

[1] Basehart, op. cit., Section II, pp. 101-103. Both agave and peyote (Lophophora williamsii) are known as "mescal". To prevent any possible confusion, the author has avoided the use of the latter word except in quotes.

[2] Woodworth Clum, Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum (Cambridge: The Riverside Press for Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1936), p. 19. This biography is based on the elder Clum's diaries. Tevis, op. cit., p. 33, reported that this band were hunting along the San Francisco River in the fall of 1856.

the women on long gathering expeditions when they were needed to provide protection and help with some of the heavier work.[3]

Agave was the most important indigenous staple, and was gathered in the spring. Basehart claims that some groups made extended journeys to secure this plant, but it is difficult to see why. It was found in the territories of all three tribes and of the bands of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring. Even local groups would not have had to travel far to find it. Yet, Basehart found that some Warm Spring groups gathered agave in the foothills of the Chiricahua Mountains. They may have been visiting affinal relatives acquired through intermarriage at the time, or this may have been an especially productive food area mutually exploited by the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe. No matter where agave was gathered, the collecting party would spend several weeks at the site of the harvest. One of Basehart's informants reported that every family attempted to gather forty to sixty crowns each year.

Acorns contributed about as much as agave to the subsistence of these tribes. The collecting parties would spend a period of a month or more every fall in temporary camps near the oak groves. It is not likely that they were able to acquire enough acorns at any one site to satisfy their needs, as Basehart's informants indicated that each family would collect about five hundred pounds when possible. Presumably, they exhausted one grove then moved on to another until their needs were satisfied. Walnuts were ordinarily collected during the course of acorn gathering expeditions.

---

[3]Basehart, op. cit., Section II, p. 93.

Mesquite beans and piñon nuts, the next most important wild plant staples, were gathered in late summer. These resources were apparently lacking in the territories of the three northern bands of the Chiricahua and the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring. It is probable that the former bands obtained their supply of mesquite beans on the southern slopes of the Animas and Almagre Mountains. The Mimbreño, who spent every summer trading at Janos, Chihuahua, probably joined the northern bands of the Chiricahua in the Animas Mountains or the /ⁿdé·ɬⁿdáí/ band northwest of Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, in the mesquite harvest.

Piñon nuts were obtained only in the Magdalena, San Mateo, and Almagre Mountains and the northern reaches of the Black Range.[4] The first two areas and the last lay in the territory of the Warm Springs band of the Warm Spring tribe. It will be recalled that the /ⁿdé·ɬⁿdáí/ band of the Chiricahua made trips to /tì·gó·tél/ to visit the Warm Springs band. They may have done so during the summer of each year, thus ensuring their participation in the piñon harvest with their hosts. The Bedonkohe, the three northern bands of the Chiricahua, and the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring probably acquired their supplies of piñon nuts in the Almagre Mountains, as is shown by the evidence presented in the last section.

Datil and tuna (the fruits of the prickly pear cactus), though less important staples than the plants named above, were felt to have as good storage properties. Both were obtained in the fall, apparently during the course of acorn gathering expeditions. However, it is likely

---

[4]See Basehart, op. cit., Section II, pp. 96-97 and Map 4; and Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 356 and 360-363.

that the northern Chiricahua bands gathered datil and tunas in the Florida, Animas, and Almagre Mountains before returning to their winter bases.

Those wild plant foods with the best storage properties were unquestionably the most important, since the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe had to depend upon their stores of dried meat and plant products from late fall until mid-spring. The collection of cactus fruits involved the cooperation of whole families, but probably to a lesser extent than in the harvests of agave, acorns, and piñon nuts. Medicinal plants were collected in the course of regular foraging expeditions.[5]

Wild tobacco was obtained just south of Laguna de Gúzman in northern Chihuahua. Bartlett and Tevis note that the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring and at least one Chiricahua band made annual migrations to this region. Tevis notes that, on one occasion, the same Chiricahua band spent several weeks in a spring camp near Steins Peak in the Northern Peloncillo Mountains while the women gathered wild tobacco.[6]

Hunting

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of hunting in the role behavior of Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe men. It was an exclusively male pursuit, and usually an individual one. The latter fact has strong implications, for married men were obliged to provide for their parents-in-law as well as their own families. All men, whether married or single, had to provide for the widows and aged in their camps.

---

[5]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 355-363.

[6]Bartlett, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 323; and Tevis, op. cit., p. 106.

The training of boys in hunting and warfare was designed to prepare them to meet these demands on attaining full manhood.[7] As one of the author's informants put it:

> The worst thing an Apache man could do was to be lazy. That training they had to go through was supposed to be good any time. It prepared them for war time and peace both. A man had to be busy every day from sunrise to sunset. When they're at peace, no man should be caught sleeping after the sun has risen or taking a nap. He worked in the fields or hunted. . .

The reference to work in the fields applied only to the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe, as will be seen in the next section of this chapter. Apparently, the custom of hunting individually or in small groups of two to ten men was supposed to make the hunters independent of their families' support in the engagement of their responsibilities. One informant stated, when asked whether a man's wife made any preparations for his return from the hunt:

> She didn't have to prepare anything for him. Sometimes they went out and didn't tell their wives how long they would be gone. Usually they went out just a day, but maybe it would be longer.

However, it appears that the Warm Spring held a modification of the Fire Dance before every deer hunt. Instead of the usual four-night ceremony, this rite lasted only one and, instead of the usual four "horned" dancers, there were only two. It was held at some distance from the camps in a brush corral with the entrance to the east. Old women were allowed to witness it, and prayed for their sons' success on the hunt. Before the dance, each hunter marked a cross of tule pollen on each "horned" dancer's chest, back, and shoulders. The shaman sang four

---

[7] See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 74, 163-164, and 323. The author's informants reported the same diagnostics.

songs, while the "horned" dancers and all the hunters who owned deer masks danced to the accompaniment of his drum.[8]

This is the only source bearing any mention of such a hunting ceremony, though its occurrence is entirely possible. As Opler says--

> The Chiricahua Apache speak of 'animal homes' in the interior of mountains where the supernaturals keep the animals. When game is scarce it is said that too few animals are being released from the mountain homes to roam on the earth's surface. The Mountain Spirits, and particularly the clowns, are often described as the caretakers of deer, antelope, and mountain sheep.[9]

Though deer and antelope were hunted sporadically throughout the year, there were two principal hunting seasons. The first was in the fall, when deer, elk, and mountain sheep were sought. The other principle hunting season was the spring, when antelope were hunted on the plains.[10] Bison were apparently hunted in the fall. Betzinez gives an account of a bison hunting expedition in the fall of 1870 to a point east of the Pecos River in New Mexico. As this expedition was composed of Bedonkohe and Warm Spring, it may be assumed that the former hunted bison before 1860 in this region, rather than in their own territory.[11]

Individual and small-group hunting of deer and antelope were accomplished primarily by the use of decoys. Chiricahua and Warm Spring hunters used game calls and masks, the latter consisting of the skins of these animals with the antlers or prongs left on. The Bedonkohe, on the

---

[8]Gifford, op. cit., p. 87.

[9]Opler, "Mountain Spirits of the Chiricahua Apache," p. 129n.

[10]Basehart, op. cit., Section II, p. 98.

[11]See Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 33-35, and Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 31.

other hand, did not use masks, but crawled up to their quarry with weeds or bushes held before them. Decoys were not used when hunting elk, mountain sheep, or mountain lions.[12]

Deer and antelope were also taken by the use of drives. The herd was started past mounted hunters at different stations along the course, who took up the pursuit in relays until the herd was worn by exhaustion. The Warm Spring occasionally used dogs in antelope drives, but never when hunting deer.[13]

Wild turkeys were hunted only by the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe. One of the author's informants reported that the Warm Spring hunted them at night, apparently in small groups. Geronimo reported that the Bedonkohe drove turkeys from the banks of streams onto the plains, where they were run down by mounted hunters. The same method was used to take rabbits. Opler's informants reported that few Chiricahua ate fowls of any variety, but never turkeys.[14] This fact shall be of great importance in a later chapter in regards to the failure of the Chiricahua to adopt poultry raising as an economic activity.

Rodents, such as cottontail rabbits and wood rats, were taken either by individual hunters, small groups, or in communal drives. Jack rabbits and prairie dogs were rarely eaten, but were secured in the same

---

[12]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 319, 324, 325, and 327, and Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 31.

[13]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 319-320 and 324-325, and Gifford, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[14]See Barrett (ed.), op. cit., pp. 32-33; and Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 328.

manner as other rodents.[15] However, rodents and ducks were usually hunted by small boys who were too young to hunt larger game.[16]

Large communal surrounds were undertaken to secure antelope, peccaries, and rabbits. Antelope surrounds were led by hunt masters, whose offices were not fixed but apparently held only for the duration of the hunt. Only the /^{n}de$^{\prime\prime}$i^{n}dáí/ band of the Chiricahua hunted peccaries. The other Chiricahua bands and the Warm Spring would not eat these animals because they ate snakes.[17] The Warm Spring and Bedonkohe hunted bison from horseback in large communal drives.[18]

Snakes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, and turtles were among the animals not eaten by the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, or Bedonkohe. Bear meat was strictly taboo among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring, but was eaten by the Bedonkohe.[19] Britton Davis, who was military supervisor for these tribes from 1884 through 1885, gave the following as the reason for the taboo on beat meat:

> The Apache would kill a bear but would not touch it after killing it. They claimed that bears were the embodied spirits of men and women who had committed crimes while in this world and were suffering punishment for them. They could be put out of their misery but

---

[15]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 325-326; and Gifford, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[16]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 326; and John C. Cremony, Life Among the Apaches (first trade edition; Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954), pp. 27-28. This book was first published in 1868 by A. Roman and Company, Publishers, San Francisco.

[17]See Gifford, op. cit., p. 7; and Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 326-327.

[18]See Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 34.

[19]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 33; and Gifford, op. cit., p. 106.

must not be touched for fear that the departing spirit might enter the body of the person touching them.[20]

Tevis reported that the Chiricahua would not eat bear meat because they believed that the spirits of dead warriors sometimes turned into bears, and argued that this was the reason why bears are so brave. They seldom attacked bears unless the latter were the aggressors.[21] Davis and Tevis are probably both right in the reasons they give for the taboo on bear meat, as the author's informants reported that the Warm Spring and Chiricahua both believed that the spirits of the departed might be embodied in bears, owls, coyotes, or wolves. It is odd that the Bedonkohe ate bears when their neighbors had a morbid fear of these animals. For this reason, the author takes some reservation in accepting Geronimo's statement that the flesh and hides of bears were used by the Bedonkohe.

Fish were eaten only by the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ band of the Chiricahua and by the Warm Spring, and were taken with either fish spears or arrows. River mussels and frog legs were not eaten in aboriginal times.[22]

Agriculture

Opler's informants reported that none of the Chiricahua except the /čók'ánén/ band did any farming, and these did so on a very limited

---

[20]Britton Davis, The Truth About Geronimo, ed. M. M. Quaife, foreword by Robert M. Utley (2nd printing; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 110.

[21]Tevis, op. cit., p. 130.

[22]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 330-332; Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 33; and Gifford, op. cit., pp. 10 and 90.

scale.[23] The Warm Spring and Bedonkohe, on the other hand, were farming as early as 1750, as was seen in the first chapter. One of the author's informants reported that agriculture was well entrenched among the Warm Spring before Spanish contact.

> The way old man G. told it, they had been growing corn long before that. The first one that started it, he said, was this medicine man. He went away from the band he was living with for about two years; he was just a hermit. He had this place way up on a mountain near a spring with clear water. He grew corn and tobacco up there in a big field, and stored the corn he didn't eat in some caves. After he had a lot saved up and was ready to plant again, he came back and told all those people to follow him up there--he had something he wanted to show them. They all went up there, and he showed them his corn. Then he told them he was going to show them how to get that much corn too. He showed them how to dig those canals, how to use a digging stick, and plant those seed. Then, when those ears were ready to pick, he showed them how to harvest that corn and cut the stalks; and told them how to dig up the roots each year when they were going to plant again. His name was /Dánì· gìdé/. G. said that he was the greatest medicine man who ever lived in the Warm Spring tribe.

One of Opler's informants reported that only six or seven families out of one hundred in a big Warm Spring encampment might clear and plant fields; that the fields were located on separate tracts of land, and were sometimes as large as thirty acres. Opler says that it is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families existed before 1872, and thinks that this informant must have exaggerated the size of the fields.[24]

Among the Bedonkohe, "It was common for many families to cultivate land in the same valley and share the burden of protecting the growing crops from destruction by the ponies of the tribe, or by deer and other animals." The fields were usually no larger than two acres,

---

[23] Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 372.

[24] Ibid., p. 374.

and were apparently owned by the families who cultivated them.[25]

The entire family participated in the planting, cultivation, and harvest among the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe. The men were responsible for clearing the fields and digging the irrigation canals. When they were away on hunts or raids, the work in the fields was left to their wives and children. The women were excused from agricultural labors if they were pregnant, sick, or had young children to look after.

The fields were located near springs, streams, or rivers, and were irrigated by digging a ditch from the source of water to the edge of the field. Water was allowed to flow through the ditch until the field was soaked, then the ditch was dammed with dirt.

The planting began in May ". . . when the ground was soft and easy to work." With the harvest coming in the fall, it is obvious that the growing season coincided with the gathering activities of the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe. It is improbable that any people would take the trouble to plant crops they have to abandon for long periods of time. The author assumes, therefore, that extended gathering expeditions were either made by non-agricultural families, or that they were not of as long duration as the evidence seems to suggest. If these expeditions were made by non-agricultural families, it is obvious that the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe had achieved some degree of specialization in their subsistence patterns before these were radically changed through American contact.

---

[25]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 33. The rights of tenure to agricultural land are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

There is one other indication of specialization in the subsistence activities of the Warm Spring. One of Opler's informants reported that the non-agricultural families among these Apache obtained domestic plant staples by either sharecropping or trading game for surplus crops.[26] The acquisition of these staples through trade may be an indication that farmers spent less time hunting than did non-farmers. In this event, both hunter and farmer benefited from this trade. Betzinez claims that one of the Bedonkohe chiefs stored dried beef, venison, and maize in caves, then issued these supplies to needy families during the winter.[27] This certainly eliminated the need for trade in surplus crops among the Bedonkohe. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether sharecropping was practiced by this tribe.

Maize was the most important crop and one of the most important staples. One of the author's informants reported that the Warm Spring--

> . . . raised as much corn as they could, and dried and stored it for winter. Corn was the most important crop in winter; it was the main thing they lived on then. . . . There was a good reason why they grew more corn than anything else. Now we have the refrigerator and deep freeze, but then they didn't. In that hot climate they lived in, on a desert--and stuff wouldn't keep very long in the mountains in that country either--corn is the only crop that would keep. Pumpkins and chili they raised too, but they don't keep. Vegetables like that you have to eat right away, but you can keep corn for a long time.

Presumably, this statement could apply to the Bedonkohe as well. It is obvious that both they and the Warm Spring grew far more maize than they needed for their subsistence, for it was used in the manufacture of a native corn beer called /tìžwíní/. The recipes given by Tevis

---

[26]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 374.

[27]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 14.

and Opler cannot be improved on by the author, except that his informants reported that the unstrained mash was called /tùlpàé·/ and was used as a food substitute and a medicine for kidney trouble.[28] As /tìžwìní/ appears in the literature as tiswin, the latter spelling will be used throughout the remainder of this study. Opler claims that the Chiricahua obtained the maize they used in the manufacture of tiswin by trade or theft from the Mexicans, Pueblo, or American settlers.[29]

It is important that the reader see the apparent connection between the consumption of tiswin and what Ernest Beaglehole calls "cultural compensation", for there is frequent allusion to it in the following chapters. This term, as used by Beaglehole--

> . . . refers to the emphasizing of one emotion by a culture, to the extent that compensation must be offered, either to insure greater satisfaction from patterned behavior or the satisfaction of emotional-impulse drives that receive no overt expression in the general patterns of culture.[30]

The Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe did not emphasize any emotion to such a degree. Rather, every individual in these societies was expected to display a stoic personality.[31] There were, consequently, many emotional-impulse drives of these Apache that received no overt expression except through some patterned form of cultural compensation. One might expect the conditions of cultural stress to intensify the

---

[28]See Tevis, op. cit., p. 124; and Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 369-370.

[29]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 369.

[30]Ernest Beaglehole, "A Note on Cultural Compensation," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXIII (1938), p. 121.

[31]This is based on the statements of the author's informants.

anxieties and tensions of these Apache, thus increasing the need for cultural compensation.

Beaglehole says that, "if a culture does not have patterned forms of cultural compensation, it must contain a semi-institutionalized scope which allows the deviant some place in social life."[32] Social and sexual deviants were rare in Chiricahua, Warm Spring, or Bedonkohe society.[33] It seems certain, then, that tiswin parties provided a patterned form of cultural compensation.

Before passing on to the next section, it should be said that maize, frijole beans, pumpkins, and squash appear to have been the only crops raised by the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe before Spanish contact. Gifford's and the author's informants agree that watermelons, cantelope, chili, potatoes, peas, domestic onions, and tomatoes were introduced by the Spaniards, Mexicans, or Americans.[34]

Subsistence from Raiding

One of Opler's informants reported that the Chiricahua hunted and ate wild cattle before American contact (1856). Domestic cattle, horses, mules, and burros, acquired through raiding into Mexico, were also eaten. The stolen cattle were herded beside the rivers in Chiricahua territory, where they were allowed to increase and were killed as they were needed for food.[35] Tevis reported that the Chiricahua

---

[32]Beaglehole, op. cit., p. 123.

[33]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 79-80, 247, 249-251, 415, and 416; and Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 30.

[34]Gifford, op. cit., pp. 17-20 and 57.

[35]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 327.

preferred the flesh of mules and horses to that of deer or antelope.[36] The author's informants indicated that beef and mutton ranked second and third to venison as meat staples among the Warm Spring, and declared that every edible part of the cattle was used except the milk. Two of the informants stated that the Warm Spring did not eat the flesh of horses, mules, or burros except when game was scarce.

Geronimo reported that the Bedonkohe dried the beef of the cattle they stole and stored it in the hides of these animals until it was needed during the winter. Mules were not eaten by this tribe, but were killed if they could not be disposed of through trade. It is improbable that horses were eaten either, for the Bedonkohe are reputed to have raised these animals during the 1820's and 1830's for trade to the Mexicans.[37]

Opler's informants reported that, though raiding was a completely voluntary activity, those Chiricahua men who failed to participate were considered lazy. One of them stated that non-participation could be accounted for by the fact that success in raiding was believed to spoil one's luck in hunting deer. This may be a further indication of specialization in subsistence activities, for Chiricahua raiding parties usually consisted of from five to ten men. As Opler identified the Warm Spring as a Chiricahua band, these diagnostics may apply to them as well.[38]

The Ownership and Exchange of Property

Land was apparently the only property among the Chiricahua, Warm

---

[36]Tevis, op. cit., p. 130.

[37]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 76; and USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 100.

[38]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 332-334.

Spring, and Bedonkohe that could not be disposed of by gift or sale. Geronimo suggested the reason for this as follows:

> Thus it was in the beginning: the Apaches and their homes each created for the other by Ussen himself. When they are taken from their homes they sicken and die.[39]

"Usen," or "Yusn," was the Creator in Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe mythology.[40] In this sense, Geronimo seems to have implied that these three tribes conceived of a supernatural bond between themselves and the land over which they roamed. They could not part with the land in any way, except by inheritance, without offending "Usen" and thus inviting their own doom through sickness and death.

It is necessary to discuss landed property among these three tribes in terms of (1) hunting and gathering areas, (2) agricultural land, and (3) family campsites, for a different rule of ownership applied to each.

Hunting and Gathering Areas. Each Chiricahua band possessed its own hunting and gathering areas. These were mutually exploited by the four bands of the tribe except when any two or more of them were engaged in a feud.[41] Gifford's Warm Spring informant reported that hunting and gathering areas within the territory of this tribe were communally owned.[42] However, one of the author's informants, when asked about property rights

---

[39]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 15.

[40]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 280 and 194; and Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 14. "Usen" is derived from the Spanish "Dios".

[41]Gifford, op. cit., pp. 70 and 167.

[42]Ibid., p. 70.

to piñon and oak groves among the Warm Spring, replied:

> When the piñons got ripe, the bands would go out to pick them. The first family who got there would pick out the patch they wanted and set up their camp there. The other families would pick out other patches. . . . They each had their own patches; they didn't pick piñons on another person's area. They respected each other's rights, but they didn't pick the same place every year. They kept it [the private piñon grove] for just one season.

It will be recalled that the /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ band of the Chiricahua apparently gathered piñon nuts in the territory of the Warm Springs band of the Warm Spring tribe. The author assumes that the former band fell within the provisions of the Warm Spring rule of tenure in piñon groves. The piñon groves in the Almagre Mountains were in the territory of the Bedonkohe and were apparently exploited by the three northern bands of the Chiricahua and the Mimbreno band of the Warm Spring in addition to the Bedonkohe. There is, unfortunately, no information of any type on property rights among the Bedonkohe except with respect to agricultural land and horses.

Agricultural Land. It will be recalled that agricultural land among the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe was owned individually by the families who cleared, planted, and cultivated the fields. Gifford's Warm Spring informant reported that the fields of these Apache were inherited after the death of the owners, but was confused as to the prevailing rule of inheritance. Apparently, the children of the deceased had first rights to the agricultural land outstanding. Second priority went to the other consanguineal and affinal relatives of the deceased. If the fields were left fallow during any season, anyone else in the tribe might claim them.[43]

---

[43]Gifford, op. cit., pp. 70 and 167-168.

One of the author's informants stated that the Warm Spring did not fence their fields. Among the Bedonkohe, where several families farmed together in the same valley, there were no boundary markers to separate one family's field from another's. The boundaries between their fields were apparently agreed upon by these families.[44]

Family Campsites. One of the author's informants, when asked whether a family had the right to return to a campsite once they had left it, replied:

> They always have the right to come back but, if they move away, they might let others know their intention. Other Apaches don't want to live where they know someone else has lived. They stay away from it, because there may be some danger lurking there [i.e., the spirits of the dead were thought to haunt the old homestead; dreams or apparitions of the dead were thought to cause sickness or death]. When a family leaves, they try to take everything that's of any value at all. If they have a cloth or canvas on that house, they take it, but the brush and poles are left. If someone else died there in that camp, . . . they would never come back to it. But if no one died there that they can remember, they would probably go back if it was a good place to camp and there is still plenty of food around, water, and good firewood. They have the right to do that if they want. Other Apaches will be suspicious and stay away while they're not there.

This informant was apparently referring to the rights of tenure in campsites among the Warm Spring and Chiricahua.[45] There is no comparable information with regard to family campsites among the Bedonkohe.

The Ownership of Stock. Opler's informants reported that the majority of the horses possessed by the Chiricahua were the individual property of the men. The women obtained horses by gift or in payment for ceremonial services. The cattle taken on raids were divided among the

---

[44]See Barrett (ed.), op. cit., p. 33.

[45]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 475.

raiders and became their personal property. The author assumes that the mules, burros, and sheep acquired through raiding or trade were also individually owned among the Chiricahua.[46]

One of the author's informants reported that stock were the property of the entire family among the Warm Spring, not of individuals. It is difficult to tell how stock was owned among the Bedonkohe, though Mahko, the chief of this tribe during the 1830's, is reported to have raised hundreds of horses for trade with the Mexicans, and to have employed twelve herders at all times. Betzinez stated that these herders received horses, saddles, bridles, and firearms in payment for their services.[47]

The Ownership of Domestic Articles. The wickiup and all domestic articles among the Chiricahua were made by the women and were their property. Likewise, all of the articles manufactured by the men or obtained by them through any means were their own property.[48] The author's informants reported that, among the Warm Spring, the dwelling and all domestic articles were the property of the nuclear family as a whole. However, each Warm Spring man possessed his own weapons, which he held full title to.

Borrowing. Among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring, individuals might obtain those articles they could not otherwise acquire by borrowing from their kinsmen. One of the author's informants reported that anything

---

[46]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 327 and 395.

[47]USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 100; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 14.

[48]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 397-398.

borrowed had to be returned in as good condition as it was when received. If an animal were borrowed and was returned in worse condition than it was when received, the debtor had to pay the creditor for the full value of the animal when it was received. If an individual were about to die without having paid his debts, he might tell his family to lay aside some of his property with which to pay them. Otherwise, all of his personal property was destroyed after his death and the debts were forgotten. His kinsmen might donate some of their property to help pay the debts, though they were not obligated to do so.

Gift-giving. Opler's informants reported that gift-giving took the place of trade within the Chiricahua tribe. However, there was the feeling that the exchange of property by gift obligated the recipient by an implicit reciprocity to be worked out in individual relations.[49] One of the author's informants reported that blankets or beaded articles were exchanged by gift among the Warm Spring, but horses were not. The Warm Spring rarely gave gifts to their kinsmen, who were obligated to assist each other in time of need by the mere fact of their kinship. Gifts were more often given to the members of other tribes who came to visit rather than to trade, thus extending the reciprocal obligations of material and moral assistance beyond the tribe.

Trade

Britton Davis has given the best statement on Chiricahua and Warm Spring trade to be found in any source:

---

[49]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 399.

> . . . Frequently large bands of the Indians, or even the entire Chiricahua and Warm Springs tribes, would patch up a peace with the authorities of the small Mexican towns and camp near them for weeks or months at a stretch, trading to the citizens of Chihuahua ponies and other loot collected in Sonora; or reversing the process if the town was in Sonora.
>
> The principal articles of barter which the Indians craved and could not obtain in their mountain homes were tobacco and mescal, both products of the hot lowlands of Sonora and Sinaloa and mediums of exchange with the neighboring states of Chihuahua and Durango. Bartering for mescal was not entirely devoid of risk for the Indian. On more than one occasion a mescal drunk in a friendly town had afforded opportunity to the citizens of the town to add a few good Indians to their score. Such a breach of hospitality would, of course, be resented by the Indians and war with that town would follow until the matter was forgotten, or an equivalent number of Mexicans had been cut off in their prime. These affiliations with the Mexicans usually took place in the winter months, when the Indians were driven from the mountains by snow.[50]

Opler says that, among the Chiricahua, trade was more likely to be intertribal than intratribal. Though some Chiricahua women made coiled pottery, those who did not acquired it through trade with the pottery makers of the tribe or with the Puebloan tribes and the Navaho. Trade within the tribe, when it did occur, was achieved by approaching the owner of the desired article and offering whatever was required to induce him to part with it.[51]

One of the author's informants reported that the Warm Spring obtained pottery from the Puebloan tribes in exchange for baskets. The wares thus obtained were undecorated, the Warm Spring preferring to put their own designs on them. This tribe also did considerable trade with the Mexicans in the settlements along the Rio Grande, exchanging baskets, beaded goods, and dolls for cloth, canvas, or other desired articles.

---

[50]Britton Davis, op. cit., p. 182.

[51]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 383-384 and 398.

One of the author's informants stated positively that the Warm Spring did not trade hides.

Geronimo reported that the Bedonkohe did a sizeable trade with the Navaho and Mexicans. Trade with the latter was conducted at Ramos and Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. Geronimo did not indicate what was given or received by the Bedonkohe in trade except that blankets were obtained from the Navaho in exchange for mules.[52]

Political Organization

All political leaders among the Chiricahua were called nánt?á, while those among the Warm Spring were called nántûn.[53] The leaders among both tribes and the Bedonkohe were ranked according to the size of the social group over which their authority extended. For this reason, the author has discussed the leadership of these groups from the smallest to the largest.

Extended Family Headmen. Married men were the heads of their households and spoke for their wives and children, married or single. When the children married and brought their husbands or wives to live in their father's village, depending upon the rule of marital residence, the father became the leader of an extended family and gained in prestige. In the event that a serious matter, such as a witchcraft trial, brought all of the members of the local group together, the heads of the extended families monopolized the discussion and forced the decision. The /kaí·ahéné/ band of the Chiricahua were governed by extended family

---

[52]Barrett (ed.), op. cit., pp. 13, 43, 64 and 76.

[53]See Gifford, op. cit., p. 175.

headmen alone, but the tribal chief of the Chiricahua discussed any proposed move with them.[54]

Local Group Leaders. The most forceful of the extended family headmen was the recognized leader of his local group. It was their loyalty to this local group leader and their trust in his wisdom that held the extended families comprising a local group together. Among the other extended family headmen, there were those who were distinguished for their wealth, bravery, or exceptional ceremonial knowledge and whose status was nearly equal to that of the local group leader. These men served as advisers to the leader and could be considered the inner circle of the local group council. Among the Warm Spring and Chiricahua, the extended family headmen on the local group council held their positions for life.[55]

Band Chiefs. The most dominating of the local group leaders within a band became the band chief. Occasionally, the members of two different local groups would consider their respective leaders to have equal ability. Then, when these two local groups joined forces, authority was fairly evenly divided between their respective leaders.[56] This may explain why Victorio and Loco shared the leadership of the Warm Springs band of the Warm Spring tribe after the death of Delgadito in 1855.[57]

---

[54]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 463-464; Matson and Schroeder, op. cit., p. 341; and Gifford, op. cit., p. 174.

[55]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 164; and Gifford, op. cit., p. 174.

[56]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 464.

[57]See USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 164.

As stated earlier in this study, the Bedonkohe were not divided into bands before the 1830's. The most respected local group leader of this tribe apparently became the tribal chief. After the death of Mahko, their last chief, during the 1830's, the Bedonkohe affiliated with the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring and accepted the authority of Mangas Coloradas. The majority of the Bedonkohe left the Mimbreño band in 1861 and affiliated with the Chiricahua. They apparently accepted the Chiricahua leaders as their own then.[58]

Tribal Chiefs. The evidence of tribal leadership among the Chiricahua is rather confusing. Tevis stated that Cochise succeeded his father as tribal chief of the Chiricahua, but indicated that the former was also a band chief.[59] This may mean that Cochise was the most respected band chief among the Chiricahua and held a higher position than the other band chiefs. However, it is evident that the /ⁿdeˊ·ìⁿdáíˊ/ band of the Chiricahua accepted no leader of a higher position than their band chief.[60] This may explain why two of the author's informants identified this band as a separate tribe. The author will assume, on a tentative basis, that Cochise was accepted as the tribal chief of the Chiricahua by the /čóǩʔánén/, /kaíˊ·àhéné/, and /ʒìɬʔɣáná/ bands alone,

---

[58] Ibid., pp. 44 and 101.

[59] Tevis, op. cit., pp. 95-96 and 115.

[60] See Thomas T. Jeffords, United States Special Indian Agent, Chiricahua Apaches, Chiricahua Indian Agency, Sulphur Springs, Arizona, August 31, 1873, to the Honorable Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1873 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 291.

but remained the chief of his own band, which Gifford said was the /kaí·àhéné/.[61]

As will be seen in the next chapter, the Warm Spring had no tribal chief before 1858, when Mangas Coloradas became the chief of both the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe tribes. He was succeeded, after his death in 1863, by Loco and Victorio as dual tribal chiefs.

War Chiefs. Chiricahua war chiefs were called nagatyoyen nánt?á, meaning "war chief" or "war leader," and were always shamans. The Warm Spring war party selected a leader approved by the band or tribal chief. His office lasted only for the duration of the war, and he was called nántûn while he occupied his office. Warm Spring war chiefs were not shamans, but simply men distinguished by their prowess. Sometimes, the civil chief on the warpath would try to deter Chiricahua warriors if the war chief had a dream of impending doom. It is probable that war chiefs among the Bedonkohe were also shamans, for Geronimo was both a war leader and a shaman.[62]

The Qualifications for Leadership. Opler's informants indicated that those men who became local group leaders and chiefs came from families of great wealth and influence. However, they had to possess considerable wisdom, political awareness, prowess, and a willingness to assume their responsibilities.[63] The question of a man's birth and status seems to have had little effect upon the qualifications for leadership

---

[61]Gifford, op. cit., p. 4.

[62]Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 200.

[63]Ibid., pp. 465-467.

among the Warm Spring, as is indicated by the following statements by one of the author's informants:

> You know, a chief has to be a very smart man. He has to be able to see everything in its right perspective. He must be able to see into the future and understand it's relationship to the present and the past, and he must be able to control his people and lead them in the right way of living. You see, he must show his character to the people--his merits and abilities--that makes him fit to be their chief.
>
> There is something else he must do to show himself before he becomes a chief. Of course he must be a good warrior and show that he can protect his people when they are in danger, but this is an everyday thing. . . . Young Apache men who wanted to show their qualifications for being chief would get up early in the morning before anyone else and go through the camp talking to the people and advising them. That way a young man lets himself be heard. He tells them how they should raise their children, how to teach them so they will become good Apaches. He tells the men to be good husbands to their wives, kind, gentle, and faithful, and the wives to do the same by their husbands. He teaches them about medicines and how to cure diseases; the men and the women not to drink, and advises those that do to stop it and live like decent folks; and the women not to fight with each other over the men. He tells the parents to treat their kids with respect and the kids to obey their parents.
>
> There may be several different men doing that at the same time. The people listen to all of them and judge for themselves which man is best suited to lead them. Then, when the chief gets old, he calls his council of the old timers, and representatives from the camps go to them and tell them their choice. They talk over the young man's qualifications. Then, if they can all agree on one certain man, he becomes a sub-chief until the old one dies.
>
> There is one other way a man can become chief. The chief of our people might choose one of his sons, or a nephew, or some other relative to follow him as leader of the tribe. He would start teaching that boy carefully, talking to him and teaching him by example. They would discuss things and the old man would ask this boy's advice. That way he finds out if that boy is fit to take over. Maybe he doesn't want the responsibility or has too little confidence in himself. Then they must let the people pick their own leader to follow that chief.

As these statements indicate, succession to the position of band or tribal chief among the Warm Spring was either hereditary or decided by the votes of the members of the band or tribal councils. Opler's informants gave the same information with respect to the succession of

leaders among the Chiricahua.[64] However, there is clear evidence that succession to the position of tribal chief among the Chiricahua was hereditary after the death of Cochise's father sometime in the 1850's. Cochise succeeded his father as chief of the tribe and was succeeded after his death in 1874 by his eldest son, Taza. Taza died two years later and was succeeded by his younger brother, Naiche.[65]

No leader among the Chiricahua and Warm Spring possessed absolute authority, for not everyone would heed their advice. If a leader lost favor with his followers, he might either abdicate in favor of a successor or be deposed by another leader appointed by the council.[66]

Intertribal Alliances

Tevis led a raiding party of Chiricahua and Coyotero Apache into Sonora in 1859 and reported that another joint raid of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, Coyotero, and Mescalero into the territory of the Navaho had occurred the same year. However, he gave no other indication of how these alliances were formed other than that these tribes hoped to have more success on these raids by combining their forces.[67]

There is little doubt as to how intertribal alliances were formed by the Warm Spring. Cremony reported that:

---

[64]Gifford, op. cit., p. 75; and Opler, An Apache Life-Way, p. 467.

[65]See Tevis, op. cit., p. 115; and USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 25

[66]See Opler, An Apache Life-Way, pp. 469-470.

[67]Tevis, op. cit., pp. 156-167.

> . . . Mangas [Coloradas], in one of his raids into Sonora, carried off a handsome and intelligent Mexican girl, whom he made his wife, to the exclusion of his Apache squaws. This singular favoritism bred some trouble in the tribe for a short time, but was suddenly ended by Mangas challenging any of the offended brothers or relatives of his discarded wives. Two accepted the wager, and both were killed in fair duel. By his Mexican wife Mangas had three really beautiful daughters, and through his diplomatic ability, he managed to wive one with the chief of the Navajoes; another with the leading man of the Mescalero Apaches; and the third with the war chief of the Coyoteros. By doing so, he acquired a very great influence in these tribes, and whenever he desired, could obtain their assistance in his raids.[68]

One of Cochise's wives was the daughter of Mangas Coloradas by another wife.[69] The Bedonkohe appear to have formed a political alliance with the /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ band of the Chiricahua through the marriage of Juh, who was a chief of the latter, with a daughter of Mahko, the last chief of the Bedonkohe.[70] Intermarriage obviously extended the reciprocal obligations between affines beyond the structural limits of a single tribe. Thus, the greater the extent of intermarriage between any two tribes, the stronger was the alliance between them.

---

[68]Cremony, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

[69]USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 25.

[70]Ibid., p. 77.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEPARATE RESERVATION POLICY: 1870-1875

Although this study of the impact of American culture on the social structures of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe Apache begins with the year 1870, it is necessary to give an account of the full range of American contact with these tribes. This will provide a basis by which the author may analyze the reactions of these tribes to American culture since the earliest contact with each tribe. The author has divided the discussion of American contact with these tribes before 1870 into two sections. The first deals with contact between Americans and the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe; the second with that between Americans and the Chiricahua. It will be recalled that both bands of the Warm Spring and the "Mogollon," or Bedonkohe, were referred to as the "Gila Apache" before 1872. This designation, as used in the following pages, refers to these three groups.

American Contact with the "Gila Apache" before 1870

There is no evidence of American contact with the "Gila Apache" before 1825. During the summer of that year, Sylvester Pattie and his party of American fur trappers had been working their way down the San Pedro River when their horses were stolen by Apache raiders. They cached

their furs and went on foot to Santa Rita del Cobre, a mining settlement established by the Spaniards in 1804, where the present Santa Rita, New Mexico, stands.[1] When the trappers returned to their cache several weeks later, they found that it had been looted. The substance of their labors lost, they returned to Santa Rita, where the alcalde proposed that Pattie lease the copper mine at the cost of one thousand dollars a year. Pattie readily accepted the offer. As the Apache in the vicinity of Santa Rita --probably the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring--had effectively halted the mining operations through their intermittent raids, Pattie began formulating a plan to draw them into a treaty.

This treaty was effected on August 5, 1825. It is significant that the Apache chief told Pattie that his tribe were eager to form friendly relations with the Americans, whom they believed showed no disposition to kill except in battle and no desire to disturb the tribe's occupation of the territory they held. In the weeks that followed, the Apache rounded up all stray stock in the country about Santa Rita and drove them into the settlement. Hunters came every day to hunt with the trappers, receiving lessons in marksmanship with the rifle in return for their friendship. They even offered in sale to the inhabitants of Santa Rita turkey and venison, their two most important game resources. The alcalde bought the meat even when it was not needed out of fear of offending the Apache.

---

[1]See John M. Sully, "The Story of the Santa Rita Copper Mine," Old Santa Fe, A Magazine of History, Archaeology, Genealogy and Biography, ed. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, III, No. 10 (April, 1916), pp. 133-135. Tevis, op. cit., pp. 33 and 109-110, indicates that the Chiricahua and Warm Spring did some mining on their own.

It appears that Pattie's party were also the first Americans to contact the Bedonkohe Apache, though Betzinez says that the first Americans seen in Bedonkohe territory were Mormon settlers. Pattie met an Apache chief at Santa Rita named Mocho Mano, whose first name bears a marked resemblance to that of the Bedonkohe chief at this time, Makho.[2]

During the 1830's and 1840's, the Apache of southwestern New Mexico were engaged in a lucrative trade with the Americans at Santa Fe, who exchanged arms, ammunition, and whiskey for stock and plunder taken by the Apache on raids into Sonora and Chihuahua. This trade came to an abrupt end in 1848, following the close of the war between the United States and the Republic of Mexico.[3]

The United States signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with the Republic of Mexico on February 2, 1848. The latter government ceded to the former sovereignty over a vast amount of land known as the Mexican Cession Territory, which included the territories of the Warm Spring and Chiricahua Apache.[4] Under Article 11 of this treaty, the United States bound itself to: (1) restrain the Indians of the southwestern United States from raiding into Mexico, or, in case of failure to do so, to give full satisfaction for these breaches of the agreement; (2) to forbid any American to acquire either property or captives taken on these raids; (3)

---

[2]Timothy Flint (ed.), The Personal Narrative of James O. [Ohio] Pattie of Kentucky. Historical introduction and footnotes by Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago: The Lakeside Press for R. R. Donnelly and Sons, Co., Christmas, 1930), pp. 104-107, 111-118, and 120-121.

[3]See Smith, op. cit., p. 20; and Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, ed. Max L. Moorehead (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 202. The latter source is a revised edition of the first two editions, published in 1844 and 1845, respectively.

[4]Jozhe, op. cit., p. 427.

to rescue all captives brought into the United States from Mexico; and (4) to return these captives to agents designated by the Mexican Government.[5] American relations with the Warm Spring became strained as a result of attempts to live up to these agreements.

John Russell Bartlett, the American Commissioner on the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, made his headquarters at Santa Rita, New Mexico, from January, 1850, until late August, 1851. Mangas Coloradas, Delgadito, and a dozen more Apache met with him on June 23, 1851. Bartlett informed them of the terms of Article 11 of the treaty. Mangas Coloradas promised that his people would not harm the Americans and Mexicans and would return all stolen or stray stock belonging to the Commission.

The friendly relations between the Warm Spring and the American Boundary Commission were extremely tenuous. A few weeks after the meeting between these Apache and Bartlett, it was discovered that four hundred Navaho were encamped on the Gila River thirty miles northwest of Santa Rita. James C. Cremony, the interpreter for the American Boundary Commission, learned in later years that these Navaho had come to help Mangas Coloradas drive the Americans out of Santa Rita and seize all of their property. In the event of success, one half of the plunder was to be given to the Navaho.

Several incidents occurred at this time which threatened to end the uneasy peace between the Americans and the Warm Spring. The first involved the rescue of several Mexican captives by the Commission; the

---

[5]See Lockwood, op. cit., p. 82.

second, the murder of a Warm Spring warrior by a Mexican employee of the Commission. The Warm Spring chiefs made vigorous protests, but Bartlett refused to concede to their demands, and the Apache were forced to accept gifts or money to redress their wrongs.[6]

Gold was discovered a few miles from Santa Rita during the early summer of 1851, and several mines were opened in the area. The Warm Spring resented this intrusion of their territory and began raiding both the American Boundary Commission and the miners.[7] Friendly relations between the Americans and the Warm Spring Apache were not restored until four years later. David Merriwether, Governor of New Mexico and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory, negotiated a treaty with the Mimbres band then and appointed Michael Steck as their agent.[8]

While the Mimbres settled down to farming on the river of the same name, the Mogollon--presumably the Mimbreño band of the Warm Spring and the Bedonkohe--continued raiding in Socorro and Valencia Counties, New Mexico. The Mimbres kept Steck informed as to who had been on the raids and where they were camped with the stolen stock. They even offered to go as guides for punitive expeditions against the Mogollon. In April, 1857, Colonel R. C. Bonneville, military commander of the Department of

---

[6]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 87-88; and Cremony, op. cit., pp. 23, 33, 48-51, and 59-71.

[7]Cremony, op. cit., pp. 80-82.

[8]David Merriwether, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico, Office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Santa Fe, September, 1855, to G. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Transmitted with the Message of the President at the Opening of the Twenty-fourth Congress, 1855 (Printed for the Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856), p. 187.

New Mexico, led a campaign against the Mogollon. The Mimbres feared that the troops would not be able to distinguish between hostile and pacific Apache and moved southward into the Florida Mountains until the campaign was over.[9]

Apparently, both bands suffered as a result of this campaign, for Steck reported in 1859 that--

> The Gila Apaches embrace what were formerly called the Mimbres and Mogollon bands. These Indians have decreased in numbers very rapidly during the last two years. They never have recovered from the effects of the campaign made into their country, two years ago, by Colonel Bonneville. They were then compelled to scatter in every direction for safety. Most of them ran into the republic of Mexico, and there, exposed to the heat and malaria of the low country, many of them died. Before the war, they numbered over four hundred warriors, and now the bands are united, number less than one hundred and fifty.[10]

Steck had urged the two bands to effect this union in 1858. After its occurrence, Mangas Coloradas had become the chief of both bands. They had farmed together on the Mimbres and Palomas Rivers, and had given every indication that the union would be a lasting one. The next year, Steck induced them to plant along Santa Lucia Creek, a tributary of the Gila River south of the Pinos Altos Mountains. Approximately two hundred and twenty-five square miles within this area were set aside as a reservation for these Apache in 1860.[11]

---

[9]Michael Steck, Indian Agent, Santa Fe, New Mexico, August 7, 1857, to J. W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1857 (Washington: William A. Harris, Printer, 1858), p. 289.

[10]Michael Steck, Indian Agent, Santa Fe, New Mexico, August 12, 1859, to James L. Collins, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1859 (Washington: George W. Bowman, Printer, 1860), p. 345.

[11]See Michael Steck, Indian Agent, August 10, 1858, to Colonel

Unfortunately, the friendly relations that had been established with the Mimbres and Mogollon went astray in the spring of 1861. Confederate troops from Texas seized the southern portions of the present states of New Mexico and Arizona below the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude then and proclaimed this territory the Confederate State of Arizona. Fearing the presence of so many troops, and encouraged by the hostile attitude of the miners at Pinos Altos, New Mexico, the Mimbres and Mogollon began raiding Pinos Altos and the agricultural settlements in the valley of the Mimbres River.[12]

In January, 1863, Mangas Coloradas was lured into Pinos Altos for a conference by a detachment of California Volunteers under Captain E. D. Shirland and some miners and prospectors. The chief was ordered at gunpoint to surrender and to tell his followers that he would be released in ten days if the Mimbres and Mogollon would allow the Americans to pass through their territory unmolested during this period. Mangas Coloradas was subsequently taken to Fort McLean, New Mexico, and turned over to General Joseph R. West, commander of the Department of Arizona. West informed the chief that he was to be held a prisoner for the remainder

---

James L. Collins, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1858 (Washington: William A. Harris, Printer, 1858), p. 197; and Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880, IV, Chapter X, The Gila Apache," New Mexico Historical Review, XIII, No. 3 (July, 1938), p. 282.

[12]See J. L. Collins, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, Office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 10, 1862, to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington City, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 238; and Reeve, op. cit., pp. 283-284.

of his life and that he would be killed if he attempted to escape. The sentinels who were guarding Mangas Coloradas two nights later supposedly prodded him with heated bayonets. When he arose from his bed to complain to them about this treatment, the sentinels shot him to death. West then ordered the troops to attack the camps of the Mimbres and Mogollon for the rest of the month.[13]

Although these actions by the Federal troops were intended to deliver a decisive defeat to the Mimbres and Mogollon, these Apache continued raiding American settlements in southwestern New Mexico until the fall of 1869. Mangas Coloradas was succeeded by Loco and Victorio as dual chiefs of the Warm Spring tribe. These two men had previously shared the leadership of the Mimbres band. The Bedonkohe apparently divided into several bands after 1863, each under a separate band chief. However, many of them had disassociated with the Warm Spring in 1861 and affiliated with the Chiricahua tribe.[14]

In September, 1869, First Lieutenant Charles E. Drew, who had been appointed agent for the Mimbres and Mogollon, induced Loco to come into Fort McRae, New Mexico, for a conference. The chief expressed the desire of these Apache to live at peace with the Americans and to receive a reservation west of the Rio Grande, north from the Cooks Range to the San Mateo Mountains. Drew had a second meeting with Loco, Victorio, and three band chiefs of the Mogollon on October 10, 1869. Loco said that

---

[13]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 143-145; and Daniel Ellis Conner, Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure, ed. Donald J. Berthrong and Odessa Davenport (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 34-38.

[14]USAAMCM, op. cit., pp. 26 and 44.

the Mimbres and Mogollon would cease their hostilities if the Government would issue them food and clothing, but that they would wait only two months for an issue.[15] Although they received insufficient rations and were forced to occasionally steal cattle to subsist themselves, the majority of the Mimbres and Mogollon remained encamped near Cañada Alamosa--the present Monticello, New Mexico--for the next two and one-half years.[16]

American Contact with the Chiricahua Apache before 1870

The Chiricahua had little contact with Americans before 1856. Then, the Butterfield Overland Mail Stage Company received permission from Cochise, the tribal chief of the three northern Chiricahua bands, to establish a station in Apache Pass. The station was built the next year and was staffed with ten Americans under Anthony Elder. He was replaced the next year by James H. Tevis as the station keeper.[17]

The Chiricahua apparently did not fear the Americans, for the three northern bands of the tribe established their camps in Apache Pass near the station. They began rounding up all stock that had strayed from the station and returned them. In 1859, Cochise became disturbed by the increasing number of American settlements in southeastern Arizona and proposed a war of extermination against the Americans at two councils attended by the Chiricahua and Warm Spring. The Warm Spring chiefs

---

[15] Reeve, op. cit., pp. 289-290.

[16] Ibid., pp. 290-299.

[17] See Tevis, op. cit., pp. 91 and 97-100. This is the best source on American contact with the Chiricahua before 1860 and contains good ethnographic data on this tribe.

slightly favored this proposal, but the other Chiricahua chiefs were strongly opposed to it. Tevis was forced to resign his position as station keeper at Apache Pass during this year because he had killed one of Cochise's relatives in self-defense. When he left, over two thousand Chiricahua were on hand to beg him to stay, saying that, if he left, ". . . they were much afraid they would be listening to Cochise and would kill the Americans off."[18]

Two years later, the Chiricahua did go to war against the Americans. Cochise, his family, a brother, and two nephews were arrested by Second Lieutenant George N. Bascom on false charges of having kidnapped the adopted son of an American settler. Cochise managed to escape and led his warriors in attacks on the mail station and a wagon train. They took three Americans prisoner and tried for a week to induce Bascom to make an exchange, but without success. When the Chiricahua killed their prisoners, Lieutenant Isaiah N. Moore, who had relieved Bascom in command of the troops in Apache Pass, retaliated by hanging Cochise's brother and nephews. His wife and son were taken to Fort Buchanan, Arizona, and were later released.[19] The Chiricahua subsequently carried on a war with the American settlers in southeastern Arizona for the next nine years.

The Tularosa and Hot Springs Reservations

In 1871, the Board of Indian Commissioners sent their secretary, Vincent Colyer, to Arizona and New Mexico with full authority to settle

---

[18]See Tevis, op. cit., pp. 95-96, 108, 137-142, 165, and 172-185.

[19]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 100-107.

the Apache upon reservations.[20] As the valley of the Alamosa River was heavily populated with Mexicans, Colyer decided to find another location for the Mimbres and Mogollon. He chose the valley of the Tularosa River, north of the Mogollon Mountains, and established it as a reservation for these Apache on August 29, 1871. The boundaries of the reservation were ten miles to each side of the river, from its headwaters to a point thirty miles down the river.[21]

Cochise had made a brief visit to Cañada Alamosa in 1870, and had expressed a desire for peace. However, the inadequacy of the rations induced him to leave. In September, 1871, he and a number of other Chiricahua returned to Cañada Alamosa and remained there until troops were sent to move all of the Mimbres, Mogollon, and Chiricahua to the Tularosa Reservation in May, 1872. Only about four hundred under Loco, Victorio, and Chica, a Chiricahua leader, were removed to this reservation. The others fled with Cochise back to Arizona.[22]

The Apache who were settled on the Tularosa Reservation began making vigorous protests about the conditions on the reservation. When General O. O. Howard, a special Indian Commissioner, visited them in 1872, they complained to him of sickness and death among their children,

---

[20]Vincent Colyer, "Third Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1871 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 14.

[21]Vincent Colyer, "Report on the Apache Indians of Arizona and New Mexico," Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1871, pp. 47, 49, and 83.

[22]See Reeve, op. cit., pp. 293 and 297-299.

the impurity of the water, the coldness of the climate, and crop failures due to early frosts.[23]

During the two and one-half years the Mimbres, Mogollon, and Chiricahua occupied this reservation, the population fluctuated between three hundred and thirty during the summer months and six hundred and sixty-three during the winter. Raiding parties frequently left the reservation, returning there with stolen stock which they traded to the Navaho for blankets. Those who remained on the reservation frequently indulged in the consumption of tiswin.[24]

Four hundred of these Apache were removed to the Hot Springs Reservation in September, 1874. This reservation included the San Mateo and Luera Mountains, the northern reaches of the Black Range, and the headwaters of the Alamosa River.[25] The Mimbres and Mogollon were hereafter known as the "Ojo Caliente," or "Warm Spring," Apache.

Although one hundred families were farming on one hundred acres of land by the spring of 1875, their agent, John M. Shaw, was of the opinion that the Warm Spring were better qualified to become stockmen than farmers. They had apparently completely abandoned raiding, and seemed to be contented with their new location.[26]

---

[23]O. O. Howard, "Report of Brigadier General O. O. Howard, United States Army, of his Second Visit as Commissioner to the Apaches of Arizona and New Mexico, with Papers Accompanying," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1872 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 176.

[24]See Reeve, op. cit., pp. 302-303.

[25]Ibid., p. 303.

[26]See J. M. Shaw, United States Indian Agent, Southern Apache Indian Agency, Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, September 1, 1875, to Edward P.

The Chiricahua Reservation

President Grant commissioned General Howard in 1872 to attempt to make peace with the Chiricahua, and gave him full authority to establish a reservation for them. Howard went to the Tularosa Reservation first, where he met Thomas J. Jeffords, an American prospector who had established an intimate friendship with Cochise. Jeffords promised to take Howard to Cochise, and induced Chee, a nephew of Cochise living on the Tularosa Reservation, to go with them as their guide and a witness to their friendly intentions. Later, they added Ponce, a Warm Spring renegade, to their party.

They held a conference with Cochise and the Chiricahua band chiefs on October 11, 1872. Howard says that Cochise was in favor of settling at Cañada Alamosa--

> . . . but notwithstanding the ascendancy he had gained over the Indians, he was not able to take them all there, and confessed that it would break up his band, a part being left to do mischief in Arizona; but he declared that he could gather in all of his people, protect the roads and preserve the peace, if the Government would allow him the Chiricahua country, where his people have always lived. He plead that it was not right to restrain him from going and coming like the Mexicans, but yielded to my reasons for the necessity of limiting his reservation.

A second conference was held the next day at Dragoon Springs, Arizona, and was attended by Cochise, ten other Chiricahua headmen, Howard's party, and several officers from Fort Bowie. Howard set the boundaries of the reservation, and the Chiricahua entered into a treaty with the Americans. The reservation included a portion of the Chiricahua,

---

Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1875 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 334.

Northern Peloncillo, Dragoon, and Dos Cabezas Mountains and the Sulphur Springs Valley. Jeffords was appointed agent for the Chiricahua tribe, subject to the approval of the Indian Bureau, and provision was made for rations for the next sixty days.[27]

Cochise immediately collected his band--probably the /čók'ánén/ and /kaí·ahéné/ combined--numbering four hundred and fifty persons, on the reservation. The Steins Peak band--the /ʒìɬʔɣáná/ --numbering one hundred and fifty persons, came onto the reservation on October 24. Jeffords located the Southern Chiricahua band--the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdaí/ --numbering four hundred persons under their chief, Natiza, on November 1. He concluded a treaty with them two days later and brought them onto the reservation. After this, only small parties of Chiricahua remained off the reservation, in the Sierra Madre Occidental of Sonora. The band chiefs promised to prevail upon these small groups to join them on the reservation as soon as possible.[28]

It appears that the Chiricahua maintained much of their traditional economic and social patterns for the next two and one-half years. To avoid confusion in the presentation of this evidence, the author has divided it into three sections: (1) economic patterns, (2) political organization, and (3) social relations.

---

[27]Howard, op. cit., p. 176; and Major General O. O. Howard, My Life and Experiences Among our Hostile Indians: A Record of Personal Observations, Adventures, and Campaigns Among the Indians of the Great West with some Account of their Life, Habits, Traits, Religion, Ceremonies, Dress, Savage Instincts, and Customs in Peace and War (Hartford: A. D. Worthington and Company, 1907), pp. 187-188 and 219-220.

[28]Thomas J. Jeffords, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1873, p. 291.

Economic Patterns. Cochise agreed with Jeffords that it would be a good idea for the Chiricahua to learn farming, but doubted that any of the older ones would do so. Even had they wanted to farm, it is doubtful that the Chiricahua could have done so with much satisfaction. Jeffords reported that there were only two locations on the reservation that were suitable for farming: the San Simon Cienega and Apache Pass. During 1874, there had been almost universal sickness among the Chiricahua who had camped at the former location, and five of the children had died. Jeffords did not move the agency to Apache Pass until the late summer of 1875, too late in the year to start planting.[29]

As the southern boundary of the Chiricahua Reservation was on the international boundary between Arizona and Sonora, it was impossible to prevent the Chiricahua from raiding into Mexico. L. Edwin Dudley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, visited these Apache in 1874. They complained to him that it was impossible for the chiefs to curb raiding. The Sonorans would encourage them to steal horses from the Americans, then bring them into Sonora for trade. There were also Americans in Arizona who offered to buy stock stolen in Sonora.[30]

---

[29]Thomas J. Jeffords, United States Special Indian Agent for the Chiricahua Apaches, Chiricahua Indian Agency, Pinery Canyon, Arizona, September 1, 1874, to E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1874 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 287; and Thomas J. Jeffords, United States Indian Agent, Chiricahua Apaches, Chiricahua Indian Agency, Apache Pass, Arizona, August 21, 1875, to E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1875, p. 210.

[30]L. Edwin Dudley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Santa Fe, New Mexico, June 30, 1874, to E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1874, p. 301.

Jeffords reported that White Mountain Apache frequently came onto the Chiricahua Reservation and used it as a refuge after raiding into Sonora. He and the Chiricahua chiefs attempted to put a stop to this practice, but met with little success. As the White Mountain and a number of Warm Spring and Bedonkohe were living with the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ on the reservation, the author assumes that the latter three groups were involved with the White Mountain on these raids.[31]

The Apache on the reservation had to limit their gathering and hunting activities to the boundaries of the reservation, since they ran the risk of being declared hostiles if found off of it. As they did no farming, they must have depended heavily upon the rations issued to them.

Political Organization. Cochise died in the Dragoon Mountains on June 8, 1874, of natural causes. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Taza, as chief of the "Northern Chiricahua"--the /čók̓ʔánén/, /káí·àhéné/, and /ʒìɫʔɣáná/ bands. Although Cochise appointed Taza as his succesor, this appointment was subject to the approval of these bands. Jeffords held a conference with the Chiricahua headmen after Cochise's death, and was promised that they would honor the terms of the treaty as long as he remained their agent.[32]

Natiza apparently died about the same time as Cochise, for Jeffords reported that Who was the chief of the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ in 1875. Who was also known as Juh, and supposedly succeeded his father as chief

---

[31]Jeffords, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1875, pp. 209-210; and Dudley, op. cit., p. 301.

[32]Jeffords, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1874, p. 288.

of this band.[33] It will be remembered that the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ did not recognize the authority of the Chiricahua tribal chief.

Social Relations. The conditions of reservation life seem to have had no effect upon Chiricahua social relations except to force the bands into closer association with each other. As stated above, there were Warm Spring, Bedonkohe, and White Mountain Apache living on the reservation with the Chiricahua. General Howard reported that Chiricahua intermarriage appeared to be primarily with members of these tribes.[34] This may be an indication that those Mimbres, Mogollon, and White Mountain who were living with the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ were either married to members of this band or the relatives of those who were.

The locations of the separate reservations established for the Warm Spring, Bedonkohe, and Chiricahua Apache from 1860 until 1877 are depicted on Map 3.

Summary

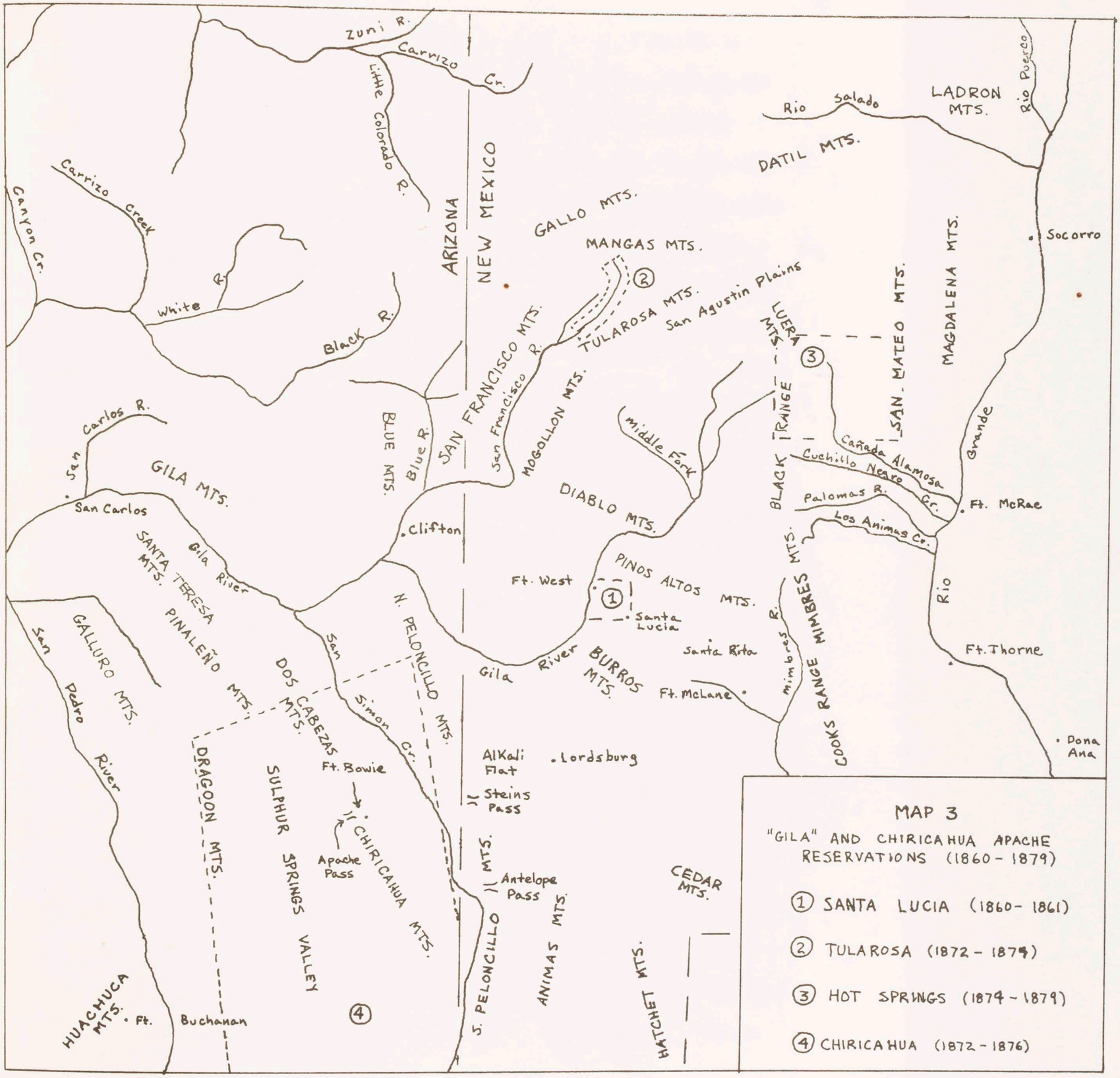
Although American contact with the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe began thirty-one years before that with the Chiricahua, the contact experience of these three tribes with the Americans appears to have been identical in many respects until 1869. The Americans were received as friends, and even profited from trade in stock and plunder taken by the Apache on their raids into Mexico.

---

[33]Jeffords, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1875, p. 209; and USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 77.

[34]Howard, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1872, p. 177.

Carrizo Creek
Canyon Cr.
White R.
Black
San Carlos R.
GILA MTS.
San Carlos
Gila River
SANTA TERESA MTS.
PINALEÑO MTS.
GALLURO MTS.
San Pedro River
DOS CABEZAS MTS.
DRAGOON MTS.
SULPHUR SPRINGS VALLEY
Ft. B
Apach Pass
HUACHUCA MTS.
Ft. Buchanan



MAP 3

"GILA" AND CHIRICAHUA APACHE RESERVATIONS (1860 - 1879)

① SANTA LUCIA (1860 - 1861)

② TULAROSA (1872 - 1874)

③ HOT SPRINGS (1874 - 1879)

④ CHIRICAHUA (1872 - 1876)

These friendly relations were broken with the Warm Spring in 1851. The Americans began demanding that the Apache abandon raiding and surrender all captives taken in Mexico. Gold was found in the Pinos Altos Mountains this year, and mines were opened in the area without the Warm Spring having been consulted. Consequently, they began making raids on the mining camps and American settlements in their tribal territory. A treaty was negotiated with the Mimbres, or Warm Springs, band in 1855. They were given an agent, abandoned raiding, and began farming on the Mimbres and Palomas Rivers.

The Overland Mail Stage Company established a station in Apache Pass the next year and maintained it until 1861. During this time, the Chiricahua had frequent and friendly relations with the American personnel at the station. Although Cochise tried to induce his tribe to wage a war of extermination against the Americans, who were encroaching on Chiricahua territory, he was opposed by the other band chiefs.

In 1858, following the defeat of the Mimbreño band and the Bedonkohe by a military expedition under Colonel R. C. Bonneville, the two bands of the Warm Spring and the Bedonkohe were united under the leadership of Mangas Coloradas. They began farming together in the same locations and gave no indication of hostile feelings towards the Americans. Two years later, they were given a reservation near the present Silver City, New Mexico, but did not have a chance to live on it but one year. The invasion of southern New Mexico by Confederate forces from Texas in 1861 removed them from Government control and supervision. Consequently, they began making raids on American mining and agricultural settlements in southwestern New Mexico.

Cochise, his family, and three consanguineal relatives were arrested the same year on false charges of having kidnapped the son of an American settler. Cochise managed to escape, and led his warriors in attacks on the mail station in Apache Pass and a wagon train in the vicinity of the pass. They took three prisoners and attempted to induce the troops who were holding the other hostages to exchange their prisoners for those held by the Chiricahua. When they were refused, they killed their three prisoners and the troops retaliated by hanging a brother and two nephews of Cochise. The Chiricahua then began a war of extermination against the Americans in southeastern Arizona.

The majority of the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe made peace with the Americans in 1869 and remained on the Alamosa River for the next two and one-half years, in hopes that the Government would give them a reservation in the area. They were given a reservation on the Tularosa River, north of the Mogollon Mountains, in 1872, but only four hundred of them could be induced to go there. The others joined the Chiricahua in Arizona. Those who remained on the Tularosa Reservation made frequent raids into Mexico or spent their time in consumption of tiswin. These were clearly reactions against their involuntary removal from their tribal lands. In 1874, they were returned to the Alamosa River and were given a reservation in the area, known as the Hot Springs Reservation. They were apparently satisfied with the location, abandoned raiding, and began farming again.

The Chiricahua were given a reservation on their own tribal lands in southeastern Arizona in 1872. As no attempts were made to introduce agriculture or stock raising, these Apache had no economic activity with

which to occupy themselves on the reservation. Their confinement to the boundaries of the reservation severely limited their hunting and gathering activities. These conditions, and the fact that the southern boundary of the reservation was on the border between Arizona and the Mexican State of Sonora, made it impossible to curb raiding, though the chiefs made honest attempts to do so.

Although there were several changes in the leadership of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe tribes, and of the composite bands of the first two tribes, they followed the traditional modes of succession. In conclusion, it appears that there were only two major social changes among these tribes after American contact until 1876: (1) the affiliation of the Bedonkohe with the Warm Spring and Chiricahua; and (2) the abandonment of raiding by the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe who were located on the Hot Springs Reservation.

CHAPTER V

FACTIONALISM: 1876-1886

The Feud Between Skinya and Taza

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed Agent Jeffords in February, 1876, that no more beef could be supplied to the Chiricahua during the fiscal year. Accordingly, Jeffords directed the tribe to seek their subsistence by hunting on the reservation during the next four months, and a portion of them moved westward into the Dragoon Mountains to do so. A quarrel broke out among this group a month later, and two men and a grandson of Cochise were killed. This resulted in a formal division of the Chiricahua tribe into two factions. The majority remained with Taza and moved eastward to establish themselves at Apache Pass, while twelve men and their families remained in the Dragoon Mountains under Skinya, a former war leader.

Skinya's faction began raiding into Sonora and along the San Pedro River soon afterwards. On April 9, Jeffords ordered Taza's group to neither hunt nor camp west of the Chiricahua Mountains, then informed all military commanders in Arizona to consider any Indians found on the Chiricahua Reservation west of these mountains as hostiles.

A month later, John P. Clum, the Indian Agent at San Carlos, Arizona, received orders from the Commissioner to go to Apache Pass, replace Jeffords as the agent, and attempt to remove the Chiricahua to

San Carlos. Clum arrived at Sulphur Springs, Arizona, with a company of San Carlos and White Mountain Apache Police on June 4. Several companies of cavalry moved down the Sulphur Springs and San Simon Valleys at the same time and took up positions where they would be ready to give chase if the Chiricahua made a general outbreak.

Having observed the approach of these troops and Apache Police, Skinya and Pionsenay, his brother, went to Taza's camp in an effort to incite all of the Chiricahua to take the warpath with them. They succeeded only in arousing the anger of Taza and his followers. Skinya and seven of his followers were killed, and Pionsenay fled the reservation with the remaining members of his faction.

Clum arrived at Apache Pass the next day and conferred with Taza and his brother, Naiche. After he had explained to them the full purpose of his visit, they readily consented to the removal of their faction.[1] The meeting had just ended when Clum was informed that there was another band on the reservation known as the "Southern Chiricahuas"--the /ⁿdé·-ìⁿdáí/. Their leaders, Juh, Geronimo, and Nolge, had requested an interview with Clum. He met with them on June 8, and was told that the /ⁿdé·-ìⁿdáí/ desired to be removed to San Carlos with the rest of the Chiricahua, but that their camp was located twenty miles south of the agency. Geronimo asked for permission to return to this camp for the purpose of bringing his people in, and Clum granted it.

---

[1]Thomas J. Jeffords, Apache Indian Agent, Apache Pass, Arizona, October 3, 1876, to J. Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1876 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1876), pp. 3-4; and John P. Clum, "Geronimo," New Mexico Historical Review, III, No. 1 (January, 1928), pp. 9 and 14-17.

This band were, in fact, encamped only ten miles south of Apache Pass. On the return of their leaders, they made hasty preparations and fled across the border into Sonora. Another party of about forty Chiricahua, under Gordo, left about the same time for the Hot Springs Reservation. A member of Pionsenay's faction came in then to ask on what terms his group might surrender. Clum disarmed him immediately and sent him as a guide for a detachment of Apache Police to arrest Pionsenay and any others they found in his camp. They returned late the next afternoon with Pionsenay and thirty-eight other prisoners.[2]

Three hundred and twenty-five Chiricahua began the movement to San Carlos on June 12 under an escort of the Apache Police. Clum left for Tucson the same day to deliver Pionsenay to the civil authorities there. He was met the next afternoon by two deputy sheriffs from Tucson, and surrendered his prisoner to them. Seven hours later, Pionsenay made good his escape. Taza's faction arrived at San Carlos on June 16, and were located on the Gila River near the present Fort Thomas, Arizona.[3]

Taza was a member of a party of twenty Indians from the White Mountain Reservation who made a trip to the East three months later under Clum's sponsorship and supervision. Taza died of pneumonia in Washington, D. C., on September 26, and was buried with military honors in the

---

[2]See John P. Clum, op. cit., pp. 18-20; and John P. Clum, United States Indian Agent, San Carlos, Arizona, October, 1876, to J. Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876, p. 11.

[3]Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J. Q. Smith, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., October 30, 1876, to the Secretary of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876, p. xviii.

Congressional Cemetery. He was succeeded as head chief of the Chiricahua by his younger brother, Naiche.[4]

Stress and Conflict on the Hot Springs Reservation

By 1876, the Apache on the Hot Springs Reservation appeared to be secure in the belief that they finally had a permanent home and, with the exception of a few restless ones, content with their life there. Political stability seemed to be maintained by the fact that all of the bands on the reservation--the "Mimbres," "Mogollon" (the Mimbreno band of the Warm Spring and the Bedonkohe), and Mescalero--were under separate chiefs who assumed no authority over any other bands than their own.[5]

This apparent peace and tranquillity was overladen with discontent on the part of the young warriors. Several raiding parties left the reservation in April about the same time that Skinya's faction left the Chiricahua Reservation. On one of these forays, they stole a lot of mules and horses and brought them back onto the reservation. Some of the stolen stock were eaten by the Apache, some were sold by them to white traders, and the rest were turned over to Agent Shaw, who returned them to the rightful owners. The chiefs agreed in council to pay for those that had been eaten or sold from their annuity appropriation.[6]

---

[4]USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 152.

[5]J. M. Shaw, United States Indian Agent, Southern Apache Indian Agency, Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, September 1, 1876, to J. Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876, p. 112.

[6]Ibid. This decision on the part of the chiefs is taken as an indication that they heartily disapproved of the recent raids. The author's informants declared that the Bedonkohe were far more involved in these raids than were the Warm Spring.

The arrival of the Chiricahua under Gordo in June must have had a profound effect upon the Apache on the Hot Springs Reservation. When James Davis replaced Shaw as their agent on October 16, 1876, he found his charges idle, demoralized, and rebellious of all control and restraint. In hopes of putting an end to their frequent tiswin parties, Davis cut the corn rations to a minimum and began issuing beef on the block instead of on the hoof. The latter was done because the Apache would drive the cattle issued them off the reservation and sell them to white traders for corn or whiskey. These measures proved to be totally ineffective, for the Apache sold their rations in place of the cattle.[7]

The Chiricahua Reservation was abolished by executive order on October 30, 1876, and restored to the public domain.[8] While it was no longer convenient for Pionsenay or the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ to take refuge from their pursuers in the mountains of this reservation, this handicap had no appreciable effect upon their raiding. They established their headquarters either in the Sierra de la Medera of Sonora or on the Hot Springs Reservation.

There were reports early in 1877 that these hostiles were trading stolen stock to white traders in the settlements along the Rio Grande.

---

[7]James Davis, United States Indian Agent, Southern Apache Indian Agency, Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, August 10, 1877, to E. A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1877 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1877), p. 162.

[8]See "Executive orders establishing, enlarging, or reducing Indian reservations, also restoring certain Indian reservations to the public domain, from May 14, 1855, to October 29, 1878," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1878 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1878), p. 230. This action probably convinced the Warm Spring that their reservation would be abolished soon with their removal to the White Mountain Reservation.

No report had been made of their presence on the Hot Springs Reservation, and Agent Davis had been issuing blankets and rations to them. Commissioner Hayt telegraphed to John P. Clum on March 20, 1877, instructing him to take his Apache Police to Ojo Caliente, New Mexico; arrest the hostiles; seize all stolen property in their possession and return it to the rightful owners; and remove the hostiles to San Carlos, where he was to confine their leaders in the agency guardhose on charges of murder and theft.[9]

The Removal of the Apache on the Hot Springs Reservation

When Clum arrived at Ojo Caliente a month later, a scout he had sent there a few days in advance informed him that Geronimo was then encamped about three miles from the agency with between eighty and one hundred followers. He also learned that the troops he had expected to arrive the next day would not be able to join him until April 22. Clum decided that he would have to act without the troops if he was going to accomplish his mission. The details of this, the only capture of Geronimo, are not germane to the purposes of this study, as this capture did not put an end to Geronimo's faction.[10]

Clum had all of the Chiricahua on the reservation brought into the agency at Ojo Caliente and kept there under close surveilance, but took no immediate action against the Warm Spring. On April 23, he received orders from Commissioner Hayt to take all of the Apache on the

---

[9]See John P. Clum, "Geronimo," pp. 23 and 26; and Woodworth Clum, op. cit. pp. 204 and 210.

[10]See John P. Clum, "Geronimo," pp. 26-32.

Hot Springs Reservation to San Carlos if he had the approval of the military authorities in New Mexico. They heartily favored the proposed removal, and Clum began making arrangements to effect it. He must have had the Mescalero living on the reservation returned to their own reservation at Fort Stanton, New Mexico, as they were not included in his head counts of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring.[11]

The three hundred and fifty-three Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and affiliated Bedonkohe on the Hot Springs Reservation were assembled at the agency on May 1, and were started on the four hundred mile journey to San Carlos. Unfortunately, a smallpox epidemic broke out during the march and eight of the Apache died of it before their companions reached San Carlos on May 20. Nineteen prisoners, including Geronimo, were confined in the agency guardhouse, while the rest of the exiles were located near the present Geronimo, Arizona. Their leaders were instructed to bring all of their people to the sub-agency at Fort Thomas once a week to be counted and receive rations. Four of the men were appointed to the native police force, and Victorio was added to the council of Apache judges.[12]

The smallpox began to take a greater toll of these Apache after their location on the White Mountain Reservation. Betzinez says that:

> Our people were terrified, for that affliction had always proved deadly to the Indians. Many Apaches were seriously sick, some died. Those who did not at once contract the disease moved their camps into the [Gila] mountains to the north hoping that the higher altitude would be more healthy. Those who remained along the

---

[11]See Woodwroth Clum, op. cit., pp. 229-243; and John P. Clum, "Geronimo," p. 35.

[12]Woodworth Clum, op. cit., p. 249; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 46.

river took care of themselves as best they could without any help from the agency.[13]

To make matters worse, the San Carlos Apache, on whose tribal lands they were located, regarded the newcomers as intruders. Opler says that this animosity was reciprocated by the latter, who ". . . failed to make a satisfactory adjustment to the Western Apache, from whom they considered themselves separated by a sharp difference of dialect and customs."[14]

Further Outbreaks and Factionalism

While dissatisfaction with their physical and social conditions was certainly a contributing factor in impelling the Warm Spring to leave the reservation four months later, the principal cause was their feeling that they had been unjustly removed from the Hot Springs Reservation. Over three hundred of them, including a few Chiricahua, left Fort Thomas on September 2 and headed for the Hot Springs Reservation. Three of the chiefs with one hundred and eighty-seven followers surrendered at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, on October 13. Seventy others surrendered later, and all two hundred and sixty were taken to the Hot Springs Reservation, where they were held under the charge of the War Department.[15] Geronimo and his family joined the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ under Juh in another outbreak in

---

[13]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 47.

[14]Morris Edward Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," New Mexico Historical Review, XIII, No. 4 (October, 1938), p. 361.

[15]See Lockwood, op. cit., p. 226; and Report(s) of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1877 (and) 1879, pp. 20-21, and xxxix, respectively.

April, 1878.[16]

The Warm Spring and Chiricahua on the Hot Springs Reservation had remained at peace since their relocation there, but in October, 1878, orders came for them to be returned to San Carlos. They were then assembled at the agency for a conference at which these orders were announced. Loco and the majority of the other Apache, wishing to avoid further bloodshed, consented to the removal under strong protest. Victorio and Nana, however, refused to leave the Hot Springs Reservation, preferring the warpath to life at San Carlos. During the preparations for the removal, eighty Warm Spring under Victorio and Nana fled to the Black Range south of the reservation. Loco's faction were removed to San Carlos without further difficulty.[17]

In December, 1878, Nana and sixty-two other hostiles came onto the Mescalero Reservation at Fort Stanton, New Mexico, seeking asylum. They remained there for the next seven months until they were joined by Victorio and the remaining hostiles. All of the Warm Spring and two hundred and fifty Mescalero left this reservation in April, 1879, and began raiding in southern New Mexico, northern Chihuahua, and western Texas. The majority of them, including Victorio, were either dead or captured after October 9, 1880. Nana, who had escaped either fate, led the remaining Warm Spring, Mescalero, and a few Navaho hostiles in a continuation of the raiding until August, 1882.[18]

---

[16]See Woodworth Clum, op. cit., p. 263; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 47.

[17]Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1879, p. xxxix; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 50 and 54. Betzinez says that these Apache were returned to San Carlos in 1879, while the documentary sources make it clear that this was in 1878.

[18]See C. L. Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches ("The Civilization

Many of the Warm Spring, Chiricahua, and Bedonkohe men on the White Mountain Reservation enlisted as scouts in the United States Army to help hunt down the hostiles.[19] They had learned from past experience that their entire tribes were blamed when hostile factions broke the peace with the Americans. It is probable that they sought enlistment as a means of destroying this threat to the safety of their tribes.

The rest of these Apache remained at peace on the White Mountain Reservation until 1882. They were not allowed to leave their camps near San Carlos except when they went to the agency once a week to draw their rations. Few of them showed any inclination to begin farming at this location. As a result, they became totally dependent upon the rations for their subsistence. The agent often cheated them at the issue, and they frequently had to cross the San Carlos River while it was in flood to get their rations. However, they had decided to live with these hardships rather than attempt another outbreak as an expression of their grievances.[20]

One hundred and eight /ⁿdeˊ.\ⁿdaiˊˊ/ under Juh and Geronimo returned to the White Mountain Reservation in January, 1880. They had been persuaded to do so by a Captain Haskell on the staff of General O. B. Willcox, commander of the Department of Arizona.[21] It would appear that they

---

of the American Indian Series," Vol. 51; Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 161-194.

[19]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

[20]Ibid.

[21]See J. C. Tiffany, United States Indian Agent, San Carlos Agency, Arizona, August 15, 1880, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 6.

had grown tired of constant warfare and were prepared to live in peace on the reservation.

None of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, or Bedonkohe participated in the religious insurrection of the White Mountain, Cibecue, and San Carlos Apache during the summer of 1881. However, when troops were sent on September 30 to bring two of the White Mountain chiefs, George and Benito, and their bands to Fort Thomas for trial, both chiefs fled to the Chiricahua camp. They so alarmed these Apache, that seventy-four of them left the reservation during the night, accompanied by Benito.[22]

A Brief Confederation

As Naiche, titular chief of the Chiricahua, and the four band chiefs of this tribe--Juh, Chato, Chihuahua, and Zele--had taken part in the outbreak, Loco assumed the leadership of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe who had remained on the reservation. Juh and Naiche sent word in January, 1882, that they were planning to make a raid into Arizona several months later and would expect the Apache under Loco to join them at that time. Those who refused to go would be killed. The hostiles, led by Naiche and Chato, came onto the reservation on April 19, and forced the pacific faction under Loco at gun point to take the warpath with them back to Mexico.[23]

---

[22]Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, H. Price, Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, October 24, 1881, to the Secretary of the Interior, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1881 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1881), pp. viii-x.

[23]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 246-247.

This hostility was totally without precedent, but is understandable. By forcing the pacific faction of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring to take the warpath with them, the hostiles were able to unify both tribes and effectively check the factionalism that had divided them. Those hostile leaders who were not chiefs in any sense, such as Geronimo and Mangus, a son of Mangas Coloradas, had the opportunity to strengthen their personal followings.

Betzinez says that a common subject of discussion among these Apache in the early 1880's was the fact that they were unable to form a strong confederation. It appears that the hostiles had done so. Their success can be measured by Betzinez's statement that this confederation consisted of Chiricahua, Warm Spring, Mescalero, San Carlos, White Mountain, and other Apache (presumably Bedonkohe), as well as a few Navaho. The accretion of Nana's group in August, 1882, explains the presence of Mescalero and Navaho in the confederation. The San Carlos and White Mountain Apache in it had joined at the time of the forced outbreak. Juh and Geronimo were the principal leaders of the confederation.[24]

On May 15, 1883, a detachment of Apache Scouts belonging to an expedition under General George Crook surprised the camp of Chato and Benito in the Sierra Huachinera while most of the men were away. They captured a number of the women and children and all of the camp supplies. Communication was established with the other hostile camps through the women, and the leaders were induced to come in for negotiations. The hostiles were completely demoralized by the fact that their strongholds

---

[24]See Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 54, 60, 77, and 83.

were no longer impregnable, and begged Crook to accept their surrender and return them to the White Mountain Reservation.

Three hundred and twenty-five hostiles, most of them Warm Spring, were returned to San Carlos. Among them were Chihuahua, Loco, Benito, Nana, and Kaahtenny, a Warm Spring war leader. About two hundred others remained in Mexico under Juh, Geronimo, Naiche, Chato, Zele, and Mangus. Crook had permitted them to stay there until they had gathered their scattered followings, which these leaders were expected to bring into San Carlos. They took advantage of the favor to increase their herds of stolen stock, which they hoped to trade to the reservation Indians on their return.[25]

Juh was drowned in the Casas Grandes River during the summer of 1883. Geronimo then claimed leadership of all of the hostiles remaining in Mexico, but was accepted by only a small contingent of his and Juh's personal followings. Naiche and Zele surrendered with about thirty-six followers in late October, and were followed several weeks later by fifty to sixty hostiles under Chato and Mangus. Geronimo surrendered with the remaining hostiles in April, 1884.[26]

Economic Changes on Turkey Creek

The ex-hostiles were temporarily located on the bottom lands of the San Carlos River until all five hundred and twelve of them were back on the reservation. As the War Department had been given full authority

---

[25]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 266-271; and Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 56-59 and 67-71.

[26]See Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 77-81, 84-101, and 112.

over them, Lieutenant Britton Davis was assigned as their immediate supervisor. In May, 1884, the Chiricahua and Warm Spring were allowed to select a site on the reservation for their permanent settlement and chose Turkey Creek, a northern tributary of the Black River.[27]

Plans had been made since the first group of hostiles returned to the reservation in June, 1883, to establish them in some self-supporting industry. As Davis wrote:

> Turkey Creek had no water for agricultural purposes, nor was there any vacant land near Fort Apache suitable to sustain any large number of them. Nomads for generations past, their natural bent was the acquisition and care of animals. We proposed that they be given sheep and a few cows to start with, hoping that in time they would become independent, peaceful, and prosperous as the Navaho. I believe the General would have accepted our view, but the Indian Bureau at Washington was again in the saddle and farmers they were made to be.[28]

In accordance with the wishes of the Indian Bureau, the ex-hostiles were given a dozen light wagons and a double set of harness for each, a dozen plows, two dozen or more picks and shovels, and a few bags of seed. Even had they known how to use these implements, there were hardly enough to get five hundred and twelve nomadic Apache and Navaho started in subsistence farming.[29]

The ex-hostiles were located on Turkey Creek in June, 1884, and were joined soon afterward by thirty-eight Cibecue and White Mountain

---

[27]The White Mountain and San Carlos Apache members of the confederation were apparently returned to their former camps on the reservation. The Bedonkohe, Mescalero, and Navaho lived with the Chiricahua and Warm Spring and were identified as Chiricahua or Warm Spring.

[28]Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 72 and 102.

[29]Ibid., p. 103.

Apache. Betzinez says that those who settled along the head of Turkey Creek did very well with their crops, planting corn and potatoes the first year and corn and barley the next spring.[30] The Chiricahua who were now farming must have learned the agricultural methods they employed from the other Indians on Turkey Creek.

It is obvious that the ex-hostiles never acquired the skills needed to become subsistence farmers. Robert Frazer, a corresponding secretary of the Indian Rights Association, visited the White Mountain Reservation in 1884. He found that one hundred and seventy-six Apache on Turkey Creek were farming on seventy-five acres of land by rather crude methods. Old cans were used as rakes; the plows were pulled by the Apache themselves; and the surplus crops were transported to market on the backs of the Indians or those of their ponies, instead of in the wagons that had been given to them. With so many of them farming on so few acres of land, it is obvious that their primary source of subsistence was their rations. They also supplemented the rations with wild plant foods and game found along Turkey Creek or in the vicinity of Fort Apache.[31]

Although these Indians were certainly making an honest attempt to become successful farmers, their efforts were doomed to failure. The civil agent at San Carlos was replaced in January, 1885. The new agent appointed an agency head farmer, who stopped the work on the irrigation

---

[30]Britton Davis, op. cit., p. 106; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 125.

[31]Robert Frazer, The Apaches of the White Mountain Reservation, Arizona, A report made for the Indian Rights Association in 1884 (Philadelphia: The Indian Rights Association, 1885), pp. 7 and 11-12; and Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 107-109.

ditches being dug by the military. On January 17, the agent attempted to seize the tools that had been issued to the Indians.[32]

Lieutenant Davis made an inventory of the property belonging to the Indians on Tuckey Creek during the spring of this year. He found that a number of their ponies had been traded to the White Mountain Apache or to expeditions from the Navaho Reservation, and that a number of the tools and plows had been either traded or gambled off to the White Mountain and Cibecue Apache. Most of the wagons had been damaged through misuse and were beyond repair.[33]

One of Opler's informants declared that these Apache had felt that they were being forced to abandon their old cultural patterns without being given a fair chance to adopt American ones.[34] The above evidence should show that their suspicions were well founded.

Resistance to Social Pressures

During the summer of 1884, General Crook issued several orders which received strong opposition from the Chiricahua and Warm Spring leaders. The first was a ban on the making and consumption of tiswin. Lieutenant Davis was given orders to stop both, first by persuasion, then by threats, and finally by arresting the offenders. The other two orders were bans on the rights of Apache men to beat their wives and to cut off the noses of those caught in adultery.

---

[32]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 275-276.

[33]Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 123 and 136.

[34]Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," p. 364.

Kaahtenny and Chihuahua began advising defiance of these orders and resistance to any attempts to arrest the offenders. Kaahtenny was arrested on June 22, 1884, after and his thirty-two followers openly defied the ban on the making and consumption of tiswin. He was tried and convicted by an Indian jury and sentenced by General Crook to three year's imprisonment on Alcatraz Island, California. After serving eighteen months of his sentence, he was pardoned and returned to the White Mountain Reservation to become one of the most tractable of the Warm Spring.[35]

Kaahtenny's imprisonment did much to quell the resistance to Crook's orders. However, tiswin parties and wife beating reappeared in January, 1885, during the dispute between the civil and military authorities over the management of the Indians on the White Mountain Reservation. Mangus, whose wife was a skillful tiswin maker, joined Chihuahua in making vigorous protests against the ban on the making and consumption of this corn beer.

On May 15, all of the Indians on Turkey Creek except the scouts attended a tiswin party and came to report this to Davis the next day.[36] All of them were armed and prepared to fight to the bitter end if Davis attempted to make any arrests. Chihuahua acted as their spokesman. He began by stating that none of these ex-hostiles had ever made an agreement to abide by these restrictions on their social conduct. They felt

---

[35]Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 115, 123-130, and 141; Lockwood, op. cit., p. 275; and USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 79.

[36]Company B of the Apache Scouts was reorganized in June, 1884, and then consisted of one hundred and twenty-seven Chiricahua and Warm Spring men and boys able to bear arms. Chato was made first sergeant, and Perico, a second cousin of Geronimo, second sergeant (See Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 106 and 150; and USAAMCM, op. cit., p. 136).

that it was grossly unfair to forbid their use of alchoholic beverages while white soldiers were permitted to do so. In conclusion, Chihuahua informed Davis of the recent tiswin party and challenged him to arrest the whole group.

Davis replied that this matter was too serious for him to act upon without orders from a higher authority. He wrote a report to his immediate superior at San Carlos, Captain F. E. Pierce, in the presence of the Indians, and told them that he would act in accordance with the orders he received. Pierce did not notify General Crook when he received this report, but filed it for later reference. Three days later, Geronimo, Chihuahua, Naiche, Mangus, and Nana left the reservation with one hundred and thirty-one followers. Betzinez says that these leaders were highly suspicious and believed that General Crook was preparing to deal with them as he had with Kaahtenny.[37]

When Company B of the Apache Scouts was assembled to take pursuit of the hostiles, Perico and two other scouts left the reservation and joined the hostiles. Davis learned later that they had been ordered by Geronimo to kill him and Chato, and reports the following as the results of their failure to do so:

> Almost immediately after they left their camps dissension cropped out among the hostiles. Nachite and Chihuahua charged Geronimo and Mangus with having lied to them to get them to leave by telling them that Chato and I had been killed and that troops were coming to arrest all the Chiricahua and Warm Springs and send them away. Nachite and Chihuahua threatened to kill Geronimo. This caused a split in the camps. Mangus and his small band left at once for Mexico and never rejoined the others. Chihuahua and

---

[37]See Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 139-149 and 151-152; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 129.

his band stopped in the Mogollon Mountans northeast of Morenci, Arizona, uncertain whether to go on to Mexico or return to the Reservation.[38]

Chihuahua's faction later joined Geronimo's, but both men retained the leadership of their own followings. The details of the military campaigns against these hostiles by General Crook and General Nelson A. Miles have been adequately described in several documentary sources. The interested reader is advised to follow the accounts given by Davis and Lockwood.[39] It should be observed, however, that the members of Geronimo's and Chihuahua's factions were primarily their consanguineal and affinal relatives, as both leaders had lost much of their influence over any other Apache on Turkey Creek.[40]

The Indians who remained on Turkey Creek under Loco, Chato, Zele, and Benito remained loyal in their promises to keep the peace. Nearly one hundred of the men served faithfully as scouts under General Crook and General Miles in tracking down the hostiles and forcing their final surrenders.[41]

Summary

The Chiricahua tribe became divided between two factions in 1876--a small hostile one led by Skinya, and a pacific one led by Cochise's two sons, Taza and Naiche. When Skinya's faction began raiding

---

[38]Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 150-152.

[39]Ibid., pp. 152-232; and Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 281-306.

[40]See Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," pp. 367 and 386.

[41]See Britton Davis, op. cit., p. 152.

the American settlements along the San Pedro River, John P. Clum, the Indian Agent at San Carlos, Arizona, was instructed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to collect all of the Chiricahua bands and relocate them on the White Mountain Reservation, Arizona. Only Taza's band could be induced to accept the removal. Skinya and seven of his followers were killed in a battle with Taza's band. Pionsenay, Skinya's brother, fled the Chiricahua Reservation with the rest of this faction. The /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ band under Juh, Nolge, and Geronimo fled into Mexico, and a smaller group, under Gordo, fled to the Hot Springs Reservation in New Mexico.

In February, 1877, it was discovered that the /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ were using the Hot Springs Reservation as a base from which to launch their intermittent raids into Mexico. They were selling the stock they had stolen in Mexico to white traders in the settlements along the Rio Grande. The Warm Spring were apparently taking part in the raids and shielding the Chiricahua hostiles. Clum was given instructions to arrest the hostiles and remove all of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring to the White Mountain Reservation. He accomplished both tasks, but the Warm Spring left the latter reservation in September, 1877, in an attempt to force the Government into allowing them to reoccupy the Hot Springs Reservation.

This attempt met with much success. When they surrendered at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, in October, 1877, the Government had the Warm Spring removed to their old reservation under the supervision and care of the War Department. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered their return to the White Mountain Reservation two years later, when the /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ were again on the warpath. The majority of the Warm Spring, under

Loco, consented to the removal under strong protest, but eighty others left the reservation under Victorio and Nana and carried on a war of extermination against the Mexicans and Americans for the next three years. Both the Chiricahua and Warm Spring tribes were now divided by hostile and pacific factions. Many of the men from the latter factions enlisted as scouts in the United States Army to help hunt down the hostiles.

Naiche and the Chiricahua band chiefs joined the /ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí/ in another outbreak in September, 1881, and returned the next spring to force all of their tribesmen, the Warm Spring, Bedonkohe, and a number of White Mountain and San Carlos Apache to take the warpath with them. By April, 1884, all of these Apache had returned to the White Mountain Reservation and were located on Turkey Creek, a northern tributary of the Black River. The attempts of the military to establish them as farmers met with little success, and the bans on the making and consumption of tiswin, the beating of wives, and the punishment of adultery by cutting off the noses of unfaithful wives led to another outbreak in May, 1885. Three-fourths of the Apache on Turkey Creek remained there during the campaign against the hostiles. Nearly one hundred of the men served as enlisted scouts in the Army to help hunt down the hostiles and force their final surrender.

The principal changes in the social structures of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring during the ten year period from 1876 through 1886 were: (1) the loss of political solidarity among the Chiricahua, (2) the adoption of agriculture by the Chiricahua, and (3) the enlistment of men and boys among both tribes as scouts in the Army. As the reader shall discover in the next chapter, factionalism was resolved during the next

eight years, but recurred again after 1899. Agriculture eventually became a major economic activity among the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe, and enlistment in the Army replaced the raiding complex after May, 1891.

CHAPTER VI

EXILE AND CONFINEMENT: 1886-1913

Removal to Florida

On December 15, 1885, Captain Emmett Crawford and Lieutenant Marion P. Maus led a company of Apache Scouts, many of them Chiricahua and Warm Spring, into the Sierra Madre Occidental. They surprised the camp of the hostiles under Geronimo, Naiche, and Chihuahua on January 11, 1886, while most of the men were absent, and captured all of their ponies, camp equipage, and supplies. The hostile leaders were so demoralized that they immediately opened negotiations for a surrender. They met with General Crook at Cañon de los Embudos, Sonora, on March 25, and surrendered to him two days later on the terms that they and their families would be imprisoned in Florida for a period not exceeding two years, after which they would be allowed to return to the White Mountain Reservation in Arizona.

Crook had them started for Fort Bowie, Arizona, the same day. That night a dozen or more of the hostiles got drunk on whiskey sold to them by an American trader named Tribolet, and thirty-nine of them under Geronimo and Naiche fled to the Sierra Madres.[1]

Chihuahua and seventy-seven other hostiles were sent to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, on April 7, 1886. General Crook was

---

[1] See Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 193-213.

relieved of his command five days later and was replaced by General Nelson A. Miles. The War Department began urging the removal of the Apache on Turkey Creek to some permanent location in the East at this time. The principal reason lay in an unfounded suspicion that they had been aiding the hostiles in Mexico and that the Chiricahua and Warm Spring scouts were not completely trustworthy. The truth was that they had remained loyal during the hostilities, cultivating their fields; tending their herds of cattle, sheep, horses, and mules; or cutting hay and firewood which they sold to the Army at Fort Apache.

General Miles met with their leading men in July, and induced a delegation of ten or twelve of them, headed by Chato, to go to Washington to inquire what the Government might do for them if they moved. They met with the Secretaries of War and the Interior and had an interview with President Cleveland, but no decision was reached concerning their relocation.

While they were still in Washington, it was decided to remove all of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe to Fort Marion. The delegation was allowed to begin the return trip to Arizona, but was detained at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. These Apache were confined in the federal penitentary at Fort Leavenworth until September 12, when they were transferred to Fort Marion.[2]

While the Apache on Turkey Creek were assembled at Fort Apache to receive their rations, they were surrounded by the troops and put under arrest. The scouts were disarmed and confined with the other men in a

---

[2]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 325 and 313-316.

horse barn at the fort, while the women and children were allowed to return to their camps on Turkey Creek. Four hundred and twenty-eight of these Apache were sent to Fort Marion on September 7. They and the delegation under Chato arrived at Fort Marion on September 20. The twelve Chiricahua and Warm Spring who were left on the White Mountain Reservation were apparently either married to Apache of other tribes, the offspring of these unions, or simply living with these tribes. There are said to be a few Warm Spring living in Magdalena, New Mexico, who are the descendents of others who escaped exile.[3]

Geronimo and his thirty-one followers surrendered to General Miles at Skeleton Canyon in the Chiricahua Mountains on September 4, under the condition that they would be sent to their families in Florida. Geronimo and the other fourteen men in his faction were confined at Fort Pickens, Pensacola, Florida, while the women and children were sent to Fort Marion. Mangus and his faction of twelve hostiles were captured on October 9. He and one other man were confined at Fort Pickens, while the others of his faction were sent to Fort Marion.[4]

Confinement in Florida

Herbert Welsh, who visited Fort Marion in 1887, described it as follows:

> Fort Marion, formerly named Fort San Marco, is a fine example of the old-time stone fortress of the Vaubon pattern; with bastions, moat

---

[3]See Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 236-237; Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," pp. 381-384; and USAAMCM, op. cit., Appendix V, pp. 1-2.

[4]See Britton Davis, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

> and watch towers. It is not built of ordinary stone, but of coquina, a natural composition of tiny shells and sand. This fact suggests a point touching the sanitary condition of the prisoners. . . . Its walls enclose an open square, the sides of which measure about 180 feet. The exterior side of the fort is about 90 yards long. From the center of this square one looks into the firm-set rectangular windows and doors of the casemates and barracks. The ramparts and watch towers command a view of the town, the harbor, to which the outer walls of the fort extend, and the sea beyond.[5]

Welsh found that sanitation within the fort was provided for by directing a stream of water through a casemate ". . . by which drainage was secured directly to the sea." There was also free and constant use of carbolic acid as a disinfectant. But all of this was not enough to prevent filth from being absorbed in the sandy soil of the square and the highly porous coquina stone of which the fort was composed. It is no wonder that twenty-two of the Apache--six women, one man, and fifteen children--had died within six months after their arrival at Fort Marion.[6]

It was not the sanitary condition alone that caused an unhealthy atmosphere in the fort, for Welsh reported that--

> The Indians have been wisely required to camp upon the ramparts of the fort, where they have plenty of fresh air and sunshine, rather than to occupy the dark, damp and forbidding barracks and casemates. Had not this precaution been taken, it is likely that a much greater loss of life would have occurred than the Apache prisoners have yet suffered. Fort Marion is entirely inadequate to contain with safety the 447 prisoners now within its walls. The ramparts are closely crowded with tents, so that but a narrow space is left for passage way. Most of the tents are crowded with occupants. I walked frequently among them and observed their general condition as to cleanliness and order. Some were scrupulously clean and well kept; others indifferently so. As the women prepare all the food used by the prisoners, and it must be made ready in their tents, I noticed scraps

---

[5]Herbert Welsh, The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1887), p. 5.

[6]Ibid., p. 14.

> of bread and meat lying about. . . . The women make small fires of sticks and logs in spare corners of the ramparts, over which one sees coffee boiling or meat frying in the saucepan. Saddles, blankets, personal belongings of various kinds might be seen in or near the tents. It was, in fine, an Indian camp lifted from the mountains and plains of Arizona and transported intact to the narrow confines of Fort Marion.[7]

One of the author's informants reported that the avoidance patterns between affines were abandoned while the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe were at Fort Marion, but were resumed after they were relocated at Mount Vernon Barracks, Mobile, Alabama. It was shown in a former chapter that marriage was conceived by all of these tribes as an economic contract between two families. The success or failure of this contract fell upon the husband, who was responsible for the welfare of his wife's family as well as his own. In this respect, avoidance functioned as a regulative devise to prevent friction between the man and his wife's family.

The author's informants stated that the wife's parents would avoid their son-in-law only as long as he commanded their respect by fulfilling his economic and social obligations to them. There was no outlet for the fulfillment of the aboriginal male roles as hunters, warriors, or farmers at Fort Marion. With the loss of the socio-economic conditions under which avoidance was maintained, this form of affinal kinship behavior was abandoned until these conditions were restored.

The changes wrought by the formal education of the children and adolescents were of far greater proportions. In November, 1886, forty-four of the Apache youths were taken to Carlisle Indian Industrial School,

---

[7]Welsh, op. cit., p. 13.

Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and placed under the care and supervision of Captain Richard H. Pratt. General Crook had supposedly sent five boys--three Warm Spring, one Chiricahua, and one Navaho, who was the adopted son of a Warm Spring family--to Carlisle in 1883. When Welsh visited the school in February, 1887, he found that these forty-nine children and adolescents had made remarkable progress in their studies and were rapid learners.

The sisters of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic School in St. Augustine had contracted with the Indian Bureau to instruct sixty boys and girls from Fort Marion. The children were picked up at the fort every morning and taken to the parochial school for instruction. Under the terms of the contract, the Government paid the children's tuition.[8]

There were two educational programs for the adults at Fort Marion. Several of the women of St. Augustine voluntarily instructed twenty-five male prisoners in the English language, arithmetic, spelling, and writing. Although only two hours were spent in class each day, Welsh was amazed at the speed with which the men acquired the new knowledge. The other program was initiated by the War Department. They provided the lumber and tools and appointed instructors to teach carpentry to the male prisoners who wanted to learn it. Those adults who were not involved in these educational programs spent their time gambling or making handcrafts for sale to the citizens of St. Augustine.[9]

---

[8]See Welsh, op. cit., pp. 4 and 12-13; and USAAMCM, op. cit., Appendix III.

[9]Welsh, op. cit., pp. 12-13; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 146-147.

The author's informants reported that, though the girl's puberty rite was observed on several occasions during the 1890's and early 1900's. no attempt was made after 1886 to train young men for warfare, raiding, and hunting. In this respect, formal education served as a replacement for this training.

The seventeen male prisoners at Fort Pickens were confined in its dungeons, and put to work sawing up large logs. Two of them were instructed in the English language by George Wrattan, their interpreter and work supervisor who voluntarily went into exile with them.[10] In April, 1887, the families of these prisoners were sent to them from Fort Marion, while the other prisoners at Fort Marion were relocated at Mount Vernon Barracks, Mobile, Alabama. The prisoners at Fort Pickens remained there until May, 1888, when they joined their tribesmen in Alabama.[11]

Changes at Carlisle

Upon the decision to transfer the Apache prisoners of war at Fort Marion to Mount Vernon Barracks, Captain Pratt was detailed to go to St. Augustine for the purpose of taking all of the Apache youths of "educatable age" to Carlisle. Sixty-three of them were taken to the school to join the other forty-nine Apache already there. They were exposed to the stern discipline of the school from their first moments there. For those who could already speak English, there was a taboo against speaking their native tongue. The students were expected to make

---

[10]Britton Davis, op. cit., p. 233; Barrett(ed.), op. cit., p. 177; and USAAMCM, op. cit., pp. 2 and 137.

[11]Lockwood, op. cit., p. 320.

a voluntary confession of any individual infractions of the rules every Saturday night. The men and boys were given haircuts, and all of the students were dressed in uniforms.

Betzinez indicated that the socialization process and identities of these students changed while they were at Carlisle. The younger generations could no longer learn by the example of the older ones, for the younger students grasped their lessons more rapidly than did the older ones. One of the teachers bestowed first names upon the students and taught them to approximate their Apache names in writing.[12] One of the author's informants stated that the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe did not use surnames in their aboriginal cultures. Consequently, the students had to use their Apache names or those of their fathers as surnames.

The above changes were minor in comparison with the new skills and trades the students acquired. During the summers, they were sent to the homes of white families in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where they had more opportunity to practice these trades and skills and acquire more of the latter. These experiences did much towards alienating them from their tribal cultures and hastening their assimilation of American mores and norms.[13] The author's informants reported that many of these students remained in the North to work for several years after their discharge from Carlisle before returning to their families.

---

[12] See Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 151-154. Betzinez was one of the Apache students at Carlisle, and was, therefore, writing from first-hand knowledge of the experience of the students there.

[13] Ibid., pp. 154-159.

There is one respect in which the experiences of the Apache at Carlisle had tragic results. They were apparently not prepared for the climate in Pennsylvania. Lieutenant Guy Howard reported to the Adjutant-General of the Army on December 23, 1889, that thirty of the one hundred and twelve Apache students at Carlisle had died there; twelve had been returned to their parents because of sickness; and the other seventy were still at Carlisle.[14]

Nine Apache youths were sent to Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, in 1887.[15] Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether their experience there was comparable to that of their contemporaries at Carlisle.

Confinement in Alabama

As there were no facilities for housing the Apache prisoners of war at Mount Vernon Barracks, they had to live in brush wickiups for the next five years. Then the War Department provided tools and building materials, hired a white carpenter as foreman, and set the prisoners to work constructing their own houses. The Apache did not forsake the wickiups entirely, for they moved outside the houses during the summers and lived in the wickiups or under brush arbors. With the coming of winter, they moved back into the houses.[16]

---

[14]See Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 320-321.

[15]See USAAMCM, op. cit., Appendix II.

[16]This information is based on the statements of the author's informants.

John P. Clum, the Indian Agent who removed the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe to the White Mountain Reservation in 1876 and 1877, visited them at Mount Vernon Barracks in 1894 and reported that--

> The Indians have been located in a permanent camp or settlement on a ridge about a mile west of the military post. Seventy-five frame houses have been constructed, and each Indian family is now provided with a comfortable home. Each house is divided into two rooms, in one of which is a large cooking range, and in the other a comfortable fireplace. The furniture is plain, but suitable and sufficient.[17]

These houses were a much needed improvement. Lietuenant Howard had reported in 1889 that one hundred and nineteen of the Apache prisoners had died since they began their captivity in Florida.[18] If the twenty-two deaths at Fort Marion and the thirty at Carlisle are subtracted from these one hundred and nineteen, then sixty-seven of the Apache prisoners had died at Mount Vernon Barracks by the end of 1889. The cause of these deaths was suggested by C. C. Painter, a corresponding secretary of the Indian Rights Association. He reported that the prisoners had been living in their wickiups on malarial lowlands under poor sanitary conditions. Since they had moved into these new houses on higher ground, their death rate had decreased at least seventy-five per cent.[19]

After the prisoners who had been at Fort Pickens joined those already at Mount Vernon Barracks, George Wrattan was appointed work

---

[17]John P. Clum, "Geronimo," p. 247. This quote was published in the Washington Evening Star on January 29, 1894. The newspaper article is reproduced here by Clum.

[18]See Lockwood, op. cit., p. 321.

[19]C. C. Painter, "Washington Agency: Apache Prisoners," Eleventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association for the Year Ending December 15th, 1893 (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1894), pp. 37-38.

supervisor for all of them. His first task was to find some significant employment for the men, whose aboriginal roles as warriors and hunters were no longer meaningful. In May, 1891, he helped organize Company "I", Twelfth Infantry, consisting of fifty-two male prisoners. The men who were not in the company were allowed to seek work off the reservation by day, while the women sold beadwork and baskets in Mobile or did laundry for the white troops. Geronimo was appointed justice of the peace and tried all cases of minor offense committed by the Apache prisoners. The children attended a school in the Indian village.[20]

During the eight years the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe were at Mount Vernon Barracks, there were two cases of suicide and two of murder. In both cases of suicide, the victims were jealous husbands who had wives much younger than themselves. Their wives left them for younger men, and the cuckolds shot them out of anger, then took their own lives. One of these men also shot and killed his wife's lover. The other case of murder was committed by a Chiricahua who shot two white men who had beaten him severely after he challenged them with having molested his sister.[21]

There was a heavy dependence upon tiswin at Mount Vernon Barracks. One of the author's informants gave the reasons for this as follows:

> The Apaches had no way to control the alchoholic content, and when they made it in Alabama, they didn't want to. People got drunk down

---

[20]USAAMCM, op. cit., Appendix VII; John P. Clum, "Geronimo," p. 248; and Painter, op. cit., p. 38.

[21]This information is based on the statements of the author's informants. See USAAMCM, op. cit., pp. 42 and 142-143, for more complete details.

there just for something to do, but most of them got drunk to lose their fears and uncertainties about the future.

The Indian Rights Association began as early as 1888 to put pressure on the War Department and Congress to find a permanent location for the Apache prisoners of war. Congress finally authorized their removal to the Fort Sill Military Reservation, Indian Territory, on August 6, 1894. The Apache prisoners were settled on this reservation under the control of the garrison two months later.[22]

The Village System at Fort Sill

There were no facilities at Fort Sill for housing the two hundred and ninety-six Apache prisoners who arrived there from Mount Vernon Barracks. Captain Hugh L. Scott, their immediate supervisor, arranged for them to erect camps of wickiups along Cache Creek and north of the military post.[23] By the next spring he had been assured that the Apache prisoners were to make their permanent home at Fort Sill, and resolved to provide them with houses. Francis E. Leupp, Washington Agent of the Indian Rights Association, said that--

> For this purpose he [Captain Scott] had them divide into twelve groups or villages, according to kindred and intimate friendship. The head man in each group was ordered to select, within certain boundaries, a site for his village, having reference to both its scenic and its sanitary attractions. The village system was adopted for various reasons, chief among which was the fact that the country, through lack of water, is not adapted to agriculture, but only to grazing, and stock flourish best when kept on a large common range; the impracticability of separate and scattered farms was therefore obvious. Other considerations were the greater content of the Indians

---

[22]Lockwood, op. cit., p. 322.

[23]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 166.

> when in close social companionship with their relatives in their leisure hours, and the greater ease of inspecting their condition and controlling their movements.[24]

Betzinez says that the original village headmen were: Geronimo, Kayitah, Perico, Chihuahua, Noche, Kaahtenny, Mangus, Toclanny, Loco, Naiche, Chato, and Chiricahua Tom. The villages were named after them, such as "Geronimo's Village." Martine replaced Kayitah after 1900 as the headman of his village. Chihuahua and Mangus died in 1901; Chief Loco in 1905; and Geronimo in 1909. Only Chihuahua and Loco were succeeded, their eldest sons becoming the headmen of their villages then. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing how Mangus' and Geronimo's villages were governed following their deaths.[25] The locations of the twelve villages and the fields cultivated by the Apache prisoners of war during their nineteen years at Fort Sill are shown on the map in the envelope at the end of this study.[26]

One of the author's informants stated that the Warm Spring prisoners at Fort Sill applied a patrilocal rule of residence. Matrilocal residence was apparently the prevailing rule of marital residence in Naiche's Village, where Chiricahua were in the majority.[27] Since this

---

[24]Francis E. Leupp, Notes of a Summer Tour Among the Indians of the Southwest (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1897), pp. 4-5.

[25]See Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 166-167; and USAAMCM, op. cit., pp. 19, 47, 97, 103, 105, and 131.

[26]This map is a copy of the original drawn at Fort Sill in January and February, 1897, under the direction of Captain Scott. The original map is in the possession of the United States Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

[27]See USAAMCM, op. cit., pp. 121-122. The parents of one of Naiche's two wives were occupants of his village. Two of his half-sisters were also living here with their husbands.

was the prevailing rule of marital residence among the Chiricahua before 1886, it is probable that matrilocal residence was observed in the other villages at Fort Sill where the majority of the occupants were Chiricahua.

Much of the aboriginal kinship behavior of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe persisted during the nineteen years they were confined at Fort Sill. The author's informants reported that the avoidance patterns between affines and the intimate relations between grandparents and grandchildren were still observed. However, the position of the mother's brother with respect to a male ego among the Warm Spring had degenerated from that of a teacher to that of an advisor. Although those prisoners who died at Fort Sill were buried in graveyards set aside by the military, their families continued to fire rifles and shotguns into the air after the death of a warrior and to destroy the personal property of the deceased.

In view of the above evidence, it appears that the village system provided the necessary conditions for the maintenance of extended families. Each of the twelve villages was a separate extended family under its own extended family headman. However, there is no evidence that these villages constituted a local group, nor that there were any other social units among the Apache prisoners of war at Fort Sill than the extended family.

Economic Organization at Fort Sill

Captain Scott began to establish the Apache prisoners as farmers and stockmen soon after they were settled on the Fort Sill Military Reservation. Each of the twelve villages possessed a ten acre field where the occupants raised field corn, sweet corn, melons, sweet potatoes,

peas, beans, pumpkins, and African millet--also known as Kaffir corn. The latter had been raised first by the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho on an experimental basis and had proven to be well adapted to the soil and climate of western Oklahoma. Captain Scott introduced it to the Apache prisoners in 1895 and required each village to plant five of the ten acres in its field in millet. The other five acres could be planted in any other crop.[28] Lieutenant F. H. Beach, who took charge of the Apache prisoners of war on June 30, 1897, reported that corn, melons, and millet were the best crops, as the others were often killed by drought.[29] It is more probable that the Apache prisoners had little time to devote to their crops, since agriculture was intended to be a supplement to cattle raising, their chief industry.

One of the author's informants reported that, in addition to the ten acre village tracts, there were several large communal ones which were the communal property of the twelve villages. The hay and millet grown on the latter tracts were used as forage for the stock owned by the Apache prisoners.

The cattle were purchased by the War Department soon after the Apache prisoners were settled on the Fort Sill Military Reservation. They were issued to each of the seventy families among the prisoners and

---

[28]See F. H. Beach, First Lieutenant, Seventh Cavalry, In Charge of the Apache Prisoners of War, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, August 22, 1898, to the Adjutant-General, United States Army, War Department, Washington, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1898), p. 328; Captain Hugh L. Scott, Fort Sill, August 1, 1896, to the Adjutant-General, Department of the Missouri, Chicago, Illinois, Scott Papers, National Archives, Washington; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 168.

[29]Beach, op. cit., pp. 325, and 326.

branded with each family's ration number. When twenty of the bulls and five hundred and sixty two-year-old heifers were found to have Texas Fever in July, 1895, the Apache prisoners of war were entered as a whole as a member of the Texas Cattle Association. This gave them the protection offered by the Association's inspection system against the further introduction of diseased animals into their herds.[30]

As the cattle were allowed to roam on open range within the limits of the Fort Sill Military Reservation, and the Apache were not good herders, the men were put to work constructing a fence around the reservation limits. The Government procured 26,987 acres of grazing land from the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, which were added to the original 50,128 acre reservation before the fence was completed in 1897. Each family was then required to look after its own cattle.[31]

There is little doubt that the Apache prisoners of war made a satisfactory adjustment to cattle raising. On the other hand, the attempts to introduce hog and poultry raising were complete failures. Beach blamed the failure of hog raising on an insufficient food supply and an epidemic of hog cholera in 1898. The failure of poultry raising lay in the fact that the Apache villages were located along creek bottoms which were infested with small beasts of prey.[32] The reasons given by the

---

[30]See Scott, op. cit.; and Leupp, op. cit., p. 8.

[31]S. M. Brosius, "Report of the Washington Agency: Apache Prisoners," Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association for the Year Ending December 14, 1910 (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1911), p. 29; and Beach, op. cit., p. 325.

[32]See Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, Carbine and Lance, The Story of Old

author's informants for the failure of these two industries are probably far more accurate. They stated that the Apache prisoners would not eat pork "because hogs eat snakes," and had wanted nothing to do with hogs because of this. Only the Warm Spring had ever eaten turkeys, and they much preferred to hunt these fowl than to raise them.

Captain Scott made an earnest attempt to establish the Apache prisoners of war in a cash economy and to teach them thrift. He appears to have had considerable success, as is indicated by the following examples. First, he purchased a well-boring machine and taught the Apache men to use it. They bore wells for all of their villages, then did so on contract for the Kiowa, Comanche, and whites off the reservation. Secondly, they sold one thousand tons of hay to the Army at Fort Sill in 1897, half of which they baled themselves. Six hundred and forty tons of hay were sold the next year. The Apache prisoners used part of the proceeds of the latter sale to purchase mowing machines, rakes, hay balers, a hay loader, and a crane and tongs for stacking the hay. All of this equipment was owned in common and was used to fulfill future contracts with the Army. In later years, the proceeds from the sale of hay and cattle were deposited in the Apache Fund, which was managed by the military supervisors for the Apache prisoners of war.[33]

Although the War Department finally provided the Apache prisoners with horses and mules, cattle raising remained the major

---

Fort Sill (2nd printing; Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), pp. 381-382; and Beach, op. cit., pp. 325-326.

[34]See Leupp, op. cit., p. 8; Beach, op. cit., p. 326; Lockwood, op. cit., p. 323; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 170.

industry and the most profitable one.[34] The men received an additional income through their enlistments as soldiers and scouts. The enlistments of those who had been in Company "I", Twelfth Infantry, expired in April, 1895. Forty-seven male prisoners enlisted in Troop "L", Seventh Cavalry, for a two-year term then. In May, 1897, thirty-seven of the men enlisted in the detachment of United States Indian Scouts at Fort Sill. The twelve village headmen were among their number and were held responsible for the subordination and cleanliness of their villages. All of them fulfilled their obligations to the satisfaction of the military.[35]

Missionaries and Shamans

Although thirty-nine of the Apache children were attending St. Patrick's Roman Catholic School in Anadarko, forty miles north of Fort Sill, in 1898, there were still a number of the children who had no educational opportunities. Lieutenant Beach wrote to the War Department the same year requesting permission to communicate with some missionary society to ask their aid in providing a school and church for the Apache prisoners. He received permission to do so, and the Dutch Reformed Church responded to his request. During the summer of 1899, Dr. Walter C. Roe and Dr. Frank W. Wright came to Fort Sill from Colony, Oklahoma, where they had a mission among the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho. They began their missionary appeal by holding a camp meeting for the Apache

---

[34]Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 169.

[35]USAAMCM, op. cit., Appendix VII; and Leupp, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

prisoners just south of Geronimo's Village, and were so encouraged by the response that they began building a combined school and chapel with the financial backing of the Women's Board of Domestic Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church. The school and chapel were completed the same year and were located a mile north of Medicine Bluff, in a location central to all of the Apache villages.

The success of the mission was soon interrupted by an intensified renewal of the aboriginal curing rites. Harold Dick, a Chiricahua of the /^{n}dé·ì^{n}dáí/ band, began urging his fellow prisoners to reject Christianity and American culture and return to the aboriginal culture. His appeal was made all the stronger by his claim that he could cure tuberculosis, the prevailing disease among the Apache prisoners of war. The principal feature of the "cure" was the participation of his patients in the Fire Dance. Beach had reported that the prevalence of tuberculosis had led to a great dissatisfaction among the Apache prisoners and requests that they be returned to Arizona, where they had never suffered from this disease. This probably accounts for Dick's success in drawing most of the Apache prisoners into his following.

During the winter of 1899-1900, many of the Apache prisoners camped in tents at Four Mile Crossing, a point on Medicine Bluff Creek between Loco's and Naiche's villages, where the dance was held. Betzinez was of the opinion that this dance contributed to the death rate rather than alleviated it. In the first place, the dance ". . . lasted all night after which many of the dancers fell to the ground in a stupor induced by prolonged exertion, self hypnosis, bad liquor, or a combination." Secondly, as there were few masks available for those who impersonated

the Mountain Spirits, they were passed from one group of dancers to another, thus spreading tubercle bacillis among the participants. Betzinez says that the death rate among the Apache prisoners was higher during 1900 and 1901, when the dance was at its height, that it was during the succeeding decade. The dance and the heavy drinking associated with it were gradually controlled after 1902.[36]

The author's informants indicated that the missionaries had considerable influence over the Apache prisoners of war, in spite of the opposition of the shamans. As one informant put it:

> . . . We were well pleased with those missionaries. That's when a lot of Apaches started believing in the Lord. . . . Those missionaries, employees of that school, went out hunting and fishing with Apaches all of the time. Those teachers would camp out on Medicine Creek in the summer, or during a vacation, or take Apache men off the reservation for a whole week on a fishing trip; and the missionary women would go out all night hunting racoons. They loved racoon hunting, and they would take the Apache men along because Apaches had good 'coon dogs. . . . these teachers started associating with Apache men so much that they began falling in love with them. That's where J. met his wife. She was the superintendent of that school.

However, the missionaries did not exert a total influence on the Apache prisoners. The children continued to receive much of their socialization from their kinsmen and friends, as is indicated by the following statement:

> These boys went around together down there and would learn things together--how to swim, fish, hunt, ride a horse, and other things. They played together all of the time, and most of what they learned the older boys would teach the younger ones. The old men couldn't do anything any more but just sit around. So some of them would teach those boys by telling them stories and talk to them every chance they got. That's all they could do.

---

[36]See Beach, op. cit., p. 328; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 170-172 and 175-177. The author's informants declared that the alcoholic beverages consumed at Fort Sill did not include tiswin.

The Controversy over Allotment

As stated above, the Kiowa and Comanche ceded 26,987 acres of tribal land to the United States in February, 1897. This land was to be used for no other purpose than the allotment of one hundred and sixty acre tracts to each Apache family. A bill authorizing this allotment was introduced in the Senate during the winter of 1910, but failed to pass legislation in the House of Representatives. Several pressure groups had countered this bill with a proposal that the ceded land be included as a part of the military establishment at Fort Sill.[37]

The following year, the War Department ordered a full investigation into the advantages of allotment at Fort Sill or on the Mescalero Apache Reservation or the old Hot Springs Reservation, New Mexico. This investigation was conducted by Hugh L. Scott. He left with a delegation of six Apache men to inspect the reservations in New Mexico in October, 1911. The Mescalero Reservation was found to contain good timber and grazing land, but the Hot Springs Reservation was covered with a heavy layer of gravel, apparently caused by extensive placer mining.[38]

On December 1 and 2, 1912, the heads of families and the single adult members of the Apache prisoners of war were given an opportunity to decide between settlement in Oklahoma or on the Mescalero Reservation. One hundred and eighty-one elected to be removed to the latter location,

---

[37]See Brosius, op. cit., pp. 28-30.

[38]See S. M. Brosius, "Report of the Washington Agency: The Case of the Apache Prisoners of War," Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association for the Year Ending December 14, 1911 (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1912), p. 49; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 193-195.

having been promised by the Mescalero Apache that they would share equally with the newcomers the benefits of their reservation. Eighty-one others elected to remain in Oklahoma. In April, 1913, the Apache at Fort Sill were released from their status as prisoners of war. The group who had elected to be removed to the Mescalero Reservation left Fort Sill the same month, taking all of their personal belongings except their cattle with them.[39]

It is significant that Samuel M. Brosius claimed that the group who were removed to the Mescalero Reservation felt that they would find more favorable opportunities for the continuance of tribal life there than they had at Fort Sill. The group who remained in Oklahoma were the better educated and more assimilated members of the former Apache prisoners of war.[40]

Summary

Between April and October, 1886, the majority of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe--five hundred and sixty in all--were removed from Arizona and Mexico and confined at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, and Fort Pickens, Pensacola, Florida. Those who remained in the Southwest were living with other Apache tribes on the White Mountain Reservation,

---

[39]The Committee Sent to the Apache Prisoners of War: Colonel H. L. Scott, Third Cavalry, U. S. Army; H. C. Phillips, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners; and C. L. Ellis, Special Indian Agent, to the Secretaries of War and the Interior, "Securing the Vote of the Band of Apache Prisoners of War as to the Place of Settlement After Release," Fort Sill, Oklahoma, December 2, 1912, Scott Papers, National Archives, Washington; USAAMCM, op. cit., Tables I and II; and Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., p. 198.

[40]S. M. Brosius, "The Case of the Apache Prisoners of War," pp. 49-50 and 52.

Arizona, and the Mescalero Reservation, New Mexico, or in the community of Magdalena, New Mexico.

These Apache were confined in Florida during periods from seven months to two years, in Alabama for a period of six to seven years, and on the Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma, for nineteen years. The social changes that took place during these twenty-seven years are summarized below, with a separate section devoted to the changes at each location.

Changes at Fort Marion and Fort Pickens. The Apache prisoners of war confined at Fort Marion were forced to live on the ramparts inside the fort under crowded and very unsanitary conditions. As a result, twenty-two of them died during their confinement here. The absence of any economic activity by which the men could fulfill their obligations to their wives' parents led to the temporary abandonment of the avoidance patterns between affines. One hundred and two of the children and adolescents were subjected to the first attempts at their formal education. Two educational programs were begun at Fort Marion for those male adults who wished to take advantage of them.

There seem to have been few changes among the prisoners who were confined at Fort Pickens. Two of these seventeen prisoners were taught the English language by George Wrattan, their interpreter and work supervisor. In April, 1877, the families of these prisoners joined them, while the rest of those at Fort Marion were relocated at Mount Vernon Barracks, Mobile, Alabama. Those at Fort Pickens joined them a year later.

Changes at Carlisle. One hundred and ten Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe children and adolescents were at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, by May, 1887. They were subjected to many changes here. Only the more significant ones need be discussed here. One of their teachers bestowed English first names upon the students and taught them to approximate their Apache names in writing, the latter names being used as surnames. This change was minor in comparison with the skills and trades the Apache students acquired at Carlisle. They spent the summers in the homes of white families in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where they had more opportunity to practice the trades and to learn new skills. Nine other Apache youths were sent to Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, but there is no way of knowing what their experiences were there.

Changes at Mount Vernon Barracks. For the first five years the Apache prisoners of war were confined at Mount Vernon Barracks, they lived in the traditional brush wickiups. Then the War Department provided them with the tools, lumber, and a white carpenter to teach them to build their own frame houses.

These houses were a badly needed improvement. During the five years they had been living in the wickiups, the Apache prisoners had been located on malarial lowlands. Seventy-seven of them had died at Mount Vernon Barracks by the end of 1889. After they had moved into the houses on higher ground, the death rate decreased seventy-five per cent. The frequency of these deaths and the uncertainty of their future produced a considerable amount of stress among the Apache prisoners of war. They sought to alleviate their tensions through the consumption of tiswin,

thus perpetuating the traditional mode of cultural compensation. They must have relied heavily upon this corn beer, for they were obviously unprepared for the conditions of their confinement in Alabama.

The male prisoners, whose social roles as warriors and hunters were no longer meaningful, due to the conditions of their confinement in a completely alien environment, were given the opportunity to enlist as soldiers in the United States Army in May, 1891. The men who did not enlist were allowed to work off the reservation by day, while the women sold beadwork and baskets in Mobile or did laundry for the white troops at the post. These were the only economic activities open to the Apache prisoners of war during the six to seven years they were confined at Mount Vernon Barracks.

Changes at Fort Sill. In 1895, a year after the Apache prisoners were relocated on the Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma, they were settled in twelve permanent villages according to kinship and intimate friendship. This allowed them to maintain the traditional structuring of kinsmen in extended families. Evidence was given in this chapter that the Chiricahua at Fort Sill applied a matrilocal rule of marital residence, while the Warm Spring apparently applied a patrilocal one. Much of the traditional kinship behavior was observed by the Apache prisoners of war during the nineteen years they were at Fort Sill, and they continued to fire rifles and shotguns into the air after the death of a former warrior and to destroy all of the personal property of the deceased.

While their social relations persisted much as they had before 1886, the economic patterns of these Apache underwent a total transition. Cattle raising and agriculture became their major industries. The Apache

prisoners had also fully adopted a cash economy by this time. The money they received from the sale of their cattle and surplus crops, hay, and from drilling wells on contract was either used to purchase farm machinery or put into a trust fund established for their mutual benefit.

The traditional rules of ownership in property were also greatly modified. Although the cattle and horses were owned individually by the Apache families or by individuals who had no family, the fields were owned communally. Each village had a ten acre field which belonged to the extended family of that village in common. There were also several larger plots that were owned and worked by all of the families in common. Although the ownership of stock by nuclear families was not new to the Warm Spring, it was to the Chiricahua and Bedonkohe, who had possessed animals individually. The ownership of agricultural land by extended families or an entire local group was entirely new to the members of all three tribes. Although the stock were not owned in common, their care was a communal activity. The crops grown in the large collective fields were forage for the stock. Thus, stock raising was a collective enterprise.

The men were given the opportunity to continue their enlistments in the Army during the entire nineteen years they were at Fort Sill. It was reasoned that enlistment had now become a total replacement for the raiding complex. The twelve village headmen were enlisted as United States Army Scouts in 1897 and made responsible for the subordination and cleanliness of their villages.

In 1899, a Chiricahua shaman began urging the Apache prisoners of war to resist acculturation and the influence of the Dutch Reformed

missionaries who had established a school and church north of Medicine Creek Bluff the same year. His appeal was made stronger by his claim that he could cure tuberculosis, the most prevalent disease among the Apache prisoners, through the participation of his patients in the Fire Dance. As the dance was held during the winter months and the masks were used interchangeably by the participants, many of them died of pneumonia or tuberculosis. The dance was finally controlled after 1902, but the attitude of resistance to acculturation persisted. This is made evident by the fact that over two-thirds of the Apache elected to be removed to the Mescalero Apache Reservation, New Mexico, after their release from their status as prisoners of war in 1913. These one hundred and eighty-one Apache were supposedly the more conservative and the least acculturated of the former prisoners of war. Eighty-one others remained in Oklahoma, hoping to receive allotments at Fort Sill.

CHAPTER VII

FORT SILL APACHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

As was stated in the introduction to this study, the Fort Sill Apache describe themselves as an "independent" people in the sense that the nuclear family has become the basic economic and social group among them. One of the author's informants attributed this to the fact that allotment on separate tracts of land made it impossible to maintain settlement in extended families or communal economic activities. The extended family is no longer existent, and the individual nuclear families are dependent upon themselves for much of their economic activities.

As their settlement on separate allotments appears to have had a major role in the evolution of the present social structure of the Fort Sill Apache, it is reasonable that the following discussion begin with an analysis of the effect of allotment on the economic and social relations of the Fort Sill Apache. This analysis should serve as a necessary background for subsequent discussions of their kinship behavior, political organization, marriage regulations, and intertribal and interracial relations. The reader is advised that much of the following discussion is based upon the statements of the author's informants. Unfortunately, there are few documentary sources and no ethnographic ones that deal with the Fort Sill Apache.

Initial Allotment

Congress passed an act on August 24, 1912, providing for an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars for the relief and settlement of the Apache prisoners of war. A second act was passed on June 30, 1913, making available an additional one hundred thousand dollars for this purpose. Of the total appropriation, one hundred and twenty thousand dollars was designated for the removal, subsistence, and reestablishment of the group who were relocated on the Mescalero Reservation. The remaining one hundred and eighty thousand dollars was set aside for the reestablishment of the group who had remained in Oklahoma, including the purchase of the lands of deceased Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache allotees for reallotment to these former Apache prisoners of war.[1]

It is obvious that Congress had decided to remove these Apache from Fort Sill and use the land ceded to the Government for the purpose of their allotment for military purposes. In this respect, the name "Fort Sill Apache" seems to have originated during the time when it was still thought that the former Apache prisoners of war who remained in Oklahoma would receive their allotments from this land. This is only a supposition on the part of the author, for there is no clear statement in any source on the origin of this name.

The Government had purchased the allotments of seventy-four deceased Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache allottees from their legal

---

[1]William Mimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., May 21, 1934, to the Honorable Elmer Thomas, United States Senate, two pages, Allotment Records: Fort Sill Apache, Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

heirs by the end of 1913. The Kiowa Indian Agency in Anadarko, Oklahoma, was then instructed to issue these allotments to the Fort Sill Apache in tracts of one hundred and sixty acres of grazing land or eighty acres of agricultural land on the basis of their selections. The only stipulations were that: (1) those allotments selected by the heads of families and single adults over eighteen years of age were not to exceed a cost of three thousand dollars each, and (2) those allotments selected by the married women whose husbands were living and the minors were not to exceed a cost of two thousand dollars each.

After these initial allotments had been issued, there were twelve minors and one adult who had not received their allotment because the one hundred and eighty thousand dollars appropriated for the allotment of land to the Fort Sill Apache had been exhausted. An additional $30,404 was set aside by Congress for the purchase of allotments for these thirteen Fort Sill Apache in 1923.[2]

Although there were only eighty-one former Apache prisoners of war who had remained in Oklahoma, three of the white personnel who managed their affairs at Fort Sill, George Wrattan, Martin Grab, and Edward Lewis Welch, received allotments with the Fort Sill Apache under agreement with the Department of the Interior.[3] The author was unable to discover who received the other two allotments out of the total of eighty-

---

[2]Mimmerman, op. cit., p. 2; and Glen L. Emmons, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., July 1, 1960, to the Honorable Toby Morris, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., Allotment Records: Fort Sill Apaches, Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

[3]This information was given by one of the author's informants.

six issued to the Fort Sill Apache. Four of the Apache allottees never occupied their allotments. Two had gone to live in New York City; one other went to Mescalero, but received an allotment in Oklahoma; and the fourth was the son of one of the two who had gone to New York.[4]

The allotments were all located on the outskirts of the communities of Apache and Fletcher, Oklahoma, north of Fort Sill. Of the eighty-one Fort Sill Apache who received these allotments, sixty-five received eighty acre allotments; six received allotments of less than eighty acres; and the other nine received allotments of between eighty and one hundred and sixty acres.[5]

The Failure of Agriculture

One of the author's informants reported that not all of the Fort Sill Apache began farming on their allotments:

> . . . A., my brother-in-law, went off to work somewhere as a carpenter. I think he was working at Mountain View, that Indian school where lots of Kiowas were living. Some others went to work down at the Fort Sill School. Not all went to farming, but those with big families, most of them did. They had to, whether they wanted to or not. You couldn't make enough money doing something else.

It is obvious that those who did begin farming on their allotments drew upon their experiences at Fort Sill. One informant said that they grew sweet corn, wheat, alfalfa, African millet, and cotton. With the exception of wheat, all of these crops had been raised at Fort Sill by the Apache prisoners of war. However, farming at Fort Sill had been done collectively on village tracts or large communal ones. Few of the

---

[4]See USAAMCM, op. cit., pp. 49, 105, 116, and 116a.

[5]Allotment Records: Fort Sill Apaches, Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Fort Sill Apache were prepared for farming on separate tracts of land with each nuclear family having to depend upon itself. This problem was solved by seeking advice from white farmers.

The Fort Sill Apache suffered total crop losses from drought during 1917 and 1918.[6] One of the informants reported that they managed to get through the winter of 1918-1919 on bank loans which they paid off during the next few years. During the years that their crops survived, the Fort Sill Apache sold the surpluses at the Farmer's Market in Apache, Oklahoma. The wheat was sold to a grain company in Apache, and the cotton to the gin in the same community.

A few of the Apache farmers owned horses, mules, and dairy cattle, but in no large numbers. It is surprising that they raised hogs and chickens, since their attempts to do so at Fort Sill had been total failures. However, the author's informants indicated that few of the Fort Sill Apache maintain the traditional taboos on pork and domestic fowl. One informant stated that he had eaten bear meat after settling on his allotment, something he would not have dared to do under the prescriptive patterns of his tribal culture.

Outside of the few animals mentioned above, the Fort Sill Apache have made no attempts to raise stock on their allotments. The herd of ten thousand cattle owned by the Apache prisoners of war at Fort Sill were left with those who remained in Oklahoma. Most of these cattle were sold to the highest bidders in May, 1913. The proceeds of the sale were

---

[6]M. K. Sniffen, "Report of Field Work," The Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Indian Rights Association (Incorporated) for the Year Ending December 12, 1918 (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1918), pp. 10-11.

divided proportionately among the former owners, both those who remained in Oklahoma and those who went to Mescalero. The Fort Sill Apache were allowed to keep a few of the cows and their horses.[7]

Until the late 1850's, agriculture was the major industry of the Fort Sill Apache, but has been nearly abandoned since then. The reasons were given by one of the informants as follow:

> It seems like everyone who stayed here in Oklahoma and got allotments, and started farming, made good. We all had a boom crop the first year. We knew everything about farming before we left Fort Sill, except for cotton, and white farmers came around to tell us how to grow and pick that. We did well except for just a few years until about 1940. Then they started using tractors and all of this other machinery started coming out, like combines and mechanical devices to pick cotton, corn, and separate wheat grains from the chaff. Well, white farmers could afford those and they had more land. Even if we could afford them, you can't use anything but a tractor on eighty acres of land. Then the Government came in with all of those controls and started telling farmers all over the country what they could and couldn't grow, and how much. All of the Apaches got disgusted and all but just a few sold all of their equipment and quit. R. and a few others got tractors and kept on. R. quit farming about six or seven years ago. . . . Now, L. is the only one who farms. He is a pretty good farmer, but we have all been wondering when he will give up.

Two of the informants reported that the War Department had sold some of the agricultural equipment that was owned in common by the Apache prisoners of war to the Fort Sill Apache farmers. The agricultural equipment that had been issued to them at Fort Sill was simply given to the Fort Sill Apache. These Apache were accustomed to horse-drawn plows and harvesting by hand. The machines they had been taught to use at Fort Sill and now possessed were either no longer functional or became obsolete after the appearance of improved machines during the 1940's and 1950's. Being unable to afford the new machines or to compete effectively

---

[7]See Betzinez with Nye, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

with white farmers in western Oklahoma, the majority of the Fort Sill Apache abandoned agriculture. The few who bought tractors and other agricultural machines have either died or have been forced through financial hardship and sickness to abandon agriculture. Except for the one man who is still farming on his allotment, the other Fort Sill Apache men now work for wages wherever they can find employment.

It is obvious that the abandonment of agriculture as an economic activity had a severe psychological effect upon the men. The majority of them were born during confinement in Alabama or at Fort Sill and had acquired identities as cattlemen, soldiers, and farmers. They had lost their opportunities to raise cattle or enlist in the United States Army as Indian Scouts in 1913. With the abandonment of agriculture during the 1940's and 1950's, they were forced to seek new identities. One of the informants stated that many of the men seek relief through alcoholic beverages, while the women tend to be more reserved and simply long for a revival of the living standard they enjoyed during their nineteen years at Fort Sill. However, none of the Fort Sill Apache have sought to relieve the tensions brought on by their present economic conditions through the use of peyote, and the author's informants declared that there is little possibility that any of their tribe ever will.

The lack of any clear future for the tribe has caused the older generations to either fear the future or to take an attitude of indifference to it; however, they do not long for a revival of the aboriginal culture.

> If anyone wants to go back to the old way, it's only back as far as when we were at Fort Sill. There's no one who would envy the way it was in Florida and Alabama--all of our people dying off. The way

> Apaches lived back in New Mexico and Arizona is so far back, and so different to the way we live now, that we all know our young people wouldn't like it. If anyone longs for it, we just tell them, "stop your dreaming!"

Their attitude is one of economic defeat, made more depressing because many of the young people have left the tribe to find jobs in the larger cities in Oklahoma or in other states. Their parents do not greatly resent this, for they realize that the young people ". . . will have to make lives for themselves without our help."

The Structure of the Tribe

The author's informants gave the impression that the Fort Sill Apache do not exist as a tribe. There is little social cohesion among its members, as is indicated by the following statement:

> When we left there [Fort Sill] we all went our separate ways. . . . We didn't work together any more. It seems like we all went away from each other. Only when we have a tribal meeting do we get together. There is sometimes some quarreling then about something. Someone wants something one way and someone else wants it the other way.

Although these meetings may be attended by the tribe as a whole, they are usually called for the assembly of the tribal business committee, which is the only political unit within the tribe.

> . . . You see, we are not an organized tribe. We don't have a constitution of by-laws like these other Indian tribes have all over this country. We have to elect a leader to represent us, but it's all under one leader [i.e., the leadership of the Fort Sill Apache tribe is not divided]. We are a small tribe anyway, and there are not enough people qualified to be the secretary or treasurer [of the tribe]. We can't afford to have anyone trained either. So, B. occupies all of these offices. He's the chairman of our business committee. When we want to have a meeting to discuss any problem of interest to the whole tribe, . . . , he has to call it, but he doesn't run the "show." Everyone gets a chance to talk. There is no principal speaker. That's the way it has been ever since we were taken to Florida.

These meetings, which are always held at the Apache Reformed Church in Apache, Oklahoma, and the religious services held at this church are the only social events which bring the tribe together, though there are a few members of the tribe who attend services at other churches. One informant said that, before the Fort Sill Apache had abandoned agriculture, one of the members of the tribe organized a Fire Dance group and held the dances either on his allotment or that of his first cousin. There was good attendance at these dances, but his son, who succeeded him as the Fire Dance leader, holds the dance only at the American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, Oklahoma, each summer. The informants declared that, when the Fire Dance was held for the benefit of their tribe alone, it served as a means of tribal identification, but that it no longer does so. They felt that the dance had lost its meaning when it was conducted simply as a dramatic production for the enjoyment of those who do not know its significance within the context of the traditional Warm Spring and Chiricahua cultures.

Few of the Fort Sill Apache attend the celebration of the Fire Dance and the girls' puberty rite held on the Mescalero Apache Reservation every July 4, nor do they attend the powwows of the Plains tribes in Oklahoma with any frequency. It is only the twenty-four original Fort Sill Apache (those who remained in Oklahoma after 1913) who are still living in Apache, Fletcher, or Lawton, Oklahoma, who attempt to maintain their tribal identity.[8] However, they have no desire to maintain their own tribal identity at the expense of their children who have

---

[8]They do this by referring to themselves and each other as Warm Spring Apache, but to the tribe as a whole as Fort Sill Apache.

been socialized to American patterns of culture and American values. They wish to imbue their children with a knowledge and appreciation of their tribal heritage without encouraging their participation in tribal life. They believe that their participation in or attendance at tribal ceremonies will thwart this purpose.

There is a deeper sense in which the tribe as a social unit is non-existent. Approximately one-third of the Fort Sill Apache have married Caucasians or Indians of other tribes.[9] The offspring of these mixed marriages have only one parent who can identify as an Apache. The chances that many of these children feel any identification with the Fort Sill Apache full-bloods as a group are extremely limited. The author's informants declared that all of the younger generations of their tribe "are almost just like white people." This claim is discussed in greater detail in the following sections of this chapter.

Persistence and Change in Kinship Behavior

As stated in the last chapter, the Apache prisoners of war were settled in twelve extended families during their nineteen year's confinement at Fort Sill. These extended families were divided when the Apache prisoners were given their freedom in 1913 and were split between the group who went to Mescalero and the one who remained in Oklahoma. The settlement of the latter group on individual allotments left them with no opportunity to regroup in extended families. As a result, the nuclear family became the basic socio-economic group among the Fort Sill Apache.

---

[9]See Muriel H. Wright, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma (2nd printing; Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 40.

The latter fact suggests that the amount of traditional kinship behavior observed by the Fort Sill Apache has been, and still is, extremely limited. The evidence supporting this assumption is presented below.

Kinship Terminology. All of the informants had difficulty providing the Warm Spring and Chiricahua kinship terms for consanguineal relatives of the third ascending generation and the second and third descending generations. They apologized for this difficulty by stating that they have replaced the traditional kinship terminologies with the American one for the benefit of their children and grandchildren who do not understand the Warm Spring or Chiricahua dialects. They stated further that they rarely use the traditional kinship terms, for their social contacts with members of the tribe who can communicate in these dialects have been limited primarily to those of their own generation or that of their parents since 1913.

Parent-Child Relations. Much of the traditional behavior between parents and children is still observed by the Fort Sill Apache. Two of the author's informants reported that, though the Fort Sill Apache no longer believe in supernatural power, the Fire Dance is still handed down from parent to child. This includes the songs, dance steps, symbols, and ceremonial paraphernalia. One of these informants reported that his half-sister, who is the only living member of the tribe who makes beaded articles for sale, learned her designs and techniques from her mother.

All of the informants declared that no attempt is made by Fort Sill Apache parents to educate their children in the traditional Warm Spring or Chiricahua mores, norms, and values. They do attempt to impart some knowledge of these to their children, but do not expect them

to acquire these to the exclusion of those expected of them by their white neighbors. Instead, they encourage their children to acquire American values and behavior patterns and insist that they complete a high-school education. Several of the younger adults in the tribe have received college degrees, one as high as the master's. The education of their children has become the only hope the Fort Sill Apache have that the younger generations will be able to overcome the economic situation of the tribe.

Before the abandonment of agriculture during the 1940's and 1950's, the children participated in many of the farming activities with their parents. However, few of them had any desire to farm on their own after they completed their high-school education. The author's informants reported that many of the young people leave the tribe and seek jobs in other states. They attributed this to the fact that the Fort Sill Apache have a tendency to make their children financially independent after they have reached adolescence. Adolescents are expected to get jobs and keep their own bank accounts. One informant stated that his children are reluctant to borrow money from him, although they are assured that he will loan them as much as he can afford.

Fright is no longer used as a means of disciplining children. Scolding, the withdrawal of privileges, and physical punishment have taken its place as corrective devices. One informant stated that there is a reluctance on the part of the parents to use physical punishment in public, although a child's consanguineal relatives of the first and second ascending generations might scold him if the parents are not present or the child fails to obey his parents.

Social Relations Within One's Own Generation. One informant stated that older boys and girls in his village at Fort Sill were required to care for their younger brothers and sisters if the mother were away from home. He asserted that this custom prevails today. However, there is a tendency to delegate this responsibility to older girls unless the eldest child is a boy. He stated further that adolescents and adults are still expected to remain aloof from their siblings and cousins of the opposite sex, although the custom of total avoidance between cousins of the opposite sex is no longer practiced. All of the informants reported that they have intimate and open relations with their siblings and cousins of the same sex. The men spend much of their leisure time with their brothers and male cousins, conversing in the Warm Spring dialect, or discussing Warm Spring history and culture.

The taboo on risque talk between siblings and cousins of either sex is still maintained, as is indicated by the following statement:

> My brother and I might talk about sex, but we are very touchy about that. We might talk about sex when no one else is around, because sometimes you have to talk about sex. But we don't talk nasty or joke. Maybe my brother would be telling someone a dirty joke and I come around. He stops that and starts talking about something else. The Apaches carry that [taboo against risque talk] out to the fourth generation, whether they are your own or your wife's relatives. You can talk to someone else about sex without embarassment.

This informant added that sex is neither discussed nor alluded to by persons of opposite sex, whether they are relatives or not. He explained that this was the reason the author's one female informant refused to give him any information on childbirth.

Parent's Sibling-Sibling's Child Relations. As stated earlier in this chapter, the Fort Sill Apache cannot expect economic assistance

from their relatives outside of the nuclear family except through borrowing. However, loyalty and kindly interest between ego and his aunts and uncles are still maintained. One informant indicated that orphans or abandoned children would still be taken in by their parent's siblings and raised by them, though there has been little necessity for this among the Fort Sill Apache. Although the training of boys for participation in raiding, warfare, and hunting and the girl's puberty rite have long since been abandoned, all of the informants stated that they still feel responsible for the welfare of their neices and nephews.

Grandparent-Grandchild Relations. Children no longer live with their grandparents except when their parents are divorced and the mother, who receives them into her custody, is unable to care for them. Short visits are made to the homes of the grandparents, but rarely extend beyond a few hours.

Relations Between Affines. One informant reported that the Fort Sill Apache continued to observe the traditional avoidance patterns between affines after they left Fort Sill. He offered the following as an example:

> After we had been released from Fort Sill and were farming out here, D. and her husband had a Ford touring car. They went down to the railroad station to pick up her father who had come from Mescalero to visit them. They hung a cloth between the front seat and the back so that the old man could sit in the back and he and L. wouldn't have to see each other. They did that the whole time he was here.

These avoidance patterns, including those between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law, have since been abandoned. However, respect between affines is still observed. Parents-in-law and children-in-law still refrain from calling each other by name, though the author is unsure

whether Warm Spring and Chiricahua or American kinship terms are used in this respect.

The Treatment of Deceased Relatives. The Fort Sill Apache do not mourn the death of male relatives by firing ammunition into the air, though they continue to destroy the personal property of any deceased relative. The latter custom is, however, greatly modified.

> Anything he had when he was living, they destroy it or burn it up. Even the dishes and good China are destroyed. They destroy anything that will bring back the memory of their loved one. Now, if he had a horse, they wouldn't kill it like they used to. They'd keep it. And the house too--that goes to the principal heir. If he had a car, I think they'd sell it and not keep it around to remind them of the owner who has died. If he had had money, of course they wouldn't get rid of it. They need it too bad to do that.

The informant who made this statement added that there are few women who have cut their hair short following the death of a husband or relative. However, many do wear old clothes while mourning and burn them after the mourning period has elapsed. Most of the mourning is done by the women and lasts from six months to two years.

One informant stated that few of the Fort Sill Apache destroyed the property of the deceased after they left Fort Sill until they acquired a more substantial financial position. Most of them simply moved away from the old homestead and camped out for a few months, or lived with relatives, until the mourning period was over. Then they returned to their allotments and resumed their family life as usual. The fact that their economic position today is slightly better than it was in 1913 probably accounts for the fact that the Fort Sill Apache are selective about the amount of property of the deceased they destroy.

Marriage

One informant reported that the Fort Sill Apache continue to prohibit marriages between individuals who are within four generations of relationship with each other:

> Anyone outside of four generations you can marry. No one thinks anything of that. But anyone inside of four generations it would be wrong for you to marry.

Another informant stated that the majority of the marriages among the Fort Sill Apache have taken place in churches. The bride price, mutual exchange of gifts between the families of the couple, and bride service have all been abandoned. A third informant reported that the obligation of married men to provide for their parents-in-law is often overlooked today. This is probably due to the economic independence of the nuclear families. A fourth informant felt that marriages are much more stable today than they were before 1913. Marital residence is now strictly neolocal.

Intertribal and Interracial Relations

Jozhe says that the membership of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe was approximately one hundred and fifteen in 1962.[10] As stated earlier, one third of them have married Indians of other tribes or Caucasians. The majority of those who have married Indians of other tribes have taken Comanche or Kiowa as their spouses. Social relations between these three tribes are still intimate, and they attend each other's powwows and the religious services at the same churches.

---

[10] Jozhe, op. cit., p. 432.

There have never been any friendly relations between the Fort Sill Apache and the Kiowa-Apache. One of the informants stated that "The Kiowa-Apache never let us forget that we were 'hostiles' and prisoners of war." The hostile attitude of the Fort Sill Apache toward the Kiowa-Apache is borne out by the fact that the three members of the former tribe who married Kiowa-Apache became outcasts among their own people. The Fort Sill Apache do not refuse an invitation to put on the Fire Dance or the back-and-forth dance at Kiowa-Apache powwows, but remain at these celebrations for the duration of their part in the program, then return home.

One informant indicated that the Fort Sill Apache harbor a hostile attitude toward the "Chiricahua Apache" on the Mescalero Apache Reservation, New Mexico:

> Now the Chiricahua are still trying to take advantage of us. They are trying to claim that we Warm Spring Apache never existed. They are denying their own relatives. The Chiricahua think that they are "big shots" among the Indians of the Southwest, I guess because they got so much attention. A lot of historians and scientists [i.e., anthropologists] have written them up too, but when the truth is known, I guess they will repent and say that they are sorry. It will be too late then!

There is apparently little visiting between these two groups, though the author's informants indicated that there was much more intercourse between them in the past. Apparently, the antagonism between these two groups is recent and was caused by the claim of the Chiricahua Apache at Mescalero that the Warm Spring were an eastern band of the Chiricahua tribe.

In spite of the fact that several of them have married Caucasians, the Fort Sill Apache have mixed feelings toward white Americans. The

memory of the injustices they and their ancestors have suffered is still cause for a bitter attitude toward the United States Government. They tend to identify the Government with the Caucasian race as a whole and project their feelings toward the former onto all white strangers. One informant stated that there are few white Americans his people are willing to trust, though they will extend their trust to any white American who gains their respect as long as he or she deserves it.

This informant gave the following statement with respect to his feelings on intermarriage with Caucasians:

> I think that it's right that they should marry. This young crop [generation] now--they don't know the old Apache ways, and they are almost like white people. After all of the old people are gone, there will be none left who know the old Apache way or the Apache language. Very few of them know any words at all. When that happens [i.e., when all of the older generations have died], there will be no more Apaches, just Indians living like white people. They might as well marry whites, because they will have no tribe left.

He clarified this statement by saying that the younger generations do know a great deal about the aboriginal cultures of the Warm Spring and Chiricahua Apache, but only at second or third hand. They have no desire to observe these patterns and can pass on to their children only what they have heard from their parents and grandparents. When those who lived under the traditional patterns at Fort Sill are dead, there will be none who can speak with experience of the traditional patterns of social behavior. Future generations will be left with a tribal heritage they cannot translate into every day experience. American culture is, therefore, seen as a threat to the older generations who wish to preserve as much of the traditional Warm Spring social structure as is possible; but it is also seen as a promise for the younger generations.

Summary

Each of the original eighty-one Fort Sill Apache received an individual allotment on the lands of deceased Kiowa and Comanche. The majority of them farmed on these allotments until the 1940's when their agricultural methods became obsolete through the introduction of mechanized agriculture and Government controls on the number of acres planted in a single crop. Today, the majority of the men work for wages where they can find employment. Many of the younger generations seek employment in the larger cities of Oklahoma or in other states. Some of the allottees lease their land to white farmers.

Although they feel that they have suffered an economic defeat, the older generations still hold some hope that the younger generations will be able to acquire a better standard of living than their tribe can now provide them with. The author's informants felt that the tribe does not exist in any real sense except that much of the traditional Warm Spring kinship behavior is observed today. This means that, in their opinion, the Fort Sill Apache do not exist as a tribe in a political or economic sense, but only in so far as the structure of their social relations permits a sense of unity. However, they fear the loss of this unity when the older generations have all died, for the younger generations tend to follow American culture patterns and marry outside of their tribe, thus placing a severe strain upon the older generations who attempt to preserve tribal unity.

Although the nuclear family has been the principal socio-economic unit among the Fort Sill Apache since 1913, much of the traditional kinship behavior of the Warm Spring and Chiricahua Apache among

them is still observed, even by the younger generations. It is modified to the extent that social relations between kinsmen are limited primarily to the nuclear family and cousins. However, social relations appear to be stronger among the older generations who depend upon their kinsmen of their generation for advice and support in maintaining their tribal identity. The fact that parents attempt to socialize their children to American behavior patterns and values, and to make them financially independent of their families and relatives, is taken as an indication that the older generations see no hope for the youth of the tribe unless the latter become fully acculturated to American culture patterns. Thus, the traditional social patterns are observed by the older generations as a means of maintaining their identity as Warm Spring Apache, while the younger generations have a tendency to follow American social patterns, as they wish to identify with Americans.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

The Evolution of Fort Sill Apache Social Structure

George Peter Murdock has presented a theory of the evolution of social organization which appears to be applicable to the aims of this study. He begins the statement of his theory by saying that ". . . rules of descent, forms of familial and kin groupings, and kinship systems, under conditions of contact with other cultures, do not ordinarily change by direct diffusion but rather by a process of internal readjustment to altered conditions of life."[1]

He then attempts to find--

> . . . some aspect of social organization which acts as a filter, which is capable of responding in only a limited number of ways but by each of them to a variety of quite deverse external stimuli. Such a structural feature must, in addition, be peculiarly sensitive to outside influences and at the same time be itself especially competent to effect compensatory readjustments elsewhere in the system.[2]

This structural feature, he says, is the rule of descent, for--

> It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one amother, giving an impetus

---

[1]George Peter Murdock, Social Structure (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1949), p. 200.

[2]Ibid., pp. 200-201.

to subsequent modifications in forms of the family, in consanguineal and compromise kin groups and in kinship terminology.[3]

After the initial modification in the rule of residence, the next stages in the evolution of social organization are:

1) The development, disappearance, or change in form of extended families and clans, always consistent with the new rule of residence.

2) The development, disappearance, or change in form of consanguineal kin groups, always consistent with the new status of the localized aggregations of kinsmen.

3) A change in the rule of descent, with adaptive changes in kinship terminology.

It is obvious that allotment on individual tracts of land, instead of settlement by a village system, such as they had at Fort Sill, forced the Fort Sill Apache to observe neolocal residence. The extended family is, therefore, no longer existent. The nuclear family is not only the major socio-economic unit of their social structure; it is the only one. The aboriginal social structures of the Chiricahua and Warm Spring among the Fort Sill Apache have been stripped of all of their structural units, so that a completely new structure exists today.

The rule of descent is still bilateral, and is likely to remain so. Those of the younger generation who are socialized to American culture patterns or marry Caucasians will necessarily observe a bilateral kinship system similar to the American one, if not this exact system.

---

[3]Murdock, op. cit., pp. 201-202.

[4]Ibid., pp. 221-222.

Although there is evidence that much of the traditional Chiricahua and Warm Spring kinship behavior is observed by the Fort Sill Apache, the author is forced to agree with his informants that these social relations will not be observed by future generations. The young people who move away from the "tribe" rear their children in a social atmosphere which will induce them to follow quite different patterns of social behavior. When the original Fort Sill Apache, who were prisoners of war, have passed on, the younger generations will have lost any direct link with their tribal heritage, and the relation of the traditional kinship behavior to their every day experience will become foreign and nonfunctional.

Stress as a Causitive Factor of Change

It was stated in the Introduction to this study that stress in the contact of two or more cultures is due to demands made upon the host culture for which its members lack any established patterns of response. It should be evident that there can be either of two reactions to these demands: (1) rebellion against them by a determined observance of the patterns the host culture is being asked to abandon, or (2) internal readjustment of the patterns and institutions to meet these demands.

In this study, rebellion is most noticeable in the reaction of the Chiricahua to the demands that they abandon raiding and in the reactions of this tribe and the Warm Spring and Bedonkohe to their forced removal from their tribal lands. The reaction of these Apache to the demands that they abandon the making and consumption of tiswin are seen by the author as a natural consequence of the stress caused by rapid economic change and life in a hostile social environment on the White

Mountain Reservation. If they had abandoned their only institutionalized form of cultural compensation, the tiswin party, as the military demanded that they do, they would have been left without any socially approved method of alleviating this stress. Consequently, they had no alternative to defying this demand.

When defiance became no longer possible after exile and confinement in the East, the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe submitted to the demands made upon them and began to readjust to the changed conditions of their life. Their speed in adopting new economic patterns is probably due to the fact that their economic activities were planned and directed by the military supervisors who had charge of them. Until they were given the opportunity to farm and were introduced to cattle raising at Fort Sill, they continued to alleviate their fears and anxieties through the consumption of alcoholic beverages, including tiswin. It is not surprising, in this respect, that some of the Fort Sill Apache men have sought relief from the stress caused by their loss of any self-initiated economic activity through the use of alcoholic beverages.

The alienation of the younger generations from their tribal cultures through their formal education in American schools and their conversion to Christianity was bitterly resented by the older generations. The shamans took advantage of this resentment at Fort Sill to induce their tribesmen to resist any change in their social and religious institutions. As stated in a former chapter, the one hundred and eighty-one former Apache prisoners of war who settled on the Mescalero Reservation, New Mexico, in 1913 were those who were still resisting change in their social and religious institutions. The eighty-one who remained in

Oklahoma were those who had accepted such changes and were making adjustments to them.

In conclusion, it may be said that cultural stress was apparently the most decisive factor in bringing about changes in the economic, social, and political institutions of the Chiricahua, Warm Spring, and Bedonkohe Apache from 1872 until the present. The lack of any economic activity which allows the Fort Sill Apache to be directly responsible for their livelihood has caused considerable stress and a feeling of defeat. The author's male informants saw no benefit in the allotment system now that they have abandoned farming. The fact that their allotments do not adjoin one another and are limited in size precludes the possibility of establishing a tribal stock enterprise, which the men are apparently in favor of. Consequently, the Fort Sill Apache have become dependent upon the national economy and are forced to seek employment wherever they can find it. This inevitably leads to the dissolution of the tribe. This is feared by the older generations, but there appears to be no way that the loss of tribal solidarity can be prevented.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Public Documents

Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855-1886.

Beach, F. H. "Report of Officer in Charge of Apaches Near Fort Sill, Okla.," Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 325-328.

Pope, John. Report of Exploration of a Route for the Pacific Railroad near the Thirty-second Parallel of Latitude, from the Red River to the Rio Grande, House Executive Document No. 129, Thirty-third Congress, First Session, 1855.

Books

Barrett, S. M. (editor and recorder) Geronimo's Story of His Life. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1938.

Bartlett, John Russell. Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, During the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53. Vol. I. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1854.

Bellah, Robert N. Apache Kinship Systems. The Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Prize Essay for 1950. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Betzinez, Jason, with Nye, Wilbur Strutevant. I Fought With Geronimo. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1959.

Clum, Woodworth. Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum. Cambridge: The Riverside Press for Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1956.

Conner, Daniel Ellis. Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure. Edited by Donald J. Berthrong and Odessa Davenport. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

Cremony, John C. Life Among the Apaches. 1st trade edition. Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954.

Davis, Britton. The Truth About Geronimo. Edited by M. M. Quaife, with a foreword by Robert M. Utley. 2nd printing. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

Flint, Timothy (ed.) The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky. Historical Introduction and footnotes by Milo Milton Quaife. Chicago: The Lakeside Press for R. R. Donnelley and Sons Co., Christmas, 1930.

Gregg, Josiah. Commerce of the Prairies. Edited by Max L. Moorehead. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

Hodge, Frederick W., Hammond, George P., and Rey, Agapito (ed. trans.) Fray Alonso de Benavides' Memorial of 1634. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1945.

Honigmann, John J. Culture and Personality. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1954.

Howard, O. O., Major-General. My Life and Experiences Among our Hostile Indians: A Record of Personal Observations, Adventures, and Campgaigns Among the Indians of the Great West with some Account of their Life, Habits, Traits, Religion, Ceremonies, Dress, Savage Instincts, and Customs in Peace and War. Hartford: A. D. Worthington and Company, 1907.

Lockwood, Frank C. The Apache Indians. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938.

Murdock, George Peter. Social Structure. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1949.

Nye, Wilbur Strutevant. Carbine and Lance, The Story of Old Fort Sill. 2nd printing. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.

Opler, Morris Edward. An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941.

Sonnichsen, C. L. The Mescalero Apaches. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Vol. 51.) Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1958.

Spicer, Edward H. Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1962.

Tevis, James H., Captain. Arizona in the '50's. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1954.

Thomas, Alfred Barnaby (translator, editor, and annotator), Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787, from the Original Documents in the Archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1932.

Wheat, Carl I. Mapping the Transmississippi West, 1540-1861, Vol. I: The Spanish Entrada to the Louisisna Purchase, 1540-1804. San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartigraphy, 1957.

Wright, Muriel H. A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma. 2nd printing. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.

Articles

Beaglehole, Ernest. "A Note on Cultural Compensation," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXIII (1938), 121-123.

Brosius, S. M. "Report of the Washington Agency: Apache Prisoners," Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association for the Year Ending December 14, 1910 (1911), pp. 27-30.

_____. "Report of the Washington Agency: The Case of the Apache Prisoners of War," Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association for the Year Ending December 14, 1911 (1912), pp. 49-53.

Clum, John P. "Geronimo," New Mexico Historical Review, III, No. 1 (January, 1928), 1-40.

Forbes, Jack Douglas. "The Janos, Jocomes, Mansos and Sumas Indians," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXII, No. 4 (October, 1957), 319-334.

Gifford, E. W. "Culture Element Distributions: XII, Apache-Pueblo," Anthropological Records, IV, No. 1 (1940), 1-207.

Jozhe, Benedick. "A Brief History of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe," The Chronicles of Oklahoma, XXXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1961-1962), 427-432.

Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. "Ethnohistory: An Ethnological Point of View," in "Symposium on the Concept of Ethnohistory," Ethnohistory, VIII, No. 1 (Winter, 1961), 78-92.

Matson, Daniel S., and Schroeder, Albert H. (ed.) "Cordero's Description of the Apache - 1796," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXII, No. 4 (October, 1957), 335-356.

Opler, Morris Edward. "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," New Mexico Historical Review, XIII, No. 4 (October, 1938), 360-386.

_____. "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," in Social Anthropology of North American Tribes. Edited by Fred Eggan. 2nd edition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 173-239.

_____. "Mountain Spirits of the Chiricahua Apache," The Masterkey, XX, No. 4 (July, 1946), 125-131.

Painter, C. C. "Washington Agency: Apache Prisoners," Eleventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association for the Year Ending December 15, 1893 (1894), pp. 36-39.

Reeve, Frank D. "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880, IV: Chapter X, The Gila Apache," New Mexico Historical Review, XIII, No. 3 (July, 1938), 280-309.

Smith, Ralph A. "Apache Plunder Trails Southward, 1831-1840," New Mexico Historical Review, XXXVII, No. 1 (January, 1962), 20-42.

Sniffen, M. K. "Report on Field Work," Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Indian Rights Association (Incorporated) for the Year Ending December 12, 1918 (1918), pp. 10-31.

Sully, John M. "The Story of the Santa Rita Copper Mine," Old Santa Fe, A Magazine of History, Genealogy, and Biography, edited by Ralph Emerson Twitchell, III, No. 10 (April, 1916), 133-149.

Valentine, Charles A. "Uses of Ethnohistory in an Acculturation Study," Ethnohistory, VII, No. 1 (Winter, 1960), 1-27.

Reports

Basehart, Harry W. Chiricahua Apache Subsistence and Socio-Political Organization. Written with the Assistance of Richard N. Henderson. A Report of the Mescalero-Chiricahua Land Claims Project. Contract Research No. 290-154. Sections I and II. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico, March, 1959.

Frazer, Robert. The Apaches of the White Mountain Reservation, Arizona. A Report Made for the Indian Rights Association in 1884. Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1885.

Leupp, Francis E. Notes of a Summer Tour Among the Indians of the Southwest. A Report Made for the Indian Rights Association. Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1897.

Welsh, Herbert. The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida. A Report Made for the Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1887.

Unpublished Material

Allotment Records: Fort Sill Apaches. Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Emmons, Glen L. Letter to Representative Toby Morris, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. July 1, 1960. Allotment Records: Fort Sill Apaches. Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Mimmerman, William, Jr. Letter to Senator Elmer Thomas, United States Senate. May 21, 1934. Allotment Records: Fort Sill Apaches. Kiowa Indian Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Pollard, William Grosvenor, III. Field Notes, 1963.

Scott, Hugh L. Letter to the Adjutant-General, Department of the Missouri, Chicago, Illinois. August 1, 1896. Scott Papers. National Archives, Washington.

Scott, Hugh L., Phillips, H. C., and Ellis, C. L. "Securing the Vote of the Band of Apache Prisoners of War as to the Place of Settlement After Release." A Report Sent to the U. S. Secretaries of War and the Interior. Fort Sill, Oklahoma, December 2, 1912. Scott Papers. National Archives, Washington.

United States Army Artillery and Missile Center Museum. The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, Antecedents. Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1958-1962.

APPENDIX I

TRIBAL ORIGINS OF THE APACHE PRISONERS OF WAR AT THE TIME OF THEIR RELEASE IN 1913

Tribe	To Mescalero 1913	Settled in Oklahoma 1913-1914
Chiricahua	92	5
Warm Spring	38	12
Bedonkohe	1	2
Chiricahua-Warm Spring	22	17
Chiricahua-Bedonkohe	13	1
Chiricahua-white	2	
Warm Spring-Bedonkohe	3	8
Warm Spring-white		2
Chiricahua-Bedonkohe-Warm Spring	2	10
Chiricahua-Warm Spring-white		3
Chiricahua-Bedonkohe-Warm Spring-white		2
Chiricahua-Mescalero		1
Bedonkohe-Mescalero	1	
Warm Spring-Chiricahua-Mescalero		5
Bedonkohe-Navaho	1	
Warm Spring-Navaho	1	2
Chiricahua-San Carlos		6
Chiricahua-Bedonkohe-Warm Spring-San Carlos		3
Chiricahua-White Mountain	3	
Warm Spring-White Mountain	1	
Chiricahua-White Mountain or San Carlos	1	1
Chiricahua-Warm Spring-White Mountain or San Carlos		1
TOTAL	181	81

APPENDIX I

TRIBAL ORIGINS OF THE APACHE PRISONERS OF WAR AT THE TIME OF THEIR RELEASE IN 1913

This information is based on Tables I and II of the Introduction to USAAMCM, op. cit., giving the tribal origins of the individuals who are discussed alphabetically in this genealogical study. As there were fifty informants used in making this study, there was much opportunity for cross-checking of the tribal origins of the one hundred and eighty-one former Apache prisoners of war who went to Mescalero in 1913 and the eighty-one who remained in Oklahoma.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATIONS OF THE CHIRICAHUA BAND NAMES

1) čók'ánén . . . . . "Great Mountain" or "Mountain People."[1]

2) ⁿdé·ìⁿdáí. . . . . "Indian-White Man." This translation was given by the author's informants.

3) kái·àhéné. . . . . "Sunshine People."[2]

4) ʒìɬʔɣáná . . . . . "Mountain Tribesmen." This translation was given by the author's informants.

---

[1]Jozhe, op. cit., p. 430.

[2]Gifford, op. cit., p. 4.

7 x 10
PEERLESS
CLASP
FEDERAL ENVELOPE CO.

[redacted]