CULTURAL SURVIVAL AND A NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY: THE CHIRICAHUA AND WARM SPRINGS APACHES IN OKLAHOMA, 1913-1996

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I. Introduction

On a cold autumn morning before the sun appeared in the eastern sky the people began to stir and the noise of camp life could be heard. Fires that burned throughout the night now heated coffee and the food that would be served for breakfast. Haphazardly parked cars, trailers, and tepees designated the area around which a sacred ceremony would soon begin. This ceremony, which marked the passage of a Chiricahua Apache girl to womanhood, had not been celebrated here for many years. Even among the local Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community there was no small amount of controversy over whether the rite should take place at all. However, the celebration of this ritual, both ancient and sacred to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache people, testifies to the resilience and survival of a people who have faced many challenges throughout the past century.[1]

Paradoxically, just several weeks before this event unfolded a local newspaper, The Lawton Constitution, ran a feature article on the one-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma. The article, entitled, "Apaches Remember Arrival at Fort Sill" comprised nearly a full-page story and included several photographs about the Apache experience in those early days.[2] Oddly, the journalist responsible for the story failed to interview any Apaches in the local

community who presumably remembered their own captivity or that of their parents or grandparents. There are three surviving members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache Tribe in Oklahoma who were born before the tribe was released from captivity in 1913.[3] Apparently, the reporter did not know that Chiricahuas still live in Oklahoma. That newspaper story--which left so much out of the story--is a parable of the way outside observers including journalists, anthropologists, and historians have treated the continued lives and existence of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma.

This work addresses two themes. On the one hand investigators and observers of Native American culture and history have largely ignored this Indian group in Oklahoma, while on the other Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches have maintained their tribal identity and elements of their culture. In one aspect this treatment of modern Chiricahuas in Oklahoma reflects a trend in the general field of Native American history in which historians have largely avoided the twentieth century. Fortunately, in the past few years, historians have reversed that trend and more attention has been paid to the writing of modern Native American history.

This "New Indian history" centers on the Indian experience, the definition of community, and the maintenance of culture. Not so long ago historians wrote history of Indians largely without Indians. At first historians simply

ignored America's aboriginal inhabitants or addressed them largely as yet another obstacle to settlement in the inexorable flow of Euroamerican civilization to the West. The trend of writing Native American history which placed Indians at the center of study began in the 1950s mostly with anthropologists, although late nineteenth-century ethnographers began the process.[4] Methods associated with this kind of history made use of traditional historical sources, such as government documents, and those previously overlooked or ignored, such as ethnographic studies, ethnographic sources within journals, memoirs, and explorers' reports, archeological studies, artifacts, and oral histories. Statistical records, agency reports, Indian school records, allotment documents, and census data provided other pertinent information.

Early ethnohistorical work attempted to reconstruct the cultural past through narrative and often focused on the prehistoric, discovery and conquest, and early colonial periods. In essence, anthropologists and historians concentrated on the "ethnographic present," limiting their perspective on Indian history to their preconceived concepts of what it meant to be an Indian. Many historians wrote Indian history that continued to focus on traditional lines of inquiry such as Indian-White relations, Indian policy, and military history.

In the larger context of the civil rights era that

accelerated in the 1960s and 1970s, some historians began to redefine subjects worthy of investigation. An upsurge in scholarly and popular interest in Native American history spawned not only a quantitative surge of works published on Native American people but also new perspectives on who Indians were and the kind of history that should be written about them.

In the past ten years Native American history has turned to the twentieth century and the modern Indian experience. As the noted Native American historian Vine Deloria, Jr. observed, "It [was] imperative that Indian history move immediately into this century, whether or not historians consider[ed] the twentieth century to be history."[5] Ethnohistorians--combining the methods of both anthropology and history--have examined Native Americans on reservations, in cities, and in rural areas off reservations. Authors have also focused on Indian education and the legacy of acculturation associated with government Indian schooling. Most recently a number of books have examined the meaning of "being and becoming Indian."[6] These studies have focused on the development of cultural identity within modern Indian communities, the rediscovery of cultural identity by individual Native Americans, and the strategies Native Americans have used to maintain tradition, culture, and even language within the context of the larger and more powerful society that surrounds them. Probably the

most powerful development within the field has been Indian participation in the recording and maintenance of primary sources, the repatriation of historical and anthropological artifacts to Indian communities, and the recognition by the academic community that Native Americans are writing and teaching their own histories.[7]

Ethnohistorians Laurence Hauptman, Morris Foster, and Karen Blu have described modern Native American people by examining their strategies for survival, communication, and cultural identity. Each has conducted extensive interviews with people within these communities. Their works serve as models for this study which will employ similar methods in describing the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches living in Oklahoma today.

Writing a history of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches presents a significant challenge for a number of reasons. Whereas they share many experiences with other Native American groups in their relationship with the federal government, they have the distinction of being the last Native American group to resist Euroamerican conquest and the only group confined as prisoners of war for such long duration. That process nearly destroyed the tribe and has led certain historians and anthropologists to suggest that their culture and identity as Apaches no longer endure. Many of the aspects of conquest, removal, and acculturation

policy (education and allotment) have left a bitter legacy of division within the Chiricahua community. This factionalism is similar to that found among other Native American peoples, but it has more profound implications in a community that is so small.

Civilians and soldiers applied the term "Fort Sill Apaches" to the people held captive there from 1894 to 1913. The division of the community in 1913 between the Mescalero reservation in New Mexico and allotments in Oklahoma is symbolic of the divisions the federal government fostered among the Chiricahuas as a matter of policy. Military officers, Indian agents, and politicians manipulated factions within the different bands to control an independent people and to further Euroamerican political and economic interests. The most insidious example of this policy of division was the practice of recruiting scouts, trackers, and spies among the Apache. Despite their loyal service to the army, the government imprisoned Chiricahua and Warm Springs scouts at the end of the Geronimo Campaign in 1886. They suffered the same fate as those whom they convinced to surrender. The rejection and persecution they suffered at the hands of those whom they had fought against compounded their misery. The scout issue fostered resentment and hatred among factions within the Apache community for years and was still palpable as late as the 1950s and 1960s.[8]

Today other issues threaten unity among members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community in Oklahoma. The departure of many Apaches from the communities in Apache and Fletcher to urban areas further complicates efforts to describe the modern Chiricahua and Warm Springs community. According to tribal historian Michael Darrow, more people of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache affiliation live outside of Oklahoma than live inside.[9]

Legacies of past treatment of this people by the federal government, the small size of the community since release from prisoner of war status, the lack of an identifiable land base, and the high level of acculturation experienced by the community during and after their captivity present a number of challenges to the ethnohistorian.

Who are the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches? The discussion of what members of the Chiricahua Apache call themselves will be an important part of this tribal history. Morris Opler organized "the anthropological Chiricahua" by geographic areas of Arizona, New Mexico, and Old Mexico with which the different Chiricahua bands were associated. Some members of the tribe refer to themselves by band designation, while many others refer to themselves as "Fort Sill Apaches" or members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe. For purposes of convenience, this dissertation will refer to these people as Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches or the

Fort Sill Apaches (the term "Fort Sill Apaches" is used by the official tribal government along with the designations Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache).

The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, in general, have received a great quantity of popular and academic attention since Euroamericans first encountered them in Arizona and New Mexico after acquiring the territories in 1848. A long period of bitter conflict between forces of the American government within the Indian Bureau and the military and the Apaches culminated in a period of particularly sensational newspaper coverage during the 1870s and 1880s. Such news reports and other inaccurate published accounts promoted stereotypical images of these Apachean people that fiction, movies, and even historical and biographical works continued to foster throughout the twentieth century. Hollywood's image of Chiricahua warriors has focused on their fierceness, "savagery," and military prowess. Films of the 1950s in addition to television programs such as Rin Tin Tin and Broken Arrow popularized these sensational and inaccurate images.

Published primary sources dealing specifically with personalities and events connected with the Chiricahua begin with S.M. Barrett's Geronimo's Story of His Life, first published in 1906.[10] With the assistance of translators, Barrett recorded Geronimo's personal recollections of

childhood, warfare, and Apache life. Unfortunately this work has a number of problems. A trusted informant told Morris Opler that translators made errors and that one interpreter in particular may have deliberately altered statements. Some observations supposedly made by Geronimo dealing with Chiricahua customs differ significantly from reliable ethnographic information. Historians must use this source cautiously.[11]

Jason Betzinez, Warm Springs Apache, survivor of imprisonment, and an army scout at Fort Sill, collaborated with Wilbur S. Nye to write I Fought With Geronimo (1959).[12] This work provides excellent material on the period of captivity from 1886 to 1913 and describes the process of acculturation which Betzinez experienced as a farmer, artisan, and soldier. This work also provides general ethnographic and historical information as well. Eve Ball's In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache (1970) provides an excellent collection of first person accounts by James Kaywakla that antedate the reservation period. Ball spent years cultivating the confidence of her sources among the Apache who chose to move to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. Her subsequent work, Indeh: An Apache Odyssey (1980), is another collection of oral histories she gathered from Chiricahua and Warm Spring Apache informants. This source provides important information on religion, tribal history, and the

experiences of Chiricahuas at Fort Sill and Mescalero.[13]

Another writer of Chiricahua history in the tradition of Eve Ball is Henrietta Stockel whose Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth and Survival of the Spirit, The Chiricahuas as Captives (1991) offers insights into the experience of Chiricahua women in history, through oral history. She has also written a medical history of the Chiricahua as prisoners of war entitled, Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity (1993).[14]

The list of secondary works treating the topic of general Apache history is large and varies greatly in quality. Relatively few authors have published works on the Chiricahua in this century. Morris Opler's An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians (1941) remains the ethnographic standard work on the subject.[15] Opler provides a comprehensive anthropological analysis of Chiricahua life. His field work was conducted almost exclusively among the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches who had returned to New Mexico. A more recent anthropological study of the Mescalero Apaches and their Chiricahua relatives is found in Claire R. Farrer's Living Life's Circle.

Michael Melody's dissertation, "The Sacred Hoop: The Way of the Chiricahua Apache and Teton Lakota" (1976) examines the historical connections between the environment,

religion, myth, ritual, and government.[16]

The most important secondary anthropological study of the Chiricahua Apache in Oklahoma is William G. Pollard's 1965 thesis "Structure and Stress: Social Change among the Fort Sill Apache and their Ancestors."[17] Pollard focuses on changing economic activities and the dissolution of cultural identity as the Chiricahua Apache dealt with reservation life, removal, and release. By the 1950s the post-allotment transition to independent farming began to fail as mechanization and modern agricultural practices with its enormous investment requirements left the Apaches behind. Pollard echoes the judgment of Opler that, in effect, the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma had lost their cultural identity.

The bulk of secondary work that had been done on the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in the twentieth century remains unpublished in the form of Ph.D. dissertations. David Michael Goodman's "Apaches as Prisoners of War, 1886-1894" (1969) traces the Apache's trail of tears from their final surrender to General Nelson Miles in 1886 to imprisonment in Florida and Alabama. This is a traditional historical work that examines the history of the Apache from Euroamerican sources--memoirs, journals, government documents, and newspapers.[18]

Michael Lynn Tate's massive study of Apache

participation in reservation police forces and the military, "Apache Scouts, Police, and Judges as Agents of Acculturation, 1865-1920" (1974), provides analysis on the role of Chiricahua soldiers in Apache society. Tate provides critical information on perceptions of military service as Apache scouts changed from working against their kinsmen to general military service after the government subdued resistant Apache groups. Apache soldiers served in the military during World War I in the United States and in Europe. Acculturation through the military contributed to the modern Chiricahua, and especially, Warm Springs Apache emphasis on education within the community in Oklahoma.[19]

John Anthony Turcheneske's tome on "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914" completes coverage of the Chiricahua sojourn that Goodman began.[20] Turcheneske repeats Opler's and Pollard's judgement that the process of captivity, education, and allotment destroyed Chiricahua culture in Oklahoma. This author also incorporated a limited amount of fieldwork among Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma.

Two relatively recent published works provide important ethnohistorical and biographical information. The late Angie Debo provides the authoritative biography of Geronimo, first published in 1976. Her Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place incorporates solid traditional historical work with interviews the author conducted with members of the

Chiricahua community about the life of Geronimo. Debo provides good analysis of Chiricahua history along with her biographical treatment of Geronimo.[21]

Donald C. Cole's ethnohistorical study of the reservation years, The Chiricahua Apache: From War to Reservation, 1846-1876 (1988) provides analysis of a period of Apache history to which few historians have paid attention. The work also provides an overview of ritual practices, religion, and mythology.[22]

There are a number of other secondary works which deal with various aspects of Apache history. They tend to be popular studies focused on the military conflict between the Chiricahuas and United States Army in the latter-half of the nineteenth century or in one case a scholarly treatment of federal efforts to control the Western Apache from 1848-1886. In general, they reflect the older tradition of Indian history, which is largely concerned with Indians as obstacles to progress or as incidental to Euroamerican history in the West.

Frank C. Lockwood's The Apache Indians (1938) is a comprehensive history of the Apaches in the West from the Spanish colonial period to the 1930s.[23] Written in the older historical tradition the work contains valuable coverage of Chiricahua history in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Lockwood wrote the book during a period in which many of the events written about were relatively recent.

The author wrote the book for a popular audience and touches on all the traditional aspects of this kind of history. Ralph Hedrick Ogle's Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886 (1940) was the first scholarly history of federal policy and the Apache Indians. It retains the tone of the older style but remains an important source on the reservation and conflict periods from the 1850s to the 1880s.[24] C.L. Sonnichsen's The Mescalero Apaches (1958) provides a comprehensive history of the Mescalero tribe from prehistoric migration from the north to contact with the Spanish and with Americans.[25] This work provides background on the people and the reservation that eventually accepted the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches from Fort Sill.

John Upton Terrell's Apache Chronicle (1972), Donald E. Worcester's The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest (1979), and James L. Haley's Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait (1981) all provide comprehensive introductions to the topic but lack scholarly depth. Haley's work has more detail and attempts to provide a broader audience an anthropological perspective within a historical narrative.[26]

Any historiographical review of the literature on Apaches in the Southwest would be entirely incomplete without mentioning the dean of the history of the American Southwest, Dan L. Thrapp's various and excellent studies of

the United States Army's campaigns in the West which are essential to an understanding of the Euroamerican side of the conflict period. Thrapp's biography of Victorio remains authoritative, but while Thrapp was an effective and disciplined researcher he confined his research to traditional archival sources, except for an occasional reliance on the work of Eve Ball.[27]

Historians and anthropologists have adequately covered the general history of Apachean peoples of the American Southwest, including the early ethnohistorical work dealing with the arrival of Apachean groups in the Southwest as early as 850-900 A.D. and as late as 1500. Coverage of the Spanish colonial period, Mexican period, and early American experience with Apaches in the Southwest is also adequate. Like much of Native American historiography, however, work on the twentieth century largely remains unwritten and unpublished. While historians have dealt with the surrender of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches and their subsequent status as prisoners of war, a large gap remains in the historical record from their release until today. That is the gap this dissertation will fill. William Pollard's anthropological study of the Chiricahua remains the only extensive scholarly treatment of the Chiricahua Apache in the twentieth century, but it ends at 1960. Pollard also concluded, like many historians and

anthropologists before and after him, that the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches of Oklahoma did not possess an identifiable culture. I will show that, plainly this is not the case. This is the important story that remains to be told. The Fort Sill Apache, or better termed, Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches remain an identifiable people. While they have lost a number of elements of their traditional culture, they have retained important aspects of that culture.

There are a number of reasons why historians and anthropologists made (and continue to make) these assertions. Anthropologists and historians have relied too heavily, perhaps, on the "ethnographical present," confining their perception of Indian reality to some past manifestation. Native American culture, like all others, is not static but changes constantly. Since the 1960s the definition of Native American cultures has changed, and historians and anthropologists have widened their fields of study. Most Native Americans continue to define their own culture and identity. It is largely the perceptions of outside observers that have changed to recognize the value, importance, and diversity of Native American cultures.[28]

A number of challenges were presented in the course of this study. Fortunately previous works provided models for research on the Chiricahua in Oklahoma. Laurence M. Hauptman's The Iroquois Struggle for Survival: World War II

to Red Power (1986) is a seminal work in twentieth century Native American historiography. Hauptman employed classic ethnohistorical method to tell the story of modern Native Americans and how they have dealt with their Euroamerican neighbors, state government, and the federal government in the twentieth century. The author conducted hundreds of interviews with living sources, investigated privately held family histories, and exploited a vast array of oral history collections in order to relate an Iroquois history.[29] He also conducted extensive archival research in New York and Washington, D.C., making use of court documents, Indian Bureau records, and other official government sources.

Karen Blu's The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People (1980) deals with a historical problem similar to that encountered with the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches.[30] The Lumbee are a population of highly acculturated Indians of the Carolinas. Blu describes their struggle to identify themselves as Indians against the Black/White imagery of the dominant society in the South. Instead of emphasizing physical attributes that make their community "Indian," the Lumbee focused on historical documents and treaties in order to achieve federal recognition of their tribal identity. Like the Lumbee, the Apaches have dealt with images projected upon them by the society around them. Not only have they dealt with this problem with the wider society around them but also in the

perceptions of historians and anthropologists who have written about them throughout the past one-hundred years.

Morris W. Foster's Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community (1991) traces the changing patterns of communication within the Comanche community throughout its history.[31] Foster employs complex social theory examining the role of language and communication among individuals and how changes in language have accompanied changing social and economic realities. The author used the tools of the ethnohistorian to trace the history of the Comanche from their Numic origins in the Great Basin region to the climax of their nomadic culture built upon the horse-buffalo complex and raiding to their conquest by the United States government and adjustment to reservation life. Foster finds that, to Comanches, social gathering has been and remains essential to tribal identity. Throughout their history they have used gatherings--the Sun Dance, peyotism, and now the Pow Wow--to identify themselves to each other and to outsiders as Comanche. Foster has demonstrated, like other recent writers, that Native American groups can create and maintain their own identities within the dominant society that lies around them.

There remains a community that continues to identify itself as Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache. Despite years of near genocidal warfare, first at the hands of the Spanish

and Mexicans and later at the hands of American miners and soldiers; despite twenty-eight years of captivity under conditions that nearly extinguished their lives; despite allotment, Euroamerican education in boarding schools and public schools, and the federal attempt at termination; and, finally, despite geographic dispersal and sometimes bitter intra-tribal factionalism. Years after anthropologists and historians judged their culture to be basically dissolved, they remain. Today the Apaches have a seventy-four acre land base that one of their leader's has referred to as the "world's smallest Indian reservation."[32] The tribe wrote a constitution in 1976 to clarify membership in the tribe. This was done largely to determine eligibility for compensation payments from the Indian Claims Commission.

This work will continue the Chiricahua story as it begins in the twentieth century. While Goodman and Turcheneske focused on military and congressional policy and bureaucratic maneuvering between the War Department and the Indian Bureau, this dissertation will look at the Apache experience at Fort Sill from 1894-1913 and proceed forward. The dissertation will begin with an overview of the prehistorical and early historical origins of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches and their relationships to other Apache groups as well as their final conquest by the United States. The next chapter will describe the conditions and results of the twenty-nine year imprisonment with a chapter

length discussion on the impact of life at Fort Sill. These first three chapters will, necessarily be synthetic in nature--incorporating the vast array of published and unpublished secondary work that has been done on the Chiricahua conflict and captivity period. The following five chapters will examine the history of the tribe since 1913--their release and experience during allotment, life in the 1920s and 1930s, the impact of World War II, Indian New Deal, and Termination Policy, and the last twenty years in which the tribe has formally organized and reached settlement with the Federal Government on tribal land claims. Throughout the entire discussion the issues of tribal identification, unity, and cultural maintenance will be addressed.

Traditional historical sources were employed in the research. Records and manuscripts maintained at Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters as well as papers kept at Fort Sill, the Fort Worth Federal Records Repository, and other state and private archives were used. Most importantly interviews were conducted with members of the tribe in order to incorporate a Chiricahua and Warm Springs perspective. The author also consulted with the official Fort Sill Apache Tribal Historian in the course of researching and writing this dissertation. Tribal sources were invaluable in addressing the cultural and anthropological aspects of this project. It is hoped that by adopting this ethnohistorical

perspective that a more accurate and coherent story of the Oklahoma Chiricahua Apache experience will emerge.

A number of theoretical approaches preface this work. The first and most important is that this work will attempt to counterbalance the prevailing imagery of savagery and violence that had been projected upon the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches by stressing the fundamental values around which Chiricahua culture evolved historically. Several elements comprised the core of traditional Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache culture. These were the central role of family, love of homeland, band leadership through consensus and persuasion, and ritual. To a certain extent these values have changed. Increasingly during the twentieth-century parents tempered their desire to inculcate respect for traditional beliefs in rising generations by encouraging their children to adopt the skills and strategies essential for survival in the Euroamerican world.

A cycle of disunity and unity has also lurked in the background throughout Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache history. The employment of the unity-disunity (what could also be termed continuity vs. divergence) model may help to explain the internal conflicts that developed among the separate Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache bands as individuals, families, and bands chose paths of either accommodation or resistance to Euroamerican power. Simply

stated, the model of continuity and convergence attempts to provide a structure for looking at the history of the Chiricahua people by examining their reaction to the stresses and strains of American reservation policy, warfare, civil strife, conquest, captivity, and allotment. In the face of threats--whether economic, political, or even physical (for example the Great Depression and its precursory environmental disasters) the Fort Sill Apache community reacted, usually by uniting itself behind its leadership. However, in the face of apparent victories--for example the final award of multimillion dollar adjustments from the Indian Claims Commission--the Fort Sill Apache community literally split apart over tribal membership and eligibility for compensation payments. Historically, Euroamerican military and political leaders and bureaucrats took advantage of these kinds of divisions in the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community to further their own agendas. Those divisive tactics of American Indian policy left a legacy of division and factionalism which continue to hamper efforts by the Fort Sill Apache Tribe to strengthen itself. Those efforts include providing educational and economic opportunities for tribal members, reclaiming the Chiricahua language, strengthening cultural identity, and eventually developing the financial and cultural resources to build a Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache Museum in which to preserve artifacts and develop cultural education programs

for the benefit of the community.[33]

These cycles of divergence and continuity have occurred among all peoples of the Western Hemisphere and partly accounts for the great diversity found among its native peoples. This study extends the concept of band to evaluate the changes that occurred within the Chiricahua community as it accommodated massive stresses and change in a very short period of time. Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache bands (which now compose a federally recognized tribe) were literally ripped from their ancestral geographic homes and placed in an utterly alien environment.

Instead of divergence (splitting up from within) occurring as a result of internal changes in band relationships it now occurred as a result of external forces--military conquest, government policy decisions, and the immediate effects of military administration, and a deliberate policy of forced change and acculturation. When the Apaches arrived at Fort Sill, they experienced for the first time since their incarceration an opportunity to, as it were, put things back together. Within a restrictive environment as prisoners of war they were permitted to engage in traditional religious and cultural practices even as more gradual acculturation policies were being administered by the government (i.e. training to be farmers, cattle-ranchers, blacksmiths, etc.). In contrast to the disunity or divergence of the conquest period (bands broken

up by reservation assignment and the conflict between groups that resisted and groups that accommodated) the time at Fort Sill was characterized more or less by continuity and unity within the Chiricahua community. The tribe entered upon another period of divergence from 1913-1921 as it was split in two groups, the larger being sent to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico, the smaller remaining in Oklahoma. For the Chiricahuas in Oklahoma it took nearly two decades to reassemble continuity characterized by a new generation of tribal leadership expressed by a consensus of elders through a single spokesman.

In the face of threats by the government during the 1950s to terminate the tribal status of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches that continuity was strengthened even as the tribe began the struggle to press its claims for tribal lands lost in the Southwest and the loss of Fort Sill.

Paradoxically the next period of divergence came as the tribe was awarded a multi-million dollar judgement in compensation for lost ancestral lands. Issues associated with the dispersal of those funds, tribal leadership and government, and the creation of a formal tribal constitution led to the fracture of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community. Two underlying themes permeate these developments throughout the period from 1913 to the present. First, is the impact of intermarriage of Chiricahuas and

Warm Springs Apaches with Euroamericans and non-Apache Indians and a related concern for who were legitimate members of the Fort Sill Apache tribe.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

1. This ceremony which anthropologists have termed the "Puberty Rite Ceremony" is better described as a rite of passage or "coming out" ceremony. The ritual, when practiced in its entirety, may last more than two weeks. Members of the extended family and friends may attend portions of the rite while outsiders may attend on a few designated days. The author attended the first day open to general attendance on October 6, 1994. Accurate anthropological descriptions of the ceremony may be found in Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts, with ethnological notes by Morris E. Opler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938). A more recent description and analysis of the ceremony as it is practiced by the Mescalero Apaches in New Mexico may be found in Claire R. Farrer's Living Life's Circle: Mescalero Apache Cosmovision (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

2. "Apaches Remember Arrival at Fort Sill," Lawton Constitution 4 October 1994, p. 1.

3. Those three surviving members include Benedict Jozhe Jr., born April 18, 1908, Mildred Imach Cleghorn, born December 11, 1910, and Geraldine Domeah, born January 3, 1912. Interview with Michael Darrow 6 November 1995. See also Gillett Griswold, "The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, Antecedents," Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

4. See Robert E. Bieder, Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986); Curtis Hinsley, Jr., Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Ethnology, 1846-1910 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981); Joan Mark, 4 Anthropologists: An American Science in the Early Years (New York: Science History Publications/U.S.A., 1980); L.G. Moses, The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and George W. Stocking, Jr., Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

5. "The Twentieth Century." In Red Men and Hat Wearers, edited by Daniel Tyler (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Co., 1976), 166. Quoted in Laurence M. Hauptman, The Iroquois Struggle for Survival: World War II to Red Power (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), ix.

6. See James Clifton, Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989). For general discussions of developments in Native American historiography see Colin G. Calloway, ed., New Directions in American Indian History (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson, eds., Major Problems in American Indian History: Documents and Essays (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994), and W.R. Swagerty, ed., Scholars and the Indian Experience: Critical Reviews of Recent Writing in the Social Sciences (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

7. Two fine recently published examples are Cecile Elkins Carter's study of the Caddo Indians, Caddo Indians: Where We Come From (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995) and Steven J. Crum, The Road On Which We Came--Po'i Pentun Tammen Kimmappeh: A History of the Western Shoshone (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).

8. Two articles that demonstrate the strong feelings on this issue within the Chiricahua Apache community are Eve Ball, "The Apache Scouts: A Chiricahua Appraisal," Arizona and the West 7 (Winter 1965): 315-28 and Morris Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," New Mexico Historical Review 13 (October 1938): 360-86. Opler's piece related the experience of Samuel Kenoi's father as a scout and Kenoi's own harsh opinion of Geronimo and other Apache leaders involved in outbreaks and violence. Eve Ball's article examines the other side of the conflict and the Chiricahua view of those who served with the government. According to Ball a sharp distinction was made among members of the community between those who served in the army before captivity and those who served after.

9. Interview, Michael Darrow with Clifford Coppersmith, 24 February 1994, Fort Cobb, Oklahoma. Notes in author's possession.

10. S.M. Barrett, ed., Geronimo's Story of his Life (New York: Duffield and Company, 1906; Reprinted as Frederick Turner III, ed., Geronimo, His Own Story (New York: Dulton, 1970).

11. Michael E. Melody, The Apaches: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1977), 13-14.

12. Jason Betzinez with Wilbur S. Nye, I Fought with Geronimo (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1959).

13. Eve Ball, ed., In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970). Eve Ball, ed., with Nora Henn and Lynda Sanchez, Indeh: An Apache Odyssey (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980).

14. Henrietta Stockel, Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth and Survival of the Spirit: The Chiricahuas as Captives (University of Nevada Press, 1991) and Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity (University of Nevada Press, 1993).

15. Morris Edward Opler, An Apache Life-way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians (University of Chicago Press, 1941).

16. Michael E. Melody, "The Sacred Hoop: The Way of the Chiricahua Apache and Teton Lakota" (Ph.D. diss, University of Notre Dame, 1976).

17. William Grosvenor Pollard, "Structure and Stress: Social Change Among the Fort Sill Apache and Their Ancestors, 1870-1960" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1965). Pollard, a student of Morris Opler, conducted extensive fieldwork among the Chiricahuas in Oklahoma. His thesis focused on the dissolution of cultural identity among the Apaches as they passed through the experience of reservation, captivity, and allotment.

18. David Michael Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War, 1886-1894" (Ph.D. diss, Texas Christian University, 1969).

19. Michael Lynn Tate, "Apache Scouts, Police, and Judges as Agents of Acculturation, 1865-1920" (Ph.D. diss, University of Toledo, 1974).

20. John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914" (Ph.D. diss, University of New Mexico, 1978).

21. Angie Debo, Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976). Angie Debo's personal papers, photographs, and book collection are held in the Edmon Low Library Archives at Oklahoma State University and provide invaluable sources for research as she conducted many interviews of her own with members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe from the 1950s through the 1970s.

22. D.C. Cole, The Chiricahua Apache: From War to Reservation, 1846-1876, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

23. Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938).

24. Ralph Hedrick Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940; Reprint ed., 1970).

25. C.L. Sonnischsen, The Mescalero Apaches (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

26. John Upton Terrell, Apache Chronicle (New York: World Publishing, 1972). James L. Haley, Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1981). Donald E. Worcester, The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) brought Worcester back to his earliest academic work, before his professional sojourn into Latin American history began. He began as an archaeology student working at Fort Apache with noted anthropologist Grenville Goodwin and wrote several scholarly articles on early Apache history. The Apaches won Worcester the Southwest Book Award and a Spur Award from the Western Writer's Association. Letter to author from Donald Worcester, September 14, 1995.

27. See Dan L. Thrapp, Al Seiber, Chief of Scouts (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); The Conquest of Apacheria (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); General Crook and the Sierra Madre Adventure (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); and Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974). Considering Thrapp's background in journalism it is puzzling that he appeared never to take advantage of oral history sources, both recorded and living, that were available to him, especially in the early stages of his writing career. Thrapp was, however, a painstaking and indefatigable researcher.

28. For an example of the anthropologist's perchance for the ethnographic present see Elman R. Service's A Profile of Primitive Culture (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958) which presents a series of essays on aboriginal cultures as described or even reconstructed through anthropological observation or ethnohistorical investigation.

29. Laurence Hauptman discusses why historians have tended to avoid twentieth-century Native American history. Directly addressing the writing of Iroquois history he writes, "historians fail to see the importance of writing twentieth century [Native American] history...the essential research [methods] require historians to go well beyond sifting through old documents in the National Archives...and

is more costly in time and financial commitment. This approach often leads the historian face-to-face with living people, an alien thought to most colleagues in the discipline who specialize in forensic history" (emphasis added). See Laurence Hauptman, "Iroquois History of the Twentieth Century: Needs and Opportunities in Research," New York State History Network 3 (Fall 1981); 3-6.

30. Karen Blu, The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American People (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

31. Morris W. Foster, Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991).

32. Barbara H. Perlman, Allan Houser (Haozous) (Sante Fe: Glenn Greene Galleries, distributed by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 86. The tribe has a long-term plan to re-establish land holdings in New Mexico and Arizona in addition to expanding its land base in Oklahoma. Interview, Michael Darrow with Clifford P. Coppersmith, Apache, Oklahoma, 6 November 1995. Note in author's possession.

33. A concomitant argument accompanying this theoretical approach concerns persistence of Chiricahua culture and identity despite overwhelming pressures to adopt Euroamerican modes of daily living, of work, religion, and other aspects of everyday life. Edward Spicer discusses this issue in "Persistent Cultural Systems," Science 174 (November 1971): 795-800. The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches have maintained a continuous tradition of celebrating special family and tribal events with the Mountain Spirit Dance--performed by dancers from the Oklahoma community as well as Mountain Spirit Dancers from the Mescalero, New Mexico that frequently visit throughout the year. The Mountain Spirit Dance, the dancers themselves, and its associated distinctive headgear and costume have become, in addition to their spiritual function, potent political symbols of cultural survival and tribal identity. Spicer addresses the role of land, language, music and dance as powerful symbols of cultural identity. Spicer specifically cites the Sardana Dance of nineteenth-century Catalans and the Yaqui Deer Dance as examples. For an additional discussion of ethnicity, basic group identity, and the individual see Harold R. Isaacs, "Basic Group Identity: The Idols of the Tribe," Ethnicity 1 (1974): 15-41. Like other Native American groups the Apaches have experienced a resurgence of interest in young people in coming back to the original community to work, to reaffirm familial and tribal affiliations, to learn the

tribal language, and to rediscover tribal culture. Interviews (Clifford P. Coppersmith) with Pat Haozous Regan, Apache, Oklahoma, 3 October 1994; interview with Mildred Imach Cleghorn, Apache, Oklahoma, 5 October 1994; interview with Harry Mithlo, Anadarko, Oklahoma, 5 October 1994; interview with Bob Houser, Apache, Oklahoma, 6 October 1994. Notes in author's possession.

II. Origins

In Chiricahua and Warm Springs myth, the world is inhabited by culture heros and monsters. The most important of these is White Painted Woman, who gave birth to two sons--Child of the Water and Killer of Enemies. Unlike the stories of other Indian groups, the Apache world (or worlds) always existed. And while the old Apache storytellers did not tell a creation story quite like other Native American stories of creation or emergence, they nonetheless told stories about the gods, culture heroes, and man, Indian and white.[1]

The old world was destroyed by water, a great flood came and washed everything away. Only one mountain, White Ringed Mountain, was not covered by the flood of water. No human beings lived through the great disaster, which almost got to the top of White Ringed Mountain, which is down in Old Mexico. After the flood Child of the Water made human beings.

Now, Child of the Water created human beings. He made two mud figures just like men. He also made two figures like women. All of them could speak. Child of the Water said to one man and one woman, "you will be called Indians." He said to the others, "you will be called white men."

Then he set down several things for them. For the Indians he chose bows and arrows, while Killer of Enemies gave white men guns and bullets. Then Child of the Waters

set down two mountains, one for the Indians and one for the white men. One mountain was covered with trees and bushes and all manner of things that human beings could eat; there were wild deer, turkeys, and other animals which could be hunted and used for meat. This was given to the Indians, that they might have food to eat. In this way these things were given to the Indians.

Then Killer of Enemies chose the second mountain for the white men, out of which came horses, the very best mules, cattle, sheep, pigs, chickens--all of these came out. In this way these things were given to the white man. And Killer of Enemies said to the white man: "Very far apart, on the other side of this ocean, you will live from one another. Whenever you see one another, you will fight, Indian with the white man.

For the Apaches, their mountain world had always existed. They did not come from anywhere. They, the People, human beings had always called that part of the world their home.

Anthropologists, on the other hand, posit a far distant origin for the People, known as the Ndé. They are a small branch of an ancient Athapaskan speaking people whose far flung divisions may be found in the interior of Alaska, northwest and central Canada, the Northwest Pacific Coast of the United States, and the southern plains of the Old Southwest.[2]

The members of this larger group, generally termed Athapaskans, were descendants of just one of the many migrations that brought America's first inhabitants over the land bridge from Asia. Periodic glaciation created vast paths of migration for these hunters that followed the great beasts of the ice age.

Athapaskan groups probably descended from one of the more recent migrations across the Bering strait just before the arrival of North America's Arctic Inuit. Early Athapaskan peoples migrated over vast distances establishing themselves in such varied environments as arctic tundra, the high plains, the sea coast, and even the great deserts of the American Southwest.

Of these ancient travellers the intrepid Apachean peoples of the American Southwest and Southern Plains were the most far-flung. Linguists trace the separation of the Southern Athapaskans back to about A.D. 1000, and the beginning of a migration that eventually established Athapaskan speakers from the Northern Plains south to Texas and west into New Mexico and Arizona.[3]

Linguists divide the Southern Athapaskans into the Navajo, Western Apache, Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, Lipan, and Kiowa-Apache peoples. According to Robert Young these tribal divisions with their languages constituted a "complex" derived from a common ancestral language.[4] Anthropologist Edward Sapir pioneered the earliest studies

hypothesizing a northern origin for Apache languages. Harry Hoijer followed up Sapir's work with an estimate that the branching off of the Southern language rootstock from its northern origins occurred between A.D. 950 and 1000. This analysis, based on comparative linguistics, is in line with the earliest anthropological estimations that all Apachean peoples in the Southwest were recent arrivals, in some cases arriving just about the same time as the Spaniards did in the fifteenth century.[5] Scant evidence exists that can more completely define the paths and timing of these ever southerly migrations as these hunter-gatherers left little behind to mark their passage.

The image of Apaches (regardless of specific tribal designation) as war-like, fierce, merciless, bestial, and savage was reinforced by early anthropological descriptions that cast them as the eternal raiders of "peaceful" peoples such as the Ancient Puebloans, their descendants, and later Spanish, Mexican, and Euroamerican settlers. The earliest observations by Spanish soldiers and priests began the process of creating this savage "Apachean" image. Turn of the century anthropologists, reflecting their early work with Puebloan peoples, adopted a perspective that either confirmed or at least leant credence to the popularly held view of Apaches as inveterate destroyers and raiders. Frederick W. Hodge's two volume Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (1909, 1911) exemplified the view in its

description of the "Apache" as being "less numerous [formerly] than in recent times, their numbers having been increased by captives. Noted for their warlike disposition, they raid white and Indian settlements alike." Hodges concluded that they, "have been hostile since they have been known to history."[6]

Half a century later ethnohistorian Jack D. Forbes published an important if little recognized corrective to this early anthropological view that seemed to legitimize, in an academic sense, this distorted view of Apache culture. Forbes challenged popularly-held conceptions of Apache culture and history--that it was inherently warlike and only recently arrived in the Southwest. Forbes writes that the Apachean peoples of the Southwest "have suffered from exceptional biases caused by the preponderant voices of their enemies, including Spaniards, Spanish-speaking Mexicans, Anglo-American invaders, and even on occasion, Tewa and other indigenous communities who were forced...to become military allies of Hispano-Mexican newcomers after 1698."[7]

Forbes's work traces in great detail the history of the southern Athapaskans and their relations with other Native Americans and the Spanish Empire. Employing early Navajo and Apache accounts, Forbes underscores his contention that Athapaskan peoples were present in areas they were historically associated with as early as the 1100s--

establishing a distinctive southwestern way of life that mixed language, culture, and religious traditions among the early progenitors of the Navajo, Havasupai-Walpai, and Yavapai peoples. Correspondingly, the Western Apache were living in the region between Chaco Canyon and modern-day Flagstaff between A.D. 1100 and 1200.[8] These "triblets" as Forbes terms them would form the nucleus of groups and bands the Spanish would come to know as Apaches upon their arrival in the late sixteenth century. Even Spanish writers acknowledge the status of Apachean peoples as "the original inhabitants" in areas previously identified as dominated by Puebloans who had in some cases pushed their predecessors out.[9] Forbes finds it reasonable to believe that Athapaskans were in central New Mexico by the 1300s and were pushed out of their own areas by Puebloan peoples fleeing the colder and less productive climes of the Four Corners-Canyon de Chelly region.[10]

In essence the origins, travels, and arrival of Apachean peoples in the Southwest are probably much more complex than anthropologists writing in the first half of the nineteenth century have proposed. Their reliance upon linguistic evidence presupposes the existence of one ancestral language ignoring altogether the reality of hunting and gathering groups that through time operate in an extremely dispersed fashion, covering large geographic areas and coming in contact with varying environments inhabited by

other unfamiliar peoples speaking different languages. The southern Athapaskans arrived in New Mexico and Arizona sometime between 1000 to 1300 and shared a basic common southwestern culture with other non-Athapaskan peoples with which they came in contact. Ancestors of the Plains Apaches gradually moved out onto the plains from these areas and spread as far north as the Black Hills of South Dakota and as far south as Texas[11]

The arrival of the Spanish in the American Southwest (more properly termed New Spain's Northwest) introduced catastrophic changes in the lives of the region's peoples, both Apachean and Puebloan. Traditional patterns of mutual interdependence based for the most part on trade and to a lesser extent on raiding and warfare were inverted by Spanish policies of division and conquest. Reports of Spanish atrocities further south and the never ceasing Spanish quest for slaves to work in the silver mines came early to Apachean peoples even as the Chichimeca wars raged from 1550 to 1600. The brutal conquest of Pueblo villages led to the flight of entire tribes into the mountains where refuge was often sought with Apaches and Navajos.

At first Spanish policy towards the Indians of New Mexico verged on outright extermination. Pueblos were forced to pay tribute in the form of foodstuffs and clothing and many times their wives and daughters. Harsh Spanish levies often put entire villages to flight to avoid paying

tribute. The capture of slaves was also an integral part of early Spanish policy in New Mexico which gradually gave way to the presidio system.[12] By the 1580s a new policy developed even as the old one proved to be an utter failure that left vast areas of productive land uncultivated and native communities abandoned. The mission system based on assimilation and pacification came to the fore "reducing" Native American communities into model Spanish peasant villages where Indians were instructed in the Catholic faith and learned to speak Spanish and about the European way of life including the practice of European agriculture and pastoralism. By 1604 the mission system had spread to New Mexico and plans were made to reduce the Apaches.[13]

Needless to say, changes wrought among the Pueblos and the incorporation of these Indian communities into the imperial framework disrupted long established trading relationships and patterns of subsistence. The Spanish also twisted former peaceful relations between Apacheans and non-Apaches by forcing alliances with Pueblo and other tribes to pacify hostile Apaches. In effect the Spanish extended their practice of pitting Tlaxcalans against the Aztecs and other resistant nations to their northern frontier. Throughout the region the Spanish destroyed formerly peaceful relations among peoples who previously had coexisted with little or no warfare. Former allies and trading partners were now viewed as traitors to be destroyed

along with the Europeans. By the early 1700s a pattern of interaction had been established which would endure for nearly two hundred years.[14]

It is one of the ironic yet easily explained quirks of the history of New Spain that it took a technologically less sophisticated people such as the Apaches who were far less numerous than the Aztecs to stop the otherwise rapid and seemingly inexorable advance of Spanish domination northward from the central Mexican valley. The Apaches' love of freedom and tenuous existence in some of the roughest terrain in North America gave them crucial advantages in facing the overwhelming wealth and power of the Spanish Empire. Nowhere did the Spanish meet a greater challenge to their military and political dominance than in the northern provinces of New Spain. Nearly 300 years after the Aztecs fell the Apaches of Northwest New Spain continued to resist Spanish authority.

The Spanish advantage was neutralized by the character of the land and the people they fought. The Apaches were dispersed, highly mobile, and completely independent. Their lifestyle also isolated them from the waves of debilitating diseases that washed over the conquered tribes. The Spanish conquest was also diluted as the pattern of settlement thinned on the far northern frontier. Athapaskan support for the great Pueblo rebellion that began in 1680 signalled unremitting Apache resistance that would last nearly a

century before changes in Spanish policy brought some semblance of peace to the Apache frontier.

In the latter decades of the eighteenth century a series of military governors in the Internal Provinces of New Spain, which included the areas of Arizona and New Mexico in the United States and Sonora and Chihuahua in Mexico began to formulate imperial policies that finally brought peace to this region, also termed "Apacheria." The Reglamento of 1772 was the last in a series of attempts by the Spanish crown to establish some sort of unified policy to deal with the Vice Royalty's Apache problem. A Royal Order of 1779 further delineated a program to pacify the Apache frontier employing both traditional strategies such as exploiting divisions among the Apaches themselves and forming alliances with non-Apache tribes such as the Comanches and Caddoan peoples who were already putting pressure on Plains Apache from the north and east. The Spanish also tried to induce Apache cooperation through dependence on trade and European technology.[15]

By 1787 Spanish governors established alliances with the Comanche, Navajo (an Apachean people by then considered separate by the Spanish authorities), Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and Pueblo Indians. Combined with the co-opting influence of trade and the wider distribution of alcohol and guns, these alliances convinced many Apache groups to give up full-time nomadic life and to congregate around Spanish

settlements. The adoption of this mixed policy of pacification brought the longest period of peace, 1790-1811, ever experienced in Apachería. Shortly thereafter Mexican independence led to the disintegration of control over the frontier.[16]

The manuscript of a Royal Spanish Engineer posted to the provinces of Northern New Spain sheds some light on what the Spanish knew of Apache peoples. José Cortés y de Olarte, writing both from this experiences and relying on official Spanish sources available to him in the late 1780s and 1790s, provides a snapshot of what the Spanish knew about the Apaches even as the colonial period drew to a close.[17] Cortés wrote that the Spanish recognized the "Apache nations [of] the Tontos, Chiricaguis, Gileños, Mimbreños, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Navajós. All of [which] are called by the generic name Apaches, and governed themselves independently."[18] The young officer goes on to describe the region with which each group was associated noting that the "Chiricagui nation takes it name from the principle mountain range that it inhabits," bounded on the north by the Tontos and Mogollones and to the east by the Gileños and on the south and west by Spanish Sonora.[19] Cortés also notes that the Mimbreños, "a very large tribe," were bounded on the west by the Gileños, on the north and east by New Mexico and on the south by Nueva Vizcaya.[20] It is upon these peoples mentioned by

Cortés that this study will now focus.

As the Spanish Empire began to disintegrate the carefully planned programs of the military governors in the Interior Provinces began to unravel. Beginning with the premature uprisings of 1810, control over the Mexican frontier began to fray as the Kingdom of New Spain gradually gave way to the independent nation of Mexico. The chaos of war and its inherent economic dislocations prevented provincial authorities from properly supplying Indian communities that still relied for subsistence on government rations. Gradually, the ties that bound Apache groups to settlements loosened as subsidies and traditional trade patterns were disrupted with the wars for independence. Left to themselves the Apaches and the settlements to which they had once been attached reverted to the previous pattern of theft, raiding, and conflict. Conflict on the Mexican frontier between Apaches and Mexicans was only one facet of widespread divisions in Mexican society that would play out again and again in revolutions and civil war. In fact, explaining Apache-Mexican conflict from 1821-1848 is a complex task which involved Apache on Mexican violence as well as violence between Mexicans as an economic conflict pitted one town against another vying for the lucrative trade fueled by Apache raiding. Ironically, rivalries between frontier communities like Fronteras and Janos may have fueled the expansion of Apache raiding.[21]

In essence Mexican policies towards hostile Apaches reverted to extermination first practiced by the Spanish conquistadores upon their arrival in the region. During the Mexican period (1821-1848) the states of Sonora and Chihuahua resorted to scalp bounties to control what they saw as the Apache menace within their jurisdictions. Dan Thrapp, a noted historian of the Southwest, explains that by the 1830s warfare between Apaches and Mexicans had become general and sanguinary. Citing Ignacio Zuñiga, commander of the northern presidios of Sonora for several years, Thrapp writes that between 1820 and 1855 more than 5000 Mexicans had lost their lives in the conflict. Zuñiga offered no corresponding number for Apache losses. However, even amidst the carnage Apaches and Mexicans continued carrying on business with each other "on one side of the mountain while murdering and pillaging each other on the other."[22] During this period an intense enmity was established between Apaches, including the Chiricahuas, and Mexicans.

Even as relations between Apaches and Mexicans disintegrated during the post-Independence period a new belligerent entered the region as American trappers and traders made their first forays into Apachería, first in search of pelts for the fur trade and later as part of efforts to expand commercial ties between the United States and Sante Fe.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the

divisions of the Apachean peoples had been largely defined. The term "Chiricahua" in its modern sense provides a far-greater sense of solidarity and unity in identifying a people than may actually have existed. There was little allegiance to a single leader or sense of identity as a people beyond one's own immediate group or sub-group composed of perhaps four or five families. Morris Opler's masterful description of Chiricahua society and culture is a snapshot of a people and a way of life that existed for only a brief period of time, from about the 1850s and 1860s, the period in which Opler's informants were young people.

Opler defined the Chiricahuas as composed of three bands which inhabited geographic territories. The most eastern and northern band of the Chiricahua "tribe" occupied territory that abutted an area of eastern New Mexico and West Texas occupied by the Mescalero Apaches. This band, as Opler defines them, were given a number of names by outside observers (Spanish, Mexican, and Euroamerican) including Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente Apaches, Coppermine Apaches, and Mimbreño Apaches or Mogollon Apaches--all terms applied to a group of people speaking an Apache language, named for some geographic feature or location with which they were associated. Opler calls these people "the Eastern Chiricahua Band." This group called themselves "Chíende" (translated as "Red Paint People").[23] Leaders of this band well known to students of Southwestern history were Mangas

Coloradas, Victorio, Nana, and Loco.

To the south and west, ranging through southwestern New Mexico and southeastern Arizona, lived another band of Apaches who were originally called the Chiricahuas after the mountains they inhabited. This band was associated with the great Chiricahua leader Cochise and occupied land around Apache Pass in eastern Arizona near the New Mexico border. Opler called them the Central Chiricahua. They were also commonly known by the terms Chiricahuas, Chokonens, and Cochise's Band. Their own term for themselves was Chokonen or Chokonende. Unlike other band designations there is no translation for this term.

The third and most southern of the bands was known as the Nednai or Pinery Apaches, which Opler called the Southern Chiricahua band. The Chiricahua term for them was Ndénaí, which translated as "enemy people." Chiricahua leaders associated with this band were Juh (pronounced Ho) and Geronimo. Jason Betzinez described the Ndenai as the Indians who were "in constant warfare with Mexico...that is why we called them Netendia [sic]--which means continuous warriors."[24]

Opler defined only three bands, whereas the Chiricahuas name a fourth: the Bidanku--most often associated with the Ndénaí. Geronimo is the one noted Chiricahua individual associated with this band designation.

All modern-day Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches

trace their ancestry to these bands and in some cases prefer to identify themselves as such. Historically, bands operated largely independent of one another and occupied large areas over which they hunted, gathered, and in some case practiced horticulture. Daily life revolved around groups and sub-groups of the major bands composed of anywhere from two to six or more extended families. According to Eugene Chihuahua, a band seldom numbered more than fifty individuals, headed by ten to twelve men, all related by marriage.[25] Bands gathered for temporary alliances for raiding and for warfare and for the celebration of important rituals, especially the rites associated with the passage of Apache young women to adulthood. Strong rules of exogamy demanded marriage ties outside of family groups and often outside the band. Chiricahua leaders often formed alliances through marriage of their daughters to leaders of other Chiricahua and in some cases non-Chiricahua bands or tribes.

Daily subsistence depended on hunting wild game and the gathering of natural products available throughout the mountain country of the Southwest. Staples consisted of nuts, especially the piñion nut, agave (also called mescal), wild plants, and corn and beans which they grew themselves or for which they traded. The Chiricahua also made use of products introduced by the Spanish and used by the Mexicans, especially beef, horse, and mule meat. Meat was eaten fresh

or preserved by drying and acquired through hunting or by raiding. Chiricahuas preferred the stronger taste of horse or mule meat over beef. Raiding played an important element in subsistence especially as increasing populations of Euroamericans destroyed what little edible wildlife existed in the region and replaced them with herds of horses and cattle.

The Chiricahuas, like other Apaches, were consummate traders and were highly integrated into local trade networks, especially in Sonora and Chihuahua where a ready market was found for livestock and other commodities seized in raiding expeditions. It is just one of the ironies of the history of Apaches in the Southwest that much of the "illegal" activities they were accused of (in both the United States and Mexico) occurred within the context of a trade network that involved both Mexicans and Euroamericans. That trade included food, livestock, weapons, ammunition, alcohol, and clothing.

By the 1830s Euroamericans were already enmeshed in the milieu of trade and violence that marked the Mexican northwestern frontier. Texan adventurers and Missouri trappers and traders eagerly engaged in the practice of war for profit gathering scalps for bounties paid in Sonora and Chihuahua. A turning point in Euroamerican-Chiricahua relations occurred with the killing of Juan José Compa by American traders and scalpers in 1837. Compa, educated in

Catholic schools, led a band of Mimbres Chiricahuas or Chíendes. The murder of his father by Mexicans made him an intractable enemy of that people. He lived with his band in the area around the Santa Rita Copper Mines east of present day Silver City, New Mexico.[26]

Compa was succeeded by Mangas Coloradas who, probably more than any other Chiricahua, exemplified the type of leadership and resistance that his successors--Cochise, Victorio, Juh, Nana, and, to a lesser extent, Geronimo--would exemplify. Mangas, born around 1790, was treacherously murdered while in custody by miners temporarily employed as militiamen. The perfidy of his assassination was only matched by what white men did to his body after his death. He was decapitated, his skull prepared and shipped to a phrenologist for "scientific study."[27] Mangas's death presaged the coming catastrophe.

The American national thirst for mineral wealth drove the destruction of the Chiricahua world. These others would take the land away from the people who had defended it for centuries from Spanish and Mexican invaders. As Thrapp wrote, "It was gold that ultimately defeated the Apaches...[as was the case in other areas of the West], for it was gold that brought in population, the army to protect it, and the farmers and ranchers to feed the soldiers, and the communication lines the Army needed, and at long last, the civilization with which the fetterless savages [sic]

could not cope."[28]

The history that marks the passage of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches from this period of conflict to the fateful autumn of 1886 when Geronimo finally surrendered follows a path marked by treachery, conflict, and cataclysmic change.

As the Spanish Empire did in the 1600s and 1700s the new American Empire struggled with a policy to pacify a restive and powerful people. Apaches resisted every attempt to buy them out and settle them down. Euroamerican miners, farmers, and ranchers all pursued policies of extermination that had been tried before only to harvest the wrath of the survivors. The Chiricahuas experienced a brief respite when the Civil War pulled away regular military forces and disrupted the creation of reservations. Shortly thereafter frontier armies led by lesser men with little thought of justice or restraint attacked them indiscriminately.

By the 1870s conflict and warfare dominated relations between Euroamericans and the Chiricahuas. By 1870 population pressures on all the native peoples of New Mexico and Arizona brought repeated efforts by territorial and federal officials to resolve the conflict. Several commissions attempted to set up an equitable reservation system whereby Chiricahuas could be given enough land to live on, to be protected from their enemies, and to be given the chance to adjust to their new circumstances. Forces were

at work, however, that frustrated the efforts of sincere federal authorities and Chiricahua leadership that sought a peaceful resolution to the problems that beset them. The government was bedeviled by an Indian Bureau rife with corruption and incompetence forever in conflict with local military officials who had their own ideas about Indian policy. The Chiricahuas on the other hand did not have the ability to "force" compliance with agreements made between a hierarchical government and a headman who governed only through consensus. Most often the Chiricahuas lived up to their part of the agreement only to end up having to leave the reservation because rations were too short and conditions that were simply unlivable.

Eighteen seventy-one proved a pivotal year for relations between Apaches, Euroamerican settlers, and other western Indians. The seemingly endless cycle of violence--of raid and retribution, culminated in the infamous Camp Grant Massacre. One-hundred and fifty Arivaipa Apaches led by Eskiminzin, tired of war and seeking asylum, surrendered to military authorities at Old Camp Grant.

Other Apache groups, however, maintained pressure on settlers in the areas between Tucson and Tubac. Late in April the theft of cattle and the killing of a local settler led to excited accusations of the Indians who had settled down at Old Camp Grant. On April 30, 1871 a mob consisting of 146 men--Americans, Mexicans, and Papago Indians--

descended on the defenseless camp and slaughtered 108 Apaches, mostly women and children. Nearly all the men had left camp to go hunting in the mountains. Twenty-nine children were taken captive and eventually sold into slavery in Sonora. President Ulysses S. Grant threatened to impose martial law on Arizona Territory unless the murderers were brought to justice. Eventually 104 of those who participated were brought to trial. Every single one was acquitted. As an early historian of Arizona wrote, "No Arizona judge or jury would have convicted a white man for killing an Apache."[29]

Even before the massacre at Camp Grant the leadership of the United States Army contemplated a change in the situation. General George Crook and his Twenty-third Infantry Regiment were sent to Arizona to replace General George Stoneman and the Twenty-first Infantry. Crook brought a new approach to the United States government's relations with Apaches in general and Chiricahuas in particular. Non-traditional in every sense, Crook used various strategies and tactics to confine hostile Indian groups to the reservations that had been created during the 1870s. Upon his assumption of command on June 4, 1871 Crook began planning a series of campaigns to end the "Indian problem" in Arizona.[30]

President Grant's Peace Policy offensive, however, delayed Crook's military measures for awhile. Vincent

Colyer, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, returned to the Southwest in 1871 in another attempt to resolve the Apache question in Arizona and New Mexico. At the end of October Colyer approved, or at least selected, temporary reservations that would form the foundation for future reservations used by Crook and others to settle southwestern Indians, Apaches and non-Apaches alike. No sooner, however, had Colyer settled things than another incident, the Wickenburg Massacre, inflamed Euroamerican passions once again throughout the Southwest.[31] Arizonans never accepted Grant's Peace Policy, a shortlived experiment fostered by Indian reformers and church leaders. The policy was intended to reduce corruption in the administration of Indian affairs and bring order and justice to the settlement of frontier-Indian conflict.

Crook's superiors promptly approved his renewed plans for offensive operations. Crook planned to mount a series of campaigns to attack Indian groups that continued to resist surrender. He prepared well equipped and experienced mule trains that supported mounted pursuits of resistant Indians, especially Apaches, into the very mountain fastness which for centuries had protected them from their enemies. Crook incorporated the use of Apache scouts, recruited from those who had already surrendered, to find and engage those Apaches who remained outside the control of the United States government.[32]

Even as Crook entered final preparations for all out war President Grant authorized yet another attempt to peacefully resolve the Apache question in the Southwest. General Oliver O. Howard, the "Praying General," arrived and pursued extensive negotiations with a number of the groups that remained outside the reservation system. At no small risk to his own personal safety, Howard consulted with Indians and non-Indians alike and developed some valuable areas of agreement. Howard managed to bring together by treaty some Apaches and their Pima and Papago enemies. He moved the Camp Grant Reservation north to the Gila River and renamed it San Carlos. On a second mission late in 1872 he abolished the reservations previously set aside by Vincent Colyer at Camp McDowell, Date Creek, and Beale Springs and allowed the Indians there to select their own homes at other reservations. Reservations at San Carlos and White Mountain (also called Fort Apache) were formally set aside by executive order on December 14, 1872.[33]

Howard's second peace mission specifically aimed to negotiate a settlement with Cochise, "Chief" of the Chiricahuas, and one of the most intractable enemies of the United States government in the Southwest. Howard successfully negotiated a treaty with Cochise setting aside a reservation for the Chiricahuas whose boundaries were defined by Cochise himself. Howard appointed Thomas L. Jeffords as their agent, one of the only white men trusted

by the Chiricahuas. Yet while the agreement brought peace to the Southwest for the first time since 1860 the treaty (which remained unwritten) and reservation were fraught with problems, not the least of which was continued Chiricahua-Mexican hostilities. While the Apaches had declared peace with the Americans, it was warfare as usual with the Chiricahua's most hated enemies, the Mexicans.[34]

Meanwhile, D-Day for General Crook was November 15, 1872. After Colyer's and General Howard's last attempts to settle things peacefully, Crook eagerly awaited his chance to prosecute a war. The general instructed his troops to strike hard and to avoid killing women and children if possible. Crook designed to starve or freeze those Indians who continued to resist into submission by harassing and pursuing them to every mountain hideout, to deny time to hunt and gather, and to prevent them from pursuing a livelihood through raiding. He intended to force them to give up their independence once and for all and adopt the life of the reservation.

From the outset of the first campaign it became readily apparent that contact with roving hostile groups was only possible by deploying Apache scouts. Any success the troops enjoyed came through the efforts and abilities of their Apache allies. By March 1873 Crook's scouts and mule-train supported columns demonstrated their ability to penetrate the most hidden and isolated of the Apache's redoubts and to

pursue the campaign over an extended period of time, thus depriving their adversaries the opportunity to gather needed food supplies and other materials essential for survival. The first campaign ended in April even as small groups of formerly resistant Apaches began to surrender.

Crook's success, however, presented new problems. As the various Apache bands began to surrender they were all concentrated, according to the government's policy, at the San Carlos Reservation. There, Indian Agent John Clum eagerly set to work building a structure to control and feed his ever-increasing number of reservation charges.[35] Upon his arrival there in August 1874 he found chaos, the result of alternating civil-military supervision of the reservation, sickness due to appalling reservation conditions, and increasing tension as diverse Apache bands and tribes, some of whom were traditional enemies, were thrust together.

Clum proved equal to the task and quickly organized his charges by recruiting Apache policemen to keep order, forming a reservation court system with Apache judges, and putting the people to work on the reservation. He continued to face interference by military officers, however, and the arrival of Cochise's Chiricahuas and the Warm Springs Apaches from New Mexico exacerbated tensions on the reservation.

The concentration of Apaches, including the

Chiricahua and Chíende peoples from the Ojo Caliente (Warm Springs) Reservation, intensified a trend of loosely unifying the related Chiricahua bands--including the Chokonens, the Chíende, and even the Ndédnaí. The closest person to a central leader was Cochise who successfully brought peace to the American side of the border by bringing under his control the separate bands. He by no means exercised exclusive control over members of his own or related bands; but his personal influence completely ended Chiricahua raiding in Arizona. Shortly after making the agreement with General Howard, Cochise sent word via his own messengers that raiding was no longer permitted against settlers in Arizona. Cochise even sent word to his kinsmen Ndénaí then living near Janos in Sonora that they should also join the truce. Eventually the Ndénaí came to the Chiricahua reservation, although raiding continued into Mexico. As Cochise had promised General Howard, however, all Chiricahua raiding north of the border had ceased.[36]

For the rest of what remained of his life Cochise kept the lid on conflict despite the omnipresent problems of shortened and infrequently supplied rations and the bureaucratic red tape that prevented Agent Thomas Jeffords from improving the situation on the reservation.[37] The largest problem, however, remained, the continued Chiricahua and related band raiding into Mexico. Officials such as Colyer and Howard simply did not understand the extent of

enmity that existed between Apaches and Mexicans. The violence of centuries lay between the two nations and the Chiricahua more than any other Apache group had as Edwin Sweeney writes, "fallen victim to the Mexican machete and musket."[38]

Similarly the Chiricahuas failed to realize the important role their continued depredations played in United States and Mexican relations, especially in light of the fact that United States authorities had for many years ignored Apache attacks to the south. The Chiricahuas also had enjoyed the tacit assistance of Mexicans during the raiding of settlements in southern Arizona as they found a ready market for goods in Fronteras and Janos seized in the course of raiding.[39] But even as Cochise and Jeffords made attempts to control this activity the proximity of the reservation to the border made it nearly impossible to prevent younger Chiricahua warriors and Ndénaí led by Juh and Geronimo from pursuing this traditional avocation.

By the late summer of 1873 pressure mounted on Jeffords and Cochise, whose health was failing, to control raiding into Sonora. A large group of Chíende from Warm Springs were forced to return to New Mexico. Cochise did manage to lessen raiding into Mexico.[40] Despite this progress in controlling raiding, however, officials were already planning the concentration of the separate Chiricahua bands to one reservation. By May of 1874 Cochise was seriously

ill and the Ndénaí had returned to Mexico. On June 8, 1874 the venerable Chiricahua warrior and leader died, leaving his son Taza head man of the Chiricahua band. The band eventually split into two factions, one supportive of continued efforts to coexist peacefully with American authorities, led by Taza; the other compelled to resist and led by Naiche, joined up with Coyoteros, Juh, Geronimo and their Ndénaí band.[41]

During the spring of 1876, two years after Cochise's death, and in the aftermath of renewed Apache raiding into Mexico and Arizona, Indian Bureau officials moved to close down the Chiricahua reservation and ordered Clum to move the Chiricahuas from there to San Carlos. In effect government officials were only formally recognizing reality. In February the ration system collapsed and Jeffords told his charges to forage for their own subsistence in the mountains. By March they had renewed raiding in order to survive. Chiricahua violence, a result of competing peace and war factions, all but signaled the death of Cochise's reservation.[42] Clum's attempt to remove the Chiricahuas to San Carlos resulted in a diaspora of sorts as only about sixty men with their women and children arrived at San Carlos on June 18. The most resistant of the Apaches, including about 400 individuals led by Juh and Geronimo, escaped into Mexico. Another 200 or so made it to their old homeland around Warm Springs in New Mexico. The decision to

concentrate the Chiricahuas at San Carlos was ill-advised. It virtually guaranteed a period of protracted conflict. As the venerable Arizona historian Frank Lockwood wrote in the 1930s:

> The removal of the Chiricahua Apaches from their reservation was the crowning folly of the Indian Bureau. Not only did the Chiricahua dislike the region of San Carlos; not only was it overpopulated with tribes averse, or even hostile to each other... the Chiricahua were keenly aware that their own reservation had been taken away from them, not because of the disloyalty of the Chiricahua as a people, but as the result of the misdeeds of a small, violent faction arising directly from the wicked greed of a white man placed in their midst.[43]

Shortly, Clum accomplished the final act in concentrating all of the related Chiricahua from their several reservations to San Carlos. In April 1877 Clum arrived at the Warm Springs Agency with his San Carlos police force. By this time Geronimo and his people were in residence at Warm Springs. Clum, anticipating trouble, positioned his police so that Geronimo and his band were taken by surprise. They were shackled and transported to San Carlos as prisoners. Shortly thereafter, Victorio and his people reluctantly agreed to move to San Carlos as well, arriving at the reservation on May 20. Geronimo, still held as a prisoner, was offered to the Pima County Sheriff but no legal action followed. The addition of the various Chiricahuas, Chíendés, and Ndénaí to the volatile mix of peoples at San Carlos was doomed to disaster.[44]

San Carlos proved to be an administrative nightmare.

Mutual hostility between groups and within groups generated constant tension. San Carlos itself was a hot, malarial, and miserable place. Asa Daklugie aptly described San Carlos,

> That was the worse place in all the great territory stolen from the Apaches. If anybody had lived there permanently, no Apache knew of it. Where there is no grass there is no game... The heat was terrible. The insects were terrible. The water was terrible...[there] the Apaches experienced the shaking sickness.[45]

Endless bickering between Indian Bureau officials and military officers made the situation even worse. The one man, perhaps, who could have kept the situation from exploding, Agent John Clum, resigned rather than allow a military officer to inspect the reservation. Clum resigned July 1, 1877 abandoning his post even before his resignation was acknowledged, "disgusted with the vacillating and dishonorable policies of the Indian Bureau."[46] Lockwood suggests that more than any other issue, Clum's hostility towards the military led to his abrupt withdrawal from San Carlos.

The inevitable explosion at San Carlos occurred, the first of several violent episodes that led invariably to more bloodshed, suffering, and tragedy. Victorio and his band made a break for freedom and were permitted to reside at Warm Springs before the policy of concentration was reaffirmed and the government once again attempted to bring them back to San Carlos. After repeated surrenders and

escapes Victorio and his people made a final desperate run for freedom.[47]

Through 1877-1878 Juh and Geronimo made successful breaks for Mexico where they returned to the life of raiding and warfare. There in the Sierra Madre they established their traditional economic relationship with the people of Janos, Sonora, trading in stolen livestock and booty from raiding throughout southern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico and in Sonora itself.[48]

The period from 1879 to 1883 represented the high water mark of Chiricahua resistance to Euroamerican domination. Victorio and his Warm Springs Chíendes made repeated attempts to take up reservation life, however they proved unable to do so. In the spring of 1879 Victorio at last agreed to settle down at the Mescalero reservation. The Chíende leader received word that authorities were going to arrest him, so for the last time, he made a break for Mexico. On October 14, 1880 near a lonely mountain named Tres Castillos, in the Sonoran Desert, Joaquín Terrazas and his Mexican forces surrounded and nearly annihilated Victorio's people. Nana and about thirty Chíendes were away from the main group that fateful night. Nana, an old man, noted for his ability to find supplies of ammunition, took over as the leader of the Warm Springs Chíende.[49]

Nana eventually joined with the other fugitives from the American reservation system in the rugged country of the

Sierra Madres. There, separate groups under Nana and the rising war leader Kaeteenae (Chíendes), Juh and Geronimo (Ndénaí), and Chiricahuas under Naiche, Chatto, and Chihuahua continued their dogged resistance, subsisting by raiding into the American Southwest for ammunition (for their American made Winchester rifles) and into Sonora and Chihuahua for livestock.

Meanwhile, back at the San Carlos Reservation the situation worsened. Corruption and graft marked the administration of Clum's successor. In April of 1882 Juh and Geronimo invaded the reservation and forced Loco and his people to join them on the run. These combined groups of fugitives included nearly all the last ditch resistors from San Carlos and other reservations. They included among their numbers Chiricahuas, Chíendes, Bidankus, Mescaleros, White Mountain, and other Apaches, as well as a few Navajos and Mexicans taken as captives. The separate camps lived in dispersed rancherías but joined together for raids.[50]

This last spate of resistance, really the last Native American resistance to Euroamerican hegemony in the United States, eventually attracted the attention of a good portion of the American military. General George Crook once again took up the cudgel to prosecute war against the Chiricahuas. Crook arrived at San Carlos in September 1882 and visited with the Indians there and found that deplorable conditions once again reigned throughout Indian country. Corrupt

Indian agents stole nearly everything that was supposed to subsist the reservation population. Additionally, fugitive Indians like Geronimo and Juh threatened the very security the reservation was supposed to provide. Euroamerican settlers, miners, and traders encroached upon reservation lands and preempted resources the Indians needed to survive or poisoned them with alcohol.

Crook cleaned up the reservation, put the Indians to work on the reservation, ejected non-Indian squatters, gave identification tags to the residents of the reservation, and kept track of the population with ceaseless roll calls. There were no more outbreaks. By November 1882 conditions had improved to such an extent that Crook allowed all the Apaches to live wherever they wanted on the reservation so they could farm the best land. Roll calls were eliminated.

By March of the following year the reservation was once again under control and Crook began final preparations for a campaign into Mexican territory. Previously a convention between the United States and Mexico permitted Unites States and Mexican military forces to enter each other's territory in pursuit of hostile Apaches.

Crook's final preparations coincided with renewed Apache raiding--Chiricahuas under Chatto and Bonito struck southern Arizona and New Mexico while Geronimo raided ranches in Sonora for livestock. [51] Crook, relying upon

Apache scouts and their skilled and relentless pursuit of the hostiles into the Sierra Madres, soon enjoyed success in getting fugitives to come in. By May 20 bewildered Apaches, demoralized by the presence of Apache scouts began to surrender and to return with Crook's officers to San Carlos.

On May 23 Crook held a conference with Geronimo in Cañon de los Embudos. Geronimo, ever wary of treachery, made it extremely difficult for Crook to arrange a surrender under anything other than his terms. Crook returned to San Carlos with fifty-two men and 273 women and children and Geronimo's promise to return to the reservation. Among those who returned to the reservation with Crook were Nana, Loco, Bonito, and Kaetennae. By November of 1883 over four hundred Chiricahuas and their related bands had returned to San Carlos. Chatto's band and Mangus's groups of Chíendes returned to the reservation in February of the following year. Geronimo, however, waited till the last to turn himself in. He arrived in late February 1884 with a herd of cattle and riding a white pony.[52]

The Chiricahuas settled in several groups along Turkey Creek on the San Carlos reservation. There, despite their obvious talent for herding cattle and horses, an attempt was made to make them farmers. Peace factions led by Chatto and Loco signified a developing conflict among the bands that would assume importance for the future. Chatto eventually gained the trust of supervising military officers and was

appointed First Sergeant of Scouts. Loco, leader of the Chíende band also cooperated with military authorities.[53]

Geronimo and others, however, remained distrustful and tense. In August 1884 renewed friction between military and Indian Bureau officials generated uncertainty and confusion among the reservation Apaches. Dissension among leaders such as Geronimo, Chihuahua, Naiche, Mangus, and Nana led to another outbreak. However Bonito, Zele, Loco and most other members of the two bands refused to bolt. After the breakout Chihuahua split from the main group of fugitives and sought refuge in the Mogollon Mountains.

In January 1886 Crook's scouts, this time including Chatto, found and attacked the fugitives in their mountain strongholds. Demoralized at the sight of their own people in the forces attacking them, and exhausted from running and fighting, the fugitives again agreed to surrender. Chihuahua, Nana, and about sixty Chiricahuas surrendered and returned with Crook to Fort Bowie and embarked on what was supposed to be a two-year exile to Fort Marion, Florida.

Geronimo, however, ever wary of a trap and fearing for his life, returned to Arizona. Upon crossing the border he fell prey to the words and liquor of a border trader who plied him and his kinsmen with alcohol and then convinced them that as soon as they surrendered they would be imprisoned and probably hanged. Geronimo with twenty men and thirteen women and children fled back to the refuge of

the Sierra Madre.

General Phillip Sheridan, Crook's commanding officer, convinced that Geronimo could have only escaped with the assistance of the Apache scouts, asked for and received Crook's resignation. Nelson A. Miles, despite early promises to bring the hostiles in with Army regulars, eventually resorted to Crook's tactics of using Apache scouts to find Geronimo's last redoubt. The fugitives, however, managed to elude annihilation or capture. Miles, at last, resorted to sending an officer known to the Apaches, Lieutenant Charles Gatewood, along with an interpreter, George Albert Wratten, and two Chiricahua scouts and guides, Martine and Kieta.

Exhausted with fighting Geronimo agreed to Miles' terms--an imprisonment of perhaps two years and return to the Arizona Reservation--which the General knew would never be kept. The General himself, after efforts to avoid the act, finally negotiated Geronimo's surrender on September 3, 1886. Despite President Cleveland's orders to imprison Geronimo and his band Miles loaded his captives on a train and sent them off to captivity in Florida. As the train left, Martine and Kieta, the scouts who had made Miles' victory possible, were themselves forcefully thrown aboard the prison train.

Meanwhile, a delegation of Chiricahuas from San Carlos, including Chatto, Kaetennae, and eleven other Apaches who

had been sent to Washington, D.C. to discuss options for removal of the Chiricahuas, were detained upon their return trip at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for a month, while President Cleveland and his advisors decided what to do with them. The President decided all of the Chiricahuas, even the scouts, would be sent to Florida.

On September 17, 1886 Chatto's people arrived at Fort Marion. The men and their families were separated. The men were held at Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island in Pensacola Bay while the women and children were imprisoned at Fort Marion off the Atlantic coast at St. Augustine, Florida.

In late summer 1886 all the reservation Chiricahuas were called into Fort Apache whereupon soldiers surrounded the men, women, and children. The men and young boys were taken to a building where an officer informed them they were now considered prisoners of war. Later the prisoners were loaded onto wagons and taken to the rail depot in Holbrook. On 20 September 381 Chiricahua and Warm Springs reservation Apaches arrived from San Carlos.[54]

In late October, after a six week delay in San Antonio, Geronimo's group arrived. In November Mangus's group finally surrendered and they too, were sent to Florida. For a people whose culture centered around extended family groups this separation was a cruel stroke that compounded their misery. That same month the government came and selected twenty-four boys and fifteen girls to attend the

Carlisle Indian School, far away in Pennsylvania. The United States government's terrible revenge was just beginning.[55]

Geronimo's surrender marked the end of over three centuries of resistance by Apachean peoples to the European invasion of their homeland and culture. Before the arrival of the Spaniards in the mid-sixteenth century the ancient ancestors of the Chiricahuas, Chíendes, Ndénaís, and Bidankus lived a life of hunting and gathering tied by trade and common cultural practices to the other peoples of what is now known as the American Southwest. Perfectly adapted to life in the desert, mountain, and high plains these Apachean peoples continued to adapt and survive, even to a life infused with conflict and warfare, while retaining the language and traditions of their early progenitors. The period of radical adjustment from the mid-nineteenth century to 1886 saw the gradual consolidation of the various bands into a people identified, mostly by their enemies, as the Chiricahuas. Yet, even at the end of their days as a free people they continued to identify with their ancestral bands and the diverse places of their births and lives.

NOTES: CHAPTER II

1. This version of the flood and creation story was adapted from stories collected by Morris Opler and Harry Hoijer. According to Opler "there is every reason to believe that this short account of the flood story is the result of christian influence... if there was a flood story before contact it has been significantly altered." An Eastern Chiricahua [Warm Springs Apache] placed this event "before the moccasin game." See Morris E. Opler, Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 1-2. Harry Hoijer collected the only known version of the creation of human beings. See Hoijer, Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts, 12-14.

2. Grenville Goodwin, "The Southern Athapaskans," The Kiva 4 (November 1938): 5-10. According to Goodwin Athapaskan speaking peoples are geographically divided into three groups: Northern Athapaskan in Alaska and Northwest Canada, Pacific coast Athapaskan located intermittently from British Columbia south to Northern California, and Southern Athapaskans. "Athapaskan" as a term is derived from a region in Canada inhabited by the northern branch. Because Alaska is populated mostly by Athapaskan speakers it has generally been assumed by certain anthropologists that their predecessors were one of the latest groups to migrate from Asia. Athapaskans themselves have their own origin and emergence stories.

3. See Harry Hoijer, "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages," International Journal of American Linguistics 22 (4): 219-232.

4. Robert Young, "Apache Languages" in Handbook of North American Indians, Alfonso Ortiz, ed. vol. 10 (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1983). See also Harry Hoijer, "The Southern Athapaskan Languages," American Anthropologist 40 (January 1938): 75-87. Hoijer updates information of Apachean languages in "The Position of the Apachean Languages in the Athapaskan Stock," in Apachean Culture History and Ethnology, Keith Basso and Morris E. Opler, eds. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), 3-6. Hoijer decided after his 1938 linguistic study of the Apachean language family that instead of two major groupings (Western Apachean and Eastern Apachean) that Navajo, San Carlos, Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla and Lipan Apache languages were simply closely related dialects of the same language. Kiowa Apache on the other hand is a second Apachean language "equidistant from each of the six other dialects."

5. See Edward Sapir, "Internal Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navajo," American Anthropologist 38 (2): 224-235. See also Harry Hoijer, "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages, International Journal of American Linguistics 22 (4): 219-232. This type of comparative linguistics employs glottochronological dates of separation based on the analysis of changes in language structure over time. By hypothesizing a given rate of change over time linguists may theoretically estimate the separation of a related language from its parent language.

6. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1965), 63. See also Frederick Webb Hodge, "The Early Navajo and Apache," American Anthropologist, Old Series, 8 (March 1895): 35-60.

7. Jack D. Forbes, Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960; 1994), vii. Goodwin also admits that it may be likely that the forbearers of the Apaches and Navajos may have entered the Southwest as early as the A.D. 1200s. The Navajo were separated from their Apache cousins by ethnographers and other observers in the early twentieth century because of the numerical superiority of their population and what appeared to be the uniqueness of certain of their cultural practices such as blanket weaving, silver work, "hogans," Pueblo dress, sheep raising, and "wealth of spectacular ritual." Subsequent anthropological investigations have demonstrated that the Navajos are not that far distant either linguistically or culturally from other Apachean peoples. The differences among the Navajos are due, in large part, to the contact they have had with the different Pueblo tribes with which they have been associated since early times. In fact, this level of acculturation may be evidence that the ancestors of the Navajos were probably the first Athapaskans to enter the Southwest. Certainly the Navajos believe this for their own origin stories indicate their arrival in the Southwest long before dates proposed by anthropological linguists.

8. Ibid, xii.

9. Fray Alonso Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634, translated and edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 81 quoted in Forbes, xvi-xvii.

10. Forbes, xvii.

11. Ibid, xxi. James H. Gunnerson and Dolores A. Gunnerson offer an opposing view in "Apachean Culture: A Study in Unity and Diversity," in Apachean Culture History and Ethnology, Keith H. Basso and Morris E. Opler, eds. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), 7-22. The Gunnersons, like Clark Wissler, postulate that the Plains Apaches were a large continuous southern movement that slowed around 1525 and gradually spread westward establishing "well established patterns of interaction" with agricultural peoples on the margins of the plains. See Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday and Company, 1967).

12. See Max Moorehead, The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). See also Phillip Wayne Powell's Soldiers, Indians, and Silver (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952) for a discussion of the Chichimeca Wars and a discussion of Spanish slave raiding in support of the mining industry.

13. Ibid, 39.

14. Forbes, Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard, 281-282.

15. For an excellent discussion of Spanish policy in Apachería in the latter-half of the eighteenth century see Max Moorehead, The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769-1791 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968). While his work is entirely based on Spanish sources, Moorehead demonstrates that by this period the Spanish had identified the separate Apache groups that occupied Apachería and had even made some significant observations as to the diversity of their languages, religion, and patterns of survival.

16. Ibid.

17. José Cortés, Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Provinces of New Spain, ed. Elizabeth A.H. John, trans. John Wheat (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989). José Cortés y de Olarte, a native of Tarifa, Spain, enlisted as a fifteen year old cadet and studied with the Royal Corps of Engineers. After service in Spain as a commissioned officer he was assigned to New Spain and posted to the Interior Provinces where he served for nearly three and a half years. In October 1797 he travelled to Janos under special commission where he observed Apaches and soon became an advocate as well as engaged observer. Cortés completed his report, Memorias sobre las provincias del norte de Nueva España probably in May of 1799. See editor's introduction, 3-18.

18. Cortés, 49.

19. Ibid., 51.

20. Ibid.

21. For two excellent discussions of the frequently violent relations between Apaches and Mexicans during the revolutionary period and after see William B. Griffen, Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750-1858 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988) and Utmost Good Faith: Patterns of Apache-Mexican Hostilities in Northern Chihuahua Border Warfare, 1821-1848 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988). The most recent work to deal with the early United States-Apache relations period is Edwin R. Sweeney, Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). Sweeney's work is also valuable due to its extensive exploration of Mexican primary sources.

22. Dan L. Thrapp, The Conquest of Apacheria (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1967), 8. Thrapp's work remains the definitive general account of warfare in the Southwest during this period.

23. The actual word for red paint in the Chiricahua Apache language is "chí" which literally mean red mineral paint. The Chiricahua Apache word for man is "ndé." From this point on the term Chíende will be used to designate the twentieth century descendants of this group as it pertains to Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma. Apache language terminology and symbology are those employed by the tribe in language classes instructed by tribal historian Michael Darrow who has modified technical linguistic symbology to facilitate language instruction for non-Chiricahua speakers.

24. According to archival material in the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma, Jason Betzinez wrote his first version of his biography and history of the Warm Springs Apache in 1942. Sometime thereafter Alice Marriot, an anthropologist at the University of Oklahoma, attempted to edit Betzinez's manuscript for publication but decided not to proceed with publication. In 1959 a highly edited version of Jason's manuscript made it to publication as I Fought with Geronimo edited by a retired army officer, Wilbur S. Nye. A comparison of the unpublished manuscript and the book reveal that an extensive license was taken with Betzinez's original language, especially in this description of "hostile" Apaches, criticism of the military and United States Government, and Jason's perceptions and opinions of Apache leaders like Juh and Geronimo, and his conflicts with

traditional Chiricahua religious beliefs and customs. In essence, the reader of I Fought with Geronimo in some instances may be getting more of Wilbur S. Nye's view of Chiricahua history than Jason Betzinez's perspective. See unpublished typescript, "My People: A Story of the Apaches," 1942, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library. Betzinez was often criticized for the title of the book, a decision probably not of his making, but one made by the editor and publisher to boost sales of the work. For Betzinez's description of Juh and the Ndénaí, see page 62 of the manuscript.

25. Ball, Indeh, 153.

26. Thrapp, 10.

27. Ibid, 10-23.

28. Thrapp, 23.

29. Lockwood, 178-181. See also Worcester, 120-123 and Thrapp, Conquest of Apacheria, 90-94.

30. Thrapp, 94; Worcester, 123.

31. On November 5, 1871 raiders ambushed a stagecoach just west of Wickenburg, Arizona. Six people were killed in the raid, a seventh died of wounds sustained in the attack. Arizonans eventually blamed the attack on Indians at the Date Creek Reservation. See Thrapp, 105; Worcester, 131; Lockwood, 192.

32. Worcester, 134-135; Thrapp, 106.

33. Thrapp, 1967; 112, Worcester, 135-140.

34. Sweeney, 340-366; Worcester, 138-140; Cole, 111-145.

35. John Phillip Clum was born in 1851 in New York and served with the United States Army in Sante Fe before accepting a position with the Indian Bureau in 1874. After leaving service with the federal government he founded the Tombstone Epitaph. The citizens of Tombstone eventually elected him Mayor and he served as a postal inspector in Alaska. Before his death in May 1932 he wrote several articles about his experiences with the Apaches in the Southwest. See Thrapp, 1976; 161-162. See also Lockwood, 208-209; Worcester, 175-176.

36. Sweeney, 369-170.

37. Born in western New York near Chautauqua Lake in 1832, Jeffords arrived in Arizona during the summer of 1862 as a government scout. He served as superintendent of the mails and drove a stage on the Butterfield line before engaging in prospecting. In the course of his work he established a genuine friendship with Cochise and his people which later served him well in facilitating negotiations between Cochise and General Oliver Howard. He was a natural choice for agent of the Chiricahua Reservation since he was probably the only white man Cochise trusted. Jovial and easy going this consummate frontiersman proved reticent to talk about himself and some of the great events in which he was involved (most unlike John Clum). Jeffords died in 1914 at the age of eighty-two. See Lockwood, 110-130 and Sweeney, 291-292.

38. Ibid, 374.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid, 387.

41. Ibid, 396-397. Cole, 158.

42. Cole, 158; Thrapp, 1967; 170. See also Ogle, 166-168.

43. Lockwood, 217-218. Lockwood refers to a Euroamerican trader who among other things sold alcohol to the Chiricahuas on their reservation and was eventually killed for his troubles. That incident provided justification for the Indian Bureau to shut down the Chiricahua reservation.

44. See Thrapp, Conquest, 173-177; Cole, 161-162; Lockwood, 220-224.

45. Asa Dakulugie in Ball, Indeh, 37.

46. Lockwood, 223.

47. For an excellent treatment of Victorio's life and the fate of his people see Dan L. Thrapp, Victorio and the Mimbres Apache (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974).

48. Thrapp, Conquest, 189.

49. Ibid., 293-307; Worcester, 231.

50. Debo, 142-143.

51. Ibid., 174-175.

52. Ibid., 220-221.

53. Ibid., 238.

54. Betzinez, I Fought With Geronimo, 141.

55. Debo, 299-312; Goodman, 1-8. See also Lockwood, 297-318; Worcester, 306-309.

III. Exile and Captivity

There is great irony in the story of the Chiricahua exile to Florida. Not far off the coast at St. Augustine, stands a massive monument to Spanish imperial power in the Caribbean. Spain planted the colony of St. Augustine in 1565, the first European settlement on the Atlantic coast, of what would become the United States, in the face of ever increasing English aggression. Fortress Castillo San Marcos was built between 1672 and 1696 to defend St. Augustine and to serve as a base to defend the Spanish treasure fleets plying their way back to Spain from the Caribbean. The massive four-sided symmetrically shaped structure is the oldest masonry fort in the United States and was built of coquina stone, a porous, yet durable rock composed of compressed marine shells. The English unsuccessfully attacked Castillo San Marcos in 1702, 1728, and 1740. Undoubtedly the fort's builders would have taken some satisfaction in its role in Chiricahua history and its lethal effects upon the prisoners. The Spanish, such intractable enemies of the Chiricahuas so long ago, did have a final part to play in their conquest. The very nature of the fort's construction and the material of which it was built harbored the microbes which wrecked so much havoc on the Chiricahua prisoners. After the United States acquired Florida the army took possession of the fort in 1825 and

renamed it Fort Marion in honor of General Francis Marion, an officer in the American Revolutionary War. Today Castillo San Marcos is a national monument.[1]

Though there certainly was precedence for the incarceration of hostile Indians at Fort Marion and other similar dreary places, what the Chiricahuas were destined to experience would be truly unique.[2] Their arrival at Fort Marion commenced the longest, and certainly most unjust imprisonment of an ethnic group in American history. Women, children, the old and infirm, the innocent as well as those who actively engaged in resistance to American power were incarcerated along with the Apache scouts.

The first group of Chiricahua prisoners to arrive at Fort Marion were Chihuahua and seventy-six Chiricahuas who surrendered to General Crook in April 1886. Army officials were completely unprepared for the arrival of the prisoners and at first they were housed within the damp and drafty casemates of the fort itself. In late April the Army erected Sibley tents on the terreplain overlooking the fort's interior court yard. As would happen so often over the next thirty years, bureaucratic squabbling and incompetence compounded the Chiricahuas' misery. As the Department of the Interior had always exercised control over Indians in peacetime the arrival of the Chiricahua prisoners of war had caught the Army unprepared.[3]

The lack of preparations included not only habitable

accommodations for the internees but also provision for the long-term concerns of employing or educating them. By May the prisoners were languishing within the prison walls with nothing to do. By this time, however, visiting dignitaries and curious local observers began bringing attention to the situation of Fort Marion to reformers and educators. Eventually Captain Richard Pratt, founder and administrator of the Carlisle Indian School, heard of the Chiricahuas' plight and suggested that their children be brought to Pennsylvania for schooling. He even suggested bringing a Chiricahua boy named Bonito to Fort Marion in an attempt to convince the prisoners to let their children go. In the meantime, however, the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine received the permission of the supervising officer at Fort Marion to teach the children of the prisoners. The sisters began teaching weekday classes from 9:00 to 10:30 in the morning. Otherwise conditions remained unchanged, the prisoners remained unoccupied. Two infants died, one of whom was Geronimo's daughter.[4]

On September 14 the government put Chatto's delegation on a train to Fort Marion from Leavenworth. President Cleveland and his cabinet finally decided to intern all Chiricahuas at Fort Marion. On August 29 the Chiricahuas at San Carlos were rounded up, gathered at Fort Apache, surrounded by soldiers, and put on wagons for the trip to the railroad depot at Holbrook. The men were bound, hand

and foot. After a nine-day slog through mud and rain they were loaded on a special train for Fort Marion. They arrived there on the 20th of September. The arrival of the 381 reservation prisoners and the addition of Geronimo's and later Mangus's groups in October and November brought the total prisoner population at Fort Marion to 501 women, young men, and children. Seventeen men, Chiricahua leaders still considered dangerous (and punishable) were interned on the other side of Florida at Fort Pickens, off the coast at Pensacola. The Apaches were impressed by the size and number of the mosquitoes and the incredible expanse of the ocean, a body of water they had never seen before.[5]

The arrival of so many people exacerbated the situation at Fort Marion. The reservation group arrived infected with malaria (contracted enroute from Arizona). Crowded conditions at Fort Marion provided a fertile breeding ground for other diseases and epidemics soon followed. The trauma of being uprooted from familiar ground and the nature of the abrupt transition undoubtedly demoralized many of the Chiricahuas, adding to their depression and vulnerability to disease. Military incompetence bordering on criminal negligence meant the prisoners entered the winter season with little or no clothing. The children especially suffered as they wore only calico slips. The damp environment of the old fort bred respiratory infections that flared into bronchitis and tuberculosis. By January 1887

six infants and one woman had died.[6] Henrietta Stockel's detailed study of the medical aspects of the prisoners' term at Fort Marion demonstrates that they were susceptible to a number of chronic infections, contagious diseases, and health problems associated with the fort's location in a tropical environment.[7] In addition to a lack of clothing and the crowded conditions of the fort, an inadequate diet also contributed to the prisoners deteriorating health. As David Goodman wrote, as far as the prisoners were concerned, "for all practical purposes the government had turned its back."[8]

The conditions the Chiricahuas were living under did not go unnoticed by visitors to the old fort. From the day of their arrival the prisoners were the objects of local curiosity as well as outside visitors. The situation there eventually drew the attention of Herbert Welsh, corresponding secretary for the Indian Rights Association, a group based in Philadelphia and dedicated to improving the conditions of America's Indians through education and training, the destruction of tribal traditions, and the replacement of Indian culture with "American" culture and values. As part of its reform program the Indian Rights Association advocated education of Indian children, allotment of land to individual Indians, and the breakup of tribal organizations. For thirty-four years Herbert Welsh championed the cause of Indian peoples all over the United

States. Welsh, a classic reformer and early progressive campaigned against boss rule, led efforts to reform civil service, and was an early advocate of conservation.[9]

From 1887 through the removal of the Chiricahua prisoners to Fort Sill in 1894 Welsh played an important role constantly pressing the War Department to do something to improve the unacceptable conditions to which the government subjected the Chiricahuas, first at Fort Marion and Fort Pickens and later at Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama.

Welsh's first ally was a St. Augustine physician, Dr. Horace Carruthers, who notified the reformer through a series of letters of the disaster that had befallen the Chiricahuas at Fort Marion. Carruthers specifically addressed the issue of improper clothing, the dangers of disease, and the generally poor facilities available for people living within the walls of the old Spanish fortress.

Ever a master of politics and policy, Welsh carefully orchestrated his approach to Secretary of War William C. Endicott through letters of introduction from influential Bostonians. He also found a significant friend and ally in his efforts in the person of John Bourke, an Army officer who sympathized both with the plight of the Apaches and Welsh's efforts to improve their situation. Until Welsh's visit to Fort Marion and his subsequent report on what had happened to the Chiricahuas after their removal from Arizona

was made public, the outside world was completely unaware of General Miles's perfidy, the imprisonment of Crook's and Miles's scouts, and the horrible conditions of their imprisonment.

The release of Welsh's report finally forced President Cleveland and his Secretaries to do something to change the ever deteriorating situation at Fort Marion. For as Goodman wrote, "Secretary of War Endicott knew that the War Department not only had indiscriminately imprisoned Indians but had also done it improperly...despite reports from officers and complaints from private parties."[10] Their efforts, however, proved to be no more than a public relations ploy. The administration did little to improve the prisoners' long term prospects for future economic and physical survival.

Daily life centered upon the interior courtyard of the fort itself and occasional trips into St. Augustine to pick up personal goods. The women cooked out of doors, weather permitting. The men were issued old uniforms and drilled everyday, marching up and down the fort's courtyard. Chihuahua was placed in charge of the guards and made sure that food was distributed equitably. Adults received a full soldier's ration while children received half a ration. While this proved to be the same amount as they received on the reservation they were unable to supplement their diet by hunting and gathering. They were, in Eugene Chihuahua's

words, "hungry all the time." They began supplementing their diet by purchasing food in St. Augustine with money made my selling bows and arrows, lances, moccasins, and bead work.[11]

Secretary Endicott appointed Captain Bourke to investigate an old disused army barracks called Mount Vernon, just over thirty miles north of Mobile, Alabama. Bourke arrived in Alabama on 10 April and after a cursory inspection found the country fit enough, though even he thought the soil would prove unsuitable for any kind of sustained agriculture. His report led to final approval of the relocation plan and arrangements were made to move the Chiricahuas from Fort Marion to Mount Vernon. The President also approved the reuniting of families with the men held at Fort Pickens. The good news that they were finally leaving their abysmal accommodations at Fort Marion was tempered, however, with the arrival of Captain Richard Pratt.

He had come to select children and young adults to return with him to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Jason Betzinez became an unwilling participant as "volunteers" were selected.

> They lined us all up in front of Captain Pratt, who went down the line choosing forty-nine boys and girls to return with him to Carlisle. He also selected thirteen young men including me. The other twelve were married and some of them had children, but it was explained that families could accompany the married students. Captain Pratt seized my hand and held it up to show that I volunteered. I only scowled; I didn't want to go at all. I was twenty-seven, too old to be a schoolboy. I had never been to school and

didn't know a word of English.[12]

By April 23 Pratt separated thirty-five children from their parents and chose thirty young men and women to return with him to Carlisle, among them was twenty-seven year old Jason Betzinez. On the 27th of April, 1887 the remaining prisoners, some 354 men, women, and children began the journey to their new quarters in Alabama.[13]

President Cleveland's decision to move the prisoners to Alabama turned out to be an empty gesture. The prisoners continued to suffer from malnutrition, disease, and idleness, the result being more death and despair. Henrietta Stockel describes the pall cast over all these people as "[their] social structure--disrupted initially because of the loss of freedom, was turned upside down and revolved around sickness and dying, Death was constantly present...depression and melancholy were the predominant mood."[14]

According to various censuses and medical reports filed by military surgeons and officers between eighteen and twenty-four men, women, and children died during the internment at Fort Marion. Descrepancy in accounting for the casualties was apparently a result of faulty record keeping and characteristic incompetence. Conditions did not improve for the prisoners at Mount Vernon, either. During their eight year stay there 250 Chiricahua prisoners died.

Many of their children selected to go to Carlisle contracted tuberculosis. Of these some never returned while others were finally sent home to die in their parents' arms. Stockel writes of the crisis that overtook the community as it faced these tumultuous events that never seemed to end. At Mount Vernon several people were poisoned by Chiricahua medicine people unfamiliar with the plant life of the area.

Major William Sinclair, officer in charge of the prisoners at Mount Vernon from June 7, 1887 to May 1889, attempted to find work for his charges on several projects from road building to logging. Most important, he put the men to work alongside soldiers to cut wood and build homes for the prisoners to live in. It was a slow process as the Indians had to be shown every step of the construction of the houses, two room huts built of rough hewn logs, chinked with clay. Sibley stoves and a circular hearth provided heat. Unfortunately, the Apaches' settlement was located in a low area subject to tropical diseases like Yellow Fever and malaria (which the Apaches called the "shaking disease"). Respiratory infections, tuberculosis, and diarrhea continued to extract a severe toll. Nevertheless, the Chiricahua carpenters completed thirty-eight cabins by mid-December.[15]

In addition to ever-present health concerns the community experienced other problems. Attending officers reported problems with wife beating, gambling, and alcohol

abuse. There were several killings and even one suicide, which the Chiricahuas had never seen before. By January 1888 it was obvious that Mount Vernon held no future for the Chiricahuas and that a permanent place had to be found for their settlement.

Naturally, the bureaucracies responsible for the handling of the prisoners failed to do much of anything to ameliorate the conditions in Alabama, especially as reformers like Welsh and others fell into squabbling over what should be done. Because of Welsh's assaults upon the War Department, Secretary Endicott preferred to deal with Captain Pratt and Samuel Armstrong of the Hampton Institute, another institution devoted to Indian education.[16] Pratt, from an early stage, preferred permanently settling the prisoners at Fort Sill in the Indian Territory (having gained familiarity with its environs during service in the Indian wars of the 1870s). Armstrong, on the other hand, felt that the Chiricahuas would fit nicely on a Virginia farm adjacent to the Hampton Institute where they could be conveniently instructed in agricultural and industrial arts. Welsh on the other hand, working with Indian rights activists and reformers in Boston, had developed an idea of settling the Chiricahuas in North Carolina, either on land purchased from the Cherokee tribe of western North Carolina or on acreage near Wilmington offered for sale by one of Welsh's Boston allies. Preferring to let reformers take the

lead in this policy, Endicott continued to take no action in line with the lack of consensus among these "friends of the Indian."[17]

On the positive side Colonel Loomis Langdon's reports from Fort Pickens finally convinced the War Department to allow the prisoners there to be reunited with their people at Mount Vernon. Geronimo and the Fort Pickens groups arrived on May 13.[18]

The Chiricahuas, however, would continue to languish in Alabama for eight years before a consensus developed that would again lead to change. The relocation of the prisoners to Mount Vernon seemed to relieve the Cleveland administration of any further responsibility. With the inauguration of the Harrison administration in March 1889, Welsh and his allies renewed their efforts to find a resolution to the Chiricahua problem.

Secretary Endicott's replacement, Redfield Proctor of Vermont, introduced a hopeful change in the situation. Proctor, described by one historian as a "non-radical progressive," was very much akin to Welsh in his eastern, well-educated, and blue-blooded origins and in his approach to business and politics.[19] In June Proctor sent Captain Bourke and Charles C. Painter, the Indian Rights Association's Washington agent, to confer with the Apaches about their grievances and what they wanted to do.[20]

On the 24th Bourke and Painter met with twelve

Chiricahua leaders. Chatto spoke for them all when he expressed his desire to be given a place where they could farm. They wanted to "go where a river flowed and where it snowed."[21] They wanted a place with land for farming and pastures for raising their own livestock. They wanted to put to use all the things they had learned about living like the white man.

The commissioners' visit to Mount Vernon was followed by inspections of all the sites that until that time had been mentioned as possible future homes for the Apaches. The Eastern Cherokee reservation and a site near Wilmington, North Carolina were inspected as was the 800 acre Sherwood Farm near Hampton Institute. Bourke submitted his report on July 5 with the recommendation that the Cherokee Indians of North Carolina offered the best site. Proctor liked the idea and proceeded to develop a plan to implement Bourke's recommendation.[22]

The plan to move the Chiricahuas to North Carolina encountered immediate problems on a number of fronts. Proctor encountered resistance from the local press in western North Carolina and from North Carolina's governor, Daniel Fowle, who in late September informed Proctor that the plan was unacceptable.[23] In January 1890 the Chiricahuas' respected old foe, George Crook, came to Mount Vernon for what turned out to be his last visit. When word circulated throughout the settlement that he had arrived

many of his old comrades as well as former adversaries crowded around him and clasped him in friendship. All Chiricahua leaders met with him, except for Geronimo. They quickly informed him of the injustice of their situation and the promises they hoped would be fulfilled. Prior to his visit Crook had inspected the potential settlement site in North Carolina and came to the conclusion that even though it appeared very similar to the Chiricahuas' mountain homelands of the Southwest that there was insufficient land there to provide for their independence.[24]

Crook reported his findings to Proctor with his repeated criticism of the conditions of their imprisonment and the injustice done to Chatto and the other scouts. He recommended that the Harrison administration rectify these past wrongs by settling the Chiricahuas on their own land in the Indian Territory. Crook's recommendations eventually made their way through Proctor to President Harrison and to Congress where the Senate Committee of Indian Affairs took up the issue.

The first obstacle to removing the Chiricahuas was an 1879 statute prohibiting the removal of Arizona and New Mexico Indians to Oklahoma Territory. Proctor, however, recommended to the president that the prisoners be moved to the Fort Sill Military Reservation while Congress amended or changed the law.[25]

Debate over the issue, however, generated enormous

amounts of controversy. Citizens of Arizona and New Mexico, with memories of frontier warfare still fresh, fought the removal of the Apaches to Oklahoma as too close. They feared the Apaches might flee the reservation and renew hostilities. Crook's advocacy of removal to Fort Sill ignited a public debate between him and his nemesis, General Nelson Miles. Miles continued to defend his role in the situation--a morass largely of his authorship. Debate over the issue cooled when Crook died of a heart attack in Chicago on March 21, 1890. With their foremost advocate gone the Chiricahuas lost an invaluable spokesman and lobbyist. Without Crook, Proctor lost all enthusiasm for resolving the controversy. In the face of increasing opposition to the plan to remove the Chiricahuas to Fort Sill, the Secretary of War followed the path of his predecessor and maintained the status quo. Feeling "he had done too much rather than too little," Proctor decided to leave the Apaches in Alabama and do as much as possible for them there.[26]

Proctor proved true to his word and did improve conditions at Mount Vernon. He assigned a capable and ambitious officer in the person of Lieutenant William Wallace Wotherspoon to take charge of the prisoners. Wotherspoon arrived at Mount Vernon in June of 1890 and quickly set to work finding employment for as many of the Chiricahua men as possible. Under the assumption that the

prisoners would remain at Mount Vernon permanently Wotherspoon urged the prisoners to stop dreaming about leaving and start learning about how to work for a living, after the fashion of their captors. He soon had most of the Chiricahua men at work cutting wood or working for local farmers off post. Liquor remained a problem. In January 1891 Wotherspoon hired a private investigator and collected evidence against local suppliers of alcohol. After the perpetrators were arrested and convicted of illegally selling alcohol to the Indians, alcohol consumption largely diminished.[27]

In March 1891 Secretary Proctor visited Mount Vernon to see conditions for himself. He also advised Wotherspoon of his intention to enlist Indians as regular soldiers in the Army as part of his effort to integrate Indians into American society. Wotherspoon responded negatively to the idea but Proctor ordered him to begin enlisting Chiricahuas in the Army. Reluctantly, Wotherspoon proceeded to recruit soldiers into Company I, United States 12th Infantry Regiment.[28]

Overall the Indian enlistment had mixed results. The Chiricahuas, however, proved to be enthusiastic enlistees. By the end of May 1891, fifty-five Chiricahuas from Mount Vernon had enlisted. They were joined by thirty other Apaches recruited from reservations in Arizona.

Wotherspoon, despite his misgivings about the program,

proved successful in turning the Apaches into qualified soldiers. They drilled for several hours each day and were allowed to associate with other soldiers throughout their battalion. Most of their time was spent building a new village in a healthier location than their first settlement. Guided by two white carpenters the Chiricahuas did most of the work and by early September 1891 completed seventy-five houses into which the people moved shortly after. Throughout the summer other facilities were completed including a swimming pool and a hospital. In November Company I (for Indian) moved into its newly completed barracks.

Throughout the winter of 1890-1891 the Massachusetts Indian Association continued its efforts to educate in English the Chiricahua prisoners. In the new school year beginning in October 1 the children were forced to learn English while the women were instructed in housekeeping. Other improvements were made at the Chiricahua village including the planting of trees, installation of fences, and the planting of gardens.

Eighteen-ninety-two proved to be a relatively quiet year even as improvements continued to be made in the environment at Mount Vernon. The Chiricahua involvement in the military came with a price, however, and the mixing of Apaches and white soldiers and alcohol led to violence and two murders. Largely as a result of these problems Charles

Painter visited Mount Vernon in March and reached consensus with Lieutenant Wotherspoon that the Chiricahuas had to be moved. The following October Wotherspoon addressed the annual meeting of the Friends of the Indian at the Lake Mohonk Conference in New York. He explained to a concerned audience that the Chiricahuas had to be moved to a place more conducive to their permanent settlement. He also criticized the Indian enlistment program as detrimental to the overall progress of the Chiricahuas to Euroamerican civilization. The time they spent as soldiers did nothing to teach them the skills they would need to build lives as independent people.[29]

Events in 1894 demonstrated Wotherspoon's and Painter's concerns. The murder of a Chiricahua woman by her estranged husband and his subsequent suicide, and two jail house killings in June belied a situation that on the surface appeared to be improving. The pattern of death and disease continued as well, as Chiricahuas succumbed to tuberculosis, meningitis, and lupus.[30]

Finally in September, responding to pressure from Indian rights lobbyists, Secretary of War Daniel Lamont approved the appropriation of funds for the removal of the Chiricahua prisoners to Fort Sill, Indian Territory. At 1:00 in the afternoon on October 2 the Chiricahuas left Mobile escorted by Lieutenant Allyn Capron. On October 4 they arrived at Rush Springs and after a twenty-nine mile

wagon ride arrived at Fort Sill. Among the first sounds they heard upon disembarking the train were wailing coyotes. The women wept at a familiar sound not heard since they left Arizona in 1886.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

1. See editorial note in Richard H. Pratt, Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904. Robert M. Utley, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 116-117. See also Woodward B. Skinner, The Apache Rock Crumbles: The Captivity of Geronimo's People (Pensacola, FL: Skinner Publications, 1987), 60.

2. At the end of the Red River War in 1875 seventy-two Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho, and Cheyenne warriors were exiled to Fort Marion. They served a three year term there. For a detailed description of the conditions of their punishment and their experience at Fort Marion see Pratt, 116-190.

3. Goodman, 7-8.

4. Ibid, 10.

5. Goodman, 5, 54-57, 82. See also Worcester, 299, 300-324; Debo, 299-312; Cole, 164-165; Lockwood, 320. Eugene Chihuahua remarked, "They put us on a flat place close to a big water and let us camp there, I don't know how long. It was muggy and hot. Mosquitos almost ate us alive. We were so miserable that we did not care how soon they might kill us. See Ball, Indeh, 126. Jason Betzinez recalled waking up the morning after his arrival at Fort Marion and first thinking the white capped waves were the wind blown tops of grass. See Betzinez, I Fought with Geronimo, 146.

6. Goodman, 83-84.

7. See Stockel, Survival of the Spirit, 63-91.

8. Ibid.

9. Goodman, 85. For a comprehensive review of Herbert Welsh's work with the Indian Rights Association see William T. Hagan's The Indian Right's Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985). For a brief discussion of Welsh's work for the Chiricahua see Welsh, 92-95. Herbert Welsh was born in 1851 to a prosperous upper middle-class Philadelphia family of merchants. After completing school training he traveled to Europe and studied art. Returning to Philadelphia in 1874 he embarked on a career as a writer and reformer and founded the Indian Rights Association. The IRA's involvement with the Chiricahuas began with Welsh's

trip to the Southwest in 1884 where he met Captain John G. Bourke, an officer on General George Crook's staff. Bourke's pursuit of ethnographic work on Indians in the West eventually landed him an assignment in Washington, D.C. where he became a well situated and effective ally in Welsh's efforts to move the government to improve the Chiricahua prisoner's situation. Bourke's influence with Welsh led to the latter's increasing involvement in campaigning to publicize the issues surrounding the Chiricahua exile, in addition to their rehabilitation to civilization. After a long career in issues of reform and direct involvement in Indian affairs Welsh died in 1941. Joseph C. Porter has explored John Gregory Bourke's role in the Chiricahua Apache story in his biography Paper Medicine Man: John Gregory Bourke and His American West (University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 189-266.

10. Goodman, 87.

11. Eugene Chihuahua, in Ball, Indeh, 137.

12. Betzinez, I Fought with Geronimo, 149.

13. Goodman, 108; Stockel, Survival of the Spirit, 106-108.

14. Stockel, Survival of the Spirit, xx.

15. Goodman, 123-124.

16. Samuel Armstrong, the son of missionaries, was born in 1839 on Maui in the Sandwich Islands. In 1860 he came to the United States for schooling, graduating from Williams College in 1862. During the Civil War he ascribed to the abolitionist cause and after the war volunteered to direct the newly founded Hampton School, set up for freed blacks. In 1878 Armstrong agreed to accept twenty-two of Captain Pratt's prisoners from Fort Marion who volunteered to stay in the East and get an education. For an excellent discussion of the development of Indian education and boarding schools see David Wallace Adam's, Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

17. Goodman, 124.

18. Ibid., 128-130.

19. Redfield Proctor, born in June 1831, in Proctorsville, Vermont attended Dartmouth and won a law degree before entering service in the Civil War. In 1880

after ten years of being in the marble quarrying business he formed the Vermont Marble Company which became the largest marble producer in the world. After serving terms as a state representative, senator, and governor Proctor was rewarded for his faithful service to the Republican Party and the Harrison campaign with appointment as Secretary of War. His biographer described him as "a beneficent paternalist, strongly committed to programs of welfare capitalism for his workers." During his brief term as Secretary of War he sponsored various reforms and innovations including the enlistment of Indian soldiers, professionalization of the officer corp, and reform of the military justice system. See "Redfield Proctor, His Life and Service," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, (Burlington, VT: Vermont Historical Society, 1915), 59-104. See also Chester Winston Bowie, "Redfield Proctor: A Biography," (Ph.D diss, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1980). Colin G. Calloway reviews Proctor's impact on policy with the Chiricahua in "The Vermont Secretary and the Apache POWs: Redfield Proctor and the Case of the Chiricahuas," Vermont History 59 (Summer 1991): 166-179.

20. Charles C. Painter (1833-1895) was Welsh's agent for the IRA in Washington. A Congregationalist minister and professor of theology and lobbyist, he began work with the IRA in 1883 representing the association's interests in Congress. See Goodman, 63, 96-97.

21. Ibid., 157.

22. Ibid., 157-160. See also Calloway, 170-171.

23. Daniel Gould Fowle (1831-1891), native North Carolinian and Civil War veteran was elected to the governorship on the Democratic ticket in 1888. Goodman, 171.

24. Debo, 346-347.

25. Goodman, 177-178; Calloway, 172-173.

26. Ibid., 178-183.

27. Debo, 348-349.

28. Goodman, 195-200; Debo, 350. For an excellent discussion of the role of junior officers, like Lt. Wotherspoon, in the development of regular Indian enlistment see Clifford Coppersmith, "Indians in the Army: Professional Advocacy and the Regularization of Indian Military Service, 1889-1897," Military History of the West (Fall 1996): 46-70.

29. See Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference XI (1893), 13-16. See also Goodman, 207-208.

30. Debo, 357; Stockel, 165-167.

IV. Life at Fort Sill

Although Geronimo proved to be an excellent guerrilla leader, he was never considered a chief. He was, however, like many leaders of the Chiricahua Apaches, a holy man with powers his people feared and respected. Several Chiricahua accounts tell of Geronimo's uncanny ability to foretell the future--knowing what was happening in other places and from which direction enemies were going to attack. Geronimo also foresaw that he would not die in battle.[1]

On a cold day in February 1909 the old warrior rode his horse into Lawton to sell some bows and arrows he had made, and along the way, asked Eugene Chihuahua to buy some whiskey for him. It was fairly easy to procure liquor although it remained illegal. Chihuahua asked a soldier to help and before long he and Geronimo headed for a secluded grove of trees along Cache Creek to enjoy their whiskey. The following morning Chihuahua woke up, under a tree, to find Geronimo in a fever, seriously ill. The years had finally caught up to the old man. For three days family and friends watched over him at home as he lay delirious--gradually weakening. Geronimo spent two more days in the Apache hospital at Fort Sill tended by members of his family before finally succumbing to pneumonia on February 17. As he had throughout his life, Geronimo fought until the end.[2]

Geronimo's death removed the last obstacle to military plans to remove the Chiricahuas from Fort Sill. Before 1909

it became apparent that Fort Sill would not go the way of other frontier outposts. The army's varied and complex reasons justifying keeping Fort Sill open represented another broken promise to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches.[3] Geronimo's death presaged the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches' release as prisoners of war, nearly three decades after they were imprisoned after his final surrender.

The Chiricahua prisoners arrived in Indian Territory on October 4, 1894. Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apache Indians met the Chiricahuas at Rush Springs with wagons. There was not much freight to haul as most of the few things the Chiricahuas possessed were destroyed when a baggage car caught fire enroute from Alabama. With the approach of winter the prisoners set to work building shelters out of brush and surplus canvas supplied by the army.[4]

Despite their continued status as prisoners and the fact they were still hundreds of miles from their home ground, Fort Sill and its environs at the foot of the Wichita Mountains represented an enormous improvement over their situation in Florida and Alabama. Here in the eastern fringes of their Southwestern haunts they could sense the familiar sights and smells of home. Eugene Chihuahua described the feelings of the prisoners upon their arrival:

> We could see the mountains. They weren't tall like ours but they were mountains. There were trees, and we didn't have to climb one to see the sun. There was water in the creek--clear

> sparkling mountain water. There were mesquite beans, and we began gathering and shelling them. We hadn't seen one since we were taken to Florida. We gathered several bags of them. And there were deer, not so many as at Turkey Creek, but a good many...The best of all was to hear the Coyotes sing, and the cry of the quail too. And the smell of sage was good to us.[5]

Passing the winter proved difficult, yet the Chiricahuas were happier than they had been in a long time. The officer put in charge of them proved able and sincerely interested in their welfare. Hugh L. Scott, a West Point graduate from the East, set out from the beginning to provide a healthy atmosphere in which the prisoners would be able to develop the skills and abilities that would provide for an independent life in the new world into which they had been thrust.

Scott proved instrumental in bringing the prisoners to Fort Sill. At first the military planned on moving the Apaches to Fort Supply, a post set for abandonment when the government decided to move them to Oklahoma Territory. Scott, an old Seventh Cavalry soldier, aware of the lack of facilities at Fort Supply, advocated moving the Apaches to Fort Sill, a post that offered the facilities and land base the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches would need to adapt to the independent life of farmers and stock raisers.[6]

Hugh Lenox Scott was born in Danville, Kentucky 22 September 1853. Reared by his Grandfather, Dr. Charles Hodge, who lived in Princeton, New Jersey, Scott attended good local private schools and qualified for entrance to

Princeton from where he received an appointment to West Point Military Academy. Scott entered West Point in June 1871, was suspended during his second year for hazing, and graduated, with low grades and many demerits, thirty-sixth of forty eight graduates of the class of 1876.[7]

Scott received a commission in the cavalry and arrived at Fort Lincoln, Nebraska in September 1876, the year of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Scott spent the next twenty years in frontier posts scattered from the Dakotas to Indian Territory. Due to the abysmally slow promotion rates of the post-Civil War period Scott spent nineteen years as a lieutenant. Throughout the 1870s Scott developed his interest in Plains Indian cultures and languages. He became a recognized authority on Plains Indian sign language, an important element of communication between Euroamerican English speaking officers and their non-English speaking Indian scouts, though sign language was also used among Plains Indian peoples themselves.

When Scott received orders to report to Fort Sill in 1889 he was in Philadephia on a recruiting tour. He served the next eight years working with Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, and the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache prisoners of war. He held a number of posts as a company commander and as a quartermaster officer; but his most important responsibilities revolved around his duties in charge of Indian affairs at Fort Sill.[8]

Scott was one of a class of officers who had worked very closely with Indians and Indian soldiers. Like his predecessors and comrades, Charles Gatewood, Emmett Crawford, and John Bourke, Scott empathized with the Chiricahuas because he saw their value as a people and as individuals. According to Eugene Chihuahua, Scott understood the needs of the Chiricahuas and wisely consulted with George Wratten, their interpreter, who had been with them since the dark days at San Carlos.

Wratten has proved to be one of the most enigmatic and classic frontier personalities associated with the Chiricahua Apaches. As a young boy he struck out from his Florence, Arizona home to strike out on his own. He found employment at a trading post at Fort Apache. By trial and error, and through innumerable daily conversations, Wratten managed to learn at least three Apache dialects spoken at the San Carlos Reservation, beginning a career that would span nearly forty years of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache history.

Throughout the 1880s he served variably as army scout, interpreter, and mule train master at several posts in New Mexico and Arizona. He participated in Crook's and Miles' Apache campaigns. Wratten proved instrumental as a member of Lieutenant Charles Gatewood's delegation in arranging the truce that eventually resulted in Geronimo's final surrender to Nelson Miles in 1886. By then he apparently identified

the Chiricahuas' interests as his own and accompanied Geronimo and his people to San Antonio and on to Florida. At Mount Vernon Barracks, Wratten married a Chiricahua woman named Annie, and they had two children, girls, Amy, born October 10, 1890 and Blossom, born January 25, 1893.[9]

By the time the Apaches arrived in Oklahoma Territory in 1894 Wratten was intimately familiar with their lifeways and their leaders. Scott used Wratten's knowledge of the Apaches to select headmen to lead and supervise twelve villages that were scattered in separate locations along Cache Creek on the Fort Sill military reservation in order to take advantage of the available wood, water, and rangeland. Scott wisely decided to keep normal family groupings together, effectively re-establishing the traditional Chiricahua and Warm Springs band centered way of life. Shortly afterwards the prisoners were given the materials and with some assistance from army officers and soldiers constructed two-room cabins for each family at the different village sites.[10]

Along with building homes the Chiricahuas biggest challenge was recreating an independent way of life that would take them as a people into the twentieth century. By design the Fort Sill Reservation was supposed to play an enormously important role in their future. Various military and civilian authorities promised the Apaches that the Fort Sill Reservation would be theirs when the army abandoned it.

Meantime, however, Hugh Scott set to work training the Chiricahuas to be farmers and fought for the tools and funding necessary to do so. The transition would prove a difficult one as the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches' traditional lifeway revolved around limited horticulture, hunting and gathering, and livestock trading. The first task involved breaking ground for planting and finding equipment and draft animals. Scott displayed a great deal of energy and innovation in scraping together the resources required to clothe, feed, and employ the Chiricahuas.[11]

Of all the officers associated with the Apaches throughout their long relationship with the American military the Chiricahua relationship with Hugh Lenox Scott would prove to be one of the most enduring and significant. In 1894 he supervised the prisoners' relocation to Fort Sill and their subsequent settlement. From 1910-1913 he chaired the commission that administered their removal from Fort Sill to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico and allotment off post.

Before the arrival of the Apache prisoners in 1894 Scott spent most of his time developing constructive relations with his Comanche and Kiowa charges and played a key role in defusing any hostilities from southern manifestations of the Ghost Dance during the summer and winter of 1890-1891. Scott's good relations with the Comanches and Kiowas undoubtedly contributed to the smooth

transition of the Apache prisoners' relocation from Alabama to Fort Sill in the Fall of 1894. He contributed to the negotiations that eventually annexed additional acreage to the Fort Sill Reserve to provide enough agricultural and range land for the permanent settlement of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches.[12] After nearly eight years of imprisonment and status as a homeless and propertyless people, the promise that Fort Sill would be given to the Apaches was a powerful incentive for education and learning new skills. When it became apparent, as early as 1897, that the army would stay at Fort Sill, the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches felt betrayed. Yet another promise was broken. Their efforts to become, once again, an independent and self-reliant people were frustrated by local booster politics, bureaucratic and legislative manueverings at the federal level, and international events that were beyond the realm of Chiricahua experience.

After Scott completed his assignment at Fort Sill he went on to serve in Cuba and the Philippines and later as Superintendent of Cadets at West Point. Throughout his career Scott would return to his role as an expert in Indian affairs.[13]

In connection to his relationship with the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, however, Scott's most important role was as mediator and commissioner of the transfer of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches off of the Fort Sill

Reserve. Scott was a tragic figure; the army assigned him the onerous task of forcing the Apache prisoners to give up their fields and herd of cattle, and the lives they had established on the post since their arrival in 1894. Once again an honorable man in uniform carried out yet another betrayal. Perhaps the worst part of Scott's task was determining who would go and who would stay in Oklahoma.

From the beginning the major problem the Apaches faced was one of adapting to the requirements of a new life. They were no longer considered solely as prisoners of war, warehoused at the expense of the government. Those who were forced to leave the tribal community to attend school at Carlisle actually succeeded at learning trades, agriculture, and "domestic arts." Towards the turn of the century many of these students returned to the tribe and assumed important official and unofficial leadership positions. These "Carlisle Graduates" formed the nucleus of a new group of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches who played an important role in the future--especially after it became apparent that the government would force them to remove once again. The institutional impact of these Carlisle graduates, men such as Asa Daklugie, Jason Betzinez, and James Kawaykla and women such as Ramona Chihuahua, cannot be underestimated.

Before the return of "the Carlise Class," however, the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches who made the move from

Mount Vernon to Fort Sill were under the close supervision of army officers and their subordinates. George Wratten, among all army officials, exercised considerable influence, especially the management of their farming and stock raising work. From their arrival Scott emphasized the importance of developing the skills and acquiring the resources for them to become successful farmers. That transition was a mantra of the assimilationist philosophy that infused federal Indian policy.[14]

Scott's official instructions were to

> settle them [the prisoners] upon arable land on the military reservation of Fort Sill under the control and protection of the garrison to prevent their escape and all access to liquor and to generally make them as self supporting as practicable.[15]

Between 1894 and 1895 Congress appropriated over $32,000 for the purchase of supplies and equipment to allow the Chiricahuas to plant seed and purchase livestock. Additionally, fifty mules were acquired from the abandoned post at Fort Supply. With this congressional special appropriation Scott purchased building materials, plows, wagons, mowers, rakes and other farming equipment as well as a herd of cattle.[16] In May 1895 Scott, accompanied by Lieutenant Allyn Capron and four enlisted men, made a trip to various points in the territory to purchase livestock to put the Chiricahuas in the cattle business.[17]

Throughout the rest of the year Scott's main preoccupation revolved around providing permanent homes for

the Apaches. Scott and his charges faced a number of obstacles to his plan to finish off their two room cottages before the end of the year. The extreme winter of 1894-1895 placed a heavy demand for firewood on the Chiricahuas and they spent most of February cutting wood to restock their winter fuel supplies. Of course the following spring placed more demands on the men's labor as they broke ground for planting. In June they erected fences to protect their crops from livestock.[18]

From 1895 through 1896 the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches made a great deal of progress in the adaption to the life of farmers and ranchers. In addition to their improved health and nutrition at Fort Sill, the Apaches had real hope for the future. While most Chiricahua men resisted, to some degree, their forced adaptation to agriculturalists, their enthusiasm for stockraising motivated them to work hard to create a new life based on at least a semblance of the old. They had a long and productive experience in the handling of livestock, both horses and cattle. The Chiricahuas greeted that part of the program with more zeal than any other aspect of Scott's plan for their "civilization."[19]

Throughout the 1890s the United States Army began the slow and painful adjustment to life without an "Indian Frontier." The bloody slaughter of Sioux dancers in the winter snows of Wounded Knee, South Dakota signaled an end to the bitter thirty-year's war for the American West. From

1892 onward it became increasingly apparent, even to such an Indian fighting diehard as General Nelson Miles, that times were changing. In effect, what happened to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in the closing years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, was a precursor to policies that would prove inimical to Native American interests in the 1950s. Those domestic Cold War policies involuntarily appropriated Indian lands for hydroelectric projects, all in the name of "national security." [20]

The United States' haphazard victory over the tottering Spanish Empire in the Caribbean and in the far Pacific demonstrated the need for revitalizing and reorganizing the American military. Along with reforms of the military education system and officer promotions, and the final ouster of the egocentric Nelson Miles, came a new view of the military's role in foreign policy. Possible American involvement in a European war had a direct impact on the disposition of Fort Sill, one of the last remaining dusty outposts of America's Indian fighting era.[21]

The jingoism surrounding America's noisy entrance into war with Spain came to Fort Sill as well in 1896. Shortly after the post's main contingent of soldiers and officers deployed abroad Comanche leader Quanah Parker notified the post commander that his Comanche police were available to take care of any problems the Chiricahuas might cause.

Rumors circulated about a planned breakout. When the prisoners' officer checked on the prisoners he found them peacefully minding their own business at work and at home. The days of panicked flight off reservation were over for the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches.[22]

In addition to international developments and the impact of changing military policies, local forces as well operated to "save" Fort Sill and its hefty economic contribution to the Lawton area. During the summer of 1901 the vast Kiowa-Comanche reservation was opened up for settlement after these Indians were allotted land, one of the last dispensations of the Dawes Act. The balance of these reservations were opened up for settlement.

Throughout the 1890s the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache Indians attempted to delay the inevitable opening of their reservation to white settlement. Throughout the rest of the decade Comanche tribal leadership played a desperate and somewhat successful game of delaying allotment, hoping in the process to gain more compensation for what they knew was inevitable--the loss of their reservation lands and the forced adoption of the white way of life. In fact, the agreement made by the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache nations to give over 28,000 acres of reservation land to expand the Fort Sill Reservation ("for the use and benefit of the Apache prisoners of war") was just one of several tactics they employed to save as much of their land as

possible from government efforts to open the huge Kiowa and Comanche Reservation.[23]

Even as the Chiricahuas arrived in Oklahoma "free land" fever swept over the plains as rumors of the existence of mineral wealth in the Wichita Mountains and the irresponsible booster propaganda of local newspapers touted the endless (and largely non-existant) agricultural potential of the region around Fort Sill.[24] By the late 1890s hundreds, maybe even thousands, of "Sooners" invaded the reservation, picking out the best watered parcels of land (these were few and far between), and stealing wood from the reservation's few stands of trees. In June 1900 wholescale invasion of the reservation began and Agent James Randlett estimated there were as many whites in the Wichita Mountains alone as there were Indians on the reservation itself.[25]

That summer of 1900 the City of Lawton literally sprang out of thin air as 10,000 people swarmed into the settlement to gain claim to one of the last great land giveaways in the American West. Within one week a bustling frontier town complete with canvas roofed banks and over fifty saloons sprang from the dust.[26] In describing this huge land-grabbing free-for-all Betzinez wrote,

> We had never witnessed such excitement as was stirred up by the white man in grabbing for all this free land. Multitudes of people of every description rushed upon us in the Fort Sill area. They came in wagons, buggies, and on horseback. Many who had no other means of transportation walked,

> and by the time they arrived most had sore feet from trudging through the burning sand. For this was the hottest, driest, and dustiest part of July...
>
> The throngs camped along Cache Creek just east of the post while awaiting the opening day when the lottery was to be held. In addition to farmers, migrants, vagrants, and landless people, there were doctors, lawyers, druggists, bankers, and merchants of every variety--all with their hands out to catch customers.[27]

The establishment of Lawton had an immediate impact upon the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community at Fort Sill. About the same time that it became apparent that the Chiricahuas would not inherit their own reservation, an influx of white settlers brought new quantities of an old evil close to military reservation boundaries (and largely out of military control)--alcohol and those members of the business community who would use it to their advantage. With Lawton's appearance on the southern boundary of Fort Sill, its leading citizens lobbied sucessfully in Washington to keep Fort Sill as an active military post.

While a secret War College report of May 1903 first emphasized the importance of keeping Fort Sill as an active duty post, Betzinez reports that by 1902 discussions were already taking place among the prisoners of war and between Army officials concerning their possible return to the Southwest, either to Arizona or New Mexico.[28]

In 1902 the Army's first artillery school was set up at Fort Sill. Within a decade the army established Fort Sill as the premier field artillery training site. By 1905 the army formed a provisional artillery regiment at Fort Sill

consisting of six batteries (the equivalent of companies) commanded by Colonel Walter Howe. The first troops of the units arrived at Fort Sill in June of 1905. Fort Sill now became the artillery post of the army. Its increasing importance as a field artillery training facility, tied to the transition in American military thought and organization, eventually led to the government's removal of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches from Fort Sill.[29]

Several obstacles, however, stood in the way of the post's expansion and change to permanent active status. The most important was a lack of water. A drought in 1907 caused shortages of water on post and in the city of Lawton. Lawton and the army would not permanently solve the water supply problem until the years during World War I. The other obstacle, the presence of the Apaches, would prove easier to remove.

In November, 1910 Dan T. Moore, an artillery officer, arrived at Fort Sill after a two-year tour of the field artillery schools of England, Holland, Austria, and most important, the German school at Juterborg. Moore, like other officers who studied European armies and the politics of the region, foresaw the need for the United States to prepare for a great conflict.

Unlike the great artillery organizations of Europe, the American artillery corps was moribund. Artillery officers and their crews were untrained and underequipped and the

army lacked a national standard for artillery training. Moore set out to build the army's first national field artillery school. The presence of field artillery at Fort Sill since 1905 had already proved its advantages to what would become the leading combat arm of the military service. Fort Sill's vast ranges and variety of topography allowed artillerists the perfect training environment for tactical deployment and field gunnery.

Moore enjoyed connections to influential senior officers in Washington, D.C., including Colonel Edwin Greble, a member of Major General Leonard Wood's staff. Not long after his arrival at Fort Sill, Moore discovered the restraints placed upon his school's training by the presence of the Apache prisoners.

The portion of the reservation east of the Rock Island Railroad's tracks was off limits to all military training. During the summer months artillerists had to take special care that live rounds, upon impact, did not ignite the grass that would be harvested for hay--an activity that provided the Chiricahuas' most important source of income. In the fall they bound and baled the hay and sold the forage to the army. Additionally, the army was required to compensate the Apaches for any losses to their cattle incurred in the course of artillery gunnery practice. The presence of the Apaches themselves also added to restrictions on where units could train and where impact areas could be designated for

artillery practice.

Captain Moore, dedicated to his mission and branch of service, hardly saw the Chiricahuas as anything but an impediment. Wilbur Nye, noted historian of Fort Sill, wrote of Moore,

> Captain Moore, with whom the interests of the School of Fire were paramount, seems to have been unsympathetic toward the Indians, for he wrote, somewhat heatedly, "These so called prisoners of war have more rights and privledges than free men." He went on to point out that the land used by the Apache [sic] long ago had been declared a military reservation, and that the Indians had no property rights there whatever. Colonel Greble agreed but warned Moore not to antagonize those in charge of the Indians... "The War Department will probably decide what is to be done with the Apache prisoners, and I think they will probably be removed from the reservation but until that question is settled there is no use giving a weapon to the friend of the Indians..." Two years later, just as Colonel Greble predicted, the Apaches were moved from Fort Sill.[30]

It was apparent to the Chiricahuas long before Moore's arrival, however, that the Army would renege on early promises to make Fort Sill their permanent reservation. As early as 1904 the Army began to explore options to move them back to Arizona or New Mexico. Politicians in Washington also discussed options for a final disposition of the Apache prisoners.

Once it became known that their status and future was again undetermined, the Chiricahuas again suffered disillusionment and depression. What was worse, there were no figures waiting in the wings, like Herbert Welsh and his

Indian Rights Association, to defend Chiricahua rights and protect them from the vagaries of changing military realities and predatory local and national politics.

Along with the disheartening reality that Fort Sill was yet another temporary station on their trail of exile, and despite a general improvement in lodging and nutrition the Chiricahuas experienced high mortality rates, both among the prisoners at Fort Sill and their children away at the Carlisle Indian School. In fact, high mortality rates among Apache students at Carlisle eventually led to the transfer of remaining students to local boarding and day schools in Anadarko and Lawton. The Chiricahua response to these discouraging developments was predictable. Most turned to traditional Apache beliefs in the form of a local revitalization movement, others to Christianity, in the form of the Dutch Reformed Church, and some to alcohol.

For the most part early Spanish efforts to Christianize the Apache Indians never achieved any level of success. One noted early Chiricahua convert to the Catholic faith was Juan Jose Compa, who, along with most of his band, was slaughtered by Mexican and Euroamerican scalp hunters in the 1830s. Anthropologists have pointed to the incorporation of Judeo-Christian elements into Chiricahua belief in Ussen (the equivalent of the Spanish Dios). Ussen (lifegiver or literally "He who gives life") is an ambiguous figure in traditional Apache belief, the more immediate figures of

White Painted Woman, Idzanidleshee, and the Gan (Mountain Spirits) played a much more important and visible role in Chiricahua religion.

According to Michael Darrow, the basic tenets of Christian faith are not alien to Chiricahua belief. The belief in Ussen, an overarching "creator" was a familiar one that preceded Chiricahua conversion to Christianity during the lated 1890s. The army had finally permitted the Reformed Church of America to organize a mission among the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches at Fort Sill.[31]

The Reformed Church, whose doctrine and tenets closely resemble those of the Presbyterian faith, has a long history of involvement with the native inhabitants of North America. As early as 1642 Johannes Megapolensis, a Dutch Reformed pastor in Rensselaerswyck (now Albany, New York) preached among the Indians of that region. During President Ulysses S. Grant's term of office Dutch Reformed Church members participated in Grant's Peace Policy, an unsuccessful attempt to use Christian clergymen to bring some much needed honesty to an ethically and politically bankrupt Bureau of Indian Affairs. From 1870 to 1880 the Dutch Reformed Church assumed responsibility for Pima and Maricopa Indians of the Pima and Maricopa Agency and Indians of the Colorado River Agency. After nearly a thirteen-year sabbatical from Indian affairs, the Women's Executive Committee, of the Reformed Church's Domestic Missions, decided to get back into the

Indian mission business in 1893.[32]

In 1895 the Women's Executive Committee sent Frank Hall Wright, a member of the Choctaw Tribe, to perform missionary work among the Comanche Indians of Oklahoma Territory. Wright requested permission to prosletize among the Chiricahuas at Fort Sill several times before Lieutenant Francis H. Beach granted it in the fall of 1899. Beach pushed for formal recognition of Reformed Church prosletizing efforts and construction of a mission on Fort Sill itself.[33] Maud Adkisson, Reformed Church missionary, focused her earliest efforts on the children, teaching school, with an assistant, to about sixty pupils. They scavenged army rations which they combined with donations to provide the children at least one meal during the school day.[34]

Her work among the adults proved more difficult. Driving from village to village in a horse-drawn hack she met with individual families and did not enjoy much success until Geronimo and Naiche and other village leaders showed some interest in her teaching and began to attend meetings. Asa Daklugie served as an interpreter. Eventually Naiche converted to Christianity, and even Geronimo made a half-hearted effort to adopt "the Jesus Road."[35]

According to a ledger book from the Reverend R.P. Chaat's papers in the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma, one group formed from the Fort Sill

Apache congregation termed a "Christian Endeavor" of the Reformed Church was organized on November 19th, 1899 with fifteen members. Among the slate of officers designated were Maud Adkisson, as president, Asa Daklugie as vice president, James Kawaykla as secretary, and Ramona Chihuahua Daklugie as treasurer.[36] A subsequent listing of the congregation's membership of 1901 included Asa Daklugie and his wife Ramona, James Kawaykla and his wife Dorothy Naiche, Viola Chihuahua, Benedict Jozhe, Sr., Eugene Chihuahua, Jason Betzinez, Clay Domeah, several other individuals whose last names are not mentioned, and missionary personnel including Jeannete Russell, and several others. Along with the membership roster entries designate individual assignments to committees--a "Lookout Committee" including Viola Chihuahua and Dorothy Naiche; a Prayer Meeting Committee including Nellie Russell, Ramona Daklugie, and Asa; and a Social Committee including James Kawaykla, Benedict Jozhe, Sr., and another missionary. During one meeting a motion was passed that a membership fee of three cents would be donated every month by each member to the Christian Endeavor Library.

Notes from a typical prayer meeting held at Fort Sill on 4 February 1900 indicate that meetings began with a song after which a member of the congregation gave a short prayer. On this particular occasion Benedict Jozhe, Sr. gave the invocation. Each member of the congregation read a

scripture. The secretary noted that there were "quite many" absentees. Committees reported that "they [were] doing well [and] improving in their work." The lesson for the evening was taken from Matthew, chapters twenty-one through twenty-seven (Matthew's account of the events surrounding Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday to his crucifixion and burial), in which "many references were read by the members." The meeting closed with a song and benediction.[37]

Notes from a meeting held on 19 August 1900 show that Asa Daklugie read the lesson after which the president took the chair and called a business meeting to order in which new officers were selected for the congregation. The following names were nominated and voted to a term of office to run until 1 March 1901. Viola Chihuahua was elected president, Benedict Jozhe Sr. for vice president, Asa Daklugie, secretary, and Jason Betzinez, treasurer. In addition to a new slate of officers new committee members were named and assignments were made. Two names were added to the society, that of Johnny Loco and Jeannette Russell. A subsequent listing of missionary society members included:

(Regular and consistent attendance)
Asa Daklugie and his wife Ramona [Chihuahua]
James Kawaykla and his wife Dorothy [Naiche]
Eugene Chihuahua and his wife Viola
Benedict Jozhe
James Russell
Jason Betzinez
Miss [Maud] Adkisson
Clay Domeah
Miss McMillan [missionary]

Miss Hawkins [missionary]
Marcellus Bezahun

Other names were listed with notations for infrequent attendance. An entry from 23 January 1902 provides explanations for committees. Look-Out committee members kept track of absentees, while members of the "Good Citizenship Committee" made efforts to "maintain the standards for temperance and purity of thought, word, and deed among young and old." An entry from 23 February 1902 shows that the society pledged a total of $2.00 per month for missionary work in India.[38]

The ledger book shows that meetings were regularly held and attendance remained fairly steady. Meetings were business-like and simple. A membership roster for the years 1904-1905 shows all the familiar names plus a few additions including Howard White Wolf, Carlos Keannie, Arthur Guydelkon, Annie Simmons, Mrs. S. [Blossom] Haozous, David Fatty, Banskli Naiche, Calvan Jhonsi, Walters Lorri, Duncan Bulatehe, Harry Perico, Emma Toclanny, and Bruce Kaahteney. Ramona Daklugie, Dorothy Kawaykla, and Viola Chihuahua were listed as "Associate Members."[39] Several different types of meetings were held weekly and activities included Consecration (communion) Meetings, business meetings, and activities for children in which games were played. All meetings were attended by mission staff. Membership seemed to hover between fifteen and twenty members of the

Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community.

In 1896 a Reformed Church mission under the direction of Reverend Walter Roe was established which served Comanches, Kiowas, Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, and non-Indians. As time progressed and the situation facing the Chiricahuas at Fort Sill grew more difficult, Reverend Roe attempted to play the role of advocate, as Herbert Welsh had done during the Florida and Alabama years.[40]

In 1905 Hendrina Hospers, from Iowa and in her early twenties, arrived at Fort Sill to head the mission. She had two teachers, an assistant, two matrons, and a laundress working under her. According to Hospers, she "did everything from teaching to preaching. I even preached funeral services [although]... I did not, however, perform wedding ceremonies or baptize."[41] Hospers organized a Ladies Aid Society, of which Nah-Thle-Tla (the mother of Jason Betzinez) served as president. According to Hospers the women of the society were involved in several projects, one of which was making quilts, that when sold to white visitors, supported the Church's charity and other funds.[42]

While it appears a minority of the tribe participated in Reformed Church activities on a regular basis, those who did participate represented, according to Euroamerican standards, the best educated and most successful members of the Chiricahua community. Many of them were exposed to and, under pressure, adopted Christianity during their experience

at the Carlisle Indian School. Not surprisingly, the married couples who regularly appeared on the membership rosters had attended Carlisle and soon married after returning to Fort Sill. Three Carlisle graduates and members of the congregation would leave, with the assistance of various editors, histories of their own and their peoples' experiences. Eve Ball edited remembrances of Asa Daklugie and Eugene Chihuahua in Indeh: An Apache Odyssey and James Kawaykla's memoir In the Days of Victorio. Jason Betzinez wrote his own account "My People: A Story of the Apaches" which, after being edited by Wilbur S. Nye, was published as I Fought With Geronimo.

In addition to its function as an institution of faith, the Fort Sill Reformed Church served as a valuable training ground for these members of the Chiricahua community who later played key roles as tribal leaders. Children of these same members, the Jozhes, the Haozous, the Chihuahuas, and others would also take their places as tribal leaders. Benedict Jozhe, Jr., church member and elder served as Tribal Chairman from the late 1930s to the mid 1970s. Mildred Imach Cleghorn, daughter of Amy Wratten, served as both an elder in the Reformed Church in Apache and as Tribal Chairperson from 1976 to 1996.

As Reformed Church missionaries made inroads that winter of 1899-1900 with the prisoners there also occurred a brief Chiricahua revival. This revitalization movement, of

which little is known, took place against a background of illness and mortality from tuberculosis, and the excitement resulting from the opening of the Comanche Reservation to Euroamerican settlement. Jason Betzinez, a Warm Springs Apache, a Carlisle graduate, and a veteran of the steel mills in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania wrote the only Apache account of those events. There are two versions of his account of the Mountain Spirit Dance, one in his own words; the other in the heavily edited version of his own manuscript published with Wilbur Nye as I Fought with Geronimo.

According to Betzinez, a Ndénaí medicine man named Harold Dick, whose Apache name was Nahn-tee-nesn (Long Loin), campaigned against the growing Christian influence among the Apache prisoners. Betzinez tells of attending one dance in particular at Four Mile Crossing, where his entire village sat huddled in blankets watching the Mountain Spirit Dance. In the words of his own manuscript Betzinez seems far less critical of the dance itself, concerned rather for the effects the bitter winter weather had upon its participants. The audience sat on the ground with only blankets for protection against the frigid northern winds while the dancers, only partially clothed, celebrated in the chill air. After hours of exhausting dancing the participants collapsed upon the ground, a result of their physical exertion and perhaps the effects of alcohol. Many

of the dancers contracted pneumonia as a result of this activity and worse, dancers exchanged masks and thereby spread respiratory infections and the dreaded tuberculosis itself. Shortly afterwards, and partly as a result of Betzinez's urging, military officials prohibited the practice of the Mountain Spirit Dance during winter months. This brief revitalization movement apparently lasted only for a couple of years, although the Mountain Spirit Dance continued to occupy an important place in Chiricahua and Warm Springs life.[43]

Chiricahua life throughout the Fort Sill period continued to focus on the family and village groups. The men worked on the reservation, at first building roads and putting up a boundary fence and later cutting and selling hay to the Fort Sill Quartermaster. In addition to planting and harvesting fields of corn, oats, beans, melons, and cotton, they also planted gardens and tended their cattle. Many Apaches continued to manufacture traditional Apache artwork--bows and arrows, baskets, beadwork, and musical instruments such as flutes, drums, and their one-stringed version of a violin, or fiddle.

In the course of a 1976 Bicentennial Oral History Project conducted at Fort Sill, Blossom Haozous narrated her own memoir of life at Fort Sill as a prisoner. Born in Alabama in 1893, Blossom's uncle and aunt raised her and her sister, Amy, when her father George Wratten and her mother

separated.[44]

She lived in Noche's village which was composed of about six families. The children played ball and rode horses and swam in Medicine Creek. Blossom recalled her own four day Coming Out Ceremony at the age of fourteen or fifteen during which apples, oranges, and other gifts were handed out. Blossom and the people of her village hauled water from a common well. The men were mostly engaged in their work on post. Many of them enlisted in the Army as scouts. The men were assigned various duties. Some worked in the fields, others worked in the barns, or on other assignments.

In addition to the Coming Out Ceremony the Chiricahuas celebrated other events. Tribal feasts were held in which a cow was butchered. The entire tribe congregated for the celebration and there was meat for everybody. The meat was boiled in pots or broiled over hot coals. They also made soup out of the bones and boiled corn. Tortillas were toasted on hot coals or on a rack made from bailing wire.[45]

The Chiricahuas dried fruit and meat. Corn was parched, roasted, and cut off the cobb and allowed to dry before being stored. Pumpkins were cut, dried, and "put up over their hogans."[46] Most families used one side of their two room houses (with a breezeway in between the two wings) for sleeping and the other for cooking. Large families used both sides for sleeping.

Blossom described the arrangements women made to expand their domestic space.

> My aunt used to make a little hogan with brushes and she used to cook out on the open fire. [The government] gave them all big nice iron ranges or cookstoves...but she wasn't accustomed to cooking on those. She'd rather cook outside.[47]

The women used the stoves for cooking and heating in the winter. The houses did not have cupboards. Personal items such as clothing, food, and other things were hung on nails pounded into the walls. Within these walls the children were taught their language, their history and stories, and traditional Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache craftwork. Blossom's aunt taught her beadwork during her teenage years. Blossom later passed these same traditions and skills to her children and grandchildren.

For Chiricahua men, their world revolved around their work in the field and out on the range. Many of the men were enlisted as scouts, their duties were for the most part connected to their responsibilities with their farming chores, their cattle, and hay cutting. A few men, like Jason Betzinez, obtained employment in the trades they learned at Carlisle in addition to their scout duties. Betzinez worked as a blacksmith, shoeing horses and building and repairing wagons and farm implements. As scouts the men drew pay, quarters, and their uniforms.[48]

In addition to the boundary fence the Chiricahuas erected around the reservation they constructed earthen dams

on the intermittent streams scattered around the area. Some of the resulting ponds were as large as twenty acres. Because the Chiricahuas did not have many horses most of the stock work was done on foot. The summer roundup was an especially busy time as the cattle were rounded up, branded, and surplus cattle sold on contract.[49]

The prisoners' lives thus involved the daily activity of home and hearth and work in the fields. For the most part past patterns of life were maintained, even as they made adjustments and accommodated to new patterns of social and economic activity forced upon them by the government.

As John Turcheneske has so painstakingly pointed out in his massive dissertation on the Fort Sill period the circumstances the prisoners found themselves in after 1900 involved not just local issues and the larger complicated realities of world politics, but also competing government bureaucracies that confounded the Apache prisoners' predicament.[50]

The Department of the Interior could have taken over responsibility for the prisoners a number of times. Twice the Department of the Interior through the Commissioner of Indian Affairs passed up the chance to settle the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache situation once and for all, by simply reassuming responsibility for the prisoners of war from the War Department. As Turcheneske writes, "Due to political expediency, Interior in 1897, and again in 1902,

refused to take custody of them. By doing so, [Interior] precluded the possibility that the Chiricahuas would ever receive Fort Sill... [which in 1903 comprised] approximately 50,000 acres."[51]

Not long after the Department of the Interior abrogated its responsibility to reassert control over the Chiricahua and Warm Spring Apaches, the War Department decided to retain Fort Sill as an active military installation--and the Apache prisoners again found themselves at the mercy of the military.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

1. Betzinez describes Geronimo's ability as war leader and medicine man in I Fought with Geronimo, 6, 90, 113-115. For various discussions of Geronimo's legendary powers in the realm of war leadership and medicine see Debo, Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place, 38-39, 196, 323. Eve Ball provides Asa Daklugie's first hand account of Geronimo's power in Indeh, 61-62.

2. See Debo, 439-444; Wilbur S. Nye, Carbine & Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 302; Ball, Indeh, 179-181.

3. Nye, 315.

4. Eugene Chihuahua, Ball, Indeh, 160.

5. Ibid.

6. Hugh L. Scott to wife, 18 September 1894. Apache Collection, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

7. To date the only full-length biography of Scott is James William Harper's "Hugh Lenox Scott: Soldier Diplomat, 1876-1917" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1968). For Scott's early life see pages 1-5.

8. Ibid., 15.

9. For a review of George Wratten's life and experience with the Chiricahuas, see Albert E. Wratten's "George Wratten: Friend of the Apaches," in Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars, edited by C.L. Sonnichsen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990): 91-123.

10. See Eugene Chihuahua, Ball, Indeh, 161; Betzinez, I Fought with Geronimo, 165-167. Wratten, "George Wratten: Friend of the Apaches," 113-116.

11. Charles C. Ballou to Hugh L. Scott, 1 November 1894. Scott Collection, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

12. The issue of Fort Sill and the annexation of Comanche and Kiowa lands to the reserve for "the use and benefit" of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache prisoners would prove to be a controversial topic when it became apparent the army was going to retain Fort Sill as a military facility. That controversy remains today as most

Fort Sill Apaches claim that they, as a people, had been promised the Fort Sill Reserve for their own reservation.

13. Harper, 106-107.

14. The best treatment of this period in Native American government policy is Frederick E. Hoxie's, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

15. Report to Adjutant General of the Army from Captain H.L. Scott, (Date), see Oklahoma Historical Society, RC 45, Microfilm Roll KA 43, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

16. Ibid.

17. Special Orders No. 89, Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory, 22 May 1895, Apache File, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

18. John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914" (Ph.D. diss., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978), 30-42. Turcheneske provides an excellent review of Scott's "Civilization Program."

19. See Eve Ball, Indeh, 162-164; Betzinez with Nye, I Fought With Geronimo, 169-170.

20. Laurence Hauptman explores the impact of Cold War national security politics on the Seneca Indians of Pennsylvania and New York, especially the decision to build the Kinzua Dam, which inundated vast portions of the Allegheny Reservation in Western New York, and the last remaining Indian land in northwestern Pennsylvania. See Hauptman, The Iroquois Struggle for Survival: World War II to Red Power, 75-120.

21. For an excellent discussion of the transformation of the American military in the closing decades of the nineteenth century see Robert Wooster's The Military & United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

22. This incident is briefly described in Betzinez, I Fought with Geronimo, 182-183.

23. For Comanche-United States relations in general see William T. Hagan's United States-Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

24. Ibid., 231-233.

25. Ibid., 268.

26. Ibid., 270.

27. Betzinez with Nye, I Fought with Geronimo, 185-186.

28. Memorandum Report by Colonel Enoch H. Crowder, December 9, 1903, Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., quoted in Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," 113. According to Betzinez the prisoners discussed "the oft repeated proposal to send them back to New Mexico" in a meeting with General Fitzhugh Lee in 1902. See Betzinez with Nye, I Fought With Geronimo, 189.

29. Nye, Carbine and Lance, 314-319.

30. Ibid., 323.

31. Michael Darrow addressed the role of Christianity in Chiricahua history, specifically dealing with the development of "conservative" minded or "traditional" Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. He believes that essentially Christian beliefs, as presented by Dutch Reformed Church missionaries, were essentially the same as basic elements of traditional Chiricahua belief. Interview, Michael Darrow with Clifford P. Coppersmith, Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, 24-25 February 1994. Notes in author's possession. Anthropologist Morris Opler cites several variations of the flood story as indications of early christian influences in Chiricahua mythology. For two variations of the flood story see Opler, Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians, 1-2.

32. Richard H. Harper, "The Missionary Work of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America (Part I)" Chronicle of Oklahoma 18 (1940): 252-253.

33. Elizabeth Page, In Camp and Tepee: An Indian Mission Story (New York: The Board of Publication and Bible School Work of the Reformed Church in America, 1915), 75.

34. Ibid., 133.

35. Ibid., 134-142.

36. Ledger Book (Secretary's Book), p. 9, Reverend R.P. Chaat Papers, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma.

37. Ibid, 13.

38. Ibid, 34, 86.

39. Ibid, 90-91.

40. "History of the Reformed Church in America Work with the Indians," Unpublished Manuscript, Church and Missions File, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

41. Amy Hurt Passmore, "Missionary to the Apaches," Frontier Times (October-November 1964); 30-3, 60-61.

42. Ibid., 31.

43. See Jason Betzinez, "My People: A Story of the Apaches," Unpublished Manuscript, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, 122-124. See the more heavily edited version in Jason Betzinez, I Fought with Geronimo, 176-177. For biographical information on Harold Dick, the Apache medicine man, see Griswold, "The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, Antecedents," 30. Harold Dick was an enlisted member of Company I, 12th Infantry and Troop L, 7th Cavalry, and went to Mescalero upon the release of the Chiricahuas from Fort Sill. He was seventy years of age when the move to Mescalero was made.

44. Blossom Haozous Interview, conducted by Pat O'Brien, Bicentennial Oral History Project, Apache, Oklahoma, 22 July 1976, 8. Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

45. Ibid., 2-3.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 5.

48. Betzinez, I Fought With Geronimo, 170-178.

49. Ibid., 170.

50. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914," vi.

51. Ibid.

V. Diaspora: Removal Once Again

The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache of Oklahoma refer to the relocation of nearly two-thirds of their community to the Mescalero Reservation, New Mexico in April, 1913 as "the parting." On a clear spring day, April 2, those who remained assisted the others in collecting their personal property and loading it on a train. This time a majority of the tribe made the journey to a place near their ancestral homes in New Mexico. The events of this day were both an ending and a beginning. For the Apache prisoners who chose to move to Mescalero, their boarding of the train was an end to their captivity of twenty-seven years. For both those who left Oklahoma and the eighty-odd souls who remained it was a parting filled with sadness and apprehension. For most of the previous ten years doubt and fear about the future dogged their life at Fort Sill.

In addition to the other factors that contributed to this diaspora of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, the people played a considerable role. Had Fort Sill been given to the prisoners as a reservation, as had been originally stipulated upon their arrival in Oklahoma, most if not all of them would have stayed in Oklahoma. As soon as government intentions became obvious, however, a majority of the tribe seriously considered moving to New Mexico. Army officers and bureaucrats took advantage of conflicting

feelings within the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community that favored the military's plans. Military officials would have preferred transferring the prisoners to the Department of the Interior and removing them all to New Mexico. A few members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community, however, had other ideas. Jason Betzinez and other members of the tribe pressed their claim, first to permanent settlement on Fort Sill, and when that became clearly unlikely, to allotment on tracts of land adjacent to the post.

The settlement committee, made up of Hugh L. Scott, Colonel Edwin St. John Greble, and Major George W. Goode, met with all the members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community to decide where the people would go. At one meeting Scott, now a colonel, told the assembled Apaches to line up on each side of the room in accordance with where they wanted to go--New Mexico or remain in Oklahoma. The people agonized over the decision. Despite the hardships of life in Oklahoma, for many this was the only home they had ever known. Here they had established relationships and a way of life. Others remembered the beautiful forest-covered mountains of their ancestral homes and longed after their old haunts. Many entertained naive expectations of returning to the old life on familiar ground. Grandparents, parents, and children made conflicting choices. The issue went back and forth, to go or not to go. The transcripts of

these meetings retain their poignancy. More than any other source they reveal the emotions of the people themselves as they pressed for their rights and argued for that what they had been promised.

From the historical record one clear fact emerges: a portion of the Fort Sill Reservation had been promised to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches by various officials including a president, his Secretary of War, then Captain Hugh L. Scott, and officials in the Department of the Interior. Before assuming the onerous duty of convincing the Apache prisoners to give up their claim to the reservation, Scott voiced his own uncertainty about what the War Department had sent him to do. In a hand-written draft of a report sent to his superiors in Washington he wrote:

> This duty was approached with some trepidation knowing that the question has come up many times in the War [Department] on the [disposition of the Apache situation at Fort Sill]... owing to the difficulty of solution and that the Indians had cause to feel that promises made them [that have] not been kept[.] These promises were made by direction of President Cleveland and told the present writer [Hugh Scott] in the presence of [Secretary of War] Lamont and Major General [George] W. Davis, to get the consensus of the Kiowa & Comanche Indians to the addition of [some/part] of their land to the military reservation at Fort Sill to permit the allotment of the post of Fort Sill by the military, which abandonment was expected to take place long before [now]. Al[though] in fact no actual date was set, yet the promise was there and the expenditure of a million and a quarter dollars on a new post afterward, putting forward the abandonment of the reservation into the far distant future was in effect <u>a violation of that promise so far as men... alive are concerned</u>. [emphasis added] No Congress would listen for a moment to a proposition to abandon a military post just erected at

such a cost.[1]

In subsequent hearings held by the committee the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches raised the issue again and again. The prisoners had every expectation of being allotted lands from the reservation itself in parcels of 160 acres. It is not clear in either Hugh L. Scott's letter or other correspondence whether the entire reservation was promised to the Apaches (in their view it was); however, it is clear that in at least the case of the Comanche and Kiowa accession made in 1898, those lands were added to the reservation for the sole purpose of allotting tracts to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs prisoners upon their release.

R.G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, outlined his view on the issue in a letter written August 8, 1911. He understood:

> it was clearly promised these Indians when land was added for the benefit of the former Fort Sill Military Reservation, that this land would be used in the future to provide for them and their children... This was agreed to by officials of the Indian Bureau and the War Department and a former President of the United States... furthermore, under the various provisions with which these added tracts were set aside, the purpose was clearly for the benefit of the Indians.[2]

Valentine went on to stipulate those members of the tribe who wished to be allotted on the "so called Fort Sill Reservation."[3]

Observers outside the government recognized Apache claims to at least a portion of the Fort Sill reservation. An article in the Philadelphia Record described the

situation concerning the controversy over the release of the Apache prisoners as a "local contention" involving Oklahomans "anxious to develop a great military post at Fort Sill... which in reality belongs to these Indians, but which under a certain vague interpretation, may be considered as part of the military post [itself]." The Record concluded that "The Indian Office insists that these captives should be allotted the lands which were deeded to them by the neighboring tribes."[4]

These sources lend authority to the voices of the Apache people themselves as they repeatedly pressed their claim to allotment from the military reservation. At a conference at Fort Sill on September 21, 1911, Scott along with commission members Colonel Edwin St. John Greble and George W. Goode, met with members of the tribe. Scott began the hearing by stating his mission and powers.

> I am sent here to get information and not to deliver any orders. I have come down here to find out what is needed. I am not empowered to take any steps other than to get information for [Army Chief of Staff] General [Leonard] Wood. General Wood wants to know how you feel. He can't find out unless you tell me. Whatever you say I will take and see that General Wood gets it.[5]

Eugene Chihuahua most aptly expressed the feelings of many of the prisoners. Bitterly acknowledging Scott's real purpose in coming to Fort Sill, he began his testimony, "It don't look like you are going to help us out the way you talk." Not to be intimidated by the high ranking members of the commission, he proudly said, "I am going to talk to you

just the same as if these men around me were armed." Then Chihuahua began the litany that was repeated in this and other meetings:

> When you brought us here you told us that this was our country and that this was our land. And you said don't think about any other country because this is yours. You told the old men that [when] I was a boy and I listened to that and Captain Pratt told us that too. I learned much in Alabama where I went to school. General [Oliver O.] Howard came down there and wrote on the black board these words, ["]Look forward and not back, look up and not down.["] I remember that... The Kiowas and Comanches gave us some of this land. So this belongs to us. I worked hard building these fences, putting up post[s], digging post holes and building fences. What is going to become of all of it[?] You told us that this was ours and that is why we worked so hard. You with the Kiowas and Comanches helped to get us this land and told us it was ours.[6]

Acknowledging reality, he demanded that "if we are moved out from here on some other land, don't move us out with bare hands[,] pay us for what we have done here."[7] Chihuahua was just one of a majority of the Apache prisoners who decided to move to Mescalero to join his relatives who already lived there. In his testimony Chihuahua recounted a trip he took to Mescalero to "see if [he] could find some land [he could] live on." He rode around the reservation, and examined its fields and timber. Impressed with what the Mescalero Reservation offered, Chihuahua was convinced. In company with many older members he decided to move to New Mexico.[8]

Another member of the tribe representing those who wanted to remain in Oklahoma, followed Chihuahua. Talbot

Gooday, like Eugene Chihuahua, recounted the work and toil the Apaches had put into their farms and into the reservation itself. "We have worked hard," he said. "We have made this reservation good. You can see that the fences are good and strong. We tried very hard to raise something on this land to farm. This year I planted my crop four times and I finally got a crop of kaffir corn."[9] Gooday reviewed the struggles of following the white man's road, doing all that had been asked of him and expected of him by his old mentor "Captain Pratt." He stated the whole issue succinctly when he said, "We like this land and that is why we watch it. It is the same way with you white men. Suppose somebody would give you land and you done lots of work on it and worked on it for a long time, you would not give it up to anybody for nothing. We are the same as you today."[10] These Apaches had learned their captor's lessons all too well.

Responding to Talbot Gooday's testimony, Colonel Scott asked "how many of the [prisoners] feel as you do?" Those who wished to remain at Fort Sill were asked to come forward and gathered in front of the commissioners. Twenty-five men with their wives and children came forward. Ten men, without families of their own, joined them. Scott asked, "Where does this part of the band want to go?" Gooday responded, "They want to stay here, but I am not through talking yet. I have told you what I am thinking about. Now

I am going to say what this reservation [is] and what you are going to do with us."[11] Gooday went on, eloquently stating his peoples' case.

> We are all young men and we are all able to work. We learned to work out here. We learned how to do these things. We are getting tired now and are getting money only once a year. We think now that each man should have a 160 acres of land to farm and his own house on it... The Government can afford to give us that much... I am a poor man standing up here talking to you. I am an Indian and I am not an Indian either... We want some land in place of the land the Railroad has taken away, and that on which the... new post is built on. We want to be paid for the land the Dam was built on... We want schools. We want an Agency of our own and somebody who will look after us and see that we get justice. When ever you give this to us it will be justice and when we get justice we will all feel like working with more vigor.[12]

The Apache testimony indicates the extent to which "traditional" Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache culture had been changed, through acculturation, as expressed in official government policy and in the adjustments the Apaches had made in order to survive. Gooday expressed an attachment for his work and to his home that had been inculcated through years of schooling and life at Fort Sill. The transcripts also reveal the extent to which a new generation of leadership had developed within the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community that took over from the leaders of old, including Naiche, Nana, Geronimo, and Loco. Men such as Eugene Chihuahua, Talbot Gooday, Benedict Jozhe, Sr., and Jason Betzinez, now middle aged, had experienced the change from the old days of life in the deserts and mountains to life at Carlisle and other government schools,

and the hot-house of cultural change that was the Fort Sill experience. In place of the old head men and the traditional pattern of Apache leadership which was based on proven leadership in the hunt and war, and expressed through consensus, a new system of leadership developed. It now rested with a group of elders who remembered not only the old life in Old and New Mexico, but also understood the requirements of present and future. These leaders possessed the tools to negotiate the perils of the white world in the twentieth-century, a place filled with conflicts played out within faceless bureaucracies and mysterious court rooms.

In a general sense the two groups that coalesced around future resettlement sites represented a generational division. Older members of the community, especially those old enough to remember life before captivity generally hoped to reestablish some semblance of the past with a return to New Mexico, even if it meant moving to the Mescalero Reservation, a placed where no Chiricahua or Warm Springs Apache had ever lived. Still the groups were fluid. A few younger folks decided to go to Mescalero while several older ones, including Jason Betzinez, were the most outspoken advocates about staying in Oklahoma. As James Kawaykla stated in his testimony, "A few of us want to go to Mescalera [sic] and one hand full want to go [to] J-Goney [Ojo Caliente or Warm Springs] and quite a few of the younger people want to remain here if the Government will

give us this land at Fort Sill." Kaywakla continued his testimony, revealing his people's traditional concern not only for themselves and their children but future generations, when he said, "this is a good land, and a good country. This is not only for ourselves and not for this generation, but it is for our children and our childrens' children."[13]

Not withstanding the power of the Apaches' testimony, Colonel Scott had been sent with a mission--to convince the prisoners of the reality that Fort Sill was not theirs. After hearing their testimony he called for all of them to stand before the committee and proceeded to thank them for their comments. He then began the task of correcting the Apaches' "mistaken impression" that any portion of Fort Sill belonged to them.

He began, "I told you exactly what President Cleveland, the President of the United States told me to. He said this was to be for your use and occupancy. Now you have had the use and occupancy for seventeen years and no body ever told you that you could sell it." Scott then proceeded to outline the government's argument, one invariably at odds with his draft report. He continued,

> Nobody ever told you when the soldiers were going [to leave]. [The soldiers] don't know, whether next week, next year, in ten years - twenty years or thirty years, because no body knew when these soldiers were going away and they hav'nt [sic] gone yet. They told you could have this for your use and occupancy and you have had it.
>
> Now as far as the Government taking care of you,

> the Government has taken better care of you better than any Indians ever were taken care of on this Continent. You have been kept longer than any Indians that I have ever seen and I have seen a great many Indians.[14]

Assuming a stern paternalistic tone Scott continued to attempt to explain away nearly every claim made by the Apaches in the previous hours of their testimony. Addressing the uniqueness of the situation at Fort Sill, Scott reviewed the path that other frontier posts took as they were shut down. As far as Fort Sill was concerned, Scott said, "I don't know when they are going to take [the soldiers] away from here and no body else knows." Curiously, Scott appeared to leave the question open as to what would happen to Fort Sill, if it ever were to be abandoned. Such an omission seemed to support the Apaches' primary contention.

If the Apache prisoners of war were not to remain at Fort Sill, and the military had no provision for their long-term settlement, where were they supposed to go?

Scott apparently came to Fort Sill with the goal of resettling all of the Apaches in the Southwest, preferably at Mescalero. In September, 1911, however, it was not clear if that were possible. The government's concern was finding enough room for the Apaches at a place where they would be welcomed. Who knew of such a place? The conference of September 21st ended with Scott presenting the possibility of resettlement in the West. The War Department would

explore options for settlement in New Mexico. The people of Arizona still remained hostile to resettlement of the Chiricahuas at San Carlos or any other reservation in that territory.

Discussions about relocating the Apaches to the Southwest had been going on for several years. An Apache at Mescalero named Marrion Simms wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Interior in 1907 asking that his people be "turned loose" and sent to the Mescalero Reservation. "We have plenty of land here for homes [for] all of them" Simms wrote. One reason the prisoners would be welcome was "There [are] but few of us. If you put both tribes together it will give us a good many and make us healthier and stronger."[15]

Another advocate of resettlement at Mescalero was Agent James A. Carrol. He had supported the idea of bringing the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs Apaches to Mescalero for a number of years and stepped up his efforts to accomplish such a move in 1911.[16] In August Commissioner R.G. Valentine apprised Hugh L. Scott of the conditions at Mescalero, which remained somewhat obscure. Even the reservation's superintendent was not sure of its size for the reservation had never been surveyed. Established by executive order in 1875 the reservation supposedly covered over 470,000 acres of which few were arable or irrigated. The reservation, however, did contain a large quantity of

timber.[17]

The Mescalero Reservation, located in south central New Mexico, had nearly become home to Victorio and his band of Chíende (Warm Springs) Apaches in the late 1870s. Continued hostilities and the band's virtual annihilation in Mexico at Tres Castillos prevented that from happening. By the early 1900s the Mescaleros had become destitute and, due to disease, had dwindled in number. The large expanse of the reservation had drawn the attention of Senator Albert B. Fall, who from 1912 to 1922, attempted to make the reservation a National Park. Fall's own ranch was located adjacent to the reservation. He and his cronies hoped to exploit the reservation's grazing land.

Among other reasons the Mescaleros welcomed Lipan Apaches and the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches from Oklahoma to their reservation was to add to their numbers. In so doing they could protect themselves from Fall's attempt to preempt their reservation.[18]

In June 1909, Indian Inspector James McLaughlin held a meeting with the headmen of the Mescalero Apache tribe and discussed the possibility of bringing the Fort Sill Apaches to their reservation. Carroll reviewed past events, including the visit of Asa Daklugie to the reservation (he had relatives at Mescalero and moved to Mescalero with his family in August 1911). He emphasized that a condition of removal established at a previous meeting was that "the Fort

Sill Apache [sic] would bring with them their cattle, or its equivalent, and that these cattle should become tribal property; but, in lieu thereof, the Fort Sill band should be incorporated into the tribe with all the rights and privileges of full membership."[19]

After Scott finished his first meeting with the prisoners at Fort Sill in September a group led by Scott and Colonel Greble was formed to explore the possible sites for relocation in the Southwest. Six members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community were selected to investigate conditions in New Mexico. According to Eve Ball, the committee consisted of Eugene Chihuahua and Talbot Gooday (representing the Chiricahuas) and James Kawaykla and Rogers Toclanny (for the Chíende or Warm Springs band). Jason Betzinez represented the group that wished to remain in Oklahoma.[20]

The men comprising the investigation committee represented some of the most experienced members of the community. Many had attended Carlisle for at least several years; all of them had served in the military as scouts. Eugene Chihuahua (1876-1961), son of the great chief Chihuahua, assumed leadership of his father's village at Fort Sill upon Chihuahua's death. He along with Asa Daklugie remained a staunch supporter of the move to Mescalero and after release lived the rest of his life there. Talbot Gooday (1865-1962) was enrolled at Carlisle

with his wife in 1887 and returned to Mount Vernon in 1890. Throughout his life in Oklahoma he served as one of the tribal elders of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community. James Kawaykla (1877-1963) was the only male survivor of the Tres Castillos massacre and went on to attend Carlisle from 1887-1898. Upon George Wratten's death he became the Fort Sill Apache interpreter for the proceedings surrounding the release, removal, and allotment of the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs band. He chose to remain in Oklahoma. Rogers Toclanny (1863-1947), according to post historian Gillette Griswold, had the longest record of continuous military service in the United States Army of any of the Apache scouts and chose to settle at Mescalero. Jason Betzinez (1860-1960), as previously mentioned, was enrolled with the first group of Apache young people (although twenty-seven years of age) forced to enroll at the Carlisle Indian School. He attended Carlisle from 1887-1895 before working for a few years in steel mills in the Pittsburgh area. He returned to Fort Sill in 1900 where he obtained work as a blacksmith. Throughout the entire period when the future fate of the Apache prisoners of war was being discussed he remained a staunch and vocal advocate of allotment in Oklahoma.[21]

The six Apaches, accompanied by Colonels Scott and Greble, first toured the Mescalero Reservation. Agent Carroll graciously received them and gave them a tour of the

entire reservation. According to Betzinez's account his Mescalero hosts were less gracious with him. They already knew of his desires to remain in Oklahoma. The tour emphasized the great stands of timber and fertile grasses which carpeted the mountain valleys of the reservation. Betzinez found the fields lacking in potential for farming and suggested that irrigation would be difficult. Eugene Chihuahua was impressed with the abundance of wild game, including thousands of deer, elk, wild turkey, and other small game. Traditional wild foods used by the Apaches in the past also existed: mescal, wild berries, and sweet acorns. He remarked that at one point on a trail through Dark Canyon to Apache Summit "the trail was so overshadowed by pines that I knew how it got its name. Wagons could go through but at places could not pass." Pasture for cattle and horses was also abundant, "everywhere it was good; and there is no better feed. It dries standing and cattle and horses eat it all winter."[22]

After their tour of Mescalero the group travelled to El Paso on its way to Ojo Caliente, Victorio's old reservation. The area was by then entirely populated by Mexicans. Jason Betzinez described the trip to Warm Springs as "inspiring." However, upon their arrival a dismal sight greeted them. The group arrived at the old Warm Springs Agency at night and had to wait for sunrise. Betzinez later wrote that in the morning,

> The whole country, once so fertile and green, was now entirely barren. Gravel had washed down, covering all the nice valleys and pastures, even filling up the Warm Springs, which had completely vanished. The reservation was entirely ruined. Looking around bitterly, I said to myself, "Oklahoma is good enough for me."
>
> The others continued to stroll around, for a couple of hours, dispirited and downcast. Then we went on back sadly to Monticello, where we spent the night... On our arrival at Fort Sill a tribal council was called to listen to our reports and recommendations. On the basis of what the other five had to say, the leaders decided that the Apaches would request that they be assigned to the Mescalero Reservation.[23]

In November 1911 Colonel Hugh L. Scott submitted his final report with its attached documents from his two month long investigations and conferences with the Apaches. He reviewed the results of the expedition to New Mexico and closed his report with a scathing commentary on the conditions which had developed among the prisoners since his departure from Fort Sill. Scott recommended that their removal would "be for their ultimate benefit."[24]

Scott ended his report calling for a survey of the Mescalero Agency so that allotments could be made for the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people who would settle there. Scott also recommended that three white men who had lived among the prisoners be allotted as well. These were George Wratten, the military interpreter, and Martin Grab and E.L. Welch, civilians who worked in varying capacities as supply personnel or agricultural instructors. According to Scott, "The Apaches desire [their] allotment."[25]

In November 1911 Scott completed his duties on the

resettlement commission, yet it remained unclear what would happen to those Apaches who still desired to stay in Oklahoma. Jason Betzinez and other members of the Oklahoma group appealed to Dr. Walter C. Roe to assist them in pressing their case to remain in Oklahoma. Roe made arrangements for Betzinez to attend a conference at Lake Mohonk, New York where he could report on the Fort Sill Apaches and, he hoped, gain some assistance in their effort to obtain allotments at Fort Sill.[26]

From 1909 to 1913 the Department of the Interior attempted to follow the morally correct position of allotting the Apache prisoners lands from the Fort Sill Military Reservation. Turcheneske tracks the manueverings between the Departments of Interior and War and how military officials succeeded in retaining all of Fort Sill and pushing most of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches out of Oklahoma.[27]

By the close of 1910 the Bureau of Indian Affairs announced its concept of justice for the Apaches--that those who desired to remain "should be permitted permanently to remain on and have allotted to them those lands upon which they now have homes."[28] Shortly after, the Bureau of Indian Affairs publicly announced its position, the Department of War proceeded to make every effort to protect its interests and investment in Fort Sill. A crucial part of this was the insistence that Fort Sill was an active

military installation.

Judge Advocate General George B. Davis constructed the legal argument with which the Army bludgeoned the Department of Interior and which Scott employed in his discussions with the Apaches. It concerned the meaning of the phrase "for their use and occupancy," used in the Executive Order of 1897 granting them added lands from the Comanche and Kiowa Reservation. Turcheneske aptly describes Davis's interpretation of the agreement:

> With respect to the 1897 Executive Order which procured the Eastern and Western Additions, Davis admitted the Chiricahuas had a legal claim to a large extent to Fort Sill, and noted it created a permanent status for these Indians at this installation. But any attempt to allot Fort Sill would be inexpedient. 'Therefore, legislation with such an objective in view 'should not be favorably recommended to Congress.'"
>
> In effect Davis derived an interpretation of the phrase used in the Executive Order which he liberally utilized to the War Department's advantage. There existed, "a condition of fact, as established by executive and legislative action, which has not change"... this meant that the military had found the new enlarged reservation "in the highest degree necessary for military purposes." The Apaches would be able to retain the reservation until they could be moved elsewhere.[29]

In other words, concerns for national security and the earliest manifestations of the military-industrial complex had come to roost on the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. They would be the first of many Native American peoples to experience, first hand, the political power of military planners combined with the interests of local and national politics.

Skillfully employing time-proven tactics against the Apache prisoners and their advocates, including officials within the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Board of Indian Commissioners, the Indian Rights Association, and the Reformed Church of America, the War Department waged a successful four-year battle for Fort Sill.[30]

Soon after Scott's recommendations arrived on his superior's desks the Department of Interior acquiesced to settling most of the prisoners, upon their release, at Mescalero. Interior, however, continued to expect the remaining Apaches would be allotted lands in the amount of eighty acres per head of household. Six months later the Department of Interior caved in, agreeing that all the prisoners would move to New Mexico. At that point the Board of Indian Commissioners proposed a compromise recommendation that those Apaches who wished to stay in Oklahoma could be allotted tracts of land purchased from "dead" Kiowa and Comanche allotments, off of Fort Sill.[31]

How did the Department of War arrange such a complete victory? George Vaux, member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, succinctly described the methods by which military officials successfully orchestrated the removal of the Apaches from Fort Sill. First, in their time honored tradition, military officials exploited the desperation of the Apache people. The majority of the tribe chose to

relocate to Mescalero. The military expended every effort to protect its Field Artillery School and the large financial investment the government had made in that installation. The Board of Indian Commissioners' suggestion of using "dead" Kiowa and Comanche allotments played directly into the military's hands. The military also enjoyed critical support from local and national political leaders who, in the end, legislated a final solution to the government's Apache problem in the 1913 Indian Appropriations Bill which formally released the Apache prisoners of war and funded their removal to Mescalero and allotment in Oklahoma.[32]

With a blueprint for removal in hand and passage of the Indian Appropriations Bill of 1913 the Department of War and Department of Interior formulated detailed plans to execute policy. The War Department again selected Colonel Scott as its executor with the assistance of Major George W. Goode, the last military officer in charge of the prisoners, who would hand them off to BIA officials at Mescalero. The Department of Interior selected Kiowa Agency Superintendent Ernest Stecker to oversee its part of the proceedings. Scott continued to play an influential role. Early on he established extremely restrictive requirements for those prisoners who wished to be released and remain in Oklahoma. He wanted only those to remain who were, in his words, "[sober]...sufficiently intelligent, industrious, and

physically fit to make a living."[33]

Scott's idea of who would go and who would stay did not sit well with the Apaches, the Department of Interior, or local missionaries of the Reformed Church. Hendrina Hospers, a missionary who worked among the Chiricahuas, reported this latest turn of events to Reverend Walter C. Roe, who quickly corresponded with Interior officials about the exclusion of Chiricahuas and Warm Springs from the group that wanted to remain in Oklahoma. In historian John Turcheneske's words, "Roe believed it essential that every Chiricahua family head and single adult be allowed to decide freely whether he wished to remain in Oklahoma or remove to Mescalero."[34] As a result of the controversy the Departments of War and Interior investigated the missionaries' assertions, which were found to be true. The Secretary of War agreed to allow the Apaches to decide where they would go. Commissioner of Indian Affairs F.H. Abbot presented a plan whereby those members of the community who decided to move to Mescalero would be released first while efforts were begun to find lands to settle those Apaches who would remain in Oklahoma. Agent Ernest Stecker had to find suitable tracts of 160 acres. Seventy-five thousand to $80,000 of the $200,000 appropriated by Congress for the Apaches' resettlement would be set aside to acquire allotments.[35]

On December 2, 1912, the resettlement commission

certified that 176 Apaches had freely elected to move to Mescalero and eighty-eight had opted to remain in Oklahoma. By January 1913 the military and the Department of Interior began preparing the supplies and making the arrangements of moving an entire community of people Fort Sill to Mescalero. Clothing, blankets, tents, stoves, and lumber were stockpiled at Mescalero. The Rock Island Railroad conveyed the Apaches and their personal goods to New Mexico.[36]

Late in the afternoon on Wednesday, April 2, 1913, the special train bearing 163 Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches pulled out of the Fort Sill station, carrying an apprehensive people to an uncertain future. Turcheneske wrote of their feelings that day: "there was not so much satisfaction of receiving one's freedom as there was the sadness of being denied the homes permanently promised them."[37] Few among that group could personally remember the beginning of their confinement.

Recalling the events surrounding "the parting," Jason Betzinez described the confusion of loading horses, mules, and personal belongings on the train. Hendrina Hospers, Reformed Church missionary, accompanied the Apaches moving to Mescalero. Betzinez wrote that in her efforts to seat family groups together, Hospers, unaware of the practice of avoidance, inadvertently caused a stir when she attempted to seat men in close proximity to their mother-in-laws. Just before the train left the conductor discovered that the

Apaches had brought their dogs, which he promptly ordered off the train. Despite his efforts, however, many were hidden among baggage and blankets. When the train arrived in Tularosa witnesses reported seeing dogs gleefully scrambling off the train along with their owners. According to one owner, "We had been forbidden to take dogs; but when the doors opened, they simply poured off those cars."[38]

Asa Daklugie recalled the more serious aspects of the parting. Despite the broken promises and the disappointment of losing a promised home he rejoiced in the hope of a new home, one where he could "go to the mountains and pray to Ussen as our ancestors had done and as our mothers had taught us to do." According to Daklugie, the hardest thing about leaving Oklahoma was "forsaking our beloved dead. Quietly we visited the resting places of our people for a last farewell. We Knew that they were in the Happy Place, awaiting our coming. We knew that they understood and they approved of our leaving."[39]

For those who remained behind another year would pass before arrangements were finalized for their allotments. They finally moved to selected farms in small agricultural communities scattered to the north and east of Fort Sill in Apache, Fletcher, and Elgin. And yet the disappointments and broken promises continued. From the beginning the allotment in Oklahoma was supposed to provide 160 acres of improved agricultural land per head of household and a

further 160 acres of unimproved land for dependents and minors. These requirements were incorporated in the legislation passed by Congress which officially provided for the release and allotment of the prisoners. Government agents at first assured both the Apaches and Congress that enough appropriate land was available and that funds were sufficient for the job. Soon after, Indian Bureau officials began the actual process of selecting available tracts from dead Kiowa and Comanche allottees as well as fraudulently acquired allotments. They soon discovered that congressional appropriations were insufficient to purchase the required acreage. Bureau officials also found it nearly impossible to find enough land to allot the promised acreage. In effect, the plan to allot the Apache prisoners was fraught with the same inadequacies that allotment presented all Native Americans. Allotment's purpose was to break down "the tribal idea" and inculcate individualism, in an attempt to destroy the communal based values which most Native American peoples held.

Allotment for all Native Americans turned out to be an unmitigated disaster as communally-held reservation lands were broken up for individual allotment and the balance made available for settlement by non-Indians. The result for Indians was the near total alienation of tribal lands between 1887 and 1934.

The Apache prisoners, soon to be freed, faced at once

the same problems as other American Indians. The first problem was simply how to make a living in a region known, even to this day, for its barrenness and aridity. Southwestern Oklahoma is a region known for frequent cycles of drought which make farming a risky proposition, even for those well prepared in training and equipment. Even by the time of their release, it was well known among extension experts, not to mention farmers themselves, that the region around Fort Sill was ill-suited for agriculture. At a time when many white settlers who had arrived in Lawton's earliest days had already called it quits, the government thrust the Apaches into a world for which they were barely prepared. While the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people had spent much of the previous years of captivity learning the rudiments of farming, Scott's program of acculturation had emphasized stockraising, for which the Apaches had great interest. Upon their release they were expected to make an immediate transition to the life of independent farmers, in a few cases augmented by skills learned during their imprisonment at Fort Sill or at the Carlisle Indian School.

And yet they stood a chance of making it, had the government followed through on its promises. If the government had provided each head of family with 160 acres of "improved" agricultural land (land that had already been plowed, seeded, and its yield harvested); if the government had provided subsistence while the Apaches made the

adjustment to their freedom; and if the government had provided the tools, seeds, capital, and technical assistance required (and stipulated in official policy)--then the Apaches, like many Native Americans in a similar situation, could have successfully negotiated the pitfalls and perils of farming in the arid Southern Plains. What the government actually did was the exact opposite.

From the beginning 160 acres was a minimal amount of land to support an average farming family in the region (Euroamerican, African American, or Indian). In fact E.M. Frost, President of the Cameron State School of Agriculture, wrote Dr. Henry Roe Cloud in October 1913 of the conditions and realistic expectations of agriculture in Southwestern Oklahoma. Frost wrote, "it is my candid opinion... that the average farmer cannot nor does not make a living on a farm of 160 acres in this southwestern country. Not only does the average farmer fail to make a living, but fully three-fourths of them do not in this section. This is truly stock-raising country and not well adapted to agricultural and farming pursuits." Frost supported his contention with the statistic that "fully 90% of the deeded land in the southwestern portion of the state in now under mortgage. This would not be the case were the people able to make, or did make, a living on their farms of 160 acres." Evidently conversant with the situation faced by the Apaches at Fort Sill, Frost wrote,

> Where an enterprising farmer to come in from the east, with unlimited means to begin with, and will fertilize his land or irrigate it he can and will make a living, otherwise he will not. I have been in Oklahoma since the spring of 1890, and have been allied with the agricultural interests and farmer since that date, and in that time have seen from 85% to 95% of the land taken over by the mortgage companies - this land mortgaged because the people could not make a living on 160 acres.
>
> Any attempt to decrease the size of the farm to 80 acres is sure to result in more deplorable conditions of our people, unless it can be arranged for all to irrigate their land under cultivation. While this is true of the white man, my experience and observation with and of your people forces me to the conclusion that to confine your people, with their lack of knowledge of farming conditions, to an 80 acre tract and require them to make a a living there-on [sic] would result in starvation for your people absolutely could not make a living on an 80 acre tract in this section.[40]

Despite the quality of land and previous assurances the government chose to use the more restrictive requirements of the General Allotment Act, which stipulated that the Indians would be allotted either eighty acres of agricultural land or 160 acres of range land. Henry Roe Cloud, the Apaches' local Reformed Church advocate, reminded Commissioner Cato Sells, in a November 3, 1913 letter, that representatives from the War Department, Department of the Interior, the Board of Indian Commissioners and officials from the Indian Rights Association, agreed that "the heads of families should, at least, get 160 acres of agricultural land." But it was not to be. In the end most of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs people were lucky to receive eighty acres, for some actually received less. A few members of the community

pooled their own resources and purchased additional acreage to augment the inadequate amount allotted to them by the government.[41]

By January 1914 the Anadarko Agency Superintendent, T.E. Ellis, reported that Major Goode, overseeing the final arrangements of the settlement of the Apache prisoners on their allotments, had persuaded the Apaches to accept the eighty acres. Ellis believed that "settlement of these Indians in their own places can be made before planting time this spring."[42] Bureau officials and Major Goode, the officer in charge of the prisoners until their release, reported that some members of the tribe were delaying their selections in order to find "the best quality land... which is not easily available."[43] Most of them, however, had made their selections and all of the prisoners were released and moved to their new farms in early March 1914.[44]

Like their friends and relatives who journeyed to Mescalero the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches of Oklahoma faced an uncertain future. But like the innumerable generations before they would adapt and survive. Despite twenty-nine years of captivity and forced cultural change they retained their tribal and band identity. Over succeeding decades the physical struggle to survive would never overwhelm their devotion to family and efforts to seek justice for the wrongs visited upon them. A new generation of leadership, honed in school and field, would enter upon a

new series of conflicts as the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches of Oklahoma, called "The Fort Sill Apaches" by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, attempted to keep the tribe together, balancing accommodation and resistance, while seeking justice for their people.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

1. Copy of handwritten draft, Colonel Hugh L. Scott to Adjutant General's Office, July 24, 1911. Fort Sill Apache, Prisoners of War Hearings, Reports File, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Typescript in author's possession. George Purington, officer in charge of the Apache prisoners of war reported in 1909 "This Reservation (The Military Reservation of Fort Sill) belongs to these Indians. The War Department made several efforts between 1889 and 1894 to select a suitable reservation for them, and conferences were held with them by Captain J.C. Bourke and General G.A. Crook in regard to it. The Indians knew that a reservation was being sought for them and when this reservation was finally selected for them and they were established here by the Secretary of War under authority of an Act of Congress in 1894, they were told that this was their reservation and that they would not be moved again. The fact that they were permanently established here has repeatedly been affirmed by acts of Congress." See minutes of a conference held at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, August 22, 1909, by George A. Purington with the Geronimo Apaches (Apache Prisoners of War) in Eve Ball, Indeh: An Apache Odyssey, 1980, 185-193.

2. R.G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Colonel Hugh L. Scott, August 8, 1911. Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

3. Ibid.

4. "American Indians in Captivity," Philadelphia Record, 10 October 1912, 4-5.

5. Proceedings of Conference with the Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, Stenographic Typescript, September 21, 1911, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Fort Sill Apache, Prisoner of War Hearings, Reports File, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

6. Ibid., 10.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 13.

10. Ibid., 14.

11. Ibid., 15.

12. Ibid., 16.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., 33-35.

15. Marrion Simms to Secretary of the Interior, 4 March 1907, Swett Collection, Fort Sill Museum and Archives. In various responses to the letter officials in the Indian Bureau cited the Fort Sill prisoners' prosperity and their desire to remain in Oklahoma. In April 1907 George Purington responded, "[that] the Secretary of War was clearly of the opinion that for the present it was unwise to discuss the movement of these Indians back to New Mexico." See George A. Purington to Headquarters, Department of Texas, 1 April 1907, Swett Collection, Fort Sill Museum and Archives. One reason for the military's disinclination to discuss the removal of the prisoners back to New Mexico was that in 1907 Geronimo was still alive. Serious attempts to repatriate the Chiricahua and Warm Springs people had to await his death.

16. James A. Carrol, Superintendent, Mescalero Reservation to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26 August 1911, John A. Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

17. R.G. Valentine to Hugh L. Scott, 25 August 1911, In Ibid.

18. C.L. Sonnischsen's The Mescalero Apaches remains the best historical work on the Mescalero Apaches and their reservation. For discussion of the prisoners of war and their connection to Mescalero see Sonnischsen, 220-229. The Mescalero Apaches apparently hoped to share in the Fort Sill Apache's wealth in cattle. The entire idea of bringing the prisoners of war to Mescalero may have been more an Indian Bureau official's idea than the Mescalero's. Discussion with Michael Darrow, Apache Language Class, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma, 6 November 1995. Notes in author's possession.

19. Typescript of Minutes of Conference held at Mescalero Indian Agency, New Mexico, June 26, 1909, by James McLaughlin, U.S. Indian Inspector, with the Mescalero Apaches with references to the removal of the Fort Sill Apaches to the Mescalero Reservation. See also (Memorandum) Committee sent to Apache Prisoners of War to Secretaries of War and Interior, December 2, 1912. Fort Sill Apache, Prisoners of War File, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill Oklahoma.

20. Ball, Indeh, 184-185. See also Betzinez, I Fought With Geronimo, 192-195. Characteristically Scott and his fellow officers leave out any details of the composition of the committee or the Apache's observations of the trip.

21. Gillette Griswold, "The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, Antecedents," 8, 19, 48, 78-79, 135-126, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill Oklahoma.

22. Ball, Indeh, 184-185.

23. Betzinez, 194-195.

24. H.L. Scott to Secretary of War, November 3, 1911, John Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

25. Ibid.

26. Betzinez, 195.

27. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914," 144-157.

28. United States Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1910, 54.

29. Turcheneske, "The Fort Sill Apache Prisoners of War, 1894-1914," 159. Quotes from Memorandum by George B. Davis, The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, December 13, 1910, Adjutant General's Office.

30. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War," 161.

31. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Commissioners, Forty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1912, 11-12. See also Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War," 178-180.

32. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War," 188-218.

33. Hugh L. Scott and Ernest Stecker to the Adjutant General's Office, October 5, 1912, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

34. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War," 251-252. See Hendrina Hospers to Mary Roe, October 4, 1912, Fort Sill Apache File, General Correspondence, 1899-1918,

Records of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives. See also Walter C. Roe to Board of Indian Commissioners, October 8, 1912; Roe to F.H. Abbott, October 9, 1912, F.H. Abbott to Walter C. Roe, October 12, 1912; Hendrina Hospers to Mary Roe, October 10, 1912; and Walter C. Roe to George Vaux, Jr., October 16, 1912. All cited in Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War," 277.

35. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War," 261.

36. Ibid, 262.

37. Ibid.

38. Betzinez, 198-199. Ball, Indeh, 274.

39. Ibid, 273.

40. E.M Frost to Henry Roe Cloud, October 14, 1913. Various government officials understood the inadequacy of eighty acre allotments for the region. See George Vaux, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners to Secretary of Interior Franklin M. Lane, 24 November, 1913, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

41. Henry Roe Cloud to Commissioner Cato Sells, November 3, 1913; See also H.C. Phelps to Commissioner Cato Sells, November 1, 1913, ibid.

42. C.L. Ellis to Commissioner Merrit, 21 January 1914, ibid.

43. Memorandum to Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Agent Ernest Stecker, May 11, 1914, ibid.

44. Ernest Stecker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 7, 1914; Edgar B. Merritt to George Vaux, Jr., March 12, 1914, ibid. See also John Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," 269-273. Turcheneske inaccurately implies that the Apaches from Fort Sill were allotted 160 acres per capita.

VI. The Post Allotment Period: Accommodation and Leadership

According to Fort Sill Apache Tribal Historian Michael Darrow, the Warm Springs Apaches, more than any of the other Chiricahua bands, have always attempted to pursue a peaceful path in life, and often have been misrepresented by journalists and academics alike. The Warm Springs Apaches were also known for following the intellectual aspects of their culture as storytellers, musicians, artists, healers, and the guardians of the spiritual aspects of Chiricahua and Warm Springs culture. Sam Haozous and many of his descendants exemplify that Warm Springs tradition of intellectual and cultural leadership, even to this day as the family remains a repository of cultural maintenance and artistic talent. Sam Haozous's son, Allan Houser (Haozous), named for one of the officers who supervised the Apaches at Fort Sill, attended Bureau of Indian Affairs art schools and became a renowned sculptor and painter.

Blossom Haozous, alongside her husband passed on language, stories, and aspects of traditional Warm Springs Apache life such as bead work and cooking to her children and grandchildren. She also shared her experience as a prisoner of war in Alabama and Fort Sill, providing one of the few formal records of daily life while the Apaches resided on Fort Sill.

The Haozous family maintained those critical links to

the past as their fellow Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches made the final adjustment from prisoners of war to independent farmers in the hardscrable fields of southwestern Oklahoma. Not long after their release from Fort Sill, the dry winds and cycle of drought returned to the Southern Plains and wrecked havoc among both Indian and white farmers.

After supervising the release of the prisoners from Fort Sill in March, 1914, the Office of Apache Prisoners of War had several remaining tasks to perform before it passed into oblivion. In the aftermath of release the government continued to drag its feet in the final resolution of the settlement of the Apache prisoners of war (affecting both the Oklahoma and Mescalero groups). Government agents began making arrangements for the sale of the Apache's herd of cattle in early 1913. In April Major Goode sold 5,638 head of cattle and an almost equal number of unbranded calves for $234,540. The funds derived from the cattle sale were to be distributed among the former prisoners of war as personal (rather than tribal) property and made available for the Apaches' use for purchasing farming equipment, their own livestock, and new furnishings for their homes.[1] The office's final tasks included disposing of the prisoners' property, including improvements on their land, their homes, and crops in the fields. In June, 1914, Goode reported that all "common property" had been disposed. With the issue of

its final report the Office of Apache Prisoners officially closed, marking the passage of an era in Native American and United States government relations.[2]

Even with the military's termination of responsibilities for the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, their troubles were far from over. The government reneged on original plans to provide them with a year's subsistence. The Apaches had to use their cattle money. Funds that should have been used to purchase seed, implements, and the furnishings for their new homes, were used instead to purchase the common necessities of survival. There also remained a number of individuals who were not allotted lands as originally provided for in legislation for the release and settlement of the prisoners. These included dependents of allotted individuals, members of the tribe who were away at school, and several tribal members who simply fell through administrative cracks and were not included on the original allotment commission's lists. For several years after their release, these grievances and others would continue to vex tribal leaders as they attempted to seek redress for the government's failures.

The Fort Sill Apaches' tribal leadership, consisting of Benedict Jozhe, Sr., Jason Betzinez, and James Kawaykla, petitioned Commissioned Cato Sells, as early as January 1915 for redress of these grievances. Their letter stated, "We Fort Sill Apache Indians are much puzzled about certain

things that were promised to us at the time our allotments were given us." They concluded their letter with their concerns for "where our money is deposited, and how much interest it is drawing, and how much has been paid out and what remains." They explained "Some of us want to look after our own business. We sometimes have opportunities to buy cattle at good prices, or other things, and as farmers we see many places where we could turn our money to profit, but because we are not allowed to have our money, we lose the opportunity."[3]

The letter illustrates the confusion that surrounded the final disposition of Apache assets from Fort Sill and the bureaucratic fog that enveloped their transfer from the War Department to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Certainly the chain of events surrounding the Apache's release and allotment did nothing to dispel their mistrust of the government. It in fact encouraged a continued fear and mistrust of government agencies (in particular the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior) which persisted for decades. One element of tribal cohesion through the decades was the communal knowledge of the facts surrounding their release. The former prisoners had witnessed the incompetence displayed in the purchase of their allotments. In their hearts, they knew that the government had displayed malfeasance throughout the entire process, from the purchase of their tracts of land to the

disposal of tribal and personal assets.

A review of the government's documentation of the proceedings surrounding release and allotment, as investigated by John Turcheneske, Jr. reveals incompetence on the part of local purchasing agents operating out of the Kiowa Agency in Anadarko and a certain amount of confusion over the dispersal of cattle funds. However, no solid evidence emerges from the records of either malfeasance or criminal misuse of Apache assets. Much of the documentation held at the Fort Sill Archives and federal archives seems to be incomplete. No detailed records appear to exist that tracked the management of the Apache cattle herd, for example. Furthermore, the transactions are so complicated and confusing as even to defy the expertise of an IRS auditor. The root problem in the resolution of the resettlement of the Apaches appears to lay with Congress. Its incessant budgetary wrangling shortchanged the bureaucratic efforts to find an equitable resolution of the Apache case. Being shortchanged by the government was nothing new for Apaches. Deceit, betrayal, and incompetence characterized to a great extent the relationship between the United States government and the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. They absorbed their captor's lessons and learned the tools of survival in a new world that was not of their making. The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches were vindicated, in the end, by two multi-million dollar

judgements against the government. The Apaches found a certain quantum of justice in regarding their claims, even if it came after years of litigation.[4]

Literally dumped into the impoverished rural economy of southwestern Oklahoma, the Apaches struggled to survive alongside their Indian and Euroamerican neighbors. In the next few decades a rough frontier equality developed between the Apaches and, especially, their non-Indian neighbors. During the late 1910s and early 1920s the area around Anadarko and Lawton was settled by many non-English speaking immigrants, especially Germans. A sort of camaraderie developed between these recent arrivals and their Apache neighbors (for many of whom, likewise, English was not their mother tongue). The realities of existence on a small farm on the southern plains bred cooperation and toleration. The desperate years of the late 1920s tried everyone as small farmers throughout the United States felt the coming of the Great Depression. The Apaches struggled to scratch a living from the soil of their meager farms, from trades, from labor in someone else's field, or from work on Fort Sill. During this time period, even as the transitional leadership of the Fort Sill days continued to keep the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community together a new generation developed, educated in traditional ways, but also at local public and Indian Bureau schools, at secondary schools like the Haskell Institute in Kansas, and at public colleges and

universities.

Warm Springs families like the Haozous instilled a passion for education and learning from an early age. Sam and Blossom Haozous pushed their children to learn English, encouraged their attendance at local public and government boarding schools, and then saw their children obtain advanced degrees at the University of Oklahoma and other institutions. Even as they inculcated these values of the non-Indian world they fostered the retention of Warm Springs Apache tribal culture through language, story telling, art, dance, and the practice of traditional medicine.

Sam and Blossom Haozous also taught their children to accommodate to Euroamerican patterns of life. They sent them to boarding schools in Lawton and Chilocco. There they learned English and other skills which they would need for survival in the non-Indian world. Sam Haozous farmed his tract of land until 1930 when his son Allan came home from school for a time and took over the bulk of the chores.[5] Jason Betzinez also continued to farm until the late 1930s when he, like most other Fort Sill Apaches, gave up farming and leased his land to non-Indian farmers in the Apache area.[6]

Other members of the community also left the Apache area to seek a livelihood in places with more promise. Vincent Natalish, like Jason Betzinez, attended Carlisle, and moved to New York City where he worked as a civil

engineer. Throughout the early 1900s as the government made arrangements to move the Apache prisoners off of Fort Sill, Natalish wrote letters to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other officials, expressing both concern and offering suggestions for providing an equitable settlement for his people. He died in the early 1920s, and except for one visit never returned to Oklahoma.[7]

Benedict Jozhe, Jr., born at the Fort Sill Post Hospital on April 18, 1908, grew up in Perico's Village, and according to family history, was sometimes held on Geronimo's knee while the venerable warrior waited for Benedict's mother to cook his breakfast. He started school at the Reformed Mission on Fort Sill (it was closed when the Apache prisoners of war were released). The Jozhe family took up a farm about two miles east of Fletcher where they raised cotton, corn, wheat, and some livestock. According to Benedict's own brief biography his father learned the carpentry trade at the Carlisle Indian school. His mother also attended.

Young Benedict attended school in Fletcher in 1914 but his education was interrupted by a near-fatal bout of diphtheria. From 1915 to 1918 he attended school at the Fort Sill Indian School in Lawton, before his father died in 1918. From 1920 to 1923 he attended the Chilocco Indian School. His attendance at several different schools throughout the next few years was broken up by the

requirements of the family farm. Benedict, president of his class, eventually graduated from the Haskell Indian Institute, in Wichita, Kansas, in May of 1929. The following year he left Oklahoma to attend Lamson's Business College in Phoenix, Arizona but returned the following spring to take care of his mother who had become ill. Benedict's year in Phoenix was the last of his formal education. He then began his years of service to the tribe as chairman of the Fort Sill Apache Tribal Business Council from 1930 to 1973. Benedict worked the family farm until 1945 and was active in the Reformed Church of Apache, Oklahoma for many years.[8]

Jozhe represented yet another transition in Chiricahua and Warm Springs leadership. As the tribe held no communal property at the time, Benedict's main role was one of mediator, interpreter, and administrator of the tribe's dealings with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and later, tribal attorneys. His mastery of English and brief but useful training in business provided him with the tools that the Tribal Business Council needed. These tribal "elders" needed someone with Jozhe's talents to deal with ever-changing government policies. Over the next twenty years federal Indian policy switched from John Collier's "Indian New Deal" to Republican termination. Jozhe would also prove an important force in moving the tribe's claims against the United States government (a process that began in the mid-

1930s). He also provided important information to a number of investigators who conducted history and anthropology projects among and about the Apaches in Oklahoma during the 1960s and 1970s. He assisted Fort Sill historian Gillette Griswold in a massive study that compiled genealogical information concerning Apache prisoners of war and their descendants. He also assisted Griswold's project to renovate several Apache cemeteries on Fort Sill. He served as an invaluable source for William G. Pollard's 1960 anthropological study of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache.[9]

Jozhe conducted his own historical research and taped discussions and interviews (many of them in Apache) with older members of the tribe. These tapes are held in the tribal archives at Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters in Apache, Oklahoma. His own historical interests resulted in his scholarly article "A Brief History of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe" published in the Chronicles of Oklahoma in 1961.[10] The last years of Jozhe's service as Tribal Chairman were contentious and controversial, as he fought to retain a larger percentage for the Fort Sill Apache Tribe of the Indian Claims Commission award made in the early 1970s.[11] Nevertheless, Jozhe rendered a great service to his people. He became a vast repository of the distant and recent history of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma. In 1996, he remains the oldest surviving member

of the captivity period.[12]

Mildred Cleghorn, daughter of Amy White and Richard Imach also inherited a tradition from her parents of obtaining as much English-based education as possible. Mildred, one of the few surviving prisoners of war, attended local schools and then, like Benedict Jozhe, attended the Haskell Institute in Wichita, Kansas. At Haskell, Mildred met, and for the first time, made friends with other non-Apache Indians. Mildred served a brief and unsatisfying period with the Indian Bureau in Nevada. White males still dominated the Indian Bureau during the 1930s. Native American employees, even those well educated in Euroamerican schools, were relegated to subservient positions, mostly as clerks and common laborers. Mildred returned to Oklahoma and attended Oklahoma State University, where she majored in home economics. After graduation with a bachelor's degree she returned to southwestern Oklahoma where she worked both as a teacher at the Riverside Indian School and as an extension agent. She also became an elder in the Apache Reformed Church. She demonstrated artistic talent in doing traditional Apache bead work and the making of dolls. These dolls are reproductions of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches and their dress. Collectors from all over the United States have eagerly sought her work, which has been displayed in a number of exhibits including the state capitol building in Oklahoma City.[13]

During Mildred's tenure as Tribal Chairperson from the mid-1970s to November 1995 she served as a community unifier and tribal ambassador to people with whom the Fort Sill Apache conducted business and government relations. Articulate and comfortable around diverse groups of people, Mildred contributed to the development of Chiricahua Warm Springs Apache government and its increased presence among the regional pan-tribal organizations concerned with Indian political and economic development in southwestern and central Oklahoma.

Life in the scattered family allotments around the small rural communities of Apache, Fletcher, and Elgin differed from the kinship-based and tight-knit village life at Fort Sill. Mildred Cleghorn described the changes that occurred as the community had to make efforts to keep families and friends together. She recalled travelling by hack and horseback over country road to visit relatives and friends scattered around Caddo County. She believed that the government did this purposely to breakdown communal values and foster "individualism."[14]

The Apache tradition of accommodation to the overwhelming influences of Euroamerica--in day-to-day bureaucracy, in both state- and BIA-run schools, and in their daily interactions with other Indian and non-Indian neighbors--took its toll through the years. As succeeding generations arose the daily use of Apache diminished. In

many homes this was done intentionally (just as other non-English-speaking minorities experienced the same process). Parents were eager for their children to fit in at school and encouraged them to speak English at home. Ruey (Haozous) Darrow recalls her own parents gently encouraging her and her siblings to speak English. Even her father, a fluent Apache speaker, carried a notebook with him wherever he went, writing down and learning new English words. After her elder sister Ethilene returned from her first experience at school, unable to speak English, Sam and Blossom both began speaking English in the home.[15]

This trend of diminishing the daily use of native language complimented government campaigns to eradicate the speaking of Apache both in local public schools and residential boarding schools. As a consequence, Apache language skills, even among the generation born just prior to release from Fort Sill, are nearly non-existent today. Only a few words, spoken in childhood, can be recalled. Very few fluent Apache speakers could be found among the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community in Oklahoma in the 1990s.[16]

Despite the loss of the native language, traditions and culture were maintained in other ways. In effect, as tribal historian Michael Darrow relates, a sort of cultural triage occurred as the most important and essential elements of Chiricahua and Warm Springs culture were retained whereas

others were allowed to diminish or disappear altogether. In the Haozous household, for example, while language played less of a daily role in life, Sam continued to tell the stories of the old days, tales of great deeds of valor and the life patterns of old. Old Apache songs were sung and old arts were practiced. Sam treated his family with traditional Warm Springs remedies using herbal teas and eye drops prepared from plants native to the area around Apache. He successfully treated sufferers of trachoma, a dreaded disease which caused blindness and was endemic to southwestern Oklahoma, especially among the Indian boarding schools of the area.[17]

Even though it was important to learn how "to be like white people," family life continued to revolve around everyday things that reminded Ruey and her siblings that they were still different (aside from the obvious interactions among non-Indians at school and work). Ruey recalls being conscious of things in her house that were different from the way things were at her neighbor's house--"meat hanging on the walls of the house to dry," for example, and eating foods "the neighbors didn't eat, like Yucca." Ruey also recalls eating lambsquarters (a bitter herb native to the Southwest and eaten as a green).[18]

Aside from these more mundane aspects of life, food and medicinal healing, the most important aspects of cultural maintenance among the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache

centered on spiritual elements. All through the years, from their incarceration in Arizona to exile in Florida, Alabama and Fort Sill, the Mountain Spirit Dance (discussed in Chapter VIII) continued to be practiced. A related aspect of Apache cultural life is the Coming Out Ceremony, which for a number of reasons the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache people chose not to practice. According to Michael Darrow, tribal elders made a conscious decision not to practice this most sacred rite for a number of reasons. First, to be practiced correctly and in its entirety the Coming Out ceremony is expensive. It could become a significant burden for a people struggling to survive as the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs Apache were in the decades after their release from Fort Sill. Second, to be practiced correctly, elements of the ceremony require commodities, such as lodge poles which were not available, again without a great deal of expense, from the local area. For the ceremony conducted in Apache in 1994 cedar poles and mescal leaves were trucked in from New Mexico.[19] In essence the tribal elders from the early post-allotment period decided not to practice the Coming Out Ceremony. Therefore, it receded from its preeminent place in Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache life.

The Mountain Spirit Dance, however, continued to retain a critical place in Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache culture (albeit with diminished spiritual significance),

throughout the duration of the post-allotment period to the present day. Even though the Mountain Spirit Dance has lost much of its spiritual significance for most members of the tribe, it still projects a powerful political and cultural symbolism which personifies the survival of Chiricahua and Warm Springs identity.[20]

The struggle to survive in southwestern Oklahoma during the 1930s challenged all people, whether white, black, or Indian. Years of drought had already taken their toll on the region, before the arrival of the "dirty thirties" ushered in the dust bowl of the Great Depression in the western-most regions of Oklahoma, eastern Colorado, and northwest Texas. In October 1930 local Indian Bureau officials petitioned Washington to make annual annuity and oil lease payments early due to the hardship the depression and drought had caused Oklahoma's Indians. That same month Albert Attocknie of the National Council of the American Indian advised Commissioner John Collier of the terrible conditions affecting the Indians of the former Kiowa Reservation. Harvests for that fall were one-quarter of normal. Lessees could not pay their rents. Local merchants refused to give credit to Indian and white farmers alike. In fact, Attocknie asked the commissioner to provide a special appropriation for spring planting in order to avoid an even worse disaster. The bureau's district Superintendent in Anadarko also reported the poor

agricultural conditions and the inability of lessees to pay their summer rents. To take care of the Fort Sill Apaches, and the Wichitas, and their affiliated bands which numbered about 1500 individuals, an appropriation of $20,000 was requested.[21]

Concerned citizens in Anadarko organized a local "Droughth [sic] Relief Organization" composed of local farmers and businessmen from Caddo County whose major concern seemed to be compelling people to work to protect relief organizations from "unworthy applicants and charity seekers." Among other problems encountered by local farmers, cotton pickers would not work for the region's accepted wage. Most tellingly, no Indian farmers or Indian leaders were mentioned as participating in the organization's meeting that month.[22]

On describing her experience during the 1930s Ruey said, "We were all poor, non-Indians and Indians. During the dust storms mother would put wet sheets over the windows and put quilts and blankets over the doors and windows to keep the dust out. We were never afraid of the elements--tornadoes, thunder, and lightning, for we were taught that they were all part of the proper scheme of things." Like many others who had to make do with what was at hand, the Haozous family also had their own mechanics and practical inventors. Ruey recalls her brothers putting together a functioning vehicle from an old Model-T they found which

they outfitted with ersatz tires manufactured from old inner tubes and rags.[23]

With the New Deal members of the Fort Sill Apache got work through many of the programs which came to Indian Country, including the Work Projects Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. They worked on Fort Sill, building a expanded airfield, and in the Wichita Wildlife Refuge situated along the northern perimeter of the Fort Sill Military Reservation.[24]

The Fort Sill Apaches, like all Oklahoma Indian tribes did not participate in the Indian Reorganization Act. Provisions of the Indian New Deal were extended two years later under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (OIWA). The OIWA allowed Oklahoma tribes to organize tribal governments under BIA auspices. The Fort Sill Apaches, however, chose not to organize themselves at that time, a decision that had serious repercussions years later. Morris E. Opler, who pioneered early ethnography on the Chiricahua Apache, worked for John Collier's bureau as an agent for the Indian New Deal. As part of his duties he went among the tribes of Oklahoma explaining Collier's policies and advising tribal business committees how to organize tribal government. Not surprisingly he met a mixed reception among the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. The words of his bureau report, provide a glimpse of where the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community was in the 1930s.[25]

> The Warm Springs Apaches, who were the least involved in the Indian wars felt that they had a particular grievance against the government because they were classified with the insurgents and punished with them. The members of this band had previously had some contact with settlers and Mexicans and had begun to do some farming. They had been stationed on a reservation of their own near Hot Springs, New Mexico and had there been making considerable progress in agricultural pursuits. That is important today because most of the Fort Sill [Apaches] are Warm Springs Apaches or their descendants, and still pride themselves upon being the best farmers and most advanced of the Chiricahuas. Likewise they still harbor the old grudge which arose with their removal and they are constantly threatening to press claims based on unfair treatment...
>
> Children were sent to Carlisle, many of whom worked for Pennsylvania Dutch farmers...some of them received a thorough grounding in agricultural methods.
>
> It is apparent that the Fort Sill Apaches are a picked group. They are the individuals who made the most progress towards white standards up to the time the Chiricahuas were given their freedom. Not only were they ones who showed the most susceptibility to white advice in respect to farming techniques, but they also were the ones who showed the most interest in Christian teachings... It must be remembered that during this period of which we are speaking, the emphasis of missionary groups and of the Indian Bureau, too, was upon the individualization of the Indian. The Indian was constantly urged to break away from the past and from the traditions of his tribe and ceremonies. He was urged to "make good" and "get ahead" and support himself and his family, and to succeed as a person. The group with which we are dealing with now is that section of the tribe with which these ideals "took" to a marked degree...
>
> They have an attitude that by succeeding as independent farmers they have proved themselves far superior to "Reservation Indians" and have won a distinct moral triumph due to this... they are extremely suspicious of anything that might impair their hard-won independence. They are extremely susceptible to any rumor that the government intends to deprive them of their allotted lands and to force them back on the reservation.[26]

Opler's narrative is fascinating, not only for its depiction of the Warm Spring Apaches' attitudes towards the

government but also for his own biases. In his appraisal of Warm Spring's adaptation to white patterns of behavior and modes of agricultural production he displays no awareness of the possibility that the Warm Springs Apaches already possessed fundamental horticultural skills before their "exposure" to Hispanic- and other Euroamericans. He also displays his academic generation's fixation on the ethnographic present. Prior to his assignment working for the government, Opler conducted extensive fieldwork among the Chiricahua Apaches of the Mescalero Reservation, an experience which probably colored his perceptions of the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs Apaches who chose to remain in Oklahoma.

Aside from the influences of Jason Betzinez's wife, Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache leadership was conservative and, reasonably, wary of shifts in government policy. Opler seemed to ignore the experiences the Apaches had in the past, which made them justifiably suspicious of government agencies, their officials, and their policies (especially if they were new). In a final meeting where the proposal to organize a new tribal government was presented to the tribal leadership, Opler reported that a third were in favor, a third were opposed, and a third undecided. According to Opler, Benedict Jozhe, Jr., favored organization, but proved unwilling to go against the older men who were "unequivocally" against organization. Opler

concluded with the observation "that wives should follow and obey their husbands and that the young should listen to the old are important Apache concepts which had a very real bearing on the course of the [meeting]."[27] A proposal to merge the Kiowa-Apache tribes and the Fort Sill Apache was also dropped as was a proposal to recombine the Chiricahuas at Mescalero with the Fort Sill Apaches. Opler concluded his report that, "the Fort Sill Apaches are enough differentiated from any other peoples and have enough in common to permit their separate organization."[28] Nevertheless, the Fort Sill Apaches would not organize a formal tribal government for another four decades.

As the 1930s drew to a close the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community stood on the verge of a new era. The ravages of drought and the everyday difficulties of farming in Oklahoma's southwestern plains pushed the few remaining Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache farmers off the land. One by one they gave up hoe and rake and leased their properties to local white farmers who could afford the large capital investments modern agriculture required. Writing thirty years later, William Pollard observed that the "abandonment of agriculture... had a severe psychological effect upon the men. The majority of them were born during the confinement in Alabama or at Fort Sill and had acquired identities as cattlemen, soldiers, or farmers. With the abandonment of agriculture during the 1940s and 1950s, they

were forced to seek new identities." One of Pollard's informants told him that many of the men sought solace in alcohol while the women tended "to be more reserved and simply [longed] for a revival of the standard of living they had enjoyed [at] Fort Sill."[29]

The next two decades would prove to be the most difficult for the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community as communal ties between families were affected by the economic changes that accompanied the end of the Great Depression and the coming of World War II. By the late 1950s tribal members had become completely assimilated into the national economy. Sons and daughters left the old communities of Apache, Fletcher, and Elgin for employment and educational opportunities elsewhere in Oklahoma, and even out of state. However, threads of cultural and tribal identity remained that tied members of the tribe together. The older generation and those members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe who remained in the area continued to gather periodically for meetings at the Apache Reformed Church.[30]

One of the threads that bound the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community together was a shared knowledge of past government injustices. That knowledge eventually coalesced into several court cases. Likewise, communal efforts to fight the federal government's termination policy became a vital expression of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache identity.

NOTES: CHAPTER VI

1. Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914," 267.

2. Ibid., 274.

3. Letter to Cato Sells from Chairman Benedict Jozhe [,Sr.], Jason N. Betzinez, and James Kawaykla. 28 January 1915. John Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

4. For documents concerning the torturous process of the final allotment of former prisoners of war see File 384, Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Kiowa Agency, Central Files, 384-403, Box 63, National Archives Regional Depository, Fort Worth, Texas. See also Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914," 249-282.

5. Perlman, 100.

6. Betzinez, 205.

7. According to Mildred Cleghorn, Vincent Natalish, a grandson of Victorio whose father was killed in the Victorio War, attended Carlisle and then went on to engineering school and became a civil engineer, building "skyscrapers" and housing. He married a French woman and had one son, Vincent, Jr., who was born in 1903. Mildred remembers a visit he made to Oklahoma in which he was "nattily dressed in suit and grey felt hat." He attended Carlisle from April 1887 until 1895. His mother died at Fort Sill in 1904. According to government documents he worked as a census supervisor for the Indian Service in Arizona from 1914 to 1915. He apparently died in the early 1920s in New York City. For genealogical information on Natalish, see Griswold's genealogical study, "The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, Antecedents," 104-105. See also correspondence, Vincent Natalish to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 7 April 1914; Assistant Commissioner to Vincent Natalish, 12 June 1915; Assistant Commissioner to Ernest Stecker (Superintendent of San Carlos Indian School), 12 June 1915, John Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

8. Benedict Jozhe, Jr., "Biographical Sketch," Angie Debo Collection, Special Collection and Archives, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, Box 26, Folder 51.

9. Interview, Clifford P. Coppersmith with Towana Spivey, Museum Director, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill Oklahoma, 7 June 1994. Notes in author's possession. See also Pollard, "Structure and Stress," iii.

10. Benedict Jozhe, Jr., "A Brief History of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe," Chronicles of Oklahoma 39 (Winter 1961-1962): 427-432. Benedict also served as an important source of information and facilitator for research and oral history work with other members of the Fort Sill Apache tribe for Angie Debo's biography on Geronimo. For that reason his papers and copies of personal documents appear in Angie Debo's papers. The author has made repeated efforts to approach Mr. Jozhe concerning this project which to date have proven unsuccessful. At last report Mr. Jozhe is healthy and lives with relatives in Lawton, Oklahoma.

11. The difficulties surrounding Jozhe's leadership and his departure from office during the early 1970s will be explored in detail in Chapter IX.

12. For more information on the Jozhe family background see Griswold, "The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, and Antecedents."

13. Interview, Clifford Coppersmith with Mildred Cleghorn, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma, 25 July 94; 5 October 1994. Notes in author's possession.

14. Cleghorn, 5 October 1994.

15. Interview, Ruey (Haozous) Darrow with Clifford Coppersmith, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma, 13 December 1995.

16. Ibid.

17. For a detailed discussion of trachoma and other health problems experienced by Indian students at government run boarding schools see Clyde Ellis's history of the Rainy Mountain School, To Change them Forever (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

18. Ibid.

19. Please see the brief description of this ceremony as presented in the introduction.

20. Discussion, Michael Darrow with Clifford Coppersmith, Apache Language Class, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma, 5 October 1994. Notes in

author's possession. The events surrounding the practice of the Coming Out Ceremony in Apache in 1994 were full of political and cultural complexities. The practice of the rite was perceived by some members of the tribe to have been inappropriate while others (especially the family members of the young woman for whom the rite was celebrated) saw it not only as a legitimate expression of a sacred and important ritual, but also as a powerful statement of Chiricahua identity and cultural maintenance. Ironically, one of the reasons family members chose to practice the rite in Oklahoma was in order to escape the alcohol-related violence that occasionally accompanies the celebrations of the Coming Out Ceremony at the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. The author attended the portions of the Coming Out Ceremony in which non-family members are permitted to participate. See also interview, Robert (Bob) Houser with Clifford P. Coppersmith, Apache, Oklahoma, 6 October 1994. Notes in author's possession; interview, Harry Mithlo with Clifford P. Coppersmith, Anadarko, Oklahoma, 7 October 1994. Notes in author's possession.

21. Telegram, J.V. McClintic to C.J. Rhodes, 6 October 1930, Albert Attocknie to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 October 1930, G. Buntin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10 September 1930. John Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

22. "Droughth [sic] Relief Organization Held Meeting Here Monday," Anadarko Tribune, 2 October 1930: 1.

23. Ruey Darrow, 13 December 1995.

24. Ibid.

25. Oklahoma politicians played a key role in preventing the application of the Indian Reorganization Act to Indians in Oklahoma. For a detailed discussion of government policy during this era in Oklahoma see Terry Wilson, The Underground Reservation: Osage Oil (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). For general discussions of the John Collier and the Indian New Deal see Kenneth R. Philp, John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977) and Lawrence C. Kelly, The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

26. Memorandum, Organization of the Fort Sill Apaches, written by Morris Opler and Submitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report of meeting held by Fort Sill Apaches, 8 February 1937. File No. 29763-1937, Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, John

Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina. In a commentary aside from the main topic at hand Opler criticized Jason Betzinez's wife, Anna (Heersma)--a non-Indian and former Reformed Church missionary, for her interference in tribal affairs, through her husband and her incessant rumor mongering. Opler wrote, "she is also opposed to Mr. Collier and his policies... she strenuously opposes the "self-government features"... and it is a fixed idea with her that the government is attempting to get the Indian financially obligated to it, and it will be able to divest the Indian of their lands and rights. How much she objections to the credit features of the [Wheeler-Howard Act] are based on fear and how much on morals is difficult to determine. She told me, with strange pride, that she and her husband had allowed stock to perish during the drought rather than go into debt to feed it."

27. Ibid, 6.

28. Ibid.

29. Pollard, "Structure and Stress: Social Change Among the Fort Sill Apache and Their Ancestors, 1870-1960," 158.

30. Ibid., 159.

VII. Case Study in Identity: The Fort Sill Apache And the Indian Claims Commission

Native American identity in the twentieth century has assumed many forms. The expression of "Indianness" extends from the identity of the individual self as an Indian to association as a member of a community, tribe, or nation. Identification may be apparent to the non-Indian observer or it may not be so readily seen. For years many observers, amateur and professional alike, did not see the people, some of whom called themselves Warm Springs Apaches or Chiricahua Apaches, or "Fort Sill Apaches." The Bureau of Indian Affairs formally designated the tribe as the "Fort Sill Apaches" as officials belatedly recognized in 1922 that the term "Apache prisoners" was no longer appropriate nor was it applicable.[1] The term came into common usage in southwestern Oklahoma to refer to the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches, many of whom preferred to identify themselves by their appropriate band designations.

In the twentieth century the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache have fought to preserve their identity as a people. Much of that fight has occurred in the courts and against government bureaucracy. In the course of their imprisonment the Apaches became intimately familiar with the seemingly interminable pace of government decision making. Perhaps through the influence of such people as George Wratten and Hugh Scott, as well as long association with

Indian-policy reformers and sympathetic missionaries from the Reformed Church, members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community became aware of their right to due process and protection under the law. The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches were already acutely aware of the ancestral lands they had lost. Many hoped to regain those lost lands.

Along the sidelines too, sympathetic non-Indians with a variety of motives shared an interest in this Apache quest for justice. That quest for justice began when the Apache prisoners pressed their case for their right to remain on the Fort Sill Military Reservation. The struggle became one of the strongest themes of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache tribal continuity in the twentieth century. Long after traditional modes of living and the daily use of Apache language dropped by the wayside, the tenacious quest for justice bound the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache together as a community. It provided a rare point of solidarity for over five decades when so many forces combined to pull the people apart, both culturally and geographically.

Intermarriage with other Indians and Euroamericans significantly affected the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, especially during the 1920s and 1930s as a younger generation left their small Oklahoma community for expanded educational and economic opportunities. Intermarriage,

especially with local Kiowas and Comanches weakened the transmission of Apache language and culture to succeeding generations. In many cases, the children of this generation were raised in the more dominant cultures of the surrounding Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache tribes.[2]

Geographic dispersal in combination with intermarriage with non-Apaches led to a further splintering of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community. The development of the Fort Sill Apaches' claims contributed greatly to a continuing interest in cultural and political identification. As the case proceeded to the Indian Claims Commission, it helped to maintain a sense of community, both in the area around Apache, and away from home, to wherever members of the tribal community had relocated.

After World War II federal Indian policy underwent change. The economic prosperity fueled by the war and a concomitant concern for cutting the budget in the wake of New Deal and wartime deficit spending ushered in a Congress that would prove not only rabidly anti-communist (and anxious to erase as many socialistic elements of President Roosevelt's New Deal policies as possible) but also interested in reducing the size of government for its own sake.

John Collier's Indian New Deal, as short-lived as it was, also came under the critical gaze of congressional

budget cutters and those in Congress who disagreed with Collier's social philosophy. Native Americans had answered the call of their country in wartime and had proved, yet again, their loyalty and patriotism. The mood of the country once again swung back to concepts of assimilating the American Indian into American society. To many Americans Indian reservations and the status of America's aboriginal peoples were anachronistic. Strong anti-communist sentiments intensified as the rosy glow of post-war victory gave way to the paranoia of the Cold War. They also fueled a reaction against the communal policies espoused in Collier's reforms that reversed the venerable policy of forced assimilation and acculturation.

Individualism once again returned to the fore. In contrast to New Deal reforms that reversed assimilationist policies in favor of protecting Indian culture, religion, and self-determination, the new Republican congress which presaged Eisenhower's victory in 1952, set about to renew a policy to "assimilate" American Indians into the mainstream of American life.

Harvey Rosenthal, historian of the Indian Claims Commission, classified the Indian Claims Commission as a strange hybrid. "In the context of post-war American history the first decade of the Claims Commission emerged as something new yet old. It is impossible to say if the Commission represented the end of the Collier era or the

beginning of termination; it stood between."[3]

A combination of factors contributed to passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act in 1946, for some it was the last impulse for Indian policy reform that began during the 1920s and 1930s, for others it represented an increased awareness of past injustices that required redress; for still others it was movement for termination and return to assimilationist policies. Congress also had to deal with an enormous backlog of Indian claims cases that had piled up since Indians achieved the right in 1881 to sue in the United States Court of Claims, a process that required a special congressional act for each case. Rosenthal has written, "due to the massive labor involved and buckling to pressure from tribes, their attorneys, sympathizers, and calls from reform Congress passed a general act to allow all these demands to be heard by a special Indian tribunal... the Indian Claims Commission Act of August 13, 1946."[4]

The Indian Claims Commission was designed to adjudicate all outstanding Indian claims and resolve, once and for all, Native American claims for justice. It was considered the final opportunity for the United States government to make good on previously broken treaties and to rectify unjust land accessions. Its congressional sponsors hoped to clear all Indian claims in a few years; however, the I.C.C. would be recharted several times, until it was disbanded in 1978. In 1978 a number of cases remained to be resolved, they were

transferred to the United States Court of Claims. Ostensibly the I.C.C. in concert with termination was designed to get the government out of the Indian business for good.[5]

Although the Indian Claims Commission was originally established as a commission, it soon began to look and act like a tribunal or special court. Tribal attorneys and government lawyers dominated the proceedings, which were presided over by members of the commission who acted as judges. As Rosenthal wrote, "the most persistent theme of the legislative history of the Indian Claims Commission was that the Indians should have 'their day in court.'" The forum created for this purpose was a commission, but its method was adjudicatory. It functioned largely as the Court of Claims and its expanded grounds for government liability gave the Indian a wider scope for claims presentation and the potential for greater success in award recovery."[6]

The Indian Claims Commission Act granted five "causes of action" which allowed any identifiable Native American group residing in the United States or Alaska to present a claim against the government of the United States for: (1) claims in law or equity, (2) tort claims, (3) claims based on fraud, duress, unconscionable consideration, mutual or unilateral mistake, (4) claims based on the taking of lands without payment of the agreed compensation, and (5) claims based upon fair and honorable dealings not recognized by

existing rules of law or equity.[7] Parts (1), (2), and (4) were well established elements of civil law, long held applicable to all citizens of the United States, however, part (3) and (5) created "new causes of action... which allowed the commission to 'go behind' or treat the Indian treaties as if revised, and the latter gave cognizance to the broad concept of moral claims."[8]

The act provided the framework upon which claims could be formulated, presented, and adjudicated. Indian tribes, like the Fort Sill Apaches, could contract their own counsel, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Originally, the act empowered the General Accounting Office (after 1965, the General Services Administration) to provide essential government documents to both the plaintiffs and the defendant. The Department of Justice defended the government. After trial and appeals the commission rendered judgement, either denying the claim, or making monetary awards. By law the commission was only allowed to compensate tribes with monetary awards, the commission could not return lost lands. Final awards were subject to congressional approval, at which time Congress would make special appropriations to fund them. Congress then transferred the award to the Treasury Department where it was kept until the Interior Department supervised the actual dispersal of money to the tribes.[9]

As in the case of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs

Apaches, most cases involved compensation for land cessions in which "unconscionably low prices" were paid or "bargains struck between unequals."[10]

If the commission found government liability in such cases an award was made based on the difference between what the government actually paid, and the fair market value of the land when it was taken. Other claims were based on the government's failure to protect Indian tribes and their assets. Mismanagement of such assets constituted a major portion or cases brought before the commission.

The actual claims process occurred in three phases. In the first phase, expert witnesses, for the most part historians and anthropologists, provided testimony for each side of the case concerning the composition of Indian tribes involved in each case, their pre-historic and historical populations, and the territory they occupied. During the second phase the government and the claimants contracted for appraisers who actually evaluated the market value of the land at the time of its acquisition by the government. This phase required extensive research into treaties and land values. During the third and final phase the government tabulated all offsets, that is all remuneration the tribe may have received in exchange for the land at the time of its cession. These included cash payments, annuities, and subsistence allowances and trade goods. Later, as in the case with the Fort Sill Apaches (Chiricahua and Warm Springs

Apaches inclusive), settlements would involve evaluating timber and mineral assets extracted from ancestral lands--an even more complicated process that followed this same basic outline.[11]

Coincidentally, the Fort Sill Apaches, as one of the first Native American groups to submit a claim to the I.C.C. provided an important case which defined the scope of subsequent cases that the commission would accept for adjudication. Their first claim was based on their unjust (and illegal) imprisonment in Florida, Alabama, and later at Fort Sill. The commission, according to Historian Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "dismissed the case on a jurisdictional interpretation of the act, that the Fort Sill Apache claim was an aggregate of individual grievances rather than the collective grievances of a tribe, band, or group."[12]

A series of affidavits made by a number of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache men in the late 1920s at Mescalero and in Oklahoma represent the Fort Sill Apaches' first attempts to seek redress for grievances based on illegal imprisonment while they were still in military service as scouts. The first, sworn out in Otero County, New Mexico by Stephen Kyzha, Arnold Kinzhonna, Joe Baheda, and Zozonnie (all of the Mescalero Reservation) detailed their enlistment as scouts with the government to capture Geronimo and his band 1885. The affidavit describes the "terrible conditions which exposed them to physical injury covering seventy to

eighty miles a day [on foot] with only a piece of bacon and bread while white soldiers had plenty of food and clothing and were mounted on horses." Apparently addressing their grievances directly to Congress the men "wished to be placed right before the honorable men of Congress... and also ask for redress."[13] The affidavit then states the most important grievance of the tribe which was "that the imprisonment of the entire tribe was unjust both to the scouts who rendered service and to the non-combatants of the tribe who were removed from their homes to live in [an] unhealthy and foreign land without the liberty to which they were entitled."[14]

An undated letter sent to Congress by Chatto, Charles Martine, and Kayittah reiterated the grievances submitted by other scouts, rejecting their inclusion with "the Geronimo faction" and objecting to being made prisoners and taken from their homes. They stated, "we feel that we have a very substantial ground for placing this claim against the government for the acts of its Army and officers in making prisoners of faithful people, who made sacrifices for their own protection as well as the white men of the southwest."[15] These and a number of other letters and affidavits stipulated the grievances that had been nursed by Chiricahuas and Warm Springs Apaches since their days of captivity in Florida, Alabama, and Fort Sill. One additional affidavit, submitted by Alfred Chatto, called for

compensation for the scouts in the amount of $2.00 a day per man per day of their captivity.[16]

The second half of the claim pressed by the Warm Springs Apache was first addressed in a formal letter sent by the tribe to Commissioner Collier April 13, 1934. Perry Gotham, an Anadarko, Oklahoma attorney, apparently acting as tribal counsel, outlined the tribe's grievances. He reminded the new commissioner that, to date, the bureau had expressed little sympathy for the Warm Springs Apache case. The petition was comprised of two arguments. The first stipulated that the Warm Springs Apaches and others closely affiliated with them had been wrongfully imprisoned by the United States Government. The second insisted that upon their release they were not given the land that had been promised to them. The petition specifically cited the 1852 treaty signed by Colonel E.V. Sumner and Agent John Grenier that gave title to the Warm Springs Apaches to land in southwestern and western New Mexico. According to Gotham, "the Warm Springs Apaches were unjustly made prisoners of war, were unjustly held as such, were regularly enlisted as Indian scouts, and were peaceably and contentedly settled on the Fort Sill Reservation, after which, they were reluctantly removed to allotments." Twenty-seven adult members of the community signed the petition.[17]

Twelve years later the "Fort Sill Apache Tribe of the state of Oklahoma" (the Warm Springs Band and the Chiricahua

Band of Apaches) petitioned the Indian Claims Commission in Docket No. 49 for redress of the following claims against the United States government:

> (a) The wrongful, unlawful and tortious [sic] removal of the Warm Spring and Chiricahua Bands of Apaches from their ancestral homes and from reservations established by [the United States government] for them as their permanent homes in violation of the solemn obligations and duties owed by [the government] to them.
>
> (b) The wrongful and unlawful arrest and imprisonment of the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Bands of Apaches, including 450 member thereof (being all the then known members), and the continued imprisonment of these bands and their members and their descendants for a period of 27 years.[18]

The early petition, submitted shortly after the Indian Claims Commission Act was passed in August 1946 was subsequently dismissed by the commission due to the nature of the petition. The commission argued that the petitioner (The Fort Sill Apache Tribe) was not the proper party to represent these particular claims. They were individual claims rather than collective claims. The claim of false imprisonment fell outside the scope of jurisdiction of the Indian Claims Commission Act.[19]

Fort Sill Apache tribal attorneys reconfigured tribal grievances under Docket No. 30 which they submitted in May 1948 and an additional petition filed in Docket No. 48 filed in August 1949. Additional claims presented in Docket Nos. 182 and 182-A were filed with the Indian Claims Commission in July 1951.

Despite the commission's rejection of the Fort Sill Apache's grounds for their first claim, the tribe and its attorneys both appealed the commission's early decision and reconfigured their arguments in new claims. Eventually the Fort Sill Apache claims were consolidated into Dockets 30 and 48, and 30-A and 48-A. Subsequent judgements were eventually made in Dockets 182 and 182-A.[20]

Once the commission established the scope of its jurisdiction, as in the case of the Fort Sill Apaches, no consideration of claims involving "false imprisonment" would be taken. The tribe's claims came to revolve exclusively around issues concerning lost ancestral lands and the loss of their homes on the Fort Sill Military Reservation. For the Fort Sill Apaches the process would drag on for over twenty years as four separate major claims made their way through the tortuous process.

For the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, the long, drawn-out claims process became an exercise in tribal affirmation. Settlement became one of Tribal Chairman Benedict Jozhe's major accomplishments during his long administration of tribal affairs. Recorded interviews from the 1960s, including those of Benedict Jozhe and several older members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs band, reflect concerns that the cases move forward and that the tribe receive compensation for its territorial losses.[21]

Ironically, as resolution of the claims finally appeared eminent, stresses and strains within the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community became apparent. By the early 1970s, the Fort Sill Apache tribal counsel reported to the tribe that an award decision was quickly approaching in regards to Docket nos. 30, 30-A, 48, and 48-A. These claims involved compensation for ancestral lands seized by the government. The commission found the extent and boundaries of the ancestral lands in southwestern New Mexico and southeastern Arizona that belonged to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches and determined that these lands had been taken from the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in 1886.[22]

After trial and the evaluation phase, the commission rendered a decision in 1971 determining that Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache ancestral land had a fair market value of $16,496,796, from which $7,700 in offsets (that is deductions for government payments for reservation subsistence, housing, and farming equipment) were made, for a total award of $16,489,096 on the Fort Sill Apache tribal land claims.[23] The government filed its obligatory appeal, which delayed a final decision until June 20, 1973, when the Court of Claims reaffirmed the commission's decision.[24]

Even as the Indian Claims Commission began its existence as an integral element of termination policy it had an effect opposite of what its architects intended.

Despite its many shortcomings, the Indian Claims Commission led to some positive developments for Native Americans. Some tribes used their awards to develop their tribal economies. The entire claims process made Native American tribes more aware of their legal rights and established constructive relationships between the tribes and their attorneys. The claims also publicized issues surrounding Indian treaties, and in at least some cases, made other Americans more aware of Indian rights and claims. Additionally the expert testimony used in the course of the claims trials left a valuable resource for the study of Indian-Euroamerican relations.[25] The most unintended positive force exerted by the commission was its reinforcement of Indian tribal identity. As Rosenthal has written:

> [Despite termination and the intended purpose of the Indian Claims Commission to compliment that policy] Indian communities and identity persisted. Congress had tried many times before... to end the existence of Indian tribes by simple legislative fiat and failed. Tribes once dissolved, often several times, by one Congress were recognized by another. In fact the Commission itself became an agency for this very thing while trying to accomplish the opposite. Its provisions often liberally recognized as legal entities "any Indian tribe, band or other identifiable group" and created groups that formerly had not existed. The Commission, enacted in theory to remove a stumbling block to assimilation, in practice helped to refine "Indianess" for some groups and reawaken cultural pride for all.[26]

In addition to establishing the foundation for the successful resolution of its land claims by the early 1950s, the Fort Sill Apache Tribe also successfully fended off

attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to terminate the tribe's official federal status. Benedict Jozhe, Jr., as Tribal Chairman, played a crucial role in defending the tribe's rights, even against intimidation by Bureau of Indian Affairs officials.

By 1952 the Republican Party had won both the presidency and domination of congress. Among other items on the Republican agenda was their intention to reverse John Collier's Indian New Deal, and return to a policy of assimilation--in essence a solution to America's "Indian Problem." In addition to funding cutbacks, the Indian Claims Commission and the Zimmerman Plan (Commissioner William Zimmerman's plan for identifying which tribal groups would be terminated in the 1950s and early 1960s), "called for drastic changes to decrease governmental intervention in the Indians' lives... Congress began recklessly entertaining a rash of minor bills and major legislation to terminate Indian services." Congress, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, began targeting Indian schools and hospitals for closing.[27]

By 1956 the Bureau of Indian Affairs had specifically targeted the Fort Sill Apaches for "Withdrawal Status" a euphemism for termination of trust status and an end to federal services. At a conference held in Dallas, Texas on December 7, 1956, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn L. Emmons and his staff met with Benedict Jozhe, Jr., and

Robert Gooday, Sr., a tribal member and one of the elders who served in an unofficial capacity on the tribe's informal council.[28] Towards the end of the meeting, Commissioner Emmons laid out the official policy of the United States government in regards to Indian tribes. Emmons stated:

> What we want to get is a permanent income for the people--one day the United States is doing to be out of this Indian picture, and we must, by everyone working together, get ready for the day--we have to start raising the standards of living of the Indian people so when the time does come, they will be able to take their place in the communities the same as the non-Indian.[29]

Over the next two years BIA officials began compiling reports and statistics on Indian tribes eligible for termination in southwestern Oklahoma. Bureau officials had already identified the Fort Sill Apaches as among several Native American groups that "had reached a point of acculturation, and assimilation into the surrounding communities, and had acquired the necessary abilities to manage their own affairs... and no longer justify Federal supervision over their individual affairs." In addition to the Fort Sill Apaches, the other groups included the Kaw, the Citizen Band Potawatomie, Tonkawa, Absentee Deleware, and the Sac and Fox tribes.[30]

Apparently by September 1958 the Anadarko, Oklahoma office of Indian affairs reported some difficulties in getting the cooperation of tribes targeted for termination. In fact at this point bureau officials began considering the "possibility of terminal legislation for certain tribal

groups without their consent... where such groups... refused to take positive action toward the development of or consideration of such a program."[31] The Fort Sill Apaches were considered for such involuntary action.

Considering the experiences of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches there is little mystery about how tribal members would respond to a meeting in which "ways and means of bringing about social and economic improvement for the Fort Sill Apache" would be discussed.[32] What transpired is best described by Angie Debo. She held the special confidence of Jozhe and several elder members of the tribe. According to Debo, "on April 12, 1958, Benedict Jozhe, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Kawaykla, and Philemon Berry, Chairman of the Committee of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache Tribes, [came to see me]. The story they told me was one of a vicious [sic] attempt to trick the Fort Sill Apache into a termination scheme."[33] At the infamous January meeting:

> Trickery was tried on the Fort Sill Apaches, a closely knit group of 104 descendants of the prisoners who had chosen to remain in Oklahoma. They owned 4,420 acres of restricted land. Early in 1958... Bureau officials called them to a meeting to discuss "means of bringing about social and economic improvement... [which] turned out to be a termination plan to which they were invited to offer procedural suggestions. When they started to reject it in entirety, one of the officials sprang to his feet saying, "The law for termination has already been passed, and there is nothing you can do about it You may as well accept it now and get what you can, for you may get nothing later." Threatened with this non-existent "law," the Apaches took time to investigate.[34]

And investigate they did. Benedict Jozhe consulted

with the tribe's attorney, Israel Weisbrodt, and was advised to "terminate discussion [with Bureau officials] on [the] 'readjustment' program."[35] Shortly afterwards, on 22 February 1958, the Fort Sill Apache Tribal Council issued a resolution which stated that the "Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, in General Council assembled... oppose and reject the Termination Program unanimously." Chairman Jozhe, Norman Loco, Harold Kawaykla, Moses Loco, and Mason Kawaykla, signed the resolution.[36]

Later in April, the Fort Sill Apache tribe wrote a formal letter to Senator Robert S. Kerr detailing the events that had transpired since January, requesting a clarification of laws associated with termination policy, criticizing BIA officials for failing to apprise tribal members of what was going on. Senator Kerr's office forwarded the letter to Commissioner Emmons, who "justified the Bureau action [as taken] in accordance with the desires of Congress as expressed in House Concurrent Resolution No. 108."[37]

The following year Fred A. Seaton replaced Douglas McKay as Secretary of the Interior and reversed the policy of forcing Indian tribes to accept termination. In a broadcast from Flagstaff, Arizona in September 1959, Seaton stated that House Resolution 108 was meant "to state an objective, not an immediate goal." Seaton declared it would be "unthinkable" to force Indian tribes to accept

termination plans. This was the beginning of the end for termination policy. For the Fort Sill Apache it ended a critical battle in which they successfully defended their tribal identity and what little trust status remained between the tribe and the federal government.[38]

The period from 1946 to the early 1970s was a critical one for the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community. Economic problems and the related geographic dispersal of tribal members outside of the Apache, Oklahoma area threatened tribal solidarity while an increasing pattern of intermarriage with non-Apache Indians and Euroamericans weakened the transmission of tribal culture to succeeding generations. Tribal leadership, however, continued to fight for tribal rights through the threats of the termination era. It pushed tribal claims through the Indian Claims Commission to a successful judgement in 1971. The 1970s would provide yet more challenges to tribal solidarity; but also represented a new era. Permanent tribal identity was secured in the formation of an official tribal government with a constitution. The 1970s would also see a renewed interest in tribal identity and a cultural reawakening as younger members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community sought to reaffirm their ties to past cultural traditions.

NOTES: CHAPTER VII

1. Commissioner Charles H. Burke to John A. Buntin, Superintendent, Kiowa Agency, 21 April 1922. John Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

2. Interview with Michael Darrow, Ft. Cobb, Oklahoma, 24 February, 1994. Notes in author's possession. According to Darrow "retention of culture is directly related to whether the children in the household have parents who are members of the tribe, and who those children marry." Among most Apachean peoples strong rules of exogamy (that is requirements that members of the tribe marry outside the tribe or band community) proscribe marriage with any relative--no matter how extended. Obviously because the groups sent into captivity were already closely related none of their offspring could consider each other potential marriage partners. That is the reason that even during captivity there was marriage to whites (soldiers) and after removal to Fort Sill, marriage to Kiowas, Comanches, and other non-Apache Indians. According to Darrow, "one reason population diminished while in captivity [in addition to disease and psychological trauma] were these rules restricting marriage within the group." Until very recently there had been "not one instance of a Fort Sill Apache marrying another Fort Sill Apache since captivity." Interestingly, even in that case there was some controversy over the marriage because the two partners were remotely related to each other. According to William Pollard, by the late 1950s approximately one-third of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe has married "Caucasians or Indians of other tribes." See Pollard, "Structure and Stress," 161. Pollards's estimate excludes members of the tribe who married Apaches (outside of their band) just before and during captivity and who were still living in the 1950s and those who never married or were not of marriageable age.

3. Harvey D. Rosenthal, Their Day in Court: A History of the Indian Claims Commission (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 137. For a concise version of Rosenthal's work on the Indian Claims Commission see Harvey D. Rosenthal, "Indian Claims and the American Conscience: A Brief History of the Indian Claims Commission," in Imre Sutton, ed., Irredeemable America: The Indians' Estate and Land Claims (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 35-70. Wilcomb E. Washburn offers a more general examination of Native Americans and the law in his Red Man's Land White Man's Law: The Past and Present Status of The American Indian (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

4. Rosenthal, Their Day in Court, x, 47.

5. Obviously, in this regard the Indian Claims Commission failed. Not only did it fail to resolve all outstanding Indian claims as it was originally chartered, but Indians continue to press for redress of past wrongs against the federal government, states, and private parties. For an appraisal of the Claims Commission's successes and failures see Nancy Oestreich Lurie's "Epilogue," in Imre Sutton, ed., Irredeemable America, 363-382.

6. Rosenthal, Their Day in Court, 135.

7. Section 2, 60 State. 1049, (Indian Claims Commission Act), 13 August 1946.

8. Rosenthal, Their Day in Court, 135.

9. Ibid., 136.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., 138-139.

12. Ibid., 372.

13. Affidavit sworn by Stephen Kyzha, Arnold Kinzhanna, Joe Baheda, and Zozonnie in the State of New Mexico, County of Otero, 15 August 1928. Weisbrodt Papers, Microfilm Reel 15, Fort Sill (Chiricahua and Warm Springs) Apache Archives, Fort Sill Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma.

14. Ibid.

15. Alfred Chatto, Charles Martine, and Kayitah to Congress, undated [probably 1928 or 1929], ibid.

16. Affidavit sworn by Alfred Chatto, State of New Mexico, County of Otero, 19 July 1928, signed by Roger Toclanny, Laurence Mithlo, Stephen Kyzha, Zozonnie, Joe Baheda, Martin Kayitah, Arnold Kinahana, Charles Martine, Benjamin Osteyeh, Paul Guydelkon, and William Coone, ibid.

17. Perry Gotham to John Collier, 13 April 1934, John Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

18. Petition in Docket No. 49., Fort Sill Apache Tribe of the State of Oklahoma vs. The United States of America, Before the Indian Claims Commission, Copy in Angie Debo Collection, Oklahoma State University, Special Collections and Archives, Box 26, Folder 54.

19. 1 Indian Claims Commission, 137, 1969. See also Nancy O. Lurie's discussion of the significant implications of the Fort Sill decision for all subsequent Claims Commissions Actions in the previously cited Lurie, "Epilogue," in Imre Sutton, ed., Irredeemable America, 372, 378, 381.

20. Secretary of Interior to Speaker of the House, Carl Albert, 10 September 1974, Angie Debo Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Oklahoma State University, Box 26, Folder 53. See also United States Court of Claims, Judgement of Appeal, "Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma vs United States," in Federal Reporter 477 (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1973), 1360-1366.

21. Benedict Jozhe, Jr. conducted a series of interviews throughout the 1960s with older members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community. These interviews, which are held in the tribal archives, take the form of rambling, wide-ranging conversations in which elders shared stories about the past. Numerous times throughout the tapes conversation focuses on the claims themselves, government activities, and at time the hope that some day "we will get our land back." See Tribal Tape Series, Benedict Jozhe, et al, 13 January 1966, 26 January 1966, Fort Sill Apache Archives, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma.

22. 19 Indian Claims Commission 212 (1968), 22 Indian Claims Commission, 527 (1970).

23. 26 Indian Claims Commission, 193, 197, 198.

24. 202 Court of Claims, 134.

25. Rosenthal, Their Day in Court, 255-256.

26. Ibid., 170-171.

27. To date the most important treatment of Termination policy may be found in Donald L. Fixico's Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986). For discussion of the Indian Claims Commission and the Zimmerman Plan see pages 21-44.

28. It will be remembered that the tribe had no formal tribal governmental organization as formally recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The tribe refused to organize under the tenets of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act when presented the opportunity to do so in 1937.

29. Report of Conference, Commissioner of Indian Affairs with Fort Sill Apache (Oklahoma), Dallas, Texas, 7 December 1956. National Archives, Regional Depository, Fort Worth, Texas. Office Files of the Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1952-1958 Meetings and Programs File, Box 1.

30. Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons to Will J. Pittner (Area Director, Andarko, Oklahoma), 23 November 1955, ibid.

31. Will J. Pittner to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10 September 1958, ibid.

32. Letter to all members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe from Robert L. Meshew, Area Field Representative, 7 January 1958, ibid.

33. Angie Debo to Bud Shapard, 3 February 1977, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

34. Angie Debo, A History of the Indians of the United States (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 378-379.

35. Memorandum from P.T. LaBreche to Homer Jenkins, 10 February 1958, concerning telephone conversation with Mr. I.S. Weisbrodt, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

36. Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma Resolution, 22 February 1958, ibid.

37. Debo, A History, 379. See also Benedict Jozhe, Jr., to Senator Robert S. Kerr, 14 April 1958, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

38. Ibid.

VIII. Case Study In Cultural Continuance: The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Mountain Spirit Dance

Long ago the people were travelling. Among them walked an old woman, whom it seemed the people did not like. Some were heard to say "This old woman is good for nothing let us abandon her, for she is a burden."[1]

As she sat there alone, the old woman wept. Then some Mountain Spirits came to her and said, "Why do you weep old woman? and the old woman replied, "I weep because my people have abandoned me. I cannot see, I cannot hear, and I cannot speak. That is why I weep."

After she said these things, the Mountain Spirits began to sing for her. And while they sang the old woman's eyes were opened and she could see and she began to hear again, and she found that she could even speak again.

Then the Mountain Spirits turned to the old woman and said, "these things we have done for you. What we have done is good," and then they said, "take these things to the people and tell them of these things."

The old woman rejoined her people and she went to all those who were ill or suffered pain or had some affliction and she did to them exactly as had been done to her by the Spirits of the Mountains repeating and doing exactly what they had done to her. In this way the people came to have the ceremonies of the Mountain People.

The Chiricahua Apaches relate several stories similar

to this one that recount the experience of individuals who suffered some dangerous affliction and found themselves alone or abandoned upon the mountains. In view of the traditional high regard Apachean peoples hold for their older tribal members, abandonment probably only occurred during times of environmental stress, and specifically when food was in short supply. In this particular example an old woman, a burden to the tribe, was left to die. In another version two boys, both crippled, were travelling alone in the mountains. One of the boys has no eyes, the other no legs. The "Gray One," one of the four Mountain Spirits came to them and healed their infirmities. They were then able to return to their people.[2]

Among the pantheon of Apache deities the Mountain Spirits are some of the most powerful. They were people just like the Chiricahuas, in essence a mirror image, another tribe that lived inside the mountains, instead of like the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs Apaches, on the mountains. And yet these people had powers which were unique. These Mountain People or Spirits chose to bestow the power upon the Apache people, for protection and for healing the evils that might afflict them.

Seven major groups, the Western Apaches, Jicarillas, Chiricahua, Mescaleros, Lipans, and far distantly related tribal relations, the Kiowa-Apaches, comprise the Apache people. The Navajos are also an Apachean people but for a

number of reasons are considered a separate group. They all share generally related languages (all of which are mutually intelligible except for Kiowa-Apache) and common ritual practices including the Mountain Spirit Dance.[3] The Navajo's sacred Changing Woman resembles the Apachean White Painted Woman. Navajos also practice a variation of the Coming Out Ceremony, the most important ritual in traditional Apachean belief. Of all Apachean peoples, the Western Apaches, Chiricahuas, and Mescaleros are the most closely related, culturally, sharing mutually intelligible dialects and the shared cultural practices of the Mountain Spirit Dance and the Coming Out Ceremony. Their more distant tribal relations, the Navajos, Jicarillas, and Lipans share varying elements (masked dances for example and variations in the belief in White Painted Woman) that demonstrate common cultural origins in ancient times.

The revitalization movement that occurred among the Apache prisoners of war at the turn of the century resembled similar developments in Native American history as Indian tribes grappled with the catastrophic realities of contact and Euroamerican society. The Longhouse tradition begun by Handsome Lake among the Senecas in the early 1800s and the Ghost Dance of 1890 among the Plains Indians, share certain characteristics with the rise of Harold Dick and the desperate dancing of the Mountain Spirits during the winter of 1899-1900. What distinguished the dancing during that

period of frustration at Fort Sill from previous practice was its intensity, the effects it had upon its participants, and the context in which the movement occurred. The medicine man who sponsored the dancing apparently used the dance itself to combat what he perceived as the missionary threat to his people. Like other revitalization movements, this one marked a real transition in Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache culture from a centuries old pattern of life to the new life they would have to live in the twentieth century. These religious movements seem to mark major turning points in how Native American peoples dealt with the reality of the more powerful influences of the American society in which they had to live.

Although the military reluctantly intervened to prevent further illness and deaths attributed to the practice of the dance in winter and Harold Dick receded into the background, the Mountain Spirit Dance continued to occupy an important place in Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache life, at Mescalero and in southwestern Oklahoma.

Edward H. Spicer wrote of the powerful role symbols play in perpetuating ethnic and tribal identity, an essential element of which is individual belief in the artifacts of culture such as music and dance. Spicer's concept of identity as it pertains to culture is connected to a "persistent cultural system."[4] This concept of identity is expressed historically, with identification

persisting through time in connection with powerful cultural symbols shared by a single people. The meanings of those symbols are commonly held as well as "beliefs about historical events." Just as the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches share a common identity with actual cultural artifacts and practices (in this case with the association of the Mountain Spirit Dance), there is also a common identity as it is expressed in common memories, oral traditions, and views of the past passed down through the generations. They are also shared horizontally with interested individuals from outside the community. For example, in a number of interviews with historians and other investigators (including journalists) the first thing former Tribal Chairperson Mildred Cleghorn addressed was how the government cheated her people out of lands promised at Fort Sill and again later during allotment. This commonly held knowledge among all members of the tribe fueled tribal interest in seeking and obtaining justice from the early 1900s to the 1970s when the Indian Claims Commission finally forced the government to compensate the tribe.[5]

As Spicer shows, cultural identity persists through time and survives military defeat and cultural conquest. Even removal from a people's territory may not destroy cultural identification. In fact the opposite actually occurs as has been demonstrated numerous times with the removal of hundreds of Indian nations from their ancestral

homelands to Indian Territory in the United States. As long as "certain structural conditions can be maintained within the group," such external forces can actually reinforce tribal, ethnic, and even national identification.[6] For the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches this included music, dress, and dance associated with the Mountain Spirits and shared grievances against the government. They maintained not only tribal ties and identification, but also individual band designation as either Chiricahua or Chíende (Warm Springs) Apaches. Understandably the persistence of such cultural identifications is a complex combination of internal and external forces: military conquest, post-conquest administration, and the informal influences of everyday interaction between Apaches and their non-Apache Indian and Euroamerican neighbors.

The Chiricahua Apaches who refer to themselves by their band divisions--Ndénaí, Chokenen, Chíende (or Warm Springs), and Bedanku--all share a unique version of the Mountain Spirit Dance distinct enough from the other groups' versions to be considered their own. The Mountain Spirit Dance incorporates powerful cosmological, earth, and sky symbolism that embodies the very corpus of Chiricahua spirituality. That spirituality, like Chiricahua society in general, focuses on the individual and the family, the center of Chiricahua tribal values.[7] The most important association of the Mountain Spirit Dance, of course, is with the Coming

Out Ceremony. This rite, which prepares young women for adulthood, celebrates the embodiment of White Painted Woman, the most important deity in the Chiricahua pantheon. During the ceremony the Mountain Spirits participate alongside medicine men and the maidens' sponsors (mature female members of the tribe). The Mountain Spirit Dance is usually an integral part of the ceremony.[8]

The Mountain Spirits, or their personification as the Mountain Spirit Dancers, also function separately within their own sphere as practitioners and messengers of spiritual power to bless, to heal, and to protect. Historically the Mountain Spirits danced to give blessings of protection to departing warriors, to bless homes and property, to heal the sick, and to ward off evil spirits and epidemic disease.

The Mountain Spirits first arrived in Oklahoma with the Chiricahua prisoners of war, erroneously labeled by soldiers politicians, and journalists as "Geronimo's Apaches," in 1894. After eight years of neglect and a policy of cultural annihilation the federal government finally provided a minimally adequate environment for the prisoners to work out some kind of independent future as communal farmers and cattle raisers.

Allotment contributed to a loss of culture and community among the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches who

remained in Oklahoma. The communal base of their society and economy were completely disrupted. Several members of the tribe managed to become independent farmers, but by World War II the expense of mechanized farming forced all of them out of agriculture.

From their release from Fort Sill in 1914 until the 1990s the Fort Sill Apache, as these people have become known, struggled to survive economically, politically, and culturally. Many observers found little evidence of cultural or tribal identification among the Chiricahuas and yet throughout the century the Chiricahuas managed to maintain an independent identity, of which the Mountain Spirit Dance has been a potent symbol. The symbol of the Mountain Spirit Dance demonstrates the retention of core cultural values, which are the importance of the family and those extended family connections Euroamericans have labeled "tribal."

One of the earliest descriptions of what appears to be a Mountain Spirit Dance was reported by Antonio Espejo and Fray Bernaldino Beltrán in 1582. In late summer near the Verde River (near present day Montezuma Castle National Monument), the Espejo Expedition came across an encampment of "mountain people," which the expedition chronicler described:

> Six paces from [the hut] was a large painted cross and four small ones on the sides. All the men, women, and children were seated around with their heads low, singing of the peace they wished us. They had <u>crowns</u>

> of pointed sticks on their heads and jicaras [baskets] of mescal and pinion nuts and bread made from it. [9]

These mountain people were probably ancestors of modern Western Apache peoples; however, the Spaniard's reference to "crowns of pointed sticks" was most likely a reference to the headdresses worn by the Gan (Mountain Spirit) Dancers. This early reference demonstrates the historical continuity of the ritual associated with the Mountain Spirits. The common association of the belief and practice of the Mountain Spirit related rituals among Apachean peoples indicates its ancient origins. The Mountain Spirit Dance may have been an element of religious practice that accompanied the Athapaskan migrations into the American Southwest.[10]

John Bourke, army officer and ethnologist, provides probably the best description of the Chiricahua Mountain Spirit Dance as it was practiced in the closing years of the last century. He observed the dance while visiting the captives at Fort Marion, Florida, shortly after their arrival in 1886. He wrote,

> The dance was held in the aftermath of great sickness and disease which took hold of the Chiricahua prisoners of war... a consequence of which was the death of 23 children... The Cha-ja-la [medicine dance] is held only upon the most solemn of occasions--the setting out of a war party, the appearance of an epidemic, or something of like portent.[11]

Bourke went on to describe the dancers themselves and the motifs painted upon their bodies, including such religious symbols such as lightening bolts, green and yellow

colors associated with the dance, and of course the unique dress of the Mountain Spirits--kilts, traditional Chiricahua moccasins with upturned toes, and the distinctive wands or sabers, emblazoned with bolts of blue lightening.[12]

Army officials prohibited the practice of the Mountain Spirit Dance while the Chiricahuas were in Alabama, although it is quite possible some elements of the ritual were practiced without official knowledge. A less restrictive environment at Fort Sill permitted the practice of the Mountain Spirit Dance and other important aspects of Chiricahua culture including the Coming Out Ceremony.

A collector from the University of Pennsylvania Museum visited Fort Sill in 1912 with the avowed purpose of acquiring traditional Chiricahua artifacts. While at Fort Sill he attended a Mountain Spirit Dance. His description of the dance provides an image which could very well be shared with modern manifestations of the ritual. The dance was held in a large clearing along Medicine Creek, near present day Fort Sill, and was attended by Chiricahuas, Comanches, and Kiowas. The observer even noticed a "flourishing soda-water booth, where some enterprising soul was doing a land office business in pop and lemon sour."[13]

Over the next seventy years many elements of Chiricahua and Chíende culture disappeared as the exigencies of survival preempted efforts to maintain language and traditional patterns of life. By the end of World War II

Chiricahuas in Oklahoma quit farming, unable to afford the large investment required to make a living in agriculture. New generations of Chiricahuas left Apache, Oklahoma, and sought employment at Fort Sill, in Oklahoma City, or even farther away from home. Some Chiricahuas attended colleges including the Haskell Institute and Oklahoma State University. One member of the tribe, Allan Houser, attended BIA sponsored art training at the Sante Fe Indian School and became a world famous artist. Others eventually returned to Apache and became participants in tribal affairs and leadership. Many Chiricahuas worked in some function or another for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service.[14]

Through the years much of what had been Chiricahua culture was subsumed in efforts to make a living and accommodate to life among the overwhelming influences of non-Apache culture. For a number of reasons the Coming Out Ceremony was not practiced. As time passed and older tribal members died, fewer Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches could speak the peoples' language. For many years Fort Sill Apache tribal government and social activity centered on the Apache Reformed Church. Individual families made efforts to keep Chiricahua culture alive through snippets of language and, most important, the stories of the past. Members of the tribe continued to practice traditional Chiricahua medicine. And always, there was the Mountain Spirit Dance.

In the late 1970s the Fort Sill Apache Tribe set aside an arena for the Mountain Spirit Dance adjacent to its Tribal Headquarters north of Apache, Oklahoma. There, several times a year, Mountain Spirit Dancers take center stage and serve as a focal point of tribal reunions held to honor tribal leadership and recognize changes of office. An annual festival brings together local tribal members as well as the far-flung branches of their families scattered throughout the United States. The Annual Festival, an event that began in the late 1970s, is held every third weekend of September. Festivities start formally on Friday night and extend until early Sunday morning. The festival is in reality an extended family reunion in which tribal members, family, and friends meet together to celebrate their Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache identity and family and cultural ties. Relatives from the Mescalero Reservation may make up the largest contingent of visitors, who come to renew old ties, and to visit Oklahoma friends and relatives.

In addition to the official Fort Sill Apache Tribal Mountain Spirit Dance group, the Tribal Dance Committee invites several groups from the Mescalero Reservation to come to Apache and dance. In addition to the renewal of family and tribal connections the festival, in essence, also serves as a mechanism for transferring that culture to the next generation. During the course of the festival, many activities occur which resemble a small pan-tribal Pow Wow.

For example Saturday beginning after lunch, activities feature Comanche War Dancers, Kiowa Gourd Dancers, and Pow Wow-like give-aways that recognize inter-tribal relationships, both in terms of local inter-tribal politics and economic activities, as well as reciprocal inter-tribal family relationships.[15]

The distinctive headdress associated with the Mountain Spirit Dance is just one element of the ritual that sets it apart from any other Native American dance. The dance itself always takes place after dark. In modern times, official dances held to bless special tribal events are held in the tribal arena. Typically, as the sun goes down, the massive arena fire is ignited. Even in the twilight, the sound of drums can be heard beating in ceaseless rhythm, as the holy men and singers prepare the dancers, for the exhausting, night long ritual. Arbors of branches and leaves screen the dancers from onlookers, who arrive by the carload and park before unloading blankets and folding chairs. Spectators gather around the arena as the fire cracks and smokes, its flames rise up into the air and the Mountain Spirits emerge.

On one particular Friday night a request was made for the dancers to make a circuit of all the buildings of the Fort Sill Apache Tribal Complex, singing and blessing both the physical structures and the land itself, as well as the people who live and work there. The blessings also extended

to the tribe as a whole and to the people participating in the festival. After the singers and the dancers completed the circuit they returned to their arbors in preparation for the dance around the fire. In this way, the Mountain Spirits still exercise their power over the people, in acts both symbolic and real.

For the rest of the evening as many as four or five Mountain Spirit Dance groups take turns greeting the fire with the mysterious warbling call of the Mountain Spirits. As the drummers and singers make their music the Mountain Spirits dance. Occasionally all of the groups will dance around the fire at once, while usually one or two groups will take center stage. The fire is kept burning until the very end of the evening, well after midnight, and is then allowed to die down after the Mountain Spirits have returned to their arbors.

While the Mountain Spirits dance, the audience, numbering as many as 300 people sit and watch or visit with their families and friends. Among those watching are Chiricahuas from Oklahoma and New Mexico, local Kiowas and Comanches, and non-Indians. Several vendors serve refreshments as well as Native American crafts, clothing, and jewelry. One of the hottest selling items at the festival are Fort Sill Apache T-shirts, featuring a full-color Mountain Spirit Dancer.

Throughout the year the Mountain Spirit Dancers perform

around the arena fire to recognize special events. In 1995, for example, a Mountain Spirit Dance was held as part of a day-long celebration of the life and service of Mildred Cleghorn, former tribal chairwoman and one of three remaining survivors of captivity in Oklahoma.[16]

In addition to the official Fort Sill Apache Tribe Mountain Spirit Dance group there are at least two other Mountain Spirit Dance organizations in the Apache, Oklahoma area. Of these, the dance group associated with the Mithlo family is best known. The Mithlo family maintains close ties to family at the Mescalero Reservation. There in October of 1994 a Chiricahua Coming Out Ceremony was practiced for the first time since the Chiricahua's release from captivity. The ceremony coincided with the Mithlo Annual Ceremonial, a memorial for the late "Bill" Watson Mithlo, the last survivor of Chiricahua captivity at Fort Marion, Florida, and the centennial of the Chiricahua's arrival in Oklahoma in 1894.

The Ceremonial and the Coming Out Ceremony were held at the Mithlo family home northwest of Apache, Oklahoma. There, upon a field adjacent to the family allotment, an arena was constructed complete with tepees and cooking arbors which sheltered the women preparing food for the ritual celebrants and attendees. An important feature of the ritual was the participation of Mountain Spirit Dancers

from Mescalero and Apache.[17]

The Mountain Spirit Dance group associated with the Mithlo family dances on a regular basis, whether a special event is planned or not. According to Harry Mithlo, the dance is important because it represents the "belief and practice of medicine." In essence, each one of the dancers is a medicine man who can be contracted to give blessings to individuals, to the land, to homes, and other buildings. Just as in the past when the Mountain Spirits blessed people, their wickiups, and the land about their encampments.[18]

Opler used the term "impersonate" when describing the actions of the Mountain Spirit Dance. In reality, the ritual is much more complex.[19] According to traditional Chiricahua belief, the Mountain Spirits live "in the Mountains." They are mirror images of the Chiricahuas. Mountain Spirit people taught the songs of the Mountain Spirits to the Chiricahuas. Ownership of those rituals were given to the Chiricahua People. The Holy Man or singer who "owns" the dance group and its associated motifs and ceremony can selectively pass on the dance and its ritual, or can chose not to do so. One individual owns a Mountain Spirit Dance while the Coming Out Ceremony belongs to the entire tribe. Anthropologists, writing at mid-century, saw the dance primarily for its entertainment value and did not see its spiritual function, to bless and to heal.[20]

For years historians, journalists, ethnographers, and anthropologists have written off Chiricahua culture in Oklahoma as a casualty of governmental programs and the unique circumstances in which the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches found themselves after they were released from captivity and allotted in the Fort Sill area.

Certainly, the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches have lost much of their cultural heritage despite their heroic physical and economic survival. The most critical loss, of course, has been their language. Only a few speakers are left in Oklahoma. On the other hand, Oklahoma's Chiricahuas did survive and they continue to identify themselves as an independent people. Along the way, however, they managed to maintain the core of their cultural values--the importance of the family and those extended family, or tribal connections.

Through captivity, removal, and allotment, the Mountain Spirit Dance retained its preeminent place in Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache life. One of the last things the Chiricahuas did before they were forced onto the trains that bore most of them away to permanent exile from their homes in Arizona and New Mexico was to perform a Mountain Spirit Dance. The Mountain Spirits even came to the stony terreplain upon a dank old Spanish fortress in Florida. The Chiricahuas' captors forbade the practice of the dance in Alabama; but as soon as the Chiricahuas arrived at Fort

Sill, the masks, kilts, and magical wands, with all the powerful symbolism of sky, rain, fire, and earth were retrieved from their few bags and the Mountain Spirits emerged once again, eternal guardians of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache people.

NOTES: CHAPTER VIII

1. This version of the story of the old woman and the Mountain Spirits has been adapted from Harry Hoijer's Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938). An extensive collection of stories and relations concerning the mountain spirits may be found on pages 27-35.

2. Ibid, 35.

3. In addition to differences in language the Kiowa-Apache also do not share the practice of any form of the Mountain Spirit Dance or the Coming Out Ceremony. The separation of the Kiowa-Apache from the rest of the Athapaskan peoples may have occurred at such a point so far back in time that other cultural influences (namely Comanche and Kiowa) replaced or overwhelmed any traces of common Athapaskan ritual practices.

4. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems," 795-796.

5. See interview conducted by Joe Todd, Oklahoma Historical Society, with Mildred Cleghorn, Fort Sill Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma, 29 April 1987. Interview recorded on video tape, Oklahoma Historical Society. Interview, Mildred Cleghorn with Clifford P. Coppersmith, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache Oklahoma, 25 July 1994.

6. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems," 798. For another basic discussion of identity see Isaacs, "Basic Group Identity: The Idols of the Tribe," 15-41.

7. See Morris Opler, "The Concept of Supernatural Power Among the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches," American Anthropologist 37 (January-March 1935): 65-70. For previously published works on the role of dance in historical and contemporary Indian society see Charlotte Heth, Native American Dance: Ceremonies and Traditions (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Alice Anne Callahan, I'n-Lon'Schka: The Osage Ceremonial Dance (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990). For discussions on the role of dance in Southern Plains society see Morris Foster, ,Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991); John Moore, ed., The Political Economy of North American Indians (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993). For the latest in excellent scholarly work on the role of Native American music and song see Eric Lassiter, "Understanding the Power of Kiowa Song," Ph.d.

diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1994. Somewhat dated but still useful volumes on the role of dance and music in Native American culture include Julia N. Buttree, Rythm of the Redman (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1930); Bernard C. Mason, Dances and Stories of the American Indian (New York: Ronald Press, 1944); and David P. McAllester, Indian Music of the Southwest (Colorado Springs, CO: Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1961).

8. Accurate anthropological descriptions of the ceremony may be found in Hoijer, Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts. See also Morris E. Opler, An Apache Lifeway: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 82-99. A more recent description and analysis of the ceremony as it is practiced in New Mexico may be found in Claire R. Farrer, Living Life's Circle: Mescalero Apache Cosmovision (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991). According to Tribal Historian Michael Darrow, the Mountain Spirit Dance may not be an essential element of a Coming Out Ceremony. There have been instances in the past when the ritual was practiced without Mountain Spirit Dancers. According to traditional Chiricahua belief the Coming Out Ceremony existed "since the beginning." The Mountain Spirits came into Chiricahua life at some point after the beginning. Interview with author, 5 March 1996. Notes in author's possession.

9. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (eds. and trans.), Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio Espejo, 1582-1583, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán (Los Angeles, CA: Quivira Society, 1929), 107, quoted in Jack D. Forbes, Apache Navajo and Spaniard, 60.

10. Traditional Chiricahua and Warm Springs belief holds that they and their kindred bands "did not come from anywhere," but have always lived in those places they have historically inhabited. As has been explained previously, however, anthropologists have attempted to trace theoretical Athapaskan migrations from origins in central and central western Canada through the analysis of linguistics and shared cultural traits. See Hoijer, "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages," International Journal of American Linguistics, 219-232; "The Southern Athapaskan Languages," American Anthropologist, 73-87. In an attempt to map culture change over time David French analyzed shared cultural traits as they were expressed in Apachean mythology (story concepts imbedded in myths and tales) shared by Jicarillas, Mescaleros, Lipans, and Chiricahuas. French found comprehensive unity among all these Apache groups in the belief systems, one that is most likely shared between these four groups and the Western Apache and Navajo. See

David French, "A Comparative Study of the Mythologies of Jicarilla, Lipan, Mescalero, and Chiricahua Indians" (M.A. Thesis, Claremont Colleges, 1940), 75.

11. John G. Bourke, Apache Medicine Men, originally published in the Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1887-1888 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992; Reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1993), 133.

12. Ibid. For other contemporary descriptions of the Mountain Spirit Dance, see P.E. Goddard, "The Masked Dancers of the Apache," Holmes Anniversary Volume (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, 1977), 132-136; Byron Cummings, "Apache Puberty Ceremony for Girls," The Kiva 5 (October 1939), 1-4; and "Spirits Which Come out of the Mountains," Arizona Highways (July 1947), 38-39.

13. M.R. Harrington, "The Devil Dance of the Apaches," The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania 3 (1912), 9. From Harrington's description the conditions under which the dance were held had improved somewhat since the dark days in Florida.

14. For an excellent biography of Allan Houser see the previously cited Perlman, Allan Houser Haozous, 109-139. See also interview, Clifford P. Coppersmith with Ruey Haouzous Darrow, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma, 13 December 1995; interview, Clifford P. Coppersmith with Mildred Cleghorn, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache Oklahoma, 5 October 1994. Notes in author's possession.

15. Some members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe find the pan-tribal nature of the Annual Festival a disturbing development. Their concerns focus on the threat the pan-tribal movement poses to Chiricahua and Warm Springs culture. They worry that the non-Apache aspects of the Festival (in essence a microcosm of the large problem of Fort Sill Apache/Chiricahua cultural survival against the overwhelming surrounding influences of non-Apache (Kiowa and Comanche) Indian and Euroamerican cultures. Conversely, the Annual Festival also recognizes the extent to which members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe have intermarried with non-Apache Native Americans and Euroamericans. The issues of intermarriage among Kiowas, Comanches, Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people are complex and form a major part of the twentieth-century history of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma--even within a narrow discussion of the Mountain Spirit Dance.

16. Information on the Annual Festival and its associated activities was gathered during the author's attendance at the festival in September 1994 and 1995. The author also attended activities associated with the General Council Meeting of 18 November 1995 and a reception held to honor Mildred Cleghorn that same day. Additional information was provided by Tribal Historian Michael Darrow in a series of interviews from 1994-1995. Notes from interviews in author's possession.

17. The author attended the ceremony in Apache which was held over several days in October 1994. Information on the Watson Ceremonial and the Mountain Spirit Dance was gathered in the course of several interviews with Harry Mithlo, interviews conducted in Anadarko, Oklahoma, 5-7 October, 1994. Notes in author's possession.

18. Interview with Harry Mithlo, 5 October 1994, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Notes in author's possession.

19. Opler's detailed description of the Mountain Spirit Dance as it was practiced by the Chiricahua Apaches at Mescalero may be found in An Apache Life-Way, 100-120.

20. Interview with Michael Darrow, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma, 25-29 June 1994. Notes in author's possession.

IX. Organization, Government, and Revival

The resolution of the first Fort Sill Apache tribal claim in 1973 marked the end of an era and the start of another. Ironically, the winning of a large monetary award in compensation for lost ancestral lands contributed to increased factionalism within the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community--a result of competing views of the future, what should be done with portions of the award dedicated to the tribe, and who should receive a portion of the award dedicated to per capita payments. Largely as a result of these issues, members of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community formally organized a tribal government under a constitution. One of the most important issues that was settled during the organization process (and which resulted in a permanent split in the Chiricahua-Warm Springs community) was the definition of who officially belonged to the Fort Sill Apache Tribe.

The involvement of a new generation of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches contributed to political change within the community. Involvement was also manifested in interest in tribal history and culture. The generational aspects of these developments were a result of internal developments and how the American public viewed Native Americans, and how Native Americans viewed themselves. In 1976 Angie Debo published her authoritative biography, Geronimo, The Man, His Time, His Place, which not only revised the historical

published form the story of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches and their long exile from the American Southwest in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. The new activism which accompanied the civil rights movement flowed into Native America and fueled a renewed interest in Native American origins, traditional lifeways, and religion. Native American activists pursued political, civil, and human rights. In the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community a new generation came to the fore that eschewed the conservatism exhibited by past leadership, especially in regards to the organization of tribal government. Gender also played a major role in the 1970s transformation of Chiricahua and Warm Springs tribal leadership.

Traditionally, women always played an important role in Apache culture, as personified in the worship of White Painted Woman, one of the most important and powerful spiritual beings in Apache belief. The central position of Apache women in Chiricahua and Warm Springs culture is celebrated with the Coming Out Ceremony that recognizes the transformation from child to woman. As the Apache maiden passes through the elaborate and exhausting ritual, she becomes White Painted Woman, and assumes the power to heal and bless her people.

After Benedict Jozhe left office in 1974 female members of the tribe began to play more important and more public roles in tribal leadership. Shortly thereafter, Mildred

Imach Cleghorn was elected Tribal Chairwoman, marking the increased involvement of a number of women in tribal leadership, as tribal Chairpersons and members of the Tribal Business Council.

Unlike previous changes in leadership, the adjustments in tribal government were not evolutionary (or gradual), but almost revolutionary as the Fort Sill Apache Tribe came to grips with a large claims award for lost ancestral lands in Arizona and New Mexico. The conflict and controversy that eventually led to Benedict Jozhe's departure from office, had at its root, a fundamental disagreement over the distribution of funds awarded by the Indian Claims Commission in 1973.

On September 19, 1973, the United States Court of Claims affirmed the Indian Claims Commission's award of $16,489,096 to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache Tribe, paving the way for the actual distribution of the award to the tribe on a per capita basis.[1]

Prior to a special tribal meeting held at the Reform Church (Hospers Hall) in Apache, Oklahoma, on 24 November 1973, differences of opinion had apparently arisen among the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community over how the award money should be divided between those members of the tribe who had moved to New Mexico and those who had remained in Oklahoma.[2] In 1946, 1948, and 1951 when the original claims had been filed with the Indian Claims Commission, the

Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache, of both Oklahoma and New Mexico, were represented on the petitions. Previously, in 1936, the Chiricahua Apaches who had removed to Mescalero incorporated with the Lipan Apaches and Mescalero Apaches to form the Mescalero Apache Tribe under John Collier's Indian Reorganization Act.[3] Throughout the lengthy claims process both groups jointly shared costs of litigation.

At the meeting held in Hospers Hall in November 1973 a major disagreement erupted over the dispersal of the award between the two Chiricahua and Warm Springs communities (the one incorporated with the Mescalero Tribe and the community of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Oklahoma). Benedict Jozhe maintained that the Chiricahuas at Mescalero had given up their claim to award money as a result of their acceptance of an award to the Mescalero Tribe by the Indian Claims Commission in March 1968 in Docket 22-B. Although willing to compromise along the lines of a fifty-fifty split of the 1973 award, Jozhe refused to go along with the tribal majority that accepted a 69%-31% split based on the original numbers of community members who moved to Mescalero in 1913 and those who remained in Oklahoma (It will be remembered that a majority of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache Tribe chose to remove to Mescalero).[4]

In the course of the contentious November 1973 meeting Jozhe refused to execute the resolution voted on by a majority of tribal members. He stated that the General

Tribal Council could designate others to execute the agreement.[5] Again on a tribal vote of 34 to 12 the names of Lupe Gooday, Sr. and Melford Guydelkon were selected as delegates to execute the resolution on the division of the claims award. Tribal members present then successfully passed a resolution which removed Chairman Jozhe and other members of the Tribal Business Committee from office. At that point he and several of his relatives left the meeting. Immediately thereafter members of the tribe selected Lupe Gooday, Sr., as Presiding Officer of the General Council Meeting along with Mildred Imach Cleghorn as Secretary. The tumultuous events of the morning of November 24th signalled a major change in the direction the tribe would take as new leadership executed the distribution of a multi-million dollar court award to the Fort Sill Apache Tribe. In addition to Mildred Cleghorn, tribal members selected two other women to serve on the Tribal Business Committee, Evangeline Chappabitty and Flora Weryackwe.[6]

Over the course of the following year Benedict Jozhe sought redress within the halls of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, congress, and the courts for what he perceived as his virtual ouster from office and the execution of an unjust distribution of claims funds.[7] On 12 March 1975 Lloyd Needs, chairman of the House Indian Affairs Subcommittee notified Jozhe's attorney that the Secretary of Interior's plans to distribute claims funds did not violate

the Judgement Distribution Act. Even as Jozhe's appeals ran out, per capita payments were made to the descendants of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community in Oklahoma and at Mescalero, New Mexico.[8]

Benedict Jozhe's disagreement over the division of claims funds was just the beginning of a larger controversy over eligibility for per capita payments made from the claims award. That controversy eventually resulted in the first formal organization of a tribal government for the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches of Oklahoma and the constitutional definition of who was officially a member of the tribe.

The money awarded in 1975 was just the first portion of an additional judgement still wending its way through the courts. These last claims, contained in Dockets 182 and 182-A, were transferred to the United States Court of Claims in 1976, as the Indian Claims Commission neared the end of its last congressional extension.[9]

Docket 182 originally included claims for damages for the removal of natural resources, including minerals and timber, from ancestral lands forcibly taken from the Chiricahua Apaches prior to 1886; the loss of Chiricahua and Warm Spring Apache interest in the lands of Fort Sill, from which they were removed in 1912; and claims against the United States for government mismanagement of funds and other property of "the Chiricahua Apaches (who became known

as Fort Sill Apaches) during the period they occupied the Fort Sill Reservation."[10] Eventually, the claims dealing with resources extracted from tribal lands prior to 1886 were separated from Docket 182 and enclosed in Docket 182-A.

Following the first award of over $16 million to the tribe for the loss of ancestral lands in Arizona and New Mexico (Dockets Nos. 30, 30-A, 48, and 48-A), the commission made an additional award of $10,830,860, for the extraction of natural resources. Government attorneys successfully appealed this second judgement, which was overturned by the Court of Claims. Judgement on the other outstanding issues concerning the taking of Fort Sill and government handling of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache property also became mired in a series of complex legal motions. These delays on appeal eventually led the commission to transfer Dockets 182 and 182-A to the United States Court of Claims. It would not be able to finish the retrial on the claims prior to September 30, 1978, "when its life was scheduled to end."[11]

Lead tribal attorneys, Abe and Israel Weisbrodt, decided that rather than dragging out the proceedings to an uncertain conclusion, that an offer to settle with the government should be made. In essence, a 1979 report submitted by the attorneys to the tribe attempted to explain ten years of complex legal motions, appeals, and judgements in order to support their recommendations for a negotiated settlement. The attorneys felt that the Court of Claims

could defeat the claims altogether or significantly reduce the amounts of recovery. Taking into consideration the claims for extracted resources, the loss of Fort Sill, and the minor claim against the government for failure to properly administer tribal funds (a potential recovery of less than $6000), tribal attorneys negotiated a settlement of $6,000,000. In the end, the decision to accept or reject the settlement lay with the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches.[12] On 24 February 1979 a resolution was presented to the General Council Meeting of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe, to accept the $6 million settlement. The General Council accepted the settlement on a vote of seventeen to four. Non-enrolled members of the meeting wanted to vote on the resolution, but were told they could not.[13]

The Fort Sill Apache Tribe in Oklahoma and the Mescalero Tribe of New Mexico shared the first award on a 31%-69% ratio. This set a precedent for the 1979 award. This time, however, distribution of per capita funds was based on official tribal membership, as defined by the Fort Sill Apache Constitution, formally approved along with a tribal government in 1976. Individuals were accepted as members of the tribe according to the following requirements: all those who received an allotment and who filed applications for enrollment, and their descendants who filed for enrollment. For those born after the tribal constitution became effective the requirements for

membership are "(1/8) degree Fort Sill Apache who file applications for enrollment and who has a natural parent who is a member of the tribe." Most important, any former tribal member (informally considered such) who "by his or her affirmative action" became a member of another tribe was excluded from membership in the Fort Sill Apache tribe.[14]

On 4 December 1976, the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community, formally recognized within the Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, elected its first official slate of officers, including three women, Mildred Cleghorn as Tribal Chairperson, Mrs. Benedict Kawaykla as Vice Chair, Rose Chinney as Secretary/Treasurer, and Melford Guydelkon and Inman C. Gooday as Tribal Committee members.[15]

The organization of a Fort Sill Apache tribal government and the adoption of a formal BIA recognized constitution followed in the aftermath of the controversy surrounding the disposition of the first claims awards. In the case of the 1975 disbursement, per capita payments were made, solely on the basis of descendency from tribal members at the time of separation from Fort Sill in 1912. Because the tribe lacked a tribal roll (because it was not formally organized) there was no blood quantum qualification to receive a payment from the first claim judgement. An individual simply had to demonstrate descendency in order to collect compensation. As Michael Darrow reported, "a lot of claim jumping went on as people of mixed Indian descent got

checks from a number of tribal [Indian Claims Commission] settlements--even if they had very little Apache or whatever [sic] blood. In effect, many Indians with minimal blood quantum were getting money alongside of those who had much more legitimate claims [those of more direct descendence]. For this reason a constitution was adopted that prohibited the claims of mixed tribe affiliated people."[16] Apparently, many tribes encountered this problem and resorted to organizing themselves formally in order to control access to tribal funds. One element of Benedict Jozhe's objection to the 69%-31% split with the Mescalero Tribe was that the New Mexico group had already received a claims judgement without sharing it with the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches of Oklahoma.

On the other side of the issue are self-described members of the Chiricahua tribe, persons such as Harry Mithlo of Anadarko, Oklahoma who resented their exclusion from the second award because they had accepted settlements from other tribal claims, in this case Comanche claims settlements. According to Mithlo, he "resents the reasoning whereby he and many others, as many as 350 [people] were excluded from official tribal membership, including his brothers and sisters... [they] were shut out from the tribe [by the 1976 constitution] in connection to their eligibility for compensation awarded by the Indian Claims Commission won by the tribe in the early 1970s."[17]

According to Mithlo, he and his family were excluded because they had already received awards from their tribal associations with the Comanches, while others were excluded because of their formal affiliations with the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apache tribes.[18] In Harry Mithlo's case, his father was a full-blood Chiricahua, whereas his mother was Comanche. His case demonstrates the complexity of modern Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache tribal identification as some self-described members of this community find themselves outside the formal organization of the "Fort Sill Apache Tribe." That complexity extends to the cultural realm as these "formally" outside groups practice traditional Chiricahua and Warm Springs religious rituals such as the Mountain Spirit Dance and even the Coming Out Ceremony (also called the Puberty Rite Ceremony). This latest manifestation of tribal factionalism within the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache community graphically illustrates the effects of inter-tribal influence (including intermarriage) as well as the effects of the pan-tribal movement on Chiricahua and Warm Springs politics and culture.

The 1979 claims settlement was distributed according to the 1976 tribal constitution, with eighty percent of the Fort Sill Apache's share of the funds distributed to individual members of the tribe in per capita payments of about $4,900. The balance of the fund was set aside for

tribal economic development and programs, including land acquisition, payment of tribal counsel's fees, and maintenance of tribal property.[19]

As part of its formal political organization the Fort Sill Apache Tribe acquired funds to build the Fort Sill Apache Tribal Affairs building approved by the Economic Development Administration at a cost of $200,000. The tribe erected the 3,500 square foot building on two and a half acres of land that had been donated by a member of the tribe. The parcel had been part of an original allotment made after the Apache Prisoners' release from Fort Sill and represented the beginning of the tribe's land reacquisition program. For the first time in their twentieth-century history, the tribe had its own official tribal government and official headquarters. At the time, Chairperson Cleghorn described her tribe's corner of Oklahoma as "the world's smallest Indian Reservation."[20]

The new building housing the Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters was completed and dedicated on 4 October 1980, a fitting tribute to the tribe's political identity and cultural survival over the preceding eight decades. Chiricahua Mountain Spirit Dancers danced and blessed the building and those who would work in it. Wendell Chino, Tribal Chairman of the Mescalero Tribe served as keynote speaker and Allan Houser, distinguished Chiricahua artist, dedicated a bronze statue of a Mountain Spirit Dancer to the

Prisoners of War. Today the magnificent bronze sculpture stands just within the front entrance of tribal Headquarters.[21]

The 1980s would prove to a decade of consolidation as the Fort Sill Apaches successfully managed the disbursement of the last claims award and built the physical facilities that served as a focal point for the revival of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache culture. Special events brought tribal members together to commemorate the past. The facilities graphically demonstrated to outsiders that the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community in Oklahoma was alive and well.

During the late summer of 1981 the tribe announced plans to develop the site which housed their Tribal Headquarters and included nearly thirty-seven acres of land. Tribal plans called for the construction of a gymnasium/auditorium and a special care facility that would eventually become a Youth Shelter serving all the people of Caddo County.[22] Leadership throughout the decade strove to develop economic opportunities for tribal members. Efforts met with mixed results. Several employment opportunities were developed through federal and state grants, programs including providing meals for local senior citizens (Indian and non-Indian) and counselor positions in the Youth Shelter. The tribe also embarked upon an ill-fated bingo operation which failed due to poor location and competition

with other Native American gambling operations.[23]

The most promising development of the period was the revival of interest in Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache culture and history. An event that contributed to this revival was the "Annual Doings," a tribal festival and reunion which brought together members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe for feasting, remembrance, and the celebration of the Mountain Spirit Dance. Members of the tribe gather from all over the United States. A large contingent of friends and relatives from the Mescalero Reservation come back to Oklahoma every autumn to commemorate the past and renew old friendships. The focal point of the weekend event, which has been celebrated annually since 1981, is the nightly Mountain Spirit Dance which features as many as four or five Mountain Spirit Dance groups dancing until well past midnight. The festivities usually close late Saturday evening and very early Sunday morning with a Mescalero Round Dance.

The Fort Sill Apache annual festival in September 1986, commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Geronimo and the beginning of the long Chiricahua and Warm Springs sojourn of captivity. Participants in the events of that weekend toured sites at Fort Sill, including the Chiricahua and Warm Springs cemeteries and the Fort Sill Museum, before returning to tribal headquarters for the Saturday meal and the Mountain Spirit Dance. That year, the

tribe also designated Michael Darrow as official tribal historian.[24]

The following year the Fort Sill Apache tribe made arrangements to acquire a microfilm collection of all the documents associated with the tribe's claims cases from tribal counsel Weisbrodt & Weisbrodt of Washington, D.C. Fort Sill Apache tribal member and anthropologist Nancy (Mithlo) Mitchell coordinated the microfilm project with the law firm, which gave the tribe an invaluable resource and represented a significant foundation for the tribe's long-term project of gathering tribal documents and artifacts for a tribal museum and cultural resource center.[25]

Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s Fort Sill Apache tribal leadership has sought to expand economic opportunities for tribal members and has broadened tribal relationships, both economic and political, with other Native American tribes in southwestern Oklahoma. Tribal efforts have focused on trying to build enterprises that will provide jobs for tribal members in the Apache, Oklahoma area, with the hope that someday, successful tribal businesses could bring members of the Fort Sill Apache back to the area to live. The tribe is also concerned about the welfare of its older members and has even considered building a care facility for full-time care of the elderly. Currently the tribe provides daily noon meals to elderly Indian and non-Indian seniors.[26]

On 18 November 1995, yet another transition occurred as Mildred Cleghorn retired from tribal leadership. Members of the tribe honored her nineteen years of service with a special reception attended by local political leaders and Mescalero Apache Tribal Chairman, Wendell Chino. Her successor, Ruey Haozous Darrow, represents a generational transition. She is the daughter of prisoners as well as an example of those who received formal education, worked far away for awhile, and yet returned to family and tribal roots in southwestern Oklahoma.[27]

Ruey grew up in a home where parents stressed reverence for the past and preparation for the future. Even as her father taught her and her siblings Chiricahua myths and stories, both her father and mother strongly encouraged them to learn and speak English. At the age of ten a BIA nurse took her to Oklahoma City for treatment for the effects of a polio infection. As a result of the experience Ruey became fascinated with medicine. When it became apparent that her parents could not afford to send her to medical school, she opted for the pre-med program at the University of Oklahoma and eventually completed her degree in medical technology. She began a long career with the Indian Health Service in 1970 in Shawnee, Oklahoma. After resigning from the service to accompany her husband to St. Charles, Louisiana she completed an M.S. in microbiology at McNee State University. In 1984 she returned to the Indian Health Service working as

a consultant for the IHS in states throughout the Midwest until her retirement in 1995.[28]

Ruey has passed on the family emphasis on education to her own children as well as the cultural and historical legacy she inherited from her parents. She holds a bittersweet view of the current status of the tribe as cultural identity becomes subsumed in the struggle for economic survival and the overwhelming influence and attractiveness of Euroamerican culture. According to Ruey the most important historical event in modern Chiricahua and Warm Springs history was the loss of the reservation at Fort Sill and the subsequent allotment process. That process, in her view, left her people without a land base to remain an identifiable people or to maintain economic viability.[29]

Ruey Darrow leads her people into an uncertain future. The past twenty years encompassed a recovery of sorts for the Chiricahua and Warm Springs community. Those years included the creation of a tribal organization and at least a minimal recognition on the federal government's part of past injustices. No amount of money, however, could restore what had been lost. Despite the gains that have been made in maintaining tribal identity and the retention of the most important symbolic aspects of Chiricahua and Warm Springs culture the future survival of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe (as with all Native American tribes) depends on the next generation, and its commitment to the foundations that have

been established in the past fifty years by their parents and grandparents.

NOTES: CHAPTER IX

1. Act of 19 October 1973 (25 USC 1401 et seq., 87 stat. 468).

2. Fort Sill Apache Tribe, Minutes of General Council Meeting, 24 November 1973, John Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

3. For a review of Indian New Deal developments at Mescalero involving the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Tribes see C. L. Sonnichsen, The Mescalero Apaches (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 263-283. See also Secretary of Interior to Speaker of the House, 10 September 1974, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina. For Benedict Jozhe's view of the implications of the Mescalero Tribe's organization on award eligibility see "Statement of Position of Fort Sill Apache Tribe Original Business Committee and Majority of the Full Blood and Half Blood Fort Sill Apache Members at the Hearing Held at Hosper's Hall, Apache Reformed Church, Apache, Oklahoma on May 11th, 1974," Angie Debo Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, Box 26, Folder 5.5.

4. Department of Interior to Speaker of the House, 10 September 1974, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

5. Fort Sill Apache Tribe, Minutes of General Council Meeting, 24 November 1973, ibid.

6. Ibid., other members of the Tribal Business Committee included Talbot Gooday, Chairman, Melford Guydelkon, Vice Chairman, and Benedict Kawaykla, committee member.

7. Benedict Jozhe's challenges to his removal from office are contained in a number of letters and legal petitions. See previously cited, "Statement of Position...," and Brief in Support of Appeal, To Commissioner of Indian Affairs, From Houston Bus Hill (representing Benedict Jozhe), 3 April 1973. See also Benedict Jozhe to Secretary of the Interior, Rogers B. Morton, 14 October 1974, Angie Debo Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, Box 26, Folder 54.

8. Lloyd Needs to Houston Bus Hill, 12 March 1975, Apache-Government Relations File, Fort Sill Museum and Archives, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

9. For an excellent overview of the history of all the Fort Sill Apache claims, and in particular those contained in Dockets 182 and 182-A see "Report by Claims Attorneys on Proposed Settlement of Tribal Claims in Docket No. 182 (Appeal No. 3-78) and Docket No. 182-A Before the Court of Claims, February 1979," Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina. For discussion of the end of the Indian Claims Commission see Rosenthal, Their Day in Court, 233-234.

10. "Report by Claims Attorneys," 2.

11. Ibid., 9.

12. Ibid., 16-18.

13. Fort Sill Apache Tribe, General Council Meeting Notes, 24 February 1979, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

14. Article II (Membership), Constitution and By-Laws of the Fort Sill Apache Tribes of Oklahoma.

15. Record of Minutes, Fort Sill Apache General Council Meeting, Hospers Hall, Apache, Oklahoma, 4 December 1976, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina. For other pertinent documents relating to the organization of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe and the adoption of a Bureau of Indian Affairs "form" Constitution see Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Area Office, Tribal Operations and Government, Elections for Fort Sill Apaches and Kiowas, Box 8, National Archives Regional Depository, Fort Worth, Texas.

16. Interview, Michael Darrow with Clifford P. Coppersmith, 24 February 1994, Fort Cobb, Oklahoma.

17. Interview, Harry Mithlo with Clifford P. Coppersmith, 3 October 1994, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Notes in author's possession.

18. Ibid.

19. See Fort Sill Apache Tribe, General Council Meeting Notes, 30 June 1979, and Bureau of Indian Affairs, Anadarko Office Circular, 14 August 1979, "Notice to all Fort Sill Apache Indians," Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina. As a matter of interest as to just how little members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe received of the actual award, note: of the $6,000,000 settlement, $600,000 went to the firm Weisbrodt & Weisbrodt for attorney's fees; $11,000 went to expert

witness fees. The actual Fort Sill Apache Tribe's share of the settlement (31%) totaled $1,670,590. The balance of the award went to the Mescalero Tribe of New Mexico. See Fort Sill Apache Tribe, General Council Meeting Notes, 2 June 1979, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

20. Perlman, 86.

21. Undated Tribal Newsletter, [1980], Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

22. "Fort Sill Apaches Get Aid Promises," Lawton Constitution, 27 August 1981: 5A.

23. General Council Meeting Notes, 16 December 1986; 20 June 1987, Shapard Collection, Frisco Native American Museum, Frisco, North Carolina.

24. Tribal Circular, Chiricahua Apache Centennial, 1886-1986, September 26-27, 1986. See also General Council Meeting Notes, 19 April 1986, ibid.

25. Microfilming tribal documents related to claim cases was a project long in the making. Discussion of the project first appears in tribal council meeting notes in February 1983. The tribe coordinated the microfilming project with archivists from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission at a cost of $37,410. Today a comprehensive record, including many important historical documents and historical and anthropological articles, are contained in the microfilm sets and held in the tribal archives. See General Council Meeting Notes, 23 February 1983 and 12 September 1987, ibid.

26. Interview, Pat Haozous Reagan, Vice-Chairperson, Tribal Business Committee, Fort Sill Apache Tribe, with Clifford Coppersmith, 3 October 1994, Fort Sill Apache Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma.

27. The author attended the reception for Mildred Cleghorn. See author's notes.

28. Interview, Ruey Haozous Darrow with Clifford Coppersmith, 13 December 1995, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma. Notes in author's possession.

29. Ibid.

X. Epilogue

Among the many trails of tears traveled by Native American tribes in the United States, that trod by the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches has been one of the longest. Despite one of the most extensive and deliberate attempts by the federal government to erase their existence as a distinct people they remain. Even as a widely dispersed community, they remain a politically organized and astute tribe.

Within the formal structure of the Fort Sill Apache tribe and the disparate communities of those who identify themselves as Chiricahuas and Warm Springs Apaches is a common identification as Apache. Differences are expressed in connection with rituals, belief, and custom--but all continue to express their Indian identity as a Chiricahua or Warm Springs Apache irrespective of whether that identity is "official" or not.

A common concern for many members of this Native American community is the loss of culture and the threat represented by the pan-tribal movement. Currently, few if any Chiricahua or Warm Springs Apaches participate in the Pow Wow movement, despite its overwhelming presence in southwestern Oklahoma. Comanche and Kiowa Indians have played a key role in the development of the Pow Wow as a significant Native American institution of cultural

transmission and diffusion.[1] These pan-tribal influences do find their way into Fort Sill Apache tribal events, however, such as the case during the afternoon portions of the Annual Festival that features Kiowa Gourd Dancers and Comanche War Dancers, performances that look, and sound like mini-Pow Wows.

The Fort Sill Apache victory over all the attempts to break them up and assimilate them into Euroamerican culture was a partial one. Now the challenge seems to be the attractiveness of, not only Euroamerican culture, but also elements of other Native American tribal cultures as represented by the growth and influence of the pan-tribal movement. For Robert Houser, that movement "threatens to complete the final destruction of individual tribal culture. It is too easy to pick and choose the elements of one culture or another." The effects of this development can be seen in the annual Apache ceremonial, where the inclusion of so much non-Apache activities threatens the whole purpose for which the ceremonial was held in the first place.[2]

And so the struggle continues. Today it is not Indian boarding schools, sermonizing missionaries, dictatorial army officers, or corrupt or venal bureaucrats that threaten tribal and cultural existence; but the freedom and bewildering array of choices and information that face young people growing up in the frenzied reality that is the late twentieth century.

Undoubtedly, the irrepressible ability of the Apache people to preserve themselves and the most important aspects of their culture will continue to win out against the powerful influences that threaten to absorb them. Younger members of the tribe have contributed to a continued interest in preserving the Mountain Spirit Dance as well as getting involved in tribal affairs that will shape the future. Lupe Gooday, Jr., discovered his interest in tribal affairs and culture after finishing high school. And while he expressed frustration at the slow progress the tribe has made in the last thirty years he believes the People have made measurable progress with the creation of the tribal offices and other tribal facilities. Like others members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe, his is a legacy inherited from the past: concern for the tribe's welfare and the interest and participation in the song and dance of the Mountain Spirits.[3]

NOTES: CHAPTER X

1. For a discussion of the role of Pow Wows and the transmittal of cultural practices via this powerful medium of Native American artistic expression and identity, see T.E. Shirer and S.M. Branstner, eds., Native American Values: Survival and Renewal (Sault St. Marie, MN: Lake Superior State University Press, 1993), specifically see Eric Lassiter's "They Left Us These Songs...That's All We Got Left Now": The Significance of Music in the Kiowa Gourd Dance and its Relation to Native American Cultural Continuity," 375-383. See also Clyde Ellis, "'Truly Dancing Their Own Way': Modern Revival and Diffusion of the Gourd Dance," American Indian Quarterly 14 (Winter 1990): 19-33.

2. Interview, Robert Houser with Clifford Coppersmith, 6 October 1994, Apache, Oklahoma. Notes in author's possession.

3. Interview, Lupe Gooday, Jr. with Clifford Coppersmith, 5 June 1996, Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters, Apache, Oklahoma. Notes in author's possession.

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