LANDMARK EVENTS IN NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY

The Apache Wars

THE FINAL RESISTANCE

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JOSEPH C. JASTRZEMBSKI
Associate Professor of History
Minot State University

SERIES EDITOR: PAUL C. ROSIER
Assistant Professor of History
Villanova University

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Cover: Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo (right) is pictured here with his son Chappo (left) and the Apache warriors Yanosha and Fun.

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The Apache World

"Indah! Indah! The White Men are coming," screamed the old woman. The boy turned and saw flashes of rifle fire along the lake. His mother quickly lifted him and placed him on the mule's back. As she tried to lift her infant daughter alongside her as well, the mule panicked and reared. A man snatched her baby and ran up the slope. The woman followed, tugging on the mule's bridle. On the trail below they heard the sound of hoof beats. The Mexican soldiers approached. The woman took the boy from the mule's back and struck the frightened animal. It bolted into the deepening twilight. Squeezing themselves between two huge boulders, the boy and his mother crouched in the shadows, willing themselves to be invisible.

As the boy cautiously looked out, three soldiers rode up. They stopped and exchanged some words in Spanish. Two rode away, but the third dismounted and leaned his rifle against the rocks. As the boy and his mother watched, barely breathing, the soldier rolled a cigarette and lit it, just in front of their hiding place. Finally, having finished his smoke, he threw the stub

down and ground it underfoot. He mounted his horse again, and rode away. The boy and his mother began to move again. They crawled up the arroyo, hoping to reach the mountain and safety. They could still hear occasional gunfire and they knew that their people were being hunted down and killed.

The boy never saw his baby sister again.[1]

The great leader Victorio had named the boy Kaywaykla, which means "His Enemies Lie Dead in Heaps." Victorio was now dead, too, along with his dreams of leading his people to refuge in Mexico, away from the slow death they would experience at the San Carlos Reservation. Kaywaykla himself would later be sent far away to a boarding school. His hair would be cut, his Indian clothes burned, and he would be given the name "James." Yet hope did not die in him. As his grandfather reminded Kaywaykla, his people, the Apaches, were not meant to have an easy life. One had to learn from every defeat, slowly acquiring the strength and courage that led to victory.

James Kaywaykla's story forms but a part of the epic saga of the last great Indian war of the United States: the struggle to defeat the Apache peoples of the Southwest. For more than 200 years, the Apaches fought to preserve their lands and their way of life, first against Spain, then against Mexico, and finally against the United States. This is the story of that final resistance.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Archaeologists report that, probably not more than 2,000 years ago, the ancestors of the Apache people came from northwestern Canada and gradually made their way into the present-day southwestern United States. They arrived in the area somewhere around A.D. 1500. In the Southwest, the Apaches diverged farther, some moving toward the plains to the east and others toward the mountains to the west. By the eighteenth century, these migrations were largely complete, with Apache

By A.D. 1500, the Apaches began arriving in what is today the American Southwest, where they largely focused on hunting and gathering, rather than farming. Depicted here are two Apaches wearing warm-weather war dress as they prepare to head into battle.

peoples found throughout Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and the adjacent regions of Mexico.

Largely a hunting and gathering people in a land of rugged mountains and intervening arid deserts and plains, the Apaches remained thinly scattered over this vast area. Nevertheless, over time, distinct groupings, sometimes called subtribes, emerged. To the west of the Rio Grande were the Western Apaches and the Chiricahuas. Straddling the mountains and plains were the Mescaleros. To the north, in present-day New Mexico, were the Jicarillas; and finally, to the east into Texas were the so-called Plains Apaches and the Lipans. Of these groups, the Chiricahuas held out the longest against the onrushing tide of settlers and the reservation system forced on them by the U.S. government. The great Apache leaders whose names have entered the history books—Mangas Coloradas, Cochise, Victorio, and Geronimo—were all Chiricahuas. Because of this, much of the story of Apache resistance concerns these people.

To the Chiricahuas and the other Apache peoples, the stories of their origins as told by archaeologists are less significant than the fact that they believe they have lived in the Southwest from time immemorial. Its deserts, mountains, and plains defined the Apache world, a place made meaningful by generations of residence. All the features of the landscape, then, had stories attached to them.

One such place was Mescal Mountain in Arizona, where the animals had at one time played the moccasin game in a contest for daylight. If the large, four-footed animals won this guessing game, the world would remain in darkness. If the small animals and birds won, then light would come and the world would thrive. In another story, which took place near the foot of the Chuchillo Mountains, powerful Mountain Spirits intervened to save a party of Apaches pursued by Mexican soldiers. Driving the soldiers before them into a cave, the Mountain Spirits left them there and sealed them behind rock.

Many other stories concern individual Apaches who turned their backs on accepted practices and customs, which ultimately led to a bad end. Called *morality tales*, these stories and the places associated with them constantly reminded Apaches to live their lives properly, lest misfortune befall them, too.

And so in the same way that parents and grandparents instructed their children in right and wrong, so the land provided guidance and direction. To be removed from this setting was literally to be unmoored from one's moral anchor. One explanation for the duration of the Apache wars can be found in this relationship to the land, as the Apaches fiercely resisted the efforts of outsiders to remove them to reservation settings outside their traditional territories.

For the Apaches, proper living involved loyalty to family, generosity, modesty, and respect for the independence of other Apaches. Apache leaders proved their worth to their people through just such traits and through their persuasive powers. Leaders could not force their will upon the people. They had to convince them that their way was the right way. And yet, Apache families or small groups could decide to follow their own path if necessary. The people of the United States and Mexico did not always understand this independence of action and spirit and believed that agreements or treaties made with particular leaders were binding to all Apaches. To the Apaches themselves, though, such agreements bound only those who followed that particular leader, and did not necessarily bind the Apaches in their relations with other people, such as the inhabitants of Mexico. This decentralized political system also contributed to the longevity of the Apache wars, because the U.S. military had to deal with a large number of Apache groups, each following its own inclinations.

From their world, the Apaches hoped to achieve the means to attain good health and a long life. Part of this involved providing food for their families. Their band territories,

From early spring through late fall, Apache women gathered and prepared wild plant foods to feed their families. In addition, they cooked a variety of animals, such as deer and antelope, which were killed by the men in their band.

dotted with numerous mountain ranges and inclusive of several different ecological zones, yielded a surprising variety of animals and plants. From the mountains the Apaches took deer, and in the more open areas of the lower elevations they took antelope. Young boys hunted smaller game—cottontail rabbits, squirrels, and the like. Of more limited importance, elk and mountain sheep and goats supplemented the diet. Finally, wild or domestic cattle and surplus horses and mules were all eaten; horses, in fact, became almost a staple at times. As the men hunted, Apache women harvested the area's wild plants, which equaled, if not surpassed, animals in dietary importance. Occupying a woman's time from early spring until late fall, the gathering, preparing, and storing of wild plant foods meant that she frequently moved with her family throughout the area to tap into these resources. Berries, seeds, nuts,

various cacti, and roots comprised the vegetative part of their diet, but perhaps mescal (a kind of cactus) came closest to a staple. Often gathered communally, mescal was steamed, then dried in the sun and stored, providing a sweet and nutritious food for many months, particularly through the winter.

As hunters and gatherers, the Apaches operated over a wide range of the American Southwest and northern Mexico. Outside of the Apache home territories, Spanish, Mexican, and later U.S. settlements provided depots, or storehouses of material and agricultural products. This resource could be tapped more easily than mescal could be gathered and cooked, or than deer could be driven and killed. Such was the availability of cattle and corn, horses and mules, and other commodities in these settlements that raiding (the taking of goods without giving anything in return) became central to the Apache way of life—rivaling, if not surpassing, the importance of hunting among men.

In keeping with the Apache emphasis on achieving longevity, the raid on the whole was nonconfrontational. When a local leader voiced the need to replenish camp supplies, a voluntary raiding party formed. Generally small and containing several novices, the raiding party, through stealth and ritual aid, avoided hostile encounters and devoted itself to material acquisition. If hard pressed, the raiders were of course prepared to fight. But even in such cases, a premium was put on sustaining minimal casualties and a successful escape.

Participating in raiding was an important part of a teenage boy's transition into adulthood. At about the age of 16, a boy accompanied his male relatives on four raids. During these raiding expeditions, the teenager was occupied by doing camp chores, caring for the horses, serving as lookout, and other such tasks. He followed certain ritual actions as well, such as only taking water from a special drinking tool and learning specialized vocabulary that was only used when

raiding. During this time, the adults carefully shielded the teen from direct physical danger, being more concerned with broadening his experience and testing his physical stamina. After a teen successfully completed four raids, he was considered a man and could organize raids on his own. Because of the raid's important economic and social functions, Apaches resisted U.S. efforts to restrict their movements to confined reservations. Greatly complicating this task was the fact that Apaches conducted their raids on both sides of the U.S.–Mexico border.

For all of their precautions, however, Apaches sometimes suffered casualties during raids. When this happened, mourning relatives would organize a war dance, signaling to all their intention of obtaining revenge for the death of their loved one. As one Apache remembered, the war dance "means that they are going after all their enemies. . . . It doesn't have to be the ones that killed their men. They go after anything, a troop of cavalry, a town. They are angry. They fight anyone to get even."[2] As troops and settlers protected themselves from Apache raids, or in turn attacked Apache encampments in retaliation for past raids, their activities ironically contributed to revenge-motivated warfare, creating a cycle of violence that bred deep resentment on both sides.

Against this backdrop of violence, it is easier to understand why Apaches considered long life a primary goal, because obtaining it was fraught with difficulty and beyond the capabilities of any one person. Instead, a person had to rely on advice and aid from others. Much of this could come from one's family, particularly a grandparent, because he or she had accumulated valuable experiences throughout the years. Guidance could also come from a leader whose proven record of success validated his advice. But probably most importantly, aid could come from nonhuman forces at work in the world—powerful spirits seeking to establish mutually beneficial relationships with people.

To the Apaches, the world was filled with power, a kind of life force that worked through animals, plants, and natural phenomena to safeguard people in myriad ways. It was important, then, for an Apache to establish a relationship with a receptacle of power either through a personal vision or through the aid of a shaman, a person who had already established a power relationship and obtained important ceremonial knowledge. In this way, Apaches could learn and apply knowledge that would protect them or serve others throughout their lives. Geronimo, for example, obtained his power from the coyote; like that wily animal, he could lose his pursuers on twisting and turning chases. Victorio's sister, Lozen, could call on her power to help locate enemies, allowing her people to evade capture. Kaywaykla's grandmother had great healing gifts. In turn, powerful forces were arrayed against the Apaches. The coming of the Americans, who were moving west into the frontier regions of Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century, would gradually narrow the confines of the Apache world.

THE APACHES IN NEW SPAIN AND MEXICO

Before encountering the people of the United States, the Apaches first interacted with the Spanish, and then the Mexicans. This established patterns of behavior that would directly influence their later relations with the United States. Although the Spanish claimed the Apache homelands as part of their colony of New Spain, Spanish settlement only skirted its edges. In fact, for much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Chiricahua and other Apache subtribes lived in what one Spanish commentator called the "imaginary realms of the king." This resulted partly from the nature of Spanish settlement. Unlike the hunting and gathering Apaches, small-scale subsistence farmers needed to be near reliable sources of water. In New Mexico, for example, this tied the Spanish settlers to the Rio Grande and its tributaries. Farther south,

livestock ranching dominated the semiarid grasslands, but the main markets for cattle were in the mining districts, well south of the Apache homelands. Yet the Apaches, as noted, could move across these settled areas with ease, driving off cattle or horses. Much Spanish effort was expended toward protecting these settlements with a line of presidios, or forts. Against the mobile Apaches, however, these fixed outposts provided little protection. By the 1770s, Apache raids had become so frequent that areas in the northern portion of New Spain were becoming depopulated by the Spanish.

By the 1780s, the Spanish began to change their tactics. Renaming their presidios "peace establishments," they offered the Apaches regular access to food and trade goods, even alcohol and guns, if they would stop their raids. "Buying peace" in this way, the Spanish reasoned, was actually less costly than the losses of lives and livestock often incurred in raids. Coupled with an alliance with the Comanches—enemies of the Apaches—the Spanish brought a kind of peace to their northern frontier. Although this policy did not completely end Apache raiding into the more settled areas of New Spain, it moderated them to the point that population and development began to return to the north.

In 1810, however, forces within New Spain revolted in the name of independence, achieving their goal by 1821. The new country of Mexico, passing through a period of political and financial instability, had few resources to devote to the northern frontier and the peace establishment program. By 1831, the northern Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua could not shoulder the program's financial costs; nor could they, in its place, support military pacification of the Apaches. In Sonora, underpaid and underfed troops rebelled. As desertions increased, convicted criminals were sentenced to serve out their terms at the garrisons that crumbled around them. Fearing the extermination of the state, the Sonora legislature declared in 1835 that the Apaches were the common enemy

of every person. In Chihuahua, the government relied on mercenaries and offered a bounty for each Apache scalp submitted. Often using stealth and treachery to surprise Apache groups, these mercenaries inspired destructive Apache revenge raids across the entire northern frontier.

Eventually both states, and even villages within them, turned to private understandings with individual Apache groups. If unmolested by raids, the villagers promised to buy Apache booty taken from other Mexican towns. And so, with these "partial peace treaties," they could for a time insulate themselves from Apache raiding parties. It came at the cost, however, of driving a wedge between the people of Chihuahua and Sonora. In 1851, for example, Sonoran troops crossed over into Chihuahua to attack Apaches peacefully trading at the town and former presidio of Janos. Among the Apache casualties that day were Geronimo's wife and children; for the next 35 years, he would take his revenge against the people of Mexico. Apaches also exchanged their stolen property at posts set up just outside of Mexican territory by fur traders and merchant companies from the United States. Willing to look the other way when it came to the origin of the goods they bought, these merchants sustained Apache raiding, often supplying the Apaches with weapons that made them better armed than the inhabitants of northern Mexico.

Such was the situation when the United States and Mexico went to war in 1846 over a territorial dispute. Quickly occupying northern Mexico, U.S. troops encountered the Apaches for the first time. When the Chiricahua Apache leader Mangas Coloradas met the advance guard of the so-called "Army of the West" in 1846, he "swore eternal friendship to the whites, and everlasting hatred to the Mexicans." As one of his leading men explained, "You have taken New Mexico, and will soon take California; go then, and take Chihuahua, Durango, and Sonora. We will help you. . . . The Mexicans are rascals; we hate and will kill them

all."[3] Yet the Apaches were not a party to the treaty between the United States and Mexico that ended the war in 1848, a treaty that redrew the boundaries of Mexico's north to create the American Southwest. The Apaches now lived on lands claimed by the United States. The "eternal friendship" would soon unravel.

Apaches and Americans: The Conflict Begins

The expedition was enormous. More than 300 white soldiers scurried about. Some unpacked mules while others gathered wood, lit cooking fires, and drew water. Some of the soldiers swarmed over the ramparts of the old adobe fort, appreciatively eyeing its defensive possibilities. Others began repairing the many abandoned buildings, which would serve as more than adequate shelter for the coming weeks. Some of the men peered through strange mechanical instruments and scribbled down figures on paper, making calculations of distance and elevation. The encampment remained a hive of activity for several months, returning life to the old copper mining community of Santa Rita del Cobre, deep in the heart of Apache territory.

As the Apaches entered the encampment, they took in all the changes, even if they did not fully understand everything that was going on around them. Only two boys paid any attention to the little tent pitched to the side. While the Apache men looked elsewhere, the two boys quickly darted behind the tent's closed flap and into the hands of its surprised occupant.

As the man held the struggling boys and listened to their cries for help, he realized that they were not Apaches, but rather Mexicans living as captives among the Indians. Taking their hands and assuring them that he would protect them, he led the boys through the ranks of angry and muttering Apaches to the tent of the stern New Englander who had come to establish the new boundary between Mexico and the United States.

A LINE THROUGH APACHE COUNTRY

The signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American War of 1846 to 1848. Although the Apaches were not a party to the treaty, several of its provisions directly affected them. First, the treaty called for Mexico to transfer a vast amount of land, the so-called Mexican Cession, to the United States. In an instant, an international boundary ran through Apache country, separating Apache bands in Mexico from those in the United States. Second, the United States promised to end further Indian incursions into Mexico from north of the new boundary and to compensate Mexicans for losses suffered at Apache hands. Third, the United States pledged itself to return any Mexican captive recovered from the Apaches.

In the summer of 1850, John Russell Bartlett of Rhode Island arrived in Texas to begin his duties as U.S. boundary commissioner, working with his Mexican counterpart to survey the new U.S.–Mexico boundary line. Working west from El Paso del Norte on the Rio Grande, he entered into Apache country, meeting with several leaders, most notably Mangas Coloradas of the Chiricahuas. At each meeting, Bartlett explained his task and the American obligations toward Mexico. After his meeting with Mangas Coloradas, Bartlett noted the chief's puzzled reaction: "Our protection of the Mexicans he did not seem to relish; and could not comprehend why we should aid them in any way after we had conquered them, or

(continues on page 23)

Mangas Coloradas (1793–1863) was a prominent chief of the Eastern Chiricahua Apaches. In 1837, he became the Apaches' principal chief and began a retaliatory campaign against the Mexican Army for their attacks against his people. During the Mexican-American War (1846–48), Mangas Coloradas supported the United States in its conflict with Mexico.

MANGAS COLORADAS: UNITER OF THE APACHES

From the 1840s to the 1860s, Mangas Coloradas played a prominent leadership role among the Chiricahua Apaches. Known for his giant stature and strength, he was born around 1790 into one of the smallest Chiricahua bands. Following established Apache practice, he married into and lived with his wife's family, members of the larger Warm Springs band. Apaches recognized his leadership skills and the young man rose quickly from a local group leader to a respected bandleader, and finally to a tribal leader; a man whom Apaches from other bands listened to with respect. His influence grew even among other Apache tribes through the arranged marriages of his many children to recognized leaders and chiefs.

He grew into maturity at the time relations worsened between Mexicans and Apaches. During this period, he began to lead raids deep into Mexican territory, carrying off captives, livestock, and other war spoils. On one of his raids, he captured a Mexican woman who became one of his four wives. On another, according to legend, he acquired the bright shirt with red sleeves that led to his nickname, *Kan-da-zis-tlishishen*, or "Red Sleeves."

Viewing the United States as an ally in his war with Mexico, he initially welcomed Anglo-Americans, but then became alarmed as an influx of settlers, miners, and ranchers began to overrun Apache country. Although he tirelessly tried to promote peace, he joined his son-in-law Cochise in war after the notorious Bascom Affair, which involved the capture by U.S. soldiers of Cochise, who later escaped. In 1863, as Mangas Coloradas reached out in peace one last time, he was treacherously captured by miners and turned over to U.S. soldiers at Fort McLane. Mistreated and tortured, the old leader was killed while "trying to escape." His body was mutilated in death, arousing the anger of Apaches everywhere and contributing to the worsening of U.S.–Apache relations.

(continued from page 20)

what business it was to the Americans if the Apaches chose to steal their [the Mexicans'] mules, as they had always done, or to make wives of their Mexican women or prisoners of their children."[4]

Nevertheless, Mangas Coloradas, possibly influenced by the numbers and strength of Bartlett's party, maintained good relations with the commission, even when they settled in for their extended stay at Santa Rita del Cobre. The escape of the two captive Mexican boys, however, brought the first real test to the new Apache-American relationship. It is helpful to examine the confrontation between the Apaches and Bartlett at some length, as it prefigures the cultural misunderstandings that would plague Apache-American relations from this time forward.

Seeking the boys' return, Mangas Coloradas led a delegation of Chiricahuas to the commissioner. Bartlett refused to surrender the boys, citing the treaty as his justification. Neither did he offer, at Mangas Coloradas's suggestion, compensation for their loss. His explanations failed to impress the Apaches. "In vain," he said, "I endeavored to make the chiefs comprehend our treaty with Mexico, and the principles of justice and humanity on which it was based." Then, clearly exasperated, he added, "They did not, or would not, understand, and left our camp evidently much offended."[5] Fearing trouble, Bartlett had the children removed from the camp during the night and transferred to the authority of his Mexican counterpart, General García Conde.

When the Apaches learned of Bartlett's action, they returned to the camp to confront the commissioner. Bartlett's narrative of the encounter records the Apache leaders' actual words, although in translation. To historians, such direct testimony constitutes a primary, or firsthand, source of information. As such, it is a valuable tool for historical reconstruction, providing insight into Apache thoughts and actions. First, Mangas Coloradas addressed Bartlett:

> You came to our country. You were well received by us. Your lives, your property, your animals, were safe. You passed by one, by twos, and by threes, through our country; you went and came in peace. Your strayed animals were always brought home to you again. Our wives, our children, and women, came here and visited your houses. We were friends! We were brothers! Believing this, we came amongst you and brought our captives, relying on it that we were brothers, and that you would feel as we feel. We concealed nothing. We came not here secretly or in the night. We came in open day and before your faces, and we showed our captives to you. We believed your assurances of friendship, and we trusted them. Why did you take our captives from us?[6]

In answer, Bartlett repeated his obligation to honor the provisions of the U.S.–Mexican treaty and impressed upon his audience the bond of friendship now held between the two countries. Ponce, another Apache leading man, took up the response:

"Yes, but you took our captives from us without beforehand cautioning us. We were ignorant of this promise to restore captives. They were made prisoners in lawful warfare. They belong to us. They are our property. Our people have also been made captives by the Mexicans. If we had known of this thing, we should not have come here. We should not have placed confidence in you."[7] Again Bartlett explained the now familiar treaty obligations on this point, but in a manner calculated to overawe and insult Ponce, comparing him to a child who speaks out of turn without reflection. Ponce answered, "I am neither a boy nor a squaw [sic]. I am a man and a brave [sic] . . . I speak of wrongs we have suffered and those you do us now. You must not speak any more. Let someone else speak." To this outburst, Bartlett retorted, "I want you to understand that I am the very one to speak; the only one here

who can speak. Now do you sit down. I will hold no more talk with *you*, but will select a *man*." Delgadito, the leader of 300 Apaches encamped in the Mimbres River valley, now resumed the Apache case. "We do not doubt the word of our brave white brethren," he began, continuing:

> The Americans are braves, we know it; and we believe a brave scorns to lie. But the owner of these captives is a poor man; he cannot lose his captives, who were obtained at the risk of his life, and purchased by the blood of his relatives. He justly demands his captives. We are his friends, and we wish to see this demand complied with. It is just, as justice we demand it.[8]

Looking at the Apaches' arguments in light of the previous history of Mexican and Apache relations—the Mexican scalp hunting and Apache retaliation—it is clear that by this time a not inconsiderable number of Mexican captives resided among the Chiricahuas. As in the case of the two Mexican boys, most of these captives were taken in the context of a revenge expedition; that is, they were "purchased by the blood of [their captors'] relatives." In the same way that the taking of one life fulfilled the desire for vengeance that fueled Apache warfare, the taking of a captive filled the void left in an Apache's extended family due to a relative's death. The captive would be expected to contribute to the maintenance of the family and the local group, and it is precisely for this reason that the Apaches preferred women and children. They, unlike adult males, were more readily incorporated into the fabric of Apache life. One of the captive Mexican boys rescued by Bartlett, for example, had by this time spent some six years with his captor, in that time learning the language and the use of the lance and the bow. He was, asserted Delgadito, almost a son to his captor.

Yet the treatment of Mexican captives among the Apaches failed to move Bartlett. In carrying out his negotiations over the captive issue, he assumed that the Apaches would automatically abide by the understanding between the United States and Mexico that much of Apache territory now fell within U.S. jurisdiction. This possibly explains his anger toward Ponce, who cut through his legalistic arguments and recognized that what also was at issue were the rights conferred by naked power. In the end, Bartlett realized the precariousness of the commission's position, surrounded as it was by Apaches. He reverted to the original demand of Mangas Coloradas for compensation, which the Apaches, with some reluctance, finally accepted. A host of further incidents eventually alienated the Apaches further. Each incident in some way related to traditional Apache practices. In the end, their patience exhausted, the Apaches began to harass the boundary commission, running off their stock, and at one point attacking their wagon train.

MIXED SIGNALS

Throughout the 1850s, U.S. intentions toward the Apaches were less than clear. Although Bartlett had stated that the Americans would no longer tolerate Apache raids into Mexico, incursions continued unabated as the U.S. government struggled to establish a formal presence in the border region. Moreover, in 1854, the United States signed the Gadsden Purchase Treaty, transferring additional Mexican land south of the Gila River to the United States and thus bringing more Apache territory into U.S. jurisdiction. The treaty was partially motivated by a U.S. interest in developing western rail links to California, which was rapidly filling with settlers as a result of the gold rush. The agreement also saw the government repudiate its promise to protect Mexico from Apache raids, since yearly claims for compensation had grown at an alarming rate.

Later parties of U.S. settlers entering the border region brought this message to the Chiricahuas. When the mining entrepreneur Charles Poston, for example, met with Mangas Coloradas and 350 Apaches at Santa Rita in 1856, the chief explained, as he had done to Bartlett before, that the Apaches had no quarrel with the Americans but that the Mexicans were their enemies. Poston agreed and renounced all ties to the Mexicans: "Before we took our departure there was a clear understanding between us . . . [the Apaches] would not disturb the Americans coming into Arizona and . . . the Americans would not disturb the Apache in their raids into Mexico."[9] Underscoring the trust between the two, Poston later felt free to complain to the chief about the theft of an old mule. As Poston recorded, "[Mangas Coloradas] said that some of the boys had stolen it and he would have it sent back; and he did."[10]

As explorers and settlers entered the Southwest in advance of U.S. soldiers and administrators, such informal understandings marked American and Apache relations, leading to little consistency in approach. Sometimes settlers sought Apache permission to set up small mining operations or to establish homesteads. Other times, as in the case of the Butterfield Overland Mail Company, they opened a road through Apache country and set up stagecoach stations as though the Apaches did not exist. Still other miners, ranchers, and settlers showed utter contempt toward the Apaches, believing them obstacles to the region's social and economic development.

Making sense of this fell to Michael Steck, appointed first U.S. government representative to the Apaches, or "Indian Agent," in 1851. His jurisdiction took in all of the Apache groups in New Mexico and Arizona, including the Mescaleros, Chiricahuas, and the various groups collectively known as the Western Apaches. Given the decentralized nature of Apache organization, Steck's arrangements with one group were not binding on another, and each group had its own motivations and interests in working with the new agent. Some, like many of the

In 1861, Cochise (depicted here) was falsely accused of driving off cattle from the ranch of John Ward and taking his 12-year-old son, Félix. In retaliation, the U.S. Army captured members of Cochise's family and eventually executed his brother and two of his nephews.

Mescaleros facing a scarcity of game in their country, were interested in learning farming practices; whereas others, like many of the Chiricahuas, simply wished to continue their way of life, including their raids into Mexico, with little interference.

COCHISE: SUCCESSOR TO MANGAS COLORADAS

Cochise, the son-in-law of Mangas Coloradas, exercised considerable influence among the Chiricahuas from the 1860s to the early 1870s. He was born around 1810 and came of age when Apache-Mexican relations began to deteriorate. His ability as a war chief initially established his reputation. In about 1858, he rose to become the most influential leader of the central Chiricahua band. Unlike Mangas Coloradas, however, Cochise tolerated the growing American presence in the Apache homelands, but did not welcome them. Cochise decisively turned against the Americans following the Bascom Affair (see page 31) and the treacherous death of Mangas Coloradas. He led Apaches against U.S. settlers in Arizona, driving out many miners and ranchers, but by the late 1860s, American and Mexican counterattacks persuaded the leader to accept a reservation for his people in 1872. Situated in the central Chiricahua homelands of southeastern Arizona, the reservation allowed Cochise and his people to maintain a traditional Apache life, including raiding into Mexico, for some time.

The independence of those who lived on the Chiricahua Reservation under Cochise soon aroused criticism. The Mexican government repeatedly complained to the United States of Apache raids originating from the reservation. Other Apache raiders often sought refuge on the reservation, prompting complaints from Arizona settlers and the U.S. Army. As sentiment grew in Washington that something would have to be done about the "Apache problem," Cochise, whose health had been deteriorating for some time, became gravely ill and died in 1874. Cochise wished for his son Taza to succeed him as leader of the central Chiricahua. Following Taza's sudden death in 1876, his brother, Naiche, assumed leadership of his people. Neither son, however, wielded influence comparable to their father among the Apaches.

Compounding Steck's challenges was the ongoing animosity between Mexicans and Apaches, particularly as Mexican scalp laws were still in effect south of the border. In one incident, the Mescalero chief Balanquito complained to Steck that Mexican inhabitants of the town of Mesilla, which fell on the U.S. side of the border following the Gadsden Purchase, continually harassed his people. In another incident in 1857, a group of Mesilla townspeople killed and scalped three Mescaleros before attacking a larger group trading peacefully at the nearby town of Doña Ana. A little more than a year later, they even attacked Mescaleros encamped at Steck's agency. Seven Apaches were killed before troops from nearby Fort Thorn restored order. Although Steck subsequently secured a federal warrant for the arrest of the perpetrators, no convictions followed the action.

Steck worked tirelessly to engage all of the Apaches in his region, particularly as more American settlers entered the region. As mining and overland mail services moved into Arizona, Steck reached out to the western Chiricahua groups, promising the Apaches regular distributions of gifts and rations if they agreed not to molest Americans or their property. By this time, Cochise, the son-in-law of Mangas Coloradas, had emerged as the principal leader and spokesperson for the Chiricahuas in Arizona. Yet, in a scenario that would be replayed countless times, neither Cochise nor Steck could entirely fulfill their promises, as neither totally controlled the many groups now interacting on both sides of the international border. This situation would result in the first serious conflict between the Apaches and the Americans.

THE BASCOM AFFAIR AND THE BATTLE OF APACHE PASS

In 1861, two parties of Apaches raided the John Ward ranch, located 11 miles (18 kilometers) from Fort Buchanan, which simply was a few scattered adobe houses designated a fort in

the Gadsden Purchase region. Running off some cattle, the Apache raiders fled with a 12-year-old captive, Félix Ward. Fort Buchanan troops, under First Lieutenant George Bascom, believed Cochise was responsible and so moved into the vicinity of Apache Pass, where Cochise's people were encamped. With his brother, other family members, and two or three Apaches, Cochise met with Bascom and assured the young officer that Western Apaches, not Chiricahuas, had taken the boy. Cochise said, though, that he would do everything in his power to bring about the boy's release. According to Apache accounts, Bascom, unsatisfied, took Cochise and his people prisoner. Yet before the astonished eyes of the soldiers, Cochise drew his knife, slit through the tent in which he was held, and escaped. The other Apaches remained in Bascom's hands, and one may have been killed.

Further efforts at negotiation proved fruitless, because Bascom insisted that the Chiricahuas return the captive boy. Frustrated, Cochise gathered his forces and attacked Bascom and his soldiers directly. In the brief fight, both sides took casualties before the Chiricahuas, who like all Apaches disliked such open battles, broke off the attack and fled into Mexico. They left behind the mutilated remains of four Americans taken captive earlier in a futile effort to exchange prisoners with Bascom. In retaliation, Bascom executed his male prisoners—Cochise's brother and two nephews. Following this, Cochise went to war to avenge the loss of his relatives, unleashing a cycle of revenge and retaliation that unsettled the region. Other Apaches, such as Mangas Coloradas, soon joined the conflict, alarmed at the steady encroachments of mining operations on Apache lands in New Mexico.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, the army began recalling troops to the east, and a number of forts in Apache country were abandoned. To the Apaches, it appeared that their efforts had begun to succeed, because many miners also pulled back into New Mexico and the

Butterfield Overland Mail Company shut down its operations. Their apparent success, however, was short lived. A strong detachment of federal troops—the 1st California Volunteers, under the command of General James Carleton—moved into the Southwest to help secure the region for the Union. With a Confederate threat to the region swiftly disposed of, Carleton focused on revitalizing settlement and economic development in Arizona and New Mexico. Defeating the Apaches, Carleton reasoned, would go far toward accomplishing this goal.

The Apaches, however, were prepared. When a detachment of Carleton's troops marched into Apache Pass on their way to New Mexico, Cochise and Mangas Coloradas, possibly joined by other Chiricahua bands, struck. The soldiers were exhausted by heat, thirst, and the rough conditions of their march, and thus seemed an easy target; they were also outnumbered two to one by the Apaches. Yet after the first volley, the soldiers set up howitzer canons and returned fire, eventually driving the Apaches from the heights and scattering them.

After fleeing into Mexico, the Apaches bided their time without knowing that Carleton intended to drive them into the ground. By this time, the aged Mangas Coloradas had tired of war and only wished to return to his home. He had long tried to live at peace with the Americans, and decided to reach out to them once more. Although other Apache leaders tried to dissuade him, Mangas Coloradas traveled to the mining settlement of Pinos Altos to meet with the Americans. Instead, a group of prospectors captured him and turned him over to Brigadier General Joseph Rodman West at Fort McLane, New Mexico. "[You have] murdered your last white victim, you old scoundrel," said West, upon seeing the chief. Mangas Coloradas replied that his people had fought in self-defense, only after "we were attacked by the white man who came digging up my hills for the yellow iron."[11] That night, soldiers tortured the old chief

before shooting him dead as he was "trying to escape." In the morning, another soldier scalped the Apache leader before his body was dumped in a gully. Several days later, another group of soldiers recovered the body and severed the head, which they boiled and prepared to send to a museum in New York.

To the Apaches the mutilation of the chief's body was the final act of treachery. According to Apache belief, he would carry his mutilation into the next world. The old chief's death sowed a legacy of distrust between the Apaches and the Americans and prolonged the Apache wars. A new generation of leaders, among them Cochise, Victorio, Juh, and Geronimo, would always remember what had happened to the old chief, taken not in battle but while reaching out in peace. Those responsible for the chief's death believed that he got what he deserved, that true peace would never come until all the Apaches were exterminated. Against their cry, however, rose other voices advocating confinement as the answer to the "Apache problem."

Toward the Reservation

For several weeks now, the old man had been slipping in and out of a coma. Several times he seemed to rally, only to slip back into the deep sleep before death. When he awoke again, he knew that death was near. His family waited with him, scarcely believing that the once powerful man was now as weak as a child. His only white friend, the reservation agent, squatted nearby. With an effort, the old man asked the white man to come closer. He asked him, would they ever meet again? Surprised, the white man answered that he did not know. The old man smiled. He knew; they would meet again, up there, in the sky.

Although they had known that it was just a matter of time, the camp still reacted with shock at the news of the old man's death. Some of the young men fired their rifles in the air, shot after shot ringing out. Others sat and cried. Women took sharp knives and hacked at their hair. Close family members put away their fine clothes and instead put on old tattered buckskins. And all through the night the women wailed and howled. It had been only two years since he brought them to peace.

The old man's sister soon took charge. She bathed his body and dressed him in his finest clothes. She wrapped him in a red woolen blanket, a gift from a white officer. She applied red paint to the old man's face. When she was satisfied, she called his sons and his wives. It was time for the family to take him away. They saddled the old man's horse, piling it high with his best robes and his most prized personal possessions. Then they gently lifted him into the saddle and secured him tightly. Slowly, they set out into the hills. But the people would not let them go alone. The old man had been like a father to them, too, guiding and protecting them all his life. They would come.

In a high place, near a deep fissure in the cliffs, they stopped. Again, ever so gently, they lowered the old man to the ground. Into the deep hole, they threw his weapons and his other possessions. In the next world he would have the strength to hunt again and so would need them. So, too, would he need his horse and his dog, companions in death as in life. Then, carefully, they took the old man's body and lowered it with ropes, making sure that when he came to rest his head would be toward the setting sun. As they caught their last glimpse of the body, the people could not help themselves. As one, they stripped themselves of their clothing, and piling it high, burned it.

Cochise, who had given so much to his people, would go into the next life with abundance.

Yet, within a few years of his death in 1874, the Apaches would face their greatest challenge. Soldiers, settlers, and faceless Washington bureaucrats would seize the opportunity to implement their vision of the Southwest, a vision that had little room for the Apaches.

RESERVATIONS DEVELOP

Following the U.S. Civil War, interest in western expansion again gripped the United States. Many politicians saw in the settlement of the West the means to unify the country

and heal the wounds of the war. Yet the Civil War had also seen an upsurge in hostilities between Native Americans and whites, and so western development would have to follow a solution to the so-called "Indian problem."

During and after the war, Congress sent a number of fact-finding commissions to the West to study relations between Native Americans and whites and to make recommendations for future policy. Invariably, these commissions found that Native American hostilities usually followed in response to white encroachments on tribal lands or to mistreatment of native peoples by whites. Nevertheless, these commissions recommended that Native Americans should be removed from the path of settlement to lands set aside for their habitation and use—that is, to reservations. In both the western and eastern parts of the United States, widespread support for this reservation policy guaranteed its implementation. In the West, settlers and developers had long believed that Native Americans slowed the economic growth of the region by using vast tracts of land for hunting and gathering. Once settled on smaller reservations, surplus tribal lands could enter the public domain and be open to farming, ranching, or mining. In the East, white reformers, who believed that they had the Native Americans' best interests at heart, saw reservations as the means to "civilize" tribal peoples. In areas segregated from the worst elements of white society, Native Americans could be taught white methods of farming, receive the rudiments of a basic education, and undergo conversion to Christianity—the components of "civilization." After 1867, peace commissioners induced western tribes to accept reservation life while the army persuaded those groups who refused to settle on reservations to accept the new order. For some Native Americans, then, reservations became virtual prisons.

Apache reservations, although following this broad outline, developed over time and underwent constant modifications as the government tinkered with reservation policy.

This resulted partly as the government responded to events in Apache country and as the civilian and military branches of the government vied for authority and control over Apache affairs. In part, these modifications resulted from the nature of Apache society itself. As noted, Apache society was decentralized, with numerous bands following numerous leaders. Although a strong leader like Mangas Coloradas or Cochise could emerge, one who had a certain degree of influence with other groups, this did not translate into obedience on the part of all. Leaders got their way by persuasion not compulsion. The vastness and ruggedness of the Apache homelands also worked against centralization, separating bands from each other and limiting communication. And finally, the U.S.–Mexico border added another impediment, because Apache groups continued a relationship with Mexico that included raiding, trading, and signing treaties. As Americans struggled to come to terms with the Apaches, all these factors came into play.

Initially, the U.S. military made efforts to persuade Apache groups to settle in the vicinity of the forts soon dotting Arizona and New Mexico territories. The Western Apache groups, aloof from the troubles of the 1850s, came into the sights of the U.S. Army when the discovery of gold in central Arizona in 1863 brought the familiar influx of settlers whose trespasses on Apache land and mistreatment of Apache people sparked retaliatory raids. Western Apache leaders, eager to avoid the ongoing conflict that the Chiricahuas faced, responded to U.S. Army overtures to settle in the vicinity of Camp Goodwin in return for food and other supplies. Although they continued their occasional raids into Mexico, the Western Apache groups for the most part steered clear of open war with the troops, and even allowed the U.S. Army to establish another outpost, Camp Mogollon, later known as Fort Apache, in their country. In New Mexico in 1869, Eastern Chiricahuas under Loco and Salvadora (a son of Mangas Coloradas) made peace

In 1869, Eastern Chiricahua Apache chief Loco made peace overtures to the U.S. Army in the hopes of receiving food and clothing. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Loco believed that the Apaches were fighting a war against the United States that could not be won.

overtures to the U.S. Army and settled near Cañada Alamosa. They hoped to receive food and clothing from the U.S. Army to support their people. These Western Apache and Chiricahua leaders believed that continual conflict with whites took a

far greater toll on Apache numbers than on the ever-increasing white settlers.

Nevertheless, settled life brought its own set of challenges. Rations of food and clothing, often in short supply, rarely met immediate needs. Hunger and exposure became familiar companions to settled Apaches. Disease and sickness, especially the dreaded smallpox, rapidly spread through the camps, decreasing Apache numbers further. These settlements sometimes also became centers of trade; some of which was illicit, as stolen cattle might be exchanged with unscrupulous merchants who looked the other way in order to make a profit. And encampment, even near a fort, made the Apaches vulnerable to harassment from nearby settlers who were always suspicious of Apache intentions and behavior. This was a situation made abundantly clear by the Camp Grant Massacre of 1871. In its wake, the U.S. government would work to achieve a more established reservation policy for all Apaches.

THE CAMP GRANT MASSACRE

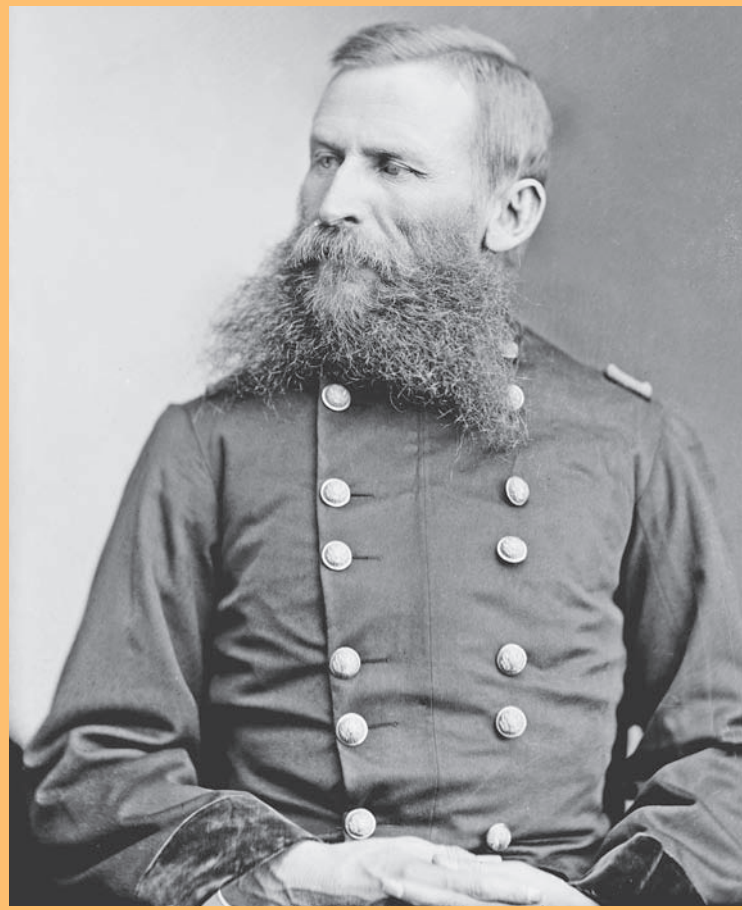
Camp Grant in Arizona Territory began as an informal Apache reservation, similar to the ones previously discussed. In 1871, a group of Western Apaches under the leader Eskiminzin approached Lieutenant Royal Whitman, asking to return to their lands around Camp Grant. For the previous five years, they had lived in the mountains to avoid troops and settlers, but hunger and exposure had driven them out. Now the band, made up mostly of women, children, and the elderly, simply wanted to hunt, gather, and plant their crops in peace, under the protection of the soldiers. Whitman welcomed the Apaches and gave them food and blankets. As other stragglers wandered into Camp Grant, numbers grew, and soon Whitman operated a makeshift reservation.

By 1870, the nonnative population of Arizona had almost quadrupled—from 2,421 to 9,658. Many of these settlers suspected such quasi reservations of harboring Apache

raiders. Apache men could strike out from the reservation, run off cattle or horses, and then return to safety under the protection of soldiers who were unaware of their charges' raids. By the same token, many soldiers suspected the settlers of cheating the U.S. Army and the Apaches, especially when it came to government contracts to supply the reservations with food and other necessities. In addition, soldiers believed that settlers who took the law into their own hands to punish raiders often struck the wrong Apache groups, sparking retaliatory raids that in turn fed a cycle of violence and undermined peace efforts.

Following a number of raids near Tucson, Arizona, the territory's Committee of Public Safety determined—with little evidence—that the Camp Grant Apaches must be responsible and should be punished. With a force of 140, including 92 Tohono O'odham Indians, an expedition secretly made its way to Camp Grant and attacked the Apaches at dawn. With most of the Apache men out hunting, the attack fell for the most part on women and children. More than 100 lost their lives. The territorial press defended the attack and blamed the army for "protecting" Apache raiders. Whitman himself was vilified and accused of being a drunkard. Yet news of the massacre spread outrage throughout the country and calls for government action followed. For Cochise and other Chiricahua leaders, the massacre seemingly confirmed the wisdom of their resistance to white settlement and the ills of reservation life. But resisting settling on the reservation had its price. As Cochise told a U.S. Army officer even before the Camp Grant Massacre, "The Americans are everywhere, and we must live in bad places to shun them."[12]

With the arrival of a new military commander in Arizona, George Crook, Cochise and his people were pressured even more to settle on a reservation. Yet before Crook could fully implement a campaign of action against Cochise, the federal government, appalled by the Camp Grant Massacre, sent



In 1872, George Crook was placed in command of Arizona Territory, where he successfully induced many Apaches to settle on reservations. Much of Crook's success can be attributed to his recruitment of Apache scouts, who were more adept at handling the treacherous terrain of the Southwest than U.S. soldiers.

Vincent Colyer to the Southwest to try new, humanitarian methods of persuasion with the Apaches. Colyer represented the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), the federal agency that had official responsibility for implementing reservation policy;

he also represented the Commission of Indian Affairs, a nonpartisan group of advisors to the OIA appointed by the president to improve reservation administration and to remove politics and corruption from the policy process. Local settlers, always advocating a military solution to the "Apache problem," denounced Colyer. One newspaper called him an "old philanthropic humbug," and another a "cold-blooded scoundrel."[13] Although Colyer laid out a number of reservations in the New Mexico and Arizona territories, he could not persuade all of the Apaches to accept their new homes. Cochise, in particular, rejected the area selected for his people as too remote and lacking in good grass and water. Frontier settlers continued their call for military action, and even General Crook fretted that sterner measures must be taken to bring in Cochise and his people. At this time, General O. O. Howard appeared on the scene to replace Colyer. Howard, a one-armed veteran of the Civil War, resembled Colyer in his commitment to humanitarian principles of justice and fairness toward the Apaches. Rejecting a military escort, Howard entered southeastern Arizona with a small party and contacted Apaches who could lead him to Cochise.

After days of negotiation in which Cochise tested Howard's sincerity more than once, an agreement was reached between the two leaders, closely following terms proposed by Cochise and his leading men. Most important to Cochise, his people's reservation would be situated in southeastern Arizona, centered on the Chiricahua and Dragoon mountains, including the area around Apache Pass. In all, it encompassed 55 square miles (88 square kilometers). This was the land of his people, and their continued residence there was essential. Although the stagecoach road to Tucson ran through this area, Cochise promised to protect the road and to end raiding by his people. For his part, Howard confirmed the reservation's boundaries as Apache land and promised that the government would supply the Apaches

with food and clothing. Significantly and with much controversy, Howard also promised that the U.S. Army would have no presence on the reservation. In essence, the Apaches, working with their agent, Tom Jeffords, would manage their own affairs. At the treaty's conclusion, Cochise declared that "hereafter the white man and the Indian are to drink the same water, eat of the same bread, and be at peace."[14]

THE CHIRICAHUA RESERVATION

Once situated on his new reservation in 1872, Cochise sent out messengers to gather his people and to inform other Apache groups that he had made peace. Over time, many Chiricahua Apaches from Cochise's band came to the reservation, welcoming the security it offered from Mexican and U.S. soldiers and settlers. In addition, numbers of Southern and Eastern Chiricahuas drifted in for the same reason. Soon, more than a thousand Apaches lived within the reservation boundaries. As raiding practically ceased throughout southern Arizona, the reservation seemed a conspicuous success.

And yet, a familiar problem that plagued all reservations soon appeared. Although the agreement had promised continuing supplies to the Chiricahuas, the steady and regular procurement and disbursement of rations, especially food, proved difficult. For the most part, this was a budgetary issue as the reservation agent lacked adequate funds to buy the full range of supplies locally. In addition, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Arizona operated with a limited budget for the whole territory. In 1873, a food crisis on the Chiricahua Reservation was narrowly averted through the personal intervention of General Howard. He used his influence with the U.S. Department of the Interior to see that food supplies were rushed to the Apaches. In addition to their regular issues of beef, the Apaches received 23,000 pounds of corn, 1,820 pounds of coffee, 3,640 pounds of sugar, and 910 pounds each of soap and salt.

Shortly after the reservation was established, another problem also became apparent. The reservation's southern border coincided with the international boundary, and Apache raids into Mexico continued. Cochise repeatedly pointed out that he and his people had made peace with the Americans, not the Mexicans. He explained that he could not always control his younger men who might slip over the border to raid. Nor could he always control fugitive Apaches from other groups who might seek refuge on the reservation in between raids. Regardless, the fact that raids into another country were launched from a government-sponsored reservation on U.S. soil soon embarrassed the United States. Mexico complained bitterly of raids, even accusing the Americans of supplying the Apaches with guns and ammunition. General Crook, who had long resented the military's exclusion from the peace process, remained critical of the reservation situation and believed that the Apaches must be brought under firmer control. By now Crook had launched military operations in central Arizona that had inflicted defeats on those Western Apaches not already on reservations. The defeated Apaches had been warned not to attempt to escape, and to cooperate with OIA efforts at developing Apache agriculture. Something similar, Crook reasoned, was necessary for the Chiricahuas.

In Washington, D.C., informal discussions began concerning the relocation of Cochise and his people away from the border. This even involved the possible consolidation of many of the Apache groups on fewer reservations, both to contain costs and to more firmly regulate Apache movements. At this critical juncture in 1874, Cochise, whose health had been deteriorating for several years, died. The cause was most likely stomach cancer. His death removed the most influential Chiricahua leader at a time when his people would face their greatest challenge: the forced removal from their homes and relocation to a new reservation, the dreaded San Carlos.

San Carlos

The old woman called the young boy over. She told him to give a message to his grandmother. She had brewed *tiswin* and it was ready for them to drink. His grandmother must come that very afternoon to drink it and share it with her friends. The drink would spoil if not drunk soon. When the boy's grandmother arrived at the old woman's camp, she saw other Apaches there, elders like herself. All recognized her and welcomed her. The old woman filled a cup and handed it to the boy's grandmother, who sipped the mild beer and smiled. There was something about the old woman's tiswin that was different; something she added to the corn. Another old woman leaned in close and whispered to her that she thought it was the roasted mescal the old woman added during the brewing. An old man, overhearing them, exclaimed that he did not care what was in it. All he knew is that it gave him strength in his old age. The boy's grandmother handed the old man the cup and he drank deeply. He began to tell them how once, as a young man, he had taken tiswin before setting out for Mexico to get some cattle. That day, he traveled

30 miles by foot and felt no tiredness! How? Because of the tiswin, he exclaimed. And this tiswin, he added, was the best he had ever tasted. The others laughed and the old woman smiled, pleased that her friends appreciated her work.

The laughing and talking went on late into the night. As the fire died, they began to talk of the old days, before the U.S. Army had brought them to the reservation. Before things were run by the young white man whom they called Turkey Gobbler. He was always running around, shouting and pointing, telling Apaches to do this and that. Even elders! They laughed at the young man's silliness.

In the shadows beyond the fire's glow, the young white man waited and watched with four Apache policemen. Regulations at San Carlos had been too lax for too long. The U.S. Army had bungled matters and the OIA agents were little better than crooks. His reservation would be different; on that he was determined. President Ulysses Grant had put his trust in good, upright churchmen to run reservations. Already, Presbyterians, Methodists, and members of other Christian denominations were taking over reservations, seeing to it that true civilization came to the Indians. Few, however, had wanted to take on the Apaches. He quietly chuckled to himself. He would show them—John P. Clum, not yet 23 years old, steadfast member of the Dutch Reformed Church, and already proving himself the indispensable man in the Southwest. He had jumped at the chance to run San Carlos. He would show everyone how to manage Apaches. In fact, he determined, his guidance could benefit all Apaches, even those not at San Carlos.

A stick snapped in the fire and brought the young man out of his daydream. Best not to get too far ahead of himself. He would make a start here and now in this year of 1874. His reservation would be bone dry. Already he had banished whiskey from the reservation. Now he would address this "homebrew." He signaled his men to raise their rifles and advance.

REMOVAL AND CONCENTRATION

At various times, federal officials had ordered the removal and concentration of Native American tribes. Removal generally concerned the relocation of tribes to areas beyond the line of white settlement. Concentration involved two or more tribes consolidated on one reservation. Some efforts toward removing and consolidating Apache subtribes had already occurred by the 1870s. The Plains Apaches in Texas, for instance, had been relocated to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and resettled with Comanches and Kiowas. In the 1860s, General James Carleton forcibly removed the Mescalero Apaches from their territory to Bosque Redondo, a tract of desert land of 40 square miles (64 square kilometers) on the Pecos River near Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Later he concentrated Navajos there as well. As Carleton's experiment should have revealed, concentration often brought great challenges to Native American groups. By 1864, for instance, 9,000 Navajos and 500 Mescaleros taxed the scant resources of Bosque Redondo, and hardship and poverty prevailed. In addition, conflict between the Navajos and Mescaleros led to raids and counterraids. Eventually most of the Mescaleros fled the reservation and slipped back to their former territories. Later, the government allowed the Navajos to return to their homes as well. Settled around the area of Fort Stanton in New Mexico, the Mescaleros finally received an executive order reservation, or one established by presidential decree, in 1873.

By the 1870s, Office of Indian Affairs officials began advocating the concentration of most of the Western Apache peoples of Arizona and western New Mexico to the San Carlos Reservation in southeastern Arizona. San Carlos was established on December 14, 1872, north of the old Camp Grant Massacre site. Concentration, it was believed, would allow the military to regulate Apache movement more

easily and agency personnel to disburse rations and introduce "civilization" more efficiently. Ironically, Apache resistance to concentration was often taken as evidence of its necessity. In 1875, 1,400 Western Apaches from Camp Verde were ordered to San Carlos, as were other Western Apaches settled at Fort Apache. In 1876, after an incident in which a number of Chiricahuas killed a white whiskey seller who refused to sell them more alcohol, the government dissolved the Chiricahua Reservation. They relocated the Apaches away from the border with Mexico, some to San Carlos and some to Ojo Caliente in New Mexico. Other Apaches, many of them men, fled but eventually rejoined their families at San Carlos. In 1877, 453 Eastern Chiricahuas under Victorio, along with remnants from the Chiricahua Reservation, were also removed from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos. By 1878, more than 5,000 Western Apaches were concentrated at San Carlos.

As is evident, many different Apache groups came together at San Carlos, although the reservation in fact encompassed part of the traditional territory of the Western Apaches. Different bands of Western Apaches from central Arizona were thrown together with Chiricahua bands from southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. Also present at the reservation were Southern Chiricahuas who often spent much of their time in northern Mexico. The Western Apache and Chiricahua groups normally had little contact with each other. Among these Apaches were those who had long raided throughout the American Southwest and northern Mexico, including the rising Chiricahua leaders Juh and Geronimo, and those who cooperated with whites, such as the Western Apache leader Eskiminzin. Many of the Apaches also had different reservation experiences. For instance, under Cochise and Tom Jeffords, the Central Chiricahuas had maintained a largely traditional life at their former reservation. They traveled freely back and forth between their relatives at Ojo Caliente in New Mexico. Others, particularly

those under stricter military control, struggled to adjust to a lack of freedom and choice. At San Carlos, however, all would be thrust into a new world of rapid and enforced change that would profoundly affect the Apache world.

A SHRINKING APACHE WORLD

Although the Apache world was made up of deserts, mountains, and plains, the Apaches viewed themselves primarily as a mountain people. "We loved the high ranges," affirmed the young Chiricahua Jason Betzinez, "where we were safe among the cool pine forests and upland meadows and where there was always plentiful game as well as supplies of edible nuts and berries."[15] Apaches returning from raids also fixed their sights on the embracing mountains. In the specialized vocabulary of the raid, Apaches used a term that suggested that the mountains were literally looking out for the warriors, assuring them that home was near. The powerful Mountain Spirits, who among other gifts brought healing, also lived in the mountains.

The world of San Carlos, though 7,000 square miles in size and dotted with mountain ranges, revolved around the agency headquarters, situated in the flat desert country. The agency, nothing more than a few adobe buildings, was placed on the gravelly land between the San Carlos and Gila rivers. Away from the high country, these rivers spread out and flow sluggishly. The water is salty and tends to pool, creating a breeding ground for mosquitoes and other insect pests. There is little grass but plenty of cacti. A few cottonwood trees provide the only shade. Summer temperatures often reach 110°F (43°C) and dust storms are common. Rattlesnakes, intensely disliked by the Apaches, are abundant. Invariably, all the Apaches who spent time at San Carlos denounced the place as hot, unwholesome, and uninviting. Yet, although the Apaches preferred to spend the summers in the cool mountains, reservation agent John Clum claimed

As this map of Apache territory illustrates, the tribe's range encompassed much of Arizona and western New Mexico. However, by the 1870s, many Apaches had been forced to settle on reservations such as San Carlos and Fort Apache, which are depicted here in east-central Arizona.

in 1874 that the summer slogan at San Carlos was, "Stick it out and wait for winter."[16]

Cut off from the mountains and relegated to the hot bottomlands along the river, Apaches succumbed to a new disease outside their experience. Smallpox, like at other reservations, had of course appeared at San Carlos, particularly since the Apaches lived in such close quarters. But probably the most fatal disease was the malaria spread by the clouds of mosquitoes that bred in the stagnant waters of the rivers. Called the "shaking sickness," malaria taxed the powers of Apache medicine men, whose remedies proved ineffective. Apaches stricken with the disease suffered fevers and chills, sometimes shaking uncontrollably even when covered with blankets. After weeks of suffering, a patient often died.

San Carlos might possibly have served Apache needs if the full resources of the reservation could have been used and if its population had been kept smaller. At 3,000 to 11,000 feet (900 to 3,300 meters) of elevation, the land took in mountains, canyons, tablelands, and small rivers. Pine forests in the mountains, filled with bear, deer, and wild turkeys, gave way to yucca and other cacti in the lower elevations. In the flatlands along streams running into the Gila River, small garden plots of corn, beans, and squash could be laid out. Yet exploitation of most of these resources relied on a mobile way of life. Gathering of wild plant resources can only be done during particular seasons, and all resources are not available at the same time or in the same places. Nuts might be gathered in the mountains in the fall, for example, but various roots and berries might not become available until the summer, and then only in lower elevations. Moreover, wild plant resources, especially in the desert regions, are not concentrated and much time and effort is needed to gather enough food for large groups. Under normal circumstances, Apache extended families would simply scatter over a vast region so that overexploitation of a particular area could not

occur. A population of 5,000 Apaches on one reservation made this extremely difficult.

In any event, Apache mobility at San Carlos was strictly curtailed. During General Crook's campaigns against the Apaches in the early 1870s, he had ordered all groups to report to their reservations or be considered hostile. Such Apaches would be hunted down and, if they resisted, would be killed. The first 700 Apaches settled on the San Carlos Reservation remained under the close eye of the military. The U.S. Army organized the Apaches into small groups, issued identification tags, and required leaders to bring their people to the agency headquarters for daily roll calls. When Office of Indian Affairs agent John Clum took over the administration of the reservation from the military in 1874, he continued the roll calls. Male Apaches were counted daily, and everyone was counted on Saturday mornings when rations were issued. Permits were required to be absent from the agency or to travel off the reservation. Clum also required all Apaches to surrender their firearms. To hunt, an Apache had to apply for a rifle and ammunition. Given these circumstances, the Apaches depended on rations issued by the reservation agent more than ever before. As a result, factions tended to form among the Apaches, with some groups cooperating with agents and others holding aloof. As the agents often clashed with the military over proper administration of the reservation, the situation remained tense.

At San Carlos, the normal Apache diet radically changed. In Chapter 1, it was explained that to a large extent, the Apaches relied on hunting and gathering techniques. Apache women proved adept at preparing game and preserving wild plants. Some groups also grew corn, beans, and squash to supplement their diets. These foodstuffs provided a balanced, nutritious diet for the Apaches. At San Carlos, however, rations issued by the government became the basis

When the Apaches were forced to relocate to reservations, their way of life drastically changed. They became reliant on weekly rations, which consisted of beef, flour, coffee, and salt, and they were herded into bands and forced to wait in line outside the agency building to receive their food.

of Apache subsistence. Weekly rations for each 100 Apaches included 300 pounds of beef, 50 pounds of flour, 4 pounds of coffee, and 1 pound of salt—a monotonous diet lacking in fruits and vegetables.

To receive their rations, Apaches were put into bands of 100 and arranged in lines. Each individual received a ration ticket entitling that person to a share of the weekly portion. Some groups pooled their tickets in order to receive a sack of flour or an entire side of beef. Indeed, all beef was issued "on the hoof," with agency personnel approximating the cattle's weight. An Apache group generally slaughtered the animal on the spot. The portion that was not stored away for the week was consumed immediately, making each ration day a

kind of feast day. While the men smoked, the women cooked and prepared the animal. In the meantime, everyone gossiped and joked, later feasting and dancing, forgetting, if for a while, the hardships of San Carlos.

CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP

John Clum, almost 23 years old at the time, took over San Carlos in 1874. He, like agents before him, clashed with the military over the proper direction of the reservation. Clum did manage, however, to take control of the internal administration of the reservation while the military was assigned to patrolling its boundaries. Although he informed the Apaches that they would now govern themselves, it would not be according to accepted Apache practice. He first appointed a force of Apache policemen to maintain order on the reservation and to enforce agency regulations and new restrictions, such as a ban on the manufacture of tiswin. He established a "supreme court," naming himself chief justice over four to five Apache associate justices. In Clum's scheme, Apache offenders would be apprehended by Apache police, brought before Apache judges hearing testimony from Apache witnesses, and, if convicted, sentenced by those judges and incarcerated in the new guardhouse.

Although a number of Apaches cooperated with Clum, most notably the Western Apache Eskiminzin, other Apaches resented Clum's measures. Many Apaches took to calling him "Turkey Gobbler," because of his strutting and putting himself forward, something an Apache of his younger years would not do. The Eastern Chiricahua leader Victorio, who served for a time as a judge, quit in disgust over conditions at San Carlos and demanded that his people be returned to their homes at Ojo Caliente. Among the Central Chiricahua, when the demand came for their removal to San Carlos, the sons of Cochise—Taza and Naiche—cooperated with Clum. This led a number of Chiricahuas to

ESKIMINZIN: PRINCIPAL CHIEF OF THE ARAVAIPA APACHES

Eskiminzin (Hackibanzin, or "Angry Men Stand in Line for Him") served as a principal chief among the Aravaipa Apaches. In 1871, he moved with his people to the vicinity of Camp Grant in Arizona Territory, where Lieutenant Royal Whitman ran a makeshift reservation that soon attracted about 500 Apaches. Believing the Camp Grant Indians responsible for raids in the area, a group of Tucson residents and Tohono O'odham Indians attacked them, killing a large number of women and children. The Camp Grant Massacre shocked the nation and led the federal government to redouble its efforts to establish permanent reservations for Apaches.

In retaliation for the Camp Grant Massacre, Eskiminzin led raids throughout Arizona. In 1872, however, he and other Apache leaders agreed to peace terms and relocated to the newly established San Carlos Reservation. After further troubles with the military, Eskiminzin threw his support behind the new agent, John Clum, helping him to organize a reservation Apache police force and mediating between the agent and other Apache groups. When Clum resigned as agent in 1877, Eskiminzin left the area and established a ranching community of six to eight families in the San Pedro Valley, north of Tucson. The group lived there peacefully for 10 years. Resentful of Eskiminzin's success, a group of whites attacked his ranch. Returning to San Carlos, Eskiminzin patiently began to rebuild his farm.

Again, however, trouble followed him. His son-in-law Has-kay-bay-nay-ntayl, also known as the Apache Kid, escaped from custody after being falsely accused of shooting Al Sieber, chief of scouts during the Apache wars. Believing that the Apache Kid received aid from Eskiminzin, the reservation agent arrested the chief in 1890. Eskiminzin was sent with other Aravaipas to the Mount Vernon Military Barracks to join Chiricahua Apaches as prisoners of war. John Clum and others championed the chief's release, but nevertheless the Apaches were held until 1894. Eskiminzin died soon after his return to Arizona.

turn to Juh, who advocated resistance to removal. The medicine man Geronimo also actively disliked Clum, especially after being apprehended by Apache police at Ojo Caliente and marched in chains to San Carlos. When Clum interfered in a domestic Apache dispute, lecturing a respected leader on how to treat his wife, the leader attempted to assassinate Clum, only to be shot by the Apache police. Ultimately, though, Clum's control of rations and his ability to call on military intervention cemented his authority over the Apaches.

CHANGES IN ACTIVITIES

The U.S. government had long furnished rations for Indian peoples as part of annuities negotiated in treaties—that is, government aid and support in return for the transfer of native lands. Nevertheless, Clum argued that, in his judgment, "*free annuities* should not be furnished to Indians."[17] Clum believed that rations should only continue until such time as the Apaches became self-supporting. In Clum's eyes, self-sufficiency meant following a white model based on a cash economy and white methods of employment. "One of my peculiar youthful notions," he stated, "was that an able-bodied man should do six days' work every week, be he white man or red man."[18] As a result, Clum set about to change Apache work habits.

Whereas Apache men usually spent their time hunting or maintaining their equipment, and only when they saw the need to do so, Clum immediately sent a number of them to work constructing new agency headquarters. This involved laying a new foundation for the building and making adobe bricks for the walls. Apaches also constructed an adjoining corral, with stone walls seven feet high and two feet thick (about 2 by .5 meters). They built living quarters for Clum and reservation employees, an office, a dispensary, dining room, kitchen, and storeroom. Apaches built additional employee quarters, blacksmith and carpenter shops, stalls, and other

In 1874, the U.S. government appointed 22-year-old John Clum agent of San Carlos Reservation. Clum instituted many policies, including a new way for the Apaches to farm. Clum had Apache men dig massive irrigation ditches (pictured here) to water large fields that were meant to sustain one crop.

storehouses. Clum paid 50 cents per day for this labor. The salaries were paid in agency scrip, however—that is, money printed especially for the agency in denominations of 50 cents, 25 cents, and 12½ cents. Apaches used this scrip to buy goods at the agency, since it was useless beyond the confines of the reservation.

Clum also brought changes to Apache farming practices. Traditionally, those Apaches who did cultivate crops usually did so in small garden plots planted with corn, beans, and squash. Women prepared the ground and planted the corn. As it grew, it provided support for beans. Squash spread along the ground among the corn stalks. In all, this method conserved water, used space efficiently, and returned nutrients to the soil. Such a plot, when supplemented with hunting and gathering, met a family's immediate needs. Clum's

approach, however, was to have Apache men dig irrigation ditches and clear and tend large fields planted with one crop, such as barley. The agency would then buy the harvest in scrip that could be redeemed at the reservation store.

Like many reservation agents at the time, Clum believed that he was bringing order, discipline, and responsibility to idle and irresponsible Indian people. But only a fraction of the 5,000 Apaches at San Carlos participated in Clum's schemes. Many recognized that large-scale farming of the kind advocated by Clum was impractical in such desolate country, and so refused to expend effort supporting it.

Restricted from practicing traditional activities, they searched for other ways to occupy their time. A number of Apache men became scouts for the U.S. Army, because it took them away from San Carlos if only for a little while. Others spent much time gambling, a favorite Apache pastime. Card games and a guessing game played with moccasins were particular favorites. Younger people often played the hoop and pole game. Many Apaches engaged in sweat rituals, erecting a sweat lodge in which to purify and refresh themselves. Elders told stories, keeping alive their people's history and exploits. Women made baskets, sewed clothing, did beadwork, and prepared food.

When times became particularly monotonous, some Apaches brewed tiswin, or "gray water." This mildly alcoholic beer, brewed from corn, played an important role in Apache culture. The corn for its manufacture was usually obtained in trade from Mexicans or Pueblo Indians. At San Carlos, however, some Apaches secretly planted corn for the sole purpose of tiswin manufacture. Always prepared by women, the drink's manufacture was an elaborate process. A woman first shelled mature corn, and then placed the corn in a container to soak overnight. The next morning, she dug a shallow trench and lined it with grass. Into this, she spread the corn and covered it with another layer of grass. Each day, morning and evening, she

sprinkled the corn with water until it began to sprout, generally after two weeks. After the sprouts were about an inch and a half long, she took the corn and ground it finely. She added the ground corn to water and boiled it down for four to five hours. She then added more water and boiled it again. Some women at this point added herbs or other plants for flavoring. Finally the mixture would be strained, allowing the water to cool in another container. The mixture was covered and would begin to bubble. After being allowed to ferment for about a day, the beer was ready to drink but could only be kept fresh for about a day and a half.

A successful batch of tiswin was always an opportunity for enjoyment. Men and women came together to drink the beverage before it spoiled. At these parties, people sat about and told stories, laughing and talking. Social dancing and singing sometimes added to the atmosphere. Children as young as 14 participated in these events, as many Apaches considered tiswin a kind of nourishment, and taken in moderate quantities it was believed to give strength and heighten endurance. At San Carlos, however, these parties were held in secret, away from the prying eyes of the reservation agents who invariably restricted its manufacture. Indeed, Clum's first use of his new reservation police involved a raid on an "illegal" tiswin party. The women escaped into the brush while 11 men were taken prisoner and sentenced by Clum's supreme court to 15 days of hard labor. Nevertheless, Apaches continued to manufacture the beverage. Chafing against reservation controls, these Apaches struggled to maintain their right to gather in friendship and fellowship, carving out an Apache space, if only for a while.

NEW ROLES

Apaches reacted to the conditions at San Carlos in different ways. Some saw little hope in resisting American authority, and so focused on survival. They might dig irrigation ditches

and take up farming. They might become Apache police or judges, adapting traditional activities to new roles. Others argued with the government agents or talked to sympathetic U.S. Army officers, promising to remain at peace if allowed to return to their homes. Finally, others, in frustration, fled the reservation and escaped into Mexico. In their own ways, all tried to adjust to a world that no longer seemed fully Apache.

Maintaining Apache Identity

Excitement swept through the camps of the Apaches on the Chiricahua Reservation. John "Turkey Gobbler" Clum had appeared with his Apache police, and the U.S. Army was close. He told Taza, son of Cochise, to gather his people. The reservation was no more. They must go to San Carlos.

The young chief Taza met with his people. He told them that they had no choice. They must leave. Many of the people grumbled. This was their home. Each rock held memories; each hill told a story. Had not the one-armed general promised them this reservation? Had not the great Cochise assured them that this land was theirs forever? Now his son told them otherwise. Who was this young man to speak so? What did Juh say?

All eyes turned to Juh. Although not a member of Cochise's band, Juh nonetheless held the respect of many of the people. Juh had often visited his Southern Chiricahua relatives in Mexico and had even promised the old chief that he would look out for his son and show him consideration.

But he knew what awaited the Apaches at San Carlos. Reluctantly, he challenged Taza. The Apaches were a free people, he said. If they chose to go to San Carlos, they faced a slow but certain death. If they resisted the white man, they faced death, too—but on their own terms, fighting for their freedom. Think on the choice, he said, and then follow Taza to San Carlos or flee into Mexico.

Taza arrived before Turkey Gobbler, leading 42 men and 280 women and children, about a third of the Chiricahuas of the reservation. Well, he did not have them all, but he soon would, Turkey Gobbler mused. He had high hopes for the Chiricahuas. Soon he would teach them how to make adobe bricks and instruct them in other useful skills. He would mold them into "good Apache citizens."

The Apache people and their leaders faced difficult choices in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Should they follow the reservation path and learn "useful" skills such as farming or ranching? Should they flee the reservation and attempt to maintain their traditional ways far from the reach of white Americans? Could they somehow combine both, making sense of the new by relating it to the old? Apaches answered these questions in different ways. Sometimes their decisions divided friends and families from each other. Nevertheless, all were united in their efforts to find some way to maintain their Apache identity in the midst of an ever-changing environment.

CHANGE AND RESISTANCE

As previously noted, establishing reservations in Apache country proved difficult, especially if one goal was to convert Apaches into farmers. As the 1870s and 1880s progressed, settlers increasingly competed with Apaches for access to adequate water, pastures, and farmland. Invariably, the Apaches received the least-desirable or least-useful land. The Mescalero Apaches, for instance, ended up on a

reservation with little tillable land on the eastern slopes of the White and Sacramento mountains of New Mexico. Uncertain weather conditions—drenching thunderstorms, hail, or early frosts—could wipe out crops in an instant. At San Carlos, irrigation efforts were undermined as Gila River water was diverted by white farmers upstream.

Mining and agricultural interests also eyed reservation lands for economic development. Because many reservations had been established through executive order, later presidents could issue new decrees, redrawing boundaries to the benefit of corporations. The development of copper, silver, and gold mining, for example, threatened San Carlos from both the east and the west. In Mexico, a new president intent on modernization opened the country to foreign investment and capital. The northern part of Mexico began to see increased railroad, mining, and agricultural development. On both sides of the border, the Apaches were increasingly seen as an obstacle to progress.

These changes, however, occurred over time and their full consequences were not immediately apparent to Apache leaders. In many cases, the leaders responded to more direct challenges often triggered by administrative competition. As demonstrated, U.S. policy toward the Apaches was often inconsistent. Technically, the Office of Indian Affairs administered reservations and the military made sure the Apaches settled on the agencies. In reality, the areas of administration often merged into a gray area and these two services clashed over policy. In addition, new orders could come from Washington, issued by bureaucrats who did not understand conditions on site. Reservation agents were often corrupt and entered into alliances with local ranchers and mining companies to shortchange Apache rations or to extract resources from Apache lands. Not surprisingly, Apache leaders found it difficult to deal with these conditions. To make matters worse, civilian authorities also extended their jurisdiction

over the Apaches. Civilian juries brought down indictments against Apache raiders for horse stealing, cattle rustling, or murder. Apaches apprehended by the military never knew if they might be turned over for trial before unsympathetic white juries.

Given this state of affairs, some Apache leaders such as Victorio and Geronimo chose to escape from the reservation and find places of refuge for their people. Some chose to look deep into Apache cultural beliefs to find answers. Others chose to cooperate with civilian and military authorities, believing that unrelenting war threatened the very survival of their people. In all these cases, Apache leaders and their people resisted physical and cultural annihilation.

ESCAPE FROM THE RESERVATION

Earlier it was noted how government officials from both the United States and Mexico looked to the Chiricahua Reservation as the most likely source of Apache raiders, because of the reservation's proximity to the border. Because the officials poorly understood the differences among Apache groups or the dynamics of Apache leadership, they held Cochise responsible for the good conduct of any Apache resident on the reservation. For his part, Cochise worked with agent Tom Jeffords to maintain peace. Cochise's death, however, undermined this joint effort.

In 1876, the leadership vacuum became apparent. While hunting in the Dragoon Mountains to supplement dwindling government rations, a quarrel broke out between followers of Taza, the son of Cochise, and Skinya, a local leader. Three Apaches, including a grandson of Cochise, were killed. Taza and his followers returned to the agency while Skinya, with about 12 followers and their families, remained in the mountains. Four of Skinya's followers soon joined with three fugitive Western Apaches from San Carlos to raid into Mexico. They returned with about $100 in

gold dust and silver. The station keeper of the overland mail, although warned by Jeffords repeatedly against selling alcohol, took the opportunity of supplying the raiders with whiskey in return for some of the gold and silver. When the Apaches demanded more, the station keeper refused and was killed for this refusal. Jeffords contacted the military while warning Taza and his followers to stay close to the agency. Later, Skinya and his followers sneaked back to the agency and tried to persuade other Chiricahuas to flee the reservation, but the others refused.

These events provided the pretext for closing the Chiricahua Reservation and transferring its people to San Carlos. About a third of the Chiricahuas elected to follow Taza to San Carlos under the escort of John Clum, his Apache police, and the U.S. Army. Men, women, and children alike made the arduous journey by foot to the new reservation. Another segment of the Chiricahuas fled east into New Mexico. Most of the other Chiricahuas, members of Cochise's own band as well as a number of Eastern Chiricahuas and Southern Chiricahuas, now looked to Juh for leadership. With Juh, they slipped into one of the great mountain chains of Mexico's north, the Sierra Madre, and were protected by the international boundary.

Next, Clum received orders to take his men to Ojo Caliente and bring in those Apaches who had fled to New Mexico. As the site of a natural warm spring, the reservation agency at Ojo Caliente in southern New Mexico was home to many Eastern Chiricahuas who looked to Victorio as their principal leader since the death of Mangas Coloradas. Like other Apache leaders, however, Victorio exerted full control only over his immediate followers. Apaches from other bands visited the reservation, and raiders often stopped there to replenish supplies. The influential medicine man Geronimo, for one, was at Ojo Caliente with about 100 Southern Chiricahua followers when Clum arrived with his Apache police.

JUH: LEADER OF THE SOUTHERN CHIRICAHUAS

A leader among the Southern Chiricahuas, Juh was probably born around 1825. He rose to prominence in the 1870s and 1880s as Chiricahuas fleeing Apache reservations in Arizona and New Mexico found refuge among his people. They particularly sought safety in his stronghold in the Blue Mountains, part of the Sierra Madre chain separating the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua. Juh maintained a close relationship with Geronimo, whose sister, Ishton, he married.

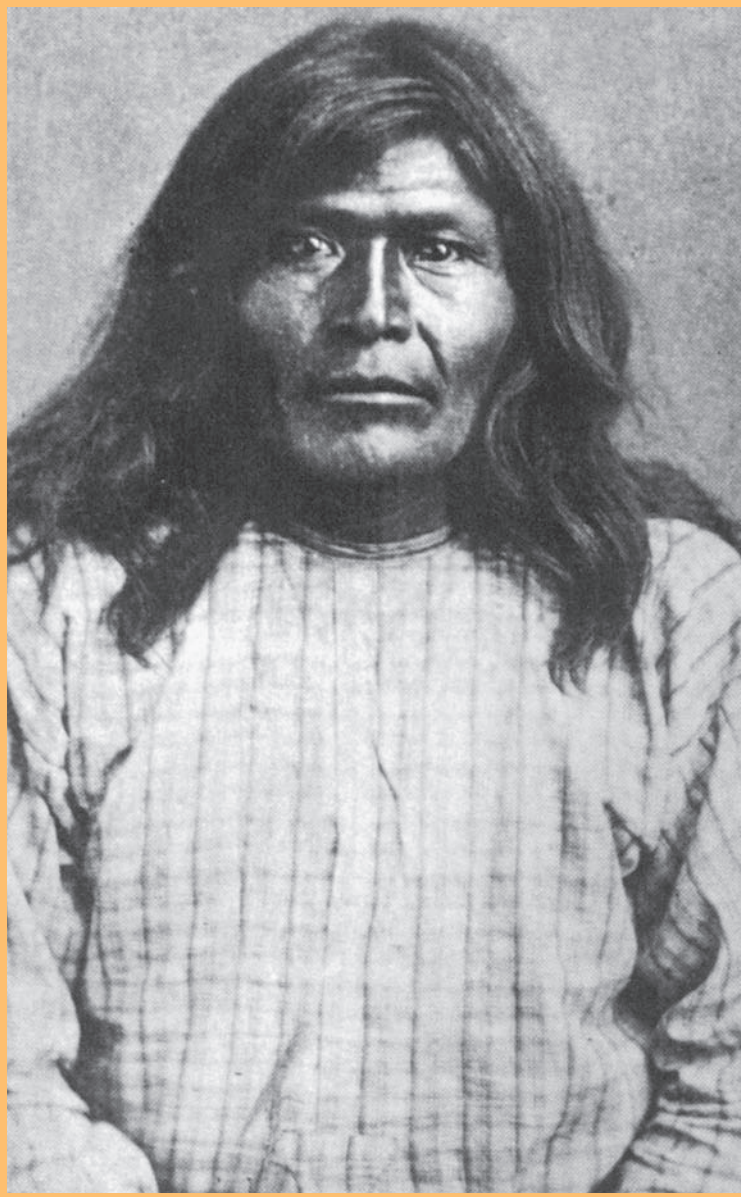
Juh and his people often traded loot taken in raids on the small towns of northern Mexico. The landscape and relative isolation of northern Mexican communities contributed to this situation, as plunder taken from ranches or farms in Sonora could be transported across the mountains and traded in Chihuahua. Similarly, material from Chihuahua could be traded in Sonora. In the same way, too, loot from the United States or Mexico could be taken across the border and traded for arms, ammunition, and other supplies. Although such raiding and trading expeditions could be dangerous—particularly when townspeople sometimes ambushed their Apache trading partners to collect the bounty on Apache scalps, or in retaliation for earlier raids—Juh always managed to protect his people. When the United States and Mexico finally reached an understanding concerning cross-border military operations, this kind of relationship became harder to sustain.

Juh died in 1883 after one such trading expedition. When his horse stumbled, pitching the chief into a river, Juh lay stunned and his two young sons were unable to lift him above the overhanging bank. As his youngest son, Daklugie, struggled to hold his father's head above the water, the older son went for help. Unfortunately, Juh died shortly after his men arrived.

Clum was determined to catch Geronimo, whose raids throughout northern Mexico and Arizona made him a wanted man on both sides of the border. Concealing his men in the commissary, Clum sent word to Geronimo to come to the agency to talk. When Geronimo arrived, Clum told him that no harm would come to him if he listened with "good ears." Geronimo retorted that if Clum spoke with more respect, no harm would come to him. Taking this as defiance, Clum sprang his trap, signaling his men who rushed out of the commissary with rifles at the ready. Geronimo and other leading men were captured, shackled, and placed in a guardhouse. Meanwhile, Clum received further orders authorizing the transfer of all of the Apaches of Ojo Caliente to San Carlos, part of the government's concentration policy. With little choice, Victorio agreed and his people, about 350 Apaches, joined Geronimo on the march to San Carlos. Although Clum appointed Victorio a reservation judge, the chief remained unhappy at the poor conditions his people faced at their new home.

In 1877, Clum resigned his position at San Carlos after repeatedly clashing with the U.S. Army over the proper administration of the reservation. In the aftermath, Victorio and his followers fled San Carlos. They lived on the run, raiding throughout the region, all the while hounded by the military. Victorio and his people lost more than 50 members of their band. They held off pursuit for as long as possible, but finally surrendered at Fort Wingate. The army returned them to Ojo Caliente, where Victorio demonstrated that his people, if left unmolested, could live in peace. Nevertheless, the U.S. Department of the Interior once again decided to return the Apaches to San Carlos.

Upon learning of the government's plans, Victorio and about 100 Apache men fled Ojo Caliente. Their wives and children whom they left behind were transported to San Carlos. Evading military and civilian forces alike, Victorio and his



After the death of Mangas Coloradas in 1863, many Eastern Chiricahuas considered Victorio (1825–1880) their principal leader. Although he escaped from San Carlos several times, Victorio was not opposed to reservation life but preferred to live at Ojo Caliente in New Mexico.

men eventually reached out to the authorities as their life on the run again took its toll. Victorio reappeared at Ojo Caliente and implored the military to allow his people to stay there, indeed anywhere but San Carlos. Although sympathetic, the local commander could make no promises. Once more, Victorio and his men fled, finally turning up at the Mescalero Reservation in 1879. The agent there agreed to take them in and to seek the return of their families. For Victorio and his people, peace seemed at hand. However, when a judge and prosecuting attorney from Silver City, New Mexico, arrived at the reservation to hunt, the Apache leader panicked, believing that they had come to serve an indictment and take him into custody. He gathered his people and fled the reservation for Mexico. But soon even that place of refuge would be denied them.

As Victorio's activities show, no matter how justified Apaches were in their resistance to living on the reservation, it came at great personal sacrifice. Escape brought separation from family and friends and the life of a refugee, anxious and uncertain, always on the run.

NOCH-AY-DEL-KLINNE, THE PROPHET

Unlike those Apaches who sought to escape from the reservation and seek refuge in the mountains of the Southwest and northern Mexico, others looked toward religion to improve their condition and resist the many changes breaking apart Apache society and culture. In turning to religion, these Apaches were little different from other Native American groups who in times of extreme stress looked inward to find the strength to revitalize their cultures. In the eighteenth century, the Delaware prophet Neolin, for example, called on Indian peoples of the Northeast to reject white ways and reassert their Indian identities. Similarly, the Ghost Dance of the plateau region and Great Plains of the United States sought to restore an Indian world undergoing rapid change. Called by

anthropologists (scholars who study different cultures) "nativistic" or " revitalization" movements, these efforts, although aiming to restore Indian ways of life, often incorporated elements of white culture. This pointed to the long history of cultural interaction between Indian and white peoples.

In 1881, such a movement began to develop on the Fort Apache Reservation, home to many Western Apaches. The driving force behind the movement was Noch-ay-del-klinne, a medicine man and healer, called the Prophet in military dispatches. Unlike many Apaches, the medicine man had traveled widely among whites. In 1871, he was part of a small delegation that visited Washington, D.C., where he met the president and received a silver medal. Later, he attended school in Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he was introduced to Christianity. For a time, he even served as a scout under General Crook. At Fort Apache, Noch-ay-del-klinne conducted a series of ceremonies that attracted many Apaches. His movement seemed to draw upon elements of both white and Apache religious beliefs and practices. Distinctly Apache was the use of dance and *hoddentin*, a sacred pollen obtained from the tule plant. As his followers danced around him in a circle, he sprinkled them with hoddentin. To the Apaches, this pollen was a symbol of life and rebirth and featured in many rituals. From a Christian perspective, this medicine man's message apparently involved resurrection, because he purportedly promised to revive two dead chiefs.

Native and white accounts differ as to the content of the Prophet's message. The San Carlos agent and the commander at Fort Apache believed that the Prophet was inciting a general uprising against all whites. Apache sources stress the nonviolent aspect of the movement. In fact, Juh's son, Daklugie, claimed that his father became worried that the medicine man would influence his warriors against fighting.

As more and more Apaches from both the Fort Apache and San Carlos reservations began to attend Noch-ay-del-klinne's

ceremonies, the San Carlos agent became apprehensive. Although he denied passes to the Native Americans and dispatched his Apache police, hundreds of Apaches defied these restrictions to hear the Prophet, now holding his ceremonies at Cibecue Creek, some 45 miles (72 kilometers) from the fort. Eventually the agent telegraphed General Carr at Fort Apache and demanded that Noch-ay-del-klinne be "arrested or killed or both."[19] After the medicine man ignored a summons to the fort, Carr set out with 117 men, including 23 Apache scouts, to apprehend him. A number of scouts had earlier attended the Prophet's ceremonies, alarming Carr. Unsure of their loyalty, he ordered that none of the scouts receive ammunition for their rifles. Later he relented, realizing that he needed their help in finding the Prophet. Before setting out, he assured the scouts that he simply wanted to bring the medicine man in for questioning.

Arriving at the Prophet's lodge, by now surrounded by a great crowd of Apaches, Carr addressed the medicine man through an interpreter. He told the Prophet that he had come to take him to the fort, and that if he tried to escape, he would be killed. The Prophet replied that he would have traveled to the fort when first summoned, but that he had to address the needs of a patient. He assured Carr that now he was ready to go and would not attempt to escape. Taking the Prophet into custody, the troops traveled a short distance before setting down to camp. A large number of Apaches followed to see that no harm came to the Prophet. As a white officer shouted at them to go away, someone fired and soon shots rang out from both sides. According to military sources, however, the first shots came from the scouts who had turned on the soldiers in treachery. In the ensuing battle, two soldiers killed the Prophet as he tried to crawl to safety. Following his death, more than a thousand Apaches fled the two reservations and Apache retaliatory raids increased throughout the region.

During their time on the reservation, Apache men were not able to hunt or raid, so some (including these two men) became scouts for the U.S. Army. Typically, 25 Apaches served in each company under one or two white officers.

Other accounts exist of the Prophet's death. General Crook believed that the U.S. Army caused the incident and that the Apaches' response was understandable. Others contended that misinterpretation between the Apaches and Carr's forces probably sparked the conflict, while still others placed the blame solely on General Carr, who was later charged with neglect of duty and admonished by the head general of the U.S. Army. The most severe punishment, however, fell on the Apache scouts. Five of the mutinous scouts

surrendered and were court-martialed. All were found guilty, and three of the scouts were hanged.

APACHE SCOUTS

At a time when the reservation provided few outlets for the traditionally male pursuits of hunting, raiding, and warfare, increasing numbers of Apache men enlisted in the U.S. Army as scouts. Although the very word *scout* suggests that one or two Apache men might be attached to a company of white soldiers, in reality scouts were organized into companies of 25 men commanded by one or two white officers, and they had the status of regular enlisted men. Scouts were issued identification tags and generally enlisted for six-month terms, drawing a salary of $13 per month. A scout received a breech-loading rifle, ammunition, a butcher knife, and, most importantly, an awl, needle, and sinew to sew new moccasins as needed on the march. Often covering 30 to 40 miles (48 to 65 kilometers) per day on foot, scouts quickly went through many pairs of moccasins.

When he took command of the U.S. Army's Department of Arizona in 1871, General George Crook began the active recruiting of scouts because he considered them key to the pacification of the Southwest. As his military aide Captain John Bourke explained, "The two great points of superiority of the native or savage [sic] soldier over the representative of civilized discipline are his absolute knowledge of the country and his perfect ability to take care of himself at all times and under all circumstances."[20] Crook understood that white soldiers, unaccustomed to the rough and treacherous terrain of the Southwest and northern Mexico, were at a distinct disadvantage against the Apaches. For their part, scouts had many reasons for cooperating with the military in tracking down their Apache relatives.

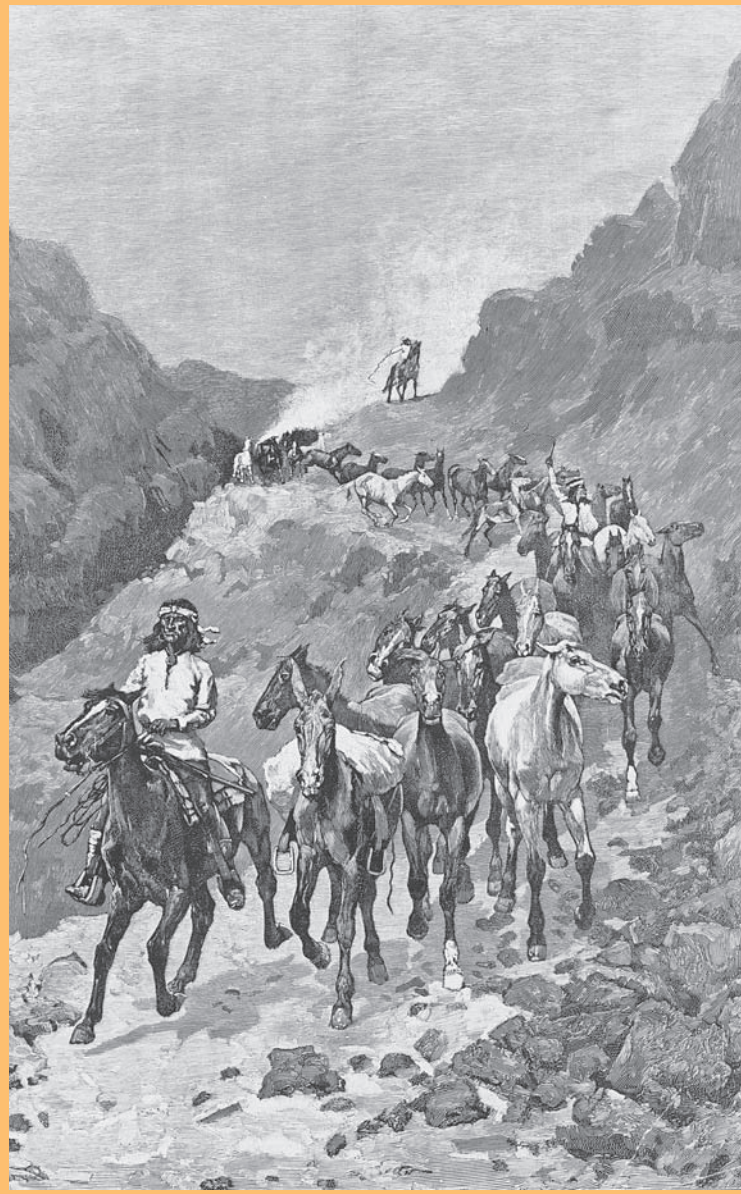
Scouting, like reservation police work, provided these men with an approved and traditional outlet for their energies.

For example, scouting replaced raiding in the training of Apache youths, so important to entering adulthood and learning responsibility. As the Western Apache scout John Rope remembered:

> When we young men joined up as scouts, our older male relatives would tell us to do whatever the older scouts wanted us to do. If we didn't work hard as we should that would be no good. This way we boys who were the youngest in the company used to take turns doing the camp work. We used to kill lots of deer while on these scouts.[21]

Scouting also allowed men to continue to provide for their kin group, again a customary Apache role. When John Rope and other scouts drew their pay for one period, they divided the money among their relatives. "That is the way we used to do it in those days," Rope emphasized. "Take care of our relatives by giving them clothes and grub."[22] Scouting also accommodated traditional concepts of revenge. Forty White Mountain (Western) Apaches, for instance, enlisted as scouts to avenge the death of their chief, who was killed by Victorio and his men. Before departing on their expedition, these scouts held a war dance. Medicine men and women blessed them and gave them advice. Sometimes medicine men traveled with the scouts and used their power to heal sickness or cure injuries, conjure dust storms, or predict the enemies' movements. Most scouts also traveled with little buckskin bags of hoddentin that they used to bless themselves in the morning and evening.

Although Apaches readily incorporated scouting into their cultural practices, military service also played a diplomatic role. Apache leaders, particularly among the Western Apaches, saw scouting as a way to cement alliances with whites that would protect their people from harassment by white settlers. Leaders took their responsibilities toward



Once the majority of Apaches had been forced to settle on reservations, many opposed the likes of Geronimo, Juh, and other raiders who continued to cross the border into Mexico. Geronimo and his band are depicted in this 1888 illustration from *Harper's Weekly* returning from a raid in Mexico.

their bands seriously, in particular their obligations toward women, children, and the elderly. These groups were the most vulnerable to retaliatory raids from settlers, as the Camp Grant Massacre demonstrated. As long as the Chiricahuas or other Apaches were at large, they reasoned, no Apache was truly safe.

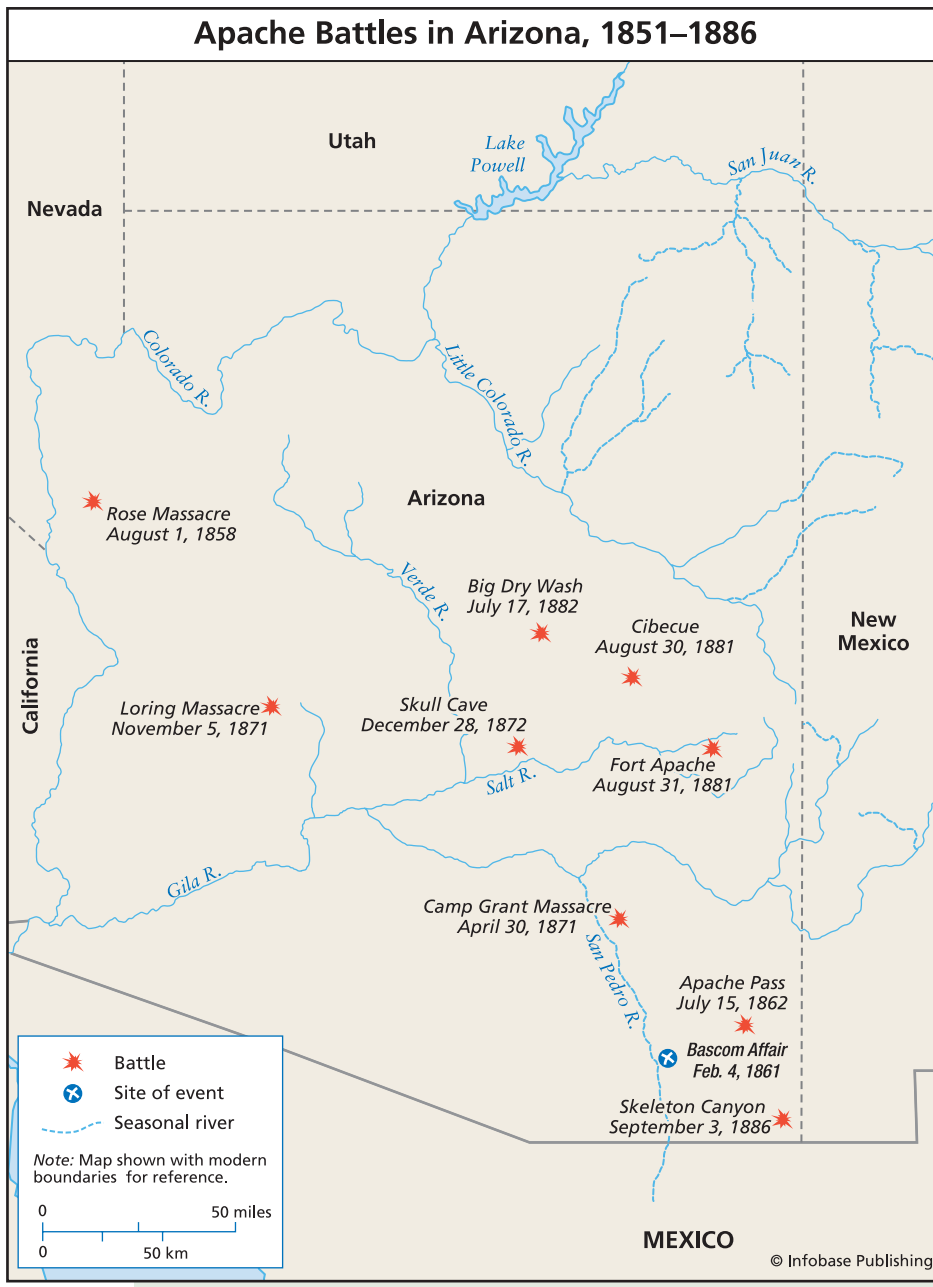
Cooperation with the military won these Apaches powerful allies who often looked out for their interests. General Crook, for example, angered some reservation agents when he exposed their corrupt practices and intervened to ensure Apache access to rations and annuities. Even among the Chiricahuas, similar considerations began to take hold. Some Chiricahua leaders resented the activities of Geronimo, Juh, and other raiders. They believed that their resistance only bred more violence, leading to the deaths of many Apaches. Scouting, then, became a way to achieve peace, either through force or, preferably, persuasion. Playing on kinship ties, scouts reached out to their relatives and pointed out the great personal costs they suffered, separated from family and friends, as they sought an illusory freedom.

Although the actions of Victorio and Geronimo captured the imagination of the public then and now, one should remember that Apaches followed different paths of resistance to the new world introduced by whites. Scouts chose a path that allowed them to retain much of their traditional ways while accommodating themselves to new circumstances. As will be discussed in the next chapter, scouts would play a key role in finally ending the Apache wars of the West.

Escape and Pursuit

Cattle disappeared, driven off in the night. Sheepherders were found dead and their flocks scattered. The reports poured in. Victorio and his band were everywhere and nowhere, always managing to keep one step ahead of the U.S. Army. As the summer of 1880 progressed, the newspapers of Arizona and New Mexico railed: How could the government allow such gross incompetence on the part of the military to expose every man, woman, and child in the two territories to captivity or death?

Weary and footsore, Victorio's band needed rest. The hidden canyon deep in the mountains afforded water and grass for the horses. But the people needed food, too. The chief would take some of the warriors and find cattle. Then the meat could be brought back to the women. They would cut it into long strips for drying. They would also cut up the hides to repair moccasins. One woman, however, would accompany the raiding party. She rode better than most of the men, and could fight, too. But more than this, Victorio needed her power.



Although Apaches typically were opposed to fighting in pitched battles, they still participated in a number of conflicts in Arizona, particularly in the 1870s and 1880s. This map depicts the major Apache conflicts in Arizona from 1861 to 1886.

All eyes were fixed on Lozen, who stood with her arms outstretched, palms toward the sun. Slowly she turned, praying, "I search for the enemy . . . I see as one from a height sees in every direction."[23] Suddenly she felt a tingling in her palms; to the warriors, her palms seemed to change color, deepening into a shade of purple. There, she said, the enemy is there. We will be safe if we move south.

Although all Apaches cultivated a relationship with a source of power, those with war power received special recognition, particularly as war or the threat of war now filled most days. With her ability to detect the enemies' whereabouts, Lozen, Victorio's sister, channeled an exceptionally prized form of power. The Apaches shunned regimented, European-style battles, instead relying on stealth and evasion to strike against their enemies, or, just as readily, to avoid them. Lozen's power promised to preserve Apache numbers by avoiding unnecessary encounters with the enemy. Similarly, Apache scouts evoked war power, particularly the power that made some men good trackers.

From 1881 to 1886, the twin themes of escape and pursuit would be played out. More and more, their trails took them into Mexico, especially the rugged peaks of the Sierra Madre. Yet every year, fewer Apaches risked their lives on the uncertain outcome of escape if it meant separation from family and fighting against one's own people. For eventually, the Apache scouts and troops would follow and bring to a close this phase of the final resistance.

VICTORIO'S LAST STAND

When Victorio and his followers fled the Mescalero Reservation in 1879, they cut through southwestern New Mexico and northern Mexico for nine months, raiding and skirmishing with the military as they went. Along the way, they picked up other Apache raiders—discontented Southern Chiricahuas and Mescaleros, and possibly some Lipans. By

this time, it was clear that the nature of Apache raiding and warfare had changed. Revenge-inspired warfare as well as need drove the Apaches, making raiding and warfare two sides of the same coin. Apaches on the run, beset on all

LOZEN: A SHIELD TO HER PEOPLE

Although many Apache girls received the same physical training and preparation as Apache boys, Lozen stood apart as a formidable warrior in her own right. She rode a horse, handled a rifle, and wielded a knife better than many of the men. She was probably born in the 1840s in New Mexico, where she grew up with her brother Victorio and later became a trusted advisor to the Warm Springs Apache leader. In particular, Victorio relied on her power to detect the presence of enemies, a skill he called upon repeatedly from 1878 to 1880 to elude military forces in the United States and Mexico. Absent from her brother's side to attend to a pregnant Apache woman, Lozen missed the October 1880 battle of Tres Castillos, in which her brother died.

After her brother's death, Lozen rode with Nana and Geronimo, and several times acted as an intermediary between Geronimo and U.S. military officers. After Geronimo's surrender, Lozen went with her people into exile in Florida and later Alabama. In both hot, humid, and mosquito-infested locations, malaria and tuberculosis killed many people. At Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama, Lozen died of the "coughing sickness."

Much of what historians know about Lozen comes from Apache oral testimony, because military and reservation records often do not record the names of Apache women. Among non-native historians, this has led to some controversy concerning her role in the Apache wars. Nevertheless, Apache informants testify to her extraordinary career.

sides, increasingly turned to their weapons in helping them survive in a dangerous and volatile world.

Probably no more than 450 Apaches accompanied Victorio, 75 of which were warriors, although numbers could fluctuate. Fearful of the open deserts and plains, Victorio and his people tried to stay as close to the mountains as possible, moving from one chain to another across the region. Mountains offered shelter and a quick line of retreat. As the young James Kaywaykla pointed out, "When closely pursued we killed our horses and scaled cliffs no enemy could climb. Men tied ropes to women and children and lifted them from ledge to ledge until they could take cover or escape."[24]

Each Apache—man, woman, and child—played his or her part in evading pursuit. When forced to cross the plains, people traveled between two groups of warriors, with the rear warrior guard often fighting off pursuing cavalry until the rest could get to safety. Constantly in need of fresh horses, Apaches relied on young boys to rope wandering ranch horses that came into range, or to distract ranchers by launching fire arrows into their corrals and barns. When in need of supplies, the raiding party turned to women who could enter Mexican towns and bargain for food and ammunition while taking note of numbers and defenses. For more exact knowledge of his enemies' strength and whereabouts, Victorio relied on his sister Lozen. Her ability to detect the enemy's location, Victorio and his people believed, saved them on many occasions from capture or death.

Victorio and his people, however, faced a formidable enemy. The U.S. and Mexican militaries regularly received supplies. Their communications network could alert troops throughout the Southwest and northern Mexico. And they had the numbers Victorio lacked. Apache losses were by and large irreplaceable, whereas the military could bring fresh troops into the field, supported by the ever-present Apache scouts. On

May 23, 1880, for example, a company of Apache scouts struck Victorio's camp, killing possibly 30 to 55 of his followers and capturing 74 horses. Only a lack of ammunition kept the scouts from dealing a fatal blow. Victorio's band split up after this battle, some seeking refuge on the reservations while the rest crossed the border into Mexico. South of the border, however, hundreds of Mexican troops were being gathered to continue the chase.

Apaches had long relied on the Mexican border to shield them from pursuing U.S. troops who could not cross the international boundary. Likewise, they relied on the border the other way as well, crossing into the United States if Mexican attacks increased. By this time, however, military commanders on both sides of the border began to see the advantage of cross-border operations: U.S. troops or Mexican troops crossing the border when in "hot pursuit" of Apache raiders. As the two governments came to an understanding concerning troop crossings, the pressure on Victorio and his band grew. Troops under Colonel Joaquín Terrazas of Chihuahua, joined by Apache scouts, Texas Rangers, and U.S. soldiers, were now in pursuit of the Apaches.

Terrazas and his forces eventually overtook Victorio and his exhausted band at Tres Castillos, a range of small hills some 90 miles (145 kilometers) north of Chihuahua City. Suspicious of the Apache scouts, whom he believed might try to warn their relatives among Victorio's people, Terrazas ordered the American units to withdraw. As a result, only Mexican troops fought in Victorio's last battle. Surrounded by Mexican troops and almost out of ammunition, the Apaches defended themselves as best they could but were overwhelmed. Firing his last bullets, Victorio died defending his people, Apache tradition holding that he died by his own hand rather than be captured and held by the Mexicans. Although rare among the Apaches, suicides sometimes occurred in just such situations where the pain of separation—usually involving the

After the death of Victorio at Tres Castillos in 1880, Nana (pictured here) rallied a small group of Apaches in a retaliatory attack. During a six-week period in 1881, the 70-year-old Nana and his group of warriors killed 30 to 50 people in New Mexico before returning south of the border.

loss of a loved one in some way—proved unbearable. On that terrible day for the Apaches, the Mexicans killed more than 60 warriors and captured 68 women and children. After the battle, some 17 survivors regrouped under the old warrior Nana, one of Victorio's leading men. Another 15, away on a raiding party at the time, also survived.

The death of Victorio and the scattering of his people, however, brought little calm to the Southwest. In 1881, Nana sent the women and children into the mountains of northern Mexico. Although more than 70 years old at the time, Nana led his warriors back into New Mexico to avenge their fallen leader. In six weeks, they covered more than 1,000 miles (1,600 kilometers) of territory, killing 30 to 50 people and running off more than 200 horses and mules. Returning to Mexico, they rejoined their people deep in the Sierra Madre and for a time enjoyed a respite from pursuit. Yet few could really rest. As James Kaywaykla recalled, even the children were placed on a war footing. "Each day," he said, "all practiced with bow and arrows, sling and spears. Each was taught to mount an unsaddled horse without help. We caught the mane, dug our toes into the foreleg, and swung ourselves astride the animal. Then we had to become able to leap astride the horse without a handhold."[25] After a time, Nana's small group joined Juh, Geronimo, and Naiche, the son of Cochise who had recently fled from San Carlos and was now encamped in the mountains near Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, Mexico.

Juh, Geronimo, and Naiche had fled San Carlos in the aftermath of the battle at Cibicue, which saw the death of the Prophet, Noch-ay-del-klinne. After the Prophet's death, the U.S. Army had rushed 22 companies of troops into Arizona. Troops in such numbers, swarming over the reservations, made all of the Apaches uneasy but none more so than the Chiricahuas. Believing themselves in danger, Juh, Geronimo, Naiche, and their followers fled San Carlos. In the early part of 1882, they secretly returned to the reservation and pressured

NAICHE: SON OF COCHISE

Naiche, the son of Cochise and Dos-teh-seh (daughter of Mangas Coloradas), was reportedly born around 1856. With the death of Cochise in 1874, Naiche's brother Taza assumed leadership of the Central Chiricahuas, having been prepared for that role by his father. But two years later, he died of pneumonia while visiting Washington, D.C. Naiche succeeded his brother, although his relative youth and inexperience led many Chiricahuas to look to Juh and later Geronimo for direction. In September 1881, Naiche fled from the San Carlos Reservation with a number of his people to join Geronimo. The relationship proved uneasy, as the fierce warrior overshadowed the younger Naiche. With Geronimo's surrender in 1886, Naiche was taken captive with the other Chiricahuas, spending time in Florida, Alabama, and finally Oklahoma.

At Fort Sill, Oklahoma, many Apaches recognized Naiche as their nominal chief, though Geronimo still exerted influence among many of the Chiricahuas. Later, Asa Daklugie, who was educated at Carlisle Indian School, emerged as Naiche's chief rival among the Apaches; however, Daklugie always insisted that he deferred to the son of Cochise.

Naiche later became a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, though he maintained a number of his traditional beliefs. When his people relocated to Mescalero, he was among those who selected the site for the new Chiricahua settlement, White Tail. He died at Mescalero in 1921.

Although Naiche was considered by many to be the last "hereditary chief" of the Chiricahuas, his life and career demonstrate that Apache leadership depended more on personality, charisma, and performance than on birthright.

Loco, who led another remnant of the Eastern Chiricahuas, to join them. He did so reluctantly. Again the Apaches set out for Mexico, raiding as they went, while soldiers, scouts, and

posses scoured the countryside with little success. The Chiricahuas broke apart into smaller groups and raided throughout Chihuahua and Sonora. Yet the authorities realized that they could cross the border at any time, seeking more recruits and ammunition from their relatives at San Carlos or Fort Apache. Convinced that Apache affairs had gotten out of hand, the U.S. Department of War reappointed General Crook to the command of the Department of Arizona.

THE RETURN OF CROOK

When General Crook returned to Arizona in September 1882, more than 600 Chiricahuas were at large, with an estimated 150 of these men or boys of fighting age. Realizing that he would have to quell unrest at San Carlos to forestall additional uprisings, he conferred with Apache leaders who told him of the deplorable conditions at the reservation. Crook ordered the military to take command of the reservation administration while the agent and his cronies were removed from office and charged with mismanagement and corruption. Crook also allowed the Apaches to move to healthier sections of the reservation, away from the heat and insects near the agency. This done, he then turned to the problem of Geronimo and the other Apaches still at large.

Crook realized that the Chiricahuas would have to be denied their sanctuaries in the Sierra Madre, necessitating an operation deep into Mexico. In the spring of 1883, he received permission to take his forces across the border. On May 1, he entered Mexico with almost 250 men, 193 of whom were Apache scouts. As a guide, Crook relied on Tso-ay, also called "Peaches," a Western Apache man married to a Chiricahua woman. Tso-ay had fled San Carlos with his wife's people. He became disillusioned by life on the run, however, and returned to San Carlos, now agreeing to lead Crook into the Apaches' mountain strongholds.

One of George Crook's primary Apache scouts was Tso-ay, or "Peaches," a Western Apache who is pictured here in 1885. Tso-ay was instrumental in leading the U.S. Army into several Apache strongholds in Mexico.

Western Apache scout John Rope recalled what it was like working under Crook, who unlike the Crook of eight years before now relied more than ever on the scouts and respected their culture and traditions. Before starting out, for example, Crook asked the scouts to hold a war dance, an important tradition for Apache warriors soon to face danger. Crook also skillfully negotiated with the Chiricahuas and was sensitive to native protocol that demanded tangible displays of respect. When the scouts raided one of the Chiricahua camps and took captives, for instance, Crook ordered the release of one of the prisoners, a young girl. Mounting her on his finest horse, he sent her back to her band with this gift and a request for a meeting with its leader, Chihuahua. Receiving the horse, Chihuahua reciprocated and went into Crook's camp to confer.

For the next several days, Chihuahua and the other Chiricahuas tested Crook's sincerity, demanding more demonstrations of his good intentions. In these negotiations, Apache women played a prominent role. Often serving as emissaries, women wielded great influence and their bands respected their counsel. Geronimo's sister, for instance, went to Crook's camp to ask for the return of a horse captured earlier. "She said we had taken one white horse with a Mexican saddle on which was a pair of black saddle bags," scout John Rope recalled. "If we wanted Chihuahua for our friend, she said that we must give it to her, and she took it back up on the mountain to where the Chiricahuas were."[26] Soon, more Chiricahua women drifted into Crook's camp, where they received food and shelter. The women later placed makeshift white flags made from ripped flour sacks around the camp as a message to their men that Crook had not come to fight, but to talk. The women called to their men hidden in the ridges above Crook's camp, "telling the Chiricahua chiefs that they, the women, did not want any fighting but only that the Chiricahuas make friends with

us." Geronimo and the other leaders finally met with Crook and promised to return to San Carlos after gathering their remaining people.[27]

Those ready to leave immediately, including the leaders Nana and Loco, departed with Crook and the scouts. Mounting children and the elderly on horses and mules, the scouts escorted some 52 men and 273 women and children on the long journey back to the United States. They kept the party well supplied with game as the rations for so large a group soon gave out. Eventually they reached San Carlos to the acclaim of the territorial press. Nervously, Crook waited weeks for Geronimo and the others to appear.

Deep divisions among these Apaches threatened to upset Crook's mission. Although he met with Crook, Geronimo was deeply opposed to returning to San Carlos. Indeed, at one point during the negotiations he wanted to wipe out Crook's command, inviting the scouts to a celebration that would mask an ambush. His father-in-law spoke out against this plan. "I won't join in this," he said, "because the White Mountain people [Western Apache scouts] are like relatives of mine."[28] A respected warrior and leader, Geronimo's father-in-law swayed the others. Reluctantly, Geronimo agreed to return to the reservation. As the last groups straggled in to the reservation by the middle of 1884, Crook reported to his superiors that the entire Apache Nation was at peace.

GERONIMO AND THE FINAL RESISTANCE

By the mid-1880s, most Chiricahua leaders realized that resistance to the reservation could not easily be maintained. The death of Victorio and the scouts' incursion into Mexico demonstrated that the lands south of the border no longer provided sanctuary. Moreover, resistance placed some Chiricahuas in the difficult position of fighting relatives among the Western Apaches. This was a grave step among a people who valued and respected close kin ties. Finally, divisions

among the Chiricahuas themselves—women tired of war, families weary of separation, leaders anxious to achieve peace—convinced most people that the price of resistance was too high. For the time being, Geronimo and a few others grudgingly accepted this situation.

Yet once again, interference in Apache affairs precipitated another crisis. Resentful of restrictions, such as the familiar ban on brewing tiswin, Geronimo and other disaffected leaders fled Fort Apache with 132 men, women, and children in May 1885. Scattering into small groups, the Chiricahuas crossed back and forth over the border many times, raiding as they went and followed by scouts and U.S. and Mexican troops. There was such a state of unrest in the region that a Mexican force, believing a company of Apache scouts to be raiders, fired upon them, killing their white officer. The incident threatened to scuttle the cross-border military agreement between Mexico and the United States, but eventually the two sides reached an understanding.

With the scouts just a step behind and Mexican troops everywhere, Geronimo and the other leaders agreed to meet General Crook at Cañon de los Embudos, some 25 miles (40 kilometers) south of the U.S.–Mexico border. Crook demanded their surrender and if not, threatened unrelenting war, even if it took another 50 years. Although Geronimo still would have held out, he could not persuade the others to join him. They wanted to return to their homes. At long last he agreed. From Crook they extracted the promise that their lives would be spared and that they would be allowed to return to the reservation after spending no more than two years in exile somewhere in the East. Retaining their arms, the Chiricahuas slowly moved northward toward the border, monitored by a nearby company of scouts.

In Washington, D.C., however, military officials refused to recognize the terms of the agreement and demanded

On March 26, 1886, Geronimo and his band of Apaches surrendered at Cañon de los Embudos, 25 miles south of the U.S.–Mexico border. However, three days later, they fled again after fearing that they would be killed once they crossed the border into the United States.

unconditional surrender. In the meantime, an unscrupulous whiskey trader and smuggler sold some of the Chiricahuas alcohol, telling them that death awaited them north of the border. Fearing treachery, Geronimo and a handful of followers fled into the night of March 29, 1886. When the news reached Washington, General Philip Sheridan, convinced that Geronimo must have received help from the Apache scouts, reprimanded Crook. His judgment and methods questioned, Crook resigned.

Sheridan soon posted General Nelson A. Miles to Arizona. Like Sheridan, Miles believed in the superiority of white soldiers and distrusted the scouts. Drastically reducing the scouts' participation, Miles poured 5,000 troops into the field (one-fourth of the standing army at the time) to apprehend

Geronimo's band of 36 Apaches. For months the soldiers ranged the Southwest and northern Mexico with little success, and soon the rugged terrain took its toll. Reluctantly, Miles turned to the Apache scouts.

Two Chiricahua scouts, Kayitah and Martine, agreed to accompany a white officer into Mexico and find Geronimo's camp. Years later, Martine's son, George, explained his father's decision. "We got relatives up there [with Geronimo]," his father said. "We want to take our people back so they won't suffer. . . . We tell Geronimo we came to help him and his people. If he kill us, that's alright [sic]. We got to do something to help our people."[29] Finally reaching Geronimo high in the mountains, Martine and Kayitah tried to persuade the suspicious leader to give up once and for all. "You be better off," Kayitah stated. "You got women and children with you. And only a few men—and some of them just boys. You come down, talk to them [U.S. troops] anyway. It be better for you, better for your families."[30] On learning that his wife and children had been sent into exile to Florida with other Chiricahuas, Geronimo relented and led his followers down to the U.S. camp. On September 3, 1886, he met with General Miles, and agreed to join his family and his people in exile.

And so the pull of family, not military might, finally concluded the Apache wars of the West. As Geronimo and other Chiricahuas embarked on the trains that would take them to Florida as prisoners of war, few realized that a new assault was being readied, one that would directly challenge the very integrity of Apache families.

Prisoners of War

Throughout the 1880s, Arizona public opinion, fanned by the flames of sensationalistic press coverage, called for a permanent solution to the "Apache problem," increasingly identified with the Chiricahuas. Although extreme elements of the Anglo-American population had long advocated extermination, sentiment formed around the idea of exile, the permanent removal of the Chiricahuas from Arizona soil. Already Chihuahua's band, which had surrendered to General Crook in March 1886, had been transferred to Fort Marion, Florida, earlier the home of captive Plains Indians. As General Miles prepared his final offensive against Geronimo's small band, he began laying the groundwork for the removal of the remainder of the Chiricahuas as well. Except for those still at large, most of the tribe, some 440 persons, lived at the Fort Apache Reservation at the time. Many of them had seemingly adapted to reservation life, planting small fields of corn and other crops and generating some income by supplying the local military post with hay and wood. A number of the men had served as scouts under General

Crook during his campaigns against Geronimo in 1883 and 1885 to 1886, and continued in this service under General Miles. Nevertheless, after Miles negotiated the return of Geronimo's small band, all of the Chiricahuas, designated "prisoners of war," were forcibly removed to Florida.

General Crook and other officers no longer directly connected to the Apaches expressed shock at the government's decision. They pointed out that most of the Chiricahuas had not participated in the outbreaks of 1885 and 1886 and, indeed, had rendered valuable service as scouts under both Crook and Miles. As Crook later reported to the secretary of war, "The final surrender of Geronimo and his small band to General Miles was brought about only through Chiricahuas who had remained friendly to the Government. . . . For their allegiance all have rewarded alike—by captivity in a strange land."[31]

"CAPTIVITY IN A STRANGE LAND"

For the Chiricahuas, the journey into captivity began with a train ride. Many, of course, had never ridden a train before and the experience proved frightening, especially when the locomotive began leaving the station. Men gasped and women and children screamed as they were jostled about in their train cars. Eugene Chihuahua, son of Chihuahua, was shipped out first with his father's small band on April 7, 1886. He compared the train to a snarling beast: "When it screeched and came snorting to the platform," he said, "it seemed to me as if it squatted and crouched as though about to pounce on us."[32] When the much larger group of Fort Apache Chiricahuas made their journey later, the lack of adequate sanitary facilities for so many people compounded their misery. Locked in their train cars and under constant guard, the Apaches managed as best they could, bedding down for the night on small fold-down seats that they converted into resting spaces.

Although the majority of Chiricahua Apaches had peacefully settled on Fort Apache Reservation by the mid-1880s, the U.S. government ordered that they should be treated as prisoners of war and shipped to Florida via train. Pictured here is a group of Chiricahua prisoners, including Geronimo, who is seated in the first row, third from right.

"Everybody was miserable," but not without hope, Eugene Chihuahua recalled. "Old Nana went about telling us that, though our land and homes had been stolen from us, now families could be together, and that in two years we could go back home."[33] Although many Chiricahuas initially believed this, they soon learned otherwise. Their captivity, in fact, would stretch on for many years, during which time their children would be taken from them and shipped to boarding schools in the North.

Situated near the ocean on the foundations of an old Spanish outpost at St. Augustine, Fort Marion at first housed only Chihuahua's band. When they arrived, the authorities

separated the Apache women and children from the men and older boys, transporting them to an island. There they had to supplement their meager rations by fishing, although fish had never really been a preferred part of the Apache diet. Later, the Fort Apache Chiricahuas joined Chihuahua's people. Tents were erected in the main body of the fort to accommodate so many people. Women and children of Geronimo's small group soon arrived, while Geronimo and other warriors were detained at Fort Pickens in Pensacola, Florida. Fearful and uncertain about their futures, the Apaches struggled to cope in their new surroundings.

Overcrowding, heat, and humidity plagued the Apaches while at Fort Marion, and rations always seemed in short supply. After the Fort Apache Chiricahuas arrived, "tents were placed so close together," Eugene Chihuahua observed, "that they touched and only a narrow path was left between the long rows. There we were quartered, and it was bad for all of us."[34] Sanitation in such a confined space proved particularly difficult, as only two bathrooms with bathing facilities were available. Apache men and women lined up for hours in the hot sun, waiting their turn. In every open space, women set up cooking fires, but the frequent rains often made everything wet, adding to the general misery.

Day in and day out, Apache men and women tried to follow a familiar round of activities. Women, for example, made clothing, using new materials like donated calico cloth and learning new sewing techniques in classes organized by women from St. Augustine. Former scouts, some 65 in number, kept busy with military drills, which they called the "white man's war dance," marching in heavy canvas uniforms issued by the U.S. Army. Chihuahua fulfilled his headman's role, making sure that rations were distributed fairly. Even then, however, the Apaches never had enough food and were unable to supplement their diet with hunting or gathering.

Eventually, the guards permitted the Apaches to spend much of the day outside the fort's walls, only requiring that everyone return by nightfall. Sometimes allowed to go into town, the Apaches soon learned that additional food could be bought there. They began to craft items for sale—small bows and arrows, moccasins, beaded belts, and the like—for a white clientele that valued souvenirs from "wild Indians." Indeed, sometimes townspeople would visit the fort just to stare at the "ferocious" Apaches. Others, however, like the women of St. Augustine and later an order of Catholic nuns, did what they could to provide additional care. In the meantime, authorities, constantly reminded by the fort's commander of the facility's inadequacy, debated relocating the Apaches once more.

MOUNT VERNON BARRACKS

Although different relocation sites had been discussed, the government finally decided upon the abandoned Mount Vernon Barracks, located near Mobile, Alabama. The Chiricahuas arrived at their new home on April 28, 1887. They were later joined by Geronimo and other warriors held in Pensacola. "We thought that anything would be better than Fort Marion with its rain, mosquitoes, and malaria," Eugene Chihuahua commented, "but we were to find out that it was good in comparison with Mt. Vernon Barracks. We didn't know what misery was till they dumped us in those swamps. There was no place to climb to pray. If we wanted to see the sky we had to climb a tall pine."[35]

At Mount Vernon, Apaches moved into tumbled-down houses with dirt floors and leaky roofs. Because it rained nearly every day, nothing could be kept dry. In the hot, steamy atmosphere, everything molded—food, clothing, moccasins. The incessant mosquitoes made life miserable, especially as the dreaded "shaking sickness" reappeared. Tuberculosis began to take its toll, too.

In 1894, Congress ordered the remaining Chiricahuas who were being held at Mount Vernon Barracks in Mobile, Alabama, to be transported to Fort Sill in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). Pictured here are Geronimo and a group of Chiricahuas at Fort Sill.

As before, the Apaches tried to fill their days with familiar activities. They crafted souvenir items that they sold to passengers on passing trains. Learning that anything made by Geronimo fetched higher prices, Apaches gave the old war leader their goods to sell under his own name. They also gambled, playing the moccasin game (a kind of guessing game), and, of course, card games of all kinds. Elders spent the evenings telling the young the history and traditions of their people. Young girls still underwent important ceremonies as they entered puberty. Boys fasted in order to forge a relationship with power. More men joined the U.S. Army in order to follow, in a restricted sense, the warrior's path. In addition, military service relieved adult men of day labor, of

which there was plenty. Over time, the men built more substantial accommodations, southern-style log cabins in two sections with a "dog trot" between them, a covered space that created an open porch through which air could move.

Yet no matter what "improvements" the Apaches made to Mount Vernon, they never adjusted to life there. Homesickness and depression darkened their days and disease continued to undermine their strength. Fifty Apaches died at Mount Vernon. Coupled with the 49 who had died earlier at Fort Marion and another 30 children who had died while away at boarding school, 119 Apaches, or almost a quarter of the tribe, died in the first three years of their captivity, from 1886 to 1889. Alarmed by these shocking statistics, powerful voices, including General O. O. Howard and General Crook, continued to pressure the U.S. government to remove the Apaches to a more suitable location. Finally, in 1894, Congress authorized the removal of the surviving Chiricahuas to Fort Sill in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), appropriating $15,000 to build homes, buy work animals, provide seeds and tools, and "other articles needed for said Indians and generally for their support and civilization."[36]

FORT SILL

Although still considered prisoners of war, the Apaches found the opportunity at Fort Sill to rebuild their lives along Apache lines. Partly this resulted from the fort's location in the West. "We could see the mountains," Eugene Chihuahua marveled. "They weren't tall like ours but they were mountains." Probably best of all, however, "was to hear the coyotes sing, and the cry of the quail too. We hadn't heard them since we left Fort Bowie."[37] At the fort, Apaches followed traditional settlement patterns, with each headman locating his village along one of the two creeks in the area. Spaced far enough apart to provide privacy, the villages also separated the scouts from the other Chiricahuas, some of whom still blamed the scouts for their captivity. Yet, many more Apaches and their

headmen joined the military. Many took to cattle ranching as well, another culturally approved outlet for men. As Juh's son Daklugie, observed, Apaches might farm if they had to, "but I didn't know a man who didn't like riding a horse and working cattle."[38]

Daklugie built on his knowledge of dairy cattle to learn the rudiments of ranching and helped introduce a successful stock-raising program to his people. In recognition of his efforts, they elected him "working chief," though he declined the honor. Increasingly, Apaches of Daklugie's generation, who were teenagers or children when the Chiricahua captivity began, brought specialized knowledge to bear on navigating the challenges of the twentieth century. Such knowledge, however, had come at a great price. Forcibly removed from their families, Daklugie and others endured a second captivity in the Northeast at the Carlisle Industrial Indian School.

THE BOARDING SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Reservation agents had long sought to impose Anglo-American culture and values on Native Americans. This "civilization policy" emphasized an English-style education, Christianity, and commercial agriculture. Among the Apaches, agriculture made the most headway, with even Geronimo for a time growing corn and hay at Fort Apache. Other aspects of the program, however, failed to take root.

In the late 1870s, Captain Richard Henry Pratt established the Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Pennsylvania, turning the full force of "civilization" efforts onto Indian children. Pratt and other "reformers" believed that Indian children, once removed from the influence of their families and their tribes, could be immersed in white values through a rigorous educational program carried out at off-reservation boarding schools. As Congress diverted more funding to the education of Indian children, other boarding schools were established,

RICHARD HENRY PRATT AND CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL

U.S. Army captain Richard Henry Pratt became one of the most influential figures in the American Indian "civilization" program. He first rose to prominence for his work with Plains Indian captives at Fort Marion, Florida. Instituting a "civilization by immersion" program, he drew on his military experience to achieve the rapid assimilation of his charges to Anglo-American manners and norms. Native Americans were forced to cut their hair, wear uniforms, and follow a strict regimen of military discipline and education. Later, Pratt and other "reformers" turned their attention to Indian children, believing them more susceptible to change than their adult counterparts. In 1879, Pratt established the Carlisle Indian School, the most famous of the Indian boarding schools.

When Indian children arrived at Carlisle and other schools, they first received new Anglo-American names. School personnel cut the boys' hair and issued everyone new, stiff uniforms. Soon the children followed a strict drill of basic instruction in reading, writing, and "American values." Boys also received vocational training, while girls learned domestic skills. They were punished when caught speaking in their native languages, and many children became homesick; some died from tuberculosis and other diseases. A quarter of the 190 graves in the Carlisle Indian School cemetery belong to Apache children.

Graduates of these boarding schools often found themselves caught between two worlds. In the "civilized" world, they often faced discrimination and prejudice. On the reservation their newfound ways of conduct and knowledge seemed inappropriate and out of place. Eventually the government relaxed its boarding school policy and established more schools on reservations, minimizing some of the trauma felt by Indian children and their families.

although Carlisle remained the most famous. Congress authorized the commissioner of Indian Affairs to do everything possible to enforce mandatory attendance at these schools, even to the point of withholding rations and annuities from parents who refused to cooperate. Particularly stubborn parents faced the threat of force. In 1886, for instance, the agent at the Mescalero Apache Reservation reported that:

> Everything in the way of persuasion and arguments having failed, it became necessary to visit the camps unexpectedly with a detachment of police, and seize such children as were proper and take them away to school, willing or unwilling. Some hurried their children off to the mountains or hid them away in camp, and the police had to chase and capture them like so many wild rabbits. This unusual proceeding created quite an outcry. The men were sullen and muttering, the women loud in their lamentations, and the children almost out of their wits with fright.[39]

With no place to hide their children at Fort Marion, the Chiricahuas could only watch as most of their children were shipped off to Carlisle. Almost 17 years old when he arrived, Daklugie described how the school attempted to break down the children's Apache identities. School personnel first cut the children's long braids. Next, they had the children bathe, during which time they took their Apache clothing and laid out school uniforms. Finally, they lined them up against a wall and a school official went down the line assigning everyone a new name. Young boys became an Eli, a Benjamin, or a Frank; young girls became a Ramona or a Mary. Daklugie became Asa, a name he hated. "It was forced on me" he said, "as though I had been an animal."[40]

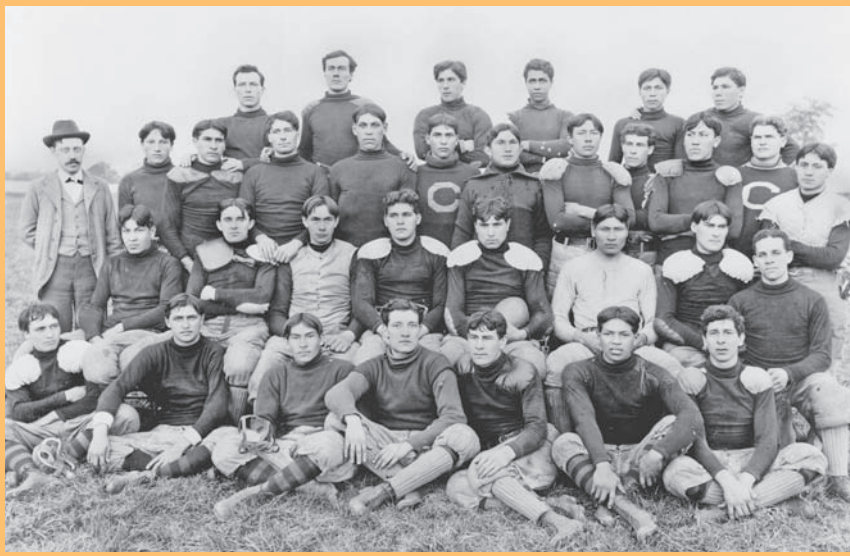
Soon the children were subjected to a strict, almost military style of discipline and organization. Rising from bed, eating breakfast, performing chores, and going to classes

were all now regulated activities, signaled by the ringing of bells. Children even learned to march. The summers brought no rest, as children were sent out to white families who lived in the vicinity of the school. This system allowed the families to use the children's labor while teaching them "useful" skills. For boys, this usually consisted of caring for dairy cattle and horses and the operation of simple farm machinery. For girls, it meant cooking and cleaning, sewing and darning, churning butter, collecting eggs, and other household and farm tasks.

Thrown together in classrooms and dormitories, Indian children at Carlisle faced a host of unfamiliar childhood diseases. With little previous exposure and therefore little resistance, Apache children succumbed to sicknesses like measles or chickenpox that only incapacitated white children for a time. Some children also contracted tuberculosis; those who were most ill were sent back home to their families.

In the strange, new environment of boarding school, sports provided one of the few opportunities to practice traditional endurance and fighting skills. Daklugie liked wrestling in particular, though he disliked boxing because he believed that fighting with knives made more sense. He and many others also took to track and field, partly because it allowed them to exchange their long pants for shorts. Bigger boys liked football. Pratt organized games with university teams, in which the Native Americans proved themselves faster, stronger, and better at strategic thinking than their white counterparts. Native American girls were allowed to watch the games and cheer, and sometimes a victory would be celebrated with a dance in the gym.

Separated from their parents for years at a time, Apache children relied on each other all through the school experience. Although the school used older students as mentors for the young, teenage Apaches felt compelled to play a parental role at boarding school, helping the young receive additional food or visiting and encouraging them if they were sick. Because



During their stay at Carlisle Indian School, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, some Apaches played on the school's football team, which is pictured here in 1899. The Carlisle Indians were coached by Glenn "Pop" Warner and played some of the top football teams in the East, such as the University of Pennsylvania and Yale.

he was the son of a chief, Daklugie in particular looked out for the others, following accepted Apache practice.

Daklugie spent eight years at Carlisle, leaving in his mid-20s. Other Apache children and teenagers grew up there as well. During their time there, many learned to read and write, many acquired new skills, and some converted to Christianity. Upon arriving at Fort Sill, however, many, particularly those who had spent the better part of their youth at Carlisle, found themselves caught between their Apache culture and their new status as Carlisle graduates. Some older Apache leaders resented the Carlisle graduates, who too often failed to show deference and respect to elders in their eagerness to implement changes. Some graduates clashed with the U.S.

Army as well, chafing at restrictions. Possibly the most successful former students were those like Daklugie, who was old enough when he arrived at Carlisle to remember his Apache obligations, yet young enough to learn new skills that he hoped would put his people on the path to self-sufficiency and independence and bring an end to their captivity. As long as Geronimo remained alive, however, few in the West would welcome the return of the Chiricahuas, even "civilized" ones.

GERONIMO

Among the non-Apache public, Geronimo was arguably the most recognized Apache. Part of his notoriety came from his long resistance to reservation life and his numerous raids throughout Mexico and the United States. As a result, many on both sides of the border considered him a notorious outlaw and demanded his execution. Several times, in fact, Geronimo narrowly averted trial for murder in civilian courts, the last time being in San Antonio, Texas, where he was briefly held before being sent to Fort Pickens, Florida. Protected by his "prisoner of war" status, he still found himself sentenced to two years of hard labor before being allowed to rejoin his family at Mount Vernon Barracks. Once reunited with the other Chiricahuas, Geronimo participated in the various stock-raising and farming schemes promoted by the U.S. Army. Always quick to question army motives and actions, however, Geronimo constantly challenged the officers' decisions, which were made without consultation or explanation. In this way, he pressured the army to listen to Apache needs and thus paved the way for the work of later leaders like Daklugie.

Geronimo's fame also grew as the threat of Indian wars receded in the United States. As the country became industrialized and more people lived in cities than ever before, people sought escape from their drab, office-going or

Geronimo, who is pictured here in 1887, a year after he surrendered to the U.S. Army, eventually took advantage of his celebrity status by charging money for his autograph and participating in such events as the 1904 World's Fair and President Theodore Roosevelt's inauguration parade the following year.

factory-working lives and indulged in the romance and history of the West. Publishers, entertainers, and other promoters stood ready to mass-market "true" experiences to a public eager for sensation. Dime-store novels offered thrilling adventures, detailing the exploits of outlaws like Billy the Kid or Indian leaders like Crazy Horse. Thousands flocked to Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show, where from the safety of their ringside seats they could shudder at the sight of "savage" Indians attacking a wagon train, and cheer as the cavalry rode to the rescue. In this climate, then, Geronimo represented a direct link to a more exciting past.

Over time, Geronimo and other Chiricahuas realized that this celebrity status could be put to good use. As mentioned earlier, the Chiricahuas crafted items "made by Geronimo" for the tourist trade to earn additional money for food and clothing. Daklugie marveled at how people flocked to see the old leader, willing to pay "outlandish prices for anything—a feather, a hat, or even a button from his coat."[41] Called more than once to lead parades in Oklahoma, Geronimo would fill his pockets with buttons and signed photographs, returning to Fort Sill with those pockets refilled with money. Attending various fairs also gave Geronimo the opportunity to publicize the Chiricahuas' situation and advocate for their release from captivity. At the 1898 Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition held in Omaha, Nebraska, for instance, he appealed to his old antagonist General Miles to allow the Apaches to return to Arizona. Miles instead mocked the old leader, which confirmed Geronimo's distrust of the man.

In 1904, Geronimo attended the St. Louis World's Fair, commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition and the "opening" of the American West. Initially reluctant to attend, Geronimo changed his mind after he was told that he would "receive good attention and protection, and that the president of the United States said that it

would be all right."[42] He stayed for six months, again selling photographs, bows and arrows, and other trinkets, and now his autograph. "I often made as much as two dollars a day," he said, "and when I returned I had plenty of money—more than I have ever owned before."[43] The following year, Geronimo attended the inauguration of President Theodore Roosevelt, participating with other Apaches in the inauguration parade. Dressed in their finest buckskins and riding their best war ponies, Geronimo and other Indian leaders dazzled the crowds with their horsemanship. Yet, as before, Geronimo used his access to the president to plead his people's case:

> Great Father, other Indians have homes where they can live and be happy. I and my people have no homes. The place where we are kept is bad for us. . . . We are sick there and we die. White men are in the country that was my home. I pray you to tell them to go away and let my people go there and be happy.
>
> Great Father, my hands are tied as with a rope. My heart is no longer bad. I will tell my people to obey no chief but the Great White Chief. I pray you to cut the ropes and make me free. Let me die in my own country, an old man who has been punished enough and is free.[44]

President Roosevelt, though moved by the old man's plea, nevertheless refused his request. The people of Arizona still resented the Apaches, he pointed out. If they returned, "more war and more bloodshed" would result. "That is all I can say, Geronimo," concluded Roosevelt, "except that I am sorry, and have no feeling against you."[45]

In 1909, Geronimo died at Fort Sill, four years before his people's long captivity came to an end.

Return and Commemoration

Asa Daklugie looked at the letter with interest. It came from Carlisle Industrial Indian School, and from Captain Pratt himself. Daklugie chuckled as he remembered the time he had misused an English word and the teacher had thought he was being disrespectful. She had sent him to the captain's office for punishment. The captain had raised his whip to strike him but he had snatched it away and thrown it on top of the bookcase. When the small man then tried to grab him by the collar, Daklugie picked *him* up and shook him. Nobody, he remembered saying, would ever whip me. He had put the captain down and returned to class. No one had ever punished him again after that.

But now the captain was interested in his life. What was he doing? How had he put his skills to work? Daklugie looked at the long list of questions. He sighed and picked up his pencil and began to write. Was he married? Yes, to a wonderful woman named Ramona. Did he work? What kind of house did he live in? The questions went on and on. The last question, though, made him think. Was there anything of interest

concerning his life that he wished to share? There was only one thing to write the captain. "I wished to see, that 'Apaches people' get a freedom, from being a prisoner of War, under the Government. 'So they can have they own home.'"[46]

RELEASE AND RETURN

In 1913, after 27 years as prisoners of war, the 261 Apaches at Fort Sill finally achieved their freedom. Several factors clearly influenced the U.S. government's decision to release the Apache prisoners. First, the Apaches demanded their freedom, especially for the generation that had grown up in captivity. As Naiche told a U.S. Army officer, "Half or more than half of these people talk English. Half or more can read and write: they all know how to work. You have held us long enough."[47] Geronimo had long echoed these views on a national stage, most recently in his autobiography completed a few years before his death. Second, prominent non-Indians, including many former military foes of the Apaches, picked up these demands. Third, Geronimo's death in 1909 calmed the fears of many people in the West, who saw not the old farmer of Fort Sill but the vigorous war leader of 20 years before. Fourth, the U.S. Army wished to convert Fort Sill into an artillery field school, and the Chiricahuas' villages and herds simply stood in the way.

Yet the objections by the state of Arizona still carried great weight with the federal government. Public opinion against the Chiricahuas ran deep and Arizona refused to consider the return of the Chiricahuas to their old homes. As a result, the federal government presented the following options to the Chiricahuas: (1) take up individual homesteads at Ojo Caliente, once the home of the Eastern Chiricahuas, but now open to settlement; or (2) retain a tribal identity and share the lands of the Mescalero Apache Reservation with that people. As both areas lay in New Mexico, the federal government reasoned, the Chiricahuas would at least be

nearer to their former homes. Delegations representing the Apache prisoners traveled to both sites to inspect the lands in question.

On August 22, 1909, the delegations met with the U.S. Army to discuss their findings and to come to a decision. Three different views emerged from the meeting. A majority of the Apaches sided with Asa Daklugie and Eugene Chihuahua, both members of the delegation who had visited Mescalero. The game-filled, pine-covered mountains of the reservation reminded Eugene Chihuahua of parts of Arizona, where his people had once lived. Daklugie, in turn, spoke excitedly of the country's grazing potential and argued that Mescalero promised self-sufficiency and an end to government rations and oversight. At Mescalero, the Chiricahuas would live among other Apaches, able to avoid the interference of well-meaning but meddling whites.

Another contingent of Apaches, however, opposed relocation to Mescalero. Eighteen Eastern Chiricahuas from the vicinity of Ojo Caliente longed to return to their old home in New Mexico. Even during their long journey into captivity—San Carlos, Fort Apache, St. Augustine, Carlisle, Alabama, and Fort Sill—declared Talbot Goody (son of Chief Loco), he and his people had never forgotten Ojo Caliente. Everything was good at Ojo Caliente, echoed Toclanny. If he returned, Toclanny added, "Food and water will taste good to me. I will be happy again."[48] Or as old Tso-de-kizen simply argued, "[Ojo Caliente] has been our home ever since we can remember, we like it, and that is the reason we want to go there."[49] Although many of the Eastern Chiricahuas expressed similar feelings, some were willing to consider Mescalero if Ojo Caliente proved impossible.

Fourteen Chiricahuas, however, wanted to remain at Fort Sill. James Kaywaykla, who practically grew up in captivity, saw Fort Sill as his home. "Though some of these Apaches want to leave here," he argued, "we want to stay

on these lands. We don't ask for something we have not seen—something that is over the hill and out of sight we don't want. What we ask for is land that we have seen and is right here in front of us."[50] He and others believed that if given their own land, they could imitate their white neighbors and become prosperous farmers, tending their own individual fields.

As the meeting revealed, even after years in captivity together, the Chiricahuas were not a unified people, and indeed, never had been. Although particularly strong leaders might emerge at any one time, Apache groups considered themselves autonomous, capable of making their own decisions, though willing to listen to and take into account other arguments. And so those who wanted to remain in Oklahoma did so, on lands provided by the Comanche and Kiowa Indians. The majority of the Chiricahuas, however, felt too strongly the pull of the mountains. Now as a free people, they boarded trains for the West, bound for the Mescalero Apache Reservation. Most of the pro-Ojo Caliente contingent joined them, since that site had been open for too long to non-Indian settlement, leaving little room for returning Apaches. Arriving at the small station in Tularosa, New Mexico, the Chiricahuas made their way to the Mescalero Reservation. There they established the community of White Tail, from time to time visiting their cousins at the larger community of Mescalero. Ever generous, the Mescaleros later invited Lipan Apaches to settle on their reservation, too. Over time, the three peoples grew closer together, and by the 1930s, officially became one Mescalero Apache tribe. Yet the people never forgot their personal stories, their ties to the great leaders of the past, and their homelands on both sides of the border, filled with memories. One hundred years after Geronimo's surrender, the last Chiricahua descendants decided to return at last to their ancestral homes.

COMMEMORATION

In September 1986, hundreds of Apaches boarded buses and returned to Arizona and the pile of rocks in Skeleton Canyon that marked Geronimo's surrender. Traveling from Mescalero and from as far away as Oklahoma, they went to honor the memories of their ancestors. As they walked in the steps of their long-ago relatives, even those Apaches whose people had lived in Oklahoma for almost three generations suddenly felt the stories welling up from the land. Emotion catching her voice, Mildred Cleghorn of Apache, Oklahoma, described it:

> I realized how much they truly loved their homeland in Arizona and New Mexico. And that's a real deep feeling that I didn't realize I had until . . . in '86 when I went to Fort Bowie and stood in a place like Skeleton Canyon where Geronimo surrendered and rode down the trail where my grandfather and grandmother walked down the trail to Fort Bowie and were taken prisoners of war.[51]

For those unable to make the journey from Oklahoma, Cleghorn felt a responsibility to give testament to this sense of return from a long exile. "I feel as though, and someone mentioned, that it made a complete circle," she said, "and I think they didn't get to come here but I represent a group that has always wanted to come back into the area and I feel like . . . that I, coming here has meant that we did get back through me. I see it for them."[52]

Speaking for many of the Apaches of Mescalero, Berle Kanseah reminded his people of their history, but also of their future:

> We have a background and we are a proud people. We are a progressive tribe back in Mescalero. Our people have

> said we are going to survive. We're going to make it. This is how we were taught and we were told. We have the sacred mountains, the lakes, we're going to see them again. So we are direct descendants alive today.

Surrounded by his people on all sides as he spoke, Kanseah was soon overcome. "Excuse me," he said. "I'm very emotional because my grandfather had been with Geronimo's band and these people are direct descendants of these very warriors."[53]

Like Cleghorn and Kanseah, Ruey Darrow of Anadarko, Oklahoma, reflected on the ties of memory and tradition that held the Apaches together even through decades of change and challenge. With quiet conviction, she said:

> That time was our time. That was the time that made us who we are; that's our history; that's how we grew; that's how we were molded. They tried to adapt to Christianity as much as possible, but the old ways, the way they believed, were still there and they are still in fact there. Whereas you talk about a tradition, and you think perhaps it might just be singing a song or speaking your language, but tradition is also something that you feel and something that you know. And that's what we are and it was never gone.[54]

On that bright, sunny day in September, the Apaches—men, women, and children—heard their elders speak and realized that as a people they had endured. Was that not the final resistance?

Chronology

1835 and 1837 The Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora institute "scalp" laws, paying a bounty for Apache scalps in a war of extermination.

1846 Mexico and the United States go to war; Mangas Coloradas of the Chiricahua Apaches pledges friendship to the United States.

1848 The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican-American War and results in the transfer of much of the Apache homelands to the jurisdiction of the United States.

1851 Mangas Coloradas meets John Russell Bartlett of the U.S. Boundary Commission; Bartlett informs Mangas Coloradas and other Apache leaders that they can no longer raid into Mexico.

1854 The United States acquires more of the Apache homelands with the Gadsden Purchase Treaty with Mexico; the United States also abrogates responsibility for Apache raids into Mexico from U.S. soil.

1858 Mexican forces kill Geronimo's first wife and family; Geronimo swears revenge against the Mexicans.

1861 Lieutenant George Bascom captures the Chiricahua Apache leader Cochise, accusing him of raiding and kidnapping; Cochise escapes but Bascom continues to hold members of his family and band captive; Six Apache warriors are eventually executed; the "Bascom Affair" ignites conflict between the Chiricahuas and the U.S. Army.

1863 Miners capture Mangas Coloradas and turn him over to soldiers at Fort McLane, where

he is tortured and killed "while trying to escape"; his body is mutilated.

1871 Disgruntled Arizona settlers attack a peaceful encampment of Apaches at Camp Grant; the Camp Grant Massacre contributes to changes in U.S. government Indian policy; General George Crook assumes command of the Department of Arizona; all Apaches are ordered onto reservations; military operations are opened against those Apaches who resist; Crook begins to enroll companies of Apache scouts.

1872 General O. O. Howard and Cochise agree to the formation of the Chiricahua Reservation;

Timeline

1846
Mangas Coloradas pledges friendship to the United States during Mexican–American War

1848
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo brings much of Apache homelands under U.S. jurisdiction

1854
Gadsden Purchase gives United States more Apache land

1861
"Bascom Affair" ignites conflict between Chiricahuas and U.S. Army

1863
Mangas Coloradas killed by miners at Pinos Altos

1871
All Apaches are ordered onto reservations after Camp Grant Massacre

1846 — 1871

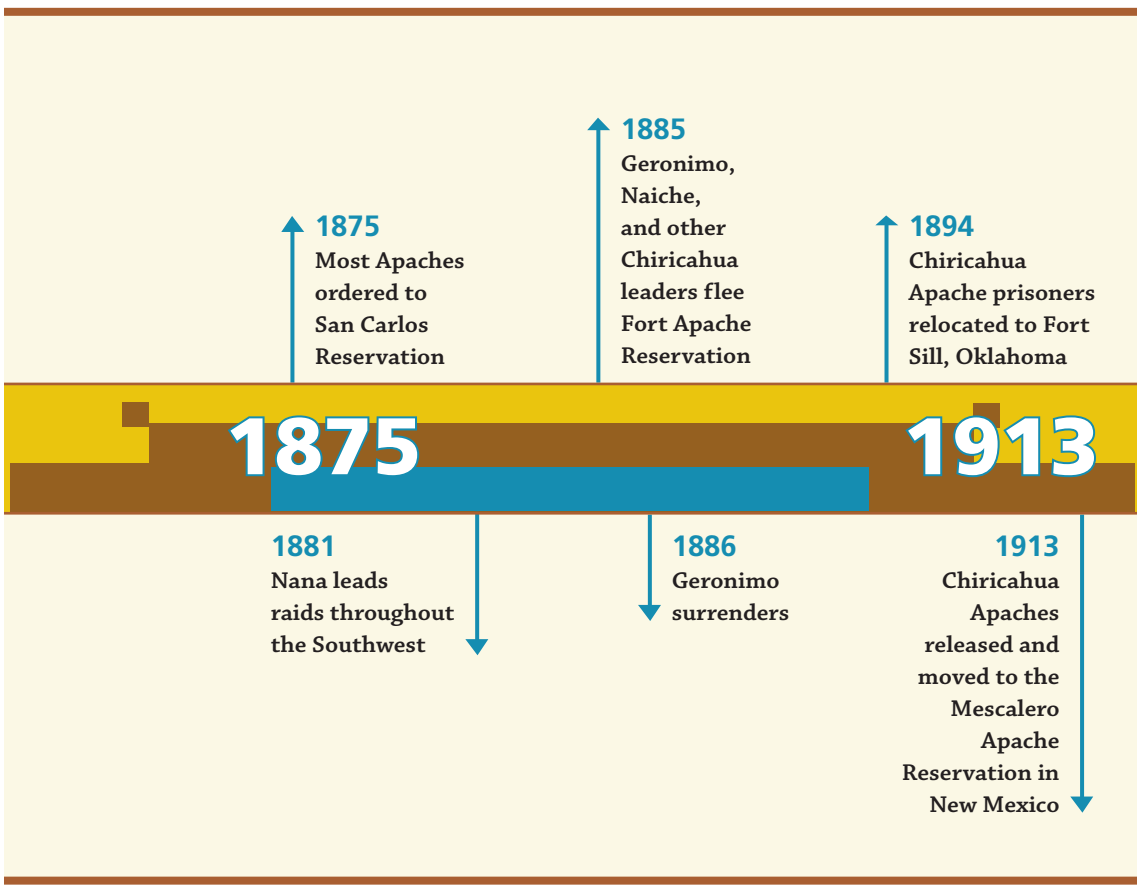
the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations are established by executive order.

1874 Cochise dies; John Clum is appointed agent for the San Carlos Reservation.

1875 The U.S. government begins concentrating most of the Apaches on the San Carlos Reservation.

1877 John Clum and his San Carlos Apache police arrest Geronimo; the Warm Springs Apaches under Victorio are relocated to San Carlos.

1879 Warm Springs Apache leader Victorio and his people flee into Mexico.



1880 Victorio dies at the Battle of Tres Castillos in Mexico.

1881 Nana's raid takes place; Noch-ay-del-klinne begins a religious revival among the Apaches; he is killed in a skirmish with the U.S. military.

1882 General Crook is reassigned to the Department of Arizona.

1883 Crook leads U.S. forces and Apache scouts into the Sierra Madre of Mexico to induce Chiricahuas and other Apaches to return to the reservation; the Chiricahuas agree to return.

1884 Geronimo and other Apaches begin farming at Turkey Creek, near Fort Apache.

1885 Geronimo, Naiche, and other Chiricahua leaders flee the Fort Apache Reservation.

1886 U.S. military forces enter Mexico in pursuit of Geronimo; Geronimo meets with General Crook at Cañon de los Embudos, surrendering and agreeing to return to the reservation; before doing this, the Apaches flee into Mexico once more; Crook resigns his position and is replaced by General Nelson A. Miles; Miles brings 5,000 troops into the field in pursuit of the Apaches; later, Apache scouts Kayitah and Martine, accompanied by Lieutenant Charles Gatewood, enter Mexico; they contact Geronimo and persuade him to surrender; all of the Chiricahuas, including those who acted as U.S. Army scouts, are classified as prisoners of war and exiled to Florida; Apache children are sent to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania.

1888 Chiricahua Apache prisoners are relocated to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama.

1894 Chiricahua Apache prisoners are relocated to Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

1913 Chiricahua Apaches are released; they move to the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico.

1986 Chiricahua Apache descendants commemorate the centennial of Geronimo's surrender.

Notes

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2. Morris E. Opler, *An Apache Lifeway: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 335.
3. W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers* (Senate Executive Document no. 7, 30th Congress, 1st Session, 1848), 60.

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4. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua Connected with the United States Boundary Commission during the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1854), vol. 1, 301.
5. Ibid., 311.
6. Ibid., 312–313.
7. Ibid., 314; John C. Cremony, *Life among the Apaches* (San Francisco: A. Roman and Company, 1868), 48.
8. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, vol. 1, 314–315; Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*, 66.
9. Poston is quoted in Frank C. Lockwood, *The Apache Indians* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938), 92–93.
10. Ibid., 93.
11. Quoted in Edwin R. Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas: Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 454.

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12. Ibid., 264.
13. Ibid., 321.
14. Ibid., 363.

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15. Jason Betzinez with Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *I Fought with Geronimo* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 27.
16. Woodworth Clum, *Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 143.
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20. John G. Bourke, *An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre: An Account of the Expedition in Pursuit of the Hostile Chiricahua Apaches in the Spring of 1883* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 46.

21. Keith H. Basso, ed. *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Grenville Goodwin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), 108.
22. Ibid., 108.

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23. Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 55.
24. Ball and Kaywaykla, *In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache*, 75–76.
25. Ibid., 113.
26. Basso, *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare*, 163–164.
27. Ibid., 165.
28. Ibid., 169.
29. Sherry Robinson, *Apache Voices: Their Stories of Survival as Told to Eve Ball* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 50.
30. Ibid., 52.

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31. Quoted in Lockwood, *The Apache Indians*, 317–318.
32. Eve Ball, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 125.
33. Ibid., 125.
34. Ibid., 133.
35. Ibid., 139.
36. Quoted in Ball, *Indeh*, 159.
37. Ball, *Indeh*, 160.
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39. Quoted in Colin G. Callloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), 360–361.
40. Ball, *Indeh*, 144.
41. Ibid., 175.
42. Geronimo, *Geronimo: His Own Story, As Told to S. M. Barrett* (New York: Penguin Books, 1996), 155.
43. Ibid., 155.
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45. Ibid., 421.

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47. Ibid., 447.
48. Minutes of a conference held at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, August 22, 1909, by 1st Lt. Geo. A. Purington, 8th Cav., with the Geronimo Apaches (Apache Prisoners of War) with reference to their removal to the Mescalero Indian Reservation, New Mexico; in Ball, *Indeh*, 187.
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50. Ibid., 189.
51. Mildred Cleghorn, *Geronimo and the Apache Resistance*, Produced by Neil Goodwin and Lena Carr. Peace River Films, 1988. (PBS Video, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, Va. 22314-1698).
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About the Contributors

Born in El Paso, Texas, author **JOSEPH C. JASTRZEMBSKI** received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago. He is associate professor of history and coordinator of the Native American Studies Program at Minot State University in Minot, North Dakota. He has written on the Apaches and Indian peoples and holds a particular interest in language and folklore. He is the codirector of the Mandan Language and Oral Traditions Preservation Project, working with linguists, historians, tribal preservation specialists, and one of the last fluent speakers of the Mandan language to document and digitally videotape Mandan Indian storytelling events. He is currently working with Prairie Public Television to produce a documentary on the Mandan language.

Series editor **PAUL C. ROSIER** received his Ph.D. in American history from the University of Rochester in 1998. Dr. Rosier currently serves as assistant professor of history at Villanova University, where he teaches Native American history, the environmental history of America, history of American Capitalism, and world history. He is the author of *Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912–1954* (2001) and *Native American Issues* (2003). His next book, on post-World War II Native American politics, will be published in 2008 by Harvard University Press. Dr. Rosier's work has also appeared in various journals, including the *Journal of American History*, the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, and the *Journal of American Ethnic History*.