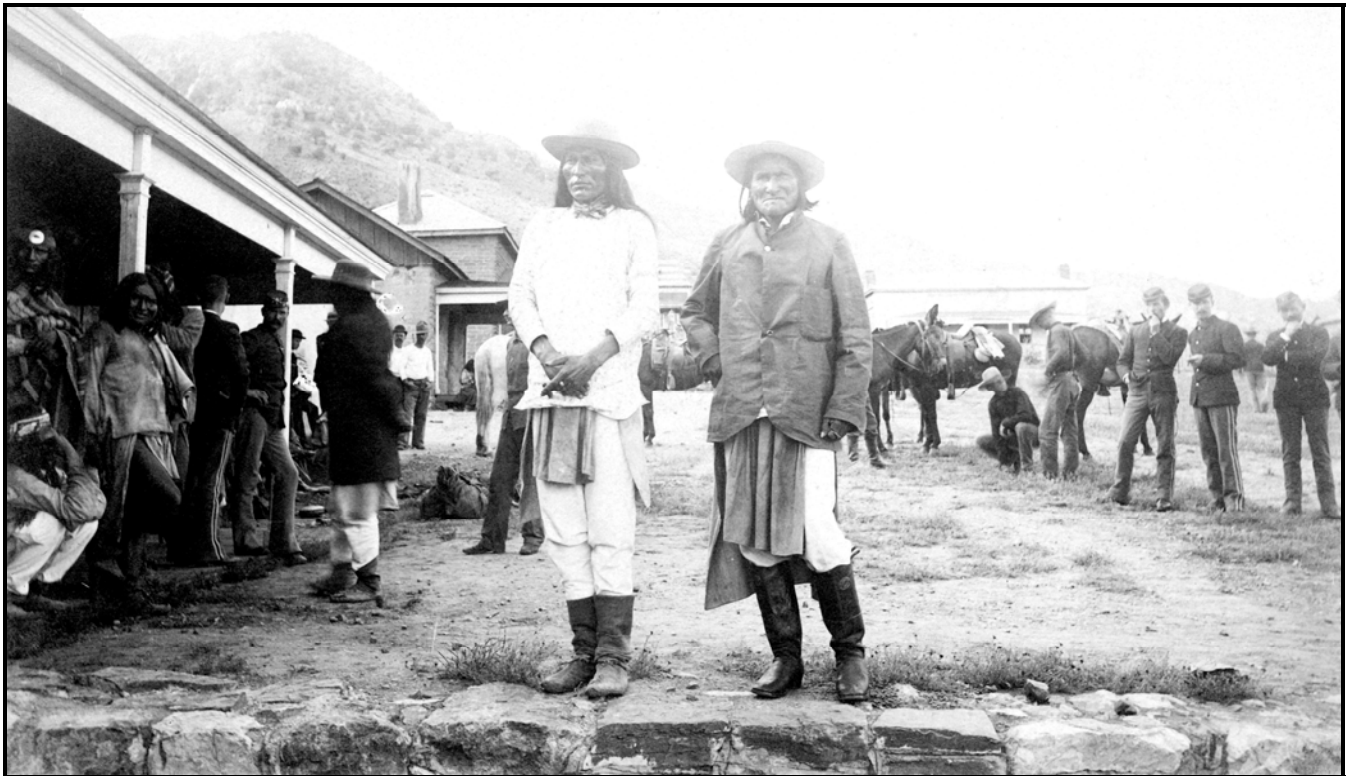




# ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF CHIRICAHUA NATIONAL MONUMENT AND FORT BOWIE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

National Park Service Task Agreement J1233040013



**ON THE COVER**

Naiche and Geronimo at Fort Bowie, 1886

Photograph Courtesy of the Mescalero Apache Tribe

---

# **ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF CHIRICAHUA NATIONAL MONUMENT AND FORT BOWIE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE**

National Park Service Task Agreement J1233040013

Scott Rushforth, Ph.D.

Department of Anthropology  
New Mexico State University  
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88003

July 2010

U.S. Department of the Interior  
National Park Service  
Intermountain Support Office  
Denver, Colorado 80225

The National Park Service publishes a range of reports that address natural resource topics of interest and applicability to a broad audience in the National Park Service and others in natural resource management, including scientists, conservation and environmental constituencies, and the public.

Views, statements, findings, conclusions, recommendations, and data in this report do not necessarily reflect views and policies of the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Mention of trade names or commercial products does not constitute endorsement or recommendation for use by the U.S. Government.

This report is available from:

David Ruppert  
National Park Service  
Intermountain Support Office  
Denver, Colorado 80225

Please cite this publication as:

Rushforth, Scott. 2010. Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Chiricahua National Monument and Fort Bowie National Historic Site. National Park Service Task Agreement J1233040013. National Park Service, Denver, Colorado.



# Contents

	Page
<b>Figures</b> .....	ivv
<b>Tables</b> .....	vvi
<b>Appendices</b> .....	viii
<b>Abstract</b> .....	1
<b>Introduction</b> , by Scott Rushforth.....	3
<b>Chapter One.</b> Treaties and Legal Obligations between the U. S. Government and the Chiricahua Apaches, by Mark Sechrist and Craig Williams .....	9
<b>Chapter Two.</b> An Overview of Previous Archaeological Work at Chiricahua National Monument and Fort Bowie National Historic Site, by Mark Sechrist.....	25
<b>Chapter Three.</b> Archaeology Project Descriptions at Chiricahua National Monument and Fort Bowie National Historic Site, by Mark Sechrist.....	47
<b>Chapter Four.</b> Chiricahua Apache Historical Timeline, by Scott Rushforth.....	73
<b>Chapter Five.</b> A Brief Military History of the Chiricahua Apaches, by Rick Hendricks and Becki A. R. Graham.....	219
<b>Chapter Six.</b> The Chiricahua Apache Mode of Production, by Becki A. R. Graham and Scott Rushforth .....	251
<b>Chapter Seven.</b> A Southern Athapaskan Ethnobotany, by Aaron Sharratt and Scott Rushforth .....	279
<b>Chapter Eight.</b> A Partially Annotated Bibliography of Chiricahua and other Apaches, by Scott Rushforth, Aaron Sharratt, and Becki A. R. Graham .....	397

# Figures

	Page
<b>Figure 1.</b> Apache Peoples of the Southwest.....	7
<b>Figure 2.</b> Chiricahua Indian Reservation Detail, Territory of Arizona, 1876.....	8
<b>Figure 3.</b> Chiricahua Reservation 1872-1876 .....	12
<b>Figure 4.</b> Example of Project Summary Entry .....	26
<b>Figure 5.</b> Spanish Dominions of North America, 1812 .....	233
<b>Figure 6.</b> Chiricahua Mountains Detail from Spanish Dominions of North America, 1812 .....	234
<b>Figure 7.</b> Map of the United States of Mexico, 1846.....	236
<b>Figure 8.</b> Chiricahua Mountains Detail from Map of the United States of Mexico, 1846 .....	236
<b>Figure 9.</b> Chiricahua Mountains Detail from Official Map of the Territory of Arizona, 1865 .	245
<b>Figure 10.</b> Detail of Railroad & Steamship Lines Operated by Southern Pacific Company, 1884.....	250
<b>Figure 11.</b> Warm Springs Apache Family .....	252
<b>Figure 12.</b> Warm Springs Apache Camp .....	253
<b>Figure 13.</b> Deer Head Mask .....	257
<b>Figure 14.</b> Chiricahua Apache Bands .....	273
<b>Figure 15.</b> <i>Agave parryi</i> .....	280
<b>Figure 16.</b> <i>Allium geyeri</i> .....	291
<b>Figure 17.</b> <i>Asclepias latifolia</i> .....	294
<b>Figure 18.</b> <i>Carnegiea gigantea</i> .....	297
<b>Figure 19.</b> <i>Chenopodium album</i> .....	302
<b>Figure 20.</b> <i>Cirsium undulatum</i> .....	304
<b>Figure 21.</b> <i>Cucurbita foetidissima</i> .....	308
<b>Figure 22.</b> <i>Echinocereus coccineus</i> .....	317

<b>Figure 23.</b> <i>Frasera speciosa</i> .....	318
<b>Figure 24.</b> <i>Juniperus osteosperma</i> .....	324
<b>Figure 25.</b> <i>Larrea tridentata</i> .....	328
<b>Figure 26.</b> <i>Nicotiana trigonophylla</i> .....	330
<b>Figure 27.</b> <i>Nolina microcarpa</i> .....	334
<b>Figure 28.</b> <i>Oenothera albicaulis</i> .....	336
<b>Figure 29.</b> <i>Opuntia</i> .....	337
<b>Figure 30.</b> <i>Penstemon fendleri</i> .....	341
<b>Figure 31.</b> <i>Populus tremuloides</i> .....	352
<b>Figure 32.</b> <i>Proboscidea parviflora</i> .....	354
<b>Figure 33.</b> <i>Prosopis glanulosa</i> .....	356
<b>Figure 34.</b> <i>Quercus arizonica</i> .....	361
<b>Figure 35.</b> <i>Rhus glabra</i> .....	366
<b>Figure 36.</b> <i>Ribes leptanthum</i> .....	369
<b>Figure 37.</b> <i>Robiniia neomexicana</i> .....	371
<b>Figure 38.</b> <i>Rumex humenosepalus</i> .....	372
<b>Figure 39.</b> <i>Solanum elaeagnifolium</i> .....	374
<b>Figure 40.</b> <i>Yucca elata</i> .....	379

## Tables

	Page
<b>Table 1.</b> Summary of Archaeological Projects at Fort Bowie National Historic Site.....	26
<b>Table 2.</b> Summary of Archaeological Projects at Chiricahua National Monument.....	35
<b>Table 3.</b> Chirichua Apache Historical Timeline.....	73

# Appendices

	Page
<b>Appendix A.</b> Treaty with the Apaches, 1852.....	52521
<b>Appendix B.</b> Chiricahua Reserve Established ini 1872.....	524
<b>Appendix C.</b> Chiricahua Reserve Ended in 1876.....	527
<b>Appendix D.</b> The American Antiquities Act of 1906.....	528
<b>Appendix E.</b> Historic Sites Act of 1935.....	529
<b>Appendix F.</b> Instructions for Dealing with the Apaches at Peace in Nuevo Vizcaya, Chihuahua, 14 October 1791.....	535

## **Abstract**

This monograph is submitted to meet the requirements of National Park Service Task Agreement Number J1233040013. The purpose of this project was to provide archaeological, historical, ethnographic, and bibliographic background concerning Chiricahua Apaches and their relationship with land now occupied by the Chiricahua National Monument (Chiricahua NM) and Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Fort Bowie NHS). Park Service personnel also emphasized the importance, through this project, of establishing better contemporary working relationships between themselves and Chiricahua Apache people. Park Service personnel emphasized that the underlying intent of this project was to provide information and establish contacts that would allow them better to "interpret" in a culturally sensitive manner at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS. They stressed that they were interested in adding an "Apache perspective" to their interpretive programs and in "reintroducing" Chiricahua Apaches to Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS.



# Introduction

Scott Rushforth

This monograph is submitted to meet the requirements of National Park Service Task Agreement Number J1233040013. The purpose of this project was to provide archaeological, historical, ethnographic, and bibliographic background concerning Chiricahua Apaches and their relationship with land now occupied by the Chiricahua National Monument (Chiricahua NM) and Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Fort Bowie NHS). Park Service personnel also emphasized the importance, through this project, of establishing better working relationships between themselves and Chiricahua Apache people. Park Service personnel emphasized that the underlying intent of this project was to provide information and establish contacts that would allow them better to "interpret" in a culturally sensitive manner at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS. They stressed that they were interested in adding an "Apache perspective" to their interpretive programs and in "reintroducing" Chiricahua Apaches to Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS.

In Chapter One, Mark Sechrist, with a contribution by Craig Williams, provides a summary of treaties, laws, executive orders, and other policies and practices of the U.S. government that specify obligations of Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS managers to federally-recognized Indian tribes with ties to the area. An appendix of treaties, executive orders, and laws relevant to Chiricahua Apaches and other Native Americans is attached at the end of this report.

In Chapter Two, Mark Sechrist provides cultural resources managers at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS with a summary and synthesis of previous archaeological work done within Site and Monument boundaries. He tabulates and summarizes the number and types of projects undertaken, including the amount of land area the projects involved, and the number and types of archaeological resources discovered. The purpose of this chapter is to identify responsibilities Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS have to present-day Native Americans, particularly Chiricahua Apaches. Therefore, Sechrist considers the results of previous archaeological investigations in terms of their potential to inform on issues relevant to Apache history.

Chapter Three, also by Mark Sechrist, provides archaeology project descriptions at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS. For each project, Sechrist presents the project number, clearance number, date conducted, type, location area, results, information source, and project description.

Chapter Four, by Scott Rushforth, provides a relatively extensive timeline of Chiricahua Apache history from first contact with Spaniards to recent times. Rushforth constructed this timeline using historical and ethnographic sources that are incorporated in this monograph's annotated bibliography. The timeline reports dates, events in Apache history, and sources from which accounts of the events are taken. Rushforth's aim was to provide as neutral as possible a summary of events, without adopting a Spanish, Mexican, American, or Apache perspective. This goal is, of course, impossible to achieve since virtually all archival records, accounts, reports, articles, and books are written from a non-Apache perspective. Even Rushforth's listing



of dates and events is skewed toward a non-Apache perspective, since the dates and events are precisely those identified by non-Apaches as significant.

Chapter Five, by Rick Hendricks with a contribution by Becki A. R. Graham, provides a brief Chiricahua Apache military history. Hendricks summarizes largely aggressive contact between Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans with the Apaches. Hendricks also reviews events after the Chiricahua Apaches were sent as prisoners of war to Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma, 1886 – 1913. Graham summarizes the history of the Chiricahua Apache Reservation, 1872 – 1876.

Chapter Six, by Becki A. R. Graham and Scott Rushforth, surveys basic characteristics of the Chiricahua Apache mode of production. This survey focuses primarily on the period from 1540 to 1870 – the period between entry of Spanish explorers into the Southwest and U. S. relocation of Apaches to reservations in Arizona and New Mexico. In this overview, Graham and Rushforth incorporate discussion of basic Chiricahua values and features of Chiricahua social and political organization as they integrate with Apache subsistence and economy.

The Chiricahua Apache mode of production shared many features with a generalized "forager mode of production." Among the most important characteristics that Graham and Rushforth discuss are:

- An economy based on gathering, hunting, trading, raiding, and agriculture.
- A detailed technical knowledge of the landscape, including resident plants, animals, and other crucial resources such as water.
- A detailed knowledge of the "social landscape," which incorporated not only non-Apache indigenous peoples, but also Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American immigrants.
- A division of labor based on gender and age.
- Mobility.
- Disengagement from private property.
- Egalitarian values such as self-reliance, industriousness, reciprocity, and generosity.
- Informal, situational, leadership based on an individual's abilities and good character.
- The fundamental significance of kinship and marriage.
- The existence of a "social field" based on common kinship, marriage, practice, belief, value, territory, and language that created potential for actual Chiricahua Apache interactions.

Chapter Seven, by Aaron Sharratt and Scott Rushforth, follows up on the notion that gathering wild plants was among the most productive features of Apache subsistence and economy. Accordingly, Sharratt and Rushforth provide information about plants that Apaches used for subsistence and other purposes. They suggest that Apache wild plant collecting had these characteristics:

- Wild plant gathering was usually done by women, individually or in groups.
- Apaches gathered wild plants from spring to fall and spent much of the summer focused on this activity.

- Wild plant gathering required socioeconomic mobility since various plants ripened in different places and at different times. Apache families and local groups moved to those locations.
- Apaches used, for example, digging sticks, cactus tongs, knives, poles, and baskets for wild plant gathering.
- Apaches stored some gathered crops, but women took most crops home for relatively immediate consumption.
- Mescal (*Agave parryi*, *Agave palmeri*, and *Agave couesii*) was the most important wild food plant for the Apaches. It was used for food, beverages, needles, lances, and fiddles.
- Acorns, walnuts, piñon nuts, mesquite pods, cacti fruit, sunflower seeds, juniper berries, and other seeds and plants were also important foods.

Chapter Eight is a partially annotated bibliography of literature about Chiricahua and other Apaches. Scott Rushforth, Aaron Sharratt, and Becki Graham compiled and annotated the bibliography. Mark Sechrist and Rick Hendricks each contributed several annotated entries. The bibliography includes references concerning Chiricahua Apache history, culture, language, and archaeology.

In addition to this monograph, several activities contributed to the objectives of this grant-funded project. First, Rushforth accompanied Chiricahua Apache people to Fort Bowie NHS and Chiricahua NM on five separate occasions. On the first three occasions, Rushforth and his colleagues, including Silas Cochise, Tazalyn Cochise, Joseph Geronimo, Thurman Paz, and Ellyn Bigrope met with Park Service personnel and toured relevant sites at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS.

On the fourth occasion, Rushforth, Ellyn Bigrope, and Arden Comanche met with Park Service personnel, including Dave Evans and Larry Ludwig, to rebury the remains of an Apache woman found in Granary Cave south of Fort Bowie NHS.

On the fifth occasion, approximately 500 descendants of Chiricahua Apaches returned as a group to the Chiricahua Mountains for the first time since their ancestors were removed as prisoners of war (1886) and sent east to Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. Rushforth, Oliver Enjady (a Mescalero Apache Tribal Council Member and descendant of Chiricahua Apache prisoners of war), and Holly Houghton (Historical Preservation Officer for the Mescalero Apache Tribe) organized the activity. Funds supporting the trip were provided by this grant, the United States Forest Service, and the Mescalero Apache Tribe. The Amerind Foundation provided a meal for participants.

On this visit, Chiricahua Apaches participated in a two-day ceremony during which Mountain Spirit Dancers blessed the people and the mountains. Apache people also visited Fort Bowie NHS, Chiricahua NM, Pinery Canyon, Sulphur Springs, the Dragoon Mountains, the Cochise Stronghold, the Amerind Foundation Museum, and Tombstone, Arizona. From the perspective of many Apache people, this event was an occasion for them to renew spiritual ties to their homeland. Many parents introduced their children to the Chiricahua Mountains. From the perspective of several Park Service personnel, this was an occasion for them to meet Apache people and establish working relationships with them. If the Park Service funded this project, in

part, to (1) establish such relationships, (2) "reintroduce" Chiricahua Apaches to Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS, and (3) enhance Park Service interpretive programs, it is difficult to imagine a more important and successful event than the blessing ceremony.

In addition to this monograph and Apache visits to the Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS, Dave Evans, a member of the Park Service staff, visited and met with Chiricahua Apaches at the Mescalero Apache Reservation on two occasions. Rushforth organized both meetings. On the first occasion, Evans met with the Chiricahua Apache Prisoner of War Committee to discuss this project and to offer his help to the Committee, if they wanted it. On the second visit, Evans met with Chiricahua Apache people and members of the Mescalero Apache Tribal Council to plan the blessing feast in Arizona. Both meetings appear to have been highly successful. Based on Rushforth's discussions with several Apache people who attended the meetings, they greatly appreciated Evans's help and offer of cooperation. They are more than willing to continue a cooperative working relationship with the Park Service and are especially interested in working with Evans.

To aid in culturally sensitive interpretations at the Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS, the Mescalero Apache Tribe is submitting with this monograph a short documentary film entitled, "Ndé Bikéeyá, Chiricahua Apache Homeland." In this documentary, Silas Cochise, Oliver Enjady, and Hesston Enjady talk about:

- The continuing significance of the Chiricahua Apache homeland to Apache people.
- The loss of their land during the 1870s and 1880s.
- Their ancestors' removal from Arizona as prisoners of war and, after twenty-seven years of imprisonment, eventual placement on the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico.
- The significance to them and other Apache people of maintaining ties and responsibilities to the Chiricahua Mountain landscape. Hesston Enjady discusses the crucial significance to younger generations of such ties and responsibilities.

This film, "Ndé Bikéeyá, Chiricahua Apache Homeland," was not part of the original scope-of-work for this project and was funded primarily through university, Tribal, and private funding sources. Consequently, the Tribe has requested, and will hold, all copyrights related to the ownership, use, and distribution of this video. Since work on this film and the film itself were offered as companions to product and work conducted under the original task agreement, Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS are free to use the video in their interpretive programs. Requests for any additional use or distribution should be made directly to the Mescalero Apache Tribe.

Finally, in keeping with the idea that Chiricahua NM, Fort Bowie NHS, and the Mescalero Apache Tribe, particularly its Chiricahua Apache members, will continue to interact, Chiricahua descendants and other tribal members have suggested to me that the Tribe's specific interests in Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS include, but are not limited to the following:

- Plants.
- Animals.
- Roasting Pits.

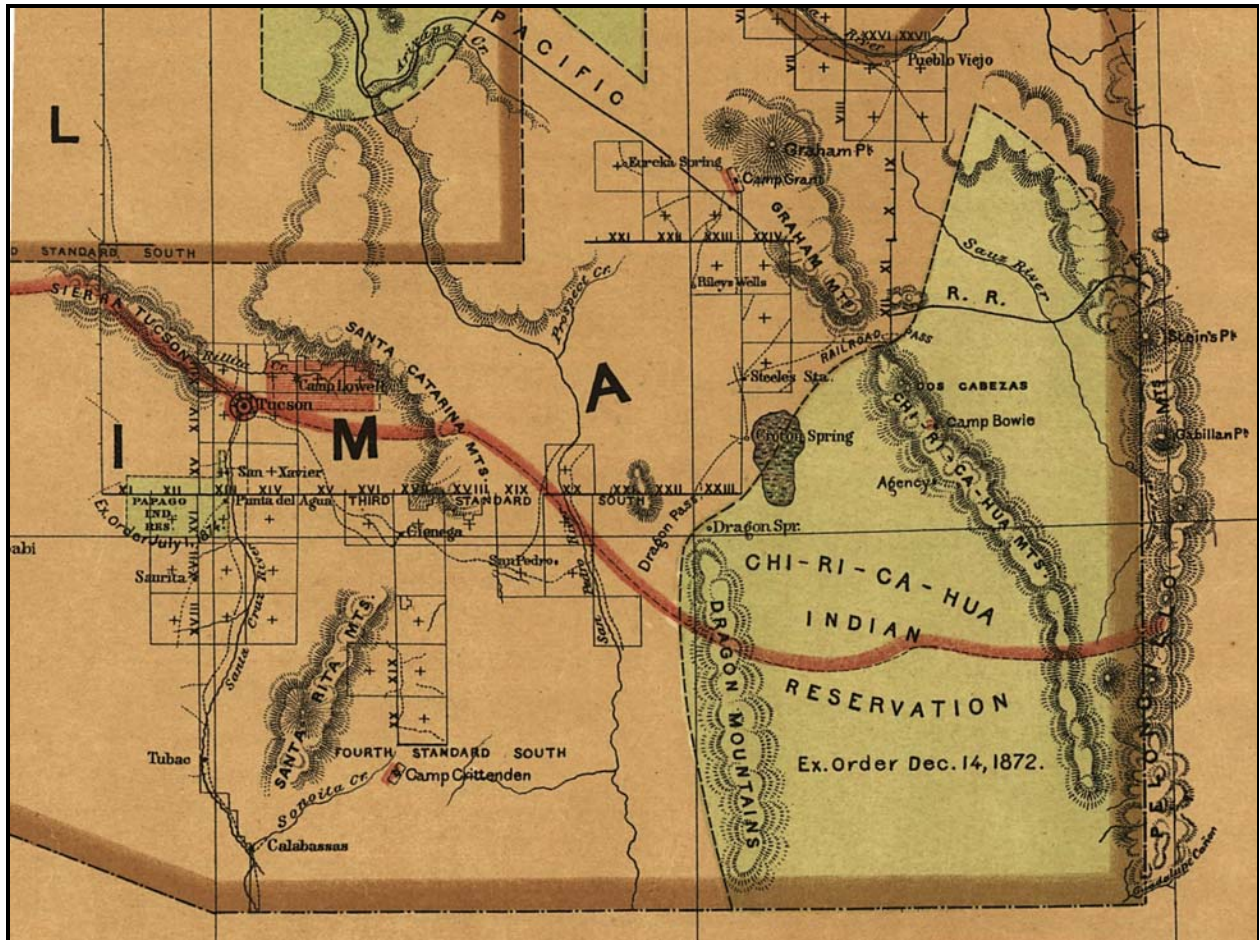
- Rock art.
- Water.
- Caves.
- Cultural artifacts.
- The names of places within Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS.
- Unencumbered access by enrolled tribal members to Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS for cultural activities including, but not limited to plant harvesting and visiting sites of significance to the Apaches.

Chiricahua tribal members suggest that Chiricahua NM, Fort Bowie NHS, and the Mescalero Apache Tribe agree to promote, facilitate, and establish proper procedures for the following:

- Continued cooperation and collaboration between Chiricahua NM, Fort Bowie NHS, and the Mescalero Apache Tribe.
- Environmental protection and the protection of cultural properties.
- Adding Apache interpretations, provided and controlled by the Tribe, to Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS interpretive materials and presentations.
- Unencumbered access to the Site and Monument by enrolled tribal members, recognizing concerns with safety.
- The sale of Apache arts and crafts at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS.
- The employment of Mescalero tribal members at the Site and Monument, especially in areas of cultural and historical interpretation.
- The education and training of non-Apache personnel at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS concerning Apache perspectives and the proper way in which to interact with Apache people, especially Apache elders.
- The addition of proper Apache place names for areas at Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS.



Figure 1. Apache Peoples of the Southwest (Ives Goddard)



**Figure 2.** Chiricahua Indian Reservation Detail, Territory of Arizona, 1876 (U.S. Department of the Interior; David Rumsey Historical Map Collection)



# Chapter One. Treaties and Legal Obligations between the U.S. Government and the Chiricahua Apaches

Mark Sechrist and Craig Williams

## Introduction

This section discusses treaties, laws, executive orders, and other policies and practices of the U.S. government that specify certain obligations by the managers of Chiricahua National Monument (Chiricahua NM) and Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Fort Bowie NHS) to federally-recognized Indian tribes with ties to the area. Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS are located in the Chiricahua Mountains of southeastern Arizona, homeland for the southern (Chokonen) Chiricahua Apache.

Apache ancestry in the Chiricahua Mountains area, based on historical documents, dates to at least the late 1600s. Apaches' ties are most obvious due to their dominance in historical times. Several other tribes may have ancestral claims to the region as well. In 1764, a Jesuit missionary indicated that the term Chiricahua is based on an Opatá word, and that the Chiricahua Mountains were part of the Opatá nation (Wilson 1995:9, citing Nentvig 1980). Jano, Jocomé, and Suma were names applied by the Spanish to probably non-Apachean, nomadic hunter-gatherers in the region (Wilson 1995:33, citing Hammond and Rey 1940). Sumas used the Chiricahua Mountains for refuge in 1684 (*ibid*: 9-10). Indications that O'odham (Piman) peoples or their ancestors may have also used or had relations with the area is suggested by some archaeological material (e.g. Morris et al 1980; Schuetz 1984) and accounts about Sobaipuris who bordered this region on the west during Spanish colonial times (Wilson 1995:35). In 1695, Fernández de la Fuente campaigned against a confederation of Apache, Jano, Jocomé, Suma, Chinarra, and Manso resistors in the Chiricahua Mountains (Naylor and Polzer 1986:585). Other than the Apaches, descendents of these latter groups are now largely absorbed within the Mexican and American populations except, perhaps, for some non-federally recognized Mansos living near Tortugas, New Mexico (near Las Cruces). By the 1730s, Spanish forces succeeded at separating and resettling the non-Apaches after which time they recognized only the Apaches as occupying this region (Wilson 1995:37, citing Karns [Manje] 1954; Naylor and Polzer 1986).

Below is a summary of U.S. government treaties, legislation, and developed policies that have affected and continue to affect Apaches' relationship with their homeland in the Chiricahua Mountains. Copies of the legal documents appear in Appendices A-N.

## Nineteenth Century: Containment and Removal

The United States government began political interaction with Apache groups during its conflict with Mexico in the late 1840s. Apaches initially were agreeable to and cooperative with Americans, in part, because of Apaches' longstanding general enmity with Mexico (Perry 1993:88-89, 97). Later, conflicts between Apaches and Americans arose as greater numbers of Americans migrated into the Southwest and sought to sequester critical resources and landscapes for their own uses, often outside the control of their own government. The United States, as a

nation pulled along by the split dynamic of conquest capitalism and liberal humanism, often put forth inconsistent policies and practices toward Indian groups (e.g. Bancroft 1962[1889]:553; Utley 1977:41). The Apaches, whose interrelations and territory spanned several cultures and now the international boundary with Mexico, were not naïve about such conflicted behavior within groups, neither from the Americans nor amongst themselves. Chiricahua leader Cochise maintained peace among his group with the Americans, but did not promise it with Mexico (Robinson 2003:468-470), making his homeland a haven for raiders both within and outside his group (McChristian 2005:148,154-158). Similarly, the U.S. government had to contend with its own renegade citizens who exploited, encroached upon, and committed atrocities upon Apaches (e.g. the Camp Grant Massacre [Thrapp 1967:87-94]), as well as with the traditionally decentralized and autonomous Apaches (Opler 1983:411).

Throughout history, relations between the U.S. government and Apaches can probably best be characterized as inconstant in philosophy and in practice. Perhaps this was perpetuated because each side could at times benefit by leveraging both their own and the others' inconsistencies as political bodies. For example, Apaches' subgroup and individual autonomy—probably the key characteristic that defied attempts to treat Apaches as one political body—could sometimes serve to diffuse blame for raids and violent acts when the individuals responsible could not be specifically identified. That independence was also exploited by the military who recruited some Apaches to scout and fight against other Apaches. Apache local group autonomy allowed for separate, at times conflicting, agreements to exist between Apaches and military, government, and immigrant groups.

When the right chemistry of leadership personalities existed (e.g., Cochise with General O. O. Howard and agent Thomas Jeffords), a relatively stable coexistence ensued for several years with Apaches having a secured reservation in the Peloncillo, Chiricahua, and Dragoon Mountains and the Americans having relatively peaceful enterprises in the surroundings. However, the Americans were not whole-hearted or consistent in their treatment of the Apaches; and after Cochise's death, no one maintained his relatively unified control on the Apache side. The disunity and strife among Cochise's group after his death was answered by the U.S. government in 1876 with a swing back to more authoritarian military control, resulting in the termination of the Chiricahua reservation and Apaches' legal right to live there (McChristian 2005:164). But, for those "renegade" Apaches unwilling to submit to U.S. authority, southeastern Arizona may have remained a haven. Even after Geronimo's final surrender, in 1886, some very small parties of Apaches continued to inhabit the mountains south of the international boundary in Mexico well into the 20th century and possibly made occasional forays into southeastern Arizona, (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000; Meed 1993). Chroniclers attributed a series of incidents in 1896 to Apaches, rightly or wrongly, and cowboys and soldiers sighted camps supposed to be Apache in the Chiricahua and neighboring mountains (Wilson 1995:129).

### **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase Treaty**

United States administration of Chiricahua Apache territory officially began after the Mexican-American war in the middle 1800s with U.S. acquisition of large tracts of the desert and mountain southwest. In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American war but the two nations did not have a firm boundary until they negotiated the Gadsden Treaty in 1854 (Rittenhouse 1965; Walker and Bufkin 1986). Officials intended the Gadsden Treaty to

settle disagreements about territory and maintain peace between the U.S. and Mexico. The U.S. had imperial and economic designs on the southwest primarily for a transportation route to the Pacific (Sacks 1964:5). On June 30, 1854, U.S. appointee James Gadsden and Mexican officials Don Manuel Diez de Bonilla, Don Jose Salazar y Larregui, and General Mariano Monterde composed the Gadsden Treaty, which designated a new boundary between the U.S. and Mexico. A joint commission surveyed and marked the boundary in 1854-1855 (Emory 1857).

Fully aware of the problem each country had with the Apache practice of raiding, part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Article XI) stipulated that the U.S. would forcibly prevent or punish incursions by Indians from the U.S. into Mexico. In addition, the treaty made it unlawful for U.S. citizens to buy captives (i.e. slaves) or property (livestock, etc.) taken from Mexico by Indians of either the U.S. or Mexico. Finally, the treaty promises that the U.S. will take special care to prevent Indians fleeing (presumably into Mexico) lands they reside in because of U.S. citizens' settlement and Indian relocation plans.

### **Treaty with the Apache, 1852**

The U.S. government only made one actual treaty with the Apaches of New Mexico Territory (which at the time included southeastern Arizona). It was signed on July 1, 1852 in Santa Fe (Kappler 1904a). Signatories included seven Apache "chiefs," including Mangas Coloradas for the region north of the Gila River, but not Cochise, leaving the Apaches of southeastern Arizona unbound by its strictures but thus subject to military treatment. It, in part, represented an extension of policies agreed upon between Mexico and the U.S. in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo over the issue of Apaches using the international border as a foil to thwart government efforts at curtailing Apache raiding (e.g. McChristian 2005:154). This treaty was a first step toward officiating U.S.-Apache relations in that it bound the Apaches to submit to the laws of the United States in exchange for mutual amity, judicial process, and "such donations, presents, and implements, and...other liberal and humane measures as said government may deem meet and proper" (Article 10; Kappler 1904a:599; see Appendix A).

It was also a first step toward containment. Article 5 committed Apache groups to end their raiding in Mexico and to surrender any of their remaining Mexican captives. Article 2 restricted them from giving aid to others hostile to the U.S. Article 6 appears designed to contain certain Apache cultural practices by specifying that officials would take legal measures against U.S. citizens who mistreated Apaches. This nominally provided Apaches some legal recourse against abuses, but it may have also sought to obviate Apache vengeance practices (that presumably exacerbated hostilities).

Most importantly, Article 9 specified that the government would "designate, settle, and adjust their [Apaches'] territorial boundaries, and pass and execute in their territory such laws as may be deemed conducive to the prosperity and happiness of said Indians" (Kappler 1904a:599). This asserted the government's paternalistic attitude and policy of acculturation toward Indians and set the stage for the U.S. to designate and enforce reservations containing Apaches.



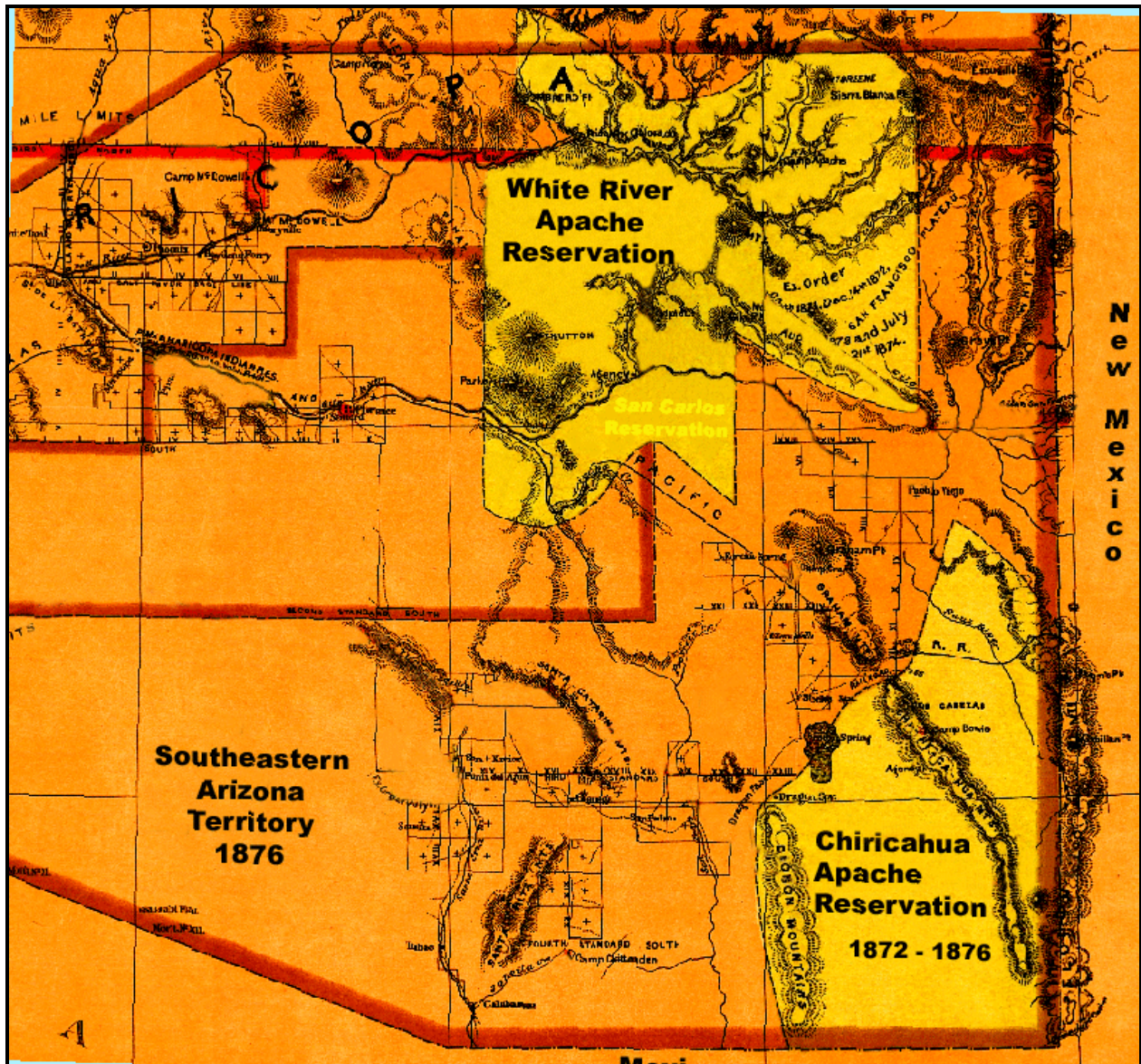


Figure 3. Chiricahua Reservation 1872-1876 (Library of Congress)

### Chiricahua Reservation, 1872-1876

After the Confederacy claimed part of it for a short time, Arizona became a U.S. territory of its own in 1863. Its potential mineral wealth prompted intensive military activity with an intent to conquer the Apaches (McChristian 2005:45, 76-77). Expansion of mining and railroad industries in Arizona Territory increasingly strained relations between Apaches and American settlers. War broke out in 1861 over the mistreatments resulting from the “Bascom Affair” that prompted Cochise and his band to become deadly enemies of Americans (McChristian 2005).

After a decade of war, Cochise proposed the establishment of a local reservation for his group to General O. O. Howard (McChristian 2005:146). By this time, Congress had abolished treaty making with Indians (in 1871) because of humanitarian and congressional objections (Prucha 1975:136). On December 14, 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant, by Executive Order, created the

Chiricahua Reservation based on an agreement struck between General O. O. Howard and Cochise. It specified a territory encompassing the Dragoon, Chiricahua, and much of the Peloncillo Mountains, securing this portion of Chokonon homeland from outside encroachment and promising peace and some provision (of food, clothes, tools) to the Apaches who remained peaceably within it (Kappler 1904b; see Appendix B and Figure 3).

The Chiricahua Reservation succeeded at maintaining some peace in southeastern Arizona mainly due to the leadership of Cochise and agent Thomas Jeffords. But, it was fraught with difficulties including ration shortages due to supply problems and temporary population increases created by visiting Apache relatives, poor agricultural potential, whiskey trade and abuse, and illnesses. Constant pressure to terminate the reservation or at least put it under military control came from White settlers and military officials. Many tenets of Howard's agreement with Cochise were not recorded (McChristian 2005: 154), but many Anglo Americans opposed it as too liberal and enabling the continuation of raiding (ibid: 157). These critics contended that the Chiricahua Reservation provided an easy and unregulated haven for Apaches raiding Mexican and Arizona settlements (ibid: 149, 154-163). Cochise did not promise peace with Mexico and his group, as well as other Apaches residing in the Sierra Madre (e.g. Juh's band), probably were responsible for ongoing raids there. Cochise honored his agreement by maintaining peace with the U.S. There were no reports of hostility on the reservation itself and Cochise's group could not be clearly blamed for raids within the U.S.

Even after Cochise's death in 1874, his eldest son, Taza, with Jeffords' help, continued the peace and military officials even proposed abandoning Fort Bowie (ibid:159, 161). But, in 1876, when the government reduced beef supplies to the reservation, at a time when it was taxed by outside visitors seeking asylum from their own reservation difficulties, Jeffords sanctioned a hunting expedition. Some of the men had an argument during the hunt and two were killed, ultimately causing a split in the group between those with Taza and those with Skin-ya. Skin-ya later joined with some White Mountain people on a raid into Sonora, his brother was subsequently involved in the killing of two illegal whiskey providers, and they both later tried to persuade Taza and Naiche (Cochise's other son) to join them. Another fight ensued in which six men were killed, but Taza maintained his adherence to peace with the Whites (ibid: 161-163; see also Thrapp 1967:168-170). These incidents were nominally the reason for the government's forcing Chiricahuas to leave their reservation (ibid: 163-164). Underlying the local issues was the constant desire by the government to secure a railroad route through southern Arizona, connecting wealthy California to the rest of the nation, and to exploit Arizona's mineral resources unimpeded (e.g. Perry 1993:145-146).

In May of 1876, some of the Chiricahua Apaches were taken to the San Carlos and Ojo Caliente reservations (ibid. 163-64), while other groups (Juh and Geronimo) rejected resettlement and escaped to old mountain homelands between the Mimbres and Santa Cruz rivers (ibid. 164). On October 30, 1876, President Grant succumbed to the pressures against the Chiricahua Reservation and issued an Executive Order canceling it and ceding its lands to the public domain (Kappler 1904b; see Appendix C).

## **Post-Reservation Chiricahua Land**

Termination of the Chiricahua reservation ended the U.S. government's commitment to maintain and protect these boundaries for the exclusive use of Apaches, but it did not in fact end Apaches' tenancy in and dominance over the region. "Renegade" Chiricahuas returned to the area to live and pursue raiding (McChristian 2004:165). After 1876, U.S. policy for the southern Chiricahuas was essentially one of removal. Those who resisted were ultimately made prisoners of war.

Although Apaches no longer had any federally recognized legal tenure in southeastern Arizona, some apparently were still active there. Reporters and others indiscriminately credited the "Apache Kid" and Massai with a variety of raids and killings in southern Arizona and New Mexico in the 1890s (McChristian 2005:257-267; Wharfield 1965; Wilson 1995:128). In 1896, the Army pursued bands of presumed Apaches out of the Chiricahua and Huachuca mountains (Wilson 1995:129). "Bronco Apaches" centered in the northern Sierra Madres are alleged to have raided livestock in the same areas in the 1920s (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000). Some families of Apaches who did not surrender with Geronimo in 1886 apparently maintained a relatively free and traditional existence in the mountains of Mexico (McChristian 2005:266). Some were blamed for livestock raids and the murder/kidnap of part of the Fimbres family in northern Mexico in 1927 (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000; Ingstad 2004; Meed 1993; Opler 1973: 48, 50, 55-56, 62). Apaches were said to be extant in the northern Sierra Madre even into the mid-20th century (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000; Lister and Lister 1966, citing Almada 1945, 1955). They or Apaches from U.S. reservations could have easily roamed and lived unnoticed in southeastern Arizona, especially after the U.S. removed Chiricahuas' prisoner of war status in 1913 and granted them U.S. citizenship in 1924 (Prucha 1975:218). Some White Mountain Apaches made trips into the Fort Huachuca and Patagonia area for agave and trade with Mexicans in the nineteen-teens (Watt 2004:59-60,62).

## **The Twentieth Century and a New Commitment: Resource Preservation and Consultation**

With Indians in the United States confined or eliminated by the turn of the twentieth century, the burgeoning U.S. citizenry subjected the landscape to unprecedented agricultural, industrial, and population pressures. Budding ideals of stewardship emerged to protect increasingly threatened landscapes, landmarks, ecosystems, and historical legacies. Later, these ideals began to merge with concerns over ethnic minorities' civil rights. Eventually Congress began to recognize the inseparability of Native Americans' cultural practices and the integrity of their ancestral lands and cultural patrimony.

The government initially implemented historic preservation laws to protect and preserve historical and archaeological properties as scientific subject matter—as "cultural resources" or "historic properties." Cultural resources were originally defined as material remains that have relevance to the past and recent human behavior (King 1998: 6). Early historic preservation laws only tangentially suggest interaction with Native Americans to fulfill their goals. More recently, the concept of cultural resource has expanded to include non-tangible things such as cultural practices, beliefs, and folkways, or contextual things like natural resources and landscapes, that are associated with specific places (King 2004:8-9; 2003:68-71,82-83).

Now, several historic preservation laws, regulations, and policies mandate notification and consultation of Native Americans by government agencies for land management decisions on both tribal and other federally owned or federally affected lands (King 2004:277). These laws, regulations, and policies give federally recognized tribes a say in management decisions over affiliated/ancestral lands, artifacts, and human remains held by the Federal government. They also provide for Native Americans' access to federally owned lands for traditional practices. They recognize historical and archaeological properties as more than static objects for scientific study. They acknowledge Native American practices that involve ongoing interaction with the material of their heritage and they specify channels for Native Americans to interact with and participate in the management of their ancestral homelands and cultural patrimony.

By policy and practice, consultations have been variable and evolving in intensity and scope. The laws and guidelines do not specify exactly how consultation should proceed (although numerous publications and training seminars are now available), but it is clear that the spirit of the law (as tested by legal challenges) requires rigorous and active discourse between Federal agencies and tribal members. Some land managers try to expedite the process by working within the minimal letter of the law and only through bureaucratic channels. That presumed expediency can be lost, though, when later legal challenges are brought by groups or subgroups not fully included in the process (see Parker and King 1993; King 2004).

Following are summaries of relevant legislation, executive orders, policies, and regulations with emphasis on those aspects that indicate consultation with Native Americans by land-managing and other agencies. Many of the later ones are interrelated and invoke each other's authorities in a way that intertwines policy. Approaches toward a unified process for complying are discussed in depth by King (2004, 2004) that are ultimately the most effective and most efficient.

### **Antiquities Act of 1906**

The Antiquities Act of 1906 (16 USC 431-433) was the first put into law for the protection of cultural (or culturally important) resources (Appendix D). Under this law, the President is authorized to declare lands controlled by the government that contain historic or prehistoric structures, historic landmarks, or anything of scientific interest to the public as national monuments. The president may do this by executive order without congressional approval. It was most recently implemented by President Clinton in 1997 to designate the Stairstep-Escalante National Monument in Utah (King 2004:368)—significantly affecting its Federal management status and potentially affecting tribal interactions with it.

Under the Antiquities Act, any person who damages, appropriates, destroys, or excavates any historic or prehistoric ruin on government land without permission of the Secretary of Interior or department of government with jurisdiction over the land can be fined no more than \$500.00 or imprisoned for no more than 90 days. It authorizes the secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and Army to grant permits with rules and regulations for excavation or gathering of objects to qualified institutions. However, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 supersedes these aspects of the act and provides greater protective power (King 2004:368; see below).

On April 18, 1924, President Calvin Coolidge signed a proclamation establishing the nearly 13,000-acre Chiricahua National Monument (NM) as authorized by the Antiquities Act of 1906. The proclamation indicated that further use of the area within the Coronado National Forest was not prohibited, but that unauthorized persons were not allowed to appropriate, deface, injure, remove, or destroy any feature within the National Monument nor could anyone settle on any lands reserved by this proclamation. He created this monument for its scenic geological aspects rather than for its archaeological sites or cultural importance to Apaches. On August 30, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the 1000-acre Fort Bowie National Historic Site (NHS) because of its historical value. As such, these proclamations afford Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS the full measure of protections provided by Federal historic preservation laws. Their establishment as monuments does not mean that compliance with the laws is finished. Since their management and maintenance needs are ongoing, they must still comply with the tenets of the laws that created them and later laws requiring consultation and consideration prior to “actions” or “undertakings.” The proclamations that created Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS did not make specific policy concerning Apache groups’ relationships to these areas (email communication from H. David Evans, 21 September 2006) but Apache occupations are part of the cultural resources of both areas (Bucher et al. 2004, Schuetz 1984, Tagg et al. 1987).

### **Historic Sites Act of 1935**

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 USC 461-467; as amended) was initially a program under the National Park Service for the documentation, collection, and management of objects for interpretation and commemoration of national history (King 2004:20). The act, made into law on August 21, 1935, has seven sections (Appendix E) that include declaring a national policy for the preservation and protection of significant objects (Section 1), empowering the Secretary of the Interior (Section 2), authorizing formation of an advisory board (Section 3), and authorizing funds (Section 6).

The language of this act foregrounds the authority of technical experts and scholars in terms of managing properties. Section 2(c) instructs the National Park Service to investigate and research its properties “to obtain true and accurate historical and archaeological facts....” Other parts authorize restoration and maintenance (2(f)), erecting tablets to mark and commemorate (2(g)), and developing an educational program (2(j)). Section 3(a) specifies the makeup of the advisory board to include scholars in historical, biological, and geological fields, as well as financial and management experts and recommends they consult with scholarly and professional organizations. Section 4 authorizes the Secretary to cooperate with and accept assistance from Federal, state, or municipal departments, institutions (whether educational or scientific), patriotic associations, or individuals. Although present-day historical and archaeological practice would probably seek Native American input to accomplish some of these goals, none of the sections or subsections actually specifies or even suggests consulting with Indian tribes, whether for interpretive data or site management input.

### **National Historic Preservation Act**

Study and preservation of historical and archaeological sites into the post-World War II period was variable as conducted by different Federal agencies and voluntary private entities (King 2004:19-21). Rapid expansion of urban areas and destruction of lands for economic development necessitated a large-scale, more systematic effort to investigate and protect cultural resources.



The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (16 USC 470; as amended; NHPA) was passed to directly enroll the Federal government into the process of preserving historic sites and properties. It is a broad-scoped act that outlines the Federal government's leadership role for administering management policies over significant historic properties and also for establishing relationships with interested parties, including Indian tribes. It mandates a process by which Federal agencies must consider cultural resources on lands they own or for projects they sponsor, fund, or permit. The NHPA is foundational legislation that is also invoked by other authorities and intertwined with other legislation and policies. It is one of the most important laws concerning Native Americans' relationships to their ancestral lands.

Introductory wording (Section 1) in the NHPA declares the importance of national heritage, as it is embodied in places and things, toward providing "spirit and direction" and "orientation" to the citizens. Initially, the act only softly mandates interaction with Indian tribes (among others) as a relationship involving "assistance" and "partnership" for preservation goals. Introductory text in Section 2 states that government policy will provide leadership in the preservation of prehistoric and historic resources "in partnership" with Indian tribes (and other more local governments; Section 2(2)), and "assist... Indian tribes" (and others) "to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programs and activities" (Section 2(6)).

This terminology drawn out to its ultimate import actually mandates very rigorous interaction with Indian tribes. More recent evolution of the NHPA through later amendments, interpretations, and policies has established a robust policy for Federal agencies consulting and collaborating with Indian tribes about cultural resources management.

At its core, the NHPA authorizes the Secretary of Interior to maintain and expand a National Register of Historic Places (the National Register or the NRHP) that includes districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that are "important" (also, interchangeably, "significant"). Placement on, or eligibility to<sup>3</sup>, the National Register affords a property a level of additional consideration in terms of how it may be used that generally, but not necessarily, amounts to its receiving enhanced protection and preservation (but see King 2004:126-127, 133-135; 2003: 13, 159). A historic property's placement on or eligibility to the National Register requires that agencies must "take into consideration" how their activities might adversely affect the property's historical significance. Two sections (Sections 106 and 110) within the NHPA and its regulations mandate a process to identify and evaluate historic properties to determine whether they are important. Section 106 requires a series of steps to determine if a proposed action will have an adverse effect on historic properties. It also provides a process to evaluate whether historic properties are important (or "significant"), warranting protective or mitigating measures. Section 110 requires Federal agencies to inventory and evaluate the importance of historic properties on their lands or lands under their jurisdiction.

Importance (also, often interchangeably, "significance") is a quality found "in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture" in the form of "districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association" (36 CFR 60.4, emphases added). Properties must have these qualities and meet one or all of four criteria specified in 36 CFR 60.4 (summarized here):

- Is the property associated with important events?
- Is the property associated with important people?
- Does the property represent a distinctive type, period, construction method, or have artistic value (usually applied to buildings and structures)?
- Has the property yielded or is it likely to yield important data to history or prehistory (usually applied to archaeological sites)

In addition, seven “criteria considerations” generally exclude certain property types (cemeteries, birthplaces, graves, religious properties, reconstructed or moved buildings, commemorative properties, and properties less than 50 years old). Evaluating a property by these criteria is part of what is called the Section 106 process, a process that had evolved in concert with the needs and methodological advances of the historical disciplines (e.g. history, archaeology). National Register Bulletin 15 provides basic guidance.

### **Significance and Traditional Cultural Properties**

The Section 106 process now not only refers to scholar-based scientific-inquiry values but also to values of peoples who may have important cultural relationships to a place (King 2004:112-113,114-115,117,120,122). The concept of “culture” specified in 36 CFR 60.4 (Parker and King 1990[National Register Bulletin 38]:1, 22) in part allows a broadness of interpretation encompassing traditional values of many Indian tribes. In addition, the concepts of “feeling” and “association” is congruous with the close interrelationship between places and traditional practices for many tribes (e.g. Basso 1996; see also King 2003:92-96). That places can be more than commemorative (King 2003:14) and that they are often embodied with cultural meanings woven into ongoing cultural practices has been recognized by government regulators and incorporated into the NHPA (Section 101(d) (6) (A and B) and Section 110(a) (E) (ii); see also 36 CFR 800.2(c) (B) (ii) and 36 CFR 800.4). For Federal land managers, incorporating this concept of properties’ “traditional cultural significance” (Parker and King 1990; see also King 2003) into the process of evaluating historical significance requires not just the input but also often a more overarching leadership role by Indian tribes. Traditional cultural significance does not so much add a criterion to the evaluation process as it expands the application of the criteria to be relevant in varying cultural contexts.

### **National Environmental Policy Act**

The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 USC 4321-4347; as amended), or NEPA, is a broad-scoped act intended to authorize governmental protection of the physical and also the “human environment” (King 2004:51). Language within the act clearly indicates intent to address not just ecological issues but also issues concerning historical and socio-cultural relationships to the environment (Section 101(b) (4) and Section 102(A); King 2004:56; 2003:286-287).

The NEPA stipulates evaluation of actions that are carried out by, approved by permit or other regulatory decision, assisted by, or funded by (in whole or part, directly or indirectly) the Federal government (King 2004:54). The NEPA process (typically through “environmental assessments” [EA] or “environmental impact statements” [EIS]) evaluates both the proposed action and the physical and cultural aspects of the landscape involved. Actions are evaluated to determine

whether they will “...significantly affect the quality of the human environment” (ibid: 53). Evaluating the “significance”<sup>4</sup> of an action in terms of the historical or sociocultural environment entails a broad range of criteria applied to the place involved. These include whether the property has:

- any known or potential archaeological sites (including but not limited to National Register-listed or eligible sites),
- places with traditional cultural value for Native Americans (or others),
- a role in rural land use,
- a role in any religious practice,
- places identified as having high potential to contain Native American cultural items (ibid: 58-59).

Consultation with potentially affected groups is an intrinsic part of the NEPA process. Although passed shortly after the NHPA, the NEPA probably has a more prominent role in triggering consultation with Indian tribes because proposed actions often entail the NEPA earlier and in broader situations than the NHPA (King 2004:70). The NEPA’s regulations (40 CFR 1500-1508), in fact, essentially invoke compliance with the NHPA, including consideration of traditional cultural properties. Conversely, regulations for the NHPA also specify that agencies should coordinate their compliance with Section 106 of the NHPA within the NEPA process (36 CFR 800.8). However, when compliance issues arise, both NEPA and the NHPA are judged independently in the courts.

### **American Indian Religious Freedom Act**

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA; 42 USC 1996) arose as a corrective against past governmental suppression of Native American religious and cultural practices (King 2004:201). Congress passed the AIRFA in 1978 by a joint resolution. The AIRFA sets forth policy asserting the First Amendment rights of Native Americans to freely practice their religions, including “access to [religious] sites” (Section 1) and it directs Federal agencies to evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with native religious leaders and make appropriate changes to “preserve Native American religious cultural rights and practices” (Section 2). The AIRFA mandates that Federal officials consider Native American’s concerns; it does not require that agencies must adhere to their wishes. It requires only consultation but court cases have held that the scope of religious practices warranting consultation is fairly broad. The act applies not only to preservation of religious places but also to preserving religious practices. This means that historic properties associated with traditional religious practices are to be considered—an overlap with the NHPA’s traditional cultural properties directives (see King 2003:287)—but it also extends beyond historic properties to include such things as sacred mountain peaks or stands of plants used in ceremonies that may not have any other outward historical attributes (King 2004:202).

### **Executive Order 13007: Indian Sacred Sites**

The AIRFA directed agencies to evaluate their policies and procedures with respect to native religious practices and allowed them to implement some changes to accommodate such practices. In 1996, President William J. Clinton followed up with Executive Order 13007: Indian Sacred Sites (EO 13007). EO 13007 much more specifically directs Federal agencies to protect



sacred sites and accommodate Native Americans' access to them (Section 1). The order gives agencies some discretion to accommodate "to the extent practicable, permitted by law, and not clearly inconsistent with essential agency functions" (Section 1). It defines sacred sites (see Section 1(b) (iii)), with perhaps somewhat problematic language (see King 2004:203-205), but in terms perhaps more congruous with many Native American's values. As with the AIRFA, a property warranting protection may be identified through consultation or other means and need not necessarily fall under the purview of the NHPA processes (ibid:205).

### **Archaeological Resources Protection Act**

Congress passed the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) in 1979 (16 USC 470) with the main intention of protecting archaeological resources on public and Indian lands from unregulated private and commercial destruction. In terms of Federal-tribal relationships, the act essentially requires that Federal land managers notify and consult with relevant Indian tribes prior to permitting archaeological collection or excavation on public lands. The act serves multiple purposes. It demands cooperation among the government, archaeologists, and "private collectors" as a means to provide access to and bridge together the total material database collected by both scientific and unscientific collection and excavation, and perhaps as a means to build alliances within the interested private sector. It regulates who qualifies as a permittee (generally, trained, accredited professionals or scholars) to collect or excavate sites on public or Indian land and specifies ownership of the material recovered. It authorizes civil penalties against unpermitted removal of, damage to, and trafficking in archaeological resources. It allows agencies to keep the locations of archaeological sites confidential, withholding them from public disclosure (excepting as needed for consultation with Indians).

The ARPA clearly stipulates that the Federal agency notify and consult with Indian tribes prior to issuing a permit for archaeological collection or excavation<sup>5</sup>. Section 4(c) states that:

"If a permit issued under this section may result in harm to, or destruction of, any religious or cultural site, as determined by the Federal land manager, before issuing such permit, the Federal land manager shall notify any Indian tribe which may consider the site as having religious or cultural importance."

The act further allows land managers to meet with tribal representatives to discuss their interests and means of avoiding or mitigating damage to important sites. The ARPA's implementing regulations (43 CFR 7, for Department of Interior) charge land managers with the duty of identifying all Indian tribes having aboriginal or historic ties to Federal lands (Section 7(b)(1)). Regulations also logically indicate that land managers should take into consideration the provisions of the AIRFA when permitting archaeological projects (43 CFR 1(a)).

Supplemental regulations specific to the Department of Interior define sites "of religious or cultural importance" in more detail and in language generally congruous with many Native American value systems as:

...a location which has traditionally been considered important by an Indian tribe because of a religious event which happened there; because it contains specific natural products which are of religious or cultural importance; because it is

believed to be the dwelling place of, the embodiment of, or a place conducive to communication with spiritual beings; because it contains elements of life-cycle rituals, such as burials and associated materials; or because it has other specific and continuing significance in Indian religion or culture.” (43 CFR 7.32(a))

This aspect of the regulations clearly articulates with the traditional cultural property language of the NHPA.

### **Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act**

In 1989, Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA; 25 USC 3001-3013) to provide Native Americans a means to regain control over their ancestral human remains, grave goods, and other items of cultural patrimony that had been appropriated by the dominant society as scientific subject matter and museum attractions (King 2004:192).

The act provides for determining lineal descendants’ or cultural affiliates’ ownership of remains and items from Federal lands and in museums (Sections 3, 5). It provides penalties against those who, without the proper right of possession, traffic in human remains or cultural items (Section 4). It requires Federal agencies and museums to inventory their holdings of human remains, grave goods, and other cultural items, and determine their cultural affiliation in consultation with tribal officials and religious leaders (Sections 5, 6). Finally, the act provides for the return (repatriation) of human remains and items to the lineal descendants or culturally affiliated group (Section 7). Section 7 provides some detail on evidentiary needs to establish affiliation while also allowing some latitude for scientific study before repatriation. Regulations (43 CFR 10) for the NAGPRA define terms and dictate procedures more specifically and each Federal agency has written policies on implementation of the regulations.

Fulfilling the goals of the NAGPRA entails in-depth consultation with Native Americans. In terms of ongoing management on Federal lands, the act and its regulations specify procedures for notifying Indian tribes about discoveries or potential discoveries of human remains and cultural items. The act indicates that (archaeological) excavation and removal of human remains or cultural items from Federal lands is permitted only with fulfillment of the ARPA requirements (which also requires consultation with tribes) and after consultation with appropriate tribes (Section 3(c)). Anyone (hikers, construction workers, etc.) inadvertently discovering Native American human remains or cultural items on Federal lands is required to notify agency officials and cease any activity that uncovered the material (Section 3(d)).

Regulations (Section 10.3(c), 10.5) require Federal agencies to notify and initiate consultation with tribes having ties to the Federal lands prior to approving any activities that may result in the excavation (archaeological or accidental) of human remains or cultural items. Agency officials must complete a plan of action, which might also entail correlation with the NHPA Section 106 review<sup>6</sup>. The regulation also allows tribes to take the initiative to insure that agencies fulfill their obligation to the provisions of the act and to the regulations concerning excavation and disposition of materials. Agency officials are charged with the duty of determining (through consultation) the lineal descendants or tribe entitled to custody of the remains or items by notifying known lineal descendants, likely cultural affiliates, aboriginal occupants, or others

having a demonstrated cultural relationship (Section 10.5(b)). Section 10.6 further details this “priority of custody” and Section 10.14 details the procedures for determining lineal descent and cultural affiliation.

For human remains or cultural items already in the possession of Federal agencies or museums, consultation with appropriate tribes (following a similar priority of relationship indicated in Section 10.6) is also mandated (Section 10.8, 10.9) and repatriation procedures are specified detailed (Section 10.10).

### **Memoranda of Understanding/Agreement**

Many times during the consultation processes discussed above, the parties involved (including Native Americans, Federal agencies, and State Historic Preservation Officers) will draft memoranda of understanding or agreement (MOU or MOA) to facilitate their agreed-upon management procedures for recurring or ongoing situations. As of September 2006, no memoranda of agreement/understanding have been enacted by either Fort Bowie NHS or Chiricahua NM (Larry Ludwig, communication by electronic mail on 20 September 2006; Dave Evans, communication by electronic mail 21 September 2006).

### **Conclusion**

From the middle 1800s through the early 1900s, the U.S. government systematically denied the Chiricahua Apaches of southeastern Arizona their sovereignty and homeland. Except for short periods before 1861 (Bascom Affair) and from 1872 to 1876 (when the Chiricahua Reservation existed), these Apaches were treated primarily through military channels as “hostiles” and prisoners of war. After the government released Chiricahua Apaches as prisoners of war in 1913, granted citizenship to all Native Americans in 1924, and freed them to pursue religious practices in 1978, Apaches began to be able to re-establish something resembling the level of articulation they once had with their homeland.

Now land managers at Fort Bowie NHS and Chiricahua NM must comply with an intertwined series of historic preservation, environmental protection, and civil rights laws that specify consultation with and consideration of Apaches and their rights to interact with their homelands and cultural patrimony and continue their traditional practices. The NHPA, NEPA, and ARPA generally apply to actions that may affect the environment and cultural landscape. They specify that Federal agencies must notify and consult with appropriate tribes prior to undertaking projects that might affect archaeological properties or alter other important landscapes. The AIRFA, EO 13007, and NAGPRA pertain to Native Americans’ right to interact with and, to a degree, have a role in the management of their ancestral lands and their material heritage. The AIRFA and EO 13007 provide for Native Americans to gain access to Federal lands to pursue religious practices and to have land managers protect those areas considered sacred. The NAGPRA serves to address Native Americans’ rights to affect the disposition of affiliated human remains and other culturally affiliated items by considering their tribal ownership or other reasoned disposition. The courts also play a role in clarifying the scope of the law and how it is implemented.

The most important aspect of these six laws is that they are all related and they variously invoke each other. Virtually any action on Federal lands that might affect a cultural location or cultural practice requires tribal notification and consultation. Evolved practices and legal precedents have proven that the more continuously, holistically, and rigorously land managers carry out the combined consultation processes out, the more effectively and efficiently are their management needs accomplished.



# **Chapter Two. An Overview of Previous Archaeological Work at Chiricahua National Monument and Fort Bowie National Historic Site**

Mark Sechrist

## **Introduction**

### **Purpose of the Archaeological Overview**

I designed this overview to provide cultural resources managers at Chiricahua National Monument (NM) and Fort Bowie National Historic Site (NHS) with a summary and synthesis of all previous archaeological work done within their boundaries. I first tabulated and summarized the number and types of projects undertaken, including the amount of land area they involved, and the number and types of archaeological resources discovered by them. The overarching project that this overview supports is to identify the responsibilities Chiricahua NM and Fort Bowie NHS have to present-day Native American groups, particularly Chiricahua Apaches. Therefore, I strive in part to consider the results of previous archaeological investigations in terms of their potential to inform on issues relevant to Apache history.

### **Material Sources**

The National Park Service (NPS) houses project files, reports, notes, and collections for nearly all of its projects at the Western Archaeological and Conservation Center (WACC) in Tucson, Arizona. WACC project cards that list all project numbers and their basic administrative information provided a first-order list of activities. I then reviewed the more detailed information contained in the physical (paper) project files and also consulted an electronic “clearance” file that contains information for projects related to historic preservation compliance prior to land development and other undertakings. For some projects listed in the project cards, no project files exist. I indicate these cases in the appendices that summarize each project.

### **This Report**

I first compiled the data provided by WACC into a compendium summarizing each project, presented in Chapter Three of this report. The information presented there includes the project numbers (preceded by “FOBO” for Fort Bowie NHS and “CHIR” for Chiricahua NM), the clearance number (if the project was initiated to comply with historic preservation laws governing land-modifying undertakings), the year and month the project was conducted, the project type (survey, stabilization, excavation, etc.), the general location, the amount of land area involved, the results of the project, the information sources that provided the data (e.g. WACC project card, project file, clearance file, project report), and a brief narrative description. A sample entry appears in Figure 4.

This report is in two parts, one for Fort Bowie NHS, and one for Chiricahua NM. Each part has two subparts, one discussing the number and types of projects and the second discussing the findings of those projects.

<b>Project:</b>	FOBO1976A
<b>Clearance No.:</b>	177-FOBO
<b>Date Conducted:</b>	1976, August
<b>Type:</b>	Survey
<b>Location:</b>	Visitor contact station
<b>Area:</b>	Not provided
<b>Results:</b>	No archaeological materials found
<b>Info. Source:</b>	WACC project card, clearance file
<b>Description:</b>	
Donald P. Morris (WACC) and William Hoy (Ft. Bowie) surveyed a proposed route for a utilities access right-of-way on August 9, 1976. The route followed an existing trench over part of its length between the visitor contact station and boundary fence. Total length of the survey was not provided. No surface materials were observed within 1 m of the route.	

**Figure 4.** Example of Project Summary Entry

The goal of this report is to review archaeological projects and their results with an emphasis on synthesizing findings about prehistoric and historic resources. Well-known, significant historic buildings are present at both Fort Bowie NHS (the fort ruins, stage station, mining structures) and Chiricahua NM (Faraway Ranch, Stafford Cabin, Civilian Conservation Corps [CCC] structures), and most have been documented and subject to extensive restoration or stabilization projects. The results of these efforts include architectural details and interior inventories that are beyond the scope of this overview and are not included in it except where they are relevant to the context of other archaeological sites.

## Archaeology at Fort Bowie National Historic Site

### Archaeological Projects

NPS Personnel have conducted 42 archaeological projects at Fort Bowie NHS to date. Beginning in 1967, project types ranged widely from surveys (including reconnaissance) to building excavation and stabilization, remote sensing (aerial photography and photogrammetry), and historical research. Table 1 summarizes the projects. Chapter 3 provides descriptions that are more detailed.

**Table 1.** Summary of Archaeological Projects at Fort Bowie NHS

Project No.	Project type	Area (sq m)	Comment
FOBO0000A	Aerial photography	n.a.	Mapping
FOBO0000B	Aerial photography	n.a.	Mapping
FOBO0000C	Historical research	n.a.	Ethnographic, archive
FOBO0000D	Historical research	n.a.	Building survey
FOBO0000E	Survey	n.a.	No details
FOBO1967A	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1968A	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1971A	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1972A	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings

FOBO1972B	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1975A	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1976A	Survey	n.a.	No finds
FOBO1977A	Survey	n.a.	No finds
FOBO1977B	Survey	210	No finds
FOBO1978A	Survey	1600	No finds
FOBO1978B	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1979A	Survey	2800	No finds
FOBO1979B	Survey	180	No finds
FOBO1979C	Survey	3000	Fort cemetery fence
FOBO1979D	Survey	125	No finds but near Butterfield trail
FOBO1979E	Survey	7000	Light scatter of historic artifacts
FOBO1979F	Survey	25	No finds
FOBO1980A	Survey	1670	Scattered glass
FOBO1984A	Excavation/stabilization	485	Apache Pass Mining Co./Jeffords' Chiricahua Agency
FOBO1986A	Survey	1200	No finds
FOBO1988A	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1989A	Survey	n.a.	Inspection, no finds
FOBO1989B	Survey	54,600	Historic artifacts in adjacent areas
FOBO1989C	Survey	2670	Inventory of fort dump and a target range
FOBO1989D	Survey	1052	Scattered historic artifacts
FOBO1989E	Excavation/stabilization	n.a.	Fort buildings
FOBO1990A	Survey	20,000	Reconnaissance of three prospective Bascom camp sites
FOBO1990B	Survey	20,000	Butterfield trail, firing lines, scattered historic artifacts
FOBO1991A	Survey	9700	Reconnaissance, no finds
FOBO1993A	Survey	11,000	No finds, dugout nearby
FOBO1996A	Survey	26,000	16 mines
FOBO1997A	Aerial photography	n.a.	Photo inspection for abandoned mines
FOBO1998A	Survey	2200	No finds
FOBO1998B	Survey	32,000	No finds
FOBO1999A	Survey	n.a.	No finds
FOBO2002A	Survey	n.a.	Inspection of ARPA violations at first fort
FOBO2002B	Survey	405,000	Entire property—72 sites

Surveys (including “inspection” and “reconnaissance” projects) comprise the largest proportion of the project types (n=27). All were very small in scale except one (FOBO2002B) that inventoried the entire property in 2002. The managers initiated most projects to comply with historic preservation legislation requiring consideration of potential cultural resources prior to implementing land-modifying developments. Surveys range in size from 25 sq m (< 0.01 acre) to 5.4 ha (13.5 acres). For six survey projects, the records do not indicate the amount of land area covered. One of these (FOBO1999A) appears to have been a project initiated in the administrative stages and cancelled before archaeologists conducted any fieldwork (Ron Beckwith, personal communication 5 November 2004). Of the rest, more than half (n=12) involved less than 4000 sq m (1 acre). Prior to 2002, the archaeologically surveyed area at Fort



Bowie NHS totaled just over 19.7 ha (49 acres) or less than five percent of the property. Of the 26 pre-2002 projects, only three (FOBO1989C, 1990A, and 1996A) collected and presented any archaeological data. These were thematic projects designed to inventory specific archaeological sites. One (FOBO1989C) surveyed and inventoried the Fort Bowie dump and a target range; another (FOBO1990A) surveyed three areas considered prospective locations for Lt. Bascom's 1861 camp; and the third (FOBO1996A) inventoried a mining district. Seven other projects mention encountering scattered historic artifacts and features within or adjacent to survey corridors but do not provide any detailed data about them. The remaining 16 surveys encountered no archaeological materials. A comprehensive survey of the entire 405 ha (1000 acres) property in 2002 (FOBO2002B) rendered this situation moot. This project recorded 72 prehistoric and historic sites, including the two sets of fort buildings and other excavated and stabilized structures and previously investigated features, 64 isolated features, and 74 isolated artifact loci.

Excavation and stabilization programs are the second most common project type at Fort Bowie NHS (n=10). These began shortly after the inception of the NHS in 1967 when fort buildings were uncovered and walls stabilized. Some reflect recurrent maintenance and inspection of preservation efforts. These projects often recovered copious amounts of historic and occasional aboriginal artifacts from excavation of wall and foundation lines and floor fill (Herskovitz 1978; Morris 1967, 1968; Schuetz 1984).

The other types of archaeological projects (n=5) consist of three that were aerial photography mapping and an inspection project for abandoned mine lands (FOBO0000A, 0000B, 1997A) and two labeled as historical research on the project cards but for which no further information is available (FOBO0000C, 0000D).

### **Archaeological Resources**

On August 30, 1964, an act of Congress created the Fort Bowie NHS and, in 1972, the government listed it on the National Register of Historic Places. As a national historic site, the Fort Bowie property is essentially one large archaeological site. The government drew its boundaries to incorporate the first and second forts and all related significant archaeological manifestations. However, scholars had completed no synthetic assessment of those features until the 2002 archaeological survey (FOBO2002B). A draft report (Bucher et al 2004) summarizes that project's results and provides the primary source for the summary that follows. It is a comprehensive and historically inclusive project (includes sites and features investigated by previous projects) that documented 72 sites, 64 isolated features, and 74 isolated artifacts. I summarize these results below by cultural-temporal periods. Some sites contain more than one cultural-temporal component.

### **Prehistoric Sites**

The earliest occupations at Fort Bowie were apparently during the Late Archaic (ca. 1500 B.C.-A.D. 300) based on diagnostic projectile point types found on seven sites. Small amounts of plain brownware ceramics at some of these suggest continuing or separate occupations into the later Formative period. Sites with Archaic components are most common on ridges along Siphon Canyon, Willow Gulch, and an unnamed major drainage at the west end of the property. They

include extensive chipped stone scatters, often with ground stone tools, and occasional burned rock features.

Formative period sites dated by ceramic and architectural types are most common along Siphon Canyon. Plain and textured brownware and occasional Mimbres Black-on-white sherds at five sites indicate occupations during the Mogollon Pithouse and early Pueblo period (ca. A.D. 1000-1150). Upright rock slab alignments at one of these sites outline habitation structures. Archaeologists suspected buried structures at three other sites. The Mogollon components tend to lack ground stone and fire features but may be associated with nearby sites that have them. Roasting pit features occur near one site.

Mogollon, Salado, and Casas Grandes ceramics at two sites indicate Late Pueblo-period (ca. AD 1200-1400) occupations. They include alignments of upright stone slabs or mounded rubble structural remains. Ground stone is present within these sites and a burned rock feature is near one room block. Neither site appears to represent very large residential communities.

### **Protohistoric Prospects**

As with most of the Southwest, archaeologists identified very little definitive evidence of post-Puebloan occupations at Fort Bowie. Schuetz' (1984) report on excavation of the Jeffords' agency headquarters mentions that a set of 22 Papago sherds was collected from an eroding "midden" between the first and second Fort Bowie installations but it is not made clear whether this midden is a fort-related feature with some imported historic O'odham pottery, or whether it reflects an actual O'odham occupation. Bucher and others (2004) do not mention this material. They interpreted a single Papago Plain sherd within an otherwise prehistoric lithic and ceramic site (Site 64) as part of a historic scatter. Several other projects note the presence of Native American artifacts among historic materials and contexts, and the prospect for undocumented co-use of the area during contact has been suggested (e.g. Herskovitz 1978; Schuetz 1984). The military may not have regularly recorded trade and other interactions with nearby native peoples (Also, see Protohistoric-Historic Native American Potential in the section on Chiricahua NM).

### **Historic Apache Sites**

Bucher and others (2004) identified twelve late historic Apache sites. They contain stone ring features (presumably representing wickiup outlines) with associated modified metal and glass artifacts such as iron arrow points, cone jingles, bent wire "ash bread" grills, iron awls, tweezers made from firearms cartridge casings, cans with holes punched in them for use as strainers, glass and ceramic beads, and tools made from chipped bottle glass. Artifacts are typically sparse and often include chipped and ground stone items. All of the 12 Apache sites date to the middle to late 1800s and reflect close interaction with the Americans, particularly the military, which strongly suggests that most were sites used by Apaches employed by the U.S. military and not those affiliated with Mangas' or Cochise's "hostile" bands. The archaeologists infer this relationship in part from the locations of sites, most of which are on open ridge tops, often overlooking the fort, and the wealth of American materials. Based on historic photographs and documents, at least four sites (Sites 7, 8, 15, 40) represent the camps of non-Chiricahua scouts (mostly White Mountain Apache) and their families.

There is little definite physical evidence to indicate the Chiricahua presence, although some of the wickiup sites, isolated camps, and processing areas could have resulted from Chiricahua activity. Apache artifacts observed from investigations at the Butterfield Stage station (Site 22) are relevant to peaceful (e.g. pottery and flaked glass, grinding slick) and possibly hostile (iron arrow points, early firearms ammunition) activity, most likely by Chiricahuas. A 20-acre area on Overlook Ridge with stone breastworks and over 400 artifacts (Site 36) represents the Apache Pass battle site of July 16, 1862 (a separate report on this site is pending). The Apache Pass Mining Company building that Jeffords' reused as his Chiricahua Agency (Site 18) contained artifacts attributable to Chiricahuas such as beads, ground stone, and pottery (see also FOBO1984A). The archaeologists interpreted the location where a scatter of chipped stone artifacts and burned rock feature (Site 69) also happens to be—presumably an unrelated prehistoric site—as the location where Chiricahuas reportedly attacked a wagon train during the “Bascom affair.” Archaeologists observed no physical evidence of this attack but noted that later activities had affected the context.

Two graves of late historic period Native Americans are within a later scatter of mining-related artifacts (Site 65). One grave consists of a rock pile with a brass identification tag in it. The second is simply represented by another brass identification tag (field workers collected the tags). One tag belonged to a White Mountain Apache and the other to a Yavapai (known at the time as “Mojave-Apache”). Bucher and others (2004) do not indicate which tag was associated with the rock pile or what the context of the other tag was. Some Chiricahuas and other civilians were reportedly also buried in the post cemetery (Site 21). In 1895, the army disinterred about 75 sets of military remains and reburied them in San Francisco. It is unclear whether these included any Apaches or what the identities of any remaining bodies are. Unmarked graves are located both within and outside the cemetery's marked boundary.

### **Anglo-American Sites**

Roadway, military, mining, ranching, and other late historic activities stemming from U.S. rule of this area formed the bulk of the archaeological record. This activity began with the emigrant trail, predicated in part on Native American trails (Pinto et al 2000), through Apache Pass that became a mail route by 1857 (Site 55). Thirty-four features associated with this road include rock retaining walls and other rock features, wagon ruts, artifact concentrations, and the telegraph line. Archaeologists recorded numerous isolated artifacts (cans, glass, nails, horse and mule shoes, lumber, and firearms cartridge casings) along the route.

In 1858, workers built the Butterfield Stage station. The stage company abandoned it by 1861. The site was first excavated and stabilized by Don Morris in 1968 (FOBO1967A/1968A) and this, along with the corral, a possible outbuilding, and scattered artifacts (including prehistoric artifacts) were recorded during the 2002 project as Site 22 (Bucher et al 2004). This effort incorporated the results of a metal detector survey conducted by Larry Ludwig in 1995 that recovered 419 artifacts and a proton magnetometer survey from 2002 that indicated the extension of some wall features underground and the possible location for the grave of a Butterfield employee. The artifact assemblage recovered from Morris' excavations and Ludwig's metal detector survey is extensive. It includes nails (hand wrought, square cut, and wire), bottle shards, horse and mule shoes, tack and fittings, wagon parts, barrel bands, ammunition (balls, bullets, caps, cartridge casings), iron scrap and hardware, window glass, ceramics, cooking utensils,

cans, leather, animal bone, personal items, and prehistoric and possible Apache items. Some of the artifacts (mid-1800s ammunition, a button, and iron arrow points) and their patterning may represent Bascom-affair battle lines. Two plain utility sherds, a flaked bottle shard, iron arrow points, and some stone artifacts suggest use by Apaches, possibly before the station existed or during times of peace. About half of the artifacts postdate the stage station indicating continued use of the building by the military and others after the Butterfield Company abandoned it.

A terrace on the west side of Siphon Canyon contains two historic artifact concentrations bisected by the Butterfield Trail. These artifacts appear to reflect multiple episodes of camping along the trail and include items dating from the mid-1800s. Some collections made in 1984 and 1990 (Ludwig 1991) include a pre-1869 stoneware ale bottle, an 1854-72-era military epaulette, and a coffee pot similar to those used during the Civil War. Ludwig (1993; see FOBO 1990A) considers this component prospective evidence of a camp made by Lt. Bascom's party in 1861. He also recorded soldered food cans, fragments of barrel bands, wire, bottle glass, a coffee grinder part, and cartridge casings from later occupants.

### **Military Sites**

Military sites include the Apache Pass battle site (Site 36) which predates Fort Bowie, and the first and second set of buildings that constituted the Fort Bowie cantonment (Sites 1, 2). The details of these complex sites are not included in Bucher and others' (2004) report. Hartzler (2001) and Herskovitz (1978) discuss the architectural aspects and material culture from fort stabilization projects. Numerous related sites and features from the 32-year-long military occupation include trash dumps; firing ranges for pistol, rifle, and cannon practice; adobe, rock, and lime quarries for building materials; and the post cemetery. In addition, the majority of the Apache scout sites can be considered military-affines, as can some of the mining and ranching sites.

The Apache Pass battle site (Site 36) appears to represent the clash between the Chiricahua bands of Cochise and Mangas Coloradas and the U.S. Army's California Column on July 16, 1862. It occupies some 20 acres on Overlook Ridge and includes seven low rock alignments that apparently served as breastworks for the military. Metal detector survey by Larry Ludwig yielded 400 artifacts, most of which were buried. The full report of that work is pending.

The first Fort Bowie (Site 1) is a 15-acre site that was occupied by the military from 1862-69 and then by civilians until 1894 and consists of 68 features, including 21 structures that were excavated and stabilized by the NPS. Other features include as-yet unstabilized structures, walls, rock piles, dumps, quarries, roads and trails, and a pit.

The army constructed the second Fort Bowie in 1868 as a more formal layout with parade grounds and occupied it until 1894. It comprises a 32-acre site consisting of 149 features. Of these, 71 are structures and walls. Others include a flagpole, roads, tennis courts, a privy or trash pit, artifact scatters, check dams, walls, rock alignments and piles, a trench and berm, and trash concentrations. The site also includes some intrusive features and artifacts from prehistoric, later mining and ranching, and possible Apache occupations.

Fort Bowie established its cemetery (Site 21) in 1862 about .5 mi. west of the fort. National Park Service workers have partially restored it. An adobe wall with a stone foundation bounded it in 1878. The army replaced that with a picket fence in 1885. The cemetery measures 100 by 110 ft, but graves are known to exist outside its boundaries. Rock alignments to the east and north suggest once larger boundaries, possibly related to an expansion in 1879. Meade Kemrer conducted a magnetometer survey in 2001 to help locate graves but this effort did not substantially augment what historic documents indicated. Records from 1883 indicate 61 individuals were buried there, including military, civilian, and Apaches. The graves faced north and had wooden markers. Records are lacking for the period after 1883 except for indications that the army removed about 75 sets of military remains and reburied them in the San Francisco National Cemetery in 1895. WACC archaeological records do not indicate whether any of these are Native Americans.

Other major military sites include some recorded during previous projects (the second fort dump [Site 4] and Captain Budd's Target [Site 5; both in FOBO1989C]), whose text has been added to the Bucher and others (2004) report. Archaeologists discovered and recorded several target range features, including target platforms, target butts, and firing lines (Sites 11-14, 23, 26, 27, 45, 48, 50, 58, and 60). Some of these ranges extend off the Fort Bowie property onto adjacent lands. These sites typically include rock features that protected near-target observation positions, leveled platforms for wooden targets, and clusters of cartridge casings or percussion caps marking firing positions at standard distances (e.g. 100, 300, 600 yards) up range of targets. Many of them overlap other sites and include other components.

Four sites (Sites 19, 41, 56, 71) consist of pits from excavating adobe soils, rock, and lime for building materials. Some are quite extensive and sometimes include unrelated artifacts and features. Apache Spring (Site 3) reportedly once yielded numerous ceramic artifacts, which suggests that it was also a prehistoric locus, but the 2002 survey found only one sherd there. Army occupants of the first Fort Bowie modified it as their primary water source and the NPS later modified it further by adding retaining walls, piping, and a holding tank. Site 72 consists of rock piles, insulators, large nails, and pieces of wire that together constitute six former telephone/telegraph line pole locations. They are spaced along the Butterfield trail over a distance of .75 mi. The army replaced the telegraph with a telephone line in 1890 and the extant artifacts are apparently leavings from the final removal of the telephone poles.

### **Mining Sites**

Mining began in 1864, shortly after Fort Bowie was established and at least partially a result of the mining activities and interests of military personnel. The Apache Pass Mining Company was founded by a partnership between a colonel and a civilian (later to include Chiricahua Agency head Tom Jeffords) who built a steam-driven ore crusher mill, storehouse, and employee quarters in 1868. They closed it in 1870 due to the lack of water. Other mining sites date to the period after the fort was closed in 1894.

At the western end of Overlook Ridge, four sets of stone structural remains represent the storehouse, a forge, a depression, and a cistern that constituted part of the Apache Pass Mining Co. facilities (Site 17). Six hundred yards east, at the foot of the slope below the first fort, is the site of the crusher mill (Site 20). Concrete footings for the mill; and stone, adobe, and brick walls

mark the locations of other machinery bases and structures. Concentrations of crushed quartz and other debris and artifacts lie around these features. An adobe house (Site 18) excavated earlier by Schuetz (1984 [see FOBO1984A]) was built by the mining company in 1869 but eventually became the quarters for Tom Jeffords, agent for the short-lived Chiricahua Reservation.

Mining ceased in this area after 1877, when the government increased the size of the military reservation to encompass 36 square miles. Miners opened claims again in Siphon Canyon and Willow Gulch after the fort closed in 1894.

Don Morris excavated and stabilized a stone cabin along the “Ruins Trail” in 1967 (Site 29; FOBO1967A/1968A). It is a one-room structure dug into fill and rock on a slope. Some of the rocks are reddened, suggesting the structure’s roof had burned. He recovered several artifacts during floor clearing (cartridge casings, cans, button, nails, and buckle). The 2002 survey found a single cartridge strip clip there. A miner and well digger, Jesse L. Millsap, occupied the cabin in 1914 according to records at Fort Bowie. He died in 1929 while digging a well and is buried at the Fort Bowie cemetery.

Archaeologists recorded a series of pits, trenches, and structures from a gold mining operation that straddles the Butterfield Trail as Site 30 (Bucher et al 2004). Fifteen features include a rock wall on an outcrop; four cairns; four small pits; two trenches both with diverse assemblages of bottle glass, ceramics, and metal; two rock check dams; and a blacksmith shop. The blacksmith shop was an intensively used area. A 1909 map indicates it. On the ground, a scatter of fired brick, hundreds of diverse metal items, small amount of glass and ceramics, coal and stained soils represent it.

An extensive series of trenches, prospects, tailings, and structural features located at the west end of the Fort Bowie property represents the 1905-1927 Quillin family mining operation (Site 32). The site is located along the Butterfield trail in Willow Gulch and extends southward onto BLM land. A concrete pad with a stove and various artifacts may be the remains of a residence. An additional 32 features consist of rock piles; lumber, rock, and tin concentrations; stone dams; a trash dump; mining trenches; a firebrick assay oven; a depression; a fence; a cut stump; a rock ring; a well; a road; and other artifact concentrations.

Site 37 represents the remains of the Gold Nugget Mining Company stamp mill and some ranching-related features. The site is located along the Butterfield Trail in Siphon Canyon. A 1909 map indicates the stamp mill. Features include two tunnels dug into the rock face, one for at least 12 ft deep, and the other over 20 ft deep. Other mining features include adits cut into a rocky hill face. Bucher and others (2004) provide no further description of the former stamp mill. Ranching features consists of two small concrete pads, various holes, depressions, a concrete lid, a boulder alignment, and a corral. The 1909 map also indicates two houses but the 2002 survey apparently found no evidence of them (Bucher et al 2004). Artifacts were sparse throughout.

A tunnel and two shafts under the current parking lot represent early 1900s graphite mining (Site 61). Personnel investigated these in 1971 and the shafts have since been closed (this investigation apparently is not registered in WACC files). The tunnel is still open and over 60 ft

long. One shaft was over 26 ft deep, timber shored, and formerly used as a well. The second shaft was 8 ft deep ending in a 20-ft-long alcove.

Less intensive mining components occur within other sites. A prospect, hearth or assay oven, a road, and several rock features indicate later mining within the boundaries of one of the Apache dependents' camps (Site 40). Two prospect pits, a trench, and a sparse artifact scatter at the foot of Overlook Ridge an episode of post-fort era gold mining (Site 47). Military and mining related artifacts overlie part of the site where archaeologists found two Native American graves with band tags (Site 65). A 25-ft long pad behind a rock retaining wall contained some ore slag along with other historic and unrelated prehistoric artifacts (Site 68). Archaeologists recorded other prospects, pits, and cairns in the vicinity as isolates.

### **Ranching Sites**

Other than Site 37, discussed above, only one other site was strictly ranching related. Two stock tanks, fence remnants, a pipeline, rock alignments, a lumber concentration, and an artifact scatter between the first fort and Siphon Canyon wash date from the early 1970s (Site 46). The park service installed the tanks outside an exclusion fence built to protect Fort Bowie from cattle. One tank is round, made of steel, and no longer in use. The pipeline apparently fed it water from Apache Spring (Site 3). The other tank is rectangular, made of concrete, and still in use. The area is heavily disturbed.

### **Other Sites**

Several other historic and prehistoric components consist of artifact scatters and features not attributable to specific occupations. These include undated chipped and ground stone scatters, bedrock mortars and grinding surfaces, scatters of glass and metal, cairns, fence lines, roads, cut tree stumps, rock alignments and piles, and tent platforms. In addition, archaeologists recorded several features and constructs from NPS development.

### **Conclusion**

Preliminary data on the surface archaeology of the entire Fort Bowie NHS property is now available with Bucher and others' (2004) draft report. The reliable water source (Apache Spring), biotic diversity, and geographic location (in terms of travel corridors) of the area made it a nexus for human activity for at least the past 2000 years. Late Archaic- and early Formative-period occupations that probably mainly exploited wild resources are most evident along the major drainages. Some small Pithouse- and Pueblo-period habitation sites, presumably occupied by more-sedentary agriculturalists, occur along Siphon Canyon. Like much of the southern Southwest, groups in the Ft. Bowie area apparently became less populous, more mobile, and reliant on wild resources again after about AD 1450. Archaeological sites from the post-Puebloan and Spanish and Mexican colonial periods have not been clearly identified at Ft. Bowie although historical sources indicate activity in the region by both Native and Euro-American people (e.g. Griffen 1988; Naylor and Polzer 1986). In 1860-61, Cochise's band reportedly often resided nearby (McChristian 2005:23), but materials attributable to sovereign Chiricahua Apaches are scant within the NHS property. Other late historic Apache occupations, primarily by US Army-affiliated scouts, are in evidence at several sites that are relatively rich with Apache artifacts. Archaeologists attributed some sherds from two mixed-culture sites to the historic-period O'odham ("Papago"). Reports so far have not explored the details of the contexts of these

finds and whether they might indicate exchange between O’odham villages and fort occupants or actual O’odham occupations at the fort site. In the American period, sites evidence occupations focused on a succession of related functions beginning with communication and transportation and the development of a road through Apache Pass. Military occupations followed to protect travelers, the mail, and the water source, and administer the short-lived Chiricahua reservation, leaving a multitude of buildings, dumps, firing ranges, and a cemetery. Mining and ore-processing activity ensued largely due to the pursuits of resident military personnel. Several sites confirm that mining and ranching activities continued into the 1900s after the army abandoned the fort.

A recurring theme in many of the site descriptions was the impacts caused to sites by artifact looters and souvenir hunters. This especially affected the historic sites (the dumps, fort sites, and mining features) most and probably stems from the historic notoriety of Fort Bowie. Fort Bowie is a famous site, made colorful by numerous accounts of the Bascom Affair, Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, Geronimo, gold mining, and its very early establishment in what was one of the last frontier areas of the United States. Field archaeologists observed looters in action at one site during the survey (Bucher et al 2004) and the attrition of certain artifact classes at various sites is apparent.

## Archaeology at Chiricahua National Monument

### Archaeological Projects

Since the establishment of Chiricahua NM in 1924, archaeologists have officially conducted 49 projects. Archaeological work in the monument began in earnest in the late 1960s (presumably after federal historic preservation laws went into effect), which apparently was after NPS had already done much of the major development (roads, staff facilities, visitor center). Table 2 lists project types, sizes, and results. More detailed project descriptions appear in Chapter 3.

**Table 2.** Summary of Archaeological Projects at Chiricahua NM

Project No.	Project type	Area (sq m)	Comment
CHIR0000A	Survey	4,332,000*	5 sites listed, no report
CHIR0000B	Survey	n.a.	Geology and vegetation survey (CCC project)
CHIR0000C	Survey	n.a.	Parkwide reconnaissance
CHIR1930A	Surface collection	n.a.	Sugarloaf Peak shrine
CHIR1968A	Survey	n.a.	Sugarloaf Peak shrine revisit
CHIR1971A	Survey	n.a.	Garfield Peak Cave
CHIR1975A	Survey	32,000	1 site
CHIR1975B	Survey	34,700	2 sites
CHIR1976A	Survey	750	No finds
CHIR1976B	Survey	1124	No finds
CHIR1977B	Survey	1618	Two lithics, trash
CHIR1978A	Survey	9657	No finds
CHIR1979A	Collection	0	Faraway Ranch house contents
CHIR1979B	Survey/monitoring	660	13 features, prehistoric and historic
CHIR1980A	Survey	91,500	14 sites noted



CHIR1980B	Excavation	0.5	Garfield Peak Cave basket
CHIR1983A	Survey	1,210,000	Bonita Canyon prehistoric and historic occupations (Faraway Ranch)
CHIR1986A	Survey	20,000	Inspection at Faraway Ranch
CHIR1986B	Testing	n.a.	Collection, testing at military camp
CHIRN.A.	Survey	40,000*	Area previously surveyed by CHIR1983A
CHIR1987B	Survey	18,000*	Area previously surveyed by CHIR1983A
CHIR1988A	Survey	12,000*	Area previously surveyed by CHIR1983A
CHIR1988B	Survey	1200*	Area previously surveyed by CHIR1983A
CHIR1988C	Survey	51,000	No finds
CHIR1989A	Survey	n.a.	Area previously surveyed by CHIR1983A
CHIR1990A	Survey	570	Area previously surveyed by CHIR1983A
CHIR1990B	Survey	24,000	No finds
CHIR1990C	Survey	800	No finds
CHIR1990D	Survey	15,000	No finds
CHIR1991A	Preservation	n.a.	Stafford Cabin
CHIR1991B	Survey	465	Historic cabin
CHIR1993A	Survey	24,000	No finds
CHIR1994A	Testing	6750	Prehistoric and historic artifacts from CHIR1983A-1 and CHIR1983A-10
CHIR1994B	Survey	3400	5 sites investigated
CHIR1994C	Survey	4000	No finds
CHIR1994D	Survey	8100	Within CHIR1983A-1
CHIR1996A	Monitoring	n.a.	Within CHIR1983A-1
CHIR1997A	Survey	900	No finds
CHIR1998A	Survey	92,000	Two sites revisited
CHIR1998B	Survey	1400	No finds
CHIR1998C	Survey	25	No finds
CHIR1999A	Survey	27	Rock art site, collector's dump
CHIR1999B	Survey	n.a.	No finds
CHIR1999C	Survey	14,200	CCC building and road
CHIR1999D	Survey	28,900	CCC camp, 3 isolates
CHIR2000A	Survey	n.a.	No finds
CHIR2001A	Survey	n.a.	No finds
CHIR2001B	Survey	7500	No finds
CHIR2002A	Monitoring	4000*	Area previously surveyed by CHIR1983A; two new historic features

\*Amounts that overlap other projects or are unverified by reports.

The majority (83%) of the archaeological projects are survey-level efforts (n=41). Of those that reported the area covered (that are verified and do not overlap previous surveys), the area surveyed within Chiricahua NM to date totals approximately 168 ha (415 acres), or 3.9 percent of the approximately 4312 ha- (10,650 acre-) property. However, for 12 projects, the recorders did not provide the area surveyed. Most of the survey projects were of very small parcels or narrow corridors for specific development or maintenance projects (utility lines, prescribed burns, fence lines) and did not find any archaeological materials. The surveys range in size from 25 sq m to 121 ha (<0.1 to 300 acres) with the majority (90%) covering less than five ha (12 acres).

Of the 41 survey projects, 18 found no archaeological remains, 14 yielded archaeological sites or isolates, and the remainder revisited known sites and cultural loci. Most of these latter resurvey and inspection projects yielded additional data about sites recorded previously and one (CHIR1994B) found new sites as well as re-assessed previously recorded sites. The eight remaining archaeological projects consist of data recovery efforts involving collecting and minor excavations, building preservation, and monitoring of ground-disturbing construction activities.

### **Archaeological Resources**

To date, archaeologists have recorded 40 Native American sites and nine historic Anglo- or Afro-American sites at Chiricahua NM. Included in this total are sites that have been fully recorded as well as sites that were simply noted as present by field workers and either not fully recorded during projects whose scope of work could not include them or from projects for which information was not available from WACC (e.g. CHIR0000A [5 sites reported], CHIR1980A [14 sites reported]).

Archaeological research has been most intense in lower Bonita Canyon—probably the one area of Chiricahua NM most amenable to long-term human settlement. Lower Bonita Canyon is a small valley with a relatively wide floodplain that is lush with grassy meadow, woodland, and desert plant species. It is well watered and has several broad, gently sloped areas distinguishing it from the surrounding steep and rugged uplands. Lower Bonita Canyon was the setting for several significant historic occupations as well as the location for the majority of the current monument's visitor and support facilities. The largest and most productive project, the survey for the Faraway Ranch Historic District (CHIR1983A [Baumler 1984]), covered 121 ha (300 acres) of lower Bonita Canyon.

In the higher elevations, several areas (upland plateaus, caves, rock shelters) have evidence of significant Native American use but the archaeological potential of most of these areas has not been fully assessed (e.g. see CHIR1968A, 1971A, 1980A). The majority of the higher elevation country, pinnacle formations, and narrow canyons are still unknown archaeologically.

### **Prehistoric Sites**

As indicated above, the majority of the data about prehistoric occupations comes from the lower Bonita Canyon area. Archaeologists have recorded 16 sites in this area during projects CHIR1983A, 1994A, and 1994B. All but one are artifact scatters composed primarily of chipped stone debris. Most also have minor amounts of ceramic sherds and many also have ground stone (mano and metate fragments). Features are rare, consisting of boulder mortars at three sites and the stone foundations from two surface structures at one. The lack of identified fire features (hearths, roasting pits, boiling stone accumulations) is probably a visibility issue—a product of alluviation, bioturbation, and historic period features perhaps masking prehistoric features.

At most sites, unmodified flakes and shatter dominate the chipped stone assemblages. Less frequent chipped stone artifact types include cores, core tools, retouched flakes, and scrapers. Except for one rhyolite biface, all of the formal biface tools (n=3) and projectile points are of obsidian. These are the only forms that obsidian appears as at these sites, suggesting that inhabitants reserved this material for formal tools.

One site (AZ CC:15:014) has a projectile point base and ground stone forms that are consistent with Late Archaic types elsewhere in southeastern Arizona suggesting an Archaic component at least at this one site. Ceramics are generally minor constituents but they occur on all but one site, indicating occupations within the A.D. 200-1400 range. The majority are plain brownware sherds. Three sites have decorated sherds that indicate A.D. 1200-1450 components.

Based on the relative low density of artifacts, and general paucity of habitation and fire features, the Bonita Canyon sites appear to represent logistical, probably seasonal, use of the area during the middle and late Formative period. Ceramic artifacts are relatively sparse and usually limited to plain ware types that suggest occupations in the earlier parts of the Formative period, when higher mobility, foraging, and collecting strategies contributed more to subsistence needs than did sedentary agriculture. Ground stone tools and bedrock mortar features are common and, considered in concert with the prominence of nut-bearing trees and succulent plants extant there now, suggest that plant food processing was a focus in lower Bonita Canyon. This impression derives from mainly survey-level investigations of surfaces that vegetation or historic-era disturbances often obscure. Baumler (1984:31-32) noted how much more dense artifact concentrations were on eroded and more exposed surfaces. Waters (1994 [CHIR1994A]) conducted test excavations in one of these sites (AZ CC:15:021) that yielded buried lithic and ceramic artifacts (as well as historic artifacts) up to 50 cm deep in terrace deposits adjacent to the floodplain. This suggests a generally high potential for buried archaeological material that could significantly alter archaeologists' views of past occupations. Historic occupants and numerous later visitors probably have also biased the surface archaeological record by collecting lithic tools and ceramic sherds for souvenirs. Archaeologists noted the presence of ground stone tools incorporated within historic structural features of the Faraway Ranch (Baumler 1984).

One exception to the apparent pattern of low-intensity use is Site AZ CC:15:020 (Baumler 1984). This site has two sets of rock alignments that appear to represent two small room foundations. Artifacts there consist of typical chipped stone items, an eroded metate fragment, 15 plain brownwares, 2 undifferentiated red-on-brown sherds, and 3 Gila or Pinto Polychrome sherds. The polychrome types date within a range (ca. A.D. 1200-1450) that is consistent with surface architecture sites for this area. Although small, this site suggests perhaps a field house used by Late Puebloan farmers.

Significant sites that occur outside Bonita Canyon include the Sugarloaf Peak shrine, Garfield Peak Cave, and Organ Pipe Cave.

### **Sugarloaf Peak Shrine (AZ CC:15:007)**

Sugarloaf Peak is the highest point within Chiricahua NM and is a distinct bare-rock prominence. Sometime in the 1930s, NPS personnel surface collected artifacts from a site there (CHIR1930A). In 1968, archaeologists returned to the site, took photographs, but found no cultural material remaining (CHIR1968A). One of these archaeologists, however, analyzed the earlier-collected assemblage and reported on it in a paper about high-elevation shrine sites in Arizona and New Mexico (Morris 1982). She tallied 68 artifacts, including 44 sherds plus 18 ceramic discs, and 6 pieces of chipped stone. Ceramics include 3 Rillito Red-on-brown, 1 Rincon Red-on-brown, 4 unidentified red-on-brown, 8 Mimbres Black-on-white, 1 unidentified black-

on-white, and 45 various plain ware types. Her comparison of this site to eight others in the region indicates it is consistent with places where people left offerings of certain items (sherds, sherd disks, beads, quartz, turquoise, lithic tools). The ceramic types identified date primarily to the pre-A.D. 1200 period.

Archaeologists visited the location later during a survey of the hiking trail to the peak in 1999 (CHIR1999D) but found no cultural material (Mayo 2000).

### **Garfield Peak Cave (AZ FF:3:13)**

Monument personnel discovered this cave on the south face of Garfield Peak in 1971 (CHIR1971A). The cave opens to the southwest and the entrance had once been walled up with rock. Inside was a fiber net partially buried in the cave floor, and a basket set in a stone-lined cist. A stick set upright in a base of rocks next to the net. A second stick lied on the cave floor. The archaeologists collected four plainware sherds, but did not collect the net and basket at this time.

In February of 1980, Don Morris and others returned to the site (Morris et al. 1981 [CHIR1980B]). They noted that it is situated at the crest of a flat ridge connecting it to a large upland plateau bounded by steep drop offs. The area vegetation is dense and dominated by oak, juniper, yucca, sotol, and bear grass. Several narrow ledges outside the cave hold a sparse artifact scatter, including large rhyolite flakes and plain brownware sherds. The cave itself measures 6 m deep, 4 m wide, and 1.5 m high. The recorders state that the walls appeared smoke stained, but they observed no hearths inside. They observed no rock art either.

The archaeologists collected the surface-exposed fragment of yucca-cord net and carefully excavated the basket from the cyst. Most of the net still remains buried. The basket contained corn kernels and a variety of apparently incidental debris. Detailed analysis indicated that its construction attributes and form are most similar to O'odham ("Pima/Papago") basketry (granaries), except for the materials used, which are not typical for historic O'odham baskets, but locally available here. A radiocarbon date on a "...sample of plant fragments from a basket..." was provided by the University of Arizona and yielded a date of 3340±190 BP (A3355) and a calendar age, at the 95% confidence interval, of 2130-1260 BC. The analysts did not report the identity of the plant material that was dated. This age is quite old for corn in the Southwest, as well as for such a well-preserved basket. Some clarification of the date (i.e. what material was actually dated) is warranted.

The report on this excavation, as well as memos from earlier visits, make note of similar cave/rock shelter sites in the area. Cox (1973) briefly describes three others on the same mountain that have small amounts of cultural debris in them and Tagg and others (1987:209, citing Morris [1980]) note that several in Picket Canyon were reported by 1880s soldiers to have burials in them. In addition, Morris (1980) reported casual observations of rock shelter and shrine sites on mountain peaks within the monument.

### **Organ Peak Cave (AZ CC:15:28)**

Jane Kolber of Cochise College unofficially recorded a pictograph panel at this site in 1985. In 1999, WACC archaeologists returned to the site to record and photograph (CHIR1999A). The

site consists of a roughly 3-m-wide, 9-m-deep, 5-m-high rock shelter located at the base of a cliff about 30 m above Bonita Creek. The setting is rocky and distinguished by rhyolite pinnacles, with pine, yucca, oak, and grasses. The pictograph is an abstract design of “concentric” rectangles in black paint. The archaeologists made no claims about the cultural affiliation of this motif. No surface artifacts are associated.

### **Protohistoric-Historic Native American Potential**

Not surprisingly, there is no overt indication of any of the highly mobile post-Puebloan or early historic-era Native American groups (e.g., Jano, Jcome, Suma, Sobaipuri, and Apache) in the archaeological data collected so far from Chiricahua NM. A single artifact found near the Stafford Cabin (Baumler 1984: 53) may relate to historic Apache activity. It is a .44 Henry rimfire casing that has two holes punched in its base. Apaches may have reused empty casings as charms or amulets (e.g. Adams et al 2000:8; Ferg and Kessel 1987:99 and color illustration 14). However, its context, within the Stafford homestead, does not allow for a firm cultural association.

That post-Puebloan groups used this area is highly probable and, in the case of the Chiricahua Apache at least, historically documented. Therefore, it is worthwhile to consider the prospect that their occupations may have contributed to the formation of some or parts of the known sites. Their material culture was largely comprised of organic products (fiber, hide, bone, and wood) that would not remain long in the archaeological record of open sites. Apaches also reused artifacts and locations of previous occupants (e.g. Ball 1980:89; Oakes 1996; Opler 1996:195). In addition, archaeologists have identified no diagnostic lithic artifact types for the Chiricahua, the occurrence of Apache pottery is rare, and the occurrence of Euro-American goods in pre-1850 Apache sites even rarer. Apache archaeological manifestations are thus likely to be encrypted within sites that survey archaeologists routinely designate as Archaic, Formative, or unknown. Archaeologists often only identify Apache components in such sites through more intensive scrutiny and data recovery efforts; for example, from radiocarbon assays that yield post-Puebloan dates (Baugh and Sechrist 2001; Oakes 1996). Archaeologists might benefit from actively suspecting Apache occupations in sites that have aspects suggesting relatively more recent formation. Such aspects may be the odd occurrence of historic-period artifacts or patterns suggesting recent deposition (e.g. “fresh” looking fire features with large pieces of charcoal).

For example, of the Bonita Canyon sites, site AZ CC:15:014 is a large, dense, apparent multiple-component artifact scatter with Archaic and Formative period diagnostic artifacts. Baumler (1984:27) notes that ground stone is more varied and more common here than at other sites in the area and that a pestle occurred near a boulder mortar. One possible reason (among many) for this somewhat distinct formation of artifacts may be that people formed part of the site relatively recently. Similarly, site AZ CC:15:016 is one of the few found on the Bonita Creek floodplain, a geomorphic setting not likely to preserve deposits that are very old. It is a small scatter of 16 chipped stone flakes and shatter, with three polished brownware sherds. Site AZ CC:15:018 is also set on the floodplain and consists of a small assemblage of 16 chipped stone and 4 ceramic artifacts concentrated around a boulder mortar set under a walnut tree. The setting suggests the possibility that the walnut tree (for its nuts and shade) may have been the focus of a relatively recent (within the lifespan of the tree) occupation.

If Apache use of the area is a given, it is likely they were also aware of many of the caves and rock shelters in the area and may have used some of them for caching food and other materials as well as, possibly, for interring the dead (e.g. Opler 1996: 371,473). These practices are not exclusive to the Apache but Tagg and others (1987:209, citing Morris 1980:3) noted that one informant had stated that soldiers active in the area in 1885-86 found burials sealed in caves in Picket Canyon. Some of these sites may have been observed by Morris (1980 [CHIR1980A]) but, to date, no other investigation of them has been done.

The examples listed above are highly speculative. I raise them to suggest the likelihood that protohistoric and historic peoples did affect the archaeological record; but they probably did so in ways that are not easily recognized or recognizable, especially at the survey level of effort. Verification of such occupations is not always possible. It requires certain types of material evidence (especially datable materials) that highly mobile groups did not frequently deposit and that archaeological contexts do not frequently preserve. Inferring a protohistoric or historic occupation from any of these sites from the data developed so far is obviously a stretch of normative archaeological logic (as well as empirically unfounded). However, the point is that archaeologists should expect at least some effects on the archaeological record, if not direct evidence, left by groups from this period. That these groups had 300-400 years of tenancy in this area after its abandonment by the more archaeologically visible cultures indicates that such hypotheses warrant consideration and could lead to discoveries otherwise overlooked.

### **Late Historic Period Sites**

Archaeological remains from four major U.S. Territorial- and later-period occupations are present in Bonita Canyon. Archaeologists recorded the majority during a survey of the Faraway Ranch Historic District in 1983 (Baumler 1984 [CHIR1983A]). A number of subsequent projects added to this record. Archaeologists treated the 121-ha (300-acre) Faraway Ranch survey project area boundary as a single historic site (Site CHIR1983A-1) that consists of 101 features and 67 artifact locations. Historic documents and the archaeological record attest to four distinct but temporally and spatially overlapping occupations that date from 1879-80 to 1977. Archaeologists were able to define some components fairly clearly while others are more muddled or mixed.

### **Stafford Homestead (1879-1918)**

Historic occupation began with Hugh and Pauline Stafford who built their cabin in Bonita Canyon in 1879 or 1880 and established a fruit tree orchard and vegetable garden. Part of their produce supplied Fort Bowie. They had five children, one of whom (Revely) died as an infant and is buried there. In 1918, the Stafford's descendants sold their holdings to the Ericksons, who added it to their Faraway Ranch enterprise.

The Stafford's cabin is currently an extant part of the monument. Archaeologists consider most of the features and isolated artifacts near the cabin to have resulted from the Stafford's occupation. Features recorded during the 1983 survey probably represent several of the outbuildings shown in turn-of-the-19th-century photos of the Stafford homestead. Some of the concentrations of artifacts with building materials or marks in the ground appear to correspond to former outbuilding locations. One feature (Feature 69), an oval enclosure of rocks, two posts, and a headstone marked with an "R," appears to be the grave site for the Stafford's infant son, Revely. Piles of boulders and cobbles in the orchard area probably represent field clearing.

Archaeologists presume that the Staffords also left some of the fence posts, gate parts, and stone wall remnants along Bonita Creek.

### **10th Cavalry Camp at Bonita Cañon (1885-1886)**

Military records indicate a camp established in Bonita Canyon in 1885-1886 by 10th Cavalry “Buffalo Soldiers” as part of the U.S. Army’s strategy during their pursuit of Apaches with Geronimo. Portions of this camp were located during the Faraway Ranch survey (Baumler 1984) and investigated in more detail by a later project (Tagg et al. 1987).

The army emplaced this camp as part of a strategy to secure water sources, ensure mail deliveries, and patrol nearby areas against Apache movements. Documentary evidence of the camp layout and daily activities is scant except from non-military witnesses such as members of the Erickson and Stafford families who lived in Bonita Canyon afterwards. The Erickson homestead incorporated a cabin that the army originally built to house officers (Faraway Ranch house). The most salient remnant of the military occupation was a stone monument erected by the soldiers as a memorial to President James A. Garfield.

The majority of the military camp component occurs along the southern edge of Bonita Canyon, an area peripheral to and apparently less disturbed by the later ranching and farming components. Archaeologists found the Garfield Monument’s original location with the aid of historic photographs and a shallow excavation exposing remnant foundation stones. It is within a large area that includes a scatter of various 19th century bottle glass, soldered cans, square cut nails, military clothing buttons, cartridge casings, and several rock alignment features. This area probably represents at least part of the tent-rows section of the camp based on its setting and the archaeological evidence, but definitive evidence of tent sites was not clearly in evidence. A number of other rock alignment and structural features and artifact concentrations also indicate the military occupation. These include possible stone fireplaces or chimneys once connected to tents, or used as blacksmith forges, or cooking hearths; possible outbuilding footings; and a lookout post.

### **The Faraway Ranch survey (CHIR1983A) and (CHIR1986B and 1994A)**

These projects utilized metal detectors and test excavation. They recovered 3,172 artifacts. The majority appear to date to the late 19th century. Many artifact types are similar to those recovered from Fort Bowie (Herskovitz 1978). Nails are the dominant metal item with most being the square cut type typical of the period. Cans are next most common with most being solder-sealed cylindrical or rectangular containers for fruits, vegetables, and meats or fish. Metal strap fragments, often with nail holes that attest to their origin as packing crate straps, are very common as are metal cork caps from beer bottles. Particularly diagnostic of the military camp are tent slips (tent rope tighteners) and a variety of military clothing buttons and buckles that consist of pre-1884 and post-1885 styles. Unlike the Fort Bowie area, firearms cartridge casings are infrequent suggesting that if the troops had a firing range it was located some distance away from the camp. A variety of other metal artifacts that occurred in minor amounts include horse trappings, wagon parts, blacksmithing materials, stove parts, and pieces of personal items (stop watch, match safe, cigar tubes).

Glass artifacts include (in order of abundance) amber, dark green, aqua, clear, olive, amethyst (solarized), and cobalt blue bottle and other glass. Less common finds include two pieces of milk glass, one piece of a lamp mantle, and a piece of stemware. Most of the bottle bases and complete bottles with diagnostic marks date within ranges that include the Camp Bonita occupation. The investigators recovered only a few ceramics, but these were of similar plain white ironstone that the army commonly used.

Bone was relatively common in three of the features that may relate to cooking and meat storage. Most bones are from large animals but not identifiable beyond the class level. Analysts identified the majority of the 11 recognizable pieces as bovine. Fourteen bone fragments exhibit evidence of butchering and 33 are calcined from burning.

### **Erickson Homestead/Faraway Ranch (1888-1977)**

Nels and Emma Erickson with newborn daughter Lillian moved into Bonita Canyon in 1888. Nels added onto the officers' cabin from the earlier military occupation to make their house and built several outbuildings. In 1918, daughters Lillian and Hildegard bought the deed to the vacant Stafford holdings and shortly after began the Faraway Ranch enterprise for hosting guests visiting this scenic area. They remodeled the Stafford cabin and used it for guest housing. In 1923, Lillian married Ed Riggs and Hildegard married and moved to California. Lillian and Ed built up the business and helped promote the creation of Chiricahua NM in 1924, later leasing their eastern meadow to the NPS. Ed Riggs completed the building of numerous additions and facilities by 1940, most of which still remain. Ed died in 1950 and Lillian ran the operation on her own until 1975. She died in 1977 and the NPS bought the property in an agreement with her relatives.

Materials and features specifically relating to the Erickson homestead (ca. 1888-1920) were not as clearly defined as other of the historic components were. In part, this was due to intermingling of the Camp Bonita component and in part due to numerous changes to the ranch compound after 1917. Overlying materials may obscure earlier dumps; or, earlier material may be buried in yet-undetected privy pits, or otherwise obliterated by later developments. Some of the trash attributed to the Camp Bonita component may be from the initial homestead occupation. But the character of the Camp Bonita material is more monotypic than and not as diverse as that from a domestic setting. A rock enclosure north of the house that appears in a historic photograph may represent one homestead feature. Minor subsurface testing in this area found some rotted lumber, charcoal, bone, and metal. Other outbuildings that appear north of the house in the historic photograph are no longer present. Some cement remnants and old windmill parts in this area may represent them. In general, turn-of-the-century artifacts commingle with later 20th century materials in several features near the ranch house. These include industrial trash and an equipment stockpile, glass, metal, and other domestic trash. A large trash dump (Feature 20) nearly a half mile west of the house contains some early 20th century items amongst primarily later material. Several implements whose origins may predate the 1917 shift from ranching to hosting tourists include a disc harrow, farm wagon, stove top, and a bottle bin. The numerous rock piles in the survey area may in part relate to field clearing, small building foundations, and erosion or irrigation control projects by the Ericksons. Two resemble unmarked graves. Feature 1, located at the westernmost end of the monument, near its entrance, is a small cemetery with



the graves for Nels and Emma Erickson, their only son Louis, and, in a separate plot, one of their neighbors Louis Prue.

Materials resultant from the development of the Faraway Ranch—the post-1920 guest ranch enterprise that continued from the Erickson homestead—are much more prominent. They comprise over half of the 20th century component in this project area. Materials from this occupation are more abundant than the level of effort from the survey (Baumler 1984) could fully synthesize. In terms of architecture, Chappell (1979) identified some 24 structures in the National Register nomination that the survey project did not address. Outlying materials include trash accumulations, structural features, work areas/stockpiles, and artifact scatters. The archaeological survey identified some 20 trash dumps, scatters, and burning sites (Baumler 1984 [CHIR 1983A]). The largest, Feature 20, fills a 300-ft stretch of a former creek channel and contains bottles, cans, plastics, ceramics, utensils, and car parts. Many of the trash dumps include ash (including coal ash), and burned and melted items. Structural features include former bridge abutments, a possible check dam, a hearth, a sump, cement septic tanks, a stone barbecue, a stone building foundation, and possible graves. The archaeologists could not clearly link all of these features to the Faraway Ranch occupation. Other features include a stone-walled former animal pen, the foundation of a cottage that had burned, a concrete dam and spring box, and a small, collapsed lumber and metal building. An equipment pile occurs around the windmill. Hardware and benches are next to a tool shed and a barn. Lumber and adobe bricks occur in two separate stockpiles. Numerous other features and isolated artifacts reflect less intensive activities.

### **Civilian Conservation Corps (ca. 1930s-1940s)**

The CCC established a camp in the 1930s on land near Silver Spur Spring leased from the Faraway Ranch. One survey project (CHIR1999D) visited it but archaeologists have not yet fully recorded it. A structure built into a slope within the present park service maintenance yard represents the former “gas and oil house” (CHIR1999C) and has been determined eligible for National Register inclusion. An overgrown road trace nearby leads to a former quarry area. The Faraway Ranch survey (CHIR1983A) located four major dumps on the north side of Bonita Creek that have attributes suggesting the CCC created them (Baumler 1984). Archaeologists found a fifth dump further east during a survey of flood damage (CHIR1994B).

The CCC dumps typically contain a great variety of 20th century material. Coal ash and burned trash are common and includes items that indicate large-scale, regimented food service. Unofficial visits to the actual campsite indicate that the CCC commonly used coal. Military quartermaster-corps and hotel/institutional supplier hallmarks on heavy weight ceramic tableware suggest government supply sources. Cans are dominated by large (No. 10) multiple-serving sizes. Milk cans are of a post-1931 style. Bottle parts are few, possibly a result of burning, or the prohibition of alcohol from CCC camps. Other materials include furnace/stove feeder door plates, gas stove parts, paint cans, feed/water troughs, barbed wire, chicken wire, drain pipes, shovel blades, furniture frames, bedsprings and frames, window and bottle glass, leather, rubber, bone, a CCC-NPS license plate, and a 1920s car body. In addition, many buckets, tubs, coal scuttles, wash basins, and trash cans have holes punched through their bottoms. Such “kill holes” were apparently a practice by government agencies to prevent scavenging of discarded supplies. Similarly, the contexts and condition of ceramic tableware artifacts suggest many were still complete prior to being dumped.

## **Conclusion**

Bonita Canyon has been the most intensively investigated portion of Chiricahua NM and appears to hold the densest archaeological record. Native American sites in Bonita Canyon are ubiquitous but diffuse. Alluviation and dense vegetation partially obscures them. Historic activities also disturbed them and mixed later materials with some of them. The long and intensive late historic occupations of lower Bonita Canyon belie a short but very diverse history from ranching and farming to military and public works projects that stem from both the area's environmental productivity and its scenic grandeur. As such, the archaeological record in lower Bonita Canyon is composed of intermingled and overlapping deposits that provide a rich but sometimes muddled picture of the past. The more unusual and succinct deposits in the less disturbed upland and narrow canyon settings supplement this picture. Limited information developed so far indicates that these areas may contain rare and significant deposits, such as those in Garfield Cave and on Sugarloaf Peak, which can inform upon aspects of the human past not often encountered in the archaeological record, including, possibly, Apache sites.



## Chapter Three. Archaeology Project Descriptions at Chiricahua National Monument and Fort Bowie National Historic Site

Mark Sechrist

Project: FOBO0000A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: Not provided  
Type: Photogrammetry of Fort Bowie  
Location: Not provided  
Area: Not applicable  
Results: Aerial photography of Fort Bowie  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: Aerial mapping project by a Boise, Idaho company.

Project: FOBO0000B  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: Not provided  
Type: Aerial photography of Fort Bowie  
Location: Not provided  
Area: Not applicable  
Results: Aerial photography of Fort Bowie  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: Aerial mapping project by Kenney Aerial Mapping of Phoenix.

Project: FOBO0000C  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: Not provided  
Type: Historical research (ethnographic, archive)  
Location: Not provided  
Area: Not applicable  
Results: Not provided  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: No further information provided.

Project: FOBO0000D  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1977  
Type: Historical research, survey  
Location: Not provided  
Area: Not applicable  
Results: Not provided  
Info. Source: WACC project card

Description: Survey of historical buildings. No further information provided

Project: FOBO0000E  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: Not provided  
Type: Inspection  
Location: Not provided  
Area: Not applicable  
Results: Inspection?  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: No further information provided.

Project: FOBO1967A/1968A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1967, April-November. 1968, June.  
Type: Building stabilization, surface collection, excavation  
Location: Various within Ft. Bowie complex  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Refer to report by Morris (1967, 1968)  
Info. Source: WACC project card, WACC project file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Donald P. Morris and 10 Navajo laborers conducted this project. The file does not completely specify details. The data control card indicates that archaeologists collected all observable surface artifacts but excavated less than 1% of the site. The 1626 page file at WACC includes draft reports (Morris 1967, 1968) that detail the artifacts recovered, copies of military documents from the fort, and building descriptions. Included is material later published in Herskovitz' (1978) Fort Bowie Material Culture.

Project: FOBO1971A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1971, August  
Type: Building stabilization, excavation  
Location: Various within Ft. Bowie complex  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Refer to report by Henderson (1971)  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: Sam Henderson from Casa Grande NM and a crew conducted stabilization and excavated trenches along wall bases. The WACC project card indicates that a report by Henderson (1971) is on file at WACC. However, it was not available there as of 5 November 2004.

Project: FOBO1972A  
Clearance No.: None

Date Conducted: 1972, August  
Type: Building stabilization, excavation  
Location: Various within Ft. Bowie complex  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Refer to report by Henderson (1972a)  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: Sam Henderson from Casa Grande NM and a crew conducted emergency stabilization at Buildings 5, 8, 10, 18, 28, and 35. The WACC project card indicates that a report by Henderson (1972a) is on file at WACC. However, it was not available there as of 5 November 2004.

Project: FOBO1972B  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1972, May-June  
Type: Building stabilization, excavation  
Location: Post trader's store (Structure 35)  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Refer to report by Henderson (1972b)  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: Sam Henderson from Casa Grande NM and a crew removed an old under-floor drainage system to install a new one and tested a technique for applying adobe veneer to walls at the post trader's store (Structure 35). The WACC project card indicates that a report by Henderson (1972b) is on file at WACC. However, it was not available there as of 5 November 2004.

Project: FOBO1975A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1975, August  
Type: Building stabilization, excavation  
Location: Cavalry barracks and corral (Buildings 10, 18)  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Refer to report by Gregory (1975)  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: Dave Gregory and crew relocated areas disturbed by previous stabilization projects in 1967 and 1968 and conducted new stabilization at the cavalry barracks and corral (Buildings 10 and 18). The WACC project card indicates that a report by Gregory (1975) is on file at WACC. However, it was not available there as of 5 November 2004.

Project: FOBO1976A  
Clearance No.: 177-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1976, August  
Type: Survey

Location: Visitor contact station  
Area: Not provided  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: Donald P. Morris (WACC) and William Hoy (Ft. Bowie) surveyed a proposed route for a utilities access right-of-way on August 9, 1976. The route followed an existing trench over part of its length between the visitor contact station and boundary fence. The file did not indicate the total length of the survey. The archaeologists observed no surface materials within 1 m of the route.

Project: FOBO1977A  
Clearance No.: 299-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1977, December  
Type: Survey  
Location: Various  
Area: Not provided  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Barrie Thornton surveyed four areas for park maintenance and development. The projects necessitating survey consisted of modification to a spring for domestic water use; construction of a replacement public toilet (including digging a new 2.5-by-2.5-by-5-ft-deep pit); upgrades to an environmental education encampment including building an Apache-style wickiup, ramada, and pole fence; and remarking 2.5 miles of the Butterfield Trail route through Apache Pass with cairns and wooden posts. The archaeologists found no cultural materials in these areas.

Project: FOBO1977B  
Clearance No.: 231-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1977, June  
Type: Inspection  
Location: Ft. Bowie maintenance area  
Area: 210 sq m (0.05 acre)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Donald P. Morris inspected a 7-by-30 m area where NPS workers had built adobe test walls, apparently prior to any clearance procedures. From his inspection and review of prior work (stabilization reports, field notes, maps, and photographs), Morris determined that no cultural resources were impacted.

Project: FOBO1978A  
Clearance No.: 149-78-FOBO

Date Conducted: 1978, November  
Type: Survey  
Location: Overlook ridge, eastern quarter of park  
Area: 1600 sq m (0.4 acre)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Pat Mercado surveyed a roughly 1065 m (3500 ft) long by 1.5 m (5 ft) wide route for a planned foot trail between the western edge of Overlook Ridge and a point about midway along the main access trail into Fort Bowie. The route follows gravelly grass-covered terrain along the slope of Overlook Ridge and crosses brushy stands across Siphon Canyon. It crossed the Butterfield Overland trail, which was visible on the ground and another historic access route into Fort Bowie from the north that was not visible. They observed no other cultural manifestations.

Project: FOBO1978B  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1978  
Type: Inspection/excavation  
Location: Throughout Ft. Bowie complex  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Not provided  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: WACC archaeologists Barrie Thornton and Donald P. Morris reopened stabilization trenches near Buildings 1, 3, 5, 10, 15, 18, 21, and 35 to examine the condition and effectiveness of early stabilization work (related to projects FOBO 1967A and 1968A). The WACC project card indicates that it published a report by Thornton (1978), but it is not on file at WACC.

Project: FOBO1979A  
Clearance No.: 008-79-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1979, February  
Type: Survey  
Location: Monument fire road  
Area: 2800 sq m (0.69 acre)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Pat Mercado surveyed 10 ft to either side of an existing fire road to the park residence to allow for maintenance due to erosion. The archaeologist reported the terrain to be very hilly and covered by sparse grasses and low brush, and observed no archaeological materials.

Project: FOBO1979B



Clearance No.: 009-79-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1979, February  
Type: Survey  
Location: Head of Ft. Bowie trail, parking area  
Area: 180 sq m (0.05 acre)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Pat Mercado surveyed two small areas next to the parking area at the Fort Bowie trail head. One area measuring 20 by 100 ft was for an outhouse and the second, measuring 20 by 600 ft, was for a ramada and display (It is not clear why the second area was not included in the area-surveyed total. There is a note on the project card that this project was part of FOBO1979A that may account for it). The terrain was level, set at the base of a hill, and devoid of vegetation. Mercado reported no archaeological materials.

Project: FOBO1979C  
Clearance No.: 010-79-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1979, February  
Type: Survey  
Location: Ft. Bowie cemetery  
Area: 3000 sq m (0.74 acre)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: Fort Bowie proposed replacing a barbed wire fence enclosing the historic cemetery with a wooden picket fence. Pat Mercado and Randy Kane (WACC) surveyed an area approximately 50 by 60 m in size following the barbed wire fencing and an area extending beyond it indicated by a historic stone wall. The terrain was relatively flat with hills to the north and west, and vegetated by grasses, cacti, and low shrubs. Other than the stone wall that probably dates to the original outline of the cemetery by the military, no other archaeological materials were observed. A note on the project card indicates this project was part of FOBO1979A but does not detail how.

Project: FOBO1979D  
Clearance No.: 011-79-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1979, February  
Type: Survey  
Location: Butterfield Trail, Wagon Massacre site, Apache Pass  
Area: 125 sq m (0.03 acre)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file

Description: Pat Mercado and Randy Kane (WACC) surveyed three small areas for visitor facilities. They surveyed 4 sq. ft where the Butterfield Trail crosses the modern dirt road for an exhibit. They surveyed an area of 7 by 9 m south of the dirt road at the Wagon Massacre site along the Butterfield Trail for proposed picnic facilities. They surveyed an area of 20 by 40 ft north of the dirt road in Apache Pass for an exhibit, picnic, and parking areas. (The WACC project card indicates a total of 0.02 acre surveyed, because someone mistakenly calculated the Wagon Massacre site area as 7 by 9 feet instead of meters/yards as indicated in text and sketch). The terrain in these areas is generally hilly and crossed by intermittent drainages. Short grasses and juniper trees dominate the vegetation in Apache Pass. Field workers observed no archaeological materials in any of the three areas. A note on the project card indicates this project was part of FOBO1979A but does not detail how.

Project: FOBO1979E  
Clearance No.: 012-79-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1979, February  
Type: Survey  
Location: Ft. Bowie ranger's residence  
Area: 7000 sq m (1.72 acres)  
Results: Light scatter of historic trash  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Pat Mercado surveyed an area of 200 by 375 ft for relocation of the ranger's residence from its hilltop location to a lower setting. The setting is an uneven ridge covered by short grasses and intermittent low shrubs and junipers. A light and uneven scatter of apparently post-1900 debris (scrap metal, bottle glass, nails) probably represents an extension of debris from the "boneyard" utility storage area. A note on the project card indicates this project was part of FOBO1979A but does not detail how.

Project: FOBO1979F  
Clearance No.: 013-79-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1979, February  
Type: Survey  
Location: Ft. Bowie utility storage area  
Area: 25 sq m (<0.01 acre)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: WACC archaeologist Pat Mercado surveyed a 5-by-5 m area next to the ranger's office for a buried gas line. The setting is relatively flat, located at the base of a hill, and in part buried by recent fill

dumped there by park personnel. No cultural resources were located in this area. A note on the project card indicates this project was part of FOBO1979A but does not detail how.

Project: FOBO1980A  
Clearance No.: 019-80-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1980, March  
Type: Survey  
Location: Trail to first Ft. Bowie  
Area: 1670 sq m (0.41 acre)  
Results: A few pieces of glass  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: Mark Baumler and a crew of three from WACC surveyed a 60-by-300 ft corridor for a new trail route between the first and second Fort Bowie ruins to alleviate ongoing erosion on the original trail. The route crossed a 20-40 degree slope over loose, rocky soil with sparse vegetation. The archaeologists observed a few pieces of historic glass that slope wash might have displaced. Baumler notes that prehistoric artifacts are present in the first Fort Bowie area but observed none in this survey corridor.

Project: FOBO1984A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1984, September-October  
Type: Mapping and excavation  
Location: Tom Jeffords' Chiricahua Agency  
Area: 485 sq m (0.12 acre)  
Results: Excavation of a three-room adobe building  
Info. Source: WACC project card, project report, field notes  
Description: Mardith Schuetz and a crew of numerous volunteers excavated a historic three-room adobe building with funding from the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association (Schuetz 1984). The goal of this excavation was to assess whether the building was the 1858-1861 Butterfield stage station or part of the late-1860s Anderson Quartz Mill occupation, and, in either case, whether it was the building eventually used by Tom Jeffords as his agency headquarters for the short-lived Chiricahua Apache reservation in 1875. The theoretical focus of this project in part stems from work done at another building ruin by Don Morris in 1967-68 that Morris asserted was the Butterfield station. Later doubts about that conclusion led to increased interest over the present ruin. NPS initiated its excavation to verify whether it matched historical descriptions of the stage station and Jeffords' agency. Its excavation involved uncovering the perimeter and interior of the building itself, plus the porch and parts of a corral and an outbuilding. Results indicated at least two floor levels in the main

house and some other remodeling. Thousands of artifacts were recovered and time diagnostic artifacts cluster within the 1870s period, with some possibly dating earlier but apparently few postdating 1880. Schuetz concludes from the floor plan, construction style (adobe) and diagnostic artifacts (1870s) that this site accords well with having been Jeffords' agency headquarters. She indicates that it does not match expectations for being the stage station and suggests that it was probably originally built by the Anderson Quartz Mill, although it is definitely not the mill site itself but likely an associated housing or office facility. Schuetz does not discuss the fact that many of the cartridge casings bear headstamps postdating Jeffords' occupation, a fact that probably reflects significant use by Fort Bowie personnel after Jeffords' left. Of additional interest are a small number of Native American-affiliated artifacts—two glass trade beads, two Hohokam plain ware sherds, a sherd of micaceous brown ware (possibly Apachean), and a trough metate that suggest native presence or perhaps curation/reuse of these items by other occupants. Archaeologists also collected a set of 22 Papago sherds from an eroding midden between the first and second Fort Bowie installations but they do not make clear whether this “midden” is a Fort Bowie-related feature with some imported historic O’odham pottery, or whether it reflects an actual O’odham occupation. Field notes also indicate that the archaeologists excavated a suspected burial pit next to the building Morris studied. However, they uncovered no skeleton or other remains.

Project: FOBO1986A  
 Clearance No.: 048-86-FOBO  
 Date Conducted: 1986, May  
 Type: Survey  
 Location: Overlook Ridge  
 Area: 1200 sq m (0.3 acre)  
 Results: No archaeological materials found  
 Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
 Description: WACC archaeologist George Teague surveyed a 20-by-60 m corridor for a spur trail between an existing trail on Overlook Ridge and a viewing point to the south. The terrain was rocky and had sparse vegetation. He observed no cultural resources. Archaeologists had previously surveyed the Overlook Ridge trail in 1978 (FOBO1978A).

Project: FOBO1988A  
 Clearance No.: None  
 Date Conducted: 1988, March-May  
 Type: Stabilization

Location: Fort Bowie buildings  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Not provided  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: Five workers supervised by Robert Haile stabilized walls at Fort Bowie (building nos. 1, 4, 5, 10, 14, 18, 26, and 35). The WACC project card indicates that a report by Thompson (1989a) is on file at WACC. However, it was not available there as of 5 November 2004.

Project: FOBO1989A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1989, February  
Type: Inspection  
Location: Contact station, Butterfield trail, cemetery  
Area: Not provided  
Results: Not provided  
Info. Source: WACC project card, project trip report  
Description: WACC archaeologist George Teague inspected three existing facilities in the Fort Bowie site for proposed maintenance and improvements. He assessed the footbridge at the contact station for the installation of hand rails that would require sinking posts into the ground. Since artificial fill was present there, he anticipated no impact. Plans called for rebuilding a ramada in its current location along the Butterfield trail and rebuilding the picket fence around the Fort Bowie cemetery. Teague expected no impacts at either place since existing post holes were to be reused. He observed no archaeological materials during the inspections.

Project: FOBO1989B  
Clearance No.: 117-89-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1989, August  
Type: Survey  
Location: East boundary, fort buildings  
Area: 5.46 ha (13.5 acres)  
Results: Historic deposits noted  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: George Teague (WACC) and two crew members surveyed a total of nearly 4 km (2.46 mi.) of linear corridor (45 ft wide) for three proposed sections of barbed wire fence to exclude cattle from historic features. They surveyed larger areas (15 by 25 ft) at 13 strain panel (braced anchor points) locations. One section forms an oblique L north of Overlook Ridge, the second follows the historic site's eastern boundary, and the third crosses terrain to the south of the ruins and then angles northwestward roughly in parallel to the main foot trail. The terrain was highly variable, crossing washes

and ridge tops and ground cover was generally sparse. The archaeologists found no cultural materials in areas of direct impacts (fence posts, strain panels) but Teague noted that many unrecorded historic artifacts and concentrations occur in adjacent areas.

Project: FOBO1989C  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1989, month not provided  
Type: Historic dump inventory; rifle range inventory  
Location: Northeast of Overlook Ridge  
Area: 2670 sq m (.66 acre)  
Results: Inventory of Ft. Bowie dump and Capt. Budd's Target  
Info. Source: WACC project card, project file, reports  
Description: Fort Bowie Dump. Fort Bowie ranger Larry Ludwig located and inventoried a very extensive dump feature affiliated with the historic occupation of Fort Bowie. The dump is located northwest of the fort on the north slope of Overlook Ridge. The setting is a hill slope with limestone outcroppings vegetated by mountain mahogany, mesquite, juniper, acacia, and cactus. The dump is linear, measuring 850 by 60 ft. A historic wagon road that accessed it runs parallel. Ludwig inventoried the eastern half of the dump using 10 ft grid units, collecting information on some 2230 artifacts. Artifact classes include bottles, cans, firearms cartridge casings, kitchenware, horseshoes and tack, wagon parts, uniform and clothing buttons and buckles, barrel bands, pails, clay smoking pipes, building hardware, brick, tools, telegraph battery parts and insulator fragments, and some Native American artifacts (projectile points, plainware sherds, and redware sherds). The report provides a thorough and detailed compendium of artifact types and time frames associated with the fort. It focuses on the time-diagnostic artifacts, the vast majority of which fall within the 1862-1894 occupation span of the fort. Ludwig notes some evidence of material separation—much of the metal is concentrated in the western quarter of the dump and bottles and other artifacts are concentrated in the eastern three-quarters. He presents no discussion about whether different sections of the dump date to specific time frames, but some effects of trash burning, re-deposition by drainages, and disturbances from cattle grazing and looters' digging are indicated.

Captain Budd's Target. In the canyon north of the dump, Ludwig located a firing range consisting of an impact area, target butt, and the 300- and 600-yd. firing lines. Ludwig's report provides an in-depth inventory and discussion of the different calibers and headstamps associated with the Fort Bowie soldiers and Apache

scouts. The impact area was apparently simply the western end of the canyon, indicated by the presence of lead bullets. The target butt was an earth and rock construction measuring 23 by 14 ft located uprange of the impact area. It protected observers watching the impacts. Associated with it were cartridge casings and bullets, wood (possibly target frames), and other refuse. A loose scatter of 37 rifle and pistol cartridge casings indicates the 300-yd. firing line (the pistol casings may only be incidental since 300 yards is too far for pistol shots). This line is in poor condition due to a manure dump overlying it that has badly corroded many of the casings. Of those with identifiable calibers and headstamps, dates of manufacture concentrate within the late 1870s to late 1880s. A cluster of 139 rifle cartridge casings in a 137-by-42-ft area marked the 600-yd. firing line. Calibers and headstamps also indicate primarily a late 1870s to late 1880s time frame, but the 600-yd. line differs from the 300-yd. line in having a significantly higher proportion of the older internally-primed casings (47% vs. 7%). Whether this reflects behavior or differential preservation of casings (especially in light of the manure dump's impact) is uncertain. Ludwig attributed the target to Captain Otho Williams Budd based on a letter dating from 1887.

Project: FOBO1989D  
 Clearance No.: 009-90-FOBO  
 Date Conducted: 1989, December  
 Type: Survey  
 Location: Visitor contact station  
 Area: 1052 sq m (0.26 acres)  
 Results: Scattered non-diagnostic historic artifacts  
 Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
 Description: George Teague (WACC) and two others surveyed a 150-by-75 ft area to accommodate the removal of the old visitor contact station and the building of a new one next to it. The setting is on a slight easterly slope with 20 percent vegetation coverage. About one-third of the surface is exposed bedrock. The archaeologists observed less than 25 historic artifacts, consisting mostly of bottle body shards.

Project: FOBO1989E  
 Clearance No.: None  
 Date Conducted: 1989, March-May  
 Type: Stabilization  
 Location: Various historic buildings  
 Area: Not provided  
 Results: Not provided  
 Info. Source: WACC project card

Description: Paul Thompson (Fort Bowie) and a crew of three conducted stabilization of walls on buildings 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 14, 18, 26, 32, 37, and 69. The WACC project card indicates that a report by Thompson (1989b) is on file at WACC. However, it was not available there as of 5 November 2004.

Project: FOBO1990A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1990, May  
Type: Reconnaissance  
Location: Siphon Canyon  
Area: 2 ha (5 acres)  
Results: Three areas checked for Bascom Campsite  
Info. Source: WACC project card, project reports  
Description: WACC archaeologist George Teague and three others inspected three locations in Siphon Canyon, to the north of the Fort Bowie ruins, as prospects for the location of the Bascom Party campsite, affiliated with the 1861 "Bascom Affair." They checked three locations of about one-half acre in size each, considered good prospective campsites (based on exposure to wind and sun, and defensibility [Ludwig 1993]).

Location A has no associated artifacts or features.

Location B has a cairn or short wall, half an army canteen, and a lard can.

Location C straddles the old Butterfield trail and contains a dozen cans, a piece of iron strap and a historic white ware sherd on the sandy, brushy bench west of the wash. This effort could not confirm any of these locations as the Bascom party camp from this effort. Teague commented that such a short-term campsite is not likely to contain much debris and recommended that a metal detector survey be conducted to test for buried metal artifacts.

Subsequently, Larry Ludwig (Ludwig 1993) surveyed these areas more closely and utilized a metal detector. At Location A, he observed a single .50-70 cartridge casing. It does not pertain to the Bascom Affair since the army introduced this caliber after 1866. At Location B, he observed no additional finds. At Location C, he recorded a number of additional items. Some potentially date within the Bascom Affair time frame and others postdate it. The most common items were solder-sealed food cans (n=35) which were in use for a long period of pre- and post-Civil War time. A stoneware ale bottle sherd has markings that date it prior to 1869. Metal detector survey acquired 15 hits on buried metal material



that Ludwig did not excavate at this time. He notes that a looter had collected a brass epaulet and Civil War-era coffee pot from this area in 1984. Artifacts postdating the Bascom affair at this location include .45-70 casings and aqua and brown beer bottle shards. Other undated items include brass rings and a coffee grinder part. Ludwig suggests from the character of the artifacts (lack of complete, ornamental, and diagnostic items) that looters may have depleted this site. He indicates that, of the three sites, Location C, based on its location and artifact assemblage is the best candidate for being Bascom's camp.

Project: FOBO1990B  
Clearance No.: 030-91-FOBO. 073-93-FOBO.  
Date Conducted: 1990, September  
Type: Survey  
Location: Siphon Canyon to Ranger Station  
Area: 2 ha (5 acres)  
Results: Crosses Butterfield trail, firing lines, and artifact scatter  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: An intensive pedestrian survey was conducted within a 50 ft wide transect by George Teague (WACC) and P. Thompson (Ft. Bowie) prior to the installation of a 4400 ft long water line between a well in Siphon Canyon and Fort Bowie administrative buildings. The line begins in the bottom of Siphon Canyon and proceeds southeastward over the steep slopes and crest of Overlook Ridge, across a smaller canyon (Fort Bowie access road), and terminates at the foot of a gentle ridge slope. Grasses and shrubs dominate the vegetation. Ground visibility was high. The only archaeological features and artifacts the archaeologists noted were associated with the historic occupations. These consist of a wagon road trace (Butterfield stage), firing lines and target butts, and a sparse artifact scatter (artifacts washed downslope from Overlook Ridge). In 1993, this survey's results provided clearance for the installation of a 14-by-21-ft island for fuel tanks within the maintenance area (clearance no. 073-93-FOBO). It notes a historic lime kiln within 30 ft of this location as the only archaeological resource nearby.

Project: FOBO1991A  
Clearance No.: 038-91-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1991, April  
Type: Survey, reconnaissance  
Location: Administrative area  
Area: 9700 sq m (2.4 acres)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file

Description: George Teague (WACC) and two others conducted an intensive pedestrian survey along the dirt access road to the Fort Bowie administrative area prior to proposed paving and drainage modifications. Part (1200 ft) is within the Fort Bowie property and part (1400 ft) is within an easement through private land. The road follows a tributary canyon to Bear Gulch, paralleling an intermittent drainage along the relatively steep northwest slope of the canyon. Vegetation was sparse. The archaeologists found no cultural material.

Project: FOBO1993A  
Clearance No.: 031-93-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1993, April  
Type: Survey  
Location: Northern edge of property  
Area: 1.1 ha (2.8 acres)  
Results: No archaeological materials found  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: George Teague (WACC) and four others conducted an intensive survey along a 2200-ft-long segment of an El Paso Natural Gas Pipeline slated for re-excavation, repair, or replacement. The pipeline crosses 1600 ft of the northern edge of the Fort Bowie property, between Siphon and Goodwin Canyons. The terrain crosses the base of north-facing slopes and largely parallels an improved road. The original installation of the pipeline left the corridor heavily disturbed. The archaeologists observed no cultural material within the corridor but noted the ruins of a historic dugout about 120 m (400 ft) south.

Project: FOBO1996A  
Clearance No.: NAE-001-97-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1996, October  
1997, July  
Type: Survey  
Location: Western end of property, Quillin Mines  
Area: Approximately 2.6 ha (6.4 acres) (32% of total project = 8.1 ha [20 acres])  
Results: 16 mines recorded  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: Charles Haecker (ICRC) assessed 50 historic mining features within the Fort Bowie (n=16) and adjacent BLM (n=34) properties in the western section of the Fort Bowie property, in Willow Canyon. Agencies proposed these mines for closure by refilling or gating their entrances to eliminate safety hazards. Few details on the results of the survey—historical or archaeological data associated with the mines or any other cultural resources in the ca.

100 ha (250 acre) project area—are provided in the WACC files other than the mention of a 1920s-era dwelling associated with one mine. Files indicate a report by Haecker in 1997 but it WACC does not hold a copy of it (a report produced by BLM, Safford Office, is also mentioned [no author 1997] that may be the same). Of the 16 mines within Fort Bowie, nine are prospect pits, four are shafts, one is an adit, and two are trenches. Haecker recommended five of these for closure.

Project: FOBO1997A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 1997, March  
Type: Photo-interpretation for abandoned mine sites  
Location: Parkwide  
Area: Not applicable  
Results: 29 locations indicated as abandoned mines  
Info. Source: WACC project card, project file  
Description: Arthur Ireland (ICRC) analyzed aerial photographs to identify abandoned mines in Fort Bowie and adjacent BLM properties. He identified 29 adits, trenches, and shafts. He completed a report of this work (Ireland 1997) but WACC does not hold a copy.

Project: FOBO1998A  
Clearance No.: 001-98-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1998, August  
Type: Survey  
Location: Property corners  
Area: 2200 sq m (0.54 acres)  
Results: No archaeological materials recorded  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file  
Description: Lisa Schub (WACC) and Larry Ludwig (Ft. Bowie) surveyed 22 property corner locations before the installation of braced fence posts (two others were surveyed under FOBO1989B and the remaining two corners had not been located yet). They surveyed a 10-by-10-m area at each location. They did not survey the corridor between fence corners. The archaeologists found no significant cultural materials in direct impact areas.

Project: FOBO1998B  
Clearance No.: 001-99-FOBO  
Date Conducted: 1998, November  
Type: Survey  
Location: Siphon Canyon  
Area: 3.2 ha (8 acres; part is on BLM land)  
Results: No archaeological materials recorded  
Info. Source: WACC project card, clearance file

Description: JoAnn Blalack (WACC) surveyed a 640-m- (0.4-mi.-) long corridor for a buried waterline in upper Siphon Canyon for the relocation of livestock water trough to the outside of Fort Bowie property (the corridor width is unstated, how acreage total was arrived at is unclear). The survey followed the sandy, rocky bed of the drainage in Siphon Canyon with two locations up to 40 m (130 ft) in diameter on adjacent benches for a holding tank and water trough. Blalack observed no archaeological materials.

Project: FOBO1999A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: Not provided  
Type: Survey  
Location: Visitor contact station, second Ft. Bowie trail  
Area: Not provided  
Results: No archaeological materials recorded  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: The project card indicates a survey led by Lisa Schub (WACC) for handicap accessibility modifications to the visitor contact station and trail to the second Fort Bowie ruins. The lack of survey results data, clearance number, and a survey report suggests this was a project initiated in the bureaucratic stages but never actually carried out (Ron Beckwith, personal communication 5 November 2004).

Project: FOBO2002A  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: Not provided  
Type: Survey  
Location: First Ft. Bowie  
Area: Not provided  
Results: No archaeological materials recorded  
Info. Source: WACC project card  
Description: The project card indicates a survey led by Pat Baird (WACC) to document illegal disturbances—Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) violations—near the first Fort Bowie ruins. The project card presents no results. It indicates a “trip report” but none was on file at WACC.

Project: FOBO2002B  
Clearance No.: None  
Date Conducted: 2002, June-September  
Type: Survey  
Location: Entire Ft. Bowie property  
Area: 405 ha (1000 acres)  
Results: 72 sites recorded

Info. Source:

WACC project card, draft survey report

Description:

This is the most extensive and comprehensive survey and recording project yet done on the Fort Bowie National Historic Site. Co-supervisors Lynne Gardner and Jeff Burton (WACC) and a crew of four WACC archaeologists systematically surveyed the entire Fort Bowie property; recording 72 newly discovered and previously investigated archaeological sites, 64 isolated features, and 74 loci of isolated artifacts. As of this writing, a draft report (Bucher et al 2004) presents the results. Pedestrian survey was conducted with a 25-30 m transect interval. Fieldworkers intensified their efforts in certain "targeted areas." The report incorporates text from some of the earlier projects' findings and synthesizes the results of others, particularly the numerous building excavations and stabilizations from the earliest period of development of the NHS. The authors note that some NPS undertakings adversely affected some sites. This fact indirectly suggests that the small-scale avoidance-oriented surveys that managers implemented in piecemeal fashion may have inadequately recorded the full extent and character of the archaeological record. The finalized results of this survey should provide a more comprehensive management framework and more complete culture history for the Fort Bowie NHS.

Prehistoric Sites. The earliest occupations at Fort Bowie were apparently during the Late Archaic (ca. 1500 B.C.-A.D. 300) based on diagnostic projectile point types found on seven sites. Small amounts of plain brown ware ceramics at some of these seven sites suggest continuing or separate occupations into the later Formative period. Sites with Archaic components are most common on ridges along Siphon Canyon, Willow Gulch, and an unnamed major drainage at the west end of the property. They include extensive chipped stone scatters, often with ground stone tools, and occasional burned rock features. Formative period sites dated by ceramic and architectural types are most common along Siphon Canyon. Plain and textured brown ware and occasional Mimbres Black-on-white sherds at five sites indicate occupations during the Mogollon Pithouse- and early Pueblo-period (ca. A.D. 1000-1150). Upright rock slab alignments at one of these sites outline habitation structures. The archaeologists suspected buried structures at three other sites. The Mogollon components tend to lack ground stone and fire features but may be associated with nearby sites that have them. Roasting pit features occur near one site. Mogollon, Salado, and Casas Grandes ceramics at two sites indicate Late Pueblo-period (ca. AD 1200-1400) occupations. They include alignments of upright stone slabs or mounded rubble structural remains. Ground stone is present within these sites and a burned rock

feature is near one room block. Neither site appears to represent very large residential communities

Protohistoric Prospects. As with most of the Southwest, archaeologists identified very little definitive evidence of post-Puebloan occupations at Fort Bowie. Schuetz' (1984) report on excavation of the Jeffords' agency headquarters mentions that a set of 22 Papago sherds was collected from an eroding "midden" between the first and second Fort Bowie installations but it is not made clear whether this midden is a fort-related feature with some imported historic O'odham pottery, or whether it reflects an actual O'odham occupation. Bucher and others (2004) do not mention this material. They interpreted a single Papago Plain sherd within an otherwise prehistoric lithic and ceramic site (Site 64) as part of a historic scatter. Several other projects note the presence of Native American artifacts among historic materials and contexts, and the prospect for undocumented co-use of the area during contact has been suggested (e.g. Herskovitz 1978; Schuetz 1984). The military may not have regularly recorded trade and other interactions with nearby native peoples.

Historic Apache Sites. The survey identified twelve late historic Apache sites. They contain stone ring features (presumably representing wickiup outlines) with associated modified metal and glass artifacts such as iron arrow points, cone jingles, bent wire "ash bread" grills, iron awls, tweezers made from firearms cartridge casings, cans with holes punched in them for use as strainers, glass and ceramic beads, and tools made from chipped bottle glass. Artifacts are typically sparse and often include chipped and ground stone items. All of the 12 Apache sites date to the middle to late 1800s and reflect close interaction with the Americans, particularly the military, which strongly suggests that most were sites used by Apaches employed by the U.S. military and not those affiliated with Mangas' or Cochise's "hostile" bands. The archaeologists infer this relationship in part from the locations of the sites, most of which are on open ridge tops, often overlooking the fort, and the wealth of American materials. Based on historic photographs and documents, at least four sites (Sites 7, 8, 15, 40) represent the camps of non-Chiricahua scouts (mostly White Mountain Apache) and their families. There is little definite physical evidence to indicate the Chiricahua presence, although some of the wickiup sites, isolated camps, and processing areas could have resulted from Chiricahua activity. Apache artifacts observed from investigations at the Butterfield Stage station (Site 22) are relevant to peaceful (e.g. pottery and flaked glass, grinding slick) and possibly hostile (iron arrow points, early firearms

ammunition) activity, most likely by Chiricahuas. A 20-acre area on Overlook Ridge with stone breastworks and over 400 artifacts (Site 36) represents the Apache Pass battle site of July 16, 1862 (a separate report on this site is pending). The Apache Pass Mining Company building that was reused for Jeffords' Chiricahua Agency (Site 18) contained artifacts attributable to Chiricahuas such as beads, ground stone, and pottery (see also FOBO1984A). The archaeologists interpreted the location where a scatter of chipped stone artifacts and burned rock feature (Site 69) also happens to be—presumably an unrelated prehistoric site—as the location where Chiricahuas reportedly attacked a wagon train during the “Bascom affair.” Archaeologists observed no physical evidence of this attack but later activities had impacted the context. Two graves of late historic period Native Americans are within a later scatter of mining-related artifacts (Site 65). One grave consists of a rock pile with a brass identification tag in it. The second is simply represented by another brass identification tag (field workers collected the tags). One tag belonged to a White Mountain Apache and the other to a Yavapai (known at the time as “Mojave-Apache”). The authors do not indicate which tag was associated with the rock pile or what the context of the other tag was. Some Chiricahuas and other civilians were reportedly also buried in the post cemetery (Site 21). In 1895, the army disinterred about 75 sets of military remains and reburied them in San Francisco. It is unclear whether these included any Apaches or what the identities of any remaining bodies are. Unmarked graves are located both within and outside the cemetery's marked boundary.

Anglo-American Sites. Roadway, military, mining, ranching, and other late historic activities stemming from U.S. rule of this area formed the bulk of the archaeological record. This activity began with the emigrant trail through Apache Pass that became a mail route by 1857 (Site 55). Thirty-four features associated with this road include rock retaining walls and other rock features, wagon ruts, artifact concentrations, and the telegraph line. The archaeologists also recorded numerous isolated artifacts (cans, glass, nails, horse and mule shoes, lumber, firearms cartridge casings) along the route. In 1858, workers built the Butterfield Stage station. The stage company abandoned it by 1861. Don Morris first excavated and stabilized the site in 1968 (FOBO1967A/1968A) and the 2002 project recorded this, along with the corral, a possible outbuilding, and scattered artifacts (including prehistoric artifacts) as Site 22. This effort incorporated the results of a metal detector survey conducted by Larry Ludwig in 1995 that recovered 419 artifacts and a proton magnetometer

survey from 2002 that indicated the extension of some wall features underground and the possible location for the grave of a Butterfield employee. The artifact assemblage recovered from Morris' excavations and Ludwig's metal detector survey is extensive and includes nails (hand wrought, square cut, and wire), bottle shards, horse and mule shoes, tack and fittings, wagon parts, barrel bands, ammunition (balls, bullets, caps, cartridge casings), iron scrap and hardware, window glass, ceramics, cooking utensils, cans, leather, animal bone, personal items, and prehistoric and possible Apache items. Some of the artifacts (mid-1800s ammunition, a button, and iron arrow points) and their patterning may represent Bascom-affair battle lines. Two plain utility sherds, a flaked bottle shard, iron arrow points, and some stone artifacts suggest use by Apaches, possibly before the station was built or during times of peace. About half of the artifacts postdate the stage station indicating continued use of the building by the military and others after the Butterfield Company abandoned it. Two historic artifact concentrations are on a terrace on the west side of Siphon Canyon. The Butterfield trail bisects them. These artifacts appear to reflect multiple episodes of camping along the trail and include items dating from the mid-1800s. Some collections made in 1984 and 1990 (Ludwig 1991) include a pre-1869 stoneware ale bottle, an 1854-72-era military epaulette, and a coffee pot similar to those used during the Civil War. Ludwig (1993; see FOBO 1990A) considers this component prospective evidence of a camp made by Lt. Bascom's party in 1861. He also recorded soldered food cans, fragments of barrel bands, wire, bottle glass, a coffee grinder part, and cartridge casings from later occupants.

Military Sites. Military sites include the Apache Pass battle site (Site 36) which predates Fort Bowie, and the first and second set of buildings that constituted the Fort Bowie cantonment (Sites 1, 2). The details of these complex sites are not included in this survey. Hartzler (2001) and Herskovitz (1978) discuss the architectural aspects and material culture from fort stabilization projects. Numerous related sites and features from the 32-year-long military occupation include trash dumps; firing ranges for pistol, rifle, and cannon practice; adobe, rock, and lime quarries for building materials; and the post cemetery. In addition, the majority of the Apache scout sites can be considered military-affines, as can some of the mining and ranching sites. The Apache Pass battle site (Site 36) appears to represent the clash between the Chiricahua bands of Cochise and Mangas Coloradas and the U.S. Army's California Column on July 16, 1862. It occupies some 20 acres on Overlook Ridge and includes seven low rock alignments that apparently served as breastworks for the military. Metal detector survey by



Larry Ludwig yielded 400 artifacts, most of which were buried. The full report of that work is pending. The first Fort Bowie (Site 1) is a 15-acre site that was occupied by the military from 1862-69 and then by civilians until 1894 and consists of 68 features, including 21 structures that were excavated and stabilized by the NPS. Other features include as-yet unstabilized structures, walls, rock piles, dumps, quarries, roads and trails, and a pit. The army constructed the second Fort Bowie in 1868 as a more formal layout with parade grounds and occupied it until 1894. It comprises a 32-acre site consisting of 149 features. Of these, 71 are structures and walls. Others include a flagpole, roads, tennis courts, a privy or trash pit, artifact scatters, check dams, walls, rock alignments and piles, a trench and berm, and trash concentrations. The site also includes some intrusive features and artifacts from prehistoric, later mining and ranching, and possible Apache occupations. Fort Bowie established its cemetery (Site 21) in 1862 about .5 mi. west of the fort. National Park Service workers have partially restored it. An adobe wall with a stone foundation bounded it in 1878. The army replaced that with a picket fence in 1885. The cemetery measures 100 by 110 ft but graves are known to exist outside its boundaries. Rock alignments to the east and north suggest once larger boundaries, possibly related to an expansion in 1879. Meade Kemrer conducted a magnetometer survey in 2001 to help locate graves but this effort did not substantially augment what historic documents indicated. Records from 1883 indicate 61 individuals were buried there, including military, civilian, and Apaches. The graves faced north and had wooden markers. Records are lacking for the period after 1883 except for indications that the army removed about 75 sets of military remains and reburied them in the San Francisco National Cemetery in 1895. Other major military sites include some recorded during previous projects (the second fort dump [Site 4] and Captain Budd's Target [Site 5; both in FOBO1989C]), whose text the authors added to this report. Archaeologists discovered and recorded several target range features, including target platforms, target butts, and firing lines (Sites 11-14, 23, 26, 27, 45, 48, 50, 58, and 60). Some of these ranges extend off the Fort Bowie property onto adjacent lands. These sites typically include rock features that protected near-target observation positions, leveled platforms for wooden targets, and clusters of cartridge casings or percussion caps that mark firing positions that the army placed standard distances (e.g. 100, 300, 600 yards) uprange of targets. Many of them overlap other sites and include other components. Four sites (Sites 19, 41, 56, 71) consist of pits from the historic excavation of adobe soils, rock, and lime for building materials. Some are quite extensive and sometimes include unrelated artifacts and features. Apache Spring

(Site 3) reportedly once yielded numerous ceramic artifacts, which suggests that it was also a prehistoric locus, but the surveyors found only one sherd there. Army occupants of the first Fort Bowie modified the spring as their primary water source and the NPS later modified it further by adding retaining walls, piping, and a holding tank. Site 72 consists of rock piles, insulators, large nails, and pieces of wire that together constitute six former telephone/telegraph pole locations. They are spaced along the Butterfield trail over a distance of 0.75 mi. The army replaced the telegraph with a telephone line in 1890 and the extant artifacts are apparently leavings from the final removal of the telephone poles.

Mining Sites. Mining began in 1864, shortly after Fort Bowie was established and at least partially a result of the mining activities and interests of military personnel. The Apache Pass Mining Company was founded by a partnership between a colonel and a civilian (later to include Chiricahua Agency head Tom Jeffords) who built a steam-driven ore crusher mill, storehouse, and employee quarters in 1868, but closed in 1870 due to the lack of water. At the western end of Overlook Ridge, four sets of stone structural remains represent the storehouse, a forge, a depression, and a cistern that constituted part of the Apache Pass Mining Co. facilities (Site 17). Six hundred yards east, at the foot of the slope below the first fort, is the site of the crusher mill (Site 20). Concrete footings for the mill, and stone, adobe, and brick walls mark the locations of other machinery bases and structures. Concentrations of crushed quartz and other debris and artifacts lie around these features. The mining company built an adobe house in 1869 that eventually became the headquarters for Chiricahua Reservation agent Tom Jeffords. Schuetz (1984) excavated this site (Site 18) earlier (see FOBO1984A). Mining ceased in this area after 1877, when the government increased the size of the military reservation to encompass 36 square miles. Miners opened claims again in Siphon Canyon and Willow Gulch after the fort closed in 1894. Don Morris excavated and stabilized a stone cabin along the "Ruins Trail" in 1967 (Site 29; FOBO1967A/1968A). It is a one-room structure dug into fill and rock on a slope. Some of the rocks are reddened suggesting the structure's roof had burned. He recovered several artifacts during floor clearing (cartridge casings, cans, button, nails, and buckle). The 2002 survey found a single cartridge strip clip there. A miner and well digger, Jesse L. Millsap, occupied the cabin in 1914 according to records at Fort Bowie. He died in 1929 while digging a well and is buried at the Fort Bowie cemetery. The archaeologists recorded a series of pits, trenches, and structures from a gold mining operation that straddles the Butterfield Trail as Site 30. Fifteen features include a rock wall

on an outcrop; four cairns; four small pits; two trenches both with diverse assemblages of bottle glass, ceramics, and metal; two rock check dams; and a blacksmith shop. The blacksmith shop was an intensively used area. A 1909 map indicates it. On the ground, a scatter of fired brick, hundreds of diverse metal items, small amount of glass and ceramics, coal and stained soils represent it. An extensive series of trenches, prospects, tailings, and structural features located at the west end of the Fort Bowie property represents the 1905-1927 Quillin family mining operation (Site 32). The site is located along the Butterfield trail in Willow Gulch and extends southward onto BLM land. A concrete pad with a stove and various artifacts may be the remains of a residence. An additional 32 features consist of rock piles; lumber, rock, and tin concentrations; stone dams; a trash dump; mining trenches; a firebrick assay oven; a depression; a fence; a cut stump; a rock ring; a well; a road; and other artifact concentrations. Site 37 represents the remains of the Gold Nugget Mining Company stamp mill and some ranching-related features. The site is located along the Butterfield Trail in Siphon Canyon. A 1909 map indicates the stamp mill. Features include two tunnels dug into the rock face, one for at least 12 ft deep, and the other over 20 ft deep. Other mining features include adits cut into a rocky hill face. The report provides no further description of the former stamp mill. Ranching features consists of two small concrete pads, various holes, depressions, a concrete lid, a boulder alignment, and a corral. The 1909 map also indicates two houses but the 2002 survey apparently found no evidence of them. Artifacts were sparse throughout. A tunnel and two shafts under the current parking lot represent early 1900s graphite mining (Site 61). Archaeologists investigated these in 1971 and the NPS has since closed the shafts (this investigation apparently was not registered in WACC files). The tunnel is still open and over 60 ft long. One shaft was over 26 ft deep, timber shored, and was used as a well. The second shaft was 8 ft deep ending in a 20-ft-long alcove. Less intensive mining components occur within other sites. A prospect, hearth or assay oven, a road, and several rock features indicate later mining within the boundaries of one of the Apache dependents' camps (Site 40). Two prospect pits, a trench, and a sparse artifact scatter at the foot of Overlook Ridge an episode of post-fort era gold mining (Site 47). Military and mining related artifacts overlies part of the site where archaeologists found two Native American graves with band tags (Site 65). A 25-ft-long pad behind a rock retaining wall contained some ore slag along with other historic and unrelated prehistoric artifacts (Site 68). Archaeologists recorded other prospects, pits, and cairns in the vicinity as isolates.

Ranching Sites. Other than Site 37, discussed above, only one other site was strictly ranching related. Two stock tanks, fence remnants, a pipeline, rock alignments, a lumber concentration, and an artifact scatter between the first fort and Siphon Canyon wash date from the early 1970s (Site 46). The park service installed the tanks outside an exclusion fence built to protect Fort Bowie from cattle. One tank is round, made of steel, and no longer in use. The pipeline apparently fed it water from Apache Spring (Site 3). The other tank is rectangular, made of concrete, and still in use. The area is heavily disturbed.

Other Sites. Several other historic and prehistoric components consist of artifact scatters and features not attributable to specific occupations. These include undated chipped and ground stone scatters, bedrock mortars and grinding surfaces, scatters of glass and metal, cairns, fence lines, roads, cut tree stumps, rock alignments and piles, and tent platforms. In addition, archaeologists recorded several features and constructs from NPS development.

## **Conclusion**

A recurring theme in many of the site descriptions was the impacts caused to sites by artifact looters and souvenir hunters. This especially affected the historic sites—the dumps, fort sites, and mining features—most and probably stems from the historic notoriety of Fort Bowie. Fort Bowie is a famous site, made colorful by numerous accounts of the Bascom Affair, Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, Geronimo, gold mining, and its very early establishment in what was one of the last frontier areas of the United States. Field archaeologists observed looters in action at one site during the survey and the attrition of certain artifact classes at various sites is apparent. Bucher and others (2004) is a draft report. The authors denoted a summary and recommendations section with a heading but no text had been included. They also did not include maps of sites and site locations or other graphic figures. Defining site boundaries within this very intensively occupied area was apparently problematic at times. Overlapping components, reuse, and other formation processes are substantial issues affecting the interpretations of the archaeological record at Fort Bowie. More clarity will probably emerge when maps are included and analyses are completed.



## Chapter Four. Chiricahua Apache Historical Timeline

Scott Rushforth

**Table 3.** Chiricahua Apache Historical Timeline

DATES	EVENTS	REFERENCES
1541	Coronado's expedition of Spanish explorers enters Apache territory. Spanish first encounter Apaches.	Schroeder 1974b:19
1580s	Apaches are located in the Ácoma region.	Schroeder 1974b:83
1583	Apaches are reported west of the Rio Grande in the area of Ácoma. They are located south of Ácoma. They are probably ancestors of the Gila Apaches.	Schroeder 1974b:158-160, 171
1598	Spanish sources mention Apaches as residing near Ácoma.	Cole 1988:5 Schroeder 1974b:23, 25, 32-33, 40
1600s	Groups of southern Apaches acquire horses. Possibly, Apache mobility is increased. Possibly, Apache raiding and trade increase.  Apaches begin raiding Spanish settlements in the early 1600s. Possibly, as Apaches acquire more horses and guns, the frequency and intensity of their raiding increases.	Schroeder 1974a:x, xiii, xviii, 219
1606	Spanish sources mention, possibly for the first time, raids by Apaches. Apaches raid San Gabriel. Spanish send patrols after the "marauding Apaches."	Schroeder 1974b:168
1608	Spanish sources state that Apaches (in New Mexico) destroy and burn pueblos and steal horses.	Schroeder 1974b:168ff, 190
1620s	Gila Apaches are located in the region of the headwaters of the Gila River. They are expanding toward Arizona. Spanish begin naming Apache bands after the regions they occupy. Each of such bands, apparently, numbers 400 or fewer people. Spanish mention farming and leaders for the Apaches.	Schroeder 1974b:183ff., 185, 218ff.
1626-1629	Fray Alonso Benavides travels in New Mexico. He refers to the Apaches de Xila. He meets this group on the Rio Grande at Senecu, near present day San Antonio, 36 miles west of the big river. He mentions that an Apache Chief, Sanaba, frequently comes from 60 leagues away to gamble at Senecu. Benavides indicates that the Gila Apache region contains a reasonably large population. He indicates that the Gila Apaches are belligerent. He describes a famous, belligerent Apache leader named Quinia. Apparently, in 1627, Quinia asks to be baptized. A member of Quinia's group had earlier shot him with an arrow. The reason for the shooting was, apparently, Quinia's friendliness with the priests.	Schroeder 1974b:3, 171ff., 182

1631-1664	<p>The Spanish exploit the Apaches. They capture Apache slaves to sell in the mining camps of Nueva Vizcaya and to use as local laborers. They use Apaches as intermediaries in trade with Plains Indians.</p> <p>The Spanish send expeditions onto the Plains to trade and to capture young boys and girls as slaves. Hostilities between the Spanish and Apaches are common.</p> <p>Apaches raid to obtain horses and guns.</p>	Schroeder 1974b:186ff., 190, 191
1635-1640	Apache raiding in New Mexico increases. Spanish often attack friendly Apache rancherías, taking captives	Schroeder 1974b:185ff.
1638	Fray Juan de Prada writes about Apache raiding of Christianized pueblos. Fray Juan de Prada also writes that Christian puebloan people often flee to the Apaches when the Spanish bother them (the pueblo people).	Schroeder 1974b:184
1650-1680	Hostilities between the Spanish and Apaches increase.	Schroeder 1974b:188
September, 1659	The Governor of New Mexico (Mendizabal) sends 800 Christian Indians and 40 Spaniards to obtain Apache captives for slaves.	Schroeder 1974b:188ff.
1662	Governor Mendizabal claims to own a share of approximately 90 Apache slaves.	Schroeder 1974b:187
Spring, 1666	Governor Dominguez leads an expedition against Apaches in the Ácoma area.	Schroeder 1974b:59
1671	<p>A great pestilence kills many Indian people in New Mexico.</p> <p>The region also experiences significant drought.</p>	Schroeder 1974b:192
August, 1671	Gila Apaches and Apaches of the Santa Rios Mountains of southeastern New Mexico attack Senecu on the Rio Grande.	Schroeder 1974b
1672	<p>Fray Pedro de Ayala is killed in an Apache attack on Zuni.</p> <p>Apaches raid a great deal throughout New Mexico. They especially seek cattle and sheep. They, apparently, take some captives.</p> <p>During this period, Apaches are said to destroy 7 of 46 existing pueblos.</p>	Bloom and Mitchell 1938:87-88 Schroeder 1974b:60, 192ff.
1680	The Pueblo Revolt begins on August 13. During the Revolt, puebloan peoples ask for and receive great support from Apaches. During the period of the Revolt, Apaches do not destroy or significantly damage a single pueblo.	Schroeder 1974b:xii, 196-197ff.
1680s-1690s	<p>Spanish sources identify, possibly for the first time, Apaches in southeastern Arizona, southwestern New Mexico, and northern Sonora.</p> <p>During the 1680s, Apaches of the Gila River expand their territory. They expand their raiding territory south into northern Chihuahua. In the late 1690s, Gila Apaches expand their raiding territory toward the lower San Pedro River into southern Arizona.</p>	Schroeder 1974b:4-5, 14-16
January 30, 1682	Fray Nicolas Hurtado writes about his experiences with a Spanish army that marches between El Paso and Isleta. He	Schroeder 1974b:202

	states that Apaches raid the army's camp and steal some 200 "beasts" – presumably horses and cattle.	
1682 or 1683	Apaches, possibly for the first time, are identified in what is now Mexico.	Schroeder 1974b:10
1691	Governor of New Mexico Don Diego de Vargas in El Paso distinguishes Sumas, Mansos, and Apaches. He distinguishes the three groups. He mentions that the three groups intermarry. He begins a campaign to re-conquer the puebloan and Apache peoples.	Schroeder 1974b:11
January 1691 – August, 1695	In Spanish reports, Apaches are not mentioned as occupying the Chiricahua Mountains, although other groups are said to occupy the vicinity. Jacomes (Hocomes), Janos, and Sumas are mentioned as occupying this area.	Schroeder 1974b:8-9
April 16, 1691	Juan Fernandez de la Fuente at Janos identifies Gila Apaches as having participated in an attack in March on the pueblo of Bachachito.	Schroeder 1974b:11
March, 1692	The de Vargas' campaign to re-conquer the pueblos is largely complete. He begins a campaign against the Apaches.	Schroeder 1974b:205
September, 1692	de Vargas encounters "Faroan" and "Saline" Apaches and Apaches "Colorados." The first group is in the Sandia Mountain area. The last two groups are in the areas of Ácoma and Zuni.	Schroeder 1974b:206ff.
1698	Kino lists Apaches with Jacome, Jano, Yuma, and Manso as having "infested" Sonora (which includes at this time part of modern Chihuahua) for more than 15 years.	Schroeder 1974b:10, 21-22
1699-1744	Kino, Velarde, and Sedelmayr state that Apaches are located on the Gila River above the mouth and east of the San Pedro River.	Schroeder 1974b:13
February 13, 1701	Pedro de Peralta writes Kino about Apache activities east of the upper San Pedro River near the Chiricahua Mountains.	Schroeder 1974b:18-19
1715-1735	Apaches raid northern Sonora and Chihuahua on several or many occasions.	Schroeder 1974b:42
July, 1735	Augustin de Voldosola describes Apache territory: "The Apache nation is so widely spread out that from Chicahuy (Chiricahua Mts.) distant about twenty or thirty leagues from the presidio of Fronteras, it extends as far away as New Mexico, which amounts to about three hundred leagues...."	Schroeder 1974b:43
1736	Silver is discovered at Bolas de Plata near the present Arizona–Sonora border. The mine is open only a short time before it is abandoned. Apache raids are listed as a cause of abandonment. The silver is largely a surface find, however. Lack of silver at depth probably explains why the mine is abandoned so quickly.	Schroeder 1974b:43
1746	Father Sedelmayr writes about Apaches residing east of the Gila and San Pedro Rivers.  Father Sedelmayr also writes about Apache raiding in Sonora.	Schroeder 1974b: xiii, 45
1747	Spanish troops campaign in the country between Zuni and the Gila River. The campaign leaves from El Paso with possibly 700 troops.	Schroeder 1974b:61, 63
1748	Villaseñor writes about the Chiricahua Mountains and the Apaches who live there.	Schroeder 1974b:44



Mid-1750s	The Spanish construct a chain of forts from Tucson to Coahuila, south of central Texas, to meet perceived Apache and Comanche threats.	Griffen 1988:9
Mid-1751	Sonorans send punitive expeditions against Apaches in the Chiricahua Mountains.	Griffen 1998:23 Sweeney 1998:12
1753-1754	Apaches raid communities in northern Nueva Vizcaya.	Griffen 1998:22
1754	Apaches kill the curate of Fronteras on one of his tours.	Schroeder 1974b:46
1754	Spanish campaign in the country between Zuni and the Gila River. Spanish troops and approximately 100 Zuni scouts attack Chief Chafalote's rancheria.	Schroeder 1974b:62-63
November, 1756	The Spanish send a large expedition against Apaches in the Gila River and Mogollon Mountains area. 30 Apache men are killed. 37 Apache women and children are taken captive.	Griffen 1998:23 Schroeder 1974b:46
Late 1750s	Apaches retaliate with raids to avenge the deaths of 30 men murdered by the Spanish near the Mogollon Mountains and the Gila River sometime in 1756 or 1757.	
April 30, 1757	An Apache woman arrives at the Janos Presidio and asks for peace for her people. During this period, several delegations of Apache women come into Janos seeking peace.	Griffen 1998:24
July, 1758	Spanish troops attack Apaches in the Gila River-Mogollon Mountains area "killing the usual grandules and capturing the chusma (children or hostages)"	Schroeder 1974b:46-47 – Quoting Bancroft 1884
1760	Population estimates for this period are: Nueva Vizcaya, 117,200. Sonora, 89,000. New Mexico, 20,400. Coahuila, 4,600.  During this decade, much Apache-Spanish contact involves: (1) Relatively small groups of Apaches making peace overtures or raiding. (2) Large expeditions of Spanish troops seeking to defeat the Apaches and obtain captives (slaves). The Spanish use both troops and Indian auxiliaries.	Griffen 1998:19, 28
1760	Two sons of Chafalote are killed in northern Mexico.	Schroeder 1974b:64
1763	The Rudo Ensayo describes the extent of Apache territory and raids as known in Sonora during this period.	Schroeder 1974b:xiii, xixff., 48-49
1765-1767	Several Spanish expeditions against the Apaches are sent from Tubac.	Schroeder 1974b:50
February and March, 1766	Captain Anza of Tubac conducts a campaign against the Apaches. 40 captives are taken and distributed by lot among the captors. The Apaches disperse into the rough country. During Anza's absence, other Apaches take 300 cattle from San Xavier del Bac.	Schroeder 1974b:50
Spring, 1766	The Spanish campaign against Apaches on the west side of the Sierra Madres up to the Gila River region. Apaches in this area are referred to as "Chafalotes" or "Cafarotes," after this prominent Apache leader. Chafalotes are said to occupy: the Sierra de Mimbres, the Corral de Picora in the	Griffen 1998:29 Schroeder 1974b:64

	Gila Mountains, the mountains of La Florida, El Hacha, El Tobaco, El Amarillo, La Boca, El Capulin, La Escondida, Corral de Piedra, and Corral de Quinteros.  Chafalote occupies the Mimbres Mountains near Santa Rita and the Mimbres River. He goes south in the winter to country near the Janos Presidio in Chihuahua.	
1767	Jesuit padre Pfefferkorn writes about the Apaches. He describes agriculture and raiding for horses, burros, and mules. He describes Apache territory.	Schroeder 1974b:50-51, 54ff., 58-59
1768	Chafalote or his son goes to Albuquerque to request peace. Soon, Gileños, Chafalotes, Sierra Blanca Mescaleros, and Natajés are living near that city (near Belen).	Griffen 1998:29 Schroeder 1974b:65
June, 1769	Lope de Cuéllar sends an expedition of 700 men against the Gila Apaches. 60 Apaches are killed and 15 are taken captive.  Later, Apaches defeat Spanish troops in the Sierra Mimbres at El Corral de San Agustín.	Griffen 1998:29 Sweeney 1998:12
1770s-1780s	The Spanish undertake many campaigns against the Gila Apaches.	Schroeder 1974b:67
1770	Commandante de Arms Bernardo de Gálvez leads an expedition as far north as the Pecos River. His troops kill 28 Apaches and take 36 Apache captives.	Griffen 1998:30
November 29, 1770	Apaches led by Canastrín, Malaorej, and one other person attack a mule train at La Jabonera and take 1,000 animals. They destroy other materials, kill 7 men, and incinerate 23 people who take refuge in the chapel of San Antonio. Other Apaches on the same day attack Carretas, San Andrés, and La Laguna de Castillo.	Griffen 1998:30
April 21, 1771	Spanish troops fight Apaches at the Río Pecos. The Spanish claim to kill 58 Apaches.	Griffen 1998:30
1772-1773	The Spanish fight Apaches at many places and times.	Griffen 1998:31-32
1772	The Regulation of 1772 establishes new Spanish policies concerning the Apaches. Spanish will wage unrelenting war against Apaches. Prisoners will be incarcerated near presidios or sent to the interior as slaves.	Sweeney 1998:12-13
1772	A group of over 200 Apaches attacks Janos.	Sweeney 1998:12
January 27, 1774	Apaches attack Janos, taking one-half of the presidio's horses.	Griffen 1998:32
1774	Small groups of Gila Apaches make three raids in the jurisdiction of Laguna and Albuquerque.	Schroeder 1974b:65
July, 1775	Gila Apaches take a horse herd from Laguna Pueblo.	Schroeder 1974b:65, 66
October 1 – early November 1775	Spanish troops attack Apaches east of the Rio Grande. The troops then move west of the Rio Grande and attack Apaches in the Mimbres-Mogollon-Gila country. The Spanish kill 132 people, take 104 captives, and retrieve over 2,000 horses and mules.	Griffen 1998:33 Schroeder 1974b:67ff.
1771-1776	In Nueva Vizcaya, 1,674 Spaniards are killed, 154 are captured, and 66,000 animals are taken.	Griffen 1998:33, 39, 42 Sweeney 1998:13
1776	Diego de Borica leads an expedition against Apaches through the Sierras of Magdalena and Ladrones west and	Schroeder 1974b:68

	north of Socorro, New Mexico.	
1776	Apaches attack Tubac and take the presidio's entire horse herd of approximately 500 animals.	Schroeder 1974b:68
January, 1778	Spanish negotiate with Gileños, who are, apparently, disputing with Chiricaguís. Pachatinijú, Natanijú, and El Zurdo are Gileño leaders.	Griffen 1998:33
August 31, 1778	Apaches attack Janos. This was reportedly in retaliation for the murder earlier in the year of 4 Apaches by Hugo "Captain Red" O'Connor, commandant-inspector of the Interior Provinces.	Griffen 1998:43 Sweeney 1998:13
1778-1779	Gileños raid as far north as Albuquerque and as far south as the Parral District.	Griffen 1998:43
Late 1780	The Spanish send several or many "fierce" punitive expeditions into Gileño territory.	Griffen 1998:44 Schroeder 1974b:73ff. Sweeney 1998:13
May 1, 1782	Six hundred Apaches (including some Western Apaches and some Chiricahuas) attack Tucson, occupying areas beyond its walled presidio before the garrison drives them off, claiming about thirty Apaches killed.	Griffen 1998:46 Sweeney 1991
Late 1782	26 Apaches enter Janos seeking peace. 21 of the Apache men and 3 of the women are killed. 2 are taken captive.  Spanish reiterate the <u>Reglamento de 1772</u> . Troops are to take the offensive and wage relentless war on the Apaches.  Several Gileño leaders are killed or taken captive.	Griffen 1998:46
January 5, 1784	The Spanish fight Apaches on the Gila River. Between November 1783 and January 1784, 40 Apaches are killed and 33 taken prisoner.	Griffen 1998:46
February 22, 1784	Neve writes about the idea of forcing the Apaches to retire to their bulwarks – the sierras of the Gila River's north side, canyons, and sierras of the Mimbres.	Schroeder 1974b:79
March 8, 1784	Neve again writes about the Apaches. He refers to the Gila and Chiricagui nation. He states that these people have caused much damage in Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya.	Schroeder 1974b:80
March 21, 1784	Approximately 500 Apaches again attack Tucson. Apaches increase retaliatory raids during this time.	Griffen 1998:46
April 1784	Over 700 Spanish troops from several presidios attack Gileño and Chiricagui Apaches. Spaniards kill 68 people and take 17 prisoners. They seize more than 160 animals.	Griffen 1998:47 Schroeder 1974b:80ff.
September, October, and November 1784	The Spanish send several punitive expeditions against the Apaches.	Griffen 1998:47 Schroeder 1974b:83ff.
1785	The Spanish and Apaches skirmish at many times and in many places.	Griffen 1998:48
November and December, 1785	Spanish troops from Janos campaign against the Apaches.	Schroeder 1974b:84-87
November 21, 1785	Cordero discovers an Apache trail made by people who earlier attacked Bavispe. The tracks cross the Sierra de Enmedio and enter the Sierra de las Animas. Spanish troops	Schroeder 1974b:84-87

	go into the mountains and discover rancherías of over 300 families. The Apaches have left, traveling by several routes. Some head toward the San Luis and San Justo Mountains to the west. Some move toward the Mimbres by way of El Alamillo. Others go toward the Sierras de Las Burras.	
1786	Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez issues his <u>Instrucción</u> , which sanctions aggressive war against Apaches to exterminate them or bring them to peace. It also allows use of persuasion to bring them to peace. It allows for the establishment of peace reserves at existing presidios.	Griffen 1998:3, 9, 53 Schroeder 1974b:88
September, 1786	Chiricaguís are living at Bacoachi and Arispe.	Griffen 1998:55
1787	For a time, 4,200 Apaches reside at Spanish forts: 3,000 Mescaleros at the Presidio del Norte, a few Mimbrenos at San Elizario, and the remainder at San Buenaventura and Bacoachi.	Griffen 1998:55
March, 1787	Over 400 Apaches, most or all of them Chiricaguís, reside near Bacoachi. El Capitán Chiquito is a prominent leader. Commandant General Jacabo de Ugarte travels with his troops to Bacoachi, causing about half the Apaches to leave. They fear his troops.	Griffen 1998:55
May, 1787	Approximately 800–900 Mimbrenos (Chihénde) reside at Valle de San Buenaventura, having been convinced to come in by Ugarte.  The Spanish keep military pressure on Apaches who have not come into the peace establishments.	Griffen 1998:56
May 21, 1787	The Mimbrenos (Chihénde) residing at San Buenaventura leave. An attack on Mimbrenos coming into San Buenaventura and an attack on the relatives of a prominent Apache leader residing there seem to be the primary motives. Spanish send troops after the Apaches who leave.	Griffen 1998:57 Sweeney 1998:13
Mid-June, 1787	119 of the 283 Chiricaguís (Ch'uk'ánde) residing at Bacoachi leave. 64 others leave a week later. Some of the remaining Chiricaguís serve with Spanish forces. Apaches accelerate their attacks. They take over the area south of El Carmen (Flores Magón), west of Chihuahua City to the Sierra Madre, and from Chuhuichupa north. For at least five years, four bands of Apaches had lived in this area. The Spanish send out many troops to locate and destroy the Apaches. Apaches largely avoid the Spanish. By late 1787, the general peace has collapsed.	Griffen 1998:58-59
Summer, 1787	Captain Jacabo de Ugarte and his troops retaliate against the Chihénde who left San Buenaventura. In two skirmishes, his troops kill 25 and capture 92.	Sweeney 1998:13
April 19, 1787 – December 31, 1787	Apaches kill 306 Spanish and take 30 captives. The Spanish kill 326 Apaches and take 365 prisoners.	Griffen 1998:61
1788-1789	Apaches and Spanish continue hostilities. At the end of 1789, hostilities decrease. By late 1789, over 200 Chiricaguís reside at Bacoachi.	Griffen 1998:61
Mid-October, 1788	Spanish attack Apaches on the Gila River. They kill 41 people in the Santa Lucía area. The Spanish are led by Compá and Chaco, probably Coyoteros who were "friends or	Schroeder 1974b:89

	relatives" of the Chiricahuas.	
November 9, 1788	Spanish troops attack Apaches in the Sierra de Cobre. They kill and capture several Apaches. On this expedition between October 1 and November 9, the Spanish kill 49 and take 111 prisoners.	Schroeder 1974b:90
1790-1831	Spanish peace establishments are created in Sonora and Chihuahua. Apaches residing at presidios have regular contact with Hispanics.	Griffen 1998:15 Sweeney 1998:14
1790	A general settlement of Apaches at presidios occurs. Apaches begin to settle at Janos Presidio. Chiricagui leader El Chiquito becomes the principal Apache leader there. During this time and subsequent years, several Apache groups negotiate peace with presidios.	Griffen 1998:14, 69-71, 71ff.
April 8 – June 21, 1790	Navajos friendly to the Spanish kill or take captive 71 Gila Apaches.	Schroeder 1974b:92
July 1790	Governor Concha of New Mexico writes about the Gila Apaches. He describes their territory and 4 prominent captains.	Schroeder 1974b:91
August, 1790	Captain Taschelnate and 18 huts of people settle within one-half league of the Puerto del Savinal (on the Rio Grande northeast of the Ladron Mountains). By December, over 300 Natagés, Faraones, Mimbrenos, and Gileños are associated with Sabinal. They receive a small weekly ration of maize and meat. By the following June, few of these people remain at Sabinal.	Schroeder 1974b:92-93
1791	<p>Commandant General Pedro de Nava issues instructions for the management of Apaches at Janos:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Apaches will settle within 12 miles of the presidio.</li> <li>(2) They will be provided weekly supplies until they can feed themselves.</li> <li>(3) Apache men will be ready to ride against hostile Indians and to support troops.</li> <li>(4) Officials should do everything possible to get along with Apaches.</li> <li>(5) Officials should learn everything possible about the Apaches.</li> <li>(6) Officials are to keep a low level of jealousy between rancherías.</li> <li>(7) From each ranchería, a chief is to be appointed.</li> <li>(8) Apaches are to have a written passport to hunt or travel over 30 miles.</li> <li>(9) Apaches are forbidden to trade in stolen animals.</li> <li>(10) Officials are to keep monthly records of the Apaches.</li> </ol> <p>Spanish officials employed Apache headmen as their main contacts with other Apaches.</p> <p>Headmen are given special responsibilities and privileges.</p>	Griffen 1988:13, 16 Griffen 1998:99, 101-102, 102ff., 105-106, 109 Sweeney 1991:9
March, 1792	325 Apaches in 11 rancherías reside at Janos, Chihuahua. By the end of the year, 450 Apaches reside there in 9 or 10 rancherías. By March 1794, 496 Apaches reside there in 11 rancherías.	Griffen 1998:73,78
1792	Apaches begin frequent movements among peace establishments at different presidios. Other Apaches remain	Griffen 1998:74ff.

	"unpacified." Spanish patrols are sent to subdue Apaches, destroy them, or force them north beyond Spanish controlled territory.	
1794	Apaches at peace with one presidio sometimes, if not frequently, raid other presidios. The Sierra Madres are an Apache refuge.	Griffen 1998:78-79
July 29, 1794	El Compá, an important Apache leader, dies. By August 25, over 160 Apaches leave Janos Presidio.	Griffen 1998:78
January, 1795	The Janos Apache population is 663.	Griffen 1998:78
Summer, 1795	The Janos' Apache population is almost 850, distributed among 15 rancherias.  Perhaps two-thirds of the southern Apaches are participating in establecimientos de paz at this time.  Spanish begin to encourage Apaches to return to the mountains, but to maintain peace. High costs of feeding and administering Apaches at presidios may be the reason.	Griffen 1998:81 Sweeney 1998:14
1796	Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Cordero writes a description of the Apaches and their territories, as known by the Spanish at this time.	Schroeder 1974a:xxiiff., 99a, 101
June, 1796	The Janos Apache population is 234. It remains at about this level for the next 30 years.	Griffen 1998:82
1799-1780	A smallpox epidemic strikes northern Mexico. Many people living at presidios, including Apaches, die.	Sweeney 1998:35
Early 1800s	During this period, the situation in the Janos district is characterized by low level raiding, mostly raids on livestock, and by an increased penetration of Spanish into Apache territory. Spanish continue to limit the number of Apaches at presidios.  Rumors of Apache rebellions are constant.	Griffen 1998:78, 79, 87, 90, 91-92
Spring, 1800	Janos experiences a smallpox epidemic. Many Apaches leave the presidio.	Griffen 1998:89
1803 or 1804	Mexican miners begin extensive mining at Santa Rita del Cobre. Spanish troops are garrisoned there.	Dubo 1976:29 Griffen 1998:87 Sweeney 1998:34
1810-1822	The Mexican Revolution occurs.	
June 25, 1807	Apaches attack the Santa Rita del Cobre mine. They kill one person and drive off a few cattle.	Griffen 1998:91 Sweeney 1998:35
January, 1812	Apaches raid Santa Rita del Cobre and other towns on several occasions.	Griffen 1998:93 Sweeney 1998:35
Summer, 1814	Fuerte sends his brother into Santa Rita to negotiate an armistice. Fuerte states that he will settle along the Gila River, possibly at Santa Lucia Springs and the Mimbres River.	Sweeney 1998:36
Late 1814	Fuerte comes into Janos with 154 followers, including 58 warriors.	Sweeney 1998:36
1815	Cochise is born at about this time.	Sweeney 1991:6-7, 10
June 30, 1815	Fuerte is listed among the leaders of Apaches residing at Janos. The total Apache population at Janos is 407.	Sweeney 1998:36
1816	Janos experiences a smallpox epidemic. Many Apaches,	Griffen 1998:89

	including Fuerte, leave Janos.	Sweeney 1998:37
Fall, 1816	After raiding into Sonora, Fuerte and his followers return to the Janos jurisdiction.	Sweeney 1998:37
1817	The Spanish divert military and other resources to the interior during the War of Mexican Independence.	Sweeney 1998:37
1817-1821	Fuerte and his followers spend most of their time away from Mexico, in the U.S. On occasion, however, they receive rations at Janos. Janos authorities include Fuerte and Pluma's bands on their ration lists in 1820 and 1821.	Sweeney 1998:38
1820s	<p>The Mexican period brings a sharp drop in levels of national (centralized) political and economic activity on the northern frontier.</p> <p>Mexican national control of the northern frontier is weaker than was Spanish national control of the frontier.</p> <p>Local politics and economy become more important than national politics and economy.</p> <p>The northern provinces become more isolated under Mexican government than they were under Spanish government.</p> <p>Mexican authorities loose control of the northern frontier.</p> <p>Mexicans resort to increased violence when dealing with Apaches. They eventually place bounties on Apaches and hire bounty hunters to bring in Apache scalps. Bounty hunters prey on peaceful rancherías, which are easy targets, more than on hostile Apaches. Some presidios, apparently, poison Apaches.</p> <p>Apaches generally become more hostile and retaliate more frequently against the Mexicans than they did against the Spanish. Revenge, apparently, becomes an important driving force of hostilities.</p> <p>The frontier economy declines during these years. Military garrisons decrease in size. Civilian militias become more important, although largely ineffective. Economic support by the central government of the Apaches declines. Mexican communities frequently take hostages to use as advantage against the Apaches. Apaches do the same. Apaches frequently trade goods to one community that they take from another.</p> <p>Political confusion exists on the northern frontier. Mexicans become increasingly worried about a general Apache revolt.</p> <p>Most hostile activity between Mexicans and Apaches is relatively minor -- for example, minor thefts and depredations.</p>	<p>Griffen 1988:4-5, 21ff., 22, 25-26, 246-247</p> <p>Griffen 1998:123ff., 126ff.</p> <p>Schroeder 1974b:103</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:38ff.</p>
1821	Mexican Independence occurs. Along the northern frontier, generally, the country is opened to foreigners and trade.	Griffen 1998:119ff. Sweeney 1998:38ff.

	Administrative control of Apaches lessens. The population along the frontier decreases significantly. The number of settlements increases. Unregulated contact between villages and Apaches increases (trade and war). Economic conditions worsen throughout Sonora and Chihuahua. The new Mexican government is unprepared to deal with Apaches.	
1824	Mexican officials decide that rations can no longer be given to Apaches in absentia – if Apaches are not actually present to receive the rations, they will not be given rations and supplies.  Many Chiricahuas leave their peace establishments because of dwindling rations and supplies.	Griffen 1988:21
1824	Ch'uk'ánde who have been living near Fronteras move to the Dos Cabezas area. They raid into Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:39
1825	Chiricahuas return to their peace establishments at Santa Rita del Cobre, Janos, and Fronteras.	Sweeney 1991:17 Sweeney 1998:40
August 1-5, 1826	Sylvester Pattie leads a group of Anglo trappers into the Santa Rita del Cobre area. August 5, 1826 Apaches meet with the trappers. They describe to the Americans Spanish atrocities against the Apaches.  The leader of the Apaches (likely Mangas) states that he wants peace with the Americans, who, he says, have never shown a disposition to kill outside of the confines of battle.	Schroeder 1974b:103-104 Smith 1999:25ff. Sweeney 1998: 41, 340ff.
1828	Apaches complain to the Governor of Chihuahua that Mexicans are encroaching on their land. They ask him to decree that the mountains of De Enmedio, Las Animas, and El Hacha are not to be sold to individual Mexicans.  Rations are slashed again at the presidios. Apaches move into the mountains to subsist.  552 Chiricahuas receive rations weekly or biweekly at Janos Presidio.	Griffen 1998:132 Smith 1999:37 Sweeney 1991:16-17 Sweeney 1998:42
1829	Mexicans expel Spanish people from the country.  575 Chiricahuas receive rations at Janos Presidio. Approximately 275 Mexicans live at Janos.	Smith 1999:37-38 Sweeney 1998:42
1830s	Several Mexican mining towns are founded in the Janos jurisdiction. Approximately 13 large haciendas and 40 ranches are also in the district.  The peace establishment system is largely gone.  Apaches and Mexicans in Sonora and Chihuahua are frequently in open hostilities.  Population in the Janos district declines. Mexicans attribute this decline to Apache depredations.  Gradually, the old colonial program for dealing with Apaches declines, until it is abandoned in the 1850s.	Griffen 1988:15, 27-28 Griffen 1998:120ff., 124 Schroeder 1974b:90, 105ff., 108-109 Sweeney 1990:2-3



	<p>Apache raiding, especially for livestock, increases significantly.</p> <p>In the late 1830s, Mexicans employ contract killers to hunt Apaches.</p> <p>Apache relations with Americans are typically friendly prior to 1836. The Johnson massacre of Apaches in 1837 changes this peaceful co-existence. Actually, few Americans entered Apache territory prior to these years.</p>	
Early 1830s	Mangas Coloradas (Fuerte) is recognized as a prominent war leader, yet his name does not appear in presidio records until 1842.	Sweeney 1998:27-31
January 11, 1830	<p>5 Apache leaders (Juan Diego, Pisago Cabezón, Feroz, and Costillo de Hueso) appear before the Janos commanding officer and make three complaints:</p> <p>(1) Ration allotments are insufficient. Apaches want rations to include meat.</p> <p>(2) On ration day troops retire to the guardhouse (Apaches take this as a sign of Mexican distrust).</p> <p>(3) Apaches want an interpreter, since communication with the Mexicans is difficult.</p> <p>(4) Apaches want the Mexicans to issue them farming tools.</p>	Griffen 1998:131 Sweeney 1991:17 Sweeney 1998:43
Late 1830	Apaches living at San Buenaventura leave. Lack of food and a disease epidemic are the reasons.	Sweeney 1991:18
1831	Mexico abandons the presidio system. They abandon the system of rationing. Apaches leave the presidios and begin raiding. Apaches return to an almost continuous state of war with Mexico. Termination of rations is the most important factor motivating the Apaches to return to the Sonoran and Chihuahuan mountains, Arizona, and New Mexico. Hostile relations continue for the next several decades, interrupted by short periods of peace.	Griffen 1988:3-4,12 Griffen 1998:123 Sweeney 1998:43, 44ff., 45, 54, 56, 68ff.
May, 1831	Commanders of Chihuahua and Sonora cut off rations to the Apaches. Apaches rapidly abandon the peace establishments. Hostilities resume.	Smith 1999:42 Sweeney 1990:49-50 N 4
Mid-1831	Apaches peacefully leave the Janos Presidio. Smallpox is the likely reason.	Griffen 1988:28 Griffen 1998:133 Sweeney 1991:18
October 16, 1831	José Joaquín Calvo, Chihuahua Commandant General, declares general war on the Apaches.	Griffen 1988:28 Griffen 1998:138 Sweeney 1991:19 Sweeney 1998:46
March 26, 1832	Apaches attack the horse herd at Fronteras. Later, they conduct several raids in Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:46
May 21-23, 1832	Mexican troops from Chihuahua battle Apaches on the Gila River. Mexicans kill 22 Apaches, take 2 prisoners, and take 140 horses. Pisago Cabezón, Fuerte, and Mano Mocha lead the Apaches. Mexicans have guns. Apaches mostly have bows, arrows, and lances. The Apaches are defeated.	Griffen 1988:30 Griffen 1998:140 Smith 1999:43 Sweeney 1991:20 Sweeney 1998:47ff.
June 4, 1832	Sonoran troops attack Western Apaches at Arivaipa Canyon, about 50 miles north of Tucson. They kill 71 warriors,	Sweeney 1998:47

	capture 13 children, and take 216 horses.	
July 1, 1832	Several Apache leaders request peace at Santa Rita del Cobre and Janos.	Griffen 1988:31 Griffen 1998:141 Sweeney 1998:50ff.
August 21, 1832	<p>29 Apache local group leaders conclude a treaty at Santa Rita del Cobre. Apaches agree to stop their attacks, return livestock, and refrain from entering the interior of Chihuahua without permission. The Mexicans assign Apaches to specific territories.</p> <p>The treaty fails to restore rations to the Apaches. In addition, the treaty incorporates an expectation that Apaches will become agriculturalists.</p> <p>Sonora is not included in the treaty. This is another example of a partial peace treaty.</p> <p>The Mexicans refuse to offer rations and supplies. A temporary lull in hostilities takes place. Chiricahua headquarters is shifted from Janos to Santa Rita del Cobre.</p> <p>Chiricahuas trade goods they raid from Chihuahua and Sonora with James Kirker and others at Santa Rita. Kirker is a trapper, trader, and miner who works out of Santa Rita del Cobre. Kirker also provides security for Cuicier and McKnight mining operations at Santa Rita and, later, at other mines owned by Cuicier and McKnight. Kirker provides security for caravans on the "Copper Road."</p> <p>James Kirker and Robert McKnight continue their trade with Chiricahuas after the treaty.</p> <p>The treaty facilitates trade between Americans and Apaches. Santa Rita becomes a center for trade with the Apaches.</p>	Griffen 1998:141-142 Smith 1999:33, 43ff., 47-48, 48ff. Sweeney 1991:20-21 Sweeney 1998:50ff.
Early 1833	Hostilities are, again, frequent. The armistice has deteriorated. Disturbances occur at several communities. Between April and October 1833, Apaches kill over 200 Mexican citizens.	Griffen 1998:142 Smith 1999:46 Sweeney 1991:22 Sweeney 1998:52-54
February, 1833	Ch'uk'ánde are in the Chiricahua Mountains and are raiding into Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:52
June 2, 1833	Chiricahua Apaches in northern Sonora attack Bavispe.	Sweeney 1998:53
1834	Escudero provides an accounting of peaceful Apaches who live near various posts on the frontier (all in modern Sonora and Chihuahua, except one near Tucson).	Schroeder 1974b:107-108 Smith 1999:48ff., 55ff. Sweeney 1991:21ff.
January 8, 1834	A large group of Apaches (ca. 300) attacks the horse herd at Fronteras. The war party then continues south.	Sweeney 1998:54
Spring, 1834	Apaches attack northern Sonora. Mangas and others return to the Mogollon Mountains. Matías, Relles, and the Ch'uk'ánde return to the Chiricahua Mountains.	Sweeney 1998:56
May, 1834	Approximately 160 Apaches take 130 horses from Santa Rita	Sweeney 1998:57

	del Cobre.	
September 28, 1834	Mangas Coloradas and perhaps 300 Apaches attack Janos. Pisago Cabezón and Relles lead the raid. 2 Mexican men are killed and 130 horses are taken. Mexican troops follow the Apaches to an area near Casas Grandes. The Mexicans attack the Apaches. The Mexicans use canons. They kill 6 men and wound 20.	Griffen 1988:35 Sweeney 1998:57
October, 1834	Steven Cuicier, James Kirker's employer, contributes \$50,000 to a war fund in Chihuahua City to fight Indians. Two citizens from Chihuahua City, Don Mariano Orcasitas and Juan Alvarez, also contribute \$50,000 each.	Smith 1999:49
October 24, 1834	Sonoran troops (including some "tame" Apaches) move into New Mexico and attack Apaches in the foothills of the Mogollon Mountains. 2 warriors are killed. Tutije, an Apache leader, is captured.	Smith 1999:50 Sweeney 1998:5
Fall, 1834	The Apache leader, Tutije, having been captured in the Mogollon Mountains, is hung in the streets of Arispe.	Griffen 1988:35 Griffen 1998:149 Sweeney 1991:25 Sweeney 1998:58, 59-60
November, 1834	26 Apache leaders negotiate for peace at El Paso. Mangas Coloradas and Pisago Cabezón refuse to make peace because of Tutije's execution.  A Chiricahua speaking with Opler in later years, possibly referring to this event, spoke of general principles of Chiricahua revenge, "They go after anything, a troop of cavalry, a town. They are angry. They fight to get even."	
1835	Foreigners begin entering Apache country in greater numbers. They stimulate trade, especially of (stolen) beef for guns and gunpowder.  During this time, Juan José Compá, because he is bilingual and literate, is a constant go-between for Apaches and Mexicans.	Dubo 1976:28 Griffen 1998:163 Schroeder 1974b:109 Smith 1999:53, 55ff.
Late January – February, 1835	Peace negotiations between Chihuahuans and Apaches are held at Santa Rita del Cobre. The Mexicans reissue the 1891 Regulations with some added provisions: (1) Mexican citizens are not allowed to buy stolen livestock from Apaches. (2) Mexicans are not allowed to sell Apaches weapons, gunpowder, intoxicating drink, or playing cards. (3) Mexican citizens are not allowed to travel to Apache territory without permission. (4) Foreigners are not allowed to enter Apache territory. (5) Apaches are not allowed to enter the interior of Chihuahua without permission.  The treaty is ratified on April 1, 1835.  The treaty has little or no effect on Apache-Mexican relations.  Apaches continue raiding at presidios with which they have	Griffen 1988:191-194 Griffen 1998:158ff. Smith 1999:57ff.

	no treaties.	
February 12, 1835	Juan José Compá and others approach Santa Rita del Cobre and begin negotiating for peace.	Sweeney 1991:25 Sweeney 1998:60, 61
Early 1835	50 Mexican troops are sent to Santa Rita del Cobre as reinforcements.  Apaches raid various settlements quite regularly.	Griffen 1988:44 Griffen 1998:157
March 31 or April 1, 1835	Mexican officials negotiate the preliminaries of a major treaty at Santa Rita del Cobre with Juan José Compá and 16 other Apache leaders. Juan José's leadership is questionable. He seems to have little influence with Apache leaders, even though the Mexicans call him "General." He is literate and bilingual. He is, seemingly, the leader of a local group.  During negotiations, Cochise (Chis or Chees) is mentioned as having led a raiding party into Sonora. Pisago, Fuerte, Mano Mocha, Teboca, and Vivora are not present at the negotiations or signing. Cochise is not present and is probably with Pisago Cabezón.  Sonoran officials refuse to participate in the treaty.	Griffen 1988:44 Sweeney 1991:25 Sweeney 1998:62ff.
May 10, 1835	Fuerte, Pisago Cabezón, and over 100 warriors raid a ranch near San Buenaventura.	Sweeney 1998:64
June, 1835	Sonorans enter Chiricahua territory, driving people into the mountains.	Griffen 1988:47-48 Griffen 1998:162
Summer, 1835	Ch'uk'ánde are said at various times to be located near San Simón, in the San Francisco Mountains, and in Gila River Country.	Sweeney 1991:27
Fall, 1835	The state of Sonora adopts harsh measures for the Apaches. It offers 100 pesos for the scalp of an Apache warrior over 14 years old. It authorizes pursuit of the Apaches until they are destroyed.	Schroeder 1974b:109 Smith 1999:58ff. Sweeney 1998:65
October 17, 1835	James Santiago Kirker, having become a naturalized Mexican citizen, receives a six-month license from the Governor of New Mexico to trap and trade with the Apaches.	Smith 1999:58
October 27, 1835	Sonoran troops attack Apaches in eastern Arizona. 10 warriors are killed, including a son of Pisago Cabezón.	Smith 1999:60 Sweeney 1991:27 Sweeney 1998:65-66
May 30, 1836	Chihuahuans approach Apaches about peace negotiations. Apaches arrive at Santa Rita del Cobre to discuss peace. Negotiations do not go well and, eventually, break down.	Griffen 1998:167 Sweeney 1998:66
June 21, 1836	Apaches return to Santa Rita del Cobre to continue negotiations. Juan José Compá acts as intermediary.  Pisago Cabezón negotiates peace at Santa Rita.	Griffen 1998:168 Sweeney 1991:28
August 30, 1836	Relles, Matías, Marcelo, Eugenio, and Miguel, Ch'uk'ánde leaders, meet at Elías González's home in Arispe to negotiate peace. Both parties agree to meet in Fronteras in October to ratify the treaty.  In all negotiations, Fuerte and Pisago Cabezón remain aloof and in the Mogollon Mountains.	Sweeney 1991:29 Sweeney 1998:66

October 3, 1836	5 Apache women (including 2 of Pisago Cabezón's wives) and 3 men enter Santa Rita del Cobre to trade cattle. They are attacked by Mexican citizens. Two men and one woman are killed. Apache raiding continues after this.	Griffen 1988:50 Griffen 1998:172 Sweeney 1991:29 Sweeney 1998:67
Late October, 1836	<p>Pisago Cabezón and others arrive at Fronteras in Sonora to negotiate for peace. Ch'uk'ánde are assigned to live at Cuchuverachi 10 miles south of San Bernardino. Chihénde are given the land from Santa Lucía to the Gila River. Most Apaches are still hostile. Although the treaty lasts only a short time, if any time at all, Apaches continue to live in the designated areas.</p> <p>Fuerte, apparently, still opposes peace with both Chihuahua and Sonora.</p> <p>At some point in late 1836, perhaps around October, Chiricahuas enter Santa Rita del Cobre to trade. Mexicans kill 1 woman and 2 men in a particularly brutal manner [they were] "...beaten, stabbed, speared, and shot to death." The 2 men were members of Pisago's extended family through marriage. Pisago decides to negotiate peace with Sonora to spite Chihuahua.</p> <p>This marks the start of a disintegration of Apache relations with Mexicans at Santa Rita del Cobre.</p>	Sweeney 1991:29 Sweeney 1998:67, 68ff
December 11, 1836	Governor Calvo closes the mines at Santa Rita, due primarily to the presence of water in the mineshafts.	Smith 1999:68
Winter, 1836-early 1837	Fuerte and his people winter near the San Francisco River. From there he sends raids into Sonora and Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1998:67, 68ff. Sweeney 1998:68ff.
1837	<p>Hostilities between Apaches and Mexicans are the norm.</p> <p>The state of Chihuahua offers 100 pesos for an Apache warrior's scalp, 50 for a woman's scalp, and 25 for a child's scalp.</p>	Dubo 1976:28 Smith 1999:68, 71 Sweeney 1998:69ff.
January, 1837	Apaches attack Santa Rita del Cobre.	Smith 1999:68
April 3, 1837	John Johnson, a north American living at Moctezuma, Sonora leaves Moctezuma with Escalante y Arvizu's authorization (Arvizu is the Governor of Sonora) to hunt hostile Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:70ff.
April 22, 1837	<p>John Johnson and his mercenaries massacre approximately 20 Mimbrenos for their scalps at Agua Fría Springs in the Animas Mountains in southwestern New Mexico. Juan José Compá and others are killed. Some of Mangas Coloradas' relatives are slain – possibly two of his four wives. Mangas Coloradas is likely present.</p> <p>After the massacre, Mangas moves to the Gila River region. Apparently, Mangas and his group kill the Charles Kemp trapping party in retaliation for the Johnson massacre.</p> <p>Sonoran troops cross into Chihuahua, attack an Apache rancheria, and kill 10 people.</p>	Dubo 1976:29 Griffen 1988:51, 171ff. Griffen 1998:174 Schroeder 1974b:110 Smith 1999:68ff. Sweeney 1991:32, 33-34 Sweeney 1998:70ff., 72ff.
May, 1837 through 1838	Hostilities continue throughout this period. Some attempts to negotiate peace are made.	Griffen 1998:174ff. Sweeney 1991:37ff.

		Sweeney 1998:73ff.
July 8, 1837	Apaches attack Cumpas, on the east bank of the Moctezuma River, about 20 miles north of Moctezuma.	Sweeney 1998:74
July 26, 1837	Apaches raid Huepac.	Sweeney 1998:74
August 7, 1837	Apaches raid Fronteras.	Sweeney 1998:74
October 4, 1837	The Mexican national government cancels the Chihuahuan bounty program. President General Antonio Bustamante calls it unconstitutional, immoral, impractical, and repugnant to civilization....	Smith 1999:71
Fall, 1837	Apaches attack three times in northern Chihuahua. Mangas Coloradas may be the leader of these attacks. By this time, most Chiricahua bands are hostile. These attacks were likely motivated by revenge for the Johnson affair.	Sweeney 1998:74-75 Sweeney 1991:37
Late 1837	Two rival Mexican groups, the Gándarars and the Urreas, begin to fight over control of Sonora. 8 years of civil war follow, forcing the state of Sonora into near bankruptcy.	Sweeney 1998:81
Mid-March, 1838	Mangas and Pisago call an Apache conference of leaders, probably near Santa Lucía. They intend to take a large party to cut off supplies to Santa Rita del Cobre. They send Tapilá and Teboca with 200 warriors into Sonora to avenge Johnson's act. James Kirker provides them with weapons.	Smith 1999:74 Sweeney 1991:38ff. Sweeney 1998:78
March 30, 1838	Mangas and Pisago take their warriors to Santa Rita del Cobre. Pisago stops near Carrizalillo Springs and approaches wagons that are heading to Santa Rita from Janos. He then talks to the whites with the wagons.	Smith 1999:75 Sweeney 1998:74
April 1 or 2, 1838	The men taking supplies to Santa Rita abandon their supply wagons (10 wagons in all) and return to Janos.	Smith 1999:75 Sweeney 1998:79
April, 1838	Apaches attack Santa Rita, cutting the town off from contact with the outside.	Smith 1999:76
May, 1838	James Santiago Kirker and a party of 23, including Shawnee Indians, attack Apaches on the upper Gila River, taking 59 scalps, 9 prisoners, and 400 head of livestock.  The Governor of New Mexico helps supply Kirker's group with guns and ammunition.  Kirker marches his prisoners through Santa Rita and on to the area around Socorro, New Mexico.	Griffen 1988:54, 58 Smith 1999:76ff., 79, 81
May 18, 1838	The Chihuahuan Governor announces plans to form an army of 400 volunteers and 100 soldiers to fight the Chiricahuas. He is unable to obtain money for this purpose.	
Late June, 1838	Mexican miners abandon the Santa Rita del Cobre mine.	Dubo 1976:44 Griffen 1998:87 Smith 1999:80 Sweeney 1991:40 Sweeney 1998:79
July 25, 1838	Kirker and his group, including Shawnees, attack another camp of (unidentified) Apaches. He kills 34 people, takes 125 working animals and 36 head of cattle. Disagreement exists among Mexican authorities over using foreign mercenaries.	Smith 1999:81 Smith 1999:82
April 9, 1839	In Chihuahua, Stephen Courcier, Robert McKnight's partner at Santa Rita and James Kirker's employer, calls a meeting	Smith 1999:85, 87-88

	of the "Society to Make War." James Kirker is appointed to organize a group to kill Apaches. Kirker is to be given 100,000 pesos for ridding Chihuahua of Apaches. Kirker is to be paid irrespective of his presenting <u>piezas</u> .	Sweeney 1991:42-43
May 22, 1839	Governor Elías of Chihuahua gives up his military powers.	Smith 1999:84
June 14, 1839	Angel Trias, president of the municipal council of Chihuahua City, issues an ordinance taxing merchants to support the hiring of mercenaries.	Smith 1999:86 Sweeney 1998:83
June or July, 1839	Kirker and his mercenaries reach Santa Fe, New Mexico. Kirker and his mercenaries spend much of the next months in and around Santa Fe. They do not, apparently, chase Chiricahuas. They have one battle with Jicarillas on September 4, 1839. In November, Kirker returns to Chihuahua to receive another payment.	Smith 1999:89-96
November, 1839	Troops from Sonora attack Apaches along the Mimbres River in southern New Mexico. The troops kill 17 Apache warriors. They take 280 horses and mules and 110 head of cattle.	Smith 1999:97 Sweeney 1991:41 Sweeney 1998:81ff.
November 21, 1839	Kirker and his group of 59 Delawares, Shawnees, Americans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen pass through El Paso on their way to Chihuahua.	Smith 1999:97
December 10, 1839	Debate occurs among Mexican political leaders over Kirker's contract with the war society. Many Mexican leaders favor reinitiating the 1617 "Chihuahua Plan" of bounties. Governor Trias of Chihuahua contracts with James Santiago Kirker to attack hostile Apaches on a "piecework" basis.	Griffen 1988:189ff. Griffen 1998:186-187 Smith 1999:98ff., 102 Sweeney 1998:83
December 26 or 27, 1839	Pisago Cabezón and a small group of his followers arrive at Janos to solicit peace.	Smith 1999:102 Sweeney 1998:84
December 31, 1839	Newspapers inform Chihuahua citizens that the central government has approved the contract with Kirker. Kirker is headed north from Chihuahua City with a group consisting mostly of Shawnees.	Smith 1999:102
Early 1840s	Apaches in Sonora and Chihuahua are, again, convinced to settle at peace establishments.  During this period, Mexicans hire bounty hunters and mercenaries to hunt Apaches.  Individual communities in Chihuahua and Sonora arrange peace agreements with Apaches independent of the central government and other communities.  <u>Apaches sometimes raid and sometimes seek peace.</u>	Griffen 1998:185ff.
January 9, 1840	Kirker and his mercenaries attack Pisago Cabezón's group of Apaches in the Boca Grande Mountains about 50 miles north of Janos. He kills 15 and takes 20 captives. Immediately after the fight, Kirker travels to Janos where he kidnaps a son of Pisago Cabezón. Pisago's son is there seeking peace. Kirker takes the captives, including Pisago's son, to Chihuahua City. Pisago travels to the Mogollon Mountains to talk with Mangas. He also sends emissaries to Janos to talk with authorities about his son.	Smith 1999:103ff., 104, 108, 116-117 Sweeney 1998:84
March 11, 1840	Kirker attacks another Apache camp, killing 6 and taking 13 captives. During the remainder of the spring, Kirker travels	Griffen 1998:187 Smith 1999:109

	through Gileño and Mimbreno country looking for Apaches.	Sweeney 1991:42 Sweeney 1998:85
May 8, 1840	Kirker attacks Apaches (Ndaandénde) near Laguna de Santa María, killing 6 and capturing 13 women and children. He takes 121 horses and mules.	Smith 1999:111 Sweeney 1998:85
May 11, 1840	General Don Francisco García Conde arrives at Chihuahua City. He has been appointed commandant-general of Chihuahua, replacing Elías. Conde's first important public act is to cancel Kirker's contract. It is not clear when this takes effect. On June 22, 1840, Conde issues a lengthy résumé of his cancellation of Kirker's contract. Supposedly, Conde cancels the contract for humanitarian purposes.	Smith 1999:112 Sweeney 1991:42
June 16, 1840	Chief Matías announces at Janos that all Gileños want peace, but that Pisago Cabezón is too old and sick to travel to Chihuahua City.	Smith 1999:113
Late-June or July, 1840	Apaches attack Cocomorachic in the Sierra Madres 40 or 50 miles northwest of Guerrero. They kill 27, wound many others, and take at least 2 children captive. Mangas might be the leader of this group of Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:85
July 30, 1840	Mexican troops leave Chihuahua City with 10 Shawnee trackers. They engage Apaches several times and chase them into the Sierra de los Arados. They take 100 horses and mules and 90 head of cattle. They kill 4 Apaches.	
1840-1841	For raiding during these years, Apaches are well armed and well mounted. For the largest raids, Apaches might gather 100 or more warriors. Mexican troops in Sonora and Chihuahua are largely ineffective against the Apaches. During this period, Mangas Coloradas becomes an important Chihénde leader. During this time, Mangas is first identified as a leader among the hostile Mogollons.	Smith 1999:123 Sweeney 1991:43-44, 45
August, 1841	Commandante-general for Chihuahua García Conde declares death for anyone trading with Apaches or Texans.	Smith 1999:124
1842	Apaches reside at Santa Rita del Cobre. They receive rations at Janos and Corralitos.  Mangas Coloradas (who is, possibly, known in earlier records as Chief Fuerte) first appears in Mexican records. He is camped in the Gila River region. He remains aloof from peace negotiations.  Cochise is likely near Fronteras during much of this time – possibly with Teboca, Esquinaline, and Yrigóllen. In the fall, Cochise, Teboca, and Esquinaline join Mangas Coloradas at Alamo Huerco.  1842-1843, Cochise appears on the Janos Presidio ration lists with a wife and a child.	Griffen 1998:192 Sweeney 1991:6, 47 Sweeney 1998:89-92
February 28, 1842	Apaches negotiate a "protocol" in New Mexico with Donaciano Vigil, representing Governor Armijo. The treaty has several demands that relate to the kinds of activities followed by Kirker.	Smith 125-126
Spring 1842	Apaches follow a pattern of partial peace and raids on communities with which they have no agreements. They trade with the communities with which they have peace	Griffen 1988:69-70, 72-75 Griffen 1998:189



	<p>arrangements.</p> <p>April 24, 1842 Apaches negotiate a preliminary peace agreement in Chihuahua City. Pisago Cabezón and Mano Mocha support peace. Mangas Coloradas opposes peace. Leaders attending the meeting in Chihuahua City include Pisago Cabezón, Manuel, Anaya, Ponce, and Vicente.</p> <p>Some Gileños have agreements with Janos. Others have agreements with Galeana in the Valley of San Buenaventura.</p> <p>Perhaps 28 headmen and their rancherias are camped in the Gila River region.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1991:45 Smith 1999:126ff. Sweeney 1998:86-8, 88ff., 92</p>
May 23, 1842	<p>Pisago Cabezón and Manuel (Manuelito) send Vicente with 2 women and 7 other warriors to negotiate peace at Janos. They remain for two days and then leave abruptly. Monica, a Chiricahua woman who is frequently involved in negotiations because she is fluent in Spanish, states that the Apaches leave because they fear treachery. They fear that they will be held hostage.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1998:92, 94</p>
Mid-1842	<p>Apaches negotiate agreements with several communities in Sonora and Chihuahua.</p>	<p>Griffen 1988:74-75 Griffen 1998:189 Sweeney 1998:92ff.</p>
Mid-June, 1842	<p>Mangas leads Apaches on a raid into Sonora. By July, Mangas is back near the Gila River in New Mexico.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1998:95</p>
July 4, 1842	<p>Gileños conclude a peace treaty with Janos. Pisago Cabezón, Ponce, and others represent the Apaches. Agreements resemble the 1791 regulations. The Chihuahuans agree to provide rations and supplies.</p> <p>Mangas Coloradas continues to raid and is not party to the treaty.</p> <p>Negrilo, Vivora, and Francisquillo agree to terms at Galeana.</p> <p>Other leaders enter peace with other villages.</p> <p>Apaches settle at Janos, Galeana, El Paso, Carrizal, Aguanueva, and El Valle de Buenaventura.</p>	<p>Griffen 1988:73 Griffen 1998:1891 Smith 1999:126ff. Sweeney 1991:46 Sweeney 1998:94ff.</p>
July 9, 1842	<p>García Conde finalizes a treaty at Villa del Paso with 16 Mescalero leaders.</p>	<p>Smith 1999:126</p>
July 14, 1842	<p>Some of Mangas' followers raid Corralitos. Manuelito joins with some troops and follows the warriors. Manuelito convinces them to return stolen animals.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1998:96</p>
August, 1842	<p>Apparently, hostile Apaches camp in New Mexico from Alamo Hueco north up the Animas Valley to Santo Domingo Playa.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1998:97</p>
August 29, 1842	<p>Pisago Cabezón and Manuelito bring 132 people, including 32 men into Janos.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1998:98</p>
September, 1842	<p>Mangas and his people are in the Gila River and San Francisco River country.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1998:98</p>
October 17, 1842	<p>Cochise first draws rations at Janos Presidio. His wife draws rations with Cochise October 24 and 31. Cochise, apparently, leaves Janos in November and does not draw</p>	<p>Sweeney 1991:47 Sweeney 1998:98</p>

	rations again until July 1843.	
Fall, 1842	<p>Apaches congregate at peace settlements in Chihuahua – El Paso, Carrizal and Agua Nueva, Galeana and the Valley of San Buenaventura, and Janos. From September 1842 to February 1845, Apaches and Mexicans in Chihuahua are at relative peace.</p> <p>Mangas Coloradas and Cochise remain at Alamo Huerco until October.</p>	<p>Griffen 1988:76-78 Griffen 1998:194-196 Sweeney 1991:46-47 Sweeney 1998:99ff.</p>
1843	<p>Disputes between Chihuahua and Sonora exist over Apache affairs. An inability to distinguish peaceful from hostile Apaches is, partially, to blame. Several hostile encounters occur between Mexicans and Apaches.</p> <p>Apaches at peace in Chihuahua raid Sonoran settlements and trade their spoils in Chihuahua. Apaches rationed at Janos appear responsible for raids in Sonora.</p> <p>Apaches residing at presidios put pressure on local resources.</p> <p>Disputes between Apaches and local citizens are frequent.</p> <p>In Chihuahua, Apaches raid less frequently than in the past.</p>	<p>Griffen 1988:77, 81 Griffen 1998:198-199, 205ff. Sweeney 1991:50 Sweeney 1998:110, 125</p>
Late January or early February, 1843	Mangas Coloradas, Itán, Cuchillo Negro, and Teboca meet with Vicente Sanchez Vergara to discuss peace. They agree to take their people to Janos by March.	Sweeney 1991:48 Sweeney 1998:100ff.
March 28 – April 1, 1843	Mangas Coloradas, Itán, and the others negotiate with Chihuahua's governor, José Mariano Monterde, at Janos.	Griffen 1988:79 Griffen 1998:196 Sweeney 1991:48 Sweeney 1998:102ff.
Early May, 1843	Mangas and Pisago join Ensign José Baltazar Padilla to pursue Apaches who had taken 19 head of livestock.	Sweeney 1998:105ff.
June 2, 1843	Apache emissaries negotiate with Governor Urrea of Sonora. While negotiations are underway, troops at Fronteras murder 6 Ch'uk'ánde men for no apparent reason. Mangas and Pisago retaliate by attacking Fronteras, killing 2 and wounding 1.	Sweeney 1991:48 Sweeney 1998:120
July 24, 1843	Cochise stops at Janos for rations and supplies.	Sweeney 1991:49
Late Summer, 1843	Mangas and Pisago leave Alamo Hueco for the Burro Mountains. They do not raid into Chihuahua. They consider themselves at war with Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:110
August, 1843	Yaque, a Ch'uk'ánde leader, and others raid into Sonora. He returns to Janos with horses, mules, and a captured Mexican. He trades his captive for whiskey.	Sweeney 1998:110
September 9, 1843	Yaque again raids into Sonora. He kills 7 men 10 miles south of Fronteras.	
Fall, 1843	Chiricahuas from Galeana move to Janos. They do so because of a smallpox epidemic. Perhaps 800 Chiricahuas are rationed at Janos. Lack of sufficient rations and too few military personnel become problems. Some Janos Apaches	Sweeney 1991:51 Sweeney 1998:111-112

	raid into Sonora.	
November 27 – December 25, 1843	Cochise, Relles, and Ponce are at Corralitos. Two other men, Collotura (Coyuntura) and Juan are also there. They are likely brothers of Cochise.	Sweeney 1991:51
1844-1845	Mexican-Apache relations deteriorate. Mangas leads large raiding groups into Sonora. By the end of 1845, Apache rancherías are raiding in both Sonora and Chihuahua.	Griffen 1998:209ff. Sweeney 1998:125
January - February, 1844	The Janos peace establishment is collapsing, although Apaches still reside at other establishments. Smallpox drives Apaches from Janos. The Janos Apache population drops from 300-500 to less than 50. Most Apaches move to the mountains of northeastern Sonora.	Griffen 1988:82 Griffen 1998:208 Sweeney 1990:52, note 35 Sweeney 1991:51 Sweeney 1998:112
January 27, 1844 (ca.)	Mangas and a war party enter Sonora from New Mexico. The party consists of Ch'uk'ánde, Bidankande, and a few Chihénde from Itán's group. The Ch'uk'ánde leaders, Esquinaline, Teboquita, and Delgado, are present. They first hit Opata. They then attack Fronteras, wounding 3 men, capturing 2 children, and taking 200 horses. Mangas later trades the 2 children for supplies. They travel to Batepito, where the party splits. Mangas and Teboca head for the Burro Mountains in New Mexico. The Ch'uk'ánde under Yrigóllen, Relles, and Tapilá remain near Batepito where they meet with Sonoran troops.	Sweeney 1998:113-114
February 7, 1844	Chiricahuas attack Fronteras, wounding 3 soldiers and taking over 200 livestock.	Sweeney 1991:51
March 5, 1844	Ch'uk'ánde raid Fronteras. Yrigóllen and Posito Moraga are wounded. Later during March, Ch'uk'ánde raid Moctezuma, Bacerac, and Bavispe.	Sweeney 1998:115
March 6, 1844	Pisago Cabezón, Itán, Mangas Coloradas, Teboca, and El Negro are now in the Sierra de las Burras. They raid in Sonora.	Griffen 1998:209 Sweeney 1991:51
April 28, 1844	Mangas Coloradas, Relles, Pisago Cabezón, Yrigóllen, Chepillo, and Miguel Narbona with their men (perhaps 300 in all) attack Fronteras. They take captives, trade them back, and finally leave for Janos with much plunder. During this raid, they first attack the district of Sahuaripa and then Opoto and Cuquiarachi. They then head to Fronteras.	Sweeney 1991:52-53 Sweeney 1992:3 Sweeney 1998:116
Early July, 1844	Mangas' people are in the Burro and Mogollon Mountains, after harvesting Mescal.	Sweeney 1998:117
Late July, 1844	Chiricahuas attack in Sonora near Santa Cruz, killing 28 men. Mangas, apparently, leads this group, which has members from different bands.	Sweeney 1991:52 Sweeney 1998:118
August 16-22, 1844	Perhaps 600 Sonoran troops under Elías Gonzáles depart Fronteras. They enter Chihuahua and attack Apache rancherías near Corralitos and Janos (August 22, 1844), butchering approximately 80 people, most of them women and children. Most survivors leave for New Mexico and Arizona.	Griffen 1988:85 Griffen 1998:213 Sweeney 1991:52 Sweeney 1998:118ff., 126
August, 1844	Mangas and his people are near the Gila River.	Sweeney 1998:126
October, 1844	Ch'uk'ánde under Yrigóllen raid along the Bavispe River, attacking Bavispe, Huasabas, Opoto, and Moctezuma.	Sweeney 1998:127
Fall, 1844	Mangas, apparently, spends the fall near Santa Lucía Springs and along the Gila River south of the Mogollons.	Sweeney 1998:127

1845	<p>Apache peace establishments in Chihuahua collapse. Reasons include meager rations, drinking, local disputes, idleness at the presidios, local social and political disintegration, economic disintegration, and the arrival of foreigners.</p> <p>Hostilities escalate immediately.</p> <p>Chaos exists on the northern frontier.</p> <p>Mangas avoids Sonora for most of 1845.</p> <p>Apaches begin trading quite regularly at Socorro, New Mexico.</p>	Griffen 1988:91ff. Sweeney 1998:128ff.
May 8, 1845	Ch'uk'ánde take 117 cattle from Corralitos. Ensign José Baltazar Padilla pursues the Apaches with 27 troops and 52 citizens.	Sweeney 1998:130
May 28, 1845	Padilla and his force attack an Apache rancheria. They kill 14, wound many, and capture a woman and a child. The Ch'uk'ánde scatter and move to the Chiricahua Mountains. About one month later, Manuelito, Matías, and Yrigóllen send representatives to Janos requesting a truce. The Apaches relocate to the Mogollon Mountains.	Sweeney 1998:130
September 13, 1845	Apaches attack Santa Cruz. They kill 10 and capture 13.	Sweeney 1998:133
September 28, 1845	Having traveled through northern Sonora and Chihuahua looking for Apaches, Luis García leaves Casas Grandes. At Angostura about 30 miles southeast of Casas Grandes, he attacks a rancheria. 5 men and 6 women are killed. A nursing child is captured along with 2 men. The men are baptized and then executed.	Sweeney 1998:132
December 13-21, 1845	James Kirker and some of his men join with Manuel de la Riva and José Ponce de León and his troops to search for Apaches in the Sierra de Terrenates by the Puerto de los Magueyes.	Smith 1999:149ff.
February 18, 1846 (ca.)	Apaches raid Namiquipa.	Smith 1999:154
March 4, 1846	James Kirker with his Delaware and Shawnee men arrive at Namiquipa. Kirker recruits Tarahumaran warriors to work for him.	Smith 1999:154
March 20, 1846	James Kirker and his mercenaries attack an Apache rancheria. They kill 1 person and raze the camp. They take 54 cows, mules, and oxen. They also take 300 antelope hides and cowhides, "adzes, beans, blankets, bread, bridles, dried pumpkin, flour, hatchets, pans, powder, shawls, sugar, thirty saddle boards, two guns, and a lot of junk of little value."	Smith 1999:154-155
May 13, 1846-1848	The U.S. and Mexico are at war.	
May 19, 1846	Over 200 Apaches besiege Janos. The Apaches kill 1, take 2 captives, and take 345 head of livestock.	Griffen 1998:215 Smith 1999:155-156 Sweeney 1998:141
May 24, 1846	Apaches attack Fronteras.	Schroeder 1974b:118

	Chihuahua returns to mercenary war. Troops are made eligible to receive bounties for scalps.	Smith 1999:157
May and June, 1846	Ch'uk'ánde make peace gestures at San Buenaventura. Reyes leads the Apaches who are seeking peace. Reyes has settled outside Galeana. Several other local groups also come in to negotiate peace and settle down.	Smith 1999:158 Sweeney 1998:134
June 25, 1846	Sonoran troops attack Tapila's band and then scout the region from the Sierra de los Pilares to San Nicholas.	Schroeder 1974b:118
July, 1846	Sonoran troops (the same troops scouting after attacking Tapia's band) attack Tito's band while scouting Los Pilares and Teras.	Schroeder 1974b:119
July 5, 1846	18 Apaches are murdered at San Buenaventura, thus ending the truce with Apaches. This attack is led by James Kirker. It occurs late at night.	Sweeney 1988:134ff.
July 6, 1846	James Kirker and his mercenaries murder 120-130 Apaches assembled at Galeana. Reyes and his people had gathered at San Buenaventura to receive rations and supplies. The Apaches are living peacefully and are unarmed on this day.  Kirker invites the Apaches to a feast. They have come in to receive rations under protection of the treaty negotiated earlier. Hence, they drink freely. Kirker and his men then murder the Apaches. Most of the Apaches are Ch'uk'ánde. Some are Ndaandénde.  Kirker and his men scalp all the Apaches.  Kirker's treachery left a lasting impression on the Chiricahuas, in general, and particularly on Cochise, who may have lost family members at Galena. The attack lives in infamy in Chiricahua history, described by Jason Betzinez as the "ghastly butchering of our families" and one of the "bloodiest conflicts in which Apaches were ever involved."	Griffen 1988:118 Griffen 1988:216 Schroeder 1974b:119-120 Smith 1999:160ff., 162-163, 163ff. 164-165, 165ff., 226ff. Sweeney 1991:7-8, 55ff., 56-57 Sweeney 1998:134ff., 135, 136, 146
July 10, 1846	Kirker returns to Chihuahua City. A victory procession is held; Kirker and his men parade with Apache scalps on poles. The Apache scalps are then strung on a rope from the cathedral on the east side of the plaza. Great celebration occurs.	Smith 1999:167-168, 172
Late July, 1846	Mangas leads a war group into Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:138-139
August 18, 1846	Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny and his troops reach Santa Fe, New Mexico. Kearny is, apparently, accompanied by 100 Shawnees. A caravan of Missouri traders with much merchandise follows.	Sweeney 1998:141 Smith 1999:173
August, 1846	Apaches attack a group driving cattle to Arispe at Cerindos.	Schroeder 1974b:119
October 6, 1846	Kearney reaches Socorro, New Mexico. Kearney meets Kit Carson, who is returning from California and who had earlier met Apaches near the present site of Silver City, New Mexico	Schroeder 1974b:114ff. Sweeney 1998:141ff.
October 18, 1846	Kearny meets Mangas Coloradas near Santa Rita del Cobre. The next day (October 19, 1846), Kearney camps at Santa Lucía (also known as Mangas Creek), a tributary of the Gila flowing between the Big and Little Burro Mountains. The	Dubo 1976:32 Schroeder 1974b:115ff. Sweeney

	<p>next day (October 20, 1846), Mangas Coloradas comes in with about 30 of his people.</p> <p>Mangas Coloradas, Cuchillo Negro, and Lasada are principle leaders of the Apaches. The Apaches are growing corn at Santa Lucía.</p> <p>Mangas offers to join the Americans in an attack on Mexico.</p>	1998:143ff.
November, 1846 (ca.)	Apaches, probably under Cuchillo Negro, attack Galeana in retaliation for Kirker's massacre. There were reportedly 175 warriors and novices in the war party.	Sweeney 1998:145ff.
December 2, 1846	The Mormon Battalion camps at San Bernardino. They meet and trade with Manuelito and another chief, possibly Mangas or Yrigóllen. They discuss Johnson and Kirker. Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, commander of the Battalion, assures Manuelito that Johnson and Kirker represent a renegade element of American society. Cooke refers to Kirker's and Johnson's "murderous treachery."	Smith 1999:169-171 Sweeney 1991:60 Sweeney 1998:145
December 25, 1846	James Kirker joins American troops under Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan near Bracito in southern New Mexico on the Rio Grande. He becomes a scout for the army. Kirker travels with Doniphan's group from Bracito to New Orleans. Two years later (1849), Kirker returns to New Mexico leading a group of immigrants. He receives a poor welcome in Santa Fe.	Smith 1999:176ff., 179
March, 1847	Miguel Narbona, Yrigóllen, and Esquinaline lead Ch'uk'ánde, Láceris leads Ndaandénde, and Teboca leads Bidankande in a joint attack near Fronteras. They kill 25.	Sweeney 1998:148
Summer, 1847	Chiricahuas are camped in the Chiricahua Mountains. Apparently, little raiding occurs during this time. Possibly, measles sweeps through the bands. The mescal harvest is a fundamental activity during this season. In the early summer, Apaches approach Fronteras requesting a truce and stating that they represent all bands.	Sweeney 1991:63 Sweeney 1998:149
July, 1847	Approximately 100 Bidankande establish a camp in the Ososura Mountains. They raid into Sonora. Mangas may be with them.	Sweeney 1998:150
September, 1847	Antonio Narbona leads an expedition into the Chiricahua Mountains. He captures and executes 1 old woman near Cave Creek. Later, troops from Moctezuma capture some of Yrigóllen's family.	Sweeney 1998:150
December 23, 1847	Ch'uk'ánde attack Narbona's hometown of Cuquiarachi southwest of Fronteras. They kill 13 people, including Antonio Narbona, who is sitting on the front porch of his house. Citizens abandon Cuquiarachi.	Sweeney 1998:150
Fall, 1847 through 1848	<p>Several skirmishes occur between Apaches and Mexicans in Sonora and Chihuahua. Apache attacks at Chinapa and Fronteras are noteworthy.</p> <p>Sonora is extremely vulnerable to Apache attacks during this time. Until the end of the decade, Chiricahuas dominate the Sonoran northern frontier.</p> <p>By the end of 1848, Apaches appear to control northern</p>	Sweeney 1991:63ff. Sweeney 1998:137, 138

	Sonora. They take "rent" at will in the form of horses and cattle. Mexicans seem to hold their resources only so long as Apaches allow them to do so.	
1848	Mexico and the U.S. sign the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The U.S. assumes control of Apache territory above the Gila River.	Sweeney 1998:156
February 18, 1848	Apaches under Miguel Narbona attack Chinapa on the Sonora River between Arispe and Bacoachi. They kill 16 and wound 6. They capture 42 persons.	Sweeney 1992:3ff., 4 Sweeney 1998:151
June 21, 1848	At Fronteras, Cochise is captured and put in irons for six weeks. He is placed in a fabricated cave/jail.	Sweeney 1998:153, 155
Summer, 1848	Ch'uk'ánde lay siege to Fronteras. August 7, 23 soldiers attempt to leave Fronteras to obtain supplies. All but 1 are killed. Later, Apaches capture 11 men from a relief party.	Sweeney 1998:153
August 11, 1848	Ch'uk'ánde trade their 11 Mexican captives to obtain Cochise's release.	Sweeney 1998:153
August, 1848	Mangas joins other bands at Alisos Canyon, 25 miles south of the Enmedio range. Mangas remains with Miguel Narbona and Cochise's Ch'uk'ánde and Teboca's Bidankande for much of the next two years.	Sweeney 1998:156-157
September, 1848	The Alisos Canyon group breaks up. Some Apaches move to the Animas and Hatchet mountains. Others move into the Boca Grande range in northwest Chihuahua. Some Ch'uk'ánde move into the Chiricahua Mountains. Others move west to Turicachi. The last group solicits peace at Bacoachi. This group then moves north toward the Peloncillo and Chiricahua mountains.	Sweeney 1998:15
Fall – Winter, 1848	Chiricahuas dominate the Sonoran northern frontier. They attack Tubac.	Sweeney 1998:157-158
1849	Apaches frequently raid in Sonora and Chihuahua. Miguel Narbona and Mangas Coloradas are prominent war leaders. The former is, perhaps, the most effective war leader during this time. Apparently, he never seeks peace. He is the most feared Chiricahua leader of the 1840s and 1850s.  Some groups seek peace with the Mexicans.	Sweeney 1991:70ff. Sweeney 1998:159, 166
1849	The U.S. sends an Indian agent to Santa Fe to establish relations with tribes of the southwest. Americans increase their presence in the southwest. Apaches, apparently, become more apprehensive of the Americans.	Dubo 1976:33 Sweeney 1998:159, 168-169, 176ff.
January 10-23, 1849	Chiricahuas attack Sonora. They kill 98 Sonorans. They wound 22 and take captive 7 women and children. They take 800-1,000 horses and mules. Miguel Narbona, Mangas, and Cochise are the likely leaders of this major raid.	Sweeney 1998:160ff.
February, 1849	Apaches raid Arispe, Huepac, Baviacora, and Huasabas, killing 12.	Sweeney 1998:162
February 20, 1849	Chiricahuas, probably Ndaandénde, negotiate for peace at Janos. During the next month, they negotiate three more times. They discuss the possibility of assassinating Mangas.	Sweeney 1998:166-167
March 9, 1849	From their camps in the Chiricahua Mountains, Miguel Narbona and Mangas raid settlements along the Sonora River south of Arispe. They capture Merejildo Grijalva. The war party splits in two. Narbona takes his group to the	Sweeney 1992:4, 7ff., 8ff. Sweeney 1998:163

	Chiricahua Mountains. Mangas takes his group to Pitaicache. About a month later, Mangas takes his band to the Chiricahua Mountains.  Grijalva becomes a captive in Miguel Narbona's household.  Cochise, apparently, is a member of Narbona's local group.	
March, 1849	Apaches battle Texans in the Mimbres Mountains.	Sweeney 1998:168
March 29, 1849	Coletto Amarillo, an Ndaandénde leader, arrives at Janos and requests peace. He recently left Santa Rita del Cobre because of the arrival of the Americans.	Sweeney 1998:168
April 5, 1849	Manuelito and his people arrive at Janos. Coletto Amarillo comes in a week later.	Sweeney 1998:170
April 8, 1849	Approximately 100 warriors in two parties attack Bavispe.	Sweeney 1998:164
April 29, 1849	Chiricahuas attack Santa Cruz. Little damage is done. Mangas and other leaders are likely present.	Sweeney 1998:164
May 5, 1849	Sonoran troops attack Apaches along the Yaqui River. They kill 3 men and 7 women and children.	Sweeney 1998:165-166
May 24, 1849	Ch'uk'ánde attack Bacoachi. Mangas is not with them. He is in Pitaicache harvesting mescal.	Sweeney 1998:164, 166
May 24, 1849	Two ex-Texas Rangers, Lieutenant Colonel Michael Hancock Chevallié and Lieutenant John Joel Glanton, arrive in Chihuahua City on their way to California. They agree to hunt Apaches for bounty. Chihuahua advances Chevallié \$500 for his help against the barbarians.	Smith 1999:219-220
May 25, 1849	The Congress of Chihuahua passes the "Fifth Law." The law requires the Governor to contract with foreigners to fight the "barbarous Indians." It offers \$200 for each warrior killed, \$250 for each warrior presented alive, \$150 for each female captive, and \$150 for each Indian captive under 14 regardless of sex.	Griffen 1998:224 Smith 1999:220 Sweeney 1991:75ff. Sweeney 1998:170ff.
June, 1849	Mangas is in northeastern Sonora near Janos.	Sweeney 1998:171
June 15, 1849	3 Ndaandénde men enter Janos to negotiate. They are taken captive. June 17, 1849 the prisoners are sent to Captain Don José María Zuloaga at Corralitos. Over the next two weeks plotting on both sides occurs. Mangas and his people arrive. The Duval Party, a group of Americans, arrives. Eventually, the plotting on both sides unravels. The Apaches leave, heading to the Enmedio and Espuellas Mountains.	Smith 1999:223 Sweeney 1998:171ff., 178, 188
June 4 and 22, 1849	Chiricahuas attack Bavispe.	Sweeney 1998:171
June 26, 1849	Glanton, the ex-Texas Ranger, assumes Chevallié's contract. The latter moves on to California.	Smith 1999:221ff., 296 N 26
June 26, 1849	The Duval Party leaves Janos and travels west, toward the location in northeastern Sonora occupied by Mangas.	Sweeney 1998:174
Summer, 1849	Mangas and others move to Arizona and New Mexico. By early July, Mangas is at Santa Lucía Springs and the Burro Mountains.	Sweeney 1998:175-176
August 16, 1849	Captain Enoch Steen and his troops from Doña Ana fight Apaches at Santa Rita del Cobre.	Sweeney 1998:177
August 22, 1849	Apaches attack an emigrant group near Santa Rita.	Sweeney 1998:178



September 9, 1849	Mexican troops engage Apaches north of Palomas near the Florida Mountains. 5 men and 7 women and children are killed. 19 are taken captive and imprisoned at Corralitos. 25 captives are now held at Corralitos.	Sweeney 1991:76 Sweeney 1998:179
September 14, 1849	Yrigóllen and his followers attack Janos. Troops chase the Apaches. Eventually, a battle takes place. 6 Mexicans are killed.	Sweeney 1998:180
September 23, 1849	200 Mexican troops under Elias Gonzalez leave Bacoachi to engage the Apaches in New Mexico.	Griffen 1998:233 Sweeney 1991:75 Sweeney 1998:180
Early October, 1849	Chiricahua bands congregate in the Burro Mountains. They come to the Burro Mountains because of an epidemic. Many warriors leave to attack Janos. Mangas remains in the Burro Mountains.	Cole 1988:86 Sweeney 1998:180ff.
October 11, 1849	Perhaps 200 warriors take the horse herd at Janos and surround the presidio. 26 European Americans arrive. The Apaches take them captive. 19 eventually escape. 7 are killed.	Sweeney 1991:76-77 Sweeney 1998:180, 183-184
October 13, 1849	Elías González and his troops attack Mangas and his followers in the Burro Mountains (Sierra de las Burras). 11 warriors are killed and 5 people are taken prisoner. 5 Mexicans are killed and 5 wounded.  Colonel John Coffee Hayes and 100 Americans are also in the area trying to contact the Chiricahuas.  After being defeated, the Chiricahuas head east toward the Gila or Mogollon Mountains.	Smith 1999:222, 296 N 26 Sweeney 1998:181ff., 184-188
December 27, 1849	A band of Chihennes captures 2 boys from Doña Ana, return to Santa Rita del Cobre, and send Itán to negotiate. Americans reportedly attack the party, causing several Apache casualties.	Sweeney 1991: 78
1850s	Trends or events in the Janos district (Chihuahua) include: (1) The arrival of more European Americans. (2) The use of more paid mercenaries and killers. (3) A jurisdictional dispute with Sonora. (4) Extreme financial distress. (5) Loss of jurisdiction over Apaches in northern portions of the original district (because of the treaty with the U.S.).  Trends in the Gila, Mimbres, and Chiricahua Mountains regions include: (1) Increased appropriation of Apache and Mexican land by immigrant Americans. (2) Increased Apache contacts with Americans.  Possibly, distinctions between Chiricahuas (Ch'uk'ánde), Mogollons (Bidankande), Mimbrenos and Gileños (Chihénde) begin to break down during this period.  Cochise emerges as an important leader.	Griffen 1988:127-136, 151-162 Griffen 1998:223, 236 Sweeney 1991:91

1850	Several peace negotiations take place between Mexicans and Apaches (the peace faction). The hostile faction of Apaches (probably including Miguel Narbona, Mangas Coloradas, and Cochise) refuse to participate in the negotiations. Reportedly, Apaches kill 111 Sonorans during this year.	Sweeney 1991:80ff. Sweeney 1992:9 Sweeney 1998:188ff.
Early 1850	3 of 4 Ch'uk'ánde local groups negotiate peace with Sonora (Posito Moraga's, Esquinaline's, and Yrigóllen's). Other Chiricahuas (Ndaandénde and Chihénde) moved into northern Chihuahua. Mangas, Miguel Narbona, and Cochise remain aloof from peace negotiations. Mangas is near Santa Lucía at this time.	Sweeney 1998:188ff., 191ff.
February 2, 1850	Narbona leads a party against Doña Ana. They kill 1, wound 3, and take the community's horses. American troops under Captain Enoch Steen go after them. This offensive was in response to the American attack on a Chihenne band with captives taken in December 1849.  These initial skirmishes with Americans leave the Apaches respectful and fearful of the new opponents. Mexican traders compound the Apaches' worries by spreading rumors that the Americans intend to murder all Apaches.	Sweeney 1991: 78-79
February 7, 1850	Sonora enacts a bounty law similar to the one in Chihuahua.	Smith 1999:25
Early March, 1850	Mangas and other Chiricahuas leave New Mexico for southeastern Arizona and northeastern Sonora. Bidankande, some Ch'uk'ánde, and Mangas Coloradas' Chihénde resume raiding in Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:190-191, 200
March 12, 1850	Sonora enacts a second bounty law similar to the law in Chihuahua.	Smith 1999:225
April 22, 1850	Elías Gonzáles continues negotiations of a treaty at Bacoachi with peaceful factions of Apaches. Rations are a key element. Hostile Chiricahuas continue raiding in Sonora. The treaty never materializes, possibly because of continued raids by Mangas and others and because rations cannot be provided until July 1, 1850.	Sweeney 1991:81 Sweeney 1998:194, 197-198
April 30, 1850	Gertrudis, sister of Arvizu, returns to Janos (she probably escaped Janos in January) to negotiate. Apparently, a primary motivation of the Apaches is to obtain release of their captive relatives.	Sweeney 1998:202
May, 1850 – January, 1851	Mangas leads three major raids against the Sonorans.	Sweeney 1998:191, 199ff.
May 22, 1850	A contingent of 100 Chiricahuas, including 7 leaders and 50 warriors, come into Janos to negotiate.	Sweeney 1998:203
May 25, 1850	Chihuahuan peace commissioners with approximately 50 troops arrive for negotiations at Janos.	Sweeney 1998:203
Mid-June, 1850	Mangas Coloradas, Narbona, and Cochise meet at Carretas with some Western Apaches to discuss joint operations. After discussions, Mangas goes to Carrizalillo Springs along the New Mexico-Mexico border. Yrigóllen takes his Ch'uk'ánde to Pilares in the Sierra Madre. Quericueryes, the Western Apache leader, and a few Ch'uk'ánde move to raid in Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:200-201
June 18, 1850	Janos issues rations to the Ndaandénde and Chihénde who	Sweeney 1998:204

	are at the presidio.	
June 24, 1850	6 leaders agree to a treaty – Ponce, Delgadito, and Itán from the Chihénde and Coletto Amarillo, Láceris and Arvizu from the Ndaandénde.	Sweeney 1998:204
July, 1850	Mangas is in southern New Mexico, likely at Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:204, 205
August 15, 1850 (ca.)	Mangas meets Steen at Santa Rita del Cobre.	Sweeney 1998:205-206
September, 1850	Sonorans reoccupy Fronteras.	Sweeney 1998:206
September 2, 1850	José María Ponce, Itán, Josécito, and 30 other men and women arrive at Doña Ana to reaffirm friendship. Mangas is not present. Ponce is "speaker for the tribe."	Sweeney 1998:206
Late September, 1850	Mangas and approximately 300 Apaches, including some Western Apaches, attack northern Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:207
October 14, 1850	Sonoran troops leave Fronteras pursuing Mangas' group. The Sonorans follow the Apache trail north to Apache Pass, San Simón, and to the Gila River. The Sonoran troops then turn back.	Schroeder 1974b:124 Sweeney 1998:207
Mid-December, 1850	Mangas is in northern Chihuahua. He contacts Janos suggesting that he wants peace.	Sweeney 1998:209
Early January, 1851	Two war parties raid into Sonora. One is Ch'uk'ánde with warriors from the band led by Posito Moraga, Triqueño, and Yrigóllen, and, perhaps, some Ndaandénde from Janos. Mangas leads the other raid. This party probably includes Narbona and Cochise. Each group contains approximately 150 warriors.	Sweeney 1998:209
January, 1851	Mangas Coloradas, Delgadito, Ponce, Irigoyen, and Moraga raid Sonora in two large parties. Revenge is the apparent motivation.  Following these attacks, Sonoran troops move into Chihuahua on at least two occasions to seek revenge on Apaches (see March 5, 1851).	Griffen 1998:237 Schroeder 1974b:124 Sweeney 1991:83ff.
January 19, 1851	Captain Ignacio Pesqueira gathers a force of 100 Mexican nationals and pursues the Apaches. They attack Apaches at Pozo Hediodo 24 miles southeast of Bacoachi. Mangas Coloradas counterattacks. Other Apaches arrive. The Mexican force is defeated; 26 soldiers are killed and 46 are wounded. Cochise is likely present.	Sweeney 1991:85-87 Sweeney 1998:210-212
January 21, 1851	Mangas' group attacks Bacoachi. The war party then heads east to the Pitaicache Mountains. Many Ch'uk'ánde remain there. Yrigóllen's Ch'uk'ánde and Juh's Ndaandénde return to the vicinity of Janos. Mangas and his Bidankande and Chihénde return to New Mexico to the Burro Mountains, probably Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:214
February 2, 1851	At Santa Rita del Cobre, Mangas meets John R. Bartlett and Captain Louis S. Craig from the U.S. Boundary Commission.	Sweeney 1998:214-215, 229
February 28, 1851	5 Apache leaders arrive at Janos asking for peace. Possibly, Mangas and Geronimo are among these leaders.	Sweeney 1998:218
March 3, 1851	Janos issues rations to 180 families representing more than 600 Apaches. 180 Apache families in 5 rancherias are living	Sweeney 1998:218

	at Janos at this time under the peace arrangement.	
March 5, 1851	<p>General José María Carrasco, new commander of frontier troops in Sonora, travels into Chihuahua and attacks Apaches residing at Janos under the Chihuahua peace treaty.</p> <p>Carrasco and his troops kill 21 (16 men and 5 women) and capture 62.</p> <p>Yrigóllen is killed and his rancheria outside Janos is destroyed. Most of his people escape.</p> <p>Mangas Coloradas is, apparently, in the area seeking peace.</p> <p>Geronimo's mother, wife, and three children are killed. After the attack, Apaches under Mangas convene and decide to return to New Mexico.</p>	Dubo 1976:33ff. Schroeder 1974b:124 Sweeney 1988:215 Sweeney 1990:35ff. 51 N 24 Sweeney 1991:87 Sweeney 1992:9 Sweeney 1998:216-217, 218-219, 220ff.
March 9, 1851	Miguel Narbona and his Ch'uk'ánde followers attack Bamori and Sinoquipe in Sonora. Narbona is wounded.	Sweeney 1998:225
March 10, 1851	<p>Carrasco takes the 62 prisoners (including 6 men, 4 women, and 52 children) to Ures and Guaymas.</p> <p>Ch'uk'ánde spend the rest of the summer trying to obtain the release of their relatives.</p>	Sweeney 1998:222
March 26, 1851	Carrasco turns over his captives to Captain Teodoro López de Aros at the Sonoran capital, Ures. López takes the captives to Guaymas. Most of these people are never heard from again.	Sweeney 1998:223, 224
April, 1851	Approximately 95 families, 400 people, receive rations at Janos.	Sweeney 1998:222
May 2, 1851	John Russell Bartlett of the International Boundary Commission and his group reach Santa Rita del Cobre.	Sweeney 1998:231
May 16, 1851	Bartlett and the Commission leave Santa Rita del Cobre for Sonora. They need supplies.	Sweeney 1998:231
May 23, 1851	<p>Carrasco is in Fronteras preparing for a second assault on the Chiricahuas. Bartlett and the Border Commission arrive at Fronteras.</p> <p>Bartlett comments on an Apache serving among the Mexican troops.</p>	Sweeney 1998:226, 227ff.
Late May, 1851	Carrasco and his troops leave Fronteras for Alamo Huerco, where they attack Láceris and his Ndaandénde. The troops then travel to Janos, where they meet with Apache leaders. A treaty is negotiated. Apaches would move to Fronteras, Bavispe, or Bacoachi. Apaches are primarily interested in getting their captive relatives back.	Sweeney 1998:226
Summer, 1851	Chiricahuas move into Mexico to seek revenge for the attack at Janos by Carrasco. Mangas Coloradas leads the Mimbrenos and Bidankande. Cochise leads the Chiricahuas. Juh leads Ndaandénde. The Apaches fight Sonoran troops at Arispe. Juh and Cochise, perhaps, increase in prominence during this period.	Dubo 1976:38-39 Sweeney 1998:227
Mid-June, 1851	Carrasco returns to Fronteras, contracts cholera, and dies on July 21, 1851.	Sweeney 1998:226-227
July 21, 1851	Approximately 400 Chiricahuas are near Fronteras, having	Sweeney 1998:226-

	moved there from Janos in keeping with the treaty signed in May with Carrasco.	227
June 23, 1851	John Russell Bartlett, member of the International Boundary Commission, meets Mangas Coloradas at Santa Rita del Cobre after both return from Sonora. Bartlett and Mangas meet several times over the next months. Good relations between the Americans and Apaches exist at first, but then deteriorate. The issues of captives, the shooting of an Apache man by a Mexican, and the theft of up to 150 American horses and mules seemingly cause the deterioration. The Americans blame the last on Navajos and Apaches.	Dubo 1976:41ff. Goodwin 1969 Griffen 1998:248 Sweeney 1990:50-51 N 21 Sweeney 1998:232ff.
July 5, 1851	<p>According to Bartlett's diary, 4 Chiricahua chiefs (Mangas, Delgadito, Ponce, and Coletto Amarillo of the Nednhi band) come in for a conference. The following exchange was recorded, supposedly verbatim, by an American who was present:</p> <p>Mangas: Why did you take our captives from us?</p> <p>Commissioner: Your captives came to us and demanded our protection.</p> <p>Mangas: You came to our country. You were well received by us. Your lives, your property, your animals, were safe. You passed by ones, 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?</p> <p>Commissioner: What we have said to you is true and reliable. We do not tell lies. The greatness and dignity of our nation forbids our doing so mean a thing. What our great brother has said is true, and good also. I will now tell him why we took his captives from him. Four years ago, we, too, were at war with Mexico. We know that the Apaches make a distinction between Chihuahua and Sonora. They are at peace with Chihuahua, but always fighting against Sonora. We in our war did not make that distinction...Well, when that war was over, in which we conquered, we made peace with them. They are now our friends, and by the terms of the peace we are bound to protect them. We told you this when we came to this place, and we requested you to cease your hostilities against Mexico...We mean to show you that we cannot lie. We promised protection to the Mexicans, and we gave it to them. We promise friendship and protection to you, and we will give it to you...</p>	Sweeney 1998:235-236

July 10, 1851 (ca.)	Mangas leaves Santa Rita to go deer hunting at Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:238
July 21, 1851	Mangas returns to Santa Rita del Cobre. A large group of Chiricahuas meets with Bartlett to discuss what to do with the Mexican who shot the Apache man. Mangas eats supper with Bartlett, and then returns to his camp in Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:238
July 23, 1851	Ponce, Delgadito, Coletto Amarillo, Nachesoa, and the mother of the murdered Chiricahua man meet with Bartlett.  They want the Mexican turned over to them. Bartlett states that he will send the man for trial at Santa Fe.  The woman finally accepts monetary compensation for the life of her boy.	Schroeder 1974b:128-129 Sweeney 1998:238
August 18, 1851	Mangas brings a large group of Navajos, probably including his son-in-law, to trade with the Americans. Apaches and Navajos steal horses and mules from the Americans, who clamor for a military response.	Sweeney 1998:239
August 24, 1851	The Commission leaves Santa Rita del Cobre and heads west.	Dubo 1976:44
August 26, 1851	Mangas sends a peace emissary to Janos. On about this date, Coletto Amarillo meets with Chihuahua's governor, Angel Trias, at Corralitos.	Sweeney 1998:240-241
August, 1851	Ch'uk'ánde kill 59 Sonorans during this month. Sonorans announce that they will retaliate.	Sweeney 1998:241
September 5, 1851	The International Border Commission travels through Apache Pass. Geronimo meets the Commission sometime during this period, somewhere along the trail to Apache Pass.	Dubo 1976:44
September, 1851	During the first few weeks of September, Trias meets at Janos with Láceris, Coletto Amarillo, Delgadito, Ponce, and Mangas.	Sweeney 1998:241
September, 1851	Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner arrives in New Mexico as the department's new commander. He removes garrisons from El Paso, Doña Ana, and Socorro. He establishes new forts at Fort Conrad, Fort Fillmore, and Fort Webster.	Sweeney 1998:244
September 22, 1851	Trias arrives with many troops at Janos to ration the Chiricahuas. Most of them are gone, probably fearing treachery. Mangas moves to the Burro and Mogollon Mountains to harvest piñons, acorns, mesquite beans, walnuts, berries, and datil.	Sweeney 1998:241
October 21, 1851	Two divisions of Sonoran troops establish a base camp at San Simón, 15 miles northeast of Apache Pass. They have with them two pieces of artillery. They begin scouting and attacking rancherias in Arizona and New Mexico.	Sweeney 1991:88-89 Sweeney 1998:241ff.
Late October, 1851	Tapilá, Chepillo, and Chagaray arrive at Bavispe to negotiate. Mexicans say that the Apaches are drunk and belligerent and that fighting breaks out. Apaches say that the Mexicans offer hospitality to the Chiricahuas, get them drunk, and then kill them. The three Chiricahua leaders are, at any rate, killed.	Sweeney 1991:89 Sweeney 1998:242
Fall, 1851	Apaches skirmish several times with Americans along the Rio Grande.	Sweeney 1998:243
December,	A large party of Chiricahuas attacks Sonora. They attack the	Sweeney 1998:243

1851	district of Moctezuma and the area of Hermosillo and Ures. These warriors were probably Ch'uk'ánde.	
1852-1856	Cochise's Ch'uk'ánde continue hostilities with Mexico.	Sweeney 1991:91
January 21, 1852	José Cordero, Governor of Chihuahua, declares a total bounty war. On this date, Cordero's declaration is carried in the <u>Boletín oficial</u> .	Smith 1999:231, 233ff.
January 24, 1852	Delgadito and Ponce with about 100 Chiricahuas visit new Fort Webster. The Americans do not welcome them, because of recent problems. After brief negotiations, Americans open fire on the Apaches. Several Apaches are wounded and two wounded women are captured.	Sweeney 1998:243
January 26, 1852	Ponce and Delgadito return to and attack Fort Webster. Apaches kill 3 men. Delgadito then leaves with his band for northern Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:245ff.
February 25, 1852	Sumner orders Major Marshall Saxe Howe to punish the Apaches. On this date, he and his approximately 300 troops are attacked as they approach the Mimbres River.	Sweeney 1998:249
February 27, 1852	Howe and his troops reach Fort Webster at Santa Rita del Cobre.	Sweeney 1998:249
March 1, 1852	Howe and his troops leave Fort Webster for Santa Lucía in search of Mangas. Howe appears reluctant to find Mangas and after a cursory look, returns to Fort Webster March 12, 1852.	Sweeney 1998:249
March 6, 1852	Delgadito's Chihénde group is attacked in the Caguillona Mountains by troops from Fronteras. 5 men, 2 women, and 1 child are killed. 5 women and 1 child are taken captive. 54 horses and mules are taken. The survivors move into the Chiricahua Mountains to join Narbona's and Cochise's Ch'uk'ánde.	Sweeney 1998:251
March 16, 1852	Troops from Bavispe and Fronteras attack Láceris' group near the Carcay Mountains. They kill 3 women and capture 5.	Sweeney 1998:252
March 19, 1852	Mexican troops negotiate with perhaps 180 Chiricahuas (Bidankande, Ch'uk'ánde, and Chihénde) in the Perilla Mountains. The meeting takes place somewhere north of the Swisshelm Mountains.	Sweeney 1991:89
March 20, 1852	Mangas and his group of approximately 100 warriors arrive on the west side of the Chiricahua Mountains, opposite the Swisshelm Mountains. The Mexicans end the conference when they see Mangas' group.  Delgadito talks about recovering his people taken at Caguillona. He discusses a prisoner exchange.	Sweeney 1998:251
March 22, 1852	Apaches attack the Mexican troops in Bonita Canyon. Relatively small losses occur on both sides. The Mexicans withdraw and camp at Apache Pass.	Sweeney 1991:90 Sweeney 1998:252
March 27, 1852	Sonoran troops attack Ndaandénde Apaches near the Florida Mountains. 7 warriors and 21 women and children are killed. 16 Apaches (4 adult and 12 children) are captured. Coletto Amarillo is killed. El Chinito is killed. 63 head of livestock are taken. Itán escapes.	Schroeder 1974b:130-131 Sweeney 1998:252-253
March 30, 1852	Delgadito and, possibly, Mangas attack Fronteras. They kill 2 and capture 6. They request a prisoner exchange. Captives are exchanged.	Sweeney 1998:252

April – May, 1852	Mangas is in Ch'uk'ánde territory. Cuchillo Negro is camped along the Mimbres River and requests peace at Fort Webster.	Sweeney 1998:253
July 1, 1852	Mescalero Apaches sign a treaty with the U.S. in Santa Fe	Sweeney 1998:256
July 11, 1852	<p>Mangas meets Sumner and New Mexico's acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs John Greiner at Ácoma Pueblo. They negotiate and sign a treaty. It is ratified and signed by President Franklin Pierce on March 25, 1853.</p> <p>The treaty provides "...that the Mimbres recognize the jurisdiction over them of the United States, establish amity, avoid depredations against citizens or livestock, refrain from predatory incursions into Mexico, permit establishment of military posts among them, rely upon the justice and liberality of the government to establish fair territorial boundaries, and accept such liberal and humane measures affecting them that Washington may deem meet and proper."</p> <p>The treaty cedes no land to the Americans.</p> <p>Mangas talks about the James Johnson massacre (1837) and about the Janos massacre (1851). He refuses to forego fighting with the Mexicans. He talks about Mexicans murdering women and children, the right of his people to protect themselves, and the right of his people to seek revenge for Mexican treachery.</p> <p>Mangas signs the treaty. He is the only Chiricahua leader to sign the agreement. Ponce, Itán, Sergento, Dosientos, and José Nuevo have their names on the treaty, but they do not sign.</p>	<p>Dubo 1976:46ff. Schroeder 1974b:126, 131 Sweeney 1998:254, 254ff., 259ff. Thrapp 1967:13 Thrapp 1974:26ff., 27, 27ff.</p>
July 23, 1852	Mangas arrives at Fort Webster declaring that he made peace with Sumner.	Sweeney 1998:260
August 12, 1852	Greiner arrives at Fort Webster. Three days later, he negotiates with Itán, Ponce, and others. They accept roughly the same treaty that Mangas accepted at Ácoma. Mangas is not present. He is probably in Mexico. Delgadito does not participate in this treaty.	<p>Schroeder 1974b:127 Sweeney 1998:262</p>
September 2, 1852	Fort Webster is relocated from the site of the old Spanish presidio to a new site 14 miles east on the Mimbres river.	Sweeney 1998:264
September 22, 1852	Delgadito and his Chihénde take 132 head of cattle and 4 horses from Doña Ana.	Sweeney 1998:265
Fall, 1852	Mangas and his group are in the Burro and Mogollon Mountains gathering piñons, acorns, and walnuts. He also travels once to Socorro for trade.	Sweeney 1998:265
1852-1855	<p>For the most part, Mimbres Apaches maintain peaceful relations with European Americans in the U.S.</p> <p>The Apaches, in general, maintain hostile relationships with Mexicans, especially Sonorans.</p> <p>Chihénde and Ndaandénde bands make treaties with Americans in 1852, 1853, and 1855.</p> <p>Ch'uk'ánde are not party to these treaties.</p>	<p>Dubo 1976:47ff. Griffen 1998:247ff., 250-251 Sweeney 1991:92ff. Sweeney 1998:293ff., 266 Thrapp 1974:26-58</p>



	<p>Important issues (sources of conflict) between Mexicans and Americans during these years are:</p> <p>(1) Mexican <u>captives</u> held by Apaches.</p> <p>(2) The <u>rationing</u> of Apaches by Americans.</p> <p>(3) Apaches obtaining guns and ammunition by <u>trading</u> with the Americans.</p>	
Mid-1850s	The European American population in California and New Mexico is increasing. The U.S. is interested in creating efficient communication and travel to California and the southwest – wagon roads, mail carriers, and a transcontinental railroad. Expeditions are sent to the southwest with these objectives in mind.	McChristian 2005:7
Late 1852 – Early 1853	French intervention causes Sonorans to focus on this rather than on the Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:274
Early 1853	Mangas moves to Ch'uk'ánde country to join forces for raids into Sonora. By February, two large groups of Apaches invade Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:274ff.
February, 1853	The Mesilla Guard kills 14 or 15 Mescaleros at Doña Ana.	Sweeney 1998:271-272
April 2-6, 1853	New Mexico Territorial Governor William Carr Lane negotiates with Apaches at Fort Webster. Approximately 300 Chiricahuas are present. Ponce, Cuchillo Negro, José Nuevo, Veinte Realles, Riñon, and Corrosero sign the compact. Mangas, Victorio, Itán, Delgadito, Láceris, and Losho (possibly, Loco) are absent. They are invited to sign.	Schroeder 1974b:132 Sweeney 1998:272, 282
	Washington eventually rejects this treaty.	
April 26, 1853	Mexican troops badly defeat Poncito's band near the Florida Mountains in southern New Mexico. 69 Mexican troops are guided by two Apaches (one is Gervacio Compá, a son of Juan José Compá). 1 man is killed. 1 woman is taken captive. 25 horses are taken. The rancheria is burned. The survivors escape to Fort Webster. They arrive virtually naked and starving.	Sweeney 1998:279
May 1, 1853	Mangas and his group are camped on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains between Apache Pass and Cave Creek. They are harvesting Mescal.	Sweeney 1998:277-278
May 18, 1853	Mangas and his group come into Fort Webster. Mangas agrees to abide by the April treaty.	Sweeney 1998:279
May 25, 1853 (ca.)	A Chihénde leader, Loiso or Losho, from Ponce's group brings 4 Mexican girls into Fort Webster. Captain Steen takes the captives from the Apaches. He gives Losho rations and supplies. This creates much dissatisfaction among the Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:280-281
June 3, 1853	Dr. Michael Steck is appointed temporary agent for the Mescalero and Gila Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:282, 288
Early June, 1853	Delgadito's group comes into Fort Webster, but remains aloof from the Americans. He does not want a peace compact. Later, Steen's troops attack Delgadito's group, killing 2 warriors and wounding several.	Sweeney 1998:281
June 15, 1853	Edward H. Wingfield, New Mexico's Indian Agent, receives word that Washington rejects Lane's treaty.	Sweeney 1998:285-286
Summer, 1853	Two Ch'uk'ánde war parties move through Sonora. The two	Sweeney 1991:92

	parties unite at Tecoripa, 80 miles southeast of Ures.	Sweeney 1998:282-283, 293-294
July 10-31, 1853	Apaches raid in Sonora. They kill 150 Sonorans in 20 days.	Sweeney 1998:291
Late July, 1853	Steck visits Fort Webster and writes a report about conditions there.	Sweeney 1998:286-287
Early August, 1853	Steck visits rancherias along the Mimbres River. He states that each man has 2-5 wives and that a man might have as many as 10-15 dependents. Steck states that white encroachment and the war with Mexico have reduced the Apache population. He states that the government must feed the Apaches or fight a war of extermination against them.	Sweeney 1998:289
August 26, 1853	New Apache agent James Smith arrives at Fort Webster. He meets Steck. He compiles a census of Apache bands.	Sweeney 1998:290
September 8, 1853	Mangas appears with Itán and Delgadito at Fort Webster.	Sweeney 1998:291
October, 1853	Mangas raids into Sonora. Mangas joins with the Ch'uk'ánde during this time. He spends much of the remainder of 1853 and 1854 with Cochise, his son-in-law, and the Ch'uk'ánde.	Sweeney 1998:296
December 20, 1853	U.S. Troops abandon Fort Webster and move to the Rio Grande. They establish Fort Thorn near present day Hatch, New Mexico.  Fort Thorn on the Rio Grande is constructed. This fort becomes headquarters for the United States Apache Agency. Gileño, Mogollonero, Mimbrenño, and, occasionally, Chiricaguis, Mescaleros, and Coyotereros contact European Americans at Fort Thorn.	Griffen 1998:248-249 Schroeder 1974b:134 Sweeney 1998:293
Early January, 1854	Mangas and Delgadito are in the Chiricahua Mountains with the Ch'uk'ánde.	Sweeney 1998:297, 298
January 10, 1854 (ca.)	Mangas, Delgadito, Narbona, and Cochise enter Sonora with 200-300 men. They split into groups of 30-50 warriors and begin their raiding.	Sweeney 1998:298-299, 298ff.
March 1-2, 1854	Second Lieutenant John Grubb Parke is in the Chiricahua Mountains investigating a possible railroad route through southern Arizona. Chiricahuas visit his camp.	Ogle 1970:40 Schroeder 1974b:135 Sweeney 1998:299
April 25, 1854	The Gadsden Purchase takes place. The U.S.-Mexico border is moved south from the Gila River to its present location. Chiricahuas use the Chiricahua Mountains, Gila River country, and the Mogollon Mountains as sanctuaries for their raids into Mexico.  Mexico and the U.S. ratify the Gadsden Purchase June 30, 1854.	Griffen 1998:122 Ogle 1970:36 Sweeney 1991:93ff., 96 Sweeney 1998:308
May, 1854	Another Chiricahua war party (ca. 200 warriors) enters Sonora.	Sweeney 1998:300
Late June, 1854	Samaniego and his troops leave Bavispe guided by Mariano Arista, a Chiricahua, and Alverto Guaymuri, an Opata Indian. They head to the Animas Mountains, attack a rancheria, and capture 14 people.	Sweeney 1998:301-302
July 8, 1854	Dr. Michael Steck, reappointed as Indian agent, issues a report from Doña Ana about the state of the Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:304

July 23, 1854	Steck is told to establish his agency at Fort Thorn on the Rio Grande.	Sweeney 1998:303
August, 1854	Mangas attacks emigrants near Santa Cruz.	Schroeder 1974b:136 Sweeney 1998:302
August 13-18, 1854	Many Chihénde leaders appear at Mesilla asking for peace and a trading license. The people at Mesilla turn the Apaches away.	Sweeney 1998:304-305
September 1, 1854	New Mexico Governor Meriwether issues a report describing the Gila Apaches and their territory.	Schroeder 1974b:135
Early September, 1854	Delgadito and Itán with their people visit Steck at Fort Thorn. They receive rations September 10.	Schroeder 1974b:134 Sweeney 1998:305
October, 1854	Steck visits Chihénde along the Mimbres River. He promises to provide rations to those Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:305
Late October, 1854	Chihénde leaders arrive at Fort Thorn to receive Steck's promised rations and supplies. Cuchillo Negro, Josécito, and Sergento arrive October 25 with about 60 of their people. Mangas, Itán, and Delgadito arrive October 27 with approximately 90 of their people.	Schroeder 1974b:136 Sweeney 1998:306
November 11, 1854	New Mexico Territorial Governor Meriwether travels to Fort Thorn and meets several Chiricahua leaders.	
Mid-December, 1854	Steck rations some Chihénde at Fort Thorn. Most Chihénde fail to come in because of Fort Thorn's inconvenient location along the Rio Grande.	Sweeney 1998:309
1855	Mexicans continue to complain that Americans trade to Apaches guns and ammunition for cattle stolen in Sonora and Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1998:308
January 20, 1855	Steck rations Mangas Coloradas at Fort Thorn. During this winter, Mangas does not raid into Sonora.	Schroeder 1974b:137 Sweeney 1998:309
February, 1855	Steck writes in his monthly report about issues with the Chiricahuas. He states that: (1) The Chiricahuas have friendly relations with Americans. (2) The government must fulfill its promises concerning rations and agricultural assistance. (3) The issue of Mexican captives must be dealt with. (4) The hostile bands of Chiricahuas must be dealt with.	Schroeder 1974b:137 Sweeney 1998:309-310
February 7, 1855	Vigilantes from Mesilla attack Apaches in Doña Ana.	Thrapp 1974:60
Spring, 1855	Mangas and Delgadito are along the Mimbres River. Cuchillo Negro is planting crops 45 miles northwest of Fort Thorn near the headwaters of the Rio de las Animas.	Sweeney 1998:311
Late April or Early May, 1855	The Carrizaleño group of Ndaandénde Apaches (289 people) signs a treaty at El Carmen. The band consisted of 57 men (7 leaders), 100 women (44 are widows), and 133 children.	Sweeney 1998:317-318, 319
May, 1855	Steck visits Mimbres and Coppermine Apaches to set up a meeting. He states that all will attend, except Mangas, who is "still very sick."	Schroeder 1974b:139
May 24, 1855	Chiricahuas raid several times near Janos. Mexican troops pursue the Apaches and capture Nalze, nephew of Itán. Nalze states that the Apaches are ready to negotiate another	Sweeney 1998:317

	peace with Sonora.	
June 9, 1855	Meriwether completes a treaty at Fort Thorn with Mescalero, Janeros Ndaandénde, and Chihénde Apaches, but not with Apaches from further west. Cuchillo Negro, Itán, and Delgadito sign. Láceris and José Nuevo sign.  Two Apache women, Monica and Refugia, are listed as interpreters.  Congress does not ratify this or five other treaties that Meriwether negotiates. Congress feels that it should not have to pay Indians for land that it purchased from Mexico.	Schroeder 1974b:139 Sweeney 1998:312
Mid-July, 1855	Josécito's Chihénde and some Bidankande attack miners near Corralitos. They kill 14 and wound 2. The Chihénde then return to Santa Rita. The Bidankande then return to Mimbres country.	Sweeney 1998:318
July 30, 1855	Steck provides an accounting of the Apaches at his agency.	Schroeder 1974b:140
Mid-August, 1855	Mangas leads a small party against Janos, and then returns to New Mexico.	Sweeney 1998:319
October and November, 1855	Bidankande raid along the Rio Grande. They take stock at Mesilla and in Bernalillo county.	Sweeney 1998:320ff.
December 20, 1855 (ca.)	Apaches raid Socorro, taking more than 30 horses, mules, and head of cattle.	Sweeney 1998:323
Late December, 1855	Steck travels to Tierra Blanca (50 miles northwest of Fort Thorn and five miles southeast of contemporary Kingston). He meets with Chihénde leaders Delgadito, Itán, Cuchillo Negro, Riñón, and Pajarito. Ndaandénde leaders Láceris and José Nuevo are also present. Costales and Monica act as interpreters. Mangas is, apparently, at Santa Lucía.	Schroeder 1974b:142 Sweeney 1998:323
1856-1857	During this time, Miguel Narbona dies and Cochise emerges as a prominent leader among the Ch'uk'ánde.  Grijalva is associated with Cochise and often acts as his interpreter.	Sweeney 1993:9
February 17, 1856	A large party of Chiricahuas travels to Sonora to avenge the deaths of two warriors in February. On this date, the party attacks Fronteras. Apaches state that their plan was to secure captives and trade them to the Americans for ammunition.	Sweeney 1998:325
February 24, 1856	The U.S. military organizes an expedition against the Gila and Mogollon Apaches (Bidankande).	
March 12, 1856	One of the two detachments of U.S. troops sent against the Apaches is 12 miles west of Santa Rita. It is led by Lieutenant Alexander Early Steen, son of Enoch Steen. Steck is with the troops. Riñón, probably a son of Cuchillo Negro, is with the troops. Apparently, Delgadito and Itán provided the troops with information about the location of the Bidankande.	Sweeney 1998:325-236
March 16, 1856 (ca.)	Steen's troops attack a rancheria headed by El Cautivo. They kill 1 man and wound 3 or 4. They take 350 sheep and 31 horses and mules.	Sweeney 1998:326

	The rancheria group had just returned from gathering mescal in the Chiricahua Mountains. The sheep come from a raid on the Rio Grande. The group is closely associated with Mangas and Cochise.	
Late March, 1856	When returning from the expedition, Captain Daniel T. Chandler, who leads the second of the two commands pursuing Bidankande, opens fire on a peaceful Chihénde rancheria.	Schroeder 1974b:143ff. Sweeney 1998:326-327
March, 1856	Mexican troops abandon Tucson, leaving the region with no military presence.	McChristian 2005:14
April, 1856	Chihénde and Ch'uk'ánde join for raids into Sonora and Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1991:97
April 18, 1856	Steck travels to the Mimbres River to provide rations and begin planting. Mangas arrives on this date. Steck writes, he "is friendly, he is alone, his people have deserted him." Delgadito is also present.	Sweeney 1998:328
April 20, 1856	Steck issues rations to approximately 500 Apaches along the Mimbres River. After receiving rations, Mangas returns to Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:328
May, 1856	Mangas joins Bidankande under his son Cascos; some Chihénde under Victorio, Monteras, and Negrito; and Ch'uk'ánde under Cochise. They establish a base camp east and south of Bavispe. They raid into Sonora and Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1998:328ff., 330-331
Summer, 1856	Mangas is at the Mimbres River, Santa Rita, and Santa Lucía, where he is growing corn.	Sweeney 1998:331
June 29, 1856	Steck issues rations to Mangas Coloradas and his group of 50 individuals at Santa Lucía.	Schroeder 1974b:144 Sweeney 1998:331
July 25, 1856	Steck rations Chihénde at Santa Rita.	Sweeney 1998:331
July 28, 1856	Steck issues rations to Mangas and 65 of his followers at Santa Rita.	Sweeney 1998:331, 333
July 30, 1856	Itán, Láceris, and Monteras arrive at Janos and request a truce.	Sweeney 1998:336
August 15, 1856	Two local groups of Chihénde make treaties with Janos and Corralitos. Their intention is to exchange captives. Chihénde seek to free Nalze.	Sweeney 1991:100 Sweeney 1998:335-36
September 2, 1856	Mangas Coloradas and his followers attack Janos. They take over 100 horses, but lose 13 people as captives to the Mexicans. Mangas, Cascos, El Cautívico are Bidankande leaders present. Barboncito, Galindo, and Perea are Janeros (Ndaandénde) leaders. Durasnillo and, likely, Cochise are Ch'uk'ánde leaders.	Griffen 1998:251 Sweeney 1998:336-337
September 17, 1856 (ca.)	Captain José Baltazar Padilla sends 10 soldiers guided by an Apache woman, Carlota, to Láceris' rancheria on the Mimbres River.	Sweeney 1998:337ff., 33
September 19, 1856	St. Vrain sends a letter to Steck providing information about the Mogollon Apaches. He names leaders. Mangas is named by St. Vrain as the head chief in times of war.	Schroeder 1974b:146
September 20, 1856	Steck and Meriwether provide rations at the Mimbres River to Mangas and his 50 followers.	Sweeney 1998:339, 341ff.
October 24, 1856	Monica, the Chihénde woman interpreter, arrives back at Fort Thorn with Padilla's response to Steck's earlier letter	Sweeney 1998:340

	requesting release of the Chihénde at Janos. The response is negative.	
November 14, 1856	U.S. troops arrive in Tucson from Fort Thorn under Major Enoch Steen's command. They bivouac at San Xavier Mission. Steen then moves his command 60 miles south to Calabasas, 8 miles from the border.	McChristian 2005:14 Sweeney 1998:368
November 19, 1856	El Cautívo, Lsana, Coyoteros, and Mogollon Apaches are near Zuni to obtain salt. They also take some stock. Zunis follow them and kill one member of their group.  The Apaches return for revenge. Indian Agent Dodge is taken and killed.  The Apaches also take large herds and then leave for Apache country.  Mangas is in the settlements of Limitar and Socorro when Dodge is taken and killed.	Schroeder 1974b:148 Sweeney 1998:343ff.
December 29, 1856	Two Mexicans steal 16 horses from Delgadito's rancheria. 12 horses are retaken the next day. Steck sends Costales and Rattón after the two men to Mesilla. The Mexicans kill the Apaches while the Apaches are sleeping.	Schroeder 1974b:147 Sweeney 1998:348
Early 1857	Most Chihénde leave their homeland and move to northern Sonora and Chihuahua. Realignment of Apache bands begins. Mangas' band of Chihénde begins to break into 4 groups headed by Delgadito, Itán, Josécito, and Cuchillo Negro. Mangas begins to align himself more with Cochise and the Ch'uk'ánde. Younger Chihénde leaders such as Victorio, Riñón, and Loco emerge.	Sweeney 1998:348-349
January 19, 1857	Láceris concludes a treaty in Chihuahua City with commanding general José Merino.	Sweeney 1991:102 Sweeney 1998:351ff.
January 21, 1857 (ca.)	Following a small group that took some stock, 40 members of the Mesilla Guard attack a rancheria in the Florida Mountains. They kill an Apache man and his two sons.	Sweeney 1998:349
January, 1857	Approximately 182 Apaches reside at Janos. Apaches reside about 6 miles down the river from the presidio. Rations are distributed in February. The number of Apaches at Janos increases to 282 in February. This is yet another partial peace.	Griffen 1998:253 Sweeney 1991:102
March, 1857	Chihénde no longer visit Steck's agency at Fort Thorn. Some of them, at least, are in the Chiricahua Mountains or Janos.  Itán is, perhaps, killed during this time.  Mangas is in the Chiricahua Mountains harvesting mescal.  Other Chiricahuas are residing at Alamo Hueco.	Sweeney 1998:350-352
March 7, 1857	Steen moves his troops from Calabasas to the head of the Sonoita Valley and establishes Fort Buchanan. This fort is approximately 45 miles from Tucson.	McChristian 2005:15 Sweeney 1998:368
April – July,	Up to 608 Apaches in approximately 10 rancherias reside at	Griffen 1998:255

1857	<p>Janos.</p> <p>Poncito, Felipe, Delgadito, Láceris, and Pascolo are among those leaders who bring in their followers. During the last three months of the year, several of these leaders shift their residence (for reasons unknown). Apaches are at the presidio to obtain release of their relatives and to obtain rations and supplies.</p> <p>Mangas and Cochise are in the Chiricahua Mountains during this time.</p>	Sweeney 1991:105 Sweeney 1998:352ff.
May, 1857	<p>Colonel Benjamin Louis Eulalie Bonneville, Acting Commander of the Department of New Mexico, sends troops to punish Bidankande for their recent depredations, including the killing of agent Dodge. Bonneville establishes his base camp on the east bank of the Gila River a few miles southeast of Clifton.</p> <p>Colonel William Wing Loring leads Bonneville's northern column. His troops (ca. 350-400 soldiers) leave Albuquerque and head to the southwest.</p> <p>Lieutenant Colonel Dixon S. Miles leads Bonneville's southern column (ca. 350-400 soldiers). This group leaves Fort Thorn and heads west. Lieutenant John Van Deusen Du Boise commands Company K of Miles' troops. He writes a journal concerning the events of the campaign. They leave Fort Thorn on May 1, 1857.</p> <p>Captain Richard S. Ewell leads Bonneville's third column (ca. 120 soldiers). They leave Tucson and travel east toward the Chiricahua Mountains.</p>	Ogle 1970:38 Schroeder 1974b:149ff. Sweeney 1998:352ff.
May 24, 1857	Loring's command attacks Cuchillo Negro's rancheria in the Black Mountains, killing Cuchillo Negro, 5 other men, and 1 woman. They take captive 9 women and children, including Cuchillo Negro's wife. They take 1,000 sheep and other stock.	Schroeder 1974b:150 Sweeney 1998:353-354
Mid-May, 1857	Captain Richard S. Ewell and his troops attack a Ch'uk'ánde rancheria in the Chiricahua Mountains, taking 21 horses. Apaches retaliate the next night, recapturing their horses and taking two other horses.	Sweeney 1998:354ff. McChristian 2005:17
Late-May – Early June, 1857	<p>Cochise and Mangas with their people are along the border at Alamo Hueco.</p> <p>Mangas and Cascos lead the Chihénde and Bidankande.</p> <p>Cochise, Esquinaline, Carro, and Parte lead the Ch'uk'ánde.</p>	Sweeney 1998:356
Mid-June, 1857	The entire Ch'uk'ánde band under Cochise and the other leaders seek peace with Janos.	Sweeney 1998:357
Late-June, 1857	Mangas arrives at Janos with Victorio, Sergento, and Veinte Reales to seek peace. Mangas' group consists of 20 men, 30 women, and 15 children. Later, 30 more of Mangas' people come in. They join Delgadito and Rifiñón, who are already at Janos. Perhaps 600 Chiricahuas now reside near Janos.	Schroeder 1974b:150 Sweeney 1998:357-358

June 27, 1857	<p>Lieutenant Colonel Dixon S. Miles and Colonel Benjamin L. E. Bonneville's troops attack Western Apaches 35 miles northeast of Mount Graham. They kill, perhaps, 38 men and 4 women. They capture 45, mostly women and children.</p> <p>Deusen Du Bois states that 24 Apaches are killed and 26 taken captive on June 27.</p>	<p>Schroeder 1974b:150 Sweeney 1998:354</p>
July, 1857 – September 1858	James E. Birch completes approximately 47 trips from San Antonio through Chiricahua country to San Diego carrying mail. The Apaches do not bother his riders.	Sweeney 1998:369
July 9, 1857	A Butterfield stage leaves San Antonio for San Diego. It arrives in California seven weeks later.	McChristian 2005:11
August and September, 1857	Cochise and his followers arrive at Janos to trade. While there, many Apaches are sick. Evidence suggests that Zuloaga poisoned whiskey with arsenic and strychnine. Many Ch'uk'ánde and other Chiricahuas leave Janos.	<p>Sweeney 1991:105, 108 Sweeney 1998:358</p>
Early September, 1857	<p>Approximately 680 Ch'uk'ánde, including Cochise, arrive at Fronteras seeking peace and rations and supplies.</p> <p>The Sonoran government is slow in deciding what to do about the Apache offer to remain at peace if they are given rations and supplies.</p> <p>Mangas remains at Janos until the fall, when he returns to New Mexico or to the Chiricahua Mountains to gather piñons, acorns, and other nuts.</p> <p>Victorio and other Chihénde remain at Janos until the end of the year.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1991:106ff. Sweeney 1998:359, 369ff.</p>
September 22, 1857	Captain Gabriel García issues rations to 680 Chiricahuas at Fronteras.	Sweeney 1998:358
Early October, 1857	Ch'uk'ánde leave Fronteras to gather acorns and other wild plants. Cochise moves to Guadalupe Canyon near the San Bernardino River. Many Ch'uk'ánde are sick, possibly or probably, from contaminated rations and supplies.	<p>Sweeney 1991:108 Sweeney 1998:358-359</p>
October 9, 1857	Cochise sends an emissary to Fronteras seeking peace. He states that many Ch'uk'ánde are sick and many have died.	Sweeney 1998:358-359
October 15, 1857	150 Chihénde are rationed at Fort Thorn by Steck. They may be from Cuchillo Negro's group, which never left New Mexico.	Sweeney 1998:360
November, 1857	A Ch'uk'ánde woman arrives at Fronteras representing Cochise, Esquinaline, and Colchón. She indicates that approximately 10 men and perhaps 30 or 40 women and children have died.	Sweeney 1998:359
November 17, 1857	<p>Mangas and approximately 350 Chiricahuas arrive at Fort Thorn. They meet with Steck the next day.</p> <p>The Apaches cite disease and, possibly, poisonings by Mexicans, as their reasons for moving north.</p> <p>Steck states that the Apaches are exceedingly poor, almost naked, and in a starving condition. Scarcely a family returns without their hair cropped – a sign of mourning for a deceased relative.</p>	<p>Griffen 1998:256 Schroeder 1974b:151 Sweeney 1991:105-109 Sweeney 1998:361</p>



	Victorio, Láceris, and some minor leaders stay at Janos until January 1858.	
Late Fall and Winter, 1857	Mangas and his followers settle at Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:363
Winter, 1857-1858	Cochise is in southeastern Arizona. The Ch'uk'ánde raid into Mexico.	Sweeney 1991:109
Early 1858	Steck issues rations to 450 Chihénde and 75-100 of Mangas' followers. The rations are completely inadequate.  Several hundred Mexican miners are now at Santa Rita del Cobre because of a minor gold rush.  Sonoran troops from Cucurpe kill two of Mangas' sons, who were in Sonora on a raid.	Sweeney 1998:364-365
April 17, 1858	Mexicans from Mesilla attack Mescalero Apaches at Fort Thorn, indiscriminately butchering men, women, and children. This is the second attack by the vigilantes from New Mexico on Apaches in three years. Apparently, there was no provocation.	Thrapp 1974:59-60
May, 1858	Mangas Coloradas and Cochise raid into Sonora, seeking revenge for the death of his sons (for the death of Dos-teh-seh's two brothers, who are Cochise's brothers-in-law and Mangas Coloradas' sons). They attack the districts of Sahuaripa and Moctezuma. They take almost all livestock from Fronteras.  Mimbres Apaches are planting crops on the Rio Paloma about 35 miles northwest of Fort Thorn.	Sweeney 1991:110 Sweeney 1998:365ff.
Early June, 1858	Mangas is in the Stein's Peak area, where he meets a party of Americans.	Sweeney 1998:366-368
Early July, 1858	Soledad, a Ch'uk'ánde woman, is sent into Fronteras to request peace for the entire band.	
July 14, 1858	Apaches arrive at Fronteras. They are given drink. A fight occurs (sides differ as to the cause of the fight). 23 Apache men, including 3 leaders, and 9 women are killed in a premeditated massacre within the presidio. Fronteras troops follow fleeing Ch'uk'ánde and kill 3 more men and 1 more woman.	Sweeney 1991:112-113 Sweeney 1992:63 N 7 Sweeney 1998:371
August 6, 1858	Dr. Michael Steck, Southern Apache agent, in his <u>Annual Report</u> , writes about friendly relations with the Mimbres and Mogollon Apaches. He suggests that they be relocated to form a single band. He mentions that disease is decimating the Apaches.	Dubo 1976:56 Schroeder 1974b:153-154 Thrapp 1974:61-62
Early September, 1858	Approximately 300 Bidankande and Ch'uk'ánde assemble near the Burro Mountains. 70 warriors are present. The group then moves to Stein's Peak.	
September 12, 1858	Having conferred at Stein's Peak, Mangas and Cochise lead a group seeking revenge against Fronteras.	Sweeney 1991:113ff. Sweeney 1998:371ff.
September 15, 1858	Butterfield commences stagecoach and mail service. Nine stations are built between Mesilla and Tucson. One is built in Apache Pass, approximately six hundred yards west of	Dubo 1976:56 McChristian 2005:13

	Apache Spring.	Sweeney 1991:120ff.
September 16, 1858	<p>Apaches attack Fronteras. They are unsuccessful. They are repulsed by canon fire. This attack on Fronteras seems to be motivated by revenge for the events of July 14.</p> <p>Mangas Coloradas returns to Stein's Peak.</p> <p>Cochise raids into Sonora before returning to the Chiricahua Mountains in October.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1991:114</p> <p>Sweeney 1992:63 N 7</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:372</p>
Early October, 1858	Mangas and his band return to Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:373
Mid-October, 1858	<p>Mangas and his group meet Steck at the headwaters of the Gila River. Steck issues rations and supplies. He estimates that the Bidankande consist of 125 men and 500 women and children. He estimates that the Chihénde consist of 70 men and 450 women and children. Mangas takes his rations and people to the country near Apache Pass for the winter. Geronimo, a Bidankande warrior, accompanies Mangas to Apache Pass.</p> <p>James Tevis is station keeper at Apache Pass. He aids Steck.</p> <p>Grijalva acts as Cochise's interpreter. Steck offers Grijalva a job at his agency in New Mexico.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1992:10-11</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:373</p>
December 1, 1858 (ca.)	Mangas, Cochise, and about 100 warriors leave Apache Pass for a raid into Sonora. They divide into two parties. Mangas, accompanied by Geronimo, crosses into Sonora from the Huachuca Mountains. Cochise crosses into Sonora near the present site of Douglas, Arizona.	Sweeney 1998:377
December 13, 1858	Sonoran troops attack Apaches (probably Chihénde or Bidankande) in the Otates Mountains. 2 men and 16 women and children are killed. 4 are captured. The Apache rancheria is probably a base camp for raiding into Sonora. Apache warriors are probably away when the Mexicans attack.	<p>Sweeney 1991:116</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:377</p>
December 30, 1858	Cochise is back in Arizona. He confers with Dr. Michael Steck at Apache Pass or Stein's Peak. The Ch'uk'ánde at this time number approximately 150 men and 600 women and children.	<p>Schroeder 1974b:155-156</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:119ff.</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:375, 377ff.</p>
1859	<p>During January, Steck travels through the Chiricahua Mountains and reports on the Apaches there. He notes no depredations by the Apaches.</p> <p>Geronimo, Cochise, and Mangas Coloradas, possibly, meet with Steck.</p> <p>In his annual report of 1859, Steck warns of potential problems with encroaching Americans.</p> <p>Gold is discovered in the Piños Altos area and miners flock to Mimbres country.</p>	<p>Dubo 1976:56-57, 59</p> <p>McChristian 2005:18</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:124</p> <p>Thrapp 1974:64ff., 66</p>

1859-1860	Cochise and his group are usually camped at Cochise Canyon, about one mile north of the stage station at Apache Pass. They raid periodically into Mexico.	Sweeney 1991:122
February 18, 1859	Mangas arrives at Apache Pass. He brings with him much booty. He soon leaves for New Mexico.	Sweeney 1998:378
March, 1859	Steck meets Mangas at Santa Lucía to begin planting.	Sweeney 1998:378
April 1, 1859	Steck again meets with Ch'uk'ánde at Apache Pass and provides some gifts and rations and supplies. Cochise is, perhaps, in Sonora on a raid. According to Tevis, only "two warriors and a few women and children" are at Apache Pass.	Sweeney 1991:126
April 24, 1859	Cochise and Francisco, a White Mountain Apache, leave Apache Pass to raid into Sonora.	Sweeney 1991:127
April 27, 1859	Cochise and other Apaches arrive at Fronteras and fighting ensues.	Sweeney 1991:127
Summer, 1859	Cochise maintains friendly relations with the Americans.  Mangas is at Santa Lucía. He is planting, meeting with Steck, and meeting with U.S. troops, who inspect his crops and fields.  U.S. troops move into the Mimbres region to establish a permanent base.  Mexican miners work Santa Rita del Cobre.  American miners increasingly move into the area.	Sweeney 1991:130-132 Sweeney 1998:379-381  Consider these representatives of American expansion.
July 13, 1859	Steck and Mangas show about 50 U.S. troops Mangas' crops at Santa Lucía.	Schroeder 1974b:157 Sweeney 1998:380
July and August, 1859	Mangas visits Lieutenant George Washington Howland's troops at his (Howland's) camp near the Burro Mountains.	Sweeney 1998:381
July 21, 1859	Young Ch'uk'ánde steal livestock from the Sonora Mining and Exploring Company. Cochise takes the livestock and sends the animals to Captain Richard Stoddert Ewell at Fort Buchanan. Grijalva is one of those who return the animals.	Sweeney 1992:11
August, 1859	Steck issues his <u>Annual Report</u> . It describes the reduced number of Chiricahuas. Disease and sickness have reduced the Chihénde and Bidankande from 400 to 150 families. Steck associates this with <u>Bonneville's campaign</u> , which forced Apaches into Mexico, where they became sick from <u>malaria and poisoning</u> . He recommends establishing a reservation at Santa Lucía.	Schroeder 1974b:157, 162ff., 183ff. Sweeney 1998:382
August 15, 1859	Samuel Cozzens, a Mesilla lawyer visits Apache Pass to investigate wrongdoings by James Tevis. Cozzens writes a letter stating that Cochise is not present. Esquinaline and his followers are present. Grijalva leaves for Mesilla at approximately this time. He meets Steck there. Grijalva and Steck head for Fort Thorn. (Fort Thorn was evacuated by the military the prior March, but Steck's office is still there.)	Sweeney 1992:12-13
October, 1859	Cochise and his people are at Cochise Canyon in the Chiricahua Mountains.	Sweeney 1991:132
October 29, 1859	Steck rations 800 Chihénde and Bidankande at the Burro Mountains.	Ogle 1970:43 Schroeder 1974b:157

		Sweeney 1998:382
November 6, 1859	Steck provides rations to approximately 400 Apaches at Apache Pass. He then moves to San Simón, where he rations Cochise and other Ch'uk'ánde.	Schroeder 1974b:157, 192 Sweeney 1991:132
November 13, 1859	2,500 White Mountain Coyoteros are rationed at Pueblo Viejo (Solomonsville) on the Gila River.	Schroeder 1974b:157
Fall, 1859	Colonel Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, commanding the Department of New Mexico, launches an attack against the Pinal Apaches. Captain Isaac V. D. Reeve and his troops attack Apaches, killing some men and capturing 43 women and children.	McChristian 2005:16-17
Winter, 1859-1860	Tensions between Chiricahuas and settlers rise. Raiding in Mexico and along the border by the Chiricahuas is the issue. Americans kill several Chiricahuas in three separate incidents.  Late winter, 1860 Cochise leads a party of perhaps 100 men into Sonora. During this time, Apaches attack southeast of Ures at Soyopa, Tonichi, Sahuaripa, and Alamos. Perhaps 50 Sonoran men are killed.	McChristian 2005:19 Sweeney 1991:133ff.
January and February, 1860	Steck rations two bands of Apaches at Santa Rita del Cobre.	Sweeney 1998:382-383
March, 1860	Ndaandénde raid Mesilla. The Mesilla Guard follows the raiders west to the Florida Mountains then south to Lake Guzmán. A rancheria with approximately 380 Apaches is located there. Juh is likely with these Apaches. Several minor depredations occur during the following months. Americans along the Rio Grande and Mimbres feel pressured and threatened by the Apaches.	Sweeney 1998:388ff.
March 10, 1860	Steck reports poor conditions for the Mimbrenos. He discusses the encroachment of irresponsible Americans who have an insatiable hunger for land, gold, silver, and copper.	Dubo 1976:60 Schroeder 1974b:193 Sweeney 1998:383
May 18, 1860 (ca.)	Gold is found at Piños Altos. Miners rush to Piños Altos almost immediately.	Schroeder 1974b:193-194 Sweeney 1991:178 Sweeney 1998:385, 391ff.
May 20, 1860	Chihénde attack a mule train near Santa Rita del Cobre, killing 5 Mexicans and driving off 24 mules.	
June 12, 1860	Some Ch'uk'ánde, having left Apache Pass, solicit peace at Janos. José María Zuloaga tries to arrange this peace, having been given permission to do so by the Governor of Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1991:138-139
May 29, 1860	Chihénde attack 30 Mexican and American ranchers near Santa Rita del Cobre.	Sweeney 1998:389
Spring or summer, 1860	Mangas Coloradas enters Piños Altos to talk with miners about peace. He is, possibly, tied to a tree and whipped. (This event is probably apocryphal.)	Dubo 1976:61 Sweeney 1998:390-392
Summer – Fall, 1860	Cochise generally remains at Apache Pass. Apaches are growing disenchanted over the small amount of support being provided them.	Sweeney 1991:139 Sweeney 1998:393

	<p>Delgadito leaves for Mexico.</p> <p>Victorio is along the Chihuahuan border in areas such as Tres Hermanas and Alamo Hueco.</p> <p>Many Ch'uk'ánde are in Mexico.</p> <p>Mangas remains in New Mexico.</p> <p>Steck begins to lay out his proposed reservation at Santa Lucía.</p>	
September 16, 1860	<p>The U.S. Army establishes a military post, Fort McLane, about 20 miles south of Piños Altos.</p> <p>Relations between the Chiricahuas and European Americans are becoming increasingly difficult during this time.</p>	Dubo 1976:59 McChristian 2005:21
September 27, 1860	Mangas Coloradas with Cochise retaliates against the miners. Several battles occur. Apaches attack an emigrant train on the California road, killing 16, burning wagons, and taking 400 cattle and 600 sheep.	Dubo 1976:62
Early October, 1860	46 Apaches settle near Fronteras, having requested peace.	Sweeney 1991:139
November 4, 1860	Steck rations Apaches at Santa Lucía.	Sweeney 1998:394
November 10, 1860	Chiricahuas at Apache Pass receive rations from Steck. The Ch'uk'ánde had not been rationed during the previous eight months.	Sweeney 1991:140 Sweeney 1998:394
December 4, 1860	<p>Vigilante miners led by James Tevis attack Apaches near old Fort Webster (Santa Rita del Cobre). Apaches have gathered there to receive rations from Steck. The attack is unprovoked. Tevis and his vigilantes kill 4 people and capture 13 women and children.</p> <p>After the attack, some surviving Chihénde, possibly, leave for Mexico. Some, possibly, leave to join Ch'uk'ánde at Apache Pass.</p> <p>Mangas and some Chihénde move into the Mogollon Mountains.</p> <p>Chihénde state that they no longer want peace with the Americans.</p>	Schroeder 1974b:194 Sweeney 1991:178 Sweeney 1998:395, 399 Thrapp 1974:68ff., 77
December 9, 1860	Cochise, apparently, is in northeastern Sonora. He sends representatives into Fronteras to seek peace, rations, and supplies. Sonorans eventually agree to this request. However, Cochise becomes impatient while waiting for word from the Sonorans and returns to Apache Pass.	Sweeney 1991:141
December 12 and 13, 1860	Mangas meets with Captain Matthew Rider Stevenson to discuss Tevis' attack on Chihénde at Santa Rita del Cobre.	Sweeney 1998:397
January 18, 1861	Chihénde return to Fort McLane (earlier named Fort Floyd) to negotiate release of their relatives who are held prisoner there.	Sweeney 1998:398
Late January,	Unidentified Apaches raid John Ward's farm in the Sonita	Dubo 1976:62ff.

1861	Valley 11 miles from Fort Buchanan. They take Ward's adopted son, Felix Martinez (Mickey Free). The military blames Cochise. Cochise's group, however, is not involved in the attack. Cochise later states that Western Apaches took Mickey Free.	McChristian 2005:21 Sweeney 1991:144ff. Thrapp 1967:15ff.
January 28, 1861	Second Lieutenant George N. Bascom and 54 men are sent to Apache Pass to retrieve John Ward's son, Mickey Free. The military assumes that the boy has been taken by Cochise's group.	McChristian 2005:22 Thrapp 1967:16ff.
February 4-19, 1861	<p>The Bascom Affair occurs. American troops capture Cochise and some of his family members after he has a conference with Bascom regarding a boy captured by Western Apaches. Bascom, who does not comprehend the social and political organizations of the Apaches, apparently believes that Cochise has control over the Western Apaches and can intervene in the situation. Bascom intends to hold Cochise and his family until the boy is returned. Cochise, learning of Bascom's intentions, cuts his way out of a tent and escapes into the surrounding hills. Cochise's family does not escape with him. A series of events follows in which Cochise attacks whites and Mexicans, torching a Mexican freight train and taking 4 whites captive. The white prisoners are eventually tortured and killed. Bascom responds by hanging 6 Apaches, 3 of whom are Cochise's family (including his brother Coyuntura). Conflict between Chiricahuas and European Americans follows for several years. Cochise explicitly discusses his desire for revenge over the next 10 years.</p> <p>Mangas, apparently, comes to Apache Pass to support Cochise, his son in-law.</p> <p>Geronimo, apparently, is also present.</p> <p>Following this event, Cochise is at war for over a decade with the Americans.</p> <p>Geronimo states that the Bidankande considered themselves at war with the Americans after this event.</p> <p>Following this event, Mangas goes north, takes stock from San Simón, and heads into the Mogollon Mountains.</p> <p>Cochise heads south into northern Sonora.</p>	Dubo 1976:63ff. Faulk 1969:10ff. McChristian 2005:23ff. Ogle 1970:44-45 Schroeder 1974b:194 Sweeney 1991:146ff. Sweeney 1998:398ff., 399, 407 Thrapp 1967:16ff. Thrapp 1974:72ff., 5ff.
February 10, 1861	Santa Fe orders simultaneous punitive operations against Apaches on the east and west sides of the Rio Grande.	Sweeney 1991:168 Sweeney 1998:407ff.
Mid-February, 1861	Victorio, Riñon, and Chabnocito, Mimbres or Chihénde leaders, approach Fort McLane requesting peace. They promise to send for Mangas Coloradas. The military returns to the Apaches captives taken by Tevis and his vigilantes at Santa Rita del Cobre. The Apaches receive rations on four occasions during the next 3 months.	Sweeney 1991:179
Late February, 1861	Mangas Coloradas and his people move to the Gila River country. Cochise and his people move south into Sonora	Sweeney 1991:169 Sweeney 1998:406-

	and establish a camp near Fronteras, where Esquinaline, Teboca Chiquito, and Delgadito are already living.	407
April-June, 1861	<p>Cochise moves north. Cochise and Mangas meet to decide their course of action. Cochise is to return to Arizona and attack. Mangas is to attack near Piños Altos, Santa Rita, and the Mimbres River.</p> <p>Cochise and his band attack nearly every stagecoach station east of Tucson. They kill at least 30 men, destroy six stagecoaches, and obtain hundreds of horses and mules. They also obtain many Sharps rifles and Colt revolvers. In June, they attack throughout the Santa Cruz Valley. They take many head of cattle.</p> <p>Cochise also attacks Fort Buchanan, driving off most of the fort's cattle.</p> <p>During April, Victorio, Chabnocito, and Riñón from the Chihénde generally remain at peace. Apparently, they do not engage in raids or skirmishes until May.</p>	<p>McChristian 2005:38-40</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:171, 171ff., 180</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:408ff.</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:18ff.</p>
May, 1861	Mangas begins raiding in the Piños Altos – Fort McLane area.	Sweeney 1991:179
May 7, 1861	Victorio, Chabnocito, and Riñón from the Chihénde attack Americans near Piños Altos. These leaders are no longer at peace with the Americans.	Sweeney 1998:409-411
July, 1861	<p>Cochise and Mangas Coloradas join. In July and August, they are located near Cooke's Peak, about 18 miles north of Deming, New Mexico. They attack several parties of Americans that move through the canyon. Cochise and Taza may have been wounded around July 22, 1861.</p> <p>After July 23, Cochise and Mangas move to Janos.</p>	<p>Schroeder 1974b:195ff.</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:180-181</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:410-411, 412ff., 442</p>
Late July, 1861	<p>Cochise and Mangas arrive in northern Sonora. They trade with people at Janos.</p> <p>They then return to Cooke's Peak.</p> <p>They, again, attack parties of Americans moving through Cooke's Canyon. After taking cattle, Mangas heads north into the Mimbres. Cochise heads south into Chihuahua to trade.</p>	Sweeney 1998:418
July 23, 1861	<p>Confederate troops arrive at Franklin (El Paso). Union troops abandon Fort Bliss and move north to Fort Stanton. Confederate troops overtake the federals and the latter surrender.</p> <p>Confederate troops move into southern New Mexico and Arizona. Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, Mounted Rifles, of the Confederate forces, occupies Fort Fillmore. He proclaims himself governor of Arizona (August 1, 1861). Baylor's proclamation is confirmed by the Confederate Congress on February 14, 1862.</p>	<p>Dubo 1976:65</p> <p>McChristian 2005:41</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:421ff.</p> <p>Thrapp 1974:77ff.</p>
August 3 or 4, 1861	Apaches attack Tubac, taking all livestock and killing 2 men. Apaches lose 7 to 10 men. By the end of the summer, southern Arizona is largely uninhabited by European Americans, except for Tucson and a few isolated mines.	Sweeney 1991:177
Early	Mangas and Cochise are in northern Mexico. One report	Sweeney 1991:186

September, 1861	suggests that they meet with troops at Piños Altos during this time.	Sweeney 1998:421
Mid-September, 1862	Cochise rendezvous with Mangas in either the Burro or Mogollon Mountains.	Sweeney 1998:423
September 27, 1861	Mangas Coloradas and Cochise, with their followers, attack Piños Altos. Both sides have heavy casualties. In the following days, many miners leave. After the attack, Mangas probably returns to the Gila. Cochise probably returns to northern Mexico.  Chabnocito and Delgadito are, apparently, dead by this time. They are probably killed either at Cooke's Canyon or at Piños Altos. Esquinaline also dies at about this time.	Dubo 1976:64 Schroeder 1974b:195 Sweeney 1991:187ff. Sweeney 1998:424ff.
Late October, 1861	Cochise sends representatives (9 women) into Fronteras to request peace. This treaty does not materialize and Cochise leaves.  At about this time, Cochise is becoming the dominant Chiricahua war leader. Mangas is aging.  Mangas is probably in the Mogollon Mountains harvesting acorns and piñons.	Sweeney 1991:189 Sweeney 1998:426
Winter 1861-1862	Cochise and his people probably camp in the Huachuca, Dragoon, and Chiricahua mountains. Cochise likely shifts to Arizona in response to the presence of smallpox and scalp hunters in northern Mexico and Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1991:191
Early 1862	Many Chiricahuas continue to receive rations at Fronteras. A smallpox epidemic spreads through Chihuahua and Sonora, decimating the Apaches. For example, at Fronteras by February 11, 17 men and 15 women are dead.  Southern Arizona has few European Americans. Most are at mines. Cochise organizes and conducts several attacks on the mines.	Sweeney 1991:190ff. Sweeney 1998:427
March 20, 1862	Baylor issues orders: "You will therefore use all means to persuade the Apaches or any other tribe to come in for the purpose of making peace, and when you get them together kill all the grown Indians and take the children prisoners and sell them to defray the expense of killing the Indians."	Dubo 1976:66 Sweeney 1991:195 Sweeney 1998:427 Thrapp 1974:78
May 5, 1862	Cochise and Francisco (a Western Apache leader) attack Confederate troops at Dragoon Springs. The troops are abandoning Arizona because of the California Volunteers.	Sweeney 1991:194
May 20, 1862	General J. H. Carlton and his California Volunteers (2,350 infantry and cavalry troops) arrive in Tucson. Their goals are to drive confederates from Tucson and the Mesilla Valley, to reoccupy abandoned southwestern forts, and to reestablish federal rule in Arizona and New Mexico. Carlton is to provide security for miners, farmers, ranchers, and travelers in Apache country.	McChristian 2005:47 Sweeney 1991:195 Sweeney 1998:428ff.
June 8, 1862	General J. H. Carlton announces that he is assuming the role of military governor of the Federal Territory of Arizona.	McChristian 2005:47
July, 1862	Miguel Yrigóllen, Elias, and Aguirre lead 156 Chiricahuas from near Janos to Fronteras. Chihuahuan volunteers had	Sweeney 1991:206-207



	<p>attacked them, forcing them to move to Sonora. Other Apaches were already living at Fronteras. By the end of the month, approximately 262 Chiricahuas are living there.</p>	
<p>July 14-16, 1862</p>	<p>The Battle of Apache Pass occurs between Chiricahuas and Union troops, the California Volunteers, led by General J. H. Carlton. Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, and their peoples join forces for this encounter.</p> <p>A command of approximately 95 men under Captain Thomas L. Roberts begins marching toward Apache Pass on the evening of July 14th, alerting Mangas and Cochise by the dust. Cochise apparently believes that his men can easily kill all of the soldiers, who have been marching for 40 miles on very short rations and supplies. The soldiers reach the abandoned Butterfield Overland mail station the morning of July 15th. Mangas and his men are positioned in the hills on either side of the trail, and fire into the rear guard of the command as it reaches the station. Hand to hand fighting occurs until the rest of the command falls back to assist the rear guard, driving the Apaches back into the hills.</p> <p>Cochise and Juh are positioned in the hills north and south of Apache Spring, and begin firing as the command approaches this area. The command breaks into two platoons, one to hold the Spring, if possible, the other to send howitzer shells into the hills. The Apaches fire back, forcing the platoon attempting to hold the Spring to fall back. The command regroups, and Roberts plans to storm the highest hill overlooking the Spring. The Apaches are forced to flee down the other side of the hill, giving Roberts a strategic advantage from above. The howitzers are moved to higher ground and used to shell the Apaches to the east and south. The Apaches abandon their positions to care for their wounded.</p> <p>Roberts sends 6 men to find Cremony's approaching force and tell them to avoid Apache Pass until Roberts can rendezvous with them in the night. Sergeant Fountain, on Overlook Ridge, sees the approaching soldiers with a band of Apaches following them, and assumes that the soldiers have been captured. The Apaches overtake the men, and Mangas is apparently wounded by Private John Teal by what Teal calls a "lucky shot."</p> <p>Roberts joins Cremony later that night, and the commands march for Apache Pass at daybreak on July 16th. Skirmishes are deployed on either side of the pass, and the troops reach the mail station unharmed. The Apaches have reoccupied the Spring, and howitzers are used to clear the way. Cochise's men soon retreat to the south. Mangas's men have already left for northern Chihuahua with their wounded leader.</p> <p>The fight ends around 4:00 pm on July 16th. The official count states that 2 soldiers have been killed and 2 wounded. Estimates on Apaches casualties vary.</p>	<p>Dubo 1976:66  McChristian 2005:42ff. 48ff.  Sweeney 1991:196ff.  Sweeney 1998:430, 438  Thrapp 1967:20ff.  Thrapp 1974:79ff</p>

	<p>Juh, Victorio, and Nana may have been present.</p> <p>Mangas is probably wounded.</p> <p>Geronimo is probably present.</p>	
July 28, 1862	Carlton and his regiment of California Volunteers establish Fort Bowie at Apache Pass.	<p>McChristian 2005</p> <p>Ogle 1970:45-46</p> <p>Perry 1993:98</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:202</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:441</p> <p>Wagoner 1970:20-21</p>
Late July, 1862	<p>Mangas and Cochise take their peoples into northern Mexico.</p> <p>Cochise goes to the mountains southeast of Fronteras in Sonora.</p> <p>Mangas, probably wounded at Apache Pass, goes to Janos to receive medical attention.</p>	<p>Sweeney 1991:204-205</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:439-440, 444ff.</p>
Mid-August, 1862	Mangas leaves Janos for the Mogollon Mountains.	Sweeney 1998:444
Mid-September, 1862	Mangas leaves the Mogollon Mountains and travels to Ácoma.	Sweeney 1998:444
September 19, 1862	Mangas arrives at Ácoma. He expresses his desire for peace with the Americans. Carlton dismisses Mangas' request, when it is sent to him for consideration and approval. (Carlton is in Santa Fe.)	Sweeney 1998:444, 447
October 12, 1862	Carlton issues orders beginning a "war of extermination" against the Apaches.	<p>Dubo 1976:68</p> <p>McChristian 2005:72</p> <p>Schroeder 1974b:197ff., 203</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:203ff., 212</p> <p>Sweeney 1998:442, 445ff.</p> <p>Thrapp 1974:81-82</p>
October 14, 1862	Carlton writes Colonel Joseph R. West stating that it is "desirable to make a campaign against Mangas Coloradas." He recommends the winter as the best time to conduct the campaign. He recommends that West gather all the information he can about Mangas.	Sweeney 1992:14-15
November 2, 1862	Brigadier General West responds to Carlton's recommendation by writing to the A.A.G., Department of New Mexico: "The desire expressed by the general commanding to send an expedition against the Indians in the vicinity of Piños Altos Mines can be attained, and I think with successful results, if troops can be spared from the northern portion of the department. Jack Swilling is at the mines and is available for service. I have in Government employ here a Mexican boy stolen from Sonora, who was seven years a captive of Mangus Colorado's band. With such good	Sweeney 1992:15

	guides...a sever castigation could most likely be inflicted upon the Indians...."	
Early November, 1862	Mangas and his people arrive at Piños Altos requesting peace and food.	Sweeney 1998:446
Mid-November, 1862 (ca.)	Mangas councils with his people in the Mogollon Mountains or, perhaps, the Peloncillo Mountains north of Stein's Peak. The band decides that Mangas and half the group will go to Piños Altos. The remaining half will wait to discover the outcome of Mangas' peace initiative.	Sweeney 1998:446
Early January, 1863	Mangas meets with Chihénde leaders, Victorio and Nana. They, apparently, try to dissuade Mangas from going to Piños Altos.  Brigadier General Joseph Rodman West, under Carlton's orders, is heading west with his troops from Mesilla to Fort McLane, 20 miles south of Piños Altos.	Sweeney 1998:446-447
January 16, 1863	Jack Swilling, other private citizens, and soldiers from West's troops at Fort McLane travel to Piños Altos to meet with Mangas.	Sweeney 1998:448
January 17, 1863	Mangas, having traveled to Piños Altos with some of his people and with Victorio to discuss peace, is convinced by Swilling to send away his men, including Victorio and one of Mangas' sons. Mangas is convinced to meet alone with the Americans. The Americans then take Mangas captive. Apparently, soldiers have little or nothing to do with taking Mangas captive. Jack Swilling and his civilians orchestrate these events. Soldiers are hiding in nearby houses.	Sweeney 1998:448ff.
January 18, 1863	Swilling and West's soldiers take Mangas to Fort McLane. During the trip, Mangas is allowed to talk with one of his sons, who rides up to the troops. Mangas talks with his son and then sends him back to the people.  Swilling turns Mangas over to Brigadier General Joseph Rodman West at Fort McLane. West shares the racist and genocidal opinions of his superior, Carlton.  In the evening, Mangas is placed in an open adobe room at Fort McLane. He is not chained.  West meets with his troops and orders them to murder Mangas.	Dubo 1976:69 Ogle 1970:46ff. Perry 1993:104 Schroeder 1974b:198-199 Sweeney 1998:448ff. Thrapp 1967: 20-23 Thrapp 1974:82ff.
January 19, 1863	After midnight, at about 1:00 am, Mangas is tortured and then murdered by the soldiers. Mangas is officially "shot while trying to escape."  The following morning, Mangas is scalped by one of West's soldiers, John T. Wright. Mangas is then buried.  A few days later, Mangas' body is exhumed and his head is severed. Mangas' head is then boiled and his skull is taken for display or scientific study. Cochise is said to have been particularly embittered by Mangas' murder.  Later in the day, soldiers attack Mangas Coloradas' local	Dubo 1976:70 Sweeney 1991:208-209 Sweeney 1992:16 Sweeney 1998:447, 458, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464-465

	<p>group, killing 11 or 12 people. The troops scalp the Apaches they kill and decorate their bridles with the Apache scalps.</p> <p>Several fights follow and soldiers destroy two additional Apache camps. Mangas' wife is wounded. One of his sons is killed. Another of his sons is taken captive.</p> <p>Conflict between Apaches and European Americans follows for the next several years.</p>	
January 20, 1863	Troops from Fort McLane attack a rancharia, probably some of Victorio's Chihénde, along the Mimbres River. The troops kill 9 people. Both patrols after Mangas' death (one patrol to Piños Altos and one patrol to the Mimbres River) return with scalps hanging from their saddles.	Schroeder 1974b:199ff. Sweeney 1998:460
February 24, 1863	President Lincoln signs a law creating the Territory of Arizona. (Congress separates the western half of New Mexico from the eastern half to create the Territory of Arizona.) The law is largely justified by possible mineral wealth in the region.	Dubo 1976:72 McChristian 2005:76
March, 1863	<p>Apaches at Fronteras sign a treaty agreeing to a formal truce. Cochise was not party to this truce. He is probably back in Arizona.</p> <p>Mangas Coloradas is dead and his group joins Cochise and the Ch'uk'ánde.</p>	Sweeney 1991:208-209
Mid-March, 1863	General Carlton tells West, "I do not look forward to any peace with them, except what we must command. They must have no voice in the matter. Entire subjugation or destruction of all the men are the alternative."	Sweeney 1992:17
March 22, 1863	30 mounted Ch'uk'ánde and Chihénde and several more on foot take 60 horses near Fort West.	Sweeney 1992:17
March 27, 1863	U.S. Troops kill 25 Apaches on Bonita Creek, a tributary of the Gila in White Mountain Apache country. The Apaches had stolen horses from Fort West.	Sweeney 1991:210
May, 1863	Captain Thomas T. Tidwell with his troops and some civilians attack Apaches in Cañada de Arivaipa. They kill over 50 Apaches and return to Tucson with 10 prisoners.	McChristian 2005:73
Second Week of May, 1863	Cochise is at Fronteras. He is, apparently, there to exchange stolen goods for food, guns, and ammunition. Mexicans kill some of Cochise's people. He attacks, killing several citizens. The short truce is over.	Sweeney 1991:210-211
Spring-Fall, 1863	<p>Several battles occur between Apaches (Ch'uk'ánde, Bidankande, and Chihénde) and European Americans. Apaches attack along roads and at other places.</p> <p>During June, Apaches attack Americans on at least three occasions. They attack, for example, at the San Diego crossing of the Rio Grande. They kill Lieutenant L. A. Bargie. With Bargie's body, they duplicate what the military did to Mangas' body.</p> <p>West responds by ordering Captain William McCleave: "This band of Mimbres River Indians must be exterminated to a man. At the earliest possible moment that the conditions of</p>	<p>McChristian 2005:74-75 Sweeney 1991:213ff. Sweeney 1992:18-19 Sweeney 1998:463</p>

	<p>your command will admit of it you will undertake this duty. Use every available man...Scour every foot of ground and beat up all their haunts."</p> <p>U.S. troops and Sonoran troops conduct field offenses against the Apaches.</p> <p>Cochise and Victorio are likely at Cooke's Peak. Apaches attack two separate parties of troops in Cooke's canyon.</p>	
Fall, 1863	Cochise and the Chiricahuas are forced to move continually.	
1863-1864	In Chihuahua, the bounty system is in full operation. Several local groups of Apaches are decimated.	Sweeney 1991:212
October, 1863	Carlton establishes Fort Cummings near Cooke's Spring to control the area around Cooke's Peak and Cooke's Canyon.	Schroeder 1974b:200
November, 1863	Captain Eraclio Escalante and 90 men from Bavispe destroy a rancheria near Janos. 21 Apaches are killed (including 6 men) and 7 Apaches are taken captive.	Sweeney 1991:216
1864	<p>Arizona and New Mexico are now separate territories. Indian agents report to the governors of their territories, who also act as Superintendents for Indian Affairs. The Superintendents report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This system continues until 1873, when each agent begins reporting directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.</p> <p>U.S. troops and Sonoran troops intensify their efforts along the border to exterminate the Apaches.</p>	<p>McChristian 2005:76</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:53</p> <p>Weissbrodt File: 13.2</p>
1864	Carlton sends Colonel Kit Carson to punish Navajo raiding parties in northwest New Mexico. Carson leads a campaign of destruction through their villages, burning crops and killing livestock. When the Navajo surrender, he marches 8,000 of them on the "Long Walk" across New Mexico to a reservation near Fort Sumner on the Pecos River. Navajos and Mescalero Apaches are held there as prisoners of war until 1868.	
January, 1864	King S. Woolsey arranges a peace conference near Prescott, Arizona with approximately 30 Indian leaders (Tonto and Pinal Apaches). (Some historians say 24 Apache leaders are there.) He then massacres them (the Massacre at Bloody Tanks). The first Arizona Legislative Assembly commends Woolsey and awards him the rank of colonel.	Thrapp 1967:26ff., 28ff. Wagoner 1970:21-22
January, 1864	Grijalva arrives at Fort Bowie, having been sent there by General West. The intention is to campaign against Cochise. Grijalva remains there for approximately two and one-half years.	Sweeney 1992:21-22
1864	During the First Assembly of the Arizona Territory Legislature, Apaches are labeled "murders by descent and thieves by prescription."	Ogle 1970:16
Early 1864	Sonoran troops attack Santiago's rancheria in the Chiricahua Mountains, probably at Turkey Creek. 6 warriors and 15 women and children are killed. 3 children are taken captive.	Sweeney 1991:216 Sweeney 1992:26 N 7
February 13, 1864	Apaches arrive at Piños Altos and threaten to return in two weeks. Community members send for troops, who travel to Piños Altos. They wait for the Apaches to return.	Sweeney 1991:217
February 24,	Apaches attack Piños Altos and are defeated by troops that	Sweeney 1991:217

1864	are there. 13 of 18 Apache warriors are killed.	
March 5, 1864	Richard McCormick, Secretary of the Arizona Territory, states that he is in "favor of an utter extermination of the ruthless savages."	Sweeney 1991:220 Wagoner 1970
March 22, 1864	Apaches take 72 mules from Camp Mimbres. Troops follow the Apaches 5 days later. The troops attack the Apaches near Mount Graham. They kill 21 people and loot the village. Troops estimate the rancheria at 250 individuals, which indicates that it might be Cochise's group.	Sweeney 1991:218
Spring, 1864	Carlton and his troops seek "to hunt and destroy all but the women and children." Troops attack and destroy 4 rancherias. In one battle, 49 Western Apaches are killed and 16 taken captive.	Sweeney 1992:23
April 15, 1864	Carlton identifies mining as a key interest in the southwest. He identifies Apaches as a major threat to mining.	McChristian 2005:77 Schroeder 1974b:203
May 4, 1864	Chiricahuas attack U.S. troops in Doubtful Canyon. In a standoff, perhaps 10 Apaches are killed and 20 wounded. The Apaches withdraw. Cochise is probably at this fight.	McChristian 2005:78 Sweeney 1991:218-219
May 29, 1864	Lieutenant Colonel Nelson Davis attacks Apaches in the Mescal Mountains, annihilating about four dozen people.	McChristian 2005:79
July 10, 1864	Captain Thomas T. Tidwell, commanding at Fort Bowie, leaves on patrol with 58 infantry on mules and 28 days rations and supplies.	Sweeney 1992:23ff.
July 15, 1864	Tidwell's troops kill Plume near Portal, Arizona. Plume had confronted the troops by himself, seemingly, so women and children could escape.	Sweeney 1992:24
December 11, 1864	Sonoran forces from Bacoachi, Fronteras, and Bavispe attack a rancheria in the Animas Mountains, killing 39 Apaches (9 warriors and 30 women and children). They capture 28 Apaches, including 3 babies who freeze to death on the way back to Bavispe.	Sweeney 1991:223
1865-1866	At least five companies of "Arizona Volunteers" are organized to fight against the Apaches. The Volunteers are disbanded in 1866.	Sweeney 1991:234ff. Thrapp 1967:33ff.
1865-1868	Apaches and European Americans (troops and volunteers) battle on many occasions.  Government policies vacillate between war and peace.	Ogle 1970:58ff., 60 Sweeney 1991:227ff. Thrapp 1967:33ff.
January 12, 1865	Apaches arrive at Piños Altos seeking peace. Victorio and some of Mangas Coloradas' sons are present. Mangas' widow is present.  Carlton and Steck argue about jurisdiction over the Apaches.	McChristian 2005:79 Schroeder 1974b:201 Sweeney 1991:223 Thrapp 1974:89
January 20, 1865	Arizona is removed from Carlton's command and placed in the Department of the Pacific.	Sweeney 1991:230
February 15, 1865	Steck sends to William P. Dole, Indian Commissioner, a letter from Justice Joseph G. Knapp of Mesilla. It criticizes Carlton's war of extermination. Steck also encloses a letter from Albert Bloomfield and a petition signed by 29 Mesilla citizens seeking peace with the Apaches. Steck states that	Thrapp 1974:88ff., 90, 91

	the Mimbres band of Apaches "...were driven by the treachery of our own people into their present hostile condition."	
February 17, 1865	Apaches attack the Santa Rita del Cobre mines and the abandoned Fort Buchanan.	Sweeney 1991:227
March, 1865	Cochise is in the mountains along the border. His group raids 4 times into northern Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1991:228
March, 1865	Vigilantes under Colonel King S. Woolsey attack a rancheria on the edge of the Tonto Basin. They kill approximately 60 Apaches, mostly women, children, and old men. They kill, possibly, 14 warriors. They destroy the local group.	Ogle 1970:49
March 20, 1865	Nana and 33 others negotiate near old Fort Webster (Santa Rita del Cobre). 4 days later Victorio arrives at the Mimbres River and states that he, too, wants peace, if his people are not sent to Bosque Redondo. He wants to settle on the Gila or Mimbres river.	Sweeney 1991:224-225
Early April, 1865	Cochise and his people attack Mexicans at Tasavare along the road from Bavispe to Janos. They attack another group moving west from Janos to Bavispe.	Sweeney 1991:228, 229
April 20, 1865	Victorio, Paskeen, Cassari, Salvador, other sons of Mangas Coloradas, Nana, Acosta, and 30 other Apaches meet with General N. H. Davis at Fort West. Davis represents Carlton and the issue is relocation to Bosque Redondo. Apaches agree to send a delegation to review Bosque Redondo, but the delegation does not appear at the appointed time. Davis then orders his men to kill all Apache men. Davis reports to Carlton that the appropriate policy toward the "rattlesnakes" should be "unrelenting war."	Ogle 1970:56 Schroeder 1974b:202
June 26, 1865	Brigadier General John Safford Mason, the new military commander of Arizona, orders Lieutenant Colonel Clarence E. Bennett, new commander at Fort Bowie, to scout the Mount Graham area for Cochise. Grijalva will act as scout.	Sweeney 1992:27
June 29, 1865	Bennett, his troops, Grijalva, and Lojinio, a "tame Apache" acting with Grijalva as scouts, discover a deserted rancheria that was likely Cochise's rancheria. It is recently abandoned. Signs suggest the presence of 200-300 Apaches at the rancheria.	Sweeney 1992:27
Late June, 1865	Cochise and others move into northern Sonora. Francisco and Esh-kel-deh-sila, White Mountain leaders, are with Cochise.	Sweeney 1991:232 Sweeney 1992:27
Summer, 1865	Cochise and his band conduct several raids into Arizona from their position in Sonora.	McChristian 2005:82 Sweeney 1991:232ff.
July 6, 1865	Lieutenant Colonel Clarence E. Bennett, First California Cavalry, states that "vigorous efforts should be made to annihilate the bands of Cochise and Francisco and the other Indians infesting those mountains west of Fort Goodwin."	McChristian 2005:83
August, 1865	Cochise notifies Fronteras that he wants to negotiate peace. Officials at Fronteras ask the Arizona Volunteers for help. This help does not materialize. Cochise moves east toward Janos.	Sweeney 1991:234, 235-236
October 30, 1865	Cochise arrives at Fort Bowie asking to discuss peace. Major James Gorman considers this offer and decides to	McChristian 2005:84

	attack Cochise.	Sweeney 1991:236-237 Sweeney 1992:28
November 1, 1865	Major Gorman and 34 troops with Grijalva as guide leave Fort Bowie with the intention of attacking Cochise.	McChristian 2005:84 Sweeney 1991:236-237 Sweeney 1992:28ff.
November, 1865	Victorio arrives at Piños Altos to discuss peace. Civilian miners try to murder him while "drinking coffee in a house." 3 Apaches are killed. Victorio escapes.	McChristian 2005:92 Sweeney 1991:240-241
November 5, 1865	Major Gorman and his troops attack Cochise's rancheria in Mescal Canyon, about 35-40 miles south of Fort Bowie. 7 Apaches are killed. The Apaches leave behind many items when they are forced to flee. They flee up the mountains, scattering in all directions.  Merejildo Grijalva scouts for Gorman.	McChristian 2005:85 Sweeney 1991:237ff. Sweeney 1992:29
November 10, 1865	Francisco is murdered at Camp Goodwin. He is imprisoned for his role in the Cienega attack from the previous summer. He is shot "while trying to escape."	McChristian 2005:85 Sweeney 1991:240-241
Winter, 1865-1866	Cochise is in the Chiricahua Mountains. Troops mount winter operations against him. The troops have little success, but force Cochise into northern Mexico.	Sweeney 1991:239
1866	Fort Bowie is demoted to Camp Bowie. U.S. troops move into the region and administrative departments are reorganized. Cochise and his people spend most of the year in northern Sonora. Mining becomes an even more important activity in Arizona. Mail and communication are renewed and reemphasized.  Citizens in Tucson offer to pay "tame Apaches" \$100 for each Apache scalp that they bring in.	McChristian 2005:88ff. Ogle1970:60
Spring, 1866	Cochise raids ranches in the Santa Cruz Valley and Sonoita Valley.	Sweeney 1991:242ff.
May 17, 1886	Governor John N. Goodwin of Arizona calls for a "fair, open, and persistent war" until the Apaches are "exterminated" or forced to "bow their necks in submission."	Ogle 1970:60
Summer-Winter, 1866	Cochise is in northern Mexico. He regularly trades stolen goods at Janos. He raids in Sonora. He also raids in Chihuahua.	Sweeney 1991:244
September, 1866	G. W. Dent is appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He takes office on December 19. He advocates an "active, offensive, persistent, combined and simultaneous war." Indians should be "hunted to death with fire and famine."  Dent is General Grant's brother-in-law.	Ogle 1970:65
Early 1867	Cochise and his people resume residence in the Animas and Chiricahua mountains. Cochise's people attack mail carriers, the Mowry Mine, and Tubac. The Apaches seek guns, ammunition, beef, horses, and mules.	McChristian 2005:94-95 Sweeney 1991:246ff.
March 1, 1867	Cochise leads a party that attacks the Patagonia mines	Sweeney 1992:38



April, 1867	Chihuahuan troops under Cayetano Ozeta attack a rancharia in the southern Chiricahua Mountains. They kill 12 and capture 26.	Sweeney 1991:249
Late summer-fall, 1867	Cochise and his people return to Sonora. During this time, troops from the U.S. and Sonora pursue Chiricahuas on several occasions.	McChristian 2005:95 Sweeney 1991:250-251
Winter 1867-1868	For part of the winter, Cochise is at Sarampion in the Peloncillo Mountains. This is the "Black Mountain," Dziltzilcil.	Sweeney 1991:253
Early 1868	Janos is re-garrisoned. Permanent troops have not been in Janos since 1858. Having permanent troops in Janos is intended to cut off trade between Janos citizens and Apaches.	Sweeney 1991:253
May 13, 1868	Cochise attacks Camp Bowie's herd. The Apaches are repulsed by troops using new, single-shot breech loading rifles.	McChristian 2005:100 Sweeney 1991:255
Early summer, 1868	Cochise is camped at Alamo Hueco and the Hatchet Mountains. (Dzilmora.)	Sweeney 1991:256
July, 1868	Cochise sends 3 delegates into Janos to ask for peace. Simultaneously, other Apaches attack Casas Grandes. The 3 Apache delegates are placed in jail.	Sweeney 1991:256
Mid-August, 1868	Apparently, some Chiricahuas arrive at Cañada Alamosa (Kegotoi).	Sweeney 1991:257
Late summer, 1868	Cochise and his people move back into Sonora. Troops from both Sonora and Chihuahua chase the Apaches. Possibly 100 Apaches are killed by the Mexican troops over the course of several attacks. Cochise moves north into the Mogollon Mountains.	McChristian 2005:102-103 Sweeney 1991:256ff.
October 12, 1868	Sonoran troops attack a rancharia at Alamo Hueco, killing 12 (4 warriors, 8 women and children).	
1869	President U.S. Grant's "Peace Policy" or "Quaker Policy," is established: 1. Indians will be placed on reservations, keeping them away from European Americans, teaching them how to farm, and converting them to Christianity. 2. When necessary, Indians will be punished for misdeeds. 3. Supplies will be furnished to reservations. 4. Agents will be recruited through religious organizations. 5. Schools and churches will be provided through Christian organizations, educating and preparing Indians for citizenship.	Faulk 1969:12) (Ogle 1970:73 McChristian 2005:130 Ogle 1970:73, 77-78, 86ff. Perry 1993:123 Stockel 2004:105
1869	Mining development in Arizona is restricted by an absence of good transportation and by the presence of Apaches.  Publication of J. Ross Browne's' <u>Report on The Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains</u> emphasizes mineral wealth in Arizona. Governor Safford emphasizes that a solution to the Apache problem is a prerequisite to mining in Arizona.  Widespread belief exists that reservations have great mineral wealth.  Farming and ranching develop in Arizona and New Mexico..	McChristian 2005:105-108 Ogle 1970:73, 88

	<p>The European American population in Arizona is approximately 9,500.</p> <p>Major General Edward O. C. Ord states that: "almost the only paying business...in that Territory is supplying the troops....I am informed from every quarter that if the paymasters and quartermasters of the army were to stop payment in Arizona, a great majority of the white settlers would be compelled to quit it. Hostilities are therefore kept up with a view to protecting inhabitants most of whom are supported by the hostilities" (September 21, 1869).</p> <p>Ord also directs his field commanders to "capture and root out the Apache by every means, and to hunt them as they would wild animals" (September 21, 1869).</p>	
1869-1870	During this period, Cochise is mostly in the U.S. because of increased military pressures in Sonora and Chihuahua. Raiding in the U.S. increases during these years.	Sweeney 1991:265
January 25, 1869	Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Casimer Deven, Arizona's district commander, receives word from Cochise that if he is allowed to remain in the Chiricahua Mountains, he will not only remain at peace, but will be responsible for the safety of the Overland Road and the livestock in its vicinity. This peace arrangement does not materialize.	Sweeney 1991:261
February 4, 1869	Captain Reuben F. Bernard and his troops attack Apaches in the Arivaipa Mountains, killing 8 and taking 6 prisoners.	McChristian 2005:111 Schroeder 1974b:204 Sweeney 1991:265ff.
February 5, 1869	Cochise meets in the Dragoon Mountains with Captain Frank W. Perry to discuss peace.	Sweeney 1991:262
April, 1869	Through the Appropriations Act of 1869, the President is authorized to form a Board of Indian Commissioners. The Board first meets in June 1869. The Commission becomes an important force in U.S. Indian policy. The Board seeks a largely peaceful solution to hostilities with the Apaches.	Ogle 1970:86ff.
June 2, 1869	Lieutenant Colonel Cuvier Grover, commanding at Fort Craig, writes that Loco and a group of Apaches have come to the fort to request peace.	Thrapp 1974:98
June, 1869	Grijalva is re-assigned to Fort Bowie. He is to assist Captain Bernard in pursuit of Cochise.	Sweeney 1992:46-47
June-July, 1869	Cochise and his people are located in the Dragoon Mountains. They conduct raids on ranches and farms in the Santa Cruz Valley and the Sonita Valley. They attack travelers on the Tucson-El Paso road.	McChristian 2005:111
July 8, 1869	Anson P. K. Safford arrives in Tucson to assume the office of Territorial Governor. Safford receives his appointment primarily because of McCormick. McCormick feels that Safford will support efforts to bring the railroad to Arizona.	Tobias 1965:vi, 6 N 6
July 20, 1869	First Lieutenant Charles E. Drew is appointed agent for the southern Apaches.	Sweeney 1991:288
October 5,	Apaches attack a mail coach and cattle herd on the road to	McChristian

1869	Tucson. They kill all people on the stage and take approximately 120 cattle.	2005:103-114 Sweeney 1991:269ff. Sweeney 1991:271 Sweeney 1992:47
October 8, 1869	U.S. troops chase the Apaches toward Chiricahua Pass and recover the cattle, killing 12 warriors.	
October 16, 1869	Captain Reuben Bernard and his troops again leave Camp Bowie to follow Cochise and the Apaches.	McChristian 2005:117ff. Sweeney 1991:271-276
October 19, 1869	Bernard's troops engage the Apaches, killing 18. Bernard then returns to Bowie, organizes another unit, including Indian scouts for the first time, and goes back out after the Chiricahuas on October 24.	McChristian 2005:117ff. Sweeney 1991:271-276
October 26, 1865	Bernard and his troops arrive at Chiricahua Pass. He first negotiates with Cochise and then attacks the Apaches (October 31). A standoff occurs. Cochise withdraws.	McChristian 2005:117ff. Sweeney 1991:271-276 Sweeney 1992:49
August and October, 1869	<p>First Lieutenant Charles E. Drew, a military man with jurisdiction over the Mimbres and Mogollon Apaches (military people replaced civilian agents in 1869), meets at Fort McRae with Loco and other Chihénde Apaches, including Victorio, to discuss peace. Cochise sends word to Loco that he will come in if the reservation proposal works out.</p> <p>Drew takes charge of the southern Apaches on August 23. He then spends several weeks among the People.</p> <p>Drew promises the Apaches rations and supplies. Through the fall and winter, he is able only to obtain half rations and supplies. Apaches learn that local citizens who oppose peace plans are likely to attack them.</p>	Ogle 1970:82-83 Schroeder 1974b:205 Sweeney 1991:288 Thrapp 1974:100, 101-103
November, 1869	Governor A. P. K. Safford discusses the Apaches with numerous eastern editors and government officials. He convinces them of Apache atrocities. With Territorial Delegate McCormick, Safford meets with President Grant, General Sherman, and the Secretary of War. McCormick talks to the Congress.	Ogle 1970:76
December 12, 1869	Drew writes about the Mexican Government's paying its citizens for Indian scalps.	Thrapp 1974:105-106
December 20, 1869	Thomas Jeffords and Elias Brevoort are appointed traders with the Mimbres and Gila River Apaches.	Sweeney 1991:291
December, 1869 – January, 1870	Cochise is camped along Bonita Creek, a tributary of the Gila River.	Sweeney 1991:278
1870s	A "Ring" of federal officials, contractors, and others operates in Tucson. The Ring exerts great control over Indian policy. It succeeds in getting Crook appointed as Commander of the Department of Arizona. The Indian Ring succeeds in promoting the concentration policy. It succeeds in controlling military contracts and contracts with reservations. The Ring succeeds in controlling Arizona territorial politics. It is heavily	Bourke 1962:216-217, 220 McChristian 2005:168 Wagoner 1970:76ff.

	invested in railroads, mining, and commerce. The Indian Ring controls the Arizona press.	
January, 1870	Drew visits Loco with 300 Mimbres Apaches and Chastine with 40 Mogollon Apaches near Cañada Alamosa.	Schroeder 1974b:206
January 5, 1870.	Drew learns that the government is giving him \$2,800 to meet the conditions of his agreement with the Apaches..	Ogle 1970:83
January 26, 1870	Captain Bernard with 64 men, including Grijalva, leaves Fort Bowie to find Cochise in the Dragoons.	Sweeney 1992:51
January 28, 1870	Captain Bernard continues his attacks against the Chiricahuas. He attacks a rancheria near the Dragoon Range, killing 13 and capturing 2. Cochise is not present.	McChristian 2005:118-119 Sweeney 1991:278-279 Sweeney 1992:51
1870	The census reports that the Arizona white population is 9,658, including army personnel. Of these, 4,348 are of Mexican origin, 686 are from the United Kingdom and 379 from Germany. The 1860 white population of Arizona was 2,421.	Thrapp 1967:79
Early 1870	Thomas J. Jeffords and Elias Brevoort begin trading at Cañada Alamosa. They soon are at odds with Drew. They accuse Drew of selling whiskey to Loco.  After an investigation, Ely Samuel Parker revokes Jeffords' and Brevoort's license to trade.	Sweeney 1991:291 Thrapp 1974:106ff., 108
Spring, 1870	Cochise and his group move from the Bonita Creek region to the Dragoons or to northern Sonora. They raid from there in Mexico and Arizona throughout the spring and summer.	McChristian 2005:120 Sweeney 1991:280-281
Late March, 1870	Mexican troops attack a rancheria in the Teras Mountains, killing 5 and capturing 3.	Sweeney 1991:280
April 15, 1870	The War Department elevates Arizona to full department status. This department encompasses southern California, parts of Nevada, and the Territory of Arizona. Brevet Major George Stoneman is head of the new department. Stoneman's policies include: (1) establishing permanent settlements large enough to provide self-protection, (2) aiding mining, (3) a civilian and military effort against the Apaches, (4) troops are to be concentrated in major areas, (5) troops are to regard as hostile all Indians not known to be friendly.  Later, in accordance with Grant's peace policy and orders from General Sherman, Stoneman establishes "feeding stations" for Indians in Arizona. One such feeding station is at Camp Grant. The Arizona press is outraged.	McChristian 2005:120 Ogle 1970:76ff. Robinson 2001:104ff. Tobias 1965:9-10
May, 1870	A post is established near the confluence of the East and North forks of the White River. This post is soon named Camp Apache. In 1879, it is renamed Fort Apache.	Collins 1999:7
August 18, 1870	Cochise attacks a westbound mail coach near San Pedro Crossing. The Apaches also raid in the Sonita Valley.  Cochise also sends an emissary to Camp Mogollon (later,	McChristian 2005:123

	Camp Mogollon becomes Fort Apache) to discuss peace. This emissary may have been Cochise's wife.	
August 30, 1870 (ca.)	Cochise meets at Camp Mogollon with Major John Green. They hold long discussions. Cochise wants peace. He suggests that he could move among the White Mountain Apaches and become leader of the Bonita Creek Apaches. Cochise then leaves. The press vilifies Green for having let Cochise go.	Ogle 1970:77ff. Sweeney 1991:281, 283
Mid-October, 1870	Approximately 800 Apaches, including Cochise and his band, congregate at Cañada Alamosa, New Mexico.  First Lieutenant Charles Drew, Indian Agent, and Special Agent William Arny meet with Victorio, Cochise, and 20 other leaders. Cochise arrives on October 20, 1870.  Cochise has approximately 96 of his people with him.  After this conference, Geronimo, apparently, spends approximately one year in the Cañada Alamosa area.  Cochise and 3 men leave Cañada Alamosa (with permission), stating that they will bring in the rest of the Ch'uk'ánde.	Dubo 1976:78-79 Ogle 1970:84 Schroeder 1974b:206ff. Sweeney 1991:297ff. Thrapp 1974:129
November 21, 1870	William Arny sends "Report No. 8" to Ely S. Parker, Indian Commissioner. It summarizes relationships with the southern Apaches and provides demographic information. He recommends establishing a reservation and provides several alternative locations. Apaches at Cañada Alamosa are living "hand-to-mouth."	Schroeder 1974b:207-208 Sweeney 1991:299ff. Thrapp 1974:130, 131
Early December, 1870	Cochise is back at Cañada Alamosa. During this time three events are significant because they create uncertainty among the Apaches: (1) Argalas G. Hennissee, with whom the Apaches have been dealing, is replaced by Orlando F. Piper as Southern Apache Agent. (2) Rations and supplies are insufficient, irregular, and scarce. (3) Apaches are told that the government wants to relocate them to Fort Stanton (Mescalero).	Sweeney 1991:301-303
Winter, 1871	Cochise is in southeastern Arizona waiting for the situation at Cañada Alamosa to stabilize. During the next six months, Cochise becomes involved in several fights with citizens and troops.	Sweeney 1991:304
February, 1871	Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman allows Apaches (not Chiricahua Apaches) to congregate at Camp Grant (Arizona Territory) and begins a rationing program. By March 5, 300 Apaches are at Camp Grant. Soon after that, 500 Apaches are at Camp Grant.	Ogle 1970:79ff. Robinson 2001:106ff. Thrapp 1967:79ff. Wagoner 1970:127
February 12, 1871	Captain William Kelly, troops, and several citizens attack Apaches southeast of Chiricahua Peak. They kill 14 Apaches, wound 20, and take 1 captive. They loot and burn the rancharia. Cochise is not involved. Geronimo might have been involved.	Sweeney 1991:305-306
February 24, 1871 (ca.)	14 Apaches from Cochise's group, including a son of Mangas Coloradas (Salvadora), are killed in a fight near the	McChristian 2005:123

	San Francisco River (Verde River) in Arizona.	Sweeney 1991:306ff.
March 8, 1871	<p>President Grant authorizes Superintendent Nathaniel Pope to invite Cochise and other Apaches to visit Washington for a peace conference. When contacted later (probably April), Cochise refuses. Cochise is reported to distrust the government's intentions.</p> <p>More than 1,000 Chihénde, Bidankande, and Ch'uk'ánde Apaches are congregated at Cañada Alamosa.</p>	Cole 1988:108 Ogle 1970:89 Sweeney 1991:309
April, 1871	Superintendent Nathaniel Pope sends a delegation to find Cochise. Pope visits Cañada Alamosa and confers with Victorio, Loco, and Nana (all Chihénde). Pope reports about their wishes for peace and a reservation. He notes that they are destitute and near starvation.	Thrapp 1974:135 Sweeney 1991:309
April 24, 1871	Sonoran troops attack a rancharia in the southern Chiricahuas. They kill 4 men and 4 women. They take 2 children captives. This is the entire rancharia.	Sweeney 1991:314
April 30, 1871	<p>In response to an attack on a baggage train traveling from Camp Grant to a temporary army station in the Pinal Mountains, citizens in Tucson form a "Committee on Public Safety." William S. Oury, former mayor of Tucson, leads the group to Camp Grant. They attack Camp Grant Apaches. The Camp Grant Massacre occurs. 144 Apache men, women, and children are killed at Camp Grant by the vigilantes from Tucson. 8 Apache men are killed. 136 Apache women and children are killed. 27 Apache children are taken captive and become slaves.</p> <p>Later, the Arizona press and Arizona citizens do everything possible to justify the vigilantes' actions as self-defense. They link Camp Grant with various depredations and vigorously attack Whitman's character as a drunkard and womanizer (with Apache women).</p> <p>President Grant describes the event as "purely murder" and demands that the murderers be brought to trial. He threatens to impose martial law if this is not done.</p> <p>After a five-day trial in December, 104 vigilantes are found not guilty. The jury deliberates for 19 minutes.</p>	Colyer 1971:17, 31ff. Faulk 1969:12 McChristian 2005:127, 131 Ogle 1970:79ff., 80ff. Perry 1993:109ff. Robinson 2001:115ff. Thrapp 1967:79ff., 85ff., 86, 86ff. Wagoner 1970:126ff.
May 5, 1871	Juh and other Apaches defeat First Lieutenant Howard Bass Cushing south of the Whetstone Mountains.	Sweeney 1991:313ff. Thrapp 1967:72-77 Thrapp 1973:6-7
May 13 – May 24, 1871	Cochise and perhaps 60 men raid into Sonora.	Sweeney 1991:314
May, 1871	Superintendent Pope's seven man delegation returns to Cañada Alamosa, having located Cochise's band, but not Cochise, who is probably in Mexico during this time. The delegation reports on its trip. They bring with them about 100 of Cochise's Ch'uk'ánde.	McChristian 2005:127 Thrapp 1974:135
May 23 or May 24, 1871 (ca.)	Cochise arrives back at the west stronghold and learns that approximately 100 Ch'uk'ánde have gone to Cañada Alamosa with Pope's delegation. 9 warriors depart to join	Sweeney 1991:315

	their families and arrive at Cañada Alamosa May 31.	
May-June, 1871	General George Crook is assigned by the War Department to Arizona. May 1, 1871, Grant notifies Belknap that he wants Crook assigned temporarily to Arizona. June 3, 1871, Crook leaves Portland for San Diego. When Crook arrives in Tucson on June 19, 1871, he has lunch with Governor Safford, who defends the vigilantes at Camp Grant. Crook then sides with Arizona civilians (including Governor Safford) in their interpretation of the Camp Grant Massacre. He is critical of Whitman and Nelson. He is critical of Howard. Arizona Governor Safford has intervened (through the California congressional delegation and with Nevada Senator William R. Stewart) with President Grant to have Crook appointed. Crook is appointed over the objections of Secretary of War Belknap and General Sherman.	Mason 1970 McChristian 2005:131 Ogle 1970:81 Perry 1993:111, 115 Robinson 2001:106ff., 107-108, 115, 116 Thrapp 1967:94ff.
June 7, 1871	Jeffords is sent from Cañada Alamosa to find Cochise.	Sweeney 1991:315ff.
June 16, 1871	Jeffords locates Cochise. Cochise will not return to Cañada Alamosa. Cochise indicates that the trip would be too dangerous for his family. Cochise remains in the Chiricahua Mountains for the remainder of the summer, avoiding contact with European Americans.	Colyer 1872 Dubo 1976:83-84 McChristian 2005:135 Ogle 1970:89ff. Perry 1993:113 Robinson 2001:113ff. Sweeney 1991:321ff. Thrapp 1967:102ff. Thrapp 1974:138ff. Wagoner 1970:132ff., 133
July, 1871	Vincent Colyer, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, arrives in Arizona. He tours the southwest and defines locations for several Apache reservations.  Colyer is sent by the Board of Indian Commissioners to visit Apache country to avert expected hostilities. He is instructed to cooperate with the War Department. The War Department directs it's military to cooperate fully with the special commissioner.	Bourke 1962:137 Robinson 2001:110 Sweeney 1991:319 Thrapp 1967:98
July 11, 1871	Crook and his troops (ca. 204), the "Destroying Angles," leave Tucson (Fort Lowell) for Fort Bowie. This is Crook's first expedition in Arizona. Lieutenant John G. Bourke is with him.	Ogle 1970:90
July 13, 1871	Colyer meets with U.S. Grant. Grant expands Colyer's powers. Grant tells Secretary of War W. W. Belknap to support "any arrangement" that Colyer makes with the Apaches.	McChristian 2005:132 Robinson 2001:110 Sweeney 1991:329
July 14, 1871	Crook and his troops arrive at Fort Bowie. Crook states that it is time to "iron all the wrinkles out of Cochise's band of Indians." He leaves Fort Bowie on July 17 to travel north. He heads toward Camp Apache.	Sweeney 1991:320
July 17, 1871	Crook receives orders to suspend his operations until Colyer has time to seek a peaceful solution.	McChristian 2005:133

July 18, 1871	Cochise attacks a company of the Twenty-first Infantry at Ciénaga de los Piños. 25 warriors are killed. The troops have 1 killed and 3 wounded.	Thrapp 1974:137-138
July 31, 1871	Piper sends another delegation from New Mexico to find Cochise. Loco is in the delegation. The group meets Crook at Camp Apache (August 12 – see below). He sends the delegation back to Cañada Alamosa.	Collins 1999:7-8
August, 1871	The first Apache scouts are enlisted at Camp Apache.	Ogle 1970:90 Sweeney 1991:322
Mid-August, 1871	Colyer travels to Cañada Alamosa. 1,200 Apaches have recently evacuated because of threats that they are to be massacred by vigilantes. Colyer blames a "few lawless white men" for the problems and decides to find more remote locations for Apache reservations.  Colyer's party travels from Cañada Alamosa to the Tularosa River Valley. He orders that a reservation be established there and orders Pope to relocate Apaches to that place.	Ogle 1970:97 Robinson 2001:110-111 Thrapp 1967:99
August 12, 1871	Crook arrives at Camp Apache and meets with Apache leaders. Crook initiates his policy of using Apaches as scouts. Piper's delegation arrives from Cañada Alamosa. Crook sends them back to New Mexico.	Robinson 2001:112-113 Thrapp 1967:101
August 15, 1871	Crook and his troops leave Camp Apache and head north, probably following the north fork of the White River. They subsequently fight with some Apaches. Crook shoots an Apache who is fleeing.	Sweeney 1991:322
August 19 or 20, 1871	Approximately 40 Chiricahuas (Ch'uk'ánde) arrive at Cañada Alamosa.	Sweeney 1991:322
August 21, 1871	18 Chiricahuas (Ch'uk'ánde), including Cochise's brother, Juan, arrive at Cañada Alamosa. Cochise sent them there.	Ogle 1970:89ff. Thrapp 1974:139
August 23, 1871	Colyer returns to Cañada Alamosa from Fort Craig and travels to Ojo Caliente.	
August 29, 1871	The Warm Springs Apache Reservation is defined by Colyer. Colyer orders that Apaches from Cañada Alamosa be relocated to Ojo Caliente.	Ogle 1970:91
September 2, 1871	Colyer arrives at Camp Apache. He learns that Crook has rescinded his (Crook's) order to enlist Apaches as scouts.  Rations that Colyer had ordered arrive. 400 Apaches congregate. Colyer designates the area around Camp Apache as a reservation.	Sweeney 1991:323-324
September 4, 1871	Apaches attack the horse herd at Camp Crittenden. 54 horses and 7 mules are taken. Simultaneously, Cochise's people attack the herd at Fronteras, taking approximately 80 horses.	Ogle 1970:91
September 7, 1871	At Camp Apache, Colyer has a council with Apache leaders. He promises that Apaches will not be bothered on the new reservation and that they will be given rations and supplies.  Colyer leaves for Camp Grant.	Ogle 1970:92 Thrapp 1967:102
September 13, 1871	Colyer arrives at Camp Grant. He meets with Eskiminzin and Chiquito. He suggests that they relocate to Camp Apache. They refuse. Colyer establishes a reservation and promises rations and an effort to return children taken during	Colyer 1971:14 Thrapp 1967:104, 107-109



	the Camp Grant Massacre.	
September 13-14, 1871	Approximately 175-200 citizens from Tucson arrive at Camp Grant and demand to travel through the reservation. Governor Safford and approximately 300 others returning from a mining expedition are also in the area. Captain William Nelson denies them permission to enter the reservation. The citizens return to Tucson. Crook later admonishes Nelson. Colyer defends Nelson. Crook criticizes Whitman. He also criticizes Howard for walking around the post arm-in-arm with Whitman.	Robinson 2001:116, 116ff. Thrapp 1967:119
September 21, 1871	Crook issues his General Orders No. 10, which states that Indians off reservations would "be regarded as hostile and punished accordingly." This order is used as the legal basis of his subsequent offensives.	Thrapp 1967:113
Late September, 1871	Crook sends Captain Julius Wilmot Mason and approximately 86 Walapai scouts after Date Creek people (Yavapais), who are held responsible for the Wickenburg Massacre. The troops kill approximately 40 Yavapais.	McChristian 2005:136 Schroeder 1974b:221ff. Sweeney 1991:325ff., 327ff. Sweeney 1992:54 Thrapp 1974:140
September 28, 1871	Cochise arrives at Cañada Alamosa and meets the agent, Piper.  Cochise settles 30 warriors and their families (over 200 Ch'uk'ánde) at Cuchillo Negro, about 12 miles south of Cañada Alamosa. Pope and Piper confer with him. Cochise wants peace, but is unwilling to relocate to Hot Springs. The government pushes strongly for removal to Tularosa. Cochise, Loco, Victorio, and Cheever are adamantly against removal.  Cochise states that he left Arizona because he had been "allowed no rest the past year, that the people of Arizona would give him no peace, that the country was bad and everything there pinched him."	McChristian 2005:135-136 Ogle 1970:93-94 Thrapp 1967:104
October 2, 1871	Colyer, having traveled to Camp Verde, meets there with a council of Indian leaders.  Colyer agrees to establish a reservation along the Verde River.  Colyer and his party then travel to Fort Whipple (Prescott).	McChristian 2005:135-136) Ogle 1970:93-94 Thrapp 1967:104
October 3, 1871	Colyer and Crook meet at Fort Whipple (Prescott). They disagree greatly concerning proper Apache policy. Crook refers to Grant's "pet theory with the Indians." He refers to Colyer's peace with the Apaches as "humbug."	Thrapp 1974:141
October 17, 1871	Superintendent Pope writes about Apache objections to the Tularosa River Reservation. During October, more Apaches congregate at Cañada Alamosa.	Schroeder 1974b:209 Sweeney 1991:326, 327
October 21, 1871	Apaches attack O'Neil's Ranch near Ciénega San Simón, about 30 miles east of Bowie. Cochise is blamed. Gerry Russell and about 25 men follow the Apaches into	Ogle 1970:95

	Horseshoe Canyon, where there is a battle.	
October 27, 1871	Colyer arrives back in Washington, D.C. He meets with Secretary of War Belknap.	Ogle 1970:98ff. Thrapp 1967:105-106
November 5, 1871	The Loring or Wickenburg Massacre occurs. A stagecoach is attacked and seven people are killed. Date Creek People (Yavapais) are blamed and Colyer's plans are disrupted. There is strong evidence that non-Indians were responsible, at least in part, for the attack.	Ogle 1970:95-96 Sweeney 1991:332
November 6, 1871	Colyer, Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, Secretary of War W. W. Belknap, and President Grant meet in the Whitehouse to discuss and determine Apache policy. General Sherman is to enact the policy. Sherman informs Crook that "whatever measures of severity" he adopts to bring peace will be "approved by the War Department and the President."  The policy stipulates that: (1) The president will designate as reservations the areas selected by Colyer. (2) Bands are to be located on the reservations where they will receive protection and subsistence as long as they remained friendly. (3) Warriors and non-combatants are to remain on the reservations. (4) Whites are to be warned that the government will protect peaceful Indians to the full extent of its power. (5) The superintendent of Indian affairs is to be located at Fort Whipple. (6) The War Department is to select "suitable and discreet" army officers to act as Indian agents until superseded by civil agents.	Thrapp 1974:140ff.
November 9, 1871	The Tularosa River Reservation is established. The Camp Grant Reservation is established. The Camp Verde Reservation is established. The White Mountain Reservation is established.	Thrapp 1974:139
November 11, 1871	Adjutant General Edward Davis Townsend writes to General Sheridan and to General John M. Schofield. From the latter, he requests views concerning the establishment of Apache reservations. He asks that Schofield make his recommendations in light of the coming railroad and a possible future concentration of Apaches on one reservation.	Sweeney 1991:333 Thrapp 1974:141
November 20, 1871	General Sheridan issues General Orders No. 8. It defines the Tularosa Reservation and directs that all Mimbres Apaches be located there. Indians found off the reservation after 30 days without permission will be considered hostile.	Ogle 1970:98-101, 102 Perry 1993:116ff.
November 21, 1871	General John M. Schofield, Commander of the Military District of the Pacific, issues general orders "for the government of Indians subject to military control in the Territory of Arizona."  (1) All roving bands are to locate on reservations at once. (2) Indians found away from reservations are to be punished as hostiles. (3) An army officer is to act as agent on each reservation.	Ogle 1970:102 Sweeney 1991:333-335

	<p>(4) A list is to be made of each Indian male old enough to go on the warpath. The list is to contain the number of his family members. A duplicate copy is to be kept on the individual's person at all time.</p> <p>(5) The presence on the reservation of every male is to be verified at least once a day.</p> <p>(6) A tribe, unless guilty of giving aid, is not to be punished for the acts of individuals.</p> <p>(7) The families of absent warriors are to be held in custody until those warriors are captured.</p> <p>(8) The department commander is to fix a time limit for the inauguration of the new regime.</p> <p>(9) No whites except officials are to be allowed on reservations without permission and official escorts are to be provided for visitors in all cases.</p> <p>(10) Each Indian is to receive a specific amount of rations and the distribution of rations is to be supervised by army officers.</p> <p>(11) Vigorous operations are to be continued against hostiles until they submit.</p> <p>(12) Incurables are to be hunted down with the use of friendly scouts.</p> <p>(13) Full authority is to be conferred on the department commander to adopt such measures as needed to effect this policy.</p> <p>Colyer's peace policies are out of favor.</p> <p>Secretary of Interior Delano orders Superintendent of Indian Affairs Herman Bendell to cooperate with Crook or to resign at once.</p> <p>Crook prepares to conduct military operations against Apaches who remain off the reservations.</p>	
December, 1871	<p>News of the planned removal of Apaches to Tularosa reaches Cañada Alamosa. Many people, including Nana, leave the reservation. Nana heads toward Mescalero country.</p> <p>Conditions are poor during the winter at Cañada Alamosa. Citizens at the local town, Cañada Alamosa, trade liquor to Apaches for their rations and supplies.</p> <p>Through this time, Cochise becomes more reclusive on the reservation (at Cañada Alamosa) and appears to be highly suspicious of whites. He spends most of his time in the mountains away from the agency.</p> <p>Crook notifies Arizona Apaches that they must be on the reservations by February 15, 1872 or they will be considered hostile. Many people move to the reservations.</p>	Sweeney 1991:334
December, 1871	Crook writes to his superior, Major General John McAllister Schofield, that Cochise should be returned to Arizona and made to "control his people for good as effectually as he had heretofore for bad."	Bourke 1962:218 Collins 1999:8 Crook 1946:181ff. Mason 1970:73, 76-

		77, 87, 94-97, 99 Ogle 1970:96ff. 102ff. Robinson 2001:253, 253ff. Thrapp 1967:105ff. Thrapp 1967:114ff., 117-118
1872-1875	<p>Crook and his army wage war on the Apaches in Arizona. Some Apaches resist and wage war on European Americans. Most Apaches reside peacefully on the reservations. Conditions on the reservations are extremely bad. The War Department and the Interior Department compete over control of the Apaches. Increasing numbers of European Americans move into the southwest. They settle more permanently than did earlier settlers.</p> <p>Between January and November 15, 1872 the "Chronological List" shows 33 actions against Apaches involving military personnel. In these actions, at least 26 civilians and 10 soldiers are killed. This number does not include civilians killed in non-Army fights.</p> <p>Scouts employed by Crook come from Pedro's band and from the Cibecue band. 4 of these men are eventually awarded the Medal of Honor for their work in the campaign against Tonto Apaches and Yavapais. The subdued Tonto Apaches and Yavapais are eventually settled on the Camp Verde Reservation.</p>	Ogle 1970:104ff., 108-108, 111, 120ff., 121-122
1872-1873	Conditions on various Apache reservations are difficult and sometimes tumultuous.	Sweeney 1991:336
February, 1872	Cochise's Ch'uk'ánde and Loco's Chihénde at Cañada Alamosa argue and have, according to Piper, "one or two pitched fights" that result in the deaths of 2 or 3 Apaches and the wounding of several others.	Sweeney 1991:335
February 5, 1872	The <u>Las Cruces Borderer</u> suggests to Piper that Cochise and his men be hired to protect the mail.	Ogle 1970:102
February 20, 1872	Secretary of Interior Delano notifies General Schofield and General Sheridan that they are to avoid hostilities with Apaches as much as possible. The Apaches are to be persuaded to move to the reservations or to New Mexico.	Ogle 1970:107
March, 1872	O. F. Piper reports to Nathaniel Pope that approximately 1,600 Apaches are at Cañada Alamosa.	Sweeney 1991:338 Thrapp 1974:144ff.
March 17, 1872	Nathaniel Pope, Colonel Granger, Colonel J. Irwin Gregg, and Colonel Thomas C. Devin arrive at Cañada Alamosa to relocate the Apaches to Tularosa River and to convince Apache leaders to visit Washington, D.C.	Sweeney 1991:338
March 19, 1872	Apaches at Cañada Alamosa meet with Pope, Granger, and the others. Cochise is present. They talk about a proposed trip to Washington for the Apache leaders and about the removal to Tularosa. Cochise opposes both.	Schroeder 1974b:221 Sweeney 1991:340- 341 Thrapp 1974:145ff.
March 28, 1872	Victorio, Gordo, and Loco agree to be moved to Tularosa River. Approximately this time (March 30 or April 1, 1872),	McChristian 2005:140

	Cochise leaves Cañada Alamosa stating that he intends to bring in other of his people. Cochise returns to southern Arizona. He contacts Janos asking for peace. His group begins raiding in southern Arizona.	Ogle 1970:103 Robinson 2001:118ff., 119 Schmitt 1946:168ff. Sweeney 1991:347ff. Thrapp 1967:107
Late March, 1872	General Oliver O. Howard arrives in Arizona, having been appointed by President Grant to succeed Colyer and to negotiate peace with the Apaches. Howard meets with Crook in Prescott.  Howard and Crook then travel to Fort McDowell and on to Camp Grant.  Crook is generally displeased with Howard.	Ogle 1970:104 Robinson 2001:119ff., 120-121 Schmitt 1946:170ff. Thrapp 1967:109, 109ff., 110
April 18-26, 1872  (see below)	Howard and Crook travel to Camp Grant. Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman is incarcerated at Camp Crittenden. Howard has him temporarily returned to Camp Grant.  Howard meets with a council of Apaches April 26, 1872. The Apaches insist that their children be returned and that Whitman be restored as their agent. The leaders suggest that be given a reservation removed from the whites. Howard arranges for a future conference and leaves for the Prescott area. He stops in Tucson to arrange with Governor Safford to return the Apache children.	Sweeney 1991:343
May 1, 1872	Ponce and Escani take approximately 305 Apaches to Fort Stanton. Ponce is Cochise's son-in-law.  Within 1 or 2 months, Ponce leaves with his people. He later meets Howard (September 18, 1872) at Cuchillo Negro. He then travels with Howard to meet Cochise.	Sweeney 1991:243-344
Mid-May, 1872	Most Ch'uk'ánde and Ndaandénde are in northern Chihuahua. Cochise and his people move into northern Chihuahua after leaving Cañada Alamosa. Juh's people, including Geronimo, move there because of military pressure in Sonora. They negotiate for peace with Janos. Ndaandénde open the talks. Ch'uk'ánde later join the negotiations.	Ogle 1970:105 Tobias 1965:33
May 20, 1872	Howard, Crook, and Superintendent Bendell arrive at Camp Grant. (They have traveled there from Prescott.) Governor Safford is present at Camp Grant with a large delegation of citizens. He brings 6 of the stolen Apache children. The remaining 21 are said to be in Mexico.	Cole 1988:111 McChristian 2005:141-142, 143 Ogle 1970:104ff. Robinson 2001:121ff., 123 Schmitt 1946:172-173
May 21-23, 1872  (see above)	Howard meets with Camp Grant Apaches at Camp Grant and receives their pledge that they will cease warfare and reside on reservations. The Camp Grant Apaches also ask to be relocated to a new, healthier reservation. "Cochise men" are not part of this agreement. Camp Grant Apaches agree to act as scouts against hostiles.	Ogle 1970:107 Thrapp 1974:147

	<p>Howard meets with Apache leaders (Camp Grant Apaches, not Chiricahuas), who demand that their children be returned and that they be given a healthier reservation farther away from whites.</p> <p>Howard falls to his knees and prays in the plaza. Eskiminzin is startled and interprets Howard's actions as witchcraft. Crook complains that Howard began "to parade up and down the garrison, arm in arm with Whitman." Crook confronts Howard about his actions with Whitman. (Whitman and Howard are relatives.) Crook defends the actions of Arizona citizens to Howard.</p> <p>The issue of stolen children is central.</p> <p>Howard designates an area south of the White Mountain Reservation (San Carlos) for the Camp Grant Apaches. This becomes the San Carlos subagency of the White Mountain Reservation (see December 14, 1872).</p> <p>Howard leaves with 7 leaders who agree to travel as a delegation to Washington, D.C. 3 Coyotereros join the delegation at Camp Apache.</p>	
May 24, 1872	Victorio and Loco ride into the Tularosa River Reservation, having accepted relocation from Cañada Alamosa. By June 1, approximately 400 Apaches have reached the Tularosa River Reservation. By September, 450 Apaches have relocated to Tularosa River.	Sweeny 1991:341-343
Late May, 1872	<p>Chiva brings to Tularosa River his band of Bidankande and/or Ch'uk'ánde.</p> <p>Cochise is at Janos with approximately 300 of his people.</p>	<p>McChristian 2005:143</p> <p>Ogle 1970:105-106</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:349</p>
June 22, 1872	Howard arrives in Washington, D.C., with a peace delegation of 10 Camp Grant and Western Apache leaders. Cochise and his people, apparently, spend much of June and July in Northern Chihuahua and then move to the Dragoons in southeastern Arizona.	<p>McChristian 2005:143</p> <p>Sweeney 1991:344</p>
July, 1872	Juh's people (Ndaandénde) are attacked by Sonoran troops at his camp near Janos in Chihuahua. This attack, possibly, motivates Cochise to move north across the border. Troops on both sides of the border search for Apaches.	Ogle 1970:106
July 3, 1872	President Grant directs General Howard to return to the southwest to ask Cochise to participate in peace talks.	Howard 1972:186ff. Thrapp 1974:148, 150
Late July, 1872	<p>Howard returns to the southwest. He goes to Camp Grant. He then travels to Tularosa River. He meets with Victorio and others at Tularosa River. Howard spends approximately 8 days talking with the Apaches. Conditions at Tularosa River are extremely bad. Apache leaders complain about the conditions and ask to be relocated to Cañada Alamosa. Howard states that he will talk to the President about this issue.</p> <p>Howard learns about and introduces himself to Thomas Jeffords.</p>	Sweeney 1991:344-345

	Howard also meets Chie, a son of Mangas Coloradas. He hires Chie as a guide and friendly witness.  Chie is a sometimes hunter for the troops.	
Mid-summer, 1872	Cochise is in the Dragoon Mountains. His people raid in the Sonoita Valley. Mexican troops harass Apaches in the Chiricahua Mountains.	Ogle 1970:110
August, 1872	Date Creek Yavapais experience an epidemic and move to the high country.	Ogle 1970:106
August 11, 1872	Howard arrives at Camp Apache, where a major dispute is occurring because of the arrest of several leaders and because of a dispute between the War Department and the Interior Department over the issuing of rations and supplies. Howard obtains release of the prisoners and insures the continuance of rations and supplies.	Sweeney 1991:351
August 14, 1872	Howard sends Concepción and George Stevens to locate Cochise and arrange a meeting. They are not successful.	Ogle 1970:110 Robinson 2001:126
September 8, 1872	Crook meets with Yavapais at Date Creek. The Yavapais, apparently, plot Crook's assassination. The plot fails. Crook arrests four of the participants in the Loring Creek episode.  During the fall, Crook campaigns against hostile Yavapais and kills 70 people. (See September 25, 1872.)	Howard 1972 Sweeney 1991:354-353
September 16, 1872	Howard, Loco, Jeffords, and Chie inspect Cañada Alamosa. They are, in part, looking for Ponce, who recently left Fort Stanton. Ponce's group is thought to be near Cañada Alamosa. Howard wants Ponce for a translator. Ponce speaks Spanish and can act as a true interpreter. Ponce's father is said to be a great friend of Cochise. Ponce is, apparently, Cochise's son-in-law.  Howard decides that Apaches should be returned to Cañada Alamosa. He appoints Jeffords, with Pope's support, as agent for a proposed Cochise Reservation.	Howard 1972:190 Sweeney 1991:354
September 18, 1872	Howard locates Cochise's son-in-law, Ponce, at Cuchillo Negro. Howard convinces him to lead his (Howard's) delegation to find Cochise.	Cole 1988:112 Howard 1972:189 Sweeney 1991:354
September 19 or September 20, 1872	Howard and his delegation leave to search for Cochise.  Howard's party leaves Cañada Alamosa. The party consists of Howard, Jeffords, Jake May (an English-Spanish interpreter), two packers, Chie, and Captain Sladen.  Howard locates Cochise's son-in-law, Ponce, at Cuchillo Negro. Howard convinces him to lead his (Howard's) delegation to find Cochise.  Howard describes many cornfields along the Rio Cochinillo Negro. Howard states that Ponce's group did not plant the corn.	Ogle 1970:113 Thrapp 1967:118 Robinson 2001:125
September 21, 1872	Crook informs the War Department that Apaches on reservations are guilty of many crimes and depredations. He states that it is now time to punish the "incorrigibly hostile."	Howard 1972:191

September 23-24, 1872	Howard and his group are at Fort Bayard.	Howard 1972:191-192
September 25, 1872	Howard and his group are at Silver City. Citizens verbally abuse the scouts, acting as a mob.	Robinson 2001:127
September 25, 1872	Crook's troops attack Yavapais, killing approximately 40 people and capturing many women and children.	Howard 1972:193-195 Sweeney 1991:355
September 27, 1872	Howard's party meets Nazee's band of Ch'uk'ánde at Peracino Springs, several miles north of Stein's Peak. One of Cochise's wives is with Nazee's group. Howard estimates the group at 60.  Howard sends 3 of his men (Jake May and the 2 packers) to Camp Bowie, having been told that Cochise will not meet with him unless there are fewer in the party.	Howard 1972:198 Sweeney 1991:355
September 29, 1872	Howard and his party travel to and camp at the Sulphur Springs Station.  Nick Rogers (see below) is there. Rogers offers whiskey to Howard's group.	Cole 1988:121ff. Dubo 1976:86ff. Howard 1972:200ff., 205, 209, 210, 211, 212ff., 215, 216, 219 220, 220ff., 222-223, 224 Mason 1970:68 McChristian 2005:144ff., 154-155 Ogle 1970:103, 107 N 74, 108ff. Perry 1993:120ff. Sweeney 1991:355ff., 361, 367 Thrapp 1967:144ff., 145 Thrapp 1974:153ff. Wagoner 1970:137ff.
October 1-12, 1872	Cochise and General Oliver O. Howard meet in the Dragoon Mountains. The Chiricahua Apache Reservation is defined through a verbal agreement between Howard and Cochise. (See December 14, 1872). The military has no jurisdiction over the Chiricahua Reservation.	Ogle 1970:113-114
October 15, 1872	General Schofield approves Crook's proposals. Schofield authorizes "a vigorous and unremitting prosecution of the war."	Cole 1988:114-116, 116ff. Sweeney 1991:368
October 16, 1872	Having established the Chiricahua Agency at Sulphur Springs, Jeffords rations about 450 Apaches.	Ogle 1972:111-112
November 5, 1872	Crook orders that within 10 days all Coyoteros are to be concentrated within one mile of Camp Apache. People not conforming are to be accepted later only as prisoners of war.  This policy is later modified so that Coyoteros are to be concentrated within 10 miles of the agency.	Robinson 2001:127-128 Thrapp 1967:120ff., 126
November 15,	Crook begins his Verde River region and Tonto Basin	Cole 1988:117



1872	<p>offensive against Western Apaches who are away from reservations.</p> <p>Through the next two months, Crook sends out at least nine field expeditions against the Western Apaches. Crook's plan is to keep all military expeditions operating "until the Indians are subjugated."</p>	Sweeney 1991:369-370
November 20, 1872 (ca.)	Juh, Geronimo, Nolgee, and Natiza, with their Ndaandénde Apaches, arrive at the Chiricahua Reservation. Cochise has sent for them. They meet Jeffords and Fred Hughes at Pinery Canyon. Estimates for the number of Ndaandénde people range from 200 to 400. They agree to the same peace conditions as Cochise.	Cole 1988:122 Tobias 1965:37
Late November, 1872	Arizona Territorial Governor Safford visits the Chiricahua Reservation.	Robinson 2001:130
December 7, 1872	Crook meets with Eskiminzin and others at Camp Grant. 31 Apaches enlist as scouts. 10 more men enlist as scouts the next day.	Cole 1988:122
December 7, 1872	Safford writes in the <u>Arizona Citizen</u> supporting Jeffords, Cochise, and the Reservation.	
December 14, 1872	The San Carlos addition to the White Mountain Reservation is established. The Chiricahua Reservation is established. The Camp Grant Reservation is eliminated.	Cole 1988:120
December 24 and 31, 1872	Jeffords writes Arizona Indian Superintendent James Bendell about fiscal needs for the Chiricahua Reservation. No funds had been assigned to the agency for October through December 1872.	Robinson 2001:130 Thrapp 1974:157
December 26, 1872	General Schofield reports on the Chiricahua Reservation. He mentions Apache depredations in Mexico and that "it is a breach of good neighborhood towards Mexico to give our common enemy peace and protection on our side of the border when he can with the greatest facility continue his war on the other side."	Bourke 1962:190-201 Mason 1970:54-55 McChristian 2005:150 Ogle 1970:114ff. Robinson 2001:133ff. Thrapp 1967:127ff. Wagoner 1970:140
December 28, 1872.	The Salt River Canyon Cave massacre (of Tonto Apaches) occurs. Bourke is present. 76 Western Apaches are killed. 20 women and children are taken prisoner. Nearly all captives are wounded.	McChristian 2005:148
December, 1872	Jeffords announces that between 1,000 and 1,150 Chiricahuas now reside on the Chiricahua Reservation.	Bourke 1862:217 Bourke 1962:216ff. Bourke 1976:217ff. Cole 1988:122ff. McChristian 2005:151, 157ff. Ogle 1970:120ff., 127ff., 130ff., 132ff., 139ff., 140 N 73, 162ff. Sweeney 1991:372,

		372ff. Thrapp 1967:144-154, 147ff., 155 Thrapp 1974:157ff. Wagoner 1970:148ff.
1873	<p>Conditions at Tularosa River are extremely difficult and stressful. Disputes between Apaches and European Americans arise. Apaches wish to move from Tularosa River. Tularosa River is a bad location for the Apaches.</p> <p>Conditions at Camp Verde are characterized by disease and many other difficulties.</p> <p>Conditions at Camp Apache appear to be more settled than at Camp Verde. Problems develop, however, involving disputes over authority between the agent and the military.</p> <p>At the eastern portion of the White Mountain Reservation near Clifton, Arizona, rich mineral deposits are discovered.</p> <p>At the Chiricahua Reservation, Thomas Jeffords works without military support or control. The War Department has no jurisdiction over the Chiricahua Reservation.</p> <p>Conditions at San Carlos are tumultuous. Dr. R. A. Wilber, the San Carlos Agent, is seemingly corrupt.</p>	Ogle 1970:136
January, 1873	B. M. Thomas is appointed agent at Cañada Alamosa. The military establishes a presence of 5 companies of cavalry. They attempt to intimidate Apaches so that they will not leave the reservation in "their usual spring exodus."	Robinson 2001:130
January 9, 1873	Crook informs Governor Ignacio Pesqueira of Sonora that if the Chiricahuas do not assemble for a role call, he will move against them.	Cole 1988:122
January 18 and 25, 1873	General Robert Brown of the Bureau of Indian Affairs visits the Chiricahua Reservation and is favorably impressed. Jeffords reports 1,025 Apaches at the Reservation.	Sweeney 1991:373ff., 376ff., 380 Thrapp 1967:168-169
October, 1872–March, 1873	Apaches from the Chiricahua Apache Reservation are accused of committing at least 20 or more depredations against citizens of Sonora. Most raids appear to focus on livestock, but many Sonorans are killed. The Sonoran representative in Mexico City complains to the U.S. Consul. Crook wants to apply his General Order No. 10 to the Chiricahuas. This would mean military control of the Chiricahua Reservation. (See January 9, 1873)	McChristian 2005:153ff.
1873	Commerce, communication, ranching, farming, mining, and the European American population expand. Between 1870 and 1880, Arizona's European American population grows to 40,440, an increase of 318 percent.	Ogle 1970:116 Thrapp 1967:140ff.
January–March, 1873	Crook's troops engage Apaches in several locations.	Ogle 1970:120
January 21,	McCormick, Belknap, and James Garfield arrange for	Ogle 1970:119-120

1873	\$50,000 to construct a telegraph from San Diego to Tucson.	
Early February, 1873	Indian administration is reorganized in Washington, D.C. Each agency is now to purchase its own supplies and report directly to the Indian Office. The President is empowered to appoint 5 Indian Inspectors. The inspectors are to be accountable directly to the Secretary of the Interior. They are to visit each reservation twice each year.	McChristian 2005:155-156, 157 Robinson 2001:130-131 Sweeney 1991:377 Thrapp 1967:144-146
February 3, 1873	Crook assembles troops at Mount Graham with the possible intention of attacking Cochise and his people. Crook then sends a delegation, including Bourke, to meet with Cochise in the Dragoon Mountains.	Ogle 1970:139
February 10, 1873	Crook meets with Apache leaders at Camp Grant. A decision is made to relocate 1,500 Camp Grant Apaches to and concentrate them at San Carlos. During the next 5 days, the Camp Grant Apaches are moved to San Carlos.	Cole 1988:123
February 11, 1873	Jeffords writes to General Howard. He states that he has no supplies whatsoever.	Cole 1988:123, 124
March 5, 1873	Secretary Delano writes Superintendent Bendell telling him to supply the Chiricahua Reservation. He writes, "Don't neglect this duty."	Mason 1970:56 Robinson 2001:135ff. Thrapp 1967:135ff., 136
March 24, 1873	The Turret Mountain Massacre (of Tonto Apaches) occurs. Captain George M. Randall leads troops and scouts.	Sweeney 1991:381 Sweeney 1992:57ff.
March 27, 1873	Sidney Delong, who participated in the Camp Grant Massacre and who runs the trading post at Fort Bowie, invites Cochise to Apache Pass. Cochise arrives this day accompanied by his family and 20 warriors. Taza and Naiche are present.  Grijalva meets Cochise as the latter arrives at the trading post. Grijalva is acting as interpreter at the post. Cochise first whips Grijalva, then embraces him.	Thrapp 1967:143
March 29, 1873	The Prescott <u>Miner</u> labels Crook "the Napoleon of successful Indian fighters."	Cole 1988:130 Ogle 1970:118ff. Thrapp 1967:137, 138
April, 1873	Many Apaches begin moving in small groups onto the reservations.  Crook plans to establish civil government for the Apaches.  Jeffords receives substantial supplies at the Chiricahua Reservation. Nevertheless, no funds exist for sustained operation of the reservation. Many vouchers remain unpaid and suppliers begin dunning the agency.	Bourke 1962:212-216 Robinson 2001:136 Thrapp 1967:139
April 6, 1873	Cha-lipun, a "Mojave Apache" (Yavapais), and 300 of his followers surrender to Crook at Camp Verde. Crook specifies his policies to Cha-lipun. Within one week, Crook puts the "Mojave Apaches" to work digging an irrigation ditch. This, perhaps, ends organized resistance by "Mojave Apaches" to European American power.	Thrapp 1967:143
April 9, 1873	Crook issues his General Orders No. 14, commending his	Thrapp 1967:140ff.,

	troops for their virtual completion of the Apache operations.	142
April 25, 1873	Captain George M. Randall and his troops surround Delshay's Western Apache camp at the top of Canyon Creek. Delshay surrenders. Delshay and his band follow Randall to the White Mountain Apache Reservation. Later, Delshay leaves White Mountain and travels to Camp Verde. He is allowed to stay there. He cites disputes with other Western Apaches at White Mountain as his reason for wanting to move.	Sweeney 1991:383
Mid-May, 1873	Ndaandénde and Ch'uk'ánde warriors raid into Chihuahua and Sonora.	Goodwin 1969:405 Ogle 1970:140-141 Robinson 2001:138ff. Thrapp 1967:153
May 27, 1873	Fighting occurs on ration day at San Carlos. First Lieutenant Jacob Almy is killed. Concepcion and Grijalva are present, acting as translators for the post. Apaches flee the agency	Sweeney 1991:383-385
Summer, 1873	Dissatisfied Chihénde and Bidankande arrive at the Chiricahua Reservation. Perhaps 200-300 Chihénde and Bidankande arrive and receive rations and supplies.	Ogle 1970:141
July 3, 1873	Crook outlines his policies in a letter to Major W. H. Brown.	Ogle 1970:136-137
July 25, 1873.	Major W. R. Price attempts to arrest Apaches from the Tularosa River Reservation area who had possibly raided Rio Grande settlements during the summer. Many of the Apaches flee toward Cochise's country. Perhaps 400 people take refuge with Cochise. (600 Apaches were rationed at Cañada Alamosa in the winter of 1872-1873.) Indian Inspector Vandever insists that all transients be arrested. Jeffords issues rations to the visitors. By the fall, approximately 200 of these people return to the Tularosa Reservation.	Cole 1988:132-133 Sweeney 1991:387
August, 1873	The Chiricahua Agency is moved from Sulphur Springs to San Simón. Within a month, several children and elders die of disease and several others are sick. By the end of the summer, Apaches abandon the agency.	Sweeney 1991:386
September, 1873	Cochise admits that some of his people are raiding. He begins working to stop the raiding.	McChristian 2005:153 Ogle 1970:120
October 29, 1873	A telegraph line from San Diego to Tucson is completed. The telegraph is then extended to Camp Apache. Apaches are among those who first use the telegraph to Camp Apache.	Cole 1988:134ff., 135ff. Sweeney 1991:387
November, 1873	Jeffords moves the Chiricahua Agency from San Simón to Pinery Canyon. (The agency was moved from Sulphur Springs to San Simón in August.) Cochise calls a council at San Simón and informs his people that they should no longer raid into Mexico. Raiding in the U.S. begins to decrease significantly.	Cole 1988:129
November 28, 1873	General Schofield requests that Crook be placed in charge of the Chiricahua Reservation. Apache raids from the Reservation into Mexico are the motive or rationale. Secretary Delano refuses the request.	Bourke 1962:232-233 Cole 1988:124ff., 136-137 Faulk 1969:16ff.

		McChristian 2005:156ff., 159-160 Ogle 1970:162ff., 163 Thrapp 1974:166ff., 179
1874-1876	Life on the Chiricahua Reservation is apparently reasonable. Issues on the Reservation include Jeffords' personal control, rationing, raiding, visitors from other reservations (Jeffords rations an average of 200 Apache visitors per month), tiswin, feuds, and <u>Arizona Citizen</u> tirades. Dissatisfied Chihénde and Bidankande are on the Chiricahua Reservation.  Supply and annuity problems remain.  The expense of rationing visitors (Apaches from other reservations) remains a problem	Sweeney 1991:392
Spring, 1874	Juh negotiates with Janos and Galeana for peace.	Cole 1988:139
Spring, 1874	L. Edwin Dudley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico, visits the Chiricahua Reservation to convince Cochise to relocate to Cañada Alamosa.	Collins 1999:8
Spring, 1874	Crook orders that all Apaches must locate near Camp Apache and plant crops where told to by the military. Peaceful Apaches living some distance from the camp are more greatly affected than troublemakers who already live near the camp. Concentration near the camp of people from different bands leads fighting among the groups. Miguel and 8 other Cibecue men are killed in one of the brawls. Diablo becomes leader of the Cibecue group and avenges the death of his brother, Miguel.	Thrapp 1867:158ff.
March–April, 1874	General Crook sends troops to attack Western Apaches who left reservations because of various disputes. In an early battle during this time, troops surround Apaches in the Pinal Mountains, killing 12 and capturing 20. The hostile leaders escape. During this period, Lieutenant Schuyler and Al Sieber's troops, who travel to the Aravaipa Mountains, kill at least 83 Western Apaches and take 26 prisoners. They then return to Camp Verde.	Cole 1988:140
March 28, 1874	L. Edwin Dudley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico, signs an order returning land at Cañada Alamosa from the public domain to the Indian Department. His intention is to establish a reservation for the Chiricahuas.	Thrapp 1967:158-159
April 2, 1874	Lieutenant Alfred B. Bache and his troops attack Western Apaches on Pinal Creek, killing 49. "Many women and children were unavoidably killed during the heavy fire." Bache captures an Apache woman, who leads them to the camp.	Ogle 1970:137
April 9, 1874	The Hot Springs Reservation is established at Ojo Caliente. The intention is to relocate Chihénde from the Tularosa River Reservation to Warm Springs.	Thrapp 1967:160
May, 1874	Cochinay, a hostile Western Apache leader, is killed near Tucson and his head is taken to San Carlos.	Cole 1988:151
May, 1874	Señor Mariscal, the Mexican minister to the U.S., makes the	Thrapp 1967:161

	first of a series of complaints to the Department of State about Apache depredations in Mexico.	
June, 1874	Chan-deisi, a hostile Western Apache leader, is killed and his head is taken to Camp Apache.	Cole 1988:141, 198 N 139
June 1 and 4, 1874	Dudley and Jeffords confer with Cochise at his camp on the Chiricahua Reservation.	Cole 1988:142 Mason 1970:100 McChristian 2005:158, 159-160 Sweeney 1991:393ff.
June 8, 1874	Cochise dies. Taza is in line to become leader of the band.	Ogle 1970:124ff. Thrapp 1967:160-161
June 23, 1874	General Crook states his policies in a letter to Lieutenant Walter Scribner Schuyler, who is in command at Camp Verde.	Ogle 1970:129
July, 1874	Major George M. Randall orders the punishment of all Indians who carry passes issued by the San Carlos agent, James F. Roberts. (Roberts had been nominated as agent by the Dutch Reform Church.)	Tobias 1965:44
July 14, 1874	<p>Safford writes to E. M. Pearce stating, "It is a matter of much importance that these mines should be worked.... (Indians) never occupied and never would occupy or inhabit" that part of the territory. Safford favors relocation.</p> <p>During this time, Charles Lesinsky and E. M. Pearce state that they did not know their mines in the Clifton area were on the reservation. They have brought in over 100 men and spent over \$40,000 on copper mining.</p> <p>Surveyor-General Wasson, Delegate McCormick, and Governor Safford begin efforts to return the area around Clifton to the public domain, so that it can be mined.</p> <p>Agent James E. Roberts and Attorney General of the Arizona Territory Lewis C. Hughes demand payment from Lesinsky for the "trouble, responsibility and expense" involved in "segregating" the mines. Wasson And Safford immediately accuse Roberts and Hughes of extortion.</p> <p>Wasson writes in the <u>Arizona Citizen</u>: "The facts and letters can lead us to but these conclusions: that money was to be extorted for doing an official act; that the favorable endorsement of the reservation did not depend upon the interest of the Indians but upon the payment of a large sum of money by the men acting in good faith in developing the country for the common good as well as their own."</p>	Thrapp 1967:160-161
July 25, 1874	The heads of Chuntz and 6 of his followers are brought into Camp Apache and displayed on the parade ground. The heads were taken a few days earlier in the Santa Catalina Mountains.	Robinson 2001:140 Thrapp 1974:169
Mid-summer, 1874	Chihénde Apaches are removed from the Tularosa River Reservation and relocated at Warm Springs (Ojo Caliente). By the end of the summer, approximately 400 people (including 175 men) are there.	Mason 1970:114ff. Ogle 1970:144ff., 160 Perry 1993:129ff.

		Thrapp 1967:162, 162ff., 166ff.
August 8, 1874	<p>John P. Clum arrives at San Carlos and becomes the San Carlos Apache Reservation Agent.</p> <p>Clum assumes control of San Carlos on August 11, 1874.</p> <p>Clum immediately tries to assert civilian control of the reservation. He is determined to eliminate military "interference" on the reservation. He states that he will control all non-military matters.</p> <p>He initiates a building program and a farm program.</p> <p>He appoints tribal police and a tribal court.</p> <p>In March 1875, the Camp Apache Agency is transferred to Clum's control.</p>	Ogle 1970:129
September, 1874	The military begins to issue rations at San Carlos.	Ogle 1970:164
November 1, 1874	Indian Commissioner Smith decides that Chiricahua Apaches from the Chiricahua Reservation should be removed to Warm Springs, New Mexico. He states that their management would be more economical and "vastly simplified."	
November 24, 1874	The Tularosa River Reservation is closed.	Schroeder 1974b:224, 225
Late 1874	830 Apaches are on the Chiricahua Reservation: 275 Mimbres, Mogollon, and Coyoteros. 265 of Cochise's band. 290 southern Chiricahuas.	Cole 1988:150 Ogle 1970:135
Mid-December, 1874	Dudley, again, visits the Chiricahua Reservation. He seeks to relocate the Chiricahuas to Ojo Caliente.	Ogle 1970:125 Perry 1993:132ff. Wagoner 1970:144
December 21, 1874	A decision is made to move Camp Verde Apaches to San Carlos.	Ogle 1970:170 Thrapp 1974:171ff.
1875-1876	Conditions at Ojo Caliente are tumultuous. The agent, John M. Shaw, claims that Chihénde men from the reservation are joining the Chiricahuas in raiding. He also complains about the intrusions of whites at Ojo Caliente. Conditions are quite peaceful so long as rations are sufficient. Intruders and whiskey traders create problems. In the winter of 1875-1876, a shortage of rations develops and some people leave the reservation.	Ogle 1970:88ff. Tobias 1965:53ff., 67
1875	The Eighth Territorial Legislative Assembly in 1875 focuses significantly on education and mining. The Legislature passes an act taxing the net profits of Arizona mines. Safford suggests the measure: "I believe that a judicious tax upon ores sold or reduced would operate beneficially. The capital to work our mines must necessarily, to a large extent, be brought from abroad, and the wealth taken from the mines, as a consequence, will go back to those who furnish the capital. It therefore appears but just, that the territory within which the mines are located and which gives	Crook 1946:183ff., 184, 241 Ogle 1970:126, 128, 149 Perry 1993:133 Thrapp 1967:165ff.

	<p>protection to the property and invested capital, should receive a fair proportion for the support of its government, and this method of taxation seems to be the most equitable one of accomplishing the objective."</p> <p>During 1875 and 1876, mining opportunities in Arizona expand greatly. In March 1875, the Silver King Mine is founded. In 1876, the United Verde Mine is established. At the same time, the Mack Morris Mine and the Stonewall Jackson Mine are established.</p> <p>Limiting factors for mining in Arizona have been:  (1) Hostile interactions with Apaches.  (2) The scarcity of capital.  (3) The cost of transportation.</p> <p>By the mid-1870s, these three limiting factors seem to be controlled or on the verge of being controlled. The military has corralled most Apaches on reservations. Capitalists are increasing their investments in Arizona. The railroads are approaching New Mexico and Arizona.</p> <p>Safford has significant interests in mining and railroads. He is an incorporator of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. He is a heavy investor in mining. He also is an investor in cattle grazing.</p>	
February 27, 1875	<p>The concentration policy is initiated. Several Apache reservations are to be closed and Apache people concentrated at San Carlos. 1400 Camp Verde people are sent to San Carlos and arrive there 7 days later.</p> <p>Colonel L. E. Dudley, the former Indian superintendent of New Mexico, is selected to direct the Camp Verde relocation and concentration at San Carlos.</p> <p>McCormick and Crook oppose the relocation.</p> <p>Captain F. D. Ogilby seizes the Camp Apache Agency by force and ousts Roberts, who has been drinking heavily. The military assumes control of Camp Apache.</p>	Ogle 1970:149ff., 151
Early March, 1875	<p>Indian Commissioner Smith transfers the Camp Apache Agency to John Clum. Clum is sent by the Interior Department with 50 Apache police to re-assume control of Camp Apache. Major Ogilby decides not to fight Clum and the Indian police. Ogilby then dismisses his own Indian scouts.</p> <p>Trouble, however, continues between the military and Interior Department.</p>	Cole 1988:152-153
Spring, 1875	<p>Two Apache factions or groups seem to exist on the Chiricahua Reservation. One is under Taza's leadership and lives near Apache Pass (the "peace" faction). The other is under the leadership of Juh, Geronimo, Pionsenay, Eskinya, and others and is more focused on raiding (the "hostile" faction).</p>	Mason 1976:150 Tobias 1965:57



March 22, 1875	Crook relinquishes command of the Department of Arizona. General August V. Kautz assumes command.	Cole 1988:150, 165 Ogle 1970:164-165
April 16, 1875	Superintendent L. E. Dudley visits the Chiricahua Reservation to obtain Apache support for their relocation to Ojo Caliente. The Apaches state that they would "sooner die here than live there."	
April 23, 1875	The Camp Verde Reservation is closed by the government.	Cole 1988:154 Ogle 1970:170
May, 1875	Dudley makes another trip to the Chiricahua Reservation. Jeffords, possibly, asks him to come because several hundred Coyoteros have arrived there. The Coyoteros leave San Carlos because of feuds that they have with other Apaches on that reservation. Jeffords rations these Coyoteros.  Indian Inspector Kemble visits the Warm Springs Reservation. Graft and corruption exist in the issuance of rations and supplies. When Shaw arrived at Warm Springs, 330 people were being rationed. He now claims to ration 1,150 to 1,300 Apaches. Kemble believes that 600-700 Apaches are actually residing on the reservation. People are trading government supplies at the town of Cañada Alamosa.	Cole 1988:152 Ogle 1970:164-165
May 14, 1875	Jeffords moves the Chiricahua Agency from Pinery Canyon to Fort Bowie and Apache Pass. Obtaining better control of Apaches who are raiding is the motive, along with easier supplying of the Apaches. Jeffords is worried about controlling the traffic in stolen livestock. Jeffords is also concerned about trade for whiskey between immigrants and Apaches.	Collins 1999:9-10, 11
June 16, 1875	The Commissioner of Indian Affairs orders that the Fort Apache Agency be closed and Apaches moved to San Carlos. In late July, many people are relocated to San Carlos by John Clum. The military opposes the move, but cannot stop it. Apache scouts and their families are allowed to remain at Camp Apache. Diablo and his band are forced to move two months later when Diablo is discharged from the military. Pedro and his band are allowed to remain at Camp Apache. This action creates animosity between Pedro and Diablo. Eventually, the animosity leads to violence.	McChristian 2005:160
July, 1875	Mexican troops enter the Chiricahua Reservation and attack Apaches who are gathering nuts.	Ogle 1970:152
July 26, 1875	800 Coyoteros (Western Apaches) from Camp Apache are relocated to San Carlos. 900 Coyoteros remain at Camp Apache to harvest crops that have been planted. The relocated Coyoteros reach San Carlos July 29.	Ogle 1970:153ff., 157
August, 1875	W. W. Morford arrives as the newly appointed agent for Camp Apache. A dispute arises between Clum and Morford, who sides with the military at Camp Apache.  Clum seems to be in constant dispute with the War Department.	Ogle 1970:156, 160
September, 1875	In response to a questionnaire, Clum suggests that military troops are redundant, given the presence of Indian police.	Tobias 1965:60-61
September 21,	Governor Safford strongly supports Clum in a letter to	Ogle 1970:158

1875	<p>Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. P. Smith. Wasson and other territorial officials also support Clum.</p> <p>A request by General Schofield to assume full authority over Arizona Indians is denied. The policy of concentration is reiterated and supported.</p> <p>Morford is eventually ousted as agent at Camp Apache and Camp Apache is made a sub-agency of San Carlos.</p>	
October 20, 1875	In a letter to General Babcock, President Grant's secretary, General Kautz opposes relocation of Coyoteros from White Mountain country to San Carlos.	Ogle 1970:157
October 27, 1875	At Clum's request, the military removes troops from San Carlos. San Carlos is now completely under the Clum's control. This control does not extend to the Camp Apache Reservation.	Faulk 1969:26
November 22, 1875	General John Pope describes conditions on the reservations and the army's disinclination to go to war against Apaches who must starve or leave the reservations to hunt food for themselves.	Cole 1988:151, 156ff., 170 McChristian 2005:160ff. Ogle 1970:165 Schroeder 1974b:227
February, 1876	<p>Rations are critically short on the Chiricahua Reservation. The Bureau cuts the beef quota from 889,000 pounds to 650,000 pounds. The presence of Apaches from other reservations adds to the critical situation.</p> <p>Jeffords tells people to go hunting. While hunting, Apaches fight among themselves. Two men are killed, along with a grandchild of Cochise.</p> <p>Taza, Naiche, and most other people return to Apache Pass. Skin-ya and twelve families move to the Dragoon Mountains.</p>	Ogle 1970:165
March, 1876	Skin-ya and a few men raid into Sonora.	Cole 1988:158ff. McChristian 2005:162 Ogle 1970:165
April 6, 1876	Skin-ya and Pi-hon-se-nay purchase whiskey from Nick Rogers at Sulphur Springs. The next day, Pi-hon-se-nay returns for more whiskey. Rogers refuses to sell more. The Apaches kill him and his cook, O. O. Spence. Apaches then raid into the San Pedro Valley, killing two prominent ranchers. This event, apparently, motivates Congress to close the Chiricahua Reservation and relocate people to San Carlos. This event, minimally, is used to justify the relocation. Governor Safford convinces Congress to support and fund the relocation.	Ogle 1970:166 N 87
April 15, 1876	The <u>Arizona Citizen</u> and Governor Safford severely criticize the Chiricahuas and Jeffords. "...the kind of war needed for the Chiricahua Apaches, is steady unrelenting, hopeless, and indiscriminating war, slaying men, women and children...until every valley and crest and crag and fastness shall send to high heaven the grateful incense of festering and rotting Chiricahuas" ( <u>Arizona Citizen</u> April 27, 1876). Safford calls for relocation of the Chiricahuas to San Carlos	Tobias 1965:62

	or Ojo Caliente.	
April 19, 1876	Governor Safford requests the federal government to dismiss Jeffords, close the Chiricahua Reservation, and remove Chiricahuas to San Carlos. Safford requests that Clum be given the task.	McChristian 2005:164 Ogle 1970:166-167 Thrapp 1973:7ff. Thrapp 1974:172ff., 176ff., 177ff. Wagoner 1970:145ff.
April 20-June 4, 1876	Funds are appropriated in Washington for the Chiricahua relocation. Clum and his Apache police are told to suspend Jeffords and to relocate the Chiricahuas (May 5, 1876). Clum refuses until General Kautz moves 12 companies of cavalry and 2 companies of Indian scouts near the reservation.  Clum and the others arrive at the Chiricahua Reservation June 4, 1876.	Sweeney 1992:58
April or May, 1876	Agent John Clum and Grijalva take a group of Apaches to Tucson, Arizona.	Ogle 1970:171
May, 1876	Indian Inspector E. C. Kemble visits Ojo Caliente and uncovers extensive graft and corruption.	McChristian 2005:163, 164 Thrapp 1967:170
June 4, 1876	Taza and Naiche fight with Skin-ya and Pionsenay on the Chiricahua Reservation. The last two try to convince Taza and Naiche to join them in refusing to be relocated. The argument escalates. Fighting occurs. Skin-ya is killed and Pionsenay is seriously wounded. He is captured by the military, but subsequently escapes. 5 other members of the hostile faction are killed.	McChristian 2005:164 Ogle 1970:167 Thrapp 1967:170
June 5, 1876	Clum, Apache police, and U.S. troops arrive at the Chiricahua Reservation Agency to relocate the Chiricahuas to San Carlos. Taza and other leaders who are present agree to be relocated.	Dubo 1976:98 Thrapp 1973:8
June 7, 1876	Geronimo and Juh arrive at the Chiricahua Reservation agency to discuss relocation to San Carlos. A conference is held with Clum to discuss relocation. Geronimo, apparently, speaks for Juh.	Cole 1988:159
June 8, 1876	Jeffords is removed as agent of the Chiricahua Reservation.	Cole 1988:158ff. Crook 1946:241 Dubo 1976:99 Faulk 1969:17 Lockwood 1938:217-218 Mason 1970:107ff., 112, 118, 120 McChristian 2005:164 Ogle 1970:167, 172 Thrapp 1967:168ff., 170 Thrapp 1974:178ff.
June 12-18, 1876	Approximately 325 Chiricahua Apaches (Ch'uk'ánde), including Taza and Naiche, are relocated to the San Carlos	Cole 1988:158-159 McChristian

	<p>Reservation.</p> <p>The people leave Apache Pass for San Carlos June 12, 1876. They arrive at San Carlos June 18, 1876.</p> <p>Juh, Geronimo, Gordo, and others refuse to be removed to San Carlos. These people are not Ch'uk'ánde.</p> <p>Juh, Geronimo, and others go to Mexico. These Apaches appear to be Ndaandénde and Bidankande.</p> <p>Gordo and others go to the Warm Springs Reservation (Ojo Caliente) in New Mexico. These people appear to be Chihénde.</p> <p>Following this relocation and fissioning, conflict in the area around the Chiricahua Mountains increases.</p>	<p>2005:164-165 Ogle 1970:168ff. Tobias 1965:64ff.</p>
June 13, 1876	<p>General Kautz assumes control of the Chiricahua Reservation and attempts to destroy remaining hostile Apaches in the area.</p> <p>Over the next months, according to Arizona newspapers, primarily the <u>Arizona Citizen</u>, raiding increases.</p> <p>Governor Safford and the <u>Arizona Citizen</u> become increasingly critical of Kautz.</p> <p>Kautz responds by criticizing Safford and the Indian Ring. He criticizes Wasson for exaggerating Indian depredations. He stresses the role of the <u>Arizona Citizen</u> in aiding and abetting the governor and of working in the interests of Arizona businessmen. He emphasizes attempts by Arizona businessmen to enrich themselves.</p>	<p>Thrapp 1974:180</p>
June 16, 1876	<p>Shaw reports that Chiricahuas are arriving at Ojo Caliente. During the next week, Gordo and approximately 50 others arrive from the Chiricahua Reservation. Approximately 80 others arrive in July.</p>	<p>Ogle 1970:180</p>
July, 1876	<p>General Kautz initiates a policy of regular patrols throughout Apache country. The patrols continue throughout the first half of 1877. Relatively few encounters occur. Camp Huachuca is established during these months.</p>	<p>W. Clum 1978:185-195, 198-201 Ogle 1970:175</p>
July, 1876	<p>Agent John Clum takes east a group of Western Apaches from San Carlos. Taza is the only Chiricahua Apache among them.</p> <p>Taza dies while in Washington, D.C. General Howard attends his funeral. Taza buried in the Congressional Cemetery. Records indicated that Taza dies of pneumonia or some other disease. He apparently died on September 26, 1876.</p> <p>Grijalva accompanies Clum and the others as interpreter.</p>	<p>Thrapp 1974:180</p>
July 21, 1876	<p>Geronimo and his family arrive at Ojo Caliente (with about 38 others). Approximately 135 people from the Chiricahua Reservation are now at Ojo Caliente.</p>	<p>Ogle 1970:172</p>

August 10, 1876	James Davis replaces Shaw as agent at Warm Springs.	Thrapp 1974:182
September 8, 1876	Second Lieutenant Henry Haviland Wright, his troops, and Navajo scouts attack Victorio's camp at Ojo Caliente. 27 rancherías are destroyed. The attack is unprovoked and, possibly, a mistake.	Mason 1970:122
September 23, 1876	General Kautz enlists 40 additional scouts, bringing the total number of scouts to 120, to cope with problems in southeastern Arizona.	Cole 1988:160
September 26, 1876	Taza dies in Washington, D. C.	
October 30, 1876	The Chiricahua Reservation is returned by Executive Order to the public domain.	Thrapp 1974:184-185
January 9, 1877	Second Lieutenant John Anthony Rucker and his troops attack a Chiricahua camp near the north end of the Animas Mountains. Approximately 10 Chiricahuas are killed and several wounded.  During this time, Chiricahuas are arriving at Ojo Caliente.	Dubo 1976:103 Ogle 1970:172 Thrapp 1974:186
March 17, 1877	Geronimo, who is at Ojo Caliente after having been south on a raid for horses, is "indignant" because he is not allowed to collect rations for the time he was away from the reservation. Pressure builds to remove the Mimbres (Chihénde) and Chiricahua (Bidankande) peoples from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos.	Ogle 1970:175-176 Thrapp 1974:186ff.
March, 1877	Clum, Apache police, Major F. D. Ogilby, Apache scouts, and General Kautz are involved in serious disputes concerning jurisdiction over the Apaches at San Carlos and Camp Apache. All sides make strong accusations. For example, Clum asks that Major W. S. Worth be court-martialed for buying an Apache woman from her relatives. The military exonerates Worth.	McChristian 2005:166
March 7, 1877	The U.S. Military Telegraph Line to Camp Bowie is completed.	Ogle 1970:172ff., 180 Thrapp 1967:172ff.
March 20, 1877	The Indian Commissioner orders John Clum to relocate Apaches from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos. Clum is told to arrest and hold the renegades on charges of murder and robbery.  Governor Safford returns Indian police to agency service. (Safford had taken Indian police into the field for three weeks to "protect the military post." Kautz is humiliated.) General Kautz avoids cooperation with Clum by pointing out that the Warm Springs is in the District of New Mexico.  General Pope, commanding the Division of the Missouri, orders General Edward Hatch to cooperate with Clum in the relocation of the Warm Springs Apaches. 9 companies of troops are ordered to Warm Springs.	Kraft 2005:30ff.
April 2, 1877	General Kautz responds in the <u>New York Times</u> to Governor Safford's criticisms of the military in Arizona.	Ogle 1970:173
April 20, 1877	Clum and over 100 Apache police move to a position near Warm Springs. They reconnoiter.	Dubo 1976:103ff. Faulk 1969:18

		Lockwood 1938:218-223 Mason 1970:126, 142 Ogle 1970:172ff., 173, 173ff. Thrapp 1967:172ff., 173ff. Thrapp 1974:186ff.
April 22-May 20, 1877	<p>Clum and Apache police enter the Ojo Caliente Reservation to take Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches to San Carlos. The Ojo Caliente Reservation is then closed.</p> <p>Clum and the Apache police move Victorio and the Warm Springs Apaches (Chihénde) to San Carlos.</p> <p>Clum and the Apache police also remove other southern Apaches (Bidankande and Ch'uk'ánde) who are at Ojo Caliente.</p> <p>Geronimo and other Chiricahuas (Bidankande) who are at Warm Springs are arrested, placed in chains, and removed to San Carlos. This is, possibly, the only time that Geronimo is captured and arrested.</p> <p>Pionsenay and Nolgee are not present. They are, presumably, in Mexico. Naiche is, presumably, at San Carlos. He may, however, be in Mexico. In late August, Naiche might be with Pionsenay and the two of them travel from Mexico to San Carlos (see August 28, 1877).</p>	Ogle 1970:177
April 28, 1877	Responding to Kautz's request and political pressure, the military is given permission to place inspecting officers at reservation agencies. The Secretary of the Interior requests that such officers be placed at the agencies in general.	Ogle 1970:177
May 1, 1877	453 Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches are moved to San Carlos, including 110 people with Geronimo. They start toward San Carlos on this date. Geronimo and other leaders are in chains. The leaders in chains are transported in wagons.	Ogle 1970:177
May 20, 1877	<p>Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches arrive at San Carlos. Approximately 5,000 Indians are now concentrated at San Carlos.</p> <p>The prisoners from Ojo Caliente (Geronimo and other Apache leaders) are placed in the guardhouse at San Carlos.</p>	Ogle 1970:181-182
June 3, 1877	Indian Inspector Vandever states in a letter that irrigation is the true key to Apache civilization. Vandever is at San Carlos at the end of June and assumes virtual control of the reservation when Clum resigns. Vandever and Kautz are soon at odds over military inspections and Kautz's demand to know "all the circumstances connected with each issue."	Dubo 1976:113 Ogle 1970:178 Thrapp 1974:192ff.
July 1, 1877	Clum and the military argue about jurisdiction over the Apaches. In response to the presence of inspecting military officers, Clum offers to assume total control over all Apaches in Arizona. He is refused.	Ogle 1970:179ff., 182ff. N 23 Thrapp 1974:193

	Clum then resigns and leaves San Carlos.	
August 15, 1877	General Kautz is extraordinarily critical of the concentration policy. He suggests that it is merely a means of exploitation. He criticizes the concentration of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches at San Carlos.	Thrapp 1967:177 Thrapp 1974:194
August 28, 1877	Pionsenay and Naiche (or Nolgee) arrive at San Carlos. They do not "surrender." They camp in the mountains and, apparently, encourage others to leave San Carlos. Pionsenay slips onto the reservation the night of September 1, 1884.	Crook 1946:243 Dubo 1976:115ff., 116 Kraft 2005:xvii Mason 1970:133 Ogle 1970:183 Thrapp 1967:177 Thrapp 1974:193ff.
September 2, 1877	Loco, Victorio, Nana, and other Warm Springs Apaches (Chihénde) leave San Carlos. 310 Apaches escape the reservation. (343 Chihénde were moved to San Carlos from Ojo Caliente in May 1877.) They steal horses from Western Apaches, who notify the agent.  Pionsenay may have encouraged the others to leave. He may have encouraged members of his own band to leave while Loco and the Chihénde left on their own.  Troops and Indian police go after the Apaches. Some skirmishes occur. Some horses are recovered from the Apaches.	Thrapp 1974:196
September 10, 1877	Indian police under Eskiminzin (a Camp Grant Apache) fight with the Mimbres Apaches (Chihénde) who left San Carlos, killing 1 man and 11 women.	Dubo 1976:177 Kraft 2005:31 Ogle 1970:184
Late September, 1877	San Carlos' new agent, H. L. Hart, appoints Geronimo captain of the remaining southern Apaches (mostly Ch'uk'ánde and Bidankande). Hart accepts military inspections. Hart keeps Apache police in the field with instructions to kill all hostiles (defined as all Apaches off reservation).	Ogle 1970:183 Thrapp 1967:178 Thrapp 1974:202ff.
September 29-October 3, 1877	Loco and approximately 190 other Mimbres or Warm Springs Apaches (Chihénde) surrender at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. 50 other Apaches surrender later. Since leaving San Carlos, the Mimbres Apaches have lost 56 people. The surviving Chihénde do not want to return to Warm Springs. They absolutely do not want to return to San Carlos. The military considers San Carlos, Mescalero, Ojo Caliente, and Fort Sill, Indian Territory as places where the Mimbres might be located. The military takes the Apaches to Ojo Caliente. Approximately one year later, Bennett moves 169 Chihénde to San Carlos.	Ogle 1970:193 Thrapp 1974:205ff.
November 9-10, 1877	Most Mimbres people (approximately 250) arrive at Ojo Caliente, having been moved there from Fort Wingate. They remain at Ojo Caliente for over a year, until the military decides to return them to San Carlos, November 10-25, 1878.	McChristian 2005:167 Ogle 1970:185
December, 1877	Juh, Nolgee, and others (presumably, Ndaadénde) raid near Stein's Peak. December 17 or 18, Lieutenant John Rucker and his troops attack Juh's party on Ralston Flat in the	Kraft 2005:31-33 Mason 1970:158ff. Thrapp 1967:179ff.

	Animas Range, killing 17 and retaking 60 animals.	
1878	Victorio lives from February to April at Ojo Caliente. He then travels and raids in southern New Mexico during the rest of the year.	Ogle 1970:186
March 7, 1878	General Sherman removes General Kautz as Commander of the Department of Arizona and replaces him with General O. B. Willcox. Willcox moves the center of scouting operations to southeastern Arizona. Major C. E. Compton is placed in charge of field operations. He begins scouting thoroughly southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. Apaches in this area are, seemingly, forced into Mexico.	W. Clum 1978: 263 Dubo 1976:117 McChristian 2005:169-170 Ogle 1970:198 N 110 Thrapp 1967:189
April 4, 1878	Geronimo and others (Ponce, Gordo, and Francisco) leave San Carlos. They head to Mexico and begin raiding. They eventually join with Juh in Mexico.	W. Clum 1978: 263-264 Ogle 1970:188ff., 189, 190ff., 192, 194ff., 195-196
Summer, 1878	<p>San Carlos agent H. L. Hart issues many passes, allowing Apaches to travel for food outside San Carlos boundaries. Apaches dig 12 miles of new ditches. Much of the work is done by Chiricahuas (Ch'uk'ánde). Apaches on the reservation are planting and becoming interested in ranching.</p> <p>The reservation is plagued by intrusions of miners, corrupt and troublesome employees, and a lack of supplies for rations and supplies. General Willcox argues for the removal of white intruders, who are appropriating all resources up to 6 miles within the reservation boundaries. Apaches, apparently, conclude that the reservation boundary should not bind them any more than it does the whites.</p> <p>Significant irregularities develop with flour and beef supplies during fiscal year 1877-1878. Rations are severely reduced. Indian Commissioner E. A. Hayt participates in graft and corruption at San Carlos.</p> <p>Since 1875, mining operations have been expanding inside the western boundary of the reservation.</p> <p>Agent Hart dismisses Grijalva.</p>	Thrapp 1967:179 Thrapp 1974:209
September 18, 1878	The Interior Department asks the War Department to relocate Warm Springs Apaches from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos. The War Department issues orders to return the Apaches (266 Chihénde) to San Carlos.	Thrapp 1974:209ff., 211
October 10-25, 1878	<p>Captain Frank T. Bennett arrives at Ojo Caliente to relocate Chihénde to San Carlos.</p> <p>October 12, Bennett discusses the move with Victorio, who protests against going to San Carlos.</p> <p>October 14, Victorio agrees to be relocated. Later, under extreme tension, many Chihénde flee Bennett and Ojo Caliente. Victorio is among those who flee, apparently.</p> <p>Victorio and the others refuse to be relocated to San Carlos.</p>	Thrapp 1974:211



	Bennett leaves for San Carlos October 25 with 169 Chihénde.	
November 6, 1878	Bennett arrives with the Chihénde and camps at the south fork of White River, 2 1/2 miles from Fort Apache.	Ogle 1970:193-194 Thrapp 1967:180 Thrapp 1974:211ff.
November 25, 1878	169 Warm Springs Apaches (Mimbresños or Chihénde) arrive at San Carlos. Their arrival further stresses resources at San Carlos.  Victorio and approximately 97 of his followers are not among those who have returned to San Carlos. Some of these Chihénde remain off reservations (Victorio and 22 of his followers apparently go directly to Mexico). Others travel to the Mescalero Reservation (Fort Stanton).	Thrapp 1974:212-213
December 3, 1878	52 Mimbres Apaches (18 men, including Nana, but not Victorio) arrive at the Mescalero Apache Reservation (Fort Stanton). By January 23, 1879, 68 Warm Springs Apaches (Mimbresños or Chihénde) are at the Mescalero Apache Reservation.	
1879	A federal law is passed prohibiting relocation of Indians from Arizona and New Mexico to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).	Thrapp 1967:180ff. Thrapp 1974:213ff.
February 7, 1879	Victorio and 22 of his followers approach Ojo Caliente and discuss conditions under which they would return. Victorio and the others, perhaps thinking that they are to be returned to San Carlos, leave without coming to an agreement.	Ogle 1970:197
April, 1879	Indian Commissioner Hayt replaces agent Hart with Captain Adna R. Chaffee. Chaffee initiates an effort to clean up graft and corruption at San Carlos. Many employees are replaced. Hungry Apaches are issued passes to search for native foods. A new force of 40 Indian police is formed. Chaffee allows some of the bands to move to the Fort Apache region. Rations become more regular, through time.	Thrapp 1974:216
June 30, 1879	Victorio and 12 warriors arrive at the Mescalero Reservation. They agree to come in and request that their families be sent to them. These Mimbres Apaches (Chihénde) ask only that they not be sent to San Carlos. By late July, 145 Mimbresños (Chihénde) are at the Fort Stanton Reservation.	Dubo 1976:119 McChristian 2005:170 Thrapp 1973:10
July, 1879	Juh and about 40 other Ndaandénde Apaches arrive at Casas Grandes and petition for peace. Later, troops from another presidio attack the Apaches.	Dubo 1976:119 Thrapp 1967:181 Thrapp 1973:11 Thrapp 1974:217-219
August 21, 1879	Victorio and his followers leave the Mescalero Reservation. Civil indictments against Victorio for horse stealing and murder appear to be the motivation. Approximately 40 Apaches leave. Most of these Apaches are Chihénde, but some are Mescaleros. The combined group of Apaches begins raiding.	Thrapp 1967:182ff, 184ff.
September, 1879	Second Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood and his "Company A" are ordered out from Fort Apache to "intercept Victorio should he go near San Carlos," where families of the hostiles are still located.	Dubo 1976:121 Thrapp 1967:183
September 18,	Victorio and his men attack Captain Byron Davis, men of the	Thrapp 1967:184,

1879	Ninth Cavalry, and 46 Navajo scouts above Hillsboro in the Black Range.	184ff.
Late September, 1879	Gatewood's Company A is sent to Fort Bayard and then to the Black Range. Gatewood and his troops engage Victorio.	Thrapp 1967:182ff., 187ff. Thrapp 1973:13ff.
October 21-29, 1879	Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood and his scouts of Company A illegally follow Victorio into Mexico. The scouts and troops engage the Mimbres (and some Mescalero) Apaches October 27-29 in the Guzman Mountains.  Juh and Geronimo may be present. (They were, however, not traveling with Victorio.)  Juh and Geronimo, whether present or not, return to San Carlos after this engagement (see December 1879-January 1880 below).	Mason 1970:167
Fall, 1879	At San Carlos, Chiricahua Apaches are enlisted as scouts by the U.S. military, possibly for the first time.	Kraft 2005:24, 26, 27, 34
November 3, 1879	Gatewood and Company A return to Fort Bayard.	Ogle 1970:196
November 5, 1879	General Clinton B. Fisk, president of the Board of Indian Commissioners, reports to the Commission. He has investigated J. H. Hammond (an Indian Inspector sent to investigate Agent Hart at San Carlos) and agent H. L. Hart.  "Our Indian administration is made a stench in the nostrils of honest men by the shameful practices and personal conduct of our officials....San Carlos has suffered through the administration of a mining speculator, conducting his mining through means derived from the sale of agency supplies. Sugar, coffee, meat, blankets were taken by the wagon load from our warehouse to his mining camps. The purchase and sale of mines absorbed his thought. Finally, by the aid of one of our inspectors, he was enabled to sell his mines for a large sum and quietly leave the country, in genial social relations with the said inspector, who had been sent there to investigate abuses, and, as he said, to prosecute the agent."	McChristian 2005:170, 175ff.
1880	The railroad reaches Tucson. It reaches New Mexico by the end of 1880. Eastern and western lines are joined, January 1883.  March 17, 1880 = driving of silver spike in Tucson.  March 20, 1880 = the first Southern Pacific train arrives in Tucson, Arizona.  March 8, 1881 = silver spike ceremony in Deming, marking the connection of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads. This is the second transcontinental railroad.	Dubo 1976:121ff. Mason 1970:168 McChristian 2005:172 Ogle 1970:198 N 110 Thrapp 1967:189ff. Thrapp 1973:17ff.
December 1879-January, 1880	Juh, Geronimo, and approximately 80 others (Ndaandénde) negotiate with U.S. troops near the border. The Apaches surrender and then travel to Fort Bowie. They are then moved to San Carlos. While at Fort Bowie, scouts and Chiricahuas (Ndaandénde) mix freely. Chiricahua women (Ndaandénde) dance with scouts.	Ogle 1970:198

January, 1880	Conditions at San Carlos are extremely poor. Rations are delayed. Agent Chaffee states that Apaches are "virtually naked, shoeless, shirtless and blanketless." Mid-February, an advanced consignment of supplies arrives just in time to prevent an outbreak.	Thrapp 1967:190 Thrapp 1974:261ff.
January-February, 1880	Victorio returns to the U.S. early in January. Arizonan and New Mexican troops and Indian scouts join forces to pursue him.	Thrapp 1967:190 Thrapp 1974:261ff.
January 16, 1880	Victorio sends word to Ojo Caliente that he wants to surrender.	Ogle 1970:196-197
January 29, 1880	Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz goes to Indian Commissioner Hayt's office and fires him. Schurz gives Hayt one hour to clear his desk. Graft and corruption are the issues.	Thrapp 1974:263-265
March, 1880	The War Department requests of the Interior Department that it relocate Mimbres Apaches from San Carlos to Ojo Caliente. The Interior Department refuses.	Ogle 1970:199
May, 1880	The presence of additional Chiricahuas at San Carlos further stresses supplies and resources. Contaminated flour is purchased on the open market. The flour makes the Indians violently ill.	Dubo 1976:123 Mason 1970:173-174 Thrapp 1974:252ff.
March, April 7, 8, 17, May 23-24, 1880	Troops and scouts skirmish with Victorio on several occasions and in several places.  The April 7-8 battle at Hembrillo Canyon, during which Mescaleros join Mimbres Apaches, is particularly significant.  The May 23-24 battle is a clear defeat for Victorio. Buffalo soldiers are present (Ninth Cavalry). After this defeat, most Mimbres Apaches with Victorio head for Chihuahua.	Thrapp 1967:199
May, 1880	Victorio and his group enter Arizona and attack Cooney's Camp on Mineral Creek. Possibly, Victorio's group (Chihénde) skirmishes with Chiricahuas (Ch'uk'ánde) at San Carlos.	Thrapp 1974:281
May 22, 28, 1880	Sherman links destruction of the Apaches to completion of the railroad: "...destruction of the hostile Apaches is necessary to enable the proprietors to build the Southern Pacific Railroad."	Thrapp 1967:192ff. Thrapp 1967:200ff., 201, 277-278
May 23, 1880	Apache scouts, under Chief of Scouts H. K. Parker and Sergeant Jack Long, attack Victorio at the canyon headwaters of the Palomas River. Scouts yell at the women to surrender. The women respond with derision. Parker and his scouts kill, possibly, between 30 and 55 of Victorio's people. Victorio is wounded. Parker withdraws, lacking ammunition.	Faulk 1969:43ff. Ogle 1958:81-82 Ogle 1970:199ff., 201 Wagoner 1970:152ff., 155
June 1, 1880	J. C. Tiffany becomes agent at San Carlos. Tiffany is the candidate of the Dutch Reform Church. He is appointed despite applications from Clum and Jeffords.  Tiffany begins to replenish the beef supply. He organizes a Sunday school. He has 250 acres cleared for planting.  Tiffany becomes extraordinarily corrupt. He is eventually brought before a grand jury in Tucson. He is never,	Thrapp 1967:202-203

	however, convicted of a crime.	
June 5, 1880	Major A. P. Marrow and his troops attack Victorio in Cooke's Canyon close to Fort Cummings. 10 Apaches are killed and 3 wounded. Victorio heads south to Mexico.	Thrapp 1967:203
July, 1880	Victorio and his people attack several places in Chihuahua. Victorio is estimated to have an effective fighting force of 160 men.	Ogle 1970:200 Thrapp 1973:21
July, 1880	Juh and Geronimo approach Tiffany at San Carlos asking him to change the rationing system. They say that they are delaying leaving for Mexico to see what he will do. They state that they will remain and work for him if he provides full rations and supplies.	Thrapp 1967:204-206
August 6, 1880	Victorio and U.S. troops fight at Rattle Snake Springs.	Thrapp 1967:206
August 9, 1880	Captain Thomas Coverly Lebo attacks Victorio at Sulphur Springs.	Thrapp 1967:206
August 13, 1880	Victorio and his people, in two groups, cross back into Chihuahua.	Thrapp 1967:206
September 10, 1880	Several U.S. columns enter Mexico and move to the Candelaria Mountains, where Victorio is reported to be located. U.S. troops, Chiricahua scouts, and Mexican troops begin to converge on Victorio.	Dubo 1976:124 Lekson 1987:5 Mason 1970:182 Thrapp 1967:208 Thrapp 1974:293ff., 303, 310-311
October 15-16, 1880.	Victorio is defeated and killed at Tres Castillos. General Joaquin Terrazas and his troops kill and scalp 78 people (62 men, 16 women and children). They take 68 prisoners and recover 2 captives who are with the Apaches. Nana and several others are not with Victorio and are not killed. They continue raiding in Mexico. K'a'edine is with Nana. Nana sends him to Tres Castillos to bury the dead.	Ogle 1970:222
November 1, 1880	Interior Secretary Schurz outlines for the President two widely held "solutions" for the Indian problem: canonization and extermination. Schurz suggests preparing the Indian for citizenship through: (1) Ownership of land in severalty. (2) Encouragement of agriculture and stock raising. (3) Use of Indian police. (4) General dissemination of education.	Faulk 1969:43ff. Ogle 1970:201ff., 211 Robinson 2001:256, 257
November, 1880  (Mid-1880-mid-1881)	At San Carlos: (1) Significant irregularities appear in Tiffany's management. (2) Graft and corruption exist. (3) Intrusions by European Americans increase. Intrusions become a crisis. (4) Sales of liquor to the Apaches increase. (5) Surveillance of the Apaches by Indian police is continued. (6) During the summer, Mormons arrive east of the reservation and divert water for irrigation. Farming on the reservation is undermined. Later, other Mormons arrive on the west side of the reservation and divert more water. (7) Coal is discovered on the south boundary of the reservation. Coal miners intrude to within 14 miles of the agency. (8) Tiffany has the military evict the miners, and then signs a	Thrapp 1967:208

	lease so that Apaches can receive royalties from continuing mining on the reservation. (9) Apaches are desperate because of assaults on their land.	
November 16, 1880	30 to 40 Apaches attack Mexican troops on the road between Chihuahua City and El Paso. They kill 9 Mexicans. Apaches attack Mexicans several other times during this period.	Collins 1999:14
Mid-May, 1881	Nock-ay-det-klinne receives a pass from Agent Tiffany to move to the northern part of the San Carlos Reservation. The medicine man and his people move to Cibecue Creek, 45 miles northwest of Fort Apache.	
May 19, 1881	Southern Pacific tracks reach El Paso, Texas.	Collins 1999:17-18
June-August, 1881	Nock-ay-det-klinne and his followers conduct ceremonies at Cibecue Creek.	Dubo 1976:126 Mason 1970:190ff. Lekson 1987:4, 12, 18, 27-28, 32 Thrapp 1967:211ff.
July-August, 1881	Nana leads a raid through Arizona and New Mexico. K'a'edine is with him. Troops from New Mexico and Arizona pursue the Apaches. Chihuahua is apparently among the Apache scouts who chase Nana. Several or many Mescaleros join Nana. The military employs railroads and the telegraph. However, neither innovation is greatly successful. Nana and his group fight 7 engagements with the cavalry and attack approximately 12 towns and ranches. Perhaps 30 civilians and 5 soldiers are killed. 10 troopers and possibly 15 civilians are wounded. Hundreds of horses and cattle are taken. Apache losses are unknown, but light. Nana is pursued throughout his raid by over 1,000 troops and several hundred civilians. W. H. H. Llewellyn, Mescalero agent, states that the raid was the fault of the Ninth Cavalry (Second Lieutenant Guilfoyle and the Buffalo Soldiers). He states that Nana was trying to surrender at Mescalero when the cavalry drove him off.	Collins 1994:2 Collins 1999:20
August 4-5, 1881	Nock-ay-det-klinne and his followers conduct ceremonies near Fort Apache. Colonel Eugene A. Carr reports the situation to his superior, Brevet General Orlando B. Willcox, Commander of the Military Department of Arizona. Willcox is at Whipple Barracks near Prescott, Arizona. Willcox's AAG responds: "The Commanding General desires that you arrest the Indian doctor, who you report as stirring up hostilities, as soon as practicable."	Collins 1999:22ff.
Mid-August, 1881	Colonel Eugene Asa Carr commands at Fort Apache. Joseph C. Tiffany is Indian Agent at San Carlos. They exchange opinions and information by several telegrams. They are concerned with Nock-ay-det-klinne's ceremonies and with general unrest among the Apaches.	Collins 1999:24
August 14, 1881	Tiffany sends a telegram to Carr: "I believe the medicine man is working for his own personal benefit and to keep property given by Indians under false representations and trying to excite them against whites. I want him arrested or killed or both and think it had better be before dance next Saturday night."	Collins 1999:26
August 20,	Tiffany sends a telegram to Major James Biddle stating that	Collins 1999:26ff.

1881	rumors about the killing off and driving off of whites are unfounded. Tiffany states that there is no trouble on the reservation. The rumors are attributed to Hurre, an interpreter.	
August 25, 1881	General Willcox orders Major Biddle to return to Fort Grant with his troops. However, orders to arrest Nock-ay-det-klinne remain in place. The reservation appears to be quiet.	Collins 1999:30
August 27, 1881	General Carr sends his son and John Gregory Bourke to visit Pedro's camp. Carr's intention is to frighten the Apaches by showing them Crook's man.	Collins 1994:2
August 29, 1881	Carr leaves Fort Apache with 5 officers, 79 enlisted men, and 23 Apache scouts to arrest Nock-ay-det-klinne.	Collins 1994:5ff., 7-8 Collins 1999:40ff., 45ff., 61, 80ff., 89, 90ff. 148ff., 170ff., 174-175, 177ff., 226ff., 229, 230 Dubo 1976:127ff. McChristian 2005:176 Ogle 1958:81 Ogle 1970:204ff., 206-207 Perry 1993:134-136 Robinson 2001:254ff. Thrapp 1967:217, 217ff., 222-223, 225-226, 227-228, 231 Thrapp 1972:20-22
August 30, 1881	<p>Carr and his men arrest Nock-ay-det-klinne without event. They begin to return to Fort Apache. Many Apaches are in the area as the troops march.</p> <p>The battle at Cibecue Creek occurs. U.S. troops fight men from the bands of Pedro, Nock-ay-det-klinne, Na-ti-o-tish, Es-ke-al-te, and Indaschine and Sanchez. Apaches state that Carr's cook fires the first shot. The U.S. military position is that Apaches fire the first shots.</p> <p>Apache scouts under Carr's command turn against him and fight him and the U.S. troops. Company A consists of 25 Apache scouts. 12 are from Pedro's band. 13 are Cibecue Apaches. Nock-ay-det-klinne is one of their leaders.</p> <p>The medicine man, Nock-ay-det-klinne, and 18 other Western Apaches are killed. Nock-ay-det-klinne is assassinated during the battle. (He may have been assassinated before the battle and this action may have started the fighting.) 8 U.S. soldiers are killed.</p> <p>Rumors spread rapidly that Carr's entire command is dead. Mickey Free is one source of such rumors. Newspapers around the country print these rumors.</p>	Collins 1994:4

	<p>The military mobilizes with overwhelming force after the battle. Troops are brought in from Arizona, New Mexico, and California.</p> <p>Miscommunication among high-ranking military men develops. Military people try to identify who the hostile Apaches are and where they are. Sherman cannot determine what the troops and commanders at Fort Apache are doing. Sherman wants the hostiles severely punished. Sherman writes about Carr's loss of prestige. Sherman writes about national interest that is at stake.</p> <p>Willcox divides the reservation into three military districts. He establishes a peace line. Any Apache outside the line is to be considered hostile. People flock to the agency to be within the peace line.</p> <p>Several groups of troops search throughout the reservation for the hostiles.</p> <p>Juh and Geronimo may have been present at the ceremonies and at the battle, but apparently did not participate in the fighting. Most evidence suggests that they did not participate in the religious movement at all. Most evidence suggests that they were not present at the battle.</p> <p>Disputes and disagreements develop among military people. Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie arrives at Fort Apache from New Mexico, having been ordered there by Sherman. Disputes arise between Willcox and Mackenzie over command authority.</p> <p>Willcox decides to arrest George and Bonito, having been told that they participated in some of the hostilities.</p> <p>Colonel Ranald Mackenzie is first ordered back to New Mexico (by Secretary of War Lincoln) and then ordered to stay in Arizona (by Sherman). Lincoln retracts his order because of Sherman's advice.</p> <p>Much confusion exists among military personnel in the days following the battle. Much confusion exists in the press and around the country.</p>	
August 31, 1881	Carr and his troops arrive back at Fort Apache from the Cibecue Creek area.	Collins 1994:4
September 1, 1881	Apaches attack Fort Apache. One officer is wounded.	Collins 1994:4-5, 8, 26
September 2, 1881	<p>21 Apaches raid the Middleton Ranch on Cherry Creek about 30 miles west of Cibecue. 2 ranchers are killed and about 75 horses are taken. After this attack, there are no more depredations or hostilities on the reservation.</p> <p>Having been ordered to the agency by Tiffany, the Chiricahuas, except for a few people, are at the San Carlos</p>	Collins 1994:36-37

	subagency.	
September 6, 1881	Reports suggest that Juh and Naiche are north of Fort Thomas. They are not participating in the hostilities at San Carlos and Fort Apache.	Collins 1994:14-15
September 15, 1881	Bonito and his band arrive at Fort Apache. The next morning, George and his band arrive. They have been in the Cibecue Creek region on a pass. They normally live in the San Carlos subagency region. After coming inside the peace line, they return to the San Carlos subagency region.	Collins 1994:12
September 21, 1881	Sanchez, Indaschin, Na-ti-o-tish, Es-ke-al-te, and Ne-big-jagy, five Cibecue leaders, arrive at Fort Apache. They tell Tiffany that they wish to surrender. The group consists of 60 men, 73 women, and 76 children. The leaders are confined in the agency schoolhouse. Members of their local groups become suspicious and flee the agency. Sanchez and the others are later released. They convince many members of their local groups to return to the agency.	Collins 1994:15
September 23, 1881	Abraham K. Arnold, Willcox's AAG, notifies Tiffany that troops are being sent to the subagency to guard Bonito, George, and their people. Tiffany notifies subagency issue clerk Ezra Hoag of these plans.  Troops travel to the San Carlos subagency to arrest Bonito and George.	Collins 1994:12, 15-16
September 24, 1881	Ezra Hoag, subagency issue clerk, sends a message describing the tense situation precipitated by the arrest of the leaders and the arrival of troops at the subagency.  "The arresting of the chiefs at San Carlos has created quite an excitement among the Indians here, all circumstances connected with the arrest has been such as to create suspicion; first: the arrest of the chiefs, second: the approach of troops, third: dispatches passing backward and forward, forth and last: the hostiles all leaving make it impossible to arrest George and Bonito with the amount of troops here. Lt. Clark's scouts most of them belong to George's band and I don't know how they would act incase of trouble. Col. Smith is of the same opinion as myself in regard to the matter."  (Hostiles had left the subagency during the previous night.)  Col. Smith notifies Major James Biddle at Fort Thomas that he (Smith) does not have sufficient troops to make the arrests. Biddle tells him to suspend military operations "to avoid precipitating hostilities with the Indians at the Subagency."  First Lieutenant Harry L. Haskell, Willcox's Aide-de-Camp, talks with George and Bonito. They agree to go with Hoag and surrender themselves directly to Willcox. George injures his shoulder on the trail to Fort Thomas. He returns to the subagency. Bonito continues on to Fort Thomas and meets with Willcox. Bonito agrees to help bring in the hostiles.	Collins 1994:17
September 27, 1881	George departs on his own to Fort Thomas and surrenders to the military there. Willcox reads a message from Hoag	Collins 1994:17, 23, 158, 171



	<p>that George gives him. Willcox interprets the message as Hoag giving George safe passage or safeguard. Willcox, therefore, does not arrest George.</p>	
September 29, 1881	<p>George returns on a pass from Willcox to his camp at the San Carlos subagency. Bonito either returns to the subagency the previous day or accompanies George. Willcox tells them that he wants them "to help catch the White Mountain scouts who went to the Cibecue with Colonel Carr and he would give them 30 dollars for each one they would get."</p> <p>George and Bonito's release causes much stress between the military and civilians with the Interior Department. Each blames the other. This becomes a significant issue when the military tries to re-arrest George and Bonito later. This attempted re-arrest leads to the Chiricahua abandonment of San Carlos. George goes into the mountains. Bonito accompanies the Chiricahuas to Mexico.</p> <p>Willcox's motivations for releasing George and Bonito are apparently to meet the conditions of Hoag's safeguard. Willcox intends to arrest George, Bonito, and their bands later at the subagency. Willcox plans the arrest for September 30, 1881. These plans are not communicated to Tiffany. He learns of them second-hand on the morning of September 30, 1881.</p> <p>Plans are also made to arrest the 60 Apaches at San Carlos who came in with Sanchez and the others. As noted, plans also are made to arrest George and Bonito at the subagency. Willcox orders Major James Biddle to do so.</p> <p>Willcox is warned by Judge Advocate General for the Department, Captain Harry C. Egbert, that arresting the Apaches on ration day will likely stampede the Apaches at the Agency. Willcox and his AAG ignore this warning.</p>	
September 29, 1881	<p>Dandy Jim and Mucheco, two scouts who participated in the battle, turn themselves in. They are taken to the agency by Mickey Free and another scout. They arrive at the agency September 30.</p>	Collins 1994:23-24, 25-26, 27, 28
September 30, 1881	<p>Apaches at the San Carlos Agency are rounded up with little problem. Only 45 of the 60 men there are, however, rounded up. Na-ti-o-tish, his two brothers, and 12 other men left the previous evening.</p> <p>Major Biddle talks with George and Bonito. He tells them that they are to be arrested. They agree to go to Fort Thomas on their own with Hoag. They state that they do not want to go with soldiers. They agree to meet with Biddle later. Hoag vouches for their honesty. At 3:00, George and Bonito are, possibly, gone. Loco tells Biddle that George, Bonito, and one other Apache have gone up the road to Fort Thomas. This statement is probably not correct. George and Bonito are probably still at the camp.</p>	Collins 1994:27, 30ff., 34ff., 36, 37, 39, 40, 41 Collins 1999:160ff., 183ff., 188ff. Davis 1976:31ff. Dubo 1976:130-131, 132 Geronimo 1970:134-135 Mason 1970:219 Ogle 1970:208, 208ff., 209 Perry 1993:134 Sweeney 1992:67 N

	<p>Major James Biddle orders that women and children of George's band be arrested and brought into the agency. These orders are carried out. The arrest is described as troops "charging" the camp.</p> <p>(The events with George and Bonito are unclear. Possibly, when Loco talks with Biddle, George has left the subagency but Bonito has not. Possibly, neither of them has yet left the subagency. In the evening after troops arrest women and children of George's group, George and Bonito talk with Chiricahuas at the subagency. Probably, George and Bonito had not yet left when Biddle ordered the arrest of George's women and children. They were likely in the camp. This interpretation is supported by George's November 1, 1881 statement to Tiffany [see below]. When Biddle's troops charge the camp to arrest the women and children, George and Bonito run to the Chiricahua camp. Whatever the exact facts, George and Bonito go to the Chiricahuas that evening and discuss the day's events. The Chiricahuas then leave the subagency.)</p> <p>Willcox orders Major James Biddle to move the 47 San Carlos Agency prisoners to Fort Thomas. Biddle is then to move the prisoners to Willcox Station and ship them by train to Tucson. Biddle leaves with his prisoners at about 7:00 pm. The 47 prisoners (including Jim Dandy and Mucheco) from the San Carlos Agency are placed in irons, loaded in wagons, and taken away. Biddle's force reaches Fort Thomas slightly after midnight with no incidents.</p>	<p>8 Thrapp 1967:231ff., 233</p>
<p>September 30, 1881</p>	<p>At the San Carlos subagency, Chiricahuas believe that they are about to be attacked by the military. George and/or Bonito tell the Chiricahua men that troops are coming to kill them, their women, and their children.</p> <p>The Chiricahuas are aware of Biddle's earlier actions against the women and children of George's band. Loco is probably present when this action occurs. The Chiricahuas are, at any rate, not far away from George's camp.</p> <p>Approximately 10:30 pm, Juh, Geronimo, Naiche, Chatto, and others leave the San Carlos subagency and eventually travel to the Sierra Madres. Bonito and 4 of his men accompany the Chiricahuas. George and his men do not accompany the Chiricahuas. George and his men move into the mountains on the reservation.</p> <p>As they leave the subagency, the Chiricahuas take 18 mules and 10 horses from reservation traders. Away from the subagency, they take over 30 other horses.</p>	<p>Collins 1994:44, 56</p>
<p>October 1, 1881</p>	<p>Approximately 1:00 am, Mickey Free and another scout inform Tiffany that the Chiricahuas have left San Carlos.</p> <p>In the evening, Major Biddle and the 47 San Carlos Agency prisoners reach Fort Thomas.</p>	<p>Collins 1994:43ff., 58, 59ff., 72, 73ff. McChristian 2005:178 Ogle 1970:210 Thrapp 1973:23ff.</p>

<p>October 2, 1881</p>	<p>Troops leave Fort Thomas with the 47 San Carlos prisoners, traveling to Willcox Station. The prisoners are then to be sent to Tucson.</p> <p>U.S. troops are slow to mobilize in their pursuit of the Chiricahuas. Colonel Carr eventually rationalizes this slow response.</p> <p>About 10:00 am, escaping Chiricahuas attack Samaniego's freighters near Cedar Springs. The Samaniego freight train consisted of 108 mules pulling 12 wagons. Samaniego transports freight from Willcox Station to San Carlos. The Chiricahuas capture everything. They kill approximately 6 people. The Apaches are re-supplying themselves.</p> <p>Approximately 3:00 pm, the Battle of Cedar Springs takes place. Much fighting between troops and the Apaches takes place, with little results. The Chiricahuas escape during the night. They move on their way south to a spot north of Hooker's Ranch.</p>	<p>Collins 1994:92ff.</p>
<p>October 3, 1881</p>	<p>At dawn, Chiricahuas leave their campsite north of Hooker's Ranch. They take 135 of Hooker's horses. They kill 12 horses, probably for food. They head south. Later in the day, they take 33 horses and colts, then 18 horses and mules. They then moved to Point of the Mountains, 7 ½ miles from Willcox Station. In the late evening, Chiricahuas leave Point of the Mountains and head toward the east side of the Dragoon Mountains.</p> <p>Troops amass at Willcox Station. They arrive by train.</p> <p>Approximately 11:00, the 47 San Carlos Agency prisoners leave Willcox by train for Tucson.</p>	<p>Collins 1994:99ff., 105ff., 166ff.</p>
<p>October 4, 1881</p>	<p>Approximately 6:30 am, Chiricahuas cross the railroad tracks on their way to the Dragoon Mountains.</p> <p>Later, troops and Apaches fight a running skirmish from near Cochise's Stronghold to a point about 7 miles south. That evening, the Apaches escape by moving into the mountains. The Chiricahuas are hard pressed and lose many horses and supplies. The Chiricahuas, however, retain many horses and mules and continue their escape. The people do not stay together as one large group. Some people split off. Some women and children who fall behind move into the mountains and hide until the troops pass.</p> <p>At San Carlos, George discusses his surrender with Ezra Hoag.</p> <p>A dispute between General Willcox and Ranald S. Mackenzie continues. The dispute is about command of troops in Arizona. The dispute originates earlier, when Mackenzie's troops are sent to assist in handling events after the Cibecue battle. Willcox writes the President of the United</p>	<p>Collins 1994:130, 134</p>

	<p>States to plead his case about command of troops in Arizona and in the field.</p> <p>Ambiguities in military authority continue. The relationship between Willcox and Mackenzie worsens. Troops are slow to pursue the Chiricahuas.</p>	
October 4, 1881	<p>The military continues its pursuit of the Chiricahuas. Heavy rain falls. Apaches travel within 8 miles of Tombstone, Arizona.</p> <p>During these days (October 3-6), John Clum, Wyatt Earp, and Billy Breakenridge organize vigilantes to pursue the Chiricahuas. They leave on the night of October 3 and morning of October 4, 1881. They spend about two days pursuing Apaches through the heavy rain. Some men quit the posse after a short time and return home.</p> <p>The remaining men (approximately 17) become saddle-sore and tired and quit soon after that. Their morale is poor. They return home in two parties. On their way home, they stop and drink whiskey with soldiers at Soldiers Hole. The soldiers under Reuben F. Bernard are later criticized for having stopped their pursuit of the Apaches and for having rested at Soldiers Hole for two days. Bernard states that the ground was too soft to pursue the Apaches and that they had traveled great distances and fought several times with the Apaches.</p> <p>All vigilantes return to Tucson by October 6, 1881.</p>	Collins 1994:123ff.
October 5, 1881	Tombstone newspapers describe citizens' responses to the outbreak. Exaggeration and excitement are the norm.	Collins 1994:40-41
October 6, 1881	<p>U.S. troops are sent toward Mexico along the east and west sides of the Chiricahua Mountains.</p> <p>10:00 pm, troops from California arrive at Willcox Station. The troops are sent south to intercept the Chiricahuas.</p>	Collins 1994:41, 146
October 7, 1881	Reuben Bernard and his troops leave Soldiers Hole to resume pursuit of the Chiricahuas. Over the next few days, he follows the Chiricahuas southeasterly toward the Guadalupe Mountains. The Chiricahuas cross into Mexico in that area.	Collins 1994:155ff.
October 12, 1881	<p>Mackenzie sends a message to General Willcox's AAG Arnold describing the situation in Arizona. Chiricahuas are in Mexico. Approximately 60 White Mountain Apaches are in guardhouses. Possibly 50 hostiles are hiding in scattered parties around the country. There is no large group of Apaches against which the military needs to move. Mackenzie recommends that troops should return to their regular posts.</p> <p>Willcox writes his first report of the Chiricahua abandonment of San Carlos.</p>	Collins 1994:153
October 17, 1881	General Willcox issues Field Orders No. 32. The orders disperse most of the troops that have come in response to the Cibecue Creek battle. Troops sent to Arizona are	

	gradually withdrawn. By the end of the year, most troops have returned to their home locations. By April 16, 1882, the withdrawal from Arizona is complete.	
October 18, 1881	Troops arrest Alchisay, Uclenny, Bottalish, and Esketeshelaw. They and a few others are taken to Camp Thomas.	
October 30, 1884	George and 6 of his men surrender to Hoag at the subagency and are taken to Camp Thomas within a few days.	Dubo 1976:134-137
Fall 1881	Nana and his group meet with Juh and Geronimo in the Sierra Madres. Perico, Fun, Yanosha, Kanseah, Ishtee, K'a'edine, Chatto, and others are present.	Ogle 1970:210-22
Fall, 1881	Graft and corruption at San Carlos under Tiffany continue and, possibly, increase. Tiffany builds a ranch on the San Carlos-Globe road. He takes government cattle for his own and feeds them government grain. Tiffany greatly exploits agency supplies and employees.	Collins 1994:40, 150ff.
November 1, 1881	Tiffany talks with George about reasons that the Chiricahuas left San Carlos. Tiffany quotes George as stating "that the Chiricahuas had never said anything to him before the evening they left about going out. That they were scared about so many soldiers....That when told to come (by Biddle) he (George) had not finished skinning his beef. That he would have gone with his men as he told the Gen'l. That he saw the soldiers coming and ran away to the Chiricahuas' camp.  22 men, women, and children who had left with the Chiricahuas return to San Carlos. Other small groups also return.	
November 13, 1881	Mosby and Mazill surrender to Hoag at the subagency.	Collins 1999
Early December, 1881	Agent Tiffany arrests Gar. Mosby, Mazill, and Gar are taken to Camp Thomas.  Throughout this time, the status of surrendering hostiles is an important and unresolved issue. Should all hostiles be tried by military commissions? Should non-scouts be tried before civil tribunals? Should scouts be within the jurisdiction of courts martial? Willcox and Tiffany discuss the matter. Tiffany reports his conversation with Willcox to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Willcox recommends that offenders be sent to Indian Territory. Earlier, Tiffany recommends that all offenders be hung.	
December 10, 1881	Captain Harry Clay Egbert, acting Judge Advocate General for the Department of Arizona, submits his report on the Cibecue affair.	Collins 1994:155ff., 156-157
December 12, 1881	General Willcox writes a full-length account of the Chiricahua escape. He is critical of Tiffany and Biddle. Willcox's report is published in the <u>Army and Navy Journal</u> on March 11, 1882.  After reading the report when it is published, Biddle responds with a lengthy letter through command to the General of the	Dubo 1976:138 Thrapp 1967:235

	Army. He objects strongly to Willcox's criticisms.	
Mid-January, 1882	Messengers from Juh, Naiche, and Geronimo return to San Carlos. The messengers tell the Chiricahuas (Ch'uk'ánde) and Warm Springs people (Chihénde) that Juh, Geronimo, and the others will come for them in 40 days.	
January 31, 1882	President Author confirms the sentences of the Western Apache scouts. The scouts are to be hung for their participation in the Cibecue Creek battle.  Tiffany receives prisoners from Camp Thomas on March 2, 1882. Tiffany receives prisoners from Camp Lowell on March 8, 1882. These prisoners had been sent from San Carlos to Fort Thomas and Tucson, respectively.	
February, 1882	Tiffany and Willcox are at odds concerning the disposition of prisoners in military custody. Willcox wants to send them to Indian Territory. Tiffany wants the prisoners turned over to him. Robert Lincoln, Secretary of War, agrees with Tiffany.	Mason 1970:203
March 3, 1882	Dandy Jim, Skippy, and Dead Shot are hung for their participation in the Cibecue Creek battle. They are scouts who allegedly fired on U.S. troops during the fight at Cibecue Creek. Their bodies are stolen by the camp doctor, who subsequently displays the skeletons in his office.	Robinson 2001:251-252
March 29, 1882	86 officers of the Army write a flier opposing Crook's promotion to Major General. Crook has been actively seeking the promotion. The promotion does not materialize because there is no vacancy.	McChristian 2005:179
March 31, 1882	General Sherman visits Fort Bowie to investigate the Apache situation. He then travels to Fort Grant.	Collins 1994:159
April 1, 1882	General Sherman is at Fort Grant.	Collins 1999:205-206 Ogle 1970:213
April 3, 1882	General Sherman leaves Fort Grant to visit Fort Thomas and San Carlos. He finds conditions at San Carlos "well organized and well conducted." He describes Tiffany as a "man of character." Sherman suggests that Tiffany be given power to release some of the Cibecue Affair prisoners whom he holds.	Collins 1994:159-160
April 5, 1882	Having been confronted with Biddle's response to his report, Willcox retracts the derogatory statements he made about Biddle.	Dubo 1976:138ff. Mason 1970:226 McChristian 2005:180 Ogle 1970:213ff. Thrapp 1967:236, 236ff., 237-238
April 19, 1882	Juh, Geronimo, Chihuahua, Naiche, and others "raid" San Carlos, "forcing" Loco and others to return to Mexico with them. Approximately 700 Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches leave the reservation.  Geronimo and Chihuahua's groups split. While moving to Mexico, Apaches kill between 30 and 50 settlers. Chihuahua and his group seem to engage in much more raiding than Geronimo's group.	Dubo 1976:144 McChristian 2005:181 Ogle 1970:214 Thrapp 1967:240ff.

	Sherman sends by train troops from California, Texas, New Mexico, and the Department of the Platte to deal with the situation.  Nana remains in the Sierra Madres.	
April 22, 1882	Apaches engage U.S. troops at Horseshoe Canyon near Stein's Peak. (This Apache group is probably Chihuahua's group.) The Apaches circle through Doubtful Canyon and head toward Fort Bowie. After camping in the Chiricahua Mountains, the Apaches cross the Animas Valley into New Mexico and then head to Mexico along the Guadalupe Mountains.	Dubo 1976:146-147, 148 Mason 233ff. Ogle 1970:214ff. Thrapp 1967:246 Thrapp 1973:26ff.
April 27-28, 1882	U.S. troops and Apache scouts cross illegally into Mexico and attack Loco's camp. Toclanny's mother is killed. Loco's son is killed. The U.S. troops and scouts take many horses from the Apaches. Approximately 17 Apache men and 7 Apache women are killed.	Dubo 1976:150ff. McChristian 2005:182 Ogle 1970:214 Thrapp 1967:249, 292 Thrapp 1973:26ff.
April 29, 1882	Mexican troops attack Loco's Apache families near the Corralitos River, killing 78 women and children and taking 33 prisoners. 11 warriors are killed. 18 or 19 Mexican soldiers are killed.	Thrapp 1967:251ff.
May 10, 1882	Tucson merchants send a vigilante group, the "Tucson Rangers," into the field.	Thrapp 1967:251ff.
June 2, 1882	The Tucson Rangers encounter Apaches and kill 37 people, mostly women and children.	Thrapp 1967:251ff.
June 17, 1882	The Tucson Rangers return to Tucson, having been disarmed by Mexican troops they met on June 3. General Bernardo Reyes sent the Rangers home, humiliated. While returning home, the Rangers marched with sticks to give any Apache observers the impression that the vigilantes were armed.	Ogle 1970:212-213
June 30, 1882	Tiffany resigns as San Carlos agent for stated reasons of business and health.	Ogle 1970:215
July 6, 1882	Western Apaches under Nantiatish (Na-ti-o-tish) leave San Carlos. He is a scout who participated in the Cibecue Creek battle. He, his brothers, and others have been living in the mountains of the reservation.	Collins 1999:207-208 Davis 1976:16-28 McChristian 2005:183 Ogle 1970:215 Thrapp 1967:254ff., 255
July 17, 1882	The Battle of Big Dry Wash occurs. Na-ti-o-tish leads the Western Apaches. 16 to 20 Apaches are killed. This is the last major battle between Apaches and U.S. troops on American soil. Na-ti-o-tish is one of the Western Apache scouts from the Cibecue Creek battle who had never been captured and who had never surrendered.	
July 24, 1882	The U.S. and Mexico sign a treaty giving each country the right to pursue hostiles across the border.	Collins 1999:222 Kraft 2005:35 Ogle 1970:216 Robinson 2001:257
September 1,	P. P. Wilcox becomes San Carlos Agent. Wilcox soon allows	Collins 1999:210-

1882	Coyoteros to return to the Fort Apache region. After Crook re-assumes command of the Department of Arizona (September 4, 1882), he moves the bands back to San Carlos (October). Disputes between Agent Wilcox and Crook begin.	211, 212ff., 218-219, 221ff. Crook 1946:243 Dubo 1976:173 Kraft 2005:35, 36ff. McChristian 2005:184, 185 Ogle 1970:216 Porter 1986:146ff. Robinson 2001:255 Thrapp 1967:256ff., 261
September 4, 1882	Crook re-assumes command of the Department of Arizona. He investigates the current situation until September 27, 1882. During this time, he meets with several Apache leaders at San Carlos and other places. They provide their interpretation of events at Cibecue Creek. Virtually all agree that U.S. troops were the first to fire. Many Apaches explicitly mention that the military cook was the person who fired first.  Crook states that he believes the Apaches are telling him the truth about the Cibecue Creek battle and subsequent events, as they know it.  Having made his assessment, Crook requests permission to issue orders.	Collins 1999:222
October 6, 1882	A Tucson grand jury releases the 11 remaining Cibecue Creek battle prisoners. The grand jury states, "there was no evidence before the jury to implicate these prisoners in any crime."	Davis 1976:34-35 Faulk 1969:45ff. Kraft 2005:37ff., 42, 46-48, 50-51, 49ff., 51ff., 54ff. Mason 170:248ff. Ogle 1970:217 Robinson 2001:255ff., 258ff. Thrapp 1967:260
October 5, 1882	Crook reissues General Orders 13, April 8, 1873. He also issues General Orders No. 43, outlining his policies. Crook employs Captain Emmet Crawford, Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood, and Lieutenant Britton Davis. Crawford is placed in full military control of the reservation. Gatewood and Davis are given commands over different troops of Apache scouts.	Collins 1999:222-223
October 8, 1882	Not knowing that the Tucson grand jury has released the Cibecue Creek battle prisoners, Crook writes James A. Zabriskie, the U.S. District Attorney for Arizona, about the case. Crook strongly advocates for the prisoners.	Kraft 2005:28 Ogle 1970:xxvi Porter 1986:148-149 Thrapp 1967:256ff., 257
October 24, 1882	The Arizona Star writes about a grand jury investigation of Tiffany and the "Indian Ring."	Dubo 1976:172 Kraft 2005:37ff., 41 Thrapp 1967:261-262
November 2 or	Crook meets with Apache men at San Carlos. He tells them	Dubo 1976:156ff.,



3, 1882	<p>about his intentions:</p> <p>(1) They will have Indian police.</p> <p>(2) They will be able to select land on the reservation away from the agency on which to live.</p> <p>(3) They will live under the care of a chief, who will be responsible for their discipline and behavior.</p> <p>Many Cibecue and White Mountain Apaches begin moving back to their homes north of San Carlos. By October 25, 1883, over 720 people have moved from San Carlos to their homes.</p>	<p>164</p> <p>Robinson 2001:259ff.</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:262ff., 263, 264ff., 264 N 32, 269-270, 305ff.</p> <p>Thrapp 1973:32ff.</p>
Summer-Fall, 1882	<p>Chiricahuas (with Juh, Nana, Geronimo, Chihuahua, and Naiche) remain, for the most part, in Mexico. Several battles between Apaches and Mexican troops occur. Fighting at Casas Grandes is the most significant. After plying Apaches with drink, the Chihuahuans attack them. The Mexicans kill approximately 20 people and take another 35 people into captivity. Among the captives are Chatto's family and Geronimo's wife. Most of these captives are never seen again by their relatives.</p> <p>Matías Romero, Mexican minister to Washington, protests to the U.S. government that Crook is not doing enough to control the Chiricahuas. Crook aggressively responds.</p>	<p>Bourke 1958:32, 52, 78, 97</p> <p>Davis 1976:55ff.</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:269-270</p>
March, 1883	<p>Crook prepares his troops to bring the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches back to San Carlos.</p>	<p>Dubo 1976:165ff., 167ff.</p> <p>Faulk 1969:36</p> <p>Mason 1970:255</p> <p>McChristian 2005:186</p> <p>Ogle 1970:218-219</p> <p>Porter 1986:151</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:267ff.</p>
March, 1883	<p>Chihuahua, Jolsanny, Bonito, and Chatto raid into the U.S.</p> <p>Naiche might be on the raid.</p> <p>Beneactiney and Peaches are also on the raid.</p> <p>Dutchy and Gooday are, apparently, also on the raid (see May 1883).</p> <p>Beneactiney is killed at a charcoal camp at Charleston near Tombstone (see March 21, 1883).</p> <p>Geronimo and his group raid in Sonora.</p>	<p>Ogle 1970:218</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:267, 269</p>
March 21, 1883	<p>Chihuahua and the others attack a charcoal camp at Charleston, about 10 miles southwest of Tombstone.</p> <p>Beneactiney is killed at the charcoal camp.</p>	<p>Robinson 2001:260ff.</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:271</p>
March 27, 1883	<p>On approximately March 27, Tzoe (Peaches) leaves the raiding group and returns to San Carlos.</p>	<p>Simmons 1997</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:270</p>
March 28, 1883	<p>Apaches (Chihuahua, Jolsanny, Chatto, and the others) attack and kill the McComas family. Charlie McComas is taken captive.</p>	<p>Davis 1976:57ff.</p> <p>Dubo 1976:173ff.</p> <p>Porter 1986:151</p>

		Thrapp 1967:272-273
March 30, 1883	Britton Davis is visited in the night by one of his secret scouts, Tar-gar-de-chuse. The spy tells Davis that Peaches has returned to San Carlos. Next morning, Davis arrests Peaches. Tzoe then enlists with Crook as a scout. Peaches explains why the Chiricahuas left San Carlos.	Crook 1946:246 McChristian 2005:189 Ogle 1970:219 Robinson 2001:260 Thrapp 1967:275
March 31, 1883	General Sherman authorizes Crook to pursue and destroy the Apaches, regardless of departmental or national lines. Sherman orders General Ranald Mackenzie, Brigadier General in command of the District of New Mexico, to disregard divisional boundaries and to work with Crook to destroy the hostile Apaches.	McChristian 2005:189 Porter 1986:152 Thrapp 1967:273-274
April 3, 1883	The Tombstone Rangers, a vigilante group from Tucson, meets. Newspapers severely criticize Crook and the Apaches. They blame all problems on San Carlos Apaches. The Rangers move, full of whiskey, toward the reservation. After encountering one old man, they turn back to Tucson.	Robinson 2001:261-262 Thrapp 1967:276ff.
April 23, 1883	Crook starts an expedition from Willcox, Arizona. His troops march to San Bernardino. Crook assembles a force there to pursue the Apaches into Mexico.	Dubo 1976:169
April 25, 1883	Apaches with Juh and Geronimo defeat Garcia and Mexican troops in the Sierra Madres.	Mason 1970:258ff. Thrapp 1967:276ff., 278
April 30, 1883	Crook addresses Apache scouts the day before the group (Crook, troops, and scouts) move into Mexico. The scouts hold a dance. Alchisay and Peaches are present.	Dubo 1976:170
Early May, 1883	Geronimo and a group of men move east to obtain captives to trade for Apache captives at Casas Grandes and Apache captives taken from Juh.	Dubo 1976:174ff. Robinson 2001:262ff., 263 Thrapp 1967:277
May 1, 1883	Crook, troops, and Apache scouts leave San Bernardino. Crook and his group are out of contact with U.S. authorities for 41 days.  Eventually, this becomes a political issue.  Much speculation occurs in newspapers about Crook's expedition.	Simmons 1997:158
First week of May, 1883	Dutchy and Gooday arrive at Fort Thomas from Mexico. They were on "Chatto's Raid." They surrender and say that they are authorized (by band leaders) to discuss surrender terms for the remainder of the Chiricahuas. Britton Davis places them in irons and forces them to tell about Charley McComas. They say that Charley is still alive.	Robinson 2001:262-263
May 6, 1883	Crook and his troops move through Bavispe, San Miguel, and Basaraca. Crook describes the devastating conditions of the villages.	Robinson 2001:263
May 8, 1883	Crook's force enters the Sierra Madre.	Basso 1971:156-162 Crook 1946:247 Davis 1976:67ff. Dubo 1976:180ff.

		Mason 1970:266ff. McChristian 2005:190ff. Porter 1986:153- 154, 156 Robinson 2001:263ff. Thrapp 1967:283ff., 287
May 15, 1883	Crook's group attacks Bonito's and Chatto's camp, killing 9 and capturing 5. Crook sends a young woman captive back to the Apaches to arrange a meeting.	Crook 1946:247 Thrapp:1967:287
May 17, 1883	Two women, including Toclanny's sister, meet with Crook to arrange the meeting. According to Crook, six women come in.	Bourke 1958:99 Dubo 1976:182ff. Porter 1986:157 Robinson 2001:264ff.
May 18, 1883	Chihuahua and 21 others meet with Crook and express their desire for peace. By nightfall, 45 Apaches surrender.	Bourke 1958:100 Porter 1986:158
May 19, 1883	The Chiricahuas meeting with Crook now number 121.	Basso 1971:167 Porter 1986:158ff. Thrapp 1967:287ff.
May 20, 1883, ca. 8:00 pm	Geronimo and 35 warriors arrive at the camp where Chihuahua's people are located. Apparently, Chatto and Loco are with Geronimo. Geronimo talks with General Crook.	Dubo 1976:184 Porter 1986:160ff. Thrapp 1967:289
May 21, 1883	Geronimo, Naiche, and Chatto have breakfast with Bourke and Fiebeger. Bourke plays in camp with some young boys. Crook, again, meets with Geronimo and others in the Sierra Madres.	Bourke 1958:106 Porter 1986:161
May 21, 1883	"Kantenne" and 37 others arrive. Bourke states that the Chiricahuas plot against Western Apache scouts.	Thrapp 1967:290
May 23, 1883	Nana arrives with 17 others, bringing the number of Apaches meeting with Crook to 237.	Bourke 1958:115- 117 Dubo 1976:186 Porter 1986:162
May 24, 1883	Apaches begin returning with Crook to San Carlos. Crook and the Apaches make camp on the Bavispe River. Loco and Chatto ask permission from Crook to seek other Apaches in area. Crook grants them permission and they leave camp.	Bourke 1958:115- 117
May 27, 1883	The main group with Crook continues to San Carlos, having heard about approaching Mexican troops.	
Night, May 28, 1883	Chatto and Loco return with 116 of their people, raising the total number of surrendering Apaches to 384.	Mason 1970:270 Porter 1986:163 Thrapp 1967:292
May 30, 1883	Bourke has breakfast with Geronimo and Bonito. Crook leaves for San Carlos taking with him 52 Apache warriors and 273 Apache women and children.  Geronimo, apparently, leaves to look for some of his people who are still in the mountains.	Porter 1986: 163
June 1, 1883	Geronimo and his group catch up with Crook and the others. Geronimo, however, leaves again within a few days.	Bourke 1958:121ff. Porter 1986:163-

		164
June 2-4, 1883	On the return journey, the group encounters a grass fire and bones at Aliso Creek, where Mexicans had slaughtered Apaches.	Porter 1986:164
June 8, 1883	General Crook and the Apaches enter the San Bernardino Valley.	Porter 1986:164 Robinson 2001:266ff.
June 10, 1883	Crook, his troops, and the Apaches re-enter the United States.	Crook 1946:248ff. Ogle 1970:221
June 14, 1883	The San Carlos Agent, P. P. Wilcox, holds a meeting to manufacture protest against locating the Chiricahuas there. Wilcox suggests that the Chiricahuas will undo his successes with other Apaches. Wilcox obtains the support of Interior Secretary Henry M. Teller. Secretary of War Lincoln is informed that Chiricahuas at San Carlos will not be incorporated with agency Apaches. Chiricahuas must be handled by the War Department as prisoners of war. Crook notifies the War Department that he can assure peace if he is allowed to manage the Chiricahuas in his own way. Lincoln summons Crook to Washington, D. C., for a conference.	Bourke 1958:127 Dubo 1976:191
June 15, 1883	The surrendering Apaches reach Silver Springs, Arizona. Arizona newspapers are full of "inflammatory telegrams" stating the intention of the government to hang all the Chiricahua men and to disperse the women among other tribes. Several Apache leaders take their people back into the mountains. Mexican troops go in after them and are defeated each time.	Thrapp 1967:295
June 19, 1883	Tucson citizens celebrate Crook as a hero. They honor him at a banquet.	Davis 1976:69, 194 Thrapp 1967:292-293
June 23, 1883	Crook with approximately 52 Apache men and 273 Apache women and children arrive at San Carlos. Nana, Loco, Bonito, and K'a'edine are among the men. Jacali, Juh's daughter who is wounded (she was shot), is also among the people. She eventually has her leg amputated.	Crook 1946:249-250, 250ff. Davis 1976:72ff. Kalesnik 1992:92 Ogle 1970:221, 221ff. Robinson 2001:267 Skinner 1987:84
July 7, 1883	The military is given total police power over the San Carlos Reservation. Crook is given discretionary power to keep and care for the Chiricahuas. The Chiricahuas are to be kept at San Carlos only with the agent's consent. Crawford, Gatewood, and Davis are given administrative control over the Chiricahuas. Chiricahuas are classified as prisoners of war and are kept under the War Department's authority. The War Department is to keep the peace, administer justice, and punish Indian offenders. The Indian agent's other duties are to remain unchanged. Crawford is given administrative responsibility for the War Department's activities.  This policy initiates dual control of the reservation.  Crook's policies resemble the plan set forth by Secretary Schurz on November 1, 1880 (see above).	Porter 1986:166 Robinson 2001:267 Thrapp 1967:297ff.

July, 1883	<p>The press vilifies Crook. Crook and Bourke respond vigorously to the criticism. Geronimo's absence is the issue.</p> <p>Newspapers and State Senator Barnett Gibbs of Texas suggest that Crook might have been captured by Geronimo. Newspapers focus on the absence from San Carlos of Geronimo and other leaders. Newspapers speculate that Crook was forced to give the Apaches excellent terms of surrender.</p>	Dubo 1976:194-195 Thrapp 1973:36
September 21, 1883	Juh dies in Mexico, having fallen into a river, possibly while intoxicated. He had been trading at Casas Grandes.	Ogle 1970:222, 224ff., 228
September 27, 1883	<p>Crook specifies his policies concerning the Apaches:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) just treatment,</li> <li>(2) ownership of land,</li> <li>(3) the right to be tried by their own juries,</li> <li>(4) the right to be policed by their own force,</li> <li>(5) the right to bear arms,</li> <li>(6) the right to live in their own homes,</li> <li>(7) immediate enfranchisement.</li> </ol>	Ogle 1970:226ff.
November, 1883	Agent Wilcox becomes irritated at Crawford's interference with the agency farmer's assignments of land to the Apaches. Crawford retaliates by criticizing Wilcox for the old and worthless cattle he provides the Apaches. All phases of reservation management are now in dispute.	Dubo 1976:196 Thrapp 1967:293
December 20, 1883	13 Chiricahuas (8 men and 5 women and children) arrive at the border to surrender. This is probably Naiche's group. They are met by Britton Davis and taken to San Carlos.	Ogle 1970:224-225
Early January, 1884	Wilcox begins farming operations at San Carlos. Apaches prepare irrigation facilities. White Mountain Apaches in the Fort Apache region are nearly self-sustaining.	Mason 1970:275-276
January 1, 1884	Bonito enlists as a scout in "Company B" at San Carlos.	<p>Bourke 1958:128</p> <p>Davis 1976:77ff., 81, 82-83, 84ff.</p> <p>Dubo 1976:197ff., 202ff.</p> <p>Faulk 1969:47</p> <p>Kraft:200562-63</p> <p>McChristian 2005:191</p> <p>Ogle 1970:220</p> <p>Porter 1986:166</p> <p>Thrapp 1967:293, 297</p>
February, 1884	<p>Groups of Chiricahuas with Naiche, Zele, Chatto, Mangus (Mangas Coloradas' son), and Geronimo return to San Carlos.</p> <p>Britton Davis makes three trips to the border to accompany groups of Chiricahuas to San Carlos.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) On the first, he meets Naiche and Zele (October or December 20, 1883).</li> <li>(2) On the second, he meets Chatto and Mangus (February 7, 1884).</li> <li>(3) On the third, he meets Geronimo, who has with him about 350 head of cattle. With Geronimo are approximately 26</li> </ol>	Mason 1970:275-276

	<p>warriors and 70 women and children.</p> <p>Initially, Chiricahuas are placed at the San Carlos agency. In May, they are moved to Turkey Creek (Fort Apache). Geronimo's cattle are taken from him at San Carlos and sold. The money is returned to Mexico.</p> <p>Crawford meets with Geronimo, who describes in detail his understanding of the conditions of surrender. Geronimo's main concern is that the People be given a <u>good home site</u>. He states that San Carlos has no <u>grass</u>, no good <u>water</u>, and <u>sickness</u>. Geronimo wants to live at Eagle (?) Creek (Fort Apache). He wants to live where there is a lot of <u>land</u>, <u>water</u>, and <u>game</u>. He wants to live away from <u>unfriendly people</u> at San Carlos.</p>	
March 10, 1884	Chihuahua enlists as a scout in Company B at San Carlos.	Mason 1970:275-276
March 13, 1884	Naiche enlists as a scout in Company B at San Carlos. K'a'edine enlists at about the same time. By April 1884, Troop B consists entirely of recently surrendered Chiricahuas.	Davis 1976:29, 49-50, 54-55, 72ff. Faulk 1969:47-48 Mason 1970:276ff. Ogle 1970:224ff. Perry 1993:129ff. Thrapp 1967:305ff., 307, 309
January–May, 1884	Life at San Carlos is bad for the Chiricahuas.	Davis 1976:102ff., 107, 111, 111ff., 122ff., 124, 142-143 Dubo 1976:220ff. Porter 1986:167
May, 1884	<p>Crook directs Britton Davis to take the Chiricahuas (512 of them) to Turkey Creek (Fort Apache). Davis is accompanied by Company B, consisting mostly of Chiricahua and Warm Springs men. Chatto, Juan (Geronimo's half-brother = Perico), and Chappo (= Geronimo's son) are among the Apache scouts.</p> <p>Mickey Free is the interpreter and Sam Bowman is the cook.</p> <p>Geronimo and Naiche move a few miles from Davis' camp.</p> <p>K'a'edine and his followers settle on a ridge above Davis' camp.</p> <p>Chiricahuas begin farming and are quite successful.</p> <p>Conditions are relatively peaceful at Turkey Creek.</p>	Porter 1986:167
May 8, 1884	Crook and Bourke meet with the Chiricahuas. Huera translates. Bourke records the Apache speeches.	Thrapp 1967:305
May 15, 1884	A final party of Chiricahuas arrives at San Carlos.	Davis 1976:73,113, 115ff., 123, 126, 126ff., 128 Dubo 1976:222ff. Faulk 1969:41ff., 50 Kalesnik 1992:95

		Porter 1986:168-169, 170 Thrapp 1967:306ff., 307ff., 308-309, 309ff.
June 22, 1884	At Turkey Creek, K'a'edine is arrested for drinking tiswin by Britton Davis, Chatto, and other Chiricahua scouts. Rumors are that K'a'edine intends to kill Britton Davis.  K'a'edine is tried by an Apache jury at San Carlos and is sentenced to incarceration at Alcatraz for three years.  Crook eventually reduces the sentence to one month of hard labor at Alcatraz to be followed by a tour of San Francisco.	Dubo 1976:230
Fall, 1884	Chiricahua and Warm Springs people move from Turkey Creek to the valley of the White River near Fort Apache. People camp along streams and in the foothills. Davis provides rations and supplies. While camped there, five captives, including Huera, who have escaped from Mexicans and walked to the United States, were returned by the military to their people.	Ogle 1970:229 Robinson 2001:270-271
November 18, 1884	Wilcox resigns as San Carlos Indian Agent and is replaced by C. D. Ford. Within a month, Ford is disputing with Crawford, who has complete military control of the reservation. Ford adopts the Indian Commissioner's view that complete agency control should be returned to the Department of the Interior.	Dubo 1976:228ff. Faulk 1969:51 Ogle 1970:231 Robinson 2001:271
January and February, 1885	Crawford begins to exercise control over farming. Ford uses Indian police to prevent Crawford from taking control. Ford asks for the appointment of a successor if his control is not sustained.  Dual control infuriates Crook, who sees it as a challenge to his authority. He requests that he have power over farming or complete relief from responsibility.  Crawford stops an agency ordered irrigation project.  Crook is ordered by the War Department to leave all farming operations to the agency.  Because of such conditions (dual control), Crawford requests to be relieved of command. He is allowed to join his regiment in Texas. He is replaced by Captain Francis E. Pierce.  The national administration changes and Indian policy is re-evaluated. The dispute over dual control persists.	Crook 1946:253 Davis 1976:137ff., 139, 141, 142-146, 144ff., 148 Dubo 1976:234ff. Faulk 1969:41ff., 52, 53 Ogle 1970:231 Porter 1986:170-171 Thrapp 1967:311ff., 313
May 15, 1885	Apache leaders meet at Britton Davis's tent, complain, and make several demands concerning <u>discipline</u> and <u>surveillance</u> – specifically, concerning <u>tiswin</u> and <u>women</u> .  Mickey Free, apparently, translates at this meeting.	Betzinez 1959:77 Davis 1976:36-37, 38ff., 39, 40ff., 45-46, 114ff., 148ff., 149, 150-151, 152 Dubo 1976:236 Kraft 2005:6ff., 100

		Mason 1970:278ff. Ogle 1970:231 Porter 1986:171-172 Thrapp 1967:314ff.
May 17, 1885	<p>Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches again leave San Carlos -- Naiche, Geronimo, Nana, Chihuahua, and Mangus are the leaders. Approximately 34 men, 8 boys, and 92 women and children leave San Carlos.</p> <p>80 men and 350 women and children remain at Turkey Creek.</p> <p>Mickey Free and Chatto report the outbreak to Davis. (Mickey Free also reported the 1881 outbreak to Tiffany.)</p> <p>Perico and two other men are scouts who remain at first, but then leave to join Geronimo and Naiche. Davis believes that they stayed to kill him. Apaches say they remained so that the military would not become suspicious and discover that Geronimo and the others have gone.</p> <p>Among the leaders who left are Geronimo, Chihuahua, Naiche, Mangus, and Nana.</p> <p>Among the boys who left are Kanseah, Ishtee, and Daklugie.</p> <p>Loco, Bonito, Gil-lee, and Chatto remain on the reservation.</p>	Crook 1946:254ff. Davis 1976:74-76, 152ff. Faulk 1969:57-58 Kalesnik 1992:101ff. Kraft 2005:64ff. McChristian 2005:193ff. Ogle 1970:232 Thrapp 1967:314-327
May 18-June 14, 1885	<p>U.S. Troops chase the Apaches who leave San Carlos.</p> <p>Crook and Sheridan exchange telegrams. Crook is ordered to enlist 200 additional scouts and to establish his headquarters on or near the Southern Pacific Railroad. Crook immediately moves to Fort Bowie.</p> <p>Apaches kill at least 17 civilians during their escape to Mexico.</p>	Goodwin 1969:395ff. Kraft 2005:66, 74ff., 76, 79, 99
June 5, 1885	<p>Gatewood meets Crook at Fort Bayard. Crook sends Gatewood back to Fort Apache to enlist 200 more Apache scouts.</p>	Dubo 1976:243 Faulk 1969:61 Kalesnik 1992:106 Kraft 2005:66 McChristian 2005:193 Ogle 1970:232ff. Thrapp 1967:322-323, 326-327
June 11, 1885	<p>Crook establishes his base of operations at Fort Bowie. He directs two operations into Mexico.</p> <p>Captain Emmet Crawford and his troops enter Mexico searching for the Apaches who left San Carlos. Crook deploys other troops at water holes along the border. Approximately 2,000 troops are deployed.</p> <p>Chatto, Bonito, Dutchy, and other Chiricahuas act as scouts for the U.S. military.</p>	Kraft 2005:68ff.



June 16-early July, 1885	Gatewood and Apache scouts search the Mogollon Mountains for Mangus' group. Gatewood enlists scouts from among those serving time for crimes on the reservation.	Dubo 1976:244 McChristian 2005:195 Porter 1986:172 Thrapp 1967:329
June 23, 1885	Crawford and his troops, led by Chatto and other Apache scouts, discover Chihuahua's band in the Bavispe Mountains northeast of Oputo. Chatto and the other scouts attack the Apaches. 15 Apache women and children are captured.	Kraft 2005:6ff.
July, 1885	Charles Gatewood writes about the causes of the outbreak. He writes about conditions at San Carlos and changes in administration. By a March 3 Act of Congress, jurisdiction over certain crimes on the reservation was turned over to civil authorities. Apparently, Apaches are told of this change in jurisdiction. Possibly, this contributes to their reasons for leaving Turkey Creek. Chatto and Mickey Free, apparently, notify Chiricahuas of the new law and use a throat-cutting motion when doing so.	Kraft 2005:68
July 13, 1885	Captain Wirt Davis and his troops enter Mexico in search of the Apaches.	Dubo 1976:244 Faulk 1969:67
July 28 or 29, 1885	Wirt Davis and troops attack a group of 4 Apaches. Two of the Apaches are killed; 1 woman and 1 youth.	Dubo 1976:244 Faulk 1969:67 McChristian 2005:195-196 Thrapp 1967:330
August 7, 1885	78 of Wirt Davis's scouts attack Geronimo's camp. Three of Geronimo's wives (Zi-yeh, Shegha, and one other) and five of his children (Fenton, Dohn-say, and three others) are captured.  Mangus' wife, Huera, is captured.  Perico's wife, Hah-dun-key, is captured.	Faulk 1969:72 Wagoner 1970:229ff.
Late summer, 1885	The Society of Arizona Pioneers advocates removing all Indians from the Arizona Territory. Granville H. Oury is sent east to meet with President Cleveland and advocates this position.	Kalesnik 1992:114 Stockel 2004
September 17, 1885	Crook and Sheridan exchange telegrams concerning conditions under which the Chiricahuas could surrender.	Dubo 1976: 246 Thrapp 1967:332
September 22, 1885	Geronimo, Perico, and others return to San Carlos and recover some family members. Geronimo probably takes Shegha and his three-year old daughter. Perico takes Biyaneta Tsedahdilh-thlilith. On the return trip to Mexico, Geronimo takes the woman, Itedda, from Mescaleros who are gathering piñon nuts in western New Mexico. Charlie Smith is also taken.	Dubo 1976: 247 Faulk 1969:68 Thrapp 1967:332-333
September 28, 1885	A group of approximately 20 Apaches raids in Arizona. Troops chase them. As troops close in on the Apaches, the latter acquire fresh horses and escape.	Porter 1986:208
October 17, 1885	Bourke returns to Fort Bowie. He does field work among several groups in Arizona and New Mexico. He does not work with Apaches at this time.	Dubo 1976:248 Faulk 1969:70ff., 75ff. Ogle 1970:233 Porter 1986:172

		Thrapp 1967:334-335, 334ff.
November-December 1885	Jolsanny and 10 other men raid into Arizona. Late November, Jolsanny and his group raid Fort Apache, killing several Western Apaches (possibly, 11 women, 4 children, and 5 men and boys). Jolsanny, possibly, takes 6 White Mountain women and a child. Chatto and 18 scouts pursue Jolsanny. Chatto and his scouts return with "only one head."	
November 27, 1885	Wirt Davis and his troops are sent east into New Mexico to search for Jolsanny.	Faulk 1969:75ff. McChristian 2005:197 Ogle 1970:234 Porter 1986:172 Robinson 2001:277 Thrapp 1967:334ff.
November 29, 1885	General Sheridan visits General Crook at Fort Bowie. He decides that Apaches should be pursued into Mexico. Sheridan, apparently, tells Crook that officials in Washington want to relocate all Chiricahuas. Crawford, who is present with Crook and Sheridan, vigorously opposes this plan. Crawford states that he needs Apache scouts and that the scouts would not cooperate if their families are uprooted. Sheridan postpones relocating the Apaches.	Thrapp 1967:336-337
December 9, 1885	Lieutenant Samuel Warren Fountain and his Navajo scouts attack Jolsanny's party. Fountain captures 15 horses, blankets, and supplies.	Dubo 1976:248 McChristian 2005:197 Thrapp 1967:335
December 11, 1885	Captain Crawford and his troops leave Apache Pass for Mexico in pursuit of the Chiricahuas.	Thrapp 1967:337
December 19, 1885	Jolsanny and his group attack Fountain's troops, killing 5 and wounding 3.	Thrapp 1967:338
December 24, 1885	Crook telegrams Sheridan, informing him about the situation.	Thrapp 1967:338
December 25, 1885	Jolsanny acquires new horses near Carlisle, New Mexico.	Thrapp 1967:338
December 27, 1885	Jolsanny's group is now in the Chiricahua Mountains. They then move into Mexico. During the raid, Jolsanny's group kills 38 people, steals about 250 horses and mules, and travels about 1,200 miles.	Faulk 1969:77 Thrapp 1967:336
December 29, 1885	Sheridan telegrams Crook, telling him that President Cleveland is disturbed by newspaper accounts coming out of Arizona. He asks when positive news will be forthcoming. Crook ignores the telegram and goes hunting.	Davis 1976:196ff. Dubo 1976:249 Faulk 1969:77ff. Mason 1970:319ff. Thrapp 1967:340
January 9-10, 1886	Captain Crawford, Lieutenant Marion Maus, and Indian scouts discover an Apache rancheria about 60 miles south of Nacori on the Jaros River. The rancheria is in Juh's stronghold. Scouts attack the camp. An Apache woman comes to Crawford and requests a meeting for the following day.	Faulk 1969:79ff. Mason 1970:322 Ogle 1970:234 Porter 1986:173 Thrapp 1967:340ff.
January 11, 1886	Mexican irregulars attack Crawford's troop. Crawford is shot and dies 7 days later. Lieutenant Marion Maus assumes command of the U.S. troops. Dutchy, who is scouting for Crawford and Maus, possibly, kills the Mexican soldier who	Faulk 1969:83 Thrapp 1967:342

	killed Crawford.	
January 13, 1886	A woman representing Geronimo and Naiche approaches Maus' camp. She asks Maus and the U.S. troops to meet with the Chiricahua band.	Dubo 1976:250ff., 251
January 15, 1886	A meeting occurs between Maus and the Apache leaders, Geronimo, Naiche, Chihuahua, and Nana.  Geronimo and the others agree to meet with Crook for negotiations in two months time.  Geronimo sends 9 people back with Maus, including Nana and his wife (Geronimo's sister), one of Naiche's wives and her child, one of Geronimo's wives -- probably 'It'eda, and one of Geronimo's children.	Maus 1992:467
February 1, 1886	Maus and his troops arrive at Lang's Ranch.	Dubo 1976:252
February 5, 1886	Maus and his troops return to Sonora after having been back to the U.S. They await Apaches across the border, approximately 10 miles south of the line on the San Bernardino River, approximately 84 miles from Fort Bowie.	Faulk 1969:86ff. Thrapp 1967:343
March 19, 1886	Geronimo, Naiche, and others arrive at Cañon de los Embudos in northeastern Sonora to wait for Crook.	Porter 1986:175
March 22, 1886	K'a'edine arrives at Fort Bowie from Alcatraz. Crook ordered that K'a'edine be returned to Arizona.	McChristian 2005:198 Thrapp 1967:343ff.
March 23, 1886	Crook sets out from Fort Bowie. Nana accompanies Crook. At least two Apache women also accompany Crook. Scouts, of course, accompany Crook, as do his troops.	Crook 1946:260ff. Davis 1976:200ff., 201-204 Geronimo 1970:138 Kraft 2005:113ff. Porter 1986:175ff.
March 25, 1886	Chihuahua, Naiche, and Geronimo discuss their possible surrender with General Crook at Cañon de los Embudos.  Geronimo specifies his complaints.  Crook responds aggressively to Geronimo.  K'a'edine and Alchisay are present and play a key role in the negotiations.  Geronimo does most of the talking for the Apaches.	Davis 1976:199, 205
March 26, 1886	Apaches talk among themselves about what they should do. K'a'edine and Alchisay are with the hostile leaders.	Davis 1976:198ff., 207ff., 211-212 Dubo 1976: 255-263 Faulk 1969:91 Kraft 2005:144ff. Miles 1992:450-479, 471ff. Perry 1993:126 Porter 1986:176 Thrapp 1967:344-345

March 27, 1886	<p>There is more discussion between the Chiricahuas and Crook. Geronimo arrives with his face blackened by powdered galena. He and another warrior initially sit off by themselves and do not participate in the negotiations. Chihuahua and Naiche first state their intentions to surrender to Crook. Geronimo later comes forward and states his intentions to surrender.</p> <p>Crook sends a confidential dispatch to Sheridan specifying the conditions of surrender.</p>	<p>Crook 1946:261 Kraft 2005:116-118 Thrapp 1967:345-347</p>
March 27-28, 1886	<p>During the night of March 27 and early morning of March 28 at San Bernardino, Robert Tribolet, gun and whiskey merchant, sells mescal to some of the Apaches, including Naiche, Geronimo, and Noche, the scout. The drinkers become extremely drunk.</p>	
Morning, March 28, 1886	<p>Bourke and Crook encounter Geronimo, Noche, and other Chiricahuas, who are greatly inebriated. Crook leaves in the morning to return to Fort Bowie. Crook stops for the night at Frank Leslie's ranch.</p>	<p>Davis 1976:213ff. Dubo 1976: 264ff. Faulk 1969:92ff. Geronimo 1970:138 Kraft 2005:116-118 Miles 1992:468 Porter 1986:177 Stockel 2004:4 Thrapp 1967: 345-347</p>
March 29, 1886	<p>During the night at San Bernardino, Robert Tribolet, again, sells mescal to Geronimo and Naiche. Tribolet tells them that they are to be killed when they return to Arizona.</p> <p>While inebriated, Naiche shoots his wife because she wishes to surrender.</p> <p>Naiche and Geronimo leave, returning to the Sonoran mountains. Approximately 33 other Apaches accompany Geronimo and Naiche. The group consists of Geronimo, Naiche, 13 other men, and 20 women. This group appears to be a "local group" or "extended family" focused on Geronimo and his family relationships.</p> <p>Chihuahua and the others move toward Fort Bowie.</p>	<p>Thrapp 1967:348ff.</p>
March 29, 1886	<p>General Crook reaches Fort Bowie, Arizona and sends a telegram to General Sheridan.</p>	<p>Kalesnik 1992:128ff. Porter 1986:178</p>
March 31, 1886	<p>Crook receives a telegram from Sheridan telling him that President Cleveland rejects the offered conditions of surrender. Surrender must be unconditional or the Apaches must be destroyed.</p>	<p>Crook 1946:264ff. Faulk 1969:94ff. Kalesnik 1992:133, 138 Porter 1986:178-179 Thrapp 1967:349</p>
April 1, 1886	<p>Crook suggests to Sheridan that he assign someone else the job of bringing in Geronimo. Sheridan thinks that Crook's using Apache scouts is poor judgment.</p>	<p>Crook 1946:265 Faulk 1969:98ff. Porter 1986:174-175 Thrapp 1967:349</p>

April 2, 1886	General Sheridan relieves Crook of his command, reassigning him to the Department of the Platte, effective April 28. Sheridan orders General Nelson A. Miles to assume command of the Department of Arizona and the responsibility of capturing Geronimo.	Crook 1946:265 Kalesnik 1992:139 Stockel 1993:65
April 3, 1886	Sheridan orders Crook to send the Apache prisoners (Chihuahua and his group) to Fort Marion, Florida.  Chihuahua and his group arrive at Fort Bowie and hold a ceremony. Crook lies to the Apaches about the conditions of surrender. He does not inform them of Cleveland's demand for an unconditional surrender. He justifies this by stating that the Apaches would escape if told the truth.	Crook 1946:255-256 Faulk 1969:96
April 5, 1886	Sheridan issues further orders to Miles, emphasizing that Geronimo has broken every condition of the surrender and that the negotiated conditions of surrender are therefore nullified. He orders those Apaches in custody to be held as POW. They are to be sent to Fort Marion without reference to any previous communication.	Kalesnik 1992:141ff. McChristian 2005:200 Porter 1986:211 Skinner 1987:53ff. Stockel 1993:66
April 7, 1886	Chihuahua and 76 of his followers are sent to Fort Marion, Florida as prisoners of war. The group includes Chihuahua, Jolsanny, Nana, 12 other men, 33 women, and 29 children. Crook makes his final speech to the Apaches.	Faulk 1969:100 Kalesnik 1992:143 McChristian 2005:201ff. Thrapp 1967:350, 350ff.
April 11, 1886	Miles arrives at Fort Bowie. He begins plans completely to remove the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches from Arizona. Crook leaves Fort Bowie to assume command of the Department of the Platte, effective April 28, 1886.	Kalesnik 1992:180, 181-182 Skinner 1987:54-55 Porter 1986:211 Stockel 1993:69
April 13, 1886	Chihuahua and the other POW reach Fort Marion, Florida.	Faulk 1969:102 Geronimo 1970:139ff.
April 20, 1886	Miles issues General Field Order No. 7. It orders that all vulnerable ranches and water holes be guarded, that districts of observation be established, and that heliograph stations be erected on prominent mountain peaks.	Dubo 1976:270 Faulk 1969:104 Kraft 2005:119ff. McChristian 2005:203 Miles 1992:489 Thrapp 1967:351ff.
April 27, 1886	Geronimo and Naiche begin a raid into the U.S.  On or about April 29, 1886 Kayitah leaves Geronimo's group and returns to San Carlos.	Kraft 2005:119, 233
May 3, 1886	The House of Representatives passes a resolution authorizing the President to offer a \$25,000 reward for Geronimo.	McChristian 2005:203 Thrapp 1967:352
May 10, 1886	Miles sends Captain Henry W. Lawton after Geronimo. Lawton is completely unsuccessful and returns with his troops to Bowie in June.	Davis 1976:219ff. Faulk 1969:106 Kalesnik 1992:143ff. Miles 1992:490ff. Ogle 1970:236ff.

June, 1886	General Miles again sends Captain H. W. Lawton and Captain Wirt Davis after Geronimo. Leonard Wood is assigned to Lawton's command. Lawton follows Geronimo into Mexico, into Arizona, and then back into Mexico.	Dubo 1976:271-272 Ogle 1970:237ff. Faulk 1969:111ff., 152ff., 154-155 Kalesnik 1992:157 Miles 1992:494-497 Skinner 1987:73ff.
July 3, 1886	Miles visits San Carlos with Special Agent L. C. Q. Lamar, Jr. Lamar supports Crook's program.  Miles sends a telegram to General O. O. Howard stressing the military importance of relocating all Apaches. Miles requests permission to send a delegation of Chiricahuas to Washington to discuss their removal from Arizona.  Miles suggests to General Sheridan and President Cleveland that all Apaches be removed from Arizona. Miles recommends Indian Territory (Oklahoma), not Florida.	
July 7, 1886	General Sheridan notifies Secretary of War William Endicott of his doubts about Miles' proposal. Nevertheless, Sheridan gives his approval to the plan for a peace delegation.	Faulk 1969:112 Kraft 2005:123 McChristian 2005:205ff.
July 9, 1886	In Albuquerque, Miles issues a pass, a letter of safe conduct, to Martine and Kayitah for them to travel to the hostiles' camp and seek the Apaches' surrender.	Faulk 155-156
July 10, 1886	Miles receives Sheridan's approval to send a delegation of Apaches east.	Miles 1992:510
July 13, 1886	Lawton, Wood, and U.S. troops surprise Geronimo and Naiche on the Yaqui River.	Faulk 1969:113 Kalesnik 1992:143ff. Kraft 2005:123, 123ff. Mason 1970:338 Miles 1992:490 Porter 1986:219ff. Thrapp 1967:353ff.
July 13, 1886	In Albuquerque, Miles orders Gatewood to find Geronimo and Naiche in Mexico and to demand their surrender. Miles sends Charles B. Gatewood, Kayitah, and Martine to contact Geronimo.  George Wratten accompanies Gatewood as an interpreter and cook.	Porter 1986:213ff.
July 17, 1886	Captain Joseph H. Dorst, who is in charge of the delegation, Chatto, and twelve other Chiricahuas arrive in Washington, D.C. (Not all people in the delegation are Chiricahuas. 4 of them are not.)  K'a'edine, Loco, Noche, and three of their wives are in the delegation.  Mickey Free and Concepcion act as translators for the delegation.  Victor Gomez and Sam Bowman also act as translators.	Faulk 1969:156ff. Turcheneske 1997:9

	Bourke meets with and entertains the Apaches in Washington. They attend an opera.	
July 19, 1886	The Apache delegation meets with Secretary of War Endicott. Chatto receives a peace medal from Secretary of War Endicott. Endicott does not discuss with the delegation the removal of Apaches from Arizona.  Bourke is present at the meeting and provides a transcription.  Cleveland favors imprisonment for the Chiricahuas.	Kraft 2005:124
July 21, 1886	Gatewood and his five companions reach Carretas, Mexico. He meets James Parker, who is there with his command. Parker offers his troops to Gatewood as an escort.	Dubo 1976:253ff. Kalesnik 1992:160 Porter 1986:214-215 Skinner 1987:74-75
July 26, 1886	Chatto and his delegation again meet with Secretary of War Endicott.  Mickey Free and Concepcion act as translators.  Bourke is present.	Porter 1986:214-215
July 27, 1886	Chatto and his delegation meet with President Cleveland, who states that there is no further need for discussion. He states that everything has already been written down.  Gatewood and Parker's command leave Carretas, Mexico.	Kalesnik 1992:161ff.
July 30, 1886	Sheridan suggests that Chatto and his delegation be sent directly to Fort Marion, Florida.	Faulk 1969:157-158 Kalesnik 1992:161ff., 163-165 Miles:1992:495
July 31, 1886	Sheridan telegrams Miles asking him his opinion of the relocation plan. Miles suggests that Chatto and the others be sent to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Miles still hopes to relocate the Chiricahuas to Indian Territory.	Porter 1986:215-216
July 31, 1886	A conference is held at the Whitehouse. Cleveland, Endicott, Lamar, Lamar's son, Bourke, and Dorst are present. Plans are discussed to send all Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches to Florida. Plans to send Chatto and his delegation to Florida are also discussed.  Bourke opposes the relocation plan.  Dorst favors relocation. He states that non-Chiricahua Apaches would favor relocating the Chiricahuas and that if the Chiricahuas were allowed to remain in Arizona, Geronimo would recruit from among them.	Porter 1986:216ff.
August 2, 1886	Dorst is ordered to take Chatto and his delegation to Carlisle and then to San Carlos for arrest. Chatto and the others visit Carlisle.	Faulk 1969:114ff. Kraft 2005:126, 127ff. Thrapp 1967:354
August 3,	Gatewood's group and Lawton's troops meet at Lawton's	Faulk 1969:158-159

1886	<p>camp in Sonora on the Arros River, approximately 250 miles from the border. Lawton resists having Gatewood join his command. Lawton states that he is ordered by the President to hunt Geronimo down and kill him, not to treat with him. Eventually, Lawton allows Gatewood to join his command. Lawton will allow Gatewood to execute his mission only if circumstances permit.</p> <p>Lawton and Gatewood learn that Geronimo is north of them in the Fronteras region. They immediately move back north toward Fronteras and the U.S.-Mexico border.</p>	
August 4, 1886	Dorst, Chatto, and other members of the peace delegation arrive at Carlisle.	Miles 1992:498
August 6, 1886	Miles issues an order to retain indefinitely Chatto and the others at Carlisle. However, Chatto and his delegation are already in Kansas.	
August 11, 1886	Dorst receives an order to take Chatto and the others to Leavenworth. They arrive at Leavenworth.	Faulk 1969:159 Porter 1986:218
August 14, 1886	<p>Dorst meets with Miles in Albuquerque, New Mexico.</p> <p>At Cleveland's request, Dorst reports concerning the "frame of mind" of Chatto and the others. He writes that the Apaches believe they are to remain at Fort Apache, but that they are suspicious of events and about what the government intends to do with them.</p>	Thrapp 1967:354
August 15, 1886	Lawton and Gatewood's group arrive at Bavispe. "Gatewood's peace commission got awfully full (of Mescal)," writes Leonard Wood.	Dubo 1976:277 Miles 1992:499 Porter 1986:218 Stockel 1993:73
ca. August 16, 1886	After returning to Leavenworth, Dorst has Apaches in the delegation sign a draft treaty that promises them a reservation and monetary compensation.	
August 17, 1886	Geronimo is seen 15 miles south of Fronteras on the main road to Nacosari. Gatewood's group leaves Lawton's troops and begins a forced march to that location.	Faulk 1969:159-160 Kraft 2005:140-131 Miles 1992:499
August 20, 1886	<p>In a telegram to Adjutant General R. C. Drum, Miles clarifies his position. Chatto's delegation should be treated either as treaty Indians or as POW. He wants them either to sign a treaty that requires their removal from Arizona, or for them to be classified as POW and to be removed. In either case, relocation or removal is the objective.</p> <p>Gatewood and his party arrive in Fronteras, having gone ahead of Lawton's troops and marched rapidly to that pueblo. Gatewood learns that Apache women have been in Fronteras. The women tell people that Geronimo wants to negotiate surrender.</p> <p>Having obtained supplies, the women leave Fronteras around midnight.</p>	Wagoner 1970:235ff.
August 22, 1886	Arizona Governor Conrad Meyer Zulick advocates, as reported in a <u>New York Times</u> article, that all Chiricahuas be removed from Arizona. He maintains this position after the Chiricahuas have been removed to Florida and Welsh	Davis 1976:225ff., 228ff., 232-233 Dubo 1976:281ff. Faulk 1969:116-



	advocates returning them to the west.	117, 116ff., 118 Kalesnik 1992:152ff., 155 Kraft 2005:131ff., 140 Miles 1992:511 Skinner 1987:65ff. Thrapp 1967:355- 356, 358ff.
August 23-25, 1886	<p>In Fronteras, Sonora, Mexico, Gatewood meets with Lieutenant Wilder and his small group of U.S. soldiers. Wilder transfers to Gatewood Tom Horn and José Maria as interpreters. Wilder transfers six additional men to replace those who were sent to the U.S. with dispatches.</p> <p>The prefect of Fronteras orders Gatewood to leave and not to follow the Apache women. The Mexicans intend to lure Geronimo's people in, get them drunk, and kill them.</p> <p>Gatewood, Martine, and Kayitah leave Fronteras going south, swing back north, and follow the two Apache women from Fronteras to Geronimo's camp. The women were at the village to talk with Mexicans (specifically José Maria) about Geronimo and the others surrendering. The women also sought supplies. Geronimo states later that he had no intention of surrendering. He was seeking time to rest.</p> <p>After following the women for three days, Martine and Kayitah meet with Geronimo's group. They arrange a meeting between Geronimo, Naiche, and Gatewood.</p> <p>Geronimo tells Lieutenant Charles Gatewood that he will discuss peace with General Miles.</p> <p>Gatewood lies to Geronimo about the location of Geronimo's family. Gatewood states that Geronimo's and other men's women and children are already in Florida.</p> <p>Perico, Ahnandia, and Fun express their desire to surrender and to be reunited with their families.</p> <p>August 25, Gatewood and his party leave Geronimo and join with Lawton after dark.</p>	Dubo 1976:278, 314-315 Skinner 1987:56-59
August 23, 1886	Colonel Loomis L. Langdon reports concerning conditions at Fort Marion.	Kalesnik 1992:157, 166
August 23 or 24, 1886	President Cleveland sends a telegram to the War Department giving his extremely negative opinion of Geronimo.	Faulk 1969:160 Miles 1992:499ff.
August 24, 1886	Secretary of War W. C. Endicott endorses Miles' proposal to remove from Arizona the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. He states Cleveland's only concern is that "all of this dangerous band be secured and successfully carried away; for if a few escape and take to the war-path the results would be altogether too serious."	Miles 1992:499ff. Porter 1986:218- 219
August 25,	The <u>Washington Star</u> announces the War Department's	Kalesnik 1992:189

1886	decision (Cleveland, Endicott, Lamar, and Sheridan make this decision) to relocate the entire Chiricahua tribe to Fort Marion, Florida. Miles is ordered to begin the process. The Apaches are to be treated as POW.	Miles 1992:501
	Langdon addresses conditions at Fort Marion and recommends that parents and children be sent to Carlisle <u>together</u> . He recommends that parents and their children not be separated. He suggests that sufficient land for this purpose is available at Carlisle.	Faulk 1969:127-129 Kraft 2005:144ff. Miles 1992:512 Thrapp 1967:360
August 26, 1886	Geronimo and his group join Gatewood and Lawton's troops. They hold another conference. Geronimo states his willingness to meet with Miles.	Kalesnik 1992:190
August 26, 1886	General Sheridan telegrams Secretary of War Endicott telling him to ignore Langdon's statements about the inability to house large numbers of prisoners at Fort Marion.	Faulk 1969:133
Night, August 27/28, 1886	Geronimo, Lawton, Gatewood, and the others spend the night near the San Bernardino River.	Faulk 1969:160-161
August 27, 1886	Cleveland issues an order classifying Chiricahuas as POW and stating that they should be located at Fort Marion.	Faulk 1969:133ff. Kalesnik 1992:170 Kraft 2005:145ff. Miles 1992:512 Thrapp 1967:360-361
August 28, 1886	Lawton, Gatewood, and Geronimo's party encounter Mexican Troops. The situation is extraordinarily tense.	Kalesnik 1992:167
August 28, 1886	Miles sends a telegram to Drum making the final case for relocation of the Apaches to Indian Territory.	Faulk 1969:136ff. Miles 1992:512-514
August 29, 1886	Geronimo and his party, including Gatewood, move toward the border with Lawton's troops coming behind. At about 2:00 pm, they stop to camp and to wait for Lawton. Gatewood describes activities at the camp. Wood also describes conditions at the camp.	Faulk 1969:139-145 Geronimo 1970:142 Kraft 2005:150ff. Miles 1992:520
August 29-September 3, 1886	Lawton, Miles, and others exchange several telegrams and heliographic messages. Perico and Wratten go to Fort Bowie to assure Miles of the Apaches' good intentions. Troops discuss the idea of killing the Apaches. Gatewood loses confidence. He fears that troops intend to attack the Apaches. He asks to be relieved. Geronimo and Naiche discuss with Gatewood the possibility of leaving.	Faulk 1969:137ff. Thrapp 1967:362
August 31, 1886	Having joined Geronimo's group on August 30, Lawton and the others move to Guadalupe Canyon to wait for a message from Miles. Geronimo is worried that the U.S. troops intend to attack and begins to leave. Gatewood convinces Geronimo and the Apaches to remain.	Faulk 1969:141-142 Geronimo 1970:185ff. Kraft 2005:152ff. Porter 1986:221
September 2, 1886	Geronimo, Lawton, and Gatewood arrive at Skeleton Canyon. Lawton sends a message to Miles specifying his concerns and requesting that Miles come to negotiate with Geronimo. Miles is already on his way to San Bernardino. Captain Thompson relays Lawton's message to Miles by heliograph.  Miles sends messages to Mexico, General Oliver O. Howard, and his wife. The messages appear to rationalize failure, if it occurs.	Faulk 1969:145ff. Geronimo 1970:178ff., 185ff., 188 Miles 1992:520ff. Porter 1986:221ff.

September 3, 1886	Miles arrives at Skeleton Canyon late in the afternoon and meets with Geronimo. Miles is ordered by Cleveland to "bring in the hostiles unconditionally." Miles, apparently, ignores this order.	Faulk 1969:147
September 4, 1886	Gatewood and Geronimo go into the hills to meet with Naiche, who has remained away from the original meeting. Naiche is said to be worried about his brother, who is absent, apparently looking for a lost horse.	Geronimo 1970:142ff., 143, 188 Kalesnik 1992:173 Miles 1992:517, 520, 522, 522ff., 526 Skinner 1987:70-710
September 4, 1886	Miles continues his discussions with Geronimo. Geronimo and Naiche are convinced to travel to Fort Bowie. There is a major rainstorm. People huddle in tents and in wagons. Miles sits with Naiche and Geronimo.	Dubo 1976: 293 Faulk 1969:147-148 Kalesnik 1992:173 Miles 1992:526, 527
September 5, 1886	Miles, Geronimo, Naiche, and possibly three others leave for Fort Bowie. They arrive at Fort Bowie in the evening. The other Apaches follow with Lawton and his troops. The Apaches with Lawton are not disarmed.	Davis 1976:236-237 Dubo 1976:299 Faulk 1969:161ff. Miles 1992:501-505 Ogle 1970:239 Porter 1986:222ff.
September 5, 1886	Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches at the San Carlos Reservation are assembled under the ruse of a roll call.	Dubo 1976:296 Faulk 1969:149, 166 Geronimo 1970:175ff. Stockel 1993:95ff.
September 5-6, 1886	Miles sends messages to Howard, L. Q. C. Lamar, Jr., and the governors of Arizona, New Mexico, and Sonora. He refers to the Apaches as having "surrendered as prisoners of war." Miles gives Howard the impression that Geronimo's surrender is unconditional.  Howard notifies his superiors that the surrender is unconditional and that "...the Apaches and Warm Springs Indians must be sent on straight to Fort Marion, Fla., as the President, through the War Department, directed."  Miles states his intention to send all Apaches east.	Faulk 1969:162ff., 167 Dubo 1976:300 Porter 1986:222ff.
September 7, 1886	Cleveland orders, "All hostiles should be very safely kept as prisoners until they can be tried for their crimes or otherwise disposed of, and those to be sent to Florida should be started immediately." This order was sent to Howard, who sent it to Miles.  382 Chiricahuas from the San Carlos Apache Reservation begin their trip to Holbrook, Arizona. They are, possibly, told that they are going to Washington, D.C., to meet with the President of the United States. The trip takes 6 days and 5 nights. Apaches arrive at Holbrook on September 12 in the afternoon. No distinction is made between those who had followed Geronimo and those who had not.	Dubo 1976:296-297 Faulk 1969:149-150 Geronimo 1970:189 Miles 1992:514, 514ff.

	<p>Sheridan wires Miles: "As the disposition of Geronimo and his hostile band is yet to be decided by the President, and as they are prisoners without conditions, you are hereby directed to hold them in close confinement at Fort Bowie until the decision of the President is communicated to you." Apparently, this telegram was not received until September 8. It may be the telegram that Thompson did not give to Miles.</p>	
September 7, 1886	<p>Three men, three women, and a boy leave Geronimo's group, never to return. Their fate is unknown, but they are likely killed by Mexican troops.</p>	
September 8, 1886	<p>Lawton and the remainder of the Apaches arrive at Fort Bowie, Arizona.</p>	<p>Ball 1980:131 Faulk 1969:150, 166ff. Kalesnik 1992:175 Mason 1970:353ff., 355, 356, 357ff. Miles 1992:528 Stockel 1993:293 Thrapp 1967:364, 366</p>
September 8, 1886	<p>Captain William Thompson, apparently, receives Sheridan's telegram at Fort Bowie, but does not give it to Miles.</p> <p>Before the captives leave, Miles sends a telegram to Washington, D.C. Adjutant-General of the Army, R. C. Drum, forwards the request to Cleveland. It reads, "There is no accommodation here for holding these Indians, and should one escape in these mountains he would cause trouble and the labor of the troops be lost. Everything is arranged for moving them, and I earnestly request permission to move them out of this mountainous country, at least as far as Fort Bliss, Tex., or to Fort Union, N. Mex., or Fort Marion, Fla., for safety."</p> <p>Cleveland immediately responds to Miles' request, "I think Geronimo and the rest of the hostiles should be immediately sent to the nearest fort or prison where they can be severely confined. The most important thing now is to guard against all chances of escape."</p> <p>Miles sends the captives east from Bowie Station at 2:55 pm.</p> <p>Martine and Kayitah, Gatewood's scouts, are also sent east with the Chiricahuas.</p> <p>Lawton is in charge of troops on the train.</p> <p>Wratten accompanies the Apaches on the train.</p> <p>Leonard Wood accompanies the Apaches on the train.</p>	<p>Faulk 1969:168 Miles 1992:528 Porter 1986:224ff.</p>
September 9, 1886	<p>Miles, who has traveled to Albuquerque, receives the telegram that Sheridan sent September 7 (possibly, this is the telegram claimed to have been held secretly by Thompson).</p>	<p>Faulk 1969:168 Skinner 1987:87, 90ff., 92ff.</p>

	<p>Miles telegrams Howard that the Apaches surrendered only on the condition that they be exiled. Miles informs the War Department that he complied with the nearest post or prison order. He sent the Chiricahuas to Florida, but they could be intercepted at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio or re-routed to Fort Leavenworth.</p> <p>Howard forwards Miles' telegram with his own statement: "To-day I got the order of the President, sent direct to General Miles from the War Department, to send Indian prisoners to nearest fort or military prison. Meanwhile General Miles has sent Geronimo and his band to San Antonio, Tex., en route to Fort Marion, Fl., which is certainly not a compliance with the President's orders to send them to nearest fort or military prison."</p>	
September 10, 1886	Acting Secretary of War Richard C. Drum orders Geronimo's train stopped in San Antonio, Texas. The Apaches are detained there for six weeks. The purpose is to determine the conditions of surrender and to decide what to do with the Apaches.	Dubo 1976:279 Skinner 1987:140ff.
September 12, 1886	Orders are given to send Chatto and his delegation from Leavenworth to Fort Marion, Florida.	Dubo 1976:300
September 12, 1886	382 non-combatant Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches arrive at Holbrook, Arizona to be sent east.	Dubo 1976:300 Faulk 1969:163, 163ff., 164-165 Kalesnik 1992:191ff. Skinner 1987:76ff., 120, 121 Stockel 1993:76
September 13, 1886	382 non-combatant Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches are loaded on a train at Holbrook, Arizona to be sent to Fort Marion, Florida as POW. A Crown Dance is held at Holbrook before the train leaves. Some women and children are forcibly thrown onto the train. Lieutenant Colonel James F. Wade, commander at Fort Apache, is in charge.	
September 13, 1886	At Fort Marion (having been sent there with Chihuahuas), 'It'eda gives birth to a baby girl.  Cleveland orders Miles to provide a full report about terms of surrender given the Apaches.	
September 14, 1886	Chatto and his delegation leave Leavenworth by train for Fort Marion, Florida.	Skinner 1987:86-89
September 15-22, 1886	The <u>Pensacola Commercial</u> suggests that Geronimo and his followers should be imprisoned at Fort Pickens.	
September 17, 18, or 20, 1886	Chatto's delegation (ten men, including K'a'edine, and 3 women) arrive at Fort Marion.	Dubo 1976:315ff. Kalesnik 1992:194 Stockel 1993:79-80
September 20, 1886	381 Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches arrive at Fort Marion from Holbrook, Arizona, bringing the total number of POW to 473. Of 394 new prisoners, 70 are adult men, 221 are adult women, 41 are children between 5 and 12, and 62 are children 4 and younger.	Porter 1986:225 Stockel 1993:75 Turcheneske 1997:2-3

	The term, "Geronimo's Indians," is applied to these people.	
September 22, 1886	Bourke writes to Welsh, "If our government is to build up an Indian policy based on treachery, lying, and double dealing, it can't blame the Indians for being good imitations of bad models."  POWs arrive at Ft. Marion.	Skinner 1987:93
September 23, 1886	Cleveland orders Howard to send a detailed report concerning the "immediate circumstances surrounding the capture."	Faulk 1969:169-170
September 24, 1886	Miles finally responds to Cleveland's order that he provide a full report of the conditions of surrender.	Geronimo 1970:178 Kalesnik 1992:175 Skinner 1987:97ff.
September 24, 1886	General Howard notifies his superiors that he is unable to locate the particulars, but surmises that Miles guaranteed Geronimo and the others that they would be unharmed and sent to live with their families in Florida.	Faulk 1969:170
September 25, 1886	General Drum orders Miles to list the exact conditions he gave to Geronimo and Naiche.	Faulk 1969:171 Kalesnik 1992:176 Skinner 1987:93-94 Porter 1986:224
September 29, 1886	Miles responds to Drum concerning the conditions of surrender. The report is vague; it lacks substance.  General David Stanley is ordered to "ascertain. as fully and clearly as practicable, the exact understanding of Geronimo and Natchez as to the conditions of the surrender and the immediate circumstances which led to it."	Faulk 1969:171 Skinner 1987:98
September 30, 1886	General David Stanley at the garrison in San Antonio, having questioned Geronimo and Naiche about the conditions of surrender, files a report. Geronimo and Naiche give accounts of the surrender that support Howard's views – two years with their families in the east and then return to a reservation in Arizona.	Dubo 1976:316ff. Porter 1986:225
October 1, 1886	Langdon reports on conditions at Fort Marion.  Crook writes to Bourke expressing concern over imprisonment of the Chiricahuas.	Skinner 1987:99
October 7, 1886	Miles issues General Field Orders Number 12.	Porter 1986:224
October 7, 14, and 15, 1886	Cleveland's cabinet convenes to discuss the Chiricahua and Warm Springs case.	Faulk 1969:173 Kalesnik 1992:177ff. Skinner 1987:100
October 19, 1886	President Cleveland decides that the hostiles will be separated from their families. Scouts, women, and children will be sent to Fort Marion, Florida. Men will be sent to Fort Pickens, Florida. <u>Public safety</u> is cited as the primary reason.  Captain Charles Cooper arrives at Fort Apache with Mangus' bunch, which he intercepted as it was moving toward Fort	Faulk 1969:174 Geronimo 1970:179ff., 180-182 Skinner 1987:100-102

	Apache. Mangus, two warriors, three women, three children, Daklugie and Frank Mangus are in the band. One of the warriors is Goso. One is Fit-a-hat. One of the women is Mangus' wife, daughter of Victorio.	
October 22, 1886	Geronimo and Naiche talk to Stanley. They oppose the President's plan to separate them from their families. They state, again, the conditions of their surrender. Nevertheless, the Chiricahuas (Naiche, Geronimo, and the others) are sent at 4:00 pm by train to Fort Pickens.	Dubo 1976: 321ff. Skinner 1987:103-106, 116-117 Stockel 1993:97
October 25, 1886	The Chiricahuas (Naiche, Geronimo, and 13 others) arrive at Fort Pickens, Florida.  Chiricahua women and children with Kayitah and Martine are separated from their men and sent on to Fort Marion. They arrive at Fort Marion later the same day.	Dubo 1976:318 Stockel 1993:115ff., 118
October 1886	Lieutenant Stephen C. Mills selects older Apache children to be sent from Fort Marion to Carlisle Industrial School.	Skinner 1987:110, 115
November, 1886	Apparently, during this time, President Cleveland decides that <u>life imprisonment</u> for all Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches is the proper policy.	
November 4, 1886	32 boys and 12 girls from Fort Marion arrive at Carlisle.	Kalesnik 1992:199, 201 Porter 1986:224 Skinner 1987:126ff.
November 6, 1886	Goso and Mangus arrive at Fort Pickens. The women and children with Mangus are sent on to Fort Marion, bringing the total number of POW there to 492.	Dubo 1976:318-319
December 8, 1886	Children who had been with Mangus arrive at Carlisle. Asa Daklugie, Ramona Chihuahua, and Dorothy Naiche are among these children. 44 Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache children are now at Carlisle.	Kalesnik 1992:217 Skinner 1987:147
January 7, 1887	Colonel Loomis L. Langdon reports concerning conditions at Fort Pickens.	Porter 1986:230 Skinner 1987:129ff. Stockel 1993:80ff., 106ff.
January, 1887	Herbert Welsh and the Indian Rights Association receive complaints from Dr. Horace Carruthers, a physician in St. Augustine, concerning treatment of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. Carruthers notes a lack of proper food, clothing, and sanitation.	Porter 1986:226
January 4, 1887	Bourke writes to Welsh with recommendations for the Apaches. He also recommends that Welsh request permission to visit Fort Marion.	Crook 1948:270ff., 271 Porter 1986:227 Robinson 2001:292-293
February 23-March 7, 1887	Crook spends several days in Boston speaking about Indian Rights.	Porter 1986:226-227 Skinner 1987:138
February, 1887	Herbert Welsh visits Carlisle to determine the condition of Apache students.	Crook 1970:23
March, 1887	Crook seeks publication of his <u>Résumé of Operations Against the Apaches, 1882 to 1886</u> . It is published later in the year.	Porter 1986:227ff.
March 7, 1887	Herbert Welsh, John Bourke, and Henry Paul leave	Porter 1986:228ff.,

	Washington, D.C., to visit Fort Marion, Florida.	229, 230, 231
March 8-11, 1887	Welsh, Bourke, and Henry Paul visit Fort Marion. Bourke describes conditions at Fort Marion in his diary.	Dubo 1976:324, 325-326 Porter 1986:232 Skinner 1987:138
March 16, 1887	Sheridan orders Colonel Romeyn B. Ayers to report on the scouts incarcerated at Fort Marion. Ayers reports that of the 82 adult male Indians, 65 served as scouts during the whole time or part of the time that Geronimo was away from San Carlos from spring 1885 to fall 1886. 4 of the men are too old to have served as scouts. Only 13 to 15 of the men at Fort Marion had been combatants from 1885 to 1886.	Kalesnik 1992:217, 224ff.
March 24, 1887	Langdon reports on conditions at Fort Pickens.	
March-April, 1887	Welsh writes several articles about conditions at Fort Marion for eastern newspapers. Welsh's articles convince several other organizations to seek explanations for the government's treatment of the Apaches and to seek improvement of conditions for them. Cleveland assures the activists that the Apaches will be removed from Forts Marion and Pickens, but claims that he is having difficulty finding the proper place for them. Cleveland decides that Mount Vernon, Alabama is the proper place and that Apache families should be reunited.	Porter 1986:231-233
March 21, 1887	The <u>New York Daily Tribune</u> and the <u>Baltimore Sun</u> carry articles about the Chiricahuas.	
March 22 and April 4, 1887	The <u>New York Times</u> editorializes about Welsh's report. The editorials focus on Chatto and the scouts.	Kalesnik 1992:234 Porter 1986:232)
March 28, 1887	General Oliver O. Howard suggests that Fort Marion Apaches be sent to Fort Pickens. He states that public curiosity concerning the Chiricahuas will not be a problem at Fort Pickens. Langdon opposes Howard's plan on the grounds that Fort Pickens is an area subject to yellow fever and that farming is not possible there. Bourke hears of the plan on April 7. He takes immediate action and the plan is killed by April 11.	Skinner 1987:151-152
April, 1887	Geronimo writes a letter to his wives at Fort Marion.	Kalesnik 1992:237ff. Porter 1986:236-237 Thrapp 1967:365 N 27
April 4, 1887	Gatewood responds negatively to Welsh's opinions about the Apaches. Gatewood's letter and article support Miles' low opinion of the Apache scouts. It states that Miles' opinions are correct and downplays Martine's and Kayitah's contributions to the capture of Geronimo.	Kalesnik 1992:235ff. Skinner 1987:142
April 6, 1887	The <u>New York Times</u> editorializes about the government's treatment of the Apaches.	Porter 1986:234
April 9, 1887	Endicott meets with Bourke at the latter's residence and tells him that Welsh's reports in the newspapers "had given the President much anxiety and had been under discussion by the Cabinet at various times for several weeks." Endicott	Porter 1986:235



	tells Bourke that the President intends to send the Apaches to Mount Vernon Barracks, reunite the families of the Fort Pickens men, and send children and young married couples to Carlisle. The President wants Bourke to visit Mount Vernon Barracks and make a recommendation.	
April 11-16, 1887	Bourke visits Mount Vernon Barracks (under the orders of Secretary of War Endicott) to investigate this possible location for the Apaches.	Porter 1986:235
April 16, 1887	Endicott reads Bourke's report concerning conditions at Mount Vernon, Alabama. Endicott decides that Mount Vernon is the proper place for the Apaches and orders Bourke to discuss this possibility with Cleveland. Endicott sends Bourke immediately to meet with Cleveland. Cleveland approves the proposal.	Dubo 1976:319 Kalesnik 1992:240 Skinner 1987:161
April 22, 1887	Captain William Henry Pratt selects 62 more Apaches from Fort Marion to take to Carlisle. 32 children, 5 older girls, 12 married couples, and 1 man, Jason Betzinez, are taken <u>involuntarily</u> . Benedict Jozhe senior, Charles Ishtee, Tsisnah and Lucy, and Talbot Gooday and his wife are included.	Porter 1986:236 Skinner 1987:168-169
April 23, 1887	The <u>Mobile Register</u> announces that the Apaches will be moved to Mount Vernon. It states, "Indians at Mount Vernon will add greatly to the attractiveness of that place as a Sunday school picnic resort."  Bourke expresses his opinion of the Cleveland administration and European American expansion in a letter to Welsh.	Kalesnik 1992:242
April 27, 1887	354 Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches leave Fort Marion.	Dubo 1976:326ff. Porter 1986:235 Skinner 1987:183
April 28, 1887	31 Apaches (20 women and 11 children) go to Fort Pickens to join the men who are there. They are wives and children of the men at Fort Pickens.	Photos.
April 28, 1887	353 Apaches continue on to Mount Vernon and arrive there the same day.	Porter 1986:237ff., 238
Last week of April, 1887	Welsh's report, "The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida" is published.	Dubo 1976:328ff. Skinner 1987:171-172 Stockel 1993:108ff., 295 Turcheneske 1997:17
May-July, 1887	Conditions at Mount Vernon are no better than at forts Marion and Pickens. In fact, the POW find Mt. Vernon worse than Ft. Marion. Eugene Chihuahua said they "didn't know what misery was" until the government "dumped us in those swamps."	Dubo 1976:330 Kalesnik 1992:246 Skinner 1987:185-188
June 10, 1887	Apaches hold a Crown Dance at Fort Pickens. Apaches are given permission to dance only on the condition that they allow tourists to witness it. The Apaches agree. Approximately 300 tourists watch the ceremony.	Dubo 1976:336-337
June 30, 1887	Major William Sinclair reports on the health of the POW at Mount Vernon Barracks.	Kalesnik 1992:243ff. Skinner 1987:194ff., 198

		Stockel 1993:109ff.
August 9, 1887	Langdon reports on conditions at Fort Pickens.	Dubo 1976:336ff. Skinner 1987:175ff. Stockel 1993:145-148
August 15, 1887	Walter Reed becomes post Surgeon at Mount Vernon Barracks. Previously, he had acted as surgeon at Fort Apache. Reed describes poor conditions at Mount Vernon. He focuses on hunger and disease among the Apaches at Mount Vernon.	Skinner 1987:222-223
October 3, 1887	At the request of Geronimo and Naiche, Wratten writes to General Stanley asking what the government intends to do with the Apaches.	
October 12, 1887	Sheridan orders an increase in Apache rations at Fort Pickens to combat Apache hunger.	
January, 1888	Consensus develops among philanthropic organizations that the Apaches must be moved, again. Secretary of War Endicott asks Captain Richard Henry Pratt and General Samuel Armstrong for advice.	
January 21, 1888	Pratt recommends that the Apaches be relocated to Fort Sill, Oklahoma.	Kalesnik 1992:244ff. Skinner 1987:202ff., 204-205
March, 1888	William Ballou from the <u>Chicago Tribune</u> visits Fort Pickens and interviews Naiche. Naiche discusses his motivations for leaving San Carlos in 1885.  Wratten interprets.	Skinner 1987:209
Friday night, March 30, 1887	Perico's son is born	Robinson 2001:295
April 6, 1888	Crook is promoted major general. Miles is furious.	Dubo 1976:330-331 Skinner 1987:211
April 22, 1888	Katie enters Carlisle. Langdon sends her to Carlisle so that she will not marry Ahnandia, becoming his second wife. Katie dies on May 27, 1889.	
May, 1888	Welsh confers with General Crook about possible solutions to the Apache problem.	Skinner 1987:223, 224-225
May 13, 1888	Forty-six Apaches from Fort Pickens (Geronimo, Naiche, and others) arrive at Mount Vernon Barracks. This brings all POW together, except the children at Carlisle.	Kalesnik 1992:254 Skinner 1987:219
May 19, 1888	An article in the <u>Pensacolian</u> complains about a loss of tourism that will result from removal of the Apaches from Fort Pickens to Mount Vernon, Alabama.	
June 11, 1888	Welsh tells Endicott that General Crook suggests Fort Sill, Oklahoma for Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache relocation. Cleveland ignores Welsh's suggestion.	Skinner 1987:220
June 22, 1888	Five Apaches (Ira Goso, Chappo Geronimo, Eli Hunlona, Calvin Zhonne, and Hunlona's younger brother, Bruce Patterson) are taken from Fort Pickens to Carlisle.	Ball 1980:152-153 Skinner 1987:225ff., 226-227, 228
June-September, 1888	Various articles in the <u>Mobile Register</u> describe conditions at Mount Vernon Barracks.	Dubo 1976:331-333 Skinner 1987:210

July 8, 1888	Ira Goso, Chappo Geronimo, Eli Hunlona, Calvin Zhonne, and Hunlona's younger brother, Bruce Patterson, enter Carlisle. 4 of these 5 die -- 3 of TB, 1 suicide (Goso).	Skinner 1987:230-231
December 3, 1888	<p>President Cleveland comments extensively about the Apaches in his fourth Annual Message:</p> <p>"The death of General Sheridan in August last was a national affliction. The Army then lost the grandest of its chiefs. The country lost a brave and experienced soldier, a wise and discreet counselor, and a modest and sensible man. Those who in any manner came within the range of his personal association will never fail to pay deserved and willing homage to his greatness and the glory of his career, but they will cherish with more tender sensibility the loving memory of his simple, generous, and considerate nature.</p> <p>"The Apache Indians, whose removal from their reservation in Arizona followed the capture of those of their number who engaged in a bloody and murderous raid during a part of the years 1885 and 1886, are now held as prisoners of war at Mount Vernon Barracks, in the State of Alabama. They numbered on the 31st day of October, the date of the last report, 83 men, 170 women, 70 boys, and 59 girls; in all, 382 persons. The commanding officer states that they are in good health and contented, and that they are kept employed as fully as is possible in the circumstances. The children, as they arrive at a suitable age, are sent to the Indian schools at Carlisle and Hampton.</p> <p>"Last summer some charitable and kind people asked permission to send two teachers to these Indians for the purpose of instructing the adults as well as such children as should be found there. Such permission was readily granted, accommodations were provided for the teachers, and some portions of the buildings at the barracks were made available for school purposes. The good work contemplated has been commenced, and the teachers engaged are paid by the ladies with whom the plan originated.</p> <p>"I am not at all in sympathy with those benevolent but injudicious people who are constantly insisting that these Indians should be returned to their reservation. Their removal was an absolute necessity if the lives and property of citizens upon the frontier are to be at all regarded by the Government. Their continued restraint at a distance from the scene of their repeated and cruel murders and outrages is still necessary. It is a mistaken philanthropy, every way injurious, which prompts the desire to see these savages returned to their old haunts. They are in their present location as the result of the best judgment of those having official responsibility in the matter, and who are by no means lacking in kind consideration for the Indians. A number of these prisoners have forfeited their lives to outraged law and humanity. Experience has proved that they are dangerous and can not be trusted. This is true not only of those who on the warpath have heretofore actually been guilty of atrocious murder, but of their kindred and friends, who, while they remained upon their reservation, furnished aid and comfort to those absent with bloody intent.</p>	Stockel 1993:151

	<p>These prisoners should be treated kindly and kept in restraint far from the locality of their former reservation; they should be subjected to efforts calculated to lead to their improvement and the softening of their savage and cruel instincts, but their return to their old home should be persistently resisted.</p> <p>"The Secretary in his report gives a graphic history of these Indians, and recites with painful vividness their bloody deeds and the unhappy failure of the Government to manage them by peaceful means. It will be amazing if a perusal of this history will allow the survival of a desire for the return of these prisoners to their reservation upon sentimental or any other grounds."</p>	
January 10, 1889	Bourke writes a letter to Herbert Welsh criticizing the government's "policy of absolutely-do-nothing."	Dubo 1976:342
February 2, 1889	12 Apaches are allowed to go to Mescalero, New Mexico, including 'It'eda and Charlie Smith. These people are non-Chiricahuas who had been incarcerated. 'It'eda and Charlie Smith had been taken by Geronimo from Mescaleros after he raided San Carlos. "It'eda takes hers and Geronimo's child with her to Mescalero.	Skinner 1987:233ff.
February 14, 1889	Two school teachers (missionaries) arrive at Mount Vernon Barracks. School and Christianity become regular features of life at Mount Vernon.	Dubo 1976:340ff. Skinner 1987:236-238
March 14, 1889	Classes begin at Mount Vernon Barracks. Geronimo is installed as the school disciplinarian.	
March 29, 1889	Bourke, Crook, and Schofield meet to discuss the Chiricahua situation.	
June 14, 1889	Bourke is ordered to examine North Carolina's western region for a location suitable for the Chiricahuas.	Skinner 1987:255ff. Stockel 1993:186ff.
June 23, 1889 or July 23, 1889	Bourke and Charles C. Painter from the Indian Rights Association arrive at Mount Vernon to evaluate the Chiricahua situation. They meet with 29 Apaches to discuss the situation. Painter gives a speech focused on changes that the Apaches must make.  Wratten translates.	Stockel 1993:151ff.
July 5, 1889	Bourke submits his report on the Apaches.	Skinner 1987:265
July 30, 1889	The <u>Mobile Register</u> reports on conditions at Mount Vernon.	Skinner 1987:239ff.
May 11, 1890	A <u>New York Times</u> article describes conditions at Mount Vernon.	Stockel 1993:125
May 24, 1889	Pratt writes to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs describing the health of Apache children at Carlisle.	Porter 1986:255
June 4, 1889	Bourke delivers a letter to Secretary of War Proctor reviewing the entire history of the Chiricahua imprisonment.	Stockel 1993:127
June 18, 1889	Pratt again writes to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs describing the health of Apache children at Carlisle.	Porter 1986:256
June 18-22, 1889	Bourke and Painter tour North Carolina for a suitable location for the Apaches.	Porter 1986:256
June 23, 1889	Bourke and Painter arrive at Mount Vernon Barracks. The Apaches are conducting a girl's puberty ceremony. Bourke	Dubo 1976:343 Stockel 1993:125-

	meets with Huera, Geronimo, and others.	126, 128-136
July 1, 1889	John J. Cochran reports that 27 of the original 112 Apache children sent to Carlisle are dead and that 2 of the 76 survivors are ill with scrofula.	Porter 1986:258ff.
July 5, 1889	Bourke suggests that a tract of land offered for sale by the Cherokees should be the chosen site for the relocation of Apaches. The Indian Rights Association ultimately fails to purchase the Cherokee land and this plan falls through.	
September 2, 1889	Bourke, Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, and Thomas Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, meet to discuss the Chiricahua land purchase in North Carolina and agree that the Apaches should be relocated there.	
July-August 1889	Rumors spread that President Harrison intends to send Chiricahuas back to Arizona. Protests from the southwest erupt.	Skinner 1987:212-218
August 1889	Richard Wheatley publishes an article in <u>Cosmopolitan</u> -- he had visited Fort Pickens in April 1888.	
September 7, 1889	Proctor's enthusiasm for the North Carolina solution wanes.	
September 27, 1889	North Carolina Governor Daniel C. Fowle announces that the Apaches are not welcome in North Carolina. North Carolina Senator Zebulon Vance initiates a campaign to reverse public opinion. The campaign works. Proctor, however, is now not convinced that the plan is best. He cites a statute mandating that Indian prisoners of war must be held at military installations. He says that, given their current status, Mount Vernon is the best place for the Apaches.	Stockel 1993:153-154
October 31, 1889	Walter Reed reports about health and welfare of the Apaches.	Dubo 1976:344 Stockel 1993:154
November 18, 1889	Walter Reed again reports about health and welfare of the Apaches. Reed discusses Apache "hopelessness."	Stockel 1993:189
December 6, 1889	Miles sends a letter to Proctor outlining his opinions about the Apache POW.	Dubo 1976:344 Kalesnik 1992:255 Skinner 1987:267ff. Stockel 1993:159ff.
December 23, 1889	Lieutenant Guy Howard is ordered to prepare a detailed report of conditions at Mount Vernon. 119 of the 498 Apaches sent to Florida in 1886 have died by December 1889. He provides lists of deaths at different places, including Carlisle. He states: "Their labor is prison labor." He recommends immediate relocation.	Crook 1946:292ff. Dubo 1976:345ff. Skinner 1987:272ff.
January 2, 1890	General Crook and Major William Kellogg arrive at Mount Vernon on a fact finding mission. They meet with the Apaches. Crook refuses to talk with Geronimo. Naiche, Chatto, K'a'edine, Toclanny, Coonie, and Chihuahua speak with Crook.  Chatto, K'a'edine, and Noche give their versions of events with the delegation to Washington.  Coonie and Toclanny give their versions of events when the military rounded up Chiricahua and Warm Springs people at San Carlos.	Crook 1946:295ff. Dubo 1976:346 Skinner 1987:282ff., 286, 291ff., 292ff. Stockel 1993:162

	<p>Chihuahua asks that his daughter at Carlisle be returned to him.</p> <p>Kennon takes shorthand at the meeting.</p> <p>Wratten translates.</p>	
January 6, 1890	<p>Crook prepares a report concerning his observations at Mount Vernon. He criticizes General Miles and the government. Crook states, "Apaches are fond of their children and kinsfolk, and they live in terror lest their children be taken from them and sent to a distant school."</p> <p>Crook strongly advocates relocating the Apaches to Fort Sill, Oklahoma.</p>	
January 7, 1890	Crook arrives in Washington and publicizes the Apache scout story.	Skinner 1987:283, 284 Stockel 1993:190
January 13, 1890	Secretary Proctor submits two proposals concerning the Apaches to President Harrison. One advocates relocation to North Carolina. The other advocates relocation to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Proctor prefers the latter proposal and asks that Congress approve the relocation to Fort Sill. He suggests that Congress negotiate with Kiowas and Comanches to purchase land for the Apaches.	
January 21, 1890	Senate Indian Affairs Committee Chairman Henry Laurens Dawes gains passage of Senate Resolution 42, which directs the War Department to transfer the Apaches to Indian Territory.	Porter 1986:261
January 23, 1890	The resolution is referred to the House Committee on Indian Affairs. Controversy erupts. Miles leads protests.	Faulk 1969:186ff., 187 Kalesnik 1992:257 Skinner 1987:285
February 11, 1890	House Indian Affairs Committee Chairman Bishop W. Perkins begins hearings concerning Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache relocation. Miles lies under oath. (Miles calls the Apache scouts disloyal.) Legislation is forestalled by the Committee.	
March 21, 1890	General Crook dies of a heart attack.	
Spring, 1890	Welsh and the Indian Rights Association advocate the North Carolina location. Lieutenant Guy Howard suggests that conditions at Mount Vernon be improved until a more suitable location can be found. Congress uses this suggestion as a motive to "postpone more discussion on a sensitive issue." Relocation is postponed for three years.	
June 25, 1890	Proctor responds to accusations that he is responsible for failure of Welsh's and the Indian Rights Association's recent push for the North Carolina plan.	Dubo 348ff. Skinner 1987:298ff.
June, 1890	Lieutenant William Wallace Wotherspoon arrives at Mount Vernon as the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache's new officer-in-charge. He strongly advocates employment and acculturation as solutions to the Apache's situation.	Stockel 1993:163ff.
August 16, 1890	Walter Reed writes "Geronimo and his Warriors in Captivity."	Porter 1986:263

January 2, 1891	Bourke writes to Welsh expressing his disgust at the government's Indian policy, including the events at Wounded Knee. He compares Wounded Knee to the way in which the government has dealt with Apaches	Skinner 1987:303
February 15, 1891	Wotherspoon provides the Massachusetts Indian Association with a report concerning conditions among the Apaches.	Skinner 1987:306
March 8, 1891	Proctor orders recruitment of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches to form an Indian troop.	
March 20, 1891	Proctor arrives at Mount Vernon Barracks to inspect the Chiricahua and Warm Springs people. He orders Wotherspoon to form the Indian company.	Dubo 1976:350 Skinner 1987:317, 322 Stockel 1993:164ff.
May, 1891	46 Apaches are enlisted to form Company I of the Twelfth Infantry, including Tsisnah, Fun, Naiche, Ahnandia, Mangus, and others. 55 Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches eventually form the company. Other Apaches from Arizona are sent to Alabama to join Company I. The company is primarily responsible for construction and builds seventy-five houses by the end of 1891.	Skinner 1987:324ff.
February 7, 1892	Ahnandia dies. Geronimo is Justice of the Peace in the Apache Village at this time.	Dubo 1976:354 Skinner 1987:325 Stockel 1993:167
March 8, 1892	Fun wounds his wife and then kills himself.	Skinner 1987:325ff.
March 12, 1892	The Apache troop is marched through Mobile, Alabama.	Stockel 1993:166ff.
July 26, 1892	Wotherspoon issues a report concerning conditions at Mount Vernon during the previous year.	Porter 1986:265
November, 1892	Cleveland is reelected for a second term as President of the United States. Cleveland appoints Daniel C. Lamont as his Secretary of War.	Dubo 1976:350ff. Stockel 1993:170ff., 177ff
1893	W. C. Borden writes an article concerning the medical situation among Apaches during their years of imprisonment.	
February, 1893	Captain George W. Davis is assigned the task of resolving the Chiricahua issue.	
March, 1893	Charles Painter arrives at Mount Vernon. He learns from Wotherspoon that nothing more can be done at Mount Vernon for the Apaches. They advocate relocation of the People to North Carolina. President Cleveland shows no interest in the Apache situation.	Skinner 1987:344ff., 352ff.
March 12, 1893	Dutchy and El Ma Dittoen are killed in Mobile, Alabama. A trial of two white soldiers for the murders follows. Both of the white soldiers are found not guilty.	Dubo 1976:356
March, 1894	Government officials debate the status of Indian troops who have served three years in Troop I. Will they become free or be returned to their POW status and receive rations?	
March 24, 1894	General Oliver O. Howard visits Mount Vernon with the goal of transferring jurisdiction over Apaches from the War Department to the Interior Department. This transfer does not occur.  The War Department seeks to close installations such as Mount Vernon Barracks in cost-cutting efforts. Howard	Skinner 1987:368ff.

	recommends that the Apaches be relocated to a reservation in the west. General John M. Schofield agrees, but stipulates that they not be removed to Texas, New Mexico, or Arizona. The War Department suggests Fort Sill, Oklahoma.	
April 1-2, 1894	Geronimo seeks to remove Wratten as translator and replace him with a returned Carlisle student, possibly Daklugie.	Skinner 1987:372ff. Stockel 1993:167
April 18, 1894	Hugh Seeltoe kills his wife (Belle Seeltoe), a man (Private Arthur Nahtoahghun), and then himself. Toclanny, Kenzhenna, and Zele try to intervene.	Skinner 1987:384ff. Turcheneske 1997:33-37
May 19, 1894	Legislation directing the Secretary of War to relocate the Apaches to Fort Sill is inserted into the 1895 Army Appropriations Bill. Opposition arises. The bill is amended to authorize the Secretary of War to remove the Apaches to any military reservation he deems appropriate. This suggestion is made by General Miles. A political fight ensues, led by the Arizona delegation. Passage of the August 2, 1894 Appropriations Bill repeals the 1879 prohibition against relocating the Apaches in Indian Territory.	Dubo 1976:355 Skinner 1987:380ff.
July 5, 1894	Wotherspoon reports concerning Apache parents, children, and education.	Dubo 1976:357
August 1, 1894	Attending Surgeon Charles LaBaron reports on the health and welfare of Mount Vernon Apaches from 1891 to July, 1894.	Dubo 1976:360 Skinner 1987:385
August 29, 1894	Miles sends Lieutenant Hugh Lennox Scott and Captain Maus to meet with Apaches. Wratten translates. Scott records. Apaches are asked about their wishes to be moved to some other locality. Geronimo, Chihuahua, K'a'edine, and others speak. Chihuahua, again, asks that his children at Carlisle be returned to him.	Skinner 1987:388
September 9 or 10, 1894	Chappo dies of TB, having returned from Carlisle.	Stockel 1993:179ff.
September 18, 1894	General Oliver O. Howard prepares the order for Chiricahua and Warm Springs relocation to Fort Sill. A list of prisoners and their characteristics is prepared as part of the "closing out" process.	
October 2, 1894	The Apaches depart Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama.	Dubo 1976:364ff. Turcheneske 1997:40-41
October 4, 1894	296 Apaches arrive at Rush Springs, Oklahoma, and travel by wagon to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. About 45 Apaches remain at Carlisle, Hampton, or in the east.	
October 5, 1894	Apaches arrive at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.	Dubo 1976:364ff. Skinner 1987:398ff. Stockel 1993:205 Turcheneske 1997:42ff.
1895	Apaches settle in at Fort Sill. Clothing, food, labor, cattle, agriculture, and housing are key issues.  Apache children are taken from their parents and sent to school again.  Apaches are held under close military surveillance.	Dubo 1976:372 Skinner 1987:397 Turcheneske 1997:58



	Several Apaches return from Carlisle -- e.g., Asa Daklugie and Jason Betzinez.	
1895	Apache villages are established at Fort Sill with headmen who are enlisted in the army.	Turcheneske 1997:47
Mid-June, 1895	Hugh Lennox Scott initiates his Chiricahua cattle program.	Stockel 1993:206ff. Turcheneske 1997:53ff.
1896-1912	The dominant, interrelated issues of this period are: (1) Ownership of Fort Sill. (2) Establishment of a Chiricahua reservation. (3) Acquisition of additional land for the Apaches. (4) The Kiowa and Comanche Reservation. (5) Allotment of individually owned land for the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches. (6) The military's interest in Fort Sill. (7) Release of the Chiricahuas to the Department of Interior. (8) Another Chiricahua relocation. (9) Apache economic self-sufficiency.	Skinner 1987:400-401 Turcheneske 1997:54-55
1896	The War Department's agenda is to implement release of the Apaches. The War Department wants the Interior Department to assume jurisdiction over the Apaches by June 30, 1897. The Interior Department has no immediate intention of doing so.	Skinner 1987:402 Turcheneske 1997:62-63, 64-65
February 17, 1897	Kiowa and Comanche leaders agree to sell more land to the Fort Sill military reservation. Such land is to be used only for military purposes and to provide land for the Apaches. "Just and adequate" compensation is to be made to the Kiowas and Comanches.  Kiowa and Comanche chiefs and headmen sign the agreement.	Turcheneske 1997:61
June, 1897	Scott seeks to purchase additional land from Kiowas and Comanches for the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches.	Coppersmith 1992:138-139 Turcheneske 1997:56
August 17, 1896	Scott writes to George W. Davis describing the Jerome Agreement as fraudulent.	Dubo 1976:372
1897	An Apache Indian troop with 16 men is established at Fort Sill.	Turcheneske 1997:67
November 27, 1897	Hugh Lennox Scott leaves Fort Sill. He makes a statement about Apache land and his expectation that attempts will be made to defraud the Apaches of their land.	Skinner 1987:407ff.
August, 1898	Apaches attend the "World Exposition" in Omaha. Miles is guest of honor on Army Day. Jimmie Stevens acts as translator for a debate between Miles and Geronimo about the conditions of surrender in 1886.	Turcheneske 1997:72
Spring, 1900	General George W. Davis writes concerning the need to protect Apache rights to land at Fort Sill.	Turcheneske 1997:74
June 6, 1900	Under the Jerome Agreement, Fort Sill becomes property of the War Department.	Turcheneske 1997:73
Spring, 1901	Preparation is made to open "surplus" acreage from the allotted Kiowa and Comanche Reservation to settlement by European Americans, homesteaders.	Skinner 1987:415
Summer, 1901	Geronimo and others attend the Pan American Exposition in	Turcheneske

	Buffalo, New York. President McKinley is assassinated at the Exposition.	1997:74
September 20, 1901	President Roosevelt approves northern and southern additions to Fort Sill. The additions are explicitly intended for the Apaches.	Turcheneske 1997:76
August 6, 1901	Surplus Kiowa and Comanche lands are opened to settlement.	Turcheneske 1997:81ff.
Spring, 1902	Members of the military begin to argue in favor of retaining Fort Sill as a military reserve and removing the Apaches.	Turcheneske 1997:83
November 18, 1902	A plan to divide Fort Sill between Apaches and the military is devised. Scott opposes this plan.	Turcheneske 1997:92
May 6, 1903	A War College report stresses the need to retain Fort Sill for military purposes.	Turcheneske 1997:85
November 12, 1903	George Grinnell, anthropologist, writes describing and opposing the government's relocation policy.	Turcheneske 1997:86
December 12, 1903	Colonel Enoch H. Crowder argues that Fort Sill belongs to the military and that the Apaches should be relocated to Fort Reno, Oklahoma.	Turcheneske 1997:86-87
February 6, 1904	A second relocation plan is offered, suggesting that the Apaches be moved to land south of Fort Sill that is reserved for the Kiowas and Comanches.	Turcheneske 1997:88
March 3, 1904	Wotherspoon writes to Pratt requesting help in opposing the Apache relocation to Fort Reno. Pratt presents the case for the Apaches (against relocation) to William Howard Taft. Taft agrees not to relocate the Apaches.	Skinner 1987:423ff.
May 22, 1904	Major Farrand Sayre submits a report concerning conditions at Fort Sill to the Department of Texas.	Geronimo 1970:160ff. Skinner 1987:417ff.
July, 1904	Geronimo and others attend the Saint Louis World's Fair; that is, The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis.	Skinner 1987:426ff.
March 4, 1905	Geronimo and other Indian leaders attend Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural parade. Before going to the inaugural parade, Geronimo and the others visit Carlisle.	
March 10, 1905	Geronimo and other Indian leaders visit the Whitehouse.	Turcheneske 1997:94-95, 208
May 22, 1905	George Purington presents his position concerning relocation of the Apaches. He surveys Apache opinion.	Skinner 1987:453 Turcheneske 1997:97, 97ff., 98, 208
October, 1906	William Howard Taft visits Fort Sill. He decides to retain Fort Sill as a military reservation. He meets with several Apaches, including Chatto, Toclanny, and Betzinez. Wratten acts as interpreter. Taft later meets with Naiche and Asa Daklugie. Taft tells them to visit Warm Springs to determine if it is an acceptable place for relocation.	Turcheneske 1997:100
Winter, 1906/1907	Taft meets with Roosevelt and a decision is made to keep the Apaches at Fort Sill until the military needs the reserve.	Skinner 1987:454
February 15, 1907	Taft reports his meeting with Roosevelt. His report indicates that the Apaches only <u>use</u> Fort Sill and that when it becomes necessary (for the military) to use the reservation where the Apaches now live, it will be time to discuss a new place for them to live.	Turcheneske 1997:101ff.
March 7, 1908	Vincent Natalish begins his advocacy for the Apaches. He is	Skinner 1987:456ff.

	an Apache who went to Carlisle and then moved to New York City.	Turcheneske 1997:105ff.
February 17, 1909	Geronimo dies. The military seizes this opportunity to facilitate removal of the Apaches from Fort Sill.	Turcheneske 1997: 108
May, 1909	Asa Daklugie pursues efforts to relocate the Apaches to Mescalero, New Mexico.	Turcheneske 1997:109ff.
June 26, 1909	A conference is held at Mescalero to discuss the relocation of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches to that reservation.	Turcheneske 1997:111, 112
August 22, 1909	Purington meets with Apaches at Fort Sill to learn their preferences concerning relocation and allotment.	Turcheneske 1997:112
August 25, 1909	Purington offers his recommendations: (1) relocate those who desire to move to Ojo Caliente and Mescalero and (2) purchase land from Kiowas and Comanches for Apaches who want to remain in Oklahoma.	Turcheneske 1997:113-115
November-December 1909	The War Department and the Interior Department negotiate over which department should decide the Apache's fate.	Skinner 1987:466ff.
February 15, 1910	S. M. Brosius, Agent, Indian Rights Association, writes a memorial summarizing the illegality of retaining the Apaches as POW.	Turcheneske 1997:118
Fall, 1910	The War Department initiates plans to establish at Fort Sill the U.S. Army Field Artillery School of Fire.	Skinner 1987:468ff. Turcheneske 1997:116ff.
December 13, 1910	Judge Advocate George W. Davis issues an opinion about the legal status of the Apaches and Fort Sill. He deliberately misinterprets earlier agreements, conflating military <u>use</u> with <u>ownership</u> prior to 1900.	Turcheneske 1997:116-117
December 23, 1910	Indian Commissioner Robert G. Valentine opposes plans to relocate the Apaches.	Turcheneske 1997:121-124
July 20, 1911	The War Department selects Hugh Scott to determine to which lands the Chiricahuas could be relocated.	Coppersmith 1992:139
August 8, 1911	Indian Commissioner R. G. Valentine writes about government promises made to the Apaches concerning Fort Sill.	Coppersmith 1992:141ff. Stockel 1993:224ff. Turcheneske 1997:121-122
September 18, 1911 or September 21, 1911	Scott goes to Fort Sill to convince the Apaches that they must be relocated. Several Apaches respond to Scott. Scott tells them that Fort Sill had not been promised to the Apaches in perpetuity. He tells them that the government only promised use and occupancy and only until other arrangements could be made. Gooday, Mithlow, and Jozhe favor the Fort Sill allotment option. Others favor the Mescalero option.	
October 2, 1911	Scott arrives at Mescalero to investigate that location for relocation of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs peoples.	Stockel 1993:227 Turcheneske 1997:125
October 6, 1911	Reverend Walter C. Roe comments on the Apache situation.	Turcheneske 1997:124
October 8, 1911	Scott convenes a council of Mescalero headmen to talk about relocation.	Coppersmith 1992:145

	Asa Daklugie interprets.	
October 16, 1911	Another council between Scott and Apaches is held at Fort Sill.	Turcheneske 1997:127, 128
November 3, 1911	Scott reports to General Leonard Wood. He discusses Cleveland's broken promises to the Apaches.	Turcheneske 1997:128
December 15, 1911	Assistant Interior Secretary Carmi A. Thompson approves Scott's suggestions that those Apaches who wish to be relocated to Mescalero be allowed to do so and that those who wish to remain at Fort Sill be allotted land and released from their prisoner of war status.	Turcheneske 1997:138
January 3, 1912	Oklahoma representative Scott Ferris introduces legislation permitting the Secretary of War to release those Apaches desiring to be relocated to Mescalero.	Turcheneske 1997:138
February 3, 1912	Commissioner Valentine makes it clear that the Apaches had been promised Fort Sill.	Coppersmith 1992:153ff. Turcheneske 1997:129-130, 131ff.
Spring, 1912	The Interior Department capitulates to the War Department's demand that those Apaches who wished to remain in Oklahoma be removed from Fort Sill and allotted "dead Kiowa and Comanche allotments."	Stockel 1993:226ff.
March 13, 1912	Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, reports to President Taft concerning the Fort Sill POW.	Turcheneske 1997:140
May 16, 1912	Ferris's bill is reported in the House of Representatives.	Turcheneske 1997:145
August 19, 1912	Ferris's bill comes up for a vote in House of Representative. Some oppose it on fiscal grounds. After debate, the bill is removed from the calendar.	Turcheneske 1997:143ff.
August, 1912	New Mexican senators oppose legislation that would relocate Apaches to New Mexico.	Skinner 1987:474ff., 475-476 Turcheneske 1997:145
August 24, 1912	After much debate and compromise, the fiscal 1913 Indian Appropriation Bill becomes law. It includes funds for relocating Apaches.	Turcheneske 1997:146
September 12, 1912	The War Department adopts guidelines for relocating the Chiricahua and War Springs Apaches to Mescalero.	Turcheneske 1997:156
October 1, 1912	Hugh Scott meets with Apaches at Fort Sill to tell them who will go to Mescalero and who will stay in Oklahoma. The Apaches resist Scott's plan (under which he would make the relocation and allotment decisions).	Turcheneske 1997:152
December 1, 1912	Scott again meets with Apaches at Fort Sill and gives them a choice whether to stay in Oklahoma or go to Mescalero. Naiche and Eugene Chihuahua comment.	Skinner 1987:479ff. Turcheneske 1997:161
December 20, 1912	New Mexico's Senator Fall launches an effort to block the relocation of Apaches to Mescalero. He is a rancher and is motivated by self-interest. One of his relatives has grazing rights on the Mescalero Reservation.	Turcheneske 1997:147-149, 161
December, 1912	It is determined that \$200,000 included in the 1913 Indian appropriations bill is greatly insufficient to move people to Mescalero and to purchase dead Kiowa and Comanche land for allotment.	Turcheneske 1997:161, 162-163

April 2, 1913	A train bearing 163 Apaches leaves Fort Sill for Mescalero.	Turcheneske 1997:164
April 4, 1913	Apaches arrive at Mescalero. Jurisdiction over the Apaches is transferred to Agent Clarence R. Jefferis at which time their status as prisoners of war is terminated. The Apaches camp at Mescalero Agency.	Turcheneske 1997:168
April 21, 1913	Major Goode sells slightly more than half of the Chiricahua and War Springs Apache's cattle herd.	Turcheneske 1997:152
April 22, 1913	The House of Representatives passes the fiscal 1914 Indian Appropriation Bill. Additional funds to purchase Apache allotments in Oklahoma are included.	Turcheneske 1997:152
June 17, 1913	The same bill passes the Senate.	Turcheneske 1978:117, 125
October 3, 1913	Major General Leonard Wood, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, writes a letter to the Interior Secretary stating that U.S. Indian Commissioner Cato Sells should exert "special effort...to comply as promptly as possible with the promises made the Indians who went to Mescalero: that is, that they would be settled upon farms and be given an opportunity to earn a living, and that they would be rationed, clothed and sheltered until they had an opportunity to realize upon their first crops." The Indian Department "constantly deferred" meeting these obligations.	Turcheneske 1978:116-117
October 8, 1913	Major George W. Goode and Hugh Lennox Scott visit Mescalero to observe the condition of the Fort Sill Apaches. Only 30 families have been assigned farms at White Tail. Construction on 25 houses has not yet commenced. People desperately need clothing and other commodities. Goode urges development of the cattle industry.	Turcheneske 1997:172
November 12, 1913	Final instructions are issued to purchase allotments for the Apaches who remain in Oklahoma. The Apaches are allotted far less land than promised.	Coppersmith 1992:159ff. Turcheneske 1997:173, 174-175
March 7, 1914	Apaches remaining at Fort Sill are removed to their new allotments and released from their prisoner of war status.	Turcheneske 1978:121
Spring, 1914	Congress appropriates (for fiscal year 1915) a \$75,000 lump sum to meet all of Mescalero's industrial needs.	Turcheneske 1978:121
Mid-October, 1914	The Indian Office halts rations to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs people who had relocated to Mescalero.	Coppersmith 1992:170ff. Stockel 1993:228ff. Turcheneske 1978:113ff., 124, 127 Turcheneske 1997:177ff., 180, 181, 183, 184ff., 187
1914-1923	Conditions at Mescalero and in Oklahoma for the Apaches are extremely difficult.	Turcheneske 1978:123
January 5, 1916	New Mexico Senator Fall reintroduces a bill to make the Mescalero Reservation a national park.	Turcheneske 1978:125
1918	Asa Daklugie and Eugene Chihuahua launch a vigorous campaign to elicit help from Hugh Lennox Scott to obtain support from Congress.	Turcheneske 1978:126-127

July, 1919	Ernest Steckler becomes agent at Mescalero. He develops an economic plan for the Reservation based on timber and cattle. Funds from Congress to support this plan are, however, not allocated until three years later, after Steckler has left Mescalero.	Coppersmith 204ff.
1920s	Apaches seek compensation for wrongful imprisonment.	Turcheneske 1978:127
1923	Finally, due largely to the efforts of Hugh Scott, Congress appropriates \$75,000 "for the purpose of promoting civilization and self-support among the Indians of the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico."	Coppersmith 1992:190
1930s	Agriculture in Oklahoma for the Apaches is largely destroyed. The dust bowl, the Great Depression, and insufficient land held by Apache farmers (see insufficient allotments in 1914) are key elements of this destruction.  The Oklahoma Apaches lose much land through sale and leasing.  There is a generational and leadership shift in Oklahoma.  Communal ties between families in Oklahoma are weakened by distance between households, generational shift, economic conditions, school attendance, and other factors.	Coppersmith 1992:206
April 13, 1934	A letter is sent to John Collier outlining the tribe's grievances based on wrongful imprisonment and that at release they were not given the promised lands.	Coppersmith 1992:245
1936	The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches who moved to New Mexico are incorporated with the Lipan and Mescalero Apaches under Collier's Indian Reorganization Act to form the Mescalero Apache Tribe.	Coppersmith 1992:114, 187-188
February 8, 1937	As part of Collier's IRA efforts, Morris Opler writes a report about the Apaches in Oklahoma.	
WWII	Many Apaches participate in World War II.	Coppersmith 1992:196ff., 207ff.
1946	The Fort Sill Apache Tribe petitions the Indian Claims Commission. Removal and false imprisonment are raised as issues. The Indian Claims Petition dismisses the petition claiming that it does not have jurisdiction over such issues. The Commission claims that it has jurisdiction only over loss of ancestral land and of homes at Fort Sill.	Coppersmith 1992:211ff.
1956	The Fort Sill Apaches are targeted for termination.	Coppersmith 1992:213 Dubo 1970:378-379
January 1958	Several Fort Sill Apaches attend a meeting concerning termination.	Coppersmith 1992:214
February 22, 1958	The Fort Sill Apaches issue a formal statement opposing termination.	Coppersmith 1992:208
June 20, 1973 or September 19, 1973	The United States Court of Claims upholds the Land Claims Commission's decision to award the Fort Sill Apache Tribe \$16,489,096 for ancestral land lost.	Coppersmith 1992:244ff.
1973	A dispute arises among the Fort Sill Apaches about the manner in which to distribute the land claims award. A larger dispute then arises over who qualifies for the per capita	

	distributions.	
1976	The Fort Sill Apaches adopt a formal tribal constitution. Tribal membership criteria are established.	Coppersmith 1992:249-252
February 24, 1979	A negotiated settlement is reached whereby the Fort Sill Apaches are awarded an additional \$6,000,000 for resources extracted from their ancestral lands. This amount is distributed to people according to the 1976 tribal constitution. Some funds are retained for economic development.	Coppersmith 1992:253
October 4, 1980	The Fort Sill Apache Tribal Headquarters is completed and dedicated in Apache, Oklahoma.	

## **Chapter Five. A Brief Military History of the Chiricahua Apaches**

Rick Hendricks and Becki A. R. Graham

### **The Arrival of Chiricahua Apaches in the Southwest**

Chiricahua Apaches, other Apache groups, and Navajos speak related languages belonging to the Athapaskan language family (Figure 1). Historians and archaeologists widely believe that the ancestors of these peoples arrived in the southwest of the present-day United States not much before Spaniards penetrated the region. These scholars generally hold that Apaches and Spaniards met in 1541 when an expedition under the command of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado encountered Indians he referred to as Querechos, Apache Indians who followed the buffalo, and Teyas (Forbes 1960: 15-16). Recently, some have suggested that the Querechos were ancestral Apaches who arrived in the area of the Canadian River in the thirteenth century. By 1583, some of these people had spread west as far as Acoma, where Antonio de Espejo found them. Possibly, these Plains buffalo hunters seasonally migrated to the Eastern Pueblos, such as Pecos, where they traded with local peoples (Blakeslee, Boyd, Flint, Habicht-Mauche, Hickerson, Hughes, and Riley 2003: 176-77).

Some scholars previously thought that the Teyas, another group Coronado encountered in 1541, were Apachean, but other scholars link them to Caddoes or Jumanos (Blakeslee, Boyd, Flint, Habicht-Mauche, Hickerson, Hughes, and Riley 2003: 182-185; Riley 1997: 320-343). Opler thought that the Querechos living near Acoma "were a part of the Eastern Chiricahua band" (Opler 1983: 402).

### **Chiricahua Apaches in the Spanish Period**

From the time they acquired the horse and developed a lifestyle incorporating raiding for livestock and booty and warfare based on revenge, the Chiricahuas were almost constantly in conflict with Spaniards – priests, soldiers, and settlers – who encroached on or were within striking distance of Apache traditional territory. Apaches raided during any season, especially after the harvests had been gathered and during the winter and into spring (see Chapter Six. The Chiricahua Apache Mode of Production). Chiricahuas raided Spanish settlements in Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, and New Mexico throughout the colonial period (Kessell 1976: 47).

The first known recorded reference to the "Chiricahua Mountains" dates to 1684, at which time a group of Ópata Indians sought refuge from the Spaniards in the Cuchicagua Mountains (Wilson 1995: 9-10). Further evidence of an Ópata presence in Chiricahua Apache territory comes from military proceedings recorded in March 1692. Francisco Ramírez de Salazar led a campaign against the Sobaipuris at that time into the region and reported encountering Ópata speakers (Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, War proceedings against the rebel Indians, Parral, 15 March 1692, AHP, 1692A). More information about



the Chiricahua Mountains came from Father Juan Nentvig, a Jesuits priest serving in the mission field of Sonora in 1764. The term "Chiguicagui" in Ópata means "Mountain of the Guajolotes," or wild turkeys (Nentvig 1980:25). On Nentvig's 1762 map, Chiguicagua is located at 34 degrees, 30 minutes latitude by 265 degrees longitude (Nentvig 1980:125). The use of several other Ópata names to describe physical features in the region led Nentvig to conclude that the area was Ópata country.

Governor Diego de Vargas halted his plans for the reconquest of New Mexico in 1691 to join an expedition with troops from Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya against Apaches who had been raiding in Sonora. Vargas considered the most deadly enemy to be the Gila Apaches, the easternmost Chiricahua band. He advocated an attack on their stronghold in what Vargas called the Gila Mountains, the present-day Mimbres and Piños Altos Mountains, because he thought it

... necessary to destroy the Apaches of the Gila Mountains, the most powerful in bravery, skill, and number ... to combine forces and carry out the invasion of the Gila Mountains. Given the number of men, they could be distributed in such a way as to carry out a slaughter of telling consequence, and the enemy might then leave the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa calm for a time. (Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 89)

In June 1695, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, the commander of the presidio at Janos, lead an expedition against the Pimas that also detoured to penetrate the Chiricahua Mountains pursuing Apaches and their allies: Sumas, Janos, and Jcomes (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 583-584).<sup>1</sup> Near the present-day Sonora-Arizona border, the expedition found a Suma woman who stated that a settlement of her people, including elders, young men, women, and children was in the Chiricahua Mountains (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 590). A Chinarra man gave much the same testimony as the Suma woman. Apparently, these Indian groups were settled near a waterhole Spaniards referred to as Sinaloas, which was located deep within the Chiricahua Mountains (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 591). While camped at the waterhole of San Bernardino, the Spaniards gathered intelligence about the activities of the Sumas and Jcomes in the Chiricahuas.

The expedition camped at a spring the Spaniards called Chupadero de las Lágrimas de San Pedro, present-day Dripping Springs in Sulphur Draw on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 592). Entering by Cave Creek Canyon,

---

<sup>1</sup> An abbreviated version of Fernández de la Fuente's campaign journal is translated and Published in Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., comps. and eds., *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History, Volume 1, 1570-1700* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 583-718. The complete Spanish original is in the *Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral*, microfilm 1695, fr. 5-208.

the Spaniards encountered Indians who proposed a parley. An exchange of Ópata prisoners, whom the Indians held, for a Chinarra prisoner was arranged. Leaders of the Janos, Jocomes, Suma, Chinarra, and Manso Indians joined the discussion and requested peace (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 593). Despite this promising beginning, the discussions did not produce peace. The Indians delayed and the Spaniards grew tired of waiting and eventually departed (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 596).

By mid-September, the expedition was back in the area on the west side of the Chiricahuas. There they came across an abandoned village that Jocomes and Apaches had occupied until the Spaniards approached (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 640). They learned that Janos, Mansos, and Sumas were living on the Gila River along with Chinarras and their allies, the Apaches (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 641). Fernández then considered an invasion of an Apache stronghold on the Gila River.

Within a week, the expedition had moved to an arroyo at the north end of the Chiricahua Mountains, probably at the western approach to Apache Pass, which the Spaniards initially called San Felipe and later El Puerto del Dado (Wilson 1995: 10), between the Chiricahua and Dos Cabezas Mountains (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 643, 649). Gathering more information, the Spaniards learned that some Janos were at the spring on the northern slope of what the Spaniards called the Santa Rosa Mountains, the present-day Pinaleños. The Jocomes and more Apaches were living on the west side of the Pinaleños (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 644). By the end of September, the expedition could see the middle of the Chiricahua Mountains, the heart of Apache country. The Spaniards could continue no further, however, because they had been overcome by illness and because the Indians they were pursuing had withdrawn to places virtually invulnerable to attack (Naylor and Polzer 1986: 652).

Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., commented on the 1695 campaign to the Chiricahua Mountains, noting that the Spaniards found accumulated spoils of years of Apache raiding. Following an Apache raid on the mission at Cocóspera in 1697, a punitive expedition returned to the Chiricahua Mountains hunting the Apaches and their allies. A cycle of Apache raiding of settlements in Sonora and Spanish expeditions of reprisal that began with these events of the late 1690s continued throughout the Spanish period. Kino's observations demonstrate conclusively that the Chiricahua Apache range at the end of the seventeenth century and opening decades of the eighteenth century was extending in a southwesterly direction from the Chiricahua Mountains into Sonora. Raiding carried the Apaches into the headwaters of the Santa Cruz River and along the valley of the San Pedro River. Apache movement into the San Pedro River Valley had the effect of displacing Sobaipuris. Chiricahua Apaches also controlled much of the area southwest of the Chiricahua Mountains as far as northern Sonora and northwestern Chihuahua (Kino 1919 1:176; 2:255).

Spanish presidios were established at Terrenate in 1742. Five years later, the viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Revillagigedo, ordered a massive campaign against the Gila Apaches. Under Captain Alonso Victores Rubín de Celis, an expedition of Spanish soldiers and Indian allies, a force of more than 700 in all, moved up the Rio Grande as far

as the Jornada del Muerto and then turned toward the Mimbres River. They continued into present-day Arizona, discovering and naming the Río San Francisco. Even though the expedition penetrated into the heart of Chiricahua Apache country, they failed to find and engage any Apaches. The approach of a large, hostile army had given Chiricahua people ample time to move out of harm's way. Even though the combined Spanish forces remained in the field for three months, the campaign was ineffective (Kessell 1971: 136-38).

In 1748, Agustín de Vilósola, governor of Sonora, was recalled to Mexico City. In his stead, Licenciado José Rodríguez Gallardo was named commissioned judge, inspector, and investigator of presidios. The most notable development of his tenure was a deterioration of Spanish-Apache relations caused by his actions. The successful conclusion of his inspection of Sinaloa and Sonora led to calls for his interim appointment as governor of Sonora, a title he was granted in March 1749. He then prepared an expedition to the Chiricahua Mountains against the Apaches. The Spanish troops returned with Apache leaders Bautista and Pedro in chains, along with a Seri leader named Canito. Before the year was out, Rodríguez Gallardo organized another campaign to the Chiricahua Mountains (Navarro García 1964: 85-86).

In 1751, an expedition out of Sonora attacked into the Chiricahua Mountains and took several Apache prisoners, including two leaders (Sweeny, 1998: 12; Griffen, 1988b: 22-23). Another presidio was established at Tubac in 1752 in an attempt to halt the spread of the Chiricahua Apaches on the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers. Pressure from Apaches on the thin line of Jesuit mission settlements in the Santa Cruz Valley was so great at this time that collapse threatened (Kessell 1976: 7).

In November 1756, a major expedition under the command of Captain Bernardo Antonio de Bustamante y Tagle and Captain Gabriel Antonio de Vildósola set out to destroy Apaches from the Gila wilderness to the San Simón Valley. Bustamante y Tagle brought 60 presidial soldiers and 60 Tarahumara warriors from Chihuahua, and Vildósola brought fifty presidial soldiers, 140 Ópata fighters, and some citizen soldiers. The expedition pulled up short of the Chiricahua Mountains, and Bustamante y Tagle and Vildósola opted not to attack the Apaches in their stronghold. The most tangible result of the expedition, according to the military, was the death of 30 warriors and the enslavement of 37 women and children (Kessell 1971: 133-42).<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Bartolomé Sáenz, S.J., the chaplain of the expedition, indicated that seventeen Apache men were slain and forty-five women and children were taken captive. John L. Kessell, "Campaigning on the Upper Gila, 1576." *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (1971): 145-150.

In 1764, Apaches drove rancher Juan Grijalva out of the San Luis Valley south Guevavi mission (Kessell 1976: 20).

In June 1766, Apaches attacked Sonoita Indians working in their fields. The farmers put up a spirited defense; two were killed. The raid caused the governor of Sonora, Juan Claudio de Pineda, to remark, "Every day the Apaches extend their raids, because for more than two years it has been impossible to patrol their territory since all the troops of the northern presidios are on the southern front" (Kessell 1976: 40).

Also in 1766, the Marqués de Rubi and cartographer Nicolás de Lafora arrived in Terrenate and observed that Apaches from the Chiricahua Mountains had destroyed Sobaipuri villages in the valley of the San Pedro (Lafora 1958: 106).

In the winter of 1767, Apaches attacked a horse herd belonging to the presidio of Terrenate, killing a trooper and carrying off another soldier and a civilian. The Apaches warriors were clad in cueras, long leather coats, like presidial soldiers, and they wielded lances. When troops gave chase, the Apaches killed their two prisoners (Kessell 1976: 21).

In September 1768, two Apaches stole an entire herd of remounts from Terrenate Presidio, killing one trooper and wounding two. In October, they carried off horses and cattle from the mission of San Xavier del Bac. A day later, they stole livestock from Santa María Soamca. They hit Soamca again in November and dealt a deathblow to the mission by burning the dwellings of the mission Indians and two other buildings. The Apaches broke into the church and desecrated it, destroying its furnishings (Kessell 1976: 49).

In 1769, a Spanish expedition of some 700 men attacked the people of a leader called Chafalotes who operated in the region from the Mimbres River to the Gila River. Chafalote's camp was destroyed, as was another Apache camp. Sixty Indians were killed and fifteen were taken captive. This assault set off a wave of retaliatory raiding by Apaches and reprisals by the Spanish (Sweeny 1998: 12; Griffen 1988b: 29-31).

In February 1769, Apaches attacked Tumacácori, but were unable to steal any livestock because of Indian and Spanish resistance. Within days, 30 Apaches assaulted San Xavier and took most of the mission's livestock. In March, the raid on San Xavier was repeated. Rumors of a massive Apache attack on San Xavier proved false (Kessell 1976: 49-50).

Not until the 1770s did Spaniards began to use the term, Chiricahua, to refer to a specific group of Apaches distinct in their minds from eastern groups (Wilson 1995: 10). In the mid-1770s, the eastern Chiricahuas, or Chihennes (Red-Paint People), were called various names such as Gila, Mimbres, Mogollón, and Copper Mine Apaches by the Spaniards. These Apaches apparently raided along a wide arc from Sonora to central New Mexico. The western band of Apaches, which the Spaniards eventually came to call Chiricahuas, were the Chokonen. The Bedonkohe were a third band living in the Chiricahua homeland north of the others. A fourth band was the southernmost group,

which operated mostly in Mexico. They were the Nednhi. In later years, Mexicans and Americans referred to this group as Janeros, Carrizaleños, and Pinery Apaches because of the places they usually lived (Sweeny 1998: 5, 7).

Each Chiricahua band consisted of three to five "local groups," each of which, in turn, consisted of ten to thirty extended families. Local groups usually established one of more camps – what the Spaniards called "rancherías." Each extended family was related through the maternal line and established its home around 100 yards from the next nearest extended family unit. This organizational structure was completely lost on the Spaniards, who conceived of Apache society as being similar in some respects to their own. They assumed Apache groups were governed by strong figures the Spaniards typically called capitancillos, little captains.

In May 1770, Apaches attacked and killed seven Indians from Calabazas mission. That same month, Anza's troops and Apaches tangled – attacking and counterattacking each other over a two-week stretch. Anza's force killed two men and two women who were carrying bows and arrows as though they were men, or so the official explanation went. The Spaniards also captured seven children. In July, Apaches retaliated on the mission charge of Sonoita. The Apaches broke into the house the priest used when ministering to this charges and killed nineteen Pimas who had sought refuge there, including the Indian governor, his wife, and eleven children (Kessell 1976: 56-57).

Anza lead 34 presidial troops and fifty Pima auxiliaries on a campaign against the Apaches near the Gila River in the summer of 1771. In early August, they came upon an Apache camp, taking the Indians by surprise. The troops killed nine people and took eight captive. The rest of the Apaches fled, leaving their possessions behind in the camp (Kessell 1976: 61).

In September 1771, the Viceroy, the Marqués de Croix, appointed Irish-born Hugo O'Connor Commandant Inspector of the Interior Provinces. After arriving in Chihuahua, O'Connor surveyed the situation. He found that in 1770 Apaches had killed more than 140 people, injuring 16, and carrying off an unspecified number of captives. They had stolen more than 7,000 head of livestock and killed many more. O'Connor reckoned that since 1748, when open warfare between Apaches and Spaniards began in earnest, the Indians had killed more than 4,000 people and had caused damages amounting to 12,000 pesos. His opinion of Apaches was blunt.

[O'Connor] maintained that "the cruelty of the barbarians" spared no one, "regardless of age or sex, even ripping infants from the breasts of their mothers and even from the womb, and executing on their bodies the most detestable excesses. (Santiago 1994: 31, 35)

He also claimed that Apaches were "all veteran soldiers...bred to war (Santiago 1994: 36).

In mid-October 1772, Apaches from the Cajón de Babinioca attacked Tubac in southern Arizona and stole about 100 horses, killing one soldier. Two weeks later, Apaches struck Terrenate, taking 257 horses. The troops who pursued lost an additional seven horses and all their gear (Kessell 1976: 78). Viceroy Bucareli ordered a reprisal. Troops under Gabriel Antonio Vildósola were to coordinate movements with an expedition from Chihuahua and penetrate the Chiricahua Mountains, where Apaches had stores of mescal, their principal food (Navarro García 1964: 259). Although the Spaniards were not particularly successful, a force of Papago killed ten Apache men and twenty-one women and took seven young girls prisoner.

In December, Apaches took about 100 head of cattle from Tubac. In early January 1774, they took another 130 horses from Tubac. In February, Apaches ambushed a ten-man detachment from Terrenate and killed two soldiers. In this encounter, surviving troops, all of whom were wounded, reportedly killed an Apache war chief and two warriors (Kessell 1976: 94-95 n. 7).

In September 1774, 170 Apaches met the Third Flying Company in the Sierra Escondida near San Buenaventura in present-day Chihuahua. In the battle that ensued, Apaches killed the company captain and four soldiers. Ten soldiers were wounded. Scolded by Viceroy Bucareli, O'Connor sought to avenge this affront to his ability as a commander. In December, he sent an expedition of 259 soldiers and Indian allies from Carrizal, San Buenaventura, and Janos into the mountains northwest of Janos. In a battle in the Hatchet Mountains, the troops killed seven Apaches and captured 13 (Santiago 1994: 60-61).

By the summer of 1775, O'Connor was planning a major Spanish military expedition. The Irishman's idea was to launch a coordinated attack involving eight units operating all along the Interior Provinces. Governor Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola of Coahuila was to head northeast into Texas with 325 men and then drive Mescalero, Nataje, and Lipan Apaches toward the Pecos River. Another unit of 90 soldiers would follow the Rio Grande north to its confluence with the Pecos River and then move up the Pecos. After joining with Ugarte y Loyola, the combined forces would head west with the Apaches retreating before them. The Spanish would then drive the Apaches into a third unit of 120 men led by Manuel Muñoz, captain of La Junta Presidio. If the Apaches evaded the trap, another unit, 140 men strong, under the command of Francisco Bellido of San Elizario Presidio, would head north of El Paso through the Sacramento and Sierra Blanca Mountains. This unit would unite with some 250 men from Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Far to the west, three more units would take the field. Two hundred men from New Mexico would head south along the Rio Grande pushing Chihenne Apaches toward the Mimbres and Mogollon Mountains. From Sonora, 285 men commanded by Francisco Antonio Grespo would head for the Gila River attacking Chiricahua and Gila Apaches. Departing Carrizal Presidio, O'Connor and three hundred soldiers would join the unit from Sonora and smash the Apaches between the troops from New Mexico and his own men. Viceroy Bucareli in Mexico City did not approve the grandiose plan because he thought it committed too many Sonoran troops to the campaign. O'Connor had to substitute militia companies for missing presidial soldiers.

In September, O'Connor began the general campaign with a reduced force. From late September to late November, the plan unfolded, but Apaches proved elusive. In 15 encounters along the whole line of the Interior Provinces, Spanish troops and militiamen killed 132 Apaches, captured 104, and recovered almost 2,000 head of livestock. They did not crush the Apaches, and raiding continued in many sectors of the frontier (Santiago 1994: 65-68). In September, Apaches drove off Tubac's entire horse herd of 500 horses and left Spaniards fuming (Kessell 1976: 110).

On multiple occasions in 1776, Apaches attacked Albuquerque. In response, the Governor of New Mexico, Fermín de Mindinueta, sent a punitive expedition against the Gila Apaches that forced them to sue for peace (Navarro García 1964: 242, 248-250; Thomas 1932: 6-13).

In Sonora, Apaches, Piatos, and Seris attacked Santa Maria Magdalena in mid-November, killing several inhabitants. A week later, the same group assaulted Saaric and killed ten people. At Calabazas in June, Apaches killed seven and lost 13. Near the Ocuca ranch, Apaches slew eight people (Kessell 1976: 130). In the five years of war ending in 1776, Apaches killed 1,674 Spaniards and captured 154 in Nueva Vizcaya. More than 100 ranches had been abandoned and more than 68,000 head of livestock had been stolen (Sweeny 1998: 13; Griffen 1988b: 31-33).

The peace was short lived, and within one year Chiricahua Apaches were again at war with the Spaniards. In the spring, O'Connor planned another general campaign against Apaches. He intended to put more than 2,000 men into the field and pursue a series of envelopments, as on the previous occasion. In April before the campaign could be launched, the Third Flying Company encountered 300 Apaches between Janos and San Buenaventura, killing 40. In June and July, troops from San Vicente attacked two Apache camps and killed 16 Indians, rescuing three Spanish prisoners. Also in July, Apaches killed the captain of Santa Cruz de Terrenate Presidio along with 25 soldiers. In September, O'Connor's second general campaign began when he departed Janos with several hundred men and headed for the Mimbres Mountains. In five engagements in Chiricahua country, the troops killed 27 Apaches and captured 18. On this occasion, the Spaniards drove the Apaches through the Sacramento and Sierra Blanca Mountains. The fleeing Apaches met a large group of Comanches near the Pecos River. The Comanches killed more than 300 families of Apaches; only one Apache and one Spanish captive survived the massacre (Santiago 1994: 65-68).

In October 1777, Apaches attacked Janos presidio. After a parley with Pachteju, the Chiricahua leader, Spaniards granted Apaches permission to settle the presidio. In other parts of the frontier, Spaniards and Apaches continued fighting (Thomas 1932: 14-17).

Apaches attacked the mission at Ati in April 1778, killing four people. Fleeing the scene, they encountered fray Felipe Guillén, the missionary of Tubutama, and killed him with a lance blow to the chest. At Tubac, Calabazas, and Pimería Apaches accounted for another seven dead. General Commander Croix noted, "The Apaches do not respect the priestly state, nor do they understand the sacrilege of killing a priest" (Kessell 1976: 133). In the

summer of 1790, Apaches killed fray Francisco Perdigón, the chaplain of Tucson Presidio, after torturing him and inflicting wounds all over his body. A dozen Apaches ambushed and killed Captain Miguel de Urrea as he inspected his property near Altar (Kessell 1976: 135).

Tucson came under attack in May 1782, when 500 to 600 Apaches attempted to subdue the settlement. Apache resentment of the local commander, Captain Pedro de Allande, was stoked by his practice of impaling the severed heads of dead Apaches atop the military compound. In January 1784, Allande led an attack on two Apache camps near the Gila River. Allande and his Pima auxiliaries killed five warriors and four women. They also captured 24 women and children. Nine Apache heads were placed on the walls at Tucson (Kessell 1976: 160).

In 1784, Spaniards mounted another major expedition – referred to as the Gila Campaign – into Chiricahua country. Felipe de Neve called for five separate units consisting of 800 men from the presidios of Fronteras, Janos, Tucson, and Velarde to operate in a coordinated series of movements designed to intercept Apaches as they fled before their attackers through the mountains. In the event, many fewer troops participated because some had to be reassigned. Roque de Medina from Fronteras Presidio led one unit that headed for the Gila River. Diego de Borica, leading the third and fourth units, penetrated Chiricahua country by way of the Animas Mountains. Pedro de Allande departed Tucson and headed for the Gila River. Borica had the Ópata troops from Bavispe and Bacuachi, under the command of the Ópata general Medrano and the volunteer Domingo Vergara, attack the Chiricahua Mountains. Francisco Martínez led a fifth unit that attacked the Hatchet Mountains and then moved to the Mimbres Mountains, where he received groups of Apaches that were fleeing the Spanish advances from other directions. The invasion resulted in the death of 68 Apaches and the capture of sixteen Apaches. In addition, two captives held by Apaches were freed and 168 stolen animals were recovered, as well as many buffalo hides and buckskins. The Spaniards suffered a single casualty and it was certain that the losses of the Chiricahuas were greater than what the various captains recorded in their journals, given the Apache practice of carefully hiding their dead. Moreover, those mortally wounded in battle tended to withdraw from the field to caves or brambles to die out of sight of the enemy (Navarro García 1964: 439-440). Some Chiricahua Apaches fled north and were given refuge by Navajos. The following year, both Apaches and Navajos raided Spanish settlements in Sonora and Chihuahua (Thomas 1932: 251-256).

The predictable response to the Gila Campaign was a round of Apache revenge attacks. From June through August 1784, the area around Tucson and Fronteras was assaulted frequently. On 25 June, 200 Apaches attacked the mission of San Javier del Bac. On 1 August, more than 300 Apaches, Pimas, and Papagos carried off 100 horses from Tucson and left three Spaniards dead. Two hundred Apaches assaulted Bacuachi and killed eight people, including the Ópata captain of the new presidio there. At the end of August, Apaches carried out two raids on the horse herd at Fronteras Presidio. The Spanish reprisals for these attacks were carried out by Indian allies – Ópatas from Bavispe and Pimas from San Ignacio. These Indians became special targets for Apaches who laid



ambushes to extract vengeance from the Spanish allies. In September and October, presidial forces moved against Apaches in the Sierra de San Calixto and the Chiricahua Mountains. In November, Captain Echegaray from Terrenate Presidio led 210 Spanish and Ópata men to the Chiricahua Mountains. Also in November, four hundred Chihennes, operating in groups of 50 to 70 warriors, entered Nueva Vizcaya from different directions. José Antonio Rengel, the commander of Interior Provinces, set six detachments of presidial troops after various groups of attacking Chihennes, killing 22 Apaches and taking some prisoners. The troops also recovered 775 head of livestock.

The Captain of Fronteras Presidio, Manuel de la Azuela, led an expedition to the Chiricahua Mountains in January 1785 (Navarro García 1964: 444-445). By the middle of the following month, Azuela reported that he had not dared to engage a large Apache camp north of Janos even though he had 114 presidial soldiers under his command. Given the size of his force, Azuela's reluctance to attack the Apaches suggests that their camp was very large. In March, Alferez Domingo de Vergara commanded eighty men from Fronteras, Bavispe, and Bacuachi on an expedition into the Chiricahua Mountains and surrounding area. In January of the following year, 1786, Captain Allande found a large group of Apaches on the Gila River and engaged them in combat, although the fighting was inconclusive (Navarro García 1964: 447-448).

Following recommendations of Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez's reforms of 1786, so-called "peace establishments" were set up on the northern frontier near presidios. Gálvez's "Instrucción" ran to 216 paragraphs. Historian John L. Kessell described the Indian policy it laid out as a "combination of the mailed fist and the olive branch" (Kessell 1976: 163). Gálvez's policy offered Apaches peace on the Spaniards' terms or the prospect of war to the death. Basic to the policy was the requirement that Apaches were to settle near presidios where they would receive provisions, alcohol, tobacco, and firearms. The goal of the peace camps was to make Apaches dependent on Spaniards (Hendricks and Timmons, 1998: 23).

Some Chiricahua Apaches sought peace terms in September 1786 and settled at the Ópata presidio at Bacoachi on the upper Sonora River between Fronteras and Arizpe. In October, more Apaches appeared at the mission of Calabazas saying that they wanted to settle there in peace, but it was a ruse. The Apaches attacked the Calabazas Indians working in their fields, killing two and leaving one wounded. Captain Pedro Romero led his fifty-man column after the Apaches. They encountered a larger group of Apaches in their camp and drove them away, killing four and confiscating all their possessions (Kessell 1976: 164; Wilson 1995: 55-56).

In 1787, the administration of Jacobo Ugarte, General Commander of the Interior Provinces, was familiar with several Chiricahua leaders, or individuals thought by the Spaniards to be important men. Among them were Isosé (Aysosé), Chiganstegé (El Chiquito), Asguegoca (brother of El Chiquito), Echini, Asguenitesy, Chamy, Compá, and El Cacho. Ugarte actively negotiated with Chihenne in Nueva Vizcaya and Chokonon in Sonora, offering peace terms in accord with Gálvez's 1786 Instrucción (Moorhead 1968: 133, 173). Following the Instrucción, Ugarte tried to create divisions among and within

tribes hostile to the Spaniards. He brokered peace with groups that requested it and then pitted them against other groups that had remained hostile. This worked well with the Chiricahua in Sonora. Some Chiricahuas had also made peace in Nueva Vizcaya. Ugarte's plan of operations against the Chihennes in southwestern New Mexico, which he was largely unable to pursue, would have set Sonoran troops and Chokonon auxiliaries against Chihennes (Moorhead 1968: 139-140).

In September 1786, several bands of Chiricahuas requested peace terms in Sonora (Moorhead 1968: 182-183). Over the course of the next six months, other groups settled at peace. By March 1787, 251 Chiricahuas were living at Bacoachi. Subsequently, Spaniards pointed to the Chiricahuas at Bacoachi as an example for other Apache groups that sought to settle in peace camps. According to the Spaniards, Isosé was the most important leader of this group. When Capitancillo Barrio, a Mescalero leader, sought to settle his followers at peace in the El Paso area, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola stated that he would grant his permission if Barrio's people wished to live as the Chiricahuas did at Bacoachi (Hendricks and Timmons 1998: 25). Mimbres Apaches followed suit, settling at Janos Presidio. Most of the Chihenne and many Nednhis had settled near San Buenaventura Presidio in western Nueva Vizcaya. Spanish officials distributed rations to eight leaders and around 800 or 900 Apaches (Sweeny 1998: 14; Griffen 1988b: 55-56).

In March 1787, El Chiquito, who had requested peace for his people at Bacoachi, fled. Ugarte reported that some of the Chiricahuas who remained asked to go after El Chiquito and return with his severed head. Instead, Ugarte dispatched three Chiricahuas to meet El Chiquito and inform him that he could return in peace or face war. Before the Chiricahuas caught up with him, El Chiquito sent two of his daughters back to Bacoachi with word that he and his followers were returning (Moorhead 1968: 183-184).

The important Chihenne leader, Ojos Colorados, met Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Cordero at Janos and provided information about the Chiricahua Apaches. Based on his conversations with Ojos Colorados, Cordero concluded that there were three Chiricahua bands: the Segatajen-ne (Chokonens), Tjuiccuje-ne (Behonkohes), and Mimbrenos (Chihennes). He further concluded that the Mimbrenos consisted of an upper and lower group (Sweeny 1998: 15).<sup>3</sup>

By the middle of 1787, El Chiquito still had not returned to Bacoachi. Hence, Alferes Domingo Vergara led a column accompanied by Chiricahua auxiliaries in search of El Chiquito. They failed to locate him, but they did find another group of Apaches with El

---

<sup>3</sup> Sweeny speculates that the upper and lower groups of Mimbrenos became the Chihennes and Nednhis, respectively. Edwin R. Sweeny, *Mangas Coloradas: Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 15.

Chiquito's brother, Asguegoca, who refused to surrender to Vergara. In an ensuing battle, six Apaches were killed and 29 were taken prisoner, although Asguegoca escaped. Back at Bacoachi, Ugarte provided help for the Chiricahuas in constructing adobe houses and tried to induce them to take up farming (Moorhead 1968: 184-185).

In May 1787, all of the 800 to 900 Chihenne living in peace camps in Nueva Vizcaya at San Buenaventura Presidio left. By June 1787, 283 Chiricahuas were living at Bacoachi, but toward the end of the month 119 departed, followed a week later by another 64. About 100 Chiricahuas under Isosé's leadership remained. Some of these people participated in military movements against the Chihenne in Nueva Vizcaya. El Chiquito, Asguegoca, Echini, Asguenitesy, and Chamy sent word to Bacoachi that they wanted peace, but Ugarte remained suspicious of their motives, especially given that Vergara had by that time killed or captured 49 Chiricahua fighting men (Moorhead 1968: 186).

Vergara commanded another force that went in pursuit of the Indians who had fled the peace camps. Campaigning with Spanish regulars, presidial troops, Opatas, and Chiricahua auxiliaries in June and July 1787, Vergara killed or captured two Chihenne leaders, nineteen warriors, 81 women and children, many of whom had fled San Buenaventura (Moorhead 1968: 189). In October, newly promoted Captain Vergara led a similarly composed force against the Chihennes. In December, another column under the command of Antonio de Cordero fought a battle against Chihennes under the leadership of Ojos Colorados (Yagonglí). Five Apaches were killed, two women and a boy were captured, and 28 head of livestock were recovered. In January 1788, Lieutenant José Manuel Carrasco fought a running battle with Chihennes, killing six and capturing 16 head of livestock. Vergara managed to capture Ojos Colorados and free a captive the Apaches had held. Captain Manuel de Echeagaray, operating out of the presidio of Santa Cruz fought three encounters with Apaches between the Chiricahua Mountains and El Paso, killing seven men and 20 women and children. He also captured 16 Apaches and carried off 48 horses and mules (Moorhead 1968: 190-191).

In February 1788, El Chiquito's followers attacked the Chiricahuas living at Bacoachi, killing Isosé. Isosé's son, Aydiá, succeeded him. In April, Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flores voided the peace that had been holding with the Mescalero Apaches in Nueva Vizcaya. He ordered Ugarte to make war on all Apaches in the province, irrespective of their band. Ugarte sent Juan Bautista de Anza, who had recently completed a long term as governor of New Mexico, to direct military affairs in Sonora. He sent a large army under Echeagaray's command into Chiricahua country along the Gila River. In September 1788, 30 warriors who had been living at Bacoachi deserted. When they returned for their families, the Spaniards killed two of the Apaches, a man and a woman. In October, Echeagaray captured Compá's wife. Compá then surrendered to be reunited with his wife. El Chacho also gave himself up to Echeagaray. On his foray into Chiricahua country, Echeagaray reported having killed 41 Apaches. Anza directed Echeagaray that all surrendering Apaches were to be treated as prisoners of war and not simply be allowed to settle at a peace camp. By the time Echeagaray returned from his expedition in November 1788, he had killed 234 Apaches. The captured Chiricahuas, who numbered 125, were sent to the Viceroy in Mexico City. Violating stated policy, Ugarte instructed Anza to set

free all Apaches who had surrendered voluntarily. These were added to the Chiricahuas living a Bacoachi (Moorhead 1968: 192-196).

In March 1790, a column from San Buenaventura attacked Chihennes in their mountain stronghold. Within days, Ojos Colorados and some of his followers appeared at Janos Presidio and requested permission to settle in peace. He was joined by Jasquunachi. They volunteered to campaign with the Spaniards against fellow Apaches who were hostile to the Spaniards. In May, Ojos Colorados returned to Janos with his band (Moorhead, 1968: 198-199). When Ugarte retired from his command in 1791, he informed his successor about the state of Spanish-Indian relations in Sonora, Ugarte noted that the Apaches at Bacoachi were requesting missionaries to minister their spiritual needs (Moorhead 1968: 281).

In 1791, Cordero ordered that Spaniards were to refer to Apache leaders by the names the Apaches used among themselves. This change in policy was necessary for the efficient functioning of peace camps. Without knowing which group was living at peace at a camp, it was impossible to know how to direct retaliatory expeditions in response to continuing Apache raiding. The result was an increase in attempts to transliterate Apache names into Spanish, but little improvement in understanding of how Apache society was organized (Hendricks and Timmons 1998: 27-28).

In summer 1791, the General Commander of the Interior Provinces, Pedro de Nava, began to alter the peace program. In August, it was announced that Apaches seeking peace would be required to hand over their captives and would no longer have the right to recover members of their bands captured during Spanish campaigning. Henceforth, the return of relatives would be considered a favor from the General Commander and not a right. Finally, in the future, only unbranded livestock could be traded with Apaches at peace. On occasion, Spaniards returned livestock belonging to Apaches. The Chiricahua leader, Jasquenelté, whom the Spaniards called Capitancillo Ronco, requested the return of four horses that Apaches at peace had stolen from him. Nava directed that the Chiricahuas leader be compensated with replacement horses. In October 1791, Nava issued his revised instructions for administration of the peace camp program (see Appendix F). In contrast to Gálvez's plan, Nava policy did not force the Apaches to accept peace. Rather it tried to coax them into the program through gifts, military assistance, and the opportunity to continue such traditional activities as hunting.

Nava clearly valued honest dealing with the Indians where Gálvez relied more on cynical duplicity, but it would be wrong to conclude that his Instrucción ushered in a benevolent regime. This was particularly so, given his view that Apaches were untrustworthy and wicked. Indians, it should be remembered, were being urged to give up their old way of life, inform on each other, and become agriculturalists. They were also being encouraged to fight against fellow Apaches who had not sued for peace, even if they were relatives. (Hendricks and Timmons 1992: 29-31)

By the early 1790s, most of the Chiricahua Apaches had settled at Janos and Carrizal in Nueva Vizcaya and at Bacoachi, Bavispe, and Fronteras in Sonora. Important leaders at this time were Pisago Cabezón of the Chokonen and the Nednhis brothers, Juan José Compá and Juan Diego Compá. By the middle of the 1790s, the program had grown so successful that the Spaniards could no longer afford fiscally to pursue it. Therefore, they encouraged Apaches to return to their homeland and go back to hunting and gathering. They expected, of course, that the Apaches would not return to raiding.

For the remainder of the Spanish period to Mexican independence, Apaches and Spaniards enjoyed relatively peaceful relations (Sweeny 1998: 5, 16-17). At times, however, the peace was broken, as it was in June 1801 when Apaches killed three shepherds at Tumacácori (Kessell 1976: 201).

In 1803, Spaniards opened copper mining operations at Santa Rita del Cobre in the heart of Chihenne territory. As the mining district and settlement developed, Fuerte was a frequent visitor and occasionally led raids on the area. The successful exploitation of the mines was only possible because Chihenne tolerated the presence of the Spaniards and permitted them to ship their product out of the remote site. In June 1807, 150 Apaches attacked Santa Rita, killing one man, wounding one, and stealing livestock. Another similar raid followed in April 1808. Over the next few years, this pattern continued (Sweeny 1998: 35).

Chiricahua Apache Territory at the end of the eighteenth century was defined by José Cortés in his commentaries on the Apaches. He stated that the Chiricahuas' took their name from their homeland, which was the Chiricahua Mountains. Their land extended northward to Hopi country, east to the land of the Gilas, and south to Sonora. The Gila Apaches were located between the Chiricahuas and the Mimbres Mountains, the home of the Mimbres Apaches. The outbreak of the war for independence in 1810 led Spanish authorities in Nueva Vizcaya to conclude a peace with the Chihenne that explicitly recognized their territory, although the peace did not prove particularly effective in Sonora, where raiding continued unabated (Cortés, Vélez de Escalante, et al. *Memorias sobre las provincias del norte de Nueva España* 1799; John 1989).

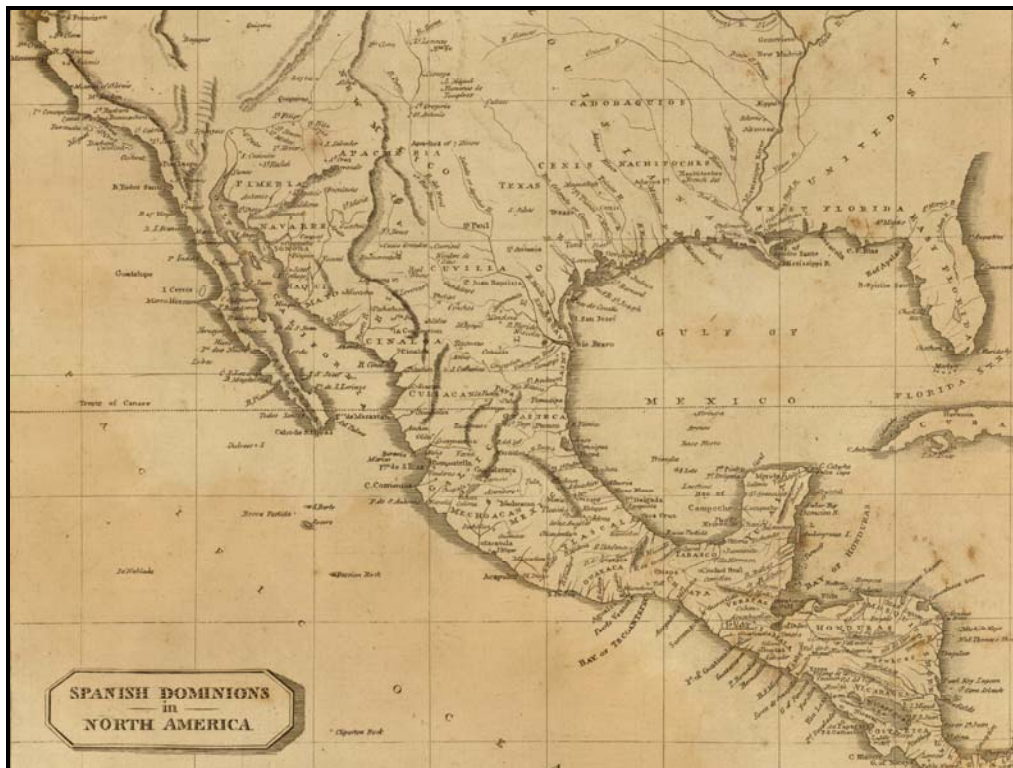
Not long after the beginning of the war for Mexican independence, an important Chihenne leader the Spaniards called Fuerte began to appear in the historical record. Historian Edwin R. Sweeny argues that Fuerte subsequently came to be called Mangas Coloradas, one of the most important Chiricahua leaders.<sup>4</sup> Fuerte's local group was based in the area of Santa Lucía Spring northwest of present-day Silver City, New

---

<sup>4</sup> Sweeny states that William B. Griffen and Eve Ball concurred with his opinion that Fuerte "could possibly have been" Mangas Coloradas. Sweeny, *Mangas Coloradas*, 28.

Mexico. This local group ranged throughout the Mogollon Mountains and Santa Rita del Cobre. Assuming Sweeny correct, Fuerte was born Bedonkohe around 1790 but married into a mixed Chihenne-Bedonkohe group. By 1814, he was beginning to emerge as a local group leader, at around age twenty, and by 1820 he was a Chihenne band leader. Shortly after that, Fuerte also became a Bedonkohe leader, filling a vacuum left by the death of Mahko, the greatest Bedonkohe leader in that era (Sweeny 1998: 9, 28-31).

In 1814, Fuerte requested permission to settle at Santa Rita. Fuerte proposed that his people would live along the Gila and Mimbres Rivers. Spanish authorities did not want the Apaches to settle near Santa Rita, so Fuerte took 154 of his people to Janos, where some lived just outside the presidio, and others lived some distance away from the military establishment. In 1815, there were 407 Apaches, representing Chihenne, Chokonen, and Nednhi bands, using Janos as a peace camp base. Among the leaders present were Coyote, Juan Diego Compá, Feroz, Jasquenelté, Pisago Cabezón, Fuerte, and Mano Mocha. Over the next few years, Fuerte and his followers were in and out of Janos. The independence struggle put so much strain on the treasury that the presidios did not have the resources to provide provisions for the Apaches at peace as they had in the early days of the program. Up to the eve of Mexican independence in 1821, Fuerte's band continued to receive meager rations at Janos (Sweeny 1998: 36-38).



**Figure 5.** Spanish Dominions in North America, 1812 (Aaron Arrowsmith and Samuel Lewis; David Rumsey Historical Map Collection)





Among the slain were the leaders Juan José, Juan Diego, Marcelo, and Antonio Vivora (Griffen 1988a: 51). Because of the massacre, Mangas Coloradas emerged as the principal leader of the Mimbres Apaches and ended Mexican exploitation of the Santa Rita mines.

In southeastern New Mexico, northeastern Sonora, and northern Chihuahua in 1842, Apaches moved near Mexican settlements in pursuit of peace. This peace lasted until 1845, although Apaches continued to raid at various places. In Sonora, Mexicans and Chiricahua Apaches agreed to peace terms which stated that in addition to a cessation of raiding in Sonora, the Chiricahuas agreed to prevent hostile Indians from passing through their lands to raid settlements in Sonora. Moreover, they consented to assisting Mexican troops in fighting Indians who did not agree to peace terms (Griffen 1988a 69-85).

The conclusion of the Mexican-American War in 1848 altered Mexican responses to Chiricahua raiding; retaliatory expeditions no longer went after Apaches living in southwestern New Mexico. Since Apache raiding continued from the Chiricahua Mountains down into Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexican troops still responded with movements into the Chiricahua homeland. In 1850, authorities in Sonora proposed the establishment of colonies of Apaches on unoccupied land. The plan was to provide Apaches with tools and supplies to convert them into self-sufficient farmers and was reminiscent of similar failed efforts by the Spaniards. In April 1850, pursuant to the settlement plan, several Chiricahua leaders met with the governor of Sonora. An alternative plan called for the Chiricahua Apaches to remain in the Chiricahua Mountains and forsake raiding in Sonora. In exchange, the Mexican military would not pursue them.

The plans came to nothing, and the Chiricahuas refused to sign various treaties that Mexican authorities offered. Among the leaders refusing Mexican peace proposals were Esquinalini, Mangas Coloradas, and Toboca. Moreover, Chiricahuas and other Apaches continued to raid in Sonora. The Chiricahua leader Irigoyen did agree to terms with the Mexicans and settled with his people at Fronteras presidio. There they received weekly rations.

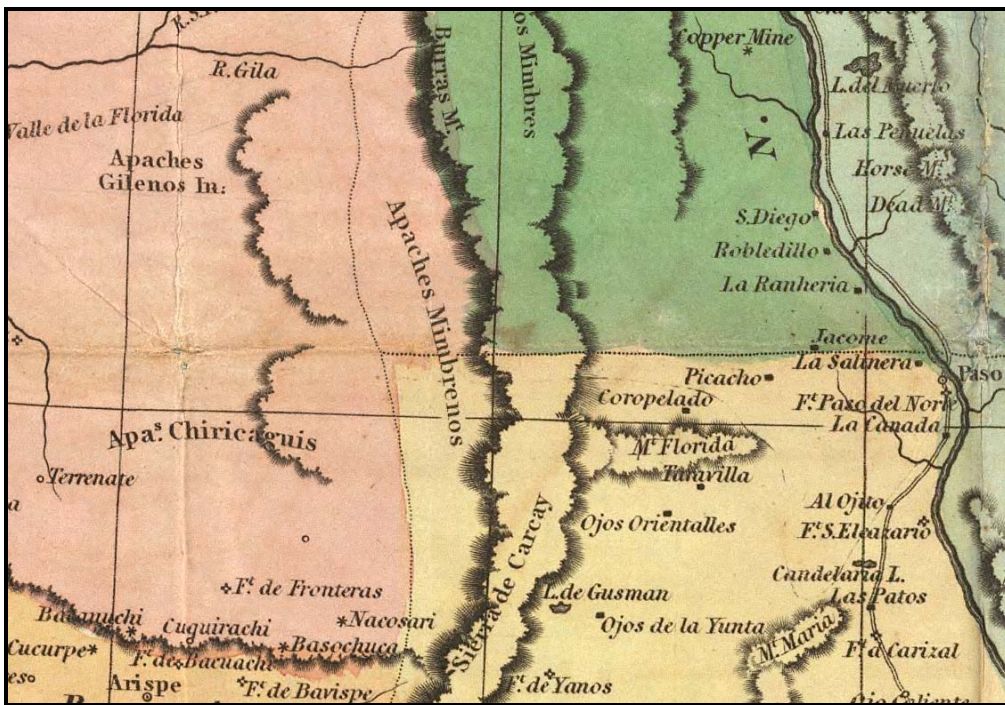
Because Apaches had rejected peace overtures, the Mexican military returned to the practice of launching expeditions penetrating deep into Chiricahua country, although they did not go beyond the international boundary, at that time located at the Gila River. In 1852, several expeditions were conducted through Chiricahua land. One such expedition killed 49 Apaches. Mexican expeditions returned to the area in 1853.

The Gadsden Treaty of 1854 transferred the Chiricahua homeland to United States jurisdiction. This transfer put a permanent end to Mexican military campaigning in the area, although it did not bring to an end Apache raiding in Sonora and Chihuahua (Griffen 1988b: 223-239).





**Figure 7.** Map of the United States of Mexico, 1846 (Henry S. Tanner; David Rumsey Historical Map Collection)



**Figure 8.** Chiricahua Mountains Detail from Map of the United States of Mexico, 1846 (Henry S. Tanner; David Rumsey Historical Map Collection)

## **Chiricahua Apaches Under the United States**

### **The First Years (1854 – 1874)**

The Gadsden Purchase delivered to the United States the traditional land of all Chiricahua Apache bands. John Russell Bartlett reported extensively in his journals of the International Boundary Commission on his observations of Apaches. In 1851, he established his headquarters in the Santa Rita mining district in Mimbres Apache country in southwest New Mexico. From his base, he journeyed into Mexico and witnessed first hand the devastation caused by Chiricahua Apache raiding, particularly in the Santa Cruz and San Pedro River valleys. While at Santa Rita, Bartlett met Mangas Coloradas and Coletto Amarillo. In Tucson, Bartlett met the Mexican Boundary Commissioner, General Blanco, who informed him that Apaches repeatedly attacked Tucson, Tubac, and Santa Cruz (Worcester 1992: 50-55).

One of the principal methods the United States military employed in effort to control Chiricahua Apaches was to construct and garrison fortifications within their territory. One such construction was Fort Webster, built in 1853 eight miles from Santa Rita (Griffen 1988b: 248). The discovery of gold in the Santa Rita district and resultant influx of miners caused additional problems with the Mimbres Apaches. In 1853, New Mexico Governor Lane proposed a peace plan that would provision the Apaches and grant them land in exchange for settling down to farming and livestock raising. The Apaches settled in this fashion were to cease from raiding in Mexico and New Mexico. The peace held for two years during which time Dr. Michael Steck became Indian Agent at Fort Webster (Worcester 1992: 56-58).

Mexican-Chiricahua hostility eventually drove Apaches back to Arizona. An event in 1851 had signaled a precipitous decline in Mexican-Chiricahua relations. The "Carrasco Affair" related to an attack by José María Carrasco, Commander General of Sonora, on a Chiricahua village near Janos, Chihuahua. Twenty-one Apaches died in the onslaught and another 62 were captured (Griffen 1988b: 238).

In 1857, Chiricahuas living at peace near Janos were issued poisoned rations. Then, in July 1858, Apaches were massacred at Fronteras. By the fall of that year, most of the Chiricahuas, including the Chokonen, had moved north of the Arizona-Sonora border (Sweeny 1989: 430).

In September 1858, the Butterfield Overland Mail began operating a stage line to deliver mail between San Francisco, California, and St. Louis, Missouri. Several stations constructed to serve the mail line were located in Chiricahua country, including Dragoon Springs, Ewell Station, Apache Pass, San Simón, and Steins Peak. The line officially operated until March 1861 (Wilson 1995: 81-83). For most of the time that the line operated, Cochise and his people kept his pledge to protect the mail and passengers traveling through Chiricahua territory (Sweeny 1989: 437).

The first recorded meeting between Cochise, leader of the Chokonen band, and Anglo-Americans took place at Apache Pass in 1858 (Sweeny 1989: 429). Cochise, Esquinaline, and Francisco met Dr. Steck there on 30 December (Sweeny 1989: 431). Steck reported seeing 600 Chiricahuas – 50 men, 120 women, and 400 children – to whom he distributed rations and gifts. While Steck served as Indian Agent, relative calm prevailed in Chiricahua country, although raiding continued into Mexico and, to a lesser extent, southern Arizona. Steck continued to distribute supplies to Mimbres Apaches who were living in the Mogollon Mountains and to Chiricahuas living in Apache Pass.

Protests over depredations said to be the responsibility of Cochise and his followers strained the peace. At the end of 1859 and beginning of 1860, evidence mounted that Cochise, who was living in Goodwin Canyon about a mile north of Apache Pass, was responsible for raiding in Mexico and Arizona (Sweeny 1989: 329).

Later in 1859, Americans killed Chokonen raiders during several incidents in southern Arizona. In December, Apaches attacked Thomas Smith's ranch over the Mexican border in Sonora. In a running battle as Smith pursued the Chiricahuas and purloined stock, he killed three of the Apache raiders.

In January 1860, John Wilson, a stationmaster, killed a Mexican boy named José in what was deemed a fair fight. Another Mexican, Meregildo Griljalva, who was living with Cochise's people, escaped with the assistance of James E. Tevis, Butterfield Stage station master at Apache Pass. These events angered Cochise, and he began to direct raids against the mail line running through Apache Pass. He also increased the pace of livestock thefts from area ranches (Sweeny 1989: 338-399).

Agent Steck claimed that Cochise and his followers were the worst offenders among all Apaches. This situation prevailed until February 1861 when the "Bascom Affair," fundamentally altered relations between Chiricahua Apaches and the United States military.

On 15 January 1861, Apaches stole livestock from the Santa Rita Mining Company.<sup>5</sup> Before two weeks had passed, they raided John Ward's ranch in the Sonoita Valley,

---

<sup>5</sup> Considerable controversy surrounds the Bascom Affair in that observers' accounts and historians interpreting them diverge on key points. I have followed McChristian in the main since his research is the most recent and most thorough. Douglas C McChristian, *Fort Bowie, Arizona: Combat Post of the Southwest, 1858-1894* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 284-289 n .17-47. Two attempts to sort out the accounts of eye-witnesses and contemporary commentators are Robert M. Utley, "The Bascom Affair: A Reconstruction." *Arizona and the West* (Spring): 59-68 and Charles K. Mills, *Incident at Apache Pass. The Journal of America's Military Past* 88 (Spring/Summer): 76-88.

eleven miles from Fort Buchanan. The raiders not only carried off cattle, but also Félix Martínez, Ward's twelve-year-old adopted son. Authorities at Fort Buchanan dispatched Second Lieutenant George N. Bascom to go after the Apaches and return Martínez. The military assumed that Cochise's people were responsible for the raid, and Bascom and his column of 54 troopers headed north along the Overland Road to Apache Pass. They were accompanied by John Ward, who was to act as interpreter. Bascom arrived at the Butterfield station on 3 February and set up camp about 200 yards east of the stage station. Bascom learned that Cochise was camped in Goodwin Canyon some two miles from the station and sent word by two Apache women that he wanted to talk to the Chokonen leader. When Cochise failed to respond, Bascom asked James F. Wallace, a relief driver who was on good terms with the Chiricahuas, personally to intervene and speak with Cochise. On the evening of 4 February, Wallace returned from his mission to report that Cochise was willing to meet with Bascom (McChristian 2005: 23-24).

Cochise arrived the following day at lunchtime with his brother, Coyuntura, his wife, three other male relatives, and two boys. Cochise and his brother joined Bascom at the lieutenant's table, and the rest of the Chiricahua party was directed to a mess tent where the enlisted men were eating. Bascom had armed guards placed at the rear of the tents to prevent the Apaches from leaving. When Bascom asked Cochise about the raid on Ward's ranch, the Chokonen leader said he had not been involved and suspected the White Mountain Apaches. Cochise volunteered to attempt to locate Martínez, saying it would take him ten days or more.

What happened next is uncertain, but the most commonly accepted version is that Bascom informed Cochise that he and his family would be held captive until Martínez was returned.<sup>6</sup> Only Coyuntura would be allowed to look for the boy among the White Mountain Apaches. When Cochise heard Bascom's conditions, he and Coyuntura drew their knives and cut their way out the back of the tent.<sup>7</sup> One of the armed guards forced Coyuntura to surrender, but Cochise managed to escape out of the tent, through the soldiers, and up a hill behind the camp (McChristian 2005: 24-25).

---

<sup>6</sup> Bascom did not mention this condition in his official report of the incident. McChristian, *Fort Bowie, Arizona*, 25.

<sup>7</sup> In fall 1860 the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* initiated publication of a series of letters signed "Hesperian." T. M. Turner, editor of the *Tucson Arizonian* and former correspondent with the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, was the author of the Hesperian letters. Accounts recorded at the time of the Bascom Affair appear in two letters. They indicate that Cochise had been sent as an envoy to the Indians who held Martínez captive. In such a scenario, the family members and close friends who remained with the Army would have stayed as a demonstration of good faith. Constance W. Altschuler, ed. *Latest from Arizona!: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1969).

Although Cochise escaped, six Apaches who were relatives or close to the Chokonen leader remained in Bascom's custody. Bascom relocated his camp to a more defensible location at the stage station and took other measures to shore up his position in the event of Apache attack. On the morning of 5 February, a large group of Chiricahua warriors appeared on the high ground south of the stage station. A small group approached the station under a white flag and informed the soldiers that Cochise wanted to talk to Bascom. Cochise and the White Mountain leader, Francisco, met with Bascom and the Chokonen leader asked for the return of the captives. Bascom insisted on the return of Martínez. Charles W. Culver and Wallace began to approach the parley, against Bascom's orders. Apache warriors who had been lying in wait dragged Culver and Wallace down. Culver was shot, but managed to get free. Francisco dropped the white flag and gave orders for his warriors to fire on Bascom's party. Bascom, in turn, ordered his men to open fire while he dashed back to the station. The station hostler, Robert Walsh, who had ventured a short distance from the station in the direction of the meeting, was killed by a bullet to the head. Shooting continued off and on for the remainder of the day. The next day passed without further fighting. Cochise again appeared and said he would return Wallace and 16 stolen Army mules in exchange for the people whom Bascom held. The lieutenant agreed to Cochise's terms as long as Martínez was included in the prisoner exchange (McChristian 2005: 26-29).

Later that day, Cochise sent a note, apparently written by Wallace (Schoenberger 1973: 89), to Bascom informing him that he had acquired three more prisoners: Sam Whitefield, William Sanders, and Frank Brunner. These men had been part of a party of eleven traveling to Piños Altos with wagons loaded with flour. The wagoneers had gone through Apache Pass and made camp two miles from the stage station. Under cover of darkness, Apaches had attacked, killing six Mexicans. Two more Mexicans were tied to wagon wheels and the wagons were set afire. Only the three white men survived. The eastbound mail coach came down out of Apache Pass around one o'clock in the morning of 7 February. Apache warriors were hiding near the burnt wagons and opened fire. King Lyon was wounded in the leg, but the Apaches fled without further assaults. Within an hour, the stage and its nine occupants arrived at the station (McChristian 2005: 29-30).

Cochise saw that Bascom was not going to exchange prisoners without Martínez being involved. It is uncertain whether the Chokonen leader would have been able to produce the boy, and he did not do so.<sup>8</sup> Instead, he decided to get his people back by force and enlisted the assistance of Mangas Coloradas' band of Bedonkohe Apaches and of Francisco's people. In the meantime, Bascom sent couriers to inform his superiors about what was transpiring at Apache Pass and to request medical assistance for the wounded.

---

<sup>8</sup> The boy was obviously unharmed and living among nearby Apaches, if not with Cochise himself. Félix Martínez later became known as Mickey Free, an Army scout. McChristian Fort Bowie, Arizona, 35.

Word was also sent to Tucson regarding the delay of the mail run (McChristian 2005: 30).

On 8 February, First Sergeant James J. Huber took a detail to water the horses. The soldiers spotted some 200 Apaches running along a ravine and opened fire. The Apaches mortally wounded one soldier and drove off 56 mules. The soldiers reported having killed five Apaches (McChristian 2005: 31-32).

When word reached Fort Buchanan, Bernard John Dowling Irwin, the assistant surgeon at the post, volunteered to go Apache Pass. Irwin picked eleven men to join the couriers and go with him. On the way to Apache Pass, Irwin captured some White Mountain Apaches, including a leader, and recovered some stolen cattle. He proceeded on his relief mission with the captives and cattle.

Word also reached Fort Breckenridge about the situation at Apache Pass, and a force of seventy dragoons under First Lieutenant Isaiah N. Moore set out to aid Bascom (McChristian 2005: 32-33).

Irwin arrived on 10 February, and on 14 February, the dragoons from Fort Breckenridge appeared. Lieutenant Moore was then the senior officer on the scene, and he took charge of organizing the forces. He sent out troops to scout the surrounding mountains. They found a recently abandoned Apache camp and burned the lodges. They also encountered and buried the body of James Wallace and the presumed remains of Whitefield, Sanders, and Brunner. On 18 February, on Lieutenant Moore's orders and over Bascom's protest, the three Chiricahua and three Coyotero men were hanged near the graves of the four white men while the Apache women and children watched (McChristian 2005: 34).

In 1862, General James H. Carleton became commander of the New Mexico Military District and initiated offensive operations against the Chiricahua Apaches. The first clash took place near Apache Pass when forces under Cochise and Mangas Coloradas met troops from Carleton's command who had departed Tucson. Carleton ordered the establishment of Fort Bowie below the eastern end of Apache Pass. He also founded Fort West near Piños Altos to control the Mimbres area. In 1863, troops campaigning from Fort West captured Mangas Coloradas. He was subsequently killed "attempting to escape" from Fort McRae.

During the summer of 1864, General Carleton launched a general campaign designed to destroy the Chiricahuas. Either the army would kill off Apache men, or they would agree to be removed to a reservation. This would rid southern Arizona of a "menace" and open it to Anglo-American settlement. Troops converged on the Chiricahua Mountains from several directions. Other forces penetrated Apache territory along the Gila River. Wherever the army found Apache crops, they destroyed them. Although military officials were disappointed with the campaign's results, 51 Apaches were killed (Wilson 1995: 97-98).



In 1865, Carleton went on the offensive against Gila Apaches. Apache leaders Victorio and Salvador sought peace terms at Piños Altos, but they refused to accept the requirement that they move to Bosque Redondo to live among Navajos and Mescaleros who had recently been forced to relocate to that pestilent place. In face of Apache refusal to accept the terms of the peace Carleton offered, new campaigns against them were set in motion. In the main, these expeditions produced few results other than to harass the Chiricahuas as they moved throughout their range, usually just out of reach of the pursuing troops. The most tangible outcome of these campaigns was to destroy material goods that the Chiricahuas left behind in their hastily abandoned camps.

Another result of the frequent campaigning was that many of the eastern Chiricahuas sued for peace at various places near the Rio Grande. Most notable was the gathering of some 400 Mimbres and Mogollon Apaches at Cañada Alamosa late in 1869. During the following year, rations were issued to around 800 Apaches at Cañada Alamosa (Worcester 1992: 126-128). In the period from 1866 to 1870, the army recorded 137 small-unit actions against Indians in Arizona, killing 649. Army losses amounted to 26 dead and 58 wounded (Wilson 1995: 99-100).

In 1871, a reservation was established at Tularosa, and some 700 Apaches were relocated there, with another 100 or so being relocated near Fort Craig closer to the Rio Grande. By 1873, many Apaches had grown dissatisfied with reservation life and desired to return to Cañada Alamosa (Worcester 1992: 128).

Although many members of the eastern bands of the Chiricahua Apaches had gathered in New Mexico, many other Chiricahuas remained in Arizona Territory under Cochise's leadership. These Chiricahuas were hounded by the United States military throughout their homeland. In January 1870, Captain Reuben F. Bernard, operating out of Camp Bowie, attacked a large village located in a canyon in the Dragoon Mountains. In the battle, many Apaches were killed or captured (McChristian 2005: 118-119). All their material goods were destroyed, as were large stores of corn. Under interrogation, Apache captives stated that they belonged to Cochise's band. Cochise was living near Camp Goodwin and had handed over leadership to other men.

In May 1871, First Lieutenant Howard B. Cushing, based near Tucson, attacked Juh's band in the Whetstone Mountains. Cushing was killed in this encounter. As a result, General George Crook, newly arrived commander of the Department of Arizona, sent troops after Cochise's people, whom he accused of raiding into Mexico and New Mexico (McChristian 2005: 127).

### **The Chiricahua Apache Reservation 1872-1876**

Frequent military campaigning eventually led to a meeting between Chiricahua people and Major-General Oliver O. Howard. During the first twelve days in October 1872, Howard met with Cochise and other Chiricahua leaders at Dragoon Springs in an effort to bring regional peace through personal diplomacy – his own and that of Tom Jeffords, a friend of Cochise (Utley 1987: 59-60). At the meeting were 50 fighting men and some 300 older men, women, and children. The outcome of the discussion was a verbal

agreement for creation of a reservation to be situated on the Mexican border and incorporating the Chiricahua Mountains and surrounding area. Specifically,

Northeast from Dragoon Springs along the northern base of the Chiricahua Mountains to Stein's Peak range (Peloncillo Mountains), southeast along this range to the New Mexico border, south to the Mexican border, west along the Mexican border for fifty-five miles, north along the western base of the Dragoon Mountains to Dragoon Springs. (Thomas 1959: 60)

The agreement stipulated that there would not be military control of the reservation (Howard 1972: 200, 220). The Chiricahua Agency was established October 16, 1872 under the direction of Chiricahua Indian Agent Thomas Jeffords (Figure 3).

From the start, feeding people on the reservation was a major problem, with Jeffords initially responsible for the livelihoods of approximately 450 Apaches. Throughout the Chiricahua Reservation period, Jeffords operated under severe financial constraints and providing rations to the Apaches was always difficult (Cole 1988: 114-116).

The Apache population at the Chiricahua Reservation continued to grow through the remainder of 1872. In November, Apache leaders Juh, Geronimo, Nolgee, and Natiza arrived at the Chiricahua Reservation at Cochise's request. After discussions with Jeffords, they agreed to the same peace conditions as Cochise (Cole 1988: 117; Sweeney 1991: 369-370). After this arrangement, the population at the reservation increased even more. The Chiricahua Reservation was officially established on December 14, 1872, with a population of approximately 1,100 (McChristian 2005: 148).

From its inception, the Chiricahua Reservation's location along the Mexican border was also problematic (Debo 1976: 86). Between October 1872 and March 1873, Apaches from the Chiricahua Reservation were implicated in at least 20 depredations against Sonora, including livestock thefts and murders. Some U. S. officials, among them, General John Schofield, felt the placement of the Reservation adjacent to Mexico was poor planning. Schofield asserted that the Reservation's establishment represented bad faith to Mexico, as it allowed Apaches easy access to raid that country (Thrapp 1974: 157). By March 1873, Mexican officials were expressing discontent at the situation. When a Sonoran Representative in Mexico City lodged a formal complaint to the U. S. Consulate regarding alleged Apache depredations, General Crook and others recommended military control of the Chiricahua Reservation (Sweeney 1991: 373, 376, 380; Thrapp 1967: 168-169). This increased debate about the nature of control on the Reservation, a dilemma that had been intensifying since its establishment.

Throughout 1873, Jeffords attempted to maintain the Reservation's rationing system despite an acute lack of resources. The government had no money earmarked for Reservation operating costs and lacked clear understanding of resident Apache needs. When vouchers for supplies went unpaid, suppliers refused to continue dealing with Jeffords (Cole 1988: 130). At the same time, General Crook was increasingly vocal in his



public criticisms of the Reservation and Jeffords' management, adding to the controversy surrounding the Reservation (Sweeney 1991: 383-385).

By 1874, conditions on the Chiricahua Reservation were steadily deteriorating. Jeffords' control of the Reservation, tenuous under the best of circumstances, was continually undermined by U. S. government infighting. Continued accusations by U. S. and Mexican sources of Apache raiding further heightened tensions on the Reservation and between it and its neighbors. Inadequate supplies for rationing continued to be a major issue, exacerbated by the need to ration frequent Apache visitors from other areas.

As the Reservation's population grew, factional arguments and violence among disparate Apache groups became more frequent. Finally, increased access to alcohol, which was being sold by disingenuous Anglo traders and merchants, aggravated all other problems (Bourke 1962: 232-233; Faulk 1969: 16; Ogle 1970: 162; Thrapp 1974: 166). By November 1874, combined pressures at the Chiricahua Reservation had reached a fever pitch. Indian Commissioner John Q. Smith declared that the Chiricahua Reservation should be closed and Apache residents moved to Warm Springs, New Mexico for economic and management purposes (Ogle 1970: 164). In April 1875, Superintendent L. E. Dudley traveled to the Chiricahua Reservation to attempt to garner Apache support for this move. Apaches categorically opposed the relocation, telling Dudley they would, "...sooner die here than live there" (Cole 1988: 165; Ogle 1970: 164-165). Plans for the transfer were temporarily put on hold, though not abandoned.

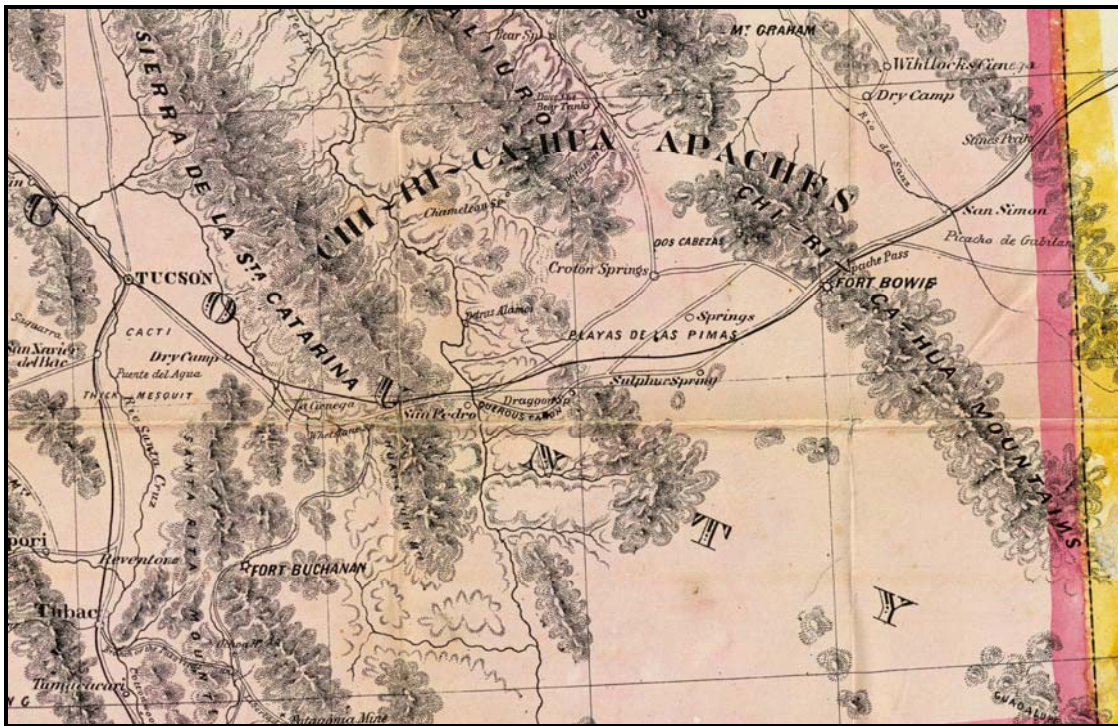
By 1876, rations at the Chiricahua Reservation were critically short. Hunger there was increased by U. S. government concentration policies that sent increasing numbers of Apaches to the Reservation (Cole 1988: 156). Factional disputes also intensified as larger numbers of diverse groups were forced together. The lack of food and increasing factionalism came to a head in February 1876. Unable to feed the residents of the Reservation, Jeffords told Apaches to hunt in surrounding woods to supplement food supplies. While hunting, opposing parties often clashed, eventually leading to two deaths (Cole 1988: 156).

Alcohol, problematic throughout the term of the Chiricahua Reservation, eventually played a role in its abandonment. Whiskey trade was a profitable, though dangerous venture during the reservation period. The Chiricahua Reservation was supplied in alcohol by trader and merchant Nick Rogers. On April 6, 1876, Apaches Skin-ya and Pionsenay purchased whiskey from Rogers at Sulphur Springs. When they returned the following day to buy more alcohol, Rogers refused to sell to them. Skin-ya and Pionsenay killed Rogers and Rogers' cook, O. O. Spence. Skin-ya, Pionsenay, and others then raided into the San Pedro Valley, killing two ranchers (Cole 1988: 158; McChristian 2005: 162; Ogle 1970: 165). It seems that this chain of events motivated the U. S. Congress to order abandonment of the Chiricahua Reservation and relocation of resident Apaches to the Warm Springs Reservation, New Mexico and the San Carlos Apache Reservation, Arizona.

Funds for the relocation were collected through April and June 1876. John Clum, San Carlos Indian Agent, was named to replace Jeffords as the head of the Chiricahua Reservation for the remainder of its tenure. Clum and his Western Apache Police were also slated to lead the relocation. Clum arrived June 4, 1876 to begin his duties (Ogle 1970: 166-167; Thrapp 1974: 172, 176, 177). At this time, factional disagreement and violence were sparked as some groups agreed to relocation while others resisted. Notably, Taza and Naiche, both in groups agreeing to relocate, fought with Skin-ya and Pionsenay, who were among those refusing to leave. On the day Clum arrived, Skin-ya was killed and Pionsenay seriously wounded because of this dispute. Five others involved in the disagreement also lost their lives (McChristian 2005: 163-164; Thrapp 1974: 170).

The relocation occurred from June 12-18, 1876 (Ogle 1970: 167). Taza agreed to the move even though the relocation amounted to Chiricahua exile from their homeland and caused great bitterness among the People. Clum moved 280 women and children and 42 men to San Carlos Agency in June 1876. Around 140 Chiricahuas relocated to Ojo Caliente (Warm Springs). As many as 400 Chiricahuas under the leadership of Juh vanished. Among them was an emerging leader named Geronimo (McChristian 2005: 163-164). When the initial group left on June 12<sup>th</sup>, General Kautz assumed control of the Reservation and set about attempting to destroy Apaches remaining in the area (Ogle 1970: 168).

On October 30, 1876, the land that was the Chiricahua Reservation was "returned" to the public domain by Executive Order (Cole 1988: 160).



**Figure 9.** Chiricahua Mountains Detail from Official Map of the Territory of Arizona, 1865 (Richard Gird; Davide Rumsey Historical Map Collection)

## **Chiricahua History After 1876**

The Chiricahuas who were relocated to San Carlos did not enjoy harmonious relationships with other Indians gathered there, and many fled to Navajo country. They were not permitted to remain there, however, and were forced to return to San Carlos.

In April and May 1877, Clum and Western Apache police enter the Ojo Caliente Reservation to take Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches to San Carlos. Geronimo and other Chiricahuas who were at Warm Springs were arrested, placed in chains, and removed to San Carlos. The Ojo Caliente Reservation was then closed.

In August 1879, Victorio, leader of the Warm Springs Apaches, fled the Mescalero Reservation near Fort Stanton, New Mexico, and headed into Mexico. For the next year, Victorio raided settlements in northern Chihuahua and southern New Mexico. In October 1880, Mexican troops under the command of Colonel Joaquín Terrazas tracked down Victorio and his followers, slaughtering men, women, and children in the Tres Castillos Mountains (Dinges 1987: 81-93). Mexicans took as slaves those Apaches who were left alive.

In the meantime, many Chiricahuas who had been relocated to San Carlos fled to Mexico. In 1879, most of them returned to that reservation. Chiricahuas remained unhappy at San Carlos and in 1881 Geronimo led another escape. General Crook pursued the Apaches, and they began to surrender in small groups. Geronimo returned to Arizona Territory in January 1884. Geronimo did not stay in Arizona long. In May 1885, Geronimo, 42 warriors, and 92 women and children returned to Mexico. General Crook again chased Geronimo and his people. He finally caught up with them and persuaded them to return to Fort Bowie. On the way there with 77 Chiricahua Apaches, Geronimo, Naiche, and a small group of followers, fled into the mountains. The Chiricahuas who made it to Fort Bowie were sent as prisoners of war to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. Geronimo remained free (Utley 1963: 1-9).

General Nelson A. Miles replaced Crook as Commander of the Department of Arizona and his troops went after Geronimo and Naiche. Two Chiricahua Apache scouts, Kayitah and Martine, located Geronimo and Naiche and persuaded them to negotiate with Miles (cf., McChristian 2005:205; Calloway 1991: 167). Miles met Geronimo and Naiche at Skeleton Canyon, sixty-five miles southeast of Fort Bowie on 3 September 1886. (Naiche originally remained in the mountains, but met with Miles the following day.) Geronimo and Naiche negotiated a peace with Miles that would send them east for two years and then back home to an Arizona reservation.

The Apaches then went to Fort Bowie with Miles and were confined there (Turcheneske 1973: 137). Although ordered by the War Department to keep the Apaches at Fort Bowie, General Miles put them on a train and sent them out of Arizona Territory (Figure 10). The train departed on 8 September whence they were dispatched to Florida.

Chiricahuas who had remained at San Carlos when others had escaped were also sent to Fort Marion in September 1885. In total, 498 Chiricahuas were eventually imprisoned in Florida. Most of these were imprisoned in Fort Marion, which was located in the old Spanish fortress, the Castillo de San Marcos – a damp, unhealthy environment for the desert dwelling Apaches. The conditions at Fort Marion were crowded and the food, sanitation, and shelter were insufficient. Many children died of tuberculosis and bronchitis (Calloway 1991: 168).

In direct violation of the terms they had negotiated with Miles, Geronimo and his men, 17 warriors in all, were kept separate from their wives and children. These men, who were considered the most dangerous Chiricahuas, were confined at Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island in Pensacola harbor (Calloway 1991: 168).

While the Chiricahuas were confined as prisoners of war, many of their children were taken from them and sent to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. By 1889, 112 Chiricahua children had been sent to Carlisle, 37 of who died of tuberculosis.

Since loyal Army scouts had been imprisoned along with all other Chiricahuas, prominent military men who had served alongside them began to protest their treatment. Among the scouts imprisoned were Martine and Kayitah, the men who had negotiated Geronimo's agreement. Chatto, a scout who had been visiting President Grover Cleveland (from whom Chatto received a "peace" medal), was intercepted on his way back to Arizona and sent to prison in Florida with the rest of his people (Calloway 1991: 168).

Almost as soon as the Chiricahuas arrived in Florida, Eastern philanthropic groups protested their treatment. General Crook and his former aide, Captain John G. Bourke, were especially incensed at the treatment of the former Army scouts. At Bourke's urging, Herbert Welsh of the Indian Rights Association paid a visit to Fort Marion in 1887. He compiled a report entitled "The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida" that was published by the Office of the Indian Rights Association that same year (Calloway 1991: 169). Secretary of War William C. Endicott sent Bourke to examine Mount Vernon Barracks, Mobile, Alabama for suitability as a place to confine the Chiricahuas. Bourke was favorably impressed with the site. Mount Vernon had been known for years as a place to which Mobile's wealthy citizens repaired when fleeing the scourge of yellow fever. He expressed his concern, however, that the Chiricahuas would find it difficult to prosper in the local economy. The sandy soil of Mount Vernon was unsuitable for farming. He, therefore, suggested several potential sources of income for the Apaches, such as forest products and poultry (Davis 1999: 248-249).

Two of the most vocal critics of Chiricahua mistreatment Chiricahuas were the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee and the Philadelphia-based Indian Rights Association. Pressure these humanitarian organizations exerted on the United States government led to relocation of the Chiricahuas to the supposedly more salubrious environment of southern Alabama (Turcheneske 1976: 199). On 28 April 1888, Apache prisoners of war – 69 men, 167 women, and 119 children – arrived at Mount Vernon Barracks (Childress 1989: 132-133). Among the Chiricahuas imprisoned at Mount Vernon were Geronimo,

Chihuahua, Loco, Naiche, and Nana (Childress 1989: 134). One of Geronimo's wives, She-gha, died before the move took place (Calloway 1991: 169).

Mount Vernon Barracks was situated on 3,300 acres in a location that the Apaches considered a swamp, especially during the frequent rains. Mosquito-borne diseases, tuberculosis, and bronchitis plagued the Chiricahuas. Bourke, Welsh, and the Indian Rights Association argued for relocating the Chiricahuas yet again. A plan was devised by the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee and the Massachusetts Indian Association to resettle the Apaches on land to be bought in North Carolina or Virginia. Secretary of War Redfield Proctor soon appointed a commission to examine possible sites for relocating the Chiricahuas. In June 1889, Captain Bourke recommended that 100,000 acres of the Cherokee reservation in western North Carolina be used for the Chiricahuas. Proctor agreed and expressed hope that one of the philanthropic organizations would purchase the land. In September, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas Morgan, concurred that the War Department would transfer the Chiricahuas to North Carolina as soon as the land was purchased. The plan, however, fell through, probably because of opposition in North Carolina. Evidence of disapproval of the plan comes from a sarcastic letter from North Carolina governor Daniel Fowle to Proctor in which he suggested that the secretary's home state of Vermont would be well suited for a new home for the Chiricahuas (Calloway 1991: 170-72).

General Oliver O. Howard, who had met with Cochise years earlier, ordered a report on the Apaches at Mount Vernon Barracks. The report, which was written by Howard's son, indicated that 119 of the Chiricahuas transported from Arizona had died in captivity, and 81 live births had taken place. Proctor ordered General Cook to inspect the potential resettlement site in North Carolina. Cook recommended that the Chiricahuas be sent instead to Indian Territory and reunited with their children. Proctor sent Howard's and Crook's reports to President Harrison with a recommendation that the Chiricahuas be relocated either to the mountains of North Carolina or to Indian Country, deeming the latter option less costly.

Although an 1879 law prohibited transporting Indians from Arizona and New Mexico to Indian Territory, Proctor suggested that the Chiricahuas could be moved to Fort Sill while Congress changed the existing law. A resolution recommending removal of the Apaches to Indian Territory passed the Senate in January and was sent to the House of Representatives where it was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs (Calloway 1991: 172).

With the resolution before the House committee, debate ensued. General Miles and interests from the western United States opposed relocating the Apaches so close to their homeland. The representative from Arizona suggested that Arizonans would gladly purchase land for the Apaches in Vermont. Old rivalries between Miles and Crook surfaced, but when Crook died in March 1890, the resolution on removal of the Apaches floundered, and Congress took steps to improve conditions at Mount Vernon Barracks (Calloway 1991: 173-174).

In March 1891, Proctor inspected Mount Vernon Barracks and informed Lieutenant William W. Wotherspoon – then in command of the post – that the War Department was going to recruit 1,500 Indians to serve with regular army units. As a result, 46 Chiricahuas from Mount Vernon Barracks enlisted in Company I of the Twelfth Infantry. The program was part of Proctor's aim of integrating Indians into the American way of life (Calloway 1991: 173-174). Naiche became First Sergeant of Company I, and Geronimo was Justice of the Peace (Tate 1974: 360).

The idea of relocating the Apaches to North Carolina had apparently not completely died. In 1893, Captain Wotherspoon inspected the Qualla Boundary, the reservation of the Eastern band of Cherokee Indians. In his report on the Cherokee Reservation, written in December of that year, Wotherspoon noted that a scarcity of good land made Qualla Boundary unsuitable for the Chiricahuas (Williams 1977: 244).

In 1894, the War Department stated that Apaches who had served in the army for three years would cease to be prisoners of war and be permitted to return to Arizona, but their families would continue to be prisoners. Only two of the Indian soldiers accepted the offer, and the rest retained their prisoner of war status.

In August, with Grover Cleveland having regained the presidency, Congress granted authority to the War Department to transfer the Chiricahuas to any United States military reservation. In September, the War Department ordered transfer of the Chiricahuas to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. United States military planned to abandon Mount Vernon Barracks, where more than 250 Chiricahuas had died (Davis 1999: 253). On 4 October, 296 Chiricahuas arrived at Fort Sill and settled with welcoming Kiowas and Comanches (Calloway 1991: 175-177; Haes 2000: 31). The federal government promised that Fort Sill was to be their permanent home.

Although officially still prisoners of war, Geronimo attended the 1898 Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska; the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York; and the 1904 St. Louis Exposition in Missouri. Along with other Apache scouts, Geronimo appeared dressed in a United States Army uniform as examples of "Live Indians" under the government's civilizing influence (Kosmider 2001: 319).

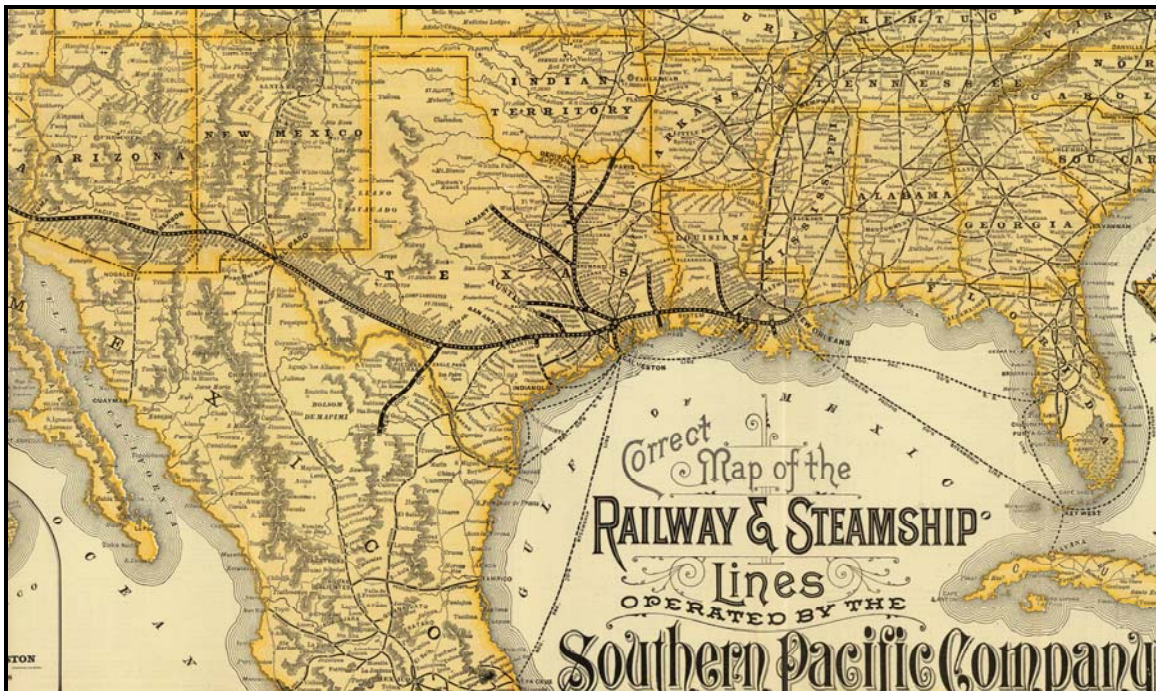
In 1910, Fort Sill was selected as the site for an army field artillery school. In 1912, Congress authorized the release of the Chiricahuas. They were informed that they would no longer be considered captives of the United States provided they left Fort Sill. At that time, 183 Chiricahuas of the 261 remaining Chiricahuas, survivors and descendants of the original 516 internees, accepted an offer from the Mescalero Apaches of New Mexico to settle on the Mescalero Reservation. Seventy-eight chose to remain at Fort Sill where they continued as prisoners of war until the United States government provided allotments of land off the post (Haes 2000: 38-39).

When the Chiricahuas arrived at Mescalero in spring 1913, they were placed under the administration of Indian Agent C. R. Jefferies. The War and Interior Departments had instructed Jefferies to construct houses and a hospital for the Chiricahuas. He was also



directed to foster their development of agriculture. Some of the proceeds from a sale of Chiricahua-owned cattle at Fort Sill were distributed among the new arrivals at Mescalero.

Chiricahua relocation did not go as planned. The Apaches were assigned land at Whitetail, located about twenty miles northeast of the town of Mescalero. Whitetail is a narrow valley that extends for some eight miles at an elevation of more than 7,000 feet. Winter cold and moisture and occasional spring and summer dry spells made agriculture difficult. By the early 1920s, the Chiricahuas had fenced large meadows and established cattle herds and limited vegetable production (Henderson 1990: 229-230).



**Figure 10.** Detail of Railroad & Steamship Lines Operated by the Southern Pacific Company, 1884 (Southern Pacific Company; David Rumsey Historical Map Collection)

# Chapter Six. The Chiricahua Apache Mode of Production

Becki A. R. Graham and Scott Rushforth

## Introduction

In this chapter, we survey basic characteristics of the Chiricahua Apache mode of production. Our description focuses primarily on the period from 1540 to 1870 – the period between entry of Spanish explorers into the Southwest and U. S. relocation of Apaches to reservations in Arizona and New Mexico. During this time, Chiricahua Apaches made their living through a combination of gathering, hunting, trading, and raiding. To some extent, they also farmed. Despite trading, raiding, and farming, the Chiricahua Apache mode of production shares most features of what anthropologists label the "hunter-gatherer" or "foraging mode of production." In this overview of the Chiricahua mode of production, we incorporate discussion of basic Chiricahua values and features of Chiricahua social and political organization as they integrate with Apache subsistence and economy.

## Technology

One of the most useful descriptions of Apache material culture is found in Western Apache Material Culture: The Goodwin and Guenther Collections (Ferg et al. 1987). Although this book focuses on Western Apache material culture, most of what it reports is also accurate for Chiricahua Apaches. Design motifs and specific elements might vary, but all southern Athapaskans shared basic technology. In Ferg's work, he and his colleagues describe, among other items:

- Quivers, bows, and arrows (50ff.)
- Digging sticks and mescal roasting paraphernalia (53ff.)
- Decoys, traps, cactus fruit pickers, seed beaters, and baskets (52ff.)
- Grinding tools (59ff.)
- Food preparation tools (62ff.)
- Pottery (66ff.)
- Baskets (68-78)
- Cradleboards (78-81)
- Horseshoes, saddles, saddle bags, and packs (81ff.)
- Clothing (88-108)
- Ritual paraphernalia (109-152)

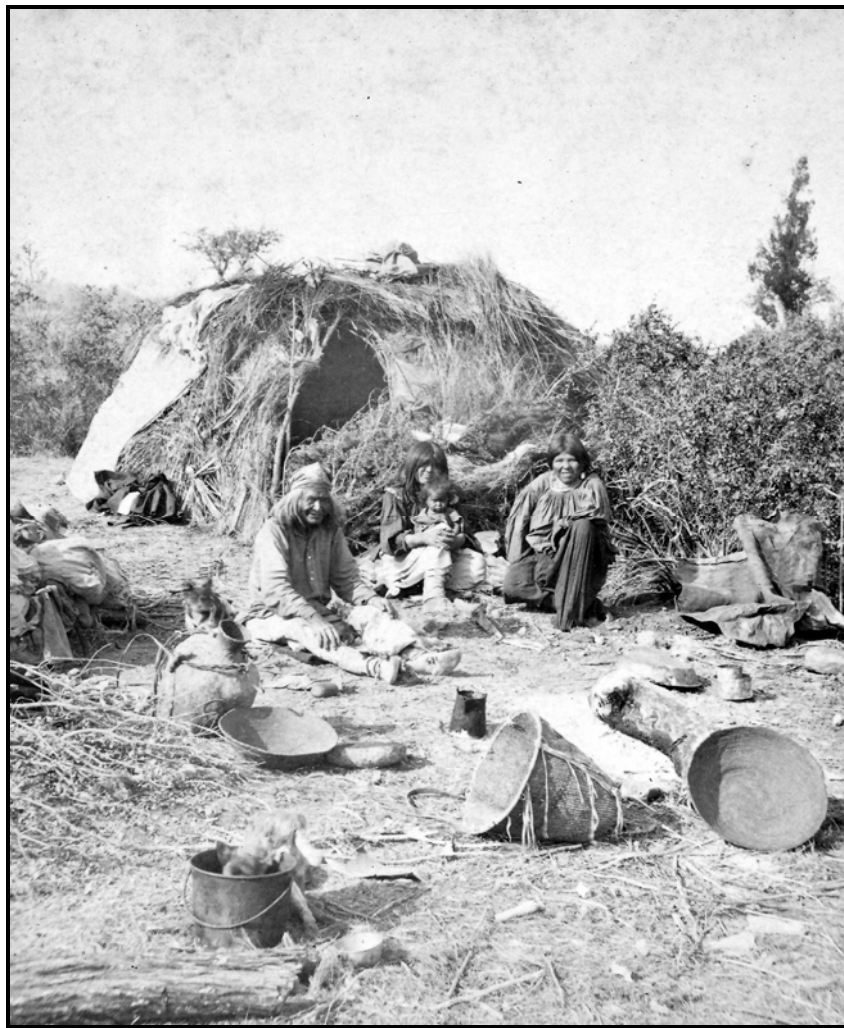
Ferg's work is especially useful for the many photographs and illustrations that it contains, as an understanding of Apache material culture is enhanced by actually seeing the items under consideration. Concerning this inventory of Apache material culture, we can summarize by stressing the significance of animal hides (especially for clothing and



shelter), wood (for everything from digging sticks to weaponry), grass (especially for woven baskets), and stone (especially for knives, arrow points, and grinding implements).

Of course, from first contact with the Spanish, and through the Mexican and Anglo-American periods, Apaches adopted many items produced by immigrants and associated Indigenous peoples. Perhaps most important in this regard were cloth (for clothing), blankets, iron tools, saddles, horses, and guns, not to mention selected food items such as beef and selected beverages such as whiskey. Apaches obtained such items through trading and raiding, the significance of which increased as these material items became necessities to the Apaches.

Chiricahua shelters were often "wickiups," which were small, conical dwellings constructed by placing hides or blankets over a frame made of tree branches. The following two pictures represent Apache camps with wickiups and some of the material culture items with which Chiricahuas traveled during the 1870s and 1880s.



**Figure 11.** Warm Springs Apache Family (Frisco Native American Museum)



**Figure 12.** Warm Springs Apache Camp (Frisco Native American Museum)

### **Apaches and the Horse (by Rick Hendricks)**

After the arrival of Spanish explorers, Apaches increasingly relied on horses for transportation and food. Accordingly, we consider horses to be a major feature of Apache technology and discuss them in this section.

Juan de Oñate entered New Mexico in fall 1598. He arrived at San Juan Pueblo with 256 mares and 955 stallions. In addition, he had 117 mules and fifteen donkeys. After a decade, the horse herd would have grown to between four and eight thousand head (Pijoan 1975: 8-17). Oñate's men did not report the presence of horses among Indians. Fray Alonso de Benavides, writing in the 1630s, stated that Oñate found no horses, and Benavides himself failed to note horses among Apache Indians in New Mexico.

Mechanisms for the diffusion of horses to Native peoples between 1650 and 1770 seem clear. Oñate's settlements and then Santa Fe, in particular, had all elements necessary for Indians to adopt "the horse culture" (Haines 1938b: 117, 1938a: 429-431). Indians working on ranches and farms in New Mexico cared for livestock. These individuals, of course, learned how to train and work with horses. When, inevitably, some of them escaped with horses, they had the skill to use them. Over time, Indians could obtain more horses through trading or raiding. In this way, Natives borrowed the horse-culture from Spanish colonies and actually made only minor modifications as they did so (cf., Haines 1938a:429-431; 1966: 11-12).

In 1621, New Mexican encomenderos were granted permission to use Indians as herders and teamsters (Worcester 1944). Even though it was illegal in New Spain for Indians to ride horses, they rode to herd stock in New Mexico. Some Indian workers stole horses, often the best ones, and fled. In 1659, for example, an Apache (Navajo) raid for horses in New Mexico was reported.

The spread of horses was accelerated by the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, which made available to Indians thousands of these animals. From Santa Fe, the horse frontier spread out to the rest of the Southwest. After the Pueblo Revolt, horses spread north and northeast from the Texas Panhandle at an approximate rate of ten miles per year (Haines 1938a:429-431; 1966: 11-12). The Mendoza-López expedition to Texas in 1683-1684 reported that Indians had horses there at that time.

In the Southwest, Apaches were surpassed only by Comanches as the leading users of horses in warfare (Haines 1966: 6; Richardson 1933: 28). They learned immediately that bridles were needed for riders to control their horses. Thereafter, Natives attempted to cut bridles during fighting. Because of this practice, Spanish and Mexican bridles retain chains to the present day (Boyd 1975: 26).

Although justly renowned as horsemen, Apaches were also interested in horsemeat as a source of food. Several excellent examples of horses as part of Apache cuisine have survived. In October 1846, William Hemsley Emory made the following observation while near Santa Rita, New Mexico

This afternoon I found the famous mescal, (an agave) about three feet in diameter, broad leaves, and teeth like a shark; the leaves arranged in concentric circles, and terminating in the middle of the plant in a perfect cone. Of this the Apaches made molasses, and cook it with horse meat. ([www.discoverseaz.com/Wildlife/Agave.html](http://www.discoverseaz.com/Wildlife/Agave.html))

Thomas Farish recounts a dinner among Tom Jeffords, Cochise, and Captain Slayden, aide-de-camp to General Oliver Howard, in which horse figured prominently.

While Slayden was in the camp, Jeffords asked Cochise if they could not have some fresh meat. "Well," Cochise said, "what I can give you is good enough for you and me, but I don't know about the other fellow." "All right," said Jeffords, "you have it cooked up, and I will vouch for him." So they had meat boiled in large quantities set before them, and Slayden ate like a pig. After the meal was over, Jeffords asked him how he liked the meat. "I never tasted anything so good in my life. I ate three portions of it, and would have called for more had I not been ashamed to. What kind of meat was it, elk?" Jeffords said: "Well, you saw them kill that colt over there. That was horse meat." Slayden answered: "Well, if I had known it, I suppose I wouldn't have touched it, but I still say it was the best meat I ever tasted" (1915).

Horses were an extremely important commodity in the regional trade economy that developed after arrival of the Spanish. Many Apache raids were organized to procure horses and cattle. Apaches could use these animals themselves, but also use them to trade for other items. Horses were, perhaps the most "liquid" form of capital on the Northern Frontier.

### **Technical Knowledge**

The preceding, partial inventory of Apache material culture and technology might, at first glance, suggest simplicity. This impression, however, fails to take into account the technical knowledge Chiricahua Apaches possessed and employed in their subsistence and economic activities. Two forms of such knowledge – knowledge of plants, animals, and people and knowledge of "landscape" – were extraordinarily detailed, complex, and important to the Apache way of life. Chiricahuas knew which plants, including medicinal plants, were useful and for what purposes. They knew when and where to obtain such plants and how to process them. They possessed similar knowledge about game animals. They knew the characteristics and habits of animals. They knew where and when to hunt, the best strategies for pursuing each type of game animal, and how to process game that they obtained – including how to process the all-important hides of deer and elk.

Chiricahuas also had intimate knowledge of the land. They had first-hand knowledge of mountains, canyons, foothills, and plains. Equally important, they knew locations of lakes, rivers, creeks, and springs. Taken together, the two forms of knowledge allowed the Chiricahua to survive in the arid Southwest.

In addition to all this information, we must address the importance of knowledge of the social landscape. Especially when immigrants arrived in the Chiricahua homeland, Ndé needed understanding of political-economic relationship between themselves and others. After arrival of the Spanish, as discussed below, trading and raiding became an increasingly important part of Chiricahua subsistence and economy. Further, open hostilities and war with Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American peoples became common. In this context, knowledge of potential trading partners and knowledge of one's enemies became about as important to Chiricahuas as knowledge of plants, animals, and landscape. Individuals particularly adept and successful in the political-economic arena became important leaders or "chiefs" mentioned in the historical record.

Interestingly, immigrants, especially Spanish, Mexican and Anglo-American soldiers, immediately recognized the significance of all such Apache knowledge. We refer here to use by immigrant military personnel of Apache scouts. Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American military leaders acknowledged that for their troops to survive in the Southwest, they needed Apache people to lead them and to scout for them. Only Apaches had sufficient knowledge of the landscape to insure troop survival and military success for the invaders.

## **Resources and Economic Activities**

Harry Basehart noted that Apache subsistence was based on effective exploitation of three ecological zones: grassland, piñon-juniper, and yellow pine (1959: 94). Such ecologically diverse zones provided Apaches with many different resources, but required of them an efficient subsistence strategy through which they could obtain those resources. Accordingly, Apache subsistence was based on: (1) gathering wild plants; (2) hunting wild animals; (3) trading with other Indigenous peoples and with Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American immigrants; (4) raiding; and (5) farming (cf., Basehart 1959: 92). This multifaceted economic way of life, according to Basehart, may be framed as an adaptation to scattered and changing distributions of wild food sources affected by fluctuations in climate and the differential availability of the resources themselves (1959: 92). To this, we would add that settlements of non-Apache peoples provided Ndé with additional resource sites for them to incorporate through trading and raiding. Apache visits to such resource sites fit nicely into their annual socioeconomic cycle.

### **Gathering**

The collection of wild plants was probably the most important Chiricahua subsistence activity. It provided more food than other activities and determined the Apache annual socioeconomic schedule or cycle. Hunting, raiding, and farming were regulated and, if necessary, amended, to accommodate the gathering of wild plants (cf., Basehart 1959: 93). People moved to where the wild plants were and then adjusted and incorporated the rest of their subsistence activities.

The collection, processing, and storage of plant materials meant continuous work for Apache women, who engaged in these activities almost daily from early spring until the start of winter (Opler 1941: 354). The most important plants used by Apaches are discussed in chapter seven, "A Southern Athapaskan Ethnobotany." Such plants were distributed among the three environmental zones listed above – hence, Apache movements (cf., Basehart 1959).

The "grassland" is a semi-arid setting situated approximately 2,000-5,000 feet above sea level. This environment supported grasses, creosote, mesquite, prickly pear, yucca, and screw bean, among other plants.

The "piñon-juniper" zone is named for the prevalence of these two trees. Positioned 4,000-7,500 feet above sea level, these areas provided mescal, evergreen oak, datil, yucca glauca, sotol, non-evergreen oaks, wild potatoes, and grapes. Of these, mescal was the most important food source. Every part of the plant, including stalks, crowns, leaves, and juice were used. The various elements were consumed raw, roasted or sun-dried. Women gathered mescal several times a year, both for immediate use and storage (Opler 1941: 357).

The "yellow pine" zone, again named for the frequency of said trees, lay approximately 6,000-11,000 feet above sea level and produced western yellow pine and various berries (Basehart 1959: 95-96).

The zones of greatest consequence to Apaches were the grassland and piñon-juniper zones, particularly for gathering mescal, acorns, and piñons. Subsistence patterns were dominated by plans to use these two regions effectively (cf., Basehart 1959: 96).

### **Hunting**

Apaches hunted wild game throughout the year. Hunting provided crucial yields, though, as noted, plant collecting likely provided Apaches with a more dependable source of food than hunting. Men were the primary hunters and hunting was the primary occupation of men. Women hunted infrequently, save for an occasional "rabbit surround" (Opler 1941: 316). Apaches hunted deer, antelope, elk, mountain sheep, mountain goats, cottontail rabbits, and wood rats, among other animals. Of these game, deer were the most important (Opler 1941: 316). Chiricahuas hunted as needed throughout the year, but most trips were planned in late autumn, when deer were heaviest (Opler 1941: 318). Before the introduction and common availability of rifles, deer were chiefly hunted with bows and arrows. A preferred deer-hunting device was the deer head mask – a deer head and horns attached to a circular stick that rested on a hunter's head to obscure his shape to his prey (Opler 1941: 319).



**Figure 13.** Deer Head Mask (Frisco Native American Museum)

## **Trading**

Apaches were great traders, especially after acquiring horses and guns, and it is reasonable to see them as "middlemen" in a southwestern regional trade economy. Among the items for which Apaches often traded were cattle, horses, corn, iron tools, saddles, guns, cloth, and whiskey (all of which were also items for which Apaches raided [see below]).

As early as the 1600s, Spanish immigrants used Apache slaves as intermediaries in trading relations with other Indian peoples (Schroeder 1962). This trend continued throughout at least the 1770s, when Apache liaisons worked among and between Spanish settlements and missions and Indigenous groups (Schroeder 1962). Apaches also cultivated direct trade relations with Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American partners, an enterprise that increased with growing populations of foreigners in Apache territory (e.g., Schroeder 1962, Smith 1995).

## **Raiding**

It is difficult to adequately consider patterns of Apache trade in absence of raiding practices. Typically, the goods Apaches had available to trade were the spoils of raiding expeditions. This is a pattern identifiable for as long as Apaches had contact with immigrant groups. By the 1770s, for instance, Apaches traded resources raided from one presidio (usually food and stock assets such as sheep, cattle, and horses) for non-food essentials (such as guns, gunpowder, ammunition, and clothes) from another (Schroeder 1962). Trading relationships were rarely firm and long-standing, and were prescribed by fluid, changeable peace negotiations that were continually forged and dissolved throughout the contact era. For example, peace agreements reached in late-January or early-February 1835 at Santa Rita del Cobre led to increased trade between Apache and Mexican groups in the area, but the tenuous nature of the agreements could easily shut down trade relations (Griffen 1998). Cycles of raiding and trading, nurtured and disrupted by fragile eras of amity, continued throughout the Apache Reservation era.

Raiding played a considerable role in Apache life, again, especially after they acquired horses and guns. Records of Apache raids of Spanish settlements in and around the Apache homeland began in the early 1600s. In 1606, Spanish sources mentioned Apache raids on San Gabriel, and retaliatory measures taken against the "marauders" (Schroeder 1974a: 192). Apaches increased their raiding during the 1600s and 1700s, possibly driven by their increased possession of and demand for horses and guns (Schroeder 1974a: 160). Apaches also expanded the range of their raiding through the 1600s and 1700s, eventually focusing on the states of Sonora and Chihuahua in present day Mexico (Schroeder 1974a: 14-16).

Chiricahua men, usually not women, raided and they did so for reasons generally related to subsistence – to capture livestock for food and transportation; obtain food such as corn; and take needed material items such as iron tools, saddles, guns, and cloth for consumption or trade. Raiding for horses and cattle seem, by far, to have been most important.

Perhaps most often, Apaches raided during the winter and early spring, when food was most scarce. They sought livestock for food to see them through the leanest time of the year. During such raids, women frequently stayed at mescal harvesting locations to obtain that all-important plant.

As noted, raiding was primarily a kind of subsistence activity, and the most successful result would come from completely avoiding an enemy. While notoriety and increased status could be by-products of successful raids, the principal goal, as noted, was to procure necessities. When asked to speak about the significance of raiding, three of Morris Opler's Chiricahua Apache consultants observed straightforwardly (Opler 1941: 333):

- "They went on raids because they were in need."
- "We must go out and get what we need."
- "(We raided) for our people in need."

The frequency of Apache raiding for food seemed to be affected by natural forces. For example, a regional drought in 1671 seemed to coincide with increased Apache raiding (Schroeder 1974a: 192). When the natural environment was unable to sustain Apache groups, these groups turned to raiding. This aim of raiding also gained importance during the early 1830s, when a Mexican rationing system began to disintegrate and was eventually abandoned. When the presidio peace establishments were gone, along with their rations, Apaches made up for the lost food sources with increased regional raiding (Griffen 1988: 15, 27-28, 124; 1998: 120; Schroeder 1974a: 92, 105, 108, 109).

Raiding did not recede much during the Anglo-American era. The reservation system, while never particularly efficient, was deplorable in the early-to-mid-1870s. As conditions on reservations deteriorated and more Anglo-Americans settled in the U. S. southwest, further pressuring environmental resources, Apache raids on livestock increased (Thrapp 1967: 114, 117-118).

The connection between food sources and raiding is also apparent in the reverse: when foodstuffs were adequate or plentiful, Apache raiding decreased. Historical sources note, for example, that raiding decreased in summer 1847 while many Apache groups were occupied harvesting mescal (Sweeney 1991: 63; 1998: 149). When Dr. Michael Steck, a U.S. Indian Agent established an agency with a rationing system at Fort Thorn, New Mexico in late 1854, Mangas' group ceased raiding in Sonora (Schroeder 1974b: 137; Sweeney 1998: 309).

A second goal of Apache raiding, to capture horses for transportation, was tied specifically to Apaches' need for mobility. The mid-1600s were marked by increasing Spanish exploitation of Native peoples. Chiricahua adults and children, for example, were captured and sold as slaves for mining or as local laborers. Accordingly, Apaches began raiding for guns and horses to augment their defenses and mobility (cf., Schroeder 1974a: 168). Raiding for horses continued throughout the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American periods.



The procurement of trade items also became an increasingly important goal of raiding as Apache territory became home to larger numbers of immigrants. It was common during the Mexican era for Apaches to raid communities with whom they had active hostilities and trade the spoils of their raids to communities with which they had peace agreements (Schroeder 1974b: 103; Griffen 1998: 123; Sweeney 1998: 38,126). The 1830s brought many Anglo-Americans to Apache territory, stimulating the raiding-trading cycle through environmental resource pressures (Debo 1976: 28; Griffen 1998: 163; Schroeder 1974b: 109).

Trade also increased the efficiency of Apache military initiatives. With the ability to trade for guns and ammunition, Apaches were no longer solely reliant on rocks, lances, and bows and arrows in combat (Griffen 1998: 185; Sweeney 1991: 43-44, 45). This was a necessary development in face of increased warfare with immigrants.

The taking of captives for leverage in bargaining with enemies was another possible objective of raiding. By the 1820s, it was common for Mexican communities to kidnap Apaches for advantage in battles and negotiations. Apaches responded in kind by seizing Mexican hostages (Griffen 1988: 4-5, 21, 22, 25-26, 246-247). Nde might intend to retain their captives permanently (usually women and children), use them for political negotiation (including hostage exchange), or trade them for necessary supplies such as food and livestock (Sweeney 1998: 113-114).

Opler (1983: 373) states clearly that Apaches distinguished raiding, as described above, from "warfare." The latter was motivated largely by blood revenge. People seeking revenge for the death of a relative or loved one would kill the enemies who were responsible. Occasionally, Apaches would also take such enemies captive. An example of such raids took place in 1757 against Spanish in the Gila River-Mogollon Mountains region. This raid was retribution for a November 1756 Spanish attack that culminated in the murder of 30 Apache men and the capture of nearly 40 Apache women and children (Schroeder 1974b: 66).

Apache scalp bounties instituted by the Mexican government in the 1820s made bounty hunters a scourge on Apache groups. A proliferation of mercenaries drawn by government rewards regularly targeted peaceful Apache camps or "rancherías." Revenge for these slayings became an important motive for raids during this time (Griffen 1998: 123; Schroeder 1974b: 103; Sweeney 1998: 38, 126). An example of this trend is the so-named "Johnson Affair" of April 1837. Johnson, a North American bounty hunter, and a group of his men murdered 28 Apaches in the Animas Mountains of southwestern New Mexico. Among those killed were prominent Apache leader Juan Jose Compa and several relatives of Mangas Coloradas. Following the murders, Mangas and a group of his followers traveled to the Gila River region where they killed a trapping party, reportedly in retaliation for the loss of his family members (Schroeder 1974b: 110; Sweeney 1998: 70, 72). In fall 1837, Apaches attacked northern Chihuahua three times, also most likely motivated by revenge for the Johnson Affair (Sweeney 1991: 37; 1998: 74-75).

## **Agriculture**

A lack of understanding of Apache agricultural practices is pervasive in the literature. Scholars have mistakenly reported that Apache farming is a "recent" development, and was not in practice prior to the Anglo-American reservation period (e.g., Opler 1941: 372). In fact, reports of the presence and persistence of farming exist from the earliest Spanish reports. By the 1620s, Spanish reported farming conducted by Gila Apaches near the headwaters of the Gila River (Schroeder 1974a: 183, 185, 218). Accounts of Apache agriculture appear in Fray Alfonso Benavides' journals from his travels through New Mexico from 1626-1629 (Schroeder 1974a: 182). As early as 1671, connections were made between the loss of crop harvests, as a result of a regional drought, and increased incidence of raiding as Indians faced starvation (Schroeder 1974a: 192). Nor was Apache farming a haphazard endeavor. Spanish troops involved in a 1747 campaign between Zuni and the Gila River encountered corn agriculture supported by irrigation systems along the Rio de Francisco (Schroeder 1974b: 61). That Apaches knew nothing about agriculture, that they were "new" or "primitive" farmers is false.

Farming also had significant implications in interactions between Apaches and Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American officials and governments. Encroachment by foreigners proved, at best, problematic, and at times, disastrous for Apache peoples. With regional control shifting from Spanish to Mexican forces, economic conditions for Indians gathered on presidio peace establishments became desperate in the 1820s and 1830s. When appearing before authorities at Janos in July 1830, one of the primary complaints of Apache leaders speaking for their followers was a lack of farming tools to ensure adequate sustenance (Griffen 1998: 131; Sweeney 1991: 17; 1998:43).

The situation was not improved as Apaches were gathered under Anglo-American control. By February 1855, one of the key issues facing United States Indian Agent Steck was the U.S. government's recantation of promises of agricultural assistance for Apaches (Sweeney 1998: 309-310).

The idea that Apaches needed to be taught and encouraged to farm was repeated throughout this era. For instance, one of Steck's "noteworthy accomplishments" was his ability to "start" the groups of leaders such as Delgadito and Cuchillo Negro on farming (Sweeney 1998: 339, 341). And, despite nearly 15 years of Apache/U. S. government interactions, President Grant's 1869 "Peace Policy" included provisions dictating the need to teach Indians placed in reservations to farm (Faulk 1969: 12).

Perhaps the most devastating factor for Apache agriculture in the post-Civil War period was steadily increasing immigrant encroachment. Apaches were continually shuttled from location to location to suit the economic needs of Anglo-Americans relocating in the southwest. The reservation system and subsequent concentration policies served to exacerbate the problems. Indians gathered on reservations were forced to farm in progressively poorer and more restrictive conditions. In 1872, Apaches living on the Camp Verde Reservation frequently had their crops trampled by the stock of neighboring Anglo-American ranchers (Ogle 1970: 120). Also in the 1870s, the requirements of immigrant miners added to Apache agricultural concerns as reservations were

reconfigured to allow removal and transportation of mineral resources (Ogle 1970: 188, 194). Finally, the continuous issue of adequate water was aggravated by growing immigrant populations. In the 1880s, water intended for farming on the San Carlos Reservation was continually diverted to meet the needs of Mormons settling in the area (Ogle 1970: 201, 211).

### **Division of Labor**

As implicit in the above discussion, Apaches practiced a sexual division of labor, which began during childhood. Daughters were taught to be like their mothers. They were instructed in such tasks as basket making, fire building, gathering and using plants and plant materials, cooking, hide tanning, and sewing. Women were also responsible for gathering wood, supplying water, making rope, and home construction. They were largely responsible for child rearing. Women who planned to gather throughout the day typically left smaller children in the care of another woman and, taking water along, would work alone or with a daughter or sister. If a journey of a few days was necessary, several women might leave together in a larger party, though each found and collected her own plants. If a trip was to be particularly long and work particularly intensive, men might accompany the women to afford protection and help in heavier labor (Opler 1941: 364).

Boys were taught their fathers' skills and routines. They learned, for example, about hunting, tool manufacture, the construction of weapons and horse tack, and horsemanship (cf., Opler 1941: 27-28). Adolescent boys became apprentices to older men so that the teenagers could learn to trade and raid. The boys acquired not only requisite skills, but also knowledge of the landscape and of rituals – especially songs and prayers – necessary for such activities.

### **Mobility**

Apaches traveled widely and regularly. The primary reason for Apache mobility was subsistence – to meet the demands of making a living in the arid Southwest. Phrased differently, the Chiricahua Apache mode of production required considerable spatial mobility, as well as group flexibility.

Practically, procuring adequate resources to sustain groups throughout various seasons entailed frequent movement over a wide territory. The ability to move efficiently based on seasonal supply pressures dictated a group's survival. The cycles of availability of wild plant and animal food sources translated into patterns of travel for semi-nomadic Apaches relying on these resources (cf., Basehart 1959: 92). That is, because plant and animal resources were present on the landscape at different times and places and in different concentrations, given Apache technology, the people necessarily moved to different locations to obtain those resources.

The need for physical mobility also influenced aspects of Apache social and cultural life. Individual and group flexibility was imperative to support the search for constantly

changing, differentially available resources. Group membership was fluid and group territories often intersected or overlapped. Based on environmental and sociopolitical demands, the makeup of groups could change (Basehart 1959: 93). Opler noted that physical mobility and social fluidity did not impede the maintenance of social bonds, which remained intact despite geographical flux or distance (see our discussion of "field" below). Households had the same flexibility as larger groups. If resource availability dictated, a single household might travel great distances by itself and occupy its own temporary campsite (cf., Opler 1941: 364).

Historically, there were many reasons for and innumerable examples of Apache mobility. Evidence of this characteristic may be traced throughout the historical record. While mobility was always characteristic of Apache groups, it probably increased in the 1600s when groups of southern Apaches obtained horses (Schroeder 1974a: x, xiii, xviii, 219). With the acquisition of horses, the territories of some groups, such as the Gila Apaches, a "band" of Chiricahuas, expanded considerably (Schroeder 1974a: 183, 185, 218). Gila Apache territory expanded toward Arizona, while their raiding territory expanded south into northern Chihuahua, Mexico and the lower San Pedro River (Schroeder 1974a: 4-5, 14-16). This is just one example of the impact of increasingly efficient modes of transportation on Apache mobility. Groups demonstrated escalating mobility throughout the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American periods until establishment of reservations.

Even as they faced drastic changes from the encroachment of immigrant forces, Apaches continued to follow the seasonal dictates of natural resources. Mangas' group, for example, was recorded to have been harvesting piñon, acorns, mesquite beans, walnuts, berries, and datil in the Burro and Mogollon Mountains in fall 1851 and 1852 (Sweeney 1998: 241, 264). Mangas' bunch also traveled to the Chiricahua Mountains to harvest in fall 1857 (Sweeney 1991: 106, 1998: 359,369). As military action in the region increased, seasonal gathering occasionally placed such Apache groups in danger. A March 1856 trip to the Chiricahua Mountains to harvest mescal culminated in an attack by Steen's troops when the Apaches returned to their rancheria (Sweeney 1998: 326).

As noted, Spanish and Mexican rationing systems added a new dimension to Apache subsistence. In 1791, Commandant General Pedro de Nava ordered that all Apaches residing at Janos presidio should receive weekly supplies until they could support themselves (Griffen 1998: 99, 101-102, 105-106). Rations became an important resource for Apaches who faced decreasing access to their own lands. Apaches logged frequent movements traveling to and from presidios at which rations were issued. By 1795, Spanish authorities, motivated by fiscal constraints of feeding Apaches at presidios, encouraged them to return to their mountain homelands and maintain peace (Griffen 1998: 81; Sweeney 1998: 14).

The rationing system suffered greater setbacks under Mexican authorities. Throughout the 1820s, Mexico's government was unable to maintain clear control on the frontier. This translated to rapidly diminishing funds for rations and associated Apache moves away from peace establishments (Griffen 1998:21, 123; Schroeder 1974b: 103; Sweeney 1998: 38). In 1831, the Mexican government abandoned the rationing system entirely.

This change brought about two important circumstances regarding Apache mobility. First, Apaches moved away from the vicinities of presidios and returned to Sonoran and Chihuahuan mountains, Arizona, and New Mexico. Second, Apache dependence on raiding, and the movements inherent to raiding, increased (Griffen 1998: 3-4, 12, 123; Sweeney 1998: 43-45, 54, 56, 68).

Escaping disease was another historical reason for Apache mobility. As early as 1671, diseases seemingly associated with immigrant populations and, perhaps, increased sedentism were killing many Indian peoples in New Mexico (cf., Schroeder 1974a: 192). As disease increased in frequency and severity, so too did movement to escape infected areas. Disease became a major issue with the establishment of the Mexican presidio system, exemplified by the 1791 organization of Janos. Gathering many groups of people in a small area without the protection of inoculations led to frequent epidemics, particularly of smallpox (Griffen 1998: 99, 101-102, 105-106). Outbreaks in 1800 and 1816 each caused mass migrations away from the presidio (Griffen 1998: 89, Sweeney 1998: 111-112). Smallpox infections near Galeana in fall 1843 sent Apaches to Janos, where a January-February outbreak forced them to leave again (Sweeney 1988: 82; 1990:52; 1991:51; 1998: 111-112, 208). Occasionally, disease of a more sinister origin led to Apache movement. In August-September 1857, Cochise and his followers residing at Janos were struck ill. The cause is believed to be Apache consumption of whiskey that Mexicans poisoned with arsenic or strychnine. Survivors fled the area and returned to New Mexico (Sweeney 1991: 105,108; 1998: 358).

Epidemics became particularly malevolent with the reservation system of the Anglo-American era. As disparate Indian groups were crowded together into sedentary reservation lifestyles, disease was rampant and caused frequent flight from the concentration camps (Ogle 1970: 104, 108-109, 111, 120).

Military initiatives waged against Apaches also caused them to increase their mobility throughout the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American periods. For one example, military records show that in February and March 1766, Captain Anza of Tubac conducted a campaign against Apaches, who retreated into "the rough country" to escape the operation (Schroeder 1974b: 50). Apaches' ability to navigate terrain impassable by other forces became a hallmark of their survival strategy during this time (see Chiricahua "knowledge of landscape").

Military actions during the Mexican era were common. Following an 1831 collapse of the presidio system, Apaches were in a nearly constant state of war with Mexico for several decades (Griffen 1988: 3-4, 12; 1998: 123; Sweeney 1998: 43, 44, 68). While examples of attacks and subsequent Apache movements are too abundant to enumerate here, a few examples will suffice to demonstrate the patterns. August 16-22, 1844 was a particularly bloody week for Apaches as Sonoran troops from Fronteras entered Chihuahua and brutalized groups living near Corralitos and Janos, killing 80 people (primarily women and children). In the aftermath of the violence, Apache survivors left the area for New Mexico and Arizona (Griffen 1988: 85; 1998: 213; Sweeney 1991: 52; 1998: 118,126). A May 28, 1845 attack on Ch'uk'ánde by forces under Ensign José Baltazar Padilla resulted

in 14 deaths and an Apache move to the Chiricahua and Mogollon mountains (Sweeney 1998: 130).

The Anglo-American period is also rife with military initiatives and corresponding Apache movements. In May 1857, Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville, Acting Commander of the Department of New Mexico, was sent to punish "hostile" Apaches in New Mexico and along the Arizona border. He established a base of operations on the Gila River and then he and his officers began a fierce campaign against regional Apache groups. In the same month, an attack was waged on the Chiricahua Mountain rancherías of Apache leader Cuchillo Negro, who was killed in one of the battles (McChristian 2005: 17; Ogle 1970: 38; Schroeder 1974b: 149-150; Sweeney 1998: 352-354). In June, Western Apaches living near Mount Graham, Arizona were attacked. The Bonneville operation forced surviving Apaches south to Mexico, where disease subsequently compelled them to return to the north yet again (Schroeder 1974b: 151; Sweeney 1991: 108; 1998: 361).

A final motivation for Apache mobility was revenge, which, while difficult to distinguish from military initiatives, deserves separate consideration. Retaliation for wrongs against family members or close allies was an impetus for Apache mobility. Again, examples are too numerous to consider individually, but revenge was waged against Indian groups and the military and civilian forces of other nations. For instance, early in 1858, Sonoran troops killed two of Mangas Coloradas' sons while the men were raiding in the state (Sweeney 1998: 364-365). In May of that year, Mangas and Cochise raided Sonora seeking revenge for the deaths (Sweeney 1991: 110; 1998: 365).

### **Disengagement from Private Property**

Individual Chiricahuas generally "owned" the personal items that they made and used, including tools, clothing, and shelters. Individuals also owned the product of their labor, with prescribed exceptions (see below concerning hunting). Persons also owned objects that they obtained in trading and raiding, including horses, guns, and food. At a person's death, his or her private property was frequently destroyed for religious reasons (cf., Opler 1941: 474). The kind of personal property destroyed at death is a reasonable index to what could be owned individually.

Importantly, however, neither individual persons nor groups, such as "local groups" and "bands," among Ndé "owned" land and associated resources in any sort of Western capitalist sense. Individuals, families, extended families, and larger collections of people moved freely from one place (resource site) to another, and were perfectly within their rights to make use of plants and animals at those places. If people were already present when a group arrived at a specific place, however, the latter would respect the "use" rights of the former and not intrude.

Apparently, individuals and groups might, through frequent use of a specific location, come to be closely associated with that place. This was not ownership, but unrelated people entering that area would be expected to obtain permission from the individual or group linked to that place so that misunderstanding and conflict was avoided. Opler

suggests that any member of a band could move freely in his or her band territory, but that it was out of place to do so in the territory of another band (1941:183-184).

This disengagement from private property, especially land, makes sense within the context of the Chiricahua mode of production. Resources were scattered, hence people needed to be mobile and have access to resources distributed throughout the country. While at one location, it was, of course, difficult to restrict access to and exert "ownership" over another place.

### **The Values of Self-Reliance and Autonomy**

Chiricahua Apaches highly valued personal autonomy, which was a hallmark of Apache culture and identity. This value has been referred to variously as "an enthusiasm for self-reliance" (Opler 1969), "rugged individualism" (Basehart 1967: 227-289), and "intense individualism" (Basehart 1967: 227-289). Regardless of terminology, the value that Apaches placed on personal autonomy was revealed in virtually every aspect of their social and cultural life.

First, personal decision-making and the realization of individual decisions were given unquestioned primacy (Basehart 1971: 35-50). This dictum applied in all situations, from common, everyday experiences to times of war. From early childhood, children were taught the importance of making up their own minds and were involved in their own upbringing (Opler 1941: 25). An Opler consultant, for example, reported that a child who left his home to interact with playmates was told, "Come back to your own camp when you are hungry," rather than relying on the families of friends to feed them (1941: 27).

Second, protection from danger (e.g., lightning, ghosts, or the feathers of certain birds) was also assumed to be a personal responsibility as children grew, with young children closely guarded and older children expected to defend themselves (Opler 1941: 29).

Third, people were responsible for their own shortcomings. Although families who raised "worthless" children were subject to social criticism, the person in question was not excused his or her faults due to a lack of family instruction (Opler 1941: 465). Family involvement, or lack thereof in deference to autonomy, continued in adult life. Opler noted that a daughter being treated poorly by her husband had the right to return to her parents' home for protection. However, unless the situation was particularly dire, parents were typically reluctant to become involved in the relationships of their adult children (1941:401). A father commenting on the poor match his daughter had made later told his daughter, "You had better go over there and take your medicine" (Opler 1941: 401). Although he believed his daughter had made a bad decision, the choice had been hers to make and she assumed responsibility for the negative consequences.

Fourth, people were expected to provide for themselves and avoid excessive dependence on others. The material yields of an individual's work belonged to him or her (Opler 1941), even though Apaches also had a strong expectation that individuals would be generous with others.

Fifth, individuals were remarkably free to pursue their own courses of action despite group opinions, decisions, and actions. Group decisions were typically mediated through meetings between leaders and other group members. Following a free exchange of ideas, views, and perspectives on the issue in question, consensus would be attempted through group discussion. If, however, an agreement could not be reached, the meeting was adjourned with no one pressured to accept another's views (Basehart 1959: 93). Even if a group reached consensus to do one thing, individuals were still free to act otherwise.

### **The Values of Generosity, Reciprocity, Sharing, and Cooperation**

While the value placed on self-reliance and autonomy cannot be overemphasized, great significance was also ascribed to values of generosity, reciprocity, sharing, and cooperation. Apache peoples generally viewed adherence to these qualities as essential to their survival and existence. One of the most serious criticisms that could be leveled against someone was to call him or her "stingy."

Children were taught the importance of being generous with and helping others from an early age. Sharing was often incorporated into children's games; play camps were, for example, created at which guests were offered meals of dried peas (Opler 1941: 48-49). These lessons were expected to carry over to adulthood.

The importance of these traits was apparent in customs governing both familial and non-familial social life. Perhaps the best-known social display of generosity's significance is the girl's puberty ceremony. During this ceremony, an extraordinary ethic of generosity permeated everything that was done. Young women were taught to be self-reliant and industrious, they were given important knowledge about the world, and they were instructed to be generous with their families, relatives, and other community members. The girl's family provided food and other items to people at the ceremony; feeding guests was a prime example of a family's generosity. Medicine people and dancers gave blessings and strength to those present. Community identity and interdependence were emphasized symbolically and behaviorally.

The stability of Apache groups was often dependent on cooperation and generosity. Acts supporting group sustenance were often completed cooperatively. Individuals also cooperated in tasks intended to assist a single group member, counting on future cooperation and reciprocity for assistance in their own projects. People traditionally supported the elderly, and widows, in particular (Opler 1941: 323). Even those who lacked initiative and industry (laziness was a much-maligned quality in Apache society) were offered provisions. An Opler consultant stated, "It's hard to refuse those who haven't any meat...even if a lazy man wants food, (a man or woman) would not refuse him" (1941: 323).

Accomplished storytellers were esteemed, both for the enjoyment others derived from their tales and the dictates of generosity associated with storytelling sessions. A storyteller who gathered a crowd almost always offered his or her listeners food (Opler



1941: 439). If an interested group spent an entire night listening to a man's stories, the audience was expected to be compensated for their time, often with food or, in special circumstances, saddles or horses. Conversely, a storyteller who lacked appropriate compensation for his audience would demonstrate uneasiness at keeping them too long (Opler 1941: 439-440).

Family bonds were maintained and solidified through generosity in times of need. Blood relatives were expected to help family members whenever necessary as a demonstration of loyalty (cf., Opler 1941). Similarly, affinal relatives had intense duties of generosity. A man hoping to marry would offer his future wife's family marriage gifts, often horses and meat. These gifts were intended to represent the economic assistance, cooperation, and generosity that the man promised to bring to his wife's family (Opler 1941: 161). Further, sons-in-law were obligated to assist in the support of their wives' aging family members in an economy of cooperation (Opler 1941: 162). Generally, husbands and wives, driven by similar concerns regarding home maintenance, child rearing, and the procurement of necessities, worked in close cooperation. The enhanced deference men received in the public sphere was generally not as apparent in the home, where husbands and wives operated in essential equality (Opler 1941: 401).

Compelling evidence of the importance Apaches placed on generosity, sharing, and cooperation comes from rules and rituals governing hunting. A hunter's attitude was required to be respectful and cooperative. Those who flouted these expectations and demonstrated any selfishness risked bad luck (Opler 1941: 322). Cooperation was apparent in relay hunting methods in which two or three hunters would take up positions along a course. Game was chased along the path, with fresh hunters picking up the chase when others were fatigued (Opler 1941: 323). Specific guidelines were in place to ensure proper attitudes. After a hunter had killed a deer, the first man who approached him was permitted to take the entire animal. The successful hunter would tell the individual to help himself to as much of the animal as he desired (Opler 1941: 322). While this may seem a counterproductive way to support one's self and family, Opler noted no cases in which more than half the animal was taken by a hunting partner (1941: 322). Opler also wrote that men who had an adequate supply of foodstuffs in reserve politely declined the offerings of hunting partners (1941: 322). Upon his return, a successful hunter frequently and spontaneously distributed meat to those in need (Opler 1941: 323).

### **Decentralized, Informal, and Situational Leadership**

While the premium on autonomy and self-direction is undeniable in Apache culture, leaders existed who assumed authoritative roles in everyday life, and, particularly, in extraordinary circumstances in which the cooperation of larger groups were required. Leadership was, however, tempered by the individuality and self-reliance esteemed in Apache society, from the ways in which leaders were chosen and assumed power to the nature of their directives to others.

Opler noted, "Leadership is a process in which birth and wealth have their place, but in which ability and personal magnetism are always the leavening factors" (1941: 470).

Leadership can be understood in terms of the continuum from family to band levels of Apache sociopolitical integration (see below). While women attended group meetings and councils and were encouraged to offer their ideas and opinions, it was usually men who took on leadership roles (Opler 1941: 463). Leadership may be conceived as beginning at the places of married men, who assumed roles of heads of households and advocates for their wives, daughters, and unmarried sons. As the daughters of these men married, the men leading these extended families gradually increased in prestige (Opler 1941: 464). This meant that extended families were not necessarily equal in authority and power. In serious social circumstances, heads of large, prestigious extended families dominated councils and played larger roles in decision-making (Opler 1941: 464). Recognizable differences in status among extended families were reflected in such situations by similar differences among leaders in authority and power. The head of the extended family with the greatest prestige and status was the local group leader. The strongest local group leaders, then, were band leaders (Opler 1941: 464). While this may seem straightforward, there was no "principal leader" or "chief" in many cases. At these times, and when different local groups supported different leaders, leadership was split or shared (Opler 1941: 464).

While ascribed status played a role in Apache social prominence, the position into which one was born was not an unshakable predictor of future esteem. Achieved status, such as wealth and competence in important tasks and roles, influenced a person's social standing (Opler 1941: 465-466). One's behavior superseded birthright. A non-industrious, unreliable person might be considered "common," regardless of his or her "good line" (Opler 1941: 465). Of such an individual might be said, "(He) comes of good blood...but he is worthless" (Opler 1941: 465). Conversely, valued actions such as valor in combat could increase a man's status to a level of leadership despite "common" ancestry (Opler 1941: 467). Generally speaking, though, leaders were born to well-respected, well-connected families (Opler 1941: 465-466).

Leaders were frequently chosen from the sons or close relatives of former leaders. Chiricahuas generally expected that leaders would teach their skills to male offspring, grooming them for future responsibilities. An Opler consultant noted, "The son of a leader is the first choice when the leader dies or isn't active anymore...the chief's children get special advice...and (are) trained in a good way right from the start..." (1941: 467). Further, leaders' families tended to be sufficiently wealthy and well connected to support future leaders. This comes into play as leaders were expected to demonstrate generosity – they needed adequate resources to do so (Opler 1941: 466). However, as mentioned, personal characteristics brought much to bear on leader selection.

Leaders needed to possess the qualities and abilities most valued in Apache society. Leaders were presumed to have extraordinary self-reliance, generosity, willingness to assume responsibility, industriousness, battle skills, and wisdom (Opler 1941: 465, Basehart 1971: 35-50). One of the most important measures of a leader was his aptitude for public speaking and his ability to convince others to follow his suggestions.

Rooted in the premium placed on autonomy is the principle that Apache leaders had no absolute or coercive power over their people. While people looked up to leaders and respected their opinions, they were not bound to follow a leaders' advice (Opler 1941: 470). Leaders were expected to speak individually with those who followed them (e.g., offering guidance on daily living) and to the people as a group (e.g., speaking to an entire band concerning public issues). If a leader was unable to convince persuasively others of the appropriateness and sagacity of his proposals, he would not long remain a leader (Opler 1941: 469). If a leader was deemed ineffective, people would simply ignore his directives. While leaders were considered public symbols of the people they led – of families, local groups, and bands – they were neither central nor necessary to the maintenance of group identity.

Status was multifaceted in Apache society. As mentioned, family lines carried status distinctions, but later behavior and achievement could allow a person to rise above relatively ordinary lines or could condemn those of prestigious lines to common status. Children born to families with "good status," however, generally received better-than-average educations to ensure continued respect for the line (Opler 1941: 467). Behaviors and actions in childhood also contributed to or detracted from future social positions. For example, boys were trained in horsemanship, with instruction sometimes culminating in a two-day, cross-country ride. Those who performed admirably on the grueling ride gained superiority that could carry over to adulthood (Opler 1941: 74). Generally, people who possessed and exemplified the valued traits of industry, generosity, restraint, and respect for others enjoyed prestige.

While Apache-produced historical records of leadership are virtually non-existent, Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American records of encounters with such leaders are available. By the 1620s, Spanish sources recorded the presence of Apaches near the headwaters of the Gila River and recorded those they understood to be leaders (Schroeder 1974a: 183, 218). As Spanish and Apaches had increased contact, the lack of centralized Apache leadership and Spanish misunderstanding of the nature of Apache leadership, at times, contributed to difficulties. By the 1770s, problems arose when Spanish authorities forged treaties with specific Apache groups that were not honored by, or even known to other groups (Griffen 1998: 33, 39; Sweeney 1998: 13). Mistaken Spanish perceptions that failed to recognize the decentralization of Apache leadership and sociopolitical organization fueled these struggles.

While the presidio system had long been a part of Apache-Spanish relations, the role of leaders took on greater significance as Apaches were physically consolidated near presidios for management by the Spanish government. In 1791, for example, Commandant General Pedro de Nava formulated and issued instructions for the administration of Apaches at Janos presidio in Chihuahua, Mexico. One of his mandates was the appointment of a "chief" for each rancheria to serve as a go-between for Spanish and Apaches (Griffen 1998: 102). The dictate ignored the actual nature of Apache leadership, and serves as a compelling example of the lack of Spanish comprehension of Apache social and political life.

Chiricahua leaders continued to shoulder important duties of negotiation during the Mexican era. Leaders participated in formal and informal conciliations with presidio authorities and other officials. Leaders often made known the concerns and predicaments of people in their groups. For instance, Apache leaders appeared before administrators at Janos to address Apache complaints regarding insufficient rations, the distrustful nature of troop/Apache relations, the need for interpreters at the presidio, and the lack of farming tools (Griffen 1998: 131; Sweeney 1991: 17; 1998: 43). The formulation and maintenance of peace treaties also gained significance during this time. Apache leaders frequently negotiated peace agreements with certain presidios or regions. These solutions were typically temporary (e.g., Griffen 1988: 31, 141-142; 1998: 141; Smith 1999: 43; Sweeney 1991: 20-21; 1998: 50).

While Apaches had increasingly frequent contact with Anglo-Americans from the onset of the latter's immigration to Apache country, the 1854 Gadsden Purchase, in which the United States purchased a considerable portion of Apache territory from Mexico, amplified Apache dealings with Anglo-Americans and their government. By November 1854, Apache leaders were meeting with such officials as New Mexico Territorial Governor David Meriwether to discuss issues at Fort Thorn, New Mexico (Sweeney 1998: 305). Treaty negotiations continued to be the responsibility of leaders, and were persistently problematic. Treaties forged with regional officials such as Meriwether were not ratified by the United States Congress, stalling cooperation and compromise (Sweeney 1998: 312). At the same time, different Apache leaders functioned under various states of war and peace with Mexico and the United States (Sweeney 1998: 409-411).

### **Kin-Based Social and Political Organization**

Anthropologists have often described Apache social and political organization in terms of increasingly inclusive and decreasingly significant (viz. everyday activities) "levels" – for example, "families," "local groups," "bands," and "tribes" (cf., Basehart 1971, Opler 1941). Kinship provided the organizational logic for these levels. Apache society was kin-based or kin-dominated in the sense that almost all features of social life were organized through ties of blood and marriage, and virtually all social relationships were expressed in a kinship idiom. For example, people lived with their relatives; traveled with their relatives; worked, exchanged, and consumed with their relatives; conducted ceremonies with their relatives; defended their relatives; and sought revenge for the death of their relatives.

#### **Family**

The family, sometimes a nuclear family, but more often an extended family, provided the foundation of Apache social and economic life. The matrilineal extended family, consisting of a husband and wife, their unmarried children, their married daughters, and their daughters' husbands and children, was the normative Apache social and economic unit (Basehart 1971: 35-50). This matrilineal and matrilocal group was responsible for members' subsistence, child rearing, marriage arrangements, ceremony, defense, and revenge for acts committed against the family (cf., Basehart 1971: 35-50). Separate

dwellings for family members were established depending on group size, the ages of residents, and their marital statuses (Opler 1941: 183). In most circumstances, an extended family stayed together for some time – perhaps several seasons or years. Similar to other Apache social groupings, however, it was not permanent. The contingencies of social, economic, and political life could cause an extended family to dissolve.

### **Local Group**

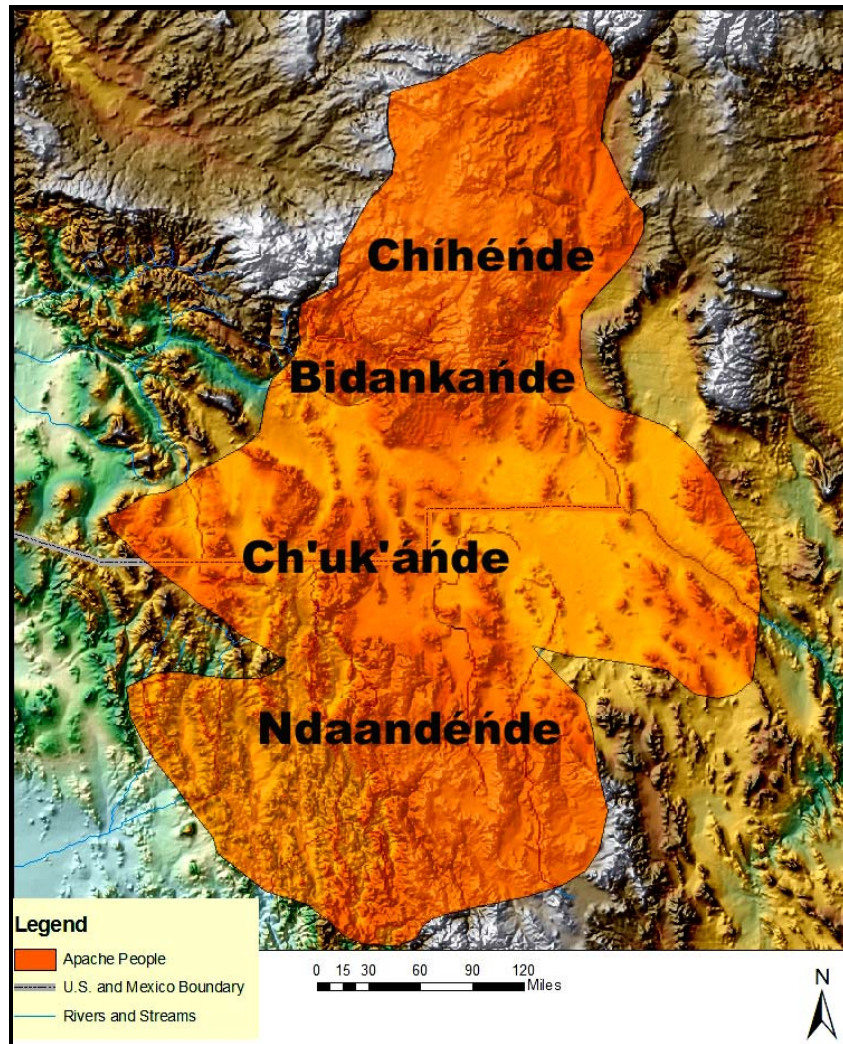
Several extended families, perhaps 10 to 30 individual households (nuclear families) or two to 10 extended families, linked through kinship, marriage, and residence, comprised a local group (cf., Basehart 1971: 35-50). Local groups were highly mobile, but often maintained camps at semi-permanent centers for storage and shelter known as "favorite spots" (Basehart 1971: 35-50). From such favorite spots, group members hunted, gathered, raided, and held ceremonies, dances, and other social functions. Cochise's stronghold in the Dragoon Mountains exemplifies such favorite spots. According to Opler:

The local group consists of a number of extended families living near some prominent family, that is, living around some family who has a good leader. This leader would be expected to lead the men of the local group when they go on a raid or engage in war. But each extended family has its own place to store food. And whenever a girl's puberty rite takes place, people outside the local group come too.

A great many families of a local group are related but not all of them. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that a man has to marry outside the local group. The families who make up the group shift constantly. A family will often go and attach itself to some other local group.

The women of a local group are the ones who would go to gather mescal together.... The members of a local group can go anywhere in the territory of their band, but they are out of place if they go into the territory of another band....At the time of a big raid, men from more than one local group might get together, but those from each locality would stay around their own leader. He acted as a sort of captain for them. (1941: 183-184)

The primary purpose of local groups, then, was assembly of people for actions that were difficult for individual families – such as military initiatives or religious functions (cf., Basehart 1971: 35-50, Opler 1941: 183-184). However, local groups were not socially stable, permanent entities: "...allegiance to the local group is brittle and its composition is constantly changing, (however) it does provide a common name, base, and leadership for its members and gives them the opportunity to engage in certain industries in common" (Opler 1941:184). Many factors could cause the dissolution of a local group, including resource scarcity, illness, the death of a leader, or disagreements among members (Basehart 1971: 35-50). While they were significant assemblages that effectively achieved cooperative goals, they were not distinct, permanent groups with clear boundaries.



**Figure 14.** Chiricahua Apache Bands (Craig Williams and Scott Rushforth).

### **Band**

Possibly, three to five local groups together comprised a band (Basehart 1971: 35-50). According to Opler (1941: 1-4), the Chiricahua Apache tribe consisted of three bands: the "Eastern," "Central," and "Southern" Chiricahuas. These terms are, of course, Opler's. Other terms associated in the literature with these groups are included in the following lists. The first terms are Apache words for each of the bands that Opler identifies.

- Eastern – Chihénde (Red Paint People): Also known in the literature as Gila Apaches, Mimbrenño Apaches, Mogollones Apaches, Ojo Caliente Apaches, and Warm Springs Apache. This band was historically associated with leaders such as Mangas Coloradas, Victorio, Loco, and Nana. It was named after the mountains or places in the center of their territory.

- Central – Ch'uk'ánde: Also known in the literature as Chiricahua Apaches. This band was historically associated in the literature with Cochise. It was centered on and named after the Chiricahua Mountains of southeastern Arizona.
- Southern – Ndaandénde or Ndé'indaánde (Enemy Apaches): Also known in some sources as Janeros, Carrizaleños, and Pinery Apaches. This group was historically associated with the leader Juh or Xuu'. It was centered in the Sierra Madres of northern Sonora and Chihuahua.

To Opler's list of Chiricahua bands, we should add a fourth that is sometimes mentioned.

- Bedonkohe – Bidankaánde. This band was historically associated with Mangas and Geronimo. It was located west of the Chíhénde and north of the Ch'uk'ánde. Opler and others considered this group to be the westernmost Chíhénde.

While Chiricahua band membership appeared to have some significance – members were bound by linguistic, cultural, and leadership connections and members might retain a band identity even after joining another group (Basehart 1959: 87, Opler 1941: 462); band membership was fluid and unfixed and no member of a band was forced to remain a member (Opler 1941: 184). People might, for example, change their band memberships during times of war (Basehart 1959: 88). Also, people from different bands frequently intermarried, which, because of matrilineal post-marital residence, altered their residence and membership patterns. Kinship ties were more salient than large-scale band or territorial ties. Additionally, such changes in band memberships were themselves not permanent.

Bands had no central political ties or leaders, save for times of combined, cooperative efforts (e.g., large-scale subsistence activities, times of war, or social activities) (Opler 1941: 462). At these times, powerful leaders assumed authority according to their personal abilities and their networks of affiliation with other bands. These networks were crucial to mobilize across bands large numbers of people.

Historical references to Chiricahua Apache bands are often misguided in their reifications and objectifications (see below). Nevertheless, such references were present from the inception of the Spanish era. Apaches were reported to have been in the Acoma region by 1598. In 1620, Spanish sources began naming different bands after the territories they occupied (Schroeder 1974a: 158-160, 171, 183, 185, 218). A rather comprehensive record of bands was completed during Fray Alfonso Benavides' 1626-1629 travels through New Mexico. Benavides noted the presence of the Apache de Xila (Gila Apaches) on the Rio Grande and supplied descriptions of those people (Schroeder 1974a: 3, 171, 182). Throughout the remainder of the 1600s, Spanish records included references to the expansion of Apache territory, descriptions of leaders, accounts of the characteristics of bands, and notes on military efforts involving various Apache bands (e.g., Schroeder 1974a: 4-5, 14-16). Records of Apache bands were compiled throughout subsequent eras.

Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American insight into nature of Apache bands was often cloudy, which had unfortunate consequences for some Apaches. As early as the 1770s, Spanish forces faced difficulties as different Apache groups forged agreements with various presidios while at the same time continuing to raid or fight with other presidio locations. Lacking a cohesive, centralized infrastructure, bands were not bound by agreements made by others, leading to a confusing "partial peace" situation at that time (Griffen 1988: 13, 33, 39). This situation remained an issue throughout the era of Mexican control of presidios.

The Anglo-American reservation system was also plagued by issues of disparate Apache bands and factions. By the mid-1870s, most Apaches were gathered on reservations. Anglo-American immigration and expanding capitalist ventures such as mining "necessitated" the removal of Apaches from areas with valuable resources (Ogle 1970: 88). As these trends continued, a policy of "concentration" was conceived and enforced in regard to Apaches. In February 1875, several Apache reservations were closed and Apache bands from these areas were concentrated on the San Carlos Reservation (Crook 1946: 183, 184, 241; Ogle 1970: 126, 128, 133, 149; Thrapp 1967: 165). June 1875 saw further concentration as the Fort Apache Agency was closed and its residents moved to San Carlos. Animosity between Apache bands led to violence as they were corralled together at San Carlos (Collins 1999: 9-10, 11). For instance, in February 1876, short rations at the Chiricahua Reservation led officials to tell resident Apaches to augment diminished food supplies by hunting in the surrounding area. Once in the regional forests, opposing factions fought among themselves, eventually leading to two deaths (Cole 1988: 151, 156, 170; McChristian 2005: 160; Ogle 1970:165; Schroeder 1974b: 227). Such factional violence continued thereafter. Again, lack of understanding of the nature of Apache bands was directly responsible for such poor relations.

### **Tribe**

The four bands mentioned above, Chihénde, Ch'uk'ánde, Bidankaánde, and Ndaandénde, constituted the Chiricahua Apache tribe. As a level in Apache sociopolitical organization, the tribe is the most inclusive and least significant in everyday activities. Essentially, the Chiricahua Apache tribe may be considered a category of southern Apache people recognizing shared family relationships, culture, language, and identity. Chiricahua Apaches recognized common ties among their own "People" and opposed themselves to more distantly related Athapaskan-speaking peoples, other Native American peoples, and different groups of immigrants. The Chiricahua Tribe, however, probably never came together as a single group to pursue concerted action.

Powerful leaders such as Mangas Coloradas and Cochise, through their political influence and will, were able to form groups of men from the different bands – usually for the purposes of defense, raiding, or revenge. These individuals were not, however, tribal "chiefs." When cooperative activities ended, men might remain with such leaders or, more likely, return to their own families, local groups, and bands. As noted earlier, Apache leadership was generally situational, transitory, based on ability, and exercised through influence rather than absolute authority. The more successful a person in important activities, the more influential he became in the sense that more people would



willingly follow his suggestions. An important "local group" leader, on occasion, could attract and influence people from other such groups. This "band leader" might extend his influence to more distantly related people in territorially more distant groups and become a "tribal leader." As noted, immigrant governments often assumed that these "chiefs" had more power than they actually did.

## **Ndé**

In the above discussion, we emphasize the mobility, flexibility, and fluidity of Chiricahua Apache social and political-economic organization. We suggest, now, that identifying and objectifying groups and levels of Chiricahua Apache social and political organization does not provide the most productive representation of such organization. Possibly, a more accurate representation is provided by using the concept of "field." This concept, rather than invoking "concrete" groups or levels, focuses attention on relationships between people based on shared cultural symbols and interactive practices. Such symbols and practices produce a sense of community, shared identity, and potential for future interaction. We suggest that Chiricahua Apaches were embedded in such a field, called Ndé, specifically based on shared kinship, marriage, practice, belief, value, language, and territory. Individuals self-identifying as Ndé did so based on a "sense" that they shared such characteristics with other people. Ndé individuals recognized that they did not share all these characteristics equally with all other people, and that the intensity with which they shared individual traits with others varied. For example, they recognized that Ndé Bizaa, the Apache language, was spoken differently by some of the people to whom they were related. On this dimension, and any other single dimension, people might be more or less similar.

Taken together, these characteristics defined a "social space" within which Chiricahua Apaches were located. Two individuals who shared more of such characteristics were closer in social space than two individuals who shared fewer. The closer people were in social space, the greater the likelihood that they would come together in actual physical space to interact. Such interactions in time and space varied in such a way as to lead earlier ethnographers to create normative groups such as extended families, local groups, bands, and the tribe. These normative categories can be more productively seen as a function of proximity in social space among group members. This constitutes our view of social integration and solidarity among Chiricahua Apaches.

Given this perspective, Ndé social space varied in "density." Within families, for example, social density was great because members were proximate in social space – they mutually shared virtually all the above characteristics and were similar to one another with respect to any given characteristic. Social density decreased and social distance increased from families, to local groups, to bands, and to the tribe.

The point is that none of the above groups was distinct, bounded, homogenous, or stable in time and space. Interaction within and between such units was common and it was based on the Ndé social field. For Southern Athapaskan-speaking people, Ndé was a field of shared identity based on common kinship, marriage, practice, belief, value, language,

and territory. This field ("nexus") was social reality. It created a system of potential cooperators with mutually shared interests, rights, duties, and responsibilities. Groups of different levels occupying common physical space and engaging in common practices ("locus") were ephemeral. Groups of different levels were, in a sense, merely the means through which Ndé was produced and reproduced.

Shared social space was, then, more fundamental to a Chiricahua Apache person than the actual groups of people with whom he or she resided at specific times and places. Nevertheless, and this is crucial, the Ndé social field was ultimately located in physical space – the Chiricahua Apache homeland. Within this homeland, Chiricahua Apaches realized Ndé potential by forming actual groups in real time and space.

From this perspective, the Ndé field created social and cultural potential beyond past or present, real-time interactions. Such interactions acted to produce and reproduce the field, which provided the basis for future interactions. Shared kinship, marriage, practice, belief, value, territory, and language made it possible for a person to locate himself or herself in different physical spaces within which he or she could interact with other individuals positioned within the field. Again, doing so created the potential for future such interactions.

## **Conclusion**

The Chiricahua Apache mode of production shared many features with a generalized "forager mode of production." Among the most important characteristics that we discussed were:

- An economy based on gathering, hunting, trading, raiding, and agriculture
- A detailed technical knowledge of the landscape, including resident plants, animals, and other resources such as water.
- A detailed knowledge of the "social landscape," which incorporated not only non-Apache peoples, but also Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American immigrants.
- A division of labor based on gender and age
- Mobility
- Disengagement from private property
- Egalitarian values such as self-reliance, industriousness, reciprocity, and generosity
- Informal, situational, leadership based on an individual's abilities and good character
- The fundamental significance of kinship and marriage
- The existence of a social field based on common kinship, marriage, practice, belief, value, territory, and language that created potential for actual Chiricahua Apache interactions.



# Chapter Seven. A Southern Athapaskan Ethnobotany

Aaron Sharratt and Scott Rushforth

## Introduction

In Chapter Six, "The Chiricahua Apache Mode of Production," we discuss fundamental characteristics of the way in which Apaches organized their economic and social lives. We suggest that the gathering of wild plants was the most productive feature of Apache subsistence and economy. In this chapter, we provide information about the plants that Apaches used for subsistence and other purposes. Before doing so, however, we offer this brief list of characteristics for Apache wild plant collecting (cf., Buskirk 1986 concerning Western Apaches).

- Wild plant gathering was usually done by women, individually or in groups.
- Apaches gathered wild plants from spring to fall and spent much of the summer focused on this activity.
- Wild plant gathering required socioeconomic mobility since various plants ripened in different places and at different times. Apache families and local groups moved to those locations.
- Apaches used, for example, digging sticks, cactus tongs, knives, poles, and baskets for wild plant gathering.
- Apaches stored some gathered crops, but women took most crops home for relatively immediate consumption.
- Mescal (*Agave parryi*, *Agave palmeri*, and *Agave couesii*) was the most important wild food plant for the Apaches. It was used for food, beverages, needles, lances, and fiddles.
- Acorns, walnuts, piñon nuts, mesquite pods, cacti fruit, sunflower seeds, juniper berries, and other seeds and plants were also important foods.



**Figure 15.** *Agave parryi* (Scott Rushforth)

**Agave** agave, century plant, mescal

*A. lechuguilla* Torrey  
lechuguilla

*A. palmeri* Engelman  
Palmer's agave, century plant, lechuguilla

*A. parryi* Engelman  
Parry's agave, mescal

*A. parryi* Engelman ssp. *neomexicana* (Wootton and Standley) Ullrich [*A. neomexicana*]  
Parry's agave, mescal

### **Distribution**

Agave typically grows on dry ground at elevations between 3,000 and 8,000 feet, in the upper Sonoran life zone (Niethammer 1974: 2; Buskirk 1986: 10). Lechuguilla (*A. lechuguilla*) is found in the Guadalupe, Franklin, and Organ Mountains of southern New Mexico (Castetter et al. 1938: 24). Palmer's agave (*A. palmeri*) is found on woodland and chaparral mountain slopes throughout New Mexico, southern Arizona (including the Chiricahua Mountains), and Sonora (Bennett et al. 1996: 50-51). Parry's agave (*A. parryi*) grows in the same geographic areas as Palmer's agave, though less commonly and at higher elevations (Bennett et al. 1996: 51). Castetter et al. (1938: 17) state that Parry's agave is the common mescal of western New Mexico.

Castetter et al. (1938) describe distribution and utilization of agave by Native American groups in the Southwest. Hodgson (2001: 13-43) also provides a synopsis of agave use among native groups in the Southwest, though focusing on the Sonoran desert region. As

well, Niethammer (1974: 2-7) reviews Apache groups preparation and use of agave; offering recipes from various sources.

Agave was an important source of fiber, food, tequila, and steroidal hormones (Bennett et al. 1996: 50; Buskirk 1986: 169). The most common usage was as a roasted food source in southern New Mexico and Arizona (Castetter 1935: 12). Castetter (1935: 12) reported in the 1930s that roasting pits were still constructed in New Mexico regions abundant in mescal.

### **Western Apaches**

Agave is the most important Western Apache plant. It is used as food, in religious ceremonies, and for trade, especially with Pueblo peoples (Gallagher 1976: 51; Buskirk 1986: 169). White Mountain Apaches roasted Parry's agave roots, which were said to have a taste similar to molasses (Castetter 1935: 14). The best mescal was said to grow at Bylas Mountain, south of the Salt River, on Natanes Rim, Mount Turnbull, and Graham Mountains (Buskirk 1986: 169).

Apaches at Fort Apache Reservation migrated south of the Black and Salt Rivers after the corn harvest, remaining there until March or April, where they would collect agave (Hodgson 2001: 17). They relocated camp approximately every fifteen days to find agave abundant areas, in addition to annual location variation.

The Mescalero Mountains were a preferred gathering location of San Carlos Apaches (Hodgson 2001: 16). Castetter et al. (1938: 9) note that Palmer referred to pit roasting by Apaches near Camp Grant, Arizona in the 1860s. According to Castetter (1935: 48), agave continued to be collected and prepared into the 1930s. Clarkdale, Arizona Apaches no longer collect mescal due to governmental regulations and the effort involved in preparation (Gallagher 1976: 48). According to San Carlos Apache mythology, mescal was created by the gods for the people (Castetter et al. 1938: 33).

Apaches collected agave primarily in spring and early summer before flower stalks emerge; April was the optimal time (Castetter 1935: 12-13; Buskirk 1986: 170; Hodgson 2001: 17). Apaches would examine leaf bases and terminal shoots in fall or winter to determine which agaves would bloom early the following summer (Hodgson 2001: 17). Ten-day to two-week expeditions were common, during which mesquite beans and saguaro fruit were also collected (Hodgson 2001: 17). Mescal gathered too soon was tasteless and hard; plants gathered late in the season were equally useless (Gallagher 1976: 48). When mature, mescal had a high concentration of sugar. Young crowns and leaves were gathered, brought to an encampment, and pit roasted. Gathering and roasting was generally a cooperative effort involving five to eight women (Buskirk 1986: 169).

Crowns were collected using a long stick, beveled at one end like a chisel, and placed under an agave (Gallagher 1976: 49). The stick acted as a lever to remove the plant after which leaves were removed to expose the white crown. Apache women carried the white crowns by the remaining leaf base, rather than in burden baskets, as mescal juice could penetrate the basket, causing skin irritation (Buskirk 1986: 170). Crowns were roasted in

a large pit, ten to fifteen feet in diameter, three feet deep, and lined with flat stones placed upon oak (as pine spoiled agave's taste) (see Reagan 1929: 146; Castetter 1935: 12-13; and Buskirk 1986: 170-171). Flower stalks were also roasted for their juice (Buskirk 1986: 170).

To roast, oak was ignited, left to burn down, and the ashes were brushed aside to expose the stones. Bear grass was then laid on the stones with agave crowns placed on top (Buskirk 1986: 170). To identify which mescal belonged to whom, each woman placed her crowns in a particular part of the pit, marked the crowns with a distinct grass, or trimmed the crowns in a distinctive pattern. The pit was then filled with bear grass and soil, the mescal left to roast for two days. Prayers were offered at sunrise each day, a fire lit in each cardinal direction (Buskirk 1986: 170), and a fire continually burnt on the pit (Reagan 1930: 293).

Sexual intercourse and drinking were forbidden to prevent interference in the roasting process, as these acts resulted in undercooked and inedible agave (Buskirk 1986: 170). Such undercooked crowns were often attributed to a woman's disobedience (Buskirk 1986: 170).

Slices of roasted crowns could be eaten immediately, though most were scraped and pounded into sheets (Buskirk 1986: 172; Castetter 1935: 13). The pounded mescal sheets were sun-dried, rolled up for storage, and tied with bear grass. Up to four bundles were attached by yucca cordage across the back of a horse for travel. When needed, pieces were cut from the stored roll, soaked in water, and chewed or used as a sweetening agent in foods and beverages. These sheets were stored for up to a year.

Apaches also chewed leaves for the sweet juice and spat out the quids (fibers). The sweet heart of inner agave was usually reserved for children.

Lastly, Western Apaches gathered honey by splitting agave stalks to expose beehives hidden in the stalks (Buskirk 1986: 194). Young men then used the stalks to construct "fiddles" (Reagan 1929: 144).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 10-18).** Charlie Sago: There are three kinds of this plant: nada', nadałtsage, and nadałtce'e. The first kind is just the regular one, but the second has some yellow on the leaves, and the third one has some red on the leaves. We use all three kinds for food. When one of these plants is ready to send up a flower stalk in the spring we call such a plant hana'sel. The flower stalk of the plant is called nada' bikaz (mescal his stalk), and the head of the plant that we roast is called 'isi'itsin (head). It is the plants that are ready to send up their flower stalks in the spring that we use to roast. They used to take the fibers from the mescal leaves, clean them, and bind them together so as to make a brush out of them to use on their hair. The hearts and stalks of this plant are roasted and eaten. When a mescal pit is dug, the stones and wood in and the fire ready to start, then the one who sets the fire says a prayer. When the stones are heated, the ashes and fire are raked out, and the stones put to the center. Then the mescal is put in around the edge of the pit, in several layers, and right in the middle is set one mescal to represent

the chief of the mescals. Before covering over the pit, a prayer is said to this mescal, that the roast may be good. Then grass is laid over, and finally a covering of dirt. After one day, the people go back and put on more dirt, where the covering has sunken in due to roasting. In another day it is done and taken out. The whole process lasts about two days and nights. The mescal belonging to different people is marked on the leaves, so it can be told apart. Ten or twelve older women are picked for this task. A woman while on this job must not have relations of any kind with her husband, as if she does, the mescal will not roast. This is why older women are picked.

Nancy Wright: The old burnt butts of mescal leaves we used to mix with the clay when making pottery (a temperer).

Harvey Nashkin: We used to boil the heart of mescal, and then eat it.

John Rope: In the spring it was time for mescal. We used to come down to Turnball Mountain where it was best. Here at Lastci'idjadastin, at Tsezulditcije, at Indaguctlij, at Kai'ilbasika, and at Nadabilnada'holgai we used to get our mescal. To cut down the mescal they used a sharp edged stake of desert willow, and pounded it in all around with a rock. Then they turned the plant upside down, and trimmed off the leaves with a mescal knife. I do not know what kind of a knife they used before we had metal, and as long as I can remember we have had iron mescal knives. One of the leaves on the plant was left long, so that the head could be hung up or tied up easily. About six people dig the mescal pit out together. They use a mescal pit over and over again each year. A fire is laid in the pit, and rocks put in on top of it. Always an old woman or a young girl who is not married is chosen to light the fire, never a younger married woman. When the fire is burnt down it is cleaned out of the pit, and all the mescal heads are put in around the pit. Each family had a certain part of the mescal pit where their heads were put together. They mark their mescal in different ways, so as to be able to tell it apart. Some put one stick or two sticks in a head, others make one or two marks on one of the leaves by cutting, and others tie the long leaf left on the head in a certain way. Right in the middle they put the largest mescal head, painted all over black with charcoal. This one they call isdje, and they pray to it. Now all the mescal is covered over with grass and leaves, in a thick layer. Then dirt is put over this till it comes up in a mound. Then if they still can smell the mescal, or if any of the dirt gets wet from the steam inside where they can see it, they pile more dirt on top till there is enough. In about two days they (check the) mescal if done and they go back and take it out. Then the mescal is all finished cooking and they call it haidzik. They take it out even if it is still steaming, and if it is a good roast then it makes the people happy. From the mescal head they take out the ikegaj. The bases of the leaves on the head are peeled on the upper side, and only the lower side is kept. This part is called itele. This is put on a rock and chopped up with a mescal knife, and then it is pounded down with a rock. When pounded out in flat sheets, it is spread out on level ground with yaai brush under it, and left to dry. About twelve to eighteen sheets of this are made for each family. When they are all together drying, the sheets would be spread out over about a thirty foot square on the ground, and close together. These sheets are called nuilkane. The other kind is called ikegajnulkiye. The best kind of mescal plant is idailtee. When the sheets are dry on one side they are turned over on the other side.



When they are entirely dry, they are made up into bundles, wrapped in bear grass, and tied around with igaiye. When the mescal heads are being gathered, they made a litter to carry them to the pit on. This litter was made out of the long stalks of the sotol, two of them, with cross pieces laid between them, and tied in place. Then this was covered over with bear grass. One man carried the front end, and another the back end. This way they could carry the heads a lot at a time.

Barney Tile: When we were short of food we used to cook the sprout of mescal, inside where it is white.

Palmer Valor: When we ate it, it kept us well and strong. I ate lots of it, and that's why I am still as though I were young. When we came south of the Gila River to get mescal, we called it yutsin.

Anna Price: There are two kinds of this; nadaltcee and nadaltsagi. We used both kinds for food. Every spring we used to come down from the farms, and go south of the Gila River to gather mescal. We called south of the Gila River yutsin, and when we said we were going for mescal, we always said yutsin deya. Up at the farms we would gather all our horses together. We would be getting ready for two days. When we started out we would make a promise to the rest of our relatives that we would be back in ten days, and then we went off. We went down to Liictci across, to the South of San Carlos, and there made camp. When we got there all the women would start to gather mescal heads, cutting the leaves off with beedas. This was lots of work, and while they were doing this the men would be busy cleaning out the old mescal pit, as this was their job. Both men and women packed the rocks in on their backs. This would all take about two days. Now they would put lots of wood in the pit, and all the rocks on top of it. They would finish doing all this in the afternoon, but they didn't set fire to it then. We had to wait till night time, when the big dipper was pointed over the West, and then we set fire to it. Now they would gather two big bundles of dry grass, and carry them to the tselke. When the fire was burned down and the rocks were hot, we put the mescal in the tselke in five different parts, each marking their own mescal for their family in one way. The chief never made a mark on his mescal heads at all. The next man made a mark on the leaf of each of his mescal heads. The third family would make a long tail out of one of the leaves on the mescal heads, and tie it. The fourth family would cut a strip off length wise on one of the leaves. This way they could tell their mescal heads apart. Right in the middle was put the biggest mescal head, the chief of the mescals. We called this one idjee, and painted it all over with black. "This is the way the rest of the mescal heads will be, all cooked black," we said. Now we put in all the other mescals, and on top of them laid the grass that we had gathered. On top of the grass we put the ikegaj, and then we laid on lots of dirt, carrying it to the pit, and dumping it on from our baskets. This way we made a high pile, and some had to stand on top while the others handed the baskets of dirt up to them to dump on. Now we left the mescal to roast for two days. On the second day that the mescal had been cooking we would make a place for the mescal to set and dry. We made a rack by setting up sotol stalks, and tying cross poles to them, and then laying bear grass on top of them. Then the men would dig a conical hole in the ground, and make it about two and a half feet across at the top, and line it all with rooks. This hole was called

tseisdjed. Now the men cut poles of sotol stalk, and made a knob on one end of them for pounding the mescal when it was put in the tseisdjed. This was only men's work. This was all done on the second day while the mescal was cooking. When two days were up the mescal was cooked, and we started to uncover it. We had no shovels and hoes then, so had to take all the dirt off with our hands. We called this haidzid, uncovering the mescal when it was all done. We got dirt off with our hands, and threw it down past our feet. Then some of us would have to stop because the earth was too hot, and we would burn ourselves. Sometimes while we were working this way some of the people would get mad and start to quarrel. Then they would throw hot dirt at each other. When we got down to the layer of grass, we took off the ikegaj that was on top of it, and layed it to one side. Then we rolled back the layer of grass, and spread it out to dry. We called this tlo beilkale. Now we took the mescal heads out of the pit, and carried them over to the tseisdjed, where the men pounded them up with sticks, the ones they had fixed. Next we set baskets down, and layed sticks across their tops, and on top of these layed the mescal so that the juice from it would drip down into the baskets. These baskets for this use we used to make entirely of dayade (devil's claw), the splints were made of devil's claws, and the basket was all black). After this we took the mescal to a flat rock and pounded it all out flat on top of the rock with a stone. Now we took this flat sheet of mescal, and layed it on the tsibenkan, a sort of litter made of two sotol poles, with cross pieces layed on and tied, and bear grass layed on top of this. When the mescal sheets were layed on this litter, on the ground, then we took the baskets of mescal juice and spread the juice on one side of the sheet, and smoothed it all over with our hands, nice. Now two men picked up the litter, one at each end, and carried it over to the drying rack, and dumped it there. Then we spread out the sheets again, with the other side up, and poured more of the juice from the baskets on to them, and let it smooth out. Now we left the sheets to dry on this rack. We made these racks so that they sloped down a little on one-end. Now we worked on the ikegaj, cut it in small pieces, and pounded it flat on top of a rock, into a sheet. Then we sprinkled it with the juice of ikegaj, and made it smooth. We called this muilkane now, in a great big sheet. Then we cut this big sheet into four or six parts, and now it was ikegaj nugije. Then we could carry it to the mescal rack, and leave it there to dry. This kind we used to chew raw. Now we worked on ita'ilde. These were the thickest mescal leaves, peeled only on one side. We just set these to dry in the sun. Then we worked on itele, leaves which we peeled off on the inner side. These we pounded with a rock till they were soft, and then let them dry. Now we were all done. Some of the poorer people, women who did not have men, did not do all this work on the mescal. This way only the chiefs and the big men did. The poorer women had to do all the work themselves. They would just lay down a lot of grass on the ground, and over this put a mat of woven bear grass. In this they would chop the mescal up with their mescal sticks and mescal knives, and fix it into a mescal sheet this way. Now they would pull out a lot of leaves from the iyaai plant, and lay them with their points together, two rows of them, point to point. Right at the points they were tied together with igaiye. In this rig a woman would carry her sheets to the drying rack by herself. The poorer women prepared all parts of the mescal this way. This way they could only make from two to four bundles of mescal. Now they would tell us to gather up igaiye leaves, as we would be leaving for home in two days. When we had gathered the igaiye leaves we laid them in the sun to get soft. Then they would say; "you gathered your igaiye leaves yesterday, now it will be

soft. So make your bundles up with it now, because we are going to start for home tomorrow, early, before sunlight. Now we all tied our bundles up. Then the chief would say; "we have lots of bundles of mescal here, too many to carry all at one time, so we will pack them across the Gila River, and then come back for the rest. It's a long ways to the river, so pack along some water for your children." Then that's the way they did, pack part of the mescal across the river, and then come back for the rest. That way we all got across the river, and took our mescal first to Iciledatdil. (From here on the story tells how they got and prepared their salt at this place. Then the trip home is described. For this, see "salt."). Na da' kaize' 'i ze (mescal stalk) – old timers going up on djo ki' ane used to bring back roots of this. We boiled and drank them to make a thin person of either sex fat. Also boiled it and drank it so never get sick. They used to cut the roots in thin slabs (105).

The daughter of Mrs. Jewett Wright (n.d.: 152-158): Notes on Mescal, Bylas, May 27 to June 2. It was on May 27 that Mrs. Jewett Wright first started in to work on this mescal roast. The wife of George Gray went along with her to work also. They first cut the mescal and brought it to the mescal pit, up towards Turnbull Mountain from Bylas. On Friday, the 29<sup>th</sup>, her sons went up there where the pit was and cut wood and dragged it to the pit for their mother and Mrs. Gray. The next day Mrs. Wright came down - she had been coming down every night, and leaving early in the morning to go up there to work -- and did not leave for up there in the morning, but went down to the river and got some big bundles of fresh cottonwood leaves. She got back about eleven to her camp and then she and Mrs. Gray packed up a burro and a mule, and with one girl set off for the roasting pit. They had the pit all cleaned out the day before by her sons, and the wood all piled in it. They had thought of lighting the fire that afternoon, but put it off till the next morning. They lit the fire and let it burn down. They had their mescal all piled about the pit, ready to put in. The pit was cleaned out to about four feet in depth, so that there would be enough room for the wood and stone. The mescal was put in on Sunday morning, and covered over. Then it was allowed to roast in there till Monday morning, when about sunup it was uncovered and taken out. They said that the pile when the mescal was in and covered with earth was about five feet high, and pyramided up that way. Neil Buck and I got there about seven-thirty on Monday morning, and that was the first time I had been up to the place. When we got there, about the same time, two of Mrs. Wright's sons rode up from Bylas, and two of them were already there at the place. There were two other smaller boys there whom I did not know. Mrs. Wright and Mrs. Gray had spent the night there, and Saturday night also. They had their burros and mules tied to a bush there, and these had not been watered since the day before, for this was a dry camp. It was in a small valley, leading down to the river, and about three miles from the river, or I guess four. The mescal was a good three miles back in the hill from there yet, but they had packed it all down to the pit from where they had cut it. There were two pits there, small ones. One of them was an old one, and had been first made by Anna Price about forty years ago, when her husband was still alive. The second one, Anna Price told me later, she made about three years ago, because when she went up there to roast mescal one time she found a dead coyote lying right in the old pit. This was bad sign, so they could not use that pit any longer. But the second one was just the same size and right next to it, almost touching it. The pit itself, down to where the hot rocks began, was not more than

about a foot or a little over deep, and the diameter was about seven feet. Around the edge of it the earth was heaped up where it had been raked off the mescal, and the green cottonwood leaves that had been used to cover the mescal were there also. That was apparently all that they had used to cover the mescal with. On the far side of the hole were four or five mescal heads that had been burnt, and were not good. The two women were working separately, each under a different mesquite tree, and they had fixed it up for themselves so that they had shade to work under. They had used the stalks of ocotillo to make sort of a frame over their heads, like they make to cook in, bent over at the top. The one that Mrs. Gray was working in was well protected from the wind. The two women each had their mescal in her respective working places and there was no mixing them up. They each had their work independently of the other, and there was little or no talk between them. Mrs. Gray had a big pile of ikaz there, more than Mrs. Wright had, from the looks of it. This was piled up and Mrs. Wright had hers covered with a sack to keep it from drying out, I guess. The mescal heads were there where each was working - each had her own. When we got there they were taking the leaf bases off these roasted heads and peeling them and piling them up. The work took place on top of a tarp there, so they would not get soiled. The peeling was done just with the fingers, on both the upper and lower sides, the skin seeming to come off quite easily. This peeling went on till all the leaves were peeled off and there was a sea of skins on the tarp. Mrs. Wright's boys were lounging about there (all the unmarried ones), chewing on ikaz, and I saw one of them with a cross-slice of the base of the ikaz, eating it like a cookie. They didn't do much work at all, but for about one hour there they all pitched in and helped their mother to peel the leaf bases. Then they left her and went down to Mrs. Gray and helped her there in the same way for a while. They joked quite a lot with her, and I guess it was on account of the cross-cousin relationship. When all the leaf bases were peeled, and stacked in pails and dish pans there, then Mrs. Wright took them and dumped them out on the tarp. Then she took some of the skins in her two hands and holding her palms up she threw these into the air, two or three times, and at the same time saying, "May my pile be As high as this". This was a prayer that she might have a pile of leaf bases as tall as she had tossed the husks. Then she started to pile all the peeled leaf bases up. When she got through, she took an old dish pan there, and laid it down on the tarp. Then she put enough of the leaf bases in it to fill it up. Then she took her mescal knife - the regular kind - and started to chop the leaf bases in the dish pan. She kept on doing this, pushing them back into the container when they got too much over the rim, till she had them all chopped up, fine and mushy. Then she put this out into another dish pan by her side. Then she put more leaf bases in and did the same thing. The boys all left for home about this time, but we stayed on. When she had all the leaf bases chopped up this way, she brought over a flat rock, about the size of a metate, and about as thick, but just a plain flat rock, and laid it down on the tarp. She had a hand-stone to go with it also, about two inches thick and flat on both sides and flat on its edges also, the edge that went to the big rock being true practically to the big rock and the edge that she held having a slight hump on it that fitted into the palm of her hand. It was not a prepared stone - just one that she had picked up. So was the big rock. (I forgot to say that when she first started to chop the leaf bases with the knife, she took some of the inner hard leaves out of one of the mescal heads and wiped the blade of her knife with it, so that it would not stick in what she was going to chop.) Now she took a mess of the chopped stuff out of the dish pan, where it was

heaped, and laid it in front of her on the flat rock. She sat there as she worked. Then she pounded this on the flat rock with the hand-stones till it was all mashed soft and gooey. Then she sort of gathered it into a ball, and patted it into shape and then laid it close by on the tarp. She repeated this till she had about three or four of these balls, each about a foot by a foot, and about six inches thick. Then she took what she had and put them all in a dish pan there. Now she was going to show us how they made nu ilkane but if we had not been there she would not have started on this work till she had all the chopped mess pounded up on the rook. When we first got there, they had already made two places to lay their mescal sheets on when done, to let them dry. These places were made by laying the brush of cacti along the ground, so as to form a shape about ten or so feet long, about a little over a yard wide, and about three feet high. This was just made by piling up this thick brush solidly, and if there was a smaller bush at the end or middle, it was incorporated with the rest (growing). Then over the top of this brush were laid a few ocotillo poles, lengthwise with the structure, so as to make sort of a flat surface; but the top of the structure was not level -it tilted to the south slightly, so as to catch all the rays of the sun. Above Mrs. Wright there were big bundles of tl o ditcuje that had been cut and packed up from the river to cover the racks with, over the ocotillo poles. Some of these bundles had already been untied and spread on the rack. There were two forms made out of sotol stalks also, just like the one that I have in Tucson for mescal, only bigger, about four feet by two and a half. These were laid up against the rack there. Now when Mrs. Wright went to one of these she took it and laid it on the ground. Then she took some of the tl o ditcuje and laid it on the frame and tied it on there, running lengthwise with the frame, so that it formed a flat thick surface to mold the mescal on. She tied this all on in place with yucca strips from the leaves. Now she untied all the other bundles of tl o ditcuje and spread them on the drying rack and made it even all over. Now she laid the frame on the ground, grass-side up, and brought the dish pan of pounded leaf bases over to it by the drying rack. Then she took one of the balls of the stuff and laid it on the frame and pressed it out thin on one end of it, and pulled it apart and molded it out thin, so as to form a sheet. When she had that spread out well, she took another of the balls and did the same with it. She was careful to mold along the edges of the sheet wherever she formed them, squeezing the stuff in her two hands so as to form a rounded edge. By squeezing and pressing it out, and pulling it out and even scraping it off the top where it was too thick, she got the sheet made so that it covered the whole frame. Now she stood and ran her hand over the upper surface of it, patting it and smoothing it till it was all smooth. Then she lifted the whole frame, and turning it, dumped it bottom-side up on the drying-rack, so that it lay across it and flat on the covering of grass. Then she smoothed and patted out this side of it. Now it was all done, and formed a solid sheet of mescal, about two inches or an inch and a half thick. It just had to be left there till it dried, which would be the next day. This is the way that she would do with all the other sheets when she made them. There was no pouring of juice over the sheets at all, or at any other time, and the way I have written down about the juice is evidently wrong. We left just about this time, but there was nothing else that would happen. They would camp there that night, let the mescal sheets dry out all that day, and the next day for a while, and then pack everything for home. She fixed up one ikaz for us, peeling the outside of it down by chopping it with the mescal knife. Also she told Neil, "Here, this ikaz is for you," and gave him a big one. She was back home again on Monday afternoon, with all her things.

Neil told me that in the old times old women used to go where they were working on the cooked mescal even though they did not own any there, and take a burden basket and help there so as to be given some of it for themselves.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Agave was likely the chief source of Ndé food – a plant from which Mescalero Apaches derive their name (Castetter 1935: 13; Castetter and Opler 1936: 35-38; Gallagher 1976: 51). Yet, Castetter et al. (1938: 27) note the extent of Ndé reliance on agave has often been exaggerated.

Ndé favored Parry's agave gathered in the Sacramento, San Andres, and Guadalupe Mountains (Castetter et al. 1938: 27). By 1930s, the White and Sacramento Mountains, and especially the canyons near La Luz, had become favored gathering locations (Castetter et al. 1938: 27-8), even as mescal was gathered less frequently (Castetter and Opler 1936: 35).

Consultants told Buskirk (1986: 169) that Chiricahuas survived on mescal for long periods when other food was not available. Marcy, referring to Apaches near the Guadalupe Mountains in 1849, stated, “we have this evening for the first time seen the Maguey plant which constitutes almost the only vegetable food that the Apaches and southern Comanches get for a great portion of the year. They prepare it by boiling it until it is soft, then mash it into a paste, and I am told that in this form it makes a very palatable, nutritious food” (in Castetter and Opler 1936: 38). Castetter (1935: 13) described the taste as being somewhat similar to a beet.

Ndé gathered, roasted, and prepared agave in a manner similar to Western Apaches. Castetter and Opler (1936: 35-8), Castetter et al. (1938: 28-38), and Opler (1996: 356-8) describe collection and preparation methods among Ndé. Collection began in late May, as reddish flower stalks began to appear; locations containing an abundance of flowering agave were sought. Temporary camps were sometimes established and women collected a large quantity of agave crowns while men dug a roasting pit. Apaches differentiated between bitter, flowerless male plants and potential flowering female plants even as male plants matured into female mescal as they flowered. This gender distinction was important, as roasting male crowns would spoil all mescal. Agave crowns were dug out with a three-foot stick cut from an oak branch flattened at one end. It was wedged just below the agave crown to ease removal. A knife was used to remove all but two leaves, which were tied to facilitate transportation.

After digging a pit, Mescaleros lined the bottom with flat rocks and a black ash cross was placed on the center rock. Oak or juniper was then placed atop the rocks, set afire before sunrise, and would be burned down by noon (Castetter et al. 1938: 29). Castetter stated that, “On [the] hot stones is laid moist grass, such as bunchgrass (*Sporobolus airoides*), side-oats gama (*Boutelous curtispindula*), big blue-stem (*Andropogon furcatus*), mesquite grass (*Muhlenbergia wrightii*), march fotal (*Alopecurus aristulatus*), *Muhlenbergia neomexicana*, or the leaves of the bear grass (*Nolina microcarpa*), but bear grass is usually preferred since it does not burn readily” (1935: 36). A large cattail pollen cross

was then made on the largest mescal crown, moving from east to west and north to south (Castetter et al.1938: 29). This crown was extended toward the pit opening four times and thrown in, after which all other crowns were tossed in. The youngest child present, standing to the east, also tossed four stones into the pit. The crowns were covered with bear grass and earth. The following morning the pit was reopened, a single crown examined and eaten to monitor progress, and closed again until the second morning. During the roasting process, drinking was forbidden to prevent rain and women were to stay away from their husbands or risk undercooked mescal.

Agave is prepared and used in a number of ways. The following is from Castetter et al.:

The pulpy centers of the black, roasted crowns are released from their charred leaf bases and pounded vigorously into thin sheets on a rock. This brown, juicy pulp is spread out to dry on “mescal cradles,” very loosely woven shallow or tray baskets made from the leaves of *Yucca elata*, and in these the prepared mescal is carried home. Unfermented mescal juice is often sprinkled over mescal when being dried. This gives it a glaze that aids in preserving it. It may be eaten as soon as baked or dried and stored for future use in hide containers (*parfleches*). When wanted, the desired amount is cut off, soaked in water, and when softened the water is squeezed out and the mass eaten without further preparation. A piece of crown is cut off and chewed and the inner side of the leaves chewed and scraped, much as we eat globe artichokes. When the pithy center of the leaf is reached, it is discarded. Mescal is sweet, having an agreeable taste somewhat like molasses, and a mild laxative effect.

Many are the combinations in which mescal is used. After the dried product has been softened by soaking it is kneaded together with ground piñon seeds or walnuts (at present peanuts may be used) until the whole is of a doughy consistency; it is then ready for consumption. Mescal mixed with juniper berries (*Juniperus scopulorum*) is another favorite food, while the fruits of the three-leaved sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) are also ground with mescal and the mixture dried and stored for future use. (Castetter et al.1938: 30)

One of Opler's consultants (1996: 369) made a fermented mescal drink. This consultant described roasting, pounding, and slicing a mescal heart after which the pieces were wrapped in a hide and buried. After two days, the hide was removed, the pieces taken and squeezed for their juice. The juice was mixed with water to effervesce for a day or two. It was then drunk as an intoxicant.

Mescal stalks were used as combs and stalk fibers were used as binding materials (Castetter and Opler 1936: 19).



**Figure 16.** *Allium geyeri* (Patrick Alexander)

**Allium** onion, cebolla

*A. bisceptrum* S. Watson  
twincrest onion

*A. cepa* Linnaeus  
garden onion

*A. cernuum* Roth  
nodding onion

*A. drummondii* Regel  
Drummond's onion

*A. geyeri* S. Watson  
Geyer's onion

*A. macropetalum* Rydberg  
largeflower onion

### **Distribution**

Nodding onion (*A. cernuum*) is common in mesic canyons, rocky forest slopes, and pine forests between 5,000 and 9,800 feet elevation, including in the Chiricahua and Animas Mountains, Arizona (Bennett et al. 1996: 139). Geyer's onion (*A. geyeri*) is found in the White and Sacramento Mountains, New Mexico (Wootton and Standley 1915: 143).

### **Western Apaches**



Apaches ate nodding onion bulbs and White Mountain Apaches ate twincrest onion bulbs (Moerman 1998: 56). Western Apaches added wild onion to deer blood meat loaf (Buskirk 1986: 144). Some Apache families at Canyon Creek, Arizona were continuing to cultivate onions in the 1940s (Buskirk 1986: 104).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos ate garden, nodding, and largeflower onions (Castetter 1935: 15). Onion bulbs were rubbed in hot ash to neutralize the strong taste (Castetter 1935: 15). Vestal (1952: 20) states that Ramah Navajos preferred the milder flavor of garden onion. Navajos ate, or dried and stored wild onions (Castetter 1935: 15). When needed, dried onions were soaked and sometimes cooked with wild celery.

Nodding onion bulbs were used to make gravy and soup, cooked with other vegetables, or roasted and eaten with salt and pepper; the leaves could also be chopped and used like chives in salads or sauces (Moerman 1998: 57). Ramah Navajos dried nodding onion bulbs for winter use, or boiled them with meat. They also boiled Drummon's and largeflower onion bulbs with meat (Vestal 1952: 20).

Navajos obtained a green dye from onions (Castetter 1935: 32).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Opler (1996: 358) states that Ndé ate several onion varieties. Onions were also boiled with other vegetables or meats. Ndé added nodding onion and Geyer's onion to soups and gravy as seasoning (Castetter and Opler 1936: 47). Mescaleros also ate Geyer's onion bulbs (Castetter 1935: 15).

### **Amaranthus**                      amaranth, pigweed, tumbleweed, quelite

- A. albus* Linnaeus [*A. graecizans*]  
tumbleweed, cochino, quelite manchado, prostrate pigweed
- A. blitoides* S. Watson  
mat amaranth
- A. cruentus* Linnaeus [*A. hybridus paniculatus*]  
red amaranth
- A. palmeri* S. Watson  
carlessweed, redroot, Palmer's amaranth
- A. retroflexus* Linnaeus [*A. powellii*]  
rough pigweed, red-root amaranth
- A. torreyi* (Gray) Benth  
Torrey's amaranth

### **Distribution**

Mat amaranth (*A. blitoides*) and carlessweed (*A. palmeri*) grow throughout the Southwest between 1,000 and 5,400 feet elevation, including in the Chiricahua Mountains, Arizona (Bennett et al. 1996: 52). Carlessweed is frequently found along rivers and in fields

(Gallagher 1976: 12); and in the Mogollon and White Mountains of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 211). Rough pigweed (*A. retroflexus*) grows between 3,000 and 5,400 feet elevation on south-facing slopes, flats, draws, and washes. It is found in the Chiricahua Mountains (Bennett et al. 1996: 52). Rough pigweed (*A. retroflexus*), mat amaranth (*A. blitoides*), and tumbleweed (*A. albus* [*A. graecizans*]) are widely scattered throughout New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 211-212). Torrey's amaranth (*A. torreyi*) grows in eastern New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 212).

### **Western Apaches**

Carelessweed is a common annual herb. Gallagher (1976: 12) claims that carelessweed was one of five plant species referred to as 'Indian Spinach'. Palmer (1890: 170) asserts that White Mountain Apache women gathered baskets of greens (*Amaranthus* and *Chenopodium* sp.) daily when in season. Upon returning from collecting,

Dried mescal was soaked, beaten and added to the greens when they were almost cooked. Salt was added to all green vegetables, but they were never cooked with meat. Formerly they were stone-boiled in baskets. (Buskirk 1986: 191-92)

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Palmer observed that Apaches near Fort Apache ate boiled carelessweed leaves sweetened with dried mescal (Palmer 1890: 170). Western Apaches served carelessweed with dried mescal (Gallagher 1976: 12; Gifford 1936: 256). Fresh cut carelessweed greens were eaten by Cibecue and White Mountain Apaches (Buskirk 1989: 191-92) or boiled and fried in grease (Robins et al. 1916: 53). Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches collected, parched, and ground carelessweed seeds (Gallagher 1976: 12). Reagan (1929: 155) states that White Mountain Apaches ate tumbleweed and mat amaranth seeds.

White Mountain Apaches made face paint from Red amaranth flowers (Reagan 1929: 155).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos boiled and ate, boiled and fried in lard, or boiled and canned mat amaranth and rough pigweed (Castetter 1935: 15; Vestal 1952: 26). According to Vestal, Ramah Navajos only ate rough pigweed four or five times a season because the plants toughen as they mature.

Amaranth seeds were used less frequently than they had been by the 1950s (Vestal 1952: 26). Ramah Navajos threshed or winnowed dried seeds, grinding them lightly to loosen the perianths. They were then winnowed again, washed, dried, and ground with corn as they were considered too bitter to be eaten alone. Red amaranth and tumbleweed seeds were threshed and ground into flour (Vestal 1952: 25). Navajos ground, boiled, and mixed rough pigweed seeds with corn flour into bread, dumplings, or gruel (Vestal 1952: 26). Ramah Navajos used rough pigweed seed bread as a Nightway ceremonial food (Vestal 1952: 26). Navajos also ground mat amaranth seeds into porridge or mixed them with goat's milk into gruel. This was considered a staple food (Elmore 1944: 45).

Carelessweed seeds were ground and chewed to obtain sugar (Castetter 1935: 23; Elmore 1944: 46).

Ramah Navajos made rough pigweed stems into snake figurines used for treating snake infections (Vestal 1952: 26). Elmore (1944: 45) states that Navajos smoked tumbleweed and other plants for lewdness at the Coyote Chant.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé relied on amaranthus species for food. Tumbleweed and rough pigweed were eaten or used, with green chile, to season meat soup (Castetter and Opler 1936: 46-47). Amaranth inflorescences were threshed to remove seeds, winnowed, and ground into bread flour (Castetter and Opler 1936: 48).



**Figure 17.** *Asclepias latifolia* (Patrick Alexander)

### **Asclepias**                      milkweed

- A. asperula* (Dcne.) Woodson [*A. decumbens*]  
spider milkweed, antelope horns
- A. latifolia* (Torrey) Raf.  
broadleaf milkweed
- A. speciosa* Torrey  
showy milkweed
- A. subverticillata* (Gray) Vail  
horsetail milkweed
- A. tuberosa* Linnaeus  
butterfly milkweed

## **Distribution**

Showy milkweed (*A. speciosa*) grows in river valleys of the upper Sonoran and transition zones of New Mexico, including in the White and Sacramento Mountains (Wooton and Standley 1915: 511).

## **Western Apaches**

Reagan (1929: 155) states that White Mountain Apache children ate horsetail milkweed buds. Western Apaches utilized showy milkweed roots as a tulipai additive (Gallagher 1976: 77).

Western Apaches used small amounts of milkweed root as a tonic, taken to relieve stomachaches and pain (Gallagher 1976: 77). In addition, broadleaf milkweed was prepared to relieve sore eyes and horsetail milkweed was boiled to make medicine (Gallagher 1976: 77).

## **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos ate or boiled various milkweed species (Elmore 1944; Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 66).

Navajos used milkweed species extensively to treat ailments from burns to stomachaches (Elmore 1944; Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 66). Ramah Navajos used spider milkweed as a ceremonial emetic and to make a lotion (Vestal 1952: 39). Ramah Navajos made butterfly milkweed into a Plumeway chant lotion (Vestal 1952: 39). A drink made from butterfly milkweed leaves and stems was used to treat coyote or dog bites and influenza (Vestal 1952: 39). This species was also used in cold infusions or to make other decoctions.

Spider milkweed seed hair was spun into string for use in Ramah Navajo prayer sticks (Vestal 1952: 39; Mayes and Bayless 1989: 66).

## **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Milkweed was commonly used as chewing gum (Castetter and Opler 1936: 45). The 'milk' was squeezed from leaves and stems onto black clay and the mixture then chewed.

## **Berberis**

barberry, mahonia

*B. fremontii* Torrey

Fremont barberry

*B. haematocarpa* Wooton

red-holly-grape, barberry, mahonia, algerita, palo amarillo

## **Distribution**

Fremont barberry (*B. fremontii*) commonly grows in the Southwest between 4,000 and 7,000 feet elevation (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 9).

### **Western Apaches**

Western Apaches ate red-holly-grape berries (Baldwin 1965: 62, Gallagher 1976: 25). Gallagher (1976: 25) observed that one San Carlos woman also made the berries into jam.

Gallagher (1976: 25) states that a Clarksdale, Arizona woman claimed to boil barberry roots to obtain a yellow dye for cradleboard hoods.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Fremont barberry was used as an emetic in Evil Way and Mountaintop Way ceremonies, to relieve stomachaches and heartburn, and was mixed with other plants to treat spider bites (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 9).

Navajos used Fremont barberry roots and bark to obtain a yellow buckskin dye (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 9).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 45), Ndé made jam from red-holly-grape berries.

### **Broussonetia**

broussonetia

*B. papyrifera* (Linnaeus) L'Hér. ex Ventenat [*B. secundiflora*]  
paper mulberry, frijollito, frijolilla

### **Distribution**

Paper mulberry (*B. papyrifera* [*B. secundiflora*]) grows in limestone cliff crevices and on dry hills in New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 339). This evergreen shrub has glossy dark-green leaves and is common in the Guadalupe Mountains, New Mexico (Castetter and Opler 1936: 54). Castetter and Opler (1936: 54) reported that it could be gathered in the roadside hills twenty miles from Roswell. Wooton and Standley (1915: 339) state that the large scarlet broussonetia beans are poisonous.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 54), Ndé rarely ate broussonetia beans, as they have narcotic qualities. The beans were occasionally mixed with tulipai. Castetter and Opler (1936: 54) state that in a Ndé myth, Coyote tricks a party of prospectors into consuming the beans, leading to their intoxication.

Broussonetia beans were used in ceremonies and occasionally worn on a red string necklace (Castetter and Opler 1936: 54).



three months at the saguaro grounds until all the fruit was matured and gathered. Bourke stated that the Apache went out to gather pitahaya and at the same time make war on the Pima and Papago.

A long pole, usually fashioned by lashing together saguaro ribs, was used to remove the fruit. Usually a crosspiece was tied at one end so that two acute angles were formed with the pole; the upward projection of this crosspiece was pushed and the downward projection pulled to detach the fruit. The Southern Tonto and San Carlos used a pole with an end hooked to an acute angle.

Hrdlicka stated that the dried cakes became wormy after six or seven months but still retained good color and odor and that they were eaten by the women and children. The seeds were roasted by the San Carlos, ground, mixed with water, and eaten as a mush.

Gifford noted that the Cibecue and White Mountain wrapped saguaro cakes in willow bark for transport and for cleanliness. A White Mountain woman stated that mesquite bark, not willow bark, was used to wrap saguaro and mescal. (Buskirk 1986: 178)

Saguaro fruits were eaten fresh or split and dried for storage (Gallagher 1976: 57). The fruits also provide pulp and juice. San Carlos Apaches ate fresh fruits and sun-dried strained fruit pulp to make into edible cakes (Buskirk 1986: 178). White Mountain Apaches also made them into a butter-like substance (Reagan 1929: 146).

Western Apaches commonly added water to ground saguaro fruit pulp and then strained the mixture to make a beverage (Gallagher 1976: 57; Buskirk 1949: 178). White Mountain Apaches prepared a mildly intoxicating beverage in the same way.

A drink was made from the saguaro fruit by the White Mountain. The whole fruit, seeds and all, was mashed with the hands, water was added, and the mixture was placed in a jar and buried in a dry place for two days. When removed, it was drunk immediately and was said to be better than tiswin (Buskirk 1986: 178).

Apaches used to parch saguaro seeds in large flat baskets, though these were replaced with skillets (Gallagher 1976: 33). Parched seeds were ground with corn and made into pudding (Buskirk 1986: 178).

Cibecue Apaches used saguaro burls as containers, vessels, or cups (Buskirk 1986: 178).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 23-25).** Laban James: The fruit of this cactus is eaten when it is ripe. You can get water from a young one of these cactuses, by knocking off the top, and pounding the inside of the plant with a rock to a watery pulp.



Anna Price: nandoljege. In the old days our people used to go down to the San Pedro to the Tcejine country, and gather sahuaro fruit. The Tiseban and the Tcejine were like relatives to us. Hackibanzin, who was living down there, was our chief, and we were related to him. One time we left the farms to go down on the San Pedro, and get this fruit. We went down by way of Liistci, and then on across the mountains. Those who had no horses had to travel on foot. When we got to San Pedro Hackibanzin told my father; "all right, your people can gather Sahuaro fruit on the East side of the river here." Now we got ready to gather the fruit. We got some long sotol stalks, and on the end of each tied a smaller stick, so that it was like a fork, and so that we could pole the fruit off the top of the cactus and let it fall on the ground. Then we gathered it in our baskets. We used to start in early in the morning, and by noon, we would have a load ready to take back and prepare. When we go the fruit back to our camp, first we cut the fruit open, and took out the soft part and the seeds. The seeds we kept separate and washed in water, and saved them. Next we gathered together all of the soft part and laid the fruit together on a blanket. We rolled this up and packed it on a horse back to camp. When we got to camp we squeezed the juice out of the fruit, and then set the fruit to dry on a pole frame. This was so that the ants could not get at it that we hung the fruit up on poles. When the fruit was prepared this way it was called nuitlin. While we were working on this fruit we used to get all red from the juice. The sides of the horses got all red also, so that we had to take them to the river to wash them off when we were through. During the time that we had been gathering the fruit, the men had been hunting deer, so that we had lots of meet all the time. Now father said to Hackibanzin; "we have been here seven days, my brother, so now I am going back home again to the farm." Then after that we all started off with all our horses carrying big packs. First we made camp at Dilxilnadjulwal, and then on to the Gila River. We stayed here for two days to rest, and to wash all the red stain off our clothes, and then father said we would move to Nabanasnan, and so we did. The next camp was at Soldier's Hole, where we rested for three days. The horses were getting sore footed now, and so we soaked a hide here one night, and shod the horses from it the next day. From here we went to black river and stayed there for two days, bathing and resting. At the end of two days we went on home to our farm above Tlukayaikij, at Tsegotsose. After we got home some of the poor women came around to the camp, and we gave them some of the fruit we had brought back with us, so that they could give it to their children. This was a present...when the fruit was dried out, we did it up in bundles around with the bark of kaztco, and stored it this way in ground caches. The seeds of the fruit we used to grind up, and eat. We called them nadjidilxil.

P.O.: This cactus is found in the Western Apache country only in the Gila Valley, the San Pedro valley and vicinity, lower San Carlos valley and up towards Globe, the valley of Pinal Creek, and the lower Tonto Basin. The fruit is ripe in July, and the people still get it.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 40), Mescaleros never utilized saguaro, as it does not inhabit their present or past range. However, Chiricahuas gathered and used saguaro similarly to Papago people.



According to Castetter and Underhill:

Giant cactus, saguaro is the most important fruit crop among Papagos and likely Chiricahuas. It's ripening precluding the rainy season, the drinking ceremony, and the new year. Families have camps on slopes where sahuaro grow and build shelters with a water jar, perhaps a metate, and a cooking pot. Sahuaro is often the first fresh fruit of the year and pulp is often eaten fresh. Picking season lasts about two weeks and families make up to two trips daily within their assigned territory to gather fruits; visiting cactus plants every three to four days as fruit ripens. Each carries a bowl shaped water tight basket to receive the pulp. One large basket, used as a general receptacle, is propped in an ocotillo bush at some central point. The fruit of the sahuaro grows at the extreme of the shaft, which is sometimes twenty-five feet height, or at the tips of the branches, and is hooked down with a long pole made of two giant cactus ribs spliced together. Formerly the splicing was agave fiber; now it is wire. At the top of this pole, and again at the lower point, perhaps five feet down, are affixed short transverse sticks of creosote bush (*Covillea glutinosa*) or of catclaw (*Acacia greggii*) for the purpose of aiding in dislodging the fruit. The fruit, if fully ripe splits open when it hits the ground; if not, the woman twists off the fruit stalk which bears a hard circular calyx with sharp edges and with this she splits the fruit. In either case she scoops out the pulp from each half with two motions of her thumb and throws it into her basket, while the thorny shell she throw on the ground, taking care that its read lining falls uppermost, for this hastens the rain.

After each round the women pour the newly gathered pulp, of a deep crimson color, into a water-tight basket and soak it to remove the black seeds, which will later be used for flour. Since it shrivels within a few hours if left in the sun, they cook their harvest daily, usually at midday which is too hot for pulp gathering.

Water is drained from the pulp, some of which has been soaking since the night before, breaks up the masses, shakes out as many seeds as possible, washes and dries these on a mat in the sun, and places them in a jar. The pulp, with double the quantity of water, is brought to a boil in a clay pot, then removed from the fire and placed in a straining basket. The liquid drained off is placed on the fire and boiled to a syrup, this being set aside from day to day. When the whole quantity is at hand it is sealed in a jar made air-tight by cementing a potsherd over its mouth with adobe mixed with fine grass or a transparent yellowish-brown "gum" gathered from the *samo prieto* (*Coursetia glandulosa*) upon which it is produced by a scale insect. This is the liquid from which the ceremonial drink is made.





**Figure 19.** *Chenopodium album* (Patrick Alexander)

**Chenopodium**                      goosefoot, bledo, huauzontle, quelite,

*C. album* Linnaeus

lamb's-quarter

*C. incanum* (S. Watson) Heller

mealy goosefoot

*C. leptophyllum* (Moquin) Nuttall ex S. Watson

slimleaf goosefoot, quenopodia, chual, cual

### **Distribution**

Lamb's-quarter (*C. album*) is an introduced species found between 4,900 and 5,400 feet throughout North America, including in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona (Bennett et al. 1996: 103). Wootton and Standley (1915: 208) claimed that native peoples in New Mexico gathered and cooked young quelite (lamb's-quarter).

Slimleaf goosefoot (*C. leptophyllum*) is a native plant of Latin America commonly found between 1,500 and 5,400 feet in the Southwest, including in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Fort Bowie National Historic site (Bennett et al. 1996: 104). Slimleaf goosefoot is also found in the Mesilla Valley and near Roswell, New Mexico (Wootton and Standley 1915: 208). Goosefoot was harvested from January through March.

### **Western Apaches**

White Mountain Apaches boiled young mealy and slimleaf goosefoot sprouts with meat (Reagan 1929: 156). They also ground and ate goosefoot seeds (Reagan 1929: 156). According to Gallagher (1976: 13-14), Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches no longer collected goosefoot. Western Apaches consumed young lamb's-quarter. Buskirk explains that,

The small black seeds of Indian Spinach, a small, red-rooted large-leaf plant (probably lambsquarter-*Chenopodium leptophyllum* or Nutt or *Chenopodium incanum* Watson), were broadcast in the vicinity of camps. Its leaves were eaten with soup or, uncooked, with mescal juice (Buskirk 1986: 102-103).

[...] The Apaches were fond of greens. Gifford said all the Western Apache ate greens boiled and that the Cibecue and White Mountain also ate them raw.

Palmer noted that the White Mountain women gathered large baskets of greens daily when in season, primarily species of *Amaranthus* and *Chenopodium*. Dried mescal was soaked, beaten and added to the greens when they were almost cooked. Salt was added to all green vegetables, but they were never cooked with meat. Formerly they were stone-boiled in baskets.

The White Mountain and Cibecue used wild onions, wild potatoes, and Indian Spinach ... Although lambsquarter grew wild in abundance, the black seeds were broadcast around the camps so that they would come up thickly near at hand. The plant was still widely used on the Fort Apache Reservation in the 1940s. Probably this was the plant mentioned by Hrdlicka as used by the San Carlos, who ate it raw or chopped up, mixed with a little fat and salt, and boiled. (Buskirk 1986: 191-192)

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos ate and boiled young lamb's-quarter greens (Elmore 1944: 43). Seeds were dried and used like corn, or ground and eaten (Elmore 1944: 43). Hocking notes that, "Among the Navajo, the seed meal is used in preparing mush or porridge, cakes (sometimes corn meal), stews, etc. The leaves enter the dietary cooked as greens or even stew" (Hocking 1956: 149).

Ramah Navajos consumed narrowleaf goosefoot seeds (Vestal 1952: 25). Lamb's-quarter seeds, however, were used more in the past than they were by the 1950s (Vestal 1952: 25). According to Vestal, "... in 1936 Kluckholn saw a pile of lambsquarter as high as a hogan being threshed and the seeds saved for winter, and in four different families he has seen the seeds being made into bread" (1952: 25). Seeds were threshed, winnowed, and ground lightly to loosen perianths. They were then winnowed again, washed, dried, and ground with corn (Vestal 1952: 25). The resulting bread was a ceremonial food consumed in the Nightway ceremony (Vestal 1952: 25).

According to Vestal (1952: 25), Ramah Navajos cut a three-inch long piece of mealy goosefoot stem and carved it into a snake figurine as a snake bite antidote. Kayenta Navajos dressed burns with a lamb's-quarter poultice (Wyman and Harris 1951: 20).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé continued to gather and cook young lamb's-quarter into the 1930s (Castetter 1935: 16; Castetter and Opler 1936: 46). Chiricahuas harvested this plant for the nutrient rich foliage. Young plants were collected as maturing lamb's-quarter and goosefoot contain high concentrations of toxic nitrates. For this reason, leaves were often boiled and rinsed before the greens were eaten. Ndé also cooked the greens with green chile and onions into meat stew (Castetter and Opler 1936: 46; Opler 1996: 363).



**Figure 20.** *Cirsium undulatum*. Patrick Alexander.

### **Cirsium**                      thistle

- C. calcareum* (M.E. Jones) Wooton and Standley  
Cainville thistle
- C. neomexicanum* Gray  
New Mexico thistle
- C. pallidum* Wooton and Standley  
Pale thistle
- C. rothrockii* (Gray) Petrak  
Rothrock's thistle
- C. undulatum* (Nuttall) Spreng.  
wavyleaf thistle
- C. vulgare* (Savi) Tenore [*C. lanceolatum*]  
bull thistle

### **Distribution**

Pale thistle (*C. pallidum*) is found along streams and wet meadows in the White and Sacramento Mountains of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 751).

### **Western Apaches**

Western Apaches collected several thistle species (Gallagher 1976: 53). Thick stemmed plants were collected when before they grew spines or flowers. Young shoots were stripped of foliage, peeled, and eaten raw or in salad.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos made a decoction of bull thistle to induce vomiting (Elmore 1944: 84). Ramah Navajos employed a cold infusion made from Cainville, New Mexico, and wavyleaf thistle roots to treat chills, fevers, and sore or infected eyes (Vestal 1952: 50). Ramah Navajos considered New Mexico and wavyleaf thistle roots a “life medicine” (Vestal 1952: 50). Kayenta Navajos considered Rothrock's thistle a “life medicine” (Wyman and Harris 1951: 46). They treated fevers with Rothrock's thistle and applied a lotion made from the roots to treat smallpox (Wyman and Harris 1951: 46).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé gathered pale thistle seeds, but not the stalks (Castetter and Opler 1936: 49). The seeds were eaten boiled or threshed, winnowed, and ground into flour. Ndé used the flour to make bread.

### **Citrullus**

watermelon

*C. vulgaris* Shrad.  
watermelon

### **Distribution**

Watermelon (*Citrullus* sp.) is common along the Rio Grande and in the Mesilla Valley of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 615).

### **Western Apaches**

Buskirk describes Western Apache watermelon use.

Bourke noted that in 1883 the Indians of the White Mountain Reservation were reported to have raised twenty thousand watermelons, ten thousand muskmelons, and ten thousand cantaloupes.

Seeds were selected and stored in the same manner as pumpkin seeds. Melons might be grown in a corn patch or by themselves; in the 1940s the tendency was to plant in separate plots. Different varieties of melons were often grown together, but not in the same garden with pumpkins. Hills were planted two paces or so apart, about four to five seeds to the hill, at a

depth of six or seven inches. Seeds were soaked the night before planting. Planting was done at the same time as corn.

In the 1880s a man at Oak Creek put horse manure in the water in which he soaked his seed and also planted the seeds with mashed horse manure. He always planted in the evening in order that the seeds would remain moist. This man made beds four feet wide by ten feet long. He planted four or five hills of watermelons in the side of these by pressing the seeds into the earth with his thumb. Others did not follow this practice. Melons were weeded and cared for in the same manner as corn. Vines were not broken off to increase production, but the Apache did thin all but five or six plants. Melons might be moved to dry ground or brush might be placed under them to prevent them from getting wet and rotting. When picked, about an inch of vine was left on the melon. This was believed to prevent spoilage.

Watermelons were eaten as soon as they matured. No attempt was made to dry them. Melons were never stored by burial in sand but might be covered with weeds and kept till November (Buskirk 1986: 95-96).

Minor plants such as watermelons, muskmelons, and possibly others were said by Zarate Salmeron to be cultivated during the early 1600s. (Buskirk 1986: 111)

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Vestal discusses Navajo watermelon use.

Watermelons are one of the favorite fruits of the Navajo and their cultivation is increasing. Usually, only a few hills are put in but patches up to half an acre may be planted. In 1938, Tschopik recorded twenty-four patches. Women usually plant and care for watermelons (also muskmelon and squash), watering them when necessary by carrying water in buckets (every four days in dry weather). Seeds are often soaked in an herb infusion to increase their productivity. They are planted early in June and harvested when ripe, usually early in September. Occasionally, they are sliced into strips, dried, and stored for winter use. Several varieties may be planted in one small field. In a collection of seeds made before planting time there were eight collections of black seeds, two of small brown seeds, two of white seeds, and one each of a small black seeds and a white seeds with a black tip. From descriptions of the fruits given by the Indians and observations of the fruit in the fields, an attempt was made to correlate these seeds with varieties described in seed catalogues, as follows. Black seeds: rather round melon, dark green rind irregularly striped with lighter green, flesh red and firm – “Coles Early” or “Hams Earliest” (ripens in about eighty days, hence desirable in areas with a limited growing season). Another popular black-seeded variety is “Black Spanish.” Small black

seeds: dark green with prominent longitudinal ribs – “Klondike.” Brown seeds: round green melon, pink flesh – “Hungarian Honey.” White seeds: dark oblong melon, rich red flesh – “Kleckley Sweet”; light green rind with slender dark markings – “Long Light Icing” or “Gray Monarch.” White seeds tipped with black: probably – “Kleckley Sweet” or “Will Rodgers.” A yellow-meated variety had been grown in the area from seeds obtained from the Zuñi. The watermelon was introduced by the Spanish at an early date. (Vestal 1952: 46)

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

According to Opler (1996: 373), Ndé obtained watermelon seed from Mexicans and learned to cultivate watermelon from the Spanish.

**Cucumis** cantaloupe

*C. melo* Linnaeus  
cantaloupe, muskmelon

### **Distribution**

Cantaloupe (*C. melo*) grows along the Rio Grande, including in the Mesilla Valley, of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 616).

### **Western Apaches**

In 1883, Bourke noted that, “the Indians of the White Mountain Reservation were reported to have raised twenty thousand watermelons, ten thousand muskmelons, and ten thousand cantaloupes” (Buskirk 1986: 95).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Vestal describes Ramah Navajos muskmelon cultivation.

Usually, the women of families who have planted watermelons also plant a few hills of muskmelon, but patches up to three-quarters of an acre have been observed. The two main types are a yellow variety about a foot long and a round, heavily netter variety probably of the “Rocky Ford” group. Seeds may be saved from previous crops or brought from the trading post. They are planted early in June and harvested when ripe. In 1938, Tschopik had records of seventeen patches. (Vestal 1952: 46)

Navajos cut cantaloupe into strips, braid the strips around a stick, and sun-dried the strips (1941: 222). These could be stored for months and boiled with sugar. Steggerda (1941: 222) states that this tasted like apple sauce.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

According to Casterter and Opler (1936: 28), Ndé began cultivating cantaloupes in the early 1870s, after resettlement on a reservation near Hot Springs.





**Figure 21.** *Cucurbita foetidissima*. Patrick Alexander.

**Cucurbita** pumpkin, squash

*C. foetidissima* Kunth [*C. perrenis*]

Missouri gourd

*C. pepo* Linnaeus

field pumpkin

*C. maxima* Duchesne

winter squash

*C. moschata* Duchesne

crookneck squash

**Lagenaria** lagenaria, gourd

*L. siceraria* (Molina) Standley

bottle gourd

### **Distribution**

Missouri gourd (*C. foetidissima*) is common on valley floors and grasslands between 1,000 and 7,000 feet elevation, including in the Chiricahua Mountains, at Chiricahua National Monument, and at Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Bennett et al. 1996: 108).

### **Western Apaches**

According to Gallagher (1976: 71), Western Apaches referred to squash and pumpkin by the same name, distinguished by a descriptive suffix. Buskirk describes Western Apache cultivation practices.

Pumpkins (*Cucurbita moschata* or *Curcurbita pepo*) were one of the earliest Apache plants. As with corn, there were special songs, prayers, and lucky planters for them. Only one consultant failed to include pumpkins as one of the original Apache crops.

Although an old crop, pumpkins do not appear to have been grown in great abundance in pre-American times. Families who planted corn every year did not always plant pumpkins ... at Cibecue in the 1940s they [Apache families] might raise as many as a hundred, but many were not used: "Horse, burro eat it." At Cherry Creek were possibly somewhat more, for up to twenty were sometimes stored temporarily in layers of grass. At Cedar Creek only a few were grown, "just three or four or six," and the same was true of the other White Mountain. Bourke noted that in 1883, one hundred thousand pumpkins were raised on the Fort Apache Reservation.

At Cedar Creek it was said that only one variety, a large yellow pumpkin, had been planted. At east Fork there was a round but not too large hard-shelled, greenish-colored pumpkin and a "crooked-necked squash" (*Cucurbita maxima?*). The latter was derived from Mexico.

One type raised at Canyon Creek was large – sometimes fifteen to twenty inches in diameter – long and soft necked, with a blue stripe. Other types were small – about ten inches in diameter – without a neck, hard shelled, and black, white, or brown striped. There was no orange-colored pumpkin. At San Carlos there were said to be yellow, gray, and other colors of pumpkins.

The Cibecue raised a large hook-necked pumpkin and a yellow pie pumpkin. A round black and green striped pumpkin "just like a cloud" matured earliest. It had a yellow interior. According to consultants, it spoiled easily, The Hubbard squash (*Cucurbita maxima?*), with long neck and green or gray color, was the latest to mature; it stored better than most varieties and was used throughout the winter. A white, hard, short-necked pumpkin was midway between these in growing speed and storing qualities.

Pumpkins were planted five feet (two paces) or more apart, not in any pattern but randomly. Some Apache planted them in the corn rows, some around the edges of the corn field, some in separate plots. They were planted in moist ground with a digging stick, in a hole four to seven inches deep. Four or five seeds were dropped into each hole. The seed was sometimes soaked for about an hour before planting among the Cibecue, all night by the White Mountain. Seeds were not dampened or sprouted in wet earth. All varieties were planted at the same times and at the time the

corn was planted. They were not planted with or close to watermelons. The plants appeared above the ground in about one week.

Pumpkins were weeded, irrigated, and the ground around them sometimes stirred with a digging stick at the same time corn was given such care. Those in separate patches were irrigated when about eight inches high, when the vine began to spread out, when they bloomed, and thereafter until ripe. Water was poured at the roots to make them grow large. Oak ashes were sometimes sprinkled on them to repulse insects. Flat stink bugs were removed by hand. The Apache learned from the whites to break off the ends of pumpkin vines to increase production, but only one man at Cibecue was said to do this. The Cibecue moved or rolled pumpkins to dry areas in the patch to keep them from getting wet and rotting; the White Mountain put grass under them.

Pumpkins were harvested the same time as the corn or later. They ripened from the early fall until November. They were pulled from the vine, and no part of the vine was left attached as in the case of watermelons.

Ripeness of the pumpkins was detected by the exterior's losing its shine and becoming rough and by the leaves' drying and falling. Some could tell when pumpkins were ripe by the color. They were not thumped to detect maturity. An attempt was made to harvest all pumpkins before the frost, as this would ruin them.

Green pumpkins were picked during the summer and boiled or baked in ashes. When the rind of pumpkin shone brightly, it was considered edible. At harvest time they were transported to camp in burden baskets, perhaps one large pumpkin to a basket. Helpers, if any, were given some for their assistance in carrying.

Pumpkins were never stored in pre-reservation days, although sometimes they were kept under a pile of grass for a limited period. Grass was spread and pumpkins placed on this, then more grass was added, then another layer of pumpkins, and so forth. Usually they were eaten as harvested or saved only a month or two. All were consumed by December at the latest. Those a family did not need were given to others. "They had to eat them up." Meat and hides might be given in exchange for pumpkins.

The largest seeds of the largest pumpkins were saved for seed. Color was no criterion for selection. Seeds were stored in a small pitched water basket and placed in a ground cache. Pumpkin seeds and those of the "crooked necked squash" were always stored separately. After seasonal migrations ceased, pumpkin seeds were stored in the wickiup. They were wrapped in grass with ashes and tied to the roof of the wickiup with three

yucca strings to keep them warm and dry. Seeds to be eaten were kept in a vessel.

In the 1890s and thereafter at Cibecue, pumpkins were dried before storing. First they were sliced transversely, producing rings about three-eighths of an inch thick, then strung on sticks or a yucca string about one to one and a half inches apart. They were then hung between two trees for four or five days, after which they were stored in a sack. The pumpkin was seeded and cleaned through a hole in the end before being cut into spiral strips.

Another method of drying and storing pumpkins was practiced at Cherry Creek, where segments two inches wide and one to two feet long were cut from the pumpkins. These were dried on a tree or bush. When dry, they were suspended from the interior of the wickiup roof. They were kept all winter, but not through the summer. They were never ground-cached. Agricultural rituals were associated with the growing of pumpkins as with corn, these being the only crops of which this was true. However, prayers and songs for the corn were considered sufficient to cover pumpkins. A prayer for pumpkins was described by an old White Mountain man with the injunction that it might be written but was not to be repeated to other Indians. It was proprietary ritual that he wished to keep in his family. This rite was held at the time the runners were ready to spread. A young boy was sent out to pick a large supply of blue juniper berries. When he returned, he was blindfolded and sent into the pumpkin patch. He threw the berries in all directions, asking for that many pumpkins. He called out, "Gut, gut, gut" (this is the name of one variety of juniper berry; possibly there was another meaning), acting like a gan, and asked Changing Woman for as many pumpkins on the vines as he had thrown berries. After this prayer, it was said, the vines "really started blooming." Newlyweds could not enter a field of growing pumpkin plants, lest the fruit shrivel and die on the vine. Other Apache stated that this applied only to nursing and pregnant women. (The basis of the taboo on newlyweds and pregnant and menstruating women is told by Goodwin in the tale "How the Squash Plant Was Obtained.")

The White Mountain denied that pumpkins were ever used for vessels as were gourds, but a Cibecue had seen them so used in the 1880s. The meat of the pumpkin was scraped out with a stick and the hollowed rind boiled in a five-gallon tin, then hung by a yucca string about the neck to dry. The pumpkins used were yellow-white, brown, and spotted. They were colored red with a dye from a "soft red rock," which was boiled with them in the tin. Such a pumpkin vessel would last two or three years but was not considered as durable as a gourd.

The Cibecue used pumpkin seed to make a cosmetic grease for chapped skin, according to Gifford.

A common way of preparing pumpkins was to boil them, mash them, and stir them in parched ground corn while boiling. Salt was added but was never applied to this or to any other Apache dish until it began boiling. Sunflower seed also was cooked with pumpkin in the same manner as corn.

Pumpkin halves or large slices were placed in an ash bed and covered with ashes. Before the pumpkins were eaten, the ashes were scraped away and the crust removed.

Whole pumpkins were opened and cleaned of their seeds and pithy matter. Either salt or some sweet material was then inserted and the pumpkin plugged, after which it was steam-baked with green corn in a pit oven. Pumpkin seeds were eaten either uncooked or after parching. When lightly parched, they were sometimes ground with corn, moistened, and eaten by the pinch. Sometimes they were cut in thin slices and fried. (1986: 89-95) White Mountain Apaches ate and baked field pumpkin flesh and blossoms (Reagan 1929: 156).

In addition to pumpkins, Western Apaches cultivated and used gourds extensively. Buskirk elaborates.

Gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) were cultivated before the advent of the Americans. Only two consultants had ideas about their origin, one stating that they were obtained from the Mexicans, the other saying Apache captives among the Mexicans had learned how to prepare them. Two kinds of gourds were grown: a small one about the size of two finger joints, which was used as a rattle on cradleboards, and a larger one, which was used for canteens, cups, and dippers.

Seeds were sometimes soaked before planting, sometimes not. They were planted in four- to six-inch holes, three or more seeds to the hole (a Cherry Creek man said always four seeds). Some planted a few inside the brush fences, the vines being trained on the fence. If the gourds grew on the ground, they would be flat, which was not desirable. Others placed them at intervals around a field, perhaps four or five hills in all. Stakes were erected and the plant trained on these "to make a long tail." One man said that if gourds grew hanging on a stick they made a canteen, if on the ground they made a jug. They required more water than corn.

Seed was selected from gourds of a desirable shape, usually from a "long-handled" one, and such selection was said to produce well-shaped gourds. Seed might be stored in the roof of a wickiup in the same manner as

pumpkin seed, or they might be stored with pumpkin seed in a pitched basket in a ground or rock cache. (Pumpkin seeds could be stored with gourd seeds but were never stored with seeds of the crooked-neck squash.) Yucca string was often tied around the growing gourds to shape them, hourglass or double hourglass effects being obtained. Children often played with small gourd, so shaping them as they grew. Cultivated gourds with yucca string tied about the middle were seen at Cibecue in 1947. In the 1940s, gourds used as cradleboard rattles had been replaced by beads and other gewgaws (in one case by the celluloid-framed picture of the father, who was absent in military service), although one gourd rattle was seen at Whiteriver in 1947. They were not used much by the 1940s for cups, dippers, canteens, or storage vessels. They were never used for face masks or for ornaments or for rattles except on cradleboards. Size and shape determined use, small gourds being made into cups, long-handled gourds into spoons or dippers, large gourds into storage jars or canteens. They were not used to store water at home, only on long journeys, because it would taste bad, nor were they ever used as cooking vessels. They were used to store acorns, seeds, and salt.

To prepare it for use, a gourd was thoroughly soaked in warm water. A row of holes was punched close together with a bone awl if it were desired to split the gourd for a dipper. Then, by pressing, the gourd would separate, or it could be cut between the holes. It was dried in the filed or hung up to dry but never covered with brush while drying. Seed and pithy matter were removed with a stick, and water was kept in the gourd for at least two nights (it was changed each day) to remove the taste. They were always bored or cut before they dried and hardened. They were pulled from the vine by hand, not cut. Gourds were never baked beside the fire to harden them. Utensils made of gourds would last for three or four years. Gourds were decorated by grinding up red stone in hot water and rubbing this into the gourd to color it; yellow clay might also be used for this, but the colors were not lasting. Among the Cibecue, this was the only form of decoration.

Among the White Mountain, designs were burned onto the exterior of gourds – probably a case of Mexican or American diffusion. Common motifs were deer, butterflies, diamonds, crosses, moons, and half-moons. The White Mountain denied painting their gourds, painting being reserved for the pitched water basket.

Dorsey wrote that huge gourds were used for water storage among the White Mountain, which use is contrary to consultants' statements. Gifford recorded large gourds grown by the Southern Tonto for water bottles too large for journeys.

One consultant had been told by her great-grandmother that the Apache formerly ate small gourds. Goodwin listed a clan, the Wild Gourd Growing People, that was named for its members' habit of eating wild gourds. (1989: 93-94)

Western Apaches soaked Missouri gourd pulp in hot water and applied this as a poultice to sores on horses' backs (Buskirk 1986: 192). White Mountain Apaches ground gourd leaves to make green paint for sand paintings (Reagan 1929: 156).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 131).** Anna Price: Preparing Pumpkins. Our pumpkins we fixed in two ways. The greener, harder ones we cut around and around in a long slice. Then we hung this rope to dry on a pole. The others we roasted in fires in two places, seven in one fire and six in another usually. We kept moving them around in the fire so they wouldn't burn. Then when the coals only were left, we rolled them in these. When they were all roasted, we took them out and cut them in sections and then hung them to dry.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Ramah Navajos cultivated field pumpkin and winter squash (Vestal 1952: 46, 47). Field pumpkin and winter squash blossoms were used to season soup. Winter squash was also peeled, cut into strips, sun-dried, and stored in a ground cache. Navajos ate field pumpkin pulp and seeds (Hocking 1956: 150). Navajos also ate crookneck squash (Steggerda 1941: 221). Crookneck squash was cut into strips, dried, and stored, or boiled in sugar water to make a preserve. Navajos used field pumpkin leaves to relieve an upset stomach (Hocking 1956: 150).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 28), Warm Springs Apaches began cultivating pumpkin and squash in the early 1870s, soon after resettlement near Hot Springs. Seeds were soaked overnight to facilitate germination and then planted two or three in a hole (Castetter and Opler 1936: 28).

### **Cymopterus**                      springparsley

*C. acaulis* (Pursh) Raf. var. *fendleri* Gray [*C. fendleri*]

Fendler's springparsley

*C. bulbosus* A. Nelson

bulbous springparsley

*C. purpureus* S. Watson

purple springparsley

*C. montanus* Nutt. ex Torrey and Gray [*Phellopterus montanus*]

mountain springparsley

*C. newberryi* (S. Watson) M.E. Jones

sweetroot springparsley

## **Distribution**

Fendler's springparsley (*C. acaulis* var. *fendleri* [*C. fendleri*]) is common around Santa Fe and in the Sandia Mountains of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 482). Castetter and Opler (1936: 48) refer to Fendler's springparsley as wild celery, a plant many Southwestern Indian groups commonly used.

## **Navajos (Diné)**

Ramah Navajos ate bulbous springparsley root raw, roasted in ashes, or peeled, ground, and cooked with milk (Vestal 1952: 38). Springparsley roots were also dried and stored. Steggerda (1941: 221) notes that Navajos rubbed springparsley roots through hot ash to neutralize the strong taste before drying them for storage. Mountain springparsley rootstalks were peeled, baked, ground, and used as a substitute for cornmeal (Elmore 1944: 68). Navajos also ate mountain springparsley roots and peeled stems raw. According to Kluckhohn,

The children look for these and eat them at this time of year (March). They are the first plants to come green. They say the plants go south in the winter and these plants come back first and then tell the other plant people to come back. (Vestal 1952: 38)

Fendler's springparsley leaves were used to season cornmeal mush, gruel, and boiled meat (Steggerda 1941: 221). Navajos also used purple springparsley to season cornmeal mush and soup (Elmore 1944: 67). Castetter (1935: 15, 26) notes that Navajos cooked mountain springparsley with dried wild desert onions and wild carrot roots in winter. Kayenta Navajos ate sweetroot springparsley with meat (Wyman and Harris 1951: 34).

Kayenta Navajos took a sweetroot springparsley infusion and used it as lotion for wounds (Wyman and Harris 1951: 34). Kayenta Navajos also used widewing springparsley to treat backaches and to settle a person's stomach after vomiting from swallowing a fly (Wyman and Harris 1951: 34). Ramah Navajos used springparsley roots as a "life medicine" (Vestal 1952: 38).

Kayenta Navajos made prayer stick paint from widewing springparsley (Wyman and Harris 1951: 34).

## **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Springparsley was gathered when in bloom to flavor soups and meats. It was said to have a mild flavor (Castetter and Opler 1936: 48). Ndé ate both leaves and roots.





Opler 1936: 17). Sotol was used to make fire-drill hearths. Pounded sotol leaves were made into combs. And flowering stalks were used to make a one-string fiddle (Castetter and Opler 1936: 19-20). Mescaleros used sotol stalks in the headdress of Mountain Spirit Dancers (Basehart 1974: 41). Stalk and leaf tissue also doubled as cigarette paper (Basehart 1974: 41).



**Figure 22.** *Echinocereus coccineus* (Patrick Alexander)

**Echinocereus**                      hedgehog cactus, coccinia

*E. coccineus* Engelmann

scarlet hedgehog cactus

*E. engelmannii* (Parry ex Engelmann) Lemaire var. *chrysocentrus* [*Opuntia engelmannii*]

Engelmann's hedgehog cactus, saint's cactus, strawberry cactus, sinita barbona

*E. fendleri* (Engelmann) F. Seitz

pinkflower hedgehog cactus

*E. polyacanthus* Engelmann

mojave mound cactus

*E. rigidissimus* (Engelmann) Haage

rainbow hedgehog cactus

### **Distribution**

Scarlet hedgehog cactus (*E. coccineus*) grows between 4,000 and 9,500 feet elevation in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument (Bennett et al. 1996: 95). Engelmann's hedgehog cactus (*E. engelmannii* [*O. engelmannii*]) is common in the

Lower and Upper Sonoran zones (Wooton and Standley 1915: 445-446). It is found on the mesa west of and in the Organ Mountains to Hillsboro and Deming, New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 445-446).

### **Western Apaches**

A Clarksdale, Arizona Apache told Gallagher (1976: 27) hedgehog cactus fruit had a good flavor. Another, however, stated that Apaches do not eat cactus fruits.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos prepared hedgehog cactus fruits in several ways (see Elmore 1944: 64). Ramah Navajos used scarlet hedgehog cactus fruits for food (Vestal 1952: 37).

Vestal states that undertakers returning from a burial jump over as many cacti, yucca plants, ghost plants, and other sharp plants as they can find as the deceased persons “ghost is afraid of these [and] he won't come back that way” (1952: 37).

Navajos considered scarlet hedgehog cactus poisonous though it was used as a heart stimulant (Hocking 1956: 160).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Hedgehog cactus fruits were occasionally gathered and eaten fresh (Castetter and Opler 1936: 41). Ndé ate fruits of scarlet hedgehog, Engelmann's, pinkflower hedgehog, mojave mound, and rainbow hedgehog cacti (Castetter and Opler 1936: 41). Basehart (1974: 45) states that Mescaleros also ate coccinia fruits.



**Figure 23.** *Frasera speciosa* (Patrick Alexander)

**Frasera** elkweed

*F. speciosa* Douglas [*Swertia radiata*]  
deer's ear, elkweed, showy frasera

### **Distribution**

Deer's ear (*F. speciosa*) grows between 5,000 and 10,000 feet elevation in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument (Bennett et al. 1996: 131). Deer's ear is common throughout the western United States and in the Sacramento Mountains of New Mexico (Wootton and Standley 1915: 500).

### **Western Apaches**

Apaches ate deer's ears root as food (Castetter 1935: 29; Nickerson 1966: 49). Apaches also used the root to make medicine (Nickerson 1966: 49). Large deer's ear stems were used to make elk calls (Nickerson 1966: 49).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos considered deer's ear a male plant (Vestal 1952: 39). Ramah Navajos mixed dried deer's ear leaves with mountain tobacco in a corn husk cigarette or hunting pipe (Vestal 1952: 39). According to Vestal (1952: 39), deer's ear provided strength and clarity to a lost or confused hunter, enabling him to find his way back to camp. Ramah Navajos ground and soaked deer's ear into a cold infusion rubbed on hunters and their horses for strength (Vestal 1952: 39). Navajos treated nervousness with deer's ear (Elmore 1944: 97). Kayenta Navajos used deer's ear as a "life medicine" (Wyman and Harris 1951: 36). They also applied ground deer's ear paste to the incision caused by castration of livestock (Wyman and Harris 1951: 36).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé ate deer's ear roots (Castetter 1935: 29).

**Helianthus** sunflower

*H. annus* Linnaeus  
common sunflower, giganton, girasol, lampote, maiz de Texas

### **Distribution**

Sunflowers (*H. annus*) are common in the Southwest, flowering from March to October (Hodgson 2001: 87).

### **Western Apaches**

Castetter (1935: 30), drawing from Bourke's reports, states that Apaches cultivated sunflowers. Gallagher (1976: 34) states that Apaches collected sunflower seeds extensively. By the 1970s, they were purchased. Gallagher (1976: 33) reports that some Clarksdale, Arizona women struck dry flower heads against their hands to remove the

seeds. San Carlos Apaches dried sunflower heads over a fire before shaking out the seeds (Gifford 1940: 95). Seeds were often transported in large baskets strapped to a woman's back (Gallagher 1976: 33).

Seeds were parched or roasted before eating. Parching consisted of placing seeds in a large flat basket with hot coals and shaking vigorously (Gallagher 1976: 33). Salt was added to parched seeds and eaten, or ground with corn or dried mescal to make cakes. White Mountain Apaches made flour from ground sunflower seeds (Reagan 1929: 158). Buskirk describes Western Apache sunflower gathering practices, preparation, and uses.

Groups of people established ownership of a stand of wild sunflowers (*H. sp.*) by tying bunches of the heads together before they ripened. Then in the fall, when birds began to flock around the ripened heads, they were picked.

A person gathering this plant beat the seeds into a basket hung over the shoulder, using a two-foot beating stick with an oval-shaped basket head about four to six inches long on the beating end. Another method of gathering was to pick the whole head and sun-dry them, later shaking the seeds loose.

Gifford stated that knives were used by some Apache to sever sunflower heads. For this the Northern Tonto used an ash-wood knife, the Southern Tonto a stone knife and a single-edge hardwood knife six to eight inches long, and the Cibecue a stone knife. According to Gifford, the Southern Tonto tied sunflower stems into bundles, sun-dried them, and shook out the seeds; only the San Carlos dried the heads over a fire before shaking them out.

Palmer said parched grass seeds and sunflower seeds were made into flour and prepared either as porridge or shaped into cakes and baked in hot ashes.

Consultants described several preparations. After being parched in a basked tray, the seeds were rough-ground in a first grinding, then ground into a fine meal. This meal, mixed with corn meal, was put into hot water, then eaten as a pasty bread, not too moist, without salt. An industrious woman could prepare such a dish in about an hour. Sometimes, mixed corn and sunflower meal was boiled with salt into a cereal "just like oatmeal."

Sunflower seeds and corn were ground together into flour that was eaten by the pinch. Children were not allowed to play or laugh while eating whole sunflower seeds for fear they would choke on them.

Army scouts, when preparing to leave on an expedition, had their wives grind about twenty-five pounds of sunflower seeds for rations.

Another method of eating sunflower was to parch the seeds, then grind them with mescal. This mixture was said to taste “just like candy.” (Buskirk 1989: 184-185)

White Mountain Apaches made poultices from crushed sunflowers that were applied to snakebites (Reagan 1929: 158).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Castetter (1935: 30), drawing from Bourke's reports, states that Navajos cultivated sunflowers. Navajos ground cultivated sunflower seeds with corn and made the dough into cakes (Elmore 1944: 87; Vestal 1952: 51). Navajos also made bread, dumplings and gruel from sunflower seed dough (Steggerda 1941: 223).

According to Hocking, Navajos ate sunflower seeds to increase their appetite (1956: 152). Elmore (1944: 87) states that Navajos took an infusion of crushed Nuttall's sunflower leaves for stomach pains. Similar uses are described by Mayes and Bayless Lacy (1989: 124). Navajos burned sunflower pith powder on warts for removal, a form of *moxibustion* (Hocking 1956: 152). Kayenta Navajos treated prenatal infections caused by a solar eclipse with sunflowers (Wyman and Harris 1951: 48).

Vestal (1952: 51) notes that sunflower stalks were used by Ramah Navajos in the making of Holyway Prayer sticks. Navajos used hollow sunflower stalks to give the illusion of swallowing an arrow during the Mountain Chant (Elmore 1944: 87). Sunflower stalks were made into flutes for the ancient custom of timing the grinding of corn at the War Dance (Elmore 1944: 87). Bird snares were also made of sunflower stalks (Elmore 1944: 87).

Kayenta Navajos used sunflowers in the sun sand-painting ceremony (Wyman and Harris 1951: 48). Navajos used sunflower seed coatings to make dark red dyes (Hocking 1956: 152).

Ramah Navajos used sunflowers as livestock feed (Vestal 1952: 51).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé collected sunflower seeds in baskets by knocking ripe flower heads with a stick (Castetter and Opler 1936: 48). Seeds were ground and made into flour for baked cakes and gravy (Castetter and Opler 1936: 48; Opler 1996: 364). Castetter and Opler state,

Sunflower blossoms are used to adorn drying Yucca pulp as a symbol of fructifying influence of the sun. This use of sunflower blossoms constitutes a prayer that the sun should continue to make Yucca fruit yields plentiful.

Ripe sunflower seeds were gathered in fall by threshing. *H. annuus* were also harvested when dead ripe by women who placed a basket under the plant and sharply struck the back of a sunflower head with a stick



knocking seeds onto the blanket. They were sometimes ground and flour used for thick gravy, but more commonly this was sifted, made into dough, and baked on hot stones or in hot ashes. This kind of bread is still in common use. (1936: 48-49)

**Humulus**                      common hop

*H. lupulus* Linnaeus var. *lupuloides* E. Small  
common hop

*H. lupulus* Linnaeus var. *neomexicanus* A. Nelson and Cockerell  
common hop

**Distribution**

Common hop (*H. lupulus* var. *lupuloides*) grows between 6,500 and 7,200 feet elevation in the Rocky Mountain region south to New Mexico and Arizona (Bennett et al. 1996: 99). It is found in the Chiricahua Mountains.

**Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos used hops for cooking (Elmore 1944: 41).

Ramah Navajos used hops as cough and flu medicine, as a good luck medicine for hunting, and for protection against witches (Vestal 1952: 22).

**Chiricahuas, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé gathered hops in October (Castetter and Opler 1936: 47). The hops were boiled and used as a food flavoring. Formerly, they were mixed with mesquite and screw bean flour. In the 1930s, they were combined with wheat flour or wild potatoes. Ndé commonly used hops to flavor tulipai, a mildly intoxicating drink.

**Juglans**                      walnut

*J. major* (Torrey) Heller  
Arizona walnut, nogal

**Distribution**

Arizona walnut (*J. major*) is a shade tree common between 3,500 and 7,000 feet elevation in New Mexico, Arizona, and northern Mexico (Bennett et al. 1996: 135). It is found in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument (Bennett et al. 1996: 135). Arizona walnut is also found in the Animas and White Mountains of New Mexico (Wootton and Standley 1915: 162).

**Western Apaches**

According to Gallagher (1976: 87), Western Apaches utilized Arizona walnut extensively. Western Apaches gathered ripe walnuts in early fall (Castetter and Opler

1936). Walnut shells are split and the nut eaten (Gallagher 1976: 36). They were once prepared with mescal as a beverage (Reagan 1929: 145; Gallagher 1976: 36). The walnuts were shelled, cleaned, and “placed in a mortar with strips of dried mescal, which was added for sweetening. This mixture was pounded thoroughly to crush and combine the ingredients. Next, water was added...then stirred and strained” (Gallagher 1976: 36). Apaches drank and poured this beverage over ash bread. Buskirk elaborates on Western Apaches walnut use.

Walnuts (*Juglans* sp.) were considered by the Cibecue to be better if they fell naturally, but people sometimes climbed trees and shook them loose. Among the White Mountain, the hulls were removed by pounding with a rock or, according to Gifford, in a bedrock mortar. Then they were washed in a basket in a running stream. Washing was also practiced by the Cibecue.

The White Mountain used the juice of walnut hulls “like sheep dip” on their horses and cattle. It was also considered good for clearing maggots from wounds. A dose of one or two tablespoonfuls was administered internally to dogs as a cure for worms.

Walnuts were never boiled, according to consultants. They were pulverized and mixed with mescal juice, producing a liquid of light creamy color having the consistency of tomato juice and said to taste like sweetened milk. It was eaten by dipping corn bread into it. Walnuts were said to be the only nuts eaten with the sweet mescal drink. They were also parched with corn, ground, and eaten by the pitch.

Reagan reported that walnuts were mashed fine – kernels, hulls, and all – then boiled in water. From this a milky liquid was filtered and drunk. Palmer said walnuts were ground with dried mescal. The inner partition shells were ground in this dish and were said by Palmer to act as an aid to digestion.

Reagan noted that walnut kernels and green corn were mashed together on metates and baked in cake form. (Buskirk 1986: 187)

An O'odham person told Rea that “when we came to school, the Apaches, they used to bring them (walnuts to school) and eat the nuts” (1997: 168). Walnuts were used to combat dandruff (Gallagher 1976: 87). Apaches also applied a mix of ground walnuts and water to dye hair (Gallagher 1976: 87).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos collected and utilized walnuts extensively, including to make brown dye (Elmore 1944: 39).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**



Ndé gathered ripe walnuts in September. After collection, Ndé pounded walnuts to remove the hulls and then washed them (Castetter and Opler 1936: 42). Opler (1996: 362) states that women collect, wash, and spread walnuts to dry for days.

Ndé mixed ground walnuts into a mescal beverage, ate them raw, or boiled and combined with mesquite gravy (Castetter and Opler 1936: 37, 42). They also mixed walnuts with mescal, datil, sotol, or mesquite (Basehart 1974: 46). In winter, Ndé combined ground walnuts with mesquite beans or mescal, boiled this mix, and served it as a soup (Opler 1996: 362). This was also a common food at the girl's puberty rite.

Ndé made a black walnut dye with which they soaked lodge coverings (Basehart 1976: 46).



**Figure 24.** *Juniperus osteosperma* (Patrick Alexander)

**Juniperus** juniper

*J. communis* Linnaeus [*J. montana*]

common juniper

*J. deppeana* Steud.

alligator juniper

*J. monosperma* (Engelmann) Sarg.

oneseed juniper

*J. occidentalis* Hook.

western juniper  
*J. osteosperma* (Torreyi) Little  
Utah juniper  
*J. pinchotii* Sudworth  
Pinchot's juniper  
*J. scopulorum* Sarg.  
Rocky Mountain juniper

### **Distribution**

Alligator juniper (*J. deppeana*) is common in the low hills and mountains of southwestern New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 36). Oneseed juniper (*J. monosperma*) is common on foothills and high plains throughout the Southwest (Wooton and Standley 1915: 37). Utah juniper (*J. osteosperma*) is found between 4,500 and 7,000 feet elevation (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 55). *Juniper* sp. commonly grows in the Chiricahua, San Andreas and Sacramento Mountains (Castetter and Opler 1936: 10).

### **Western Apaches**

Juniper berries were once part of Western Apaches' regular collection cycle (Goodwin 1942: 157). The berries were prepared in several ways (see Gallagher 1976: 27-30). Western Apaches ate the berries; seeds were spat out. Berries were dried, pounded, mixed with water, strained, and consumed as a beverage. They were also baked into bread. In addition, Western Apaches stored berries for winter use. Buskirk describes Western Apache juniper collection and use practices.

They were plentiful in the intermediate elevations north of the Natanes Rim. The gathering season extended from October to December. The berries were picked from the tree when fully ripe or were gathered after they had fallen and dried on the ground. According to consultants, only the meat of the berry was used, not the seed, and this was boiled and eaten unseasoned.

Goodwin recorded that the berries were partly dried, boiled until soft, then ground to a pulp on a metate or flat stone; the pulp thus obtained was molded into a ball and stored. Palmer stated that at times the whole fruit, including the seed, was pounded and made into bread. One of Goodwin's tales included an incident in which yellow juniper berries were parched in a basket.

Juniper ashes were mixed with corn mush for color and flavor. Particularly favored was the greenish color imparted by the ashes.

To cure pneumonia, juniper branches were heated, placed in a protective wrapping to prevent a burn, and applied to the back of a patient.

Torches were made of dried juniper bark. The bark was rubbed between the hands until the fibers were separated. From these a thick strand was

produced by twisting. This was then wrapped from top to bottom and tied up and down its length with yucca string. The torch made a light like a small camp fire and would last four or five hours. If it died down, it had only to be shaken to flare anew.

A non-intoxicating, greenish-colored drink was made of juniper berries. The berries were soaked overnight, and then pounded with the fruit of *Yucca baccata*. After mixing with water, the seeds and heavy part of the pulp were screened and the fluid drained into vessels. The juniper berries and yucca fruit could also be pounded together to produce a gravy. Juniper berries were mixed with dried or roasted agave crowns, similar to their use with yucca fruit, to make a beverage (Buskirk 1986: 187-88).

Apaches utilized alligator and Utah juniper as medicine. (Gallagher 1976: 88-90) Juniper leaves were used as a "cure-all" tea. Gallagher (1976: 88) states that Apaches mainly consumed this tea to remedy coughs and colds. Women also consumed this tea during pregnancy to help them relax. According to Reagan (1929: 158), White Mountain Apaches rubbed the charred end of a oneseed or western juniper branch over their bodies to relax.

Apaches rubbed ground cedar leaves into newly-constructed water jars as a sealant (Gallagher 1976: 105). Cedar was also used as firewood (Gallagher 1976: 113).

### **Navajos (Ndé).**

Ramah Navajos ate, boiled, and ground juniper berries. They also stored alligator juniper berries for winter use (Vestal 1952: 12). Navajos ate, roasted, or boiled the onessed juniper cones (Elmore 1944: 19; Vestal 1952: 11). They also chewed the inner bark in times of food shortages (Elmore 1944: 19).

Ramah Navajos smoked common juniper as good luck for hunters (Vestal 1952: 12). They also added juniper berries to flavor tobacco (Vestal 1952: 12).

Ramah Navajos made a juniper decoction used as a ceremonial emetic (Vestal 1952: 12). They used oneseed juniper in a purification bath for burial parties (Vestal 1952: 11, 12). They also made oneseed juniper compounds used as sweat bath medicine. Ramah Navajos treated postpartum, menstrual pain, childbirth difficulties stomachaches, and fevers with a oneseed juniper decoction (Vestal 1952: 12). Hocking (1956: 152) notes that Navajos ate Utah juniper seeds to alleviate headaches. According to Vestal (1952: 12), Ramah Navajos made a decoction from Rocky Mountain juniper needles that was applied as a lotion for colds, headaches, and stomachaches. They also made a ceremonial medicine from Rocky Mountain juniper as protection from witches. According to Elmore (1944: 19), Navajos took Pinchot's juniper as a War Dance medicine.

Among Ramah Navajos, oneseed juniper bark was a highly prized burn medicine (Vestal 1952: 11). Newborns were given oneseed juniper inner bark infusions to help cleanse impurities. Bedding made from this juniper aided in ensuring babies health and strength

(Vestal 1952: 11). Ramah Navajos also treated fever and coughs with a juniper lotion (Vestal 1952: 12). Navajos rubbed juniper on their hair to treat dandruff (Elmore 1944: 19).

Juniper was the primary source of fire wood for Navajos. Navajos also made fence posts, hogan roofs, hunting bows, canopies to protect newborn children from the sparks of a fire, and prayers sticks from oneseed juniper (Elmore 1944: 19). Elmore (1944: 19) states that Navajos crafted western juniper into the War Dance wand and prayer sticks. Ramah Navajos made fence posts, hogan poles, hunting bows, and the Fire Dance torch from oneseed juniper (Vestal 1952: 11). Ramah Navajos used juniper boughs for the roofs and sides of Enemyway hogans (Vestal 1952: 11). In addition, they shaped juniper branches into baby's cradle frames.

Sweat houses were lined with oneseed juniper bark. Ramah Navajos also lined moccasins with bark in the winter to absorb moisture and employed bark in sandal construction (Elmore 1944: 17, 19; Vestal 1952: 11). They also placed drying corn on a juniper bark platform and used it to line corn storage pits (Vestal 1952: 11). Shredded bark was carried by Navajo dancers in the Fire Dance and during the last night of the Mountain Chant (Elmore 1944: 17).

According to Navajo legend, juniper was important in the development of woven baskets (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 55). The legend states that a Navajo woman sat weaving a basket under a tree pondering how to finish the rim. Just then, Coyote tossed a small juniper branch into her lap and the woman realized that imitating the pattern of the juniper leaves would make a beautiful basket. Thus, Navajo baskets (especially wedding baskets) have a rim that looks similar to juniper leaves.

Navajos made oneseed juniper bark and berries into a green wool dye (Elmore 1944: 19). They made juniper ash, mountain mahogany, and black alder into a red buckskin dye. Navajos also ground burnt juniper into a black paint used in sand paintings (Elmore 1944: 17). Ramah Navajos added the ashes of juniper spines to buckskin dye (Vestal 1952: 11).

Navajos incorporated juniper seeds into necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and wristlets (Elmore 1944: 17).

Sheep were given a oneseed juniper decoction to relieve bloating caused by chamiso consumption (Vestal 1952: 12). Elmore (1944: 19) states that sheep were also given juniper branches to eat when the snow was deep.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé utilized oneseed juniper berries as they ripened in summer. As a consultant told Opler:

They have a reddish tinge when they are ripe and fall to the ground. The women pick them up and put them in sacks or burden baskets they bring with them. When they are very ripe, they can be eaten raw, or, if they are





creosote bush

### **Distribution**

Creosote bush (*L. tridentata*) grows between 4,000 and 5,000 feet elevation on the lower bajadas and flats in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Castetter and Opler 1936: 10; Bennett et al. 1996: 205). Creosote bush is a characteristic shrub of the dry plains and mesas in southern New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 386).

### **Western Apaches**

According to Buskirk (1949: 346), White Mountain and San Carlos Apaches rubbed fried creosote leaves on body parts to relieve rheumatic pains. Gallagher (1976: 91) mentions that Western Apaches placed creosote leaves into warm water to relieve tired and sore feet. Creosote leaves were also boiled, strained, and served as tea to help cure stomach ailments, similar to a laxative (Gallagher 1976: 91).

### **Lophophora**

lophophora

*L. williamsii* (Lem. ex Salm-Dyck) Coult.  
peyote

### **Distribution**

Castetter and Opler (1936: 54) state that Indians in northern Mexico commonly used peyote in the past. Peyote was sliced, dried, and used in association with ceremonial dances (Castetter and Opler 1936: 54)

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Castetter and Opler (1936: 55) state that it is not generally known that Ndé ate peyote. Opler (1936), however, claimed Ndé practiced elaborate ceremonies centering on peyote for some forty years.

### **Morus**

mulberry

*M. microphylla* Buckley  
Texas mulberry, mora, moral, salsa mora

### **Distribution**

Texas mulberry (*M. microphylla*) grows between 3,400 and 5,100 feet elevation in the Rocky Mountain region south to New Mexico and Arizona (Bennett et al. 1996: 146). It is found in the Chiricahua Mountains of Arizona and the Dona Aña, Organ, and Sacramento Mountains of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 175; Bennett et al. 1996: 146).

### **Western Apaches**

Western Apaches picked and ate tart mulberry fruits (Gallagher 1976: 30). Gallagher (1976: 30) states the Apache name for mulberry translated to gun, likely the result of, and “a transfer of meaning ... since mulberry was once used in the manufacture of bows.” Apaches also used mulberry branches collected in the fall as white sewing splints (Gallagher 1976: 103). Apaches pruned mulberry annually so as to produce long straight shoots (Gallagher 1976: 104).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé ate mulberry fresh fruits or dried them into cakes for winter use (Castetter and Opler 1936: 15; Opler 1996: 359). Shoots were said to make the finest bows (Castetter and Opler 1936: 15).



**Figure 26.** *Nicotiana trigonophylla* (Patrick Alexander)

**Nicotiana** tobacco

*N. attenuata* Torrey ex S. Watson  
coyote tobacco

*N. tabacum* Linnaeus  
cultivated tobacco

*N. obtusifolia* Mertens and Galeotti var. *obtusifolia* [*N. trigonophylla*]

*N. obtusifolia* Mertens and Galeotti var. *palmeri* (Gray) Kartesz [*N. palmeri*]  
desert tobacco

## **Distribution**

Coyote tobacco (*N. attenuata*) grows at elevations between 1,000 and 7,000 feet in the Chiricahua Mountains (Bennett et al. 1996: 199). Desert tobacco (*N. obtusifolia* var. *obtusifolia* [*N. trigonophylla*]) grows in the Organ Mountains and Tularosa, New Mexico (Wootton and Standley 1915: 568).

## **Western Apaches**

White Mountain Apaches smoked coyote tobacco in medicine ceremonies (Reagan 1929: 158). Western Apaches tobacco use is described by Buskirk.

Most consultants stated that tobacco (*Nicotiana* sp.) was never cultivated by the Apache but spoke of the wild tobacco and substitutes that were used. One White Mountain man stated that tobacco was planted in the 1860s before the advent of the Americans. This was called mountain tobacco because they had to go far north to get it. It was very strong, “so strong one could smell the smoke across the valley, and tasted better and smelled better than the smoke white people use.”

Goddard in 1910 obtained an account from an aged San Carlos man to the effect that tobacco was planted.

Wild tobaccos (of unidentified species) were obtained on the north side of East Fork and in the Oak Creek area; very probably they existed in other areas, but inquiries on this subject were not exhaustive. At Oak Creek they were said to grow best if the plots were burned over before planting. In this connection, Gifford noted: “Tobacco cultivated . . . [San Carlos, Cibecue, White Mountain] wild-tobacco seed after burning brush where it grew, not on farm. [San Carlos] tried growing Mexican tobacco in Wheatfield valley near Miami, failure.” An consultant stated that no care was taken of the crop after it was planted.

Tobacco was obtained from Mexico during the raids. It was a scarce and valuable commodity. A man lacking tobacco would trade a large hide or blanket for a small supply. At times, those with tobacco shared it by passing a pipe from man to man.

Pipes were said to be elbow type, although tubular pipes were used before the 1870s. One consultant said the last tubular pipe he had seen was one fashioned from white clay and also from corncobs. A few were found in Pueblo ruins. Tobacco was smoked in corn-husk cigarettes as well as pipes.

Young boys were not allowed to use tobacco, for it was believed harmful if used in excess by young men.



Tobacco was often used in prayer, and as an object of ceremonial importance; it was never handled carelessly. Throwing it from person to person rather than handing it gently was thought to bring bad luck. (Buskirk 1986: 96-97)

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 164-166).** John Rope: Tobacco Smoking. We used to mix bił na 'il l'o' a sort of short low little plant that grows close to ground, in spring. It only comes up in spring. We dug it out and use it with tobacco to smoke. I don't know of any other except bai ts'i de'. There is another kind also called bił lá 'is tc'id, it smells good and grows among the rooks. That's about all there are. It smells good. We dry it out and keep it separate for tobacco. Whenever we want some we put it in with a cigarette, just a little but not near as much as the tobacco. Bił na 'il l'o' is used the same way separately also. The reason that we use these three plants with tobacco is because they smell good. There is no sacred reason. I heard they used them from the beginning. It is not because it is healthy; it just tastes better. Hai tc'i dé is used for the same reasons only.

With bił ná 'il t'o, bił la is tc'idn, and bai tc'i ge we have no words to say diy i, or special way they must be dug up. We just get them. That's all. There is no ceremony over it.

I think I was about twenty or twenty-five years old when first started to smoke. I smoked right out in open in front of all. My parents wouldn't let me smoke, but I started in anyway. They thought I wasn't old enough.

In the old days boys were not supposed to smoke before twenty and from then on. Boys on the war path didn't smoke because they had no tobacco. It was hard to get then, and only n ba i yn carried it. So boys could not get it. But I started smoking after the peace and so I could buy my tobacco from Whites. We used to buy chewing tobacco to smoke.

A boy when he started to smoke in old days might get it from one old man who was his relative. I knew one old man called bac da'yu ni'. He raised it up near the mountains, it was dzil na t'o. He always had a boy would go to bi tco to get his tobacco. He would give him one roll – just a little. Some smoked it in old day pipes, some used corn husks. Also we used igai ye leaves wound about with shape of pipes. When they got through with smoking i gai ye pipes we always undid that thing before we threw it away. That's the way boys came to smoke. They begged it from bi tco or other close kin that had it, but sometimes they stole it from them.

Mbai yan used to smoke in a bunch; two or three men visit other camp where man has tobacco, and there they would have smoking party. Boys would not be in a bunch like this. Boys had no tobacco so if they smoked they would do so right at place they were given it, at one of their relatives. Mbaiya used to smoke by selves, wherever they were if they wanted to.

When a boy first smoked he did not have any prayer or word that he must do, no special way he must do it. It wasn't like the first time you ate elk meat, and had to rub grease all over you. That would make you ache if you didn't.

There is no power in tobacco. The only possible power connected with it is when man smokes by himself and puffs out to the sun. Even a medicine man with any power, deer, etc. puff tobacco and pray sun. He prays to the sun this way that he may kill a deer quick.

That is what tobacco is made for - for praying that way. If you hunt deer, if your prayer is strong you will get what you ask for. If your prayer isn't strong you won't get what you ask for. When you pray with tobacco you must take four puffs, and blow the whole of each out to the sun. You have to draw four times. You pray in each puff. After you have prayed four times you just go ahead and get a good smoke. There is one of the go jo si' which has to do with tobacco. It has to do with hoe the sun's son went to visit him and smoked there: dju na 'ai di bikamicta tí dáxa cidá'kenoka' cíyo'hileyo' bí latsín itsógo' bits'íntcaí donan dólzayúgúlldalí 'ái'áldicndí dáh'ad ááyéhile' (sun / this / I look for / hurry up / bring it down in front of me / he will be mine / his / ankle joint / I catch / his body big / it can't grow / more it is full blown / I say / soon / it will be mine).

This is the way you pray for deer with tobacco to the sun. Tobacco that has been grown, planted, is stronger than that which has just grown up wild. When they gather it they squeeze juice out, and when it gets little drier they sprinkle juice back on it.

A boy didn't have to have been to war to smoke. He could become a smoker even if he didn't go there.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos preferred coyote tobacco to commercial varieties (Vestal 1952: 43). It was used as a Reed offering in various ceremonies (Vestal 1952: 43). According to Elmore (1944: 75), Navajos considered cultivated tobacco a sacred plant, depicted with beans, corn, and squash in the first Mountain Chant sacred painting (Elmore 1944: 75). Navajos smoked coyote tobacco following the feast signifying the completion of Night Chant masks (Elmore 1944: 75). Navajos also filled Night Chant prayer sticks with tobacco (Elmore 1944: 75). Ramah Navajos smoked tobacco, rolled in corn husks, at the Blessingway and Gameway ceremonies (Vestal 1952: 43). Ramah Navajos smoked tobacco to treat cough and headaches (Vestal 1952: 43).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

To begin rituals, Ndé medicine people puffed tobacco smoke clockwise in the cardinal directions (Castetter and Opler 1936: 23).



bear-grass roots were too tough. The detached plant was carried home intact. For thatching, green grass and dry were equally good, and a thatch of this material would last ten to fifteen years. The whole temporary cradleboard was made of *Nolina* leaves. (Buskirk 1986: 184)

Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches applied bear-grass leaves as dwelling roof coverings to shed water (Gallagher 1976: 112). Bell and Castetter (1941: 60) state that early inhabitants of southeastern New Mexico made bear-grass matting to cover their deceased. Native Americans throughout the southwest utilized bear-grass leaves as part of the foundation of, and for tying, coiled baskets (Bell and Castetter 1941: 60). Among Western Apaches the depression in dried leaf bases served as spoons (Buskirk 1986: 184). Western Apaches also produced soap by mixing pounded bear-grass crowns with water (Buskirk 1986: 183).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 36), Ndé preferred slow burning bear-grass leaves to be placed below and on top of mescal in cooking pits. Bear-grass stalks themselves were roasted, boiled, and eaten raw; or boiled, dried and stored (Castetter and Opler 1936: 38). Castetter and Opler describe preparation processes:

... [Bear grass stalks were] placed on a bed of embers, and roasted for about fifteen minutes, after which the outer charred portion was stripped off. The central edible portion was white, soft, sweet, and quite palatable and was regarded as the most delicious portion of the plant. These stalks might also be boiled or eaten raw. Just as the stalk came into bloom it was removed from the plant, peeled, cut into pieces and boiled. It was then dried and stored to be used as a vegetable. (1936: 38)

Ndé wove dried bear grass into trays for the processing of datil and mescal (Basehart 1974: 51).





**Figure 28.** *Oenothera albicaulis* (Patrick Alexander)

**Oenothera, Rosa**                      rose

*O. albicaulis* Pursh [*Anogra abicaulis*]  
whitest evening-primrose

*R. woodsii* Lindl. var. *woodsii* [*R. neomexicana*, *R. fendleri*]  
Wood's rose, common wild rose, wild rose, mountain rose

### **Distribution**

Whitest evening-primrose (*O. albicaulis*) grows throughout western North America (Wooton and Standley 1915: 467). This species is found between 4,200 and 9,020 feet in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument (Bennett et al. 1996: 150). The wild rose (*R. woodsii* var. *woodsii* [*R. fendleri*]) is found throughout the western United States and is the most common rose in New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 308-9). This rose is found between 3,500 and 10,000 feet in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument (Bennett et al. 1996: 188).

### **Western Apaches**

Apaches ate whitest evening-primrose fruits (Castetter 1935: 17).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos gathered and ate rose hips (Castetter 1935: 49; Vestal 1952: 31) and fresh fruits (Elmore 1944: 55).

Ramah Navajos used the leaves as a ceremonial emetic and the stems to make Holyway big hoops (Vestal 1952: 31). They also dried whitest evening-primrose flowers for use as medicine. A decoction of evening-primrose roots was drunk or made into lotion to treat muscle strain and throat trouble. This was also used as a Windway ceremonial (Vestal 1952: 37). Whitest evening-primrose was mixed with flax (*Linum aristatum*) and nodding eriogonum (*Eriogonum cernuum*) to treat kidney disease (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 36). Ramah Navajos would use this species to treat spider bites and as a Bead Way emetic (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 36). It was also used as a Big Star Way, Red Ant Way, and Blessing Way medicine (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 36).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé ate whitest evening-primrose fruits and Wood's rose hips [*R. fendleri*] (Castetter 1935: 17, 49). They also ground evening-primrose seeds to make gravy or boiled them in soups. Evening-primrose pods were occasionally gathered by children, cooked, and eaten as a delicacy (Castetter 1935: 49; Castetter and Opler 1936: 45). Rose hip pulp was boiled with water to make jelly (gravy) (Castetter and Opler 1936: 46).



**Figure 29.** *Opuntia* (Patrick Alexander)

**Opuntia** prickly-pear

*Cylindropuntia leptocaulis* (DC.) F.M. Knuth [*O. leptocaulis*]  
christmas cactus, tasajulla, garrambulo

*Cylindropuntia ramosissima* (Engelmann) F.M. Knuth [*O. ramosissima*]

- branched pencil cholla
- O. engelmannii* Salm-Dyck ex Engelmann  
Englemann prickly-pear, cactus apple, nopal, tuna
- O. macrorhiza* Engelmann var. *macrorhiza*  
twistspine prickly-pear
- O. phaeacantha* Engelmann  
tulip prickly-pear, nopal
- O. polyacantha* Haworth  
plains prickly-pear

### **Distribution**

Prickly-pear (*O. phaeacantha*) grows on dry hills of the upper Sonoran zone (Wooton and Standley 1915: 445). Christmas cactus (*O. leptocaulis*) is found in the Guadalupe Mountains and around Hillsboro, Tularosa, and Socorro, New Mexico (1915: 442).

### **Western Apaches**

Hodgson argues that, “Western Apaches ... may not have used [tulip] prickly-pear pads for food; if they did, their use was minimal” (2001: 125). However, Goodwin (1935: 62), Gifford (1940: 13), and Gallagher (1976: 21) all state that Western Apaches gathered prickly-pear fruits, which they considered a staple food. When ripe, these fruits were knocked from the cacti and the large spines removed with a brush. Prickly-pear fruits were peeled, sliced, and eaten raw (Gallagher 1976: 20). They were also dried to use later. Western Apaches also ate Engelmann's prickly-pear fruits, traveling long distances to obtain them (Hodgson 2001: 126). An O'odham man told Rea (1997: 277) that Engelmann's prickly-pear pads were cooked like zucchini squash by Apaches. He stated that, “The Mexican and the Apaches go for the young [nopal] shoots. They make it just like the Mexicans – just like summer squash” (1997: 321). Apaches ate the fruit and seeds, though Hodgson (2001: 126) notes that children experienced intestinal problems upon ingesting them. Niethammer (1974: 15) states that Apaches believed eating too many prickly-pears led to illness. Buskirk describes in further detail prickly-pear gathering and culinary practices among Western Apaches.

At one time, long journeys were made to gather cactus fruit. The women gathered the fruit with tongs of split sticks and removed the spines with a grass brush, with weeds, or by rolling it about on the ground. Reagan reported that the spines were rubbed off with a piece of buckskin; my consultants had not seen or heard of this method. The gathered fruit was packed in a burden basket.

The fruit of the prickly pear was peeled and eaten raw, except for a sweet variety that was made into a kind of butter. Seeds were eaten with the fruits. The seeds of some varieties were so large that children who ate them often had difficulty with elimination; an consultant shook with laughter as he told how a boy, after eating these, would “cry and cry.” The fruit was also “split like peaches” and dried on a rock, then stored for later use. Curtis stated that seeds and pulp were ground together into a

paste. Gifford noted that the Northern Tonto dried the fruit and stored it in round, thick cakes similar to cheese.

All White Mountain and Cibecue consultants denied the grinding of prickly pear seeds except a Cherry Creek man who said cactus seeds were used; but it is not certain whether his statement applied only to saguaro or also to prickly pear. Gifford indicated that the Southern Tonto ground opuntia seeds and mixed them with acorn meal but denied the use of the seeds by the other Western Apache.

The sap from prickly pears reputedly was a cure for sores. The “leaves” were opened and placed on burns.

One variety of small-seeded prickly pear was said to have been brought north to the Cibecue area from the Salt River Valley and to have obtained its start from seeds expectorated by people eating the fruit.

Bourke stated that “the Apaches say that the use of this fruit (tuna or nopal) must be attended with some precautions, as it predisposes to fevers.” (1986: 179-181)

Prickly-pear juice was occasionally drunk for health (Opler 1996: 368). Prickly-pear roots were boiled into a medicinal tea utilized as a diuretic and laxative (Gallaher 1976: 92). Gallagher (1976: 92) states that Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches made poultices from the prickly-pear by burning the cactus spines, cutting the pad in half, and placing the exposed interior over an infection until drained (1976: 92). Western Apaches used prickly pear sap to cure sores (Buskirk 1949: 320).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos cut prickly-pear fruits from cacti, removed the spines by rolling or burning the fruits, and then cooked or ate the fresh fruits (Castetter 1935: 35; Hocking 1956: 161). Stewed prickly-pear fruit was sometimes served with peaches (Castetter 1935: 37). Navajos also sun-dried halved prickly-pear pads, often storing them for later use (Castetter 1935: 37; Lynch 1986: 14). They were also peeled, sliced, roasted, and boiled in sugar water, and dried (Lynch 1986: 14). Navajos ground prickly-pear seeds into flour to thicken soups (Lynch 1986: 14). According to Steggerda (1941: 222), prickly-pear spines were also used as food. Twistpine prickly-pear fruits were also eaten, or dried and boiled for later use (Vestal 1952: 37). Navajos mixed sugar with prickly-pear juice to make syrup (Steggerda 1941: 222). They also strained and drunk juice from tulip prickly-pears (Lynch 1986: 14).

Prickly-pear's shape was incorporated in figures in Cactus People for the Wind Chant sand painting figures (Elmore 1944: 64). Apache Wind Way prayer sticks and Red Ant Way wands were made from *O. whipplei* (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 75). This species is said to be inedible, even poisonous. According to Elmore (1944: 65), plains prickly-pear was used as a poison for hunting and the fruits were used to make red dye.



Prickly-pear juice was also used to hold buckskin trimmings on war shirts (Elmore 1944: 65).

Ramah Navajos formerly used twistpine prickly-pear spines to pierce ears and skin sores (Vestal 1952: 37). Midwives roasted this plant and used it to lubricate their hands for placenta removal (Vestal 1952: 37).

A Navajo legend relates that as prickly-pears were gathered, a hair was plucked from the gatherer's head so the plant would continue to yield fruit without twisting its heart or offending its spirit (Niethammer 1974: 15).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Chiricahuas picked prickly-pear with tongs, brushed the fruits to remove spines, and ate the fresh fruits (Castetter and Opler 1936: 40). The fruits were also sun-dried for storage or stewed in water. Many *Opuntia* species were commonly utilized as food.

The ripe fruits, or tunas, were removed with a pair of wooden tongs, made by doubling a pliable branch, and cleaned of spines with a brush or stiff stems of sacaton grass (*Sporobolus wrightii*) while held with the tongs. The fruit was then placed in burden baskets and taken home to be eaten fresh or dried and stored. To dry, the fruit was split lengthwise, freed of seeds, and placed on big blue stem grass (*Andropogon furcactus*) in the sun. Sun-dried fruit was usually boiled before eating, although soaking in water sometimes softened it enough for use. Sometimes, after the seeds were removed, the fruit was mashed into a pulp and stored in this caked form. Many of the Indians of the Southwest contend that these tunas or nopales must be eaten with discretion as too much of the fruit causes a fever ... The Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache women collected the tunas in large baskets carried on their backs, suspended from a tumpline which rested on the upper part of the chest. The split fruit was spread out to dry in the sun. Tunas formerly constituted a very important Apache food. (Castetter and Opler 1936: 40)

Ndé consumed a 'very healthful' beverage made of mashed fruits (Castetter and Opler 1936: 53; Opler 1996: 361). Small, red coyote cactus fruits were mixed with tulibai (Castetter and Opler 1936: 53), although, "They are reported as having such pronounced narcotic effects that Mescaleros will not walk close to plants which bear them and they claim that eating a single fruit will make one 'drunk and dizzy'" (1936: 55).

Ndé treat infections and cuts with charred and split prickly-pear stems (Basehart 1974: 38). Infected eyelids and tattoos are treated by scraping them with prickly-pear spines (Basehart 1974: 38).



**Figure 30.** *Penstemon fendleri* (Patrick Alexander)

**Penstemon** beardtongue, penstemon

*P. barbatus* Roth (ssp. *torreyi*)  
beardlip penstemon, Torrey's penstemon

*P. clutei* A. Nelson  
Sunset Crater beardtongue

*P. eatonii* Gray  
firecracker penstemon

*P. fendleri* Torrey and Gray  
Fendler's penstemon

*P. jamesii* Bentham  
James' beardtongue

*P. palmeri* Gray  
Palmer's penstemon

### **Distribution**

Torrey's penstemon (*P. barbatus* ssp. *torreyi*) grows between 4,000 and 10,000 feet on rocky slopes, sunny clearings, shaded canyons, and along streams throughout the Southwest (Bennett et al. 1996: 196). It is found in the Chiricahua Mountains, at Chiricahua National Monument, and at Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Bennett et al. 1996: 196). Torrey's penstemon and Fendler's penstemon (*P. fendleri*) are commonly found throughout New Mexico (Wootton and Standley 1915: 582, 585).

## Western Apaches

Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches used beardtongue as a tulibai additive (Gallagher 1976: 93). They also boiled roots that were drunk for sickness, cough, and stomach ailments. White Mountain Apaches utilized Torrey's penstemon as a magic medicine (Reagan 1929: 159).

## Navajos (Diné)

Navajos utilize several penstemon species as medicine (Wyman and Harris 1941: 55, 57, 62-3, 65; Hocking 1956: 162; Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 11). Penstemon poultices helped relieve swelling; gun and arrow wounds; to treat stomachaches, internal injuries, coughs, burns, and toothaches; and to treat the fractured and broken bones of sheep. Ramah Navajos also used penstemon in similar manners (Vestal 1952: 44). Navajos used Torrey's penstemon as a diuretic (Elmore 1944: 77; Hocking 1956: 162). The leaves of this species were pounded into a poultice that is applied to rattlesnake bites (Elmore 1944: 77). In addition, Ramah Navajos treated burns through the application of a powder made from beardlip. According to Vestal (1952: 44), pregnant Ramah Navajos also sucked honey from beardlip flowers to keep a fetus small as a means to facilitate delivery (Vestal 1952: 44). Hocking (1956: 162) notes that Navajos also utilized penstemon to help ease delivery during childbirth.

## Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)

According to Hrdlička (1908: 236), Ndé employed sunset crater beardtongue stems and leaves to relieve groin inflammation and soreness resulting from gonorrhoea.

## Phaseolus bean

*P. acutifolius* A. Gray (var. *tenifolius*)

tepary bean, tépari, frijolillo, tépari del monte, escomite, garboncillo bolando, yori muni, pavi

*P. coccineus* Linnaeus

scarlet runner

*P. filiformis* Benth

slimjim bean, frijillo, frijol

*P. lunatus* Linnaeus

sieva bean

*P. maculatus* Scheele [*P. metcalfei*]

spotted bean

*P. parvulus* Greene

Pinos Altos Mountain bean

*P. pedicellatus* Benth (var. *grayanus*)

Gray's bean

*P. ritensis* M. E. Jones

Santa Rita Mountain bean

*P. vulgaris* Linnaeus

kidney bean

## Distribution

*P. acutifolius* grows between 3,000 and 6,000 feet elevation; *P. filiformis* between 1,000 and 4,000 feet; *P. maculatus* between 5,500 and 7,500 feet; *P. parvulus* between 6,500 and 9,000 feet; *P. ritensis* between 4,500 and 7,000 feet; and *P. tenuifolius* between 4,000 and 7,500 feet. These species can be found in southern Arizona, including in the Chiricahua Mountains, and in New Mexico (Bennett et al. 1996: 125-126; Wootton and Standley 1915: 377-378).

## Western Apaches

Buskirk (1986) offers a description of bean cultivation and use among Western Apaches.

There is little doubt concerning the antiquity of beans (*Phaseolus sp.*) as an Apache crop plant, although they were known to be cultivated before the Anglo-American occupation. A Spanish document dated 1799 and translated in part by Whipple stated that “the Coyotero Indians raise small quantities of maize, beans, and a few legumes.”

The Cherry Creek people believed they had had beans long before the advent of the military. According to tradition, they had obtained beans (teparys, *Phaseolus acutifolius*?) from the Pima (“got lots of things from them”) and from the Mexicans. However, beans were not, as were pumpkins and giant sunflower seeds, attributed to the Cave People (gan). The White Mountain did not plant many beans; some of the local groups or families did not plant them at all, and some denied that they had ever grown them before the soldiers arrived. They said they did not have prayers or lucky planters for the beans as they did for corn and pumpkins because beans “came from the whites.”

At upper Canyon Creek, people began using beans introduced by the Americans after 1890. Before this they had a big white bean “like the lima bean” (*Phaseolus lunatis* or *Phaseolus coccineus*?) and small varieties of kidney beans (*Phaseolus varialis*) in white, yellow, red, and black colors. There was also a small black-eyed bean (cowpea, *Vigna sinensis*?) that did not grow downward as other varieties, “just stick it out.” Only pink kidney beans and pinto beans, both introduced in modern times, were grown in the Cibecue area in the 1940s. The White Mountain had red, yellow, blue, and speckled beans, the antiquity and antecedents of which were undetermined. A yellow bean was grown at Cedar Creek, and a cream-colored bean speckled with brown (a pinto bean) was grown at Canyon Day. The pink and pinto were the favored types, and the pinto reputedly was obtained from the Mexicans.

The presence of black-eyed peas (*Vigna sinensis*) was denied by all. The qualities of the various beans were believed, by the Cibecue, to vary. All were planted at the same time, harvested at the same time, and irrigated in the same manner. The newer varieties came up in about a week

and a half, but the sprouting time of the old types was not known because they were planted and unattended until they were well grown. All stored equally well. Insects were said to bother the modern pink beans more than the old type and were said to have molested the large white bean (*Phaseolus lunatis* or *Phaseolus coccineus*?) hardly at all. (Possibly this is just an impression. Insects were said not to be numerous or very troublesome in the 1890s. In the 1940s the Mexican beetle made dusting necessary.) Pink “English” beans and the old Apache small white and large white beans were said to produce about fifty pounds to the patch, while the yellow and red beans yielded about one hundred pounds to the same patch (the size of this patch was not satisfactorily determined.) English beans were well liked. The Apache never cared much for the old Apache large white bean (*Phaseolus lunatis* or *Phaseolus coccineus*?).

Beans were planted in the early spring at the same time as corn. A variation of this occurred at upper Canyon Creek, where they were planted about two weeks after the corn “so they would get ripe the same time.” In either case they matured at the same time as the corn and were harvested with it. After the turn of the century, probably under the government tutelage, the Apache did not plant beans until July. In 1947, some were planted August 1 at Cibecue.

In both early days and later times, some Apache planted beans in separate plots, some between the corn clumps or with the corn and pumpkins. At Oak Creek a woman planted separate patches, rows one foot apart and hills one foot apart. Six or seven seeds were dropped in a four- to five-inch hole made with a planting stick. Others separated rows and hills by two feet or more.

Bean fields were always irrigated before planting. The usual practice was to water again when the plants were six or eight inches high, when they flowered, and when the pods formed. Subsequent irrigation was determined by need. Weeds were pulled and the earth around the plants stirred with a stick when the vines were small.

Beans were not soaked before planting except by the East Fork White Mountain; these people soaked them the same as corn. At Cibecue it was said they cracked too easily to withstand the soaking. However, they were moistened in a gunnysack of wet earth.

Large and small beans were always planted in separate rows. Different colors were usually stored and planted separately.

Some preferred a sandy soil in which to plant beans. The older generation of Apache said beans grew better in a high altitude and cold climate.

There was not ritual or prayer in the planting and care of beans as with corn and pumpkins. However, the prayers for corn served for beans and all other crops. Beyond some weeding and cultivation with a digging stick, little attention was given the bean crop. Beans were not trained on sticks or poles, although some supported them with wire or string trellises “learned at school.”

Oak ashes were sometimes sprinkled with beans, as on other crops, to prevent attacks by insects. Insects might be removed with the hands and crushed. A red insect with black spots was so crushed, as were the nests it made beneath the leaves.

Green kidney beans were sometimes picked and boiled with water, but they were usually not harvested until September or October, when they were ripe and hard. The whole bush was pulled, placed on a hide or blanket (occasionally, some Apache pulled only the pods instead of the whole vine), and beaten with a flail. The larger leaves and stems were then removed by hand and the beans winnowed by tossing in the air with the hands or pouring from a basket held on the head. At Cibecue, beans were sometimes trampled instead of beaten. This practice was denied by the White Mountain. The larger white beans (*Phaseolus lunatis* or *Phaseolus coccineus*) were never beaten but shelled by hand.

A six-foot flail was used, usually operated from a sitting position. If necessary, beans might be beaten twice. The harvesting floor was about ten feet in diameter, the surface hardened by wetting and trampling. If the pods did not open, they were pulled off by hand and might be taken home to cook. A few beans were given to helpers.

In early times, beans were placed in pitched water baskets, buckskin sacks (twenty-five pounds or so), or pottery vessels and stored in ground caches or rock shelters. The crop then was small, “not over fifty pounds.” Seed was selected on the basis of color rather than size but was inspected to make sure it was sound. In later times, some beans were stored in the pod. Bean crops were said to be better about the turn of the century but were considered uncertain and poor in the 1940s. At that time, dust for the Mexican beetle was distributed without charge to those who wished it, but not all took advantage of the offer. The Whiteriver government farmer was trying to increase the planting of beans on un-irrigated farms.

Mush was made from ground parched beans. Unparched whole beans were boiled with salt. During the summer, only enough beans for a single meal were cooked to prevent spoilage. Beans were also boiled with corn. Only in later times did the Apache fry precooked beans. (1986: 86-89)

## **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos cultivated a large (*P. limensis*) and small (*P. lunatus*) white lima bean in small quantities (Vestal 1952: 33). They also grew kidney beans (Vestal 1952: 33). According to Vestal:

Beans, with maize and squash, are the basic cultigens of the North American Indians, but according to one consultant, prior to 1930, “the Navajo in this region wouldn't even eat a bean to say nothing of raising them.” Today, they are grown in small plots, sometimes in rows alternating with maize, or in fields as large as 45 to 70 acres, for the growing of beans as a commercial crop is a recent innovation among the Ramah Navajo. Fifteen families interviewed had a total of about 200 acres planted to beans, most of which they would sell, keeping a few sacks for their own use during the winter. For this large acreage some of the people have bought (or borrowed) bean planters. Observation that families from the dust bowl of Oklahoma and Texas who had moved into the area could make a living by raising beans by dry-farming methods, and the insistence of bean buyers, stimulated a few venturesome Navajo to increase their acreage. Others followed and the raising of beans became a major source of income for some families. The prices paid by the traders during 1940 varied from \$3.75 to \$4.00 per hundred pounds. Most of the acreage is planted with a variety called “Mexican pinto” or “Frijol,” which is desired by the buyers. An increasing acreage is being planted with a variety called “Calico,” originally obtained from the Zuñi Indians, which is about the same size as the Mexican pinto, but has a conspicuous red and white spotting. A smaller acreage is planted with a small white bean known as the “White Navy,” and a small amount of a large plump white bean obtained from the traders and known as the “Great Northern” is raised. For their own use the Navajos also grow a small red kidney bean, a dark blue-black bean, and a small brown bean.

Beans are planted during the last week in May or the first part of June, “when the first night hawk arrives in the country.” When the crop is mature the whole family helps to harvest them. The plants are pulled and placed in piles. When they are dry the piles are either combined into a huge stack and threshed by machine, or flailed out in smaller quantities on a canvas or blanket. The plants are then used as stock feed. According to thirty-one entries in Kluckhohn's field notes over a period of five years, it appears that two sacks or about 200 pounds of beans per acre is an average yield, although 300 pounds per acre may be obtained in a good year. In poor years the yield may drop to half a sack per acre or less, and if the season is unusually bad the plants may be pulled up and used as stock feed without any attempt to salvage the seeds. (1952: 33)

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Warm Spring Apaches began cultivating beans in the 1870s after relocation to a reservation near Hot Springs, New Mexico (Castetter and Opler 1936: 28). A consultant

told Opler (1996: 374) that Chiricahuas learned to plant beans which were obtained from Mexicans. Beans were often soaked overnight (to speed sprouting) and planted two or three to a hole.

**Pinus** pine, piñon, pinyon

*P. arizonica* Engelman

Arizona pine

*P. cembroides* Zucc.

Mexican piñon

*P. edulis* Englemann

twoneedle piñon, piñon

*P. flexilis* James

limber pine, western white pine

*P. monophylla* Torrey and Frém.

singleleaf piñon

*P. ponderosa* P. and C. Lawson

ponderosa pine, yellow pine

### **Distribution**

Ponderosa pine (*P. ponderosa*) is found throughout the Transition and upper Sonoran zones of the Southwest from 4,500 to 9,000 feet elevation (Buskirk 1986: 9). Twoneedle piñon (*P. edulis*) is the dominant pine in northern New Mexico (Buskirk 1986: 9). Mexican piñon (*P. cembroides*) and Arizona pine (*P. arizonica*) grow in the foothills of southern New Mexico (Buskirk 1986: 9), including the San Andreas and Sacramento Mountains (Castetter and Opler 1936: 10).

### **Western Apaches**

Pine cones were collected in November as they fell to the ground (Gallagher 1976: 37), or picked off of trees and roasted to extract the pine nuts (Gifford 1940: 13, 95; Reagan 1930: 294). Buskirk elaborates.

The piñon (*Pinus edulis* and *Pinus monophylla*) furnished one of the staple foods of the Apache. Piñon was plentiful north of the Natanes Rim but less common in the Graham Mountains. Late fall was the season when the nuts ripened. Consultants claimed they were harvested from October to as late as December. Large parties, sometimes a whole local group, would gather them in the areas where trees were bearing.

The nuts were gathered from the ground and shaken or knocked from the trees. They were usually gathered in the cone unless it was late in the season, cones being dried or fired to dislodge the seeds. One family expedition was described in which the green cones were roasted in a brush fire, pulled out with a stick, then pounded between two stones and shaken



to free the seeds. A labor-saving means of gathering was to rob the caches of rodents in the ground or in the piled brush. (1986: 185)

Nuts were gathered, parched, shelled, and salted, if desired (Gallagher 1976: 38). Parching consisted of placing pine nuts and hot coals in a large flat basket and shaking vigorously until roasted (Gallagher 1976: 33). In the past, piñon nuts were ground on a metate, sifted to remove the shells, and often mixed into corn-based cakes. They were also roasted to extract oils and ground into a peanut butter-like paste (Gallagher 1976: 38).

Buskirk states that:

The nuts were eaten raw or were roasted. Piñon nuts were parched with corn and ground into flour, which was eaten by the pinch. Gifford said they were hulled on the metate and winnowed by the Northern Tonto, Cibecue, and White Mountain; these groups and the Southern Tonto, he reported, made a butter of the mashed hulled seeds, while the Tonto groups made a butter of the whole mashed potato. Reagan reported that piñon nuts were ground to a flour, hulls and all, and made into soups and baked like bread cakes. Both the grinding of the hulls and the use in soups or as bread cakes were categorically denied by a Cibecue and a White Mountain consultant. The nearest thing to a soup they knew was a mixture of piñon and corn flour cooked into a mush. [...] Curtis stated that the Apache, probably the White Mountain, made a drink from the green and dried inner bark of the piñon tree. (1986: 185-186)

Western Apaches also ate the inner bark as food (Buskirk 1986: 186). Ponderosa pine bark was collected by removing a rectangular patch of the scaly outer bark. The stringy layer of phloem and cambium cells was removed and eaten raw, made into a flour for bread making, and used to make a tea Castetter (1935). White Mountain Apaches chewed piñon pitch as a gum (Buskirk 1986: 186). According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 43), some Apaches forbade pregnant women from eating piñon for fear an unborn child would become too fat, making delivery difficult.

Melted piñon pitch was used to coat water jars (Gallagher 1976: 106). To make a jar watertight, pitch was placed inside a water jar, the jar twirled over heat to melt the pitch, more pitch placed on the outside, and the jar left to cool and harden. Heated piñon pitch was also applied to remove facial hair (Buskirk 1986: 186). Pitch was also used as a firestarter, even when wood was wet, and pine supplied fire wood (Gallagher 1976: 106). Pitch and pollen were usually gathered in June (Buskirk 1986: 186). Piñon pollen was used to supplement the supply of tule (cattail) pollen (Buskirk 1986: 186).

According to Buskirk (1986: 117), deer are not skinned on piñon branches as piñon would impart an unpleasant odor. For this reason also, it was not used in the roasting of mescal.

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 20-21, 54).** Charlie Sago: obetsin. The nuts of this tree, which are called obe, are used for food.

John Rope: In the fall they used to gather piñon nuts. The way that they told if the nuts were ready to harvest, was to open one of the cones and see if the nuts inside were hard. Then if they were ready they climbed up into the trees and picked the cones off. When a big bunch was gathered, they laid some dry wood on the ground nearby, and piled the cones on top of this. The wood was set on fire, and the cones were roasted this way. When over the cones were pounded so as to get the nuts out of them, and then the nuts were gathered up. They had a saying, that if when you opened the first nut from a bunch that had been roasted, and it blew away, then all the rest of the nuts would be no good. When the nuts were all roasted and done, the shells were cracked off them, and the meat was ground up with corn.

Palmer Valor: I used the green tips of this tree for making arrow poison.

Anna Price: Obe, the nuts of this tree we used for food. When we gathered piñon we used to climb up in the tree and pick all the cones off, and throw them to the ground. When we had a big heap of them, then we would gather a lot of dry brush, and pile it up. On top of this we piled all the piñon cones, and around the whole pile we laid rocks. Then we set fire to the pile, and covered the whole over with dirt, so that all the cones would get roasted. When they were all done, we took the cones out, and pounded them with rocks so that we got all the nuts out of them. Then we winnowed the nuts out by throwing them into a burden basket, and letting the dirt blow away. When we had done all this we carried them back to our camp.

*P. ponderosa* var. *scopulorum*

Charlie Sago: nidiltci. The young of this kind of tree we call tcojaje, (up to seven or eight feet tall). This tree is good medicine for the headache.

Anna Price: nidiltci, benticge, hatsil. These are the names of this tree. We used to cook the inner white bark of this tree with seeds, and also used its tassels in the same way. We used slabs of the bark of this tree to cover our wickiups for the bottom layer.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos used piñon nuts extensively as a food source, collecting and roasting pine cones to remove the nuts (Castetter 1935: 40-42; Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 78-80). Large quantities of cones were gathered from the ground by hand, sweeping them into piles with a whisk broom, or placing canvas sheets under a tree and beating the branches with a stick. Pine nuts were roasted on a skillet and mashed into butter. Navajos also combined roasted nuts with parched corn to be eaten or ground as flour. Seeds were often traded and sold (Castetter 1935: 42).

Vestal discusses the use of twoneedle piñon (*P. edulis*) among Ramah Navajos. ... [O]riginally planted by the squirrel according to a Navaho myth, [piñon] is unquestionably one of the most important uncultivated plants to

these Indians. In good years enough pinyon nuts may be gathered and sold to make up a considerable portion of the cash income of many families. The Navajo will travel great distances to a region where there is a good crop, and whole families or perhaps several families will camp there during the weeks of the picking season. There is rarely a good crop in the same region more than once in three or four years, and occasionally as many as eight years occur between good crops. In poor years, however, there are usually enough nuts available locally to serve as food on numerous occasions during the winter. The cones open and shed the nuts after the first frost and picking is done between this and the first snow. The nuts are shaken from the tree into blankets or raked into piles, and screened to eliminate leaves, twigs, and dirt. Formerly, they were picked up by hand. They receive a final winnowing before being sacked. If a pack-rat's nest is found, it may yield as much as could be picked and cleaned in a day. Kluckhohn estimates from data from thirty-seven consultants that 70 pounds of clean nuts a day per collector is a good average. The price received for them varies with the season. In 1937, the average price per pound was 10 cents. Mr. Hall, one of the traders in Ramah, told John Adair that he would estimate the average income from pinions to be 250 dollars per family in 1936, and that some families sold over 1000 worth of nuts ... For home use the nuts are roasted in a pan or, while they are still in the cones, by holding a branch over the fire, or by placing the cone in the ashes. The shells are cracked by pounding with rocks or grinding on a metate. The nut is ground into a "pinyon nut butter," which is spread on corn cakes or mixed with roasted corn before grinding. It is prepared for a single meal or made into cakes which are sun-dried and stored for winter. When food is scarce the inside bark of the pinyon may be used as an emergency ration.

Pinyon logs are the chief building material for hogans, being straighter than juniper logs and more resistant to rot and wood-eating beetles than yellow pine. Summer shade houses are made of pinyon, as well as of oak or juniper. When living pinyon trees are incorporated in the shade house, the stumps of cut branches are sealed with mud to prevent the dripping of resin. Pinyon branches are used to cover a sweat house.

Pinyon wood is used as follows. Fuel: of fifteen consultants, thirteen used pinyon mostly, two used juniper, pinyon is better for an open fire because it throws fewer sparks, but juniper may be preferred for a barrel stove or for cooking. Fence posts. Corral construction. Saddle horns, formerly made from crooked roots. Tops for spinning, sharp sticks for perforating buckskins, sticks used in the moccasin game, and various other tools. Pinyon resin is used as follows. Chewing gum. In pottery and basketry making. Ingredient of black dye for wool or basketry material. Cure for head cold: fumes from burning resin inhaled.

Pinyon wood or needles are used in Evilway ceremonials as follows. Ceremonial pokers: if possible a branch broken from a lightning-struck tree. Ingredient of lightning herbs. Emetic: decoction. Blackening: ashes of needles. Big hoop. Pollen: Chiricahua Windway.

Pinyon is used in household remedies as follows. Burns: buds chewed and applied. Earache: fumigation with pulverized, dried buds. Headache, cough, colds, influenza, fever: decoction with juniper needles. Injuries: inner bark used with other medicines. (1952: 12-13)

Ramah Navajos also utilized ponderosa pine.

Evilway or Enemyway blackening: charcoal from burned bark. Chant arrow for overshooting ceremony of Evilway: branchlet for core. Evilway emetic: needles. Enemyway medicine: cones with seeds removed. Evilway lightning herbs: from around base of lightning-struck yellow pine. Evilway, Navajo and Chiricahua Windway pollen. Bark containers for sand-painting pigments. Home remedy for fever and bad coughs: decoction of needles with pinyon and juniper.

Food: inner bark; forest rangers prohibit its use now, but Navahos who have tried it say that it tastes good raw, something like sheep fat, and that children often eat some when a hogan is being built of pine logs. Western yellow pine wood is used as follows. Hogan construction. Fence posts, corral construction, and firewood. Saddle horns, pommel, and back formerly made of large roots. Snowshoes formerly made of slabs tied together with yucca fiber. Boards and cradle bow of the two-board type of baby cradle; the headpiece may be of another wood. A young tree, in an area where few people go and therefore not likely to be cut down, is selected, corn pollen is sprinkled on it from the bottom upward, and a solid piece is taken from the east side. As the cradle is made, prayers are said but no songs sung. If the first baby is a boy, the top tips of the boards are truncated, if it is a girl, they are pointed; thereafter either kind can be used for either sex and the cradle is saved for later children unless the baby dies. The cradle is rubbed with red ochre and tallow to protect it from evil spirits who never use red paint. Formerly, a buckskin covering was used over the top but now a blanket is considered better. The footboard is moved down as the baby grows and the cradle is discarded when the baby begins to walk. Small branches of a tree from which squirrels have gnawed the bark are tied together in a row about 5 inches long and tied to the cradle to keep the baby from hurting himself (until he is three years old). Dirt from a spot where a squirrel has landed on the ground is placed in a buckskin bag and attached to the sticks as an additional precaution (effective even when the baby is grown). Western yellow pine branches are often used to cover a sweat house. (Vestal 1952: 13-14)



## **Distribution**

Quaking aspen (*P. tremuloides*) is found throughout western North America, including the Chiricahua Mountains, between 7,000 and 9,800 feet on cool mesic slopes and old fire scars (Bennett et al. 1996: 191). According to Wootton and Standley (1915: 155-6), Rio Grande cottonwood (*P. deltoids* ssp. *wislizeni*) is New Mexico's best known tree, found in the lower and upper Sonoran zones.

## **Western Apaches**

White Mountain Apaches used narrowleaf and Rio Grande cottonwood buds as chewing gum and for food (Reagan 1929: 159; Castetter and Opler 1936: 45).

White Mountain Apaches also made tea from ground Quaking aspen bark (Reagan 1930: 154). The tea was drunk in great quantities to cure ague, fevers, and gonorrhoea (Reagan 1930: 154). Male genitalia were wrapped and the vagina filled with pulverized bark to treat venereal diseases (Reagan 1930: 154).

Western Apaches trimmed and pruned cottonwoods annually, cultivating them for basketry purposes (Gallagher 1976: 117).

## **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos chewed Rio Grande cottonwood sap, buds, and catkins, alone or mixed with animal fat, like chewing gum; the buds also provide food (Elmore 1944: 38; Reagan 1929: 159). According to Hocking (1956: 162), some Pueblo Navajos also chewed Rio Grande cottonwood catkins like gum. Ramah Navajos ate Quaking aspen inner bark as an emergency ration (Vestal 1952: 22).

Cottonwoods provided firewood, fence posts, vigas, and tinder boxes (Elmore 1944: 38). They were also employed in the production of cradles, hand-carved dolls and animal-images for ceremonial purposes, and to make wooden tubes for bellows used in silversmithing (Elmore 1944: 38). Cottonwood is also employed to make snowshoes, shovels, and in sweathouse construction (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 30). Ramah Navajos utilized quaking aspen stems in the production of Evilway hoops and knots were carved into wooden cups (Vestal 1952: 22).

Elmore (1944: 38) states that quaking aspen is, according to legend, the first tree against which the bear rubs his back in the Sun's House Chant.

## **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé chewed Rio Grande cottonwood buds (Castetter and Opler 1936: 45). Quaking aspen bark was boiled or eaten raw (Basehart 1974: 50). The inner bark was scraped and baked into cakes (Castetter and Opler 1936: 43). Ndé also flavored strawberries with quaking aspen sap (Basehart 1974: 50).



**Figure 32.** *Proboscidea parviflora* (Patrick Alexander)

**Proboscidea**                      devil's claw

*P. louisianica* Thellung

ram's horn

*P. parviflora* Wooton and Standley

doubleclaw

*Martynia* Linneaus

martynia, unicorn-plant, una de gato, gatitio

### **Distribution**

Doubleclaw (*P. parviflora*) is found throughout the Southwest between 4,200 and 5,400 feet, including in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument (Bennett et al. 1996: 154). This species is also common throughout the lower Sonoran zone of southern New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 602). Ram's horn (*P. Louisiana*) is found growing on plains in the upper Sonoran zone, including south of Roswell, New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 602).

### **Western Apaches**

Western Apaches gathered devil's claw pods from wild sources (Buskirk 1986: 97). Pods were collected, roasted, ground, and sifted to remove seeds (Gallagher 1976: 31). Gallagher (1976: 31) states that this process took too much effort, and consequently, devil's claw pods are no longer collected. Some Western Apaches do however continue to

collect devil's claw fruits and have even developed specific strains of the plant (Gallagher 1976: 117).

Buskirk describes devil's claw uses among Western Apaches: The black “hooks” of devil's claw were used, after splitting, for decorating baskets. The material was strong, resisted wear, and in a rain softened instead of swelling and cracking. *Martynia* seeds were often cracked and chewed for their juice, which was “just like milk.”

Seeds of the devil's claw (*Martynia* sp.) were cracked and chewed for the juice, which was “just like milk.”

When gathered, seeds were shaken into a basket or detached with a beater. Women normally did the gathering, but Goodwin said boys and girls went off in groups to gather seeds, making a social event of it. Seeds were stored in pottery, gourds, or old pitched water-basket receptacles and cached under ground or in caves and rock shelters. Gifford said the Cibecue sometimes piled seeds on a cave floor. (Buskirk 1986: 189-190)

Pima people cultivated a white seed variety of devil's claw with extremely long claws good for basketry (Gallagher 1976: 117).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé prisoners of war in Oklahoma ate Louisiana ram's horn (Castetter and Opler 1936: 45).





**Figure 33.** *Prosopis glandulosa* (Patrick Alexander)

**Prosopis** mesquite

*P. chilensis* (Molina) Stuntz  
algarrobo

*P. glandulosa* Torrey  
honey mesquite

*P. pubescens* Bentham  
screwbean mequite, tornillo

*P. velutina* Wooton  
velvet mesquite, mezquite, péchita

**Distribution**

Mesquite is common in plains and river valleys throughout southern New Mexico, in the lower and upper Sonoran zones (Wooton and Standley 1915: 330). Mesquite grows abundantly in the Tularosa Basin, New Mexico and the Chiricahua Mountains, Arizona (Castetter and Opler 1936: 10). Velvet mesquite (*P. velutina*) grows at lower elevations along the Gila and Salt Rivers (Hodgson 2001: 183).

**Western Apaches**

Bell and Castetter (1937) describe utilization of mesquite by Native American groups in the Southwest. Among San Carlos Apaches, mesquite beans ranked second to cactus fruits as a staple food source (Bell and Castetter 1937: 24). Western Apaches also considered mesquite beans an esteemed food (Gallagher 1976: 40). Mesquite beans

continue to be collected when ripe, sun-dried, and consumed as a snack or prepared as food (Gallagher 1976: 40). They are considered ripe when tan or yellow – usually in September (Gallagher 1976: 40). Western Apaches ate velvet mesquite pods as a food source (Hodgson 2001: 183), continuing this practice through the 1930s (Hodgson 2001: 183).

Gallagher (1976: 40) states that preparation is as follows: a hole is dug and lined with canvas upon which is placed dry mesquite beans. The beans are then ground with a stone, mixed with water, and strained to remove seeds. The resulting gruel is then drunk. Opler (1996: 369) adds that Apaches boiled, strained, and mashed mesquite beans, letting this material then ferment into an intoxicating beverage. Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches also boiled, strained, and mashed mesquite beans into dough. The dough was formed into cakes and stored for up to a year (Gallagher 1976: 40). White Mountain Apaches would form a hole in the center of these cakes and string them on a cord to dry (Buskirk 1986: 177). Yet another preparation method consisted of boiling beans. According to Gallagher (1976: 40), this intensified the sweet taste. San Carlos and White Mountain Apaches also employed these preparation practices (Bell and Castetter 1937: 24-25). Buskirk describes Western Apaches mesquite preparation practices:

The pods of the mesquite (*P. chilensis*) were esteemed as food, but they were secondary in importance. Goodwin stated that they were not sufficiently important to induce a concerted harvest movement. Mesquite grew abundantly only at lower elevations along the Gila and Salt River valleys. Scattered specimens were to be seen at Cibecue (elevation 5,000 feet), but all were said to be near old camp sites and to have originated from seeds spat out or thrown away after people brought pods from the Salt River. The Cibecue beans were not plentiful and were said to be of poor quality. The plants themselves were described as growing 'here like a bush-down at the Salt River like a tree.'

The mesquite ripened in late August. Parties from Cibecue and Canyon Creek went to the valley of the Salt in September and October to gather the pods and brought them back in skin sacks. Goddard wrote of the pods' falling from the tree and being picked up by the San Carlos Apache, and Hrdlicka reported that the partial spoiling of the pods by worms did not prevent their use by these people.

After being gathered, the pods were either reduced to flour by pounding while fresh or were dried and stored. Accounts in the literature of Apache usage are brief and confusing, and the accounts of consultant were equally so. However, it appears that when the fresh pods were pounded, the seeds were left in and pulverized with the pod and that if the pods were dried before being used, the seeds were discarded.

An informant from Cherry Creek stated that the mesquite beans were pounded in a hole in the earth, the bottom being lined with slabs of stone.

A long stone pestle was wielded from two hands, and pods and seeds were ground together. In the pounding process as described by an upper Canyon Creek informant, a bedrock mortar was used (“they made a well in a flat rock”). Pounding was done with a round stone pestle, and the seeds were discarded before pounding.

Reagan stated that the pods and seeds were crushed on metates. Hrdlicka reported that the San Carlos pounded the pods to a pulp in a rock cavity or dried the beans, discarded the seeds, and pounded the pods. Gifford noted that the beans were pounded in a stone mortar and the seeds were removed by all Western Apache. He also stated that no Western Apache ground the pods on a metate. However, a White Mountain consultant averred that this was sometimes done.

Palmer reported that the ripe beans were ground fine on a metate, mixed with water, and made into cakes, which were baked in ashes or dried in the sun. He did not indicate whether this was for storage or for use.

The pounded pulp of newly gathered beans was often squeezed for the juice, which was drunk, and the fiber was discarded. The pounded bean was said to make “pretty heavy food.” It was drunk “thick and white, just like milk.

Stored dried beans of the mesquite were chewed and the pulp and seeds expectorated; children liked to chew them between meals. They might be pounded into flour. Mesquite flour could be “eaten as candy” or mixed into a mush and eaten. A drink also was made from the flour by mixing it with “warm water, not too hot.

If mesquite flour was to be stored it was moistened and allowed to harden into cakes in a basket tray, then stored in a large basket. These cakes would keep a year or two. The White Mountain frequently made a hole in the center of the mesquite cakes and strung them on a cord so that they could be transported conveniently.

Mesquite pitch was chewed as a substitute for gum, especially by children. It was also used to attach arrow points to shafts. The San Carlos were said to have used mesquite almost exclusively for firewood, for which it was excellent. (1986: 176-178)

Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches mixed mesquite pitch with river mud, rubbed the mix into one's hair, wrapped the hair and left the treatment to stand overnight, rinsing it off in the morning (Gallagher 1976: 40). Gallagher (1976: 94) states that this was used as a combination dandruff treatment, black dye, and split-end preventative. Mesquite root was traditionally utilized in the production of cradleboard frames (Gallagher 1976: 94). The root was soaked in water for flexibility, bent into an oval, tied, and left to sun-dry to hold form. Mesquite was also used as firewood (Gallagher 1976: 94).

According to Bell and Castetter, “Apaches recount how the Sun and Moon consulted together, then formed a mesquite tree and hung bunches of beans upon its branches” (1937: 20).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 110).** To stop your hair from splitting and to make it black again, prepare a mixture of mesquite pitch and a kind of black mud found in the Gila River. Plaster this in your hair, tie a cloth around it and leave it all night. Next morning wash it out.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Mesquite continued to be widely used as a food source through the 1930s (Castetter and Opler 1936: 41). Bell and Castetter (1937: 24-25) describe Ndé mesquite preparation practices. Mesquite beans were gathered, boiled, and pounded on a hide or ground on a metate (meat grinders had replaced the metate by the 1930s [Castetter and Opler 1936: 41]). The mixture was then kneaded until thick and the seed coats winnowed from the flour (Castetter and Opler 1936: 41; Bell and Castetter 1937: 24). Ndé made the flour into bread or cakes (Castetter and Opler 1936: 41). Honey mesquite (*P. prosopis*) seeds were also used for this purpose (Castetter 1935: 45). Ndé continued to consume mesquite-based bread in the 1930s (Castetter and Opler 1936: 42). They also cooked mesquite beans with meat, discarding the beans after the stew had cooked (Castetter 1935: 1935: 45; Castetter and Opler 1936: 41). Castetter and Opler describe preparation of a mesquite based pudding, stating, “Occasionally the pods containing the seeds were boiled in water until the mixture turned red, after which the pods were taken out and mashed by hand, then put back in the container and boiled again until the water had been almost all boiled off. This constituted a sort of pudding” (1936: 41). Opler (1996: 361) describes the utilization of mesquite in a similar manner. Ndé also boiled mesquite beans and let the mixture ferment overnight into mildly intoxicating beverage (Castetter and Opler 1936: 53).

Hrdlička (1908: 237) states that mesquite leaves were mixed with salt and water, strained, and rubbed over one's eyes to relieve redness and soreness. Bell and Castetter (1937: 39) note that Tewa people obtained mesquite pods from Ndé. These pods were twisted into one's ears to cure ear aches (Bell and Castetter 1937: 39).

### **Prunus** plum

*P. americana* Marsh.

american plum

*P. virginiana* Linnaeus var. *virginia*

chokecherry

*P. virginiana* Linnaeus var. *melanocarpa* [*P. melanocarpa*]

black chokecherry

### **Distribution**

Black chokecherry (*P. virginiana* var. *melanocarpa* [*P. melanocarpa*]) grows in damp woods and along streams in the Transition zone of New Mexico, including in the Sacramento Mountains (Wooton and Standley 1915: 326). American plum (*P. Americana*) is commonly found near Mesilla, New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 327). In the Navajo area, common chokecherry is sparsely distributed above 7,000 feet along stream beds and on mountain slopes (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 26).

### **Western Apaches**

Western and White Mountain Apaches ate chokecherry and wild plum berries (1986: 190-191). Buskirk (1986: 190-191) describes a six-foot shrub near Grasshopper (presumably *Prunus* sp.) from which brown berries “just like a little apple” were obtained. “These were ground – the seeds were discarded – and mixed with mescal juice. The pulp was also eaten raw and was said to make one 'fat and happy'. They were preserved with or without grinding” (Buskirk 1986: 190-191). Jicarilla Apaches ground black chokecherry berries into cakes and also traded these berries with other Apaches (Castetter 1935: 46).

### 360 **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos consumed chokecherries as fresh fruit (Castetter 1935: 46). They also cooked the berries into cornmeal gruel (Castetter 1935: 46). Ramah Navajos also ground chokecherry berries into small cakes, ate them fresh, or dried them for winter use (Vestal 1952: 31).

Black chokecherry fruit and seeds were ground, patted into cakes, sun dried, and used for medicinal purposes (Steggerda 1941: 222).

Navajos made green dye from chokecherry berries, purple dye from the roots, and a red wool dye from American plum roots (Elmore 1944: 55). Chokecherry provided the wood for prayer sticks and the Night Chant humpback's staff (Elmore 1944: 54). Chokecherry stems were also utilized in the creation of Evilway and Mountaintopway big hoops as well as Bear's Mountaintopway prayer stick (Vestal 1952: 31). Mayes and Bayless Lacy (1989: 26) note that a stylized chokecherry branch is represented in one of the sand paintings of the Mountain Chant.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Chiricahuas began eating the fruits (referred to as “bear's food”) after seeing the Mescaleros, who had consumed chokecherries for years, do it (Castetter and Opler 1936: 46). Upon ripening in August, chokecherry berries were eaten fresh or ground, pressed, and stored for winter use (Castetter and Opler 1936: 46). They were often made into jelly preserve (Castetter and Opler 1936: 46; Opler 1996: 359). Ndé also dried and stored American plum fruits (Basehart 1974: 50).

According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 15), Ndé believe chokecherry wood made the best arrow shafts. Chokecherry berries were also used to remedy diarrhea or mashed to treat burns (Basehart 1974: 48).



**Figure 34.** *Quercus arizonica* (Patrick Alexander)

**Quercus** oak

*Q. arizonica* Sargent

Arizona white oak

*Q. emoryi* Torrey

Emory's oak, bellota, encino negro, encino prieto

*Q. grisea* Liebmann

gray oak

*Q. gambelii* Nuttall

Gambel oak

*Q. palmeri* Engelman

Palmer oak, encino roble

*Q. undulata* Torrey

### **Distribution**

Oak species are generally found between 3,000 and 8,000 feet elevation (Niethammer 1974: 34). Castetter and Opler (1936: 12) state that oaks are commonly found in the Chiricahua Mountains.

*Q. undulata* is common on drier mountains in the Transition and upper Sonoran zones. It is found in the Guadalupe and Organ Mountains, New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 167). Emory's oak (*Q. emoryi*) is common in the mountains of southwest New Mexico and southeast Arizona (Wooton and Standley 1915: 170) Gray oak (*Q. grisea*) is found in the foothills of the Florida, Organ, and Guadalupe Mountains, New Mexico. Arizona white oak (*Q. arizonica*) is

found at lower elevations upper Sonoran zone mountains, including the Animas and Organ Mountains, New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 170). Gambel oak (*Q. gambelii*) grows between 4,500 and 9,800 feet on south-facing mountain slopes (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 72).

### **Western Apaches**

According to Goodwin (1942: 13, 157), Apaches favorite spot to collect Emory's oak acorns was in and between the Graham and Santa Teresa Mountains, and on the northern slopes of the Santa Catalina Mountains. Goodwin states that into the 1930s large numbers of families (as many as 75) continued to trek to these locations each July. They harvested for four weeks or more. Goodwin (1935: 62) ranked acorns with mescal as the most important Western Apaches food sources. Buskirk states:

The acorn, if not as important as mescal among most of the Western Apache groups, was at least second to it. The Northern Tonto, according to Gifford, rated it their most important wild crop.

Several varieties of acorns were used. Among the Southern Tonto there were four oaks, according to the native classification, these being, in order of preference, Gambel's (*Q. gambelii*), Emory's (*Q. emoryi*), scrub (*Q. undulata*), and another type, the last two being about equally the third choice. The San Carlos used the scrub-oak acorns (*Q. arizonicus*) but did not like the acorn of the "blue oak." Reagan identified the acorn used on the Fort Apache Reservation as from *Q. undulata* variety. Acorn "coffee" was made by the White Mountain from the parched acorn of an unidentified oak. It was said to be less greasy than the former. Acorn "tea" was made in May from the leaves of still another unidentified oak. The acorn matured in late July and August. In 1947-48 it was the only wild plant for which large gathering excursions were made; many families at Cibecue still traveled to Pleasant Valley, west of the reservation boundary, and remained there for a week to gather acorns. This area was always a favorite acorn ground of the Cibecue Apache. The Cedar Creek and East Fork groups of the White Mountain gathered acorns along the Black River or south of it. Goodwin said the best acorn grounds were along the southern face of Natanes Rim from Blue River to Arsenic Tubs in the vicinity of the Eagle Creek farm site and in the gap between the Graham and Santa Teresa Mountains. Trees with promising crops frequently were reserved by marking them.

Straight long poles were used to dislodge acorns. The White Mountain and Cibecue also climbed the trees and shook the acorns to the ground. Large parties usually participated in the acorn harvest, sometimes whole local groups. Women and children usually did the gathering, transporting the nuts to camp in sacks or baskets.

Acorns were stored, shelled or unshelled, in burden baskets, pitched baskets, buckskin sacks, and gourd or pottery vessels. Gifford stated that none of the Western Apache stored acorns in skin bags, but a White Mountain tale recorded

by Goodwin indicated storage in buckskin sacks, and this was confirmed by consultants.

Acorns, as were other foods, were cached at times in rock shelters but not in ground caches because they easily became damp and rotted. Although Gifford reported that the White Mountain stored their acorns shelled, lest they become wormy, two White Mountain consultants indicated a preference for storing them unshelled, stating that if they were shelled before storing they developed a bad taste. If the unshelled acorns were dried in the sun three days to a week before storage, they would not become wormy. (Buskirk 1986: 174-175)

Gallagher (1976: 62) notes that Palmer oak acorns were widely sought and utilized by Apache groups. Ripe brown acorns were gathered in the fall (Gallagher 1976: 42). Apaches ground the acorns on a metate, sifted the ground acorns to remove the shells, and then reground the nuts (Gallagher 1976: 42). The ground nuts were then used as a thickening and flavoring ingredient in meat stew (Niethammer 1974: 34). A cupful of acorn paste (acorn and water mix) was added to stewed meat just before the soup was ready (Gallagher 1976: 44). Gallagher (1976: 60) states that San Carlos Apaches served acorn soup at girls' puberty ceremonies. Acorn paste was also combined with cooked pumpkin, squash, or beans (Gallagher 1976: 42). Among Western Apaches:

The sweet variety of acorn was eaten whole and raw. Usually, however, acorns were ground on a metate for use without further preparation. Although metates of vesicular lava were preferred for other uses, sandstone metates were regarded as most desirable for acorns. Stone mortars were also used to grind acorns, at least by the Southern Tonto and the White Mountain. Acorn flour was eaten dry or moistened, mixed with soups, pounded into meats, and sprinkled on foods.

Whole acorns were boiled like beans by the Southern Tonto, according to Gifford, who also reported that acorn meal was boiled in soup by the Northern and Southern Tonto. White Mountain and Cibecue consultants gave no recipes in which acorns were boiled and stated that boiling them produced a disagreeable taste.

Acorn bread was reported for the Southern Tonto by Gifford and for the White Mountain or Cibecue by Regan, who stated that acorn meal was mixed with wheat flour in a proportion of one to five. Confirmation of Reagan's acorn-bread recipe was not obtained.

Gifford reported that there was no roasting of acorns on coals or parching in wooden or pottery bowls. However, parching was reported by the White Mountain.

A universal Western Apache dish was meat stew, to which was added uncooked acorn meal. This was said by some to have been their favorite food and was so regarded in the 1940s. The recipe had only to be mentioned, particularly among a



group of old men, to start a nostalgic reminiscing on the tastiness of traditional foods.

Acorns and corn were sometimes parched, then ground, and eaten dry by the pinch. Ground acorn meal, unparched, was eaten dry or moistened, mixed with soups, and mixed with boiled meat or ground with it. Ground cooked meat and acorn meal was as popular as the stew mentioned above and was indeed only a dry variation of it. (Buskirk 1986: 175-176)

Apaches also boiled acorns, mixed acorn paste with flour for bread, flavored other foods with ground nuts, and ate acorns raw (Goodwin 1935: 62). According to Opler (1996: 368), Gambel oak bark was used to make a beverage. Oaks provide the highly-valued slow burning firewood used in pit-roasting mescal (Gallagher 1976: 113).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 160-161).** Anna Price: Food Gathering Trips ... When we went to gather acorns our whole local group would all travel and stay together. We never split up to gather acorns, as it was dangerous because of the Pima, hai aha and Navajo. We all stayed with our camp close to each other.

My father never traveled without other chiefs along. This was because the other chiefs and his men would not let him do so for fear he would be killed by the Navajo or the hai aha. He might get killed alone, and that would be too bad, so some chiefs and common men always went with him.

When we made camp among the acorns, father said to his people, "You can make one trip in the morning for acorns, then go out after dinner, at two or three o'clock. I want you all to be in before sundown because there are lots of dangerous animals and enemies on both sides." Some people brought in a load of acorns about this time of the evening - about ten o'clock.

Dja a a ha always did the same. He always took about two chiefs along with him and the same if he went off any place. He would tell Father if he was going for mescal, "I will not be gone long, ciyí, I will be back in twelve days or so." He would take i ya ai ye sub-chief and one na do ts'usn sub-chief always. He always took his wife's brother who was a na do ts'usn sub-chief along with him in the evening. That is bad. Someone might get the stragglers if they don't come in. Poor people, you go for the mescal now, look after yourselves well." He would take along his close relatives and distant relatives, even non-kin. Anyone who wanted to go with him.

The sweat-bath chief and the four other sub-chiefs, though they had farms, had no men of their own. The men were all under dja a a ha and father. If any of these sub-chiefs - two or three of them - wanted to go off and get tci dn kud somewhere where they heard there was lots, they would go to Father and say, "ci da'á, we want to go and get tci dn kud with the people." My father would say, "All right, go ahead."

It wasn't a case of permission so much as of notifying him where he was going, because dja aaha and Father used to notify each other when they were going for a long time. They all did that way, never would be refused permission, even sub-chiefs. Dja a a ha used to visit down at Calva. If a

man left without notifying the chief, then he got in trouble, the chief could not help him. The chief might say, "You got no business to be down there without permission, if anything happens."

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Vestal (1952: 22) states that Navajos relied less on acorns than did Apaches. Gambel oak acorns were eaten raw, roasted in ashes, boiled, or dried and ground into acorn meal (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 72).

Oak was utilized to craft bows and arrows, handles of tools, the bow of the cradleboard, stirrups, snowshoes, and hunting equipment (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 72). Navajos boiled oak bark with alum (the mineral substance found at the base of cliffs) to produce tan wool dye (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 72). Oak was also used ceremonially as an emetic and for the hoop and blackening in the Evil Way ceremony (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 72). Mayes and Bayless Lacy (1989: 72) state that oak which had been struck by lightening was used to produce ceremonial fire-drill tips and medicine stoppers. It was also used as a medicine to subdue birthing pains.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé primarily utilized gray oak and Gambel oak (Castetter and Opler 1936: 15). Gray oak was called tcintcile donagogade or 'oak that never dies' (Castetter and Opler 1936: 15). Ndé ate acorns raw or lightly roasted, ground, and mixed with dried meat or fat. Opler (1996: 363) states that this was a convenient food to take along camping. This mixture also stored well (Castetter and Opler 1936: 15).

Oak was considered the most durable wood from which the outer rims of cradleboards were crafted (Castetter and Opler 1936: 15). Mescal digging sticks were also made from oak (Castetter and Opler 1936: 36). As well, Ndé preferred slow-burning oak for pit-roasting mescal (Castetter and Opler 1936: 36; Gallagher 1976: 113).



dried red skunkbush berries, often preparing them as a beverage – “Apache lemonade” (Gallagher 1976: 22). This beverage was made by mashing sumac berries, soaking them (ca. one liter of water per pint of berries), and straining the pulp (Gallagher 1976: 59-60). A sweetening agent, often mescal, was added. Gallagher states that this beverage, “is by far the best known today of the native fruit drinks” (1976: 58). Castetter (1935: 49) mentions that Apaches also used littleleaf sumac berries. Buskirk discusses Western Apaches' use of sumac.

A plant with red berries (possibly *R. tribolata*) was said to grow “everywhere” but to be larger and more abundant at elevations above 5,000 feet. The red berry of this plant was gathered in June. It was usually ground but was sometimes chewed raw for the juice. The weeds were never used. The ground berries were stirred in warm water to make a colored non-intoxicating drink. A drink was made by adding dried mescal juice. After American supplies became available, sugar often was substituted for the mescal juice. The drink, when mixed with mescal, was said to taste like sugared tomatoes and to look like canned tomatoes. The stalks were used for baskets, being split into three sections or else peeled directly off the bark. The pitched water basket was always made of this material, which was also used, although infrequently, for making the round burden basket. The berry was gathered in sacks and would keep two or three years.

There appear to be several references in the literature to the plant described above. Gifford stated that the San Carlos made a beverage of crushed sumac berries. Hrdlicka reported that a red berry used by the San Carlos was washed, crushed and dried, ground, stirred with water, and drunk or eaten as thin mush. Palmer noted that “squaw berries” were washed to get rid of an acid exudation, insects, and so forth, then dried and pounded for food.. (1986: 190)

Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches crafted sumac twigs into twined water jars (Gallagher 1976: 105). Three-rod coiled basket foundations and white sewing splints were obtained from long, straight skunkbush shoots – though, as Gallagher (1976: 103) states, mulberry and cottonwood were preferred. White Mountain Apaches also employed sumac in basketry (Reagan 1929: 190).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos utilized sumac berries extensively as a food source. Navajos ground sumac and skunkbush berries, mixed the pulp with cornmeal, and cooked this into gruel (Castetter 1935: 48-49; Elmore 1944: 61). Berries were also ground into pulp, mixed with sugar and water, and cooked into jam (Hocking 1956: 162). Ramah Navajos used the berries in similar ways.

For good luck in gambling chew a small piece of leaf and give it to your opponent. *R. trilobata* fruit is eaten raw, with sugar, and sometimes ground. It is also used with other foods, especially roasted corn. Also boiled and dried for later use, then ground and soaked before using. Most consultants who were specifically asked said they still use the fruits, varying in the amount used from just a few to storing several 24-pound sacks for winter. In 1940, Kluckhohn saw the inner bark being eaten. (Vestal 1952: 35)

Navajos prepared a beverage from sumac berries that was considered, “one of the traditional foods served at a girl's puberty ceremony” (Gallagher 1976: 60). According to Gallagher (1976: 60), this beverage was made throughout the Southwest.

Ramah Navajos chewed skunkbush leaves to help relieve stomachaches (Vestal 1952: 35). Skunkbush leaves also provided poultices which aided in relieving skin irritation. Leaves were also made into a tea taken as a means of contraception and to induce impotency (Vestal 1952: 35). Ramah Navajos created a root and bark decoction that was used to facilitate birthing (Vestal 1952: 35). Yet another decoction made from skunkbush fruits helped prevent hair loss. Vestal explains that, *R. radicans* (Poison Ivy) is considered dangerous by Ramah Navajos. Sheep blood is rubbed over an affected area. Poison Ivy is used as arrow poison, it is mixed with charcoal from a lightning-struck tree and deer's blood (1952: 35).

Navajos and Ramah Navajos used sumac in various ways for ceremonial purposes, including: to make small hoops on Chiricahua Windway prayer sticks, a branch carried by Mountain Chant dancers, and as ceremonial pollen (Elmore 1944: 60; Vestal 1952: 35). Ramah Navajos also crafted large stems into bows, baskets, and water bottles.

Baskets, water bottles (obsolete), and basket sacks (obsolete) were made from split stems. These are never burned. Small hoops on cactus prayer-stick of Chiricahua Windway. Spear shafts (obsolete) were made from large stems about 6 feet long, with hard wood or iron points added (never stone points); used for thrusting in warfare, not thrown or used in hunting; decorated with two eagle feathers tied near the point; sometimes poisoned. Bows are made of large stems. Sun shades or hats made from smaller stems, some believe that if placed on the child's head he will cease to grow. Bogey to make children behave (obsolete) made from stems from east side of plant woven into form of an “owl,” tied with four strings passed over a log on the west side of the smoke hole so it could be made to move up and down. Making an owl was a sure sign that it would rain. (Vestal 1952: 35)

Vestal (1952: 35) also states that Ramah Navajos extracted a black wool and basketry dye from sumac; Navajos also boiled sumac leaves to make a black dye for use in basketry and to dye leather (Elmore 1944: 60).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé made extensive use of sumac and skunkbush in ways similar to other southwestern groups (Castetter 1935: 49; Castetter and Opler 1936: 46; Opler 1996: 358). Berries were gathered from summer to fall and sun-dried. Ndé then ground the berries and the resulting pulp was mixed with sugar water and baked into jam (1936: 46). This jam was formerly eaten with sunflower seed bread and mescal. Ndé children ate smooth sumac bark as a delicacy (Castetter and Opler 1936: 44).



304). Wolf's currant (*R. wolfii*) is common at high elevations in mountain forests throughout central New Mexico (Wootton and Standley 1915: 303).

### **Western Apaches**

Apaches ate whitestem gooseberry berries (Castetter 1935: 49). White Mountain Apaches ate and cooked whisky currant fruits (Reagan 1929: 160).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos ate fresh whisky currants and whitestem gooseberry berries (Elmore 1944: 52; Hocking 1956: 155). Navajos also ate currant leaves with fat (Hocking 1956: 162). Ramah Navajos ate orange gooseberry berries (Vestal 1952: 30) and Kayenta Navajos ate and cooked whisky currant fruits (Wyman and Harris 1951: 26). For Ramah Navajos, the greening of orange gooseberry plants signified the appropriate time to plow and the emergence of leaves indicated the time to plant corn (Vestal 1952: 48).

Kayenta Navajos used whisky currant fruits as Evilway, Nightway, and Mountaintopway emetics; as poultices applied to sores; and to purify children who had seen a forbidden sand painting (Wyman and Harris 1951: 26; Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 42). Vestal (1952: 30) notes that Ramah Navajos used orange gooseberry leaves as emetics in various ceremonies, including the Holyway and Evilway ceremonies. Ramah Navajos also crafted orange gooseberry stems into arrow shafts and made arrow points from gooseberry thorns (Vestal 1952: 30). Navajos utilized whisky currant stems for this purpose and to make distaffs employed in spinning (Elmore 1944: 52; Hocking 1956: 162).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé commonly used gooseberries and currants (Castetter and Opler 1936: 44; Opler 1996: 361).

The purplish red fruits of the spiny-fruited [Orange] gooseberry (*R. pinetorum*) have a pleasant acid flavor when ripe in September, at which time the spines may be easily brushed from the fruits. They were ground and compressed into cakes for winter consumption. Another [Trumpet] gooseberry (*R. leptanthum*), which has smooth fruits, somewhat larger than the former species, was eaten fresh or made into cakes for use during the winter. This species was the most eagerly sought because of the size of its fruits. The rather insipid fruits of two species of black currant, *R. wolfii* [Wolf's currant] and *R. mescalerium* [Mescalero currant] were at times eaten without preparation by these Indians. Fruits of the former, in earlier times, were ground dried and pressed into cakes for storage, but are now used for jelly; those of the latter species, however, are usually cooked. (Castetter and Opler 1936: 44)





**Figure 37.** *Robinia neomexicana* (Patrick Alexander)

**Robinia** locust

*R. neomexicana* Gray  
New Mexico locust

### **Distribution**

New Mexico locust (*R. neomexicana*) is common at lower elevations in the Southwest; it is found in the Chiricahua Mountains, at Chiricahua National Monument, and at Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Bennett et al. 1996: 126). New Mexico locust is also common in the Organ, White, and Sacramento Mountains (Wootton and Standley 1915: 356).

### **Western Apaches**

White Mountain Apaches ate New Mexico locust beans and pods (Reagan 1929: 160).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé gathered large clusters of pink locust flowers in late June. The flowers and pods were boiled and eaten or stored (Castetter and Opler 1936: 42). Opler (1996: 358) states that locust blossoms were picked, boiled, dried, stored, and re-cooked when needed.

Castetter and Opler (1936: 15) state that Ndé claimed that locust wood made the second best bows, after mulberry.





**Figure 38.** *Rumex hymenosepalus* (Patrick Alexander)

**Rumex** dock, sorrel

*R. aquaticus* Linnaeus var. *fenestratus* (Greene) Dorne  
western dock

*R. crispus* Linnaeus  
curly dock, lengua de vaca

*R. hymenosepalus* Torrey  
sand dock, cañaigre, caña agria, hierba colorada

*R. maritimus* Linnaeus  
golden dock

*R. salicifolius* Weinm. var. *mexicanus* (Meisn.) C. L. Hitchc.  
Mexican dock

### **Distribution**

Western dock (*R. aquaticus* var. *fenestratus*) is found at elevations between 8,200 and 10,000 feet in the Chiricahua Mountains (Bennett et al. 1996: 179). Cañaigre (*R. hymenosepalus*) is found in sandy soils between Las Cruces and Hillsboro, New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 191).

### **Western Apaches**

According to Hocking (1956: 163), curly dock was eaten as a potherb in Arizona and New Mexico. Western Apaches used cañaigre as a medicinal plant (Gallagher 1976: 95). Cañaigre roots were chopped, boiled, strained, and the resulting tea drunk to relieve upper respiratory

infections (Gallagher 1976: 95). This tea was also a treatment for dandruff (Gallagher 1976: 95). The root was sliced, dried, ground into fine powder, and used as an antiseptic for cuts and wet rashes (Gallagher 1976: 95). Reagan (1929: 160) states that White Mountain Apache women took an infusion made from Mexican dock leaves to help induce pregnancy, and for sore throats.

Wooton and Standley (1915: 191) state that cañaiigre has long been utilized by native peoples in New Mexico for tanning skins. Gallagher (1976: 95) notes that a red dye was obtained from cañaiigre roots.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Kayenta Navajos ate cañaiigre seeds and made them into mush (Wyman and Harris 1951: 20). Navajos bound curly dock leaves to one's head to treat a person who had fainted and to relieve headaches (Hocking 1956: 155). They also chewed the roots to remedy pyorrhea and diarrhea (Hocking 1956: 163). Ramah Navajos used curly dock as a Holyway ceremonial emetic and an Enemyway medicine (Vestal 1952: 24). Dried curly dock leaves were applied to treat sores and a cold infusion was used to treat cold sores (Vestal 1952: 24). Cañaiigre roots were made into a cold infusion and rubbed on the udders of a goat and a woman's breast as a lactagogue. According to Wyman and Harris (1951: 20), Navajos ingested a cañaiigre infusion to relieve bloating and as a ceremonial emetic (Wyman and Harris 1951: 20). Cañaiigre roots were used as a life medicine (Wyman and Harris 1951: 20). In addition, Kayenta Navajos sprinkled cañaiigre pollen dust to protect ceremonial equipment (Wyman and Harris 1951: 20).

Cañaiigre roots are also utilized extensively in the production of dyes (Elmore 1944: 43; Curtin 1949: 51; Hocking 1956: 163). Navajos dried and stored cañaiigre roots as the aging process produced various shades of dyes – from yellow to red (Elmore 1944: 43). When ready to prepare dye, Navajos ground and boiled the roots.

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé ate western dock leaves fresh, or cooked with green chile and meat or animal bones (Castetter and Opler 1936: 46). They also used *Rumex* species to cure diarrhea (Opler 1969: 246).

**Sambucus**                      elderberry, elder

*S. nigra* Linnaeus ssp. *caerulea* [*S. cerulea* Raf. var. *neomexicana*]

blue elder, New Mexican elderberry

*S. racemosa* Linnaeus var. *racemosa* [*S. microbotrys*]

red elderberry

### **Distribution**

Red elderberry (*S. racemosa* var. *racemosa* [*S. microbotrys*]) is found throughout the Hudsonian zone of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 609).

### **Western Apaches**

Apaches ate elderberries fresh or cooked (Castetter 1935: 61). Western Apaches boiled the berries, and possibly flowers, into tea that was drunk as an emetic (Gallagher 1976: 96).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Kayenta Navajos used New Mexican elderberry to treat themselves and their livestock for lighting infection (Wyman and Harris 1951: 43).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé ate red elderberries fresh or cooked into jam (Castetter 1935: 50; Castetter and Opler 1936: 46).



**Figure 39.** *Solanum elaeagnifolium* (Patrick Alexander)

**Solanum**                                      nightshade, horse-nettle, potato

- S. elaeagnifolium* Cav.  
    silverleaf nightshade
- S. fendleri* Gray ex Torrey  
    Fendler's horsenettle
- S. jamesii* Torrey  
    wild potato
- S. physalifolium* Rusby  
    hoe nightshade
- S. triflorum* Nutt.

cutleaf nightshade  
*S. tuberosum* Linnaeus  
Irish potato  
*S. villosum* (Linnaeus) P. Miller  
hairy nightshade

### **Distribution**

Fendler's horsenettle (*S. fendleri*) grows between 6,000 and 9,020 feet elevation in New Mexico and Arizona (Bennett et al. 1996: 200). It is found in the Chiricahua Mountains and at Chiricahua National Monument (Bennett et al. 1996: 200). Fendler's horsenettle also grows in the Organ, White, and Sacramento Mountains of New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 573). Wild potato (*S. jamesii*) is found between 5,100 and 8,500 feet elevation in the plains, low hills, and coniferous forests of the Chiricahua Mountains, Arizona and White Mountains near Alamogordo, New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 573; Bennett et al. 1996: 200).

### **Western Apaches**

Buskirk discusses Western Apaches use of potatoes.

Potatoes were not cultivated until the Anglo-American period. Seed potatoes were obtained from the whites rather than selected from the previous crop. In the 1800s they were planted at the same time as corn and their care was very similar to that of corn. In one case at Oak Creek a family planted one row of about ten hills, some fifteen inches apart, in the middle of the corn field, cutting half a potato per hill for seed. Potatoes were dug in October or November before the frost and were used quickly, as no way of storing them was known.

In later times potatoes were planted in early April, usually in every second furrow of a plowed field. Not many were grown.

In 1883, according to Bourke, the Apache on the White Mountain Reservation raised 135,000 pounds of potatoes.

Potatoes were boiled, with or without meat. An Oak Creek district consultant stated that his group did not bake potatoes in ashes, fry them with grease, or fry cakes of mashed potatoes until the 1890s. (1986: 103-104)

Buskirk continues, "The White Mountain said that from the mountaintops they gathered small wild potatoes (*Solanum fendleri* or *Solanum jamesii*) which smelled and tasted like the commercial Irish potato" (1986: 193).

White Mountain Apaches used silverleaf nightshade for medicinal purposes and Fendler's horsenettle for thatching (Reagan 1929: 160).

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos dug and gathered wild potatoes. Gathered potatoes were split and sun-dried to be stored in a pit for winter use (Vestal 1952: 43). According to Elmore (1944: 75), potato tubers were



201). It is especially prevalent in swampy marshes and along the Rio Grande (Wootton and Standley 1915: 39).

### **Western Apaches**

Western Apaches ate broad-leaf cattail roots (Casterter 1935: 53). Pollen was used in religious ceremonies and “sprinkled upon the surface of the water before crossing a stream” (Reagan 1930: 151). Long et al. (2003) state that White Mountain Apaches continue to use cattail pollen as a sacrament in tribal ceremonies. According to Reagan (1930: 151), women typically gathered pollen, though members of medicine fraternities also collected pollen. An O'odham informant told Rea that he saw Apaches, “spray everybody with that yellow [pollen] – just like holy water” during the Sunrise Dance, a puberty ceremony for girls (1997: 109). White Mountain Apaches used cattail for thatching tepees and wickiups (Reagan 1929: 161).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 183-185).** John Rope: 18-1-36. That dance that they had down here under the cottonwood trees, back of P. Papoose camp in July 1932 that you saw, was di i be gu tc' i taal. John Roberson was in charge then. They put pollen on the (?) of the people there, didn't they. Well that's what it was. In old times the old medicine men always used to do this before all the people set out together across in the mountains. It was to protect everyone from being struck by lightning. This is go jo j nde go tal right. They sang di i si only, not any go jo si or any other kind at all. John Roberson it was who set up that dance. He did it on his own accord by himself. They don't do this every year here. Only once in a while, every 2 or 3 years. They didn't do it last year at all.

Long ago both men and women used to gather pollen. They still do it this way.

In old times we used to get our pollen up around tsa. bi tu I heard. Also we used to get it when tsaal grew in lower Carrizo Creek. This place was called tu li kij ba'in kan. This place they say draws down birds that fly over it and they drown there. It is a pond. I heard that there was a white horse got drowned in there and never showed up any more. Whoever wanted to go get pollen there could go. The people used to go there and gather it, then bring it home, and sell it to people who wanted. So not all could go because they would know that some would be going, and they could buy pollen from them. There were about 3 or 4 of these who went every year to get it. But anyone could go there and (?) it. When they went along, they took the children, or even babies in (?). There was nothing wrong or dangerous about it.

I don't remember just what month it is when they used to go, when pollen to taal got ready, but I guess it was when all other pollens got ripe. Before people started for the place, when they got there, while gathered pollen, or when prepared it, there were no words or prayers to say. They just went ahead and got the pollen, and took it home. When they gather the Pollen they cut the stems off with the head on it, about 2 feet long. Then they take these over to a blanket spread out and shake them over it, shake pollen out. Or they beat pollen out of these (them?). They hold about 5 together at a time, and over blanket, and tap them gently with a small stick, so that the pollen will be knocked off and won't be spread or fly about. Then they gather all the pollen together. When all (?), they gathered it up and put in on (?) piece of buckskin, later on cloth, and gather up the edges, and tie a string about the top of it. Then took it home and peddled it about. Also every man and every woman used to have a little small buckskin bag of some pollen, about



as big as end of your finger, tied on to the belt of a woman, or on the front of shirt of man, on his pocket, or on the place his shirt buttons up, on front of chest. They carried to about so they could take it and use it any time they wanted to use pollen to pray with. Scouts on the war path used to take a long a little sack of pollen this way with them.

The people who gathered used to give some to their relatives for nothing. Some they sold to them. They used to trade it for 2 strands of trade beads, about 1 ft. long, when doubled, small ones, and they would give them about as much pollen as the size of the 2 end joints on your index finger. They might have traded it for other things, but that's only thing I know of.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

According to Vestal, Navajos ate young cattail rhizomes and stalks emerging in the summer (1952: 15). However, Mayes and Bayless Lacy (1989: 25) claim that Navajos never ate this plant.

Cattail plants were used by Ramah Navajos as a ceremonial emetic (Vestal 1952: 14). The leaves were utilized in the production of storage baskets, medicine baskets, and water jugs (Vestal 1952: 14). Ramah Navajos also made bed mats from cattail leaves which are hung up in one's hogan to bring rain and to protect the hogan, the family, and the sheep from lightening (1952: 15).

Navajos used cattail pollen ceremonially and crafted the leaves into ceremonial necklaces and wristbands for the Male Shooting Chant (Elmore 1944: 24). Pollen was also used in the five- and nine-night ceremonies (1989: 25). Today, corn pollen is preferred over cattail pollen for ceremonial use (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 25).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Opler (1996: 356) states that tender white tule root-stocks and shoots, emerging in the Spring, were boiled with meat, made into soup, or dried and stored. In the fall, the pollen-rich tops were cut and dried (Castetter and Opler 1936: 47; Opler 1996: 364). Cattail pollen was used to mark a cross (always from East to West and North to South) on the largest mescal when pit-roasting (1936: 36).

According to Castetter and Opler (1936: 23), Ndé shamans used cattail pollen to mark the face and body of patients and were, in turn, marked by the patient. Ndé also covered the ground inside ceremonial tepees and lodges with cattail leaves during the puberty ritual (Basehart 1974: 46).

**Vitis**                      grape

*V. arizonica* Engelmann

Arizona grape, canyon grape, parra, uva, uva cimarróna, vid

### **Distribution**

Arizona grape (*V. arizonica*) grows between 2,000 and 7,540 feet in wooded canyons and on well-drained soils in the Chiricahua Mountains, at Chiricahua National Monument, and at Fort

Bowie National Historic Site (Bennett et al. 1996: 205). Canyon grape can also be found in the canyons and thickets of the Sonoran zone in New Mexico (Wooton and Standley 1915: 415)

### **Western Apaches**

Canyon grapes were once collected and eaten fresh, ground and dried, or boiled into wine by Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches (Gallagher 1976: 30). Buskirk recorded similar uses among Western Apaches.

A 'wild grape' (*V. arizonica*) was picked when ripe and eaten raw. The berry was also pounded, dried on the ground in the sun, and stored in sacks; it was never stored in a vessel. Another use was to boil the juice from the berries to make wine. (1989: 190)

### **Navajos (Diné)**

Navajos continued to collect and eat fresh grapes into the 1940s (Elmore 1944: 62; Castetter 1935: 53). Navajos formed canyon grape vines into crosses and placed the crosses on top of baskets of cornmeal and paper bread (flatbread) offered in courtship (Elmore 1944: 62).

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé ate fresh picked canyon grapes from July to September (Castetter and Opler 1936: 45; Opler 1996: 359). Grapes were also dried and eaten like raisins at a later date (Castetter and Opler 1936: 45).



**Figure 40.** *Yucca elata* (Aaron Sharratt)



## Yucca

yucca, dátíl

*Y. angustissima* Engelmann ex Trelease

narrowleaf yucca

*Y. baccata* Torrey

banana yucca, blue yucca, fleshy-fruited yucca, dátíl, wideleaf yucca

*Y. elata* Engelmann

soaptree yucca, Spanish bayonet, dátíl, sota, solate, palmilla, palmito, cortadillo

*Y. glauca* Nutt.

soapweed yucca

*Y. torreyi* Shafer

Torrey's yucca

## Distribution

Yucca is common in the upper Sonoran zone from 4,500 to 8,000 feet elevation (Buskirk 1986: 10) and grows abundantly in the Tularosa basin (Castetter and Opler 1936: 10). Banana yucca (*Y. baccata*) grows between 3,000 and 8,000 feet elevation in the Chiricahua Mountains, at Chiricahua National Monument, and at Fort Bowie National Historic Site (Bennett et al. 1996: 51). Soaptree yucca (*Y. elata*) grows between 1,500 and 6,000 feet elevation in the Chiricahua Mountains, across central Arizona, Sonora, and Chihuahua to southwestern Texas (Bennett et al. 1996: 51).

## Western Apaches

Bell and Castetter (1941: 19) state that banana yucca was a staple food among Western Apaches. Gallagher (1976: 23) states that Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches called yucca fruits and bananas by the same name. Yucca fruits were picked in September or October when ripe. Ripe fruit pulp was eaten fresh (Gallagher 1976: 23; Woodward 1943: 40). According to Gifford (Gifford 1940: 12, 94), Western Apaches preserved the fruit by splitting it, scooping out the seeds, and sun drying it. Bell and Castetter (1941: 19) note that women gathered yucca fruits which were roasted over a fire or in hot ashes (Bell and Castetter 1941: 19). After roasting, the charred rinds were easily removed and the remaining pulp eaten or spread on yucca leaves to sun-dry (Bell and Castetter 1941: 19; Niethammer 1974: 30). According to Bell and Castetter (1941: 19), the taste was similar to burned squash. Apaches also split yucca pods, dried the fruits, and boiled them in water (Bell and Castetter 1941: 19). Western Apaches also gathered, boiled or dried, and stored white narrow-leaf yucca flowers (Buskirk 1949: 325). Buskirk describes Western Apaches use of banana yucca.

The fruit of the *Yucca baccata* matured in early September. Consultants said the fruit had to be cooked before drying or it would spoil. After roasting, the fruit was split, the whole seed ribbon removed, and the fruit dried on bear grass. When stored, it was wrapped in bear grass and tree-cached. With such open storage it would keep indefinitely. Dried yucca fruit was prepared for use by soaking and working in water. An consultant denied that it was ever boiled, as was reported by Reagan. Gifford reported that in general the very ripe fruit was peeled, split, seeded, and the pulp eaten fresh. It was also sun-dried and stored. The fruit, if not

very ripe, was roasted in ashes, then immersed in water, peeled, seeded, and either eaten or dried and stored.

The roots of *Yucca baccata* were preferred as a soap over other species of yucca; however, because these roots caused the skin and eyes of some people to swell, they were used less than the roots of bear grass (*Nolina microcarpa*). *Nolina* and *Yucca baccata* roots were still the preferred source of soap on the Fort Apache Reservation in the 1940s.

The seeds of the *Yucca baccata* were never used for food, and neither were the blossoms or the flower stalks. The leaves were split for cordage. This cordage and that made from the leaves of other yucca species was the most commonly used on the Fort Apache Reservation. Split sections were tied together by square knots to make the desired strength.

Yucca fruit and juniper berries were pounded together to make a gravy. Goddard recorded a San Carlos tale in which ripe fruit was boiled and stirred with water, apparently to make a beverage. (1986: 181-182)

Western Apaches also used other yucca varieties.

*Yucca elata* grew throughout the Fort Apache Reservation at elevations below 6,000 feet. The fruit of this species was not used, but the plant was esteemed for other purposes.

The blossoms were used for food and were said to be bitter unless picked by a lucky person who knew the proper time to gather them. They were boiled, often with a small black seed (unidentified); they were also boiled with fat or with bones. For storage they were dried on the top of a wickiup and then sacked and kept in a dry place, such as the ceiling of the wickiup. The leaves of *Yucca elata* were used for the headshade of the cradleboard and for cordage. They were better suited to the latter purpose than *Yucca baccata*, for the leaves were longer.

The fruit stalks of *Yucca elata* was often charred over a fire and eaten like sugar cane. A curing rite was described in which the religious practitioner fashioned a peeled yucca stalk unto the shape of a short snake, heated it in the fire, and ate it, spitting fragments at the sick person as he chewed.

*Yucca elata* roots were used for soap, although there were not so well liked for this purpose as those of *Yucca baccata* and *Nolina microcarpa*. The red roots of this species also were used in basket decoration.

Gifford stated that the flowers of the “narrow-leafed yucca” were eaten boiled by the Cibecue, White Mountain, and both Tonto groups and that the Northern Tonto, Cibecue, and White Mountain ate the roasted stalk and butt.

Reagan reported that the leaves of the *Yucca glauca* and those of *Yucca baccata* were used for strings, cords, and game counters and that its roots were pounded for soap. *Yucca glauca* appears to be the plant identified by Kearney and Peebles as *Yucca elata*.

Palmer stated that *Yucca angustifolia* was used as an emulsion in the cure of insect and snake bites. (1986: 182-183)

Western Apaches adorned drying yucca with fresh sunflower blossoms as a symbol of the importance of the sun to growth. Niethammer (1974: 31) notes that this action was also a prayer for continued bounty.

Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches obtained sewing splints from broad-leaf yucca's inner root bark for designs on coiled baskets (Gallagher 1976: 104). The splints were collected in the fall or early winter when the inner bark was red. Water jars were sealed with ground yucca leaves (Gallagher 1976: 105). Clarksdale, Arizona Apaches also employed yucca leaves to tie dwelling frames together.

Apaches also ground yucca roots into soap and shampoo for bathing and washing baskets (Reagan 1929: 149; Gallagher 1976: 114). White Mountain Apaches used banana and narrowleaf yucca roots for this purpose (Bell and Castetter 1941: 57).

White Mountain Apaches split yucca leaves of these yuccas into string (Reagan 1929: 147). The leaves were ground to produce fiber for cloth, rope, and cordage (Bell and Castetter 1941: 41). Coyotero Apaches manufactured netting to carry cooked agave from split yucca leaves (Bell and Castetter 1941: 46).

According to Bell and Castetter (1941: 51), Coyote taught Coyotero Apaches to make fire by rubbing together dead yucca flower stalks. White Mountain Apaches also used *Y. baccata*'s dry flower stalks in this manner (Bell and Castetter 1941: 51). White Mountain Apaches used flat yucca leaves as counting sticks (Bell and Castetter 1941: 54).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 49-53).** *Y. elata*. John Rope: igayetsose. We cooked the blossoms of this plant in the spring, and ate them.

Anna Price: We roasted the stalks when they were young and tender. We used the leaves of this plant to make yellow colored splints out of for sewing coil baskets. When we at the flowers of this plant we boiled them up. The Chiricahuas used to roast the trunk of this plant, and eat it, but we never did this way.

*Y. baccata*

Laban James: The root of this plant is used for washing the hair.

Sherman Curley: xuckan. The fruit of this plant, we used it for food.

Anna Price: We used the roots of this plant to make the red splints of coil baskets out of xuckan. The fruit of this plant, we used for food. We built a fire, and when there were lots of coals, we put the fruit in whole. Then they were done, and we took them out, split them open,

and took out the seeds. Then we ground the flesh of the fruit soft on a rock and made muilkane of it. Sometimes we split the fruit in half before cooking it, and dried it in the sun. When the leaves of this plant got big, we took them and cut off the white base of the leaves. This white part we ground up with corn, and then boiled it, and ate it that way. igaiye. We used the bases of the leaves of this plant for spoons.

Charlie Sago, R. Bylas: igaiye. When the fruit of this plant gets ripe, about the first part of September, it is roasted in a fire, and eaten right then alone. It is rather sweet, and can be stored away after roasting for future use.[...] We used the juice from the leaves of this plant to mix with paint, so that it would stick (a mordant).

John Rope: The fruit of this plant was gathered up, and either eaten raw or roasted in the coals. For keeping they used to split the fruit open, take out the seeds, and spread it out on some grass in the sun to dry. When dry the fruit was packed into bundles, inside bear grass, and tied around with igaiye. These bundles were stored away in hidden places. When the people were short of food they would go there, and get out one of these bundles. One way of cooking the fruit was to boil it up till soft, and then drain it off and set it to cool in a basket. Then it was squeezed out with the hands into a thick mush or soup, and eaten that way. We still used this food.

### **Navajos (Diné)**

In the days when monsters ruled the earth, the gods watched one particularly troublesome bad bear-monster. Finally, they told him, “Since you have been so destructive to the Navajo people, you will evermore provide them with food, clothing, and soap.”

The bear was destroyed and where pieces of the bear landed, a yucca grew. Navajos once made fiber ropes and shoes from yucca, and today yucca is used for ceremonial items. The fruit is considered a delicacy and as everyone knows, yucca suds make the best shampoo. (Mayes and Bayless Lacy 1989: 2)

Navajos gathered and used abundant banana yucca fruits extensively (Castetter 1935: 54; Bell and Castetter 1941: 20). Matthews states that, “*Yucca baccata* has two names, *hosh-kawn*, 'sweet-thorny,' which alludes to its pleasant fruit and sharp-pointed leaves; and *tsa'-si*, which seems to be a generic name” (1886: 776). Navajos ate yucca fruits fresh or cooked, dried, and stored (Castetter 1935: 54-55). Ripe fruits were baked on hot coals or stones. Green fruits were dried, ground, and kneaded into small lightly-roasted cakes. Banana yucca origins, culinary preparation, and uses are discussed in Bell and Castetter (1941).

Yucca was a staple among Navajos, who carried dried Yucca fruits when at war. Yucca also has a central role in the story of Slayer. A piece of Bear's head which was cut and thrown by Slayer to the West is said to have become Yucca; another piece became Agave. Navajos ate ripe banana yucca fruit fresh, cooked, or cut in half, dried, and stored. Fruits were also baked on coals or hot stones, dried, and pulp made into small cakes which were again roasted. Small pieces of these roasted cakes were broken off, dried in the sun, sprinkled with water, and shaped into perforated cakes (so they would not go sour). Stored cakes were broken into bits, mixed with water into a syrup, and eaten when needed. They were generally

eaten with meat, bread, or sometimes boiled with cornmeal to make a gruel or jelly. *Y. glauca* were also eaten by Navajos who baked fruits in ashes and ate, or baked, sliced, and dried fruits for winter use. (1941: 20-21)

Navajos utilize yucca extensively for basketry. Most important are drums for ritual use (Bell and Castetter 1941: 35-36). Drumsticks were formed from leaves of *Y. baccata* painstakingly gathered to be sure proper leaves were used. This consisted of finding the right blemish free plant with four perfect leaves one taken from each of the cardinal directions. Navajos *split Y. baccata* and *Y. glauca* leaves into desired size and used as string, or leaves were ground to fiber and made into cloth, ropes, or cords (1941: 42). Navajos made brushes by “binding together a quantity of tough straight grass stems and tying them near one end with a bunch of yucca strings” (1941: 49). Navajos counting sticks used for the moccasin game were made of yucca while another game of Navajos used yucca leaves placed in hot ashes to render them flexible and moist and then these fibers were wound around bark or a soft object (1941: 53). When the required size, a piece of oak twig was fastened to the end of the buckskin string attached to the ball and the ball thrown into the air, the heavier oak twig steadying it as it fell and the player shot at the falling ball. The objective of another game was to toss a yucca-wrapped ring so that it fell over or touched either of two pegs set at ordinary pitching distance apart. The impersonator of the god, Hatdastisi, carried on his back a Yucca leaf ring and suspended from this was a complete plant of *Y. baccata*. The ring was like that used in the game of nanoz and indicated that the god was a great gambler at this game (1941: 53). Navajos used yucca suds to wash hair and cleanse hides before tanning as well as for ceremonial bathing (1941: 56).

According to Vestal (1952), Ramah Navajos utilized banana yucca in the following ways.

Food: fruit, made into a preserve and molded into rolls about a foot long (for the winter of 1940-41 four women interviewed had made up to twenty rolls each, which they would sell for 25 cents to a dollar apiece); flowers and young leaves.

String or rope: fiber from leaves, used for temporary or emergency purposes.  
Snowshoes: formerly made of broad pine wood splinters tied to the feet with yucca fiber, said to be still used by Navaho living near the Chuskai and Lukachukai Mountains. Baskets: leaves, formerly utilitarian and ceremonial, now mostly ceremonial. Brush for cleaning baskets: leaves. Ball thrown in the air for archery target practice: leaves. Ball for shinny game (played at night): root; shinny stick made of pinyon wood. Ceremonial drumstick: leaves. Consultants said that the Navaho had never used braided yucca fiber sandals, leggings, or bedding, such as those used by the ancient Pueblo peoples; one consultant said yucca would be dangerous to use as clothing because it is a medicine.

Medium for pigments of pottery paints and slips, and for mixing with pottery paste: juice of leaves. Paint brushes: slivers of leaves.  
Soap: root, pounded with rocks to remove the bark and soften it and stirred vigorously in warm water to whip up suds; for washing wool or clothing, shampooing the hair (ordinarily or ceremonially), bathing the body, ceremonial baths, purification baths following burials (hair, body, and clothing; on the

morning after the fourth night following disposal of the body); for ritual purposes the yucca root is gathered ceremonially.

To stop snow or rain: formerly a singer would make four snowballs, or snow collected from the four directions and mixed with red clay, stick yucca leaves through them, bury them in the ashes around the fire in the hogan, and sing four songs telling the snow to go away; when the snowballs melted the ceremony was over.

To lubricate the hand while removing a retained placenta: the midwife (occasionally the singer) covers the hand with yucca juice. (1952: 21)

Vestal continues, describing Ramah Navajos use of soapweed yucca.

Food: fruit, roasted in ashes, not considered as good as blue yucca fruit; flower buds, roasted in ashes about 15 minutes; leaves, boiled with salt.

String: fiber, used to tie ceremonial equipment, e.g., hoops, prayer sticks, unravelers, chant arrows, etc.; formerly used by men for a G-string.

Dye: black, juice mixed with yellow soil from near Fort Wingate; red, juice, boiled alone.

Soap: root. Arrow poison: juice of leaves mixed with charcoal from a lightning-struck pinyon or juniper, about 6 inches of tip of arrow blackened; juice mixed with ashes of porcupine quills.

Prolonged labor: root, cold infusion; thought to clean sticky matter from an oversized baby, expediting delivery. To expedite delivery of the placenta: yucca suds and sugar, cupful. To induce artificial menopause: drink suds made from rotten yucca root and carry some menstrual blood across a river while menstruating. (1952: 21)

### **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Ndé gathered soaptree yucca crowns from March through the end of summer. Broadleaf yucca collection is described to Opler by an Apache:

When the Chiricahua are in the hills, they prepare yucca fruit for winter food. They gather it in the fall, in the latter part of September here [at Mescalero, New Mexico]. It is a pinkish color on the outside when it is ripe. It is good to eat raw when it is ripe. When it is very ripe, it doesn't have to be roasted. It is just cut open, the seeds are taken out, and it is spread out in the sun to dry. It will keep all winter then.

But most of the fruit is picked before it is quite ripe. The women gather a large amount. They roast it on the coals. When the fruits are black on top, they are taken off, and the burned outside is peeled off. They are split in two, and the seeds are taken out. The fruit is then put on a hide and pounded. Then they put it over a container in a basket and let the juice run down. They can drink this juice or pour

it over the fruit again. It makes the yucca fruit soft and sticky. After that they spread the whole mass out to dry in the sun. If rain comes, they have to cover it up. It gets dry in the sun in two days. While it is drying, they take sunflower blossoms and put them on to make it pretty. They pray while they do it.

When it is dry, this fruit can be stored. It will keep like a cracker. During the fall the women put piles of it away for emergency or for the winter. When it is wanted, it is made ready for use by soaking and is then used alone or mixed with other things. (Opler 1996: 360)

Castetter and Opler (1936: 39) describe another method of yucca preparation. Ndé prepared green yucca fruit, covering the fruits with grass to sun-ripen (Castetter and Opler 1936: 39). The fruits were then roasted, peeled, and the white pulp ground and formed into large cake to be stored. Opler (1996: 355) states that narrowleaf yucca stems were also gathered in the spring while they are green, tender, and without blossoms. Yucca stems were peeled and baked overnight in a roasting pit. "The yellow-to-brown baked product was known as *nigahé*" (Castetter and Opler 1936: 39) and was split, sun-dried, soaked in water to soften, and eaten. Banana yucca flowers were also boiled and eaten. Banana and narrow-leaf yucca flowers were also cooked in soups and boiled with meat (Castetter and Opler 1936: 39; Opler 1996: 356). Ndé also gathered and boiled broadleaf yucca flowers, though less frequently.

Occasionally the emerging sotol flower stalks, as well as those of bear grass (*Nolina microcarpa*), mescal (*Agave parryi*), and amole (*Yucca glauca*), were removed, placed on a bed of embers and roasted for about fifteen minutes, after which the outer charred portion was stripped off. The central edible portion was white, soft, sweet, and quite palatable and was regarded as the most delicious portion of the plant. These stalks might also be boiled or eaten raw. Just as the stalk came into bloom it was removed from the plant, peeled, cut into pieces and boiled. It was then dried and stored to be used as a vegetable. (Castetter and Opler 1936: 38)

Below Bell and Castetter's (1941: 18-19) description of yucca preparation is paraphrased.

Preparation of these fruits consists of allowing partially ripe fruit to lie on a layer of grass spread on the ground and covered with a second layer of grass. Ripe fruits are then roasted in a bed of hot ashes. Hard, blackened rinds are stripped, fruit split lengthwise, and seeds removed. The remaining white pulp is ground and made into large cakes which can be stored. Sometimes, however, baked fruit is pounded into pulp on an animal hide and allowed to drain into a basket placed over a jar. Juices can be drunk or poured over pulp cakes. Pulp is spread on Yucca leaved to dry for two days and adorned with sunflower blossoms. Mescaleros utilize Yucca which grows near El Paso and had a hard white fruit with sweet sticky buds. Fruits were cut open, dried on sticks, and used for sweetening different foods. Mescaleros also gathered *Y. glauca* stalks which were roasted on a bed of embers 15 minutes and the white pulp in the center eaten. Stalks were regarded as most delicious portion of plants. They were also boiled or eaten raw,

(or) could be dried and stored as a (vegetable). *Y. elata* crowns were gathered between March and end of summer, the stalks peeled and baked overnight in an underground oven (in a manner similar to mescal preparation). The result was a yellow-brown product which was dried in the sun, broken into pieces, softened with water, and eaten. Flowers of *Y. elata* and *Y. baccata* were boiled and eaten as vegetables; *Y. baccata*'s flowers must be collected before summer rains otherwise they become too bitter to use. *Y. baccata*'s central leaves were cooked in soups and boiled with meats.

Ndé used fibers obtained from banana and Torrey's yucca leaves for the main portions of woven baskets; their roots incorporated to produce red patterns (Bell and Castetter 1941: 35). Geometrical designs decorating baskets “were worked in with strips from the outer greenish-yellow coarse part” of yucca leaves (Bell and Castetter 1941: 35). Soapweed yucca provided the transverse back pieces of female babies' cradleboards as yucca was considered a female plant, sister of sotol (Castetter 1936: 17). According to Castetter (1936: 19), yucca was also utilized as the hearth for fire-drills and long strips were used as binding material.

**Zea** corn

*Z. mays* Linnaeus  
corn, maize, teosinte

### **Western Apaches**

Canyon Creek and Cibecue Apaches reported to Buskirk (1986: 78) that corn was first obtained from Hopis and Pimas. According to Cibecue tradition, “their original corn had been obtained in several colors from neighboring peoples but that after a few years it ceased to reproduce the colors they planted” (Buskirk 1986: 64). An consultant recounted a story to Buskirk (1986: 79) that White Mountain Apaches first obtained yellow corn from Mexicans and soft white, blue, and red varieties from Pueblos. In addition, corn seed was exchanged with Zuñis and Anglos (Buskirk 1986: 79). Father Bartolome Sanches wrote in 1757 that Apaches (possibly Western Apaches or Chiricahuas) planted corn along the Gila River and Santa Lucía Valley (in Buskirk 1986: 109). Documents from expeditions in the mid-1700s describe encountering corn fields along the Gila and San Francisco Rivers – likely either Western or Ndé Apaches, according to Buskirk (1986: 109). Buskirk (1986: 108-109) also states that unknown Indian groups (possibly Apaches) planted corn south of El Morro, New Mexico in 1692, and along the Gila and San Francisco Rivers and near the Florida Mountains in the 1730s.

Buskirk (1986: 64) states that many Western Apaches preferred to use blue flour corn, though red and soft white varieties were also popular. Western Apaches “secured seed from all surrounding peoples, both friends and enemies” resulting in great variation among San Carlos Apaches corn varieties (Buskirk 1986: 65). According to Goodwin, White Mountain Apaches planted seven varieties of corn, each corresponding to a specific clan, though blue corn was considered masculine and chief of other corn varieties (in Buskirk 1986: 77). Before settlement on reservations, Cibecue Apaches planted blue, white, yellow, red, black, green, and 'speckled red with a light stripe' varieties of corn (Buskirk 1986: 78). Barnes, at Fort Apache in 1880,



stated that, "Indian corn in the common red, green, blue, and yellow colors" was cultivated (in Buskirk 1986: 78). In the 1940s, Buskirk (1986: 78) assembled a collection of long-eared red, white, yellow, blue and white, red and white, and black varieties of corn in the East Fork, Canyon Day, and Cedar Creek areas.

During the 1940s, seed selection was mainly carried out by Apache women at the San Carlos Reservation (Buskirk 1986: 61-62). Ceremonial seed selection for proximate planting was carried out at harvest time; tall, four-eared corn stalks were preferred. White Mountain Apaches chose eight stalks and laid them cross-wise with their roots pointed inward. Among Cibecue Apaches, four stalks were chosen with two ears each. All harvested ears were then piled at the center of the cross. Cibecue Apaches sprinkled corn fungus on selected ears, wrapped them in bear-grass, and placed them at the bottom of a ground cache for no more than two years (Buskirk 1986: 64). Corn seed was also stored in jars.

Cibecue people soaked corn seed for a few hours prior to planting and White Mountain Apaches soaked corn seed all night. According to Buskirk (1986: 66), a plant with buds resembling corn ears and referred to as 'too many ears' was soaked with corn seed to assure an abundant harvest. White Mountain Apaches had soaked kernels with soil obtained from a gopher hole and oak leaves as a means for bringing good luck (Buskirk 1986: 66).

Western Apaches generally planted corn between March and July (Buskirk 1986: 65). White Mountain Apaches sometimes planted a second crop a month after the first, or when the first grew to a height of six inches. In preparation of planting, Buskirk (1986: 65-66) observes that fields were soaked with water. Corn was often planted after a heavy rain and seed spacing was irregular, varying between twenty inches to eight feet (Buskirk 1986: 66). According to Buskirk (1986: 66), "one man said the White Mountain planted two or three paces apart, but the same man, who had been in the Navajo country, said Apache planting was closer and shallower than that of the Navajo." Helical planting was practiced occasionally, especially among Southern Tonto (Buskirk 1987: 66). This consisted of planting the center and four cardinal directions of the field first and then planting the remainder of the field in a circular, clockwise manner (Buskirk 1986: 66-67). A medicine man, lucky person, or women with knowledge of prayers and songs was sought to plant seeds. Menstruating women, any person who has received a snake bite, and any person struck by lightning are forbidden from planting. Buskirk (1986: 68) notes that most agricultural rituals centered on corn.

Apaches used a digging stick to weed around corn stalks when corn had grown to a height between six and eighteen inches (Buskirk 1986: 69). Cibecue Apaches watered corn two to three weeks apart, while White Mountain Apaches generally watered two to four times in total (Buskirk 1986: 70).

Buskirk (1986: 71) states that harvesting was predicated upon hunting and gathering schedules, the variety of corn, and time of planting. Apaches generally harvested corn in late August or September (Buskirk 1986: 70). According to Buskirk (1986: 71), there was not usually cooperative exchange of labor. Harvested corn was tied in bundles of ten to twelve ears and rack-dried two to four weeks. Western Apaches transported at least half of the corn to winter camp for

storage (Buskirk 1986: 73). Distinct varieties of corn were stored separately inside a storage pit lined with bear-grass and cedar bark.

According to Buskirk (1986: 81), blue corn made the best tortillas though white corn also made good tortillas. By the 1890s, however, government-issued white flour was often mixed with corn meal to make tortillas (Buskirk 1986: 84-85). Western Apaches favored parching yellow corn and white corn was preferred to make mush. Immature, green corn was often boiled, roasted, or ground. Apaches frequently pit roasted corn, particularly green corn (Regan 1929: 145). Corn was often parched before grinding, though it was never stored this way (Buskirk 1986: 82). Corn bread was made in a variety of ways (Buskirk 1986: 84). Flour was made of parched corn, sunflower seeds, acorns, walnuts, piñon nuts, or lightly parched pumpkin seeds (Buskirk 1986: 84). Ash bread was prepared by mixing corn, salt, and water, wrapping the dough in corn husks, and placing the dough on hot coals (Buskirk 1986: 84). Ground corn was salted, compressed into cakes, and baked in ashes (Buskirk 1986: 82). Corn was also ground with other plant seeds and cooked, alone or into gravy. Western Apaches prepared corn-based dumplings which could be combined with acorns or salt and dropped into soup. Corn cobs could also be boiled with salt (Buskirk 1986: 85). According to Reagan (1929: 144), Apaches also ate corn fungus.

Western Apaches prepared a corn-based beverage, tulipai (tulbai). Gallagher (1976: 62) states that tulipai was made by first covering a quantity of corn with wet burlap to sprout to a height of one inch. Corn was then ground on a metate and placed in a water-filled can with additives, including milkweed, creeping mahonia, mountain mahogany, beardtongue, ponderosa pine, dandelion, meadow rue, loco weed, peyote bean, mesquite bark, sugar, yeast, and rum or brandy flavored mincemeat (Gallagher 1976: 62, Reagan 1930: 298, Hrdlička 1908: 27-8). This mixture was then brought to a boil and set aside until it began to ferment (Gallagher 1976: 62). Then it was boiled again, reducing the mix to a quarter of the original quantity, strained, and divided among containers. These containers were filled with water, mixed, and sprinkled with wheat (to aide fermentation). Western Apaches let the tulipai sit until it began to effervesce at which time it was drunk immediately. The preparation process takes between 24 and 36 hours, according to Gallagher (1976: 62). Among Western Apaches, tulipai is the most common intoxicating drink (Buskirk 1949: 382, Gallagher 1976: 62).

Western Apaches also used *Zea mays* stalks for bedding, although hay grass was preferred (Buskirk 1986: 81). They were also used as livestock feed into the 1940s (Buskirk 1986: 81). Corn husks doubled as cigarette paper.

Corn pollen was collected for ritual use, though White Mountain Apaches only used cattail and piñon pollen ceremonially (Buskirk 1986: 83). Cibecue Apaches employed a long, curving corn variety, called bear corn, in curing (Buskirk 1986: 77).

**From Grenville Goodwin (n.d.: 130, 139-142, 148-149).** Anna Price: A way of cooking corn and beans. We used to cook our corn and beans together sometimes by roasting them in a pit like mescal somewhat. We made a pit about four feet deep. On the bottom we spread corn leaves – still green – lots of them. Then in the middle of the pit we stood a big post up and held it there. Now we brought our corn still on the ear but husked, and our beans, the whole bean plant when the beans were still green. Now we laid the corn and bean plants in the pit around the post

in four parts; first beans, then corn, then beans, then corn, in four quarters, like. We kept piling the beans and corn up this way until the pit was full. Then we pulled the post out carefully so as to leave a clear hole right to the bottom of the pit. It took about three women to lift this post out. Now we put some hot rocks from a fire down this hole, and on top of them dumped four ollas of water. Then we covered the pit over with corn leaves and then dirt and left the food to steam for one whole day and night. Next morning it would be ready and we would pull it out. This kind of pit was called di jiji. We worked on the corn first and shelled off the grains after the ears were dry. Then we husked out the beans when they were dry also. This corn and bean food we now stored in a cache for next winter's use.

John Rope: Ways of Cooking Corn. One way was to take the kernels off the cob and boil them in a clay pot on the fire. Then the kernels were taken out, mashed up, mixed with ground acorns and salt gathered from the edge of the water. The whole was then ready to bake. A pit was dug about two feet down and a foot deep. In this rocks were put which had been heated in a fire. Over these hot rocks were laid corn leaves in a thick layer and level. Now the corn mash was spread on this, and some more leaves spread over the top. Rocks were put on top, and the whole covered with dirt. In about two hours the corn would be ready. Enough was always cooked for one camp, or two camps of relatives living together. The corn was taken out and dumped in a basket where it was allowed to cool and then divided.

Charlie Sago: Parching. Women used to roast corn or other seeds in a basket. They would put some coals in the basket along with the seeds and keep shaking it and rolling it around till all the seeds were roasted, as in popping corn. Dishes:

1. Corn roasted whole, in the ear, over coals.
2. sles tu un, green corn ground up to a mash, mixed with a little salt, and ground-up seeds of barrel cactus fruit. Wrapped up with wet corn leaves in a flat package about ten by twelve inches long and one to two inches thick. Cooked over heated rocks in a shallow pit about ten inches deep. Corn leaves are laid over rocks, then corn food, then more leaves, and finally a covering of dirt.
3. ta be juge, same as Number 2, but in shape of small triangle tart with edges turned in, and about five inches long on each side and one to one-and-a-half inches thick. It is cooked in wet corn leaves in coals of fire.
4. Corn grains and sunflower seeds roasted together in a basket with coals, then ground up into a dry meal. May be eaten dry, or again mixed with something else.

Richard Bylas: Tulibai. Tulibai was first introduced to the White Mountain Apaches by the Chiricahuas, who in turn got it from the Mexicans.

Palmer Valor: About tulibai. It's like only a few years that we have been using tulibai. We didn't used to use it at all. Some Chiricahuas were on the war path in Mexico, and they captured some big tus, full of this kind of drink. Then they learned how to make tulibai this way. One man was living with the hai a; this was go cha ha a zisl ga. While he was there, he learned about tulibai. When he came back to his own people, he taught them how to make it. He brought ollas full of this to us. The bai yaaje nde visited us and

saw us making tulibai. Then they went home and tried to make it. They cooked it and poured it in an olla to sour, but it would not get sour. They came back to us and asked for ollas to cook it in, but they couldn't make it right.

John Taylor: tulibai. In the old days we had no tulibai. First of all the Mexicans had it, and from them the hai a learned how to make it. Then when the hai a came up to visit us, they taught us how. That was not long ago.

Anna Price: Food Storage – ground cache. To store our corn in for the winter, we used to dig ground caches. These were called no shil chi. We dug these off some place with a digging stick. They used to be deep over my head. When we got them all dug out, then we gathered up lots of dry grass and packed it in the bottom and around the sides. On top of this grass we put the corn. We would pack about four horses with bags of buckskin, filled with corn, to the cache; then we would dump the corn out of the bags into the hole. When all the corn was in, we got lots of dry grass and weeds and put it on top. On top of this we put slabs of pine bark and then lots of rocks. Towards the top we put smaller rocks to fit close together. On top of these rocks we plastered on well a white mud, called so. This so we burned in a fire before we plastered it on the rocks. Now on top of all this we piled up the dirt high. We always made these places well-hidden. When we finished them, we would talk to them, "I want you to stay this way just like you are and for no one to bother you; only for the wind to take care of you". Then we would leave it there. In the spring we would take all the corn out again and use it. A ground cache we used for several years. We always dug them wider at the bottom than at the top. At the bottom they would be about six-and-a-half feet in diameter. After they were dug, we let them dry out first. The so was a white rock we used to get under tse i chi by our farm. We used to burn this rock all night in the fire, and the next morning crush it up and then grind it. When the cache was heaped over with dirt, then we mixed our so with dirt and water and plastered it on top of these rocks. When it was dry and hard, we put more grass and brush over it and heaped it up high with dirt. Besides bound corn, we used to store steamed, dried corn grains in pots in these ground caches. We put a flat rock on the top of the pot and sealed it with so. In the so we used to make a mark so that we would know what was inside.

Storing Food in a water bottle in rats' nests: When I was a girl, we used often to store food inside a tus in a big dlus cho nest. We put seeds or other food in the tus and there it would be safe with the mouth stopped up. dlus choh never stole out of the tus at all. When we took some of the food out to use, we would always sprinkle some of the seeds around so that dlus cho could have them for himself. This way, dlus cho would think, "If I take good care of this tus here, then those people will give me something for it."

Basket Bluff Cache: Our seed corn we used to store in a big water bottle under a bluff. The corn was already shelled. These storage water bottles were only pitched on the outer side.

## **Navajos (Diné)**

Vestal (1952: 18) states that *nadà*, qualified by an adjective, was used to designate corn varieties. Among New Mexico's Ramah Navajos, corn was the primary cultivant into the 1940s (Vestal 1952: 18). Corn was typically planted in May (Vestal 1952: 18, 61). Seeds from the year's best plants were selected annually (Vestal 1952: 61). Corn was formerly planted on hills but is now planted in rows (Vestal 1952: 61). Ramah Navajos considered fifteen bushels per acre a good yield; the average was eight to ten bushels of corn. Women generally hoed the fields once or twice a summer and spent considerable time eradicating the ears of insect pests (Vestal 1952: 18). Corn is typically harvested in early September.

Ramah Navajos grew various colors of flint (*Equisetum kansanum*), dent, sweet corn, and a small amount of popcorn. According to Vestal (1952: 18), yellow and white corn varieties were preferred and most widely planted because they are softer and used ceremonially even though yellow dent corn was only introduced in the 1930s and white corn in the 1940s. Blue flour corn was also widely planted and provided ceremonial cakes. Flint corn, said to have been given to Navajos by Anglos, was used as horse feed as it is too hard for grinding.

Corn was prepared in the following ways, according to Vestal (1952: 18). Some families roasted and ate young corn cobs, though most corn was roasted and stored. Ramah Navajos pit roasted corn. After a pit was dug and the fire left to burn down overnight, it was filled with ears of corn and covered with corn stalks, sticks, and dirt. Corn was roasted overnight, removed from the fire, and husked. Kernels (either on cob or removed) were sun-dried on juniper bark, juniper branches, or sage brush. Dried corn was then stored in a pit, cave, or hogan for winter use. Not all corn was gathered for roasting, however. The remainder of the corn was left to mature, after which husks were removed and ears left to dry. Ramah Navajos also pulled back and tied the husks of corn cobs together to be hung to dry. After drying, kernels were removed from the cobs. Some Navajos had mechanical corn shellers and grinders.

Corn pollen and water was one of the first foods given a newborn while the mother was fed cornmeal mush to help regain strength (Vestal 1952: 19). Corn pollen was gathered by women and girls daily during pollination; it is also used in all ceremonies (Vestal 1952: 19).

Navajo potter makers used corn cobs to smooth pottery (Vestal 1952: 19). Corn husks doubled as cigarette papers.

## **Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apaches (Ndé)**

Maize was cultivated among Chiricahuas and continues to be cultivated among Mescaleros, according to Castetter and Opler (1936: 27). Consultants told Opler (1996: 373) that corn was likely the first plant cultivated and the only plant cultivated by some Ndé. A Ndé man told Castetter that corn seed obtained from raids in Mexico was planted around Tularosa and La Luz in the mid-1800s (1936: 28). Castetter and Opler (1936: 28) trace corn cultivation among Warm Springs Apaches to the early 1870s with their settlement on a reservation near Hot Springs. Corn kernels were sometimes soaked all night in water to make them sprout faster and then dropped two or three in a whole (1936: 28). In the past, corn was planted and tended to twice yearly (to pull weeds), since Chiricahuas traveled far and wide. Ndé grew a mixed blue and red corn

variety in the past (Castetter and Opler 1936: 29). A mixed blue and white variety was the primary variety grown in the 1930s. An Ndé consultant describes planting corn,

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahuas picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds. (Opler 1996: 374)

A Ndé woman, interviewed by Goodwin, described placing four ears of corn, the largest and best, on the ground at harvest time – each pointing in a cardinal direction, rootstocks to the center (Buskirk 1986: 63). Buskirk (1986: 63) states that this was intended to help corn grow large and tall. The remainder of a harvest was then placed upon these ears. The corn was then tied in bundles. Opler (1996: 374) states that corn never obtained great symbolic importance though occasionally a person was urged to replace the corn in a cob to insure an abundant future crop.

Castetter and Opler detail the cooking process (1936: 28-30). A Chiricahua consultant told Castetter and Opler (1936: 29) that Chiricahuas did not roast corn in underground pits though they had seen Navajos do it. Ndé, however, usually roasted corn in an underground pit, similar to the roasting of mescal (Castetter and Opler 1936: 29). Corn cobs were sprinkled with water and thrown into a pit of hot ash. The pit was then covered with grass and soil and the ears left to cook overnight. Ndé then removed the cobs and stored with husks intact. When needed, the ears were boiled. Castetter and Opler state that boiled cobs were said to taste like fresh maize. Another preparation method consisted of removing and drying kernels from pit roasted corn to be stored in sacks. Corn was also dried by removing all but two husks, tying the husks, and hanging the ears. Corn preparation was described to Opler (1996: 375).

They would build a big fire and bring in load after load of the corn in sacks. Three or four women would work together. They would site there and shuck corn and put it in the fire and let it get brown on top. Then they would throw it to a place where another woman sat. She would take the ears, cut off the kernels, put them on a clean hide, and throw away the cobs. Then they spread it out in the sun to dry. They would leave the corn out there for a week or two until it was very dry. They can carry that corn around then, and it won't spoil. It will keep for a year. They don't have to keep it in a cool place either. They store it in parfleches and use it in winter.

In the winter when the snow gets to be two or three feet deep, a man goes out and kills game and brings it in. Then they can use the dry corn with meat and bones, letting it boil together for three or four hours. It surely makes a good stew! We're using it right now, for we stored up last summer's corn. This dried corn is used at almost every puberty rite now too. (Opler 1996: 375)

Corn was also ground, made into dough, wrapped in corn husks, and boiled with meat and bones, similar to a tamale (Opler 1996: 375).

Among Ndé, tulipai was perhaps the most common and important drink (Castetter and Opler 1936: 49-52). Tulipai translates to "water, grey." Hrdlička (1904: 190) claims that Chiricahuas learned to make tulipai in Mexico and, in turn, taught Western Apaches how to prepare the beverage. Some Apaches told Castetter and Opler (1936: 51) that tulipai was brought from the south by Lipan Apaches who learned to make it from native Mexicans. Ndé produced tulipai in a manner similar to Western Apaches, though wheat was often substituted for corn. According to Opler (1996: 369), tulipai was a nutritious beverage, often spoken of as food and prepared for social occasions. One consultant claimed that it was used as food in the past when food was scarce.

Below is presented Castetter and Opler's (1936: 49-52) description of tulipai preparation.

Shelled maize is soaked in water for one day. The cobs are then placed in a narrow trench lined on both sides with grass. The maize is covered with grass and soil, then with a blanket. Sometimes, the blanket is laid directly over the corn without the use of grass and soil. Each morning the trench is sprinkled with water to facilitate germination. When the corn-sprouts are about one and a half inches long the seedlings are removed from the trench and finely ground twice between two rocks. The ground seedlings are then boiled in water until the mixture was reduced to half the original quantity. Enough water is added to fill the vessel and the liquid is again boiled for a short time (until about two inches from the top of the vessel), strained through a cloth (at present a flour-sifter is often used), and cooled. It is allowed to ferment in a water jar until about noon of the next day, when it is ready for consumption. The general practice is to place the mash in a jar that was previously used for brewing and which was never washed, the vessel retaining the organisms necessary to start fermentation. In the absence of sugar, mesquite flour (*Prosopis glandulosa*) or saguaro syrup (*Carnegiea gigantean*) is used as sweetening. This finished product is known as tulbai and must be drunk within a few hours after it is prepared or 'it gets weak and is no good'. (Castetter and Opler 1936: 50-51)

Several variations of this process were developed.

Preparation of tulipai was considered women's work, according to Castetter and Opler (1936: 51) and men seldom helped brew. Ground wheat could be added to make the beverage more potent. Yeast or fermented mescal juice were added for flavor and to hasten fermentation. Other additives

included many of the same utilized by Western Apaches, as well as chips of shaved oak root, mesquite root, dandelion flowers, and hops (Castetter and Opler 1936: 50, Gallagher 1976: 62).

One consultant told Opler (1996: 370-371) that the proper way to consume this beverage was to eat before drinking. This helped reduce tulibai's effects and also helped 'cleans you out' – making your urine white for two or three days after drinking.





## Chapter Eight. A Partially Annotated Bibliography of Chiricahua and other Apaches

Scott Rushforth, Aaron Sharratt, and Becki A. R. Graham  
Contributions by Mark Sechrist and Rick Hendricks

Adams, A. B. (1971). *Geronimo: A Biography*. New York, Putnam.

Adams, C. D., D. E. White, et al. (2000). *Dark Canyon Rancheria Apache/Military Battle Site Lincoln National Forest, New Mexico*. Alamogordo, NM, United States Department of Agriculture, Lincoln National Forest.

In Dark Canyon, New Mexico, Adams uncovered a 19th century Mescalero Apache rancheria and battle site at which Mescaleros fought U. S. troops. This report contains excellent pictures of recovered artifacts. Adams notes that rock rings and peeled ponderosa trees, the bark of which is used to prepare mescal, can be used identify Mescalero campsites. Adams also notes that Mescaleros collected shed antlers and piled them in their camps.

Adams, C. D., D. E. White, et al. (2000). *Last Chance Canyon 1869 Apache/Calvary Battle Site, Lincoln National Forest, New Mexico*. Alamogordo, NM, Lincoln National Forest Heritage Program.

Adams provides a concise treatment of prehistory and protohistory of the Guadalupe Mountains and an overview of key elements of Mescalero Apache culture (14-16). He notes that Guadalupe Peak is a spiritual center for Mescalero Apaches, who refer to it as Tsehitchi or Tse'ichi (rock nose).

Adams, D. W. (1991). *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press.

Albright, G. L. (1921). *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads, 1853-1855*. Berkeley, University of California.

Alchisay, E. A. and J. G. Bourke (editor) (2001). *The Apache Story of the Cibicue*. John G. Bourke Diary 60, pp. 21-63. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 295-310.

Entries from John G. Bourke's diary (22 and 29 September 1882), provide his account of conferences between Gen. Crook and Apache scouts, bands, and chiefs regarding the Cibicue Creek fight. Bourke documents meetings with Alchisay, Pedro, Serviano, Cutmouth Moses, Kulo, Charlie, Louni, Nita, Ziddi-ku, Captain Chiquito, Sanchez, Juan Cliché, Chalipun, Chanuhuevi-Gal, Gudi Guya, Eskinospo, Manuel, Nodeski, and Tubucasinda. This information is essential to an understanding of the Cibicue Creek battle of August 30, 1881, an extremely important event in Apache history.

Aleshire, P. (2000). *The Fox and the Whirlwind: General George Crook and Geronimo: A Paired Biography*. New York, Wiley.

Aleshire, P. (2001). *Cochise: The Life and Times of the Great Apache Chief*. New York, Wiley.  
The author characterizes this work as "culturally authentic and seminovelistic." It is not a traditional biography. Early years of Cochise's life, as presented, are largely creative inventions. Descriptions of Cochise's later years are more faithful to historical records.

Aleshire, P. (2001). *Warrior Woman: The Story of Lozen, Apache Warrior and Shaman*. New York, St. Martin's Press.

Alexander, D. V. (1998). *Arizona Frontier Military Place Names 1846-1912*. Las Cruces, NM, Yucca Tree Press.

Allen, R. S. (1948). "Pinos Altos, New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 23: 302-332.

Almada, F. R. (1954). *Geografía del Estado de Chihuahua*. Chihuahua.

Almada, F. R. (1955). *Resumen de History del Estado Chihuahua*. Chihuahua.

Altschul, J. H., M. Cottrell, et al. (1993). *The Garden Project: Studies at Two Rockshelters at Fort Huachuca, Southeastern Arizona*. Tucson, Statistical Research.

The authors examine Apache rock art located at Fort Huachuca in southeast Arizona. This book offers interpretations of color schemes, imagery, and symbolism at this religious site. It also discusses locations of rock art in the greater southwest and common elements in Apache rock art. These elements include horses and riders, thunderbirds, masks, hourglass designs, shields, bison, snakes, lizards, and other animals. Apache consultants helped identify dancer and bird figures.

Altschuler, C. W. (editor) (1969). *Latest from Arizona!: The Hesperian Letters, 1859-1861*. Tucson, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

In fall 1860, the San Francisco Evening Bulletin began publishing a series of letters signed "Hesperian." T. M. Turner, editor of the Tucson Arizonian and former correspondent with the St. Louis Missouri Republican, penned the Hesperian letters. These letters are a significant source of alternative interpretations of the "Bascom Affair." Accounts recorded at the time of the events at Apache Springs are contained in two letters, discussed in Appendix 5, "The Bascom Incident." The major difference between this account and those contained in military records filed years after the events took place revolves around whether Cochise was captured and escaped (as military records state), or sent as an envoy to the hostage-holding Indians. The author also questions the long-held notion that Cochise pursued a policy of vengeance for the decade following the Bascom Affair. Apparently, Uteley did not consult the Hesperian letters for his article, "The Bascom Affair: A Reconstruction."

Altschuler, C. W. (1981). *Chains of Command: Arizona and the Army, 1865-1875*. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

Altschuler, C. W. (1983). *Starting with Defiance: Nineteenth Century Arizona Military Posts*. Tucson, The Arizona Historical Society.

Altschuler encapsulates Fort Bowie history from the time Gen. James Carleton established the fort on 27 July 1862 until 17 October 1894, when an order was issued to close the facility. The Fort Bowie entry includes good photographs of the fort's original and current locations.

Altschuler, C. W. (1991). *Cavalry Yellow and Infantry Blue: Army Officers in Arizona between 1851 and 1886*. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

Amsden, C. (1933). "The Navaho Exile at Bosque Redondo." *New Mexico Historical Review* 8: 31-50.

Anderson, G. C. (1999). *The Indian Southwest 1580-1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Anderson explores southwestern Indian social, political, and economic development framed by demographic changes and Spanish presence between 1580 and 1830. Chapter Five examines origins, ethnogenesis, and cultural reinvention of Apaches with respect to group structure, agriculture, trade, and warfare between 1580 and 1766. This chapter focuses primarily on Lipan Apaches, who were greatly affected by arrival of the Spanish, development of a regional economic network on the southern plains, and pressure from northern Plains Indians who were well equipped with guns and horses.

Anonymous (1787). Documents related to Spanish-Indian relations, Janos, 1787. University of Texas, Latin American Collection, Janos Folder 005, sec. 1:11-108. Austin.

Most of these documents are copies of frontier captain Juan Bautista Peru's correspondence and campaign dairies. Several campaigns against Chiricahua and Mimbrenño Apaches, most of which occurred in the Sierra Madre, are highlighted.

Arbelaez, M. S. (1991). "The Sonoran Missions and Indian Raids of the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of the Southwest* 33(3): 366-385.

Arbelaez explores 17th and 18th century Spanish colonization in Sonora. She describes geographic and cultural difficulties encountered in efforts to settle Indians and the symbolic importance of Indian raiding as resistance to Spanish. This article explains Apache raiding as open resistance to and violent rejection of an alien and ruthless Spanish society.

Archibald, R. (1978). "Acculturation and Assimilation in Colonial New Mexico." *New Mexico Historical Review* 53: 205-217.

Archibald describes Spanish initiatives from the 1500s through the 1700s to acculturate and assimilate Indians. The article draws from legal documents and historical accounts to examine roles of the Church, national policy, local governments, and local attitudes in shaping treatment of the Comanches, Apaches, and Utes in New Mexico during the colonial period.

Arizona Territory Legislative Assembly (1971). *Memorial and Affidavits Showing Outrages Perpetrated by Apache Indians in the Territory of Arizona for the Years 1869 and 1870*. Tucson, Territorial Press: 32.

The "Memorial" was originally published in 1871 under authority of the Legislature of the Territory of Arizona. It is a list with statements of "atrocities" committed by Apaches during 1869 and 1870. The list was intended to justify actions against Apaches by the Territory of Arizona and the U. S. military.

Aschmann, H. (1974). *Environment and Ecology in the Northern Tonto Claim Area*. Apache Indians V. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 167-232.

Aschmann describes traditional environment and subsistence of Northern Tonto Apaches (Western Apaches) from east central Arizona. For Northern Tonto Apaches, Aschmann includes agriculture, hunting, gathering, raiding, and other features of subsistence economy. This work is useful for information concerning Apache subsistence and relationships to the landscape.

Aschmann, H. (1974). *Terrain and Ecological Conditions in the Western Apache Range*. Apache Indians V. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 233-260.

Aschmann describes ecology along the Mogollon Rim of east central Arizona and west central New Mexico. He gives a useful summary of the environment and climate in which Apaches lived.

Austerman, W. R. (1985). *Sharps, Rifles, and Spanish Mules: The San Antonio-El Paso Mail, 1851-1881*. College Station, Texas A&M University Press.

Babbitt, J. (1979). "From Albuquerque to Tucson in 1867: The Kansas Pacific Railway Survey Photographs of William A. Bell." *Journal of Arizona History* 1: 289-299.

Bell surveyed for the Kansas Pacific Railroad along the "Gila Route" from Albuquerque, New Mexico to Tucson, Arizona. He took the first photographs of several places significant to Apache history, including Fort Cummings, Cooke's Peak, Ojo Caliente, Stein's Pass, Fort Bowie, and Apache Pass.

Bailey, L. R. (1966). *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press.

Bailey examines Spanish policies in northern Mexico directed at missionary efforts to convert Indians, slave raiding, and trade of Indian captives in the greater southwest between 1700 and the late 1800s. Bailey concentrates on economic commerce, consequences, and conflict that arose out of such policies. Chapter One of Section One examines missionary efforts in northern Mexico from 1700 to 1760, when 800 Apaches were converted. Slaving expeditions involving Spanish courting of Indian allies to raid enemy bands and plunder trails facilitating the flow of captives (children) between New Mexico, Chihuahua, and Sonora during this time are explored. This chapter also examines how a power struggle between the French and the Spanish played out with regard to Apaches during the early 1700s. Chapter Two of Section One examines economic trade along plunder trails used by Apaches during the early to mid 1800s. Trails discussed include Coyoteros roads, Copper Road (used by some Mogollon and White Mountain Apaches), and plunder trails running through the Pass of El Morion

(used by Mescaleros). Chapter Three of Section One examines Apache raiding parties from 1880-1920 and pursuit of the last remaining Apaches in the Sierra Madre. Section Two examines slave raiding and the Navajo wars from 1700-1885. Section Three examines slave raiders in the Great Basin between 1760 and 1855. Section Four examines national policy and political debate related to Indian policy, specifically Indian slavery and captivity. Reports and accounts from historical sources and military personnel are explored to discuss effects of captivity on individuals.

Bailey, L. R. (1999). *The Valiants: The Tombstone Rangers and Apache War Frivolities*. Tucson, Westernlore Press.

Bailey investigates Arizona militias from the 1880s. Ranger units were organized to confront the threat of Indian raiding. She compares the 1883 Tombstone Rangers to various other Ranger units. The author focuses on Ranger units' organization, movements, successes, and failures, as she defines them. She examines Captain Bourke's claim that the Tombstone Rangers were a thorn in the side of the military.

Baker, B. (1977). *Settlers & Strangers: Native Americans of the Desert Southwest and History as They Saw It*. New York, Macmillan.

Baldwin, G. C. (1965). *The Warrior Apaches: A Story of the Chiricahua and Western Apache*. Tucson, D. S. King.

Ball, E. (1965). "The Apache Scouts: A Chiricahua Appraisal." *Arizona and the West* 7: 315-328.

Ball interviewed Chiricahua Apaches at the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico. She reports that they had extremely negative opinions of Apache scouts who assisted the U. S. military.

Ball, E. (1970). *In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

James Kaywaykla was a survivor of the Tres Castillos Massacre, when Mexican troops slaughtered Victorio and many other Warm Springs and Mescalero Apaches. Kaywaykla told Ball stories of his Apache ancestors.

Ball, E. (1974). "Juh's Stronghold in Mexico." *Journal of Arizona History* 15: 73-84.

Ball presents a short biography of Asa Daklugie, son of Apache leader Juh. Daklugie was an influential Chiricahua man who attended Carlisle Indian School and helped orchestrate a 1913 Chiricahua Apache relocation from Fort Sill, Oklahoma to the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico. The article recounts daily life of Nednhi people (a southern "band" of Chiricahua Apaches) in Mexico prior to their surrender and imprisonment in the U. S.

Ball, E., N. Henn, et al. (1980). *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey*. Provo, UT, Brigham Young University Press.

Ball's historical narrative is based primarily on her work with Asa Daklugie, son of Apache leader Juh. Daklugie was an influential Chiricahua man who attended Carlisle

Indian School and helped orchestrate a 1913 Chiricahua Apache relocation from Fort Sill, Oklahoma to the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico. Ball used shorthand to transcribe Daklugie's stories. This work has come under recent criticism for its methods and lack of critical analysis.

Ball, M. W. (2002). "'People Speaking Silently to Themselves': An Examination of Keith Basso's Philosophical Speculations on 'Sense of Place' in Apache Cultures." *The American Indian Quarterly* 26(3): 460-478.

Quoting from the article, which begins by quoting Keith Basso: "[T]hrough a vigorous conflation of attentive subject and geographical object, places come to generate their own fields of meaning. So, too, they give rise to their own aesthetic immediacies, their shifting moods and relevancies, their character and spirit. Even in total stillness, places may seem to speak. But as Sartre makes clear, such voices as places possess should not be mistaken for their own. Animated by the thoughts and feelings of persons who attend to them, places express only what their animators enable them to say... Human constructions par excellence, places consist in what gets made of them in anything and everything they are taken to be and their disembodied voices, immanent though inaudible, are merely those of people speaking silently to themselves (Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, pp. 108-109). I have initiated this article with the above quote from Keith Basso's book, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, because I wish to critique the ideas presented therein. Primarily, I am interested in the notions of subject, object, perception, and "sense of place," and thus I will emphasize questions of epistemology and ontology as they relate to Native American conceptions and experiences of sacred lands and spiritual geographies. More specifically, my concern is to highlight why the above philosophical characterization, when applied to an Apache sense of place, is highly problematic in relation to spiritual and religious experience and practice in Apache cultures."

Bancroft, H. H. (1889). *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. San Francisco, History Company.

Bancroft, H. H. (1889). *History of the North American States and Texas*. San Francisco, History Company.

Bannon, J. F. (1970). *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513-1821*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Bannon synthesizes materials concerning the "Spanish Borderland," loosely defined as the borders between Mexico, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Bannon offers a history of this area from the arrival of Spanish Conquistadores to the conclusion of Spanish occupation. The author admittedly ignores "Mexican years" of the Borderland and implications of the clash between Spanish and Anglo-American cultures and philosophies. Bannon's brief passages focusing on Apaches highlight unsuccessful Franciscan missionary overtures to them in the late 1750s and Apache raiding in the 1760s and 1770s.

Barnes, T. C., T. H. Naylor, et al. (1981). *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Barnes, W. C. (1931). "The Apache's Last Stand in Arizona." *Arizona Historical Review* 3(1): 36-59.

Barnes reports events following a July 1882 Apache "outbreak" from Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. He describes movements of U. S. troops who tracked the Apaches. These events culminated in the "Battle of Big Dry Wash," the last large fight in the U. S. between Apaches and government troops.

Barnes, W. C. (1988). *Arizona Place Names*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Barnes, W. C. and Frank C. Lockwood (editor) (1982). *Apaches and Longhorns: The Reminiscences of Will C. Barnes*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Barney, J. M. (1933). *Tales of Apache Warfare: True Stories of Massacres, Fights and Raids in Arizona and New Mexico*. Glen Rock, NJ, Microfilming Corp. of America.

Barney offers accounts from 1870s military journals about Apache hostilities in Arizona.

Barrick, N. and M. Taylor (1976). *The Mesilla Guard, 1851-61*. El Paso, University of Texas.

Bartlett, J. R. (1965). *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexico Boundary Commission during the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53*. Chicago, Rio Grand Press.

Barton, A. M., S. A. Sloane, et al. (1992). *Chiricahua Mountains Research Symposium: Proceedings*, Tucson, Southwest Parks and Monuments Association.

The symposium focused on Chiricahua Mountain ecology.

Basehart, H. W. (1959). *Chiricahua Apache Subsistence and Socio-Political Organization*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico.

Basehart provides an excellent summary of historical Chiricahua Apache territory, subsistence, and socio-political organization. He brings together information from historical and ethnographic literature and from his own fieldwork during 1957 with Chiricahua people living on the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico and at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Basehart discusses much of the same historical material that Albert Schroeder covers in his accounts of Chiricahua history (1974a, 1974b). He discusses much of the same ethnographic material that Morris Opler considers in his anthropological works about Chiricahuas. Basehart focuses on understanding Chiricahua bands, local groups, and leaders. He emphasizes group flexibility, group mobility, and the overlapping nature of band territories.

Basehart, H. W. (1967). "The Resource Holding Corporation among the Mescalero Apache." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 23(3): 277-291.

Basehart, H. W. (1971). *Mescalero Apache Band Organization and Leadership*. Apachean Culture History and Ethnology. K. H. Basso and M. Opler. Tucson, University of Arizona Press: 35-49.



Basehart asserts that bands were central to economic and political order for Mescalero Apaches. He claims that bands consisted primarily of separate, kin-based local groups that camped near one another for defensive protection. Basehart argues that bands were central for productive activities, but states that there was no specific band structure for hunting, gathering, or raiding activities. Band leaders had no coercive power over other band members, but were "catalysts" for decision-making. Their positions were often inherited. In apparent contradiction to a matrilineal postmarital residence norm, Basehart reports one band's component families, indicating that the band had as many resident married sons as it had resident married daughters.

Basehart, H. W. (1974). *Mescalero Apache Subsistence Patterns and Socio-Political Organization*. Apache Indians XII. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 9-178.

Basehart writes about Mescalero Apache subsistence practices, territory, and socio-political organization. He includes historical evidence and data he collected between 1957 and 1960. Part 2 of the report examines environmental features and subsistence patterns. Basehart describes major features of the natural environment, including flora and fauna, and Mescalero methods for securing food and using the natural environment. Part 3 examines place names and territorial references. Basehart discusses five major territorial units: western, eastern, northern, southern, and central. He discusses Mescalero concepts of territory through a list of 220 place names that includes nuclear centers, boundary markers, sacred mountains, and campsites. Part 4 examines four components of Mescalero socio-political organization: social organization, raiding patterns, Mescalero-Comanche relations, and effects of Anglo-American control on Mescaleros. Analysis of Mescalero group structure focuses on relationships between group organization, environmental exploitation, and uses of territory. Flexibility of Mescalero social organization and concepts of free land and mobility are explored. Patterns of movement associated with particular Mescalero leaders (including Cadete, Ramon, Yellow, Gomez, Natsili, Tobacco, and Platta) and band associations with specific territories are examined. The author also looks at matrilineal, extended family kinship groups; cultural characteristics; contact with other tribes documented in historical records; warfare with Comanches; and group solidarity.

Basso, K. H. (1966). "The Gift of Changing Woman." *Anthropological Papers of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology* 76: 115-173.

Basso, K. H. (1967). *Heavy with Hatred: An Ethnographic Study of Western Apache Witchcraft*. Palo Alto, Stanford University: vii, 207 leaves.

Basso's dissertation focuses on power and negative uses of power by Western Apaches. The book is extremely useful for information it provides concerning Western Apache values. Witchcraft accusations among Western Apaches seem to be made against those who violate fundamental values. Witchcraft accusations are most likely to be made against individuals who are stingy, angry, and mean, and who steal, fight, and violate basic kinship norms. Basso offers a functional explanation of Western Apache witchcraft.

Basso, K. H. (1969). *Western Apache Witchcraft*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

The published version of Basso's dissertation focuses on power and negative uses of power by Western Apaches. The book is extremely useful for the information it provides concerning Western Apache values. Witchcraft accusations among Western Apaches seem to be made against those who violate fundamental values. Witchcraft accusations are most likely to be made against individuals who are stingy, angry, and mean, and who steal, fight, and violate basic kinship norms. Basso offers a functional explanation of Western Apache witchcraft.

Basso, K. H. (1970). *The Cibecue Apache*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.  
Basso summarizes Western Apache culture and society. He provides information concerning social structure, religion, power, ceremonials, and witchcraft. The book is particularly useful for details provided concerning the Western Apache girl's puberty ceremony. It should be read by anyone interested in an introduction to Western Apache culture and society.

Basso, K. H. (1979). *Portraits of 'The Whiteman': Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols among the Western Apache*. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press.

Basso, K. H. (1989). *Western Apache Language and Culture: Essays in Linguistic Anthropology*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Basso, K. H. (1996). *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Basso addresses Western Apache conceptions of "place." Using ethnographic and linguistic methods, Basso focuses on cultural, historical, social, and communicative issues pertaining to Western Apache constructions of landscape. A key point is that Western Apaches attach moral, cultural, and historical significance to their landscape. For Western Apaches, place is much more than material, economic, or environmental space. Basso's book consists of four papers, written at different times. Each chapter presents an important feature of Western Apache language, culture, and conceptions of place. The conceptions of Western Apache place, as represented by Basso, are vital for an understanding of the significance of "land" to Apache peoples.

Basso, K. H. and N. Anderson (1973). "A Western Apache Writing System: The Symbols of Silas John." *Science* 180 (new series): 1013-1022.

Basso, K. H. and M. E. Opler (editors). (1971). *Apachean Culture History and Ethnology*. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, No. 21. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Harry Basehart's paper on Mescalero Apache band organization and leadership, Louise Lamphere's work on Navajo cooperative values, and Keith Basso's account of Western Apache communication are particularly important in understanding Apachean history and culture. Several points from these and other papers in the collection may be generalized to most southern Athapaskan groups.

Baugh, T. G. and M. Sechrist (editors) (2001). *Protohistoric Apachean Adaptations within the Basin and Range Province of South-Central New Mexico and West Texas: A Perspective from the Fort Bliss Reservation*. El Paso, TRC Mariah Associates, Inc.

Baumler, M. F. (1984). *The Archeology of Faraway Ranch, Arizona*. Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology No. 24. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Baylor, G. W. (1996). *Into the Far, Wild Country: True Tales of the Old Southwest*. El Paso, Texas Western Press.

Baylor was an outlaw turned Texas Ranger. The book emphasizes Baylor's (1) affairs with and role in driving Comanches from northern Texas during the late 1850s, (2) fighting federal troops during the early 1860s as a Texas Ranger, and (3) tracking groups of Apache raiders around El Paso, Texas in the late 1870s. Part Three of this volume examines Baylor's account of attacks by Apaches on travelers near Stein's Peak and Cooke's Canyon in 1861 and his recollections of a fight with Victorio-led Warm Springs Apaches in northern Mexico during the late 1870s or early 1880s. It also describes Baylor's accounts of a November 1879 massacre of two small parties of Mexicans by Victorio in the Candelaria Mountains and an 1881 massacre of a small band of Victorio's Apaches in the Sierra Diablo.

Baylor, G. W. and Odie B. Faulk (editor) (1966). *John Robert Baylor, Confederate Governor of Arizona*. Tucson, Arizona Pioneer Historical Society.

Beals, R. L. (1934). *Material Culture of the Pima, Papago, and Western Apache: With Suggestions for Museum Displays*. Berkeley, United States Department of the Interior Field Division of Education: 1-45.

Beidl, J. (1990). *Analyses of Artifacts from Three Potential Apache Sites in the Mountains of South-central New Mexico*. Anthropology. Las Cruces, New Mexico State University.

Bell, W. A. (1869). *New Tracks in North America: A Journal and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean during 1867-8*. London, Chapman and Hall.

Bell, W. H. and E. F. Castetter (1941). *Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest, VII: The Utilization of Yucca, Sotol, and Beargrass by the Aborigines in the American Southwest*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Bellah, R. N. (1952). *Apache Kinship Systems*. Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Prize Essay, 1950. Cambridge, Harvard University Press: 151.

Bender, A. B. (1934). "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1853-1861." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9(4): 345-373.

Bender, A. B. (1974). A Study of Jicarilla Apache Indians, 1846-1887. Apache Indians XI. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Bender pens a general history of Jicarilla Apaches and their conflicts with the U. S. government. He mentions that some Jicarilla and Mescalero bands occupied permanent villages in mountain valleys. Bender also states that a small Jicarilla group settled in the Sacramento Mountains of the Mescalero Reservation. Other contacts between Jicarillas and Mescaleros occurred because of forced relocations.

Bender, A. B. (1974). A Study of Mescalero Apache Indians, 1846-1880. Apache Indians XI. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 1-166.

In this piece, Bender recounts conflicts between Mescalero Apaches and the U. S. government before, during, and after the Civil War.

Bender, A. B. (1974). A Study of Western Apache Indians, 1846-1886. Apache Indians V. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 9-166.

Bender's work describes various bands of Western Apaches from east central and south central Arizona. It is a useful sketch of early Anglo-American relationships with Western Apaches, military campaigns against Western Apaches, establishment of Apache reservations, and conditions on those reservations through 1886.

Bennett, J. A., C. E. Brooks, et al. (1948). Forts and Forays: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Bennett, P. S., M. R. Kunzmann, et al. (1996). An Annotated List of Vascular Plants of the Chiricahua Mountains, including the Pedregosa Mountains, Swisshelm Mountains, Chiricahua National Monument, and Fort Bowie National Historic Site. Special Report No. 12. Tucson, United States Geological Survey Biological Resources Division, Cooperative Park Studies Unit School of Renewable Natural Resources, University of Arizona: vii, 228.

The authors examine soil, vegetation, and flora of the Chiricahua Mountain area in southeast Arizona. They include an annotated list of all plants found in the Chiricahua Mountains (pp. 38-206) organized alphabetically by technical name. The list provides common names, descriptions, distributions, and habitats for each plant. The monograph includes a bibliography.

Bertram, J. B. (1992). The Joint Task Force-Six Border Survey, Archaeological Survey Along the United States/ Mexico Border from Anapra to Antelope Wells, New Mexico, Appendix C. Tularosa, NM, Human Systems.

Betancourt, J. (1981). A History of Mescalero Apache-United States Army Encounters in Dog Canyon, New Mexico 1849-1880. Alamogordo, NM, United States Department of Agriculture, Lincoln National Forest.

Betzinez, J. and William S. Nye (editor) (1987). I Fought with Geronimo. Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press.

As a young man in the 1880s, Betzinez traveled with Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache resisters. He was sent as a prisoner of war to Florida, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, and Fort Sill, Oklahoma. He became a strong advocate of Western ways.

Bezy, J. V. and L. D. Fellows (2001). *Rocks in the Chiricahua National Monument and the Fort Bowie National Historic Site*. Tucson, Arizona Geological Survey.

Bieber, R. P. (editor) (1938). *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854*, by Philip St. George Cooke, William Henry Chase Whiting, and Francois Xavier Aubry. Glendale, CA, The Arthur H. Clark Company.

The first part of this volume examines Philip St. George Cooke's diary from his southwestern army service (1846 to 1847). Emphasis is placed on Cooke's survey work while leading a Mormon Battalion expedition from Santa Fe to California and on journal entries relating to encounters with Apaches while traveling through the Gila River region.

Bigelow, J. (1958). *On the Bloody Trail of Geronimo*. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press.

Bigelow, M. E. (1990). "The Apache Campaigns under General Crook." *Military Intelligence*: 38-41.

Bigelow discusses Crook's military innovations and tactics.

Bloom, L. (1933). "Bourke on the Southwest, I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 8(1): 1-30. Bloom reviews Capt. Bourke's diary, which includes descriptions and drawings from Bourke's time in the southwest. This chronicle of Capt. Bourke's personal experiences contains descriptions of Indian campaigns in which he participated. Bloom's historical analysis adds detail to Bourke's diary.

Bloom, L. (1934). "Bourke on the Southwest, II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9(1): 33-77. Chapter Two of Bloom's chronicle focuses on Capt. Bourke's entry into West Point Military Academy, his first army assignments in Colorado and Kansas, and his subsequent appointment to Fort Craig, New Mexico. Chapter Three is an account of Bourke's introduction to the southwest. Bloom shows how Bourke viewed southwestern peoples and how he adapted to military life. This section provides a thorough account of Bourke's experiences and impressions of people, landscapes, foods, and military personnel with whom he worked. Chapter Four includes Bourke's account of his 1870 travels in Arizona, Cushing's death, Russell's pursuit of Cochise through the Dragoon Mountains, and a description of daily life in Tucson.

Bloom, L. (1934). "Bourke on the Southwest, III." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9(2): 159-183.

Chapter Five covers spring 1870 to fall 1871. Bourke includes a description of Apache physical characteristics, a list of troop engagements during this time, and a summary of fighting at Devil's Well.

Bloom, L. (1934). "Bourke on the Southwest, IV." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9(3): 273-280.

Chapter Six contains short anecdotes and reflections on life in the southwest recorded by Bourke in 1880.

Bloom, L. (1934). "Bourke on the Southwest, V." *New Mexico Historical Review* 9(4): 375-435. Chapter Seven recounts a campaign led by Gen. Crook to gather Western Apaches on reservations from November 1872 through April 1873. This section contains daily journal entries from the campaign.

Bloom, L. (1935). "Bourke on the Southwest, VI." *New Mexico Historical Review* 10(1): 1-35. Chapter Nine contains notes from spring 1873 through fall 1874. During this time, Bourke traveled through Arizona and Sonora. Chapter Ten recounts Bourke's travels from Fort Whipple, Arizona to San Francisco, California during March and April 1875. Chapter Eleven describes his travels through Utah in April 1875.

Bloom, L. (1935). "Bourke on the Southwest, VII." *New Mexico Historical Review* 10(4): 271-322.

Chapter Twelve contains Bourke's reflections on events in Washington, D. C. and notes on proposed ethnographic Indian research during winter 1880-1881. Chapter Thirteen is an account of Bourke's study of Shoshone people and his travels through New Mexico and Arizona to study Indians in spring 1881. Chapter Fourteen contains notes from Holy Week, April 1881 in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Bloom, L. (1936). "Bourke on the Southwest, IX." *New Mexico Historical Review* 11(2): 188-207.

Chapter Seventeen is Bourke's Zuni ethnology, recorded in May 1881.

Bloom, L. (1936). "Bourke on the Southwest, VIII." *New Mexico Historical Review* 11(1): 77-123.

Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen are accounts of Bourke's visit to Navajo and Zuni pueblo during April and May 1881 to collect ethnographic data.

Bloom, L. (1936). "Bourke on the Southwest, X." *New Mexico Historical Review* 11(3): 217-282.

Chapter Eighteen contains notes from Bourke's second ethnographic visit with Navajos during May and June 1881. Chapter Nineteen is a collection of Bourke's journal entries from July 1881, when he worked with pueblo Indians of northern New Mexico.

Blount, B. (1918). *The Apaches in United States History, 1846-1886*. Berkeley, University of California: v, 229 leaves.

Bolton, H. E. (1936). *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*. New York.

Bolton examines unpublished works by missionary pioneer Eusebio Francisco Kino, who traveled north to establish missions among "less civilized" tribes.

Bond, G. (1962). *Geronimo Rides Out*. London, Arco Publications.

Bond, M. (1989). *The Apache Pot. Reconnaissance in the Upper Jornada del Muerto and Hembrillo Canyon and Other Special Projects, White Sands Missile Range.* M. Sale and K. W. Laumbach. Tularosa, NM, Human Systems Research, Incorporated.

Borden, W. C. (1893). "The Vital Statistics of an Apache Indian Community." *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* CXXIX (1): 5-10.

Borden provides medical statistics and observations concerning Apache prisoners of war interned at Mt. Vernon Barracks, Alabama from June 1887 to June 1894. Statistics include birth rates, death rates, and causes of death.

Bourke, J. G. (1890). "Notes on Apache Mythology." *Journal of American Folklore Society* 3: 209-212.

Bourke, J. G. (1890). "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona." *Journal of American Folklore* 3: 111-126.

Bourke, J. G. (1891). "Notes upon the Religion of the Apache Indians." *Folklore* 2: 419-455.

Bourke, J. G. (1891). *On the Border with Crook.* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

Bourke's book is based on his journal, which records his service with Gen. Crook. It is indispensable for individuals interested in Arizona Apache history. It includes records of Crook's policies and actions against Apaches. Many scholarly accounts of Arizona Apache history use this and other Bourke writings as primary sources. Bourke provides details about key historic events, such as Crook's 1872-1873 campaign against Western Apaches, and important individuals, such as Cochise. Of particular importance is Bourke's account of Crook's Sierra Madre campaign against Chiricahua Apaches in 1883. Bourke's account also provides useful details about conditions on Apache reservations and about the "Indian Ring" of contractors and government officials who exploited Apaches in the 1870s and 1880s. Significant information is provided about everyday life in the military, military encounters with Apaches, and Apache life.

Bourke, J. G. (1892). *The Medicine-men of the Apache.* Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Bourke offers an ethnographic account of Western Apache religion and medicine people. It includes information about beliefs from other parts of the world and is rather ethnocentric in places.

Bourke, J. G. (1958). *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.

Bourke's book is a key reference concerning Gen. George Crook's 1883 campaign against Chiricahua Apaches. Many other accounts of Chiricahua Apache military history rely on this and other Bourke writings. This book is indispensable for details about Anglo-American contact with Apaches, Apaches who resisted Anglo-Americans, and day-to-day military operations against Apaches.

Bourke, J. G. (1974). *General Crook in the Indian Country*. Palmer Lake, CO, Filter Press.

Bourke, J. G. (2001). A Conference with Cochise. *John Gregory Bourke Diary, Volume 1*, pp. 125-127, 177-183. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 152-154.

Bourke recorded an interview between Maj. Brown, 5th Cavalry, and Chiricahua Apache leader Cochise on 3 February 1873. The interview took place on the Chiricahua Apache Reservation of southeastern Arizona.

Bourke, J. G. (2001). Crook's Campaign in '72. *Chicago Inter Ocean, July 5, 1883*. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 141-143.

Capt. Bourke's interview describes Gen. Crook's 1872 campaign against Western Apaches.

Bourke, J. G. and Frederic Remington (illustrator) (1968). *With General Crook in the Indian Wars*. Palo Alto, Lewis Osborne.

Bourke's narrative was first published in the March 1891 issue of Century Magazine. It is based on his journal, which records his time with Crook on the plains and in the southwest.

Bourke, J. G. and C. C. Painter (1889). Report of the Conference Between Professor C. C. Painter, Indian Rights Association, and Captain John G. Bourke, Third Cavalry, U. S. Army, and the Chiefs and Head Men of the Chiricahua Apache Prisoners at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, June 24, 1889. Washington D. C., War Department: 1-15.

Bowden, J. J. and A. J. Oppenheimer (1974). *The Ascarate Grant. Apache Indians II*. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 361.

Bowers, J. E. and G. H. H. Huey (1988). *Chiricahua National Monument*. Tucson, Southwest Parks and Monuments Association: 64.

Boyer, L. B. (1962). "Remarks on the Personality of Shamans, with Special Reference to the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation." *Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 2: 233-54.

Boyer's works should be read with skepticism.

Boyer, L. B. (1964). *Folk Psychiatry of the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation. Magic, Faith and Healing: Studies in Primitive Psychiatry Today*. A. Kiev. Glencoe, ILL, The Free Press: 384-419.

Boyer, L. B. (1979). *Childhood and Folklore: A Psychoanalytic Study of Apache Personality*. New York, Library of Psychological Anthropology.

Flapdoodle.



Boyer, L. B., R. M. Boyer, et al. (1973). *Shamanism and Peyote Use among the Apaches. Hallucinogens & Shamanism*. M. J. Harner. London, Oxford University Press.

Boyer, L. B., R. M. Boyer, et al. (1982). "An Apache Woman's Account of Her Recent Acquisition of the Shamanistic Status." *Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology* 5: 299-331.

Boyer, L. B. and R. M. Boyer (1972). "Effects of Acculturation on the Vicissitudes of the Aggressive Drive among the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation." *Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 5: 40-82.

Boyer, R. M. (1962). *Social Structure and Socialization of the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation*. Berkeley, University of California. Ph.D.

Boyer, R. M. (1964). "The Matrifocal Family among the Mescalero: Additional Data." *American Anthropologist* 66: 593-602.

Boyer, R. M. and N. D. Gayton (1992). *Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Boyer collaborates with Narcissus Gayton Duffy, a descendant of 19th century Warm Springs Apache leader Victorio. Boyer and Duffy write about the latter's Apache family history.

Brandes, R. (1960). *Frontier Military Posts of Arizona*. Globe, AZ, Dale Stuart King.

Brandes gives short, introductory descriptions of Arizona's frontier military posts.

Bibliographies and, often, pictures accompany brief passages (usually one or two pages) regarding each post.

Brandes, R. (1970). *Troopers West: Military & Indian Affairs on the American Frontier*. San Diego, Frontier Heritage Press.

Brandes, R. and R. A. Smith (1962). "The Scalp Business on the Border." *Smoke Signal* 6(Fall): 2-16.

Brinckerhoff, S. B. (1967). "The Last Years of Spanish Arizona, 1786-1821." *Arizona and the West* 9(1): 5-20.

Brinckerhoff examines Spanish military efforts against Apaches from 1786 to 1821. The article describes relocation of Pima Apaches in 1819, relocation of presidios to combat Apache raiding during the 1770s, and Capt. Allende's 1783 expedition from Tucson to the Gila River to capture Apaches. It also describes Capt. Manuel de Echeagaray's 1788 expedition from Santa Cruz to the Rio Grande; settlement of Apaches at Bacoachi, Sonora, and Tucson during the 1790s; and years of peace during this period.

Brinckerhoff, S. B. (1978). "Aftermath of Cibecue: Court Martial of the Apache Scouts, 1881." *Smoke Signal* (Fall): 122-135.

Apache scouts who fought against U. S. troops at the Cibecue Creek Battle were imprisoned. Three were tried and hung.

- Brinckerhoff, S. B. and O. B. Faulk (1965). *Lancers for the King: A Study of the Frontier Military System of Northern New Spain, with a Translation of the Royal Regulations of 1772*. Phoenix, The Arizona Historical Foundation.
- Brodhead, M. J. (1973). "Elliott Coues and the Apaches." *Journal of Arizona History* 14: 87-94. Brodhead reports Coues' impressions of Coyotero Apaches and his experiences while stationed at Fort Whipple, Arizona in 1865.
- Brown, G. M. (editor) (1999). *South Waste Rock Expansion: Archaeological Data Recovery in the Buckhorn Gulch Area at the Continental Mine, Grant County, New Mexico*. Farmington, NM, Western Cultural Resource Management, Incorporated.
- Brown, L. E. (1963). *The Arizona Apaches and Christianization; A Study of Lutheran Missionary Activity, 1893-1943*. Tucson, University of Arizona. Ph.D.: 126 leaves.
- Brown, R. B. (1998). Cerro Del Diablo, Janos, Chihuahua: A Historic Apache Site? *Rock Art of the Chihuahuan Desert Borderlands*. S. Smith-Savage and R. J. Mallou. Alpine, TX, Center for Big Bend Studies: 45-53.  
Rock art at a site in Cerro del Diablo near Janos, Chihuahua, Mexico, suggests that the site is Apachean. At the rock art site, scrapers, knives, cores, and stone bivouacs were found, but neither potsherds nor adobe structures were present. The rock art consists of "geometric designs, different types of anthropomorphs and zoomorphic figures and what may well be symbolic images, scratched, pecked, or carved into the faces of the bare rock." Identified elements include parallel and wavy lines, circles, crosses, triangles, and human stick figures.
- Brown, R. B. (2001). "Silent Voices: Philipp Rondé Meets Mangas Coloradas." *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 13.  
According to the abstract: "When he left France in early 1849, Philipp Rondé was hoping for fame and fortune. When he arrived in Chihuahua, he got more than he bargained for. He was taken hostage by Apaches led by Mangas Coloradas. In 1861, Rondé published an illustrated article of his experiences in Chihuahua. The following text takes a critical look at the incident."
- Browne, J. R. and D. M. Powell (editor) (1974). *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, 1864*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.
- Browning, C., C. Lowry, et al. (2000). *Roasting Pits, Lithic Procurement, and Logistical Mobility: The Pinon Data Recovery Project, Investigations of 18 Sites in Otero County, South-central New Mexico*. El Paso, GeoMarine Incorporated.
- Browning, C. B. and S. Mendez (2000). *Archaeological Survey of Four Proposed Petroleum Pump Stations and Overhead Powerline for the Ultramar Diamond Shamrock El Paso Pipeline in Oldham and Hudspeth Counties, Texas, and Curry, Chaves, and Otero Counties, New Mexico*. El Paso, Geo-Marine, Inc.

Bucher, L. M., L. L. Ludwig, and J. F. Burton (2004). *The Archeology of Fort Bowie National Historic Site (DRAFT)*. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Buskirk, W. (1986). *The Western Apache: Living with the Land before 1950*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Buskirk's book analyzes past and present (1950s) Western Apache subsistence. The author describes several features of Western Apache subsistence strategy, including procurement, processing, storage, and food preparation. Buskirk's account of Western Apache subsistence contributes to an understanding of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache subsistence. While Western Apaches might have farmed more than Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, the latter two groups shared many economic features with the Western Apaches. Some characteristics of Western Apache farming include the following: (1) Significant crops were corn, beans, and squash. (2) Farms were normally along streambeds and were extremely small. (3) Apaches mostly dry-farmed and relied very little on irrigation. (4) Both men and women farmed. (5) Men contributed more to farming after reservations were established. (6) Families "owned" farms. (7) Families members worked farms together and consumed together the product of their activities. (8) Digging sticks and fire were the basic farming tools. (9) Apaches tried to store at least half of their crops, using caves and holes under ledges as seasonal storage facilities. White Mountain Apache caches were located in sunny spots, while Cibecue Apaches preferred shallow, conical caches in sandy soil near or under a juniper tree. (10) Many features of Western Apache religion (for example, beliefs, rituals, prayers, and songs) were associated with agriculture. Some characteristics of Western Apache hunting include the following: (1) Hunting was primarily or exclusively a male activity. (2) Hunting territories, usually timbered or mountainous areas, were not owned. (3) Bows and arrows were the most important hunting tools. (4) Large species hunted include deer, antelope, elk, and mountain sheep. (5) Much ritual, song, and prayer accompanied hunting. (6) Men hunted singly or in groups. They stalked game and used calls, blinds, and pitfalls. (7) Small species hunted include rabbits, squirrels, gophers, wood rats, porcupines, and beavers. (8) Birds hunted and eaten include turkeys, quail, pigeons, doves, and some waterfowl. (9) Eagles, hawks, buzzards, cranes, crows, and owls were not hunted or eaten. (10) Hunting required Western Apache mobility because of the seasonal availability of game. Some characteristics of Western Apache wild plant gathering include: (1) Gathering was usually done by the women of family groups working together. (2) Gathering required mobility because of seasonal availability of wild plant resources. (3) Western Apaches spent much of the summer season gathering wild plants. (4) Tools for gathering included digging sticks, poles, cactus tongs, knives, and baskets. (5) Some gathered crops were stored in caves, but most were carried home. (6) Mescal (*Agave parryi*, *Agave palmeri*, and *Agave couesii*) was the most important wild food plant, used for food, beverages, needles, lances, and fiddles. Acorns, walnuts, pinon nuts, mesquite pods, cacti fruit, sunflower seeds, juniper berries, and other seeds and plants were important foods.

Byars, C. (1966). "Documents of Arizona History: Gatewood Reports to His Wife from Geronimo's Camp." *Journal of Arizona History* 7: 76-81.

Charles Gatewood wrote this letter to his wife describing Geronimo's 1886 agreement to surrender. It is an extremely important firsthand account written during the actual event.

Calvin, R. (editor) (1968). *Lieutenant Emory Reports: Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*. Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Calvin edited Lt. Emory's 1846 reports from New Mexico, Arizona, and California. This book offers a brief biography of Emory and descriptions of cultures, economies, and agriculture in the southwest. Chapter Three depicts Navajo raiders, Kit Carson, and Mimbres Apaches. Chapter Four reports Emory's impressions of the Gila River area, Apaches, Apache traders, Pimas, and Maricopas.

Caraveo, C., M. Willis, et al. (1997). *Survey of the Northern Hueco Mountains for Caves, Rockshelters, and Rock Art*. El Paso, Anthropology Research Center, University of Texas.

Carmichael, D. L. (1983). *Archeological Settlement Patterns in the Southern Tularosa Basin, New Mexico: Alternative Models of Prehistoric Adaptations*. Anthropology. Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois. Ph.D.

Carmichael, D. L. (1994). *Places of Power: Mescalero Apache Sacred Sites and Sensitive Areas*. Sacred Sites, Sacred Places. D. L. Carmichael, J. Hubert, B. Reeves and A. Schanche. London, Routledge: 89-98.

The author discusses Mescalero Apache sacred sites and areas that have religious significance and/or significance as natural resource areas. Carmichael describes the importance of Guadalupe, Salinas, Capitan, and San Augustin peaks. He also discusses cosmotheistic importance and places of transformation such as sweat lodges.

Carmichael, D. L., J. Hubert, et al. (editors) (1994). *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*. London, Routledge.

The authors compile essays from the 1990 World Archaeology Conference II. Papers focus on issues surrounding identification, preservation, and interpretation of sacred sites. Papers also stress the importance of involving native peoples in cultural heritage and management of sites.

Carmichael, D. L. and W. L. Unsinn (2000). "Fire-cracked Rock Features and the Tentative Identification of Mescalero Apache Sites in the Indio Mountains, Hudspeth County, Texas." *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 12.

The abstract to this article reads, "Archeological reconnaissance at the Indio Mountains Research Station has led to the identification of many sites containing fire-cracked rock features. Most of the features, examples of forms familiar throughout the Trans-Pecos region, are generally interpreted as the remains of earth ovens or pit-baking features. However, several sites contain a distinctive style of fire-cracked rock feature which may be attributable to Mescalero Apache use of the study area. Examples of these features are described, and the ethnographic evidence for their use by Mescaleros is summarized."

Carmony, N. B. (editor) (1996). *The Civil War in Apacheland: Sergeant George Hand's Diary, California, Arizona, West Texas, New Mexico, 1861-1864*. Silver City, NM, High Lonesome Press.

Sgt. Hand was a member of the California Column, a unit assigned to confront Confederate troops in southern New Mexico Territory between 1862 and 1864. Hand's diary focuses on campaigns against Apaches and Navajos. He describes the July 1862 Battle at Apache Pass, northern Sonoran expeditions in search of Apaches, the establishment of Fort McRae, and Mangas Coloradas' assassination.

Carmony, N. B. and D. E. Brown (1982). *Man and Wildlife in Arizona: The American Exploration Period, 1824-1865*. Based on a 1973 Master's Thesis Composed by Goode P. Davis, Jr. Scottsdale, Arizona Game & Fish Department.

Carmony and Brown investigate excerpts from journals of the time, focusing on Arizona ecology. The editors note that while Goode's original intention (in his thesis) was to record details of the region's natural landscape, he also included important social materials. They note that many journal entries were informed by contact with Indigenous peoples and offer insight to Arizona tribes.

Carpenter, J. A. (1964). *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard*. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press.

Carpenter's biography focuses on Howard's military service between 1854 and the 1880s. "Peace with the Apache" examines Howard's 1872 service in Arizona and New Mexico. It discusses his efforts to broker peace at Camp Grant between Anglo-American immigrants, Mexicans, Apaches, Papagos, and Pimas. It also discusses Howard's negotiations with Cochise and establishment of the Chiricahua Apache Reservation in southeastern Arizona.

Carroll, J. M. (1975). *The Papers of the Indian Wars*. Fort Collins, CO, The Old Army Press.

Carter, W. H. (1917). *The Life of Lieutenant-General Chaffee*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Castetter, E. F. (1935). *Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest, I: Uncultivated Native Plants Used as Sources of Food*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Castetter, E. F. (1937). *The Utilization of Mesquite and Screwbean by the Aborigines in the American Southwest*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Castetter, E. F. and W. H. Bell (1937). *The Aboriginal Utilization of the Tall Cacti in the American Southwest*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Castetter's work is an excellent source concerning Native Americans' use of cacti in the Sonoran Desert. The author compiles information from Pimas, Papagos, San Carlos Apaches, White Mountain Apaches, and Chiricahua Apaches. He provides a map of cacti resources. The map includes New Mexico, although most of the article focuses on Baja California and Arizona. The report also reconstructs Pre-Columbian utilization of cacti

genus *Cereus*. Castetter examines cacti distribution, historical documents, and interviews to reconstruct cacti use for food. He focuses on saguaro, organ-pipe, and cardon cacti.

Castetter, E. F., W. H. Bell, et al. (1938). *The Early Utilization and Distribution of Agave in the American Southwest*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Castetter, E. F. and M. E. Opler (1936). *Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest, III: The Ethnobiology of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache. The Use of Plants for Foods, Beverages and Narcotics*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Based on historical accounts and specimens gathered between 1931 and 1934 by Apaches and researchers, Castetter and Opler describe plant use among Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches. The authors examine uses of plants as foods, beverages, and narcotics. They describe uses of agave, sotol, yucca, cacti, mesquite, potatoes, oak, pine, fruits, seeds, and berries as foods. They explain the use of tulbai, mescal, and sotol as beverages. They report the use of peyote and mountain laurel as narcotics.

Chapel, W. L. (1973). "Camp Rucker: Outpost in Apacheria." *Journal of Arizona History* 14. Chapel writes about Camp Rucker, located in the Chiricahua Mountains from 1878 through 1880. He reports camp organization, camp functions, and soldiers' daily lives.

Chappell, G. (1979). *Faraway Ranch Historic Distric. National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form*. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Charles, T. (1931). "Old Scouts of the Mescaleros." *New Mexico Folklore Record* 9: 17-19.

Chrisman, C. (2001). *The Apache Campaign of 1885-1886. Winners of the West, Volume 4, nos. 4-8, March-July 1927. Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 540-545.

Chrisman was a Corporal in Company F, Thirteenth U. S. Infantry. This is a brief personal account of pursuing Geronimo. Descriptions of troops leaving and returning to Fort Wingate, New Mexico are interesting.

Christiansen, L. D. (1988). "The Extinction of Wild Cattle in Southern Arizona." *Journal of Arizona History* 29: 89-100.

Christianson discusses extinction of cattle abandoned by Mexican ranchers in the 1830s. Apache raiding, Mexican national Indian policies, U. S. expansion, and hunting resulted in decimation by 1854.

Clark, L. H. (1962). *They Sang for Horses: A Study of the Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore*. Tucson, University of Arizona. M.A.: 391 leaves.

Clark, T. D. (1969). *Frontier America: The Story of the Western Movement*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

Clarke, D. L. (1961). *Stephen Watts Kearny: Soldier of the West*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Using Kearny's personal writings, others' personal writings, military records, and newspapers, Clarke sheds light on Kearny's life and achievements. Clarke refers minimally to Apaches, noting only Kearny's relationships with Apaches as scouts and traders.

Clarke, D. L. (editor) (1966). *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner with Stephen Watts Kearney to New Mexico and California, 1846*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Clay, L. T. J. (1975). *Some Unwritten Incidents of the Geronimo Campaign. The Papers of the Order of Indian Wars*. C. J. M. Fort Collins, CO, Old Army Press: 114-115.

Clendinnen, I. (1987). *Ambivalent Conquests*. London, Cambridge University Press.

Clum, J. P. (1927). "Santa Fe in the 70's." *New Mexico Historical Review* 2(October): 380-386.

Clum, J. P. (1928). "Es-kim-in-zin, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 3(4): 399-420.  
Clum discusses the 30 April 1871 massacre of approximately 118 Apaches at Camp Grant, Arizona. He also discusses Es-kim-in-zin's arrival at Camp Apache, Apache "outbreaks" between 1871 and 1874, and his arrival as Indian Agent at the San Carlos Indian Reservation.

Clum, J. P. (1928). "Geronimo, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 3(1): 1-40.  
In Part I, Clum reviews an October 1872 meeting between Gen. Howard and Cochise in Arizona's Dragoon Mountains. This meeting resulted in creation of the Chiricahua Apache Reservation. Clum describes his tenure at Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. In addition, Clum describes a 6 April 1876 raid led by Pi-on-se-nay on Sulphur Springs; his first meeting with Geronimo, Juh, and Nol-gee on 8 June 1876; the June 1876 relocation of most Chiricahua Apaches from the Chiricahua Reservation to San Carlos; Geronimo's subsequent capture at New Mexico's Ojo Caliente Reservation; and relocation of Warm Springs Apaches and Geronimo's Chiricahuas from Ojo Caliente to San Carlos.

Clum, J. P. (1928). "Geronimo, Part II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 3(2): 121-144.  
Part II contains Clum's account of Apache affairs between late 1877 and 1886. Clum describes Geronimo's movements throughout this time, bureaucratic affairs on the San Carlos Indian Reservation, and Naiche's escape from San Carlos on 30 September 1881. Clum tells of having pursued Geronimo and Naiche from Apache Pass through Antelope Pass to Tombstone. Clum also relates his impressions of Gen. Crook.

Clum, J. P. (1928). "Geronimo, Part III." *New Mexico Historical Review* 3(3): 217-264.  
Part III of Clum's chronicle describes military response to and pursuit of Chiricahua Apaches led by Geronimo, who escaped from the San Carlos Indian Reservation 17 May 1885. Clum's also describes Chiricahua Apaches' 1886 surrender and relocation to Fort Pickens and Fort Marion, Florida. Clum's 29 January 1894 interview with Geronimo at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama is presented, as are stories of Geronimo's exhibition notoriety, death, and funeral.

- Clum, J. P. (1929). "The Apaches." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4(2): 106-127.  
Clum summarizes his official report of Geronimo's capture, his impression of conditions on New Mexico's Warm Springs Apache Reservation, an April 1887 meeting with Victorio at Warm Springs, and incidents involving Warm Springs Apaches on Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation after relocation.
- Clum, J. P. (1929). "Es-Kim-In-Zin, Part II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4(1): 1-27.  
In Part II, Clum recounts his first operation as head of the San Carlos Apache Police Force, his relationship with Es-kim-in-zin (a Camp Grant Apache leader), and Es-kim-in-zin's transfer to Camp Apache in late March 1875. Clum also describes his visit to Chiricahua Apaches on their reservation shortly after Cochise's 1874 death, Es-kim-in-zin's move to San Pedro, and his (Clum's) 1894 visit with Es-kim-in-zin at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama.
- Clum, J. P. (1929). "The San Carlos Apache Police, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 4: 202-219.  
Part I describes controversy surrounding the San Carlos Police Force, which was established August 1874. According to Clum, Apache police and scouts performed a service that cannot be overestimated. The article includes excerpts from Clum's 1874-1882 annual reports.
- Clum, J. P. (1929). "Victorio -- Chief of the Warm Spring Apaches: In 1877, at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico." *Arizona Historical Review* 2(4): 74-90.
- Clum, J. P. (1930). "Apache Misrule, Part II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5: 220-239.  
Part II continues Clum's examination of the Cibicue Creek Affair, events surrounding the September 1881 departure of Naiche and other Chiricahua Apaches from San Carlos, and continued tension after their departure between Apaches and U. S. troops.
- Clum, J. P. (1930). "Apache Misrule: A Bungling Agent Sets the Military Arm in Motion, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5: 138-153, 221-239.  
Part I explores possible reasons for a May 1877 escape from San Carlos Indian Reservation by Warm Springs Apaches. Part I also explores troubles at San Carlos with Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches from 1881 to 1886. It reviews Agent J. C. Tiffany's actions during the August 1881 Cibicue Creek conflict between U. S. troops and Apache scouts. The Cibicue Creek battle was set in motion by arrest and murder of "Nock-e-da-kinny," an Apache medicine man.
- Clum, J. P. (1930). "San Carlos Blasted into Dust." *Arizona Historical Review* 3(April): 59-70.
- Clum, J. P. (1930). "The San Carlos Police, Part II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5: 67-92.  
Clum uses official reports and newspaper articles to represent 1875-1881 bureaucratic struggles between civil and military authorities on the San Carlos Indian Reservation. Clum highlights his own disputes with Gen. August V. Kautz between 1876 and 1877.



These disputes related to use of Apache police and U. S. troops when dealing with hostile Apaches.

Clum, J. P. (1931). "Apaches as Thespians in 1876." *New Mexico Historical Review* 5: 76-99. Clum formed an Apache "Wild West" theatrical group that toured the U. S. during 1876. The Apache tour included shows in St. Louis, in Washington, D. C., and at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Apache actors included Eskim-in-zin, Taza (Cochise's son, who died during the stop in Washington, D. C.), Diablo, Sagully, Casadora, and Captain Jim.

Clum, J. P. (1931). *The Truth about the Apaches: Told in the Annual Reports*. Los Angeles, Adcraft: 46.

Clum, J. P. (n.d.). Collection of John Philip Clum. Archives, United States Office of Indian Affairs.

This collection includes photocopies of San Carlos Indian Agency reports, abstracts of disbursements, vouchers, accounts current, and auditor's reports pertaining to Clum's work at the Agency from 1874-1878. It also contains information and correspondence regarding his employment from 1880-1917 in the War Department and the Post Office Department, as well as his lecture tours for the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Clum, J. P. and N. B. E. Carmony (1997). *Apache Days and Tombstone Nights: John Clum's Autobiography, 1877-1887*. Silver City, NM, High Lonesome Books.

Clum's autobiography explores his life after his tenure as a San Carlos Apache Indian Agent. It also discusses President Grant's "Indian Peace Policy," power struggles between civilian and military leaders over control at San Carlos, establishment of an Apache police force, and farm training at San Carlos. Chapter Three discusses Clum's participation in a posse that pursued Apaches in August 1878. Part Two describes Clum's encounters with Geronimo and other Chiricahua Apaches (e.g., Cochise, Taza, and Naiche) and Clum's "Wild West" Indian tour in 1876. This book covers much of the same material included in Clum's "New Mexico Historical Review" articles.

Clum, J. P., W. Clum, et al. (n.d.). *Papers of John Philip Clum*: 1.7 ft.

These papers include correspondence, diaries, scrapbooks, photographs, typescripts, newspaper and magazine articles by or about John P. Clum; a smaller quantity of typescripts, reprints, and biographical items concerning Woodworth Clum. Much of the material consists of writings by the Clums and others about Apaches, Geronimo's capture, and events in Tombstone. The bulk of the correspondence is between John and his wife Mary Clum, from 1876 to 1880. These letters, a diary from 1875, and some official documents contain information on his tenure as an Indian agent. Photographs, some original but most reprints, depict John, Mary, Woodworth, other family members, and friends. Apaches are depicted in formal portraits taken in Washington, D. C. in 1876. Group photos of Apaches show the San Carlos Reservation and other locations, both before and after Geronimo's capture. An 1898 diary, 1898 Alaskan newspapers, scrapbooks, and photographs chronicle Clum's time in Alaska. Miscellaneous items include an 1860 history book, and an account of the Clum family history.

Clum, W. (1936). *Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum*. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company.

Cockrum, E. L., S. M. Russell, et al. (1976). *Survey of the Vertebrate Fauna of Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona: Final Project Report*. Cooperative National Park Resources Studies Unit. University of Arizona. Technical Report no. 2. Tucson, University of Arizona and Western Region National Park Service: 120.

Cole, D. C. (1981). *An Ethnohistory of the Chiricahua Apache Indian Reservation, 1872-1876*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico. Ph.D.: x, 387.

Cole's dissertation is a study of Chiricahua Apache Reservation life from 1872 to 1876. He published this dissertation as *The Chiricahua Apache, 1846-1876: From War to Reservation* (1988).

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

Cole's book provides historical information concerning southeastern Arizona's Chiricahua Apache Reservation, which was established in 1872 and closed in 1876. Cole provides a useful summary of meetings between Gen. Howard and Cochise that led to the reservation's establishment. He also provides information about years during which Chiricahuas lived on the reservation with Thomas Jeffords acting as Indian Agent. Cole's descriptions of reservation bureaucratic management and of problems between War Department and Interior Department officials complement similar accounts of conditions on other Apache reservations.

Colley, C. D. (1972). *Documents of Southwestern History*. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

Collins, C. (1994). *The Great Escape: The Apache Outbreak of 1881*. Tucson, Westernlore Press. Collins describes events that led Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches to abandon the San Carlos Reservation in 1881. He also describes U. S. military attempts to capture or destroy Apaches as they fled toward Mexico. The book is largely based on military records. In places, however, it attempts to describe Apache perspectives. Collins' book is an essential resource for information concerning this important event in Apache history.

Collins, C. (1999). *An Apache Nightmare: The Battle at Cibecue Creek*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Collins writes about a 30 August 1881 battle at Cibecue Creek on the San Carlos Indian Reservation between Western Apaches and U. S. troops. He describes situations leading up to the fight, the fight itself, and subsequent events. Collins discusses military and civilian misunderstanding and miscommunication as factors contributing to the Cibecue Affair. One consequence of the Cibecue Creek Affair was Chiricahua Apaches' abandonment of San Carlos. This is an important reference.

Collins, C. E. (1999). "On The March With Major Tupper's Command: John F. Finerty Reports the Cibecue Campaign of 1881." *Journal of Arizona History* 40: 233-266.

Collins investigates reports by John Frederick Finerty, a Chicago journalist. Finerty accompanied Col. Carr's troops as they pursued Apaches who left the San Carlos Indian Reservation following an 1881 fight at Cibecue Creek.

Colton, R. C. (1959). *The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C. (2003). "The Camp Grant Massacre in the Historical Imagination." *Journal of the Southwest* 45: 349-369.

Colwell-Chanthaphonh analyzes demographics that writers have used in their accounts of the 1871 Camp Grant Massacre of Apaches. The paper reviews conflicting political interpretations and claims in records of the massacre.

Colyer, V. (1871). *Peace with the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona, 1871*. Freeport, NY, Books for Libraries Press.

Colyer reports his efforts to understand Arizona and New Mexico Apaches and their contacts with Anglo-Americans. He describes his 1871 fact-finding trip to Arizona and New Mexico and his establishment of Apache reservations. This book is essential to understanding Anglo-American contact with Apaches and establishment of Apache reservations. It provides insight into the characters of key individuals such as Gen. Crook, Gen. Howard, and Colyer. Colyer's book portrays a sense of competition between U. S. War and Interior departments that affected federal relations with Apaches throughout the 1870s and 1880s.

Comfort, W. L. (1986). *Apache*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Conkling, R. P. and M. B. Conkling (1947). *The Butterfield Overland Mail 1857-1869: Its Organization and Operation Over the Southern Route to 1861, Subsequently Over the Central Route to 1866, and Under Wells Fargo and Company in 1869*. Glendale, Arthur Clark Co.

Cooke, P. S. G. and R. P. E. Bieber (1974). *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854*. Philadelphia, Porcupine Press.

Corbusier, W. T. (1971). *Verde to San Carlos: Recollections of a Famous Army Surgeon and His Observant Family on the Western Frontier, 1869-1886*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Cornell, S. and M. C. Gil-Swedberg (1992). *Sociohistorical Factors in American Indian Economic Development: A Comparison of Three Apache Cases*. Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development Report Series, Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University.

Cortés y de Olarte, J. M., A. John (editor), H. Wheat (translator), et al. (1989). *Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

John edits and Wheat translates a 1799 report by Spanish military Engineer Lt. Jose Maria Cortes. The editor and translator notes that Cortes did not see the northern frontier

as a "regional problem" but a "strategic global context of revolution and contest for empire." Cortes refers to the "Chiricagui" nation as people who take their name from the mountain range they inhabit.

Cortés y de Olarte, J. M., S. Vélez de Escalante, et al. (1799). *Memorias sobre las provincias del norte de Nueva España*.

This volume contains two works on northern New Spain. The first is a copy of Cortés' work. The initial section describes various provinces and native peoples. It also discusses the political situation between the Spaniards and their Anglo-Americans. The second section is the most substantial and provides a description of Apaches. The third discusses other Native Americans who lived near the Mississippi, Missouri, Colorado and Rio Grande rivers, as well as elsewhere in New Mexico, northern California, and on the Texas coast. The second portion of this volume is a complete copy of the diary kept by Franciscans Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Dominguez. It recounts their expedition into Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico from 1776 to 1777.

Couchman, D. H. (1990). *Cooke's Peak -- Pasaron por Aqui: A Focus on United States History in Southwestern New Mexico*. Cultural Resources Series, Published Monograph No. 7. Las Cruces, NM, Bureau of Land Management.

Cox, K. (1973). *Garfield Peak Caves*. Handwritten memo to superintendent, July 29, 1973. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Cozzens, P. (editor) (2001). *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books.

Eyewitnesses contains firsthand accounts written about Apaches by "Americans" in letters, newspapers, magazines, diaries, and various reports. The book is useful for information concerning Anglo-American perspectives on Apache peoples during the last half of the 19th century. Among others, writings by George Crook, Oliver O. Howard, Charles B. Gatewood, Britton Davis, A. P. K. Safford, John G. Bourke, Nelson Miles, and Walter Reed are included. This is an important resource.

Cozzens, S. W. (1873). *The Marvelous Country: or, Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico, the Apache's Home*. Boston, Shepard and Gill.

Cozzens, S. W. (1988). *Explorations and Adventures in Arizona and New Mexico*. Secaucus, NJ, Castle.

Cramer, H. G. I. (1976). "Tom Jeffords -- Indian Agent." *Journal of Arizona History* 17(3): 265-300.

Cramer chronicles Capt. Jeffords' 1872-1876 service as Indian Agent for Chiricahua Apaches. The author explores Jeffords' experiences, his relationship with Cochise and conflicts between Jeffords, military officials, and civilian bureaucrats. Much of the article details "problems" Jeffords faced converting Chiricahua Apaches from hunter-gatherers and raiders into sedentary farmers.

- Cremony, J. C. (1868). *Life Among the Apaches*. New York, A. Roman & Company.  
 Cremony made notes of his 1860s and 1870s experiences among Apache peoples. This book was long considered an important source on Apache cultures. More recently, it has been severely criticized for inaccuracies and exaggerations.
- Crimmins, M. L. (1935). "Colonel Buell's Expedition into Mexico in 1880." *New Mexico Historical Review* 10: 133-42.  
 Crimmins presents Col. Buell's report of measures taken by New Mexico troops to apprehend Victorio. Buell's report chronicles troop movements into Mexico and 24 October 1880 official correspondence requesting that they return to the United States.
- Crook, G. (1884). *General Crook upon the Apaches*. Philadelphia, Indian Rights Association: 4.  
 Crook's letter to Herbert Welsh, Corresponding Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, details Crook's opinions about Native American issues.
- Crook, G. (1886). "The Apache Problem." *Journal of the Military Service Institution* 7: 257-269.  
 Crook discusses "The Apache Problem," tracing Indian history from the arrival of Anglo-Americans through settlement of tribes on reservations. Crook also focuses on difficulties faced when placing Apaches on reservations, formation of Indian scouting companies, methods of Apache warfare, and major incidents in Arizona during the 1870s and 1880s.
- Crook, G. (1971). *Crook's Résumé of Operations against Apache Indians, 1882 to 1886*. London, Johnson-Taunton Military Press.  
 Crook's monograph was originally published in 1886. It provides his perspective on "Apache Indian Wars" from 1882 to 1886. Gen. Crook was Commander of the Department of Arizona from 1871 to 1875. He returned to Arizona as Department Commander in 1882 to deal with Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches who fled the San Carlos Indian Reservation in 1881. Crook was relieved of his command in 1886, when he failed to bring in Geronimo and other Chiricahua Apaches. Crook wrote this monograph as a response to his critics. He provides his opinions of key events and people, and justifies his actions. He is particularly interested in defending Apache scouts and his use of such scouts in Apache campaigns. This is an essential reference.
- Crook, G. (2001). *Apache Affairs: An Interview with General Crook*. *New York Herald*, July 9, 1883. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 396-404.  
 Crook's interview offers his perspective on an agreement between the War and Interior departments regarding administration of Apaches at the San Carlos Indian Reservation in Arizona. It also provides an account of Apache troubles in Arizona and states Crook's reasons why Chiricahua Apaches should be under military control.
- Crook, G. (2001). *General Howard's Mission*. *Army and Navy Journal* 9, no. 37, April 27, 1872. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 113-114.

Crook, G. and Martin F. Schmidt (editor) (1960). *General George Crook: His Autobiography*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Crook's autobiography covers 1852 to June 1876. Crook served as Commander of the Department of Arizona from 1871 to 1875 and from 1882 to 1886. His autobiography provides an important perspective on events and people of this era. It is essential reading for any student of this subject.

Crouch, J. H. and B. Graham (1985). *Apache Mountain Spirits*. Tucson, Silvercloud Video Productions.

Apache Mountain Spirits traces the story of a young Apache man growing up in Arizona's White Mountains. He learns from Apache stories and uses his knowledge to make life decisions.

Cruse, T. and E. E. Cunningham (1941). *Apache Days and After*. Caldwell, ID, The Caxton Printers, Ltd.

Culin, S. (1907). *Games of the North American Indians*. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Cummings, B. (1939). "Apache Puberty Ceremony for Girls." *The Kiva* 5(1): 1-4.

Cunningham, B. (1988). "The Calamitous Career of Lt. Royal Whiteman." *The Journal of Arizona History*.

Cunningham reviews Lt. Royal E. Whiteman's tenure at Camp Grant, near Tucson, Arizona. The author describes Whiteman's participation in events leading to the 30 April 1971 massacre of Apaches at Camp Grant. Whiteman was a consistent defender of Apache rights. Gen. Crook and Territorial Governor A. P. K. Safford politically opposed Whiteman.

Cutter, D. C. and I. Engstrand (1996). *Quest for Empire: Spanish Settlement in the Southwest*. Golden, CO, Fulcrum Publishing.

Dailey, M. L. (1989). *Dr. Michael Steck: A Prototype of Nineteenth Century American Individualism*. History. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico. Ph.D.

The author's abstract: "An exemplar of nineteenth century individualism, Michael Steck's biography (1818-1880) was constructed from the manuscript collection of his papers at the University of New Mexico and several private collections utilizing an interdisciplinary frame-work of history and anthropology. Born on a farm in Hughesville, Pennsylvania, he graduated from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1842. He practiced medicine for six years and then went to the Southwest over the Santa Fe Trail in 1849. Presidents Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan appointed him, Indian Agent to the Apache. Appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of New Mexico by Lincoln, he distinguished himself by bringing the Lincoln Canes to nineteen Pueblos and is credited with pointing out the folly of General James H. Carleton's plan to relocate the Navajo (The Long Walk). He was Superintendent of the New Mexico Mining Company and secured a small fortune; he returned to Pennsylvania and became a yeoman farmer,

dedicating his final years to encouraging farmers in that state to organize collectively. His story exemplifies American individualism and the changing evolution of the notion of success in the nineteenth century."

Daklugie, A. (1956). "Coyote and the Flies." *New Mexico Folklore Record* 10: 12-13.  
Asa Daklugie was an influential Chiricahua Apache man who attended Carlisle Indian School and who helped orchestrate a 1913 Chiricahua relocation from Fort Sill, Oklahoma to the Mescalero Apache Reservation in New Mexico.

Daly, H. W. (2001). *The Geronimo Campaign*. *Winner of the West* 11, no. 1, December 1933, pp.1, 3. *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 19, no. 69, July 1908, pp. 68-103. *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 19, no. 70, October 1908, pp. 247-262. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books. 1: 447-487.

Daly's account of the 1885 Geronimo Campaign describes selected, major events.

Davis, B. (2001). *The Difficulties of Indian Warfare*. *Army and Navy Journal* 33, no. 13, October 24, 1885, pp. 242-244. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 488-494.

Davis provides an important record of an 1885 Chiricahua Apache abandonment of the San Carlos Indian Reservation. His account is also published in [The Truth about Geronimo](#). Several scholars have relied on Davis for their materials.

Davis, B. and M. M. Quaife (editor) (1929). *The Truth about Geronimo*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

Davis' book is an essential history of contact between Apaches and Americans in Arizona from 1882 to 1885. With, for example, Gen. Crook, Capt. Bourke, Lt. Gatewood, Capt. Crawford, Capt. Lawton, and Lt. Maus, Davis was a central figure in key events of that time and place. Davis spent much time at the San Carlos Indian Reservation among Chiricahua Apaches such as Geronimo, K'a'edine, Chihuahua, Naiche, and Chatto. Under Crook, Davis was responsible for Chiricahuas and Indian troops at San Carlos. Davis was a central figure during an 1885 Chiricahua Apache escape from San Carlos and provides, possibly, the most important Anglo-American account of that event.

Davis, J. A. (1999). "Apache Prisoners of War at Alabama's Mount Vernon Barracks, 1887-1894." *Alabama Review*.

Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches were removed from Arizona in 1886 and incarcerated at forts Marion and Pickens, Florida. Both groups of prisoners were subsequently relocated to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama. After arriving in Alabama from Florida, the Chiricahuas remained as prisoners of war from 1887 to 1894. Davis discusses Chiricahua cultural traditions and adaptations at Mount Vernon through descriptions of funeral services, healing practices, nutrition, and education. Davis also chronicles establishment of a missionary school in 1887 under Marion E. Stephens and Vincentine Tilyon Booth.

Davisson, L. (1973). "The Apaches at Home: A Photographic Essay." *Journal of Arizona History* 14: 113-132.

Davisson constructs a pictorial record documenting Apache daily life during the 1880s around the White Mountain and San Carlos reservations.

Davisson, L. (1976). "Fifty Years at Fort Apache." *The Journal of Arizona History* 17(3).

Davisson, L. (1979). "New Light on the Cibecue Fight: Untangling Apache Identities." *Journal of Arizona History* 2: 423-444.

Davisson focuses on a 30 August 1880 fight between Cibecue and White Mountain Apaches near Fort Apache. The author suggests that this event exemplifies problems caused by Anglo-American confusion and misunderstanding of Apache tribal identity. Davisson attributes problematic encounters between Apache groups to Anglo-American ignorance of Apache tribal identity, poor translation, and disregard of Apaches' statements and opinions. Anglo-American ignorance led administrators to group together Apaches from different bands. Such groupings eventually caused confrontations such as the 1881 "Cibecue Fight" between Western Apaches and U. S. troops.

Debo, A. (1976). *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Debo's biography of Geronimo is an important account of his life and a summary of historical relations between Mexicans, Anglo-Americans, and Apaches. Debo describes Geronimo's early years; his relationships with other Apache leaders such as Mangas Coloradas, Juh, and Cochise; his raids into Mexico; his settlements on different Apache reservations; his escapes from various reservations; his final resistance to Anglo-Americans; and his incarceration after 1886 in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. Debo's book summarizes information from many sources, including Jason Betzinez's *I Fought with Geronimo*, Geronimo's autobiography, Gen. Crook's accounts, John G. Bourke's accounts, Morris Opler's works on Chiricahua Apache culture, and Dan Thrapp's historical descriptions of Apaches.

D'Elia, D. J. (1962). "The Argument over Civilian or Military Indian Control, 1865-1880." *The Historian* 24(February): 207-225.

Denny, D. W. and C. R. Peacock (2000). *Soil Survey of Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona*. Tucson, United States Geological Survey Sonoran Desert Field Station School of Renewable Natural Resources: 62.

Dixon, D. (1994). *Hero of Beecher Island: The Life and Military Career of George A. Forsyth*. Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press.

Apaches are discussed briefly in this military biography. Chapter Seven describes events leading to the March 1886 Chiricahua Apache surrender to Gen. George Crook. Dixon discusses a 22 April 1882 fight with Apaches at Horseshoe Canyon near Stein's Peak. He also describes a subsequent Apache retreat and military pursuit of Apaches under Loco. Dixon then describes a U. S. military expedition into Mexico and massacre of Loco's Warm Springs Apaches.



Dobyns, H. F. (1964). *Lance, Ho!: Containment of the Western Apaches by the Royal Spanish Garrison at Tucson*. Lima, Editorial Estudios Andinos.

Dobyns, H. F. (1971). *The Apache People*. Phoenix, Indian Tribal Series.

Dobyns' book was issued to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the White Mountain Apache Reservation.

Dobyns, H. F. (1973). *The Mescalero Apache People*. Phoenix, Indian Tribal Series.

Dobyns, H. F. (1978). "Who Killed the Gila?" *Journal of Arizona History* 19: 17-30.

Dobyns investigates environmental effects of Indian resource management and immigrants' presence in the southwest. He discusses Apache raiding during the late 18th century, traditional irrigation agriculture, Anglo-American expansion, erosion, deforestation, mining, ranching, and desertification.

Doerner, R. (1973). "Sinew Riley, Apache Scout." *Journal of Arizona History* 14: 271-280.

Doerner reviews Sinew Riley's career as an Apache Scout. She also describes Apache scout activities at Fort Huachuca, Arizona where the final seven Apache scouts retired in 1947.

Donaldson, B. R. and J. R. Welch (1991). *Western Apache Dwellings and their Archaeological Correlates*. *Jornada Mogollon Archaeology: Proceedings of the Fifth Jornada Conference*. P. H. Beckett: 93-105.

Du Bois, J. V. D. (1949). "Battle on the Gila: Lt. John Van Deusen Du Bois's Account of an Episode in the 1857 Gila-Apache Campaign. Excerpted from George W. Hammond (ed.) *Campaigns in the West, 1889-1861: The Journal and Letters of Colonel John Van Deusen Du Bois, with Pencil Sketches by Joseph Heger*." *Journal of Arizona History*: 173-182.

Excerpts from Du Bois's journal describe a campaign against Apaches in New Mexico's Gila River region. Du Bois, a lieutenant under Dixon Miles and Benjamin Louis Bonneville, offers his perspective on the campaign and includes brief descriptions of Apache women captured by his regiment. Du Bois questions the operation's necessity and morality. He also gives readers a glimpse of dissension that seems to have characterized military commands during this period.

Du Bois, J. V. D. (1949). *Campaigns in the West, 1856-1861*. Tucson, Arizona Pioneer Historical Society.

Du Bray, E. A. and J. S. Pallister (1994). *Geologic Map of the Chiricahua Peak Quadrangle, Cochise County, Arizona*. Geologic Quadrangle Map; GQ-1733. Reston, VA and Denver, CO, United States Geological Survey.

Duffen, W. A. (editor) (1960). "Overland Via "Jackass Mail" in 1858: The Diary of Phocion R. Way, Part II." *Arizona and the West* 2: 147-164.

Phocion R. Way's diary describes his trip between El Paso, Texas and Tucson, Arizona from 5 to 16 June 1858. The 9 June entry describes a group of friendly Apaches near Stein's Peak. The 12 June entry describes Apaches whom Way encountered in Tucson.

Dungan, R. (1995). "Cattle and Constitutions: James Kitch and the Indian New Deal on the San Carlos Indian Reservation." *Journal of Arizona History* 36: 135-150.

Dugan discusses President Roosevelt's 1930s "Indian New Deal." He pays particular attention to an "Indian Reorganization Act" dispute at the San Carlos Reservation between Superintendent James Kitch and Henry Chinn, an Apache medicine man.

Dunlay, F. (1982). *Wolves for Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Dunlay surveys Indian military cooperation with Anglo-Americans between 1860 and 1890. The author seeks to discern the complex motivations of Indians and military personnel. Chapter One examines history of allied Indians from the Spanish Conquest through the 1850s. Chapter Two examines intensification of Indian and Anglo-American conflicts during U. S. western expansion and the beginning of Indian scouts allying with southwestern volunteers. Chapter Three examines post-Civil War regularization of Indian military service, assimilation intentions, and military attitudes toward Indian scouts. This chapter also examines the role of Indian scouts in Indian warfare and intra-tribal conflicts among Comanches and Chiricahuas. Chapter Ten explores Apache scout activities, including pursuit of Victorio by White Mountain Apache scouts, mutiny of White Mountain scouts at Cibicue in 1881, failed Chiricahua Apache resettlement at San Carlos, and the role of Indian scouts in the Geronimo campaigns.

Dunn, J. P. J. (1969). *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West*. New York, Capricorn Books.

Of particular interest in Dunn's work are accounts of U. S. military expeditions against Chiricahua Apaches in 1863 and 1864. The latter provides an example of international cooperation between U. S. and Mexican forces to exterminate Apaches. In addition to U. S. Army troops under the command of Gen. Carleton, governors of New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, and Chihuahua put men in the field. Carleton supplied muskets and ammunition to Pimas and Maricopas who campaigned against Apaches. The stated goal of this expedition was to "kill every male Indian capable of bearing arms, and [to] capture the women and children."

Dunn, W. E. (1911). "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1790." *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Society* 14: 198-269.

Dutton, B. P. (1975). *Indians of the Southwest: Navajo, Pima, Apache*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall.

Dutton, B. P. (1976). *Navahos and Apaches: The Athabascan Peoples*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.

- Eastman, E. (1873). *Seven and Nine Years among the Comanches and Apaches: An Autobiography*. Jersey City, NJ, C. Johnson.
- Eastman, E. G. (1935). *The Red Man's Moses*. Norman, Oklahoma University Press.  
 Richard Henry Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, which was the first federally supported, off reservation school for Native Americans. Modeled after the Hampton Institute, the first students arrived on 6 October 1879. Chapter 16 mentions Apache students shipped from Fort Marion, Florida to Carlisle in 1886. The Apache students were prisoners of war who had been interned in Florida with their parents.
- Eaton, G. O. (1933). "Stopping An Apache Battle." *Cavalry Journal*: 12-18.
- Eccleston, R. (1950). *Overland to California: Diary of Robert Eccleston on the Southwestern Trail 1849*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Elliott, C. P. (2001). The Geronimo Campaign of 1885-1886. *Journal of the United States Calvary Association* 21, no. 80, September 1910, pp. 211-236. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 427-446.  
 Elliott chronicles Gen. Crook's actions throughout the 1885-1886 Geronimo campaign. He describes events at Turkey Creek in 1884, an Apache outbreak from San Carlos Indian Reservation in May 1885, and Crook's pursuit of Geronimo.
- Elliott, C. P. (2001). An Indian Reservation under General George Crook. *Military Affairs*, Summer 1948, pp. 91-102. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 405-413.  
 Elliott discusses conditions during a relatively peaceful period on the San Carlos Indian Reservation in early 1884.
- Ellis, A. N. (1913-1914). "Recollections of an Interview with Cochise, Chief of the Apaches." *Kansas State Historical Society Collections* 13: 387-392.  
 Ellis recounts negotiations for Cochise's surrender. Ellis also offers a brief history of Apache-military engagements and his recollection of Cochise's 1861 speech at Canada Alamosa.
- Ellis, E. S. (1908). *Trailing Geronimo: or, Campaigning with Crook*. Philadelphia, J.C. Winston.
- Ellis, R. N. (1966). "Copper-Skinned Soldiers: The Apache Scouts." *Great Plains Journal* 5: 51-67.
- Ellis, R. N. (1975). *New Mexico Historic Documents*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- Ellis, R. N. (1972). "The Apache Chronicle." *New Mexico Historical Review* 47: 275-281.  
 Ellis examines newspaper treatments of government policies concerning Victorio and other Warm Springs Apaches. He reviews newspaper editorials circulated throughout

southwestern New Mexico criticizing government policy and calling for removal of Col. Hatch.

Elyea, J. (1996). Analysis of Lithic Assemblages. Archaeological Investigations on the Boyd Land Exchange Lands, Phase II, Socorro and Catron Counties, New Mexico. Albuquerque, Office of Contract Archeology, University of New Mexico.

Elyea, J. (1996). The Apache Occupation. Archaeological Investigations on the Boyd Land Exchange Lands, Phase II, Socorro and Catron Counties, New Mexico. Albuquerque, Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico.

Emory, W. H. (1987). Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey. Austin, Texas State Historical Society.

Part One of this volume provides a general description of southwestern climate and geography. It includes maps and sketches. It discusses selected attributes of Indians and Indian culture -- specifically of Indians living on the Colorado and Gila rivers (Cocopas, Maricopas, Pimas, Cuchanos, and Yumas). Part Two concerns the geology and ecology of this region.

Erickson, N. (n.d.). Faraway Ranch Collection (Neil Erickson Records). Western Archeological Center Library, National Park Service. Tucson, AZ, Western Archeological Center Library, National Park Service.

Everett, M. W. (1971). White Mountain Apache Health and Illness: An Ethnographic Study of Medical Decision-making. Tucson, University of Arizona. Ph.D.: xiv, 209.

Farrer, C. R. (1991). Living Life's Circle: Mescalero Apache Cosmivision. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Farrer's book is somewhat useful for descriptive information it provides about the contemporary Mescalero Apache girls' puberty ceremony. It is less useful for its speculative analysis of Apache culture.

Farrer, C. R. (1994). Thunder Rides a Black Horse: Mescalero Apaches and the Mythic Present. Prospect Heights, IL, Waveland Press.

Fatty, E. (1956). "Chiricahua Legends as told to Eve Ball by Eustace Fatty, an Apache." Western Folklore 15(2): 110-112.

Faulk, O. B. (1968). The Geronimo Campaign. New York, Oxford University Press.

Faulk writes about the 1885-1886 campaign against Geronimo. He describes Chiricahua Apaches' abandonment of the San Carlos Indian Reservation in May 1885, Gen. Crook's pursuit of Geronimo through spring 1886, Gen. Miles' negotiations with Geronimo in September 1886, and subsequent relocation of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches by the federal government to Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. This is a good historical account of relevant events and is a basic reference.

Ferg, A. (1977). "A Probable Chiricahua Apache Burial From Southeastern Arizona." *The Kiva* 42(3-4): 301-315.

In 1974, a skeleton was found in a rock shelter near the head of Pothole Canyon. This site is located in the northern side of Horseshoe Canyon on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains. A complete bottle gourd (height 26.4 cm and diameter 29.1 cm) with two bands of black decorative coloring and dirt ring around the neck, 25 short lengths of two ply Z-twists of yucca cordage, a small (8 mm X 10 mm) plain weave cotton cloth fragment caught in the yucca cordage, and a 22.2 cm metal knife were found with the skeleton. Arizona State Museum Curator Alan Ferg presents the data collected from an examination of the burial and suggests that the individual was Chiricahua Apache. Ferg explores studies by Carl O. Sauer, Albert Schroeder, Jack D. Forbes, Ignaz Pfefferkorn, and James H. Tevis to confirm group affiliation. Ferg's analysis implies that regardless of her ethnic identity (whether Suma, Jano, or Jacome), the associated artifacts place the remains roughly around the 1800s, which to Spanish observers would make her a Chiricahua Apache.

Ferg, A. and W. B. Kessel (1987). *Western Apache Material Culture: The Goodwin and Guenther Collections*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

This is an excellent source for information concerning Western Apache material culture. The book contains informative text and extraordinary photographs of items from Western Apache ethnological collections at the Arizona State Museum. The Goodwin Collection comes from Grenville Goodwin, a noted anthropologist who worked with Western Apaches. The collection is critical to an understanding of pre-reservation Apache material culture. Minnie and Edgar Guenther donated the Guenther Collection. It helps document changes in Apache material culture into the twentieth century. Any person interested in Western Apache material culture should consult this work.

Ferris, R. G. (1971). *Soldier and Brave: Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West*. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office.

Fieberger, G. J. (1936). "General Crook's Campaign in Old Mexico: Events Leading Up to It and Personal Experiences in the Campaign." *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Order of Indian Wars of the United States*: 22-32.

Finerty, J. F. (2001). On Campaign after Cibecue Creek. *Chicago Times*, September 18 to October 21, 1881. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Press: 236-61.

Finerty describes 1881 daily life and events at the San Carlos Indian Reservation. He accompanied troops tracking Indians from Camp Thomas through Ash Creek, Camp Apache, Seven-Mile Canyon, Cedar Creek, and Cibicue Creek to Warm Springs. The article also describes a late September campaign around Cibicue Valley and Carrizon Creek Canyon, affairs at San Carlos in early October 1881, and early October campaigns against White Mountain Apaches.

Fink, T. M. "Before Yellow Fever and Cuba: Walter Reed in Arizona." *Journal of Arizona History*: 181-200.

Fink outlines Reed's early career at Fort Yuma and camps Lowell and Apache from 1876 through 1880. Fink contends that Reed's time in this region may have piqued his interest in microbiology, leading to Reed's later medical and scientific contributions

Flannery, R. (1932). "The Position of Woman among the Mescalero Apache." *Primitive Man* 5: 26-33.

Fleming, P. and J. Luskey (1986). *The North American Indians in Early Photographs*. New York, Harper & Row.

Fletcher, A. C. (1888). *Indian Education and Civilization*. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Floyd, D. E. (1979). *Chronological List of Actions etc. with Indians from January 15, 1837, to January 1891*. Fort Collins, CO, Old Army Press.

The War Department's chronological list records official battles between U. S. troops and Indians from January 1837 to 1891. For each battle, the list includes location, date of action, and troops engaged. For each incident, the list also includes the number of troops, citizens, and Indians killed, wounded, and taken prisoner.

Fly, C. S. (1886). *Geronimo: The Apache Chief*. Tombstone, AZ, C. S. Fly: 32 leaves.

Fly took these photographs at Canyon de los Embudos on 25 and 26 March 1886. They are the only known field photographs of American Indians as enemies of the U. S. government.

Fly, C. S. (1986). *Scenes in Geronimo's Camp: The Apache Outlaw and Murderer, taken before the Surrender to Gen. Crook, March 27, 1886, in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico*. Tucson, Adobe Corral of the Westerners: 29.

Fly took the photographs at Canyon de los Embudos on 25 and 26 March, 1886. They are the only known field photographs of American Indians as enemies. This is a limited, centennial edition of five hundred numbered copies.

Forbes, J. D. (1957). "Historical Survey of the Indians of Sonora 1821-1910." *Ethnohistory* 4(4): 335-368.

Forbes, J. D. (1957). "The Janos, Jocomes, Mansos and Sumas Indians." *New Mexico Historical Review* 32: 319-334.

Forbes attempts to identify Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, and Sumas Indians. He concludes that Sumas were Athapaskan and that these groups were linked to Apaches. Thomas H. Naylor, who established that Sumas were not Athapaskans, challenged this view. Forbes continued this exploration of group identity in his 1959 article "Unknown Athapaskans." According to Forbes, after the 1680s, Janos were associated with Jocomes in the Chiricahua Mountain area and gradually merged with Chiricahua Apaches. Spanish administrators assigned Jocomes to a homeland between Sobaiपुरis settlements of the

San Pedro River Valley and the Chiricahua Mountains. Forbes suggests that Jocomes may be Chiricahuas. He bases this claim on notions concerning Spanish pronunciations of Athapaskan words. Forbes' views are often disputed.

Forbes, J. D. (1960). *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Forsyth, G. A. (1994). *Thrilling Days in Army Life*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Forsyth, W. W. (2001). *A Diary of the Sierra Madre Campaign*. Tucson, *Daily Arizona Star*, June 17, 1883. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 391-393.

Forsyth's diary of the Sierra Madre campaign against Chiricahua Apaches provides a brief overview of major events.

Fountain, A. J. (1962). *The Battle of Apache Pass. Arizona Cavalcade: The Turbulent Times*. J. Miller. New York, Hastings House.

Fountain, S. W. (1928). *Lieutenant Fountain's Fight With Apache Indians at Lillie's Ranch, 1885. Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Order of Indian Wars of the United States*

Frazer, R. (1885). *The Apaches of the White Mountain Reservation, Arizona*. Philadelphia, Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association: 22.

Frazer, R. W. (1963). *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts, 1853-54*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Frazer, R. W. (1977). *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Frazer, R. W. (1983). *Fort and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest 1846-1861*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

French, D. H. (1942). *Comparative Notes on Chiricahua Apache Mythology. Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians*. M. E. Opler. New York, American Folklore Society. 37: 103-111.

French seeks themes in southern Athapaskan mythology and oral literature. He finds many thematic similarities between Apaches and Navajos.

Fuentes Yáñez, J. (1991). *Correrías Apaches en Nacori Chico*. Hermosillo, Mexico, Instituto Sonorense de Cultura Dirección de Culturas Populares de Sonora.

Gale, J. C. (1977). "Hatfield Under Fire, May 15, 1886: An Episode of the Geronimo Campaigns." *Journal of Arizona History* 18: 447-468.

Gale examines events leading up to and including Capt. Hatfield's 15 May, 1886 campaign in Mexico. Gale writes about Gen. Miles' General Order No. 7 instructing

Hatfield to head south of the border, tracking of the Apaches near Ash Canyon, and a 15 May attack on Geronimo-led Apaches in the Santa Cruz Mountains.

Gale, J. C. (1980). "Lebo in Pursuit." *Journal of Arizona History* 21: 11-24.

Gale writes about events leading to Geronimo's 1886 capture. He focuses on Captain Thomas Lebo's pursuit of Geronimo's Apaches into the Piñito Mountains. Gale also examines Lebo's military career.

Gallagher, M. V. (1977). *Contemporary Ethnobotany among the Apache of the Clarkdale, Arizona Area: Coconino and Prescott National Forests*. Archeological Report, No. 14. Albuquerque, USDA Forest Service Southwestern Region: iv leaves, 153.

Gallagher's report from the Clarkdale, Arizona area is based on fieldwork conducted among Yavapai and Tonto Apaches during 1971. This work examines traditional and contemporary Apache ethnobotanical knowledge, Apaches' exploitation of the environment in comparison to other Arizona groups, and nutritional and pharmacological properties of the plants Apaches use. The report organizes plants by their contemporary uses while examining ethnohistoric documents to discuss traditional uses. It provides identification, utilization, preparation, and collection cycles for each plant.

Garate, D. T. (2003). *Juan Bautista de Anza : Basque Explorer in the New World*. Reno, University of Nevada Press.

Garate describes Anza's life in the New World, focusing considerable attention on Anza's time on the northern frontier. Anza's endeavors as miner, rancher, military leader, and politician are highlighted. Apaches are mentioned only in the context of Anza's largely ineffective military campaigns against them. Garate concentrates on Apaches' raiding, noting their proficiency as "guerilla fighters" and little else.

Gardner Bell, W. (1971). "A Dedication to the Memory of John Gregory Bourke, 1846-1896." *Arizona and the West* 13: 319-322.

Gardner, H. (1953). "Philip St. George Cooke and the Apache, 1854." *New Mexico Historical Review* 28: 115-132.

Gardner examines Lt. Cooke's reports of encounters with Jicarilla Apaches in 1854, when he commanded Fort Union, New Mexico. He notes an April 1854 encounter 25 miles north of Taos at Agua Caliente and a June campaign through the Spanish Peaks.

Gardner, J. P. (2001). *Escorting Chihuahua's Band to Florida. Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 567-568.

Gardner describes conditions on the train that took Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches east from Fort Bowie, Arizona to Fort Marion, Florida in April 1886. The Apaches had surrendered to Gen. Crook and were sent east as prisoners of war.

Gardner, M. (1994). *Fort Bowie National Historic Site*. Tucson, Southwest Parks and Monuments Association.



Gatewood, C. B. (1886). Geronimo. Missouri Republican.

Gatewood, C. B. (1929). The Surrender of Geronimo. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Order of Indian Wars of the United States, Washington, D. C.

Gatewood offers his account of Geronimo's 1886 surrender. He describes his trip with Apaches to Skeleton Canyon to meet with Gen. Miles.

Gatewood, C. B. (1933). Son of Heroic Gatewood Tells How Apache Chief Surrendered. San Diego Union.

Gatewood, C. B. (2001). Campaigning Against Victorio. *The Great Divide* 11, April 1894, pp. 102-104. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 213-223.

Gatewood describes an 1879 month-long campaign against Victorio and other Warm Springs Apaches. Warm Springs people had left the San Carlos Indian Reservation in April of that year. Gatewood led a troop of Apache scouts in pursuit.

Gatewood, C. B. and Louis Kraft (editor and annotator) (2005). *Lt. Charles Gatewood & His War Memoir*. Lincoln and London, University of Oklahoma Press.

Kraft makes an important contribution by editing and adding materials to Gatewood's account of his experiences with Apaches. Gatewood served in the Sixth U. S. Cavalry in New Mexico and Arizona, beginning in 1878 at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. As commander of Apache scouts, Gatewood participated in most important events involving Anglo-Americans and Apaches during that period. Gatewood's descriptions of these and other episodes in Apache/Anglo-American history are essential sources for anyone interested in such topics. Gatewood provides firsthand descriptions of and an indispensable perspective on critical events and individuals.

Gatschet, A. S. (1893). Chiricahua Sun Circle Painting. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*.

Gerald, R. E. (1958). "Two wickiups on the San Carlos Indian Reservation, Arizona." *The Kiva* 23(3): 5-11.

Gerald, R. E. (1968). *Spanish Presidios of the Late Eighteenth Century in Northern New Spain*. Santa Fe, Museum of New Mexico Press.

Gerald, R. E., M. E. Jenkins, et al. (1974). *Aboriginal Use and Occupation by Tigua, Manso, and Suma Indians. Apache Indians III*. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 359.

Geronimo and Stephen M. Barrett (editor) (1970). *Geronimo: His Own Story*. New York, Dutton Press.

Geronimo told his story to Asa Daklugie. Daklugie dictated his translation to Barrett. This book is the best source we have concerning Geronimo's perspective on his life and historical events in which he participated.

Getty, H. T. (1964). Changes in Land Use among the Western Apaches. Indian and Spanish American Adjustments to Arid and Semi-arid Environments. C. S. Knowlton. Lubbock, TX, The Committee on Desert and Arid Zone Research, Texas Technological College. 7: 27-33.

Gifford, E. W. (1940). Culture Element Distributions: XII, Apache-Pueblo. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Gifford, J. C. (1980). Archeological Explorations in Caves of the Point of Pines Region, Arizona. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Gifford, J. C. (n.d.). Western Apache Dwellings and Shelters. Arizona State Museum Archives. Tucson.

Goddard, P. E. (1909). Gotal -- a Mescalero Apache Ceremony. Putnam Anniversary Volume. Anthropological Essays. F. Boas. G. E. Stechert & Co.: 385-394.

Goddard, P. E. (1916). The Masked Dancers of the Apache. Holmes Anniversary Volume. Anthropological Essays. F. W. Hodge. Washington, D. C., J. W. Bryan Press: 132-136.

Goddard, P. E. (1919). "Myths and Tales from the White Mountain Apache." Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 24(2): 87-139.

Goddard, P. E. (1919). "San Carlos Apache Texts." Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 24(3): 141-367.

Goddard, P. E. (1920). "White Mountain Apache Texts." Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 24(5): 369-527.

Goddard, P. E. (1980). Myths and Tales from the San Carlos Apache. New York, AMS Press.

Goodman, D. M. (1969). Apaches as Prisoners of War, 1886-1894. Fort Worth, Texas Christian University. Ph.D.: ii, 235, 3 leaves.

Goodman's dissertation is a key reference concerning Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache history after their removal from southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. It documents Chiricahua and Warm Springs incarceration in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. Later works, such as those by Turcheneske (1997) and Stockel (2004), rely heavily on Goodman's work.

Goodwin, G. (1932). Place Names in the Territory of the Chiricahua, Mogollon, and Mimbres. Arizona State Museum Archives. Tucson: 1-97.

Goodwin, G. (1933). "Clans of the Western Apache." New Mexico Historical Review 8: 176-182.

Goodwin examines clan organizations of White Mountain, Cibecue, San Carlos, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto Apaches in 1931-32.

Goodwin, G. (1935). "The Social Divisions and Economic Life of the Western Apache." *American Anthropologist* 37(1): 55-64.

Goodwin, G. (1936). "Experiences of an Indian Scout: Excerpts from the Life of John Rope, an Old Timer of the White Mountain Apaches." *Arizona Historical Review* 7(1-2): 31-68.

From Keith H. Basso's introduction to an expanded version of this narrative (Goodwin and Basso 1971:92-185): "John Rope's narrative has mainly to do with his experiences as a scout for the U. S. Army, though the first part deals with some of his boyhood remembrances. He witnessed or participated in a number of critical events, including the founding of Camp Goodwin (1864), the government's ill fated "removal program," and General Crook's famous campaign into Sonora in 1883. Of equal or greater interest is Rope's account of his role as an Indian scout and the overall picture his narrative gives of Western Apache society at a time when it was seriously disturbed and in the process of rapid change (93)." Rope provides an indigenous perspective on those events. Rope's narrative is a necessary supplement to John G. Bourke's, George Crook's and other accounts of these events.

Goodwin, G. (1937). "The Characteristics and Function of Clan in a Southern Athapaskan Culture." *American Anthropologist* 39: 394-407.

Goodwin, G. (1938). "White Mountain Apache Religion." *American Anthropologist* 40(1): 24-37.

Goodwin's paper examines Western Apache religious and cosmological concepts. It is neither complete nor comparative and does not attempt to link White Mountain religion to economy and social structure. It is, however, an excellent summary.

Goodwin, G. (1939). *Myths and Tales of the White Mountain Apache*. New York, American Folklore Society.

Goodwin, G. (n.d.). *Notes on Apache Ethnobotany*. Manuscript on file at the Arizona State Museum. Tucson, AZ.

Goodwin, G. and Clyde Kluckhohn and Leyland C. Wyman (editors) (1945). "A Comparison of Navajo and White Mountain Ceremonial Forms and Categories." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 1(4): 498-506.

Goodwin, G. and J. T. Goodwin (1942). *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Goodwin's book is the most important published source of information available concerning Western Apache kinship and social organization. The author provides details about significant, increasingly inclusive levels of Western Apache social organization or structure: (1) family, (2) local group, (3) group, and (4) band. He also provides critical information about Western Apache matrilineal clans, kinship, marriage, social adjustments, leadership, stages of life, and various concepts and practices. Although Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches lacked matrilineal descent and matrilineal clans (which characterized Western Apache society), the former two groups shared with

Western Apaches many other features of social organization. Goodwin's work provides critical comparative background for an understanding of Chiricahua and Warm Springs society and culture.

Goodwin, G. and N. Goodwin (2000). *The Apache Diaries: A Father-Son Journey*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

This book summarizes the diary that Grenville Goodwin kept when he sought Sierra Madre Apaches along the U. S./Mexico border from 1927 to 1931 and the diary Neil Goodwin, Grenville's son, kept when he retraced his father's footsteps between 1976 and 1999. This work includes Grenville Goodwin's biography, maps, photos, and diagrams of Apaches' dwellings. This personal narrative investigates the "phantom" Sierra Madre Apaches through material culture descriptions. It also explores the April 1930 Mimbres Expedition, Apaches in Sonora and Chihuahua in 1930, and life at the San Carlos Reservation in 1931.

Goodwin, G. and C. Kaut (1954). "A Native Religious Movement among the White Mountain and Cibecue Apache." *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 10(385-404).

Goodwin and Kaut offer a religious narrative recorded at San Carlos Reservation, Calva, Arizona in 1936. The authors describe three religious movements among Western Apaches since settlement on the reservation and discuss effects of Christian missionary efforts on Apache myths and rituals. They also trace developments, internal workings, and fates of the three movements. The first movement was sparked by Naildoh in 1883 and precipitated the Cibicue Massacre. The second movement occurred between 1903 and 1907. This movement, led by Dahgodiyah, centered on peace and moral teachings. The third movement was led by Silas John in 1921 and blended Apache and Christian beliefs.

Goodwin, G. and Keith H. Basso (editor) (1971). *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

This book is based on Goodwin's ethnographic and historical notes, which Basso edited. It provides Western Apache personal narratives concerning raiding and warfare, and discusses selected aspects of Apache raiding and warfare. Palmer Valor, a White Mountain Apache, recalls his life. John Rope, who served as an Indian Scout for the U. S. military, spoke with Goodwin about those experiences. Mrs. Andrew Stanley describes her experiences as a captive of Chiricahua Apaches. Of particular interest is John Rope's narrative of his time as an Apache scout on Gen. George Crook's 1883 campaign into Sonora pursuing Geronimo. Rope provides an indigenous perspective on those events. Rope's narrative is a necessary supplement to Bourke and Crook's accounts.

Goodwin, G. and Morris Edward Opler (editor) (1973). *Grenville Goodwin among the Western Apache: Letters from the Field*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Goodwin, N. (1988). *Geronimo and the Apache Resistance*. Alexandria, VA, PBS Video.

Several Chiricahua Apaches tell Geronimo's story. It is different from many Anglo-American accounts of Geronimo and Chiricahua Apaches.

Gordon, B. L. R. and D. C. Cutter (1974). *Environment, Settlement, and Land Use in the Jicarilla Apache Claim Area*. Apache Indians VI. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.: 280.

Gott, K. D. (2004). *In Search of an Elusive Enemy: The Victorio Campaign, 1879-1880*. Fort Leavenworth, Combat Studies Institute Press.

Gott's article is a collection of case studies used to explore U. S. military campaigns against Victorio and other Warm Springs Apaches. The author uses Victorio campaigns as examples of difficulties dealing with an unknown enemy in complicated environmental and social circumstances. Gott intends his analysis to have contemporary applications in the war on terror.

Green, J. (2001). *Interesting Scout among White Mountain Apaches Some of Whom Sue for Peace and a Reservation*. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsberg, PA, Stackpole Books: 40-48.

Colonel John Green's letter describes a scouting expedition from Camp Grant between 13 July and 17 August 1869. The letter reports destruction of Indian corn fields along the White Mountain River and a tributary of the San Carlos River, capture of Apaches along the White Mountain River, and a fight with Arivaipa along the Cottonwood River.

Greene, A. C. (1994). *900 Miles On the Butterfield Trail*. Denton, University of North Texas Press.

Greene, J. A. (1972). "The Crawford Affair: International Implications of the Geronimo Campaign." *Journal of the West* 11(1): 143 -153.

Greene, J. A. (1980). *Fort Bowie: Its Physical Evolution, 1862-1894: Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona*. Denver, National Park Service: xiii, 520.

Gregory, D. A. (1975). *Fort Bowie National Historic Site Archaeological Pre-stabilization Studies*. Archaeological Series no. 88. Tucson, University of Arizona: v, 51 leaves.

Gregory, D. A. (1991). *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest, AD 1450-1700*. *Western Apache Archaeology: Problems and Approaches, Anthropological Research Papers, No. 24*. D. R. Wilcox and W. B. Masse. Phoenix, Arizona State University Press: 257-274.

Griffen, W. B. (1979). *Indian Assimilation in the Franciscan Area of Nueva Vizcaya*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Griffen, W. B. (1983). "The Compas: A Chiricahua Family of the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries." *American Indian Quarterly* 7(Spring): 21-49.

Griffen describes affairs of the Compás family from Janos Presidio, Chihuahua, between 1780 and 1830. This article draws on Spanish records documenting Compás family involvement in shaping relations between Apaches and Hispanics at Janos. Griffen discusses how Spanish authorities used the Compás and how at least some Apaches

marginalized the Compás family because of their cooperation with the Spanish. Griffen writes specifically about three family members: El Compás (1780-1790s) and his two sons, Juan Diego and Juan José (1794-1830s). The last part of this article examines family involvement with Apaches following Juan Diego's and Juan José's deaths.

Griffen, W. B. (1985). Apache Indians and Northern Peace Establishments. *Southwestern Culture History: Collected Papers in Honor of Albert H. Schroeder*. A. H. Land. Albuquerque, Archaeological Society of New Mexico: 188-192.

Griffen evaluates an 1834 Chihuahua, Mexico government report. The report states that 2,000 Apaches settled at presidios during a time of peace between the 1790s and 1834. Griffen analyzes various accounts of peace establishment management, Apache cultures, and effectiveness of colonial policy.

Griffen, W. B. (1985). "Problems in the Study of Apaches and Other Indians in Chihuahua and Southern New Mexico during the Spanish and Mexican Periods." *The Kiva* 50(2-3): 139-151.

Griffen discusses problems faced in Apache studies and offers suggestions for future research. He provides a brief ethnohistory of Apaches and Comanches during Spanish and Mexican rule and suggests using archives at the University of Texas-El Paso, Ciudad Juarez, and Chihuahua City for Apache research.

Griffen, W. B. (1988). *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750-1858*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico.

Griffen writes about Chiricahua Apache groups around the Janos Presidio in northern Chihuahua between 1750 and 1858. He chronicles Bernardo de Galvez's influence in settling Apaches near the presidio and intermittent periods of peace and conflict between 1790 and Mexican Independence. Griffen also examines Spanish and Mexican Indian policy, Apache-Mexican relations, and effects of U. S. expansionist policy. Part One is an overview of presidio Apaches' culture, organization, and politics in the Colonial period. This section provides accounts of Apache "transition" experiences at Janos, conditions in Nueva Vizcaya between 1750 and 1786, and intermittent periods of peace and conflict from 1789 to 1821 (during which time Chiricahua groups were led by El Compá, Nacogé, Ojos Coloradas, El Roncó, Tadiya, and Jasquenelté). Part Two examines how changing political and social conditions during the Mexican Independence period affected Indian policy. The first half of Part Two provides accounts of Apaches at Santa Rita del Cobre, Juan José Compá's role in controlling Apaches during the 1830s, and Compá's attempts to re-establish peace and resettle some Apaches (including Mangas Coloradas, Itán, and Bubosa) at Janos and Corralitos. The second half of Part Two examines conflicts between Apaches and Mexicans from late 1840 to early 1850 and Mexican attempts to settle Apaches at Janos between 1853 and 1857. Griffen's work is a major contribution.

Griffen, W. B. (1988). *Utmost Good Faith: Patterns of Apache-Mexican Hostilities in Northern Chihuahua Border Warfare, 1821-1848*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Griffen's book describes Apache-Mexican relations in Chihuahua and southern New Mexico between 1820 and 1850. It examines histories of Apache groups and conflicts between Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches and Comanches. Part One examines late

Colonial and early Mexican rule. It discusses problems Apaches and Mexicans faced, interconnected political and social systems, and changing Apache-Mexican relationships during the Mexican Independence period. Part Two examines Apaches' histories and relationships based on Mexican accounts. This part focuses on events between 1842 and 1845, including periods of peace and conflict, scalp hunter James Kirker, and Apache raiding. Part Three chronicles Apache-Comanche conflicts, borderland trade between Mexicans and Indians, Mexican military organization, and Mexican policy toward Indians. This book lists 1,707 encounters between Mexicans and Indians between 1820 and 1850. It is an essential reference and major contribution.

Griffen, W. B. (1991). "The Chiricahua Apache Population Resident at the Janos Presidio, 1792-1858." *Journal of the Southwest* 33(Summer): 151-199.

Griffin, P. B., M. P. Leone, et al. (1971). *Western Apache Ecology: From Horticulture to Agriculture*. *Apachean Culture History and Ethnology*. K. H. Basso and M. Opler. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Griffith, A. K. (1969). *Mickey Free, Manhunter*. Caldwell, ID, Caxton Printers.

Griffiths, N. and F. Cervantes (1999). *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*. Birmingham, UK, University of Birmingham Press.

Griswold, G. (1970). *The Fort Sill Apaches: Their Vital Statistics, Tribal Origins, Antecedents*. U. S. Army and Missile Center Museum Archives. Fort Sill, OK: 154.

Griswold compiled this genealogy of Fort Sill Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. For each Apache individual, the manuscript provides name, alternate names, sex, birth date, death date, prisoner of war status, military status, family relationships, and band affiliation. The Fort Sill Apaches were settled in 1894 after their removal from Arizona and imprisonment in Florida and Alabama.

Gunnerson, J. H. (1979). *Southern Athapaskan Archaeology*. *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 10, Southwest. A. Ortiz. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution: 162-169.

Gunnerson, J. H. and D. A. Gunnerson (1971). *Apachean Culture: A Study in Unity and Diversity*. *Apachean Culture History and Ethnology*. K. H. Basso and M. E. Opler. Tucson, University of Arizona Press: 7-27.

Guy, D. J. and T. E. Sheridan (1998). *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Incorporating anthropological, historical, and sociological perspectives, Guy and Sheridan examine similarities between northern (southwest U. S. and northern Mexico) and southern edges of the Spanish Empire from the early 1500s through the 1880s. Guy and Sheridan compare Apaches to southern Indian groups (e.g., Pampas) in themes such as raiding, presidio life, trading, and pressure on Spanish expansion.

Hackenberg, R. A. (n.d.). *Bibliography of the San Carlos Apache Indians*. Materials of the Bureau of Ethic Research, University of Arizona. Tucson: 23.

This is a bibliography of materials concerning the San Carlos Apache Indians. Entries date from 1863 to 1953; some have brief annotations.

Hackett, C. W. (editor) (1923-1937). *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, Collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier. Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Hadley, D., P. Warshall, et al. (1991). *Environmental Change in Arivaipa, 1870-1970: An Ethnoecological Survey*. Phoenix, Arizona State Office of the Bureau of Land Management.

Haes, B. L. (2000). "Fort Sill, the Chiricahua Apaches, and the Government's Promise of Permanent Residence." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Spring): 28-43.

Haes chronicles government relocations of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache prisoners of war from 1886 to 1914. She focuses on the U. S. government's reneged promise to Apaches that Fort Sill, Oklahoma would be their permanent reservation. Haes reports observations and opinions of several prominent government figures in the Apache prisoner of war story, particularly Herbert Welsh and Hugh Scott.

Hagan, W. T. (1966). *Indian Police and Judges*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Hagedorn, H. (1931). *Leonard Wood, A Biography*. New York, Harper.

Hagemann, E. R. (editor) (1963). "Arizona Territory" 1878: The Diary of George H. R. Moran Contract Surgeon, United States Army." *Arizona and the West* 5: 249-267.

Contract Surgeon George Moran's diary from February to September 1878 describes scenery, living conditions, daily activities, and trips into Chiricahua Apache strongholds at Camp Bowie and Camp Thomas, Arizona.

Hagemann, E. R.(editor) (1970). "Surgeon Smart and the Indians: An 1866 Apache Word-List." *Journal of Arizona History* 11: 126-140.

Hagemann presents Assistant Surgeon Charles Smart's observations from when the latter was stationed at Camp McDowell, Arizona during summer 1866. Smart compiled a Coyotero (Tonto) Apache vocabulary word-list and wrote a short article "Notes on the "Tonto" Apaches," describing characteristics of Coyotero Apaches.

Haley, J. L. (1997). *Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Hammond, G. P. (1931). "The Zuniga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fe: The Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788-1795." *New Mexico Historical Review* 6(1): 1-26.

Hammond, G. P. and A. Rey (1940). *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540-1542*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.



Hammond, G. W.(editor) (2002). "Battle on the Gila: Lt. John Van Deusen Du Bois's Account of an Episode in the 1857 Gila-Apache Campaign." *Journal of Arizona History* 43: 173-182.

Lt. John Van Deusen Du Bois describes a 27 July 1857 battle against Apaches near the Gila River, 30 miles north of Mount Graham in east-central Arizona. The journal reflects its author's perspective on Indian warfare.

Hand, G. O. and Neil C. Carmony (editor) (1996). *The Civil War in Apacheland: Sergeant George Hand's Diary: California, Arizona, West Texas, New Mexico, 1861-1864*. Silver City, NM, High Lonesome Books.

Hanna, R. (2001). *With Crawford in Mexico. The Overland Monthly* 8, 2nd ser., July 1886, pp. 78-83. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 509-515.

Hanna gives a firsthand account of Capt. Crawford's pursuit of Geronimo from Deming, New Mexico through Skeleton Canyon and the Sierra del Tigre of northern Mexico. Hanna includes his impressions of Chatto, leader of Chiricahua Apache scouts, and describes movements of Crawford's troops.

Harrington, J. P. (1940). *Southern Peripheral Athapaskan Origins, Division, and Migrations*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. vol. C. Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D. C.

Harris, B. B. and Richard H. Dillon (editor) (1960). *The Gila Trail: The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Butler traveled along the Gila Trail as part of the 1849 "Duval Party." His journal contains information on conditions in Texas, Chihuahua, Sonora, Arizona, and California. Part One describes skirmishes with Apaches. It discusses the Duval Party's encounter with Mangas Coloradas near Guadalupe Pass, a June 1849 ambush led by Mangas near Pachetehu Springs in the Sierra Madres, and raids by some Apaches on trains, miners, and cattle along the Casas Grandes River and near the Santa Cruz Valley. Part Two opens with a list of prices offered for Apache scalps by the state of Chihuahua during 1849.

Harrison, B. (1890). *Employment of Indian Scouts, Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Communication from the Secretary of State*. Exec. Doc., House of Representatives, 51st Congress, 1st Session, no. 299. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office: 9.

Harte, J. B. (1972). *The San Carlos Indian Reservation, 1872-1886. History*. Tucson, University of Arizona. Ph.D.: 2 v. (846 ).

Harte provides an administrative history of the San Carlos Indian Reservation between 1872 and 1886. He documents government efforts to acculturate Apaches through federal Indian concentration policies. He also describes significant administrative difficulties at San Carlos. Volume One describes San Carlos between 1870 and 1878. This volume discusses administrative obstacles in the supply system and with implementation of farming. This volume also examines difficulties created by inadequate government funding and fraud. Harte characterizes government policy directed at erasing Apaches'

nomadic life ways as rigid and inflexible. Volume Two chronicles San Carlos administrative affairs between 1878 and 1886. This volume discusses civilian and military struggles for control at San Carlos and effects of changes in government policies during this period. Harte challenges the view that San Carlos problems were caused primarily by corrupt agents. He suggests that many problems originated at higher levels of the government.

Harte, J. B. (1973). "Conflict at San Carlos: The Military-Civilian Struggle for Control, 1882-1885." *Arizona and the West* 15: 27-44.

Harte explores political struggles between military and civilian authorities for control of Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. Gen. Crook's desire for a permanent military presence created heavy tension with civilian reservation managers.

Harte, J. B. (1975). "The Strange Case of Joseph C. Tiffany: Indian Agent in Disgrace." *Journal of Arizona History* 15: 383-404.

Harte examines Tiffany's conduct as San Carlos Indian Reservation Agent from 1880 to 1882. The author describes an inquiry by a Tucson federal grand jury into Tiffany's affairs, building and agricultural projects at San Carlos, Apaches' discontent, and Tiffany's management problems. Harte also describes Gen. Crook's investigation of San Carlos conditions following Tiffany's departure and subsequent military presence at the reservation.

Hartzler, R. (2001). *Historical Structures Preservation Guide, Volume 1, Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona*. Washington, D.C., National Park Service.

Haskell, J. L. (1987). *Southern Athapaskan Migration, A. D. 200-750*. Tsaile, AZ, Navajo Community College Press.

Hastings, J. R. (1959). "The Tragedy at Camp Grant in 1871." *Arizona and the West* 1: 146-160. Hastings describes events leading to the 1871 Camp Grant Massacre of Apache people by Tucson citizens and others. He describes arrival of Eskiminzin and other Apaches at Camp Grant, Apache raiding parties, public scrutiny of the army's position concerning Apache feeding stations, and debates surrounding the massacre.

Hatch, T. (2003). *The Blue, the Gray & the Red : Indian Campaigns of the Civil War*. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books.

Among other Civil War events, this book summarizes episodes concerning Gen. James Henry Carleton, Kit Carson, and Apaches. It also summarizes King Woolsey's expeditions against Western Apaches in Arizona.

Hatfield, S. B. (1998). *Chasing Shadows: Indians along the United States-Mexico Border, 1876-1911*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Hatfield uses newspapers and correspondence from Mexican archives to explore U. S. and Mexican Indian policies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. She claims that Mexican Indian policy emphasized financial exploitation of Indians to further capitalistic

ambitions of the Mexican government. References to Apaches are primarily limited to instances of raiding and other depredations.

Hayes, A. (1999). *A Portal to Paradise*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Hayes, A. C. and K. P. Hayes (1991). "Sierra Madre Revisited." *Journal of Arizona History* 32: 125-152.

The authors describe an October 1988 pilgrimage by 36 Chiricahua Apaches from Mescalero, New Mexico and Fort Sill, Oklahoma to sites in Mexico's Sierra Madre. A century earlier, their ancestors sought refuge in the Sierra Madre from pursuing U. S. and Mexican soldiers. The Apache people visited Cañon de los Embudos, Sierra Azul, and Rancho el Perdido. Personal accounts and photographs are provided.

Hayes, J. G. (1954). *Apache Vengeance*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Hayes, K. (n.d.). *Apache Pilgrimage: Searching the Past for the Future*.

Hayes writes about an 1988 pilgrimage of 36 Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches to two historically, religiously, and culturally significant locations in Mexico's Cañon de los Embudos in northeastern Sonora and Sierra Azul in the Sierra Madre of Chihuahua. Canon de los Embudos is the site of surrender negotiations between Chiricahua Apaches and the U. S. military. Sierra Azul is the peak where, long ago, Apaches were saved from a great flood. The volume opens with a history of Chiricahua peoples. The main body of the book provides a chronicle of the pilgrimage through participants' personal narratives. This manuscript is essential for an understanding of the significance of land and history to Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches.

Hays, K. R. (1992). "General Garland's War: The Mescalero Apache Campaign, 1854-1855." *New Mexico Historical Review* 67: 251-268.

Hays writes about Gen. Garland's 1854-1855 military campaign against White Mountain and Davis Mountain bands of Mescalero Apaches. The author examines reasons for a breakdown of peace and an increase in hostilities between 1852 and 1854, Mescalero raiding parties in southeastern New Mexico during this time, and the role of state politics and military affairs in the Mescalero campaign. He describes incidents in the Sacramento Mountains, along the Rio Peñasco, at Antón Chico, in the Guadalupe Mountains, and at Dog Canyon.

Heald, W. F. (1975). *The Chiricahua Mountains*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Heald's book is a natural history of southeastern Arizona's Chiricahua Mountains. It was originally published as *Sky Island*.

Hefner, R. W. (1993). *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Heitman, F. B. (1965). *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from Its Organization, September 20, 1789, to March 2, 1903*. Urbana, IL, University of Illinois Press.

Henderson, M. L. (1992). A Perspective on Cultural Survival among Indigenous Groups: Economic Adaptation on the Mescalero Apache Reservation. Department of Geography. Duluth, University of Minnesota. Ph.D.

Henderson, S. R. (1971). Fort Bowie National Historic Site Wall Base Stabilization Treatment, August 1971. Manuscript on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Henderson, S. R. (1972). Emergency Stabilization 1972, Fort Bowie National Historic Site. Manuscript on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Henderson, S. R. (1972). Fort Bowie National Historic Site Stabilization. Manuscript on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Hendricks, R. and G. Mandell (2004). "The Apache Slave Trade in Parral, 1637-1679." *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 16.

The abstract states: "In 1631 major silver strikes launched a period of rapid growth of Parral in the present-day Mexican state of Chihuahua. As Parral's silver-based economy expanded so did the number of Apaches sent south by New Mexico governors and prominent citizens. Although Indian slavery was generally considered illegal in Spanish colonies, the concept of "just war" provided a cover of legality in New Spain's northern frontier, where the military conflict with Apaches and other peoples was ongoing for much of the colonial period. By the end of the 1630s, the Apache slave trade was flourishing in Parral and it continued to thrive for thirty years. In 1660 a decision by the Audiencia of Guadalajara, handed down in the previous year, sought to end slavery by manumitting Apache slaves in Parral and all of Nueva Vizcaya. Even with this judicial ruling, Apache slavery did not stop entirely, although it did become more covert."

Hendricks, R. and W. H. Timmons (1998). *San Elizario: Spanish Presidio to Texas County Seat*. El Paso, Texas Western Press.

Herring, P. R. (1969). "A Plan for the Colonization of Sonora's Northern Frontier: The Paredes Proyectos of 1850." *Journal of Arizona History* 10: 103-114.

Herring describes efforts led by Mariano Paredes to strengthen Sonora's frontier. Paredes' plan sought Mexican federal help for establishment of colonies along the Gila border and to confront Indian raiding and Anglo-American encroachment. The plan was never implemented.

Herskovitz, R. M. (1978). *Fort Bowie Material Culture*. Tucson, University of Arizona.

Herskovitz completed an artifact analysis of Fort Bowie for the National Park Service. Indian artifacts were found among other materials. There were small bracelet fragments made from *Glycymeris* sp. shell and a bead fashioned from *Olivella* sp. shell, both commonly associated with prehistoric peoples. Soldiers had apparently collected 20 ground or chipped stones, three manos, a rhyolite pestle, a fragment of a fully grooved quartzite axe, six pieces of chert, a rhyolite scraper, and a possible jasper projectile point.

Higgins, N. S. and J. B. White (1940). Manuscripts Relating to the Apache and Tontoe (Yavapai) Index. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology: 3 leaves.

Hine, R. V. (1968). Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Hodge, F. W. (1895). "The Early Navajo and Apache." *American Anthropologist* 8: 232-40.  
Hodge examines Athapaskans' movement into the southwest. When Hodge wrote this piece, the first known Spanish account of Apaches was by Juan de Onate in 1598. Hodge implies the number of defensive sites found at pueblos indicates that Apaches were in the area prior to the mid-16th century. For more complete information on this subject, read Albert Schroeder (1974) and Richard Perry (1991).

Hodge, F. W. (editor) (1907-1910). Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Bureau of American Ethnology. S. I. United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office. Bulletin No. 30.

Hodge, F. W., G. W. Hammond, et al. (editors) (1945). Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Hojjer, H. (1938). "Southern Athapaskan Languages." *American Anthropologist* 40: 75-87.  
Hojjer summarizes his views of relationships among Navajo and various Apache languages.

Hojjer, H. (1971). The Position of the Apachean Languages in the Athapaskan Stock. *Apachean Culture History and Ethnology*. K. H. Basso and M. E. Opler. Tucson, University of Arizona Press: 3-6.

Using data compiled by Michael Krauss on northern Athapaskan languages, Hojjer modifies the conclusions of his 1938 article on southern Athapaskan languages. He indicates that a Proto-Athapaskan language is identifiable based on differences between 15 of 41 consonant sounds. These sounds are preserved in original form in four northern Athapaskan groups (Minto, Central Tanana, Kutchin, and Han). He identifies another proto-language comprised of Canadian, Pacific, and Apachean Athapaskans (PCPA) based on mergers of "g" and "k" sounds into "dz" and "ts" sounds. He concludes that the groups which became southwestern Apacheans speak different dialects of one language and that the Plains- or Kiowa-Apache speak a taxonomically separate language. Based on comparative analysis, lexicostatistics, and historical information, Hojjer concludes that Kiowa-Apache represents a separate, much later departure from the north than southwestern Apachean.

Hojjer, H. and M. Opler (1980). *Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts*. New York, AMS Press.

Hojjer provides the most important record that exists of Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache languages from the 1930s. Hojjer collected, translated, and analyzed Apache-language texts (origin, coyote, and other stories). Opler provided excellent ethnological

notes to the texts. Hoijer worked with David Fatty, Sam Kenoi, Duncan Belacho, Lawrence Mithlo, Charles Smith, Horace Torres, and Fred Pelmam. These men contributed the texts and worked with Hoijer on linguistic analysis and translation. Of interest are names of plants and animals used by Chiricahua and Mescalero peoples. Anyone interested in Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches should use this monograph as a fundamental source of information. It is now available online from the University of Virginia. Hoijer's Apache papers in the International Journal of American Linguistics are also foundational.

Holian, P. (1998). *Chiricahuas: Mountain Islands in the Desert*. Southwest Horizons Nature Series, 2. Las Cruces, NM, Department of Agricultural Communications, New Mexico State University.

This video describes the geology, plants, and animals of the Chiricahua Mountains of southeastern Arizona.

Hotz, G. (1970). *Indian Skin Paintings from the American Southwest: Two Representations of Border Conflicts between Mexico and the Missouri in the Early Eighteenth Century*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Hotz questions the origin of two North American skin paintings owned by the von Segesser von Brunegg family of Lucerne, Switzerland. The paintings consist of three large rectangular pieces of leather bound with sinew. The paintings depict Indians and Europeans battling in a wooded, mountainous region. In one painting, Indian raiders are armed with European equipment. The other painting depicts an attack on European soldiers with what appear to be 16th or 17th century weapons. Hotz classifies the pieces as Segesser I and Segesser II, and uses letters of Father Philipp, a Jesuit missionary in Sonora and a von Brunegg family relative, to track down their origin. Hotz believes the Indian riders are members of a Sonoran nation. Based on their cropped hair, which according to Father Philipp is too short to be Pima, Hotz is led to the conclusion that they may be Opata people.

Hotz, G. (1991). *The Segesser Hide Paintings: Masterpieces Depicting Spanish Colonial New Mexico*. Santa Fe, Museum of New Mexico Press.

Howard, N. J. (1995). *Navajos, Apaches and Pueblos since 1940: A Selective Bibliography*. Albuquerque, Center for the American West, Department of History, University of New Mexico: 84.

Howard, O. O. (1872). "Account of General Howard's Mission to the Apaches and Navajos." Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Howard, O. O. (1907). *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians*. Hartford, CT, A. T. Worthington.

Details of Howard's activities in Arizona and New Mexico are essential to an understanding of Anglo-American/Apache contact history. This autobiography is an essential source of information about Apaches and the 1870s southwest.

Howard, O. O. (2001). General Howard's Treaties. Old and New 6, November 1872, pp. 620-627. Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsberg, PA, Stackpole Books: 115-123.

Howard describes his attempts to bring Apaches to peace. He describes a meeting with Apache leader Santo on 24 April 1872 and a council at Camp Grant in May with Apache leader Eskiminzin, Pima leader Antonio, and Papago leader Francisco.

Howes, E. H. (1947). The Employment of Indian Scouts by the United States Army in Arizona, 1865-1886. Berkeley, University of California. Ph.D.

Hrdlicka, A. (1904). "Method of Preparing Tesvino among the White River Apache." American Anthropologist 6: 190-191.

Hrdlicka, A. (1905). "Notes on the San Carlos Apache." American Anthropologist 7: 480-495.

Hrdlicka, A. (1908). "Physiological and Medical Observations among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico." 34: 1-460.

Hufford, K. (1968). "P. W. Dooner: Pioneer Editor of Tucson." Arizona and the West(Spring): 25-42.

Hufford writes about a Tucson newspaper, The Arizonian, and its editor. The Arizonian was shut down in September 1870 by Territorial Delegate to Congress Richard McCormick and Sydney DeLong, reportedly because Dooner opposed McCormick's political ambitions. Arizona newspaper history is pertinent to Apache history, as many newspapermen had political power and used newspapers to influence public opinion on Indian issues. Arizona newspapers also affected political opinion in Washington, D. C.

Hughes, F. G. (2001). The Military and Cochise. Tucson, Arizona Star, January 27 and 31, 1886. Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books. 1: 132-137.

Hughes' article reviews events involving the U. S. military, Cochise, and other Chiricahua Apaches from Gen. Howard's 1872 peace treaty with Cochise to 1876. Hughes describes Gen. Crook's 1873 campaign around the Chiricahua Reservation, Cochise's death in 1874, Chiricahua Apache outbreaks from their reservation beginning in April 1876, and relocation of Chiricahua Apaches to the San Carlos Indian Reservation in June 1876.

Hunt, A. (1958). Major General James Henry Carleton, 1814-1873, Western Frontier Dragoon. Glendale, CA, Arthur H. Clark Company.

Hunter, J. M. (1977). The Boy Captives, Life Among the Indians. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Originally published in 1927, this is an account of two brothers allegedly abducted and adopted by a combined Comanche and Apache band in 1869.

Hutton, P. A. (1968). Indian Raids as Reported in the Silver City Enterprise. Silver City, NM, William H. Mullane.

Hutton, P. A. (1985). Phil Sheridan and His Army. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Indian Rights Association (1887). Those Apache Prisoners. New York Daily Tribune.

Ingstad, H. (2004). The Apache Indians: In Search of the Missing Tribe. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

The Apache Indians describes Ingstad's unsuccessful attempt in the 1930s to locate a "lost" group of Apaches in the Sierra Madres. Two Apaches, including one man who had been with Geronimo, accompanied Ingstad. This book is an adventure story, exemplified by the following writing: "As the sun sets behind the Sierra Madre, the crimson glow across the sky slowly fades, and a chill seeps through the mountains--mountains so vast and with so many hiding places it's impossible to know exactly how many Apaches remain there today. There could be 50 as well as there could be 10. The fact that they still exist is certain enough. At dusk when they light their fires up in the cliffs, a small group dressed in hides sits and looks out across the land as they talk about their world. They are fugitives, their families killed, they themselves doomed. Yet there is still one thing they possess--freedom."

Irwin, B. J. D. (1928). "The Apache Pass Fight." *Infantry Journal* XXXII(4): 368-375.

Irwin, who was present at the incident, summarizes the "Bascom Affair." This version of the Affair severely criticizes Chiricahua Apaches in general and absolves U. S. military personnel of all guilt for what happened.

Ives, R. L. (1939). Sedlemayr's Relacion of 1746. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*. 123: 99-117.

Ivey, J. E. "The Greatest Misfortune of All": Famine in the Province of New Mexico, 1667-1672." *The Journal of the Southwest*: 76-100.

Ivey reviews Fray Juan Bernal's account of New Mexico province's 1667-1672 famine and Spanish response to this crisis. Ivey concludes that food shortages, concurrent with increased Apache raids, damaged the region and culminated in the Pueblo Revolt.

Jackson, O. (1908). *The White Conquest of Arizona*. Los Angeles, Grafton.

Jackson, R. H. (1983). "Causes of Indian Population Decline in the Pimeria Alta Mission of Northern Sonora." *Journal of Arizona History* 24: 405-429.

Jackson reviews forces and factors contributing to depopulation in the Pimeria Alta region of northern Sonora after Spanish arrival. Disease, Indian warfare, and poor harvests are explored using documentary evidence.

Jackson, R. H. (1994). *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.



Jastrzembki, J. C. (1995). "Traacherous Towns in Mexico: Chiricahua Apache Personal Narratives of Horrors." *Western Folklore* 54 (July): 169-96.

Jastrzembki reviews Chiricahua Apache narratives, such as those contained in Eve Ball's works and the Janos Archive, to learn Chiricahua Apache views of Mexican towns.

Based on these sources, Chiricahuas were largely hostile toward Mexicans in the 19th century and viewed Mexican towns as extremely dangerous.

Jerome, L. R. (1972). *Soldiering and Suffering in the Geronimo Campaign. Hostiles and Horse Soldiers.* L. J. White. Boulder, CO, Pruett: 206-224.

John, E. A. H. (1984). "A Cautionary Exercise in Apache Historiography." *The Journal of Arizona History* 25(3): 301-315.

John, E. A. H.(editor) (1989). *Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain, by José Cortés, Lieutenant in the Royal Corps of Engineers, 1799.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Cortés was a young Spanish lieutenant in the elite royal corps of engineers who was sent to the northern frontier of New Spain in the late 1790s. He spent three-and-a-half years in the Americas, including at least two months at Janos Presidio. There, he developed an interest in political and frontier issues. His work reads as a campaign for a bureaucratic posting, clearly showing his patriotic enthusiasm and idealism. He synthesizes available material on the Apaches, the frontier, and the imperial climate of North America, extending his treatment to U. S. expansion. Cortes provides a point of reference for Apache demography at the turn of the 19th century, as well as a baseline for Apache social and cultural attributes. He provides several interesting facts about Apaches -- details of raiding tactics and game drives, use of smoke signals, use of firearms, and an account of a dramatic and unusual cremation. Cortes used important documents. He also derived information from presidial troops, officials, and other "old hands" in Apacheria, and observed at least some Apaches in peaceful rancherias.

Johnson, E. and L. F. Bjorklund (1953). *Cochise: Great Apache Chief.* New York, J. Messner.

Johnson, T. B. and C. H. Lowe (1978). *Status of the Mohave Rattlesnake and Certain Lizards and Anurans in the Fort Bowie National Historic Site Area.* Cooperative National Park Resources Studies Unit, University of Arizona. Technical Report no. 2, Supplement. Tucson, University of Arizona: 11.

Johnson, V. W. (1962). *The Unregimented General: A Biography of Nelson A. Miles.* Boston, Houghton.

In April 1886, Miles assumed command of the Department of Arizona, replacing Gen. Crook. Crook had failed to bring Geronimo and his band of Chiricahua Apaches back to the U. S. from Mexico. Chapter XVII of Johnson's biography deals with Miles' efforts to capture Geronimo and with Geronimo's September 1886 return to the U. S. as a prisoner of war.

Jones, K. L. (1998). *Comparative Raiding Economies: North and South. Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire*. D. J. Guy and T. E. Sheridan. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Jozhe, B. (n.d.). *A Brief History of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe*. Apache, OK, Fort Sill Apache Tribe.

Jozhe identifies the Fort Sill Apaches. In October 1894, Apache prisoners were brought to Oklahoma's Fort Sill Reservation from Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama. The group was composed of Warm Springs, Chiricahua, and Nednhi Apaches. Ancestral lands of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs peoples are located in southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico.

Kahl, G. G. (1928). *The Apaches in New Mexico, 1846-1861*. Berkeley, University of California. M.A.: vi, 161.

Kane, R. (1978). "An Honorable and Upright Man: Sidney R. De Long as Post Trader at Fort Bowie." *Journal of Arizona History* 19 (Autumn): 297-314.

De Long was a key participant in the "Camp Grant Massacre" of Apache Indians in 1871. He later became a post trader at Fort Bowie.

Kappler, C. J. (ed.) (1940). *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Volumes I and II*. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.

Karns H. J. and Associates (translators) (1954). *Juan Mateo Manje: Unknown Arizona and Sonora, 1693-1721*. Tucson, Arizona Silhouettes.

Katz, S., and Paul R. Katz (1985). *Pecos Past : The Prehistory and History of the Brantley Project Locality*. San Antonio, The College.

Katz, S. and P. R. Katz (1974). *An Inventory and Interpretation of Prehistoric Resources in Guadalupe Mountains National Park, Texas*. Austin, National Park Service.

Katz, S. and P. R. Katz (1985). *The History of the Carlsbad Basin, Southeastern New Mexico: Technical Report of Historical Archaeological Investigation in the Brantley Project Locality*. Prepared for Bureau of Reclamation, Southwest Regional Office. San Antonio, The College: 196.

Katz and Katz prepared this study for the Brantley Dam and Reservoir Project on the Pecos River. The authors used standard references to describe Spanish contact and colonial history with Apaches. They conducted considerable original research into activities in the Seven Rivers and Guadalupe Mountains, where ranching expanded in the 1880s.

Katz, S. and P. R. Katz (1985). *The Prehistory of the Carlsbad Basin, Southeastern New Mexico: Technical Report of Prehistorical Archaeological Investigation in the Brantley Project Locality*. San Antonio, The College.

The authors identify tipi rings as archaeological sites.

Kaut, C. R. (1957). *The Western Apache Clan System: Its Origins and Development*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico.

Kaywaykla, J. (1963). "Nana's People." *True West* 10(6).

Kaywaykla, J. and Eve Ball (editor) (1970). *In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Kaywaykla was a Warm Springs Apache man born in the 1800s who survived the Mexican massacre of Warm Springs and Mescalero Apaches at Tres Castillos. He was (1) imprisoned with other Apaches in Florida, (2) forced to attend Carlisle Indian Industrial School, (3) relocated to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and (4) transferred to New Mexico's Mescalero Apache Reservation. Kaywaykla's narrative recounts such episodes in his life.

Keene, R. and A. P. Ortega (n.d.). *Two Worlds*. Albuquerque, Waltiska: 1 disc.

Kelly, R. E. (1967). *Talking Mirrors at Fort Bowie: Military Heliograph Communication in the Southwest*. Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University for the National Park Service.

Kelly discusses the history and significance of military heliograph communication during the "Indian Wars." Heliographic communication was important during the 1886 campaign to capture Geronimo.

Kemble, E. C. (2001). *Victorio and His Young Men*. *New York Times*, November 28, 1880. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books. 1: 203-210.

Kenoi, S. E. and M. E. Opler (editor) (1990). *A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886. Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Kenoi, a Chiricahua Apache, describes Geronimo's surrender. Kenoi also writes about incarceration of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches after Geronimo's surrender. Opler, Kenoi's editor, includes Chiricahua Apache historical and cultural background. This piece is essential because it provides one Chiricahua Apache's perspective on the relevant events. It should be read along with accounts written by U. S. military personnel such as Charles Gatewood and Leonard Wood.

Kessel, J. L. (1968). "Anza, Indian Fighter: The Spring Campaign of 1766." *Journal of Arizona History* 9(Autumn): 155-163.

Kessel describes a spring 1766 campaign led by Don Juan Bautista de Anza on the San Pedro River and in the Gila Mountains. Attempts to destroy Apache rancherias are described in this official report to Governor Pineda, dated 17 March 1766.

Kessel, J. L. (1971). "Campaigning on the Upper Gila, 1756." *New Mexico Historical Review* 46(2): 133-160.

Kessel, J. L. (1976). *Friars, Soldiers and Reformers: Hispanic Arizona and the Sonora Mission Frontier, 1767-1856*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Kessel, J. L.(editor) (1964). "San José de Tumacácori" 1773: A Franciscan Reports From Arizona." *Arizona and the West* 6: 303-312.

In a letter dated 5 March 1773, Fray Bartholomé Ximeno describes conditions in Primería Alta and at Mission San José Tumacácori Pimas on the Santa Cruz River. Much of the letter discusses problems with Apaches, poverty among Indians at his mission, and ineffectiveness of frontier soldiers.

Kessel, W. B. (1974). "The Battle of Cibecue and its Aftermath: A White Mountain Apache's Account." *Ethnohistory* 21(2): 123-134.

Kessel, W. B. (1976). *White Mountain Apache Religious Cult Movements: A Study in Ethnohistory*. Anthropology. Tucson, University of Arizona. Ph.D.: x, 220 leaves.

Keyes, E. (1890). "Some Recollections of Arizona and Cochise." *The United Service*: 98-101.

King, C. (1964). *Campaigning with Crook*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

King, J. T. (1963). *War Eagle: A Life of General Eugene A. Carr*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

King, J. T. (1967). "George Crook: Indian Fighter and Humanitarian." *Arizona and the West* 9(Winter): 333-348.

King chronicles the life of Gen. Crook, Commander of the Department of Arizona for eight years during the 1870s and 1880s. King describes implementation of Crook's Indian policies and his campaigns against Apache peoples.

King, T. F. (1998). *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice: An Introductory Guide*. 1st ed. Walnut Creek, California, AltaMira Press.

King, T. F. (2003). *Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management*. Walnut Creek, California, AltaMira Press.

King, T. F. (2004). *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice: An Introductory Guide*. 2nd ed. Walnut Creek, California, AltaMira Press.

Kraft, L. (2000). *Gatewood & Geronimo*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Kraft writes about Apache wars in Arizona, New Mexico, and northern Mexico. He uses official accounts and Gatewood's diary to chronicle events following the 1883 escape of Geronimo and a group of Chiricahua Apaches from Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. The book includes photographs of prominent military personnel and Chiricahua leaders. It also includes maps of the 1886 Geronimo Campaign through the Sierra Madre.

Kriegh, J. D. and H. A. Sultan (1974). *Feasibility Study in Adobe Preservation: Casa Grande National Monument and Fort Bowie National Historic Site: Final Report*. Archives TH 4818 U5a F73 no. 2 NPS. Tucson, College of Engineering, University of Arizona: 334 in various paging.

Kuhn, B. (1997). "Siege in Cooke's Canyon: The Freeman Thomas Fight of 1861." *Journal of Arizona History* 38: 155-171.

A mail party traveled through Cooke's Canyon, New Mexico, in July 1861. An altercation between the mail party and Apaches led by Cochise and Mangas Coloradas occurred somewhere near Cooke's Canyon. All members of the mail party were killed.

Kunstadter, P. (1960). *Culture Change, Social Structure, and Health Behavior: A Quantitative Study of Clinic Use among the Apaches of the Mescalero Reservation*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan. Ph.D.

Lafora, N. D. and L. Kinnaird (1958). *The Frontiers of New Spain: Nicolas's de Lafora's Description, 1766-1768*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Lamberton, K. T. and J. P. Garton (2003). *Chiricahua Mountains: Bridging the Borders of Wilderness*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Lamberton provides a useful natural history of the Chiricahua Mountains, part of the Chiricahua Apaches' homeland. Garton's photographs are a fine visual introduction to this area in southeastern Arizona.

Lane, J. C. (editor) (1970). *Chasing Geronimo: The Journal of Leonard Wood May-September, 1886*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Wood arrived in Arizona on 4 July 1885 and was attached as medical officer to Capt. Lawton's command. From 4 May through 8 September 1886, Wood accompanied Lawton, under orders from Gen. Miles, in pursuit of Geronimo and other Chiricahua Apaches who left the San Carlos Reservation on 17 May 1885. Wood's journal is essential reading for anyone interested in this campaign against Chiricahua Apaches. It provides important details about specific events and people involved in this effort.

Lane, J. C. (1978). *Armed Progressive: General Leonard Wood*. San Rafael, Presidio Press.

Lange, C. H., C. L. Riley, et al. (editors) (1970). *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1883-1884*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Laumbach, K. W. (2000). *Hembrillo, an Apache Battlefield of the Victorio War: The Archaeology and History of the Hembrillo Battlefield*. White Sands, NM, White Sands Missile Range.

Laumbach, K. W. (2001). "Fire Fight at Hembrillo Basin." *Archaeology* (November/December): 34-39.

Apache rock art in southern New Mexico's Hembrillo Canyon includes animal imagery. The site may have been sacred.

Lawton, T. R. (n.d.). *The Pursuit of Natchez and Geronimo*: iii, 90.

Lawton's unpublished manuscript focuses on Capt. Henry Ware Lawton's 1886 pursuit of Chiricahua Apaches. Lawton was operating under Gen. Nelson A. Miles' orders. Miles had replaced Gen. George Crook as Commander of the Department of Arizona when Crook failed to bring in Geronimo in spring 1886. Lawton commanded two expeditions against Geronimo. In September 1886, Charles Gatewood, with Apache scouts Martine and Kayitah, met in Mexico with Geronimo and convinced him to meet with Lawton. After meeting with Geronimo, Lawton returned with him and the other Apaches to an arranged meeting with Miles. Geronimo and the other Apaches agreed to be incarcerated with their families in the east for two years and then to be returned to Arizona. The government failed to meet these conditions. The manuscript is a useful supplement to other accounts of Geronimo's negotiations.

Lecki, W. H. (1967). *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Lejeune, L. (1984). *La Guerra Apache en Sonora*. Hermosillo, Gobierno del Estado de Sonora.

Lekson, S. H. (1987). *Nana's Raid: Apache Warfare in Southern New Mexico, 1881*. El Paso, Texas Western Press.

Lekson, S. H. (1992). *Archaeological Overview of Southwestern New Mexico*. Las Cruces, NM, Human Systems Research, Incorporated.

Lieder, M. and J. Page (1997). *Wild Justice: The People of Geronimo vs. the United States*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Lieder and Page write about the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache land claims case, as presented to the Indian Claims Commission. Chapter One summarizes Chiricahua Apache contact history. Chapter Two summarizes Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache imprisonment from 1886 to 1914. The remainder of the book deals with establishment of the Land Claims Commission and the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache case to receive compensation for lost land and resources. This book is useful for information it provides about politics and laws associated with financial compensation to Apaches for lost land and resources.

Lister, F. C., and R. H. Lister (1966). *Chihuahua: Storehouse of Storms*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Lockwood, F. C. (1938). *The Apache Indians*. New York, Macmillan.

Longfellow, H. H. and M. E. Valputic (1971). "The Fight at Chiricahua Pass in 1869 as Described by L. L. Dorr, M.D." *Arizona and the West* 13: 369-378.

Ludwig, L. L. and J. L. Stute (1993). *The Battle at K-H Butte: Apache Outbreak --1881, Arizona Territory*. Tucson, Westernlore Press.

Ludwig, L. L. (1991). An Archeological Survey of the Fort Bowie Dump Site and Captain Budd's Target. Manuscript on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Ludwig, L. L. (1993). An Archeological Survey of Possible Bascom Affair Sites. Manuscript on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Lummis, C. F. (1973). The Land of Poco Tiempo. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Lummis, C. F. and Dan L. Thrapp (editor) (1979). Dateline Fort Bowie: Charles Fletcher Lummis Reports on an Apache War. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Lummis was a reporter for the Los Angeles Times and spent time at Fort Bowie in 1886. He reported much gossip about Geronimo, Chiricahua Apaches, and U. S. military personnel.

Lummis, C. F. and T. L. Fiske (editor) (1966). General Crook and the Apache Wars. Flagstaff, AZ, Northland Press.

Lummis was a reporter for the Los Angeles Times. He spent time in Arizona covering Territorial events. This work provides selected dispatches that originally appeared in the Los Angeles Times in April and May 1886.

Lusitana, D. E. and K. Rogers (1993). Geronimo: The Last Renegade. The Real West. New York, A&E Home Video: 2 videocassettes (48 min. each).

Luttrell, E. (1950). Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona 1859-1911. Tucson, University of Arizona.

Lyon, W. H. (1994). Those Old Yellow Dog Days: Frontier Journalism in Arizona, 1859-1912. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

Machand, E. (editor) (1966). News From Fort Craig New Mexico, 1863: Civil War Letters of Andrew Ryan with the First California Volunteers. Santa Fe, NM, Stage Coach Press.

Macias, A. M. (1966). The Defense of Pimeria Alta, 1600-1800: Study in Spanish-Apache Military Relations. Tucson, University of Arizona. M.A.: 161 leaves.

Magee, S. S. (2002). Geronimo!: Stories of an American Legend. Phoenix, Arizona Highways Books.

Mahaney, N. and J. R. Welch (2002). "The Legacy of Fort Apache: Interpretive Challenges at a Community Historic Site." *Journal of the Southwest* 44(1): 35-47.

Mahaney and Welch investigate conflicting historical perspectives in public interpretations of Fort Apache as the traditional homeland of White Mountain Apaches.

Mails, T. E. (1974). The People Called Apache. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall.

Malloy, W. M. (1910). *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements between the United States of American and Other Powers*. Senate Executive Document No. 357.

Manje, J. M. (1954). *Luz de Tierra Incognita: Unknown Arizona and Sonora 1693-1701*. Tucson, Arizona Silhouettes.

Mardock, R. W. (1971). *The Reformers and the American Indians*. Columbia, MO, University of Missouri Press.

Marion, J. (1994). "As Long as the Stone Lasts: General O. O. Howard's 1872 Conference." *Journal of Arizona History* 35(Summer): 109-140.

In 1872, Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano sent Howard to Arizona and New Mexico to settle Indians on reservations. Howard was to convince settlers to treat Indians humanely to create peace. This article describes the Camp Grant Massacre of over 100 Apaches on 30 April 1871, led by Tucson citizens, Jesús María; Elías and William S. Oury. It describes subsequent peace negotiations between Apache leader Eskiminzin, Lt. Whitman, and Howard. The author speculates concerning effects that this conference had on later Apache-Anglo relations in the southwest.

Marion, J. H. and D. M. Powell (editor) (1965). *Notes of Travel Through the Territory of Arizona, Being an Account of the Trip Made by General George Stoneman and Others in the Autumn of 1870*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Prospector John Huguenot Marion wrote about his trip and interactions with Gen. Stoneman. Marion was not sympathetic to Apaches, believing that they should "settle down and make themselves useful." This work was first published in The Miner, a newspaper Marion purchased and launched in Whipple, Arizona in 1867.

Marks, P. M. (1998). *In a Barren Land: American Indian Dispossession and Survival*. New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc.

Martin, D. D. (1963). "An Apache's Epitaph: The Last Legal Hanging in Arizona, 1936." *Arizona and the West* 5: 352-360.

Martin reports events leading to the 13 July 1936 hanging of Earl Gardner, an Apache, near Globe, Arizona. The author includes newspaper articles from the Phoenix Gazette, a letter from Secretary of the Interior Ickes to Attorney General Cummings, and congressional proceedings.

Mason, J. E. (1970). *The Use of Indian Scouts in the Apache Wars, 1870-1886*. Bloomington, Indiana University. Ph.D.: iii, 378 leaves.

Mason's dissertation is a useful account of Apache scouts. It summarizes much information about, for example, U. S. military campaigns against Apaches in which Apache scouts were used. Among the campaigns Mason describes are those against Western Apaches between 1872 and 1878, against Victorio and Warm Springs Apaches, and against Geronimo and Chiricahua Apaches in 1883 and 1885-1886. Mason also discusses the Cibecue Creek Affair and addresses scout motivations and effectiveness.



Matheny, R. L. (1976). "Lumbering in the White Mountains of Arizona, 1919-1942." *Arizona and the West* 18: 237-256.

Matheny examines commercial logging in Arizona's White Mountains between 1919 and 1942. He discusses a battle between factions fighting to open the White Mountain Apache Reservation to large-scale timber operations.

Matson, D. S. and A. H. Schroeder (1957). "Cordero's Description of the Apache -- 1796." *New Mexico Historical Review* 32(4): 335-356.

Matthews, J. T. (1999). "Pushing the Mules through Guadalupe Pass: Pinery Station on the Butterfield Overland Mail." *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 11.

According to the abstract: "On the afternoon of September 28, 1858, the first Butterfield Overland Mail coach climbed into Guadalupe Pass and stopped at a new station about a quarter of a mile downstream from Pine Springs. The stage station known as the Pinery stood in the shadow of Guadalupe Peak surrounded by clusters of Ponderosa pine. When the first stage arrived in 1858, the station remained in a state of construction. Only a corral of pine timber had been completed. Yet less than 11 months later, in August 1859, the Overland Mail abandoned the Pinery in favor of a southern route along the military road through Fort Davis to El Paso. The abandoned station became a camping spot for travelers, freighters, and renegades. In the late 1870s, it served as an army outpost. The ruins can still be seen near the headquarters of Guadalupe Mountains National Park. Despite its brief period of active service, the history of Pinery Station provides a unique view of the Butterfield Overland Mail in Texas and the development of the Guadalupe Mountains region."

Maynard, D. (1992). "An Investigation of the Sources on the Battle of Skeleton Cave." *Periodical* 19: 37-58.

Maynard investigates the 28 December 1872 Salt River Massacre.

Mayo, J. (2000). Trip Report, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona, Field Inventory Survey for Proposed Trail Maintenance Activities along the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)-Constructed Trail System (CHIR 1999 D). Manuscript on file at the National Park Service, Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Mazzanovich, A. (1926). *Trailing Geronimo*. Los Angeles, Gem Publishing Company.

Mazzanovich was a soldier, chief of pack-train services, and scout at Fort Grant. He also served with the New Mexico Rangers. Mazzanovich describes events involving Arizona's White Mountain Apaches and Chiricahua Apaches between 1861 and 1886.

McCarty, K. (1976). *Desert Documentary: The Spanish Years, 1767-1821*. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

McCarty writes about features of Arizona history that deserve further scrutiny. While initial exploration and Indian acculturation have been reasonably documented, McCarty asserts that scholarship of the late 18th to early 19th century is deficient. McCarty also notes that native points of view have been ignored in most histories. Examining translated documents from the period, the author "provoke[s] more questions than he answers" and

hopes to spark interest in the topic. Apaches are mentioned in a handful of excerpts, typically concerning military campaigns.

McCarty, K. (1994). "Bernardo de Galvez on the Apache Frontier: The Education of a Future Viceroy." *Journal of the Southwest* 36: 103-130.

McCarty discusses experiences of future Viceroy of Mexico, Bernardo de Galvez, who was sent to the northern Mexican frontier in 1769 to fight Apaches. He was on detached duty from the Regiment of the Crown. This article includes descriptions of negotiations and fighting between Apache women from El Zurdo-led southern Chiricahuas and Capt. Lope de Cuellar at Janos in June and July 1869.

McCarty, K. (1997). *A Frontier Documentary: Sonora and Tucson, 1821-1848*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

McCarty writes about southern Arizona and northern Sonora immediately following Mexican Independence. Noting that military personnel held the only "real" authority in the area, McCarty concentrates on accounts from officers and soldiers, typically in the form of official and personal letters and communications. McCarty asserts that clashes with Apaches defined this era. He highlights two incidents in September 1844 that he considers typical of interactions between the military and Apaches.

McCarty, K. (1998). "Sonorans Plan a New Frontier: The 1849 Report of Governor José Aguilar." *Journal of Arizona History* 39: 379-390.

Sonoran Governor José Aguilar's 13 October 1849 report is a response to Mexican Department of Colonization Director Antonio Garay's request for a description of the northern frontier.

McChristian, D. C. (2005). *Fort Bowie, Arizona: Combat Post of the Southwest, 1858-1894*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

McChristian traces the history of Fort Bowie from its 1862 establishment to its 1894 abandonment. Constructed for its proximity to water and Indians, Fort Bowie is treated by McChristian as an integral force in Apache hostilities. Stories of Apaches are woven throughout this volume. McChristian provides a thorough examination of the Battle of Apache Pass, along with considerations of day-to-day interactions between Apaches and the military. Several prominent Apaches are featured, with considerable biographical attention paid to Cochise, Geronimo, Chatto, and Mangas Coloradas. This is an extremely useful summary of Fort Bowie and Chiricahua Apache military history.

McChristian, D. C. and L. L. Ludwig (2001). "Eyewitness to the Bascom Affair: An Account by Sergeant Daniel Robinson, Seventh Infantry." *Journal of Arizona History* 42(3): 277-300.

McChristian and Ludwig introduce and annotate a firsthand account of the Bascom Affair. The article contains important insights into the event. While McChristian and Ludwig note that Robinson's narrative was heavily edited in the magazine that originally published it, the piece is important for the perspective it provides.

McDermontt, J. D. (1998). *A Guide to the Indian Wars of the West*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

McGraw, W. C. (1972). *Savage Scene: The Life and Times of James Kirker, Frontier King*. New York, Hastings House.

McKanna, C. V. (2005). *White Justice in Arizona : Apache Murder Trials in the Nineteenth Century*. Lubbock, TX, Texas Tech University Press.

McNeil, I. (1944). "Indian Justice." *New Mexico Historical Review* 19: 261-270.

McNeil examines conflict between Flying H Ranch and Mescalero Apaches during January 1908. The dispute was related to killing of cattle that wandered onto the reservation, the death of a boy sent to retrieve the cattle, and pursuit of the person who killed the boy.

Meador, F. W. (1967). "Na'ilde: The Ghost Dance of the White Mountain Apache." *The Kiva* 33(1): 15-24.

Meadows, W. C. (1999). *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies: Enduring Veterans, 1800 to the Present*. Austin, University of Texas Press.

Medinger, J. D. (1968). *History of the Camp Apache Indian Reservation, 1870-1875*. Tucson, University of Arizona. M.A.: 79 leaves.

Meed, D. V. (1993). *They Never Surrendered: Bronco Apaches of the Sierra Madres, 1890-1935*. Tucson, Westernlore Press.

Mehren, L. L. (1968). "Scouting for Mescaleros: The Price Campaign of 1873." *Arizona and the West* 10: 171-190.

Mehren describes Maj. Price's September and October 1873 campaign against Mescalero Apaches in the White Mountains near Fort Stanton, New Mexico. Four reports included in the article chronicle attempts to track Mescaleros south through the Guadalupe Mountains. The conflict ultimately led to deteriorating relations between the Mescalero Agency and Apaches.

Mehren, L. L. (1969). *A History of the Mescalero Apache Reservation, 1869-1881*. Tucson, University of Arizona. M.A.: 252 leaves.

Mehren, L. L. and C. B. Trammell (n.d.). *Collection of Mescalero Apache Records*. Tucson, University of Arizona.

These records include copies of source materials for Mehren's M.A. thesis (University of Arizona, 1969). Records of the Mescalero Apache Reservation are in the form of microfilms, photographs, and photocopies from federal repositories. They include reports; census rolls; correspondence, 1849-1904; photographs, ca. 1883-1885; muster rolls, 1873; maps and plans, 1858-1915; and reports from the trial of F.C. Godfroy. The related source documents are a photocopied thesis from 1938 by Cecil B. Trammell, titled Mescalero Indian Relations in New Mexico, 1865-1885, and photocopies of various primary and secondary source materials. This material examines the administration of the

Lincoln County, N.M., Mescalero Indian Agency from 1869-1881, with insights into the influence from nearby Fort Stanton, and from local power struggles among Anglo settlers. Photographs depict Fort Stanton, Mescalero Apaches, and the Mescalero Apache Reservation.

Meise, M. R. (1988). *The Battle of Big Dry Wash*. Flagstaff, Northern Arizona University. M.A.: x, 134 leaves.

Meketa, C. and J. Meketa (1980). *One Blanket and Ten Days' Ration: 1st Infantry New Mexico Volunteers in Arizona, 1864-1866*. Globe, AZ, Southwest Parks and Monuments Assn.: vii, 99. Meketa and Meketa examine 1862-1866 activities of two New Mexico volunteer infantries located at Fort Goodwin and Fort Bowie, Arizona. These infantries were part of Gen. Carleton's Apache expeditions in Arizona. The authors also discuss volunteers who fought Confederates from Texas in 1862 and volunteers organized under Kit Carson to engage Mescaleros and Navajos.

Melody, M. E. (1976). *The Sacred Hoop: The Way of the Chiricahua Apache and Teton Lakota*. South Bend, University of Notre Dame.

Melody, a student of political science and government, seeks to portray an underlying order behind "consensual" and "cosmological" societies through descriptions of their cosmologies, mythologies, and economies. He asserts that these distinct societies sought to emulate a conceptual circular order for the universe in their political organizations.

Melody, M. E. (1977). *The Apaches: A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

Melody, M. E. and F. W. Porter (1989). *The Apache*. New York, Chelsea House Publishers.

Merrill, W. L. (1994). *Cultural Creativity and Raiding Bands. Violence, Resistance, and Survival in the Americas: Native Americans and the Legacy of Conquest*. W. B. Taylor and P. G. Y. Franklin. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution Press.

Merrill analyzes raiding as violent resistance to Spanish expansion. He discusses differences between (1) short-lived, large-scale revolts by Tepehuanes, Tarahumaras, Pueblos, and Yaquis and (2) raiding by nomadic Indians. Merrill claims that the emergence of multiethnic raiding bands was widespread across the frontier. He suggests that organization, economy, raiding practices, and resistance to Spanish expansion were factors promoting cultural creativity and change within multiethnic bands. He draws on a 1773 deposition of José Manuel Moreno de los Reyes to describe Calaxtrin's multiethnic band during the 1770s.

Mescalero Apache Tribe (1982). *A Historical Trip Covering the Journey of Chiricahua Apache Imprisonment, 1886-1913*. Mescalero, NM, Mescalero Apache Tribe: 21.

Miles, D. C. and P. R. Machula (editors) (1997). *History of the San Carlos Apache*. San Carlos, AZ, San Carlos Apache Historic and Cultural Preservation Office.

Miles, N. A. (1886). Outline map of the field of operations against hostile Chiricahua Indians showing operations from April 12th 1886 to the date of their surrender September 4th 1886. Fort Whipple, AZ, Department of War: 1 map.

Miles, N. A. (1896). Personal Recollections and Observations, Volumes 1 and 2. Chicago, Werner Press.

Miles replaced Crook as Commander of the Department of Arizona in April 1886, and was ordered to bring Geronimo and his followers back to the United States. These volumes are useful for information concerning Miles' perspective and interpretation of relevant events and actions. Chapter XXXIX summarizes Leonard Wood's account of Geronimo's surrender. These sources are indispensable for understanding a military perspective on Geronimo's surrender.

Miles, N. A. (1971). *Serving the Republic: Memoirs of the Civil and Military Life of Nelson A. Miles*. Freeport, NY, Books for Libraries Press.

Miles, N. A. (2001). On the Trail of Geronimo. *Cosmopolitan* 51, June 1911, pp. 249-262. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsberg, PA, Stackpole Books: 536-539.

Miles reflects on his 1886 military assignment to replace Crook as Commander of the Department of Arizona. Miles discusses Lawton and Hatfield's pursuit of Apaches to the Yaqui River in Mexico and the "surrender" of Geronimo and Naiche in September 1886.

Miller, D. A. (1982). *The California Column in New Mexico*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Miller sheds light on the California Column and its role in New Mexican economic development following the Civil War. The California Column was originally slated to assist in the removal of Confederate troops from the region. Its primary objective became campaigns against Indians. Column veterans became leaders in business, mining, ranching, and politics. They often accomplished their goals by killing and removing Indigenous peoples. Miller briefly covers Apaches, highlighting the Column's operations against Mescalero and Gila groups and circumstances surrounding the death of Mangas Coloradas.

Miller, D. A. (1989). *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1865*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Miller, J. (1962). *Arizona Cavalcade: The Turbulent Times*. New York, Hastings House.

Miller, P. S. (1969). *Secular Change among the Western Apache, 1940 to 1967*. Tucson, University of Arizona. Ph.D.: 119 leaves.

Miller, T. (1986). *Arizona: The Land & the People*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Miller, W. N. (1936). *Pioneer Tells How Geronimo Scaled Dragoon Mountain Peak*. Tombstone Epitaph. Tucson: 4.

Mindeleff, C. (1896). *Aboriginal Remains in the Verde Valley*. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office

Moerman, D. E. (1998). *Native American Ethnobotany*. Portland, Timber Press.

This is a compilation of Native American ethnobotanical knowledge for approximately 4,000 plants. It includes over 44,000 uses for those plants. Ethnobotanical knowledge from southwestern tribes, including Chiricahua, Mescalero, San Carlos, and White Mountain Apaches, is recorded. This is an essential ethnobotanical source.

Monnet, J. H. (1969). "The Battle of Cibecue: An Episode of the Apache Indian Wars." *The Trail Guide* 14(2): 2-20.

Monnet, J. H. (1971). "Prelude to the Battle of Cibecu." *Cochise Quarterly* 1(1): 12-27.

Moore, M. L. and D. L. Beene (1971). "The Interior Provinces of New Spain: The Report of Hugo O'Connor, January 30, 1776." *Arizona and the West* 13(Autumn): 265-282.

Moore and Beene examine a 30 January 1776 report by O'Connor, Commandant-Inspector of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, to Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa. The report addresses problems faced in realigning presidios from Sonora to Texas, reorganizing frontier garrisons, and conducting large-scale expeditions against Apaches. The article describes pursuing Apaches into Sonora, Arizona, and the Gila River region in 1774, 1775, and 1776.

Moorhead, M. L. (1968). *The Apache Frontier; Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769-1791*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Moorhead investigates Apache-Spanish relations under Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola's military administration. Moorhead discusses Ugarte y Loyola's effort to enact Bernardo de Gálvez's Indian policy along the Apache frontier. Chapter Seven examines Comanche alliance with the Spanish. Chapter Eight examines implementation of Spanish Indian policy among Western Apaches. Chapters Nine and Ten explore the importance of Mescalero Apaches in Indian pacification between 1779 and 1791.

Moorhead, M. L. (1975). *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Moorhead provides a comprehensive study of 17th and 18th century Spanish military posts along the northern frontier. He examines historical development and significance of presidios, noting that presidios arose as bastions against Apaches. Part Two of this study is a descriptive analysis of presidios as forts, presidial military companies, economic centers, and nuclei of civilian settlement. Chapter Ten details El Norte Presidio's function as a reservation for Mescalero Apaches and Spanish attempts to settle Chiricahua Apaches at Sonoran presidios.

Moorhead, M. L. (1975). "Spanish Deportation of Hostile Apaches: The Policy and the Practice." *Arizona and the West* 17: 205-220.

Moorhead describes 18th century Spanish expatriation of captured Apaches. The article also discusses disparities between official policies and actual practices.

Morgan, B. M. (1932). *General Crook's First Administration in Arizona, 1871-1875*. Los Angeles, University of Southern California. M.A.: vi, 122 leaves.

Morris, D. P., A. Harlan, et al. (1981). *An Aboriginal Basket From Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*. Tucson, Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service: 50.

In 1980, a coarse coiled basket with a large net in situ and two adjacent sotol sticks was excavated in a small gray rhyolite rock shelter at Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona. Shelled corn was recovered from the basket. Richard Howard of the Casa Grande National Monument examined the basket and claimed it was Papago, or its prehistoric antecedent. The cave entrance faces south overlooking the Sulphur Springs Valley. No rock art or pahos were present but there is evidence on the walls of fire. Inside the cave, Howard noted plainware shards referable to Alma Plain manufactured from ca 150 BC to AD 10. A net is fashioned of yucca cord S-twist, or Z-span. Production of bundle foundation coiled baskets with non-interlocking stitches is reported.

Morris, D. P. (1967). *Stabilization Report, 1967, Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Volumes 1-3*. Report on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Morris, D. P. (1968). *Stabilization Report, 1968, Fort Bowie National Historic Site*. Report on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Morris, E. A. (1982). *High Altitude Sites in the Mogollon Rim Area of Arizona and New Mexico*. In *Mogollon Archaeology: Proceedings of the 1980 Mogollon Conference*, edited by P. H. Beckett and K. Silverbird, pp. 41-53. Ramona, California, Acoma Books.

Moss, C. K. and G. Abrams (1985). *Geophysical Maps of the North End Roadless Area, Chiricahua Mountains, Cochise County, Arizona*. Miscellaneous Field Studies/Department of the Interior, U. S. Geological Survey; Map MF-1412-C. Reston, VA, United States Geological Survey.

Mullane, W. H. (1968). *Apache Raids: News about Indian Activity in the Southwest as Reported in the Silver City Enterprise, November 1882 through August 1886*. Silver City, NM, William H. Mullane.

Mullane compiled dispatches, editorials, news articles, photographs, and reports from northern Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico between November 1882 and August 1886. All documents are news items related to policy, raiding, and attacks involving Apaches. The book includes specific locations, dates, and parties involved. It discusses the death of Judge McComas on 30 March 1883 at Thompson's canyon; the May 1883 fight south of Hermosillo during which 12 Apaches were killed; criticisms of Gen. Crook, Indian policy, and the military; a boy held captive by Chiricahuas; an 11 September 1885 article on Mickey Free and Apache scouts' mutiny; a 23 December 1885 appeal to the President

for help in stopping raiding Apaches; raiding near Silver City; and articles about Geronimo.

Mulligan, R. A. (1958). "Sixteen Days in Apache Pass." *The Kiva* 24(2): 1-13.

Mulligan, R. A. (1965). "Apache Pass and Old Fort Bowie." *The Smoke Signal* 11: 24.

Murphy, L. L. (editor) (1967). *Indian Agent in New Mexico: The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Army, 1870*. Santa Fe, Stagecoach Press.

Murray, R. Y. (1951). *The History of Fort Bowie*. Tucson, University of Arizona. M.A.: iii, 311 leaves.

Myers, L. (1966). "The Enigma of Mangas Coloradas' Death." *New Mexico Historical Review* 41(October): 287-304.

Myers examines four conflicting accounts of Mangas Coloradas' death in January 1863. The first is a piece written years after the incident by Dr. George Gwyther. The second is a narrative by Daniel Ellis Conner. The third is an official account written by Capt. E. D. Shirland and Gen. J. R. West. The fourth is written by a report by Clark B. Stocking, a California Volunteer.

Myers, L. (1966). "Fort Webster on the Mimbres." *New Mexico Historical Review* 41(January): 47-57.

Myers reviews Fort Webster's importance as the first military post established to combat Apaches (1852-1853). He examines establishment of the post at the Copper Mines and reasons for moving it near the Mimbres River. Myers also describes his 1964 expedition to locate the Mimbres River site.

Myers, L. (1968). "Military Establishments in Southwestern New Mexico: Stepping Stones to Settlement." *New Mexico Historical Review* 43(January): 5-48.

Myrick, D. F. (1967). "The Railroads of Southern Arizona: An Approach to Tombstone." *Journal of Arizona History* 8: 155-170.

Myrick, D. F. (1975). *Railroads of Arizona*. Berkeley, Howell-North Books.

Myrick, D. F. (1984). *Railroads of Arizona, Volume III*. Glendale, AZ, Trans-Anglo Press.

Myrick traces the beginning of Arizona railroad construction in 1877. He describes Clifton, Morenci, and Metcalf rails; copper mines; and raids and transportation problems caused by Apaches. Chapter One mentions February 1871 Apache attacks near Silver City, New Mexico, during which John Bullard was killed. It discusses practices of the Detroit Copper Mining Company of Arizona, which utilized half its working crews to stand guard against Apaches. Chapter Four examines spring 1882 incidents near Clifton at Gold Gulch and Church's smelter, where Loco's and Juh's Apaches killed several men, as well as Henry Arbuckle's account of Apache attacks on the Coronado Railroad in February 1885. Chapter Seven mentions that 100 Apaches from the White Mountain



Reservation were hired as construction laborers along the A&NM between Frisco and the Gila River.

Myrick, D. F. (1990). *New Mexico's Railroads: A Historical Survey*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Myrick traces the beginnings of railroads in New Mexico, concentrating heavily on two major railroad construction periods: 1878-1882 and 1898-1910. Some incidents involving Apaches are briefly mentioned, such as attacks near Deming on the Santa Fe line involving Victorio's Apaches, incidents involving some track walkers and Apaches along the Southern Pacific, troubles involving Apaches at the Santa Rita Copper Mine, the 1878 death of a general manager of the mines, and Cludcroft Lumber and Land Company timber cutting on the Mescalero Apache Indian Reservation.

Nalty, B. C. and T. R. Strobridge (1964). "Captain Emmet Crawford: Commander of Apache Scouts 1882-1886." *Arizona and the West* 6(Spring): 30-40.

Nalty chronicles the life of Emmet Crawford, who died pursuing Chiricahua Apaches in January 1886 at Nacori, Sonora. Crawford led Apache scouts from 1883 until his death. The article describes Crawford's pursuit of Chatto in 1883 and Crawford's participation in an 1885 search for Chiricahua Apaches who escaped from San Carlos Indian Reservation.

National Register of Historic Places (1991). *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. National Register Bulletin 15. Washington, D.C., National Park Service.

Naylor, T. H. and C. W. Polzer (editors) (1986). *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1570-1700*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Naylor presents an abridged version of Juan Fernandez de la Fuente's campaign journal of a 1695 expedition in the Chiricahua Mountains. Gen. Fernandez de la Fuente encountered several Native American groups, including Sumas, Jacomes, Chinarras, Janos, Manos, and Apaches. Fernandez de la Fuente notes that these groups had united. Several places in the Chiricahuas can be identified with places mentioned in this document. The Chupadero de las Lagrimas de San Pedro is associated with modern Dripping Springs in Sulphur Draw. The pass of San Felipe is modern Apache Pass. According to the text, Fernandez de la Fuente was responsible for bestowing this name on Apache Pass.

Naylor, T. N. (1981). *Athapaskans They Weren't: The Suma Rebels Executed at Casas Grandes in 1686. The Proto Historic Period in the North American Southwest, A.D. 1450-1700*. D. R. Wilcox and W. B. Masse. Tempe, Arizona State University.

Neifert, W. W. (1935). "Trailing Geronimo by Heliograph." *Winners of the West*.

Neighbours, K. F. (1974). *Government, Land, and Indian Policies Relative to Lipan, Mescalero, and Tigua Indians*. Apache Indians X. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Nentvig, J., S. J. (1980). *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Father Juan Nentvig, a Jesuit missionary serving in 18th century Sonora, states that "Chiricagui" was an Opatá language word and suggests that this and other Opatá words associated with the region indicate that the area belonged to Opatá people. Nentvig spelled the word several ways – elsewhere in the text and on his 1769 map, he spelled it "Chiguicagui." In Opatá, "chiguicagui" means "mountain of the guajolotes" or "mountain of the turkeys."

Noggle, B. (1959). "Anglo Observers of the Southwest Borderlands, 1825-1890: The Rise of a Concept." *Arizona and the West* 1: 105-31.

Norelli, G. and E. Botta (1994). *The Sunrise Dance*. New York, Filmmakers Library.

This documentary focuses on thirteen-year-old Maureen Nachu, who lives on the Fort Apache Reservation in Whiteriver, Arizona. Describes the traditional coming-of-age ceremony for young Apache women, in which they use special dances and prayers.

Norris, L. D., J. C. Milligan, et al. (1998). *William H. Emory: Soldier-Scientist*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

In 1846, Emory accompanied Stephen Watts Kearny and the Army of the West to California. His map from that expedition was an important source of information for immigrants. After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase, Emory was responsible for surveying and marking the U. S./Mexican border. Emory met and interacted with Apache leaders such as Mangas Coloradas.

Nye, W. S. (1938). *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Oakes, Y. R. (1996). Expanding Athabaskan Chronometric Boundaries in West-Central New Mexico. *La Jornada: Papers in Honor of William F. Turney*. M. S. Duran and D. T. Kirkpatrick. Albuquerque, The Archaeological Society of New Mexico. 22: 139-149.

Oakes, Y. R. (1999). Raven's Roost. *Archaeology of the Mogollon Highlands: Settlement Systems and their Adaptations, Site Descriptions*. Y. R. Oakes and D. A. Zamora. Santa Fe, Museum of New Mexico, Office of Archaeological Studies. 2: 329-349.

Och, J., S. J. (1965). *Missionary in Sonora: The Travel Reports of Joseph Och, S. J., 1755-1767*. San Francisco, California Historical Society.

O'Connor, H. and D. C. Cutter (1994). *The Defenses of Northern New Spain: Hugo O'Connor's Report to Teodoro de Croix, July 22, 1777*. Dallas, DeGolyer Library and Southern Methodist University Press.

Officer, J. E. (1987). *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Ogle, R. H. (1939). "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 14: 309-335.

Chapters 1 and 2 describe Apaches' social organization, cultural characteristics, cultural resistance, adaptation, and band-level differences.

Ogle, R. H. (1940). *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Ogle's book is an indispensable source concerning contact from 1848 to 1886 between Apache Indians of Arizona and the federal government. It focuses on federal administration of and conditions on Apache Indian reservations during this period. It provides essential information concerning problems on reservations, including mismanagement, competition between the War Department and the Interior Department, graft, corruption, and intrusion by miners and ranchers. It concludes by describing the final resistance to federal control by Chiricahua Apaches with Geronimo. Ogle believes that federal Indian policy was "marked by grievous mistakes and outright graft on the part of the government and its officials."

Ogle, R. H. (1940). "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886, Part II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 15: 12-39.

In Chapters 3 and 4, Ogle documents government policies concerning Arizona Indians and U. S. military attempts between 1865 and 1870 to relocate Apaches in southern Arizona.

Ogle, R. H. (1940). "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886, Part III." *New Mexico Historical Review* 15: 188-248.

Chapter 5 examines an early 1870s fight for managerial control of Apaches between civil and military authorities. It explores how national level politics played out on Arizona reservations. It looks at Christian church activities, removal of Rio Verde Apaches to the San Carlos Indian Reservation, the tenure of James Roberts as Indian Agent, and Agent Jeffords' management of the Chiricahua Apaches. Chapter 6 describes John Clum's civil control over San Carlos, the policy of concentrating Indians on a few reservations, and War Department attempts to undermine Clum's authority at San Carlos.

Ogle, R. H. (1940). "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886, Part IV." *New Mexico Historical Review* 15: 268-335.

Chapter 7 describes how contractors and politicians undermined President Grant's "Peace Policy" during the 1870s. Ogle pays particular attention to San Carlos, Warm Springs, and Chiricahua Apaches. Ogle also describes agriculture, mining, and agency supplies. Chapter 8 describes reorganization of troops controlling Apaches after General Sherman's 1882 visit to Arizona, Gen. Crook's role in Chiricahua Apaches' "surrender," and an early 1880s struggle for control over Indian policy between military and civil authorities.

Ogle, R. H. (1958). "The Apache and the Government, 1870's." *New Mexico Historical Review* 33(2): 81-102.

Ogle examines government management policies regarding Western Apaches from 1876 to 1880. Focusing on a series of events that led to the 1881 Cibicue Creek battle on the

San Carlos-White Mountain Reservation, Opler examines managerial disruptions. He looks at change from the "Peace Plan" administration of Agent Roberts to the concentration of many Apache groups at San Carlos under the administration of Agent Hart. He suggests that Apaches' habitats and modes of life changed during this time.

Opler, M. E. (1935). "The Concept of Supernatural Power Among the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches." *American Anthropologist* 37(1): 65-70.

Opler describes Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache understandings of supernatural power and its manifestations. Opler's goal is to characterize the underlying "idea system" expressed in ceremonies. He offers a psychological explanation of "power" in conceived and social forms.

Opler, M. E. (1936). *An Analysis of Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Social Organization in the Light of their Systems of Relationship*. Chicago, University of Chicago. Ph.D.

Opler, M. E. (1936). "The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite." *Journal of American Folklore* 49: 143-166.

Opler, M. E. (1936). "The Kinship Systems of the Athapaskan-speaking Tribes." *American Anthropologist* 38(4): 620-33.

Opler summarizes evidence that Apaches had two types of kinship systems: the "Chiricahua Type" and the "Jicarilla Type," and one basic social unit, the "local group." After defining the Chiricahua and Jicarilla types, Opler places other Apache groups in one of the two categories. Navajo kinship shares traits of both types.

Opler, M. E. (1936). "Some Points of Comparison and Contrast Between the Treatment of Functional Disorders by Apache Shamans and Modern Psychiatric Practice." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 92(6).

Opler, M. E. (1936). "A Summary of Jicarilla Apache Culture." *American Anthropologist* 38(2): 202-223.

Opler describes features of Jicarilla Apache culture and society. He suggests that Jicarilla culture is a modified version of general southern Athabaskan culture -- specifically, modified by contact with Puebloan and Plains cultures. The Jicarilla peoples were divided into two bands, "plains people" and "sand people" each of which consisted of several local groups.

Opler, M. E. (1937). *An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization*. *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*. F. Eggan. Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 173-242.

Opler describes three levels of Chiricahua social organization: family, local group, and band. He indicates that "Chiricahua Apache" as a "tribe" is a construct of anthropologists and others. He contends that kinship terminology provides an avenue for understanding social structure among Apache peoples.

Opler, M. E. (1938). "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886." *New Mexico Historical Review* 13: 360-386.

Sam Kenoi was the son of a Chiricahua Apache scout. Kenoi draws from his father's stories and his own memories to provide an Apache's interpretation of the 1886 Geronimo campaign.

Opler, M. E. (1938). "Dirty Boy: A Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War." *American Anthropologist*.

Opler, M. E. (1938). *Myths and Tales of the Jicarilla Apache Indians*. New York, The American Folk-lore Society.

Opler, M. E. (1938). "The Sacred Clowns of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Indians." *El Palacio* 44: 75-79.

The author describes Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Mountain Spirits and clowns. He reviews their creation and function within briefly described cultural and social contexts.

Opler, M. E. (1938). "The Use of Peyote by the Carrizo and Lipan Apache Tribes." *American Anthropologist* 40: 271-285.

Opler, M. E. (1940). *Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians*. New York, The American Folk-lore Society.

Opler, M. E. (1942). "The Identity of the Apache Mansos." *American Anthropologist* 44: 725.

Opler, M. E. (1942). *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians*. New York, The American Folk-lore Society.

Opler gathered the stories included in this book during fieldwork with Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Lipan peoples from 1931-1935. The myths presented in Opler's book were recorded from Duncan Balachu, Charles Martine, Paul Gedelkon, Leon Perico, Chatto, Samuel E. Kenoi, and other Chiricahua people. Daniel Nicholas served as an interpreter.

Opler, M. E. (1943). "Navaho Shamanistic Practice Among the Jicarilla Apache." *New Mexico Anthropologist*: 6-7.

Opler, M. E. (1945). "The Lipan Apache Death Complex and Its Extensions." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 1(1): 122-141.

Opler, M. E. (1945). "A Mescalero Apache Account of the Origin of the Peyote Ceremony." *El Palacio* 52: 210-212.

Opler, M. E. (1946). "Chiricahua Apache Material Relating to Sorcery." *Primitive Man* 19(3-4): 81-92.

Opler, M. E. (1946). "The Creative Role of Shamanism in Mescalero Apache Mythology." *Journal of American Folklore* 59: 617-634.

Opler, M. E. (1946). "Mountain Spirits of the Chiricahua Apache." *The Masterkey* 20(4): 125-31.

Opler presents three stories of Apaches' experiences with Mountain Spirits. Traditional versions of Mountain Spirit stories are found in Hoijer and Opler's work.

Opler, M. E. (1946). "Reaction to Death Among the Mescalero Apache." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 2(4): 454-67.

Opler describes some beliefs and behaviors associated with death.

Opler, M. E. (1946). "The Slaying of the Monsters, a Mescalero Apache Myth." *El Palacio* 53(8, 9): 215-25, 242-58.

Opler records an account of Mescalero Apache origins. He notes that Christian elements may have become incorporated into this version: a flood is mentioned, White Painted Woman is a virgin, and Creator tells humans that they are to master and make use of all the earth.

Opler, M. E. (1947). "Mythology and Folk Belief in the Maintenance of Jicarilla Apache Tribal Endogamy." *Journal of American Folklore* 60: 126-129.

Opler, M. E. (1947). "Notes on Chiricahua Apache Culture 1. Supernatural Power and the Shaman." *Primitive Man* 20(1 - 2): 1-14.

Opler's paper supplements his Chiricahua ethnology, *An Apache Life-Way*. He discusses various channels through which supernatural power speaks to Chiricahua people. Opler suggests that Chiricahua religion is primarily practical, and not mystical in its aims. Shamans use ritual paraphernalia and substances such as abalone shell for ceremonial purposes. Ceremonies involve, for example, songs, prayers, chants, and dances.

Opler, M. E. (1960). "Myths and Practice in Jicarilla Apache Eschatology." *Journal of American Folklore* 73: 133-153.

Opler, M. E. (1961). "Cultural Evolution, Southern Athapaskans, and Chronology in Theory." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 17(1): 1-20.

Opler counters Meggers' (1960) assertions about Athapaskans.

Opler, M. E. (1965). *An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians*. New York, Cooper Square.

Opler reconstructs the life of a typical Chiricahua Apache person before the middle of the 19th century. Opler's approach is to present aspects of Chiricahua culture as they become relevant over the course of an individual's life. His discussions of Chiricahua life cycles, subsistence, economy, socio-political organization, and religion are extraordinarily useful. This book is the most important published source for information about traditional Chiricahua Apache culture and society. It is largely descriptive, not analytic. Opler did his fieldwork among Chiricahuas during the 1930s. He relied on approximately 30 informants, all of whom were men.

Opler, M. E. (1968). "Remuneration to Supernatural and Man in Apachean Ceremonialism." *Ethnology* 7(4): 356-393.

Opler, M. E. (1969). "Western Apache and Kiowa Apache Materials Relating to Ceremonial Payment." *Ethnology* 8(1).

Opler, M. E. (1973). *Grenville Goodwin among the Western Apache*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Opler, M. E. (1974). *Lipan and Mescalero Apache in Texas*. Apache Indians X. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Opler, M. E. (1983). *The Apachean Culture Pattern and its Origins*. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, Southwest. A. Ortiz. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution: 368-92.

Opler discusses similarities and differences among southern Athapaskan-speaking peoples. He attempts to explain origins and developments of different Apache peoples and argues that Athapaskans migrated into the southwest from the plains.

Opler, M. E. (1983). *Chiricahua Apache*. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, Southwest. A. Ortiz. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution: 401-18.

Opler writes a brief ethnohistory of Chiricahua Apaches derived from his own work, historical sources, and selected historiographies. He provides a brief, descriptive account of Chiricahua Apache history, culture, and society.

Opler, M. E. (1983). *Mescalero Apache*. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 10, Southwest. A. Ortiz. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution: 419-39.

Opler provides a summary of Mescalero Apache culture and society. The term "Mescalero" was first documented in 1745 and designated Apache groups formerly known as Apaches de Perrillo, Faraones, and Natagés, among others. Opler states that outside "streams of influence can be discerned" in Mescalero culture.

Opler, M. E. (1985). *Apache Odyssey: A Journey between Two Worlds*. New York, Irvington Publishers.

Opler, M. E. and H. Hoijer (1940). "The Raid and War-path Language of the Chiricahua Apache." *American Anthropologist* 42(4): 617-34.

Opler and Hoijer compiled 78 terms that comprise the "war-path language" taught to adolescent boys undergoing training and initiation to participate in raids. This vocabulary consists entirely of nouns derived from common language. It differs from common language in that dikohe terms have generalized meanings with respect to classes of things. Directly translated, the meanings are ambiguous or metaphorical and known only by initiated men.

Opler, M. E. and C. H. Opler (1950). "Mescalero Apache History in the Southwest." *New Mexico Historical Review* 25(1): 1-36.

Opler and Opler give an overview of Mescalero Apache history from the 1500s through the early 1800s. They describe relationships among the government, military, Mescaleros, and other Apache groups during the mid-to-late 1800s.

Ormsby, W. L. (1998). *The Butterfield Overland Mail*. San Marino, Huntington Library.

Orozco, V. (1992). *Las Guerras Indias en la Historia de Chihuahua: Primeras Fases*. México, D.F., Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.

Ortiz, A. (editor) (1979). *Handbook of North American Indians: The Southwest*. Handbook of North American Indians. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution.

Following the Smithsonian's format, Ortiz includes historical, cultural, social, and linguistic articles about Navajos and Apaches. It is an essential compilation.

Oury, W. S. (1877). *A True History of the Outbreak of the Noted Apache Cachise in the Year 1861*. Arizona Star.

Oury, W. S. (2001). *Historical Truth: The So-called "Camp Grant Massacre" of 1871. Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsberg, PA, Stackpole Books: 57-62.

Oury justifies, from his perspective, the Camp Grant Massacre. He wrote the articles in response to Gen. Stoneman's criticisms of the massacre.

Ove, R. S. and H. H. Stockel (1997). *Geronimo's Kids: A Teacher's Lessons on the Apache Reservation*. College Station, Texas A&M University Press.

Ove and Stockel write about Ove's life as a teacher on the Mescalero Apache Reservation. Ove taught kindergarten through sixth grade from 1948 to 1959. This book contains Ove's recollections of the Reservation woven into a historical narrative of the period. It is not a significant historical or cultural reference.

Pallister, J. S. and E. A. Du Bray (1997). *Interpretive Map and Guide to the Volcanic Geology of Chiricahua National Monument and Vicinity, Cochise County, Arizona*. Miscellaneous Investigations Series Map; I-2541. Reston, VA and Denver, CO, United States Geological Survey.

Parent, L. (1994). *Chiricahua National Monument*. Tucson, Southwest Parks and Monuments Association: 15.

Park, J. E. (1961). "The Apaches in Mexican-American Relations, 1848-1861: A Footnote to the Gadsden Treaty." *Arizona and the West* 3: 129-146.

Park reviews disparities between Article XI of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which pledged U. S. prevention of Apache raiding across the border, and the U. S. government's actual practices. He reports that a tense relationship existed between Arizona and Sonora during the 1850s.



Park, J. E. (1962). "Spanish Indian Policy in Northern Mexico, 1765-1810." *Arizona and the West* 4(Winter): 325-344.

Park reports José de Gálvez's recommendations that resulted in punitive expeditions, trade alliances, and power tactics underlying Spanish Indian policy during the late 18th century.

Parke, J. G. (1855). *Report of Explorations for that Portion of a Railway Route, Near the Thirty-second Parallel of Latitude, Lying Between Dona Ana, on the Rio Grande, and Pimas Villages, on the Gila*, No Publisher, but probably Government Printing Office.

Parker, I. M. (1927). *Apache Trouble in the Southwest*. Berkeley, University of California. M.A.: ix, 5, 152 leaves.

Parker, J. (1929). *The Old Army Memories, 1872-1918*. Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company.

Parker, J. (1997). *The Geronimo Campaign. The Papers of the Order of Indian Wars*. J. M. Carroll. Fort Collins, CO, Old Army Press: 95-102.

Parker, P. L. and T. F. King (1990). *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, National Register Bulletin 38. Washington, D.C., National Park Service.

Paul, R. W. (1963). *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Pearson, J. D. and F. Wesley (2002). "Recalling the Changing Women: Returning Identity to Chiricahua Apache Women and Children." *Journal of the Southwest* 44: 259-275.

Pearson briefly describes lives of Chihuahua Apache women and children at Fort Bowie during the Geronimo Campaign (1885-1886). The article includes short biographies of Taz-ays-slath and her son, Huera ("Francesca," "Francesco"), Dohn-say ("Tonse," "Lulu") Dankeya, Counteza ("Bummer"), Tascelona, Ilth-Gazie ("Twisted") and Osceola and Hardcase, Nes-chila and children, and Marionetta ("Early Morning"). Photographs are included.

Perry, R. J. (1991). *Western Apache Heritage: People of the Mountain Corridor*. Austin, University of Texas Press.

Perry uses a multidisciplinary approach to understand Athapaskan culture history. He emphasizes Athapaskan cultural continuity during migrations from the subarctic through the plains to the southwest. Perry suggests that core Athapaskan traits persisted because they worked in both subarctic and southwestern environments. He emphasizes the significance of mountain habitats to Athapaskan peoples. This book contains good comparative information.

Perry, R. J. (1993). *Apache Reservation: Indigenous Peoples and the American State*. Austin, University of Texas Press.

Perry analyzes political and economic history of Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. He begins with information about Apache origins and contacts with Spanish

and Mexicans. Perry then focuses on Anglo-American expansion into the southwest and on the appropriation of Apache land and resources. The book discusses establishment of Apache reservations and concentration of different Apache groups at San Carlos. Perry concludes by describing San Carlos' 20th century political economy. This book is essential to an understanding of Arizona Apache history.

Peter, P. J. J. (1998). *Verde Incised: A Possible Apache Rock Art Style in the Verde Valley, Arizona*, U. S. Forest Service, Coconino National Forest.

With the work of Grenville Goodwin and E. W. Gifford, it was discovered that the Verde Valley, where 127 rock art sites have been found, was a site for traditional Apaches. A style has risen associated with the Western Tonto Apache that consists of geometric, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic designs visible through "broad, deeply incised, straight lines." This new defined style appears in soft stone at sites where other petroglyphs occur but rarely over other rock art. These petroglyphs resembling awl and axe grooves are comprised of mostly of single lines and curved lines appearing less frequently. Drilled holes or dots are seen as well. "The familiar entopic element, the basic building blocks of much rock art, as well as visual communication systems, form the dominant elements of the Verde Incised Style." Other elements of the style are unique to a particular site. The rock art style is localized in the Verde Valley, mostly in the southern portion of the valley. This rock art style is attributed to Apaches or Yavapai due to the pottery discovered at the sites. Dots, lines, zigzag, squiggle lines, and crosses of Verde Incised Style share similarities with other Apache rock art and images found on their basketry. Further evidence supports these findings.

Peterson, T. H. (1961). "Eugene Asa Carr: War Eagle." *Arizoniana: The Journal of Arizona History* 3(3).

Peterson, T. H. (1963). "Fort Lowell, A.T., Army Post during the Apache Campaigns." *The Smoke Signal* 8: 19.

Pettis, G. H. (1908). *The California Column*. Santa Fe, New Mexican Printing Co.

Pettit, J. S. (2001). *Apache Campaign Notes-'86*. *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, 7, September 1886, pp. 331-338. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 532-535.

Pettit reflects on Gen. Crook's pursuit of Geronimo and Chihuahua.

Pfefferkorn, I. (1949). *Sonora, A Description of the Province*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Pierce, M. D. (1993). *The Most Promising Young Officer: A Life of Ranald Slidell Mackenzie*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Pinto, R. L. (n.d.). *Analysis of the Cultural Landscapes of Fort Bowie National Historic Site*. Washington, D. C., National Park Service.

- Pinto, R. L. (n.d.). Fort Bowie National Historic Site: Cultural Landscapes Inventory. Washington, D. C., National Park Service.
- Pohanka, B. C. (1985). Nelson A. Miles: A Documentary Biography of His Military Career, 1861-1903. Glendale, CA, Arthur H. Clark.
- Polzer, C. W. (1976). Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.
- Polzer, C. W. (1991). The Jesuit Missions of Northern Mexico. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Porter, J. C. (1986). Paper Medicine Man, John Gregory Bourke and His American West. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.  
 Porter's biography examines Bourke's experiences as a soldier and an ethnologist. Chapter Eight chronicles Bourke's life between 1874 and 1882. This chapter discusses Bourke's time at Fort Apache and experiences with Chiricahua Apaches. Chapter Nine chronicles the 1883-1884 Sierra Madre campaign. This chapter also discusses Crook's and Bourke's relationship and interactions. Chapter Ten discusses Bourke's study of Apaches' language and medicine men. This chapter discusses Bourke's contribution to ethnology and linguistics. It also examines religion and medicine men such as Nan-ta-do-tash, Ta-ul-tzú-je, and Ramon; as well as the medicine women Francesca and Na-tzi-la-chingan. Porter's book also discusses the time in Bourke's life when he defended the rights of Chiricahua Apaches unjustly imprisoned in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. This is an essential reference.
- Porter, K. W. (1951-52). "The Seminole-Negro Indian Scouts, 1870-1881." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 55: 358-77.
- Poston, C. D. (1878). Apache Land. San Francisco, A.L. Bancroft and Company.
- Powers, N. B. (1961). "A Ride from Geronimo, The Apache." *New Mexico Historical Review* 36: 89-96.  
 Nellie Brown Powers' offers a personal account of Geronimo's 1885 raids near New Mexico's Mogollón Mountains.
- Pradeau, A. F. and R. R. Rasmussen (1980). *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.
- Pratt, R. H. (1962). *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*. New Haven, Yale.  
 Chapters 11-18 contain information about Apache students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.
- Priest, L. B. (1942). *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.

Prucha, F. P. (1979). *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Prucha, F. P. (1984). *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Prucha, F. P. (1985). *The Indians in America Society from the Revolutionary War to the Present*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Prucha, F. P. (1990). *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Prucha, F. P. (1994). *Handbook for Research in American History: A Guide to Bibliographies and Other Reference Works*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Radbourne, A. (1976). "The Naming of Mickey Free." *Journal of Arizona History* 17: 341-344.

Radbourne, A. (2005). *Mickey Free: Apache Captive, Interpreter, and Indian Scout*. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

Radding, C. (1997). *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850*. Durham, Duke University Press.

Radding constructs a political ethnohistory of the Sonora borderland. She focuses on the transition from Spanish colonialism to Mexican independence. The meaning of culture, community, and ecology are examined in the context of native struggles, power, and local survival. Radding's ethnohistory also examines biological results of Spanish community organization policies, economic linkages between mission communities, Spanish mercantilist policy, and cultural displacement resulting from religious policies.

Ray, V. F. (1974). *Ethnohistorical Analysis of Documents Relating to the Apache Indians of Texas*. Apache Indians X. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Reagan, A. B. (1902). "Naezhosh, or the Apache Pole Game." *Indiana Academy of Science, Proceedings* 12: 68-71.

Reagan, A. B. (1903). "The Apache Stick Game." *Indiana Academy of Science, Proceedings* 13: 197-199.

Reagan, A. B. (1929). "Plants Used by the White Mountain Apache Indians of Arizona." *Wisconsin Archaeologist* 8: 143-161.

Reagan, A. B. (1930). "Notes on the Indians of the Fort Apache Region." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 31(5): 281-345.

Reed, B. (1977). *The Last Bugle Call: A History of Fort McDowell, Arizona Territory, 1865-1890*. Parsons, WV, McClain Printing Co.

Reed, W. (1890). Geronimo and his Warriors in Captivity. *The Illustrated American*. August 16, 1890: 231-235.

Reedstrom, E. L. (1990). *Apache Wars: An Illustrated Battle History*. New York, Sterling Publishing Co.

Reeve, F. D. (1937). "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 12: 218-222 (Preface and Introduction).

Reeve describes political economic events concerning relocation of New Mexican Indians to reservations from 1858 to 1880.

Reeve, F. D. (1938). "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880, Part IV." *New Mexico Historical Review* 13: 261-313.

Reeve investigates relocation of New Mexican Indians to reservations from 1858 to 1880. Chapter 9 examines effects of federal Indian policies on Mescalero Apaches. It looks at efforts to move Mescaleros to Bosque Redondo beginning in 1863 and eventual abandonment of this plan. It discusses establishment of a reservation at Fort Stanton between 1869 and 1873, incidents on the reservation under Indian Agent Godfroy, and the government's militaristic policies. Chapter 10 examines effects of federal Indian policy on Gila Apaches. It describes the creation of a reservation along the Santa Lucía River in 1860, trouble between Gila Apaches and miners at Piños Altos in 1860 and 1861, military campaigns against Gila Apaches from 1864 to 1869, a controversial adoption of President Grant's "Peace Policy" in 1869, and arrival of Cochise at Cañada Alamosa on September 28, 1871. It also discusses creation of an Apache reservation along the Tularosa River. It describes Gila Apaches' removal to Warm Springs, New Mexico and Chiricahua Apaches' removal to Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. It reports Warm Springs Apaches' eventual removal to San Carlos under Agent Clum's direction.

Reeve, F. D. (1948). "Puritan and Apache: A Diary, Part I." *New Mexico Historical Review* 23(269-301).

Reeve chronicles Lt. Lazelle's experiences during Col. Bonneville's Apache campaign in southwestern New Mexico spring and summer 1857. Part I contains journal entries dated 20 April - 11 May 1857.

Reeve, F. D. (1949). "Puritan and Apache: A Diary, Part II." *New Mexico Historical Review* 24: 12-53.

Reeve writes about Lt. Lazelle's experiences during Col. Bonneville's Apache campaign in southwestern New Mexico spring and summer 1857. Part II contains journal entries dated 12 May - 13 June 1857.

Reeve, F. D. (1950). "Frederick E. Phelps: A Soldier's Memoirs." *New Mexico Historical Review* 25: 109-135.

Reff, D. T. (1991). *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press.

Reff explores various sources, including archaeological materials, for information on the size of native populations prior to Spanish contact. He examines contributions of introduced diseases to indigenous population decline and how diseases possibly changed indigenous southwestern cultures.

Remington, F. (1889). *On the Indian Reservations*. New York, Century Co.

Ricard, R. (1966). *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain: 1523-1572*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Ricketts, N. B. (1996). *The Mormon Battalion: U. S. Army in the West, 1846-1848*. Logan, Utah State University Press.

Rickey, D., Jr. (1959). "The Enlisted Men of the Indian War." *Military Affairs* 23: 91-96.

Rickey, D. (1963). *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Rittenhouse, J. D. (1965). *Disturnell's Treaty Map, The Map that Was Part of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty on Southwestern Boundaries, 1848*. Santa Fe, Stagecoach Press.

Robbins, J. (1983). *Historic Structures Report, Ruins Stabilization Architectural Data: Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Cochise County, Arizona*. Denver, National Park Service. Sept 1983.

Robbins, R. (1983). "Some Reflections on the Heliograph." *Journal of the Council On America's Military Past* 12: 24-31.

Roberts, D. (1993). *Once they Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo, and the Apache Wars*. New York, Simon & Schuster.

Roberts, H. H. (1972). *Basketry of the San Carlos Apache Indians*. Glorieta, NM, Rio Grande Press.

Roberts describes San Carlos Apache baskets held at the American Museum of Natural History in 1916 and 1917. Roberts details Apache gathering practices and preparation of twined and coiled baskets. She also describes methods of weaving, designs, and artistic variation among Apache craftswomen. She briefly discusses regional basketry differences among White Mountain, San Carlos, and Mescalero Apaches.

Robinson, C. M. I. (2001). *General Crook and the Western Frontier*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Robinson's book is a first-rate biography of Gen. Crook, Commander of the Department of Arizona from 1871 to 1875 and from 1882 to 1886. Knowledge of Crook and his policies is vital to understanding Apache/Anglo-American relations during those years. Crook waged brutal warfare against Apaches using Apache scouts against their own people. Yet, he advocated humane treatment of Apaches living peacefully on reservations. He chased Geronimo during the final years of Apache resistance and then criticized the government for breaking its promises to Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches after they were incarcerated. Robinson's book should be read along with Crook's own accounts and with John G. Bourke's books that cover the same events and much of Crook's military life.

Robinson, C. M. I. (editor) (2003). *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke, Volume 1, November 20, 1872-July 28, 1876*. Denton, University of North Texas Press.

Bourke was assigned to the southwest in 1870 and became Gen. Crook's aide-de-camp in 1871. Bourke's diaries are extraordinarily extensive and detailed. They represent, perhaps, the most important firsthand accounts of relationships between Apaches and Anglo-Americans during the 1870s and 1880s. Part 1 of this book includes Bourke's Arizona writings from 1872 to 1875. Of particular importance, Bourke describes Crook's 1872-1873 offensive against Western Apaches. He also describes his trip to the Chiricahua Apache Reservation and his meeting with Cochise on 2 February 1873. Appendix 12 provides a transcript of the meeting between Maj. Brown and Cochise on that occasion. Robinson has performed an extremely important service by annotating, editing, and publishing Bourke's diaries.

Robinson, C. M. I. (editor) (2005). *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke: Volume 2: July 29, 1876-April 7, 1878*. Denton, University of North Texas Press.

Robinson edits the second volume of Bourke's diaries. It is a major contribution to our knowledge of relations between U. S. military and Native Americans. The book is annotated and has a biographical appendix on Indians, civilians, and military personnel named in the diaries. This volume deals little with Arizona and the Apaches.

Robinson, S. and E. Ball (2000). *Apache Voices: Their Stories of Survival as Told to Eve Ball*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Using Eve Ball's notes, Robinson writes about Warm Springs, Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Lipan Apaches histories. Part One contains accounts from Western Apache groups. Chapter One examines Lozen's story and skepticism surrounding her existence. In Chapter Two, James Kaywaykla describes escaping from Mexican ambush at Tres Castillos on 15 October 1880. Also highlighted are Apache stories of heroism, Apache Scouts' participation in Geronimo's surrender, Naiche's influence, Apache attitudes toward gold mining, and accounts of suffering at the Mescalero Reservation.

Rockfellow, J. A. (1927). *A Short History of Old Fort Bowie, in Bloody Apache Pass, Twenty-eight Miles Southeast of Willcox*. Willcox, AZ, Range News Print: 1.

Rodriguez Gallardo, J. R. (n.d.). *War Proceedings against the Enemy Apaches, Matape, 27 Sept. 1748*, University of California, Bancroft Library. C-B 840 (Bolton Collection), 0264.

These documents report a campaign against Apaches in the Chiricahua Mountains. Spanish troops from several presidios and Opata and Pima Indian auxiliaries were involved in the campaign.

Rolak, B. J. (1975). "General Miles' Mirrors: The Heliograph in the Geronimo Campaign of 1886." *Journal of Arizona History* 15: 145-160.

Rolak examines use during the 1886 Geronimo Campaign of heliographs, a communication device employing mirrors and reflected sunlight. The author discusses a heliograph network established between New Mexico and Arizona in April 1886, use of heliographs to thwart a raid at Antelope Springs on 5 June, and Capt. Lawton's use of heliographs to communicate with Gen. Miles during the campaign's final days.

Royce, C. C. (1899). *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Rush, R. (1960). "El Chivero, Merejildo Grijalva." *Arizoniana* 1(Autumn): 8-10.

Russell, D. (1936). *One Hundred and Three Fights and Scrimmages: The Story of General Reuben F. Bernard*. Washington, D. C., United States Calvary Association.

Russell, F. (1898). "An Apache Medicine Dance." *American Anthropologist* 11: 367-372.

Ryan, C. (1962). *The Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, Georgetown University: 303.

Ryan discusses Pratt's experiences with Apache children who were held as prisoners of war. Pratt took the children from their parents while they were imprisoned in Florida and Alabama. He enrolled Apache children in Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

Ryan, P. M. (1964). "John P. Clum: "Boss with the White Forehead." *Journal of Arizona History* 5: 48-60.

Ryan, P. M. (1965). "Trail-Blazer of Civilization: John P. Clum's Tucson and Tombstone Years." *Journal of Arizona History* 6(35-70).

Clum was an Indian agent at the San Carlos Indian Reservation. This work examines Clum's life following his 1877 resignation. It discusses his years in Tombstone, Arizona and the deaths of his wife and daughter.

Sacks, B. (1962). "New Evidence on the Bascom Affair." *Arizona and the West* 4: 261-278.

The author examines ten official accounts, including Bascom's, to interpret events at Apache Pass in 1862.

Sacks, B. (1963). "The Creation of the Territory of Arizona." *Arizona and the West* 5: 29-62, 109-48.

Safford, A. P. K. (2001). *Something about Cochise*. Tucson, Arizona Citizen, December 7, 1872. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books 124-131.



Safford was an Arizona territorial governor. This article describes his visit with Cochise and the condition of Chiricahua Apaches on their new reservation. It also contains references to the 1862 Bascom Affair at Apache Pass.

Sale, M. (1991). Apaches in the San Andreas. *Jornada Mogollon Archaeology: Collected Papers from the Fifth and Sixth Jornada Mogollon Conferences*. M. S. Duran and P. H. Beckett. Las Cruces, NM, Human Systems Research, Incorporated: 53-68.

Sale, M. and K. W. Laumbach (1989). *Reconnaissance in the Upper Jornada del Muerto and Hembrillo Canyon and Other Special Projects*. White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico. Tularosa, NM, Human Systems Research.

Salmon, R. M. (translator and editor) (1979). "No Hope of Victory: Pineda's 1791 Report on the Apache Frontier." *Journal of Arizona History* 20(3): 269-282.

The notes and diary of Antonio de Pineda y Ramírez, an officer with the Spanish Ministry of Marine, describe Apaches in northern Mexico during spring 1791. He focuses on Apaches and presidio warfare.

Salzman, M. (1967). "Geronimo: The Napoleon of the Indians." *Journal of Arizona History* 8(4): 215-247.

Salzman uses civil and military authors' narratives to examine their impressions of Geronimo and to describe life in the early 1880s.

Samek, H. (1982). "No "Bed of Roses": The Careers of Four Mescalero Indian Agents, 1871-1878." *New Mexico Historical Review* 57: 138-157.

Samek examines the affairs of four Indian Agents at the Mescalero Apache Reservation. He looks at economy and politics in Lincoln County, New Mexico between 1871 and 1878. Samek also describes the Murphy Company's part in activities on the Mescalero Apache Reservation during the years of agents Andrew J. Curtis, Samuel B. Bushnell, Williamson D. Crothers, and Frederick C. Godfroy.

Samuels, D. W. (2004). *Putting a Song on Top of it: Expression and Identity on the San Carlos Indian Reservation*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Santee, R. (1947). *Apache Land*. New York, Scribner.

Santiago, D. M. "A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: The Saga of Safford, Hudson & Company, Bankers." *Journal of Arizona History*: 263-288.

Santiago describes the establishment and collapse of Safford, Hudson & Company banks in Tucson and Tombstone, Arizona. Territorial Governor A. P. K. Safford and Hudson were prominent Arizona political figures prior to their banking venture. The author describes Hudson's and Safford's contributions to an economic downturn in the region. These men's actions also had implications for Apaches, whose homeland was appropriated for expanding Arizonan mining and ranching.

Sauer, C. (1935). "A Spanish Expedition into the Arizona Apacheria, 1784." *Arizona Historical Review* 6(1): 3-13.

Schaafsma, C. F. (2002). *Apaches de Navajo: Seventeenth-Century Navajos in the Chama Valley of New Mexico*. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press.

Schaafsma, P. (1980). *Indian Rock Art of the Southwest*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Apache rock art is scattered from southern Arizona, southern New Mexico, northern Chihuahua, and west Texas. Drawings are commonly done in dry, black charcoal. White paint is used in Hueco Tanks. Horses and riders are frequently represented in fashions similar to Navajo rock art. The hourglass design found in Apache rock art "parallels in meaning its counterpart in Navajo iconography, as the symbol of Born-for-Water." Apache rock art sites are characterized by "solidly portrayed figures and a liberal use of thick white paint." Human figures are depicted with rabbit-eared or feathered headdresses that may be related to victory celebration rites. The mask representations may be copies of late Pueblo work from the upper Rio Grande. Black and white shields of southeastern Arizona are said to have ceremonial themes. A similar theme is said to occur in the San Pedro Valley with small figures scattered at random. Anthropomorphs are depicted with sunburst headdress or halo motifs are shamanistic in character and meaning. Shamans receive their power from the sun and the halo is associated visionary experiences. Apache rock art sites containing symbolism may be a focus for religious and sacred activities. "Men go to pray (where) ... the sun, moon, stars, and mountain spirits are depicted on the walls."

Schaafsma, P. (1992). *Rock Art in New Mexico*. Santa Fe, Museum of New Mexico Press.

Apache rock art found in New Mexico includes: (1) hourglass shapes with large buffalo-horned headdresses and staffs, (2) sun faces painted red and yellow, (3) horses, and (4) abstract elements including solid triangles and parallel wavy lines. Schaafsma suggests that these images have ceremonial or religious significance.

Schaefer, S. B. (2000). "The Peyote Religion and Mescalero Apache: An Ethnohistorical View from West Texas." *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 12.

From the article's abstract: "James Mooney (1896, 1897, 1898) believed Mescalero Apaches were the purveyors of peyote religion. Following his reasoning, the idea of "differential diffusion" suggested by La Barre (1960) is discussed as well as a short history of Mescalero trading and raiding practices from which I propose an additional route by which the traditional Mexican peyote religion was spread to the United States, from Chihuahua, through West Texas, into New Mexico via the Mescalero Apache."

Schellie, D. (1968). *Vast Domain of Blood: The Story of the Camp Grant Massacre*. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press.

Schellie documents the 1871 Camp Grant Massacre in southeastern Arizona. In response to an alleged attack on a baggage train traveling from Camp Grant to a temporary army station in the Pinal Mountains, Tucson citizens formed a "Committee on Public Safety." William S. Oury, former mayor of Tucson, led the group to Camp Grant and attacked

Camp Grant Apaches. The vigilantes killed 144 Apache men, women, and children. Only eight of the victims were Apache men. One hundred thirty-six Apache women and children were killed. Vigilantes took captive and enslaved 27 Apache children.

Schilling, F. A. (n.d.). Military Posts Research Materials, Frank A. Shilling Collection: 2.1 ft. These materials contain correspondence, articles, typescripts, notes, maps, charts, slides, and other materials, written or collected by Schilling, relating to the history and development of various forts in Arizona and New Mexico. Included are Photostat copies of War Dept. files of New Mexico post returns, 1852-1884, an outline index of Arizona military posts giving locations and dates of occupation, and descriptive reports and maps for Forts Apache, Fort Grant, Bowie, Lowell, McDowell, and Mojave. There are slides taken ca. 1958-1960, of both historical photographs and contemporary sites of forts in Arizona and New Mexico. Also included are notes, typescripts, and slides concerning Al Sieber, slides of Apache Indians, and charts that list military posts alphabetically and chronologically by date activated.

Schilling, F. A. (n.d.). Reserve at Camp Bowie, Arizona Territory: 1 map.

Schreier, J. (1992). Camp Reno: Outpost in Apacheria, 1867-1870. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

Opened in late 1867, Camp Reno was as a strategic post in central Arizona's Tonto Basin, where U. S. troops could not control "problematic" Apaches and Yavapais. Camp Reno was intended to be a staging ground for campaigns in formerly inaccessible mountain environments. Unforgiving terrain and poor planning doomed Camp Reno to failure. Despite its lack of success, Schreier claims that Reno served an important "cross cultural" role in military attempts at peaceful negotiations with Indians.

Schroeder, A. H. (1974). A Study of the Apache Indians: The Apaches and their Neighbors, 1540-1700. Apache Indians I. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc. Part 1 chronicles the Coronado Expedition (1540-42), the Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition (1581-82), the Espejo Expedition (1582-83), the Castaño de Sosa Expedition (1590-91), and the Oñate Expedition and Colonization (1590-1608). This study details southwestern Apache history. It traces Apache origins and analyzes their territorial movements through the 16th and 17th centuries. The manuscript contains statements from Indian agents and military personnel. Schroeder describes tribes, bands, local groups, territories, kin structures, hostilities, politics, religions, and economies of Apaches.

Schroeder, A. H. (1974). A Study of the Apache Indians: The Mogollon, Copper Mine, Mimbres, Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches. Apache Indians IV. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Schroeder examines, primarily through military reports, expansion of Gila Apaches into southeastern Arizona during the 1680 and 1690s. Schroeder examines 18th century Gila Apache territory through historical records about Sumas, Janos, Jacomes, and Gila Apaches. Nineteenth century historical data reveal differences between southwestern Chiricahua, Gila, and Mimbres Apaches. The study concludes with a report of internal

and external Apache relations during the reservation period. It discusses salient events of this period and sociopolitical differentiation of Apache groups

Schuetz-Miller, M. K. (1986). *Archaeology of Tom Jeffords' Chiricahua Indian Agency*. COAS Monograph, 6. Las Cruces, NM, COAS Publishing & Research: iii, 69.

Sechrist, M. (1994). *The Joint Task Force-Six Border Survey, Archaeological Survey Along the United States/Mexico Border from Anapara to Antelope Wells, New Mexico*. Tularosa, NM, Human Systems Research.

Sechrist, M. (n.d.). *La Hacha y los Moscos: Late Formative Through Protohistoric Period Hunter Gatherers Along the Hachita Valley, Southwestern New Mexico*. Jornada Mogollon Conference VIII. Tularosa, NM.

Seymour, D. J. (1992). *The Apache Presence in the Borderlands of the American Southwest. Apachean Archaeology in the Uplands of Southern Arizona*.

Seymour, D. J. (1995). *A Behavioral Approach to the Recognition of Inconspicuous Apachean Sites*. 68th Annual Pecos Conference. Gila Wilderness, NM.

Seymour, D. J. (1996). *Southern Apache Archaeology, Final Report Submitted to the Coronado National Forest in partial fulfillment of a Challenge Cost-Share Grant entitled Apache Site Survey (CCS3-94-05-11), Coronado National Forest*.

Seymour, D. J. (1998). *Early Territorial Transitions and Political Upheavals Among Indigenous Groups in the southern Southwest. Boundaries and Territories, Sixth Biennial Southwest Symposium, February 6 and 7, 1998, Hermosillo, Mexico*.

Seymour, D. J. (2002). *Archaeological Evidence of the Protohistoric Manso, Suma, Jano, Jocomé, and Apache*. 75th Annual Pecos Conference, Pecos Pueblo.

Seymour, D. J. (2002). *Conquest and Concealment: After the El Paso Phase on Fort Bliss. An Archaeological Study of the Manso, Suma, and Early Apache*. Lone Mountain Report 525/528. Albuquerque, NM, Lone Mountain Archaeological Services, Inc.

This study focuses on archaeological sites near Fort Bliss, Texas.

Seymour, D. J. (2003). *Before the Spanish Chronicles: Early Apache in the Southern Southwest. Athabascan Migrations Conference, 6th Biennial Meeting of the Rocky Mountain Archaeological Conference, Estes Park, CO*.

Seymour, D. J. (2003). *The Cerro Rojo Complex: A Unique Indigenous Assemblage in the El Paso Area and its Implications for the Early Apache*. Proceedings of the XII Jornada Mogollon Conference, El Paso, Geo-Marine.

Seymour, D. J. (2004). "A Rancheria in the Gran Apacheria: Evidence of Intercultural Interaction at the Cerro Rojo Site." *Plains Anthropologist* 49(190): 153-192.

Seymour, D. J. and M. E. Harlan (1996). Southern Apache Archaeology, Final Report Submitted to the Coronado National Forest in partial fulfillment of a Challenge Cost-Share Grant entitled Apache Site Survey (CCS3-94-05-11). Albuquerque, Lone Mountain Archaeological Services, Inc.

Seymour, D. J. and G. Robertson (n.d.). "A Pledge of Peace: Evidence of the Cochise-Howard Treaty Campsite." *Historical Archaeology*.

Shaeffer, M. W. M. (1958). "The Construction of a Wickiup on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation." *The Kiva* 24(2): 14-20.

Sharp, J. W. (1997). "Reluctant Apache Warrior Tzoe Joined General Crook's Forces and Became Known as 'Peaches'." *Wild West* 10: 12-18, 88.

Sheire, J. W. (1968). Fort Bowie National Historic Site. Washington, D. C., Division of History Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation: 128.

Shepard, S. (1890). *The Apaches at Mt. Vernon, Alabama*. Mt. Vernon.

Shepard wrote two articles for *Lend a Hand*, v.5, January and March 1890 that describe teaching Apache children at Mt. Vernon Barracks.

Sheridan, P. H. (1882). *Record of Engagement with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri from 1868 to 1882*. Washington D. C.

Sheridan, T. E. (1995). *Arizona: A History*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Sheridan divides Arizona history into three phases: Incorporation (the convergence of Indigenous, Hispanic, and Anglo-American groups in the region), Extraction (the expansion of railroads allowing Arizona's natural resources to be transported throughout the nation), and Transformation (the shift from extractive to urban societies). Sheridan's references to Apaches are well informed. He discusses the end of rationing programs and its effect on raiding and social structure, misguided reservation programs, and key individuals (e.g., Cochise, Victorio, and Geronimo). This book is an excellent resource.

Shipp, W. (editor) (2001). Crawford's Last Expedition. *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 5, no. 19, December 1892, pp. 343-361. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 516-531.

Shipp examines circumstances surrounding Crawford's 18 January 1886 death. He also describes Crawford's actions in the 1885 Geronimo Campaign.

Shockley, P. M. (1932). "On Geronimo's Trail." *QM Review* 12: 29ff.

Simmons, M. (1966). "New Mexico's Smallpox Epidemic of 1780-1781." *New Mexico Historical Review* 41(4): 319-326.

Simmons, M. (1975). "Spanish Attempts to Open a New Mexico-Sonora Road." *Arizona and the West* 17: 5-20.

Simmons writes about the New Mexico-Sonora Road from the 16th century through the mid-19th century. He describes the Menchero campaign, the first major campaign waged against Western Apache and their allies, a campaign against Gila Apaches in 1756 in the Sierra de Mogollón; and Juan Bautista de Anza' role in these events.

Simmons, M. (1997). *Massacre on the Lordsburg Road: A Tragedy of the Apache Wars*. College Station, Texas A&M University Press.

Spring 1883, Apaches attacked Judge Hamilton C. McComas and his family in New Mexico Territory. The judge and his wife were killed and their six-year-old son, Charlie, was taken captive. Simmons describes the attack and Gen. Crook's subsequent Sierra Madre campaign against Geronimo and other Apaches. Simmons' account illustrates the importance of newspapers to Anglo-American interpretations of Apache hostilities.

Skinner, W. B. (1981). *Geronimo at Fort Pickens*. Pensacola, FL, Frank R. Parkhurst & Son Pub.: ii, 18.

Skinner, W. B. (1987). *The Apache Rock Crumbles: The Captivity of Geronimo's People*. Pensacola, FL, Skinner Publications.

Skinner writes about incarceration of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. The author describes many important features of Apaches' day-to-day life during incarceration. Skinner's book is a "popular history" and includes relatively little analysis.

Sladen, J. A. and E. Sweeney (editor) (1997). *Making Peace with Cochise: The 1872 Journal of Captain Joseph Alton Sladen*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

In September 1872, Lt. Sladen, aide-de-camp to Gen. Howard, participated in a peace-making expedition to locate Chiricahua leader Cochise. The party found Cochise in southern Arizona's Dragoon Mountains. Early October, Howard and Cochise concluded treaty negotiations and signed a pact that brought peace to that part of Arizona. Under terms of the treaty, troops from Fort Bowie were not to interfere with Chiricahuas as long as they ceased depredations in Arizona. The immediate effect was to shift Apache raiding into Sonora. The treaty held until 1876, when alleged violence broke out on the reservation. Using this violence as a rationale, U. S. authorities relocated Chiricahua Apaches to the San Carlos Indian Reservation.

Slifer, D. (1998). *Signs of Life: Rock Art of the Rio Grande*. Santa Fe, Ancient City Press.

According to the author, Apaches acquired religious ideas and inspiration for ceremonial art from Puebloan peoples. This book examines Apaches' rock art paintings and petroglyphs in Texas and New Mexico. Slifer describes common elements associated with Apaches: small animals, lizards, snakes, bison, masks, abstract designs, and rider and horse imagery. The author also describes a figure associated with shamanism that has a sunburst headdress and staff.

Sloan, R. E. (1932). *Memories of an Arizona Judge*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Smith, B. (1951). *Rudo Ensayo: Arizona and Sonora, 1763, by a Padre Unknown*. Tucson, Arizona Silhouette.

An unidentified Jesuit missionary in 1763 provided descriptions of Sonora and Arizona. While the author principally associated with Opatas, he includes a section entitled "The Apache Nation, the ancient scourge of Sonora." As the title suggests, the author presents Apaches in a less-than-flattering light, concentrating on raiding and uninformed observations about social characteristics.

Smith, C. C. J. (1977). *Fort Huachuca: The Story of a Frontier Post*. Fort Huachuca, AZ.

Smith, R. A. (1960). "Mexican and Anglo-Saxon Traffic in Scalps, Slaves, and Livestock, 1835-1841." *West Texas Historical Association Year Book XXXVI*: 98-115.

Smith, R. A. (1962). "Apache "Ranching" Below the Gila, 1841-1845." *Arizoniana* 3: 1-17. Smith writes about Coyotero, Gileño, and Mogollonero Apache raids in Sonora and Chihuahua between 1841 and 1845. He discusses raiding routes along the Conchos River and the Copper Road. He reviews incidents along raiding routes running from the Gila River to the San Pedro Valley and into Sonora. In addition, he describes routes following the San Simon Creek through the Sierra de San Bernardino and into the Sierra Madre along the Sonora-Chihuahua border.

Smith, R. A. (1962). "Apache Plunder Trails Southward, 1831-1840." *New Mexico Historical Review* 37: 20-42.

Smith describes Apache raiding routes used from 1831 to 1849. He reports about the "great stealing road" from eastern Arizona, over the Gila River, to the San Pedro Valley. He also describes trails in Sonora and Chihuahua and identifies Apaches who used those routes.

Smith, R. A. (1963). "Indians in American-Mexican Relations before the War of 1846." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43: 34-64.

Smith, R. A. (1964). "The Scalp Hunter in the Borderlands." *Arizona and the West* 6(1): 5-22. Smith explores effects of Sonoran-sponsored scalp hunting bounties established in 1837.

Smith, R. A. (1965). "The Scalp Hunt in Chihuahua" 1849." *New Mexico Historical Review* 40: 116-140.

Smith discusses the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Chihuahua's 1849 Fifth Law, which made Indian scalp hunting the state's primary concern. He examines Mexican pursuit of Apaches and Comanches throughout 1849 by Capt. Nicolás Zoza, Don Santiago Kirker, and Don José María Zuloaga. He also describes Apache and Comanche retaliation.

Smith, R. A. (1999). *Borderlander: The Life of James Kirker, 1793-1852*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Kirker was a trapper, trader, and miner who worked at Santa Rita del Cobre, New Mexico. In 1838, Kirker became a notorious scalp hunter for the Mexican government. He led several massacres of Apache people and claimed to have taken over 400 Apache scalps. Kirker's acts help explain Chiricahua Apaches' antipathy for Mexicans.

Smith, S. L. (1990). *The View from Officer's Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

From the University of Arizona Press catalog: "Capturing military men in contemplation rather than combat, Sherry Smith reveals American army officers' views about the Indians against whom they fought in the last half of the nineteenth century. She demonstrates that these officers--and their wives--did not share a monolithic, negative view of their enemies, but instead often developed a great respect for Indians and their cultures. Some officers even came to question Indian policy, expressed misgivings about their personal involvement in the Indian Wars, and openly sympathized with their foe. The book reviews the period 1848-1890--from the acquisition of the Mexican Cession to the Battle of Wounded Knee--and encompasses the entire trans-Mississippi West. Resting primarily on personal documents drawn from a representative sample of the officer corps at all levels, the study seeks to juxtapose the opinions of high-ranking officers with those of officers of lesser prominence, who were perhaps less inclined to express personal opinions in official reports. No educated segment of American society had more prolonged contact with Indians than did army officers and their wives, yet not until now has such an overview of their attitudes been presented. Smith's work demolishes the stereotype of the Indian-hating officer and broadens our understanding of the role of the army in the American West."

Snoke, E. R. (1979). "Pete Kitchen: Arizona Pioneer." *Arizona and the West* 21: 235-256.

Kitchen was an Arizona rancher who lived on a Santa Cruz River Ranch 25 miles south of Tucson. Kitchen was the target of Apache raids in 1861, 1869, and the 1870s.

Snow, D. K. (editor) (1992). *The Native American and Spanish Colonial Experience in the Greater Southwest*. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Sonnichsen, C. L. (1958). *The Mescalero Apaches*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Sonnichsen provides a useful Mescalero Apache history. Although this is considered the definitive historical work on Mescalero Apaches, it is best read as a survey and general introduction written from a Western perspective. Mescalero Apache history must be far more deeply studied. Almost nothing has been done since the 1950s to increase our knowledge of Mescalero Apache history. Morris Opler's works should be consulted for information about Mescalero Apache culture and society.

Sonnichsen, C. L. (1982). "Who Was Tom Jeffords?" *Journal of Arizona History* 23(Winter): 381-406.

Sonnichsen adds to Jeffords' biography, particularly concerning his friendship with Cochise. Sonnichsen examines Jeffords' role in a September 1872 council between Gen. Howard and Cochise in the Dragoon Mountains, establishment of the Chiricahua Apache



Reservation, attacks on Jeffords by Arizona newspapers during 1876, and Jeffords' life after his Indian service.

Sonnichsen, C. L. (1988). "Tom Jeffords and the Editors." *Journal of Arizona History* 29: 117-130.

Sonnichsen writes about events in 1876 at the end of Jeffords' tenure as Chiricahua Apache Agent. The author looks at criticisms of Jeffords by local newspapers (such as "Tucson Weekly Citizen") and Jeffords' replies in May and June 1876.

Sonnichsen, C. L. (1990). *From Savage to Saint: A New Image for Geronimo. Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars*. C. L. Sonnichsen. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Sonnichsen writes about changing depictions of Geronimo in popular literature. He analyzes stories about Geronimo to suggest that two images exist. He describes western literature that tends to portray Geronimo as a villain and eastern literature that is more sympathetic to the man, portraying him romantically. Sonnichsen examines Forrest Carter's novel, Miles' writings about Geronimo, and Geronimo's own autobiography.

Sonnichsen, C. L. (editor) (1990). *Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Originally published by the *Journal of Arizona History* as volume 27, number 1 (Spring), 1986, this work contains articles focused on Geronimo and surrender of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches in 1886.

Spicer, E. H. (1976). *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Spring, J. A. and A. M. Gustafson (1966). *John Spring's Arizona*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Stanley, D. S. (1917). *Personal Memoirs of Major General D.S. Stanley, U. S.A.* Cambridge.

Steck, M. (n.d.). *Michael Steck Papers, 1839-1933 (bulk 1852-1880)*. The University of New Mexico, General Library, Center for Southwest Research. Albuquerque.

Stein, G. C. (1972). "The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924." *New Mexico Historical Review* 47: 257-274.

Stein describes congressional debates leading to the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. He reviews effects of Indian reformers and critics on this legislation.

Stevens, R. C. (1935). "Colonel John Finkle Stone and the Apache Pass Mining Company." *Arizona Historical Review* 6: 74-80.

Stevens, R. C. (1964). "The Apache Menace in Sonora, 1831-1849." *Arizona and the West* 6(Autumn): 211-222.

Stevens examines the period 1831-1849, when Mexicans along the northern frontier retreated south in face of persistent Apache raiding and Anglo-American expansion. The

paper chronicles an 1831 treaty between Chihuahua and Apaches, an 1833 Apache rebellion near Janos Presidio, the Apache leader Tutije's 1834 capture at Arispe, 1835 Chihuahua and Sonora treaty proposals and presidial realignments, and Mexican government disagreements regarding Apache policy during the 1840s.

Stockel, H. H. (1993). *Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity*. Reno, University of Nevada Press.

Stockel summarizes Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache history during their 1886-1914 incarceration in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. She documents the federal government's unjust treatment of Apaches following their removal from southeastern Arizona. Of particular interest is information concerning health conditions for the Apaches while prisoners of war.

Stockel, H. H. (1993). *Women of the Apache Nation: Voices of Truth*. Reno, University of Nevada Press.

Stockel, H. H. (2000). *Chiricahua Apache Women and Children: Safekeepers of the Heritage*. College Station, Texas A&M University Press.

Stockel writes a personalized view of women and children in Chiricahua Apache society. The book is not based on systematic fieldwork or extensive personal experience, although the author notes that it was made possible by Apache women's acceptance of her as a friend. Stockel suggests that despite women's important contributions to the tribe, they were seen as subservient to men. Stockel, possibly, underestimates the significance that most Chiricahua Apaches attach to women and women's activities. She possibly underestimates the place of women and children among Chiricahua Apaches. The book is useful for its reports of interviews with some Apache women.

Stockel, H. H. (2001). "An Annotated Chiricahua Apache Bibliography--Selected Books." *American Indian Quarterly* 25(Winter): 153-76.

Stockel evaluates approximately 100 entries.

Stockel, H. H. (2001). "Chiricahua Apache Women: A Photo Essay." *Journal of Arizona History* 42: 81-106.

Stockel's photographic essay represents Chiricahua Apache women during the 1880s and 1890s. Among others, the article describes Zele and his wife, women and children under guard at Fort Bowie in early 1886, Taz-ayz-slath and her son, Huera (wife of Mangas), and Toos-Day-Zay (wife of Cochise).

Stockel, H. H. (2004). *On the Bloody Road to Jesus: Christianity and the Chiricahua Apaches*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Stockel attempts to describe effects of contact between Chiricahua Apaches and members of various Christian religions. She begins with a superficial comparison of Christian and Chiricahua religious beliefs. The book then summarizes Chiricahua contact with Franciscans and Jesuits. Next, it discusses Chiricahua contact with Anglo-Americans in Arizona and, after the Chiricahuas were removed to the east, in Florida, Alabama, Pennsylvania, and Oklahoma. It concludes with an account of more modern times. The

book is based almost entirely on secondary sources and covers no topics in depth. It provides no meaningful analysis. The issues Stockel raises are, however, extremely important.

Stockel, H. H. (2004). *Shame and Endurance: The Untold Story of the Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches were removed from Arizona in 1886 and incarcerated in Florida, Alabama, Pennsylvania, and Oklahoma until 1914. Stockel represents these events by quoting exhaustively from relevant historical documents. It provides virtually no analysis, but is useful as a compilation of quoted materials.

Stout, J. A. (1974). *Apache Lightning: The Last Great Battles of the Ojo Calientes*. New York, Oxford University Press.

Stout summarizes U. S. military campaigns between 1877 and 1880 against Victorio, a Chihénde Apache leader. This book is a military history written largely from an Anglo-American perspective. It is a less important source than Thrapp's biography of Victorio.

Stout, J. A., Jr. (1993). "The United States and the Native Americans." *American Military Tradition* SR: 97-115.

Strickland, R. W. (1976). "The Birth and Death of a Legend: The Johnson "Massacre" of 1837." *Arizona and the West* 18(3): 257-286.

Strickland re-examines various accounts of scalp hunter John Johnson and his massacre of Juan José Compá's Mimbrenño Apaches on 22 April 1837. Strickland describes events leading to the massacre.

Strobridge, T. R. and B. C. Nalty (1964). "Captain Emmet Crawford, Commander of Apache Scouts, 1882-1886." *Arizona and the West* 6(1).

Sweeney, E. R. (1986). "I had lost All: Geronimo and the Carrasco Massacre of 1851." *Journal of Arizona History* 27(Spring): 35-52.

Sweeney describes events leading to the 1851 Carrasco Massacre of Apaches by Mexican troops. He reviews policy disputes between Chihuahuan and Sonoran officials regarding pursuit and treatment of Apaches. Sweeney reports Chiricahua Apache raiding parties and describes events in Janos, Chihuahua on 5 March 1851. Sweeney also describes Geronimo's role in these events.

Sweeney, E. R. (1989). "Cochise and the Prelude to the Bascom Affair." *New Mexico Historical Review*: 427-446.

Conflicting relationships between Cochise, Anglo-Americans, and Mexicans led to the Bascom Affair in 1862. Sweeney provides a series of reports and letters documenting Cochise's hostility at that time, but questions whether Cochise was responsible for the poor state of affairs that existed in 1862.

Sweeney, E. R. (1991). *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

This is a definitive Cochise biography. It is based on extensive archival data and historical research. Cochise was born around 1800 and was the son of a prominent Chiricahua Apache war leader. Cochise was the leader of a "local band" of Chiricahuas and eventually became an extremely prominent political leader for all Chiricahuas. He often led Chiricahua war parties or raids against Mexicans and Americans. Through marriage, Cochise was allied with several other prominent Apache leaders, including Mangas Coloradas. In 1861, Cochise was involved in hostilities with the U. S. Army at Apache Pass in the Chiricahua Mountains. Following this episode, Cochise and his followers were at war with Americans for about ten years. In 1872, Cochise negotiated peace with U. S. General Oliver O. Howard. The negotiations established a Chiricahua Apache Reservation in southeast Arizona. Cochise died in 1874. The biography documents many significant events from Cochise's life that occurred in New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico. Such events and places are critical to an understanding of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache history.

Sweeney, E. R. (1992). *Merejildo Grijalva: Apache Captive, Army Scout*. El Paso, Texas: Western Press.

Grijalva was a Mexican boy born about 1840. During his childhood, he was captured by Chiricahua Apaches. He became a member of Cochise's band and lived with Apaches until the 1860s. He then began working for Anglo-Americans and the U. S. military. He became one of the most important scouts and translators during the "Apache Wars." Grijalva was present at several key events during the hostilities. Details of such events are provided in this biography. Sweeney's work, as always, is extremely important.

Sweeney, E. R. (1995). "One of Heaven's Heroes: A Mexican General Pays Tribute to the Honor and Courage of a Chiricahua Apache." *Journal of Arizona History* 36(Autumn): 209-232.

Sweeney writes about late 1840s encounters between Sonoran troops and Chokonon Apaches. Of particular interest is a relationship formed in March 1850 between Demos, a Chokonon Chiricahua Apache, and José María Elías González, a Sonoran military leader.

Sweeney, E. R. (1998). "Mangas Coloradas and Apache Diplomacy: Treaty Making with Chihuahua and Sonora, 1842-43." *Journal of Arizona History* 39(Spring): 1-22.

Mangas Coloradas was a prominent leader of Chihénde Apaches of New Mexico, Arizona, and northern Mexico in the 1840s and 1850s. This article chronicles Mangas Coloradas' 1842-1843 dealings with Chihuahua civil and military leaders, including Lt. Antonio Sánchez Vergara and General José Mariano Monterde. Mangas' dealings with Chihuahua contrast with his disdain for Sonoran officials. Sweeney draws from experiences during the earlier part of Mangas Coloradas' life, including Mexican payment of bounties for Apache scalps, the execution of Tutije in 1834, and the Johnson massacre of 1837, to illustrate how these events fueled Mangas' hatred for Sonora and influenced the direction of his life. This article is an excerpt from Sweeney's book on Mangas.

Sweeney, E. R. (1998). *Mangas Coloradas: Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Sweeney's is the most important biography of Apache leader Mangas Coloradas. It is based on extensive historical data and analysis. Sweeney's biography is vital not only for

an understanding of Mangas Coloradas' life, but of Apache history in the 1800s. Mangas Coloradas was a central figure, a key band and war leader, in Apache historical contact with Mexican and American peoples during this time. Sweeney provides critical details concerning people and events in Mangas Coloradas' life, including his military movements near the Chiricahua Mountains. For example, military commander Miguel Blanco de Estrada prepared for a systematic campaign against the Chiricahua involving movements from Bavispe, Fronteras, Santa Cruz, and Tucson. On 20 March 1852, Mangas, with a party of more than 100 warriors, reached the western slopes of the Chiricahuas. There he surprised 180 Chokonens, Bedonkohes, and Chihennes in parley with a Sonoran force under Teran y Tato, Captain Miguel Narbona, Esquinaline, several of Teboca's sons, Captain Miguel Escalante, and Captain Teodoro de Aros. The parley dispersed once they became aware of Mangas and his party. As the Sonorans journeyed to their camp at Bonita Canyon in the Chiricahua Mountains, an estimated 300 Chiricahua warriors attacked them. The battle lasted approximately two hours and thirty-six minutes. Three men were killed; 16 were wounded. Mangas Coloradas was assassinated by the U. S. military in New Mexico in 1863.

Tagg, M. D., M. F. Baumler, and L. J. Pierce (1987). *The Camp at Bonita Canyon, A Buffalo Soldier Camp in Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona*. Publications in Anthropology No. 42. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Tapia, N. (1777). Narciso Tapia to Narciso Muniz, Letter concerning Apache truce, 23 Dec. 1777. University of Texas, Latin American Collection, Janos Folder 003, sec. 1:197-99. Austin, TX: 2.

Tapia's letter expresses Apache leader El Surdo's desire for peace with Spaniards. Tapia wrote that El Surdo could not ensure peace between the Spaniards and Chiricahua Apaches because the former were his mortal enemies.

Tapia, N. (1777). Narciso Tapia to Narciso Muniz, Report on Apache attack on Janos, 15 Dec. 1777. University of Texas, Latin American Collection, Janos Folder 003, sec. 1:181-86. Austin, TX: 5.

Tapia's report details a 12 December 1777 Apache attack on Janos Presidio. Following an unsuccessful attack by 60 warriors, Tapia sent an Apache representative into neighboring mountains to orchestrate peace with Apache groups. The Chiricahua Mountains are mentioned as an area the Apache emissary visited.

Tapia, N. (1778). Narciso Tapia and Narciso Muniz, Documents Related to a Battle with the Chiricahua Apaches, 22 Jan. 1778-14 Feb. 1778. University of Texas, Latin American Collection, Janos Folder 003, sec. 1:245-51. Austin, TX: 6.

Tate, M. L. (1974). *Apache Scouts, Police, and Judges as Agents of Acculturation, 1865-1920*. Toledo, University of Toledo. M.A.: ix, 346 leaves.

Tate's dissertation provides much information concerning Apache scouts, police, and judges who worked for the U. S. government during the last half of the 19th century. It provides significant details about scouts at the San Carlos Indian Reservation and 1880s military campaigns against Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches.

Tate, M. L. (1974). "Soldiers of the Line: Apache Companies in the U. S. Army." *Arizona and the West* 16(343-364).

Tate examines the War Department's 1891 initiative to recruit 1,500 Indians for regular military service and reasons that the program lasted only six years. The Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Infantry units were composed of Apaches.

Tate, M. L. (1991). "'Pershing's Pets': Apache Scouts in the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1916." *New Mexico Historical Review* 66: 49-71.

Tate investigates intelligence gathering by Apache scouts during the 1916 Mexican Punitive Expedition. Twenty of 24 Apache scouts from Company A, Fort Apache, Arizona (including Charles Shipp, Charles Bones, C. F. Billy, Chow Big, Nonotolth, Deklay, Askeldelinney, Jesse Palmer, and Eskehnadestah) were sent to Columbus, New Mexico to help track Poncho Villa and his supporters. The article describes incidents at Ojos Azules Ranch, Las Vargas Pass, and Carrizal.

Tatum, L. (1970). *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President U. S. Grant*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Taylor, W. B. and Franklin Pease G. Y. (1994). *Violence, Resistance and Survival in the Americas: Native Americans and the Legacy of Conquest*. Washington, D. C., Smithsonian Institution Press.

Terrell, J. U. (1972). *Apache Chronicle*. New York, World.

Tevis, J. H. (1954). *Arizona in the '50's*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Capt. Tevis' memoirs chronicle his experiences in southeastern Arizona in the 1850s. Tevis describes traveling through Arizona with Moses Carson and encounters with Chiricahua and Mimbrenño Apaches. He describes tracking and meeting Cochise in 1859 near Apache Pass and an 1860 trading expedition to meet Mangas Coloradas at Santa Lucia, New Mexico. Tevis also describes the time when Cochise took him prisoner.

Thomas, A. B. (1932). *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Thomas, A. B. (1935). *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Thomas, A. B. (1941). *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Thomas, A. B. (1959). *The Chiricahua Apache, 1695-1876: A Report of the Mescalero-Chiricahua Land Claims Project, Contract Research, No. 290-154*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico.

Thomas, A. B. (1974). *The Jicarilla Apache Indians: A History, 1598-1888*. Apache Indians VIII. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Thomas writes about Jicarilla Apache Indians of northern and eastern New Mexico, beginning in 1598 when Jicarillas first met Spanish traders. He discusses Jicarilla relations with Arapahos, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas. He also covers territorial disputes between these tribes and the Spanish. Jicarillas traded with Mescalero Apaches along the Sierra de Sandia and Pecos River Valley in the late 1700s. In 1878, Jicarillas were forced to relocate to the Mescalero Reservation at Fort Stanton. They later returned to northern New Mexico.

Thomas, A. B. (1974). *The Mescalero Apache, 1653-1874*. Apache Indians XI. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

This is a history of Spanish government policy regarding Mescalero Apaches. Thomas synthesizes and reports official government accounts of presidio establishments, military offensives, and Mescaleros' raiding during the late 18th century. He also examines shifts in policy toward Apaches that accompanied establishment of presidios and transition to Mexican rule. He explores U. S. expansion and the "Indian Problem" in West Texas.

Thomas, A. B. (1974). *The Mescalero Apache, 1653-1874*. Apache Indians XI. D. A. Horr. New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc.

Thomas, A. B. (1982). *Alonso de Posada Report, 1686: A Description of the Area of the Present Southern United States in the Late Seventeenth Century*. Pensacola, The Perdido Bay Press.

Father Posada was commissioned in 1678 by the Viceroy of New Spain to write about his time as a southwestern missionary. This is a translation of the report. Thomas includes an introduction providing historical context (mid-16th to late-17th century). The report includes Posada's observations about Apaches. He portrays them as warlike, fierce, and hated by other regional tribes.

Thompson, G. (editor) "Railroad and Mines in Arizona: The Cram Memoir of 1858." *Arizona and the West*: 363-376.

Thompson summarizes an 1858 pamphlet by topographical engineer Cram outlining his suggestions for a railroad system that would enhance profits of the Arizona mining industry. Cram specifically mentions the drain that Apache raiding had on mining profitability.

Thompson, J. and Jack C. Lane (editor) (1983). "The Vulture over the Carrion: Captain James "Paddy" Graydon and the Civil War in the Territory of New Mexico." *Journal of Arizona History* 24: 381-404.

Thompson describes Capt. Graydon's New Mexican affairs from December 1853 through 1862. Graydon's military service consisted primarily of pursuing Apaches, including an early 1855 Sacramento Mountains campaign against Mescalero Apaches and service at Fort Buchanan in 1857. Following his service, Graydon operated a hotel in the Sonoita Valley. He took part in the Bascom Affair at Apache Pass, established a company of federal volunteer reconnaissance service members at Fort Craig during the Civil War in

late 1861, and commanded a camp protecting miners and sheep from Manuelito's Mescalero Apaches in October 1862.

Thompson, J. D. (editor) (1990). "With the Third Infantry in New Mexico, 1851-1853: The Lost Diary of Private Sylvester W. Matson." *Journal of Arizona History* 31: 349-404.

Pvt. Matson was stationed at Fort Fillmore between November 1851 and December 1853. He depicts military life, contact with Mimbres Apaches, Mangas Coloradas, Cuchillo Negro, Ponce, and Delgadito. He also describes a fight with Apaches at Fort Webster.

Thompson, P. R. (1989). Fort Bowie National Historic Site Ruins Stabilization, Spring 1988. Report on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Thompson, P. R. (1989). Fort Bowie National Historic Site Ruins Stabilization, Spring 1989. Report on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Thorne, V. K. (1993). *White Eyes, Long Knives and Renegade Indians: An Updated and Revised Version of General Crook's Campaign against the Yavapai and the Tonto Apache People of Central Arizona, 1872-1882*. Sedona, AZ, Thorne Enterprises.

Thornton, B. (1978). Fort Bowie Trenching Project - Stratigraphic Date. Report on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Thrapp, D. L. (1964). *Al Sieber -- Chief of Scouts*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press. Sieber was a scout and leader of Apache scouts for Gen. Crook. In 1883, he participated in Crook's Mexican expedition. Crook convinced Chiricahua leaders Geronimo, Loco, Chatto, Nana, Bonito, Chihuahua, Mangas, Zele, and Ka-ya-ten-nae to return to the San Carlos Indian Reservation, from which they had escaped in 1881. Sieber was reassigned to the San Carlos Agency in 1884.

Thrapp, D. L. (1967). *The Conquest of Apacheria*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press. Thrapp's book is an essential reference for information on historical contact between Apache peoples and Anglo-Americans. It is primarily concerned with military history and summarizes events such as the Camp Grant Massacre, Gen. Crook's campaign against Western Apaches in the early 1870s, John Clum's tenure at the San Carlos Indian Reservation, the campaign against Victorio, Nana's raid into New Mexico, the Cibecue Creek Affair, and military campaigns against Geronimo in 1883 and 1886.

Thrapp, D. L. (1969). "Geronimo's Mysterious Surrender." *Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners Brand Book* 13: 16-35.

Thrapp, D. L. (1972). *General Crook and the Sierra Madre Adventure*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

On 30 August 1881 at Cibecue Creek on the San Carlos Indian Reservation, U. S. soldiers fought with Western Apaches, including Western Apache scouts. For the next



month, San Carlos was in turmoil. As a result, Chiricahua Apaches fled San Carlos and went to Mexico. Gen. Crook returned to Arizona to deal with this situation. Thrapp's book is an excellent summary of this period in Chiricahua Apache history. It should be read along with, for example, Crook's autobiography and Lt. John Gregory Bourke's firsthand account of the expedition.

Thrapp, D. L. (1973). *Juh: An Incredible Indian*. El Paso, Texas Western Press.

Juh was an important leader among the southernmost band of Chiricahua Apaches. Thrapp describes Juh as a "prominent and important Apache of singular capacity and ruthlessness, deserving to rank with Cochise, Mangas Coloradas, and Victorio and well above Geronimo in accomplishment." Juh is less well known than Mangas Coloradas, Cochise, Victorio, and Geronimo because he spent most of his life in Mexico. During the 1860s and 1870s, Geronimo frequently traveled with Juh. In 1872, Juh and Geronimo joined Cochise as residents of the Chiricahua Apache Reservation. After Cochise's death, his sons, Taza and Naiche, agreed to be relocated to Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. Juh and Geronimo refused, escaping to Mexico. Geronimo later separated from Juh and traveled with his family to the Warm Springs Apache Reservation. Juh remained in Mexico and, possibly, drowned when returning to his rancheria from trading at Casas Grandes. Geronimo, Chiricahua Apaches, and Warm Springs Apaches were later relocated to San Carlos. This biography focuses on Juh's confrontations with Mexicans and Anglo-Americans in the late 19th century. Thrapp suggests that Juh's death in 1883 ended successful Apaches resistance.

Thrapp, D. L. (1974). *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Thrapp's book is an essential reference for information about Victorio, a prominent Chihénde Apache leader of the 1860s and 1870s. Following Mangas Coloradas' 1863 death, Victorio became, perhaps, the most important Apache leader in the Mimbres Mountains region. Victorio spent much of his life in southwestern New Mexico, but also lived in southeastern Arizona and northern Mexico. He frequently joined with Cochise to fight Mexicans and Americans. In 1877, San Carlos Indian Agent John Clum and San Carlos Apache police relocated Victorio and other Warm Springs Apaches to Arizona's San Carlos Indian Reservation. Victorio and many other Apaches later escaped San Carlos, returned to New Mexico, and spent several years fighting the Americans. Mexican troops killed Victorio and many other Apaches Tres Castillos, Mexico in 1880. The Mexicans took many women and children as slaves.

Toole, J. H. (2001). Agent Tiffany Torn to Tatters. Tucson, Arizona Star, October 24, 1882. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsburg, PA, Stackpole Books: 318-320.

Toole writes about graft and corruption by San Carlos Indian Reservation Agent Joseph C. Tiffany in the early 1880s. According to this article, "Fraud, peculation, conspiracy, larceny, plots, and counterplots seem to be the rule of action on this reservation." A Tucson grand jury investigated Tiffany's activities.

Torres, L. and M. Baumler (1984). *A History of the Buildings and Structures of Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona: Historic Structure Report, Historical and Archeological Data Sections*. Denver, National Park Service: vi, 262.

Treutlein, T. (translator and editor) (1949). *Sonora: A Description of the Province*, by Ignaz Pfefferkorn. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Turcheneske, J. A. (1973). "The Arizona Press and Geronimo's Surrender." *Journal of Arizona History* 14: 133-147.

Turcheneske investigates public impressions of Indians, as represented by Arizona newspapers. It emphasizes newspaper portrayals of Geronimo's surrender in 1886.

Turcheneske, J. A. (1976). "The United States Congress and the Release of the Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 54(Summer): 199-226.

Turcheneske, J. A. (1978). "Disaster at White Tail: The Fort Sill Apaches' First Ten Years at Mescalero, 1913-1923." *New Mexico Historical Review* 53(2): 109-132.

Turcheneske's article documents conditions at White Tail, a remote region of New Mexico's Mescalero Apache Indian Reservation, to which Chiricahua Apache prisoners of war were relocated from Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1913. Socioeconomic conditions at White Tail were extremely difficult. This article examines Department of Interior promises to Fort Sill Apaches contingent on their relocation. It discusses the arrival of Chiricahua Apaches from Fort Sill, Oklahoma on 4 April 1913 and difficulties Apaches faced soon thereafter. It also discusses economic hardship and bureaucratic struggles under Mescalero Agent Clarence R. Jefferies.

Turcheneske, J. A. (1979). "'It is Right That They Should Set Us Free": The Role of the War and Interior Departments in the Release of the Apache Prisoners of War, 1909-1913." *Red River Valley Historical Review* 4(3): 4-32.

Turcheneske, J. A. (1997). *The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill 1894-1914*. Niwot, CO, The University Press of Colorado.

Turcheneske writes a history Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches' removal from Arizona to Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. The Apaches were prisoners of war from 1886 through 1914. This study is based largely on archival sources. It presents a non-Indian perspective. The work is essential for information concerning Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache history after their removal from the southwest.

Turner, K. C. (1951). *Red Men Calling on the Great White Father*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Tyler, B. A. (1965). "Cochise: Apache War Leader, 1858-1861." *Arizoniana* 6(Spring): 1-10. Drawing on newspaper articles and official reports, Tyler examines Cochise's life between 1858 and January 1861. She discusses the Bascom Affair that occurred while Cochise and his Chiricahua band lived at Apache Pass.

Tyler, D. A. (1969). *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War*. Glorieta, NM, Rio Grande Press.

Underhill, L. (editor) (1984). "Dr. Edward Palmer's Experiences with the Arizona Volunteers." *Arizona and the West* 26(43-59).

Underhill's article summarizes Dr. Palmer's military service and observations about Apaches. He was a member of the First Arizona Volunteer Infantry sent to Verde Valley (Camp Lincoln) from 1865 to 1866 to help protect farmers from Apaches.

United States Adjutant-General's Office (1887). Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting in Response to Resolution of February 11, 1887, Correspondence with General Miles Relative to the Surrender of Geronimo. United States 49th Congress, 2nd Sess., Senate. Exec. Doc., no. 117. United States Adjutant-General's Office. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Adjutant-General's Office (1912). *Inquiry Concerning Apache Indians*. Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting Information in Response to Senate Resolution of February 26, 1912, Relative to Apache Indian Prisoners of War at Fort Sill (Okla.) Reservation. 62nd Cong., 2d Sess. Senate. Exec. Doc. 432. United States Adjutant-General's Office. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Adjutant-General's Office (1965). *Returns from United States Military Posts*. United States Adjutant-General's Office, General Services Administration National Archives and Records Service: 1550 microfilm reels.

United States Adjutant-General's Office and United States National Archives (1800-1916). *Returns from United States military posts, Arizona 1800-1916*. United States Adjutant-General's Office and United States National Archives. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Army (1955). *Records of the War Department, United States Army Commands, Fort Bowie, Arizona*. United States Army. Washington, D. C., General Services Administration National Archives and Records Service: 3 microfilm reels.

United States Army, D. o. A. (1871). *Reports from Various Officers Dealing with the Apache Indian Wars in Arizona Territory, Northwestern Chihuahua, Mexico, and Northeastern Sonora, Mexico, 1871, 1885-86*. D. o. A. United States Army, General Services Administration National Archives and Records Service: In portfolio.

This includes letters of military instruction from Gen. P. H. Sheridan to Gen. George Crook, and 12 reports from Gen. Crook, Lt. Marion P. Maus, Capt. Wirt Davis, Lt. Britton Davis, Capt. Emmet Crawford and Sgt. John Mott.

United States Army, D. o. A. (1879). *Headquarters Department of Arizona, Whipple Barracks, Prescott, September 4, 1879 to the Assistant Adjutant General, Military Division of the Pacific, Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.* D. o. A. United States Army. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Army, D. o. A. (1883). Map of the Military Reservation at Fort Bowie, Arizona. Prescott, AZ, United States Army, Department of Arizona: 1 map.

United States Army, D. o. A. (1886). Report of Assistant Surgeon Leonard Wood, U. S. Army, Fort Bowie, A.T., September 8, 1886. D. o. A. United States Army, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Army, D. o. A. and J. G. Bourke (1886). General Orders and Circulars. D. o. A. United States Army. Los Angeles, General Services Administration National Archives and Records Service.

United States Army, D. o. t. M. (1881). Correspondence of the United States Army, Military Division of the Missouri. D. o. t. M. United States Army, General Services Administration National Archives and Records Service: .1 ft.

This file includes photocopies of 118 documents, chiefly official correspondence and printed orders related to Captain Nicholas Nolan, 10th Cavalry, from 1878 to 1880. Letters from the winter of 1879 concern the escort and protection of reservation Indians, including Kiowas, Comanches and Pawnees, on a hunting expedition. In the summer and fall of 1880, while stationed at Fort Quitman, TX, Nolan cooperated with Mexican forces along the Rio Grande River in the pursuit of Indians with the Apache chief, Victorio. Correspondents include Henry O. Flipper and P.B. Hunt.

United States Board of Indian Commissioners and V. Colyer (1872). Peace with the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona. Report of Vincent Colyer, Member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1871. United States Board of Indian Commissioners. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Bureau of American Ethnology, S. I. (1888). Annual Report, 1887-1888. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution,. S. I. Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Bureau of American Ethnology, S. I. and C. Smart (1872). Notes on the Tonto Apaches. S. I. United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office

United States Bureau of Indian Affairs (1960). Miscellaneous Records of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation, A. T., 1875-1914. United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. Wilmington, CA, United States Federal Records Center: 36 reels and guide.

United States Bureau of American Ethnology (1966). Bureau of American Ethnology, Anthropological Papers, Numbers 75-80. United States Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress (1887). Letter From the Secretary of War, Transmitting, in Response to the Resolution of February 11, 1887, Correspondence With General Miles Relative to the

Surrender of Geronimo. Senate Executive Document 117. Senate. 49th Congress, 2nd Session. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress (1910). Apache Prisoners of War. Senate. 61st Congress, 2nd Session. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress (1910). A Bill Providing for the Allotment of Land to the Apache Indians Now Under the Charge of the War Department at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, as Prisoners of War. House of Representatives. 61st Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress (1912). Indian Conference Report. Senate. 62nd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress (1913). Amendment to Be Proposed by Mr. Catron to the Bill (H.R. 26874) Making Appropriations for the Current and Contingent Expenses of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Senate. 62nd Congress, 3rd Session. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress (1914). Indian War History of the Army During the Years 1865-1886, Compiled from War Department Records. House Report No. 1084. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress (1968). United States Indian Claims Commission. Vol. 19. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress and G. Crook (1890). Correspondence between Lieut. Gen. P. H. Sheridan and Brig. Gen. George Crook regarding the Apache Indians. Senate Executive Document. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1867). Conditions of the Indian Tribes: Report of the Joint Special Committee. H. C. o. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Press.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1875). The Cholera Epidemic of 1873 in the United States. Executive Document H. C. o. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1879). Congressional Record. United States Congress. H. C. o. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1882). Dr. Walter Reed. Report / House of Representatives; 47th Congress, 1st session, no. 1788. H. C. o. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1885). The Surrender of Geronimo. Senate Executive Document 117. H. C. o. C. 49 Congress, 1st Session: 77 pp. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1886). Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States (Mexico). House Executive Document. H. C. o. C. 1: pp. 570-691. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1890). The Apache Indians. Senate Executive Document H. C. o. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1910). Allotment of Land to Apache Indians. Senate. 61st Congress, 2nd Session. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1910). A Bill Providing for the Allotment of Land to the Apache and Other Indians Under the Charge of the War Department, Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma. Senate. 61st Congress, 2nd Session. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1912). A Bill Authorizing the Secretary of War to Grant Freedom to Certain of the Apache Prisoners of War Now Being Held at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and Giving Them Equal Status With Other Restricted Indians. House of Representatives. 62nd Congress, 2nd Session. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1912). Relief of Apache Indians Held as Prisoners of War at Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma. House of Representatives. 62nd Congress, 2nd Session. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. C. (1913). Relief of Apache Indians Confined at Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma. House of Representatives. 62nd Congress, 3rd Session. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1884). Elijah W. Dobbs, Mariano G. Samaniego, and H.C. Hooker. Report / House of Representatives; 48th Congress, 1st session, no. 439. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1884). Henry C. Frazier. Report / House of Representatives; 48th Congress, 1st session, no. 694. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1884). John G. Fell, Edward Hoopes, and George Burnham. Report / House of Representatives; 48th Congress, 1st session, no. 1347. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1884). Thomas J. Rhodes. Report / House of Representatives; 48th Congress, 1st session, no. 1131. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1886). Franz and Charles Huning and Others. Report / House of Representatives; 49th Congress, 1st session, no. 3438. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1886). J.G. Fell, Edward Hoopes, and George Burnham. Report / House of Representatives; 49th Congress, 1st session, no. 2917. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1890). J.G. Fell, Edward Hoopes, and George Burnham. Report / House of Representatives; 51st Congress, 1st session, no. 1083. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1894). Leases on the Wichita, Kiowa, and Apache Reservations. Report / House of Representatives; 53d Congress, 2d session, no. 386. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1895). Agreement with Certain Indians. Report / House of Representatives; 53d Congress, 3d session, no. 1775. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1898). Agreement with Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache Indians. Report; 55th Congress, 2d session, no. 431. S. United and Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. I. A. (1911). Memorial and Papers from the Mohave-Apache Indians of McDowell Reservation, Arizona, in Relation to their Removal from McDowell Reservation to the Salt River Reservation, Arizona. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. C. o. M. A. (1886). Cavalry in New Mexico and Arizona. Report / House of Representatives; 49th Congress, 1st session, no. 531. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress House Committee on Claims (1894). Emmet Crawford, Deceased. Senate Report. H. C. o. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. S. C. o. I. D. C. (1888). E. W. Dobbs, H. C. Hooker, and M. G. Samaniego. Report / House of Representatives; 50th Congress, 1st session, no. 2955. H. S. C. o. I. D. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. S. C. o. I. D. C. (1888). Franz and Charles Huning and Others. Report / House of Representatives; 50th Congress, 1st session, no. 1204. H. S. C. o. I. D. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, H. S. C. o. I. D. C. (1888). J.G. Fell, Edward Hoopes, and George Burnham. Report / House of Representatives; 50th Congress, 1st session, no. 1701. H. S. C. o. I. D. C. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Congress, S. C. o. M. A. (1882). In the Senate of the United States. Report / Senate; 47th Congress, 1st session, no. 507. S. C. o. M. A. United States Congress. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Army, S. C. I. A. (1954). The Military Heliography and Its Use in Arizona and New Mexico. S. C. I. A. United States Department of the Army. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1863-1873). Records of the Arizona Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1863-1873. United States Department of the Interior, National Archives and Records Service. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1869-1877). Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869-1877. Office of Indian Affairs. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1873). Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico, Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, Relative to an Appropriation to Supply a Deficiency in the Appropriation for Collecting and Subsisting Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1873. 42d Congress, 3d session, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc., no. 105. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1874). Apache Indians in Arizona: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting an Estimate of Appropriations for Collecting and Subsisting the Apache Indians in Arizona for the Fiscal year Ending June 30, 1875. 43d Congress, 2d Session, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. no. 50. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1874). Jicarilla Apache and Ute Indians of New Mexico: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting an Agreement with the Jicarilla Apache and Certain Ute Indians in the Territory of New Mexico. Ex. Doc.; no. 130. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1876). Letter from the Secretary of the Interior to the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, Communicating Information in Relation to the Present Condition of the Apache Indians in New Mexico. Misc. doc. / Senate; 44th Congress, 1st



session, no. 91. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1885). Letter from the Secretary of the Interior: Transmitting, in compliance with law, Letter of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with Report upon the Coal on the White Mountain Reservation in Arizona. Ex. Doc. / Senate; 48th Congress, 2d session, no. 20. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1887). Papers Relative to the Education of the Apaches in Florida. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1890). E. Montoya & Sons: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting Papers in the Indian Depredation Claim of E. Montoya & Sons. Ex. doc. / House of Representatives; 51st Congress, 1st session, no. 127. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1896). San Carlos Reservation Indians. Report; 54th Congress, 1st session, no. 320. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1897). Investigation of Affairs at the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indian Reservation: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, April 13, 1897. 55th Congress, 1st Session. Senate Document; no. 34. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1899). Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indian Reservation: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior. Senate Document; no. 77. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1910-1914). Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1910-1914. Office of Indian Affairs. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior (1965). Letters Sent by the Indian Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1903. R. o. t. B. o. I. A. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., National Archives and Records Service.

United States Department of the Interior (1966). Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-80. R. o. t. B. o. I. A. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., National Archives and Records Service.

United States Department of the Interior and W. H. Emory (1856). Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior by W.

H. Emory. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior and H. C. o. C. United States Congress (1873). Letter from the Secretary of the Interior: Relative to the Claim of the Walnut Grove Mining Company of Arizona, on Account of Depredations Committed by Apache Indians. 42d Congress, 3d Session. House of Representatives. Executive document; no. 95. U. S. C. United States Department of the Interior, House Committee on Claims. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior, B. o. I. A. and A. H. Abel (editor) (1915). The Official Correspondence of James C. Calhoun, While Indian Agent at Santa Fe and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico. Office of Indian Affairs. B. o. I. A. United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Interior, B. o. I. A. and C. J. Kappler (editor) (1904). Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. B. o. I. A. United States Department of the Interior. Volume 1, Laws, Volume 2, Treaties. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Treasury and United States Attorney-General (1888). Account of W.L. Pinney: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting an Estimate from the Attorney-General of Appropriation to pay W.L. Pinney for Services as Stenographer in the Trial of Certain Apache Indians in Arizona. Ex. doc. / House of Representatives; 50th Congress, 2d session, no. 16. U. S. A. G. United States Department of the Treasury. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of the Treasury and United States Department of the Interior (1890). Appropriation for Apache Indians: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting an Estimate, Submitted by the Secretary of the Interior, of the Appropriations for the Apache Indians at Mount Vernon, Ala., and Fort Union, N. Mex., for the Fiscal Year 1892. Ex. doc. / House of Representatives; 51st Congress, 2d session, no. 41. U. S. D. o. t. I. United States Department of the Treasury. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War (1857). Report of the Secretary of War. United States Department of War. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War (1869). Report of the Secretary of War, with Accompanying Papers Abridged. United States Department of War. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War (1869-1877). Annual Reports of the Secretary of War, 1869-1877. Office of the Secretary of War. United States Department of War. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War (1876). Report of the Secretary of War: Being Part of the Message and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the

Second Session of the Forty-fourth Congress. United States Department of War. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War (1880-1901). The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. United States Department of War. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War (1894-1900). Annual Reports of the Secretary of War, 1894-1900. Office of the Secretary of War. United States Department of War. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War, O. o. t. A. G. (1881-1889). Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, Main Series, 1881-1889. O. o. t. A. G. United States Department of War. Washington, National Archives Microfiche Publication.

United States Department of War, O. o. t. A. G. (January 1849-July 1865). Letters Received, 1848-1858. O. o. t. A. G. United States Department of War, Department of the Pacific. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Department of War, O. o. t. A. G. and G. Crook (1871-1894). Letters Received by the Appointment, Commission, and Personal Branch, Adjutant General's Office, 1871-1894. O. o. t. A. G. United States Department of War. Washington, National Archives Microfiche Publication.

United States Forest Service (1906). Chiricahua Forest Reserve, Arizona. Gila and Salt River Meridian and Base Line. 1 map. Washington, D. C., United States Forest Service.

United States General Land Office (1902). Mohave Apache Indians: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting, with the Draft of a Bill, Communications Relating to the Use of Camp McDowell Military Reservation for Mohave Apache Indians. United States General Land Office. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Geographical Survey and G. M. Wheeler (1875-1889). Report Upon United States Geographic Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, in Charge of First Lieutenant George M. Wheeler. 8 Volumes. United States Geographical Surveys. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Geological Survey (1993). Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona. United States Geological Survey. Reston, VA, United States Geological Survey.

United States National Park Service (1973). Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona. United States National Park Service. 1 map. Washington, D. C., National Park Service.

United States National Park Service (1975). Final Environmental Assessment: Master Plan, Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona. United States National Park Service. Denver, National Park Service.

United States National Park Service (1975). Fort Bowie National Historic Site: Draft Master Plan. Archives QH 75 U5a F73 no. 10 NPS: NPS 730. United States National Park Service. Denver, National Park Service.

United States National Park Service (1975). Fort Bowie National Historic Site: Master Plan. United States National Park Service. Denver, National Park Service: 31.

United States National Park Service (1975). Fort Bowie National Historical Site, Arizona: Environmental Assessment. United States National Park Service. Denver, National Park Service.

United States National Park Service (1986). Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona. United States National Park Service. 1 sheet. Washington, D. C., National Park Service.

United States National Park Service (1999). Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona: Draft Environmental Impact Statement, General Management Plan. United States National Park Service. Washington, D. C., National Park Service.

United States National Park Service (2000). Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona: Final Environmental Impact Statement, General Management Plan. United States National Park Service. Washington, D. C., National Park Service70.

United States Office of Indian Affairs (1915). Map of Fort Apache Indian Reservation, Arizona: East of Gila and Salt River Principal Meridian. 1 map. United States Office of Indian Affairs. Washington, D. C., Office of Indian Affairs.

United States Office of the President (1882). Coal Lands upon the San Carlos Reservation: Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Communication from the Secretary of the Interior Relative to Coal Lands upon the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona. Ex. doc. / House of Representatives; 47th Congress, 1st session, no. 173. United States Office of the President. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Office of the President (1890). Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Letter of the Secretary of War and Reports, Touching the Apache Indians at Governor's Island. Exec. Doc., Senate, 51st Congress, 1st Session, no. 35. United States Office of the President. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Office of the President (1893). In the Senate of the United States, Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Communication from the Secretary of the Interior, with an Agreement of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache Indians for the Cession of Certain Lands in the Territory of Oklahoma. Exec. Doc. / Senate, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, no. 17. United States Office of the President. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States Office of the President and J. D. Richardson (1896-1899). A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents. United States Office of the President. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department (1855-1861). Pacific Railroad Survey Reports: Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, Made under the Direction of the Secretary of War, 1853-1854. 13 Volumes. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department (1882). Troops in Arizona: Letter from the Secretary of War in Response to a Resolution of the House of Representatives Relative to Troops in Arizona. Ex. doc. / House of Representatives; 47th Congress, 1st session, no. 193. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department (1887). Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting in Response to Resolution of February 11, 1887, Correspondence with General Miles Relative to the Surrender of Geronimo. Ex. doc. / Senate; 49th Congress, 2d session, no. 117. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department (1890). Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting in Response to Senate Resolution of January 28, 1890, Reports Relative to the Treatment of Certain Apache Indians. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department (1890). Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting in Response to Senate Resolution of March 11, 1890, Correspondence Regarding the Apache Indians. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department (1965). Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, ca. 1700-1900. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., National Archives and Records Service.

United States War Department (1967). Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, Main Series, 1871-1880. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., National Archives and Records Service.

United States War Department (1970). Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, Main Series, 1861-1870. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., National Archives and Records Service.

United States War Department and G. Crook (1883-1886). Annual Report of Brigadier General George Crook, U. S. Army. Commanding Department of Arizona, 1883. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department and G. Crook (1885). Annual Report of Brigadier General George Crook, U. S. Army. Commanding Department of Arizona, 1885. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department and G. Crook (1886). Annual Report of Brigadier General George Crook, U. S. Army. Commanding Department of Arizona, 1886. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

United States War Department and G. Crook (1884). Annual Report of Brigadier General George Crook, U. S. Army. Commanding Department of Arizona, 1884. United States War Department. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Utley, R. M. (1958). Historical Report on Fort Bowie, Arizona. Santa Fe, National Park Service.

Utley, R. M. (1961). "The Bascom Affair: A Reconstruction." *Arizona and the West* 3(Spring): 59-68.

According to Utley, there is sufficient evidence to reject commonly held conclusions of what transpired during the 1862 Bascom Affair at Apache Pass. Researchers had failed to find two official documents: Lt. George N. Bascom's report to his commanding officer and the records of court martial proceedings against Sgt. Reuben F. Bernard.

Utley, R. M. (1963). "The Surrender of Geronimo." *Journal of Arizona History* 4(Spring): 1-9.

Utley, R. M. (1967). *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891*. New York, Macmillan Press.

Utley analyzes U. S. military interactions with Indian tribes from the mid-1860s to the early 1890s. He tries to balance a traditional "heroic" view of the Army with a more humanitarian representation of Native Americans. He includes firsthand accounts from central military figures in Apache campaigns, including Nelson Miles, John Bourke, George Crook, Vincent Colyer, and Oliver O. Howard.

Utley, R. M. (1967). *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Col. Bonneville's 1857 campaign was staged in western New Mexico and southeastern Arizona, where he encountered Western Apaches. Several factors brought Chiricahuas to the attention of the United States military: (1) ratification of the Gadsden Purchase in 1854, (2) increased mining activity around Tubac, (3) an influx of Anglo-Americans into Tucson, and (4) initiation of the Butterfield Overland Mail service in 1858.

Utley, R. M. (1967). Historical Report on Fort Bowie, Arizona. Santa Fe.

Utley, R. M. (1977). *A Clash of Cultures: Fort Bowie and the Chiricahua Apaches*. Washington, D. C., National Park Service.

Utley's monograph investigates tensions and conflicts between Chiricahua Apaches, Spanish, and Anglo-Americans. It focuses on conflicts between Chiricahuas and Anglo-Americans. These conflicts include the 1862 Bascom Affair, Cochise Wars, and military efforts to capture Geronimo.

Utley, R. M. (1984). *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Valputic, M. E. (1972). *The End of the Apache Wars: General Nelson A. Miles and the Geronimo Campaign, April-September, 1886*. Tucson, University of Arizona. M.A.: 102 leaves.

Valputic, M. E. and H. H. Longfellow (1971). "The Fight at Chiricahua Pass in 1869 as Described by L. L. Dorr, M.D." *Arizona and the West* 13: 369-378.

Valputic and Longfellow describe events leading to fighting at Chiricahua Pass in October and November 1869 between U. S. troops and Chiricahua Apaches. The latter part of the paper is a letter written by contract surgeon Dr. Levi Lewis Dorr describing Col. Bernard's 31 October assault on Apaches at Chiricahua Pass and early November scouting expeditions in the Chiricahua Mountains.

Van Orden, J. (1989). "C. S. Fly at Canon de los Embudos: American Indians as Enemies in the Field, a Photographic First." *Journal of Arizona History* 30: 319-346.

Van Orden writes about photographs Fly took of Geronimo and other Chiricahua Apaches. Fly took the photographs at Canyon de los Embudos on 25 and 26 March 1886. They are the only known field photographs of American Indians as enemies of the U. S. government.

Van Orden, J. (1991). *Geronimo's Surrender: The 1886 C. S. Fly photographs*. Tucson, Arizona Historical Society.

Vandenberg, H. S. J. (1993). "Forsyth and the 1882 Loco Outbreak Campaign." *The Smoke Signal* 60(Fall): 174-195.

Vanderpot, R. and T. Majewski (1998). *The Forgotten Soldiers: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of the Apache Scouts at Fort Huachuca*. Tucson, Statistical Research, Inc.

Vinton, L. (1972). "The Geronimo Campaign: As told by a Trooper of "B" Troop of the 4th U. S. Cavalry." *Journal of the West* 11: 157-69.

Vizcaya Canales, I. (2001). *Tierra de Guerra Viva: Incursiones de Indios y Otros Conflictos en el Noreste de México Durante el Siglo XIX, 1821-1885*. Monterrey, Nuevo León, México, Academia de Investigaciones.

Voss, S. F. (1982). *On the Periphery of Nineteenth Century Mexico: Sonora and Sinaloa, 1810-1877*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Voss examines Sonora and Sinaloa in the context of Latin American regionalism and its effects on Spanish empire expansion. Contending that Latin America included distinctive regional cultures separate from the "colonial norm," Voss explores ways in which Mexico, and Sonora/Sinaloa in particular, survived cultural fragmentation insurmountable in other areas. Regarding Apaches, Voss examines effects of the Johnson Massacre in 1837, difficulties in military campaigns waged against Indians, and concerns of citizens in frontier districts.

Wagoner, J. J. (1961). "Overstocking of the Ranges in Southern Arizona during the 1870s and 1880s." *Journal of Arizona History* 2: 23-27.

Wagoner analyzes overstocking of Arizona grasslands south of the Gila River during the 1880s. Lucrative government contracts to supply Indian reservations with beef resulted in a great influx of cattle and vegetative destruction of this area.

Wagoner, J. J. (1970). *Arizona Territory, 1863-1891: A Political History*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Wagoner's book is an important political history of Arizona from 1863 to 1912. It provides key information about political and military interactions between Anglo-Americans and Apaches. Expansion of Arizona mining, ranching, and railroads is key to understanding such Apache history.

Wagoner, J. J. (1977). *Early Arizona: Prehistory to the Civil War*. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Walker, H. P. (1971). "Soldier in the California Column: The Diary of John W. Teal." *Arizona and the West* 13(Spring): 33-82.

Walker, H. P. (editor) (1980). "Colonel Bonneville's Report: The Department of New Mexico in 1859." *Arizona and the West* 22: 343-362.

Col. Bonneville's May 1859 report is about his 1200-mile military inspection of New Mexico and Arizona. It deals with topography, meetings with Indian agents about their operations, and visits with people Bonneville was expected to protect from Indians.

Walker, H. P. and D. Bufkin (1986). *Historical Atlas of Arizona*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Walker-McNeil, P. L. (1979). *The Carlisle Indian School: A Study of Acculturation*, American University: 287.

Walker-McNeil includes scattered references to Chiricahua Apache children who were taken from their parents incarcerated at Fort Marion, Florida.

Wallace, A. (1967). *General August V. Kautz and the Southwestern Frontier*. History. Tucson, University of Arizona. Ph.D.

Warren, P. L., M. S. Hoy, et al. (1992). *Vegetation and Flora of Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona*, Technical report, No. 43. Tucson, National Park Service Cooperative National Park Resources Studies Unit School of Renewable Natural Resources, University of Arizona: vi, 78.

The authors categorize plants around Fort Bowie and Apache Pass, Arizona. Four hundred seventy-five plant species and 11 vegetation types are described, mapped, and catalogued as part of this study of desert species, grasses, and higher altitude woodlands. The introduction briefly describes Apache Pass cultural history, climate, geology, and water sources.



Waters, J. (1984). Field notes, Testing at CHIR (CHIR 1994 A). Manuscript on file at the National Park Service. Tucson, Western Archeological and Conservation Center.

Waterstrat, E. (1993). *Commanders and Chiefs: A Brief History of Fort McDowell, Arizona (1865-1890), Its Officers and Men and the Indians they were Ordered to Subdue*. Fountain Hills, AZ, Mount McDowell Press.

Watt, E. T. (2004). *Don't Let the Sun Step Over You: A White Mountain Apache Family Life, 1860-1975*. With assistance from Keith H. Basso. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.

Weber, D. J. (1981). "American Westward Expansion and the Breakdown of Relations Between Pobladores and "Indios Bárbaros" on Mexico's Far Northern Frontier, 1821-1846." *New Mexico Historical Review* 56: 221-238.

Weber writes about relationships between Apaches, Comanches, Navajos, Utes, and Spanish frontiersmen following Mexican Independence (1821-1846). He emphasizes Indian raiding, U. S. expansionist policies, and Anglo-American/Spanish trade relations.

Weber, D. J. (1984). *New Spain's Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Weber, D. J. (editor) (1986). *Arms, Indians, and the Mismanagement of New Mexico: Donaciano Vigil, 1846*. Southwestern Studies Series, No. 77. El Paso, Texas Western Press.

Just before U. S. troops invaded New Mexico, Vigil reported territorial conditions to the New Mexico Assembly. He discussed financial difficulties and defensive measures against Indians. He proposed to resolve the Indian problem through war and sought arms and munitions from the central Mexican government.

Weber, D. J. (1992). *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Weber, D. J. (1997). *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Weber examines the southwest under Mexican rule. He notes that while many scholars have explored Spanish influence in the southwest, relatively little has been written on the "Mexican Era." Weber writes that internal problems and changes in Mexico diverted attention away from frontier districts, leaving those regions vulnerable to encroaching groups and Indigenous peoples. Apache raiding is mentioned incidentally.

Weber, D. J. (2002). *Spanish Bourbons and Wild Indians*. Waco, Baylor University Press.

Weber focuses on 18th century Spanish policies for dealing with Indians. He loosely categorizes the policies as strategies for "peaceful conquest."

Welch, J. R., C. Colwell-Chanthaphonh, et al. (2005). "Retracing the Battle of Cibecue: Western Apache, Documentary, and Archaeological Interpretations." *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Archaeology and History* 71(2): 133-163.

According to the article's abstract: "On August 30, 1881, United States military commanders ordered the arrest of Noch-ay-del-klinne, a spiritual leader thought to be

exciting unrest among Apaches residing around Cibecue. A battle ensued, resulting in the deaths of Apaches and soldiers, in the only attack on Fort Apache, and in enduring misgivings between Apaches and non-Indians. A recent ethnohistory project conducted in collaboration with keepers of Western Apache oral traditions has re-examined the events on the basis of Apache recollections and new archaeological and documentary evidence." This article is extremely important for its emphasis of Apache perspectives. Most other accounts of the Cibecue Battle merely summarize official Anglo-American documents and perspectives. This article foregrounds interviews with Apache consultants about the battle. It also considers archaeological evidence of the battle site.

Welsh, H. (1887). *The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida*. Indian Rights Association Publications. Philadelphia, Office of the Indian Rights Association: 62.

Welsh, M. E. (1979). "Corydon E. Cooley: Pioneer in Two Worlds." *Journal of Arizona History* 20: 283-296.

Welsh's article discusses how Cooley helped in 1870 to found the White River military post (Fort Apache) on the San Carlos Indian Reservation. It discusses Cooley's marriage to Mollie and Cora, two daughters of Pedro, an influential White Mountain Apache band leader. It also reviews Cooley's participation in concentration of Apaches at San Carlos and his local political involvement.

Wharfield, H. B. (1964). *Apache Indian Scouts; Service in Arizona and Mexico against Renegade Apaches, Individuals in Crook's Campaigns, Cibicu Fight, Apache Kid Troubles, Perishing Punitive Expedition, Service Record Data of Last of Scouts, Army Regulations, Circulars, Orders, Correspondence, Miscellaneous Local Historical Incidents*. El Cajon, CA, Wharfield (self-published).

Wharfield gives an account of Apache scouts' experiences from July 1866 to 1920. The book examines Gen. Crook's use of Apaches, Navajos, Mexicans, and Yaquis as scouts in campaigns against Apaches. He also describes Indian scouts' pursuit of Geronimo and Sierra Madre Apaches. The latter part of the book describes the detachment of Indian Scouts at Fort Apache and Apache scout organization, including a list of Apache scout service for Eskehnadestah, Chow Big, CF Josh, and Nonotolth, among others.

Wharfield, H. B. (1965). "Apache Kid and the Record." *Journal of Arizona History* 6(Spring): 37-46.

Wharfield, H. B. (1965). "Footnotes to History: Apache Kid and the Record." *Journal of Arizona History* 6: 37-46.

Wharfield's article is about the "Apache Kid's" military career from 1882 to 1887. It describes events of 1877 leading to "Rip's" murder. It describes an escape from San Carlos by a group of Apache scouts and their subsequent return. It also reviews courts martial of the Apache Kid, Sergeant As-ki-say-la-ha, Corporal Na-con-qui-say, Private Be-cho,on-dath, and Private Margy. Judicial court battles following the sentencing of these men are explored at length.

Wharfield, H. B. (1965). *With Scouts and Cavalry at Fort Apache*. Tucson, Arizona: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

Wharfield writes about cavalry life between 1890 and 1920. He describes Wharfield's journey to Fort Apache, cavalry life there, and Wharfield's impressions of Apache scouts. Wharfield includes a list of Apache scouts and describes a hunting trip with Eskehnadestah to Black River country.

Wharfield, H. B. (1969). *Alchesay: Scout with General Crook, Sierra Blanca Apache Chief, Friend of Fort Apache Whites, Counselor to Indian Agents*. El Cajon, CA, Wharfield (self-published).

Alchesay was a Western Apache leader and scout. Wharfield's brief biography examines Alchesay's military service and reservation life. Wharfield describes conflicts among Apaches during their early years of settlement at San Carlos and focuses on Alchesay's 1872-1873 military service at San Carlos under Gen. Crook. Wharfield also provides various accounts of Alchesay's later life.

Wharfield, H. B. (1971). *Cibicu Creek Fight in Arizona, 1881*. El Cajon, CA, Wharfield (self-published).

Wheatley, R. (1889). *The Caged Tigers of Santa Rosa*. *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. August.

Whipple, A. W., et al. (1856). *Report upon the Indian Tribes [of Arizona and New Mexico]*. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Whitney, E. C. and T. H. Whitney (1887). *History and Capture of Geronimo and Apache Indians, Prisoners in Fort Marion*, St. Augustine, Fla. Jacksonville, FL, Florida Times-Union Print.: 48.

Williamson, D. R. (1929). "Bowie in 1886." *Belt*.

Wilson, J. P. (1995). *Islands in the Desert: A History of the Uplands of Southeastern Arizona*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Wilson writes about exploitation of Arizona's mountain resources, offering a chronology of events between 1539 and 1946. Among other topics, he examines Cochise's and Geronimo's camps in the Dragoon and Chiricahua mountains. Wilson also examines mining and army camps in the Chiricahua Mountains. Chapter One examines the natural landscape. Chapter Two explores origins of mountain names. Chapter Three examines the Spanish search for mythic gold deposits, Apaches' raiding, and Spanish campaigns along the northern frontier from 1686 to 1695. This chapter also examines missionary efforts to Christianize Indians and attempts to settle Apaches at Janos Presidio. Chapter Four examines "peace establishments" and Sonoran and Chihuahuan scalp bounties during the 1830s and 1840s. Chapter Five examines U. S. expansion and the arrival of stage lines. Chapter Six examines military and Indian affairs between 1863 and 1896. This chapter discusses military expeditions against Apaches between 1864 and 1872 and establishment of the White Mountain, Camp Grant, and Chiricahua Indian reservations. This chapter also explores General O. O. Howard and Cochise's 1872 meeting and

military campaigns to capture Geronimo. Chapter Seven examines mining, including mining in the Chiricahua Mountains and Apache Pass.

Winther, O. O. (1957). "The Southern Overland Mail and Stagecoach Line, 1857-1861." *New Mexico Historical Review* 32: 81-106.

Wislizenus, F. A. (1848). *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico Connected with Colonel Doniphan's Expedition in 1846-1847*. D. C. Washington. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Wood, L. (2001). *On Campaign in Sonora*. Report of Assistant Surgeon Leonard Wood, U. S. Army, Fort Bowie, A. T., September 8, 1886, to Brigadier General N. A. Miles, U. S. A., Albuquerque, New Mexico, n. p., n.d. *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890, Volume 1, The Struggle for Apacheria*. P. Cozzens. Mechanicsberg, PA, Stackpole Books: 546-566.

Wood's 8 September 1886 account of the Geronimo campaign focuses on Apaches' knowledge of the land and hardships faced by troops in Sonora due to inadequate rations and rough terrain. Wood wrote this letter at Fort Bowie after negotiations with Chiricahuas were complete and Apaches had returned from Mexico.

Wood, L. and Jack C. Lane (editor) (1970). *Chasing Geronimo: The Journal of Leonard Wood, May-September, 1886*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.

Wood arrived at Fort Huachuca, Arizona on 4 July 1885. He was attached as medical officer to the command of Capt. Lawton. Wood accompanied Lawton and his troops in pursuit of Geronimo from May through August 1886. This book is Wood's diary of the expedition and of Geronimo's "surrender." It is an essential firsthand account of these events. Several other histories of Geronimo's "surrender" rely on Gatewood's and Wood's descriptions.

Wood, N. B. (1906). *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs, from Cofachiqui, the Indian Princess, and Powahatan; Down to and Including Chief Joseph and Geronimo*. Aurora, American Indian Historical Publication Company.

Woodward, A. (1961). "Side Lights on Fifty Years of Apache Warfare, 1836-1886." *Journal of Arizona History* 2: 3-14.

Woody, C. T. (editor) (1962). "The Woolsey Expeditions of 1864." *Arizona and the West* 4: 156-278.

Woody writes about Col. Woolsey's expeditions against Arizona's Western Apaches in 1864. He describes the infamous "Bloody Tanks Affair," a fight in Squaw Canyon, and an expedition along the Verde River.

Wooster, R. (1993). *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Wooster, R. (1995). *The Military and United States Indian Policy, 1865-1903*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press.

Worcester, D. E. (1940). *The Apache Indians of New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century*. Berkeley, University of California. M.A.: iv, 59 leaves.

Worcester, D. E. (1941). "The Beginnings of the Apache Menace of the Southwest." *New Mexico Historical Review* 16: 1-15.

Worcester investigates early Spanish accounts of Apaches. He begins with Don Juan de Oñate's March 1599 report and ends with Apaches' acquisition of horses. Worcester also discusses rising tensions between missionaries and Apaches during the early 1600s.

Worcester, D. E. (1941). "Early Spanish Accounts of the Apache Indians." *American Anthropologist* 42(2.1).

Worcester, D. E. (1975). "The Apaches in the History of the Southwest." *New Mexico Historical Review* 50(1): 25-44.

Worcester's article explores Apaches' origins, warfare, personal traits, and cultural characteristics. It discusses Spanish and Mexican government policies regarding Apaches in Sonora and Chihuahua during the late 18th and 19th centuries. The article also discusses Apaches' activities during the mid-1800s and looks at various historical and ethnographic studies of Apaches.

Worcester, D. E. (1979). *The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Worcester, D. E. (translator and editor) (1951). *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786*. Berkeley, Quivira Society Publications.

Wratten, A. E. (1986). "George Wratten, Friend of the Apaches." *Journal of Arizona History* 27(Spring): 91-124.

Wratten spent time at the San Carlos Indian Reservation as a boy and later accompanied Charles Gatewood, Martine, and Kayitah in their 1886 pursuit of Geronimo. Wratten then went with Apache prisoners of war to Florida, married an Apache woman, and lived with Apaches for the remainder of his life (in Florida, Alabama, and, finally, Oklahoma).

Yarrow, H. C. (1881). *The Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians*. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office.

## Appendix A. Treaty with the Apaches, 1852

(Kappler 1904: 598-600)

Articles of a treaty made and entered into at Santa Fe, New Mexico, on the first day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, by and between Col. E. V. Sumner, U. S. A., commanding the 9th Department and in charge of the executive office of New Mexico, and John Greiner, Indian agent in and for the Territory of New Mexico, and acting superintendent of Indian affairs of said Territory, representing the United States, and Cuentas, Azules, Blancito, Negrito, Capitan Simon, Captain Vuelta, and Mangus Colorado, chiefs, acting on the part of the Apache Nation of Indians, situate and living within the limits of the United States.

### ARTICLE 1

Said nation or tribe of Indians through their authorized Chiefs aforesaid do hereby acknowledge and declare that they are lawfully and exclusively under the laws, jurisdiction, and government of the United States of America, and to its power and authority they do hereby submit.

521

### ARTICLE 2

From and after the signing of this Treaty hostilities between the contracting parties shall forever cease, and perpetual peace and amity shall forever exist between said Indians and the Government and people of the United States; the said nation, or tribe of Indians, hereby binding themselves most solemnly never to associate with or give countenance or aid to any tribe or band of Indians, or other persons or powers, who may be at any time at war or enmity with the government or people of said United States.

### ARTICLE 3

Said nation, or tribe of Indians, do hereby bind themselves for all future time to treat honestly and humanely all citizens of the United States, with whom they have intercourse, as well as all persons and powers, at peace with the said United States, who may be lawfully among them, or with whom they may have any lawful intercourse.

### ARTICLE 4

All said nation, or tribe of Indians, hereby bind themselves to refer all cases of aggression against themselves or their property and territory, to the government of the United States for adjustment, and to conform in all things to the laws, rules, and regulations of said government in regard to the Indian tribes.

### ARTICLE 5

Said nation, or tribe of Indians, do hereby bind themselves for all future time to desist and refrain from making any "incursions within the Territory of Mexico" of a hostile or predatory character; and that they will for the future refrain from taking and conveying into captivity any of the people or citizens of Mexico, or the animals or property of the people or government of Mexico; and that they will, as soon as possible after the signing of this treaty, surrender to their agent all captives now in their possession.

**ARTICLE 6**

Should any citizen of the United States, or other person or persons subject to the laws of the United States, murder, rob, or otherwise maltreat any Apache Indian or Indians, he or they shall be arrested and tried, and upon conviction, shall be subject to all the penalties provided by law for the protection of the persons and property of the people of the said States.

**ARTICLE 7**

The people of the United States of America shall have free and safe passage through the territory of the aforesaid Indians, under such rules and regulations as may be adopted by authority of the said States.

**ARTICLE 8**

In order to preserve tranquility and to afford protection to all the people and interests of the contracting parties, the government of the United States of America will establish such military posts and agencies, and authorize such trading houses at such times and places as the said government may designate.

**ARTICLE 9**

Relying confidently upon the justice and the liberality of the aforesaid government, and anxious to remove every possible cause that might disturb their peace and quiet, it is agreed by the aforesaid Apache's that the government of the United States shall at its earliest convenience designate, settle, and adjust their territorial boundaries, and pass and execute in their territory such laws as may be deemed conducive to the prosperity and happiness of said Indians.

**ARTICLE 10**

For and in consideration of the faithful performance of all the stipulations herein contained, by the said Apache's Indians, the government of the United States will grant to said Indians such donations, presents, and implements, and adopt such other liberal and humane measures as said government may deem meet and proper.

**ARTICLE 11**

This Treaty shall be binding upon the contracting parties from and after the signing of the same, subject only to such modifications and amendments as may be adopted by the government of the United States; and, finally, this treaty is to receive a liberal construction, at all times and in all places, to the end that the said Apache Indians shall not be held responsible for the conduct of others, and that the government of the United States shall so legislate and act as to secure the permanent prosperity and happiness of said Indians.

In faith whereof we the undersigned have signed this Treaty, and affixed thereunto our seals, at the City of Santa Fé, this the first day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

E. V. Sumner, [SEAL.]

Bvt. Col. U. S. A. commanding Ninth Department  
In charge of Executive Office of New Mexico.

John Greiner, [SEAL.]  
Act. Supt. Indian Affairs, New Mexico.  
Capitan Vuelta, his x mark [SEAL.]  
Cuentas Azules, his x mark [SEAL.]  
Blancito ——, his x mark [SEAL.]  
Negrito ——, his x mark [SEAL.]  
Capitan Simon, his x mark [SEAL.]  
Mangus Colorado, his x mark [SEAL.]

Witnesses:

F. A. Cunningham, Paymaster, U. S. A.  
J. C. McFerran, 1st Lt. 3d Inf. Act. Ast. Adj. Gen.  
Caleb Sherman.  
Fred. Saynton.  
Chas. McDougall, Surgeon, U. S. A.  
S. M. Baird.

Witness to the signing of Mangus Colorado:  
John Pope, Bvt. Capt. T. E.



## **Appendix B. Chiricahua Reserve Established in 1872**

(Kappler 1904:811-813)

**DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
Washington, D. C., November 7, 1871.**

**SIR:** I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a communication addressed to this Department by the Hon. Vincent Colyer, one of the board of Indian peace commissioners who recently visited Arizona, wherein he states his views in relation to the Apache Indians, and describes certain tracts of country in Arizona and New Mexico which, during his recent visit to said Indians, he has selected to be set apart as reservations for their use, as authorized to do by orders issued to him before visiting the Apaches.

I have the honor to recommend, in pursuance of the understanding arrived at in our conversation with the Secretary of War on the 6th instant, that the President issue an order authorizing said tracts of country described in Mr. Colyer's letter to be regarded as reservations for the settlement of Indians until it is otherwise ordered. \* \* \*

I would further suggest that the War Department will, for the present, select some suitable and discreet officer of the Army to act as Indian agent for any of the reservations in Arizona which may be occupied by the Indians, under the order herein contemplated. Such agents will be superseded by persons hereafter appointed by this Department, at such times as the President may hereafter deem proper.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
C. DELANO, Secretary.

These recommendations were approved by the President as follows:

**EXECUTIVE MANSION,**

Washington, D. C., November 9, 1871.

Respectfully referred to the Secretary of War, who will take such action as may be necessary to carry out the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior.

U. S. GRANT.

And indorsed by General Sherman thus:

**HEADQUARTERS, ARMY of the UNITED STATES,**

Washington, D. C., November 9, 1871.

**GENERAL:** I now enclose your copies of a correspondence between the Secretary of the Interior and War Department on the subject of the policy that is to prevail in Arizona with the Apache Indians. The Secretary of War wishes you to give all the necessary orders to carry into full effect this policy, which is the same that prevails in the Indian country generally, viz: to fix and determine (usually with the assent expressed or implied of the Indians concerned) the reservation within which they may live and be protected by all branches of the Executive Government; but if

they wander outside they at once become objects of suspicion, liable to be attacked by the troops as hostile. The three reservations referred to in these papers, and more particularly defined in the accompanying map, seem far enough removed from the white settlements to avoid the dangers of collision of interest. At all events these Indians must have a chance to escape war, and the most natural way is to assign them to homes and to compel them to remain thereon. While they remain on such reservations there is an implied condition that they should not be permitted to starve, and our experience is that the Indian Bureau is rarely supplied with the necessary money to provide food, in which event you may authorize the commissary department to provide for them, being careful to confine issues only to those acting in good faith, and only for absolute wants.

The commanding officer of the nearest military post will be the proper person to act as the Indian agent until the regular agents come provided with the necessary authority and funds to relieve them; but you may yourself, or allow General Crook to appoint these temporary agents regardless of rank.

The citizens of Arizona should be publicly informed of these events, and that the military have the command of the President to protect these Indians on their reservations, and that under no pretense must they invade them, except under the leadership of the commanding officer having charge of them.

The boundaries of these reservations should also be clearly defined, and any changes in them suggested by experience should be reported, to the end that they may be modified or changed by the highest authority.

After general notice to Indians and whites of this policy, General Crook may feel assured that whatever measures of severity he may adopt to reduce these Apaches to a peaceful and subordinate condition will be approved by the War Department and the President.

I am, your obedient servant,  
W. T. SHERMAN, General.

Gen. J. M. SCHOFIELD,  
Commanding Military Division Pacific.

---

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 14, 1872.

It is hereby ordered that the following tract of country be, and the same is hereby, withheld from sale and set apart as a reservation for certain Apache Indians in the Territory of Arizona, to be known as the "Chiricahua Indian Reservation," viz: Beginning at Dragoon Springs, near Dragoon Pass, and running thence northeasterly along the north base of the Chiricahua Mountains to a point on the summit of Peloncillo Mountains or Stevens Peak range; thence running southeasterly along said range through Stevens Peak to the boundary of New Mexico; thence running south to the boundary of Mexico; thence running westerly along said boundary

55 miles; thence running northerly, following substantially the western base of the Dragoon Mountains, to the place of beginning.

It is also hereby ordered that the reservation heretofore set apart for certain Apache Indians in the said Territory, known as the "Camp Grant Indian Reservation," be, and the same is hereby, restored to the public domain.

It is also ordered that the following tract of country be, and the same is hereby, withheld from sale and added to the White Mountain Indian Reservation in said Territory, which addition shall hereafter be known as the "San Carlos division of the White Mountain Indian Reservation," viz: Commencing at the southeast corner of the White Mountain Reservation as now established, and running thence south to a line 15 miles south of and parallel to the Gila River; thence west along said line to a point due south of the southwest corner of the present White Mountain Reservation; thence north to the said southwest corner of the aforesaid White Mountain Reservation, and thence along the southern boundary of the same to the place of beginning; the said addition to be known as the "San Carlos division of the White Mountain Reservation," which will make the entire boundary of the White Mountain Reserve as follows, viz: Starting at the point of intersection of the boundary between New Mexico and Arizona with the south edge of the Black Mesa, and following the southern edge of the Black Mesa to a point due north of Sombrero or Plumoso Butte; thence due south to said Sombrero or Plumoso Butte; thence in the direction of the Piache Colorado to the crest of the Apache Mountains, following said crest down the Salt River to Pinal Creek to the top of the Pinal Mountains; thence due south to a point 15 miles south of the Gila River; thence east with a line parallel with and 15 miles south of the Gila River to the boundary of New Mexico; thence north along said boundary line to its intersection with the south edge of the Black Mesa, the place of beginning.

U. S. GRANT.

## **Appendix C. Chiricahua Reserve Ended in 1876**

(Kappler 1904:814)

### **EXECUTIVE MANSION, October 30, 1876.**

It is hereby ordered that the order of December 14, 1872, setting apart the following-described lands in the Territory of Arizona as a reservation for certain Apache Indians, viz, beginning at Dragoon Springs, near Dragoon Pass, and running thence northeasterly along the north base of the Chiricahua Mountains to a point on the summit of Peloncillo Mountains, or Stevens Peak Range; thence running southeasterly along said range through Stevens Peak to the boundary of New Mexico; thence running south to the boundary of Mexico; thence running westerly along said boundary 56 miles; thence running northerly, following substantially the western base of the Dragoon Mountains, to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, canceled, and said lands are restored to the public domain.

U. S. GRANT.

## Appendix D. The American Antiquities Act of 1906

16 USC 431-433

Sec. 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any person who shall appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States, without the permission of the Secretary of the Department of the Government having jurisdiction over the lands on which said antiquities are situated, shall, upon conviction, be fined in a sum of not more than five hundred dollars or be imprisoned for a period of not more than ninety days, or shall suffer both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with proper care and management of the objects to be protected: Provided, That when such objects are situated upon a tract covered by a bona fied unperfected claim or held in private ownership, the tract, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the proper care and management of the object, may be relinquished to the Government, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept the relinquishment of such tracts in behalf of the Government of the United States.

Sec. 3. That permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity upon the lands under their respective jurisdictions may be granted by the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and War to institutions which they may deem properly qualified to conduct such examination, excavation, or gathering, subject to such rules and regulation as they may prescribe: Provided, That the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums.

Sec. 4. That the Secretaries of the Departments aforesaid shall make and publish from time to time uniform rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

Approved, June 8, 1906

## **Appendix E. Historic Sites Act of 1935**

This Act became law on August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461-467) and has been amended eight times. This description of the Act, as amended, tracks the language of the United States Code except that (in following common usage) we refer to the “Act” (meaning the Act, as amended) rather than to the “subchapter” or the “title” of the Code. This title is not an official short title, but is merely a convenience for the reader.

16 U.S.C. 461,

### **Section 1**

#### **Declaration of National Policy**

16 U.S.C. 462, Administration by the Secretary of the Interior, powers and duties enumerated  
16 U.S.C. 462(a), Basis for Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record/Historic American Landscapes Survey  
16 U.S.C. 462(b), Basis for National Historic Landmarks Program  
16 U.S.C. 462(c), Collection of true and accurate information

It is hereby declared that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States.

### **Section 2**

The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter in sections 1 to 7 of this Act referred to as the Secretary), through the National Park Service, for the purpose of effectuating the policy expressed in section 1 of this Act, shall have the following powers and perform the following duties and functions:

- (a) Secure, collate, and preserve drawings, plans, photographs, and other data of historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and objects.
- (b) Make a survey of historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States.
- (c) Make necessary investigations and researches in the United States relating to particular sites, buildings, or objects to obtain true and accurate historical and archaeological [sic] facts and information concerning the same.

#### **Federal Historic Preservation Laws**

16 U.S.C. 462(d), Federal acquisition of personal or real property  
16 U.S.C. 462(e), Cooperative agreements  
16 U.S.C. 462(f), Protection of historic properties, related museums  
16 U.S.C. 462(g), Commemorative plaques

(d) For the purpose of sections 1 to 7 of this Act, acquire in the name of the United States by gift, purchase, or otherwise any property, personal or real, or any interest or estate therein, title to any real property to be satisfactory to the Secretary: Provided, That no such property which is owned by any religious or educational institution, or which is owned or administered for the benefit of the public shall be so acquired without the consent of the owner: Provided further, That no such property shall be acquired or contract or agreement for the acquisition thereof made which will obligate the general fund of the Treasury for the payment of such property, unless or until Congress has appropriated money which is available for that purpose.

(e) Contract and make cooperative agreements with States, municipal subdivisions, corporations, associations, or individuals, with proper bond where deemed advisable, to protect, preserve, maintain, or operate any historic or archaeologic building, site, object, or property used in connection therewith for public use, regardless as to whether the title thereto is in the United States: Provided, That no contract or cooperative agreement shall be made or entered into which will obligate the general fund of the Treasury unless or until Congress has appropriated money for such purpose.

(f) Restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national historical or archaeological significance and where deemed desirable establish and maintain museums in connection therewith.

(g) Erect and maintain tablets to mark or commemorate historic or prehistoric places and events of national historical or archaeological [sic] significance.

16 U.S.C. 462(h), Operation and management of historic properties

16 U.S.C. 462(i), Organization of special corporations to carry out purposes of the Act

16 U.S.C. 462(j), Educational programs

16 U.S.C. 462(k), Regulations and fines

16 U.S.C. 463, National Park System Advisory Board

16 U.S.C. 463(a), Establishment, composition, duties

(h) Operate and manage historic and archaeologic sites, buildings, and properties acquired under the provisions of sections 1 to 7 of this Act together with lands and subordinate buildings for the benefit of the public, such authority to include the power to charge reasonable visitation fees and grant concessions, leases, or permits for the use of land, building space, roads, or trails when necessary or desirable either to accommodate the public or to facilitate administration: Provided, That the Secretary may grant such concessions, leases, or permits and enter into contracts relating to the same with responsible persons, firms, or corporations without advertising and without securing competitive bids.

(i) When the Secretary determines that it would be administratively burdensome to restore, reconstruct, operate, or maintain any particular historic or archaeologic site, building, or property donated to the United States through the National Park Service, he may cause the same to be done by organizing a corporation for that purpose under the laws of the District of Columbia or any State.

(j) Develop an educational program and service for the purpose of making available to the public facts and information pertaining to American historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and properties of national significance. Reasonable charges may be made for the dissemination of any such facts or information.

(k) Perform any and all acts, and make such rules and regulations not inconsistent with sections 1 to 7 of this Act as may be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions thereof. Any person violating any of the rules and regulations authorized by said sections shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$500 and be adjudged to pay all cost of the proceedings.

### **Section 3**

(a) There is hereby established a National Park System Advisory Board, whose purpose shall be to advise the Director of the National Park Service on matters relating to the National Park Service, the National Park System, and programs administered by the National Park Service. The Board shall advise the Director on matters submitted to the Board by the Director as well as any other issues identified by the Board. Members of the Board shall be appointed on a staggered term basis by the Secretary for a term not to exceed 4 years and shall serve at the pleasure of the Secretary. The Board shall be comprised of no more than 12 persons, appointed from among citizens of the United States having a demonstrated commitment to the mission of the National Park Service. Board members shall be selected to represent various geographic regions, including each of the administrative regions of the National Park Service. At least 6 of the members shall have outstanding expertise in 1 or more of the following fields: history, archaeology, anthropology, historical or landscape architecture, biology, ecology, geology, marine sciences, or social science. At least 4 of the members shall have outstanding expertise and prior experience in the management of national or State parks or protected areas, or national [sic; probably meant “natural”] or cultural resources management. The remaining members shall have outstanding expertise in 1 or more of the areas described above or in another professional or scientific discipline, such as financial management, recreation use management, land use planning or business management important to the mission of the National Park Service. At least 1 individual shall be a locally elected official from an area adjacent to a park. The Board shall hold its first meeting by no later than 60 days after the date on which all members of the Advisory Board who are to be appointed have been appointed. Any vacancy in the Board shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made. The Board may adopt such rules as may be necessary to establish its procedures and to govern the manner of its operations, organization, and personnel. All members of the Board shall be reimbursed for travel and per diem in lieu of subsistence expenses during the performance of duties of the Board while away from home or their regular place of business, in accordance with subchapter 1 of chapter 57 of Title 5 [5 U.S.C. 5701-5709, travel and subsistence expenses]. With the exception of travel and per diem as noted above, a member of the Board who is otherwise an officer or employee of the United States Government shall serve on the Board without additional compensation.

16 U.S.C. 463(b), Staff, applicability of Federal law

16 U.S.C. 463(c), Authority of Board



It shall be the duty of such board to advise the Secretary on matters relating to the National Park System, to other related areas, and to the administration of sections 1 to 7 of this Act, including but not limited to matters submitted to it for consideration by the Secretary, but it shall not be required to recommend as to the suitability or desirability of surplus real and related personal property for use as an historic monument. Such board shall also provide recommendations on the designation of national historic landmarks and national natural landmarks. Such board is strongly encouraged to consult with the major scholarly and professional organizations in the appropriate disciplines in making such recommendations.

(b) (1) The Secretary is authorized to hire 2 full-time staffers to meet the needs of the Advisory Board. (2) Service of an individual as a member of the Board shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such individual within the provisions of any Federal law relating to conflicts of interest or otherwise imposing restrictions, requirements, or penalties in relation to the employment of persons, the performance of services, or the payment or receipt of compensation in connection with claims, proceedings, or matters involving the United States. Service as a member of the Board, or as an employee of the Board, shall not be considered service in an appointive or elective position in the Government for purposes of Section 8344 of Title 5 [5 U.S.C. 8344, civil service retirement, annuities and pay on reemployment], or comparable provisions of Federal law.

(c) (1) Upon request of the Director, the Board is authorized to—  
(A) hold such hearings and sit and act at such times,  
(B) take such testimony,  
(C) have such printing and binding done,  
(D) enter into such contracts and other arrangements,  
(E) make such expenditures, and  
(F) take such other actions, as the Board may deem advisable.

16 U.S.C. 463(d), Federal Advisory Committee Act

16 U.S.C. 463(e), Cooperation of Federal agencies, use of funds

16 U.S.C. 463(f), Sunset

Any member of the Board may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Board.

(2) The Board may establish committee or subcommittees. Any such subcommittees or committees shall be chaired by a voting member of the Board.

(d) The provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act [Public Law 92-463, as amended, 5 U.S.C. Appendix] shall apply to the Board established under this section with the exception of section 14(b).

(e) (1) The Board is authorized to secure directly from any office, department, agency, establishment, or instrumentality of the Federal Government such information as the Board may require for the purpose of this section, and each such officer, department, agency, establishment, or instrumentality is authorized and directed to furnish, to the extent permitted by law, such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Board, upon request made by a

member of the Board. (2) Upon the request of the Board, the head of any Federal department, agency, or instrumentality is authorized to make any of the facilities and services of such department, agency, or instrumentality [sic; word missing, probably “available”] to the Board, on a nonreimbursable basis, to assist the Board in carrying out its duties under this section. (3) The Board may use the United States mails in the same manner and under the same conditions as other departments and agencies in the United States.

(f) The National Park System Advisory Board shall continue to exist until January 1, 2006. The provisions of section 14(b) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (the Act of October 6, 1972; 86 Stat. 776) [Public Law 92-463, as amended, 5 U.S.C. Appendix] are hereby waived with respect to the Board, but in all other respects, it shall be subject to the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act.

16 U.S.C. 463(g), National Park Service Advisory Council

16 U.S.C. 464, Cooperation with governmental and private agencies

16 U.S.C. 464(a), Authorization

16 U.S.C. 464(b), Technical advisory committees

16 U.S.C. 464(c), Technical assistance

16 U.S.C. 465, Jurisdiction of States and political subdivisions in acquired lands

(g) There is hereby established the National Park Service Advisory Council (hereafter in this section referred to as the “advisory council”) which shall provide advice and counsel to the National Park System Advisory Board. Membership on the advisory council shall be limited to those individuals whose term on the advisory board has expired. Such individuals may serve as long as they remain active except that not more than 12 members may serve on the advisory council at any one time. Members of the advisory council shall not have a vote on the National Park System Advisory Board. Members of the advisory council shall receive no salary but may be paid expenses incidental to travel when engaged in discharging their duties as members. Initially, the Secretary shall choose 12 former members of the Advisory Board to constitute the advisory council. In so doing, the Secretary shall consider their professional expertise and demonstrated commitment to the National Park System and to the Advisory Board.

#### **Section 4**

(a) The Secretary, in administering sections 1 to 7 of this Act, is authorized to cooperate with and may seek and accept the assistance of any Federal, State, or municipal department or agency, or any educational or scientific institution, or any patriotic association, or any individual.

(b) When deemed necessary, technical advisory committees may be established to act in an advisory capacity in connection with the restoration or reconstruction of any historic or prehistoric building or structure.

(c) Such professional and technical assistance may be employed, and such service may be established as may be required to accomplish the purposes of sections 1 to 7 of this Act and for which money may be appropriated by Congress or made available by gifts for such purpose.

## **Section 5**

Nothing in sections 1 to 7 of this Act shall be held to deprive any State, or political subdivision thereof, of its civil and criminal jurisdiction in and over lands acquired by the United States under said sections.

16 U.S.C. 466, Requirement for specific authorization

16 U.S.C. 466(a), In general

16 U.S.C. 466(b), Savings provision

16 U.S.C. 466(c), Authorization of appropriations

16 U.S.C. 467, Conflict of laws

## **Section 6**

(a) Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section, notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds appropriated or otherwise made available to the Secretary of the Interior to carry out section 2(e) or 2(f) of this Act may be obligated or expended after October 30, 1992— (1) unless the appropriation of such funds has been specifically authorized by law enacted on or after October 30, 1992; or (2) in excess of the amount prescribed by law enacted on or after such date.

(b) Nothing in this section shall prohibit or limit the expenditure or obligation of any funds appropriated prior to January 1, 1993.

(c) Except as provided by subsection (a) of this section, there is authorized to be appropriated for carrying out the purposes of sections 1 to 7 of this Act such sums as the Congress may from time to time determine.

## **Section 7**

The provisions of sections 1 to 7 of this Act shall control if any of them are in conflict with any other Act or Acts relating to the same subject matter.

## **Appendix F. Instructions for Dealing with the Apaches at Peace in Nueva Vizcaya, Chihuahua, 14 October 1791**

Instructions to be observed by the commandants of outposts charged with dealing with the Apache Indians who are currently at peace in various places in Nueva Vizcaya and with those who may seek it in the future:\*

1. The officers charged with dealing with the Apaches who are at peace and those who may come to seek it will find a much-recommended merit in the execution of their commission, which essentially consists of being very prudent in order to avoid mistakes in the pursuit of so important a matter.
2. On no account will they fail to demonstrate good faith with the Apaches or regarding anything promised them. The officer in charge is to impress this way of thinking on his subalterns so that they do not stray from it. So that no one deviates from this, anyone who attempts deception will be punished. In this way the Apaches will see that such behavior is not tolerated among the Spaniards.
3. The Indians' crude and gross ways are to be tolerated and their impertinences overlooked despite the inconveniences they may cause. The Spaniards are to get to know the Apaches not only to draw them in but also to learn their secret intentions. Because it is of great interest for the Indians to remain in Spanish camps on the frontier and for others to join them, the officer in charge is given the special responsibility of carefully managing the Apaches' arrogant and delicate character. This is so that they do not suddenly run away and commit more excesses. To prevent their rebellion, it is considered advantageous not to dissuade them from the zeal that reigns among the different rancherías or factions established at each post. This is to be done in such a way that they never break with or attack one another so long as they are living under Spanish protection.
4. The officer in charge is to designate one of the capitancillos of the rancherías at peace as judge in the first instance and leader of his people. This is so that the capitancillos will be able to impose the punishment they deem appropriate, should crimes against the tranquility of the post occur or on those occasions when it may be necessary to make a public example. That way, the Indians will be more likely to accept it. If there is a loyal capitancillo of outstanding character in a group of several rancherías, he is to be named overall leader, with [Nava's] knowledge. This has been done with El Compá at Janos presidio. The Spaniards will accord these capitancillos more respect than normal and give them gifts, which they esteem greatly, but are of little value.
5. Indians at peace are neither to attack Spanish troops or citizenry nor damage their goods. In matters of little consequence, the capitancillo of the ranchería of the perpetrator will be notified so that he can punish him as he sees fit and return what has been stolen. In serious cases the officer in charge is to proceed cautiously, keeping the appropriate judgment in mind and without calling attention to anyone. If the circumstances call for it, he may at times overlook the crime, either because of a shortage of forces at the post or because the officer realizes that no greater damage can come from those Indians.

6. If any Indians at the posts openly revolt, those who remain loyal should be encouraged to join Spanish troops in pursuing them. The Spaniards will remain calm in order to convince those Indians who stay behind that they look with disdain on Indians who are disloyal and that they will be punished and reduced again.

7. The Spaniards will have frequent conferences with the capitancillos in the presence of their warriors and women. This is to inspire humane thinking and a civil society among them. They are to be shown how many advantages they will gain by giving up their errant ways, which are full of needs and iniquities, and embracing a calm, sure peace under Spanish protection.

8. The officers in charge will apply themselves and learn the Apache language. They will also instruct their subalterns, sergeants, and others with an aptitude for languages. Children of the troops are to be encouraged to play with Apache youngsters so that they too can learn Apache. This practice will lead to mutual confidence that will be difficult to uproot. In this way, the officers will not need to rely on interpreters who do not always tell the Indians what they are told, either because they do not understand, being generally simple men, or for their own reasons. Even an officer's poorly given speech will have greater impact than an interpreter's clearest translation.

9. The officer in charge will explain in detail to the capitancillos that among the Spaniards there are good and bad men, some of whom may influence them to do things against peace and harmony. Whenever the Indians encounter such mischief and suspicious behavior, they will have the officer in charge and other officers clarify the situation, which they will do in short order. This must be insisted upon because of the recent example of Pascual Ruiz and the Indians at peace in Carrizal and other places.

10. The officer in charge will have Apaches at peace pursue those at war against the Spaniards first alone and then in the company of Spanish troops. They will force the enemy to sue for peace or bring them back as prisoners. Before undertaking such expeditions, the enemy rancherías are to be reconnoitered to determine what territory they occupy, who their capitancillos are, how many warriors they have, and whether there are any other rancherías nearby. To this end, a few loyal Indians, either alone or with soldiers, will be sent to that place, which will be carefully selected. With such precautions, the expeditions are assured of success.

11. Whether the Indians at peace execute the reconnaissance alone or with Spanish troops, under no circumstances are they to capture the enemy under the pretext of peace. War will be waged on the enemy vigorously, but without such tricks.

12. When the officer in charge has reliable news that the enemy is within 20, 30, or 40 leagues of his post, he will mete out punishment without delay, taking advantage of all available auxiliaries so that the strike will not fail. When circumstances permit, however, he will inform the division commandant beforehand. He, in turn, will inform [Nava], unless the delay is prejudicial.

13. Apache men will be allowed to hunt on their own horses, leaving their families on the land they designate for their rancherías. This is so that the Spaniards can watch them and their movements and do nothing to harm them.

14. Indian men will be allowed to visit their relatives and friends at other posts, but must leave their families behind. They will be permitted to go make mescal and gather the fruits that sustain them.

15. As a general rule, Indians at peace traveling 10 leagues from their post will be given documents or a passport, whether they are going hunting, visiting friends, or reconnoitering land where the enemy may be. In this way, Spanish detachments will not harm them, and they will become accustomed to being subordinated, which is something they did not understand among themselves before the Spaniards arrived. The officer in charge or his substitute will always sign the passports. They will state which Apaches are going, for what reason, by what route, and for how long they have permission. It is considered useful to record all their names as well.

16. The abusive practice of returning prisoners that Spanish troops or Indian auxiliaries capture to the Indians at peace will be halted. The Indians at peace will not claim prisoners taken on the field of battle because they are the true enemy. For this reason they must be removed from land where they can be dangerous, even to the Indians at peace. Experience has proved this to be all too true with a number of captives who were freed, only to commit new acts of hostility. If a capitancillo who has repeatedly proved his loyalty earnestly requests the return of a woman or child, [Nava] is to be informed so that he can decide, but officers will not make promises they have no authority to fulfill. Prisoners will be treated humanely and gently. They will be provided with what they need to eat, but kept secure so that they cannot escape. They will be delivered as quickly as possible to Chihuahua.

17. Apaches at peace will not be allowed to travel to Chihuahua to ask for freedom for prisoners or for any other reason. The only exception will be an urgent and obvious case bearing on general peace and harmony or that of a particular post. In such a situation, the officers in charge will allow one of the most highly respected capitancillos to go, accompanied by the smallest possible number of his people. Whenever possible, [Nava] will be asked if the trip is necessary and his response awaited.

18. When capitancillos request peace, it will be granted with the following conditions. First, the Indians will give up their errant, wicked ways and live in peace under Spanish protection. Second, they will be assigned land near the post, so that their rancherías can be frequently inspected. They will be made to understand the advantage that will result from being located near the post, principally that they will not risk being attacked by troops from other posts who do not know they are at peace. Third, the Indians will be told clearly about the assistance the Spaniards will provide for their sustenance until such time as they can feed themselves. Fourth, they will go promptly on any expedition the Spaniards contemplate against the enemy. In that case, and in no other, they will be supplied with as many horses as necessary from those designated for that purpose. Finally, as for the written permission to go hunting and visiting, it will be enforced so that no one can justly protest bad faith on the Spaniards' part.

19. In order to avoid surprises, each officer in charge will befriend one or more individuals from each rancheria by means of small gifts. Through these confidants it will be possible to learn the Indians' innermost thoughts. Interpreters and others who know Apache are to frequent the rancherías, artfully trying to find out whether there is any plot against Spanish interests so they

can report it immediately. These warnings, however, will only serve to further the investigation of their veracity, since hasty action could result in irreparable harm. The Indians at peace should never see mistrust, which might alienate them from their friendship with the Spaniards.

20. The foregoing article notwithstanding, caution is required when dealing with the Apaches. Those who have blindly trusted them have repented their decision at great cost because of the Indians' fickleness and other pernicious qualities. Even though the Apaches have given the Spaniards repeated proof of their friendship, those in command are advised to remain distrustful, ever vigilant that the discipline of the troops and watchfulness of the post and horse guards never waver. They will keep their weapons loaded at all times, and each soldier will have the appropriate number of cartridges. This measure will contain any plot against the Spaniards.

21. Every week each Apache male who has a wife will be given 2 almudes of maize or wheat, 4 boxes of cigarettes, 1 piloncillo, 1/2 prinado of salt, and 1 ration of meat (when available). The meat ration is to be 1/32, which is how beefs are divided. If the Indian is a capitancillo, his portion will be increased by another piloncillo and two additional boxes of cigarettes. Each additional adult in a family will be given one-half of a family portion; a boy or girl under the age of 13 will receive one-quarter, and nursing children nothing. Children under seven will not be given cigarettes.

22. Capitancillos, their favorite wives, or anyone with status among them will be given clothing and riding gear. Those who distinguish themselves in battle will also be rewarded. Nevertheless, commandants should proceed in this matter with the greatest possible economy, such that what they give the Indians is of little value but highly esteemed.

23. Weekly supplies will be given in every post on Mondays. Only Apaches living within the wall of the post or within 2 to 4 leagues at most are eligible. Those who have rancherías farther away will be given what is prudently thought to be convenient, with an eye to their needs and how they have acted. This will be left up to the judgment of the officers in charge. In order to attract Apaches closer to the posts, they will be given some little something and allowed to see how many more supplies are given to Indians who join the Spaniards with complete confidence.

24. An account book of distributions to the Apaches at peace will be kept. The date of weekly rations and the families who receive them will be recorded. In order to provide something to individuals from the rancherías that are more than 4 leagues away, to Indians who seek peace, or to give some gift of clothing, a draft or voucher from the commandant to the paymaster is needed. The paymaster will keep the account book, a copy of which he will submit for inspection every six months. The officer in charge and the paymaster should sign it. In this way, the accounting will make its way to [Nava].

25. When Indians at peace go on campaign, they will be given the most lightweight provisions they can easily carry. In addition to cigarettes, they will take sufficient provisions so that they will not halt operations and withdraw before punishing the enemy. Every possible economy should be sought in the distribution of provisions.

26. As a general rule, each officer in charge will report the exact number of people in each rancheria, noting how many are married; the number of young men, women, and children; and the number of animals. This report will be submitted to the general command each month. The territory that each rancheria occupies should be specified, as well as the distance from the principal post. Those making mescal or hunting and the direction they take are to be noted. All this should be done with the Apaches' knowledge, given their natural mistrust.

27. The Apaches resort to stealing livestock from Spanish camps because of their needs. They require animals for hunting and sustenance. In view of this, to avoid destruction of the meager goods in the countryside, and to make them happy, it is considered absolutely necessary for their rancherias to be brought near Spanish frontier posts. So that they will become civilized, they will embrace the Catholic religion and work for their sustenance as other civilized people do. Permitting them to live in distant rancherías runs the risk that they will continue their thefts and errant lifestyle without becoming civilized, since the Spaniards cannot observe their movements. Thus every effort should be made to force them to draw near the Spaniards. First, kindness and persuasion should be employed so they will settle on the fertile land the Spaniards will supply until such time as they can live from their work, to which women and children will progressively apply themselves. As for the warriors, it is doubtful that they will do that kind of work even after a long time. This is because they live in idleness and are only suited for war.

28. Based on the arguments expressed in the previous article, [Nava] warns the officers in charge to obtain from the Apaches at peace exact information about the rancherias they know of, such as where they are usually located, the names of their capitancillos, the number of warriors they have, what they subsist on, and where they most frequently make war. Having taken these precautions, the officers in charge will send quick-witted emissaries of good faith from among the Indians at peace to the rancherías to invite them to draw near the Spaniards. This is so that they can take advantage of the tranquility that the Spaniards' protection affords. Even when they cannot persuade them, the Indians at peace will acquire information needed to take appropriate measures. They should be well informed of the Spaniards' honest and upright intentions. This is so that they can inform the enemy capitancillos, warriors, and women, demonstrating the calm and tranquility they and their families enjoy, as well as the support given to those who live quietly near the Spaniards.

29. Whenever one or more rancherías request peace, it will be granted on an interim basis under the conditions expressed in article 18. In the presence of all the officers, the site closest to the post that can provide adequate land and water will be designated. With proper care, the assistance they are to be given will be reduced over time. [Nava] is to be informed about everything related to this matter so that he can make appropriate decisions.

30. If after trying gentle methods the emissaries fail to achieve their aim of attracting nearer to the post distant rancherías that are not at peace, they will be considered and treated as the enemy with respect to the hostilities that, by necessity, they commit in Spanish territory to obtain their sustenance.



31. Trade in anything but unbranded livestock with Indians who seek peace or those who have already accepted it is forbidden. This will remove from Indians who have yet to seek peace the incentive to steal livestock.

32. The gradual reduction of increased expenses to the royal treasury for the Indians' sustenance is the responsibility of the officer in charge. For that reason he is to settle Apaches at peace and those who seek peace on the land best suited for planting and dry farming maize and on irrigable land when it is available. They will see the lands are their own and develop a love of them. They should be encouraged to build jacales and plant pumpkins and melons. In this way they will come to appreciate the fruit of their meager labor. Some land is suited for raising cattle. If any Indians show an inclination for this activity, the officers in charge are to inform [Nava] and relate to him their opinions and the permanency they think that that industry might have.

33. There is no reason to think that men accustomed only to war and hunting will dedicate themselves to such work, but the women and children may. This is especially the case when they are shown the example of Spaniards working a plot of land where 1 or 2 almudes of maize are sown. The plot is to be cultivated until the ears appear. Before they ripen, the field should be given to the leader of the rancharía so that he and his people can care for it. At harvest time, they should gather the maize, store it, and use it among themselves. The following year, they can be given a larger field when the time for preparing it comes. In this way, they will move progressively toward doing all the work themselves.

34. Since Apache women are hard workers, the officer in charge can give them and their children some wage labor, either in the fields at planting, irrigation, preparation, or harvest time or grinding pinole or flour for the troops. Those with a financial interest in the matter should punctually pay the Indians a fair wage in the presence of an officer, so that they will not be exploited. The good conduct of the officer in charge and the soldiers' positive example, together with some timely given piloncillo and cigarettes, will triumph over difficulties that seemed insurmountable to those unwilling to dedicate themselves to contributing effectively to the solid establishment of these Indians, upon which the tranquility of those provinces depends.

35. Every officer in charge should entreat and charge the post chaplain not to interfere in the governing of the Apache Indians. He should carry out his ministry with the judiciousness and prudence their unformed nature requires. The time will come when they are more civilized and will take advantage of his gentle admonitions to embrace the Catholic religion. In the meantime, gentleness is needed to avoid exasperating them, lest they return to their errant, wicked ways.

36. Officers in charge will make known anything they think will help produce the ends expressed in these instructions. If they find something in them that is not appropriate for their territory or contrary to the aim of encouraging the Apaches to establish and consolidate peace, they are required to make it known. If any officer in charge lacks the necessary knowledge, constancy, temperament, or other characteristics called for to fulfill so delicate a responsibility, he should inform [Nava]. This is to be done to avoid any difficulty that may result from the situation over time.

37. Finally, because the matter is so much in the interest of the royal service, the officers in charge must take great pains to carry out these instructions vigorously and prudently. This will be of great use to them as far as future promotions are concerned. They are to give copies of these instructions to all officers for their information, and they are to be read frequently to sergeants and corporals.

Chihuahua, 14 October 1791

Pedro de Nava

\*Pedro de Nava, Instructions for dealing with the Apaches at peace in Nueva Vizcaya, Chihuahua, 14 October 1791, Juárez Municipal Archive, second filming, roll 13, 1788, book 1, f. 325-49, University of Texas at El Paso, microfilm collection. Another copy is in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 289 (Hendricks and Timmons, 1998: 102-106).

**National Park Service**  
**U.S. Department of the Interior**



---

**Intermountain Support Office**  
Denver, CO 80225

542

**EXPERIENCE YOUR AMERICA™**

The Department of the Interior protects and manages the nation's natural resources and cultural heritage; provides scientific and other information about those resources; and honors its special responsibilities to American Indians, Alaska Natives, and affiliated Island Communities.

J1233040013, July 2010