

THE INCARCERATION OF THE CHIRICAHUA APACHES, 1886-1914:

A PORTRAIT OF SURVIVAL

by

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A THESIS

IN

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The United States government incarcerated a large group of Chiricahua Apaches for twenty-seven years, from 1886 to 1914. The Chiricahuas were prisoners of war in Florida, later in Alabama, and finally in Oklahoma. As a result of their incarceration, the Apaches sustained devastating losses in terms of population, disruption of cultural traditions, and forced acculturation in alien environments.

The whole process began in 1876 when the United States government closed the mountainous Chiricahua reservation at Fort Bowie in Arizona Territory. It chose San Carlos Reservation, located some 100 miles northwest, to operate a more efficient agency and to bring a majority of the Apache peoples together at one location. The San Carlos environment was hot, dry, barren, and malarial, and it became a factor in the difficulty of keeping Indian people on the new reservation. Geronimo, a Bedonkohe Chiricahua war shaman, along with members of different Apache bands, departed and reappeared at San Carlos numerous times between 1876 and 1885.

At the same time, the Chiricahuas commenced a series of wars with the United States army. The causes were many, but they stemmed from Anglo miners and ranchers encroaching on the Indians' traditional lands.¹ Jason Betzinez, a young Apache warrior, reflected the Chiricahua belief that the government instigated the Apache unrest by moving the Indians to San Carlos. He stated that "[s]ickness in the tribe, hatred of us by

the San Carlos Indians, and the general desolate condition of the country had caused our chiefs to break away and go to Mexico.”²

Geronimo and his thirty-three warriors, otherwise known as the Apache Resistance, left San Carlos a final time in May 1885. They eluded the United States army until General George Crook enlisted the aid of Apache scouts, who succeeded in locating and fighting Geronimo’s group. In late March 1886 Geronimo surrendered to Crook only to disappear again the same night, but following Geronimo’s escape. Chihuahua, a Chokonen and member of the Resistance, capitulated to General Crook.

Meanwhile, the federal government had initiated plans to relocate all of the Chiricahua Apaches to Florida. Chihuahua and seventy-six Apaches, including some family members of the Apache Resistance, arrived at Fort Marion, St. Augustine on 13 April 1886 via a train with sleeping cars.³ They were the first of five groups of Chiricahua Apaches confined in the southeastern state.

When his superiors raised questions regarding his decisions and methods concerning Geronimo’s disappearance, General Crook asked to be relieved of his command. The government appointed General Nelson A. Miles as his replacement. Miles gave permission to Chatto, a Warm Springs Apache and one of Crook’s scouts, and twelve other Apaches to go to Washington, D.C., to request that President Grover Cleveland reinstate their reservation at Fort Bowie. President Cleveland stated, “I do not think these Indians should be treated otherwise, than as prisoners of war as it is quite certain they do not agree with the [g]overnment as to their location, which I am satisfied

ERRATA

Brenda L. Haes

“The Incarceration of the Chiricahua Apaches, 1886-1914: A Portrait of Survival”

On page 3, the first sentence of the first paragraph should read:

“The Indians from the Fort Apache Reservation, primarily Chihenne or Warm Springs Apaches, comprised the third of the groups sent to Fort Marion.”

should be Fort Marion.”⁴ Following army detention at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Chatto’s party on 20 September became the second Apache group to reach St. Augustine.

The Indians from the Fort Apache Reservation, primarily Chokonen Chiricahuas, comprised the third of the Apache groups sent to Fort Marion. Soldiers took the Indians ninety miles by wagon to Holbrook, Arizona Territory, to board twelve Florida-bound railway cars: two for the eighty-four soldiers and ten for the 381 Apaches.⁵

The journey eastward was arduous, a foreshadowing of future events in the Chiricahuas’ confinement, and other circumstances added to the difficulty. The soldiers closed the windows and locked the doors. The September heat became stifling. One warrior, Massai, climbing through a window and slipping between the exterior bars, escaped from the train; he successfully reached Arizona and eluded recapture. Conditions on the crowded train deteriorated drastically as days passed and the temperatures soared. The soldiers allowed the prisoners to depart from the train only once. The army provided chamber pots and other methods of waste removal, but the Chiricahuas were unfamiliar with them, and nobody instructed the prisoners on their usage. By the time the train arrived in Florida, the stench was revolting. The soldiers dreaded having to open the doors to release the Apaches and the noxious odors.⁶

Sam Kenoi, a survivor from Fort Apache, recalled the trip: “It was the first time most of us had seen a train. When that train was coming along the river and it whistled, many said it was run by lightning, and they began to pray to the train.”⁷ An unsubstantiated observation from General Miles’ memoirs related that, when the train passed through a tunnel, the Apaches screamed in terror as they believed it was taking

them down into the earth. At the passageway's end, the soldiers found many of the terrified Indians on the floor under their seats.⁸

While the trains carrying the Fort Apache Indians were enroute to Florida, the Acting Secretary of War inquired of Colonel Loomis Langdon, commanding officer at Fort Marion, as to how many people he could quarter at the Florida post. Langdon asserted that the fort could lodge seventy-five more people in addition to Chihuahua's group of seventy-seven.⁹ On 20 September, 394 Apaches arrived at Fort Marion, including the Fort Apache residents and the Indians that had traveled to Washington to meet with President Cleveland, almost five and a half times Langdon's recommended number for housing Indian people. The over-crowded conditions played an unmistakable role in the health of the Indians living at the post.

When they disembarked the train, Eugene Chihuahua, son of Chihuahua, noted that the Fort Apache Indians were dirty, hungry, and barely clothed. The new arrivals, informed by the post's earlier inhabitants of the availability of two bathtubs, lined up to take turns using the lavatories. "Some of them stood for hours before getting admittance. I don't know how those poor people could have lived through that horrible trip," Eugene recalled.¹⁰

Meanwhile, General Miles' assurances that Geronimo and the Apache Resistance would be reunited with family members already in Florida were instrumental in Geronimo's surrender on 3 September.¹¹ After capitulating Geronimo and the Resistance spent six weeks, from 19 September until 22 October 1886, at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas, waiting for the administrative decision related to their fate. Including

men, women, and children, they represented thirty-four people arriving in Florida on 25 October; they constituted the fourth group of Chiricahuas to be removed. The government sent fifteen warriors and an Anglo interpreter, George Wratten, to Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island near Pensacola, Florida. The soldiers took the remaining eleven women, six children, and two army scouts, Martine and Kayitah, who were responsible for the surrender of Geronimo, to Fort Marion.

The fifth and final band of Apaches belonged to Mangus, a Warm Springs Apache and son of the legendary chief, Mangas Coloradas. The eleven-member group had allied with Geronimo and the Resistance until the fall of 1885, when Mangus and his band, tired of being on the run, had left. Near Camp Apache, Mangus had surrendered to Captain Charles Cooper. Officers put Mangus and his followers on a train bound for Florida, at Holbrook, the site where the Fort Apache inhabitants had entrained almost two months earlier. The soldiers manacled the group's leader as they believed he might attempt an escape.

As the train passed through southeastern Colorado, Mangus managed to slip out of his handcuffs and jumped through a window of the moving train. The impact knocked him unconscious. The train backed up and the soldiers retrieved him. The doctor who examined him determined he was fine, but the physician failed to note Mangus' broken arm.¹²

The Indians arrived in Florida on 6 November 1886, and, like Geronimo's group, the soldiers separated the sexes. One of the three warriors had died enroute to Florida so

the army sent the remaining two men to Fort Pickens and the three women and five children to Fort Marion.

The subsequent report from the Commander of Fort Barrancas to the Adjutant General noted the mistrust and violence experienced by the prisoners on their trek to Florida. In the communication, Mangus explained why he had wanted to commit suicide on the train. He said that “the colored soldiers constantly pointed their rifles at him, threatening to shoot, and claimed that the women now belonged to them. Some of the [women] were raped, including Mangus’ wife.”¹³

While the soldiers made preparations in October 1886 at Fort Sam Houston for Geronimo’s eastern departure, the *Silver City* (New Mexico Territory) *Enterprise*, printed a commentary by General Nelson Miles regarding Washington reports on the surrender of Geronimo. Miles stated, “Some of the puerile statements . . . [imply] that the redhanded Apaches have been all summer trying to get a cheap rate excursion to the yellow fever districts of Florida.” He concluded that “the mildest punishment evidently in store for them far exceeds in severity that ever before inflicted upon any body of Indians in this country.”¹⁴ The accuracy of Miles’ prediction regarding the Chiricahuas’ pending future experiences at Forts Marion and Pickens in Florida, and at Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama, proved both eerie and uncanny.

The government between 13 April and 7 November 1886 sent a total of 515 Apaches to Florida. The number included seventeen warriors, ninety-nine men, and 399 women and children. All were transferred as prisoners of war.¹⁵ Five separate groups of Chiricahuas, including the members of the Chokonen, Bedonkohe, Nednhi, and Chihenne

or Warm Springs bands, went east for internment, all as a result of the depredations of thirty-four individuals.

Why did the government hold all of the Chiricahua Apaches accountable for the deeds of Geronimo and the Apache Resistance? Neither government documents nor interviews, articles, and manuscripts of the individuals involved, either Apache or Anglo, offer a definitive answer to the question. The 1886 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior suspected that Indian people from the Fort Apache Reservation even if “not actively engaged with Geronimo” aided and abetted the enemy.¹⁶ Dan Nicholas, a Chiricahua, gave an explanation with cultural insight as to why the Chiricahuas might have assisted the Resistance. “All Apaches can go to each other in distress, and if one asks help from another the help must be given. An Apache can turn no one from his house and can refuse no one food, especially if the person seeking help has given the distress signal.”¹⁷

Perhaps General Philip Sheridan made one of the most telling comments on the Chiricahuas’ circumstances. Captain Joseph Dorst recorded in a February 1890 report to the Acting Secretary of War, “In [Sheridan’s] opinion it was best to move the whole band then at Fort Apache to Fort Marion.” Dorst asked if it would not be “an act of bad faith” to intern them since they had acted as scouts and the army did not disarm them. Sheridan responded “that it was absurd to talk of keeping faith with those Indians.”¹⁸ In most respects, General Sheridan’s comments on the Fort Apache inhabitants mirrored the general Anglo view of Indian people in the late nineteenth century. After many published

and highly publicized decades of Indian wars, depredations on settlers, and “massacres” of innocent Anglo people, society was suspicious of all Indian activities and actions.

Lieutenant Lyman Kennon, aide to Major General Crook, offered one of the most realistic, insightful comments regarding the Apaches. “For the sins of these few,” he said, “a sentence of banishment was visited upon the whole tribe. They were far from deserving it.”¹⁹ The statement summarized what had actually occurred before 1886, and perhaps what would happen to the Chiricahuas over the course of the next twenty-seven years.

Notes

¹PBS's "American Experience" Series, Geronimo and the Apache Resistance, Peace River Films and WGBH Education Foundation, 60 min., 1988, videocassette.

²Jason Betzinez, I Fought With Geronimo, ed. Wilbur Sturtevant Nye (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 141.

³Eve Ball, Nora Henn, and Lynda A. Sanchez, ed., Indeh: An Apache Odyssey (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 125.

⁴Congress, Senate, Surrender of Geronimo, 49th Cong., 2d sess., 1887, S.D. 117, Serial 2449, 4.

⁵Woodward B. Skinner, The Apache Rock Crumbles: The Captivity of Geronimo's People (Pensacola: Skinner Publications, 1987), 76.

⁶Ball, Indeh, 133.

⁷Samuel E. Kenoi, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," in Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars, ed. Morris E. Opler and C. L. Sonnichsen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 86.

⁸Nelson A. Miles, Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles (Chicago: Werner Co., 1896), 529.

⁹Senate, Surrender of Geronimo, 65.

¹⁰Ball, Indeh, 133.

¹¹Jasper Kanseah and Eve Ball, "The Last of Geronimo's Warriors," New Mexico Magazine 33 (June 1955): 43.

¹²Skinner, Apache Rock, 127.

¹³Commander of Fort Barrancas to Adjutant General, 12 November 1886, National Archives (hereafter cited as NA) 689, reel 187, 188, quoted in David Michael Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War: 1886-1894" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1968), 81.

¹⁴Silver City Enterprise, Apache Raids: News About Indian Activity in the Southwest as Reported in the Silver City Enterprise, November 1882 through August 1886 (Silver City, New Mexico: W. M. H. Mullane, 1968), 90.

¹⁵Congress. Senate, Apache Indians, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890. S.D. 35. Serial 2682. 9. In actuality, the total figures for the number of Chiricahua Apaches incarcerated in Florida tends to vary from source to source. The 1886 Annual Report for the Secretary of War, p. 49. 154-55, listed the number of prisoners in Chihuahua's band as seventy-seven (fifteen men, thirty-three women, and twenty-nine children). Chatto's Washington delegation contained sixteen Indian members, three of which were interpreters according to S.D. 117, Serial 2449, 49th Cong., 2d sess., 1887, p. 75. The same document (p. 26) cited thirty-four members in Geronimo's party (fifteen warriors, eleven women, six children, and two enlisted scouts). The aforementioned source (p. 75) noted 381 individuals from the Fort Apache Reservation (278 adults and 103 children). Finally, the army recorded Mangus' group at eleven (3 men, 3 women, and 5 children) in the corresponding document (p. 75), however, one adult male died before reaching Florida (p.77), lowering the number to ten. These figures comprise the 515 figure utilized by the author. By adding Chihuahua's band (77), Chatto's delegation (13), the Fort Apache Reservation inhabitants (381), and the women, children, and scouts of Geronimo's (19) and Mangus' (8) group, the author reached a sum of 498, corresponding to Senate Ex. Doc. 35 cited in this footnote. The figure included persons arriving in Florida (Fort Marion-bound) from April 13 to November 7, 1886, and they, plus the seventeen warriors of Geronimo's and Mangus' groups sent to Fort Pickens, equal 515.

¹⁶Congress. House, Hostile Apaches, 49th Cong., 2d sess., 1886. H.D. 1. Serial 2467. 18.

¹⁷Ball, Indeh, 59.

¹⁸Congress. Senate, Treatment of Certain Apache Indians, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890, S.D. 83, Serial 2686, 45.

¹⁹Lyman Kennon, "The Case of the Chiricahuas," North American Review CLI (August 1890): 253.

CHAPTER II

INCARCERATION AT FORTS MARION AND PICKENS

IN FLORIDA

The Chiricahua Apaches' confinement near the end of the nineteenth century perhaps provides a lesson from which to examine the treatment of other American Indians. The Chiricahuas endured problems with open sewers, contaminated wells, inadequate food supplies, excessively crowded conditions, rampant disease, and a host of other "oversights" and abuses. Indian people on reservations encountered similar problems with crowding and with inferior and insufficient rations, barren lands, and disease. The Indians', including the Apaches', determination to acculturate, to adapt cultural traditions, and to survive their predicaments illustrates the nineteenth and early twentieth century era in United States Indian policy.

Fort Marion, at which the Chiricahuas were first confined, dated from the seventeenth century when the Spaniards constructed a coquina-stone post they called Castillo de San Marcos. The Chiricahua Apaches arrived at the fort at different times between April and November 1886. Simultaneously, the army interned seventeen Apache warriors at Fort Pickens, Santa Rosa Island, Florida. Herbert Welsh, secretary of the Indian Rights Association (IRA), a philanthropic organization that cooperated with the government in matters pertaining to Indian people, visited Fort Marion in March 1887. His primary goal was to note the condition of the Chiricahuas' environment, make suggestions for improvements, and inform the public of the Apaches' predicament.

Welsh, in newspaper essays and in the 1887 publication The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, made his findings widespread.

Welsh was insightful. His inquiries and one of his observations were noted less than a year later in the necessary repairwork cited by Brigadier General J. C. Duane, Chief of Engineers. Duane enumerated a lengthy list of repairs that included work on the sea-walls and drains. The allocated funding, about \$10,000, was not sufficient to cover the costs. Therefore, in the engineer's opinion, it was in the government's best interest to restore the fort, instead of concentrating solely on replacements.¹ Welsh's earlier findings and Duane's notations suggest that the army should have made improvements at the time of the Apaches' incarceration at the post. For example, an Indian prisoner cautioned Dilt-h-cleyhen, from Mangus' group, upon her arrival in November 1886, that the well water was salty from sea water contamination and not to drink too much of it.²

Welsh noted the importance of "secure[ing] good drainage and the removal of refuse matter (so important a consideration in a warm climate, and where so many persons are huddled together within a narrow space)." He recorded that a "copious stream of water was introduced by which drainage was secured directly to the sea. But even this precaution, and the free and constant use of carbolic acid as a disinfectant" was ineffective in an environment with the immense number (498) of prisoners, especially during the summer. Welsh also wrote that "it is impossible to secure perfect cleanliness, for filth cannot be prevented from being absorbed by the sandy soil and highly porous coquina stone of which the fort is composed."³

Diseases were prevalent. Diarrhea came from open sewers inside the post, from bacteria in the absorbent coquina stone, and from conditions that crowded people in tents where they were virtually stacked one on top of the other. Bronchitis and tuberculosis also exacted their tolls, infecting one woman and six infants.⁴ Captain John G. Bourke accompanied Herbert Welsh on the IRA's investigative jaunt to Fort Marion, and noted in his diary that "rats scurried around the fort at night feeding upon offal fallen into cracks, crevices that bred disease and fouled the air."⁵

As Welsh noted that open sewers transported waste material directly to the sea, the well water could have been contaminated by the refuse. How the sea water made its way into the fort's well is not clear, thus raising the questions of (1) whether the water's pollution took place inside the post proper via the open drainage system (one of Brigadier General Duane's listed repairs) or underground sources; and (2) the extent of the well's contamination by waste products. In either case, the infected water contributed to the prevalence of diarrhea among the Apache population and, by suppressing their immune systems, the Chiricahuas' susceptibility to other diseases.

The army encouraged the Apaches' attention to their personal hygiene. It provided tin tubs for bathing--but only two of them. A large population lived at the post. As a result, women frequently bathed while they were doing laundry near the beach. Beshad-e, Mangus' step-daughter, explained that "we couldn't go to the sea too often to wash the clothes, and we didn't have many outfits, so we used to take off almost everything-right off our backs." She continued, "Suddenly, those soldiers appeared. They yelled at us, 'You women get back inside. Get back inside the fort!'" Beshad-e

recalled the women's shame and embarrassment by the soldiers. "We were just animals to them. No privacy. They acted as if we had no right to bathe and wash privately"⁶

In addition to sanitation and hygiene, Herbert Welsh noted the inadequacy of the Chiricahuas' food rations. The Indian allotment consisted of one pound of beef daily for each adult and a half-pound for children twelve years of age and under. One must remember that the one pound of meat was split among three daily meals and that the beef comprised the bulk of the Apache diet. Very few foods supplemented the daily intake. The army also distributed rations of bread, sugar, coffee, and beans. Once every seven to ten days the prisoners received potatoes and onions. Welsh stated that the Apaches received less food than what they had obtained on the reservations, where they had supplemented the rations with nature's bounty.⁷ Bourke reported that the provisions did not include fresh fruit, vegetables, or anti-scorbutics, although all were cheaply and readily available in Florida.⁸

The army separated the men and older boys of Chihuahua's band from the women and children. The males went to a nearby island where the soldiers operated a lighthouse. The army supplied the inhabitants with flour, coffee, and sugar, but no meat. When the Indians asked a soldier what they were going to eat, the soldier responded fish. He showed them how to use fishing tackle. The Apaches informed the soldier that they did not eat fish or "anything that grows under water." The Chiricahuas considered eating fish a cultural taboo. Despite notification of the restriction against eating fish, the army did not supply other meat rations, and the Indians resorted to eating whatever they caught, including fish.⁹ Eugene Chihuahua, son of Chihuahua, commented that they were always

hungry at Fort Marion. The soldiers allowed the Apaches to go to town and buy food if they happened to have any money or items for trade. Eugene stated that when they were free, the Indians had not suffered from hunger. Not until they were placed in the forts or put on reservations were they forced to endure this abasement.¹⁰

Food was not the only ration in short supply. Governmental clothing allowances for the Chiricahuas did not exist in the fall of 1886, although the army had requested winter attire for the Indians. The prisoners had only the few items of apparel they had brought from Arizona. By the time Welsh visited in March 1887, the male prisoners had received (in the previous December) one set of clothing, and the remainder of the Apaches wore little more than rags in the cold wind and rain. Later in March, they finally received the winter clothing allotment.¹¹

Although it ignored the immediate need for winter clothing, the government shortly after the children's arrival at the fort addressed the education of Apache offspring. Eugene came back to the fort with his father to witness an officer designating children to be sent to school. He said, "Everybody was frantic! First they didn't let wives and husbands be together; now they were going to take the children away from the mothers." An officer selected all of Chihuahua's children, but the father asked that one of them be left behind or he (Chihuahua) would die. The officer allowed Chihuahua and his wife to pick one of the children to remain. They chose Eugene, their eldest son, as he would become chief one day if the Apaches ever returned home.¹² George Wratten, a store clerk on the San Carlos Reservation who had learned to speak the Athabascan language and who had followed the Apaches to Florida, served as interpreter. He told the Indians that

the children would learn the ways of the “White Eyes” at school. An education would allow the Apaches to compete with their enemies and prevent them from being victims of mistreatment and dishonesty all of their lives. Moreover, the children to succeed in a white world needed to learn the language and the habits of white people.¹³

Some children left Florida for their education. L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, wrote a letter to the Secretary of War on 16 October 1886 stating that Captain Richard Pratt of Carlisle Indian Training School in Pennsylvania wanted pupils between the ages of twelve and twenty-two. Although the age criteria was a guideline in selecting prospective students, Pratt did not rigidly enforce the rule. He noted that “the general condition and fitness of the pupil should also be considered.”¹⁴ The post surgeon at Fort Marion examined the children, separated them from their parents, and sent them to Carlisle. Some parents made desperate attempts to hide the youngsters. Despite the close quarters, in some cases they succeeded by hiding the children under the Apache women’s long, full skirts. Not until years later did the army discover the Chiricahuas’ method of concealment.¹⁵

Parents expressed great concern over the girls selected to attend Carlisle. They were afraid of what the soldiers and Anglos would do to the girls, but there was no place to hide them. Nana, a Chihenne chief, informed the Apaches that the army did not send married women away to school without their husbands. He advised the men to take a friend’s daughter and to tell the soldiers that she was another wife, and in that way the Chiricahuas could protect their female children.¹⁶

Eugene's sister, Ramona, was almost fifteen when officials chose to send her to Carlisle. Chihuahua and his wife had promised Ramona in marriage to Asa Daklugie, son of Juh, a Nednhi chief, whom an education officer also selected to go to Pennsylvania. The parental concern for their daughters' safety, as well as universal and cultural fears of rape, mirrored Daklugie's concern for his future bride. The train trip to Carlisle worried him. He stated, "Ramona asked me if I had a knife and if I would kill her if she were attacked." Daklugie agreed and elaborated, "I might have to kill Ramona, but while she lived it would be my privilege to defend her and, if it came to an attack, to send her beautiful body to the Happy Place."¹⁷ Daklugie was a member of Mangus' band, the fifth group of Chiricahuas to arrive in Florida. During the train's journey from Arizona Territory, soldiers raped several Apache women, including Mangus' wife, an event later recorded in government documents and most likely witnessed by a young Daklugie. The incident on the train contributed to Indian anxiety over the government sending young females to Carlisle.

Apache children who attended Carlisle recalled that, upon arrival, the school officials lined them up in a row by height and gave them English names issued in alphabetical order. They also received tentative but arbitrary birthdates. As part of their education the boys engaged in activities such as baseball, football, and basketball, and the girls played other games. The school required all of the youths to attend Christian church services on Sunday mornings.¹⁸

The government also provided education at Fort Marion, particularly for children under twelve. Lieutenant Stephen C. Mills urged that serious consideration be given to

the use of nuns as teachers, as the Apache children were familiar with the Sisterhoods in Mexico and understood their objective was to provide aid to those in need. Accordingly, the nuns from St. Joseph's Catholic Church began teaching them in August 1886. They later signed an agreement, effective 1 January 1887, to teach for \$7.50 per student for each quarter year. The granting of the contract contributed to the children's level of comfort and openness to learning.¹⁹

James Kaywaykla, a former Fort Apache resident and nephew of Chief Victorio of the Warm Springs Apaches, recalled his tutelage under the Sisters of St. Joseph's. He stated that the educators strove to teach the children English and sometimes provided medicines. The nuns sought to conform the youth to civilized standards of living through bathing and clothing. He said, "I will never forget the kindness of those good women, nor the respect in which we held them." James noted that "for the first time in my life I saw the interior of a church and dimly sensed that the White Eyes, too, worshipped *Ussen*. I realized more fully that not all White Eyes were cruel and ruthless, but that there were some among them who were gentle and kind."²⁰

Kaywaykla's observations that Anglo people also worshipped *Ussen*, the Apache Creator of Life, pointed to one of the correlations that seemingly existed between Apache religious views and Christianity, the Trinity or holy family. Catholicism revolves around God the Father, Mother Mary, and the Son, Jesus Christ. In Apache beliefs, *Ussen* was the Creator, White Painted Woman the Creator Goddess, and Child of the Waters, the son of their union. Kaywaykla said that Apache convictions, according to his grandmother's teachings, in many respects "parallel the stories of both Old and New Testaments."²¹

Daklugie stated that Ussen “laid down certain laws which we were to obey. These are very much like your Ten Commandments.” He explained that he understood the Old Testament: “It seems to me much like what I was taught as a child.”²²

The Apache women received rudimentary education through the efforts of various St. Augustine women’s associations. One of the groups brought cloth and patterns to the fort and taught the Indian women how to cut the calico and sew the material into dresses. Previously, Chiricahua women had not utilized paper patterns in making clothes. The instructions, therefore, provided them with an opportunity to practice English, learn new techniques, and add English words to their vocabulary.²³

The post had limited employment opportunities available for the Apaches, but like the women, the men also learned new skills. The men and older boys on the nearby island filled the lighthouse oil lamps, trimmed wicks, and extinguished and lit the lamps at the appropriate times of day. Otherwise, according to Eugene, they had nothing to do but fish.²⁴ When the soldiers brought them back to the fort, the men cleaned up the fort and policed the area, but the soldiers did not allow the men to hunt. Nevertheless, Lieutenant Colonel Loomis Langdon, Fort Marion’s commander, stated in a 23 August 1886 report to the Assistant Adjutant General that if the men had tasks to do and the soldiers showed them how to perform them, every man would willingly work.²⁵

When he visited the fort, however, Herbert Welsh noted that the majority of the males were inactive, and their potential outlook on life concerned him. He encouraged training in such endeavors as handicrafts, agriculture, and light industries. He believed the training would provide physical activity, inspire a positive attitude, and develop

“civilized” means.²⁶ To Welsh and the organization’s other members “civilized” meant assimilation or Americanization: “measures designed to educate, Christianize, make economically independent, and absorb the Indians as individuals into American society.”²⁷

During the same month, Lieutenant Conklin began teaching carpentry to the male prisoners, and the government purchased from local sources supplies, machinery, and tools for such instruction.²⁸ Jason Betzinez, a member of the Apache Resistance, took advantage of the instructions. He said that many of the Indians wanted to learn and welcomed the opportunity provided them.²⁹

Apache women spent their time cooking, sewing clothes, doing laundry, and creating items to sell to tourists. Betzinez noted that many of the women were busy making beaded objects for sale. He himself had a talent for drawing and painting, and each night he drew animals and scenery from the Southwest. He sold the works to tourists and visitors.³⁰ E. C. and T. H. Whitney’s tract pamphlet on the Fort Marion residents listed woven willow baskets and miniature cradleboards as some of the arts and crafts practiced and sold by the Indians.³¹ Eugene and other males made bows and arrows, moccasins, and lances, and they engaged in bead work. He said that they fashioned anything for which they could get the materials and often used the sales proceeds to purchase food when they went into town.³² Tourists also requested that the Indians shoot money with a bow and arrow, and if the Indians were successful, the visitors tendered the currency as the reward.³³ The soldiers allowed the Chiricahuas to go into town during the day, provided they were back at the post by dark. For the Apaches’

recreation the post organized Saturday and Sunday jaunts to neighboring towns of interest.³⁴

During their confinement at Fort Marion the Apaches readily adapted to the sale of goods to tourists. Perhaps the practice stemmed from their long-standing trade relationships with many Mexican border towns near their Arizona homelands and with select Anglo and Indian traders. The relationships the Apaches established with tourists at the post, therefore, were not a new development, but rather an adaptation and continuance of a time-honored cultural and economic tradition.

Despite efforts at acculturation and assimilation, the Chiricahuas in times of distress sought refuge in their religious and cultural traditions. The women and children of Geronimo's and Mangus' bands were despondent after the army, while onboard the train prior to arriving at Pensacola, separated them from their husbands and fathers. The army sent the men to Fort Pickens and the women and children to Fort Marion, approximately three hundred miles distance from Fort Pickens. Beshad-e recalled that the women sang loudly at night outside their tents, hoping that the men at Pickens might hear and heed them. "Escape, our warriors! Go back to the Southwest. Leave this bad land. Go home!"³⁵ Twenty-seven children died within the first year at the post, and the Apaches determined that the Crown Dancers, or Gaan, should intercede and dissipate the evil that lurked over the offspring. Beshad-e described the sacred dances and songs of the Mountain Gods and noted diffusement of some of the evil after the intervention.³⁶ While such events might be viewed as acts of defiance, the Indians' actions were actually appeals to *Ussen* and other respected religious and cultural traditions.

The IRA and Welsh brought the Chiricahuas' plight to the forefront of public attention. They were instrumental in providing the motivation for governmental changes in a number of areas: education; improvement in living conditions (in particular related to bacteria and disease); instruction in trade-related industries, such as carpentry; and encouragement of the males in various endeavors. Welsh also posed a number of questions that aroused the public's curiosity: Why did the army incarcerate the Apache scouts, who were instrumental in the surrender of Geronimo and other hostile groups, with the people confined at Fort Marion? Why did the government isolate the families of the hostile Chiricahuas from one another, especially when General Miles at the time of surrender promised their reunion in Florida?³⁷

Government documents do not reveal a clear-cut reason for the incarceration of the scouts with Geronimo and the Apache Resistance. But maybe a general paranoia existed, one that suggested the scouts posed a threat if they remained in Arizona. Or perhaps instead of addressing them separately, the army included the scouts when they rounded up the Chiricahua tribe. General George Crook, General O. O. Howard, the IRA, and other leading benevolent organizations sent numerous reports to the government protesting the injustice of including the Chiricahua scouts with the guilty parties. Many people often worked together, both openly and behind the scenes, attending to what they thought were the Apaches' best interests. Apparently the IRA put pressure on the army in regard to the scouts, as Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan asked Colonel Romeyn B. Ayres to determine how many of the Chiricahuas at the post had served as scouts. Ayres reported "that of the eighty-two adult male Indians, confined at Fort Marion, sixty-five

served the [g]overnment as scouts during the whole or a portion of the time that Geronimo was out . . . from the [s]pring of 1885, until the fall of 1886.”³⁸ He elaborated further: “There are 365 women and children in the [f]ort, and as nearly as I can ascertain, 284 of them make up the families of the scouts and the four friendly Indians (too old to fight).”³⁹ The fact that the scouts and their families comprised seventy-eight percent of the post’s inhabitants evoked a sense of foreboding of what had happened and what the future held for the Apaches. Ayres concluded, “Care has been taken in collecting these points, that they be not public.”⁴⁰

In 1890 President Benjamin Harrison wrote an intriguing letter to Congress related to the scouts’ plight. He stated that “[s]ome of these Indians have rendered good service to the [g]overnment in the pursuit and capture of the murderous band that followed Natchez [sic] and Geronimo.” He continued, “It is a reproach that they should not, in our treatment of them, be distinguished from the cruel and bloody members of the tribe now confined with them.” The President concluded, “That provision be made by law for locating these Indians upon lands in the Indian Territory.”⁴¹ Congress did not enact measures to conform with President Harrison’s endorsement, as the Apache scouts remained with the “murderous band” throughout the entire twenty-seven year incarceration.

Eugene offered a different perspective on the scouts’ situation. He stated that “we didn’t like them because they had betrayed their people, and the only consolation we got for those terrible twenty-seven years as prisoners of war is that the scouts, too, were prisoners.” He added, “And we made it miserable for them.”⁴² Daklugie concurred with

Eugene's sentiments by saying, "My people hated the scouts. No chief, and no chief's son, ever enlisted in the scouts." He was wrong, of course, for Chief Chihuahua had served as a scout. Daklugie explained the leader's exemption from the outcast group. "He was the exception," said Daklugie, "And nobody disliked him for it because when he joined, the scouts were not being used against their own people. They were to fight their enemies."⁴³ Although Eugene's and Daklugie's comments indicated that members of the Apache Resistance persecuted the scouts, government documents revealed little evidence of mistreatment. If the scouts received retribution, most likely the Resistance did not conduct it openly, but rather privately and away from Anglo witnesses, as they were the beneficiaries of the scouts' past endeavors.

As to the second question Welsh posed regarding the separation of families (General Miles promised to reunite Geronimo and the Resistance with members of their families when they reached Florida) little was done--at first. President Cleveland intervened, however, and ordered the army to send eleven Apache women, six children, and the enlisted scouts to Fort Marion.⁴⁴ The members of Mangus' group followed suit. Why the post soldiers separated the men and older boys of Chihuahua's band on a nearby island from their families is unclear. The only justification for the action might be that the army needed individuals to run the lighthouse, and the Indians provided a source of cheap labor for the task.

A letter dated 10 February 1887 to C. C. Painter from Welsh charged that Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, was aware of the Chiricahuas' indiscriminate internment and that the department was also guilty of improper administration of that

imprisonment. Furthermore, the communication indicated that the government had kept a number of facts concealed from the public. The separation of Geronimo and the Apache Resistance was a direct violation of the surrender terms General Miles made with the Chiricahuas. The government also ordered the seizure of Chatto and the Fort Apache delegation while the Indians were enroute home to Arizona from their Washington, D.C., meetings. Finally, the letter enumerated the army's inclusion of the Indian scouts with the guilty parties at Fort Marion. The War Department apparently did not believe that circumstances merited change, at least until the IRA took interest and brought the Indians' plight to the attention of the American citizenry.⁴⁵ The IRA and Welsh's exposure of injustices to the imprisoned Apaches in Florida produced a deluge of public outcry and ultimately led to the relocation of the post's Chiricahuas to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama.

In the meantime, the other Apaches entered Fort Pickens. The government had built Fort Pickens in 1834 on the west end of Santa Rosa Island. The Chiricahua Apache prisoners in residence there consisted of Geronimo, the fourteen warriors that composed the Resistance, Mangus, and one other warrior. The former officers' quarters served as housing for the married men and, when they were reunited, later for their families. The commander located the bachelors' accommodations at the opposite end of the fort. Wratten accompanied the men to Pickens. He translated correspondence for the Indians and assisted them with any communications they wished to make.⁴⁶

Shortly after their arrival at Fort Pickens in late 1886, the men dug a freshwater well. But even so, freshwater was in short supply as a prolonged drought occurred during

the Chiricahua occupation of the post. The water that seeped into the wells was brackish and salty, but the Indians used it for washing clothes and cooking. To remove the salts, the Apaches boiled the water before drinking it.⁴⁷ The Apaches' diet generally consisted of pork, fresh beef, flour, beans, salt, and coffee, similar to Fort Marion's fare.⁴⁸ Pork, however, was not consumed by several Chiricahua bands because they reasoned pigs ate snakes, and to them snakes were evil.⁴⁹ The clothing distribution for the males consisted of outdated army uniforms.⁵⁰

In his report of 7 January 1887 commander Colonel Langdon implored the government to reunite the families of the Fort Pickens prisoners of war. He stressed that there was sufficient lodging and the environment was beneficial. He said that the men longed for their wives and children.⁵¹ After publication early in 1887 of the IRA booklet, The Apache Prisoners of War in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, the government on 27 April moved the Fort Marion residents to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama. Excluded from the removal order were twenty women and children who now at long last rejoined their husbands and fathers at Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island. The issuance of the pamphlet, composed from the notes and recommendations of Welsh during his visit to Fort Marion, initiated the removal of most Chiricahuas to Alabama less the reunited families of the Apache Resistance at Fort Pickens.

Colonel Langdon corresponded with Welsh in May 1887 noting the Fort Pickens prisoners' conduct after being reunited with their families. "There is a docility in their manner and a kind of confiding, helplessness, so like that of children who have been bad and know it, but who are striving every moment to make amends, to inspire confidence.

and win commendation, that is very touching.”⁵² The Chiricahua men now had their loved ones near them and thus perhaps were able to endure the bleak prospects that incarceration held for them. The families' restoration contributed to their sense of hope for the future and dissipated many fears created by their separation.

Welsh received two letters from Langdon, one written on 13 May and the other on 23 June 1887, stating that the army had not sent some of the prisoners' families, but instead relocated them to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, with the rest of the Apaches. Langdon believed that the men involved would cause a great deal of trouble if they did not see their families. He asked the War Department to correct the oversight.⁵³

After their women and children had arrived at Fort Pickens, the men continued to labor at cleaning wells. They also cleared large areas of overgrowth in and around the fort and planted Bermuda grass on the parade ground.⁵⁴ The men worked primarily outside pulling weeds, painting cannonballs, and doing other assorted jobs, usually from eight to eleven in the morning and for two additional hours in the afternoon. Langdon stated that “[t]he men are marched out to work in the presence of the very women who but recently were their slaves, it might be thought natural if now and then an Indian would object.” Langdon revealed his paternalism when he said, “The men seem to recognize that nothing more is asked of them than what is for their own good—that is proper, healthful exercise [sic].”⁵⁵

Shortly after the women arrived at Fort Pickens traditional Apache gender roles were changed. In a report Langdon said that the women now kept house, when in the past they had performed most of the manual labor. Cooking, laundry, sewing and mending

clothes, visiting one another, and making items to sell to tourists occupied the women's time.⁵⁶ As part of the assimilation process, the soldiers had assigned male prisoners tasks based on Anglo divisions of labor, but which perhaps in Apachean culture fell within parameters of feminine roles. If the men had contested the previously assigned jobs after the women and children rejoined them, the soldiers might have interpreted the protests as acts of defiance and resistance, rather than ones based on gender-orientation. Langdon's comments regarding the women's previous capacity as "slaves," revealed his lack of knowledge of Apachean gender-based roles. The families were probably happy to be back with one another and did not want to appear ungrateful to the soldiers, even if some males were unhappy about their delegated duties.

Unlike Fort Marion, tourists were welcome at Fort Pickens. Five days a week excursion boats from Pensacola brought visitors to the island. The record number of tourists in one day was 459, representing a major encroachment on the lives of the Indians.⁵⁷ In a 9 August 1887 report, Langdon noted that the fort had stopped visitations to renovate the post in preparation for the arrival of the women and children. In June, tourism resumed, but the post limited the visits to weekends to afford the families some degree of privacy.⁵⁸ Geronimo did not seem to mind, as he busily sold buttons "off his jacket" and photographs of himself to tourists.⁵⁹

The fact that officials encouraged visitors to tour Fort Pickens resulted, when compared to Fort Marion, in a different picture of Indian life. The Apaches at Marion, granted, had the freedom of traveling to town to sell their goods, but tourists went to Fort

Pickens and there saw the residents within the confines of the post. In many respects, then, life at Fort Pickens was less taxing than at Fort Marion.

The principal difficulties were the cold weather in the winter months and rattlesnakes.⁶⁰ Florida's regular coastal residents considered January and February's weather bitter cold with twenty-mile-an-hour winds that gusted to even higher levels. The Indians definitely experienced a major climatic change from their temperate homelands. Florida's temperatures ranged from forty and fifty degrees during the day and twenty to forty degrees at night, and these combined with high humidity and winds off the ocean made for conditions quite different from the New Mexico and Arizona Territories.⁶¹ The winds off the ocean carried high percentages of moisture and the dampness saturated the air and made the winds seem much colder than they were. The dry, arid breezes of the territories most likely seemed much warmer.

Clearly, the Chiricahua Apaches' experiences at Forts Marion and Pickens consisted of poor sanitary conditions, overcrowded housing, a foreign climate, and insufficient and often inappropriate army rations. All of the factors contributed to rampant disease and the decline of the population. Residents at both forts experienced forced separation from their families. At the posts, the Indians encountered forced acculturation, from the assignment of Anglo gender roles at Fort Pickens to the running of a lighthouse on an island near Fort Marion. The Chiricahuas began adapting traditional practices to their new surroundings, such as the tourist trade and, they resorted to cultural and religious customs in times of stress.

The publication of the IRA's booklet on the Chiricahua prisoners prompted the government and the army to take action in response to public clamor. In return, the army reunited several of the families at Fort Pickens in late April 1887, an event that improved conditions somewhat. Then the remainder of the Chiricahuas relocated to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama. The move was meant to improve the Apaches' conditions, but it produced an opposite effect. As Eugene indicated, "We didn't know what misery was till they dumped us in those swamps" of southern Alabama.⁶²

Notes

¹Congress. Senate, Repair of Fort Marion, Saint Augustine, Fla., 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1888, S.R. 189, Serial 2519. 1-2.

²Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton. Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 103.

³Herbert Welsh, The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1887), 14-15.

⁴Colonel Romeyn B. Ayres to Assistant Adjutant General, 31 December 1886. National Archives (hereafter cited as NA)-689, reel 188, 5. quoted in David Michael Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War: 1886-1894" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1968), 83. Dr. Goodman provided a detailed explanation of the military and legislative endeavors during the first eight years of incarceration.

⁵John G. Bourke. Diary (cited hereafter as Bourke's Diary), 7 March 1887. Archives of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War." 84.

⁶Ibid., 107.

⁷Welsh, Apache Prisoners, 14.

⁸William C. Endicott. Secretary of War to Herbert Welsh, 15 February 1887. Indian Rights Association Correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, quoted in Joseph C. Porter, Paper Medicine Man: John Gregory Bourke and His American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 228.

⁹Eve Ball, Nora Henn. and Lynda A. Sanchez. ed., Indeh: An Apache Odyssey (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 127.

¹⁰Ibid., 137.

¹¹Welsh. Apache Prisoners, 14.

¹²Ball, Indeh, 127-28. The event Eugene Chihuahua witnessed most likely occurred in October 1886, when Lieutenant Stephen C. Mills, who was directly in charge of the prisoners, selected children to attend the Carlisle Indian School.

¹³Eve Ball. "Interpreter for the Apaches." True West 23 (November-December 1971): 36.

¹⁴Congress, Senate, Education of the Apaches in Florida, 49th Cong., 2d sess., 1887, S.D. 73, Serial 2448, 11.

¹⁵Eli D. Hoyle, Post Adjutant, 26 October 1886; Stephen C. Mills, 29 October 1886; and Romeyn B. Ayres, 2 November 1886, National Archives and Records Service, Consolidated File (hereafter cited as NARSCF) 1066 AGO 1883, quoted in Angie Debo, Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 317-18.

¹⁶Ball, Indeh, 128.

¹⁷Ibid., 140.

¹⁸David Roberts, Once They Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo and the Apache Wars (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 302.

¹⁹Senate, Education of the Apaches in Florida, 1, 16.

²⁰James Kaywaykla, In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache, ed. Eve Ball (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 195, 197.

²¹Ibid., 67-68.

²²Ball, Indeh, 56.

²³Ibid., 138.

²⁴Ibid., 127.

²⁵Senate, Education of the Apaches in Florida, 7.

²⁶Welsh, Apache Prisoners, 11.

²⁷Indian Rights Association, Indian Rights Association Papers: A Guide to the Microfilm Edition, 1864-1973 (Glen Rock, N.J.: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1975), 1.

²⁸(Romeyn) Ayres to Assistant Adjutant-General, 1 April 1887, NA-689, reel 189. 114, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 105.

²⁹Jason Betzinez, I Fought With Geronimo, ed. Wilbur Sturtevant Nye (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Co., 1959), 146.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Everett C. Whitney, History and Capture of the Geronimo and Apache Indians. Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Fla., 1887 (St. Augustine: E. C. and T. H. Whitney, 1887), 13.

³²Ball, Indeh, 137.

³³Whitney, History and Capture, 13.

³⁴Betzinez, I Fought With, 146.

³⁵Boyer, Apache Mothers, 107.

³⁶Bourke's Diary, 1892, Archives of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, 582-84, quoted in *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁷Welsh, Apache Prisoners, 21.

³⁸Colonel Romeyn B. Ayres to Lieutenant General Sheridan, 25 March 1887. NARSCF 1066 AGO 1883, quoted in Angie Debo, "Apaches as Southeastern Indians." in Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present, ed. John K. Mahon (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1975), 146.

³⁹Ayres to Sheridan, 25 March 1887, NA-689, reel 189. 221-23, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 102 and Porter, Paper Medicine Man, 232.

⁴⁰Debo, "Apaches as Southeastern Indians," 146.

⁴¹Congress, Senate, Apache Indians, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890, S.D. 35. Serial 2682, 1.

⁴²Ball, Indeh, 113.

⁴³Eve Ball, "The Apache Scouts: A Chiricahua Appraisal," Arizona and the West 7 (Winter 1965): 316.

⁴⁴Congress, Senate, Surrender of Geronimo, 49th Cong., 2d sess., 1886, S.D. 117, Serial 2449, 28.

⁴⁵(Herbert) Welsh to (C. C.) Painter, 10 February 1887, Indian Rights Association Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 86-87.

⁴⁶Roberts, Once They Moved Like the Wind, 285.

⁴⁷Woodward B. Skinner, Geronimo At Fort Pickens (Pensacola: Skinner Publications, 1981), 16.

⁴⁸Colonel Loomis Langdon to Assistant Adjutant-General, 24 March 1887, NA-689, reel 189, 106 and Colonel Langdon to Assistant Adjutant-General, 25 April 1887, NA-689, reel 189, 227-30, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War." 107.

⁴⁹Morris E. Opler, An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 326, 328, and 331.

⁵⁰Langdon to Assistant-Adjutant General, 24 March 1887 and 25 April 1887. quoted in Goodman. "Apaches as Prisoners of War." 107

⁵¹Colonel Loomis Langdon, 7 January 1887, NARSCF 1066 AGO 1883, quoted in Debo, Geronimo, 323.

⁵²Colonel Loomis Langdon to Herbert Welsh, 13 May 1887. Indian Rights Association Correspondence. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 109-10.

⁵³Ibid., 23 June 1887; quoted in Ibid., 127.

⁵⁴Boyer. Apache Mothers, 108.

⁵⁵(Loomis) Langdon to Division of the Atlantic, 28 June 1887 and 9 August 1887. Apache File, Fort Pickens, Gulf Islands National Seashore. quoted in Frank Lewis Kalesnik, "Caged Tigers: Native American Prisoners in Florida, 1875-1888" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1992), 243-44.

⁵⁶Boyer. Apache Mothers, 108.

⁵⁷Sharon S. Magee, "The Selling of Geronimo." Arizona Highways 71 (August 1995): 15.

⁵⁸Langdon to Division of the Atlantic, 9 August 1887. quoted in Kalesnik, "Caged Tigers," 246.

⁵⁹Boyer, Apache Mothers, 107-08.

⁶⁰H. Henrietta Stockel, Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993). 102.

⁶¹David Ogden, Chief of Interpretation for the National Park Service's Gulf Islands National Seashore in Gulf Breeze, Florida, 22 June 1991, interview with Stockel. in Stockel, Survival of the Spirit, 102.

⁶²Ball, Indeh, 139.

CHAPTER III
INCARCERATION AT MOUNT VERNON BARRACKS
IN ALABAMA

The administration's policy toward the Chiricahua Apaches was chaotic and contradictory for the Mount Vernon Barracks period, 1887 to 1894. The duration was characterized by efforts to improve the Chiricahuas' condition, by unfulfilled promises, by ignored reports, and by delayed actions. The Alabama internment was marked by the continuation of the Apaches' assimilation, their adapted acculturation, and the restoration of some of their cultural traditions. The occupation witnessed an increase in violent behavior among the Apaches, behavior perhaps due to the long duration of residency and the Indians' growing frustration over their plight.

The Indian Rights Association (IRA) inspired compassion for the Chiricahuas with the publication in March 1887 of Herbert Welsh's findings on the Apache conditions in Florida. Public appeals compelled the government to address the poor predicament. The Apaches needed to be relocated, and therefore President Grover Cleveland sent Captain John Bourke to determine the appropriateness of Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, as a potential site for the Indians' relocation.¹ In early April as a friend of the Apaches, Bourke traveled to Alabama and visited the post. He quickly reported that the spot, nestled among the pines thirty miles north of Mobile, was attractive but the earth was poor. He noted that swamps lay between the coast and the barracks, but the

atmosphere appeared healthy.² Thus, the government determined to move the Chiricahuas to Alabama.

By the end of the month the army had removed most of the Apaches to Mount Vernon Barracks. The hot, humid climate at the new post was similar to Florida. In Florida, ocean breezes blew across Fort Marion's parapets. In Alabama the lack of air circulation, due to heavy forestation, made the humidity stifling and oppressive. The abundant rainfall leaked into many of the buildings' roofs. With the post located in swamplands with heavy moisture, mosquitoes were a formidable problem and many Apaches succumbed to their malaria-infected bites. The lack of enough doors and windows on the openings of the Indians' log homes compounded the situation.³

By the time that post surgeon Walter Reed arrived in August 1887 tuberculosis (TB) and bronchitis were rampant. Before summer's end, ten persons had died, primarily from tuberculosis.⁴ Dr. Reed reported the dismal mortality statistics at the year's end. Of the 352 prisoners brought from Fort Marion, ten women, nine children, and two men had died. The causes were many. Ten people died from consumption, one from pneumonia, one from tubercular meningitis, and five from old age, leaving four cases unrecorded. Post documents also reflect that sixteen births occurred during the period.⁵

The inhabitants' population declined somewhat after the Indians notified army officers that not all of the Apache Indians were Warm Springs or Chiricahua, but some actually were Mescalero who had married into the Chiricahua bands. In February 1889 the army took action pertaining to the Mescaleros and their offspring. It transferred twelve Indians to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico Territory. Geronimo's

Mescalero wife, Ih-tedda, and their daughter, Marion Augustine, named for Fort Marion and later known as Lenna, numbered among the individuals sent away. Geronimo encouraged them to leave, as many people were dying of illness at Mount Vernon. In August 1889, Ih-tedda gave birth to a son, Robert Geronimo, at the Mescalero Reservation. As a result Lenna and her brother Robert were Geronimo's only children who survived to perpetuate his lineage, although he had nine wives and fathered between twelve and fourteen children.⁶ The actual number is unknown.

Army men, such as Generals O. O. Howard and George Crook, worked in conjunction with the IRA. In 1889, General Howard sent his son, First Lieutenant Guy Howard, to make recommendations on the Chiricahuas at Mount Vernon.⁷ Lieutenant Howard noted that the army in 1886 sent 515 prisoners (men, women, and children) from Arizona Territory to Florida. By December 1889, three and a half years later, 119 people had perished or twenty-three percent of the total population. But, by December 1889 eighty-one births had increased the Indians' population to 460.⁸

Although the number of births is perhaps higher than one might expect for confined people, a number of factors at Florida and Alabama led to the increase. Traditional Chiricahua Apache life was nomadic, and the Indians seasonally hunted and gathered food in regions well known to them. Their former lifestyle, a limited number of seasonal resources, and the fact, that Apache women nursed their young for several years, hindered their fecundity and thereby restricted both the birthrate and population. High mortality rates also negatively affected the Indians. In Florida and Alabama, however, a number of elements contributed to higher birthrates. Sedentary existence and foodstuffs

provided by the army both contributed to an increased birthrate. Furthermore, the army prohibited the men's occupation in activities like hunting, scouting, or raiding. Thus, they were present within the fort's confines, rather than as in their former nomadic life-way gone for long periods of time.

While reasons were identified for the rise of births in the Chiricahua population, Howard attempted to account for the Apaches' 6.6 percent annual decline. He noted that the percentage was three times greater than the "civilized" population's mortality rate of less than two percent per year. Howard proceeded with the study by analyzing factors at Mount Vernon Barracks that he believed might contribute to the decline (elements that were also applicable to reservation inhabitants anywhere in North America).

First, the government considered the Apaches prisoners of war. The circumstances increased the impact of stress and strain on the peoples' mental health, their sense of helplessness, hopelessness, and despair, and affected their overall well-being. Only the Chiricahua men had to work. Of the total population, only 11.9 percent labored on behalf of all the Apaches. Howard raised the question of the impact such a situation made on the men's self-esteem and their sense of contribution toward the tribe's welfare.⁹

General Crook reinforced Howard's concerns when he interviewed Kaytennae, a member of the 1886 Fort Apache delegation to Washington. Kaytennae noted the Apaches' search for self-esteem, permanence, and the desire to work for their families' benefit. He began, "I started to work six years ago, and I am working yet. I help build roads, dig up roots, build houses, and do work all around here." He continued, "I was

working this morning when you came here. I don't know why I work here all the time for nothing." Finally he elaborated that "I have children and relatives, lots of them, and I would like to work for them before I get too old to work. I'd like to have a farm well, and would like to have a farm long enough to see the crops get ripe."¹⁰ Kaytennae's comments seemed to indicate that the Chiricahua men preferred to labor on their own projects and to contribute to their families' welfare and support.

Beginning in Florida and continuing at Alabama, the roles that both sickness and death played contributed to the depression experienced by the Chiricahuas. Although the army made efforts to address the issues, illness continued to plague the Indians as long as they lived in a humid environment. In addition, the Indians suspected they would never be allowed to return to their homelands, and this fact fostered their sense of despair, especially since for some residents Mount Vernon was the third move of their incarceration. Initially, the Chiricahuas had been promised "good lands" in Florida and Alabama to replace the crops and livestock they left behind in the Arizona Territory. But they got little that was promised them.

Lieutenant Howard noted that the Chiricahuas' traditional homelands were in the mountains and that they were successful and flourished in an arid environment. Since the 1886 incarceration, the government had placed the Apaches in humid climates, first in Florida, and then in Alabama. In addition to the drastic change in environments, the Indians endured other shocks, such as different temperatures and humidity, a limited and often tainted water supply, and unfamiliar flora, fauna, and strange insects. Each individual factor was serious but the combined results were lethal. Mosquitoes and the

“shaking sickness,” numerous parasitic insects (hookworms), predatory animals (alligators, crocodiles, and snakes, such as water moccasins), and poisonous foliage (poison ivy and oak, and various mushrooms) comprised but a small sampling of the unknown and unfamiliar.

Finally, Howard reported that after their confinement at Mount Vernon Barracks, the families of the students sent to Carlisle Indian Training School in Pennsylvania found out that health problems, particularly had developed at Carlisle. Parents who did not have children at the school were afraid that their child might be taken away. They feared that they would never see the children again. Parents who had children at Carlisle, but thus far had been fortunate with their children’s health, were anxious at the possibility that their offspring might succumb to illness while at school.¹¹ The mortality statistics from Carlisle intensified the Indians’ fear of their children’s removal. Records issued in 1 July 1889 enumerated that twenty-seven of the original 112 students sent to Carlisle died there. Twenty-five succumbed to TB. The school in 1889 sent nine ill children home to die, and two of the remaining seventy-six students fell ill with scrofula, otherwise known as tuberculosis of the cervical lymph nodes.¹² Carlisle often sent sick children home, thus exposing younger siblings and the remainder of the population to disease. The residents were already weak, and further exposure to the contagions had disastrous results.¹³

Insufficient government rations also plagued the Apaches in Alabama. Major William Sinclair in a 25 May 1887 report to the Adjutant General noted that the Indians bought livestock, such as cattle and sheep, using money obtained from the sale of their belongings. They took the action to avoid eating pork. At that time, the Chiricahuas had

not acquired a market for their crafts and trade goods, and Sinclair believed that their money was almost depleted.¹⁴ Because of such conditions, the post surgeon in August recommended the government add 100 pounds of potatoes and twenty-five pounds of onions per 100 rations. The potatoes and onions might help prevent scurvy.¹⁵ The supplement augmented the regular army rations of coffee, sugar, pepper, salt, beans, and hominy.¹⁶ For an unknown reason the government drastically reduced the Apaches' rations during late September 1887. Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan commented on the Indians selling their possessions for food, saying, "It is certainly a disgraceful condition of affairs . . . when the prisoners are compelled to part with their private effects: the blankets required to keep them warm, and their crosses and other religious articles to obtain sufficient to eat." An army order on 27 October restored full provisions to the Apaches.¹⁷

Paul Hutton, one of Sheridan's biographers, summarized the Lieutenant General's attitude towards Indians. He wrote, "Like most men, the sight of obvious injustice moved him. But the fact that he used his position to aid the oppressed Indian on occasion does not by any means make him a friend of the Indian." Hutton noted that "Sheridan, a man of his era, viewed the Indians as members of an inferior race that embraced a primitive culture."¹⁸ The nuns at St. Augustine probably gave the crucifixes and other reverent items to the Chiricahuas. The Apaches possibly viewed the artifacts with more sentimentality than as actual talismans of religion.

Inadequate provisions caused the Apaches to purchase beef from local farmers. Rumors circulated through the post that conniving individuals had sold the Indians rotten

meat. The post also allowed the Chiricahuas to police the railroad tracks to search for livestock struck by trains. If the Apaches found a dead cow, the soldiers permitted the Indians to drag the remains back to the post for food.¹⁹ Insufficient rations were also a common occurrence on many Indian reservations during the period.

Lieutenant William Wotherspoon's May 1891 report noted that the Indians had a productive garden, one that yielded tomatoes, melons, and Mexican beans.²⁰ A manuscript by Alfred Guydelkon, a Chiricahua, said that the Apaches also grew corn, onions, Irish potatoes, and sweet potatoes. He further stated that near the post the women gathered berries (such as blueberries, blackberries, and red berries), persimmons, and hickory nuts.²¹

At Mount Vernon Barracks, as at Forts Marion and Pickens, the army issued outdated uniforms to the Chiricahuas. According to the Secretary of War's 1890 report, the government had given the Indians \$20,000 in clothing over the previous two years.²² The monetary figure applied to clothing that the army had previously purchased and considered obsolete. Since the bureaucracy recycled the outmoded apparel, in actuality, it did not spend additional funds to clothe the Apaches. In essence, the War Department manipulated the figures to reduce the inhabitants' yearly clothing appropriations.

Good came out of bad at Mount Vernon Barracks. Through the influence of the IRA, organizations sympathetic to Indians contributed to the Apaches' good fortune. In a benevolent gesture the Boston Citizenship Committee in October 1888 opened a school for the Chiricahuas. The War Department constructed the building and the committee furnished the teachers. The residents reached an impasse and hesitated to send children

for an education, as they remembered their unhappy Florida experience when the government transferred the older children to Carlisle. A turning point occurred in spring 1889 when General Howard visited the Barracks and convinced the Apaches that the post's school was not the first step in a progression to Carlisle. Captain Reed noted that from this point forward adults and children alike made progress in the three Rs: reading, writing, and arithmetic.²³

The Massachusetts Indian Association funded two school teachers, supplies, and improvements to Mount Vernon. The Plymouth branch of the organization purchased new desks. The teachers instructed the children in such elementary school subjects as reading, calisthenics, and music. The ladies of Litchfield, Connecticut, by furnishing the post with an organ, made music one of the most popular subjects. The educators also tutored the Apache women on Anglo-styled neatness, household management, and civilized manners. In 1892 the Massachusetts Indian Association, pleased with the progress of the two teachers and their pupils, gave Mount Vernon an additional \$1,200 for post improvements. Construction of a storehouse, the planting of trees and gardens, and the addition of both a swimming pool and fences resulted from the increased funding.²⁴ The progress of the teachers and Apache children benefited the entire Indian population.

When they were not receiving lessons, the women conducted routine chores, such as cooking, sewing and mending clothing, and laundry. The army required the prisoners to wash their clothing and distributed washboards and tubs for the purpose. The Apache women managed the laundry's drying in a unique approach. They slipped on the wet

clothes and marched around in the hot sun trying to dry them.²⁵ The Chiricahuas' unusual method of drying clothes evolved as an adaptation to the environment. In Florida, breezes assisted the drying of garments, but in Alabama the heavy forestation impeded air circulation. The women, accordingly, donned the clothing to assist in the drying process as they moved around in their daily activities. Perhaps the freshly washed clothing through the evaporation process kept the women cooler while the clothes dried.

In addition to everyday tasks, the women returned to producing the traditional water bottles, *tus*, and bowl-like baskets, *tsas*, of willow and twine. They lined the interiors with pine pitch to make them waterproof. For carrying purposes, leather straps on the *tus* and *tsas* fit around the women's head and shoulders.²⁶ Mildred Cleghorn, born a prisoner of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory, stated that aunts had told her that in place of the traditional yucca they had used in their Arizona Territory homelands they substituted dogwood and willow in basket-making.²⁷

Although both the *tus* and *tsas* were articles made by the Indians for personal use and predated the Chiricahuas' confinement, the first reference to *tus* and *tsas* making after their incarceration occurred at Mount Vernon Barracks. The reason that the Apaches did not make the traditional articles before Mount Vernon was the lack of supplies. In Alabama the accessibility of trees supplied needed willow and dogwood bark as well as pine pitch. Also in Alabama, where swamplands surrounded the Barracks, the necessity for fresh water contributed to the need for water storage at the Indians' homes. Thus, need for water containers and the availability of supplies resulted in the manufacture of *tus* and *tsas*.

Lieutenant William Wotherspoon, Mount Vernon's commander, believed that the Apaches' acculturation lay in personal enticement. He theorized that all Indians should merge into the general population and, by applying the ideology to the Chiricahuas, he hoped they would no longer be unproductive.²⁸ In an August 1890 report to the Post Adjutant, Wotherspoon stated he had told the Indians to stop worrying about leaving Alabama and make up their minds to develop a work ethic. He promised to help find work for the men at thirty-five-cents-a-day pay and they could spend the money as they wished. By summer's end nearby farmers had employed some of the Apache men while others worked at cutting wood at the post.²⁹ In February 1891, local farmers employed four Indian men and permitted them to bring their families to the farms.³⁰

Redfield Proctor, Secretary of War, interrupted Wotherspoon's plans for the Chiricahuas' civilian employment. Proctor developed another plan to disperse Indians among the general population. He believed Indians should enlist in the army, and he chose the Apaches as the first inductees. Forty-six Chiricahuas and thirty-one Apaches from Arizona Territory formed Company I of the 12th Infantry. The primary goal of the experiment was to help Indian people acculturate to a new life by promoting obedience, cleanliness, promptness, and work in both military and industry-related activities. Additionally, the War Department hoped military service would establish an outlet for the men's aggression, promote good moral values and conduct, and set a positive example for the remainder of the tribe.³¹ Once enlisted, the Indian soldiers had the same rights and responsibilities as Anglo enlisted men. Upon completion of three years of service, they would enjoy a "free" status. The government, however, still considered their families

prisoners of war.³² In addition to army activities, such as scouting, trailing, and skirmishing, the men helped build houses and bridges in and around the post.³³

While Indian soldiers drilled at the fort, other Apaches gathered at the train depot, three-quarters of a mile from the post. Here they sold their handmade crafts and wares.³⁴ In addition to the items previously made and sold at Forts Marion and Pickens, such as bead work, drawings, bows and arrows, woven baskets, miniature cradleboards, moccasins, and lances, the Alabama trade goods included dolls and leather belts. On Sundays and holidays, Geronimo sat near the main entrance and sold photographs and toy bows and arrows.³⁵ He also made walking sticks, carved his name on them, and sold them for a dollar. When asked why he charged a dollar for the walking sticks, Geronimo simply replied, "Put name is worth dollar."³⁶ The Indians also spent their spare time producing crafts for sale to tourists. Tourism represented the continued adaptation of the long-standing relationship that existed with select Mexicans, Indians, and traders near the Chiricahua homelands.

Behavioral problems developed at Mount Vernon and eventually exceeded those at Forts Marion and Pickens. In July 1890, Wotherspoon reported that the Apaches had obtained whiskey from Anglo saloonkeepers and local African-Americans. The officer placed the intoxicated, disruptive, and abusive individuals in the guardhouse. Problems with liquor increased in incidence until February 1891 when Wotherspoon hired a private detective to find the guilty parties supplying the Indians.³⁷ The army noted that by May 1890 gambling among the Indians was also getting out of hand. Girls were trying to win.

by gambling, each other's clothing. The officers issued frequent warnings to the Indians against this pastime.³⁸

Guydelkon offered a Chiricahua perspective for the behaviors. He noted that the soldiers did not permit the Apaches to gamble or to drink, but that very few Indians stopped either practice. He said the Indians drank as long as they could afford to or as long as they could hold their liquor. He elaborated: "It sometime cause trouble sometimes very serious trouble but they say I drink because it makes me feel good [makes me] forget me troubles my worries and my loneliness for my country but they never realize that it is the same thing over and over again after they sobered up."³⁹

On 7 April 1888, Zes-cloya, also known as Louis, fled from the post with an eleven year old Apache girl. Over the next six days, he robbed nearby farmers of clothing and weapons, and he repeatedly raped and beat the young female. Louis planned to kill the girl and flee to Arizona, but authorities captured him on 13 April, forty miles north of the post. Witnesses, both Apaches and Anglos, testified that Louis had a past history of abducting and raping young children, a reputation that persisted from Arizona Territory.⁴⁰

Violence again erupted in 1892, when one of the Indian soldiers, Corporal Larry Fun, Geronimo's cousin, committed an attempted homicide/suicide. Fun, married a young woman, his second wife, in 1891 about the time he had joined Company I. During the marriage's early stages, Wotherspoon stated that Fun had severely whipped his bride and both times the officer reprimanded the soldier. Almost a year later, Fun suspected his young wife of having an affair. An investigation led by Wotherspoon and Geronimo however, determined she was innocent of the charges. Wotherspoon notified the

Corporal of the inquiry's conclusions, and Fun appeared satisfied with the results. The day prior to the incident, Wratten, the Apaches' interpreter, noted that Fun again appeared depressed. He brought the couple to his office, and the translator's dissatisfaction with the conversation led to the request that Geronimo, as the Indian village's justice of the peace and as a relative, speak to Fun. The three Apaches met for two hours that evening, and Geronimo later confided to Wratten that Fun's trouble was in his head, not with the spouse. The next day Fun shot his wife in a bout of depression. Thinking she was dead, he turned the rifle on himself. The woman survived, but since Chiricahua culture believed women were liable for their marital relationships, members of Fun's family held her responsible for his death.⁴¹ The spouse lived two more years in Alabama before dying of natural causes.⁴²

Two white soldiers, in another violent act, during a drunken fight in 1893 shot and killed two Indian enlistees, El Ma Dit-toen and Fritz Dutchy, from Company I. The authorities acquitted the Anglos of all charges.⁴³ Two incidents in 1894 involved murder. The first occurred in April, when a woman's husband shot her and an Indian soldier. He suspected them of having an affair. The husband then turned the gun on himself: the woman and the soldier survived.⁴⁴ In June, a fight escalated in the guardhouse among inmates and one man died.⁴⁵

The escalation of violence at Mount Vernon increased in direct relation to the duration of time the army had incarcerated the Apaches at the location. The longer the amount of time in such captivity, the more likely an incident might occur. The increase and degree of despair and hopelessness experienced by the prisoners perhaps added to the

likelihood for trouble. The excessive use of alcohol typified the incidents related to its use, such as a propensity toward abuse, the whipping of wives, the murder of Indian soldiers (since additional information did not indicate other components), and other violence. The army's perception that gambling was getting out of control was an Anglo-ethnocentric determination. The Chiricahuas traditionally had participated in gambling as a game of luck. It served as a cultural means of redistributing the wealth among the tribe, similar to potlatches in Tlingit Indian societies. Gambling was not the isolated individualistic venture as in Anglo society when one partook a game of chance to acquire wealth.

The Chiricahua Apaches clung to many of their cultural and religious traditions. In some respects, they reverted back to many of their time-honored and respected customs. Wratten noted that the army constructed new houses for the Apaches about three-fourths of a mile from the Barracks, although the Indians did not live in them. Instead they resided in traditional *wickiups* or in tents that they placed in the yard.⁴⁶ Captain Bourke's 23 June 1889 diary entry recorded that the Apaches held a puberty ceremony at Mount Vernon. The event marked the passage of a girl into womanhood and was one of the most significant religious events and celebrations in traditional Apache culture.⁴⁷

Pertaining to religious concerns, Eugene Chihuahua stated that the land around Mount Vernon Barracks was so densely forested that there was no place to climb to higher ground to get closer to *Ussen*. In order to see the sky, the Apaches had to climb a tall pine tree.⁴⁸ The Chiricahuas, a religious people in their native contexts, turned

toward Christianity. In December 1891 teachers held two Christian services on Sundays, one in the morning for children and one in the afternoon for the adults. The Indians attended both gatherings.⁴⁹ Whether the Indians' traditional religious beliefs and Christianity had syncretized or reconciled by this time was not known.

The government wanted the Chiricahuas even in captivity to be self-sufficient. Two years following passage of the 1887 Dawes Allotment Act, which attempted among other things to make Indians into farmers, Lieutenant Howard recommended that the government relocate the Chiricahua Apaches on land capable of agriculture. Such action would reestablish roots, he believed, and a sense of belonging and permanence. He stressed that if the army allowed the Indians to make a living at something with which they were familiar, agriculture, their acculturation into Anglo society might speed up. Howard also suggested that the government slow the overall decline of the population by removing the Chiricahuas from the humid climate and provide them with land and equipment as soon as possible. He stated, "Another year's delay would be criminal."⁵⁰

Howard, one should note, mistakenly based his recommendations on the perception that the Chiricahuas were farmers who raised crops through irrigation. The officer founded his report on the sole experience of the Indians from the Fort Apache Reservation. The other Apachean groups had not participated in this manner of agriculture, primarily since San Carlos was barren and incapable of agricultural subsistence. Traditional agriculture, as practiced by the seasonal migration of the Chiricahuas, consisted of merely lending assistance to nature by dropping seeds. The Chiricahuas traveled seasonally throughout their homelands in search of game and

gathered obtainable harvests. Traditionally, they did not sow plants, tend, water, weed, or actively assist in farming the bounty they harvested. The Apaches believed that *Ussen* decided whether a plant grew or if adequate rain provided for its sustenance.

After Lieutenant Howard's report, however, the government briefly considered a North Carolina reservation for the Chiricahuas. But General Crook determined that the location did not provide adequate acreage to support farming for the entire tribe.

President Benjamin Harrison's administration in 1890 also investigated the possibility of creating a reservation in Oklahoma Territory. Congress had to authorize the removal of Indians, however, and the legislative body thwarted Howard's recommendations. Not until 1894 did the government or the army actively pursue the removal of the Apaches from Mount Vernon Barracks.⁵¹

Following the legislative stalemate, the army in 1891 determined that the Indian village at the post was unhealthy. It chose an elevated location for the new site. The War Department furnished building materials for houses to be constructed on foundations. The government made provisions for flooring the structures and for painting the houses inside and out. The army equipped the homes with cooking ranges, and the Indian soldiers made furniture, such as bedframes, tables, and chairs.⁵² To insure the continued healthful environment, Dr. W. C. Borden, the new post surgeon, made daily rounds to homes and inspected for dirt, dust, and other contaminants that contributed to disease. He ordered the women to reclean the homes if he found small amounts of dirt or debris at the locations. Borden required the Indians to scrub all surfaces, including the ceilings and

walls, and to collect and burn the dust and pollutants.⁵³ The new village site improved the Indians' health only on a small scale.

The army's relocation of the Indians from Florida to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, had been an effort to alleviate the stresses on the overpopulation at the older forts. The new post's location in the midst of swamplands, however, had contributed to rampant disease and death. In January 1894 a report submitted to the War Department including all the incarceration years, read: 165 babies born and 246 Apaches dead.⁵⁴ The mortality figure more than doubled Howard's 1890 account, a mere four years earlier. The army provided no means of establishing self-sufficiency at Mount Vernon as the land was not suitable for farming. The Apaches continued to lack a sense of permanence and belonging.

Toward the end of September 1894 Captain Hugh L. Scott, an envoy from Fort Sill in Oklahoma Territory, visited the Indians to monitor their reactions to moving to his post. The Apaches told him that they disliked living at Mount Vernon, a place "no longer than your thumb nail on which the trees were so thick that you would have to climb up to the top of a tall pine if you wanted to see the sun; and when you climbed down and went somewhere to sit and rest yourself, there was always something waiting to bite you."⁵⁵ They would be glad to leave. Thus, in early October 1894, 296 Chiricahua men, women, and children boarded ten passenger train cars and left for Fort Sill.⁵⁶ The 1894 annual report of the Secretary of War recorded that the department's investigation had revealed that Fort Sill was better suited to the Apache prisoners of war. The climate, land, nature, military garrison, and 600 mile distance from the Indians' original homeland all made

Fort Sill a more conducive place for the Apaches. The government liked the idea that the land might provide a permanent agricultural settlement for the Chiricahuas.⁵⁷

Notes

¹(Captain John) Bourke to (Herbert) Welsh, 23 April 1887, Indian Rights Association Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, quoted in David Michael Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War: 1886-1894" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1968), 104.

²Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, Special Orders No. 149, 19 April and 3 October 1887, File 1066 AGO 1883, National Archives; quoted in Albert E. Wratten, "George Wratten: Friend of the Apaches," in Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars, ed. C. L. Sonnichsen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 105.

³H. Henrietta Stockel, Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 260.

⁴J. H. Patzki to Post Adjutant, 30 June 1887, National Archives (hereafter cited as NA)-689, reel 189, 342-43, Walter Reed to Post Adjutant, 31 August 1887, NA-689, reel 190, 243-44, and W. C. Borden, "The Vital Statistics of an Apache Indian Community," Boston Medical and Surgical Journal CXXIX (6 July 1893): 5-10, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 121.

⁵Walter Reed, M.D., 31 December 1887, National Archives and Records Service, Consolidated File (hereafter cited as NARSCF) 1066 AGO 1883, quoted in Angie Debo, Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 337-38.

⁶Debo, Geronimo, 342.

⁷William T. Hagan, The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 143.

⁸Congress, Senate, Apache Indians, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890, S.D. 35, Serial 2682, 9.

⁹*Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹²Report of John J. Cochran, 1 July 1889, NARSCF 1066 AGO 1883, quoted in Debo, Geronimo, 343.

¹³Senate, Apache Indians, 9-10.

- ¹⁴Shapard Papers, Alabama, Major William Sinclair to Adjutant General. 26 May 1887, quoted in Stockel, Survival, 145.
- ¹⁵Post Surgeon J. H. Patzk to Post Adjutant, 30 June 1887, quoted in *Ibid.*, 144.
- ¹⁶Lieutenant William Sinclair to William Endicott, 3 August 1887, quoted in *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷J. H. Patzk's Report, 30 June 1887 and William Sinclair's Report with endorsements by (Philip) Sheridan and the War Department, NARSCF 1066 AGO 1883. quoted in Debo, Geronimo, 337.
- ¹⁸Paul Andrew Hutton, Phil Sheridan and His Army (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 184.
- ¹⁹Stockel, Survival, 143-44.
- ²⁰Shapard Papers, Alabama, Lieutenant William Wotherspoon to Woodruff. 31 May 1891, quoted in Stockel, Survival, 166.
- ²¹Alfred Guydelkon, "Manuscript," undated, p. 2, 4, Native American Files/ Apaches/Prisoner of War Status, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.
- ²²Congress, Senate, Report of the Secretary of War, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890, S.D. 1, Part II, 712-13, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 187. NOTE: 51st Cong., 1st sess., Ex. Doc. 2 reads as follows: "NOTE.-COPY for Senate Executive Document No. 1, Trade Relations with Mexico, has not been furnished. [April 6, 1894]" Due to the omission, the author was unable to refer back to the original government document.
- ²³Walter Reed, "Geronimo and His Warriors in Captivity," The Illustrated American III (16 August 1890): 235.
- ²⁴Senate, Report of the Secretary of War, 712-13, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 204.
- ²⁵Reed, "Captivity," 234-35.
- ²⁶Woodward B. Skinner, The Apache Rock Crumbles: The Captivity of Geronimo's People (Pensacola: Skinner Publications, 1987), 228.

²⁷“Descendant of Warriors Relates Apache Struggle.” Daily Oklahoman (Oklahoma City), 7 September 1986, p. 17, Indian Files-Biography/Geronimo/Biographical Cards/Biography/Indian, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

²⁸Lieutenant William Wotherspoon, 31 July and 31 August 1890, and 28 February and 31 March 1891, NARSCF 1066 AGO 1883, quoted in Debo, Geronimo, 349.

²⁹Wotherspoon to Post Adjutant, 31 August 1890, NA-689, reel 194, p. 383 and Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference, IX (1891), quoted in Goodman, “Apaches as Prisoners of War,” 195.

³⁰Lieutenant William Wotherspoon, 31 July and 31 August 1890, and 28 February and 31 March 1891, NARSCF 1066 AGO 1883, quoted in Debo, Geronimo, 349.

³¹Ibid. and Edward E. Hill, Guide to Records in the National Archives of the United States Relating to American Indians (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1981), 353.

³²Ibid, 349-50, 356.

³³Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton, Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 110. It is ironic, that neither the government nor the army gave the Apaches that served as scouts under Generals Crook and Miles the same consideration.

³⁴Congress, House, Mount Vernon Arsenal Reservation, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 1888, H.R. 2425, Serial 2604, 2.

³⁵Woodworth Clum, Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 286.

³⁶Wratten, “George Wratten,” 106.

³⁷Lieutenant Wotherspoon to Post Adjutant, 31 January 1891, NA-689, reel 195, 29, quoted in Goodman, “Apaches as Prisoners of War,” 196, 198.

³⁸Vaillant Julico, “Geronimo’s Alabama Camp,” New York Times (11 May 1890): 10.

³⁹Guydelkon, “Manuscript,” 2.

⁴⁰(Walter) Reed to Assistant Adjutant General, 15 April and 18 April 1888, NA-689, reel 191, 270 and 266-268, respectively and (William) Sinclair to Assistant Adjutant General, 31 January 1889, reel 192, 119, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 126-27.

⁴¹Lieutenant Wotherspoon to Robert Kelton, 28 March 1892, NARSCF, quoted in Skinner, Apache Rock Crumbles, 326.

⁴²Mobile Daily Register, 20 April 1894, quoted in *ibid*, 375.

⁴³Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 206-7.

⁴⁴C. C. Ballou to Post Command, 18 April 1894, NA-689, reel 197, 337-39, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 221-22.

⁴⁵Allyn Capron to Post Adjutant, 5 July 1894, NA-689, reel 197, 29, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 222. The one act of violence at Mount Vernon Barracks that required additional consideration was the attempted homicide/suicide in 1892. Morris E. Opler, a cultural anthropologist and ethnolinguist, stated that suicides in Chiricahua culture tended to occur when life became unbearable. Known suicides resulted from enemy capture, the loss of a child or close relative, the inability to come to terms with the grief, and as a result of marital difficulty. While Opler's reasons for committing suicide are not limited to Chiricahua society, one must consider other circumstances. Did factors, such as stress, depression, and frustration, stemming from the Apaches' internment contribute and interact with Fun's acts of violence? One needs to consider these factors in correlation with the escalation of violence in Alabama. Morris E. Opler, An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 472, Note 1.

⁴⁶Wratten, "George Wratten," 107.

⁴⁷John Gregory Bourke, Diary, 1892, 23 June 1889. Archives of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, quoted in Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War," 156.

⁴⁸Ball, Indeh, 139.

⁴⁹Debo, Geronimo, 355.

⁵⁰Senate, Apache Indians, 11.

⁵¹Ibid., 2. Section 3, Chapter 87 of the Laws of 1879 stipulated that Congress had to authorize the removal of Indians from either New Mexico or Arizona Territory to Indian Territory.

⁵²Wotherspoon's Report, 30 April, 30 June, and 5 December 1891 and Report of D(avid) Baker, 31 October 1891, quoted in Angie Debo, "Apaches as Southeastern Indians," in Indians of the Lower South: Past and Present, ed. John K. Mahon (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1975), 153.

⁵³Stockel, Survival, 162.

⁵⁴Albert E. Wratten, Wratten, 563-64, quoted in Skinner, Apache Rock Crumbles, 367. Woodward Skinner did not list the original source's publication information in the secondary material. Therefore, the author was unable to ascertain any additional information on the original work.

⁵⁵Hugh Lenox Scott, Some Memories of a Soldier (New York: Century Press, 1928), 182-83.

⁵⁶Congress, House, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, The Apache Indian Prisoners, report prepared by Hon. Daniel S. Lamont, 54th Cong., 1st sess., 1895, H.D. 2, Serial 3370, 34-35.

⁵⁷Congress, House, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, The Apache Prisoners of War, 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., 1895, H.D. 1, Part II, Serial 4, no. 1, 27.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORT SILL EXPERIENCE

The Chiricahuas spent nineteen years at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 1894 to 1914. They found life more comfortable than previously, but they resented their “captivity” in Oklahoma as much as they resented confinement in Florida and Alabama. The Indians, however, made the most of their internment. They retained as many of their traditions, customs, ceremonies, and life-ways as possible.

The Indian Rights Association (IRA), General George Crook, and later General Nelson A. Miles had recommended Fort Sill. They liked the idea of a climate similar to the Apaches’ native environment, the availability of similar foodstuffs, and comparable terrain to what the Chiricahuas had known in Arizona Territory. The arid environment proved beneficial for the Indians, and the sensitivity of people at the post, such as Captain Hugh L. Scott, combined with the Apaches’ determination to survive, to adapt, and to overcome obstacles made the experience at Fort Sill more pleasant than the Indians’ former experiences.¹

In August 1894 the War Department allocated \$15,000 for establishing the Chiricahuas at Fort Sill. The money also went for building materials, livestock, agricultural supplies and machinery, and other items as deemed necessary for the Indians’ upkeep.²

President Grover Cleveland and his administration wanted a successful relocation to Fort Sill. J. P. Martin, the Assistant Adjutant General, therefore, advised Hugh L.

Scott, the officer in charge of the Apache prisoners, to take precautions with the Chiricahuas, especially in regard to their physical well-being and the effects of the environment on their well-being. The government ordered the post to establish a hospital to insure improvement and progress in Apache health. Scott was responsible for monies required for the purchase of cattle, and “such material as is needed for their [Chiricahuas’] permanent use and benefit, making frequent reports to [headquarters on] their condition, progress and necessities.”³

The Chiricahua Apache prisoners of war arrived on 4 October 1894 at Rush Springs, Oklahoma Territory. on ten passenger train cars.⁴ The trip was not without incident, however, as four cars on a separate train carrying the Indians’ personal possessions burned in New Orleans.⁵ After disembarking the passenger train and hearing coyotes howling in the distance, the women began to wail, for “it had been eight years since they had heard the sounds of home.”⁶

There was concern at Fort Sill that the Chiricahuas might attempt to escape and return to their homelands. The fear was exacerbated by the widely-publicized treatment the Indians had received at Florida and later in Alabama. Prior to the Apaches’ arrival at Fort Sill, therefore, Scott consulted a Mescalero Apache living with Comanches, regarding waterholes and the trail to the Mescalero Reservation. He believed that if the Apaches ever left the fort, the New Mexico Territory location would be their destination, especially in light of the army’s 1889 removal of twelve Mescalero Apaches from the Chiricahua population. Scott sent copies of a map to the department commander in the event that troops would be needed to intercept the Indians. When the Apaches arrived at

Fort Sill, he warned them “that they had better not try to get away: the Comanches were my friends, not theirs, and would tell me at once where they were, and I would open fire on them as soon as I saw them.”⁷

Soon after the Indians arrived, Fort Sill’s medical personnel addressed health problems among the Apaches. One of Scott’s reports stemming from the Mount Vernon visit pertained to mortality statistics and it stated that 170 births had occurred since the army’s 1886 incarceration of the Indians. He added that almost 100 more individuals had died than had been born. Scott noted that “there seems to be a tendency to pulmonary decease [sic], and if kept there [Alabama] in their discontentment, they will probably all eventually become deceased [sic] and die.”⁸

At Fort Sill, the post surgeon, Dr. Fitzhugh Carter, conducted health surveys on the prisoners. A month later, he produced a report diagnosing the following maladies: ten people with malarial fever; ten with nasal membrane inflammations; nine with diarrhea; five patients with bronchial inflammations; and four people with injuries, pulmonary tuberculosis, conjunctivitis, or rheumatism. Carter determined that three patients had abscesses; indigestion afflicted three; three groups of two people had either lupus, toothaches, or syphilis; and four others were stricken with vulvitis, tubercular hip disease, paralysis, or gonorrhoea.⁹

The government had determined that excessive mortality was a factor in the 1894 removal of the Chiricahuas to Fort Sill. The initial mortality rate at Fort Sill, however, registered at 83.05 deaths per thousand people, or twelve percent, but physicians

attributed the majority of casualties to infection from Alabama. Of the twenty-five lives lost at Fort Sill from 1894 to 1895, seventeen were due to tubercular diseases.¹⁰

Dr. J. D. Glennan, assistant surgeon at Fort Sill, noted another contributing factor to mortality rates and the subsequent infection of tribal members. The Carlisle Indian Trade School in Pennsylvania customarily retained students until they were in advanced stages of pulmonary disease and then sent them home to die. The doctor noted that the practice offered virtually no hope of them recovering, and the students became a source of infection to their people. Glennan suggested that the school send them to a dry atmosphere in the West during the initial stages of the malady. The pupils might recover in such a climate. Carlisle officials did not respond to Dr. Glennan's recommendations.¹¹

Glennan noted in his November 1895 report to the Surgeon General that as tubercular infections comprised the primary cause of death, the Indians' future health hinged on eliminating the sources of tuberculosis. He believed that living in tents and in *wickiups*, traditional brush shelters, for the majority of the year was beneficial for the Apaches because the open air, sunshine, and improved attitudes contributed to the Indians' recovery after their arrival from Alabama. He stated, "Cases of phthisis [sic] have been isolated and disinfection of sputa practiced." Glennan made the observation that "they lead regular lives, working steadily in the open air, with a prospect of homes and property interests ahead, all of which is conducive to cheerfulness and good health." He concluded, "I think that this condition already shows the wisdom and humanity of their removal to the Territory."¹²

During his tenure as officer in charge of the prisoners of war from 1894 until 1897, Captain Scott compiled instruction manuals for the Chiricahuas. The handbooks were designed to discourage disease inside their homes. In one reference, Scott outlined procedures to following in ridding the residences of tuberculosis germs: "The houses . . . and water supply of the Apaches should be frequently inspected-kept in a sanitary condition, the houses fumigated with formaldehyde gas at least once every quarter for tuberculosis germs and the walls whitewashed with . . . sulphuric [sic] acid."¹³

In 1899, medical authorities attributed the influx of disease to a shaman who incited the prisoners to resist conformity to Anglo society. The shaman emphasized the point with claims that individuals who danced the Fire Dance would no longer suffer from tuberculosis. The Apaches believed him, and during the winter season when the disease intensified, they held dances more regularly. Dance rituals incorporated the use of masks, which were shared among the participants, thus increasing the intensity of the disease by those already affected and increasing the risk of infection to non-tubercular individuals.¹⁴ Eugene Chihuahua recalled that "we got together and held our tribal dances as we had when we were free people. There were attempts made to stop the observance of our Ceremonials, but we paid no attention to them."¹⁵ The Apaches, therefore, misconstrued efforts made by the medical staff and commanding officers as endeavors to suppress their cultural traditions rather than to limit tuberculin spread.

In August 1906, additional recommendations by Dr. W. T. Woodall, the assistant surgeon, addressed measures to eradicate Fort Sill's mosquito population. He suggested filling trenches, depressions, and other formations contributing to standing water. He

also suggested that when placing water in the fire buckets to use a small amount of oil, thus killing the mosquito larvae. Woodall further emphasized that buildings either unoccupied or not currently in use needed their water traps checked twice weekly and kept continually oiled. The doctor requisitioned eighteen-gauge screen mesh for use on various buildings and homes throughout the fort, but by July 1912, nearly six years later, army supply still had not filled the request.¹⁶

The post did not limit preventive measures to addressing household cleanliness and the monitoring of external environments. It confronted Apache customs that contributed to mortality rates. Dr. Glennan noted that Chiricahua women weaned children at approximately age three using jerked beef and poorly cooked adult food, whereas mothers of Anglo children undergoing the same process, placed them on cow's milk and a modified diet.¹⁷ The Indian custom promoted intestinal ailments that led to children's deaths. To alleviate the Apaches' problem, the post procured a dairy cow and substituted cow's for the mothers' milk.¹⁸

Depression contributed to the Chiricahua death rate. It resulted from the loss of loved ones, forced acculturation, and the abandonment of cultural traditions. The malady plagued the Apaches throughout the incarceration period. As noted earlier, Chihuahua and his band as well as Geronimo and the warriors of the Apache Resistance, endured separation from their families during the initial year of confinement. In 1900 the Indians requested the transfer of specific family members from San Carlos Reservation in Arizona Territory. The Secretary of War allocated \$10,000 for the relocation of up to seventy-five individuals to Fort Sill. The post applied the monies to construction of the

relatives' homes, the purchase of three cows per family, fencing materials, and the purchase of additional farm machinery.¹⁹

Violence at Fort Sill did not reach the proportions that had occurred in Alabama. One exception took place in April 1898. After soldiers departed during the Spanish American War for Cuba, a rumor that the Chiricahua Apaches planned to takeover the fort and wage war against settlers in the region circulated. In a panic, Lieutenant Francis Beach, officer in charge of the prisoners, sent a telegram to recall the soldiers. Beach also asked for help from the Seventh Cavalry at Fort Union, Arizona Territory. Comanche Chief Quannah Parker received word of the rumored uprising and made efforts to avoid army implication of the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa Apaches in the situation. Quannah met with the Chiricahuas and warned them not to revolt, saying, "If you'd like to start trouble, we'll take care of you." Upon return of the soldiers, the commanding officer consulted Naiche, the hereditary chief of the Chokonen Chiricahuas, and Geronimo and discovered that the rumor was unfounded.²⁰

Alcohol provided a temporary refuge from incarceration, melancholia, and frustration. In both Florida and Alabama, dishonest individuals had sold whiskey to the Chiricahuas, aggravating and contributing to the escalation of tension and violence. Fort Sill's records indicate periodic problems with alcohol. From the onset of the Apaches' arrival, therefore, the commanding officers stipulated the necessity for severe fines and penalties. They wanted to deter illegal liquor flow on the premises.²¹

An illustration of the fort's determination to cut alcohol abuse was Captain Scott's appeal of the case of a soldier caught selling drinks from a twenty-five-gallon keg of

whiskey. A Chicago judge-advocate placed the soldier's suit on an Oklahoma civil court docket. Scott wanted the man court-martialed and pursued the matter until President Cleveland personally told Attorney General Judson Harmon to "prosecute without mercy." Unfortunately, the prosecuting attorney in El Reno failed to subpoena the principal witness and the court dismissed the case. Scott noted that the lawsuit "went far enough to frighten people from selling any more whiskey to Apaches in my time."²²

Captain Farrand Sayre, the officer in charge of the prisoners in 1901, was particularly concerned about potential sources of alcohol. With the opening of lands in Oklahoma Territory new sources became plentiful.²³ Eugene stated that "the penalty for buying liquor for an Indian, or for even giving it to one, was severe. That made it all the more desirable. Of course, we liked it anyway."²⁴

Lieutenant George Purrington reported that Geronimo was "in his cups" periodically and confined to a guardhouse cell until he sobered up, which frequently lasted the weekend.²⁵ A 1994 story on Geronimo in The Cannoneer, Fort Sill's weekly newspaper, stated that the war shaman remembered soldiers placing him in the guardhouse only twice after the consumption of too much whiskey.²⁶

In spring 1895, the Apache men cut wood and began construction of two room homes of vertically oriented logs separated by a covered breezeway, or dog-trot, a common southern architectural style. The men built the houses near the post on the Punch Bowl Basin's rim, alongside Medicine Bluffs, a site sacred to the adjacent Southern Plains tribes.²⁷

Captain Scott allowed the Chiricahuas to establish twelve villages under the auspices of heads of family. Morris Opler, an ethnolinguist and anthropologist, stated, "It is interesting to note that the grouping of the houses closely follows the lines of band affiliation."²⁸ He indicated that the village leaders had gained prominence through personal traits, such as bravery, eloquence, or generosity, often enhanced by ceremonial knowledge. Although influential men comprised the headmen, the leaders very seldom made decisions without consulting the followers.²⁹ One former Apache prisoner of war, "Bill" Watson Mithlo, disagreed with the interpretation of the village divisions and insinuated that the post had ulterior motives. He recalled that "the [a]rmy divided the small band into a dozen groups, assigning each a separate village in an attempt to keep the groups of POWS from communicating with one another and to hold down the possibility of escape."³⁰ Opler in consultation with a Chiricahua Apache informant claimed that the villages were composed of a group of related families who shared work and enjoyed feasts, and ceremonies in accordance with cultural traditions.³¹

By December 1896 the Apaches had moved into their new homes. The government provided stoves, and the prisoners built beds and tables and purchased chairs. Some individuals bought a few luxuries, such as china, if they had a little money.³² Daklugie noted that "the officers at Fort Sill had wisely left both the management and decisions largely up to the chiefs or headmen, each of whom had a village." He explained, "Their [the headmen's] primary functions were to maintain order and standards."³³

According to an August 1904 report by Captain Sayre to the Adjutant General, the Apaches had sixty-nine homes, four of which contained four rooms, thirteen three rooms, and fifty-two the traditional two rooms separated by a breezeway. One house consisted of one room. The men eventually added rooms to nine of the structures. The report claimed that the Indians had made numerous repairs. They had painted eleven homes and eight roofs. The other buildings at the Punch Bowl Basin consisted of a hospital, storehouse, office, stable and corral, blacksmith and wheelwright's shops, and two houses for employees.³⁴

Captain Scott had told the Chiricahuas when he had originally met them in August 1894 at Alabama that he "would take them to where they could see the sun without climbing a tree and would be able to see the mountains in the same view."³⁵ Scott probably was unaware of the significance of what he offered to the downtrodden Indians. In religious observance, the Apaches climbed to higher ground to pray and commune with *Ussen*. By offering the Indians the opportunity to see the sun and mountains, Scott presented a glimmer of hope to a people frustrated and weakened by the death and suffering they had experienced in Florida and Alabama.

By 1895 efforts were made by religious groups to bring Christianity to the Fort Sill Chiricahuas. Reverend Frank H. Wright, a Choctaw evangelist with the Dutch Reformed Church, tried for four years to bring Jesus Christ's message to the Apaches.³⁶ Military officials denied Wright access to the Indians until 1899 when Lieutenant Beach spoke at length with the minister and asked him to return the following day. Beach presented to the headmen Wright's proposal for founding a mission in the Punch Bowl

and a day school for young children. He also talked about Wright's ideas on religious and domestic instructions. The leaders agreed to allow Wright to go to work.³⁷ Carl Mangus, a former Resistance member and village patriarch, stated that "the headmen of each village had a say as to whether or not they wanted to hear Christian doctrine. 'I think it is good for our children to know as much about the white man and his God as possible.'"³⁸

In June 1904 a publication from the Women's Executive Committee of the Reformed Church of America noted the presence in the Punch Bowl Basin of a schoolhouse that also served as a place for Sunday services, a home for the workers, and an orphanage.³⁹ Weather permitting, the school building housed Friday night socials. Games, gospel hymns, and prayers highlighted the evening's affairs.⁴⁰ By 1912, the Reformed Church had received twenty-five Apaches and twelve Comanches into the congregation at the military reservation and baptized twenty-two children. The Mission closed in 1913, after fourteen years and expenditures on the Chiricahuas of \$75,000.⁴¹

Education of the children at Fort Sill diverted from the methodologies used by nuns at Florida and on-site teachers at Alabama. Captain Scott had informed parents at the post that four days after their arrival the army would send their children to a boarding school in Anadarko, approximately forty miles distance. When Scott asked Chihuahua if there were any questions, the elder Apache replied, "Of course, we don't want our children to go away from us, but we have been here long enough to know that when you say the children will go to school in four days, they are going to go and it is no use for anybody to talk about it."⁴² Scott observed Chiricahua mothers traveling on foot the forty miles to Anadarko and back; they made the trip in one day. The women brought presents

or candy to the school-aged children.⁴³ Later, when the children outgrew the boarding school at Anadarko, the soldiers placed them at a school in Chilocco.⁴⁴

The Dutch Reformed Church in 1899 committed itself to the establishment of a mission, orphanage, and school at Fort Sill. Construction of the school alleviated the need to send the young people to Anadarko.⁴⁵ A Reformed Church of America's Women's Executive Committee report in 1904 stated that the school had thirty-five children: kindergarten had fifteen youths, and twenty people lived at the orphanage. The institution provided the youngsters with lunch, which the Committee felt probably constituted the children's only decent daily meal.⁴⁶ Later the same year, John G. Gebhard, the organization's corresponding secretary, reported the presence of buckets, hay, and halters at school, thus contributing to instruction in the care of horses. His observations noted that the classroom curriculum of reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, and geography followed the equine lessons.⁴⁷

The Apache children at Fort Sill played sports and other games after school, on weekends, and during the summer. A 1904 report by Captain Sayre to the Adjutant General mentioned the boys' fondness for baseball and football. The youths played against soldier teams. Occasionally when an exceptional Chiricahua player made his way through the ranks, the soldiers included him on their squad that competed against other troop teams.⁴⁸ The Chiricahuas also played shinny, a traditional ball game, very similar to baseball.⁴⁹ Blossom Wratten Haozous, a Chiricahua prisoner, remembered that during the summer of 1905 the children went swimming in Medicine Bluffs Creek, rode horses, played shinny and baseball, and visited the Apache hay camps.⁵⁰

Fort Sill's environment favored the seasonal foods that the Apaches had gathered in their homeland. Soon after arriving at the post, for example, the Chiricahua women learned that a thicket of mesquite beans grew approximately forty-five miles from the post. They requested Scott's permission to harvest the bounty. The officer agreed, provided the Indians left after noon on Saturday and returned before Monday morning at 7:00 a.m. He furnished the women with a few horses, tents, and supplies. The Apaches gathered more than three hundred bushels of beans and arrived back at the fort ready to work before the prescribed hour.⁵¹

Mesquite beans were important in the Indians' diet. The Apaches boiled them, pounded them into a mixture, and worked them by hand until the beans formed a doughy consistency. Formerly the women ground the raw beans on a *metate*, a flat grinding surface, but later the Indians substituted meat grinders. The females used the flour to make flat bread (like tortillas). Often the women cooked the beans and meat together and, when the people ate the beans, they spit the seedcoats out. Mesquite bean pods also made a pudding-like dish.⁵²

The food the Apaches gathered supplemented government rations. Daklugie stated that in 1906 daily post rations consisted of a pound of beef for each family member, except for children who received a half-pound. The fort also allocated flour, sugar, coffee, and sometimes potatoes and onions. A member from each family registered daily for the household's rations.⁵³ The army purchased hogs, turkeys, and chickens for the prisoners, and fish were available in many of the streams on the military post. Turkeys were also a forbidden food source. The Indians scorned turkeys because

they ate insects and worms, with the latter's connotation to snakes, which the Chiniquas considered evil. During the Fort Sill period, however, some members of the younger generation without reprimand from the elders, ate fish.⁵⁴ A practice perhaps acquired in Florida.

In addition, the Indians practiced subsistence agriculture. Under Captain Scott's supervision, the Chiniquas received ten-acre family plots. The post paid farmers to break 1,000 acres of communal field, bought 600 head of cattle, and erected a sawmill to supply wood for houses.⁵⁵ The men primarily worked the large cooperative tracts and women occasionally helped with the weeding. The females dominated the family plots, which yielded sugar (sweet) corn, sweet potatoes, onions, peas, beans, and pumpkins for the family's consumption.⁵⁶ The Apaches grew more than 25,000 watermelons and cantaloupes the first season and, as every one had more fruit than they could eat, the Chiniquas sold the surpluses at the post. Scott recalled that each man made for himself what he could in the sale, which taught him how to market his produce.⁵⁷ Marketing also taught the Indians American monetary values. Scott recorded that antichokes also numbered among the garden's contents.⁵⁸

The planting of antichokes seemed somewhat curious at first. But Mildred Cleghorn, born a prisoner of war at Fort Sill, said that antichokes tasted somewhat like agave, a traditional Apachean food.⁵⁹ Opler recorded that the Apaches' most important traditional food source was the agave or century plant. The Indians roasted the shoots and baked the crown in an underground oven. They sun-dried and stored the baked agave or

mescal, which provided a nutritious sweet food source for months.⁶⁰ The Chiricahuas probably processed the artichokes in a similar manner to agave.

Apache women performed household chores, raised children, tanned hides, prepared beef or venison jerky, and made, except for the men's shirts and trousers, the family's clothing. Scott noted that both men and women worked when they could get employment. An undated report noted that the Quartermaster's Department employed twelve people each month and paid them a salary of thirty-five cents daily. The work consisted of cutting grass, driving teams, policing the post, and laboring on the roads or at the sawmills. The officer stated that "I saw them so employed, and they seemed to do their work well and are reported capable, and industrious."⁶¹ Male prisoners also built irrigation wells on the reservation, constructed reservoirs to catch the rain overflow, and learned how to farm and ranch.⁶²

Captain Scott recorded in his memoirs that the officers and soldiers needed to learn how to farm before they could teach the Indians. They did, of course. The officer introduced to Fort Sill a drought-resistant strain of sorghum from South Africa, called Kaffir corn. The Indians raised the grain for forage and sold it to the government. The result from such Indian labor spoke for itself. In one year the Apaches raised more than 300,000 pounds of Kaffir corn and cut and hauled one thousand tons of prairie hay, half of which the Indians baled, for the government. The Apaches built seventy-one homes and one storehouse, sank wells as deep as 250 feet, and fenced over fifty-thousand acres of the reservation for livestock. Scott added, "Those Indians performed an enormous amount of labor during the four years I remained with them, and they kept their promise

of good behavior to the extent that no complaint by an outsider was ever lodged against one of them.”⁶³

Drought, insects, and the hot, dry summer winds tested the patience of the prisoners and post officials. The Apaches, for example, produced in 1896 only 400 tons of hay valued at eight dollars per ton. The crop had ripened early, thus promising a substantial yield, but the severe lack of moisture reduced the final harvest. The previous season the Indians had harvested 500 tons. The Chiricahuas in 1896 also grew 31,500 cantaloupes (valued at ten cents apiece), 11,000 watermelons (same as previous value), 2500 bushels of sweet potatoes (\$1.00/bushel), 200,000 pounds of Kaffir corn (quoted at .20 cents/56 pound bushel), and 400 tons of Kaffir corn forage (valued at \$3.00/ton). The Indians owned 300 calves valued at eight dollars each.⁶⁴ In 1898 drought conditions and a grasshopper epidemic destroyed most vegetable crops, although the Apaches salvaged a large portion of the Kaffir corn yield.⁶⁵ In 1901, a summer drought ruined, except for the Kaffir corn and hay, nearly all the crops.⁶⁶ In 1904, the Apaches cultivated 1,100 acres of land; harvested 700 acres of Kaffir and millet corn; resulting in 240,000 pounds of corn, and cut and hauled 1,300,000 pounds of hay.⁶⁷

Apache cattle raising originated in 1895, the year after their arrival at Fort Sill. When Congress appropriated funding for livestock purchases, Captain Scott, although no forage was available and the post was not fenced at the time, bought livestock promptly. He stated that the officers and soldiers “had to turn cowboy ourselves to teach the Indians to rope and throw cattle and brand calves.”⁶⁸ The \$10,271 appropriation purchased a herd of 580 Hereford cattle (twenty bulls and 560 heifers) which were delivered to the post 1

August. Shortly after delivery, many of the cattle sickened and died. According to a Department of Agriculture inspector, Texas Fever, a tick-borne malady, was responsible for the herd's devastation. The army had placed Fort Sill's semi-monthly government beef allotment from southern Texas in the same pens as the Apaches' livestock.⁶⁹ One element after another targeted the Indian herd. Texas fever, heel-flies, screwworm, and anthrax were only a few of the problems. The Apaches and post officers soon learned to recognize and treat various livestock diseases.⁷⁰ In addition to addressing illnesses, the prisoners kept watch so the cattle did not stray onto the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa Apache reservation and mingle with stock belonging to Texas cattlemen who leased reservation lands.⁷¹ Captain Scott considered Naiche, a reliable person to watch livestock. He stated, "When he [Naiche] was in charge of the cattle herd I could depend on him completely in every weather, and [he] never disappointed me."⁷²

An August 1896 report to the Adjutant General cited the loss of one heifer and five calves to wolves. Troop L, an Indian corps of soldiers at Fort Sill, acquired and retained a pack of fox hounds to combat the predators. Scott noted, "This has resulted in the death of a number of wolves and the chasing away of a number of others thus giving considerable protection to the young calves."⁷³

A post report to the Adjutant General in February 1898 recorded a number of yearling calves succumbing to Blackleg, a fatal cattle affliction that cost the post \$1,000 in losses. The soldiers could prevent the disease by utilizing Pasteur's Black Leg Vaccine, although the disease itself was incurable.⁷⁴ In 1902 the Hereford herd numbered 3,755 head and the post shipment of 247 steers to Kansas City in December brought

\$9,103.41.⁷⁵ Fort Sill accounts to the Adjutant General in 1903 enumerated the cattle herd at 3,714 head, an increase from the original herd of 560 in 1895.⁷⁶ The same year, a special agent with the War Department toured the post and noted that the Chiricahuas had joined the Texas Cattle Association (TCA). Membership in TCA helped protect the Indians against cattle rustling. The Indians utilized the association's detectives and inspectors "who inspect all slaughter houses and butchers, and take an account of all [the] brands of cattle butchered."⁷⁷ As the cattle industry at Fort Sill improved, Chiricahuas requested the return, from Carlisle in Pennsylvania, of their children. Thus, on 27 November 1895 five girls and fourteen boys returned from the trade school and rejoined their families at the fort.⁷⁸

The returning students wanted to play an active role in the betterment of the Apaches' conditions at the post. One episode involved Daklugie, who wanted to utilize his Carlisle education to improve the quality of livestock. Wratten sent the young man to Scott. Apparently, Daklugie aggressively stated his dissatisfaction with the cattle, and the exchange of words led to a struggle. Scott left him waiting in the office, with Daklugie anticipating the military police's arrival. None came. Irritated by Daklugie's aggression, Captain Scott went to Wratten about the overzealous young man and demanded to know who Daklugie was and what he wanted. The interpreter informed the officer of the relation to Geronimo and Daklugie's hereditary designation as a future tribal leader. Daklugie wanted a job so he could marry Chihuahua's daughter, Ramona. If Scott could earn the young Apache's respect, the relationship would benefit the fort as Daklugie had the trust of the majority of the headmen. Most importantly, Wratten informed Scott that

it meant more to an Apache to respect someone than to like them, for respect was the basis for friendship. Apparently the issue between Scott and Daklugie was resolved shortly thereafter. Daklugie took over running the Chiricahuas' livestock business and married Ramona when he had saved up enough money for a house and to support a family.⁷⁹

At Fort Sill, Secretary Proctor continued his acculturative experiment of introducing Indians into the general population by enlisting them in the army. In June 1895 the forty-three Indian soldiers of Company I, 12th Infantry--the unit created at Mount Vernon Barracks--joined Troop L, 7th Cavalry, which consisted of twenty-four Kiowa and Comanche soldiers.⁸⁰ Troop L rode escort for payrolls, assisted with such soil conservation projects as digging ponds, helped fence the reservation, constructed roads, and made other range improvements.⁸¹ In May 1897, six years after the study began, the army disbanded Troop L, the last remaining Indian soldier unit.⁸² Orders of 26 February 1897 from the Adjutant General's office stated that the twelve village headmen at Fort Sill would continue enlistment as scouts under Scott's jurisdiction.⁸³

Sam Haozous, one of the Chiricahua soldiers, illustrated the experiment's goals: he developed into a leader among the Apache people. Haozous joined Company I at Alabama in 1891 and had continued his military experience with Troop L at Fort Sill. Haozous learned to farm and raise livestock. In addition, he developed such army inspired attributes as punctuality, neatness, and compliance. He successfully utilized the skills in adapting to Anglo society and pursued careers as both a farmer and lawman.⁸⁴

Geronimo was a headman and a scout whom Oklahoma businessmen exploited, thus exacerbating the discord among Chiricahuas. The war shaman made personal appearances at various fairs, parades, meetings, and celebrations.⁸⁵ Miss Ruth Hammond, a Fort Sill chaplain's daughter, remembered seeing Geronimo on a regular basis outside of the officers' quarters selling bows and arrows, charging an extra fifty cents to autograph the bow.⁸⁶ Daklugie remembered, "When we went somewhere to lead a parade . . . he [Geronimo] would start with one dollar in his pocket-and a supply of hats and buttons and photographs . . . when we returned Geronimo would have a supply of good clothes and plenty of money."⁸⁷

The army did not limit Geronimo's business ventures to the local region, as he was in demand for international expositions and world fairs from 1898 to 1905. The shaman's travels took him to the 1898 Trans-Mississippi and International Exhibition in Omaha, the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, and, finally, to President Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 inaugural parade in Washington, D.C. Geronimo's business endeavors varied from selling buttons from his coat for twenty-five cents and the hat off his head for five dollars. He also made sales at train stops to and from his scheduled appearances. Between stations, he sewed more buttons on his coat and pulled out a new hat from his reserve cache.⁸⁸ The exhibition merchandise varied from picture postcards that sold for twenty-five cents to a dollar, bows and arrows that sold up to ten dollars, and autographs that ranged from ten to twenty-five cents apiece.⁸⁹

Geronimo's popularity aroused resentment among other internees at Fort Sill. Rumors and mutterings abounded among fellow Apaches. An unidentified Chiricahua said, "He sells his picture, his buttons, anything-even a feather-and he lies about every item." He continued, "All the people in his village are busy making bows and arrows. Then Geronimo sells them to the tourists, saying, 'I made these with my own two hands.'" The Apache concluded, "Those white people are just taken in. They buy them immediately. They think they have some kind of treasure."⁹⁰ Kiowas and Comanches even brought beadwork for Geronimo to sell. The Indians felt he could sell the items easier because of his popularity. Anything made, used, or handled by Geronimo was extremely marketable.⁹¹

President Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 inaugural parade was the highlight of Geronimo's travels, an appearance for which the government paid him \$171. The procession included other formerly "notorious" Indians, such as the Comanche leader Quanah Parker and the Sioux leader Sitting Bull. The parade conveyed a message of success regarding Native Americans as the government had guided the Indians through the civilization process.⁹²

Geronimo used the parade as his opportunity to gain an audience with the President and to plea for the Apaches' freedom. The shaman said, "Great Father . . . white men are in the country that was my home. I pray you to tell them to go away and let my people go there and be happy." He continued, "Great Father, my hands are tied as with a rope. My heart is no longer bad." Geronimo conceded, "I will tell my people to obey no chief but the Great White Chief." The shaman closed with, "I pray you to cut the

ropes and make me free. Let me die in my own country, an old man who has been punished enough and is free.”⁹³

Roosevelt replied, “There would be more war and more bloodshed. It is best for you to stay where you are.” He offered in conclusion, “That is all I can say, Geronimo, except that I am sorry, and have no feeling against you.”⁹⁴

In his 1906 autobiography, transcribed by Lawton school superintendent S. M. Barrett, Geronimo asked President Roosevelt one last time to release the Chiricahua prisoners of war. He explained his connection to the Arizona homelands. “It is my land, my home, my father’s land, to which I now ask to be allowed to return. I want to spend my last days there, and be buried among those mountains.” Geronimo added. “If this could be I might die in peace, feeling that my people, placed in their native homes, would increase in numbers, rather than diminish as at present, and that our name would not become extinct.”⁹⁵ He did not get his wish. Geronimo died at Fort Sill in February 1909.

Eugene, Geronimo’s step-grandson, said he felt responsible for the shaman’s death. Geronimo had requested that the young man purchase whiskey for him. Once Eugene obtained a quart, the two went to Cache Creek, where they watered and fed their horses. Eugene relayed the fateful events of that evening. “We drank the whiskey and went to sleep with no cover but our saddle blankets. Toward morning I was awakened by a cold, drizzling rain.” He continued, “Geronimo was coughing. I felt his face and it was hot. He said that he’d been sick all night. I saddled the horses and got him to the hospital.”⁹⁶

Numerous stories surrounded the Apache's death. Geronimo was indeed at Lawton earlier in the day selling bows and arrows to tourists and later got drunk. The tales deviate at this point. One version stated that he fell off his horse while enroute home.⁹⁷ Another account stated that Geronimo fell out of a buggy going home.⁹⁸ Both renditions allege that the war shaman lay in water all night until someone found him the following morning and took him to the hospital. Asa Daklugie, Geronimo's nephew, corroborated Eugene's narration of the hospital vigil, maintained by himself, Daklugie, and Geronimo's wife, Eugene's grandmother.

In addition to Geronimo's death two other factors influenced the release of the Chiricahua prisoners of war. The second factor was the appeal for the release of the Apaches by a large number of Anglo institutions, such as the IRA, and individuals, such as Herbert Welsh, who wrote to the Secretary of War. In March 1909 one month after Geronimo's death, the IRA brought the Indians' condition to the forefront of the public's conscience again with an investigation into the Apaches' release.

A third and final factor that encouraged release of the Chiricahuas was the United States army's decision to convert Fort Sill into a field artillery school.⁹⁹ The War Department wanted to utilize fully the post without the Apaches' presence complicating the situation. A point of contention arose between the War Department and the Department of the Interior over what each saw as the proper use of the Fort Sill reservation, and the battle waxed and waned until the fall of 1912. Then the government decided to release and to move the Chiricahuas.

Earlier, in 1911, a delegation of six Apaches had traveled to New Mexico Territory accompanied by Colonel Hugh L. Scott. They visited the Mescalero Reservation and Ojo Caliente, one of their traditional homelands. Then the commission of Indians returned to Fort Sill and met with tribal members and Scott. Some of the Apaches longed to move to the Mescalero Reservation with their Apache cousins, while others wanted to keep their lands at Fort Sill, since Ojo Caliente had deteriorated at the hands of white settlers and miners.¹⁰⁰ Many Chiricahuas believed that they had a right to permanent settlement at Fort Sill, but at a 12 September 1911 conference Scott misled the Chiricahuas into thinking that the Fort Sill lands were only for the Indians' use and occupancy, not for their permanent settlement.¹⁰¹ The IRA supported the Chiricahuas' allotment claim at Fort Sill, but its support was not enough. The association noted that with "the rigid conditions imposed by him [Scott] if they [the Chiricahuas] remain[ed] at Fort Sill, [as] prisoners of war and [in a] communal system without individual allotments, it seems probable that many of these worthy members will feel obliged to remove to Mescalero."¹⁰²

Congress passed legislation on 24 August 1912 for the Chiricahua Apache release, removal, and allotment. The outcome was a compromise between the War Department and the Department of Interior. The War Department between 1894 and 1909 had promised permanent location to the Apaches at Fort Sill; but now they reneged on those pledges. Instead, the government allowed the Indians wanting to go to Mescalero to do so, while the others desiring to remain in Oklahoma would receive allotments of deceased Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa Apache members, land off the military post reserve.¹⁰³

On 4 April 1913, 183 Chiricahuas from Fort Sill arrived at their new home on the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. In March 1914 seventy-eight Apache internees remaining in Oklahoma were freed when they received their allotments, one month preceding the twenty-eight year anniversary of the initial governmental incarceration of the first group of Chiricahua Apaches.¹⁰⁴ Although the government freed the Oklahoma faction, known as the Fort Sill Apache Tribe, they uprooted the Indians from previously established homes and forced them to relocate on allotments from deceased Indians.¹⁰⁵ The Fort Sill Apaches, like the Apaches relocated at Mescalero, known as the Chiricahua Apache Tribe, not only had to start anew, but also had to begin building homes and working the lands without the assistance and support of their brethren.¹⁰⁶

Clearly during the nineteen years that the Chiricahuas were at Fort Sill, authorities there made valiant efforts to improve Apache life. They addressed the Chiricahuas' soaring mortality rates. They sought means to stifle the flow of alcohol onto the reservation. The officers had considered the Apaches' cultural family divisions when instituting villages and designating headmen. They had allowed Indian women to gather traditional foods and had permitted mothers to travel to Anadarko to see their children at the boarding schools. When neither the military nor the prisoners had knowledge of farming and ranching, government soldiers became farmers and cowboys in order to teach the Indians.

Captain Hugh L. Scott and other Fort Sill authorities had exerted great care and pains to help the Chiricahuas acculturate, to adapt to new industries, and to address the causes of fatality. The officers had encouraged the cultural reassertion of the Apaches.

After 1909, the year of Geronimo's death, the IRA moved to liberate the Indians from their prisoner of war status and the War Department sought to disengage the people from their post lands. Subsequent actions led again to the removal of Chiricahuas. But it also led to the long-sought end of their status as prisoners of war.

Notes

¹Towana Spivey, interview by H. Henrietta Stockel, 20 September 1991. in Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 231.

²Congress, Senate, Inquiry Concerning Apache Indians, 62nd Cong., 2d sess., 1912, S.D. 432, Serial 6175, 4.

³Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters of the Department of the Missouri, to Commanding Officer, Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory, 20 September 1894, Native American Files/Apaches/Prisoners of War Status, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Most documents from the 1894 period refer to Hugh L. Scott as Captain, however, this document addresses the officer as Lieutenant.

⁴Congress, House, Annual Report, Report of the Secretary of War, The Apache Indian Prisoners, report prepared by Hon. Daniel S. Lamont, 54th Cong., 1st sess., 1895, H.D. 2, Serial 3370, 34-35.

⁵Arthur Capell, interview by H. Henrietta Stockel, 24 June 1991, in Stockel, Survival, 199.

⁶Bill Cleghorn, "Oklahoma's Apaches Came as War Prisoners 81 Years Ago," Ponca City News, 16 May 1965, sec. 2B, quoted in David Michael Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War: 1886-1894" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1968), 223.

⁷Hugh Lenox Scott, Some Memories of a Soldier (New York: The Century Co., 1928), 193.

⁸Captain Marvin ? (name illegible), 1st Infantry, Aide-de-Camp, to Major General Nelson A. Miles, Commanding the Department of the Missouri, 1 September 1894, Hugh L. Scott Collection/Apache Prisoners of War, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁹Shapard Papers, North Carolina, 1st Loco file (1/2), D-14, "Report of Conditions of Apaches upon Arrival at Fort Sill, November 1894, quoted in Stockel, Survival, 203.

¹⁰Congress, House, Report of the Secretary of War, Report by the Surgeon-General, U.S.A., Indian Prisoners, report prepared by Brig. Gen. George M. Sternberg, 54th Cong., 2d sess., 1896, H.D. 2, Serial 5975, 480.

¹¹James D. Glennan, Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Army to Surgeon-General, U.S. Army. 1 November 1895. "Medical Report on Apache Prisoners of War, Ft. Sill, 1894-1895", 14-15, James D. Glennan Collection, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

¹²*Ibid.*, 11, 15.

¹³"Special Regulations for Government of the Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, Oklahoma," Hugh L. Scott Papers (undated), Shapard Papers, North Carolina. quoted in Stockel, Survival, 206.

¹⁴William Grosvenor III. "Structure and Stress." X File (2/3). Shapard Papers, North Carolina, quoted in Stockel, Survival, 214.

¹⁵Eve Ball, Nora Henn, and Lynda A. Sanchez, ed., Indeh: An Apache Odyssey (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 174.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 218-20.

¹⁷Glennan to Surgeon-General, 1 November 1895, 11, Fort Sill Archives.

¹⁸Scott, Some Memories, 207.

¹⁹Congress, House, Removal of Certain Indians from San Carlos Reservation, Etc., 56th Cong., 2d sess., 1901, H.D. 347, Serial 4155, 6.

²⁰Interview with the Reverend Doctor Robert Paul Chaat, conducted by John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., Medicine Park, Oklahoma, 10 November 1976; Interview with Blossom Hauzous (sic), conducted by Turcheneske, Jr., Apache, Oklahoma, 11 November 1976; Interview with Raymond Loco, conducted by Turcheneske, Jr., Apache, Oklahoma, 11 November 1976; William Paulding Memoirs, Archives, United States Army History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; Edwin V. Sumner to Adjutant General's Office, 19 April 1898, National Archives (hereafter cited as NA)-689, roll 200, quoted in John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill, 1894-1914 (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 69-70; John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1978), 68-69; and Interview with Towana Spivey, conducted by the author, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 18 August 1997.

²¹Donald E. Worcester, The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 315.

²²Scott, Some Memories, 202-03.

²³Jason Betzinez, I Fought With Geronimo, ed.. Wilbur Sturtevant Nye (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 141.

²⁴Ball, Indeh, 177.

²⁵Lt. George Purrington to Adjutant General, no date, National Archives and Records Service, Consolidated File (hereafter cited as NARSCF) 445841 AGO. quoted in Colonel W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 301.

²⁶Lisa Austerman, "American Legend Lives on in Oklahoma: Story of Real Geronimo Told at Fort Sill Museum," The Cannoneer, 13 January 1994, sec. B, p. 1. 3, Indian Files-Biography/Geronimo/Correspondence, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

²⁷Towana Spivey of Fort Sill Museum, interview by author, 18 August 1997, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

²⁸Morris Edward Opler, "An Analysis of Mescalero and Chiricahua Apache Social Organization in the Light of Their Systems of Relationship" (part of Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1933), 9.

²⁹Morris E. Opler, "Chiricahua Apache," in Handbook of North American Indians (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983), 411.

³⁰Jeanne Grimes, "Former Apache POW, 104, Recalls Changes in Life," Lawton Constitution, 26 September 1992, B1, Indian Files-Biography/Mithlo, "Bill" Watson. Fort Sill Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

³¹M. E. Opler, "An Interpretation of Ambivalence of Two American Indian Tribes," Journal of Social Psychology VII (1936): 105.

³²Woodward B. Skinner, The Apache Rock Crumbles: The Captivity of Geronimo's People (Pensacola: Skinner Publications, 1987), 404.

³³Ball, Indeh, 311-12.

³⁴Captain Farrand Sayre, 8th Cavalry, to Adjutant General, Department of Texas, 8 August 1904, 2, Hugh L. Scott Collection, Apache Prisoners of War, Fort Sill Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Sayre stated that the Apaches had sixty-nine houses, but his numerical breakdown of structural sizes accounted for seventy homes.

³⁵Scott, Some Memories, 183.

³⁶Richard H. Harper, "The Missionary Work of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, in Oklahoma," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 18 (1940): 329.

³⁷Interview with the Reverend Doctor Robert Paul Chaat, conducted Turcheneske, Jr., Medicine Park, Oklahoma, 10 November 1976 and Francis H. Beach to Adjutant General's Office, 26 August 1898, NA-689, roll 201, quoted in Turcheneske. The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 71-72 and Turcheneske. "The Apache Prisoners of War At Fort Sill," 73.

³⁸Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton. Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 121.

³⁹Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Commissions. The Apache Mission (Holland: Reformed Church of America, 1904). 52-53, Native American Files-Religion/Apache Mission/Dutch Reformed Church, Fort Sill Museum Archives. U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁴⁰Harper, "The Missionary Work," 339.

⁴¹Ibid., 334-35.

⁴²Scott, Some Memories, 197-98.

⁴³Ibid., 198.

⁴⁴Boyer, Apache Mothers, 123.

⁴⁵Ibid., 121.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷John G. Gebhard. Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Commissions, The Apache Mission (Holland: Reformed Church of America, 1904). 152, Native American Files-Religion/Apache Mission/Dutch Reformed Church, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁴⁸Captain Farrand Sayre, 8th Cavalry, Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory to Adjutant General, Department of Texas, 8 August 1904, 3, Hugh L. Scott Collection, Apache Prisoners of War, Fort Sill Museum Archives. U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁴⁹Edward F. Castetter and M. E. Opler, "The Ethnobiology of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache," Bulletin of the University of New Mexico, Biological Series IV (1936), 32.

⁵⁰"Former Indian Prisoner At Sill Turns 83: Blossom Day Special Day on Birthday," Lawton Sunday Constitution, 25 January 1976, 2B, Indian Files-Biography/Haozous, Sam (Family)/Apache, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁵¹Angie Debo, Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 365-66.

⁵²Castetter and Opler, "Ethnobiology," 41.

⁵³Morris E. Opler, An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 326, 328, and 331.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 322.

⁵⁶Boyer, Apache Mothers, 117.

⁵⁷Scott, Some Memories, 198-99.

⁵⁸Hugh L. Scott, Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory to Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, Chicago, Illinois, 30 June 1897, 8, Hugh L. Scott Collection. Fort Sill Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁵⁹Paul McClung, "Cleghorn Takes Sentimental Journey," Lawton Constitution/Morning Press, 21 September 1986, 2A, Indian Files-Biography/Cleghorn, Mildred/Apache, Fort Sill Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum. Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁶⁰Opler, "Chiricahua Apache," 413.

⁶¹Captain Marvin ? (name illegible), 1 September 1894, Hugh L. Scott Collection. Fort Sill Archives.

⁶²Boyer, Apache Mothers, 118.

⁶³Scott, Some Memories, 191-92.

⁶⁴Hugh L. Scott to Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, 21 August 1896 and 1 October 1896, NA-689, roll 199, quoted in Turcheneske, The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 58 and Turcheneske, "Apaches as Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," 56-57.

⁶⁵Ibid., 70 and Ibid., 71, note 37.

⁶⁶Ibid., 74-75 and Ibid., 85.

⁶⁷Ibid., 92 and Ibid., 114-15, note 3.

⁶⁸Scott, Some Memories, 195-96.

⁶⁹Hugh L. Scott to Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, 12 August 1895, NA-689, roll 199; Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri to Hugh L. Scott, 15 August 1895, Hugh Lenox Scott Papers; and Albert Dean to Julius S. Morton, 9 September 1895, NA-689, roll 199, quoted in Turcheneske, The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 47 and Turcheneske, "Apaches as Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," 38-39.

⁷⁰Scott, Some Memories, 195-96.

⁷¹Boyer, Apache Mothers, 116-17 and Betzinez, I Fought, 168.

⁷²Scott, Some Memories, 198.

⁷³Hugh L. Scott, Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory to Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, 1 August 1896, 1-2, Hugh L. Scott Collection, Apache Prisoners of War, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field and Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁷⁴Allyn K. Capron to Adjutant General's Office, 28 February 1898, NA-689, Roll 200, quoted in Turcheneske, The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 68 and Turcheneske, "Apaches as Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," 67-68.

⁷⁵Farrand B. Sayre to Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, 30 June 1902, NA-689, roll 202, quoted in Ibid., 85.

⁷⁶Captain Farrand Sayre to Adjutant General, Department of Texas, 22 May 1904, George M. Wratten Collection, Pensacola, Florida, quoted in Skinner, Apache Rock, 423-24.

⁷⁷Captain H. M. Reeve, Acting Inspector General, Department of the Missouri to Secretary of War, 2 May 1903, 4, Native American Files/Apache/Prisoners of War Status, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁷⁸Stockel, Survival, 205-06.

⁷⁹Ball, Indeh, 162.

⁸⁰Clifford P. Coppersmith, "Indians in the Army Professional Advocacy and the Regularization of Indian Military Service. 1889-1897," Military History of the West 26 (Fall 1996): 172, note 21.

⁸¹Towana Spivey, interview by author, 18 August 1997, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁸²Coppersmith, "Indians in the Army," 180; and Debo, "Apaches as Southeastern Indians," 153.

⁸³Adjutant General's Office, Department of the Missouri to Commanding General, Department of the Missouri, 26 February 1897. Colonel Hugh L. Scott Papers, Troop "L" folder, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

⁸⁴Coppersmith, "Indians in the Army," 184.

⁸⁵Russell Shorto, Geronimo: And the Struggle for Apache Freedom, Alvin Josephy's Biography Series of American Indians (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Silver Burdett Press, 1989), 123.

⁸⁶Debo, Geronimo: The Man, 382-83.

⁸⁷Ball, Indeh, 175.

⁸⁸Debo, Geronimo: The Man, 405.

⁸⁹Geronimo, Geronimo, His Own Story: The Autobiography of a Great Patriot Warrior, trans. Asa Daklugie and ed. S. M. Barrett (New York: Meridian, 1996), 155; Skinner, Apache Rock, 408; Shorto, Geronimo: And the Struggle, 121; and Debo, Geronimo: The Man, 408-09.

⁹⁰Boyer, Apache Mothers, 118.

⁹¹Towana Spivey, Director of Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, Arts & Entertainment's "Biography" Series, Geronimo: The Last Renegade, A & E Television Networks, 60 min., 1996, videocassette.

⁹²Debo, Geronimo: The Man, 417-18.

⁹³Ibid., 421.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Geronimo, Geronimo, 169.

⁹⁶Ball, Indeh, 179.

⁹⁷Shorto, Geronimo: And the Struggle, 127-28.

⁹⁸Lockwood, Apache Indians, 327.

⁹⁹Ball, Indeh, 183.

¹⁰⁰Indian Rights Association, "The Case of the Apache Prisoners of War." Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1912), 52.

¹⁰¹Proceedings of Conference with the Apache Prisoners of War on Fort Sill Reservation, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, 21 September 1911, 34, Hugh L. Scott Collection, Apache Prisoners of War, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

¹⁰²Indian Rights Association, "The Case," 52.

¹⁰³Turcheneske, The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 145 and Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," 210, 250. In both his book and doctoral dissertation, Turcheneske provided an excellent detailed discussion on the politics and legislation behind the Department of Interior's fight against the War Department to allot the Chiricahuas at Fort Sill. He also included consideration of the conference proceedings between the Chiricahuas and Colonel Scott, representing the War Department, and the various organizations and individuals supportive of the Apaches during this period.

¹⁰⁴Debo, Geronimo: The Man, 448, note 10.

¹⁰⁵Benedict Jozhe, "A Brief History of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe," The Chronicles of Oklahoma 39 (Winter 1961-1962): 432.

¹⁰⁶Stockel, Survival, 271.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

From 1886 to 1914 the Chiricahua Apaches presented a portrait of survival. The United States army imprisoned 515 of them for the crimes of Geronimo and the thirty-three members of the Apache Resistance. At the incarceration sites of Forts Marion and Pickens in Florida and Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama, the Indians suffered from disease, alien environments, inadequate rations, and separation from family members.

The government determined excessive mortality rates as the key factor in removing the Apaches to Fort Sill, Oklahoma. At Fort Sill the federal administration concerned itself with the progress and improvement of the Indians, a turning point in the Chiricahuas' incarceration. Physicians cleaned up sources from which tuberculosis and malaria spread.

Officers in charge of the prisoners took measures to insure the healthful progress of the Apaches. They cut trade in illegal alcohol, taught ranching and farming techniques, and allowed the Chiricahuas to once again practice traditional life-ways. The post overlooked War Department rules and allowed returning Carlisle graduates to stay with the prisoners.

As a Captain and officer in charge of the Chiricahuas from their transfer in 1894 until 1897, Hugh L. Scott sought every means of assuring the Apaches a comfortable life. He encouraged the Chiricahuas in daily efforts to develop a sense of permanence at Fort Sill. Scott left in 1897, however, and when he returned in 1911 his old allegiances to the

Chiricahuas were compromised. Scott recorded in his 24 July 1911 report. "This duty was approached with some trepidation, knowing that . . . the Indians had cause to feel that promises made to them had not yet been fulfilled."¹ He convinced some of the Apaches to consider the Mescalero Reservation as yet another destination, thereby decreasing the number of Chiricahuas at Fort Sill.

Indeed, as early as 1902 the army had begun to consider the removal of the Apaches from Fort Sill. It wanted to locate an artillery field school there. Despite many assurances to the contrary, the War Department determined to remove the Indians from Fort Sill and to locate a field artillery school at the post. The army utilized Colonel Scott, the Indians' old friend, to persuade the Apaches to move again. He succeeded, for in April 1913, 183 of the 261-member Chiricahuas, survivors and descendants of the original 515 internees, chose freedom and relocated to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. The remaining seventy-eight Apaches continued as prisoners of war at Fort Sill until the government allotted lands to them in 1914. Mildred Cleghorn, born a prisoner of war and former Fort Sill Apache Tribal Chairperson, in an interview with John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., explained that many of the people who went to Mescalero "hated to leave Fort Sill" There was not so much the satisfaction of receiving one's freedom as there was the sadness of being denied the homes permanently promised them."²

In 1914, Chiricahua Apache tribal members in New Mexico realized that they each had received only eighty acres of land, half of the acreage promised by the government. Congress had allocated monies for their relocation but the reservation

agency spent part of the funds on a water system and deducted housing costs from the remainder. Four years later, in 1918, the Indians finally received the pledged accommodations.³

In an ironic twist of fate, the Fort Sill Apaches found themselves in a similar predicament. The government allocated \$3,000 to each head of the family and \$2,000 to each dependent to use in the purchase of allotments. Cleghorn stated that the Chiricahuas' distributions varied between twenty-three and 158 acres.⁴ She noted that the Apaches chose the locations based on traditional experiences in the Arizona and New Mexico Territories, which is why all of the entitlements had creeks or running streams on the property. Water meant life.⁵

But "water" also led to smaller allotments. A 1910 statute (Chapter 431, Public Law 313) provided that allotments should not exceed "forty acres of irrigable land or eighty acres of nonirrigable agricultural land or one hundred sixty acres of nonirrigable grazing land to any one Indian."⁶ If the administration in fact utilized the law as its basis for the Fort Sill Apaches' distributions, the action would account for the government issuing entitlements of less than 160 acres. Such action, however, denied the Chiricahuas an adequate land base for ranching operations and agricultural pursuits, and ultimately led to their impoverishment.⁷

Ironically, Colonel Scott visited the Mescalero Reservation in 1920 and witnessed the New Mexico Chiricahuas' poverty firsthand. According to Raymond Loco, an Apache prisoner of war, "Scott 'gathered them together' and said, 'I am sorry. I am responsible for your people moving here.' If any wished to return to Oklahoma, he said

he would be glad to take them back.” Loco noted that several individuals accepted his offer and returned.⁸

Nonetheless, as of 28 February 1922 the government still lacked thirteen allotments for twelve minors and one adult in Oklahoma. The administrative reason for the oversight was that “selection of lands for purchase for these 13 persons have been made, but the purchase could not be closed because of a lack of funds.” Several years passed before the money became available, a hardship for the Chiricahuas.⁹ If the War Department had allowed the Chiricahua Apaches to remain at Fort Sill in 1913, the 1897 addition of lands obtained from the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa Apaches would have provided each Chiricahua man, woman, and child, a farm in the amount of 160 acres, the amount that the government had promised the Indians in the first place.¹⁰

Without question, the Chiricahua Apaches survived in the face of adversity. Although they lived and sometimes prospered following incarceration in alien environments, disease, forced acculturation, disruption and loss of many cultural traditions, and population decimation all played havoc on the Apaches. What allowed the Chiricahuas to endure and survive the hardships?

First, the Apaches were resolute in their determination to live. They had withstood detrimental conditions previously from Mexican soldiers, miners, settlers, and the United States army.

Secondly, the Chiricahuas submitted to acculturation or modified their culture through exposure to Anglo society. For example, the men willingly performed tasks at Fort Pickens traditionally assigned to women and they accepted that their children must

receive an Anglo education in order to compete with and avoid continued victimization of the Chiricahua people. Furthermore, the Apaches employed traditional practices and adapted them to suit their new environments. For instance, the Indians' long-standing trade relationships with Mexican border towns, as well as with Anglo and Indian tradesmen, served them well at all the incarceration sites. The Indians utilized their cultural knowledge and applied it to the tourist trade, and for individuals like Geronimo, it provided an opportunity to excel at entrepreneurship.

Thirdly, the Chiricahuas retained traditional customs when possible. They used the *tus* and *tsas* where they could, built *wickiups*, and harvested traditional foods where they were available. They observed the traditional puberty ceremony. Acculturation, adaptations to and modifications of traditional practices, and the resurrection of cultural ceremonies, objects, and foods were all key factors that contributed to the Apaches' survival.¹¹ Initially, the acculturative progress was slow, but as the years passed, the Indians acquired knowledge and understanding of their captors and that enhanced their progress.

Finally, in order to appreciate and understand the primary motivating force for the Chiricahua Apaches' survival, one must listen to a voice from the present. Berle Kanseah, grandson of Jasper Kanseah and grandnephew of Geronimo, said, "They needed to fall back on something you are most familiar with, which is deep down inside, that was never stripped from our people, which is Spirituality."¹²

Clearly, their individual and group determination, retention of traditional life-ways when possible, limited acculturation, and a strong and deep sense of Apache

spirituality contributed to the Chiricahua survival. Although battered and bruised, scared and hurt, and cheated and lied to, they survived through imprisonment in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma. When finally given their freedom in 1913, they again divided, some to New Mexico and some to new lands in Oklahoma.

Notes

¹Colonel Hugh L. Scott, 3rd Cavalry to the War Department, Office of the Chief of Staff, 3 November 1911, 2, Hugh L. Scott Collection. Apache Prisoners of War. Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum. Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

²Interview with Mildred Imach Cleghorn, conducted by John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., Apache, Oklahoma, 12 November 1976, quoted in John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill, 1894-1914 (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 162 and John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894-1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1978), 262.

³Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton, Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 130-31.

⁴Mildred Cleghorn, "The Fort Sill Apaches: A History of My People." Speech given at the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 13 November 1991, quoted in H. Henrietta Stockel, Survival of the Spirit: Chiricahua Apaches in Captivity (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993), 199.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Statutes At Large, An Act to Provide for Determining the Heirs of Deceased Indians, for the Disposition and Sale of Allotments of Deceased Indians, for the Leasing of Allotments, and for other Purposes, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., 1911, Vol. 36, part 1, 860.

⁷Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill," vii.

⁸Interview with Raymond Loco, conducted by John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., Apache, Oklahoma, 11 November 1976, quoted in Turcheneske, The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 180 and Turcheneske, "The Apache Prisoners of War," 285-86.

⁹Congress, House, Relief of Certain Apache Indians in Oklahoma, 67th Cong., 2d sess., 1922, H.R. 743, Serial 7955, 1.

¹⁰Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 322.

¹¹Frank Lewis Kalesnik, "Caged Tigers: Native American Prisoners in Florida, 1875-1888" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1992), 266-68. Dr. Kalesnik also noted the Chiricahuas' acculturations in his dissertation.

¹²Berle Kanseah, "Discovery's "How the West Was Lost" Series. Always the Enemy, Discovery Networks and 9K*USA-TV, 60 min., 1993. videocassette.

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