THE ARIZONA APACHES AND CHRISTIANIZATION:
A STUDY OF LUTHERAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY, 1893 - 1943.

by

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to four Lutheran missionaries -- E. Edgar Guenther, Alfred Uplegger, Henry Rosin, and Francis Uplegger -- each of whom devoted more than forty years to Christian work among the Apache Indians on the San Carlos and Fort Apache Reservations.
CHAPTER I

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES TO THE INDIANS

OF THE FAR SOUTHWEST, 1850 - 1890

The number of Protestant missionaries in the Far Southwest who left either written records of their work among the Indians between 1850 and 1890, or lasting monuments to their labors can be counted on the fingers of both hands. Doubtless there were many missionaries who had contact with the Indians of this region, but most of them left proof of their work among the "heathen savage" no more permanent than rainfall on the desert. It may be regarded as strange that there were not more Protestant missions established earlier in the present states of Arizona and New Mexico. This area had the one feature that should have attracted missionaries: a large number of "benighted and misguided people." The reasons why so little was done for the Indians of this region were several. The region was extremely unsettled until after 1870, and even then was far from "civilized"; those with the missionary zeal could find enough to occupy them in the big cities of the Atlantic seaboard and Middle West, among the settled Indians east of the 100th parallel, and in the fertile mission field of China; and, as E. E. Muntz wrote in the Nineteenth Century magazine, "It was early discovered that the chief obstacle to the civilization and conversion
of the native was to be found in his wandering habits, occasioned by the necessity of covering a large territory for his sustenance.  

The first Protestant group to work among the Indians of the region were the Baptists, who, during the fifties had missionaries among the Pueblos and Navajos. The Baptists had been active in New Mexico beginning in 1849, and in 1850 the American Home Mission Society began to contemplate establishing missions among the Indians of New Mexico. The same year Rev. Hiram Walter Read visited the friendlier tribes with the idea of beginning a school, and as a result Rev. Samuel Gorman came to serve the Indians at Laguna Pueblo in the fall of 1852.

The Gormans were given a delapidated home on the central plaza for which Gorman made most of the furniture. Because the natives were rather hesitant to work for the wages offered them by Rev. Gorman, plus their decreasing provisions -- with no prospect of being able to purchase food from the Indians in any quantity -- a hard winter was in store for the thirty-six year old missionary. By February 20, 1854,  

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3. See Lansing B. Bloom, "The Reverend Hiram Walter Read, Baptist Missionary," New Mexico Historical Review, XVII (April, 1942), 113-117. Gorman born in Ohio in 1818 joined the Baptist Church at the age of 21. At the time of his arrival at Laguna, there were about 1,000 Indians at that pueblo. Olsen, 54.
4. The food that was available was exorbitant in price: thirty to forty cents for a dozen eggs, twelve cents for a quart of milk, twelve cents for three to four pounds of corn meal and a milling charge of one dollar to grind ten pounds of corn into meal. Letter of Samuel Gorman, November 10, 1852 in Home Mission Record, February, 1853 as cited by Olsen, 57.
the mission family had been on a diet of corn bread and gravy for over a month and, because of their failure to get their school or chapel begun, were contemplating giving up the mission at Laguna. The one bright spot in the entire winter was that the need to beg and haggle with the Indians to buy food and fuel had given the Gorman family the chance to become acquainted with most of the people of the pueblo.

Gorman, realizing that he could expect little success until he could communicate with the people, began to learn Spanish, and after six weeks of concentrated study was able to hold services in the pueblo, using an interpreter to translate the Spanish into Keresan. Permission was given by the leaders in the pueblo to hold regular Sunday services, but two days later a "vicar" of the Roman Catholic church arrived and reprimanded the head man for granting Gorman this privilege. As a result the use of the church was forbidden Gorman, but he decided to preach in his home and the leaders agreed that he would be allowed to do this.

Hostility against the mission remained high until July of 1853, when, in a dramatic turnabout, Gorman was adopted as a member of the Laguna pueblo with all the rights and privileges. From this moment the path of the missionary was much straighter and smoother, a site for a permanent mission was established and plans for a school to educate children from neighboring pueblos were made. The Indians gave a great

5 Olsen (p. 58) makes the comment that the Gormans found out later that this attempt to starve them out had been the work of the native shamans and Roman Catholic priests, but offers no reference or documentation.

6 Olsen, 62-63.
deal of labor to the completion of the mission building, and on December 25, 26, and 27, 1853, three of the four Baptist missionaries in New Mexico gathered to dedicate the chapel. Shortly thereafter Gorman opened a store on the advice of the agent, Captain Henry Dodge, and thus gained more contact with the Indians. By the end of 1853 the period of non-acceptance was over.

In the first five months of 1854 the missionary traveled through the area around Laguna, as well as working in the pueblo. In May, Jose Sanon, who had been acting as Gorman's interpreter, requested additional instruction and became the first native convert in the territory. Sanon was reviled by both the priests and the other Indians for this step. The Indians were disturbed because the priests had refused to say mass at the pueblo while Gorman and Sanon were there. In August of 1854 Sanon was baptized, and became Gorman's helper, aiding him as lay preacher, interpreter, translator of religious documents, and clerk in the store. This increased activity by the Baptists was matched by a stepped up campaign by the priests, who urged the faithful to drive Rev. Gorman from the pueblo. The large majority of the people were only confused by the priest's charges of heresy and the countercharges of superstitious practices by Gorman. In June, 1855, the attempt to oust the Baptist missionary reached a climax. The question was decided in Gorman's favor because he had been adopted as a tribal member, and such action would be a breach of tradition.

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7 Ibid., 63.
8 Ibid., 67.
9 Ibid., 69.
By 1855 the chapel which had been dedicated in 1853 had become too small, and a new chapel site was sought. Over three years passed before a chapel of stone was completed and this was also used as the school. The educational work of the Gormans had begun in December of 1852 when they had opened a school for those Indians who would come. The struggle was continuous, but Mrs. Gorman, who had taught for fifteen years prior to her marriage, reported that she had never seen pupils learn so fast for the amount of time spent in school. As with the mission itself, the school flourished after the acceptance of the mission family into the pueblo in 1853.

On March 1, 1859, Rev. Gorman left Laguna to take over the ministry at Santa Fe. One of the chief reasons for the move was that the lack of social life during the work at Laguna made a change imperative, especially for Mrs. Gorman. Jose Sanon was left in charge at Laguna and given license to minister to the surrounding pueblos. In 1861 Sanon died, and by the mid-sixties the mission ceased to exist.

In the same year that the Gormans took up their residence at Laguna, Rev. Milton J. Shaw was starting his work among the Navajos of the Fort Defiance region. Shaw's primary job was chaplain at the fort, but in addition he also ministered to the Navajos. In the fall of 1852, a temporary lull in the hostilities enabled Shaw to create the groundwork for his plans to christianize the Navajo. During this uneasy truce

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10 Ibid., 108.
11 Ibid., 81.
of six months, Shaw made several trips among the Indians, gaining their confidence, learning their customs, and attempting to learn the language. Occasionally a few Navajos would visit the fort, but Shaw realized that the only way to minister to these Indians was to move with them in their nomadic wanderings, a situation he viewed with less than enthusiasm. A missionary would have to "travel and sleep in the wilderness where no human habitation meets the eye . . . associating with a group of half clad dirty savages while the hideous howling of wolves, and other wild beasts of prey, mingled with the no less disagreeable yells and wild songs of the Indians."\(^{13}\)

The chief aim of the missionary was the establishment of schools for the Navajo children, and he urged the chiefs to encourage the sending of children to school. Although the chiefs promised to do so, little came of it. In the spring of 1853, hostilities between the United States and the Navajo began again, and Shaw's plans to start a school were frustrated. While Shaw deplored the punitive expeditions and believed the majority of the Navajos well disposed, he did believe the charges made were valid. By summer of 1853 hostilities had subsided and Shaw resumed his work. By September it was clear that the missionary had gained the friendship of the Navajos, for he had now been granted safe conduct by the chiefs.\(^{14}\) The situation seemed so encouraging that Shaw was given an assistant, Rev. Franklin Tolhurst, in the spring of

\(^{13}\)Quoted from "The Journal of J.M. Shaw," *Home Mission Record*, January, 1854, as cited by Olsen, 49.

in 1854. The two men attempted to expand the mission field, but failed, as did an attempt to establish a mission at Zuni. One reason for this increased activity was the news that the famous Jesuit from Oregon, Father Pierre de Smet, was coming to minister to the Navajos. When de Smet decided not to come, the crisis passed. The last records from the mission to the Navajos are for the summer of 1855. In the autumn of 1855 Shaw obtained a leave of absence because of his wife's ill health. Since Tolhurst had left the previous fall to assume duties at Santa Fe, the mission closed after only three years of operation.

The Baptists were the only Protestant missionaries to the Indians of the Far Southwest during the 1850s. With the abandonment of the missions of Gorman and Shaw, the Baptist Church withdrew from this field and did not reappear until the last decade of the century. In the intervening years a definite and well reported amount of Protestant mission work was carried on in three specific areas of the region: among the Pueblo Indians of the Upper Rio Grande, among the Pimas and Papagos of Arizona, and at the Albuquerque Indian School.

In 1868 the Presbyterians established a mission at Jewett, New Mexico Territory, under Rev. James Roberts; but until 1895, when the Methodists took over, the work was sporadic at this place. In 1876 Rev. John Menual, who had come to the Navajo reservation six years earlier, was moved to Laguna by Rev. Sheldon Jackson. Menual took up the remnants of the Baptist work, and by 1878 a church had been organized.

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15 Olsen, 52.
16 Olsen, 285-86.
and a school begun. The school was of the contract type, in which the government paid a stated sum per pupil and the religious organization supplied teachers, buildings, and equipment. A school was also opened at Jemez, but a combination of government and church control, plus Catholic opposition, forced it to close. A day school at Zuni was flourishing by 1895, and one at Isleta lasted ten years (1884-1894) under both government and church control. All other attempts to open day schools among the Indians of New Mexico failed, partly because of the opposition of Roman Catholic priests. In 1893, in line with their new policy of separation of church and state, the Presbyterians severed all connections with the government and its conduct of Indian schools.

Prior to 1890 the most active work among the Indians of Arizona was that of Rev. Charles Cook among the Pimas. Cook was the first Protestant missionary to the Pimas, and until his coming, federal agents to the Pimas made constant reference to the lack of mission workers. Cook (Koch) was born in Germany and confirmed in the Lutheran Church. As a young man he drew away from organized religion and spent several

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18Ibid., 31.

19"Since the United States came into possession of this country, there have been no attempts made . . . by any religious denomination to establish schools or churches among any of the tribes of the territory." See report of George W. Leahy, Superintendent Indian Affairs, Arizona Territory in the "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867," House Executive Document 1 part 2 (40th Congress, 2nd Session), 153.
years at various jobs before landing at New Orleans in 1855. He worked
two years as a druggist and a printer's helper, then sailed for New
York where he enlisted in the Third U.S. Cavalry. He served in the
Southwest during the Civil War and took part in the battles at
Valverde and Apache Canyon. He was discharged at Paraje, New Mexico
Territory, but in 1864 re-enlisted in the First Regiment of New York
Light Artillery. While waiting to go to the front, Cook was moved by
the preaching of a Dr. Shaw and joined the Presbyterian Church.

On June 17, 1865, Cook was discharged and, after over a year of
driftling, settled in Chicago and took work as a bank clerk. At the
same time he had charge of the Halstead Street Mission. Cook hoped to
be sent as a missionary to China, but in 1868 he read an article in the
New York Evangelist by Major (Brevet Brigadier General) Andrew J.
Alexander outlining the need for missionaries to the Pima and Papago
Indians. Cook at this time was a member of the Methodist Episcopal
Church. A year after reading General Alexander's letter he decided to
go to Arizona, and on September 1, 1870, began his trip, traveling by
railroad, stage, ox train, military vehicle, and private transportation.

On December 30 he reached the villages of the Pima Indians, over whom
the Dutch Reform Church had been assigned jurisdiction by the Bureau of
Indian Affairs in accordance with the newly established "Peace Policy"

20 Isaac Whitmore and Charles Cook, Among the Pimas or The Mission
to the Pima and Maricopa Indians (Albany: Ladies Mission School
Association), 19.

21 John M. Hamilton, "History of Presbyterian Work Among the Pima
and Papago Indians of Arizona" (Unpublished Masters Thesis, Dept. of
History, University of Arizona, 1948), 19.

22 Among the Pimas, 23.
of the Grant administration.

In his agent's report for 1870, Captain Frederick E. Grossman had criticized the lack of missionaries to the Pimas and Maricopas. He welcomed Cook enthusiastically, and on January 1, 1871, Cook was appointed as government teacher at 600 dollars per year. Grossman doubted the feasibility of a day school, but agreed to try it. On February 15 Cook began instruction, and on the same day he learned that his salary had been raised to one thousand dollars a year. Grossman soon became an ardent advocate of the day school, and wrote to Superintendent Bendell late in March suggesting that the government supply books, slates, chalk, and copy books for the school as the children showed a definite tendency toward obedience and a desire to learn. On May 31 the first school term closed with an average daily attendance for the three and a half months of thirty-eight pupils. The students had learned the alphabet, a few English words, and could count, print and sing a few hymns.

Cook continued to teach in the government school and overcame the problem of parents who would not compel their children to attend school by offering material inducements -- such as a noonday meal which was paid for by Rev. Cook and Agent J. H. Stout. In July, 1872, Cook returned to Chicago and married Anna Barth. Mrs. Cook taught in the school for one year and then retired to care for her family. During the first nine years that Cook was on the Pima Reservation, he drew no

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23Hamilton, 23.
24Ibid., 24.
salary from the mission board of the Dutch Reform Church, supporting himself altogether as a government teacher and later as a clerk in Charles T. Hayden's store. 25

Despite the relative success of Cook's endeavors both at the agency near present Sacaton and at the Maricopa village of Hol-chi-cum, he did encounter resistance from the medicine men. They threatened the missionary with death if he continued to teach and preach the gospel. The chief objection of these shamans was that the preaching of Christianity put an end to their profitable business of selling charms to the Pimas to ward off evil spirits. One of the more common techniques of opposition was the declaration of the medicine men that an evil spirit in the shape of a rabbit was lurking in the vicinity, and unless a hunt was held the village was in danger. Such hunts would reduce the attendance at Sunday services to nearly zero.

By 1876 the average attendance at the school was fifty-eight, but despite such an increase Cook resigned as teacher in 1878 and the school was closed for nearly nine months. From September of 1878 until mid-1880 he worked as a clerk and trader in Hayden's store and on Sundays conducted religious services for the Indians. Cook, however, still desired to be able to devote full time to missionary work. In 1879 Rev. Sheldon Jackson visited the Pima reservation with the idea of placing the Pimas under the control of the Presbyterian Church. In 1881 the Dutch Reform Church turned its missions over to the Presbyterians. 26

25 Among the Pimas, 40.
26 Hamilton, 30.
Cook, with the urging of Jackson, now resigned from Hayden's employ and became a minister of the Presbyterian Church.

As a full-time missionary, Cook rode about talking to the Indians in their fields and homes. In 1881 the day school became a boarding school, and Cook conducted religious instruction classes and gave organ lessons. In 1885 the first convert to Christianity, Manuel Roberts of Blackwater, was baptized and soon other Pimas followed Roberts' example. One of the early converts was the chief of the Pima police.27

Unfortunately, in the midst of all this success, Cook clashed with the Indian agent, Roswell Wheeler, over a charge by the agent that Cook was interfering with his work by advising the Pimas not to let Wheeler run their ranches. On January 6, 1886, Wheeler requested Cook to leave the reservation, citing as the reason "... his long, continued and constant interference with the Agent and his work." Cook left, but wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on January 8 that Wheeler had not brought his charges before the U. S. Indian Inspector, Mr. G. R. Pearsons, and that Wheeler was known to be a Spiritualistic-Writing Medium and an avowed enemy of the church.28 After several others also came to Cook's defense, the Commissioner ordered Wheeler to allow Cook to return to the reservation, but the missionary was also warned not to interfere in agency affairs and told to stick to preaching.

27Ibid., 32.
28Cook to Atkins, Casa Grande (January 8, 1886) No. 1651 in classified file of 1886, Land Office, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives as cited in Hamilton, 34.
Three years passed, and in the winter of 1889 Cook was again charged with interference. But this was merely a misunderstanding resulting from his overly zealous attitude on behalf of the Presbyterians.29

An adjunct to the work of Cook among the Pimas was the attempt of the Presbyterians to establish a school among the Papago Indians. In 1881 the Board of Missions began to talk of a school for the Papagos on the condition that the government would provide a building and some of the meals. Three years later Dr. F. J. Hart was appointed teacher-physician to the Papagos at San Xavier. Despite a debate over whether to establish a day or boarding school, Hart began a small school and soon had gained the confidence of the Indians. Conditions, however, were poor for learning, and often no pupils would appear and Hart would close the San Xavier School. Hart also began a religious and medical program and, as a result, he was forced to call for an assistant in 1887. But the Commissioner of Indian Affairs denied this request and, because he believed Hart was not spending enough time on his government job, requested his resignation. J. B. Douglas succeeded Hart, but he made little progress and was removed in January of 1888 because he was drinking and was supplying liquor to the Indians.30 From January to December of that year educational work was at a standstill. J. N. Wilson was then transferred to the Papago reservation and a school was opened, but a year later it was closed for lack of funds. This was the last

29Hamilton, 108.
30Ibid., 111.
attempt by Protestant missionaries to work among the Papagos until 1900.\(^31\)

In 1878 Major B. M. Thomas was urging the establishment of an industrial school for the Indians of the southwestern territories at Albuquerque. In April, 1879, he received instructions to locate a suitable site for the proposed school. In December of 1879 an offer of approximately twenty acres three miles from Albuquerque was made on the condition that the school be Catholic, but this was turned down because the tract of land was too small and the conditions too strict.\(^32\) In February of 1880 Major Thomas reported that no land was available and suggested several alternate plans all of which were rejected. Major Thomas now petitioned the citizens of Albuquerque to purchase the needed land and some steps were taken, but this project was also dropped before the end of the month.

At this point missionaries of the Presbyterian Church learned that the Albuquerque Board of Trade was interested in an Indian training school. On August 5, 1880, Rev. Sheldon Jackson arrived on the scene, offered to start a school in the fall, and contracted for the education of the Indian children. This offer was accepted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the school was opened in rented buildings.\(^33\)

\(^{31}\text{Ibid., 113. The Tucson Indian Training School opened in 1888 and by 1892 an active institution and was the one exception to this statement, but it was largely government sponsored.}\)

\(^{32}\text{Ibid. G. McKinley, "History of the Albuquerque Indian School (to 1931)," New Mexico Historical Review, XX (April, 1945), 110-11.}\)

\(^{33}\text{Ibid., 111-12.}\)
During the next two years several offers of land by the City of Albuquerque were declined by the federal government. In the fall of 1882, however, a tract of land two and one half miles northwest of town was purchased by the city and presented to the government. This land was ideally located and within easy reach of the Navajo, Pueblo, Apache, and Ute reservations. While the search for an acceptable location was underway, classes for fifty pupils had been conducted at the nearby village of Duranes on a contract basis of 150 dollars per pupil.\(^3^4\) School was held in a converted home with an average attendance of forty.

In July, 1882, the first superintendent of the school, Mr. J. S. Shearer, resigned and was replaced by R. W. D. Bryan. Major Thomas, the agent, praised Shearer for his industrious and effective work. In October Bryan and the faculty and students moved to the new school site. The buildings could accommodate one hundred and fifty, but by 1885 they had become insufficient and additional room was created with funds from charitable sources in the East. By 1885 there were four classroom teachers, six industrial teachers, two matrons, and the superintendent at the school.\(^3^5\) Superintendent Bryan wished to enroll students who lived near the school rather than to transport them from great distances. He believed it was more important to uplift the entire race than simply improve a few individuals and in the process destroy the bond between parent and child. With this in mind, he encouraged the creation of day

\(^3^4\) Ibid., 113.

\(^3^5\) Ibid., 118.
and boarding schools near the pupils' homes. One of the chief reasons for the increased attendance at the school was its central location as a meeting place for most of the tribes of Northern Arizona and New Mexico. The work of the Presbyterians ended in October, 1886, when the government took complete charge of the school and staffed it with federal employees.

Prior to 1890, little of permanence had been done for the Navajos, but in August of that year the Methodists became active. Rev. T. L. Wiltsee, along with Rev. Thomas Harwood and Rev. Antes, now visited the reservation to select possible mission sites. In his report for 1890 Wiltsee characterized the Navajos as "intelligent and industrious" and possessing some wealth. They were, he said, "far in advance of most of our Indians." When the three missionaries reached Wheatfields, near Canyon de Chelly, they organized a mission service, but were informed by their guide that the Navajo "doctors" wished to hold a ceremony first. These "doctors", who were probably shamans, performed a long ritual, after which the Methodists held their meeting.

Headquarters of the Methodist mission were established at Fort Defiance under Wiltsee. By 1891 the missionaries had purchased property, erected a parsonage, and made plans to build a school and chapel during 1892. The government gave the Methodists an acre and a half of land

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36 Ibid., 116.
38 Ibid., 267.
at Fort Defiance and 640 acres at Red Lake for an industrial institute. The Women's Home Missionary Society was working on the San Juan River about 110 miles from Fort Defiance. By 1894 the work was proceeding well though there was a need for a chapel, a second horse for the minister, and money to hire an interpreter. The Women's Home Missionary Society was also making progress and the Navajos appeared eager to accept Christianity. This mission also served the Hopis. Rev. J. A. Riggin characterized the two tribes as follows:

The Navajo have improved themselves to the extent of their abilities, but still are essentially pagan and no heathen country is as heathenish as these Navajos. They are polygamous, have slaves, and have all the vices of the heathen plus those of our culture. The Hopis are idolaters and worship the snake. They are poor, dark, benighted people.

The work of the Protestant missionaries in the Far Southwest prior to 1890 was not remarkably successful. While the work was spottily reported and doubtless much occurred that is not known, the permanent effects of the few Protestant missions cannot be regarded as great. One of the large stumbling blocks faced by the Protestants was the same that faced the first Catholic missionaries three centuries earlier: the conflict between Christian theology and primitive religion, tradition,


\[40\] Ibid., 268.
and habit. The fact that this conflict persists today is ample reason to appreciate the difficulties which confronted the missionaries who came in increasing numbers to the Indian reservations of the Southwest in the years following 1890. Of all the primitive people of the Southwest, none presented a more formidable challenge to missionary endeavor than the Apaches.

The anthropologist Gladys Reichard has analyzed the points of conflict between the two systems. Although writing exclusively on the Navajo, her statements apply to a greater or lesser extent to all the Indians of the Southwest. A principal problem is the frame of religious reference. The Navajos have a great fear of death and the dead, and thus are not attracted to a religion which has a major deity who has died and risen again. The Christian religion offers the Navajos the concept of giving without reward, where the beliefs of these Indians stress the reason for giving to be the achievement of an end — placate the gods that the corn may grow. Polygamy indicates economic success in Navajo eyes, for if a man takes the responsibility of supporting two wives he must be successful, and the more offspring he has, the more his name will be revered after death. The missionaries usually attack polygamy as soon as they reach the reservation. Another problem is sectarianism, for the Indian who is beginning to understand a strange new religion is doubly confused when told that only certain "brands" are acceptable. Finally the Navajo enjoys his religion: feasting, dancing, and the telling of jokes are integral parts of any observance. Christians on the other hand seem to endure rather than enjoy the practice of their faith. Gladys Reichard, "The Navajo and Christianity," American Anthropologist, XL (January-March, 1949), 67-70.
CHAPTER II

THE PRIMITIVE APACHES:

A GENERAL VIEW

Only in the last seventy-five years has there been any scientific interest in the Apaches and their culture. Prior to 1870 most white men had only one interest in these Indians: to remove them as quickly as possible as a barrier to the settlement of the American Southwest and Northwest Mexico. For the first three hundred years after the white man entered their land, these semi-nomadic tribesmen succeeded not only in keeping their barriers relatively intact but also in raiding and plundering an area which comprised all of Arizona and Sonora, New Mexico and Chihuahua, and parts of Sinaloa, Coahuila, western Texas and southern Colorado. After 1870, however, there arose an increasing interest in the nomadic Apache as a phenomenon of privative culture rather than as a predator to be "hunted to death with fire and famine." 

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1 John G. Bourke, "General Crook in the Indian Country," Century Magazine, XII (March, 1891), 651-52. Bourke indicates that the Apaches raided as far south as the twenty-fifth degree north latitude or the Tropic of Cancer.

2 G. W. Dent to L. V. Bogy, December 31, 1866, I.O.D. 116 as cited in Ralph H. Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1866 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 65. Dent was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Arizona from 1866 to 1869.
Among the first careful observers of the Apache Indians after reduction of the last wild bands were the missionaries who went among them in the last decade of the nineteenth century. These missionaries found a people whose historical experience, physical and mental characteristics, social structure and customs, and religious beliefs were so unique in the aggregate as to create a formidable barrier to the white man's way.

Exactly when the Apaches came into the Southwest is open to debate among anthropologists and ethnologists. The Apaches are an Athapascan people, and belong to the southern division along with the Navajos and the Kiowa.\(^3\) Ethnologists agree that the Apaches migrated from the north along the eastern and possibly the western side of the Rocky Mountains. The chief points of contention among scholars are these: when did the Apaches reach the region they inhabited in historic times, and how powerful were they when the Spaniards first entered the American Southwest in 1540? Frederick Webb Hodge, the eminent ethnologist, is one of the strongest exponents of the belief that the Apaches were not residing within the present confines of Arizona in 1540. Hodge cites as evidence the fact that Coronado's chronicler, Casteneda, did not indicate the presence of Indians in the area which later was to become Apache domain. Hodge goes on to cite other letters and journals of early explorers that indicate the absence of Apache-like people in the

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area which in the nineteenth century was to be marked on the maps as Apacheria.⁵ The opposite viewpoint is based chiefly on the acknowledged fact that the Apaches were not prone to show themselves to large groups of strangers until having determined their strength and the reason for their presence. For example, Grenville Goodwin contends that the Apaches were present in the White Mountains of Arizona, but did not make themselves known to the conquistadores.⁶ Which of these is the correct theory, or closer to the truth, remains a moot point. It may be that the Apaches were in the process of moving into the White Mountains when the Spaniards appeared in the area, and possibly they reached their permanent region of settlement about 1650.⁷

By 1650 the Apaches were dividing into bands for purposes of hunting and raiding. It is very definite that by the last half of the

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⁵According to F. W. Hodge (The Early Apache and Navajo, American Anthropologist, VIII (July, 1895), 230-33), the narrative of the Coronado expedition mentions a group of nomads, the Querechos, and these may have been the forerunner of the Jicarilla and Mescalero Apaches.


⁷Ibid., 67. Hodge Handbook, 63, supports this assumption. There are, however, narratives which indicate Apache-like people were in the area of Oak Creek Canyon and the Verde Valley by 1580. B. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-83, as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Perez de Luxan (Los Angeles: Oviwira Society, 1929), 107 as cited by Jack Forbes in his Apache Navajo and Spaniard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 60.

seventeenth century the Apaches had begun to raid and hunt over the greater part of the territory which was considered their domain in the nineteenth century. A differentiation should be made between the actual homeland of the Apaches and the area in which they raided. In his book, The Apache Indians, Frank C. Lockwood indicates the approximate boundaries of the Apaches' homeland as the Little Colorado River on the north, the main line of the Southern Pacific on the south, the Rio Grande on the east, and the Colorado River on the west.\(^9\) Between 1650 and 1850 the Apaches raided at will in what became the American Southwest and into northern Mexico. Raids into Mexico began about 1688,\(^10\) and by that time the Apaches had been raiding the pueblos of New Mexico for seventy-five years or more.\(^11\)

While the origin of the word "Apache" is fairly clear, the number of these Indians living in the present state of Arizona in 1860 is open to debate. The term "Apache" is a Spanish modification of the Zuni word "Apachu", and was used originally to describe all hostile Indians. The Spanish added descriptive adjectives later on to differentiate between various groups.\(^12\) No official census of the Apaches in Arizona was taken after the United States acquired the territory; but two men, both of whom spent some time in New Mexico and Arizona, did estimate the approximate number of these Indians living in the present state of Arizona in 1860 is open to debate. The term "Apache" is a Spanish modification of the Zuni word "Apachu", and was used originally to describe all hostile Indians. The Spanish added descriptive adjectives later on to differentiate between various groups.\(^12\) No official census of the Apaches in Arizona was taken after the United States acquired the territory; but two men, both of whom spent some time in New Mexico and Arizona, did estimate the approximate number of these Indians living in the present state of Arizona in 1860 is open to debate. The term "Apache" is a Spanish modification of the Zuni word "Apachu", and was used originally to describe all hostile Indians. The Spanish added descriptive adjectives later on to differentiate between various groups.\(^12\) No official census of the Apaches in Arizona was taken after the United States acquired the territory; but two men, both of whom spent some time in New Mexico and Arizona, did estimate the approximate number of these Indians living in the present state of Arizona in 1860 is open to debate. The term "Apache" is a Spanish modification of the Zuni word "Apachu", and was used originally to describe all hostile Indians. The Spanish added descriptive adjectives later on to differentiate between various groups.\(^12\) No official census of the Apaches in Arizona was taken after the United States acquired the territory; but two men, both of whom spent some time in New Mexico and Arizona, did estimate the approximate number of these Indians living in the present state of Arizona in 1860 is open to debate. The term "Apache" is a Spanish modification of the Zuni word "Apachu", and was used originally to describe all hostile Indians. The Spanish added descriptive adjectives later on to differentiate between various groups.\(^12\) No official census of the Apaches in Arizona was taken after the United States acquired the territory; but two men, both of whom spent some time in New Mexico and Arizona, did estimate the approximate

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\(^10\) Goodwin, Social Organization, 94.

\(^11\) Hodge, American Anthropologist, VIII (July, 1895), 234. In 1622, for example, the Spanish had saved Jemez from destruction by the Apaches.

\(^12\) Donald E. Worcester, "The Navajo During the Spanish Regime in New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, XXVI (April, 1951), 102. See also Hodge Handbook, 63 and 67.
population. John C. Cremoigr, who lived in the area for eight years, estimated the total number of Apaches to be 25,000, or which one-fifth, he thought, were capable of taking an active part in warfare. J. Ross Browne estimated the number of Apaches at 12,000, or which 3,000 were warriors.

The Apaches looked upon the Spaniards, and later the Mexicans, as traditional enemies; and raids, according to Goodwin, "were an integral part of the culture and were considered lawful and just for 'did not any people with enemies have the right to raid and kill them?" Prior to 1850 the Apaches had only occasional contact with Anglo-Americans whom they called "enemy", and usually prefaced this term with a description such as "bear enemies" for traders and trappers or, in later years, "black enemies" for the negro soldiers. The first contact with Anglo-Americans was often used by the Apaches as a base date for future events. The White Mountain Apaches, for example, dated events from the Treaty of Goodwin Springs in 1864.

13 John C. Cremoigr, Life Among the Apaches (San Francisco: A. Roman, 1868), 142.


15 Goodwin, Social Organization, 94.

16 Ibid. Goodwin states on page 95 that "bear enemy probably referred to their dress of skins or their hairy appearance."
Physically the Apache was a short, stocky individual, but had a physique and endurance that belied his size. Despite a healthy body, the Apache could not be called handsome, and his speech was a tone language in every sense of the word. The Apache was intelligent, with a complex

17 In 1873 Dr. John B. White measured one hundred men and one hundred women: the men averaged 5'6" with the tallest 6' and the shortest 5'3/4"; the women ranged from 4'7" to 5'2" with the median height being 5'. See Lockwood, Apache Indians, 12. Ralph Beals in Material Culture of the Pima, Papago, and Western Apache (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Field Division of Education, Berkeley, 1934), 3, states the White Mountain Apache is 67.36 inches tall and the San Carlos Apache averages 66.77 inches in height.

18 Most descriptions of the Apache by observers in the pre-Reservation period describes a finely muscled, supple body with a deep chest and strong legs. Clearly a product of his environment of desert and rugged mountains.

19 Lockwood in the Apache Indians, 11, describes the typical Apache face as having high cheekbones, a well formed nose, dark eyes, a strong jaw, firm lips and coarse black hair. In On the Border with Crook (New York: Scribner's, 1891), 123, John G. Bourke divides the Apache into two facial types -- one having flat faces, open nostrils, large noses, thin lips, and a projecting chin; the other with a long face, fine brow, aquiline nose, chiseled lips and chin, and flashing eyes. Early writers often described the Apaches as black due to their dark complexion.

20 Several individuals have commented on the Apache language, probably one of the most extensive studies has been by Rev. F. Uplegger, a Lutheran missionary on the San Carlos Reservation since 1920. On page 3 of the Apache Indians Lockwood quotes Uplegger's description of Apache speech as one of explodent sounds, final breathings, breath checks, aspirates, and glottal stops -- all of which makes it extremely difficult for Europeans to learn or understand. Cremory, Life Among the Apaches, 237-39, indicates the Apaches have a system of counting which enables them to reach 10,000 or beyond.

21 John Cremory spent several months during 1862 with the Apaches at the Bosque Redondo and reported the varied questions put to the officers by thirty or forty of the leaders who came daily to learn about gravity, the spherical shape of the earth, and the cause of rain. See Cremory, "The Apache Race," Overland Monthly, I (September, 1868), 207-08. Generally the children of leaders and chieftains were the most knowledgeable; Goodwin, Social Organization, 540.
temperament, an ethic that differentiated between friend and foe, a democratic concept of leadership, and a bravery that came to its zenith in the face of adversity.

Both the dress and the home of the Apaches reflected their semi-nomadic life. The standard piece of male clothing was a breechclout of rawhide or, after the advent of Anglo-Americans, unbleached muslin.

The emotions of the Apaches were easily aroused and often they would act without thinking or evaluating the causes. Their quarrelsome nature most often appeared when intoxicated. Among their own people the Apaches were jovial and indulged in tale telling, conversation, raillery, and ridicule. Humor was of several types: 1. describing or catching someone in a humorous situation; 2. hinting at possession of religious powers not at one's disposal; 3. punning; and 4. practical joking. The Apaches frowned upon deception of their own people. Cruelty to animals or to humans was not enjoyed by some Apaches. The above taken from Goodwin, Social Organization, 551-58.

In contrast to his attitude toward his friends, the Apache believed any deception or trickery was permissible to gain advantage over an enemy. Cremony in Life Among the Apaches, 86, sums up this philosophy very well.

The Apache was a "pure democrat" in his attitude toward leadership. Leaders were selected on ability to provide economic success on the raid and wise domestic control. An able chief would bring distinction to his local group and attract young warriors, thus increasing the prominence of the local group. Both Lockwood, Apache Indians, 54, and Cremony, Overland Monthly, 203, agree on the qualities of leadership admired by the Apaches.

Grenville Goodwin, Social Organization, 559, points out that if an Apache was cornered he died slowly and took many of his enemies with him. Cremony in Life Among the Apaches states that the Apaches were capable of bold planning, but their strategy centered on taking advantage of every favorable circumstance.

Charles T. Connell in "The Apache Past and Present," Tucson Citizen, February 17, 1921, points out the Apache wore a calico shirt when in camp, but discarded it when on the warpath. Another piece of attire contributed by the Anglo-Americans was a red flannel band to hold the warrior's hair in place.
The women wore a skirt and blouse of rawhide or, in later times, calico. The moccasins of the men reached their thighs and were folded down to a point just above the knees. Those of the women were only ankle high and not as durable as the man's. The homes of the Apaches were constructed of a series of poles set two and a half feet apart and lashed together at the top. During the summer most of the family activity took place in a small ramada near the wickiup, and only in the winter was the dwelling used extensively. Furnishings in an Apache wickiup consisted of some utensils and a few low couches or beds.

Being a semi-nomadic people the Apaches failed to develop complex arts or crafts, such as the weaving or pottery-making skills of the Navajo and Pueblo Indians. The one area in which the Apaches of Arizona were skilled was the manufacture of baskets. These were of twined or coiled construction and the coiled work is a fine example of craftsmanship and beauty. Except for decoration of gan masks or dance shirts, the Apaches showed little pictorial skill.

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28 The covering of the poles varied with location and might be brush, yucca leaves, rushes or grass (Beals, Material Culture of the Western Apache, 20). The wickiup was oval in shape being eight or nine feet wide and ten or twelve feet long.

29 Two or three pots, a tus or pitch covered basket, several knives, a metate, some grinding stones, and a few baskets were the usual items.


31 Lockwood, Apache Indians, 48.
As any roving people the Apaches depended chiefly on wild plants and game for their sustenance, though all but a few groups did develop some agricultural ability. Because of the reliance on wild plants for food, the movements of the local groups or family clusters were controlled by the ripening of these plants. In April the center stalk of the mescal was harvested. July was the month the Apaches harvested the acorns of Emorys Oak, while others would go south of the Gila to harvest Saquaro fruit. Mesquite beans were gathered during August and in November Pinon nuts and Juniper berries were gathered. The Apaches used many other wild plants including various grass seeds, the fruit of cacti, roots of certain plants, wild berries and sunflower seeds. The two staples, however, were mescal and either acorns of the Emorys Oak or mesquite beans. In contrast to seasonal harvest of wild foods, hunting went on

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32 Beal, Material Culture of the Western Apache, 1. Goodwin (American Anthropologist, XXXVII, January-March, 1935, 61) divides the diet of the Apache into three categories: Meat, both wild and domestic provided 35-40 percent of the diet; wild plants supplied the same percentage; and domestic plants provided 20-25 percent.

33 The mescal was placed in a deep pit and baked for several days and then stored for future use. See P. E. Goddard, "Myths and Tales From the San Carlos Apache," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXIV (1920), 17-48. A. B. Reagan describes the taste as the same as squash with a slightly burned tinge (Notes on the Indians of the Fort Apache Region, 293).

34 Reagan in Notes on the Indians of the Fort Apache Region, 295 says the acorns were ground up and mixed in a five to one ratio with flour to make bread.

35 The fruit of the Saquaro served as a sweet, much as we use figs or raisins. See Bourke, On the Border with Crook, 131.

36 Ibid. The beans of the mesquite were also ground to make bread.

37 The Pinon nuts were stored for future use. The Juniper berries were allowed to dry, then were boiled till soft, ground into a pulp which was made into a ball, and stored for winter use. See Goodwin, "Experiences of an Indian Scout," Arizona Historical Review, VII (January, 1936), 34.
year round with the two peaks being in the fall and late spring. The Apaches hunted not merely for meat, but for the hide which was converted into buckskin. In addition to wild game the Apaches ate the flesh of goats, horses, mules, sheep and cattle taken in raids. The Apaches were forbidden, however, by dietary taboos from eating pork, fish, or any water dwelling animal. A third food source were the cultivated crops, notably corn and beans. When winter descended in early November, the Apaches were prepared with a supply of cultivated and wild plant foods and meat, both wild and domestic.

Although the term Apache was originally applied to all the Athapascan people in the Southwest, the emphasis of this chapter will be on the group known ethnologically as the Western Apache. The reason this stress on the westernmost segment is that the Lutheran missionaries to the Apache Indians have done their work among Western Apaches. The designation "Western Apache" has been an arbitrary one, based chiefly on similarity of culture and language. All Apaches could converse with each other and the basic tenets of their culture were the same, but there were sufficient differences to permit an ethnological distinction to be made. Probably the clearest divisions were created by Morris Opler and Grenville Goodwin and these are cited by Lockwood. The Opler-Goodwin classification covers four major groups of Apaches: The Mescaleros located in the area

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38 Meat was fried, boiled, broiled or jerked.

39 See Goodwin, Arizona Historical Review (January 1936), 32-33 for a description of construction of a dam by the White Mountain Apaches and a discussion of the agriculture of the Apaches of Arizona. In mid-September the crops began to ripen and were harvested for the next six weeks (Social Organization, 157).
bounded by the Rio Grande, the towns of Santa Fe and Hondo in New Mexico, and northwestern Texas; the Jicarillas located in northern and eastern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado; the Chiricahuas who roamed from the Rio Grande to the present route of Arizona State Highway 666, and from the Gila River to central Sonora; and the Western Apache residing in the area covered by the San Carlos and Fort Apache Reservation and west to the Colorado River. 40

Grenville Goodwin, the accepted authority on the Western Apaches, enlarges this definition:

By the term Western Apache are included those true, similar Apache groups, who in the past have made their homes entirely with the present state of Arizona, and who still reside there.

40 The Western Apache were composed of five groups which were in turn divided into bands and are listed by Goodwin in Social Organization, 2, as follows:

A. White Mountain Group
   Eastern White Mountain Band
   Western White Mountain Band

B. Cibecue Group
   Carrizo Band
   Cibecue Band
   Canyon Creek Band

C. San Carlos Group
   Pinal Band
   Aravaipa Band
   San Carlos Band

D. Southern Tonto Group
   Mazalzal Band
   Six semi-bands 1-6

E. Northern Tonto Group
   Mormon Lake Band
   Fossil Creek Band
   Bald Mountain Band
   Oak Creek Band

Each band, just as the group, had their own geographic area and were bound together by custom, clan, and blood relationships rather than political ties. Each band had several local groups which were made up of three to six family clusters. The family clusters contained three to eight households which in most cases were related by blood. See Goodwin, American Anthropologist, XXXVII (January-March, 1935), 57.
These similar Apache Groups of Arizona were five in number and I call them here the White Mountain, Cibecue, San Carlos, Southern Tonto, and Northern Tonto Groups. These five Groups . . . are more like to each other than to any other Apache people and as the difference between them and other Apache Divisions is apparently quite distinct, they have been designated . . . "Western Apache" to distinguish them from other Athapascan peoples of the Southwest.41

Goodwin amplifies this description by pointing out that the Chiricahuas are not included because they are somewhat different and do not seem to belong with the Western Apaches.42 Each of the five groups held themselves to be distinct and hostility between them was not unknown, but the various bands within each of the major groups were friendly toward each other.43 There was constant friction, however, between the groups of the Western Apaches and other divisions such as the Chiricahua or Mescalero.

Each local group was dominated by one clan and most members of the group belonged to that clan though other clans might be represented

41Grenville Goodwin, "Clans of the Western Apache," New Mexico Historical Review, VIII (July 1933), 176. On page 60 of Social Organization, Goodwin estimates the population of each group as follows: White Mountain 1,000-1,600; Cibecue 1,000; San Carlos 900; Southern Tonto 900; and Northern Tonto 1,500.

42Social Organization, 60.


44The antagonism of the White Mountain Apaches toward the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches was an important factor in bringing the Apache Wars to a close in 1886.
by marriage. Because all members of a clan were considered to be blood relations, the obligation to aid and defend each other in time of need was taken very seriously. The local group was composed of three to six family clusters which acted together in the harvest of wild plants, the hunt, and the cultivation of crops. The leader of the family cluster had moderate authority in matters such as hiring a shaman, arranging a marriage, or, in modern times, standing behind the charges made at the trading post by members of the cluster.

The society of the Western Apaches was communal, for success was shared by all and thus the unfit, luckless, or lazy would be carried

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45 The clan does not fit into the descending sequence of political organization, rather it serves to tie the separate groups and bands together. There are sixty-one clans in Western Apache society according to Goodwin (New Mexico Historical Review, VIII (July 1933), 177). The clan name describes its original residence or some habit of its founders: "Red Willows people" or "They Color Yellow People" (Ibid., 178).

46 The Apache receives his clan affiliation from his mother.

47 This concept of blood relatives made the marriage of two members of the same clan a rare occurrence. In regard to clan obligations, see Goodwin, American Anthropologist, XXXVII (January-March 1935), 97.

48 The family cluster was organized on a matrilocal system and often included three generations: an old couple, their daughters and husbands, the granddaughters and their husbands, and any unmarried sons or daughters of the last two generations. Each family had its own dwelling unit, often some distance from each other. Goodwin, Social Organization, 127.

49 Goodwin in Social Organization, 158-59 offers this rule of thumb to determine the probability of the local group acting as a unit: the closer to their home territory the larger the number, the further away the smaller the size. Lockwood states that one economic function which was carried on by the local group as a unit was the raid, for the local group was at heart a community of interest (Apache Indians, 53).
along by the wealthy, lucky, and industrious. In Apache society property was individually owned with the exception of land and food stores which were owned by the local group though one man controlled them and allotted portions to the individual families. Land ownership included not only planting rights but all that was on the land. Personal property was never used without the owner's consent. Property was loaned readily and any person who refused to lend his property was considered stingy.

Theft was uncommon. The most frequent was one woman stealing from another, and such quarrels were considered trivial. Most actual thefts were by boys who would pilfer corn from neighboring fields. Generally they were whipped or reported to their parents, but in either case no sympathy was forthcoming. Stealing of livestock was infrequent and any rustlers caught were executed.

50 Going hand in glove with this generosity was the gregariousness of the society of the Western Apache, for no Apache liked to live alone. One of Goodwin's informants, an Indian Scout, stated that he spent his first night alone when he was thirty and was ill at ease. See Goodwin, Social Organization, 123-24.

51 Ibid., 150. Goodwin points out that the farm owned by a local group had definite boundaries and trespass was resented.

52 The property of an Apache was his to do with as he pleased, and even the wishes of a child were observed in disposing of property that belonged to him. Ibid., 376.

53 When property was loaned the borrower would explain why he needed it, and upon its return would indicate how the item had been used. If the lender and borrower were close no recompense would be given, but an unrelated person usually made the owner a small present, such as inviting him to have a drink or doing him a favor in return.

54 If the owner discovered his livestock before it was slaughtered, he tried to get it back and usually was successful. In such cases no penalty was evoked.
A main drive of Western Apache society was "getting even", which provided the stimulus for tulapai parties, compensation payments and feuds. The most basic form of compensation was payment for crops destroyed by livestock. This same form of quid pro quo was used in both accidental and intentional death or injury. Compensation was paid in cases of accidental injury. If there was no payment offered, one was demanded by the representatives of the injured party. In cases of accidental death the most eloquent of the maternal blood relatives of the murderer went to the relatives of the deceased and arranged the type and amount of compensation. Upon payment the incident was forgotten. In cases of intentional injury the procedure was much the same. Feuds developed out of intentional death and consisted of a series of revenge

Goodwin, Social Organization, 550.

Generally the animal was held until the damage was paid for and then the animal returned to the owner. (Ibid., 388). Compensation payments for any reason were in goods such as livestock, buckskins, blankets, saddles, etc. On page 402 of Social Organization there are three examples of payment for intentional death in which horses were given.

If the injurer refused to pay the aggrieved party, he either dropped the suit or awaited a chance to get even. Ibid., 395.

Compensation usually was paid to avoid a retaliatory killing, though if the survivors considered the death unavoidable no payment was demanded. Ibid., 397.

Often if two men fought and one was injured both sets of relatives would counsel to ignore it. But if a demand for compensation was made it was paid for frequently the aggrieved party would injure the adversary upon recovery.

If the murderer wished to pay compensation he and his kinsmen would flee to the mountains until payment was arranged. If the indemnification offered was insufficient, the murdered person's kin would reply, "Let us fight as long as you last." Goodwin, Social Organization, 399.
killings until one or the other side paid up or was wiped out. If possible the murderer was killed, but if not, anyone of the same sex as the deceased from the assassin's family and clan was slain. 61

The Apaches were not amoral; indeed their sexual mores were on par with our culture or even higher. The social contact between the sexes prior to marriage was very restricted. 62 After the girls reached puberty their interest in boys increased, but, as with our society, the boys did not evince a corresponding concern until sixteen to eighteen. Girls married about sixteen or eighteen, while the men did not marry until they were twenty to twenty-five. 63 Despite limited social contact there were numerous instances of pre-marital intercourse or other sex crimes. The Apaches' attitude toward those who indulged in "night crawling" was that they were secondhand or despoiled. In cases of sexual aggression the man was made to pay. 64 If it was not rape a blanket, horse,  

61 If the killing had been especially brutal or inexcusable and the relatives of the assassin had no sympathy with him, they might solve the question by giving him to the family of the deceased to be killed on sight as bete noire. Ibid., 400.

62 Children played together until eight or nine years of age. By eleven or twelve they were associating only with members of the same sex. See Goodwin, Social Organization, 285.

63 Ibid. The chief social contacts between young people came at the dances and often the young woman took the lead. The man frequently would give the girl of his choice a gift, and acceptance would encourage his suit. When a man had decided on a certain girl, he would ask an intermediary to speak to the girl's parents and make the necessary arrangements. After an exchange of gifts the young couple would set up housekeeping. Goodwin in Social Organization, 288-327 has a detailed description of courtship among the Western Apaches.

64 Refusal to pay might be a basis for a feud.
or some other piece of property of the offender was destroyed. If the charge was rape, he would be forced to marry the girl. Rape of a married woman, or even unwelcome advances, was reported to her husband who would kill the offender and public opinion would support his actions. Rape was frowned upon, but incest was looked on with complete loathing and the closer the relations of the two the more unspeakable it was. 

Marriage among the Western Apaches was for either love or money and, if one discounts the arranged or forced marriages, love was the stronger motivator. Marriage was considered essential in the society of the Western Apaches for without it their social and economic life was halved. There was little public display of affection among married couples, yet jealousy of attentions paid the opposite sex was the curse of both partners. Each resented the other dancing with another, but the

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65 Goodwin describes two instances of abuse of these social practices to gain an end. The more original is the temptation of a young man who owns a fat horse by the divorced or widowed daughter of a family who needs to replenish their meat supply. If the temptress was successful, the parents would demand recompense and kill the horse thus gaining a fresh supply of meat. Such scheming was frowned upon by the community as a whole. Goodwin, Social Organization, 394.

66 Participants in such abnormal acts might be driven from camp, but generally were tried in public, accusations made and confessions elicited, and death followed. Only when the man could convince the crowd that he could bewitch them were they allowed to escape the death sentence. Ibid., 417-20.

67 Goodwin in Social Organization, 339, states, "... the Apaches marry for love just as often as whites do ..."

68 Both men and women had specific tasks that the other could not do or would not do. The women worked in camp, tanned hides, gathered wild plants, and cared for the children. The men hunted, raided, tended the stock, and performed any hard physical labor. Goodwin, American Anthropologist, XXXVII (January-March, 1935), 59.
degree and extent of such dancing determined the reaction. Cases of infidelity were treated in one of several ways: husbands beat their wives or, in extreme cases, cut off the tip of her nose; women would throw rocks at the offender, attempt to knife him, drive the spouse from the wickiup, or destroy the dwelling and leave him to shift for himself. Polygamy was not very common in pre-reservation times, for it was a rich man's prerogative. The taking of a second wife involved little courting and often was done to ease the burden of the first wife, or to improve the status of the second mate's family. The first wife directed the work of all future spouses. Divorces among the Apaches of Arizona could be obtained upon varied grounds including laziness, maltreatment, continual quarreling, fear of bodily harm by the partner, and, of course, infidelity. Generally one or the other member simply left camp and never returned.

Among the responsibilities of the women was the control of the food supplies, the making of marriage arrangements, the distribution of wealth, and the discipline of the children. Children among the Western Apaches were treasured. Up to the age of six the children did very little, but from the age of six on they were instructed by a parent or relative in

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69 Goodwin in his Social Organization, 352, points out that he heard of only twelve plural marriages prior to 1880 and eight of these men had only two wives, two had three, one had four wives, and one hardy soul was married to six women.

70 All property belonged to the woman if she was deserted. Cases of a woman deserting her husband and children were rare, but in such circumstances the children would be raised with the aid of female relations. See Goodwin, Social Organization, 343-44.

71 Despite this, according to Goodwin, Social Organization, 538, the Apache male considered himself superior to the women. Whenever husband and wife went somewhere the wife generally walked or rode one or two paces behind, and the men were always served first when a mixed group ate together.
the skills they needed, and by age twelve were an integral part of the routine of the camp. The Western Apaches seldom lost their temper with a child, for they believed a child acts the way he does because of ignorance rather than disobedience. Feigned anger was sometimes used to gain obedience and even if he realized it was not actual, the child would respond to avoid the real thing.

The Western Apaches had numerous contacts with other tribes which inhabited the areas surrounding their homeland in eastern and north-central Arizona. Of these tribes they suffered the most from the Navajos, who were north and east of them. Warfare was not constant, however, and during times of peace, the Apaches traded mescal, horses, mules, buckskin, baskets, and bow staves for Navajo blankets, sheepskins, gun powder, lead, cloth, and Buffalo hides. The Cibecue and Southern Tonto groups, and especially the Northern Tonto, had contacts with the Hopis in which they offered the same articles as offered in the Navajo trade and received Hopi blankets, corn, firearms and iron hoes. The Zunis traded with and raided against, the White Mountain and Cibecue groups for these same items. Relations of the Western Apaches with the Chiricahuas were friendly prior to 1870, but only the White Mountain and San Carlos bands had continual contact with them. Trade was slight, but

72All the material given here on Western Apache relations with other tribes is found in Goodwin, Social Organization, 71-96. On page 65 there is an excellent map showing the tribes which surrounded the Western Apaches in 1850.
several elements of Western Apache culture came from the Chiricahuas.

Relations of the Western Apaches with the Opatas, Apache Mansos, Papagos, Pimas, and Maricopas were hostile and the White Mountain, San Carlos, and Southern Tonto groups received the brunt of this antipathy. Friendship with the Yavapai, on the other hand, was general, and buckskins, moccasins, and baskets were exchanged for prepared fruit of the giant cactus, and metal knives to cut the mescal plant. Contact with the Havasupai and Walapai to the northwest and west was hostile rather than friendly.

Contact between Western Apaches and Europeans began in the seventeenth century. Goodwin states the first raids into Mexico by the Western Apaches occurred about 1680. Raiding privileges were divided between the various groups. The White Mountain Apaches moved down the Aravaipa and the San Pedro Valleys, and then fanned out to the east and west in Sonora. Tucson, the Pima and Papago villages, and other points south in the Santa Cruz Valley were left to the Cibecue and San Carlos groups. The depth of the Western Apache influence in Mexico is said by Goodwin to extend as far south as Hermosillo, as far east as the San Bernadino River in Sonora, and west as far as the Gulf of California. Raids might last eighty days, and the booty might include livestock, blankets, metal knives, cloth, and occasionally firearms and leather-goods.  

Religion played a large part in the daily life of the Western

73 The most prominent of the cultural contributions was the introduction of tiswin among the White Mountain Apaches.

74 Material on raiding privileges, depth of penetration into Mexico, and type of booty can be found in Social Organization, 93.
Apache. Opler cites several instances where his informants have opened a discussion of the religious life of the Apache by pointing out that the Apache is a very religious person. This religion of the Western Apache manifested itself in the seeking of supernatural help in meeting his problems or conducting his affairs. A discussion of the religion of the Apaches of Arizona can be divided as follows: basic beliefs, the myths related to these beliefs, supernatural powers, and the use of supernatural power by the shamans.

The religion of the Western Apaches was a multi-diety belief with a supreme being, a series of lesser deities, and a great number of specialized divinities. In Charge of Life or Giver of Life was the chief divinity and the creator of life on earth; though his name was familiar, he was indefinite having no exact sex, and a dwelling place which was "above". The sun was the next in rank, but the general concept was that the sun and the supreme being were the same. Changing Woman controlled the length of life of the Western Apache and fertility, and was the mother of Slayer of Monsters, Naivenasgani, who lived on earth at one time. These three were the principal supernaturals. There are other lesser deities such as Pollen Boy, Pollen Girl, Turquoise Boy, White Shell Girl, Thunder People, and Water Old Man. The Gans were the largest.

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76 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
group of supernaturals; they had lived on earth at one time as people, but left to search for eternal life and now resided in certain mountains, the clouds, and beneath the ground. 79

The Apaches assigned a human frame of reference and sex to many natural phenomena: the earth was female, the sky was male, the sun was male, the moon female, east and west were male and north and south were female. The Apaches had a hard and fast color code for each direction beginning in the east and reading clockwise the assigned colors were black, blue, yellow, and white. 80 Anything associated with a direction was given its color and sex so that the south wind was female and blue. All the supernaturals which inhabit the spirit world of the Apache could do him either good or evil depending upon whether the particular supernatural liked him or not.

The myths of a people often tell a great deal about them, and those of the Western Apaches are no exception. Of especial interest are the series of myths which deal with the creation of the world, the first people, the culture hero, and the flood. Generally the first tale in the Apache series was "The Earth is Set Up," but after that the other stories could be in any sequence. 81 The myths cited are largely from the San Carlos or White Mountain Group, but the tales of any Western Apache group would be much the same. The myths and tales were of two categories, those told to the general public (Creation and Na'iyenezgani)

79 Ibid., 27.
81 Grenville Goodwin, Myths and Tales of the White Mountain Apaches (New York: American Folklore Society, 1939), VII.
and the holy tales reserved for those who know the ceremonies connected with them.

The Apaches of the White Mountain and San Carlos groups generally credited the creation of the earth to several beings, in most cases, four. These four created the earth, developed it, and stabilized it. The stabilization of the earth was achieved by placing whirlwinds with metal inside at the four points of the compass; i.e.: Black Whirlwind with black metal to the east, Blue Whirlwind with blue metal to the south, and so on. The vegetation was put on earth as hair to keep it warm, rocks acted as bones, and rivers as veins. After placing the sun and the moon, the work of creating the earth was finished. The tales go on to speak of people inhabiting the earth, without attempting to describe the origin of the people.

The Western Apaches' accounts of the flood are much like a simplified form of the Biblical account, in which the evil inhabitants of the earth were drowned in the flood and only a select few were saved.

82 Goodwin, Myths and Tales, 1, speaks of four people working on the earth. P. E. Goddard lists the four as Black Metal Old Man, Black Big Spider, Black Whirlwind, and Mirage (Myths and Tales from the San Carlos Apaches, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXIV (1920), 7). J. G. Bourke ("Notes on Apache Mythology," Journal of American Folklore, III (July-September, 1890), 209) speaks of twelve gods with twenty-four assistants plus twelve black winds, twelve heavens, twelve suns, and twelve moons as having a part in the creation of the earth.

83 Other tales tell of creating four feet on which to stand the earth or using four ropes to tie the earth down.

84 Goodwin, Myths and Tales, 1.

85 Most myths read by this author simply indicated that man was on the earth.
Both of the tales read by this author state that the vessel used to escape the flood finally came to rest on a flat, sandy plain and from that point on they differ; one tells of the birth of the culture hero, the other describes the part turkey and bear played in providing food and reseeding the earth. The flood is not a major part of the mythology of the Western Apache, rather the major portion is the Naiyenezgani or Culture Hero tales.

Naiyenezgani is the son of the Supreme being and a virgin. Who this virgin was, is not too clear. Some think she was Ests'unnadlehi who was the sole survivor of the flood, others believe that the daughter of Ests'unnadlehi was the mother, and a third group of myths simply state it was an unnamed virgin. Naiyenezgani was not completely formed at birth for he lacked fingers, fingernails, hair, toes, a nose, ears, lips and joints. A majority of the myths provide a brother for the culture hero, who was conceived by allowing water to enter the mother of Naiyenezgani. At an early age Naiyenezgani inquires who his father is. After some hesitation, his mother tells him it is the sun and he decides to go and visit him. Once again there is a great divergence in the description of the barriers that Naiyenezgani encounters on his way to

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86 This was the mother or grandmother of Naiyenezgani.
87 The most complete account of the flood is found in Goodwin, Myths and Tales, 50-51.
88 Goddard, Myths and Tales San Carlos Apaches, 8. A fourth area of thought ascribes his birth to Changing Woman.
89 The question of a brother is rather unimportant, for the tales deal with the culture hero and the brother appears to be only a companion in some of the early adventures, notably the trip to the home of the sun.
the home of his father. Upon reaching the home of the sun he is admitted by the wife of the sun who hides him when the sun approaches and then accuses the Supreme Being of infidelity and brings his son out of hiding. The sun attempts to kill Naivenezgani by giving him "tobacco that kills" to smoke, but he smokes it and lives; next he throws him into four fires -- black, blue, yellow and white -- but this fails also. After several more attempts the sun acknowledges him as his child and with the aid of others, or by himself, gives him fingers, toes, hair, nose, ears, joints, and so forth.

The sun also gave the hero weapons, offering him the choice of guns and white men's clothes, or the bow and arrows and dress of the Apache. Naivenezgani chooses the dress and weapons of the Apache and returns to earth where he goes out to slay all the monsters who harm man. Once again the number and types of monsters slain vary little with the myth related, but the culture hero kills them all and thus earns the name Slayer of Monsters. The final conquest of the culture hero is Goliilisi who is holding great numbers of people in slavery. Slayer of Monsters in a series of games of skill and chance manages to win all the people from Goliilisi and they are freed. Because of these and many other exploits, Naivenezgani is the chief folk hero of the Apaches of Arizona and the tales of his deeds are often longer than any of the other myths.

In addition to tales dealing with the major supernaturals, the Western Apaches also have numerous tales about the coyote, owl and Cans.

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^90 If the reader is interested in this myth or any of the other myths of the Western Apache, both Goddard and Goodwin are excellent sources.

^91 Goodwin, Myths and Tales, divides the myths of the Apache into
These myths are not concerned with religion, but rather are used to instruct and illustrate the right or acceptable way of acting. For example, the coyote cycle of myths is devoted to this, and the hero, "Slim Coyote" gets in and out of scrapes and performs outrageous deeds much to the amusement or shock of the Apache listeners. The coyote is also credited with aiding the Apaches, and being able to constantly outwit the white man. Big Owl and the Gans are bogeyman to the Western Apaches and often naughty children are threatened with them to insure correct behavior.

The religion of the Western Apache people has many ceremonies invoking the supernatural powers in their various guises, for aid in the problems of Apache life from hunting and raiding to the finding of lost objects and controlling the elements. The supernatural powers are considered both beneficial and harmful, though more the former than the latter. These powers work to guard man and counteract the forces which would harm him. Though the powers are considered alive, inanimate objects may be sources or representatives of them. A power could be used to protect from harm by other powers, or even to neutralize or combat the source of power from which it came; i.e.: deer power was needed if one was to kill deer, bear power was used to combat bear sickness, and snake power could protect one from snakes. The amount

major and minor cycles: Coyote and Naiyenezgani are the major cycles; and the Gans and Big Owl the minor cycles.

92Goodwin, American Anthropologist, XL (January-March, 1938), 28. "To the question, 'Just what is religion?' I once received the answer, 'It is supernatural power,' and this is true, for it is the keynote." 93Ibid.
of power possessed by a source varied and was dependent on the relation
of the shaman or medicine man and his power source, and how it was
utilized or called upon ceremonially. Each power had a function which
no other power could imitate. Because the Apaches look upon the powers
as persons, they pray to Dawn Boy, In Charge of Life, The Snake People,
or White Shell Girl, rather than the dawn, sun, snakes or a white shell.

The Western Apache could become the agent for a power in several
ways. Every Apache male or female was a potential shaman and possessor
of supernatural power. A person could receive a power at any time:
while he was alone, in a small group, or in camp amidst many people. A
power came when it believed the individual was a person through whom it
could work. The person approached might decline to become an agent for a
power for several reasons — disinterest, sorrow, or suspicion. But
usually the power would be accepted. When an Apache obtained a power he
waited instructions about the songs, prayers, taboos and ceremonies
associated with the power, and often would travel to the "power's home"
to be instructed. Frequently a man who became an agent for a power had
certain restrictions placed on him. Often a person would be approached
by several powers during his life and become "loaded down with powers."

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94 Morris E. Opler, An Apache Lifeway (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1941), 206, and Goodwin in volume 40 of the American
Anthropologist as cited above.

95 Opler, American Anthropologist, XXXII (January-March, 1935),
67. But Opler in Apache Lifeway, 202, qualifies that by noting that few
receive powers before they reach puberty.

96 Opler, American Anthropologist, XXXVII (January-March, 1935),
67.
Another mode of acquiring a power was to have it transferred to you from an older shaman who possessed it, but once again the power determined this by indicating that he approved of the candidate. Though the individual Apache could, it would appear, claim any number of powers, he did not, for a false claim might enrage the power and bring disaster to the impostor. If a person who claimed a "power" and performed the ceremonies failed to achieve his aims, then it was presumed his power had deserted him, and he had to either try and regain its confidence or accept the loss of the supernatural's favor. There were three types of ceremonies which the Apaches used: the traditional in which no innovations were made, the semi-traditional in which some new songs or prayers might be added if the power consented, and the third which was created completely by the shaman via inspiration from the power.

Despite the fact that any Western Apache could become a shaman, he did not need to possess a certain power to call on it, for anyone could pray to a supernatural, but only those selected could act as its agent. Prayers to a power were either traditional or spontaneous. One of the most common prayers asked for long life, health and safety for one's children. Petitions might be directed to any power, though the Sun as representative of the supreme being was most often called on. The need often determined the supernatural prayed to. If prayers to one supernatural failed another was called in, and this was also the

97 Opler, An Apache Lifeway, 211.
99 Ibid., 28.
rule if the ceremony of one shaman failed.

The shamans of the Western Apaches were one of the most important groups in the society of these people. Writers who have had dealings with the Western Apaches both at war and at peace agree with this.

It will only be after we have thoroughly routed the medicine men from their entrenchments and made them an object of ridicule that we can hope to bend and train the minds of our Indian wards in the direction of civilization. In my opinion, the reduction of the medicine men will effect more for the savages than the giving of land in severality or instruction in the schools . . . .

Goodwin indicates the medicine man was the "... focal point of almost all communal action among the Apaches ... because through his knowledge and control of the supernatural he could influence the outcome." The medicine men functioned as individuals, there was no dogma, religious societies, or organized priesthood. The shaman generally had no obligations to his local group, but if called upon to combat an epidemic or disaster he would respond. The local group looked on the shaman as "its own" and if he did foolish things which endangered his powers, the people resented it because the benefits they might gain could be affected.

The medicine man often had more power than the chiefs for if his power indicated the need for a certain action few would dispute this decision. But the shaman was not an untouchable and could suffer grievous punishment if he were wrong or predicted an endeavor to be a success and it was

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102 Goodwin, Social Organization, 187.
a failure. Often the result of such an event was the death of the shaman by stoning. For this reason the medicine man seldom failed to "hedge his bets" or have a reason to offer for an unpredicted failure.

The functions of a Western Apache shaman were many and varied, but the event to which he was most often called and that brought him to the zenith of glory was curing the sick. If one person was ill a few songs and some drumming composed the entire ceremony, but if there was an epidemic, dancing would be included. Other remedies used by the Apaches were based on herbs, roots, or other vegetable matter taken internally; hot teas were often used to cure chills and sweat baths were used a great deal. One standard piece of equipment of the Apaches of Arizona in any ceremony was a bag of hoddentin, the pollen of the tule or cattail, and nearly every Apache had a small bag of it with him at all times. The uses of this pollen were varied: it was used promiscuously in the puberty rites, it was scattered when the hunt, raid, or planting of corn was to commence, a quantity was sprinkled on the dead, it was used to seal a bargain, and as a restorative when one was worn out. Amulets, medicine hats, medicine shirts, and any other sacred regalia must be blessed by the shaman, if not made by him. The Apache had a fondness for amulets and talismans, and several were placed on the cradle board to protect the baby. Turquoise was highly valued by the medicine

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104 Bourke, Medicine Men of the Apache, 462. Bourke theorizes that chants, a steady drum beat, and/or dances may induce a deep sleep which will do more for a person than any medicine.
105 Ibid., 471.
106 Ibid., 501-02 and 506.
men and all attempted to have a piece with them at all times. Finally, a word should be said regarding the payment of shamans. Generally they were paid at the time of the ceremony by the patient or his relatives. The amount or type was dependent on need, how important or rare the ceremony was, and the wealth of the patient.

Though there are no ceremonies connected with burial and death, it can be included in a discussion of religion among the Western Apaches. The attitude toward death was a complex one, but our knowledge of actual practices is small. The general custom of the Apaches of Arizona was as follows: the body was prepared for burial with suitable clothes, it was carried to a cleft in the rocks or a grave and covered with stones; all the possessions of the deceased were destroyed near the grave, the wickiup was burned and the family moved away from the area; the name of the deceased was never spoken again and even secondary references to him were few. Goodwin, who once again is the chief source, admits that exact descriptions are vague and often have segments of Christian belief combined into the native concepts. Because of the reticence of the Apaches to talk about it, and the lapse of fifty to seventy-five years, it is difficult to determine the exact pre-1850 attitude toward death.

In 1853 the Gadsden Purchase added the last piece to the present limits of the continental United States. The 30,000 square miles ceded

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107 On the San Carlos and Fort Apache Reservations, the modern method is to break all the windows in the home and abandon it. This is not done with government built houses because destruction of federal property is a serious crime.
by Mexico now gave to the United States government the remainder of the
domain of the Apaches -- and with it the problem of subduing these
Indians who for two hundred years had ravaged the American Southwest and
Northwest Mexico. The foe the United States had to face possessed the
physical and mental characteristics, the historical experience, the social
structure and customs, and the religious beliefs which would support them
in the final forty-year struggle against the settlement of their ancestral
lands by the Anglo-Americans.
CHAPTER III

A HERITAGE OF HATE:
APACHES VS. ANGLO-AMERICANS; 1850 - 1890

For more than two hundred and fifty years the Apaches had ruled their domain by force, and neither the Spaniards nor the Mexicans had caused them any appreciable amount of trouble. In 1848 the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo transferred much of the land of the Apaches to the United States. One of the provisions of this treaty was a pledge by the United States to prevent Apache depredations south of the international boundary, to pay damages for any such depredations, to prevent American citizens from trading for goods stolen in Mexico, and to return all rescued captives to their homes in Mexico. In the forty years following 1850 the Apaches of the Southwest were forced gradually to submit to the

1Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo included the following provisions: in regard to the "savage tribes" residing within the territory ceded by Mexico:

"...all such incursions within the territory of Mexico (by these savage tribes) ... shall be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States ... and when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished ... and satisfaction for the same shall be enacted ... . It shall not be lawful, under any pretext ... for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican ... who may have been captured by the Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two Republics, not to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property ... stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians."  

will of the new white rulers of their land, but "civilization" did not accompany the conquest. In the process of their submission these Indians, whom General Crook called "the tigers of the human species," learned to distrust and to hate the Anglo-Americans as fervently as they had hated the Hispanic-Americans of the earlier period.

In 1850, John Russell Bartlett's boundary survey team passed through the southern part of the Mexican Cession, and while at the Santa Rita copper mines in New Mexico had several disagreements with the followers of Mangas Coloradas. Meanwhile the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico, James S. Calhoun, was gathering as much information as possible on the Indians under his jurisdiction. He transmitted his findings to the authorities in the East with his recommendation that the Navajos, Comanches, and Apaches be brought under control. Failure to do this would leave the region "... a howling wilderness, with no other inhabitants than the wolf and the birds of prey hovering over mangled remains of our murdered countrymen . . . ."

Calhoun's prediction seemed to be justified by the conditions in Arizona, and particularly in the fate of the Oatman party. In August of 1850 the Oatmans and several other families left Independence, Missouri, intending to settle at the junction of the Colorado and the Gila. By the time they reached the Pima Villages, their food supplies were depleted and several of the families decided to turn back; but the Oatmans went on,

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2 The most notable were over the release by force of Mexican captives of the Apaches. In Life Among the Apaches, 61-66, John C. Cremony describes this episode.

3 Annie H. Abel (ed.), The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun (Washington: G.P.O., 1915), 1685-86. See Frank D. Reeves, "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1860," New Mexico Historical Review, XII (July, 1937) and XIII (January, April, July, 1938) for policies by the U.S.
and after covering more than half of the distance to the Colorado, they were attacked by Tonto Apaches. The mother, father, and youngest child were killed; Lorenzo, aged fifteen, was clubbed; and the two girls, Olive and Mary Ann, were taken captive. In July 1852, John Russell Bartlett passed through Southern Arizona and cited the impunity with which the Apaches raided in the Santa Cruz Valley.

In 1853 the area south of the Gila was added to the United States by the Gadsden Purchase. Two years later Michael Steck became Indian Agent for New Mexico, and, during the next five years, made several suggestions regarding the solution of the Indian problem. In 1857 Steck reported that all of the territory of present-day Arizona except Tucson was in the hands of the Apaches. Steck believed that the Indians should be maintained on a reservation west of the 109th parallel and north of the Gila River until they were self-sufficient. During the first years of United States' rule the Apaches were not at peace nor were they at war with the Anglo-Americans. Rather, they raided occasionally and at the same time permitted stage stations and routes to be established in the heart of their territory.

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4 The Oatman Massacre did end happily, for Lorenzo was able to return to the Pima Villages where he completed his recovery and began to search for his sisters. The girls had been traded to the Mohaves in 1852, and soon after Mary Ann, age nine, died; but in 1856, through the intervention of a friendly Yuma Indian, Olive Oatman returned to civilization. She rejoined her brother in San Diego, and in 1858 they returned to the East. R.B. Stratton, Captivity of the Oatman Girls (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1858).


7 Ibid., 579. In his reports of 1858 and 1859 Steck continued to urge the establishment of a reservation north of the Gila.
This amity was shattered in February, 1861, in another clash of Apache and American ethic far more disastrous than that of ten years earlier at Santa Rita del Cobre. In October of 1860 some stock was stolen and a child kidnapped from the Ward ranch near Sonoita, Arizona. In February, 1861, George H. Bascom, a graduate of West Point in 1858 and a second lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry, was sent from Fort Buchanan to regain the stock and child. Upon his arrival at the Pass, an interview with the Chiricahua chief, Cochise, was arranged. While under an accepted truce, Bascom made Cochise and his party captives. But Cochise escaped, and after two weeks under siege -- interspersed with futile negotiations -- Bascom's detachment was relieved. In retaliation for the death of three whites, the military hanged six of the Apache captives, including several of Cochise's relatives. As a result of the "Bascom Incident", Cochise launched a full-scale war against the people of the Southwest which lasted eleven years and came close to destroying every white settlement in Arizona.

For more than a year the Apaches reigned supreme in the Southwest. In mid-1862 the California Column under Colonel James H. Carleton

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8Opinions on Bascom's exact instructions vary, but the consensus of opinion is that he was sent to investigate and take necessary action.


10In July, 1861, the two forts south of the Gila were abandoned and burned when the military went East to join in the Civil War. Soon only Tubac, Tucson, and several heavily fortified ranches were still "safe"; i.e.: as long as one remained within 100 yards of their walls. The withdrawal of the troops was noted by the Apaches and logically credited to their recently launched war, which they pursued with renewed intensity. See Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 108.
moved across Southern Arizona, and in July of that year an advance guard of the column engaged a large number of Apaches in Apache Pass. On July 27 General Carleton, realizing the importance of Apache Pass and the Springs located there, established Camp Bowie and garrisoned it with one hundred men under Major T. A. Coult. The passage of the California Column did not alter conditions in Arizona, however, for Charles D. Poston described the Apaches in 1864 as "... the scourge of the country for more than three centuries, and yet they continue to prey upon this exposed frontier with unparalleled audacity." Late in 1864 Carleton began an intensive campaign against the hostile Indians, and patrols from Tucson and from Forts Bowie, Goodwin, Whipple, Canby, Wingate, Craig, and McRae were dispatched with orders to exterminate all hostiles or force them onto reservations. In the two months that followed, these patrols crossed and recrossed the land in the hope of unnerving the hostiles and demonstrate the futility of resistance. Results were meager, however, and any success was offset by increased hatreds on the part of the Apaches.

In January, 1865, Carleton was relieved of command in New Mexico. The newly created Territory of Arizona was now assigned to the Military

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11 For an excellent description of the Battle of Apache Pass see Cremony, Life Among the Apaches, 162-167.
14 Not all Apache-American contact was hostile during 1864. John Rope described the first contact of the Eastern White Mountain Apaches and the military at Fort Goodwin as a friendly relationship. See Grenville Goodwin, "Experiences of an Indian Scout," Arizona Historical Review, VII (January 1935), 36-38.
Division of the Pacific, and with the resultant decrease in the strength of the army units the Indians raided with little restraint. In February of 1865 the Apaches attacked Fort Buchanan and drove the troops out. In February of 1865 the Apaches attacked Fort Buchanan and drove the troops out.  

In the Prescott area the Americans provoked the Yavapai and the Yumas by killing two of their chiefs and several other tribesmen. These Indians joined in the war on the whites and by early June the abandonment of central Arizona seemed imminent. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs estimated the Apache population at 15,000 and stated that they were in control of Arizona east of a line drawn through Seligman, Skull Valley, Wickenburg, and Gila Bend. In May, 1865, the bleak situation was relieved by the arrival of one thousand troops under Colonel Mason. Mason divided Arizona into subsectors and made each sector commander responsible for his own field operations. The summer passed and nothing of note came of this attempt to control the Apaches. The winter campaign was more successful and the Indians were struck several times. In March of 1866 military activity ceased once again, and from 1866 to 1869 the Apaches dominated

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15 Ralph Ogle, Federal Control of the Western Apache, 1858-1866 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 153.
16 In his report to the Commissioner, Superintendent G. W. Leihy stated that the audacity of the Apaches far exceeded any of their former movements. Most of the less friendly tribes had joined them and many of the formerly non-hostile groups were wavering. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865 (Washington: G.P.O., 1865), 128.
17 Ibid., 506. This line would run north and south one hundred miles east of the Colorado River.
18 The one positive event in 1865 was the establishment of Fort McDowell near the junction of the Verde and Salt Rivers. This forced the hostiles, raiding south, to pass through the lands of the Pima and Maricopa, their perennial enemies. Ogle, Federal Control, 154.
Arizona with only occasional flashes of action by the military or civilians. In 1869 Brigadier General E. O. C. Ord, commanding the newly created District of Arizona, decided to try to establish a reservation for the Apaches rather than to launch a new campaign against the hostiles. He sent Major John Greene into the White Mountains to investigate the status of the Apaches residing there. Green found these Indians desirous of peace, but nevertheless proceeded to destroy over one hundred acres of corn that was ready to be harvested.

By 1870 sentiment in the East against force as the solution to the Indian problem was increasing, and peaceful methods were widely advocated. As a result President Grant developed his celebrated "peace policy", and in the spring of 1871 the Quaker churchman, Vincent Colyer, was sent to Arizona to deal with the Apaches. On September 7, 1871, Colyer reached Fort Apache in the White Mountains of Arizona. He was

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19 In 1867, Major Robert Jones described Arizona as being more dangerous to the traveler than it had been ten years earlier. Report of the Secretary of War, 1867. Enclosure B-1 in the Report of the Commander of the Division of the Pacific, 81.

20 Papers Accompanying Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869. Appendix J to Vincent Colyer's Report, 545. Green states that there was "... no settled policy (toward the Apaches), but a general policy to kill them wherever found." This could well serve as a summary of the entire decade after 1861.

21 Colyer's coming was hastened by the Camp Grant Massacre of April 30, 1871, when a band of Americans, Mexicans, and Papago Indians swept down on a camp of Aravaipa Apaches who had been living in peace near Camp Grant, and killed eighty to one hundred women and children. President Grant threatened to put the territory under martial law unless the guilty parties were tried in a court of law. In the resulting trial all were acquitted. See James R. Hastings, "The Tragedy at Camp Grant," Arizona and the West, Volume I (Summer, 1959), 146-161. For a general treatment of Grant's "peace policy," see Martha L. Edwards, "A Problem of Church and State in the 1870's," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XI (June, 1924), 37-53.
welcomed by the Indians and they in turn were assured of the benefits of a peaceful existence by Colyer. From Fort Apache Colyer traveled to Camp Grant where his concept of the "noble savage" was further strengthened. His final stop was at Camp Verde where, on October 3, he created a reservation for the Indians of that region. Because of Colyer's apparent success, the government decided to try to bring Cochise onto a reservation. In April, 1872, Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard arrived in Arizona. After visiting the various reservations during May, he returned to the East; but in August he reappeared to conclude a treaty with Cochise. In October Howard and Cochise met in the Chiricahua Mountains and reached an agreement which brought the last hostile group of Apaches onto a reservation set aside for them in southeastern Arizona.

The problem of maintaining the "calm" created by the "forces of peace" was Lt. Col. (Brevt Brig. Gen.) George Crook's. In the fall of 1872 Crook was ready to bring all the Apaches who were still hostile under control. The date for the start of the campaign was November 15, and the plan was to defeat one band or group at a time until all had accepted life on the reservations. In the first phase, columns from

22 Though Colyer was welcomed by the Indians with great joy, the citizens of Arizona reviled him with threats and terms including "cold blooded scoundrel," "red handed assassin," and "old devil."

23 General Crook had come to Arizona in June of 1871, and immediately began to gather information on the Apaches and the terrain they were fighting on. After an exploratory march from Tucson to Fort Whipple via Camp Bowie, the Graham Mountains, the San Carlos River, Fort Apache, and Camp Verde, Crook had devised a plan to defeat the Apaches, but further operations were halted until the missions of Colyer and Howard were completed. Discussion of Crook's march can be found in Martin F. Schmidt, General George Crook: His Autobiography (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), 163-67.
Camps Hualapai, Date Creek and Verde swept around the Tonto Basin region and forced the Apaches into this area. In the second phase the columns were to maintain continual contact with the hostiles until the Apaches surrendered or were killed. A number of battles were fought and from December to February nine separate columns operated in the Tonto Basin area. By early March the Apaches began to come onto the reserves in large numbers, and on April 7 the last hostile groups surrendered. For the first time in thirteen years a true peace was enjoyed by the citizens of the Arizona Territory.

The Apaches of Arizona were located on three major reservations plus two minor ones. With the end of hostilities the creation of a workable reservation policy became a problem. Crook had developed a policy of control and self-government that appeared to have possibilities of success. It called for each male Indian to be given a numbered tag and daily, or weekly, counts to be made. General Crook believed in the education of the younger Apaches and the gainful employment of the older individuals. He also used former Apache Scouts as police, and as a nucleus for future self-government. Unfortunately these plans did not materialize and, though the territory was to enjoy two years of peace,

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24 One of the best descriptions of this campaign against the Apaches is found in Bourke's On the Border with Crook, 176-198.

25 In February 1873, Congress had abolished several of the superintendencies, including Arizona, to simplify the management and increase and facilitate the efficiency of the respective agencies. Under the new plan each agency was to purchase its own supplies and report directly to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A board of five inspectors were to monitor and examine the agencies at least twice a year and report to the Secretary of the Interior. See Ogle, Federal Control, 119-20.

26 Bourke, On the Border with Crook, 182.
the end of the Apache wars was still twelve years away.

The two minor reservations were Camp Grant on Aravaipa Creek, and Camp Verde on the Verde River. Both of these reserves existed for only a few years before the Indians were moved to San Carlos and the land returned to the public domain. Camp Grant was created by General O. O. Howard in 1872. During the short time it existed Camp Grant was plagued by the absence of a permanent agent. In the spring of 1873 the Indians were moved to San Carlos. The Camp Verde reserve was not acceptable to the Apaches and problems there were thus compounded. In April, 1873, 360 Apaches from Camp Date Creek were moved to Camp Verde, and in May 1,200 Apache-Yumas and Apache-Mohaves were also placed there. Because of lack of tools an agricultural program was not begun by the Agent in 1873.

Poor health conditions and a degree of lawlessness also contributed to the unrest of the Apaches. In the summer of 1874 the Commissioner decided to move the Apaches to San Carlos and in February, 1875, 1,400 Indians left Verde for San Carlos.

In 1870 a reservation had been created in the White Mountains of

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27 George Stevens was made temporary agent in May, 1872. In December Stevens received notice that George Larabee was to be permanent agent at Camp Grant. On February 9, 1873, Dr. R.A. Wilber took over as acting agent and on the 10th, Crook learned that the Camp Grant Indians wished to be moved to San Carlos. He persuaded acting agent Wilber to do this, and in March 1,500 Indians moved to the reservation on the Gila.

28 In his report for 1873 (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873 (Washington: G.P.O., 1873), 287), Agent Williams requested 25,000 dollars to create irrigation ditches and open 1500 to 2000 acres to cultivation. This could make the reservation self-supporting. The Indian Office denied this request because they were contemplating removal of the Camp Verde Indians to San Carlos.

Arizona to provide for the Apaches of that region. During the three years that followed most of the White Mountain Apaches remained at peace with the Americans and several served as scouts for Crook in his campaigns. During the first two years of its existence the reserve was not furnished with funds, books, stationery, or agricultural implements. By June, 1873, there 1,675 Indians on the Fort Apache reservation and they had 283 acres of land in cultivation, and were also caring for the stock issued them. These peaceful conditions continued during 1874 and five miles of irrigation ditch was dug enabling 300 additional acres to be cultivated. The White Mountain Apaches were making strides toward a civilized society when a conflict of civil and military authority stopped this progress.

The second major reservation was the Chiricahua in southeastern Arizona. The first agent, Tom Jeffords, soon learned that the government would not provide much help to the agency and so he used his own funds to buy the necessary supplies. In addition to the lack of

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30 Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873 (Report of James Roberts, Agent at Fort Apache), 290.
31 Ibid.
32 In July, 1874, the military ordered the punishment of all Indians found off reservation lands, even if they possessed passes signed by Agent Roberts, and in September the army took over the issuance of rations. In February of 1875 the military seized control of the agency and Captain F. D. Ogilby ousted Roberts. Commissioner Smith, puzzled by this, turned the control of the agency over to John P. Clum, agent at San Carlos.
33 It was created in 1872 by Howard in his treaty with Cochise. Tom Jeffords was made agent and on November 15, 1872 there were 1000 Apaches on the reservation, a number that remained relatively constant for the next three years.
provisions, Jeffords faced two other problems: Indians from other agencies drifted onto the Chiricahua reserve and used it as a staging point for raids into Mexico, and the Chiricahua Apaches were not interested in agriculture or stock raising. On June 8, 1874, Cochise died — and the greatest power for peace among the Chiricahuas died with him. In February, 1876, the beef ration was cut off and Jeffords allowed the Chiricahuas to leave the reservation to hunt game. A segment of the tribe moved into the Dragoon Mountains, but the group quarreled and twelve families refused to return to the reserve. The individuals that remained in the mountains began to raid into Mexico and the San Pedro Valley of Arizona. Because of the renewed hostilities, Jeffords was suspended and John P. Clum given charge of the reserve. On June 5 a conference was held and the Chiricahuas agreed to move to San Carlos, and on the 12th 325 Indians began the journey. Thus by mid-1876 all the Apaches in Arizona were located on the San Carlos Reservation.

San Carlos was created in 1872 by General O. O. Howard and in 1873 agency headquarters were moved from Camp Grant to the junction of the San Carlos and the Gila. Because of a power struggle between acting agent R. A. Wilber and George Larabee, the permanent Agent, the

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34 Contributing to the problems was the fact that Jeffords ran a "loose reservation" with infrequent head counts, feeding of visiting Indians without question, and issuing of rations in bulk rather than individual lots.

35 In April one of the leaders of this small band killed Rogers and Spence, the operator and cook of a nearby stage station, when they refused to sell him more whiskey. In mid-April a troop of cavalry pursued the band without success. James P. Dunn, Massacres of the Mountains: A History of Indian Wars in the Far West, 1835-1875 (N.Y.: Harpers, 1886).

36 When the Camp Grant Apaches were removed from their reserve on the Aravaipa to San Carlos, the agency headquarters moved with them.
military seized control of San Carlos in May of 1873. The army remained in control until August 8, 1874 when Agent John P. Clum arrived and reinstated control by the civil authorities. Clum began his administration at San Carlos by instituting reforms to increase the self-sufficiency of the Apaches. By March, 1875, the agency was under efficient civil control and the addition of the Camp Verde Indians caused little disruption.

In April of 1875, Clum — acting on orders from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs — assumed control of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. On April 19, he counted all males at the agency despite military efforts to block the count. In May Clum was called to Washington and upon his return carried instructions to move the Indians from the northern reservation to San Carlos. When he attempted to do this he discovered that half of the White Mountain Apaches would not leave before their crops were harvested or their leaders returned from serving as scouts for the army. By December, 1875, however, all but 300 of the Apaches had moved to San Carlos.

37 Under Captain W. H. Brown drunkenness was reduced and the Indians accepted the government's policies and began to farm and raise livestock. Ogle, Federal Control, 111.

38 Clum created an Indian police force to enforce laws against tiswin brewing. He also used Apache labor to build the agency buildings and encouraged the Indians to practice agriculture. Woodworth Clum, Apache Agent (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1936), 13h.

39 Captain Ogilby attempted to override Clum's authority and, failing in this, released all Indian prisoners and refused to accept those arrested by Clum's Indian police. He also ordered the soldiers to only act to protect government property. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875 (Washington: G.P.O., 1875), 217.

40 There were about 1,600 Indians at San Carlos and 300 at Fort Apache at the end of 1875. Ibid., 218.
The first few months of 1876 were among the most peaceful the San Carlos Reservation, and Arizona in general, had had in many years. The Apaches were gainfully employed, discipline was being enforced by the Indian police, and events seemed to indicate the dawn of an era of quiet. But in April renegade Chiricahuas began to raid in Mexico and Arizona and in June Clum brought 325 of the Chiricahuas to San Carlos. From June, 1876 to March of 1877, events at San Carlos continued in their calm course. In March Clum again clashed with the military, and when the Commissioner refused to support him in a showdown he resigned and left the reservation on July 1, 1877.

The resignation of John P. Clum came just over two years after General George Crook left Arizona. The departure of these two individuals marked the conclusion of six years of enlightened military and civilian Indian administration. In the next five years both civilian and military control was to be characterized by inefficiency, graft, corruption, and disregard for the Indian.

Mr. Sweeny, Clum's agency clerk, took over as interim agent until

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1 The question of the thoroughness of Clum's removal of the Chiricahuas is an interesting one. Clum stated in his report for 1876 that there were 150 Apaches on the reserve and later indicated that he removed 325, leaving 125 unaccounted for. Jeffords in his report claims there were approximately eight or nine hundred Apaches on the reservation; of these 140 went to the Warm Springs reserve and 325 to San Carlos, leaving 325 to 425 not accounted for. Thus there may have been as many as 400 or as few as 125 Apaches unaccounted for. The puzzling question is, where had they gone?

2 In April Clum took time off from his dispute with the army to effect the capture of Geronimo, thirteen other renegade leaders, and their followers. See Ogle, Federal Control, 173-75 for a discussion of this final consolidation by Clum. For Clum's story of this capture, see Apache Agent, 212-22.
H. L. Hart, the new agent, arrived in August. Soon after his arrival Hart had to cope with a major outbreak. In spite of this his administration had an auspicious beginning, for he indicated a willingness to cooperate with the military and received unusually prompt support from the Department of the Interior. During the last four months of 1877 and the first six months of 1878, the Apaches continued to behave and under Hart's direction dug over twelve miles of new irrigation ditches and made progress in agriculture and stockraising. Apaches were also employed off the reservation at Globe, McMillianville, in the mines, and at nearby ranches.

Unfortunately, beneath this veneer of quiet and progress, Agent Hart was silently grafting. When Hart became agent he received a crew which was characterized as a "bad lot" by Inspector Vandeveer. Hart did not remove these men, although he did fire George Sweeny and replace him with George Smerdon. Hart began converting government goods into private funds, and in January of 1879, he was accused of selling supplies to the miners at Globe and McMillianville and other camps. An

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On September 1, Pionsenay slipped into the San Carlos reservation and took several non-combatants that belonged to his group back to Mexico. The same night 310 Apaches under the leadership of Loco and Victorio left for Mexico. This group was pursued by the military and forced north. After a month-long chase they surrendered at Fort Wingate, New Mexico.

The Indians living on the San Carlos River and below the agency on the Gila raised 1350 bushels of barley and 100 of wheat. In August, 1878, there were eighty acres of corn and beans under cultivation. Stockraising was progressing and there were 521 cattle and 769 sheep owned by Indians in June, 1878. See Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878 (Washington: G.P.O., 1878), 7.

Hart stated Sweeny was a drunkard and a "hardcase". However, Smerdon also had a fondness for liquor. Ogle, Federal Control, 190.
investigation by Inspector Hammond was made and the extent of Hart's
graft revealed. In July, 1879, Hart was relieved by Captain Adna
Chaffee. Chaffee improved the welfare of the Indians by allowing them
to leave the reservation in large numbers to gather wild food plants and
also allowed 355 to return to their homes in the White Mountains. One
of the major problems of Chaffee, as with other agents before him, was
the irregular delivery of goods. Often goods ordered in July for
delivery in October arrived in February. Chaffee served as a temporary
agent until July, 1880, when he was replaced by J. C. Tiffany of the
Dutch Reform Church.

Tiffany began his administration in a manner that indicated
promise of improvement in the welfare of the Apaches. He organized a
Sunday School, planned to begin a regular school, and seemed interested
in helping the Apaches. Unfortunately all these promises were merely a
smoke screen, for within five months after assumption of duties, Indian
Inspector Mahan reported Tiffany was signing for goods not received, had is-
sued short rations, juggled agency accounts to aid himself, and might be
in collusion with the agency butcher. Despite these examples of

\[\text{\textit{Ibid.}}, 195. \text{Ogle cites two examples: 1. Hart used a can of}
\text{high grade flour for samples of the flour being issued to the Indians;}
\text{2. Hart would return beef herds to the contractors after inspection and}
\text{would not re-inspect the cattle before issuing them to the Indians.}\]

\[\text{\textit{But Mahan pointed out that these evidences of graft were not}
\text{reason for dismissal, as Tiffany's motives were honest, and Secretary}
\text{of the Interior Shurz allowed Tiffany to remain as agent. Ogle, Federal}
\text{Control, 201.}}\]
dishonesty, Tiffany's facade remained secure, and he reported an increase in the number of acres under cultivation from 150 to 1000 between 1880 and 1881, with crop yields five to ten times as great and the number of livestock almost doubled. \(^{48}\) By March of 1881, Agent Tiffany was swindling the government in every phase of operations at the agency. \(^{49}\)

In the spring of 1881 a shaman in the Cibecue area, Noch-ay-del-klinne, began to claim he could raise the major Apache leaders from the dead. When his attempts failed, he claimed it was because of the presence of the white man on the ancestral lands of the Apaches, and stated that the leaders would return when the whites were driven out. \(^{50}\) By early summer the "ghost" dances were increasing. After several futile attempts to lure the medicine man to the San Carlos Agency, Tiffany requested Colonel (Brevet Brigadier General) Eugene A. Carr, Commander at Fort Apache, to capture the shaman. \(^{51}\)

\(^{48}\) See Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881 (Washington: G.P.O., 1881), 7 and 8, for comparative figures compiled by Tiffany.

\(^{49}\) Tiffany had created a cattle ranch with government cattle, and fed these cattle on government grain. He sold wagons bought for government use to private individuals, the agency blacksmith was charging the Indian scouts to shoe their horses, and the post trader was selling excess supplies to the civilian population. See Ogle, Federal Control, 210-213, and Bourke, On the Border with Crook, 138-40 for more examples of graft at San Carlos.

\(^{50}\) Thomas Cruse, Apache Days and After (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941), 93-95 and 106, sketches the life of the medicine man, Noch-ay-del-klinne, as follows: in 1871 he had gone to Washington with several other Apaches and had met President Grant. He later attended school in Albuquerque and received a smattering of Christianity. In 1881 he was thirty-six years old, 5'6" tall, weighed 135 pounds, was dark skinned, and had the face of an ascetic.

\(^{51}\) On August 13, General Willcox, Commander of the Arizona Military Dept., ordered General Carr to arrest the medicine man as soon as possible.
General Carr received orders on August 28 to capture or kill Noch-ay-del-klinne immediately, and on the morning of the 29th two companies of troops and some twenty scouts left Fort Apache for the medicine man's camp near Cibecue Creek. By two o'clock in the afternoon of August 30, the column was nearing the shaman's camp. After a series of tense exchanges between Carr and Noch-ay, the medicine man agreed to go to Fort Apache with the military. The column began its return, and as it moved toward Cibecue Creek more and more Apaches began to appear on the rear and flanks of the formation. Carr decided to cross the creek and encamp for the night. While the last of the soldiers were fording the creek, one of the Indian scouts, Dandy Jim, shot and killed Captain Edmund C. Hentig.

In the fight that followed, three hundred Apaches surrounded the encampment on three sides and began shooting at will. With night the firing decreased and a check of the ranks revealed seven dead, three wounded, and fifty-eight unharmed. After a brief conference, Carr decided to retreat immediately to Fort Apache. After burying the dead, the column began the return march to the fort, arriving there on the

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52 The Indian scouts had taken part in the dances and Lieutenant Thomas Cruse, the officer in charge of the scouts, did not believe their allegiance was as firm as it should have been and reported this fact to Carr. Apache Days and After, 99.

53 With the first shots, the Sergeant guarding the medicine man killed him as he had been previously ordered to do.
evening of the 31st. The Apaches, however, claimed the entire command had been annihilated and, because the telegraph wire was down, these rumors received wide publication and Eastern newspapers carried reports of a "second Little Big Horn." The Apaches reacted to the "news" in numerous ways: some fled to the mountains fearing retribution by the military, while others headed for Fort Apache to take part in its destruction.55

The siege of Fort Apache began on the morning of September 1, but after a day of intermittent firing, the Apaches withdrew. At the same time Fort Apache was under attack, Chief Nan-Tia-Tish and a band of Cibecue Apaches were raiding in the Pleasant Valley and the previous day another band had killed four men at the top of Seven Mile Hill. Within a week the military had increased its strength and was reinforcing the various posts in Apache country. During the thirty days following September 1, 1881, there was sporadic warfare and a great amount of property was destroyed by both sides. The 25th of September was the final date set for the renegades to surrender peaceably, and on the 20th

54The arrival of Carr and his command greatly relieved the anxiety, to put it mildly, of the people at the fort, as they believed the entire command had been killed. By four in the morning of the 31st, a half-breed had reached the fort with the news that the command had been massacred. The situation was perilous as there were less than 25 men at the fort and without the telegraph there was no way to summon help. Will C. Barnes, telegrapher at Fort Apache, proposed that he climb to the top of the high mesa west of the fort in hopes of seeing something. This request was granted by the officer in charge. Barnes spotted the returning column and signaled the news to the fort. See Barnes, Apaches and Longhorns, 58-62, for his part in the events at Fort Apache.

55Barnes, 58. See also Cruse, Apache Days and After, 118 and Lockwood, The Apache Indians, 241, for descriptions of the Indians' reactions.
five of the mutinous scouts gave themselves up. With the surrender of
the scouts the excitement appeared to be over, but on September 30
seventy-four Chiricahua Apaches under Juh and Geronimo fled the reserve.
The pursuit by the military was unsuccessful, and after a skirmish on
October 2 the hostiles slipped into Mexico.

The flight of the Chiricahuas marked the resumption of the Apache
wars. On April 19, 1882, Loco was forced by Chatto, Natches, and the
pressure of his own followers to join the hostiles in the Sierra Madres.
Seven hundred Apaches fled southward leaving a trail of death and
destroyed property in their wake. The army pursued them and near
Stein’s Pass the warriors delayed the troops until the Indian women and
children had fled into Mexico. General Forsyth continued his pursuit
across the international line and soon the Apaches stumbled into an
ambush at Canyon Alexio, suffered one hundred casualties, and lost most
of their possessions. When seven hundred of his charges disappeared,

56 The five scouts were tried and found guilty -- three were hanged
and two sent to Alcatraz and given dishonorable discharges.

57 On September 30 a detachment of troops was sent to arrest two
of the chiefs involved in the Cibecue revolt. The military waited most
of the day for Chief Bonito and George to surrender, and toward evening
decided to take them by force, but the chiefs fled to the Chiricahua
camp claiming the soldiers were going to attack the camp. The Chiri-
cahuas, fearful the military might be contemplating punishing them for
their crimes while on the warpath, fled the reserve the same evening.

58 Technically the war had never ceased, but had only degenerated
into an occasional flash of activity. Now the flash was a fire and the
next six months were marked by unrest and raids into Arizona and New
Mexico by the Apaches who fled the reservation in October, and other
small groups who had never surrendered.

59 Ogle, Federal Control, 213-14 for details on the exodus of
the Chiricahuas.
Agent Tiffany decided it was the time to resign and on June 30 he left for reasons of health and business. Two months later General Crook returned to the territory.

By September, 1882, the Apaches of Arizona had reached a point of desperation. Both the leaders and the people were distrustful, discontent, discouraged and defiant. No crops had been planted at San Carlos in 1882, and the Indians, because of short rations, were forced to beg or steal. In the last months of 1882 some 5,500 Apaches were still on the two reservations and of these 1,400 could bear arms. General Crook heard the Apaches' views on the problems of the reservation system: removal from their land, arrests for minor crimes, agents who robbed without trying to conceal it, and loss of reservation lands without consent of the Indians, were some of the major grievances. Crook acted to relieve these complaints and bring peace to the reservations.

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60 Lt. Britton Davis described conditions at San Carlos in 1882 as follows:

Everywhere the naked, hungry, dirty, frightened little Indian Children . . . . Everywhere the sullen, stolid, hopeless suspicious faces of the older Indians challenging you. You felt the challenge, . . . to prove yourself anything else, than one more liar and thief differing but little from the procession of liars and thieves that had proceeded you. Davis, The Truth About Geronimo (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), 31.

Crook in General order No. 43 described the "... general feeling of distrust, and want of confidence in the whites . . . (and) the dissatisfaction dangerous to the peace of the country . . . ." Bourke, On the Border with Crook, 436-441, cites G. O. 43 issued at Fort Whipple on 5 October 1882.

61 Davis, The Truth About Geronimo, 40.

62 Bourke, On the Border with Crook, 436-441, describes the conferences Crook had with the leaders of the Apaches still on the reserve.
First he allowed the White Mountain Apaches to return to their old homes. Second the Indians were given the right to police themselves. Third they were encouraged to become self-supporting.

Crook next planned his campaign against the hostiles in the Sierra Madres. In October, 1882, he attempted to open communication with them, but failed. Crook spread his meager forces along the 200 miles of vulnerable border, while Captain Emmet Crawford and 150 scouts patrolled the international line. In March, 1883, Chatto and twenty-six warriors swept out of Mexico on a six day raid which covered 400 miles and resulted in the death of twenty-five people -- the Apaches had one casualty, and another hostile surrendered. This individual, Pa-nayo-tishn, a White Mountain Apache who had married a Chiricahua, was brought to San Carlos. He offered to guide the military expedition to the Chiricahua camp. On April 29, the column reached the border and headed into Mexico.

By May 12, the detachment was near the camp of the Chiricahuas and halted while the Apache scouts attempted to contact the hostiles. On the 15th a renegade camp was surprised, nine warriors killed, and five children captured. The next day six squaws appeared at the military encampment to talk and two days later forty-five Apaches surrendered. By the 23rd there were 220 near Crook's camp. On May 29, more than

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63 The area under surveillance stretched from Sasabees, Arizona to Los Cruces, New Mexico.

64 Crook had obtained permission from the Mexican authorities to cross the border in pursuit of the Apaches. There were approximately fifty whites and 193 Indian scouts in the column. Schmidt, General Crook: His Autobiography, 217.
one hundred Apaches joined the column as it returned to Arizona. The caravan crossed into Arizona on June 15. On the 21st of June, 1883, 325 Apache hostiles reached San Carlos.

A dual system of control was created because of the opposition of the agent and the reservation Apaches to the return of the renegades to San Carlos. The Chiricahua settlements near the headwaters of Turkey Creek in the White Mountains, and under the direction of Captain Emmet Crawford and Lieutenant Gatewood applied themselves to farming. But increasing friction marred the otherwise peaceful atmosphere. In November, 1883, Agent P. P. Wilcox criticized Crawford’s interference with the assignment of lands by the agency farmer, and in December Crawford charged Wilcox with issuing cattle that were inferior. By February, 1884, the management of the entire reservation was being debated. In September Wilcox resigned and was replaced by C. D. Ford. When Crawford began to usurp power under the guise of maintaining peace, Agent Ford objected. After several more unresolved differences Crawford requested transfer back to his unit and was replaced by Captain Pierce in March,

65 During the following nine months about 150 more of the hostiles came into San Carlos.

66 In a memorandum issued jointly by the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Interior, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and General Crook on July 7, 1883, the conditions for the return of the Chiricahua were set forth. First, all Apaches captured or surrendering would be under the control of the War Department, but not at the agency without the consent of the agent. Second, the War Department shall feed and care for these Indians. Third, it will also protect the agent in the discharge of his duties. Bourke, On the Border with Crook, 457.

67 An investigator from Washington stated there was no basis for the complaint though the contract was later cancelled. Ogle, Federal Control, 227.
Before the dispute between military and civil authorities could be resolved, Natches, Geronimo, and 124 Chiricahuas fled the reservation and started toward Mexico. On August 6, 1885, President Cleveland gave the military control of both reserves and Captain Pierce became agent on September 1.

The Apaches once again were on the warpath and by June 10 had entered Mexico. Moving his headquarters to Deming, General Crook prepared for another long campaign. Captain Emmet Crawford and Captain Wirt Davis were recalled to Arizona to command separate expeditions of Indian scouts to be sent into Mexico. After a three month campaign the two columns returned in early October of 1885. In late November Captains Davis and Crawford reentered Mexico leading one hundred Apaches scouts apiece. On January 10, 1886, Crawford attacked the hostile Chiricahua camp and captured most of their food, stock, and equipment. The hostiles requested a conference, but before it could be held Crawford's camp was

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68 In March a Democratic administration took office in Washington and Secretary of War Endicott and Secretary of the Interior, Lamar, favored control by General Crook. An investigation into the possibility of this was begun and both Agent Ford and the inspector suggested Crook and the military take complete command of the Indians on the upper reservation, but pointed out those at San Carlos were making satisfactory progress.

69 The outbreak had been developing for two months before the eruption on May 15-18. During March and April about fifteen Chiricahua malcontents and their followers began to indulge in Tiswin drunks. On May 15, Lt. Britton Davis was challenged by Geronimo, Magnus, Chiricahua, and others to stop them from brewing and drinking tiswin. Davis replied that General Crook would have to decide and dispatched a wire to Captain Pierce. Pierce upon the advice of Al Sieber, Chief of Scouts, did not forward the telegram. After waiting two days the Chiricahuas left for Mexico on the 17th. They cut the telegraph wire and Pierce was not notified of the outbreak until May 18.

70 Schmidt, General Crook, 259.
attacked by Mexican irregulars and in the resulting melee he was killed. Lieutenant Maus took over the camp and the hostiles agreed to meet Crook near San Bernadino Springs in two months.

On March 16, 1886, contact with the hostiles was established and the conference scheduled for Canyon de Embudos on March 25.\textsuperscript{71} The meeting opened after lunch as the Apaches began to drift into the camp of General Crook by twos and threes.\textsuperscript{72} Geronimo opened the parley by stating he fled the reserve in fear of his life after mistreatment by Lieutenant Britton Davis, Mickey Free, and others. Crook charged that this was not true and pointed out that Geronimo had broken his promise of 1883 to remain at peace. He then offered the Apache leader two choices — continue to fight or surrender. The meeting adjourned while the Indians debated the terms. On March 27 the renegade leaders agreed to surrender with the understanding they would be sent away for several years. Crook telegraphed Sheridan that the Apache problem was solved.

Unfortunately a rascal named Tribollett sold the Chiricahuas mescal, and several of the leaders became drunk. Fearing punishment, Geronimo, Matches, and twenty warriors and thirteen women returned to the Sierra Madres. The remaining seventy-seven were escorted to Fort Bowie and sent by train to Fort Marion, Florida. On April 11, 1886, Crook was relieved of his command by his own request, and Brigadier

\textsuperscript{71} Canyon de Los Embudos is approximately twelve miles south of San Bernadino, New Mexico.

\textsuperscript{72} Seventeen whites, seven to ten hostiles and several interpreters took part in the conference. The course of the meetings with major speeches by both sides was recorded by John G. Bourke in \textit{On The Border with Crook}, 474-79.
General Nelson A. Miles was named the head of the Department of Arizona. Miles began preparations to capture the remaining hostiles. His plan was based on the fact that the military drew from unlimited forces while the Apaches had little if any reserve. After a series of clashes, Geronimo made surrender overtures, but was told the only terms were unconditional surrender. On September 4, 1886, the renegades surrendered to General Miles and on the 8th left for Florida by train. The Apache wars were finally over.

In the four years between 1886 and 1890 the Apaches of Arizona began to accept readily the ways of the white man. Their herds flourished and by 1889 they owned 200 horses and 1,800 cattle. Production of corn, barley, and wheat in 1889 was three to six times the amount produced in 1887. The Apaches were also attending a school established by the

73 Miles divided the region into districts, set up a heliograph system to facilitate quick communication, placed guards at all waterholes and mountain passes, and organized cavalry units to pursue any hostiles.

74 Prior to the removal of Geronimo and the last band of renegades, all the Chiricahua Apaches on the Fort Apache Reservation had been transferred to Florida. Most of these Indians had been peaceful since June, 1883, and several had served as scouts against their own kinsmen. Nevertheless General Miles with the concurrence of President Cleveland, L.Q.C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, and Phillip Sheridan, Secretary of War, ordered the removal. See Senate Exec. Doc. 117, 49th Congress: 2nd Session, h-7 and h0-h3. This was the final treachery of the forty year battle to bring the Apaches under control.


76 A compilation of the reports of the San Carlos Agent for 1888 and 1889 reveals the following figures. See Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888 (Washington: G.P.O., 1888), 7 and for 1889, 121.

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agent in 1888, and by 1890 there was an average attendance of seventy-three in a school designed for fifty. 77 The prophetic observation by A. G. Tassin in 1889 that the Apache could be civilized -- once his nomadic habits were changed and he was settled in one location where schools and other institutions could reach him -- seemed to be coming true. 78

78 A. G. Tassin, "Among the Apaches," Overland Monthly, XVI (September 1889), 32.
CHAPTER IV

THE LUTHERANS COME TO THE APACHES;

1892 - 1918

In 1890 the Superintendent of Schools for the San Carlos agency, Theodore G. Lemmon, was conducting a regular religious class on Sundays for the Indians who were interested in attending. The Superintendent did not believe, however, that his efforts were sufficient. In his annual report for that year he pointed out that a Christian missionary was needed, and decried the fact that men of the cloth were willing to "... traverse raging seas and burning deserts to the heat of Africa for missionary work, ... while as thorough savages in our own country ... are permitted to go to the devil in such manner as they may choose ..."1 Whether Lemmon's comments were read by the members of the German Lutheran Church2 is a matter of conjecture; but in 1892 two Lutheran pastors, Theodore Hartwig and O. H. Koch, were sent to the

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2 The Joint German Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and other States had taken up a collection among its members to finance this work and the Apache Mission was the first established by this fund. Carl Guenther, "The History of the Mission at Peridot till March 1, 1903," 1. A typescript copy of the original manuscript at Peridot, Arizona in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.
southwestern United States with instructions to find a tribe of Indians "... where no missionary of any denomination has yet set foot." When the two reached the Pima Reservation Rev. Charles Cook, a Presbyterian missionary to the Pimas, told them that the Apaches in east-central Arizona had no missions among them. Journeying to San Carlos, the ministers received additional encouragement from interested whites before their return to the East to report their findings.

Because of the favorable report submitted by Koch and Hartwig, the church decided to send two missionaries to the Apaches of Arizona. On October 10, 1893, Rev. John Plocher and Rev. George Adascheck arrived at San Carlos only to learn that their coming had not been cleared with the military at the fort. The missionaries, therefore, did not remain at San Carlos, but set up two tents at a location nine miles north of the fort. Believing the site to be suitable for a permanent mission, they applied to the government for title. When Chief Cassadore agreed to sell the land to the Lutheran Church, the government approved the transaction.

The ten-acre plot was located near a malapai cliff which contained a semi-precious stone, the Peridot, and thus the location was named Peridot.

In December, 1893, Plocher and Adascheck began conducting religious services at the boarding school at San Carlos and visiting the

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5Ibid., 2.
6Approval by the Department of the Interior was granted in a letter dated March 17, 1894, the original of which is at Peridot Mission.
Indians in their camps. In the spring of 1894 the two missionaries began to plan permanent buildings, but in June Adascheck was given permission to return to the East. Flocher remained at Peridot and by fall a combination residence, chapel, and school had been completed. The first mission school began with an enrollment of fourteen students, and within a few months the number reached twenty. Each Sunday Rev. Flocher conducted services at both Peridot and the San Carlos boarding school; during the week he taught school and visited the neighboring camps to bring the gospel to the Apaches. The initial reaction of the Indians was one of doubt — they had seen too many white men who spoke one way and acted another — but in time they realized that Flocher had come to give and not to take. Flocher remained at the Peridot Mission until the fall of 1899 when he had to return to the East because of his wife's health. During his six years among the Indians of the San Carlos Reservation, the foundation of the Lutheran work was laid. In April of 1899 his first four converts, all students of the boarding school, were baptized, and on July 2nd two other students of the school were married by Flocher.

In 1894, after a trip to the White Mountains of Arizona, Flocher recommended to the Mission Board that a station be established on the upper reservation. In 1896, Rev. Paul Mayerhoff arrived at Peridot, and

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7Rev. Adascheck returned to the East because of his difficulty with the English and the Apache language. Centennial Committee, Continuing in His Word, 233.

8In 1962 this first permanent building was still standing and was serving as the residence of the head teacher at Peridot.


10Ibid., 3.
in June of that year he and Flocher traveled to Fort Apache. After a survey of the area, the two men decided to locate the mission at a point three miles from Fort Apache. Here Mayerhoff erected a tent and every week gave religious instruction to approximately sixty children at the Fort Apache boarding school as well as visiting the Indians in their camps. When the government granted sufficient land for a mission, Mayerhoff built a twelve-by-twelve frame building to serve as a residence.\footnote{M.J. Wehausen, "Notes on East Fork Mission," 1, a typescript copy of which is in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.}

Reaction to the first missionary on the upper reservation was the same as on the lower: the Indians considered Mayerhoff "... just another white man just talking about something."\footnote{Jack Keyes, "A Voice From the Sickroom," The Apache Scout (June, 1936), 188. Keyes was the first interpreter employed by Rev. E. E. Guenther when he came to East Fork in 1911.} In 1898 a thirty-by-thirty building was constructed and the smaller building converted into a school. This school operated until 1906 when a lack of personnel and the increased duties of the missionary forced it to close.

In 1902 Pastor Mayerhoff received an assistant in the person of Otto Schoenberg, who came to the mission at East Fork to teach the twenty children in the school and to aid in the mission work. Mayerhoff returned to the East in 1903, and his replacement Henry Haase arrived in 1904. This same year Schoenberg was ordained, and the two ministers served together until 1905 when Haase went to Peridot to assist Carl Guenther. With only one missionary at East Fork it was impossible to continue the school; it closed in 1906 after eight years of operation. Until the spring of 1911 Schoenberg served the Apaches of the upper reservation.
During this period the mission continued to grow, and Schoenberg became expert in the Apache language.

The problem of language was one of the basic difficulties the Lutheran missionaries had to overcome. The gutteral Apache tongue was not an easy one to master. Although all the men assigned to the reservation in the early years did learn a few basic phrases, only a few became very proficient. Thus the problem of communication remained a constant one until the 1940's when the Apaches of both reservations were acculturated to the point where English was their second language.

When Plocher left Peridot in the fall of 1899, the General Mission Board asked Pastor Mayerhoff to come down from East Fork until a new missionary could be sent from the East. Mayerhoff came to Peridot in November and remained there until Rev. Carl Guenther arrived early in February, 1900. Guenther continued the work of providing religious instruction to the children at the boarding school, teaching and preaching, and visiting the camps. Soon after Guenther's arrival the government opened a second boarding school at Rice, Arizona, three miles from Peridot, and the new missionary included this school in his rounds.

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13 In a letter to Mrs. Helen G. Rice of Boston, dated February 15, 1903, Superintendent Crouse mentioned that Pastor Mayerhoff was able to speak the language. For Apache Records, Microfilm Roll 2, University of Arizona Library. But Jack Keyes has stated that Mayerhoff could not speak Apache, while Schoenberg could. Apache Scout, XV (June, 1936), 488.

14 In June of 1950 the writer attended a church service at East Fork in which the sermon was translated into Apache for a few of the old people who refused to learn English. At the present time interpreters are still used by the missionaries on their visits to the camps.

15 The name of Rice was changed to San Carlos in 1929 when Fort San Carlos was inundated by the water behind Coolidge Dam.
Charles Guenther, the only Christian missionary to 1,100 people on the San Carlos Reservation, served not only the spiritual but also the physical needs of the Indians. The only doctor on the reservation was unable to reach all those who needed help, and in his saddlebags Guenther carried medicine for the sick in the camps. Guenther often would leave Peridot at four in the morning, riding one horse and leading two others. Changing mounts twice, he would complete the circuit of the camps at seven or eight in the evening. In October of 1900 the Mission Board sent Rudolph Jens, who had previously taught at Columbus, Wisconsin, to Peridot to assume the duties of instruction and to aid the work of the mission.

The curriculum of the mission school under Jens comprised object lessons, reading and arithmetic, and religious instruction and songs. The children were divided into three groups: advanced, intermediate, and beginners in reading and mathematics. Object lessons were used to familiarize the young Apaches with the names and uses of such items as the calendar, the clock, books, hammer and saw, level, mirror, broom, and stove. Religious instruction consisted of the Ten Commandments, Bible stories, and simple hymns. The enrollment at Peridot in the three years after Jens' arrival varied from twenty to twenty-five; the average

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18. "The children used Baldwin's Primer as the reading text and the advanced students learned to add and subtract sums from one to one-hundred. Lesson Book of Rudolph Jens, Peridot Mission.
19. Ibid.
age of the pupils was ten and a half. On March 1, 1903, the cornerstone of a combination school and chapel was laid, and on the 21th of May the building was dedicated. Later in the year Jens was killed when a wagon overturned. Pastor R. Kurtz came to replace him but left a year later, and the mission school was closed in 1905.

During the period that Jens was at Peridot, Guenther was freed of the responsibility of teaching and was able to devote all of his time to camp visits and missionary work among the children at the boarding schools. Twelve people were baptized in 1901, fourteen in both 1902 and 1903, and twenty-nine in 1904; but there were only two in the next two years. Carl Guenther remained at Peridot until 1912 when, because of his wife's failing health, he was transferred to Lowell in the Bisbee-Douglas area. During his twelve years at the Peridot Mission he baptized over one hundred Apaches and confirmed eighteen in the Lutheran Church.

In 1907 Pastor Gustav Harders, who had served as minister of the Jerusalem Lutheran Church in Milwaukee for eighteen years, was sent to Globe to establish a church and act as superintendent of the Indian mission. Harders had first come to Arizona in 1904 to regain his health, and during his stay he had aided Carl Guenther at Peridot. He returned to the East in 1905, but two years later he was forced by a throat infection to resign his pastorship in Milwaukee. The population of Globe

20 Attendance Records, Peridot Mission, 1900-1920.
21 Records of the Peridot Mission.
22 Centennial Committee, Continuing in His Word, 235. Confirmation is the acknowledgment by the individual that he will remain faithful to the tenets and beliefs of the Lutheran Church.
in 1907 was approximately 9,000 and included many Apaches who worked in the mines. Harders' call specified that he was to do mission work among the Indians in the Globe area, at Bylas, at Clarkdale, and at Fort Huachuca.

Upon his arrival in Globe, Harders purchased a four room house and two large lots on Devereau Street, and began working in the field assigned to him. Although sent as a missionary to the Apaches, Harders occasionally traveled to Phoenix and Tucson to conduct services. Within a few months Harders began the construction of a small frame church of one-inch pine boards. In the fall of 1907 the minister opened a school for Apache children, and as the enrollment grew from five to forty within a year the need for a separate school building became obvious. The Mission Board was hesitant to advance the necessary money, however, and Harders dipped into his own funds, as he had done to build the church, and bought the material needed to erect a combination school and dormitory at the rear of the chapel.

During the six years that followed, Rev. Harders and various members of his family served as the staff for the New Jerusalem School for the Apaches. Early in 1915 H. C. Nitz, a student from the Lutheran Seminary at Théinsville, Wisconsin, came to Globe to assist at the mission,

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23 Named the New Jerusalem Lutheran Church, it was the third Lutheran chapel built in Arizona.

24 In January, 1911, the mission at Globe consisted of a parsonage of four rooms, a dining room of nondescript lumber built next to the parsonage, the school, and the church. These details are from the "Autobiography of E. E. Guenther," appearing in Black and Red (1957), 66-67, the monthly student publication of Northwestern College, Watertown, Wisconsin.
but in the fall he returned to continue his studies at the seminary.  

Alfred Uplegger came to Globe in 1917 to aid in the work among the Apaches.  

On April 13, 1917, Harders died and was buried at Globe. Uplegger served the mission field by himself until August when Rev. Henry Rosin arrived to teach in the school. Uplegger and Rosin remained at Globe until 1918 when they were assigned to new mission stations.

In January of 1911, Rev. E. Edgar Guenther, a recent graduate of the Lutheran Seminary at Theinsville, arrived with his wife in Globe. E. E. Guenther was not related to Carl Guenther of Peridot. He had been called to serve at East Fork and was staying at Globe until the roads to the upper reservation were usable. After several false starts the young missionary and his wife bought railroad tickets and, traveling via Bowie, Deming, and Albuquerque, finally reached Holbrook. They now took the stage to Whiteriver and, declining the offer of the Indian Agent to spend the night, pushed on the final five miles to East Fork. Welcomed by the wail of a coyote in the hills nearby, they reached their destination. Rev. Schoenberg, the resident missionary who occupied the other half of the duplex parsonage, desired to establish a station on Cibecue Creek at the eastern end of the reservation. Soon after the arrival of the Guentthers, Schoenberg left for Cibecue.

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25 Centennial Committee, Continuing in His Word, 238.


28 Guenther's parish measured 5000 square miles and included 2,500 Apaches. Ibid., 90.
In addition to bringing the gospel to the Apaches, Guenther was instructed to reopen the school that had been closed for six years. Operating without a building, furniture, books, or money, and competing with a government boarding school that fed and clothed their pupils, Guenther began to search for students. In September, 1911, he reopened the school with a dozen children. The church building was the schoolhouse and the noon meal was served in one of the rooms of the parsonage. The desks were made from scrap lumber, and the lessons for each day were typed out the evening before. By Christmas the children were carrying on simple conversations in English.

From 1911 to 1916, Guenther and his wife operated the mission at East Fork. Guenther visited the Apache camps scattered along the creeks of the upper reservation and conducted weekly services in the boarding schools at East Fork and Whiteriver. Until 1916 the only mode of transportation available to the pastor was horseback or buckboard; but in 1916 Guenther bought a Model T Ford from an army doctor, and this vehicle served him for many years. In 1916 Gustav Gleiter came to East Fork to assume the teaching duties. Thus relieved, Guenther was able to devote more time to systematic visitation of the camps and he was also able to maintain contact with the children from the Whiteriver Boarding School. When Pastor Harders died in 1917, Guenther became Superintendent of the Apache Indian Mission. In the spring of 1918 Rev. Martin Wehausen

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30Ibid., 174.
replaced Gleiter who had been drafted into military service. In October, 1919, Guenther and his family moved to Whiteriver to establish a permanent mission station there, and Wehausen was given charge of the East Fork mission.

In the fall of 1918 the school at East Fork opened with an enrollment of forty-three children, but three weeks after classes began an influenza epidemic struck the upper reservation and forced the school to close. Classes resumed in November only to be halted again in February and March, 1919, by a second wave of the epidemic. During these two periods Guenther and the agency doctor, Fred Loe, worked desperately to save as many of the Indians as possible, but the epidemic took a frightful toll throughout the reservation. All that Guenther and Loe could do was to distribute medicine and insulated their patients from the damp, cold ground by means of sheets of roofing paper.\(^{31}\)

The Cibecue Valley at the western end of the Fort Apache Reservation contained some of the finest land in the entire reserve. In 1911 Rev. Otto P. Schoenberg went to this valley to establish a mission and selected a site one mile from the trading post. After receiving title to the land from a local chief named Naskilzohn,\(^ {32}\) Schoenberg built an adobe home and church in the spring of 1912. In the fall Schoenberg began a school with six children, two benches, a rough table, and a piece of blackboard cloth.

\(^{31}\)Ibid., 13.

\(^{32}\)The mission site consisted of 2,152 acres on Cibecue Creek. Letter of August 9, 1911, Fort Apache Records, Microfilm Roll 15, University of Arizona Library.
divided into six squares. In 1913, however, he returned to the East and Pastor Zuberbier became the resident missionary at Cibecue. Zuberbier remained in the valley until 1919, and it was his work that firmly established this mission.

When Pastor Carl Guenther moved from Peridot to the Douglas area in 1912 because of his wife's tuberculosis, he was replaced by Rev. Carl Toepel. Toepel reestablished the school at Peridot and continued the work at the boarding school and in the camps. In 1915, Toepel was advised by his doctor to give up teaching duties, and Marie Kieckbusch took over the school. But the reduced work load did not help Toepel regain his health, and in mid-1916 he was forced to return to Wisconsin. Henry C. Nitz, the seminarian who had been helping Harders at Globe, agreed to administer the Peridot station until a permanent missionary could be called. Since Nitz was to return to the seminary in January of 1917, Rev. Gustav Fisher arrived at the mission in December. While Nitz was at Peridot, the school had about twenty children enrolled. In the fall of 1917, twenty-five children attended classes for more than sixty-five of the seventy-six days of the session. In April, 1918, after Fisher had been at Peridot for fifteen months, he was ordered to leave by the federal government because of a rumor that he was spying for Germany.

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33. Centennial Committee, Continuing in His Word, 214.
34. Peridot School Attendance Records, 1900-1920.
35. This charge reflected the hysteria that swept the United States during World War I, and evidently even penetrated as far as the Apache reservations of Arizona. The charge was based on the fact that Fisher was German, spoke German, and had attended the University of Vienna. Interview with Rev. Alfred Uppegger and Rev. Francis Uppegger, San Carlos, July 18, 1960.
Pastor Henry Rosin moved from Globe to Peridot to replace Fisher, who returned to Wisconsin.

Fisher was not the only Lutheran missionary to suffer from the Germanophobia of the period. In August of 1918, the home of Rev. E. E. Guenther was searched and the missionary arrested and held in the Fort Apache jail on charges of spying and being sympathetic to Germany.  

He was arraigned before the military authorities at Fort Apache the next day, and being unable to prove anything, they released him. The same day that Guenther was arrested, the home of Alfred Uplegger at Globe was searched for evidence against Guenther. Later Pastor Guenther learned that a chief instigator of the arrest was a sargeant who had been sent to Fort Apache from Fort Sam Houston, Texas, when he was suspected of attempting to spread Glanders disease among the horses at the Texas fort.  

In 1917 Rev. Alfred Uplegger assumed the duties of minister at Globe upon the death of Harders. In addition to his work at Globe, Uplegger also made frequent visits to San Carlos and conducted services for the Apaches in the area. In August, 1918, Uplegger was sent to San

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36 The charges against Guenther were based on the fact that he was of German descent and spoke that language, plus the presence of a picture of the Kaiser in the missionary's home. Guenther had received the portrait in the December, 1917, issue of a magazine published in Germany. Not desiring to have the picture, the minister hung it over a hole behind the stove and facing the wall. Later it accidentally turned outward and was seen by two officers from Fort Apache. Guenther explained that the Kaiser was doing a good job of covering a hole in the plaster, and nothing more was said. Later, however, several officers and non-commissioned officers charged that Guenther was a German sympathizer, and thus he was arrested. Interview with Rev. E. Edgar Guenther, Whiteriver, July 24, 1960.

37 When there was a change of commanding officers at Fort Apache, Guenther protested the incident and received the apologies of the military. In all, he received three separate apologies from the government. *Ibid.*
Carlos as a permanent missionary, and the newly ordained Henry C. Nitz replaced him in Globe. The church at San Carlos was the second on the lower reservation, and by the fall of 1918 it was well established.

By October, 1918, the Lutherans had been ministering to the Apaches for twenty-five years. During this entire period they were the only Christian missionaries on the Fort Apache and San Carlos reservations. While they had established only four permanent mission stations on the two reservations and could not boast of spectacular success among the Indians, they had achieved the all important entry and had done the pioneering cultivation. In the next few years the number of Lutheran mission stations would double, and the work of Christianizing the Apaches would accelerate at an astounding pace.

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38 The Roman Catholics arrived in the fall of 1918 at San Carlos and Whiteriver.

39 In order of their establishment they were Peridot, East Fork, Cibecue, and San Carlos. The mission at Globe served both the Apache and white members of the community.
CHAPTER V

THE APACHES COME TO THE LUTHERANS;

1918 - 1943

During the first twenty-five years, the Lutheran mission work among the Apaches of Arizona was considered an experimental venture in a new and unknown area. But in 1918 and 1919 the Mission Board came to realize that here was a permanent and growing responsibility. Doubtless one of the major reasons for this change in outlook was the writing of Gustav Harders, missionary at Globe. Between 1911 and 1915 Harders' three novels of historical fiction based on missionary activities among the Apaches, aroused the interest and enthusiasm of Lutherans in the East.¹ Between 1918 and 1922 five new missions were established — San Carlos, Whiteriver, Bylas, Rice, and Upper Cibecue or Carrizo Creek — and the number of missionaries increased during this period from five to eleven. By 1922 there were three mission schools on the two reserves, serving about ninety children.² In the boarding schools at Rice and Fort

¹The three books were Jaalahan (1911), La Paloma (1913), and Wille Wider Wille (1915). All were written and originally published in German, but the first and third have recently been republished in English by Northwestern Publishing House of Milwaukee. In the English version Wille Wider Wille is titled Dchaschitida, meaning "No, I Won't."

Apache the Lutherans were responsible for providing religious instruction to four-fifths of the students.\(^3\) The status of camp work by 1922 was such that there was "not a single camp" on either reservation not being "visited at regular intervals."\(^4\) As early as the spring of 1922 the Apache Mission could claim 1,200 adherents, and this presaged the steady growth which characterized the second quarter century of Lutheran endeavor in this field.

In April, 1918, Rev. Henry Rosin came to Peridot to replace Gustav Fisher. The school which Fisher had been conducting was continued, and in the spring session of 1920 the enrollment increased to thirty. This marked a gain of five over the previous year. Because of the rising enrollment and Rosin's need to devote more time to camp work, Miss Dorthea Uplegger came to aid at the school.\(^5\) By the fall of 1920 the children attending the mission school were further advanced educationally than the children in the boarding school at Rice. Aiding Rosin in his work was his new bride, the former Johanna Uplegger, who had been keeping house at San Carlos for her brother Alfred. By June, 1922, a new dining room for the Peridot school was an absolute necessity, and there was also

\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)Letter drafted and sent by the Arizona Conference to the Home Mission Council, in answer to misleading statements made by the council about the San Carlos and White Mountain Apaches. Minutes of the Arizona Conference of Lutheran Ministers, May 1-3, 1922, in the Papers of E. Edgar Guenther, Whiteriver.

\(^5\)In his quarterly report for October to December, 1920, Pastor Rosin suggested that some small payment be made to Miss Uplegger for her work. Report of Peridot Mission, 4th Quarter, 1920. Papers of E. Edgar Guenther.

\(^6\)Ibid.
a need for a new well.7

Until 1930 the Peridot school was conducted in the first structure built by the Lutherans on either reservation, the combination house and chapel constructed by Plocher and Adascheck in 1894. The new school was built of Tufa stone from the old church building at San Carlos.8 It had two rooms twenty by thirty feet and a faculty of three enrolled eighty-one students in January, 1930.9 Enrollment increased slowly during the next two years, and by September of 1932 there were ninety-two students.10 Because the depression forced many Apaches to seek work off the reservation, enrollment dropped to fifty-three in the fall of 1934.11 From this point, however, attendance began to climb and by the first semester of the 1942-43 school year there were 109 children and three teachers at Peridot.12 In the fall of 1943, as the mission at Peridot approached the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, there were ninety-three students enrolled.13

The Peridot school had the same curriculum as the government

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8 Old San Carlos was abandoned in 1929 upon completion of Coolidge Dam and the site was covered by the water backed up behind the dam. The mission buildings were disassembled and the stone used for the new school at Peridot.
11 E.E. Guenther, "Here and There in Apacheland," Apache Scout, XII (October, 1934), 351.
13 "Views of Peridot," Apache Scout, XXI (September, 1943), lll1.
schools, plus religious instruction. One standard feature in all the
Indian schools was the free noon meal, and at Peridot even this was an
educational experience as the older school girls did the planning,
preparation, serving, and cleaning up. For their part, the boys had the
responsibility of supplying wood for the fire. Although the government
schools were able to offer many inducements that mission schools could not,
the Peridot school exerted a continuing influence on the reservation.

The progress of the mission was as encouraging as the development
of the school at Peridot. By 1926 there was an average church attendance
of twenty-five, and by 1930 this had more than doubled. After reaching a
high of eighty per Sunday in 1932, attendance dropped to fifty by 1939, and
during the first two years of the war there was no notable increase.
In 1933 the Mission Board asked each station to present a summary of its
work during the first forty years. The Peridot mission reported forty-
nine confirmations since Rosin's arrival in 1918 and 176 baptisms since
the beginning of the mission. In 1933 there were sixty-nine communi-
cants in the Peridot district. A decade later forty-five baptisms could
be reported for a three-year period, and this was encouraging indeed.

Before 1920 the need for a Lutheran boarding school big enough to
accommodate children from both reservations had been obvious to the resident
missionaries, but the Mission Board did not acknowledge this need and

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14For a graphic description of a typical lunch program, see H.E.
Rosin, "Lessons between Recitations," Apache Scout, XII (August, 1934),
335-36.

15Attendance figures from the Record Books of H.E. Rosin at
Peridot.

16Summary of Mission Work at Peridot to June, 1933. Papers of
H.E. Rosin at Peridot.
hesitated to advance the money. By April, 1920, the government boarding school at East Fork was available for purchase, and the conference of the Arizona district recommended that the board buy it. In his report for the second quarter of 1920, Guenther described East Fork as an ideal location. He indicated that five thousand dollars would buy the entire complex, and five thousand more would provide all the needed additions and alterations. In October, 1920, Guenther reported that the government was ready to condemn the property and sell to the highest bidder. Thus the boarding school at East Fork was purchased for four thousand dollars.

In his report in June, 1922, Martin Wehausen described the first three months of occupancy of the new institution. On April 3 the new school opened with seventy-five day students. Rev. Henry C. Nitz had charge of the thirty-two second and third graders, and Wehausen handled the primary groups. By December there were sixty-nine day students and

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19 Agent Charles Davis was very friendly to the mission and apparently the entire transaction was arranged to ensure the Lutherans would be the high bidder or the only bidder.

20 In the spring of 1921, the conference of the Arizona District advanced the following reasons why the East Fork site should be purchased: (1) Agent Davis is friendly to the mission; (2) the position of the East Fork mission would be strengthened by the purchase; (3) enrollment would double; (4) the price was a giveaway and the church could not build the needed structures for the cost of the entire plant. Minutes of the Arizona District Conference, Globe, May, 1921. Papers of E. Edgar Guenther.
four boarding pupils. The curriculum followed that of the government
schools, and English was used in all but the beginner classes where an
interpreter was employed. Miss Thelma Davids soon relieved Wehausen of
his classes, and Nitz now taught grades two through seven. The two
greatest needs during the first months were a cook and an industrial
teacher. 21 With the spring of 1923 came the need for farm implements
to cultivate their garden. 22 After just a year of occupancy there were
seventy-four students enrolled, but because no provision could be made
for dormitories only four of these were living at the mission. 23 A
dormitory was to be built in the summer of 1923, and there were hopes of
organizing a band in the fall. 24

By the fall of 1923 a boys' dormitory, dining room, sick room,
teachers' room, and girls' dormitory had been built, and by December there
were eleven boarding pupils. In the fall semester of 1925 enrollment
reached eighty-eight in the day school and thirty-nine in the boarding
school. The eight grades were taught by three teachers: Miss Davids,
Pastor Nitz and Pastor Melvin Croll. 25 The growth of both the boarding

21 Wehausen pointed out that the tillable land owned by the mission
would supply most of the needed foodstuffs and the one hour per day devoted
to industrial instruction would suffice to maintain the garden. Report of
M.J. Wehausen at East Fork mission, to Superintendent E.E. Guenther, for
April to June, 1922. Papers of E. Edgar Guenther.

22 Report of H.C. Nitz at East Fork mission to E.E. Guenther for
October to December, 1922. Papers of E. Edgar Guenther.

23 The building that originally was designated to be a dormitory
was made into the orphanage. H.C. Nitz, "The Boarding School," Apache
Scout, I (June, 1922), 2.

24 Ibid., 3.

25 H.C. Nitz, "East Fork," Apache Scout, III (October, 1925), 4-5.
Pastor Melvin Croll had replaced Wehausen in 1923.
and day components of the school continued as new buildings replaced the old or temporary quarters. With the completion of a new girls' dormitory in 1928 at a cost of 22,000 dollars, there were twenty-eight boarding and sixty-eight day students enrolled in grades one through ten. In January, 1929, Pastor Nitz resigned and returned to the East. He was replaced by Christian Albrecht, who became principal of the school as well as resident missionary. In the fall of 1929 there were eighty-six students in the two divisions. Enrollment increased twenty-five per cent in 1930, and from 1931 to 1938 it averaged between 100 and 130 every year. From 1940 to 1943 the attendance dropped as many Apaches left the reservation, and in January of 1944 the boarding school was closed for lack of students.

During the first two decades of existence, the East Fork boarding and day school was beset by several epidemics of measles and influenza. Care of the sick came both from the mission workers themselves and from the government doctors and nurses. As in most Indian schools, discipline was a continual problem; but there was only one instance when it became serious enough to bear mention in The Apache Scout, the magazine published by the mission. One of the major advantages of the location at East Fork was the amount of land that could be cultivated. In the late

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26 Attendance at the mission school was better than at the government schools on the reservation. In 1934 one-fourth of the students had perfect attendance from September until February, 1935, a better record than that of the government boarding school pupils at Fort Apache. E.E. Guenther, "Here and There in Apacheland," Apache Scout, XIII (March, 1935), 3.

27 It opened again in the following September with an enrollment of fourteen. Continuing in His Word, 246.

28 The problem was stealing. C. Albrecht, "East Fork," Apache Scout, VII (June, 1929), 7.
summer and fall of 1935 one thousand quarts of jellies, jams, vegetables, and other fruits were canned as well as fifty quarts of sauerkraut. The fields yielded twelve tons of alfalfa and the orchard provided nine tons of apples. The boarding and day schools at East Fork represented the most successful effort of the Lutherans to fulfill one of the basic aims of their work -- the education of Apache children in a Christian environment.

The orphanage at East Fork also fulfilled a goal. Its purpose was to care for Indian children whose mothers could not or would not care for them. The orphanage was opened on August 2, 1922 by Arnold Knoop and his wife. Knoop was Mrs. Guenther's brother and had helped with the construction of the church at Whiteriver. At first the orphanage was housed in the rear of the school, but the chill winter of 1922-23 caused its removal to the home of the Knoops. The advent of the orphanage was hailed by both mission and lay officials of the reservation as an important step forward. Construction of an adequate building was begun in August,

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29F. Behn, "East Fork News, August to December," Apache Scout, XIV (February, 1936), h51.

30Of the first four orphans, one came because his mother was too sick to care for him, two because the mother had died, and a fourth as a result of abandonment.

31The Knoops took Iona Browning and Milton Opah, the first orphans into their home.

32For a discussion of the beginnings of the orphanage, see H.J. Wehausen, "Our Apache Orphans," Apache Scout, I (April, 1923), 1-4.

33Charles L. Davis, Superintendent of the Fort Apache Reservation, described it as "... a oasis in the great desert life of the Apache babies." Dr. Fred Loe, the agency doctor, indicated there was little proper care for children and "... a very high birth rate ... is the only thing that accounts for their existence today." "Save the Life of a Baby," Apache Scout, I (April, 1923), 4.
1924, and there were ten children and the new matron, Mrs. Louise Plumb waiting to move in. On March 2, 1925, they occupied the partially completed building. In August the building was finished and thirteen children had a permanent home.\(^3\) The structure was thirty-two by fifty-eight feet, two stories high, and had a basement and twelve rooms.\(^3\)

The newly completed building was not an orphanage in the usual sense of the word — it welcomed any child whose parents were unable to provide care. By early 1926, forty-one children had entered the institution: of these, eight had returned to their homes, fifteen were at the orphanage, and eighteen had died.\(^3\) During the summer of that year seven of the children died from colitis. An epidemic of measles swept the reservation in the spring of 1927, and twenty-two of the twenty-three children then at the orphanage became ill; but only one died.\(^3\) In the spring of 1928 the orphanage was enlarged to make space for twenty children, two matrons, two native assistants, and the primary teacher.\(^3\)

The number of children continued to fluctuate from twenty to thirty during the last two years of the decade. In January, 1932, there were twenty-nine in the orphanage, ranging in age from less than six months to twelve years.\(^3\) In June, 1934, Milton Opiah, one of the four

\(^3\)H.C. Nitz, "East Fork," Apache Scout, III (October, 1925), 5. Three of thirteen were school age.

\(^3\)"Our New Orphanage," Apache Scout, IV (April, 1926), 2.

\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^3\)H.C. Nitz, "East Fork Notes," Apache Scout, V (June, 1927), 6.

\(^3\)The three additional rooms were needed by the fall of 1928 as there were twenty-six children in the orphanage. H.C. Nitz, "The Orphanage," Apache Scout, VI (October, 1928), 6.

\(^3\)In an article, "Who's Who in the Orphanage," Apache Scout, X (February, 1932), 1-3, each of twenty-nine children is briefly described and the reasons for residence at the orphanage are noted in most cases.
original orphans, graduated from eighth grade and was confirmed. By 1939 the number of children at the orphanage was forty.

The East Fork orphanage by 1942 was once again in need of renovation that would enable the eighteen younger children to be housed on the first floor rather than upstairs. In December of that year this work was completed; in October, 1943, the orphanage was serving as home for twenty pre-school children and an equal number of older children were housed in the two dormitories of the boarding school. The orphanage had become an integral part of Apache life.

The missionaries at East Fork concerned themselves not only with the schooling of Indian children and the care of homeless children, but also brought the gospel to the camps of the Indians. In July, 1923, Melvin Croll became resident missionary, replacing Wehausen, and by 1925 the work of Croll and Nitz was divided: Croll served as missionary to the Indians while Nitz acted as administrator of the orphanage, school, and church. In 1926 Croll returned to the East and was replaced by Pastor Albert Meier, formerly a tutor at Northwestern College, Watertown, Wisconsin. In January, 1929, H.C. Nitz left East Fork and was replaced by Rev. Christian Albrecht of Warren, Arizona, who assumed the duties of

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13In 1945 there were forty-five children at the orphanage. Board of Education, Wisconsin Synod, *Our Synod and Its Work* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1947), 87.
superintendent. Later that year, Rev. Arnold Niemann, formerly pastor at Cibecue, succeeded Albert Meier as camp missionary. Work among the Indians in the camps progressed very well because of the reputation of the school and orphanage.

In 1934 Rev. Paul Behn, the assistant pastor at Whiteriver, became the resident missionary at East Fork and principal of the boarding and day school. In 1939 the chapel was renovated at no cost to the Mission Board -- the total sum came from the Apache congregation and the work was contributed by the missionary, the industrial teacher, and the older students. On October 15, 1939, the chapel was dedicated. During the 1930's attendance at Sunday services had averaged about fifty "camp" Indians plus the boarding students. In July, 1940, when Behn left for the East after serving the Apaches for fourteen years, Pastor Francis Uplegger of San Carlos became acting missionary at East Fork until Pastor Arthur Kell took charge early in 1941. Kell remained at East Fork until mid-1946. The East Fork mission, second to be established in the Apache country, by the early 1940's had become the largest station both in range of program and size of facilities.

The third mission, established in 1911 at Cibecue, was served by Pastor Schoenberg and Pastor Zuberbier during its first seven years. In the fall of 1919 Zuberbier left and was replaced by Paul Albrecht. Albrecht remained at Cibecue only one year, and then moved to Whiteriver as assistant pastor, and Rev. F. Weindorff replaced him. By 1922 the

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145 Behn had served at Whiteriver, Bylas and East Fork during his time on the reservation. E.E. Guenther, "Pastor P.A. Behn," Apache Scout, XVIII (July, 1940), 148.
enrollment at the Cibecue school was twenty-four and the average church attendance nineteen. In 1921 Rev. Arnold Sitz erected a tent near the junction of Carrizo and Cordurcy Creeks and began camp work among the Apaches in the Cedar Creek, Canyon Creek, Carrizo, and Blue Spring area on the western end of the reservation. During the two years he was among them, Sitz found the Indians friendly and anxious to hear the gospel. Plans were made to develop the location of Sitz's camp as a permanent mission, but this project was abandoned in 1923 for lack of money and Sitz went to Tucson to become an assistant pastor. In 1923 Weindorf left the Cibecue mission and was replaced by Rev. Arthur Krueger. In 1928 a permanent station was established at Upper Cibecue to serve the Apaches formerly served by Sitz, and Arthur Niemann became the first missionary. Thus by 1929 there were missions at both upper and lower Cibecue.

The school begun by Schoenberg in 1911 continued to operate without interruption, and by the fall of 1931 there were fifty-one enrolled.

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17 Sitz had arrived in Arizona in 1919 and had aided Guenther during the winter of 1919-1920 when Guenther was ill with influenza.
18 Interview with E.A. Sitz, February 11, 1962, at Tucson.
19 Rev. E. Arnold Sitz is nearing his fortieth anniversary at Grace Lutheran Church in Tucson.
50 Upper Cibecue was near the site of the Battle of Cibecue, August 30, 1881.
51 Upper and Lower Cibecue are the two most isolated mission stations maintained by the Lutherans. In 1936 each was seventy miles from a railroad, fifty miles from the nearest Lutheran mission, fifteen miles from a main highway, and without regular mail delivery. E.E. Guenther, "Would You Believe It?" Apache Scout, XIV (April, 1936), 475.
with the minister Arthur Krueger, and Margaret Raatz serving as teachers. Attendance dropped to forty-five in 1934 and varied between forty and fifty during the remainder of the 1930's. In the fall of 1942 there were fifty-six enrolled in the school and about the same number attending the two mission churches. 52

In the spring of 1939 Krueger resigned after sixteen years at Cibecue, and in the fall of that year he was succeeded by a layman, Raymond Reiss, who had previously taught at East Fork. During the interim, Rev. Arthur Niemann conducted both the camp work and the Sunday services at Upper and Lower Cibecue. Mission work in the Cibecue Valley involved more camp visitation than the other stations because the Indians of the valley were scattered over a large area, and because they expected the missionary to visit them rather than to go to the missionary. Another serious problem on the west end of the reservation was the poor condition of the roads which made travel by any mode except buggy or horse extremely difficult. In 1941 Niemann left the Cibecue Valley to work at East Fork and Rev. Paul Schliesser came to replace him. By 1942 there were two hundred Apaches being served by Reiss and Schliesser, but only fifty people took communion during the entire year. 53 Both of these men remained at Cibecue until the mid-1940's and under them the work among the Apaches advanced.

The fourth mission to be established among the Apaches before 1918


was at Globe. Begun in 1907, it served both Indians and whites from the outset; but by the mid-1920's its primary function was not as an Apache mission. After the death of Pastor Harders in 1917 and the transfer of Alfred Updegger to San Carlos the next year, the Globe mission was served by a series of ministers including H.C. Nitz, E.A. Sitz, and M.A. Zimmerman. By 1925 the Apaches in Globe were not attending the church with any regularity. They were scattered on various jobs which made it difficult to come to Globe, and neither the whites nor the Apaches were eager to associate with the other. The Globe church after 1925 was clearly an off-reservation mission.

Established in the last half of 1918, the mission at old San Carlos was the fifth Apache station opened by the Lutherans. The San Carlos mission existed for only eleven years. In 1928 the final payment for the mission property was made by the government and the following year the waters of the newly created Coolidge Dam flooded the site. Except for the year, 1926-27, when he was on leave in Iowa, Alfred Updegger served continuously as resident missionary at San Carlos. Updegger's biggest problem was that the San Carlos area was a center of nativistic religious movements such as that of Silas St. John. Church

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54 Some old-timers in Globe still remember "Nitz and Sitz up on the Hill."
55 Continuing in His Word, 238.
56 Most of the Indians at old San Carlos moved either to Blyas or up the San Carlos River to Rice, new San Carlos, the agency headquarters.
57 During the year that Updegger was gone, his brother-in-law, Rev. Henry Rosin and his father, Rev. Francis Updegger, shared the multiple duties of Lutheran ministry in the area.
attendance averaged between twenty and thirty during these years and in addition Uplegger conducted weekly services for fifteen or twenty Apaches at the camp of Manuel Victor. Once every two weeks the missionary visited the 200 families in the San Carlos area and also conducted religious services at the boarding school for approximately fifty children. 59 During the decade the mission existed 101 were confirmed and 188 Indians baptized by Uplegger. 60

Soon after his arrival in 1896, the East Fork missionary began to hold services for the pupils of the government boarding school at Whiteriver. In the twenty years following, Whiteriver remained a weekly stop on the schedule of each missionary. In 1919 it was decided to establish a permanent mission there, and E. Edgar Guenther of East Fork was chosen to be the resident pastor. During the first year services were held in a carpentry shop; Guenther meanwhile had to gain the consent of enough Indians to justify the opening of a mission. 61 The problem of gaining the approval of the Apaches was complicated by the fact that Chief Alchesay would not give his consent — the other Apaches would not sign if it meant offending the old chief. In the winter of 1919-20, influenza once again struck the reservation. While riding over the reservation in his efforts to aid the sick Indians, Guenther discovered Alchesay's camp

60 Uplegger returned to Globe as pastor. In 1932 he moved to Peridot as a teacher, but in 1937 returned to Globe. Four years later he came back to teach at Peridot, and in 1943 went to new San Carlos as resident missionary.
61 Continuing in His Word, 247.
and found the Apache leader ill. The missionary provided the chief with some medicine and directions for its use, and from this time on the two were friends. In mid-1920 Alchesay gave his consent to the building of a mission. In the spring of 1921 the missionary's home was completed and in April, 1922, the chapel at Whiteriver was finished. The new church could hold approximately 300, and nearly all of the 250 students and the boarding school attended for chapel services and bible stories. On April 30 the mission was formally dedicated and 101 Apaches, including Chief Alchesay, were baptized. The chief urged everyone to attend the only church to which he had given his approval. During the third quarter of 1922 Guenther baptized thirty-four additional Apaches.

Providing religious instruction to pupils at the Whiteriver boarding school gave the Lutherans a chance to work with a large number of children from all over the upper reservation. Most of these young Apaches attended bible class at the mission, and results from this work proved very encouraging. Beginning in the early 1920's the missionaries also gave religious instruction to the Indians of the Theodore Roosevelt School at Fort Apache. In addition to work with the school children the missionaries also visited the camps. The same basic pattern was followed at all stations. Upon arrival, the missionary would speak to the Indians in the camp and a location would be selected to hold the service. The

64 In 1929, 310 of the 390 students enrolled at the boarding school were members of the Church of the Open Bible at Whiteriver. "Whiteriver," Apache Scout, VII (October, 1929), 6.
portable organ would be set up, the missionary would play a series of hymns, and the Indians would begin to drift into the area and take seats on the ground. After determining the hymns which the Indians wished to sing, the missionary would deliver a short sermon which might be interpreted if the situation demanded; and after a few visits with individuals in the camp, the minister would drive on to the next settlement. Attendance varied from fifteen to thirty at these camp meetings.

In 1921 an associate pastor was assigned at Whiteriver to ease the burden of Guenther who was also the Superintendent of the Apache Indian Missions. The first associate pastor, Paul Albrecht, remained at Whiteriver until 1923 when he returned to the East. The Whiteriver district included 1000 Indians in the camps and larger settlements, and the job of associate pastor included serving these widely scattered people. On July 15, 1923, Eric La Haine became the new associate pastor and was assigned the camps on North Fork, Cedar Creek and the area south of Fort Apache. In 1924 a second residence was built for the associate pastor.

In 1926 Rev. Paul Behn came to the mission to replace La Haine, who had returned to the East. Behn was at Whiteriver for the next eight years, except for 1929-30 when he served as interim missionary at Bylas. During Behn's residence at Whiteriver he acquired a slide projector that operated off a car battery and used it to good advantage in his camp work. In 1934, Behn was transferred to East Fork as principal of the boarding school. Pastor Rudolph Otto replaced him and served until 1941 when Rev. Waldemar Zarling arrived at Whiteriver. Zarling remained until August, 1943, when

65"A Visit at a Camp Service," Apache Scout, XIV (January, 1936), 449. This account was written either by E.E. Guenther or Rudolph Otto.
he moved to the Bisbee-Douglas area. He was replaced by Rev. Adalbert Schultz. The mission at Whiteriver, under the direction of Rev. E. E. Guenther and his associate pastors, by 1913 was one of the largest on the reservation.

During his tenure at Peridot from 1900 to 1912 Pastor Carl Guenther visited Elylas periodically to conduct services for the Apaches, and both Rev. Carl Topel and Rev. Gustav Fisher continued this practice. But it was Alfred Uplegger who established and nurtured the Lutheran mission at Elylas. Beginning in 1917, Uplegger traveled to Elylas every weekend to make camp calls and conduct services. In 1920 Elylas became a permanent mission station and Rev. Gustav Schlegel was assigned as minister. In 1922 a house and a small chapel of concrete blocks were erected, and on January 13, 1923, Schlegel began a "Saturday School" for the boys and girls at the government day school. Attendance averaged about fifteen per week during the spring semester and this school continued for two years. In the summer of 1925 the government closed the day school and turned the buildings over to the mission. On September 2 of that year school opened with forty-six children in attendance. Two days later Miss Marie Vanzke arrived at Elylas to teach the beginner, primary, and first grades while Schlegel handled the twenty-six pupils of the second, third, and fourth grades. In the summer of 1926 Schlegel was forced by illness

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66 On October 19, 1942, the Whiteriver church was organized as a congregation and elected elders. This placed some of the responsibility for running the church in the hands of the Apache members rather than solely on the missionary. E.E. Guenther, "Whiteriver Congregation," Apache Scout, XXI (January, 1943), 373-75.

to leave the mission and return to Michigan. He was replaced by Rev. Alex Hillmer who served until his resignation in 1929. Paul Behn now left his post at East Fork to substitute until a permanent appointment could be made. Rev. Ernest Sprengler arrived in August, 1930, and became the resident missionary. This energetic and dedicated man served at Bylas for fifteen years. In 1945 he was transferred to East Fork as pastor.

There were sixty-eight pupils at Bylas in the 1931–32 school year. In September, 1932, the enrollment reached ninety and a third room was added to the school. These pupils began class at 8:30 and continued until 4:00 in the afternoon, with a two hour noon recess for lunch. Subjects included reading, English, arithmetic, geography, spelling, singing, art, and Bible stories. One hour a week was devoted to industrial training. School enrollment was 102 in the fall of 1936; a year later there were 140 students, four classrooms, and four teachers. In 1939 the uses of the government school by the Lutherans was protested by the Catholics, and the church was forced to abandon the buildings; but the government reopened the school after enlarging and modernizing it. The mission, meanwhile, had build its own school, but because of delays in construction and its small size the number of students totaled only sixty-two for the 1943–44 school year.

The work of bringing the gospel to the Apaches in the Bylas region

68 Because of the enlarged enrollment the noon meal was reduced to jelly and peanut butter sandwiches, occasionally a meat sandwich and an apple. Mrs. Ernest Sprengler, "Bylas on the Air," Apache Scout, XVI (January, 1938), 7.

69 Erna Sprengler, "Bylas," Apache Scout, XXII (April, 1944), 497.
was as well received as the school. In the first thirteen years of the mission 236 people were baptized, 104 were confirmed, and 131 had taken communion. By the mid-thirties Pastor Sprengler was serving 600 Apaches.

The Bylas mission continued to grow, and by 1934 included 700 with sixty members. During that year Sprengler had confirmed eight and baptized thirty. Through the efforts of Ernest Sprengler this mission had become one of the most active of the Lutheran stations.

In the spring of 1919 Pastor Francis Uplegger, the father of Alfred, came to Arizona to survey the needs of the state and to determine where the best opportunity for mission work was. After traveling over most of Arizona, he decided the greatest need was among the Apaches. In November, 1919, he settled at Rice, and during the next two years lived in temporary quarters while the chapel and parsonage were being built.

The Lutherans had been working with the students in the government boarding school at Rice since it was opened in 1900. In 1918 the Roman Catholics began a mission at Rice and attempted to convert some of the students—but of the 270 at the school in November of 1922, a total of 250 attended

70 Summary of Mission Work at Bylas to 1933. Papers of H. Rosin at Peridot.
72 Interview with Alfred and Francis Uplegger, July 18, 1960 at San Carlos.
73 The two carpenters who worked on the church were Paul Behn and his father. During the work at Rice the younger Behn became interested in mission work. He returned to Wisconsin, entered the seminary, and in 1926 was sent to Whiteriver. In 1934 he was moved to East Fork where he remained for six years. At present he is director of the Indian missions and lives in Milwaukee.
the Lutheran church, and the ratio remained about the same during the next nine years. A second function of the Rice mission was to bring the gospel to the Apaches in the nearby camps. This became extremely important in 1929 when the mines at Globe were shut down and the agency headquarters were moved from San Carlos to Rice. As a result, the area became the population center of the lower reservation. In 1942 the San Carlos Lutheran mission was serving 608 Apaches, had 148 communicant members, and during the year baptized fifty-two Indians. In 1943 Alfred Uplegger became resident missionary at San Carlos when his father became superintendent of the Indian missions upon Guenther's resignation.

For many years Canyon Day had been one of the regular stops on the circuit of the minister at Whiteriver. At first the services were held in one of the camps, but during the early 1930's a series of buildings served as temporary quarters. In 1935 services were held every Sunday in a ramada, the attendance averaging forty during the summer months. In 1936 a small rude cabin was built by the Apaches, and this became the chapel. A year later plans were made to build a new church and funds were gathered for this purpose. Nothing was done, however, until the middle of 1941 when the mission acquired an old barracks building which

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74 A pledge card signed by the parent determined which church the student attended. Report of the Rice Mission for September to December, 1922. Papers of E. Edgar Guenther.
75 In the fall of 1931, 200 of the 216 enrolled in the Rice boarding school attended the Lutheran Church. Francis Uplegger, "At San Carlos, Gathering the Honey," Apache Scout, IX (October, 1931), 57-58.
76 "Canyon Day Church," Apache Scout, XIII (September-October, 1935), 435.
had served as the reading room at Fort Apache prior to its abandonment in 1924, and for the next eighteen years had been a storeroom and machine shop. In 1941 the building was condemned, and the superintendent of the Theodore Roosevelt School turned the property over to the mission on the condition the building be removed. It was disassembled, moved to Canyon Day, and reassembled. The chapel was thirty-eight by twenty-four feet with a sixteen by twenty-four foot room to the rear. Services were held there prior to Christmas, but on December 25, 1941, the chapel was formally dedicated. Sunday attendance averaged about forty-five, but Canyon Day did not receive a resident missionary and continued to be served by the Whiteriver pastor.

In the summer of 1943 weekly services were held at McNary on Thursday evenings by Pastor Guenther and his wife. With the advent of winter, these were discontinued for lack of a meeting place. As the first half-century of mission work among the Apaches drew to a close, efforts were underway to open still another mission. The progress made by the Lutherans in the years from 1893 to 1943 was evident not only in the success of the individual stations but also in many general developments which affected the entire mission.

In addition to those locations with a resident pastor, a church, and a parsonage, there were many places on the reservation where camp services were held regularly. All the missions except Peridot and East Fork were founded after quiet, efficient camp work and regularly scheduled

78 E.E. Guenther, "Our Church at Canyon Day," *Apache Scout*, XX (February, 1942), 281-82.
79 In 1945 a church was built at McNary and Guenther conducted services there.
visits had established the need for a mission station. During the usual visit to a camp, the missionary talked to the Apaches, gave them religious material, and encouraged them to come to church. If there were several camps in a small area, he might hold a service; but most visits were on an individual basis. When it became evident that enough people were interested to justify a mission, action was taken to establish a permanent church.

In 1923 the Lutheran mission began a magazine, The Apache Scout, which was designed to aid the missionaries in their activities among the Indians and to inform interested individuals of the progress of the work. Published six times annually for the first four years and then nine times a year from 1927 to 1931, the Scout began monthly publication in 1932. On the reservation The Apache Scout was both a news medium and a religious message that could be left at each wickiup. During its first twenty years E. Edgar Guenther was editor except for the period of 1937-38. The contents of the little eight page magazine included articles on prominent Apaches, news of the various missions, modern-day parables based on the daily life of the Apaches, and short religious articles. Every issue of the Scout also contained one or more photographs of Apache life, mission stations, missionaries, or prominent Apache Lutherans. The main contributor to the Scout was Guenther himself, often because other missionaries failed to provide news for publication. Guenther was an expert in the

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Guenther remained as editor of The Apache Scout until 1953. His resignation was caused by the decision of the Mission Board to change the name of the magazine to The Apache Lutheran, a decision made without the knowledge of the editor or any one else connected with the Apache mission. Interview with Mrs. E.E. Guenther, Whiteriver, July 22, 1960.
use of an everyday item to illustrate some point or to emphasize how to behave. From the first issue of *The Apache Scout* to the present, it has contained a happy balance of items of general interest to the people on the reservation and to Lutherans throughout the United States.

Prior to World War II *The Apache Scout* was the only publishing venture of the Lutheran missionaries. In the early 1920's an attempt was made to issue an Apache prayer book and hymnal, but no tangible results came until a small volume of hymns in Apache by Francis Uppegger was published in the 1950's. Uppegger was an expert in translating and scoring religious music for the Apaches. During the period from 1923 to 1943, many hymns were printed in the *Scout* which provided the missionaries with songs in the language of the Indians that could be used in their work.

During their first fifty years the Lutheran missionaries were aided measurably by many individual Apaches. Nine stand out. Chief Alchesay became a Lutheran in 1922, and his influence aided the growth of the Lutheran missions on the upper reservation. Rankin Rogers, a crippled Apache, taught the lower grades in the Peridot School for several years.

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81 An Apache described the impact of the Scout as follows: "Our missionaries are doing wonderful work for us through the Scout by writing in simple language so that we can understand and enjoy our paper. We would like to have more people especially from outside of here to enjoy our paper with us. I am sure you will like our paper . . . . I am sure you will get something good out of it as we do here." David Miles, "Our Apache Scout," *Apache Scout*, XI (January, 1933), 186.

82 A copy of this volume is at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

83 Francis Uppegger was the chief creator of these hymns in the *Scout*.

84 In the summer of 1960 the writer interviewed several of the older missionaries and one question he asked was to name ten Apaches who have given the greatest aid to the Lutherans on the reservations since 1893 and describe their contributions.
years and was a strong witness for the gospel. The central character in Harders' novel Dohaschtida was Oscar Davis, who served as interpreter for Harders, Rosin, and Sprengler. Lon Bullis wrote numerous articles in The Apache Scout under the pseudonym of Dajida. Alfred Burdette began as an interpreter for Sprengler at Bylas and remained with him until that missionary's death in 1957. An old Apache woman called Shimah aided the Guentthers by caring for their children and helping with the daily routine for twenty-five years. Timothy Victor served as interpreter for the Upleggers at San Carlos for thirty years. One of the strongest believers of the early converts was Tom Wycliffe who acted as interpreter at East Fork until his death in 1921. Mark Hopkins interpreted for Carl Guenther, Rosin, and both of the Upleggers. Many other individuals could be cited specifically. But the list would grow to include all those who accepted Christianity, the religion of the white man, when the memory of his treachery and the power of the shamans was still dominant in the Apache country.

In October, 1943, the Lutherans celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their missionary work among the Apaches of Arizona. During the second twenty-five years of this half century, the labors of the Lutherans were abundantly compensated by the fact that at last the Indians were coming to them. Through their churches, schools, and camp visitations, the Lutheran missionaries had become a moving force in the lives of many Apaches.

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86 In 1962 Alfred Burdette was expected to become the first licensed Lutheran minister of the Apache race. Interview with E. Arnold Sitz, Tucson, February 14, 1962.
During the years of World War II the Lutheran missionaries added to their regular duties the heavy task of correspondence with the many Lutheran Apaches who were serving in the various theatres of operation throughout the world. The pages of The Apache Scout contained letters written to the missionaries and lists of addresses of Apache servicemen. At the end of the war the young Indians, returning home, often were shocked by the conditions they saw. The missions continued to grow in the post-war period, and new stations were established at McNary, Forestdale, Carrizo, Cedar Creek, and Maverick. The years after 1945 also marked the arrival of many new religions among the Apaches, but the long residence of the Lutherans insured the continuing success of their ministry.

The missions have continued to grow at a slow, but steady rate during the past two decades. In the final years of the 1950's the missionaries began to train Indians as church leaders and to devolve

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1 Rev. Ernest Sprengler, analysing the feelings of these young men, pointed out that some would try to aid their people while others would drown their disappointment in strong drink. Sprengler also reminded the returning soldiers not to forget their religion or their people. "The Returning Apache Veteran," Apache Scout, XXIV (March, 1946), 21-22.

2 By 1954 there were seven denominations among the 1,000 Indians on the San Carlos Reservation. In order of their arrival, they were: Lutheran, Catholic, Holy Ground, Independent Apache, Assembly of God, Pentecostal, and Mormon. Stanford Research Institute, The San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation (Stanford: 1954), 39.
more responsibility upon them. 3 Today the Apaches appear to be increasingly aware that these are their churches and no longer the white man's missions. In October of 1963 the Lutherans will celebrate seventy years among the Apaches of Arizona, and their work continues to prosper. 4

One of the major aims of the missionaries from the start was the establishment of schools among the Apaches. In the late 1950's the missionaries decided to limit enrollment to children of Lutheran Apaches rather than to admit all who applied. In 1962 there were 490 children enrolled in the schools at Elyas, Cibecue, East Fork, and Peridot. 5 The continued growth of the schools indicates the promise of further development of the various missions and illustrates the increasing power of Lutheranism among the Apaches.

There have been many changes in the personnel of the Lutheran missions in Apache country during the last two decades, but there also has been continual service by men who have worked with the Apaches for forty years or more. Rev. Henry Rosin is nearing his forty-fifth anniversary of service at Peridot. Rev. Alfred Uplegger has worked among the Apaches for over forty-five years. His father, Francis Uplegger, has been on the lower reservation since 1919. In 1957 Rev. Ernest Sprengler died at East Fork after twenty-seven years as a missionary to the Apaches; and

3Apaches were assigned as Sunday school teachers and teachers in the missions schools, Apache congregations were organized with the election of officers, and attempts were made to create a native pastorate.

4There were 2,703 active members in the various mission churches in 1958. Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin and other States, August 5, 12, 1959, 59.

Rev. E. Edgar Guenther, who died in May, 1961, served the Indians of the Fort Apache Reservation for no less than fifty years. In the early 1950's Rev. Rupert Rosin, the son of Henry Rosin, became missionary at Cibecue and remained there until 1957, and about the same time Rev. Arthur Guenther assumed the duties of associate pastor at Whiteriver. In 1957 Rev. Arthur Krueger, who had left Cibecue in 1939, returned there as pastor. The success of the Lutheran missions to the Apaches could be attributed to many reasons, but none is more central than the devotion of men such as Guenther, Rosin, and the Upleggers. To them this study has been dedicated.
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