WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE RELIGIOUS CULT MOVEMENTS:

A STUDY IN ETHNOHISTORY

by

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SIGNED: William B. Kessel

For The Reverend and Mrs. E. Edgar Guenther

PREFACE

This study is the result of fourteen months of ethnographic field investigation on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation and an equal amount of time working with written documents. The majority of field work was conducted in the community of Whiteriver, Arizona. The study was supported in part by the Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project of The University of Arizona; the Comins Fund of the Department of Anthropology, The University of Arizona; and the National Defense Educational Act Title IV Fellowship. This support has been greatly appreciated.

I am deeply indebted to the personnel of the Arizona Historical Society Library in Tucson, Arizona, and the Arizona State Museum Library on The University of Arizona campus. I would especially like to extend my sincere thanks to the head librarian of the latter institution, Hans Bart, for his overwhelming cooperation. Hans, along with Judy Raborg, translated more than eighty pages of mission reports written in German. These reports proved to be vital in understanding the period of White Mountain Apache history between 1911 and 1919.

My initial interest in studying White Mountain Apache religious cult movements came as the result of my association with Dr. Keith H. Basso at The University of Arizona. Throughout my college career Dr. Basso has remained my major source of inspiration and encouragement. Without his instruction I never would have undertaken a project such

as this. I also owe a great deal of thanks to Dr. Bernard L. Fontana and Dr. Edward H. Spicer of The University of Arizona. They have stimulated my thinking and introduced me to the methodology of ethnohistory.

Space does not permit me to mention all of those individuals who contributed to this dissertation. However, I would like to thank my Apache and Anglo consultants. They willingly gave of their time and knowledge. My debt to them is obvious. They include: Clarence Alekay, Clorinda Ballen, Dr. Keith Basso, Reverend Paul Behn, Broadus Bones, Dr. John Bret Harte, Nannie Case, Lillian Clark, Richard Cooley, Helen Crocker, Agnes Declay, Kane Ethelbah, Lorraine Gatewood, Eric Granfelt, Dr. Philip Greenfeld, Reverend Arthur Guenther, Minnie Guenther, Foster James, Hadley James, Johnson James, Dr. Charles Kaut, Ruth Kessel, Wayne Kirkpatrick, Asa Lavender, John Lee, William Major, Lester Oliver, Ernest Palmer, Harwood Peddie, Mike Platt, Sam Platt, Bessie Printup, Mary Riley, Walter Sanchez, Reverend E. Arnold Sitz, Cornelia Skidmore, Jack Smith, Molly A-100 Taipa, Schley Truax, Reverend Alfred Uplegger, George Wallen, and Lolita Weirick. I would also like to thank the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council. When I was carrying out my research its members were: Chairman, Ronnie Lupe; Vice Chairman, Ivan Kitcheyan; and council members Lafe Altaha, Ray Ivans, Reno Johnson, Kay Lewis, Nelson Lupe, Sr., Carlos Nosey, John Quintero, Mary Riley, and Fritz Tenijeth. Finally, I would like to extend my greatest thanks to Silas John Edwards who encouraged me to tell his life's story.

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ABSTRACT

Between 1880 and 1920 the White Mountain Apache Indians experienced four religious cult movements. The first began in 1880 and ended the following year. The movement's prophet proclaimed the ability to raise a prominent Apache war chief from the dead. Under the chief's guidance, the Indians would regain exclusive control of their land where they would be reunited with their dead and live in peace and plenty. The second and third movements (1903-1907 and 1916-1917 respectively) emphasized the destruction of the world and the preservation of followers who, afterwards, would live in a utopia-like land. The final movement, which began in 1920 and has persisted to the present, has centered around a medicine man who, by using live snakes, has claimed the ability to cure individuals suffering from diseases or witchcraft and to provide blessings for all who believe in him.

This dissertation is an ethnohistory of these four movements drawn from both documentary and ethnographic data. As such it fills a gap in our knowledge of White Mountain Apache history, because prior to this study little has been written on these Apaches between 1880 and 1930.

Besides the descriptions of these movements and their historical contexts, general hypotheses concerning religious cult movements derived from the writings of Linton, Wallace, Aberle, and La Barre are presented and discussed. These hypotheses are intended to explain

why such movements arise, why some movements are similar and others different, and why some are short-lived while others persist. Data from the four White Mountain Apache religious cult movements are analyzed in terms of this model. The conclusion is reached that these four movements arose as the result of severe stresses which threatened the physical, social, and cultural existence of Apaches. However, the movements began only after more traditional sacred or secular solutions were shown to be clearly inadequate in reducing the stresses. The second and third movements were similar in doctrine and symbolic elements, reflecting the fact that they both arose out of similar types of stresses and offered similar types of solutions to them. The fourth movement persisted while the first three were short-lived because only in the fourth movement was the prophet able to bring to pass some of the promises he had made.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the publication of James Mooney's (1896) classic work, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Out-Break of 1890," many anthropologists have been interested in religious cult movements -- variously known as ghost dances, messianic movements, millenarian movements, and crisis cult movements. One reason for this interest stems from the fact that such movements provide unique examples of very rapid cultural change (Wallace 1956:265). Another significant characteristic of religious cult movements is that they range widely through time and space. They extend back in time to at least 2,000 B.C. (La Barre 1971:13) and are extant today (Barrett 1968). In addition, they have been reported from almost every point of the globe: Africa (Beattie 1964), Oceania (Worsley 1957), Asia (Stern 1968), South America (Butt 1960), and North America (Mooney 1896).

One area which has received exhaustive anthropological attention is native North America. Mooney was the first to describe American Indian religious cult movements in detail. These "religious-revivals," as he referred to them, were viewed as further examples of a universal and age-old phenomenon also represented by the story of Jacob in the Old Testament, and the Flagellant and Shaker movements (Mooney 1896:928-952).

Since Mooney's time literally hundreds of books and articles have been written describing, discussing, and comparing native North American religious cult movements. For example, Wallace (1970) has made a comprehensive study of the Handsome Lake movement which was introduced to the Seneca early in the 19th century. Lesser (1933) has written on the relationships between the Ghost Dance and the revitalization of the Pawnee hand game. Finally, for some years a debate has raged over the relationship between the Ghost Dance, the Prophet Dance and other movements which occurred among the Plateau and Northwest Coast Indians (Aberle 1959; Spier 1935; Spier, Suttles and Herskovitz 1959; Strong 1945; Suttles 1957; Walker 1969).[1]

One sub-area of North America in which considerable work remains to be done on religious cult movements is the American Southwest. Anthropologists working in this area have been primarily interested in examining specific movements. Aberle (1966) wrote a brilliant treatise on Navajo peyotism and the stock reduction program of the 1930's. Dobyns and Euler (1967) have investigated the Ghost Dance of 1889 among the Walapai and Havasupai Indians of Northwestern Arizona. Finally, Goodwin and Kaut (1954) have described a Ghost Dance-like movement among the Western Apache which occurred between 1903 and 1907.

Yet, the Western Apache have experienced several religious cult movements, and though a rare opportunity exists for a comparative study of them, none has thus far been attempted. Three of the movements have

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1. For more complete bibliographies of North American religious cult movements see Fontana (1973) and Lanternari (1963).

been briefly discussed in anthropological literature while the other has simply been alluded to in a single footnote. Perhaps the main reason that more attention has not been paid to these movements is that so little published information is available on the Apache during the period in which these movements occurred.

The present study combines documentary and ethnographic data pertinent to the Apache religious cult movements. Specifically, it is designed to provide a description of the movements, their historical and cultural contexts, and a comparison of them in terms of existing anthropological theory.

A Problem in Chronology

Apache ethnographer Grenville Goodwin (1935:55) has defined the Western Apache as, "those Apachean peoples who have lived within the present boundaries of the State of Arizona during historic times, with the exception of the Chiricahua Apaches and a small band of Apaches, known as the Apache Mansos, who lived in the vicinity of Tucson." The Western Apache were divided into five subtribal groups -- the Northern and Southern Tonto, Cibecue, White Mountain, and San Carlos Apaches. Eventually, the Western Apache were located on various reservations with the San Carlos subtribal group today living on the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation and the Cibecue and White Mountain groups, known collectively as the White Mountain Apache, living on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation.

Students of White Mountain Apache history are fortunate in that there are considerable data for the period between 1860 and 1880. The

reason for this can be traced, in part, to the political situation which existed in the Southwest at that time. By the 1850's increasing numbers of Anglos were moving into New Mexico and Arizona. However, peaceful coexistence between the Anglos and indigenous Indian groups had not yet been achieved. In 1861, war broke out between the Chiricahua Apache and the United States. Two years later gold was discovered near Prescott, Arizona, and incoming miners and ranchers soon clashed with Walapai and Tonto Apache groups. As a result, several military posts were established and an increasing number of soldiers were stationed in Arizona. By 1871, reservations were established not only to control the Indian groups but to protect non-hostile Indians from Anglo attacks (see Ogle 1970; Thrapp 1967).

Several of the soldiers and Indian agents who had close dealings with the White Mountain Apache during this time were keen observers, and it is from their writings that much of our knowledge of this period comes. Soldiers such as Barnes (1941), Bourke (1891, 1892), and Cruse (1941) recorded in their autobiographies, biographies, and reminiscences not only their military encounters with the White Mountain Apache but their general understanding of Apache culture as well. Similarly, agents who interacted with Apaches on a day-to-day basis filed detailed reports.

Additional information on the White Mountain Apache during this time period comes from the work of Grenville Goodwin. In the 1930's Goodwin conducted extensive field investigations of the Apache resulting in several publications (1935, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1942, 1945;

Goodwin and Kaut 1954; Basso 1971). Since many of his consultants were quite old, and since he was primarily interested in the traditional life-way of the Apache, he collected data on their culture as it existed during the 1870's and earlier.

Considerably less information is readily available on the White Mountain Apache for the forty-five or fifty years immediately following this turbulent time. With the surrender of Geronimo in 1886 and the end of the Indian Wars, many soldiers withdrew from the Southwest. As the country turned its attention toward the potentially explosive situation on the Plains, fewer and fewer authors wrote about the Apache. Agents among the White Mountain Apache continued to file relatively detailed reports, but this too ceased shortly after the turn of the century. In addition, with a few exceptions (Goodwin and Kaut 1954; Regan 1930), anthropologists failed to describe the Apaches as they were at that time. Thomas Mails has commented about the general lack of information about this period:

> Reconstructing a complete history of the Western Apache from 1870-1930 is not an easy task. The reports of government officials offer far less than one needs; the Apache themselves kept no written records; most visitors to the reservation came away with superficial accounts (Mails 1974:37).

For the years since the 1930's relatively more data on the Apache have become available. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act was passed which affirmed the rights of Indians to local self-government (Spicer 1969:125). As a result, the White Mountain Apache Tribal Constitution was approved in 1938. Minutes from Tribal Council meetings, local newspaper accounts, and reports from an ever increasing number

of federally sponsored programs provide a wealth of information for this period. Finally, several anthropologists (Basso 1970; Everett 1970, 1971; Levy and Kunitz 1969) have studied more contemporary aspects of Apache culture. Such investigations shed new light on problems faced by the White Mountain Apache today.

The Poorly Documented Period

As previously indicated, the periods in Apache history between 1860 and 1880 and between 1930 and the present have been reasonably well documented. However, the period between 1880 and 1930 remains obscure. It is important to understand that these were significant transitional years for the White Mountain Apache. Formal education was imposed on the Apache, as was Christianity, and both institutions became an integral part of Apache life. Wage labor was also introduced and by the 1930's it, too, had become incorporated (Spicer 1962:256-258). Finally, this was the time during which the four religious cult movements made their appearance.

The first White Mountain Apache religious cult movement was known as na'ilde' (a reference to a return from the dead) and began in Cibecue, Arizona, in 1880. The prophet was a medicine man, Noch-ay-del-klinne, who proclaimed that he would raise the dead, that the Anglos would be gone from Apache country by the time the corn was ripe, and that the Apaches would take possession of the soldiers' horses and possessions. He furthermore announced that after overcoming their traditional enemies the Apaches would again reign supreme in the land.

Meanwhile, the Apache were to dance a new dance introduced by Noch-ay-del-klinne and have faith. Less than a year later the prophet was killed in a battle and the movement ended shortly thereafter.

Between 1903 and 1907 a second religious cult movement occurred; it was known as daγodiγa' ('rising upward'). It was begun by Daslahdn, a medicine man from Cibecue. Soon, daγodiγa' ceremonies were being conducted by another medicine man, Big John, and a number of White Mountain and San Carlos Apache shamans as well. These leaders proclaimed that those Apaches who were "good" and who dressed in white clothing and danced as prescribed would be raised up into the sky. Meanwhile, a great flood would purge the earth of evil. After the waters subsided the Apaches would descend to earth and live in peace and plenty. With the untimely deaths of several of the movement's leaders, numerous participants became frightened for their own lives and the movement ceased.

In 1916 a medicine man living at Turkey Creek who was known by the designation P-1[2] initiated the third White Mountain Apache religious cult movement called 'aaγode' ('it is going to happen'). P-1 stated that on a certain date, at a certain place the long since deceased mother of an old Apache scout would return to earth riding a white horse and dressed in white clothing. She would carry back to

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2. During the last quarter of the 19th century various Anglo officials found that they were unable to pronounce many Apache personal names. Thus they began designating individuals by letter-number combinations. The letter indicated the Apache's band location and the number distinguished him from others in his band. Chiefs were generally designated by the number "1."

the new world all worthy Apaches. To qualify as worthy, the people were instructed to dress in white, carry a bag of cattail and corn pollen purchased from P-1, and await an appointed day. When the day came it passed without incident and the followers returned to their homes. The next year P-1 and several other important medicine men held more dances in which the participants dressed in white and waited to be taken to a new world. After attending dances for several months the participants, disenchanted with the movement and uncertain of its leaders, returned to other activities.

The final religious cult movement among the White Mountain Apache was initiated in 1920 by a medicine man named Silas John Edwards. Sometimes referred to as sailiš ǰaan bi'at'eehi ('Silas John his sayings') the movement emphasized new ceremonial forms, healing with rattlesnakes, and protective blessings for all who believed. Besides the healing of physical ailments with live snakes, Silas John Edwards proclaimed the ability to cure persons against whom witchcraft had been used. His movement quickly spread to several other Southwestern Indian groups. In 1933, Silas Edwards was imprisoned for the alleged murder of his wife. Upon returning home twenty-one years later, his religion was still flourishing. Only recently has it shown indications of diminishing.

Aims of This Study

The present study follows a long-standing tradition in American cultural anthropology. It has become standard procedure in studies of North American Indian religious cult movements not only to describe the

movements but also to attempt to explain them by analyzing the historical and cultural contexts in which they occurred. Consequently, many researchers have found it useful to employ the methods of ethnohistory. Ethnohistory, by emphasizing the combination of historical documentation with ethnography, allows for the use of as much data as possible, while at the same time providing certain principles for data interpretation. The present study is an ethnohistorical investigation of the four White Mountain Apache religious cult movements mentioned above. It describes the movements and puts them in historical perspective, thereby attempting to account for their origins, their similarities and differences, and their persistence or failure. At the same time, this study provides detailed information about the poorly documented period in Apache history between 1880 and 1930.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY, PROBLEM, METHOD

The term "religious cult movement," which is used throughout this dissertation, requires explanation and definition. As has been noted, this phenomenon has been designated by a variety of terms. In recent years even the most commonly accepted of these labels -- nativistic movements, revitalization movements, and crisis cults -- have been criticized (Fernandez 1964; Glick 1971:29; Kopytoff 1964; La Barre 1971:10; Wallace 1956:267). I believe that the term "religious cult movement" is at once broad enough to include most types of movements or cults and narrow enough to exclude a different class of phenomena, most notably secular movements and orthodox religions. Finally, the term fits well the White Mountain Apache data.

The word "religious" implies acknowledgment of and belief in the divine or supernatural and its potency. "Cult" implies a group with a religious conviction which deviates from the usual or orthodox religious system. "Movement" implies a progression of a group of individuals in a particular direction toward a particular goal. A religious cult movement, then, consists of a group of individuals oriented toward a common belief in the supernatural which is not typical of the traditional religious system, and which, motivated and directed by this belief, pursues a particular goal or set of goals.

The Study of Religious Cult Movements

Since the 1890's an increasing number of books and articles describing different North American religious cult movements has been published. Certain topics have been of overwhelming concern. These focus on a set of related problems having to do with the nature of the religious cult movement phenomenon and can be summarized as follows:

1. Why do such movements arise? What are the conditions which promote the development or adoption of religious cult movements?

2. How can the similarities and differences among movements be explained? Why, for example, have certain groups adopted the millenarian doctrines of the Ghost Dance while others have turned to the less futuristic teachings of peyotism? What factor or factors influence the selection of one type of religious cult movement over possible alternatives?

3. Why do some movements persist while others do not? Why are some movements more successful in attracting and maintaining members than are others?

Beginning in the 1940's several anthropologists started constructing general theories in order to explain the nature of religious cult movements and to answer one or more of the questions raised above. The general theories which have received greatest attention and acceptance are those of Linton (1940, 1943), Wallace (1956), Aberle (1959, 1962, 1966), and La Barre (1971). All of these theories embody processual models of religious cult movements that are compatible with existing theories of culture change. In addition, all have broad

applicability. As models, they provide frameworks into which data can be conveniently ordered and thus possess considerable descriptive utility. They also provide hypotheses and interpretations in terms of which new bodies of data can be assessed and evaluated.

The writings of all four general theorists address the question of why religious cult movements arise. While Linton (1943) and Aberle (1959) are in agreement that religious cult movements often develop in acculturation situations, it is Wallace (1956) who discusses most clearly the processes involved. He makes a distinction between ordinary cultural change and that type of change represented by religious cult movements. The former includes changes of the kind commonly referred to as evolution, drift, diffusion, historical change, or acculturation. A cultural system can be seen as one made up of interrelated parts, and when a stimulus is introduced into one part of the system it is gradually transmitted throughout the other parts until it effects the whole. Thus, in slow "chain-reaction" fashion, the system changes. Religious cult movements, on the other hand, represent a different kind of cultural change. Here, when a stimulus is introduced, the system is abruptly changed, leading to what Wallace (1956:265) calls a new *Gestalt*.

The real difference between the two types of change lies in the nature of the stimulus. Implicit in Wallace's theory, but made more explicit in La Barre's (1971:11), is the belief that cultures have sacred or secular mechanisms which are ordinarily able to cope adequately with various kinds of stimuli. Religious cult movements arise

when such mechanisms become ineffectual. La Barre (1971:11) has labeled this state of affairs a "crisis," while Wallace (1956:265) has termed it "stress. . . . A condition in which some part, or whole, of the social organism is threatened with more or less serious damage."

Exactly what constitutes "more or less serious damage" is difficult to define. Nevertheless, by knowing the essential features of a social system one can assume that stress results when one or more of these are threatened. Aberle et al. (1950) maintain that there are certain "functional prerequisites" of a society. These are conditions which must be met if the society is to survive, maintain itself, and prosper. The list of functional prerequisites includes the maintenance of a proper relationship to the society's physical and social environment. In addition, there are certain socio-cultural prerequisites which must be met including role differentiation and assignment, communications, shared cognitive orientation and an articulated set of goals, normative regulation of means and regulation of effective expression, socialization, and control of disruptive behavior. Stress, therefore, results when the physical, social, or cultural existence of a society is threatened.

Linton, Wallace, and Aberle have also provided hypotheses to explain the similarities and differences among religious cult movements. All three men have postulated that such movements arise because of stress. Wallace (1956) and Aberle (1966) have shown that such movements are reactions to stress and constitute attempts to reduce it. Wallace (1956:270), for example, has suggested that, usually through a

vision, a prophet derives a plan of action which will relieve the anxiety he suffers. Aberle (1966:334-342) has shown that in the case of Navajo peyotism, the movement did relieve the relative deprivation[1] experienced by its followers. Finally, Linton (1943:235) and Aberle (1962:212) have noted that the actual form a movement takes is inseparably related to the type of stress that produces the cult response.

In answer to the final question about the success or failure of movements, the major theorists have reached few firm conclusions. Wallace (1956:279) does, however, suggest that if a low level of stress is achieved as the result of the movement, then the movement is more likely to persist. This conclusion was also reached by Aberle (1966: 352-354) in his study of the Navajo.

Controlled Comparison

The general theories of Linton, Wallace, Aberle, and La Barre attempt to sort out and define universal characteristics of religious cult movements. Several authors (e.g., Colson 1970; Dobyns and Euler 1967; Griffen 1970; Lanternari 1963) have recently demonstrated the utility of using such theories in ordering and interpreting data about individual movements. The present study incorporates and applies the general theories of the aforementioned anthropologists to the four White Mountain Apache religious cult movements. As such, it constitutes

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1. Aberle (1966:323) has defined relative deprivation as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality or both."

an attempt to determine whether the universal processes postulated for such movements in general and which have proven useful in individual cases, have equal utility in studies of re-occurring religious cult movements among a cultural group.

More than two decades ago Fred Eggan (1950, 1954, 1955) pointed out the advantages of what he called "controlled comparisons." Eggan noted that it is often easier to look for regularities and differences in cultural phenomena when comparisons are made on a limited scale. This is because in controlled comparisons it is often possible to hold constant many variables (Eggan 1954:747; 1955:499). Specifically, Eggan drew attention to the advantages of making historical, comparative studies.

> . . . some of our best insights into the nature of society and culture come from seeing social structures or cultural patterns over time. Here is where we can distinguish the accidental from general, evaluate more clearly the factors or forces operating in a given situation, and describe in general terms the social and cultural processes involved. Not to take full advantage of the possibilities of studying social and cultural change under relatively controlled conditions is to do only part of the job that needs to be done (Eggan 1955:500).

The White Mountain Apache religious cult movements lend themselves nicely to controlled comparison because, in the search for process, certain key variables can be held constant. For example, and most important, all four movements occurred within a single cultural group. In addition, all of the movements occurred within a limited geographical area. Finally, all four movements occurred within less than forty years of each other.

Data Collection

In collecting data relevant to the four White Mountain Apache religious cult movements ethnohistorical methods have been used. While no single definition of ethnohistory has gained complete acceptance, that of Henry Dobyns can serve us well.

> Ethnohistory is (or should be): an advancement of the understanding of culture or culture process by analysis of human group behavior through time utilizing protocols of an historic nature, preferably analyzed for purposes other than those originally intended by the authors, and categories based upon modern ethnographic field investigation (Euler 1972:201).

Thus, ethnohistory is the combination of both documentary and ethnographic data in an attempt to identify and elucidate cultural processes.

In order to gain a better understanding of the contexts surrounding the Apache movements, as well as information about the movements themselves, documentary data were examined. While published sources on the Apache during the period in which the four movements occurred are limited, records of soldiers and agents pertaining to the first two movements are available. Likewise, the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod has published on the work of missionaries among the Apache. Finally, articles by anthropologists such as Goodwin, Kaut, and Basso and individuals in other professions such as Erle Stanley Gardner provide specific information.

Unpublished documents relating to the White Mountain Apache between 1880 and 1930 are more abundant. Having been born, raised, and lived most of my life on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation I was aware of individuals who had considerable interest in Apache history

and who might have access to unpublished documents. By inquiring and following leads provided by the local "grapevines" I located a wealth of documents. After receiving permission I was able to examine numerous documents on file in the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Whiteriver, Arizona. I was also given access to unpublished mission reports of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod which covered the period between 1911 and 1930. In addition, I was able to examine the diaries of the missionary and his wife who were on the reservation during this time, as well as the diary of a retired soldier who resided near Black River between 1914 and 1946. Other individuals who had in their personal libraries unpublished documents relating to the White Mountain Apache between 1896 and 1914 furnished me with valuable information, but requested that their names be kept anonymous. Finally, several individuals gave me access to personal letters.

In addition to examining documentary data I spent a total of fourteen months conducting ethnographic research on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. While most of the interviews I conducted took place in Whiteriver, I consulted Anglo and Apache individuals from virtually every part of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation and parts of the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation as well. Most of these interviews were taped and transcribed. When circumstances did not permit tape recording, I took notes in long-hand. In the early months of my research, interviews were conducted in an open-ended way. I simply asked my consultants to tell me all they could remember or had

heard about a particular topic. After collecting much information in this manner it was possible to ask more directed questions.

The type and quality of the information I received through interviews was influenced by two sets of variables. The first has to do with the intrinsic nature of oral testimonies. Vansina (1965:19-24) has noted that there is a significant difference between accounts that are statements by eyewitnesses and those that are products of oral tradition. Eyewitness accounts, since they do not pass through additional reporters, reflect the recollections and interpretations of single individuals. Hearsay accounts, on the other hand, reflect interpretations and re-interpretations of past events by more than one reporter. In the process of my work I located several individuals who were not only eyewitnesses to the last two religious cult movements but who had actually participated in them. However, some of these consultants were reluctant to provide detailed information. Perhaps the main reason for this hesitancy was that according to present Apache standards their past actions could be considered "ridiculous," "stupid," or "embarrassing." Consultants who reported hearsay accounts, however, were less reticent in providing detailed information, probably because they themselves were not directly involved.

Besides reflecting differences between eyewitness and hearsay accounts, the type of information I collected was inseparably related to my own situation in the Apache community. First, because I was born and raised on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation, many of my consultants were "old friends." Second, because of my personal religious

beliefs and the fact that my grandfather, the late Reverend E. E. Guenther, and his son, Reverend Arthur A. Guenther, have served as missionaries among the Apaches, I am considered by the community to be a staunch Lutheran. Both of these factors affected the type of information I was given as well as the ease or difficulty with which it was developed.

Numerous advantages resulted from having been a lifelong resident in the community where I conducted most of my field work. Initially, I was able to bypass the usual process of building rapport within the community. I already had it. I was also aware of certain idiosyncrasies in various individuals and thus was able to select what I took to be unusually reliable consultants. Since many of my consultants had known me personally, or at least had known about me, a number of the anxieties associated with being interviewed by an "outsider" were not present.

There were also disadvantages to doing field work in my home town. To begin with, I was expected to be a wholly participating member of the community. Since Little League Baseball was beginning to make an impact on the community of Whiteriver, since I had played baseball in the local high school, and since I was not engaged in an 8:00 to 5:00 job, pressures were brought to bear and I became a coach of one of the teams. Although this was an enjoyable experience that provided a good opportunity to get to know the parents of my players better, much time was spent on baseball which might otherwise have been used in research. Similarly, during the summer of 1972 the Fort

Apache Indian Reservation was plagued by numerous forest fires. Since I had fought fires before, since I had no apparent "job," and since there was a shortage of trained men, I was expected to do my duty. I fought fires for three weeks.

The kinds of information I received from consultants were also affected by my affiliation with the Lutheran church. Since many of my consultants were themselves Lutherans they not infrequently made comparisons between the various religious cult movements and practices in the Lutheran church. For example, one consultant stated:

> It's kind of like the Lutheran church. Just like there are pastors here and here and here and each one is a little different, but they talk about the same thing, it's just like 'aaɣode'. Each medicine man had his own followers, but all medicine men believed the same way (male Apache consultant).[2]

In addition, some Lutheran consultants, not wishing to be considered "superstitious," were willing to discuss matters of Apache religion usually spoken of only in the winter.

There were also certain drawbacks to being considered so closely connected with the Lutheran church. First, many Apaches who considered themselves Lutherans also adhered to the teachings of Silas John Edwards. While feeling no apparent conflict in this for themselves, some felt I might be shocked to learn of their combined allegiance. Thus, it was sometimes difficult to secure information on the state of the Silas John Edwards cult movement as it exists today.

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2. My consultants agreed that while they did want to be listed in my dissertation they preferred that their names not be attached to specific bits of information. Therefore, each time a consultant is quoted directly he or she will be identified only by sex and ethnic affiliation.

Other consultants felt I might regard them in a different light if they confessed to having taken part in one or more of the four movements. It was only after considerable discussion that I was able to convince them that I would feel no differently towards them because of their beliefs, and that any information they provided would not be given to the Lutheran pastors and thus affect their status in that church. Finally, several consultants were inclined to tell me what they thought I wanted to hear, especially regarding questions of missionary activities and the Apache reaction to them. This problem was finally resolved by conducting numerous interviews with non-Lutherans who had fewer compunctions about "hurting my feelings."

Data Analysis

There are three basic procedures which must be followed in making an ethnohistorical study. First, a theoretical position must be adopted which will indicate the types of data that need to be collected. Second, the data must be gathered. Finally, the data must be analyzed. The reader of such a study may be able to judge the merits of the theoretical position and, in some cases, the exhaustiveness of the data. However, it is much more difficult to judge the accuracy of the data themselves.

While collecting data and writing my results I was constantly forced to make decisions about the documents or ethnographic information I had before me. Some data I accepted as accurate and of sufficient value to be incorporated into this study, while other data I

rejected as inaccurate or nonessential. In order that the reader may gain a better appreciation of this decision-making process I shall outline here some of the principles I followed in analyzing the material collected.

Authors such as Day (1972:99), Fontana (1969:366), and Sturtevant (1966:2) have noted that ethnohistoric information may contain biases and interpretations of not only the observer but of the recorder as well. Furthermore, Collingwood (1939:114) and Evans-Pritchard (1966:177-178) have noted that a people's history of their own past is inevitably enclosed in the context of their own present. In other words, interpretations of the past are in many respects grounded in interpretations of the present.

Alerted to these findings, I tried to ascertain specific information about the authors or tellers of the data I collected. I first determined whether the recorder or teller had been an eyewitness to the events discussed. In the case of eyewitnesses I attempted to find out the circumstances of their involvement in the events witnessed. With secondary accounts or hearsay information I tried to determine the process of transmission from the original eyewitness to later recorders or tellers. In addition, I made an effort to learn as much as possible about the context of the original recording or reporting as well as subsequent transmissions. I also collected information about the author's or teller's social, political, religious, and ethnic affiliations.

Jan Vansina (1965) in his book, Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology, has noted that certain forms of oral testimonies such as poetry are less subject to change over time than are official narrative traditions which serve a different function. Vansina has further noted that the situation of the telling of historical information can affect its reliability. For example, an individual recounting a story is less likely to leave out important parts or emphasize minor points when speaking in front of others who are also familiar with the testimony being given. Therefore, I noted the context of the telling and in certain cases arranged for several knowledgeable consultants to meet together with me at one time.

When possible it is advisable to compare ethnohistoric data. Vansina (1965:114-140), for example, has discussed the advantages of comparing oral testimonies about the same event. Therefore, I questioned several consultants over the same points and when able, I compared documentary information relevant to the same topics. I was also able, at times, to compare and contrast information derived from one type of source to that of another. Frequently I found consultants who were knowledgeable about events discussed in documents. McCall (1964: 146) has noted that in comparing different classes of data, three possible conclusions can be drawn: 1, that the data support each other; 2, that the data contradict each other; or 3, that the data do not share a common reference or meeting point. In my study I found all three possibilities and attempted to determine the meanings of such

findings. I also found it useful to compare certain data to existing theories of cultural dynamics and religious cult movements.

While I did attempt to determine the accuracy of the data I collected, I did not reject all of that which was in conflict with other information. Valentine (1960:13-15) has noted that data may differ when they reflect the biases of different groups. These biases are important and worthy of study for they allow the investigator a glimpse of different sides of an issue or interpretations of a series of events from opposing groups (cf. Kessel 1974).

CHAPTER 3

WESTERN APACHE CULTURE CA. A.D. 1850

During the time of the four White Mountain Apache religious cult movements the Apaches' socio-cultural system changed significantly. In order to better see this change it is necessary to outline the Apache system as it was prior to Anglo contact.

In this chapter a brief summary of Western Apache culture as it functioned during the middle of the 19th century will be presented. Since it is not necessary to provide a detailed ethnography of the entire culture only those portions of it which are essential to an understanding of religious cult movements will be given. These include Western Apache social organization, subsistence, and religion.

Social Organization

As noted previously, Grenville Goodwin defined the Western Apache as that large body of Apacheans who in historic times lived entirely within the boundaries of the State of Arizona. Goodwin (1942: 60) estimated that in pre-reservation days (ca. A.D. 1850-1871) there were a maximum of between 4,650 and 4,750 Western Apaches who together occupied an area of nearly 90,000 square miles (Getty 1964:27). The term "Western Apache" does not refer to a unit at the "tribal" level of social organization since it lacked institutions of centralized political authority. However, the Western Apache as a whole generally

"felt themselves to be one people with fairly common interests" (Goodwin 1942:9) as opposed, for example, to Navajo and Chiricahua who were considered distinct. Goodwin partitioned the Western Apache into progressively smaller sub-divisions in each of which the relationship between members became more solidary and cohesive.

The largest subdivision of the Western Apache was that of the subtribal group. There were five subtribal groups: the Northern Tonto, Southern Tonto, Cibecue, White Mountain, and the San Carlos. Members of each subtribal group recognized a linguistic and cultural bond which distinguished them from other groups. It was this, rather than political unity, which held the group together. In addition, Goodwin (1942:7) notes that the feeling of linguistic and cultural unity often resulted in "local pride," with members of one group looking down upon those of another with "contempt and mistrust." Each subtribal group had its own recognized territory and intrusion into it by other groups was temporary.

Each subtribal group was divided into smaller units known as bands or, in the case of the Southern Tonto, what Goodwin (1942:5) termed semibands. Each band and semiband had its own territory, and, while hunting or wild-food gathering trips into the territory of another band of the same subtribal group was not considered trespassing, such trips seldom occurred (Goodwin 1942:10). Basso (1969:12), using 1888-1890 census figures provided by Goodwin (1942:582-587), has calculated that the "mean size" for Apache bands was 387. However, there were larger and smaller bands. The San Carlos band, for example, had

fifty-three members while the Eastern White Mountain band had 748. The band was not a political unit and its members did not participate in joint political action (Basso 1969:12); nevertheless, there was a greater unity among band members than was characteristic of subtribal groups as a whole. Band members shared a sense of territorial limitation, minor linguistic similarities, and common customs (Goodwin 1935:55-57).

Bands, in turn, were subdivided into local groups, each claiming exclusive rights to certain farm sites and hunting localities. The local group was the basic Western Apache unit around which social organization, government, subsistence, and religion revolved (Basso n.d.:23; Goodwin 1935:57). Each local group had a chief "who led his people and directed it in matters of importance such as war or raiding parties, food gathering expeditions, farming projects, and relations with other local groups or foreign tribes" (Goodwin 1935:57). In addition to the local group chief there was usually a woman of high status who was responsible for organizing wild-food gathering parties. Local groups were characterized by a greater degree of social cohesiveness than larger social units. This was because individuals in a local group were related by blood or marriage and thus were held together by mutual obligations and responsibilities. Indeed, it seems that the Apache preferred to marry within their own local group. This was of practical value. "Basically, people who had grown up in the same general area could operate together as a better economic team" (Kaut 1957:63). Because of a preference for matrilocal residence, women

tended to remain in the gathering area which they had learned to exploit as girls and young women. The cumulative knowledge of many years experience was invaluable in making full use of the resources available in their environment. For men, it was advantageous to continue to live in the area where they had learned to hunt.

Local groups were subdivided into family clusters. These were typically formed of large matrilocal extended families which, in turn, were composed of from three to six nuclear households. Goodwin (1942: 128) has noted that kinship held the family cluster together. In many respects each family cluster was "almost a miniature local group" (Goodwin 1935:57). Family clusters were under the leadership of headmen who functioned much like the chiefs of local groups. The duty of a headman was to advise the members of his family cluster on ceremonial and secular topics. He usually gave early morning speeches on morality and industriousness and provided advice on food gathering activities (Goodwin 1942:165-166). Women within the family cluster often accompanied each other on food gathering trips; each collecting for her own family. Similarly, men from the same family cluster frequently hunted in pairs or groups of three (Goodwin 1942:128).

While the subtribal groups, bands and semibands, local groups, and family clusters were territorial units, there was another organizational unit -- the clan -- which was not. Members of the same clan could be found scattered throughout Western Apache territory. A clan was composed of persons who traced common descent through the female line to an ancestral group that established farm sites with which the

clan was associated. In addition, most of the clans were grouped into one of three phratries which were groupings of clans acknowledging different degrees of relatedness.

The clan system functioned to regulate marriage and tie members from otherwise autonomous groups together for mutual benefit and aid. The Western Apache recognized three different degrees of relatedness. Each clan was "closely related" to from two to ten others. Marriage was forbidden between members of "closely related" clans and bonds of reciprocal obligation were great (Basso 1969:14). All the clans which were "closely related" formed a "section" the members of which had identical marriage restrictions. "Related" clans belonged to different sections. Marriage between members of "related" clans was prohibited and ties of mutual obligation were strong. Finally, the Western Apache recognized a degree of relationship extended to "distantly related" clans. "Distantly related" clans or sections were related to a third clan in common. Between members of "distantly related" clans marriage was permitted and obligations of support were weaker than between "closely related" or "related" clan members.

Through kinship and clanship the members of rather autonomous territorial units were welded together as Basso (n.d.:28) has noted.

> By establishing bonds of kinship among these individuals, some of whom lived at great distances from each other, the phratry system bound them together and, in so doing, helped keep in check the divisive tendencies inherent in local group isolation. Concomitantly, the phratry system provided the primary means for recruiting participants in activities whose success depended upon the cooperation of larger numbers of people.

Subsistence

In order to understand the Western Apache subsistence system it is necessary to appreciate the diversity of their natural environment. The vast area occupied by the Western Apache was characterized by five major vegetation zones. In the northern part of Apache territory lay a long belt of mountains covered with Ponderosa Pine and Douglas Fir forests (Fig. 1). This well-watered area formed the habitat of a variety of animals, including elk, deer, bear, mountain lion, coyote, fox, and numerous rodent and bird species. To the south and north of the Ponderosa Pine-Douglas Fir zone stretched a Juniper-Piñon and Oak Woodland zone. This area was also well-watered and was generally warmer than the pine-fir forests. Besides juniper, piñon, and oak trees, this zone contained other plant species including manzanita, yucca, and squawbush. The animals in this zone were the same as in the higher area with the addition of turkey, pack rats, rabbits and a decrease in the number of elk. To the south of the Juniper-Piñon and Oak Woodland zone was a transitional area composed of Chaparral or Grassland areas. Vegetation found in this area included scrub oak, manzanita, mountain mahogany, squawbush, and various yuccas, agaves, and cacti. Animals included deer, rabbits, coyotes, and various rodents and reptiles. Finally, much of the southern part of the Western Apache territory was Southern Desert Shrubland. In this area grew a wide variety of plants including mesquite, sahuaro, cholla, prickly pear and mescal. Animal life included deer, rabbits, and a variety of rodents and reptiles (cf. Lowe 1964a, 1964b).

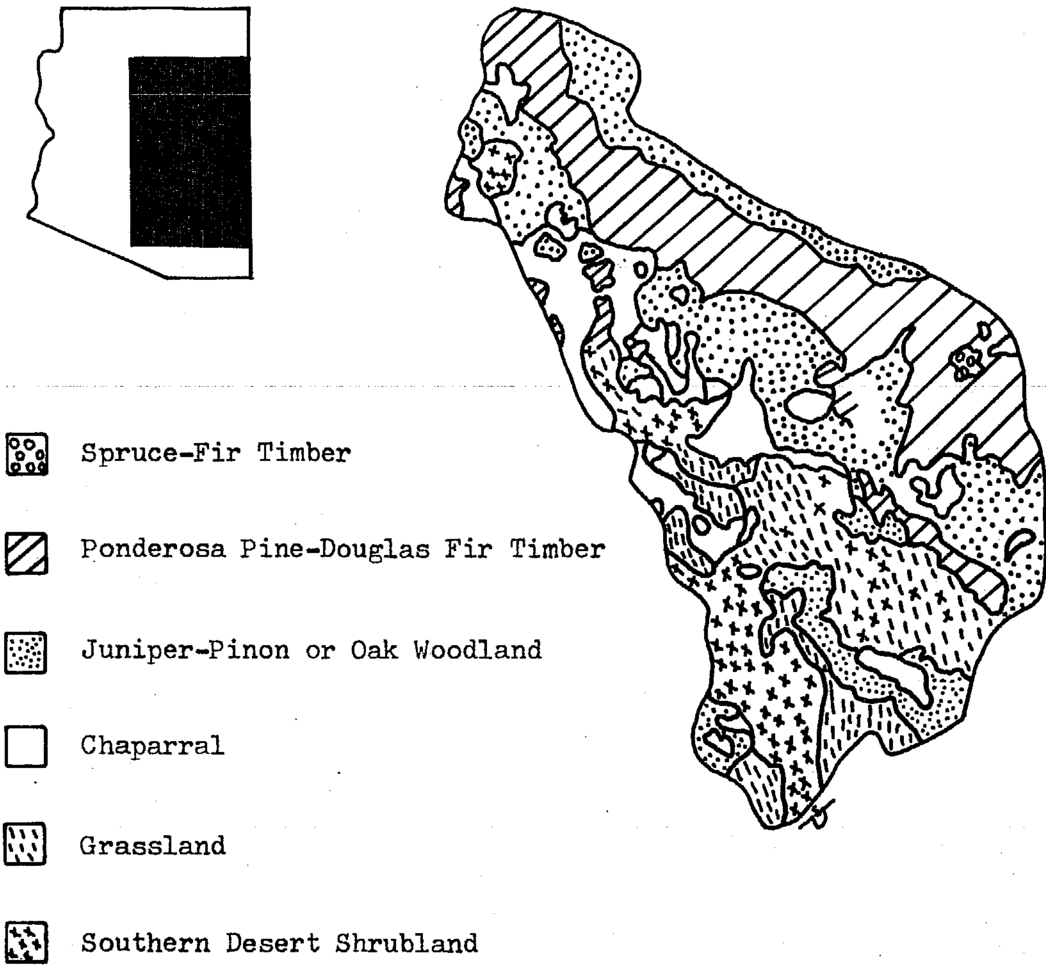

Figure 1. Map of the Western Apache natural vegetation zones.

In the mid-19th century the Western Apache subsistence system was quite diverse. The people hunted wild animals, raided for domesticated animals, gathered and collected wild plant foods, and either grew or traded for corn.

Goodwin (1935:61) estimates that meat comprised about thirty-five percent of the Western Apache diet. The Apache hunted large animals such as deer, antelope, mountain sheep, elk, and bear with bows and arrows, while smaller animals, such as rabbits, rats, squirrels, and certain birds, were shot with arrows or snared. In addition, the Apache raided Mexicans and various groups of Arizona Indians. Livestock was the primary prize (Basso 1971).

The remainder of the Western Apache diet, roughly sixty to sixty-five percent, came from plant foods (Goodwin 1935:61). About thirty-five to forty percent of these foods were undomesticated varieties, including mescal, acorns, sahuaro fruit, mesquite beans, Spanish bayonet fruit, sunflower seeds, prickly pear fruit, piñon nuts, juniper berries, squawbush berries, manzanita berries, and wild onions (Goodwin 1935:62). The remaining twenty to twenty-five percent consisted of domesticated crops, including corn, beans, and squash. However, Goodwin (1935:63; 1942:60-61) notes that some of the subtribal groups did not depend as heavily on domesticated crops as did others. In the Cibecue and White Mountain groups most of the local groups had farms while this was not the case, for example, among the Northern Tonto. The explanation for this involves a variety of factors including altitude, climate, and soil composition. There

is also evidence that the Western Apache sometimes traded for domestic crops such as corn (Goodwin 1942:76).

In order to exploit the wide variety of plant and animal foods the Western Apache scheduled their movements to place them in the proper area when plants became ripe or animals were easiest to hunt. Such movements were directed by local group chiefs or family cluster headmen who had gained a knowledge of the plants and animals through years of experience. The practice of moving from area to area exploiting food sources as they became available constituted the Western Apache subsistence cycle described by Goodwin (1942:155-160).

The first wild-food crop became available in April with the sprouting of mescal. Usually, family clusters or extended families would move to the southern slopes of mountains in the lower elevations where mescal grew in abundance. In May those local groups which practiced farming moved to their fields, which were most often located along well-watered valleys in the higher mountains. While family clusters often did their own planting, weeding, and harvesting, it was not uncommon for several farms to be located along one irrigation ditch, and it was expected that all would help in cleaning and maintaining it.

> At some sites elderly men who took special interest in farming and usually possessed agricultural ritual were called "ditch bosses." These men notified farm owners on their ditch when ditch work was necessary and also apportioned the irrigating water, sometimes remaining at the site throughout the summer to watch over it (Goodwin 1942:156).

The primary crop planted was corn, but beans, squash, and pumpkins were also grown.

By July, when the corn was about six or seven inches high, families or family clusters moved south to the desert areas to harvest the ripened sahuaro fruit. By late July the acorn of Emory oak was ready to be collected. Acorns were one of the mainstays of the Apache diet. Occasionally, an entire local group under the supervision of a chief would move to areas where oaks were abundant. After arriving, the people would separate into family clusters and spend the next month or so harvesting the nuts.

In late August, after acorns had been gathered, small parties not wishing to return immediately to farm locations might collect mesquite beans which grew in the lower desert areas. Usually, however, by September the corn was becoming ripe and chiefs and headmen directed their people to return to the farms. Here the people stayed until all the crops had been harvested and stored. In November the Apache moved to locations where piñon nuts and juniper berries could be found.

Between November and April men took part in hunting expeditions. Under the leadership of a headman or chief, hunters would leave, often for many days. The best hunting grounds were in the higher mountain locations. While deer was the major animal hunted, pack rats, elk, bear, and squirrel were also killed.

Raiding activities frequently occurred in the winter months, primarily in response to shortages of food. When the meat supply was running low, an older woman would publicly draw attention to the fact and urge the men to go on a raid. Within a few days an experienced man would volunteer to lead the party. Usually five to fifteen men

would leave with the leader and move quietly into Mexican, Pima, Papago, Maricopa, Navajo, Walapai, or Havasupai territory and steal as much livestock as possible, preferably without being detected. Upon returning home the meat was distributed, in most cases, among close matrilineal kinsmen (Basso 1971:16-17).

Finally, at various times during the year, Apaches with trade items would exchange them with various groups especially Zuni, Navajo, and Hopi. In exchange for items such as mescal, livestock, baskets, and buckskin the Apaches received food or articles not readily available including blankets, sheepskin, corn, turquoise, and white shell (Goodwin 1942:72-96).

Religion

Religion permeated most aspects of Western Apache life. While it is impossible to describe all Apache beliefs about the supernatural in a few pages, a summary of the main components of their religious system must be given.

The Apaches had a variety of myths and tales which were incorporated into one of two major cycles. The first cycle included myths and tales about the creation of the universe and the exploits of the main culture hero naaye'nezɣane. The other major cycle was about 'coyote' (mba'tsoose), an equally prominent figure (Goodwin 1939:vi).[1]

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1. The orthographic system of writing Apache terms used throughout this study follows these guidelines. 1, Apache terms and names derived from historical sources are given as they appeared in the original. Frequently "dashes" indicate syllabic boundaries. Such words are not underlined. 2, Apache terms derived from reputable

One of the main characters in the creation cycle was a male deity called bik'ehgo'ihi'dan. This figure, whose name Goodwin (1938: 26) has translated as 'rules over life' or 'in charge of life,' supervised the shaping of the earth by Black Wind, Black Metal, Black Thunder, and Black Water.

> But the earth was bare and suffered in the cold. Seeing this, Black Thunder gave hair to the earth in the form of grasses and trees. Then Black Water gave blood to the earth in the form of streams and rivers. Black Metal next gave bones to the earth in the form of rocks and mountains. Finally, Black Wind gave breath to the earth in the form of breeze. Now the earth was alive (Basso n.d.:37).

Most of the creation cycle, however, did not focus on bik'ehgo'ihi'dan, or yoosn, as he was called by the White Mountain Apache, but on the exploits of naaye'nezɣane or 'he who kills a dangerous monster' (Goddard 1919a:111). Following a great flood, a central female deity called 'changing woman' ('isdzanaadleehe') exposed herself to the rays of 'sun' (ɣ'igona'ai). As 'sun's' rays entered her she became pregnant and later bore a child called naaye'nezɣane. Shortly thereafter she lay under a place where water was dripping and she became pregnant again and bore t'uba'čisčine, 'born from water' (Goodwin 1939:4). When naaye'nezɣane was older he set out on a journey to visit 'sun,' his father. After some difficulty he reached the home of 'sun' and, after going through a series of rigorous tests, was finally accepted by his father and given a bow, arrows, and a horse. He then

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anthropological or linguistic sources are underlined and written without "dashes." See Appendix A for a general pronunciation guide.
3, Personal names of Apaches are capitalized while other words, including names of deities, are not. 4, English glosses of Apache terms are enclosed in single quotes.

returned to earth and taught the people how to use these items. Sometimes alone, sometimes with his half brother, naaye'nezγane destroyed many evils that were plaguing the earth (Goddard 1918:12-26; 1919b: 240-289). While naaye'nezγane was the central figure in the creation cycle, 'coyote' was the central personality in the coyote cycle. 'Coyote' was viewed as having both good and bad qualities. While quite knowledgeable (he taught man how to tan hides, make buckskin moccasins, and identified a variety of edible foods) he was also guilty of immoral behavior. At times 'coyote' was stingy. He also conspired to commit incest with his daughter. He killed his children (Goodwin 1939:50-61, 152-156). Goodwin notes that while many myths and tales were told for amusement or explanation, others were educational and had a moral point to make. Coyote tales especially were used to induce adherence to moral norms (Goodwin 1939:ix).

A fundamental element in Western Apache religion was a belief in diiyi', or supernatural 'power.' Diiyi' has been defined by Basso (1966:150) as referring to "one or all of a set of abstract and invisible forces which are said to derive from certain classes of animals, plants, minerals, meteorological phenomena, and mythological figures within the Western Apache universe." The Apache believed that there was an inexhaustible supply of each type of diiyi' in the universe, a small percentage of which could be acquired by man and controlled, while the remainder stayed free to act on its own (Basso 1970: 38). While in theory any Apache could come to control 'power,' in actuality few did. To have 'power' often required a considerable

investment of time, energy, and resources, and, in some cases, brought with it burdensome responsibilities.

The Western Apache recognized two distinct methods of acquiring power. The first way, known as diiyi' ǯaaniiya' (power finds one'), involved a 'power' seeking out a person whom it considered especially worthy or qualified. Most often 'power' would notify an Apache through a dream that it was available to him, and this was usually accompanied by instructions to learn chants and prayers with which the power was associated. After learning the chants and showing that he knew them the Apache would then become diiyin, or 'person with power.' The other method of acquiring 'power' was known as diiyi' baaniya ('one finds power'). In this method, a reverse of the first, an Apache would seek out 'power.' An individual who wanted 'power' would choose one and set himself the task of learning the appropriate chants and prayers (Basso 1970:40-44).

Goodwin (1938:28-31) distinguished among three classes of Apache medicine men. The first class, which was the largest, contained those individuals who had learned the songs and prayers connected with a 'power' by apprenticing themselves to one who already possessed the 'power.' The second class of medicine men contained those who had learned from a medicine man but who also had received additional songs from the 'power' itself. Goodwin notes that while most ceremonies could be performed with or without the personal experience element, the snake ceremony (t'liiš goǰitaał) could not. "But in only one of such ceremonies, the snake ceremony, is the personal experience element

required; the teacher not imparting all the power to the pupil, but requiring him to dream a portion of it" (Goodwin 1938:31). The third class of medicine man was composed of those who had gained all their songs, prayers, and knowledge of the 'power' from the 'power' itself. Such medicine men were most often those who had been singled out by 'lightning power' (<u>'iłti</u> <u>biyi'</u>) as especially deserving, and through dreams or other experiences were taught the prayers and songs associated with the 'power.'

It should now be clear that the Western Apache drew a sharp distinction between medicine men who acquired a 'power' through apprenticeship and those who received part or all of a 'power' by direct experience. Those in the latter category were felt by the Apache to have 'power' of intense potency. Goodwin noted that great respect was given to lightning and snake medicine men in particular.

> They [lightning medicine men] are addressed in prayer, just like sources of power, for protection against lightning, etc. People also pray with pollen to the shaman conducting a lightning ceremony. To my knowledge the only other like practices occur in connection with men possessing high snake power--another indication of their position adjacent to shamans having the third type of ceremony (Goodwin 1938:31).

Apaches possessing 'power' could use it for a number of purposes. 'Power' could be used by individuals for personal ends such as locating lost objects, predicting the future, increasing the chances of success in hunting, and preventing lightning from striking and causing personal damage (Basso 1970:38; Goodwin 1938:28). In addition, a 'power' could be used in curing. Apaches attributed illnesses to a variety of factors including the violation of taboos, having improper

respect for things considered 'sacred' (*godiiyo'*), to excessive cold, and to bad food. When a person became ill a medicine man would be contacted and if the cause of the infirmity was unknown a ceremony of the class termed *'edotaał* would be conducted. Such ceremonies usually lasted from dusk until about midnight and the medicine man attempted to diagnose the source of the trouble. Once the cause had been determined a longer type of ceremony, called *goǰitaał*, would be performed to neutralize the cause and thus eliminate the illness (Basso n.d.:45).

Goodwin (1938:29-30) has also discussed ceremonies that were staged for entire communities. These might be conducted "in time of epidemic and contagions to ward off the disease from everyone." In addition, there was another type of communal ceremony known as *goǰǫǫǰindee* ('goodness, it is brought forth') which was performed in the spring and summer when danger from snakes and lightning increased. The lightning ceremony, a sub-type of *goǰǫǫdindee*, was also given to bring rain, to insure the survival of wild and cultivated crops, or to protect the community when some threatening influence was expected to be at work. A final ceremonial type was the girls' puberty ceremony, or *nai'es*, which provided many benefits for all in attendance (Basso 1966).

The Western Apache drew a sharp distinction between persons who used their 'power' for their own or other's good, and those who used it to cause sickness, insanity, or "accidents" which resulted in the destruction of personal property, bodily injury, or death (Basso n.d.:41). The latter were known as *'iłkašn* ('witches' or 'sorcerers').

The Apache recognized three major forms of witchcraft. The first was known as 'poison sorcery' (nagintla'a). By this method a 'witch' could poison an individual by throwing a specially prepared 'poison' ('iłkaš) through the door of a wickiup, by dropping 'poison' into the mouth or nostrils of a sleeping victim, or by administering it in food. Witches might also resort to 'spell sorcery' (yat'i denco'i). This method involved either thinking malicious thoughts about the intended victim, or uttering a short phrase which promised him harm. The effects of 'spell sorcery' could be heightened by walking around the victim four times, by placing four pieces of wood, one at each of the four directions, around his wickiup, or by burying a piece of wood or stone near the victim's dwelling or near a spot he frequented regularly (Basso 1969: 34-36; 1970:74-75). While spells might be used to bring harm or death to an individual, they could also be employed to kill horses and cattle, to ruin crops, to cause saddles or bridles to break or come loose, and to nullify the healing effects of curing ceremonies. The final type of witchcraft was 'shooting sorcery' ('iłkašn biko). A sharp pain experienced by an individual might be explained by the belief that a sorcorcer had "shot" the victim with a bit of wood, charcoal, pebble, bead, strand of hair, or arrowhead.

When a person felt that he or she was a victim of sorcery, two courses of action could be followed. The victim could do nothing, in which case he would likely get worse. On the other hand, he could seek treatment in the form of a curing ceremony. 'Bear,' 'snake,' and 'lightning ceremonies' were the ones most often conducted to combat

the work of sorcerers (Basso 1970:77). The Apaches believed that in curing ceremonies the 'power' of the medicine man and the appropriate chants were often able to neutralize the sorcerer's 'power' and the victim would recover (Basso 1969:39).

While few individuals were ever caught actually practicing the techniques of witchcraft, accusations of witchcraft were not uncommon. Basso (1969:41-44) has noted that persons were suspected of witchcraft on the basis of both non-behavioral and behavioral attributes. In the first instance, witch suspects were people suspected of controlling 'power.' Suspects also tended to belong to phratries other than that of the victim. Finally, since witchcraft calls for "strong power" only a person who was at least a mature adult could have it. There were also behavioral characteristics which, when coupled with the non-behavioral attributes, provided the criterion for suspecting a person of witchcraft. A person who was stingy, started fights, was angry or mean, told lies or stories, made threats, or informed on, and made fun of other people would stimulate suspicion. Finally, a witch suspect might be a person who propositioned or copulated with another person's spouse. Furthermore, incest was considered an act of a witch (Goodwin 1942:418).

One of the primary characteristics of Western Apache religious involvement was that if a 'power,' medicine man, or ceremonial form ceased to be efficacious it or he no longer would be used. Basso (n.d.:40) notes that an individual would learn the limitations of his 'power' through trial and error. If the 'power' failed to accomplish

a desired end the owner would take note and refrain from using it for that purpose agains. Similarly, Apaches refrained from eliciting the aid of medicine men whose 'power' seemed ineffective in producing the desired results. Finally, if a ceremony proved ineffectual, a different ceremony would be tried.

In Western Apache religious activities several classes of material objects had deep significance. An understanding of certain of these items is particularly important to this study. The eagle feather ('iitsoos) was one of the dominant religious symbols in Apache culture. Eagle feathers were used privately and in public ceremonials. Apache men would tie an eagle feather to a piece of turquoise and attach it to the front of their shirts; this served to guard and protect them from harm and danger. Prayers were directed toward the feather. Eagle feathers were also given to medicine men as partial payment for their services.

Eagle feathers formed important elements in other items of ritual paraphernalia. One of these was the 'medicine man's hat' (diiyin bič'aa), often simply called 'medicine hat.' The 'medicine hat' was made of buckskin and resembled a skull cap. Attached to the top of it were two or four eagle feathers (sometimes turkey feathers) and a variety of other ritual objects. 'Medicine hats' were worn by men, but not all men possessed them. Bourke (1892:580) described the significance of the cap. "Nevertheless, it gave life and strength to him who wore it, enabled the owner to peer into the

future, to tell who had stolen ponies from other people, to foresee the approach of an enemy, and to aid in the cure of the sick."

Perhaps the major religious element was *hadntin* ('cattail' and/or 'corn pollen'). *Hadntin* was used for a variety of purposes; as a restorative substance for the tired, as a remedy for the sick, as a supplication to 'sun' for success in hunting, planting, or warring, and as a protective substance to ward off danger and neutralize potentially dangerous situations (Bourke 1892:500-505). *Hadntin* was used extensively in prayer. Medicine men frequently sprinkled the powder on individuals to bless them and pray for them. Occasionally individuals would sprinkle *hadntin* on medicine men to pray to them. In praying to the supernatural, *hadntin* was often placed on ritual paraphernalia or thrown in the direction of the sun. Goodwin (1938:32) has noted that *hadntin* was "the most important ceremonial offering," and was "holy and the fitting and proper medium to use in religious approaches."

Other ritual items included wooden hoops (*baase*), sandpaintings (*ni'kegošči'*), and painted buckskins (*'epan ke'eščin*). The hoops were from five inches to over two feet in diameter and were painted in the cardinal colors -- east (black), north (yellow), west (green), and south (white). Hoops were used in curing and it was believed that when they were put over a patient and then taken off they removed sickness. Sandpaintings were often a large size and were used in curing. A patient would be placed in the center of a sandpainting and the medicine man would apply various parts of the sandpainting to the

former's body. Finally, painted buckskins were small (approximately fifteen inches square or in diameter) representations of sandpaintings also used to cure. Frequently individuals kept painted buckskins made for them and used them to insure future health (Basso and Anderson 1973:1018; Goodwin 1938:33).

CHAPTER 4

NA'ILDE'

The term na'ilde' is a Western Apache term which refers, according to Goodwin (1938:34), to a return from the dead. It was applied as a name to the religious cult movement started by a Cibecue medicine man, Noch-ay-del-klinne, which stressed this theme. The movement began in the late fall of 1880 and attracted more and more followers until August of 1881 by which time it posed a threat to the delicate peace which the United States Army sought to preserve. Soldiers from Fort Apache were dispatched to arrest Noch-ay-del-klinne and in the battle which ensued the medicine man was killed. Shortly thereafter na'ilde' was abandoned.

Historical Context of Na'ilde'

During the first half of the 19th century Apaches living in Arizona and New Mexico raided more and more frequently into northern Mexico (Stevens 1964:211-222). In an attempt to put an end to the Apache "menace" the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua initiated in the 1830's an extermination policy by offering monetary rewards for Apache scalps. This led to increased antagonism between Mexicans and Apaches as well as between Apaches and a small number of Anglo-American scalp hunters (Thrapp 1967:9-10). The scalping policy, however, did

not put an end to Apache raiding and by the end of the 1840's several northern Mexican outposts were being raided almost continuously.

In 1848 the "Apache problem" was turned over to the Anglo-Americans by the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty stated that in exchange for lands ceded to the United States, the American government would put an end to the "incursions" of "savage tribes" (primarily the Apache) into the territory of Mexico. If the government found it impossible to stop the raids, the terms of the treaty stated that the offenders would be punished "with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions were meditated or committed within its own territory, against its own citizens" (Thrapp 1967:7).

Thus, the United States Government assumed responsibility for the regulation of the Apaches. Spicer has summarized the logic of this situation.

> It also became apparent to the Apache that the Anglos had adopted a position which was totally without reason, namely, that the Anglos, by virtue of having conquered the Mexicans, in some way became proprietors of Apache territory. The Mexicans had never conquered the Apaches and hence how could the Anglos as a result of conquering the Mexicans lay claim to Apache land? As one student put it, the Apaches could not understand by what legerdemain the Anglos claimed control of their territory (Spicer 1962:246).

In spite of the efforts of the military, Apache raiding could not be controlled. While most of the raiding parties ventured south into Mexico, some raided Anglos in southern Arizona. And by as late as 1860 the Western Apache were able to raid with virtual impunity (Basso 1970:4). Meanwhile, the Anglos had several times attempted to contract a peace with the Chiricahua Apache (Ogle 1970:40-44).

However, the situation soon changed. In October, 1860, a party of Apaches raided the ranch of John Ward located in the Sonoita Valley approximately twelve miles from Fort Buchanan. The Apaches made off with some oxen, horses, and with Felix Ward, later to be known as Mickey Free. John Ward, convinced that Cochise and the Chiricahua Apaches were guilty, insisted that military action be taken. In February, 1861, Lt. George Bascom and sixty men set out to capture Cochise. Cochise was captured but immediately escaped. However, several of his men, including three of his relatives, were held in custody. After capturing three Anglos, Cochise proposed a prisoner exchange. This was denied and the prisoners on both sides were killed (Sacks 1962; Thrapp 1967:15-18; Utley 1961). This incident was the spark which ignited the Apache wars. Within sixty days 150 Anglos were killed.

With the advent of the Civil War the Chiricahua were left virtually unopposed, but by 1862 the government began to reassert its authority in Apache territory. General J. H. Carleton brought troops into southern Arizona where they clashed with the warriors of Mangas Coloradas and Cochise. Meanwhile, Carleton initiated a war of extermination against the Apache (Ogle 1970:45-47).

The situation in Apache territory worsened in 1863 with the discovery of gold near Prescott, Arizona. Fort Whipple was established there, and although the government favored a peace agreement rather than a war of extermination, this was not to be. Miners and soldiers soon began killing local Indians in the Prescott area, including Tonto Apaches. Further south near Miami at a springs called Bloody Tanks,

Anglo settlers, claiming a desire to initiate peace talks, poisoned twenty-four Apaches (Spicer 1962:247-248).

Simultaneously, the situation in southern Arizona was becoming more and more tense. Hostilities increased. In 1865 Fort McDowell was constructed along the southern part of Tonto Apache territory. It was believed that the line of forts (Whipple, McDowell, Goodwin, Bowie, Webster) which ran through Apache territory would be a great deterrent to further Apache raiding and warfare (see Fig. 2). Such, however, was not the case. The soldiers were not able to stop raiding into Mexico or even protect settlers moving into Apache territory (Spicer 1962:248).

In 1871 an event occurred which had a long lasting effect on the Western Apache. In February, five elderly Apache women appeared at Camp Grant under a flag of truce. They said that they were looking for a boy who had been captured by the soldiers. The ladies were received courteously by the commander of Camp Grant and were encouraged to convey to their chiefs the possibility of peace talks. A few days later Chief Eskiminizin, who was tired of war, appeared in camp, and by March, 300 Apaches were living peacefully at Camp Grant drawing rations. In addition, some of them were hired by local farmers to harvest their crops.

In Tucson, however, the situation was different. Apaches attacked and killed a soldier and a civilian who were driving a baggage train from Camp Grant to a station in the Pinal Mountains. Less than two weeks later an American rancher was killed by Apaches near Tubac.

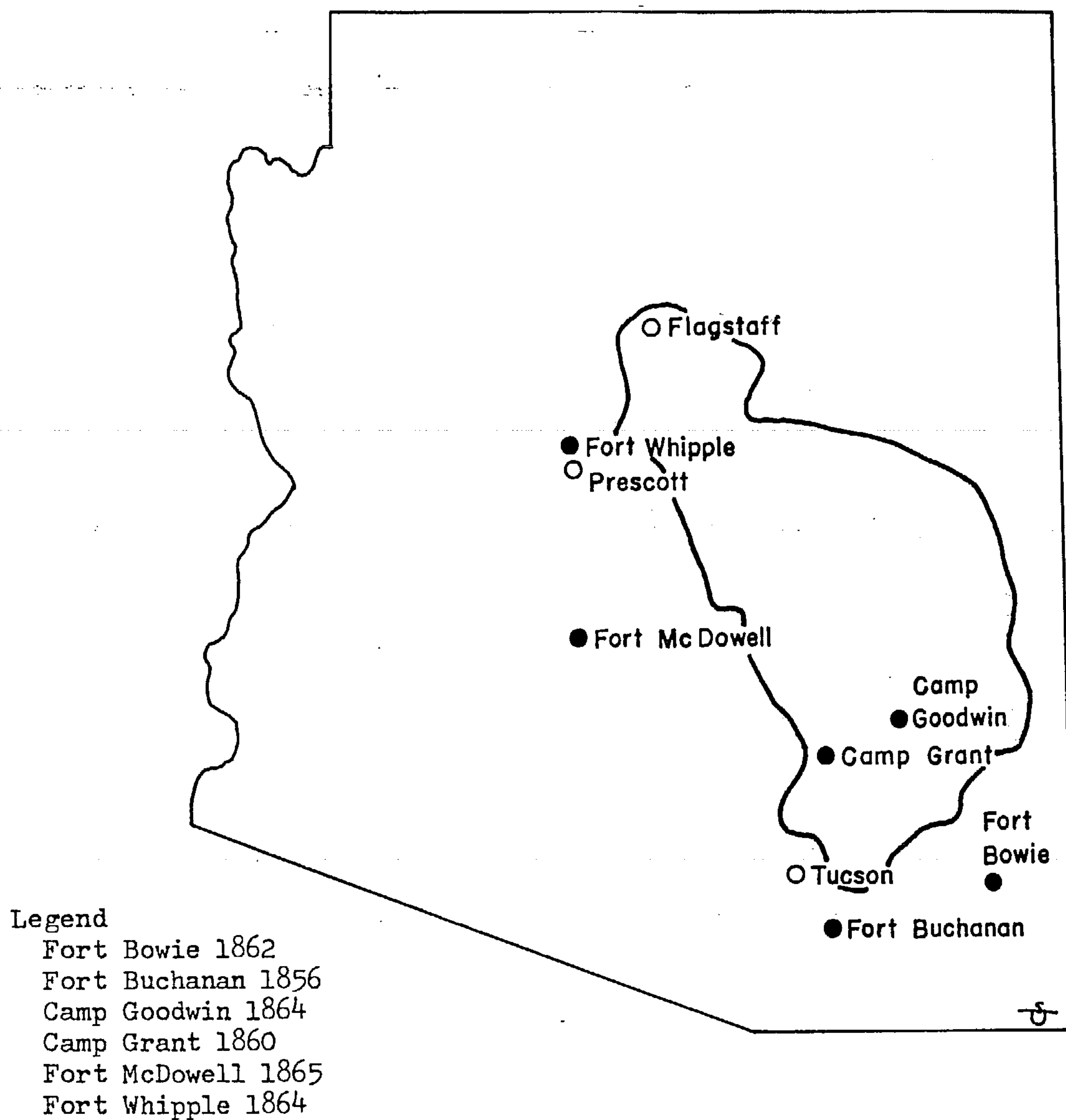

Figure 2. Map of Arizona territory and the major military posts, including the dates of their establishment. -- After Brandes (1960).

Citizens of Tucson appointed Willian Oury the head of a "Committee of Public Safety" to search for a remedy. By this time the Indian population at Camp Grant had moved four miles from the camp and numbered about 500 Apaches.

In April, several Apache raids were carried out near Tucson. Believing that the soldiers at Camp Grant were issuing rations to the very Apaches who were raiding in southern Arizona, Tucsonans under the leadership of Oury amassed an army of 148 Papagos, Mexicans, and Anglo-Americans. After traveling the seventy or so miles between Tucson and Camp Grant the vigilantes attacked the Apaches, who were almost certainly not the ones raiding in southern Arizona. Since many of the Apache men from Camp Grant were hunting in the hills at the time, the Tucsonans could claim the deaths of only eight men. However, 117 women and children were slaughtered and twenty-seven children were captured and eventually sold into slavery (Hastings 1959).

As the news of the "Camp Grant Massacre" reached the East, pressure was exerted against the government and a "peacy policy" was proposed by President Grant. In order to promote "peace" and "civilization" the roving bands of Indians were to be located on reservations where they would receive subsistence and protection as long as they remained friendly. They were to be taught to be self-sufficient through the raising of livestock and agricultural products.

Four areas were designated as Apache reservations. One was near Camp Apache and was to contain the Cibecue subtribal group as well as the northern bands of the White Mountain group. A tract of land at

Camp Verde was set aside for the Northern and Southern Tonto Apaches as well as the Yavapais, and the San Carlos subtribal group and the southern White Mountain bands were to be located at Camp Grant. Finally, in New Mexico, a reservation was created near Ojo Caliente to hold the Warm Springs Apaches (Basso 1971:21).

While governmental personnel and reservation officials alike believed that a peace could be established with the Apache through diplomacy, the War Department proceeded with its own plan of military control. Less than two months after the Camp Grant Massacre, General George Crook assumed command of the Department of Arizona and immediately went to Tucson. The day he arrived Crook summoned every officer within the southern district of Arizona to report to him. From each he elicited information about the geography of southern Arizona and any other information that might be useful in planning a military strategy (Bourke 1891:108-109). After collecting around him some of the most ambitious and able young officers in Arizona, Crook and six companies of cavalry and scouts set out to subdue the Chiricahua Apache. Because of the "peace policy," however, Crook was unable to carry out his campaign. Instead, he decided to proceed north and soon formed an alliance with friendly Indians near Camp Apache. During the previous decade, while still conducting some raids into Mexico, the White Mountain and Cibecue subtribal groups had been less involved in the Apache wars than most of the other Apachean groups in Arizona territory. According to Ogle (1970:98) the peaceful Apaches farming near Camp Apache "acquiesced to the general's view that White pressure

necessitated a life of peace, and he easily enlisted a group of scouts to help him ferret out the incorrigibles." With his Apache scouts Crook set out for Fort Whipple.

By November, 1871, the situation in Arizona had again changed. A California stage with eight passengers was attacked by Indians near Wickenburg. Soon public opinion in the East had turned against a peaceful settlement of the Indian problem, and the exercise of stringent military control was advocated. Under Crook's guidance, orders were given that all roving bands of Indians were to go to reservations immediately, that those not complying would be punished, that an Army agent was to act as reservation agent, that a census of each family of men of "warrior-age" was to be made, that an absent warrior's family would be held in custody until his return or capture, and that incorrigibles were to be hunted down. In addition, the presence of every male on the reservation was to be verified at least once a day. Finally, each Apache was to receive a specific amount of rations (Ogle 1970:100).

The reservation system, however, soon proved to be quite intolerable to the Apache.

> Fearful of white men's diseases, expectant of treachery and massacre from the Whites, resistant to the daily military muster, and often with insufficient food as dishonest or inefficiency in administration interfered with rationing, the Indians, although generally anxious for peace, were in a far from happy condition. Only the Fort Apache Reservation could be called moderately peaceful (Spicer 1962:251).

Towards the end of 1872 many Tonto Apache and Yavapai Indians fled the reservations and began raiding settlements near Prescott.

General Crook consequently began his campaign of rounding up those Indians not on the reservations. By April, 1873, the campaign was completed. Several hundred Apaches had been killed and an equal number captured and placed on reservations.

While Crook was conducting his campaign against the hostile Apaches and Yavapais, the Indians located on the Camp Grant reservation were being relocated. Due to the increase in malaria among the troops and the rising uneasiness among the Indians, Camp Grant was abandoned and San Carlos became the center for the reservation (Ogle 1970:105).

By 1874 the Department of the Interior had modified its policy regarding the four large reservations, now calling for the concentration of all Western Apaches, Chiricahua Apaches, and Yavapais on a single reservation at San Carlos. The main objective in centralizing these groups on a single reservation was to facilitate their control and reduce the threat they posed to Anglo residents of Arizona (Basso 1971:22). The removal of Indians to San Carlos took place in 1875. Indian agent John Clum noted that by September 1, 1875, the San Carlos reservation contained about 1,000 "old San Carlos Indians" including the Pinal and Arivaipa bands of the San Carlos subtribal group; 1,400 Verde Indians composed of Tonto Apaches, Mojaves, and Yumas; and about 1,800 White Mountain and Cibecue Apaches from the Camp Apache Reservation, most of whom came from the White Mountain subtribal group (Clum 1875:215).

Moving the White Mountain Apaches (White Mountain and Cibecue subtribal groups) to San Carlos seemed expedient for various reasons. First, the Gila Valley was more accessible for supply deliveries than was Camp Apache. It was also felt that the San Carlos area offered better opportunities for Indian self-support than did the White Mountains area where the growing season was shorter (Bret Harte 1972:254). However, from the White Mountain Apache's perspective the removal was considerably less than desirable. Agent Clum noted that the removal of these Indians was completed only after a period of considerable suspicion and bitter opposition (Clum 1875:218; 1876:10). Two chiefs, Diablo and Petone, both of whom wielded considerable influence, were opposed to the move. A rumor also spread among the Apaches to the effect that Clum was lying, and that if they left their homes they would be sent to a strange and distant land where they would die or be killed. It was only after the White Mountain Apaches were threatened with the loss of their rations that they agreed to go to San Carlos.

By 1877 there were over 5,000 Indians living at San Carlos, including groups which had been hostile towards each other prior to confinement. Mistrust and suspicion prevailed and there were frequent escapes from the reservation because of hostilities thus engendered. Because of ration shortages other Indians were forced to leave the reservation in order to hunt (Bret Harte 1972:396-402).

While at San Carlos, the White Mountain Apaches were forced to give up their traditional subsistence practices. Meanwhile, the agency continued to provide rations. Every Saturday morning the Indians at

San Carlos would assemble and be counted according to bands. Then each person was given a ration ticket (Clum 1875:219). In addition to rationing, the government introduced agricultural programs. Irrigated fields of corn, wheat, and barley were planted by the Indians under the supervision of agency personnel. Some of the yield was sold back to the agency. But irrigation along the Gila was beset by problems. In 1874 hordes of ground-ants destroyed crops at San Carlos (White 1874: 295). More seriously, however, was the fact that much of the water of the Gila needed by the Indians for irrigation was diverted upstream by Mormon farmers (Tiffany 1880:5).

Another attempt to make the Indians at San Carlos self-sufficient involved the introduction of livestock. Hart (1878:7) noted that the Indians were very anxious to obtain cattle and would save their ration tickets until they were able to draw out livestock. One man alone accumulated forty-three head of cattle. By 1879 Indian stock numbered about 1,000 head of horses, 1,000 head of cattle, 200 sheep, and 100 head of mules and asses (Chaffee 1879:8); however, this number was divided unequally among 4,552 Indians, some of whom had relatively large herds, most of whom had none.

Indians who did not take active part in the agency subsistence programs occasionally found employment in the mining towns of Globe and McMillan, and in the different mining camps and ranches near the western boundary of the reservation. Their chief occupation was bringing in hay and wood, making adobes, and herding cattle -- all at wages considerably below those of non-Indian employees (Hart 1878:7).

Besides the presence of the military and the changing economic pattern, the Indians located at San Carlos faced another danger -- disease. One reason that San Carlos was chosen for the agency was because it appeared to be less susceptible to malaria-carrying mosquitos than nearby Camp Grant. However, by 1873 malaria plagued the Apaches at San Carlos (Bret Harte 1972:159). Malaria was not the only disease threatening the Indians. In 1875 Clum (1875:218-219) recorded that a majority of the Indians at San Carlos were in an alien environment and the climate, water, and other factors resulted in 1,848 cases of illness treated by the agency physicians in that one year alone. There were 289 cases of intermittent fever, 123 of gonorrhea, 125 of rheumatism, and 369 cases of conjunctivitis. Syphilis, which first appeared among the Verde Indians, spread, and sixty-four cases were treated by the agency physicians with several more suspected but not treated (Clum 1875:219). In 1877 smallpox hit the Indians and many White Mountain Apaches were granted permission to return to their homes in the White Mountains where many of them remained even after the epidemic had ended (Bret Harte 1972:413). Besides the reported cases of illness there were undoubtedly many more which were handled by various medicine men and were not brought to the attention of the agency physicians.

In addition to problems with food and disease, the Indians at San Carlos were confronted by another problem. As the population of areas surrounding the reservation increased, the ranchers and miners began to encroach onto the Indian's land. Hart (1878:8) reported that

the discovery of a valuable mineral belt in the northeastern part of the reservation caused the building of McMillan. Soon numerous Anglos were entering the reservation in order to obtain timber, herd livestock, and locate mineral resources. Because of pressures brought to bear on the United States Government, in 1873, 1874, and 1877 large areas of the reservation were restored to the public domain (Getty 1963:8). These lands included some of the best watered lands on the reservation and also some of the most valuable mineral resources. By 1881 the situation had become so bad that agent Tiffany was approached by delegations of Indians who pleaded that he put a stop to the encroachment and land loss (Bret Harte 1972:595-603).

After several years residence at San Carlos, more White Mountain Apaches were allowed to return to their traditional homelands (Goodwin 1942:17, 23), and by 1880 only those who chose to stay at San Carlos remained. Between 1870 and 1880 the Indians at San Carlos had experienced a changed economic system, a high rate of disease, and confinement to a shrinking reservation.

For those Apaches who returned to the White Mountains the situation was little improved. In the latter part of the 1870's and early 1880's Charles T. Connell was assigned to take a census of the Apache Indians on the San Carlos and old Camp Apache reservations. He noted that in 1880 and 1881 the White Mountain Apaches were scattered throughout the land with the exception of those bands which drew annuity rations and were located within a twenty mile radius of the agencies. Connell's job was to locate the Apaches, collect census information

from them, and note the extent of their holdings of livestock and the intensity of their agricultural pursuits. The Apaches he encountered were suspicious of the census, believing that such information would be used against them by the Anglos. Connell's interpreter, Mickey Free, diagnosed the situation as grave.

> He heard rumblings of dissatisfaction among the bands that were counted. They said that the government had left them to shift for themselves, that they could not get anything unless they traveled a long ways, that they once had a reservation with plenty given them, but the whites took it away and sent some of their tribe to the Gila River, a low country that they could not live in and they did not like it. That the white men were coming into the mountains and killing their game and gave them nothing for it. The country belonged to them (Connell 1921:n.p.).

The feelings of the Apaches living near Camp Apache, now designated Fort Apache, were similar. The lack of food and a severe winter in 1880 caused headmen to report to their followers that they had been treated wrongly.

> However, the lack of food and the fact that other branches of the Apache nation were drawing ample rations in addition to the annual annuity goods, excited a feeling of resentment against the white men at the agency and caused mutterings of discontent and threats of revenge . . . [they claimed] that they were entitled to rations in their own domain, not at the regular agency at San Carlos; that the whites wanted them to live in the low-lands that they might die, so that the beautiful country they abandoned might fall to the Mormons, who were settling near the northern border of their hunting ground (Connell 1921:n.p.).

But fear and suspicion were not the only factors that worried the White Mountain Apaches. They were also upset by the deaths of several of their leaders. On September 1, 1880, members of Pedro's band were gambling with members of Diablo's band. A quarrel broke out and Alchesay, Petone, and Uclanny of Pedro's band killed Chief Diablo

(Goodwin 1942:52; Tiffany 1881:10). Although aggression between Pedro's band and other White Mountain Apaches was not uncommon, the death of Diablo was a severe blow to the Apaches. Diablo, or haškedasila ('he is constantly angry') as he was known by the Apaches, was a man of great influence. He was the leader of not only the largest White Mountain local group but of the entire Eastern White Mountain band as well. Furthermore, he was unanimously credited by the Apaches of his group as "being the greatest White Mountain chief of his time" (Goodwin 1942:11). In addition, Diablo had been an important raiding and war chief (Basso 1971). Although residing for the greater part of his life on the East Fork and Bonito Creeks (Goodwin 1942:659-660), he was living on the Cibecue Creek at the time of his death (Connell 1921).

About six months after this episode, members of Pedro's band again quarreled and fought with other Apaches. This time Pedro was wounded in the knee and Alchesay was shot in the chest (Connell 1921).

In March of 1881, another chief, Eskiole, was killed. He had come to Fort Apache to renew his pass. On his return trip to Cibecue an incident occurred in which a gun fell on a child. This resulted in a duel in which both chief Eskiole and his Apache opponent lost their lives (Tiffany 1881:10).

In June of 1881, the Apaches near Fort Apache were described as "destitute, hungry, and discouraged" (Bret Harte 1972:606). The corn they had sown had been destroyed by grasshoppers and they had already mortgaged most of their crop to post traders in exchange for flour. It was at this time that the emotions of the White Mountain

Apaches were being stirred by the prophecies of the Cibecue medicine man called Noch-ay-del-klinne.

The Na'ilde' Prophet

Of the boyhood of the na'ilde' prophet, Noch-ay-del-klinne, little is known, although Lockwood (1938:235) states that he was knowledgeable in the traditions of his tribe and was introspective -- a likely candidate to become a medicine man. Even the meaning of his name is uncertain. Mooney (1896:705) believes the name is derived from na'k'aye ('Mexican') plus ƚikiž ('spotted') glossing 'spotted or freckled Mexican,' a possible commemoration of his having killed a freckled Mexican. Basso (personal communication 1976), on the other hand, believes it may be na'k'aye ('Mexican') plus dilniih ('to rush about') plus he ('the one') and glosses the term as 'Mexican who rushes' or 'Mexican in a hurry.'

It is also difficult to ascertain the date of his birth. U.S. Army Lieutenant Cruse (1941:93) described him as being about twenty-six years old in 1871. Another soldier who knew him, Army Surgeon Loring, suggests that he was about fifty in 1875 (Thrapp 1972:4). Nevertheless, he was living in Cibecue in 1871 and by then had become a medicine man. Goodwin (1938:35) states that Noch-ay-del-klinne must have had 'lightning power.' Besides having influence over his fellow Apaches, Noch-ay-del-klinne was also well-known to Anglos, for in 1871 he was sent as a peace delegate to Washington to confer with President Grant. While in Washington he, like the other delegates, was presented with a

large silver peace medal which he wore until his death. In addition to the medal, he brought back to the Apaches "a supply of amazing stories and the power to tell them" (Cruse 1941:93). His stories dealt with things he had seen in the East: enormous buildings, long, towering bridges, railways and trains, and thousands of Anglos.

In 1872 Noch-ay-del-klinne experienced his first taste of military life. Bourke (1891:178) recalled that "No-kay-do-klunni," also called "Bobby Doklinni" by the soldiers, was one of the first men to enlist as a scout to ferret out hostile Indians.

Sometime after this Noch-ay-del-klinne was sent to Santa Fe where he attended school. Here, among other things, he was introduced to the doctrines and teachings of Christianity. He was apparently impressed with the withdrawal of Christ into the wilderness for meditation and with Christ's resurrection from the dead. According to Cruse (1941:94), after Noch-ay-del-klinne returned to his people he set out to follow Christ's example and spent much time in seclusion meditating in the mountains. However, Basso (personal communication 1976) has noted that Apache medicine men often spent time in seclusion and that this does not necessarily reflect the influence of Christian teachings.

Noch-ay-del-klinne's brief encounter with Christianity did not influence him to such a degree that he stopped using his 'power' to help Apaches. Lockwood (1938:236) described him as always kind and attentive to the sick and disposed toward all good work, a contention shared by Surgeon Loring (Thrapp 1972:4). During the next few years

his influence spread and he became widely known as a healer and mystic[1] (Thrapp 1967:217).

On the eve of the _na'ilde'_ movement, Noch-ay-del-klinne stood about five feet six inches tall and weighed about 125 pounds. "His face -- very light in color for an Apache -- was drawn and ascetic-looking" (Cruse 1941:105-106).

Na'ilde'

Na'ilde' is the term used by White Mountain Apaches to describe the religious cult movement headed by Noch-ay-del-klinne. Although an exact translation of the word is not available, it certainly makes reference to a return from the dead (Goodwin 1938:34), the main ideological tenet of the movement itself.

The earliest report of _na'ilde'_ came from Charles T. Connell (1921) who in the winter of 1880-1881 was taking a census of the Apaches. He heard a rumor that Noch-ay-del-klinne was proclaiming the ability to raise the great Chief Diablo from the dead; with Diablo's help, Noch-ay-del-klinne asserted, the Anglos would then be driven off the land. In March of 1881 Connell moved his census to Cibecue, close to where the medicine man was holding his _na'ilde'_ ceremonies. Connell (1921) recorded the words of Noch-ay-del-klinne.

> Are we not natives to the earth around us?
> Are we not part of the forest, the rocks, the air?
> Do not the birds sing for the Apache?

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1. As has been noted, Goodwin believed that Noch-ay-del-klinne may have had 'lightning power.' Medicine men with 'lightning power' were often recognized as mystics (Goodwin 1938:31).

Are not the deer part of our lives?
Are they not grazing on our domain?
Does not the corn grow amidst our land?
Do not the cattle feed upon the grass that grows upon the soil of the Coyotero?[2]
Do not the bodies of our ancestors lie beneath the earth that belongs to the Coyotero?
Is not the running stream for the slaking of the thirst of the Coyotero?
Why, then, do the whites come hither?
Why do they kill our game?
Why should a paleface seek the haunts of the brave Coyotero, with their medicine?
The belief of a Coyotero is different.
There was only one brave among the Coyoteros who could keep the whites back--Diablo, the chieftain.
His spirit hovers amid the rustling pine; the fluttering leaves denote his presence.
The wail of the lion and the roar of the bear tells you that he is near. He will come again, not in spirit, but in the flesh, to deliver us from the hated whites.
Diablo guards our interests. Diablo seeks a remedy. Diablo will live again. In the dance we seek inspiration. With rhythmetical movements, we commune with the spirits. The dance inspires passion, faith, fury, bravery, and strength. All this will we need at the resurrection of the great Diablo. Is it not I, who revives the message at the resting place of the bones of Diablo? Thus have I spoken.

The dance Noch-ay-del-klinne was referring to had never been seen before (Bourke 1892:505). The participants were men and women who, arranged in lines radiating out from a center point, formed a configuration resembling the spokes on a wheel. Dancing in the center of the formation, Noch-ay-del-klinne sprinkled hadntin on the participants (Mooney 1896:704-705).

After arriving back at San Carlos, Connell reported what he had seen and heard to agent Tiffany. Tiffany, in turn, immediately

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2. The term "Coyotero" has had a variety of meanings (Goodwin 1942:2). Here it probably refers to the White Mountain and Cibecue Apache.

notified the commanding officer at Fort Apache and offered to send additional rations to the post, hoping in this way to quiet the Apaches. The offer was refused (Bret Harte 1972:606).

In June of 1881, Tiffany was at Fort Apache when he heard further accounts of the dances Noch-ay-del-klinne was holding on the Cibecue Creek. The prophet claimed the ability to bring back to life the chiefs Diablo and Eskiole. The event was to take place in seven days, and for his efforts Noch-ay-del-klinne was to receive gifts of horses, saddles, blankets, and money from the Apaches. On June 19 a runner arrived at San Carlos and reported that, according to the Indians, Noch-ay-del-klinne had succeeded in resurrecting the corpses up to their knees and had promised that if he failed to revive them he would forfeit his own life (Bret Harte 1972:607).

Upon returning to San Carlos on June 22, Tiffany heard that the Cibecue medicine man, in addition to reviving the two dead chiefs, also intended to kill the Anglos on the reservation so he could rule over all the Apaches (Bret Harte 1972:608). The situation soon worsened for rumors spread that the Navajos and Tonto Apaches were planning to flee their reservation and were trying to persuade the White Mountain Apache to join them (Meader 1967:17). Meanwhile, San Carlos Apache police were sent to arrest Noch-ay-del-klinne, but soon returned visibly upset apparently believing that an explosive situation existed. Tiffany prepared for any eventuality (Bret Harte 1972:608-609).

The day of the predicted resurrections, June 26, came and passed without the prophecy being fulfilled, but Noch-ay-del-klinne

did not take his own life. Instead, a few days later, he went up into the mountains where he stayed until the middle of July. On July 15, he unexpectedly appeared at Fort Apache and talked to General Eugene A. Carr who had taken command of the post only five weeks before. Carr was informed by Noch-ay-del-klinne that while he had not succeeded in resurrecting the chiefs, he had communicated with spirits of some of the dead. Two weeks later Carr heard what to him was even more distressing news.

> It is now reported to me by Interpreter Hurle that Noch-aydetklinne is telling the Indians that the dead say they will not return because of the presence of the white people; that when the white people leave the dead will return, and that the whites will be out of the country when the corn gets ripe. Hurle thinks the next move may be to induce the Indians to hasten the departure of the whites, and that he may be working them up to a frame of mind suitable for the purpose. . . . (King 1963:198).

On August 1, 1881, Noch-ay-del-klinne was holding an unusually large dance on the Carrizo Creek. Cruse (1941:94-95) observed that at this meeting traditional tribal enmities were forgotten and "tribes" which for years had been at "daggers' points" forgot their hatreds and joined in the ceremonies. Sam Bowman, Chief of Scouts, went and examined the situation and returned asking for his resignation. He anticipated trouble with the Apaches and wanted no part of it.

Not long thereafter Noch-ay-del-klinne moved his dances to the North Fork River only a few miles from Fort Apache. Lieutenant Thomas Cruse, in charge of the Apache scouts, attended one of the ceremonies and was impressed by the fraternizing that went on between different Apache groups.

> It was ample cause for thought and speculation, to see Apaches who had been proscribed by their own people for murder, theft, and women kidnaping now moving freely among those who, but a short time before, had been hunting them with grim intent to exterminate the criminals. Every Apache within hearing of the Medicine Man's voice now seemed deaf and dumb and blind to everything in life except the wild desire to celebrate whatever variety of religion it was which he preached--or indicated (Cruse 1941:96).

By August 10, Carr had received further information about the doctrine being proclaimed by Noch-ay-del-klinne. He had been informed by Interpreter Hurle that the medicine man was putting food in a wickiup, saying that the dead would come and eat it. In addition, Hurle informed Carr that the Apaches believed that Noch-ay-del-klinne "will be the head of all the Indians, that he says the ground will turn over, the dead will raise and the Indians be above the whites; that they will have possession of this Post, that the soldiers will have to give up their horses to them, etc." (King 1963:198-199).

Because of the worsening situation Tiffany decided to take extreme action. On August 15, 1881, he telegraphed Carr commanding that Noch-ay-del-klinne be "arrested or killed or both" before a dance which the medicine man had scheduled for August 20 (King 1963:199). However, before this order could be carried out the prophet moved to Carrizo Creek and from there on to Cibecue.

From the military's perspective the situation was critical. Apache scouts from Fort Apache, who had been considered loyal, demanded passes so they could attend the dances. When they were granted, the scouts overstayed their time and returned "not only exhausted and unfit for duty, but they showed surliness and insubordination" (Cruse

1941:96). When the agent denied passes to the Indians at San Carlos, hundreds left the agency without permission and the Indian police reported that they were helpless to return them (Thrapp 1967:220).

At Cibecue a significant confrontation occurred between the prophet and his followers after an "unusually frenzied dance." Noch-ay-del-klinne had already received gifts of over 100 head of livestock in anticipation of the resurrections (King 1963:201). The participants now wanted results. Some of them stated that they knew that those of their people who had died were still living, only invisible. If Noch-ay-del-klinne was as powerful as he claimed, he should call to the great leaders who had died and ask them to help their people. "Ask them to tell us what we shall do now about our country and the whites who rule it" (Cruse 1941:98), was their cry. The medicine man is reported to have gone up onto a high mesa above Cibecue with three companions and remained there for many hours making appeals to the "Great One." One of these companions later told Cruse (1941:97-99) that, weak from fasting and exhausted from much dancing, he was with Noch-ay-del-klinne on the mesa when three dead leaders appeared. These shadow figures rose out of the ground as far as their knees, and proclaimed dissatisfaction with being disturbed. They apparently did not wish to return from the dead. White people had infested the land. As they sank back into the ground the observers were advised to live at peace with the White men and let the dead rest. The vision was accepted by the Apache but was not interpreted as a sign to pursue the

possibility of peaceful coexistence with the Anglos; instead, it was taken as proof that the dead lived on.

The Apache scouts, hearing of this, became more and more recalcitrant. They were reported to have been heard muttering that if the Anglos did not leave Apache territory they would be driven out (Cruse 1941:99). Meanwhile, General Carr, hoping to take Noch-ay-del-klinne captive without bloodshed, invited the medicine man to talk with him at Fort Apache. The prophet told Carr's messenger that he had scheduled a dance for that night, August 26, and could not leave until the following day. But the following day he refused to go. On August 28, General Carr, seeing no alternative, began to ready his troops to march to Cibecue and arrest Noch-ay-del-klinne (Bret Harte 1972:616-617).

Unfortunately, most of the information available on _na'ilde'_ comes from soldiers' and agents' accounts. There is, however, a limited amount of data available through White Mountain Apache oral traditions. Up until about 1920 _na'ilde'_ was a common topic of conversation among Apaches, and those who were born after the movement or who had not participated in it, learned of these things from those who had (see Kessel 1974). According to the unwritten Apache accounts, the medicine man (whose name is not remembered) was holding a series of dances, primarily at Cibecue. He claimed the ability to raise all the dead from the graves and promised the living a better world -- free from hunger, disease, and Anglos. Whether the removal of the Whites from Apache country was to be accomplished through religious

or military means is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, the Apaches believed in what he said and gave him presents in anticipation of the resurrection.

One White Mountain Apache woman who was born in 1908 learned from an eyewitness about the dance Noch-ay-del-klinne staged immediately before he was arrested (sometime in late August). According to her account, the dance was held over the grave of one of the dead chiefs. The chief had been buried in a shallow grave covered with a blanket and a piece of canvas on which he had placed his personal belongings and a covering of rocks. Noch-ay-del-klinne removed the rocks, grave goods, and canvas until the blanket was exposed. The burial then became the center of the dance. The medicine man lined up all the young unmarried boys to the right of the grave and the virgin girls to the left. Married people were arranged radiating out from the grave in the other two directions, the entire configuration resembling a cross. Noch-ay-del-klinne and his singers stood off to the side of one of the lines of married people. After the medicine man had sung four songs, the girls and boys closest to the grave heard the rattling of bones under the blanket covering the body. The eyewitness reported that not all of those in attendance actually participated in the ceremony. Apaches from many places -- North Fork, Turkey Creek, Bonito Creek, East Fork, Upper East Fork, Canyon Day, Cedar Creek, Forestdale, Carrizo, Cibecue, Camp Verde, and San Carlos -- attended the dance. It was this dance that the soldiers from Fort Apache came to stop.

On August 29, 1881, General Carr, leading 117 scouts and soldiers, set out to arrest Noch-ay-del-klinne. The column arrived at the camp of the medicine man the next afternoon. Exactly what happened next is uncertain. Lieutenant Cruse, an eyewitness, stated that the prophet was reluctant to accompany the soldiers back to Fort Apache. Instead, he insisted that if the soldiers left, he would follow in three or four days. This suggestion was unacceptable (Cruse 1941: 105-107). General Carr, on the other hand, reported that he instructed Noch-ay-del-klinne that unless he resisted or an attempt was made to rescue him no harm would be done. The medicine man told Carr that he would have left earlier for the fort but that he had a patient who needed attention. Since the patient had been cured he was now ready to go.

White Mountain Apaches, however, sketch a much different picture. According to an Apache, Thomas Friday, Noch-ay-del-klinne was manhandled and yanked from his wickiup like a prisoner (Kessel 1974). Whatever occurred, it was accomplished by a considerable lack of communication (Thrapp 1972:20-23).

The medicine man then was taken a short distance from his camp where the soldiers stopped for the night. Shortly thereafter, Cruse noticed that a considerable number of Apaches had encircled it. Then a shot was fired and the battle began. Again, there is some difference of opinion as to why the first shot was fired. According to Anglo accounts, the Apache Scouts turned on a prearranged cue and opened fire

on the soldiers (Monnett 1969:11; King 1963:210). Apache oral traditions, however, are in agreement that the shooting began because certain of the Indians tried to rescue Noch-ay-del-klinne (Farish 1916: III:335-339; Kessel 1974:131). As soon as the shooting began, Carr's orders were carried out and Noch-ay-del-klinne was shot in the head.

The fighting continued until nightfall and then ceased. The soldiers, seeing no alternative, buried their dead and made ready to travel. Sergeant John Smith, while engaged in the burial activities, noticed a movement not far from the center of the soldier's camp. It was Noch-ay-del-klinne, bleeding from the head, and crawling toward the Apache lines. Smith picked up an axe and dispatched the medicine man with two blows (King 1963:211). According to the White Mountain Apaches, the medicine man's head was not merely crushed by the axe blows but was actually cut off.

After taps were sounded, the soldiers began an all night march from the Cibecue battle site towards Fort Apache located forty-five miles to the east. They arrived there the next afternoon without incident. The fatality list from the "Cibecue Massacre," as the battle came to be known, included eight Anglos and an estimated eighteen Apaches, including six scouts and Noch-ay-del-klinne.

According to information obtained by Basso from contemporary Cibecue Apache consultants, a medicine man sang over the body of Noch-ay-del-klinne for four days attempting to bring him back to life. "On the morning of the fourth day, a large boulder was heard to rumble

down the side of a nearby butte. This was a sign from Knoch-e-da-klinne (sic) that he would not return" (Meader 1967:23). The na'ilde' movement seems to have ended abruptly after the death and unsuccessful resurrection of Noch-ay-del-klinne.