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EXAMINING HISTORICAL ISSUES PERTAINING TO SAN CARLOS APACHE  
TRIBAL IDENTITIES THROUGH PEOPLEHOOD

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EXAMINING HISTORICAL ISSUES PERTAINING TO SAN CARLOS APACHE  
TRIBAL IDENTITIES THROUGH PEOPLEHOOD

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES

BY

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Without the brilliant teachings of Dr. Christopher Basaldú, years of schooling within institutions of higher learning that told me to think, research, and understand the world of history under one specific pretense would have prevailed. All of this was cast aside, and I was once again able to envision a world through my own indigenous, specifically Apache, eyes. I finally understood the teachings that my grandparents were trying to tell us as children, and how important and significant our ways as a people are to our identities. I learned more about Native American studies, history, and thinking as a Graduate Assistant assigned to his philosophy class than I did in my entire academic career. No one on campus is capable of decolonizing and re-indigenizing like him.

During my time of resurgence as an Apache individual on campus, I found myself lacking in the familiarity of indigenous community. This all changed when I met Dr. Bread. He is a wise old Kiowa who knows how to get at the core of what it means to be indigenous. He was capable of investigating the true intentions of an individual seeking to delve into the world of Native American studies by asking the simple question, “Are you going to be an Indian Expert, or Expert Indian?” His demeanor, knowledge, foresight, and character was branded as a Kiowa Indian, but when it was necessary, he understood the manners in which one conducts themselves in the arena of academia without losing their indigenous heritage.

With all this, it would still not have been possible without the opportunities presented to me to explore the world of Native American Studies. The potential to do something more had never occurred to me, and if not for the efforts of Dr. Cobb-Greetham, I would not have pursued anything further in academia.

Continued education would not have been a thought to me if it were not for one of the biggest inspirations in my life. My grandmother in her younger years strived to be something more, and pursued a career as an educator by obtaining her degree. Her love for history, exploration, literature, and research was prevalent and she made sure her grandchildren took notice. It was because of her outreach to us through her passions that I saw myself pursuing something similar. Her challenge to us, as she would say, was to, “beat me if you can!” Now that I have surpassed her expectations, it is not my intention to gloat in her presence, but to thank her for always believing that I was capable of so much more.

Financial, academic, professional, and inspirational support was predominant all throughout my academic career, but that support was always given from a certain distance. The chaos at the front lines was sometimes unbearable, and the ones who saw the most of this was my own family. My children spent countless nights without their father there to tuck them in, and weekends stolen from them because of the necessary time and research needed to complete a paper. I will forever be thankful, but even still, my dear beloved wife took the most hits and sacrifices. She was there to care for the children while I indulged my life’s passion. Through it all, no one truly acknowledged the work, patience, and sacrifices that she had to endure for me to produce the work presented, yet despite this, she continued to give her undying love and support. She was selfless, caring, and giving throughout my academic career, and literally none of this would have been possible without her.

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## ABSTRACT

Over the course of record regarding Apache history in the United States, there has been little attempt to specify the groups of Apache peoples within the traditional homelands of the Apache residing in the Southwestern United States. The Current literature has done little to rectify this problem within academia, and it continues to create a gap in the historical record regarding the actual identities of the Apache people of the Southwest. More specifically, there has been a lack of identification of the individual bands of Apache currently residing on the San Carlos Apache Reservation; those bands being ethnohistorically known as the Aravaipa, Apache Peaks, Pinalaño, San Carlos proper, and the Western and Eastern White Mountain Apache. Most importantly, it is necessary for the current record to be decolonized and re-indigenized to reflect the views and interpretations of Apache history from an indigenous *Nde* perspective. Within the academy, the best tool available to relay that message is the Peoplehood Model, developed by Robert K. Thomas. This method promotes the use of a relationship-based model that more accurately produces a perception of indigeneity that would otherwise be misinterpreted. Concurrently, it is necessary to understand the social organization of the Western Apache in conjunction with the model to better understand the damage of the colonial Western perspectives of *Nde* in respect to their history. The same Western perspective has had a direct impact on contemporary issues relating to Mt. Graham in the early 90s and the ongoing situation at Oak Flat. This research hopes to bring clarity to the issue of identity on the San Carlos Apache reservation using the Peoplehood model, and recognize the consequences of a forced conglomeration of various people groups by an invading force.



## THE ORIGINS

The beginning. Everything has a beginning, and a purpose. Understanding their existence is to understand their purpose. The indigenous mind always starts where it is necessary: the beginning.

An *Nde*, the word used for the “the people” in their own language, conception of the world is determined by their oral histories, and stories, much like many other indigenous cultures. Before one can hear the beginning, they must understand the nature of the world before the beginning. *Usen* (Apache: Creator) is before the beginning. However, *Usen* is something far greater than a conception of God. *Usen* cannot be described with the same reification tactics used to describe a god at the level of mankind. The Apache understands *Usen* as a being that is incomprehensible from a human standpoint. It is something that transcends the human plain and is impossible to place within the realm of man.

It is easy to assign human traits to something unrecognizable in order to become familiar and comfortable with that unknown entity. “To credit *Usen* with any anthropomorphic characteristics is a bit further than the indigenous thinker can go.”<sup>1</sup> Qualities that are inherently contributory to the human understanding of the world are those that are used solely by man. *Usen* has no need for such qualities, and, as Cordova states, “To assign anthropomorphic qualities to such a substance would be to reify human nature.”<sup>2</sup> The world as seen through the eyes of the *Nde* is to understand that *Usen*, the creator of the universe, is something mysterious and far greater than they are

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<sup>1</sup> Cordova, J.F. *How it is: The Native American Philosophy of V.F. Cordova*. Edited by Kathleen Dean Moore, Kurt Peters, Ted Jojola, and Amber Lacy. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007. 108

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 109

able to comprehend. This does not mean that they fear the unknown nature of *Usen*, rather, quite the opposite. They understand there is a relationship between themselves and *Usen* that is symbiotic, in many aspects, and creates an equilibrium among the *Nde*.

*Usen* created the universe, but did not create the Apache first. In the beginning, there was only darkness. There were two counsels, one of birds, and another of beasts. The birds wanted to bring light into the world, but the beasts protested greatly. There was a great war between the two and the birds, because of their flight, were able to overcome the beasts. Light was admitted into the universe, and this paved the way for man to live and thrive upon the land. However, the biggest threat to man was the monster who would consume the young of the people. A young boy who was endowed with supernatural abilities challenged and overcame the beast with his arrows, and the boy's name was *Apache*. The people are named for this first man who gave the people the opportunity to grow. However, the people did not know how to grow food for themselves, and often fought amongst each other with little regard for the consequences that this fighting would have on their people and culture. *Usen* saw the needs of *Usen's* people, and, as a result, sent helpers to Earth from the Mountains, *Ga'an*, to come to the people and teach them to grow food. They also brought with them a social order that allowed the *Nde* to respect their relationships and care for their sacred knowledge. They were charged with the responsibilities of caring for the land that gave them sustenance, and honoring both the *Ga'an* and *Usen*, who dwelled within the sun. This was the beginning of the people: *Nde*.

This version of the origin story of the Apache is a personal recollection that was told by the elders of the family. This is only one of many. There are significant parts

that are necessary, but only for specific purposes. As such, for the purposes of this particular research, this amount of information is sufficient. As Apache, we are told only the information that is necessary to us at the time, and when it is deemed worthy for others to be entrusted with further knowledge regarding the welfare of the Apache way of life, then it will be told. This telling of the origins gives much information into who they are, what they are, and relationship to their homelands, to their place. This has impacted their past, which continues to impact their lives today, and will impact their future.

## INTRODUCTION

When the name “Apache” is heard, most will envision the most famous Apache warrior in American and Apache history, that of course being Geronimo. While he played a significant role in the war for his people, there is much that is missing relating to the people themselves because of his popularity and fascination within the American imagination. Apache historical interactions with the United States, being a more recent addition to the American historical record in comparison to other Southwestern tribes, has some similarities with other European invaders that had made their way through Apachería – a Spanish political designation for the land that the Apache called home.

The Spanish were among the first to call the people “Apache,” and their analysis of the people is well documented. Writings by military soldiers, such as José Cortés with his manuscript entitled *Views from the Apache Frontier: Report on the Northern Provinces of New Spain*, record encounters with the various groups. However, little attention has been given to sources such as these, and instead books and journals are

published on the big three “famous” figures of Apache leaders: Cochise, Mangus Coloradas, and Geronimo.

The lives of these three prominent persons in Apache history are, without a doubt, extremely important in understanding Apache leadership, battle tactics, and certain aspects of Apache culture. However, the perception is done strictly through the leaders own understanding. The result is scholarship that produces a fractured and incomprehensive view of Apache life and culture through the narrow views of the leader’s own eyes; an individual of significant importance, rather than as a people. Not only does this present a view of the people from the viewpoint of a prominent individual, it creates a vision of life that is not shared by all Apache people. Concurrently much of the information that is gathered is taken from a particular group of Apache and projected onto the whole. While much of the culture is shared among various bands in the Southwest, there are still prominent and distinct practices that are only prevalent in specific bands of *Nde*.

This problematic approach of placing the Apache group into a composite category is demonstrated throughout published sources pertaining to Apache ethno-history. It could also be said that in many of the early written encounters with Indigenous groups in Northern New Spain/Mexico may have been misidentified and classified as Apachean solely because of the writer’s own ignorance of the area and the people. This in turn would make many of the current and past publications regarding Apache people and culture potentially, and unintentionally, misinterpreted as a representation of Apachean people.

While these problematic issues regarding accurate early Apache history are in need of rectifying, there are still issues pertaining to proper representation of Apache peoples by more contemporary academic scholars. Associations throughout the current literature attempts to place specific locations and reservations in connection with other indigenous groups. Much of the writing, save a few scholars, would almost seem to suggest that all the Apaches of the Southwest are one in the same. However, there is a caveat to this problem, and that is the lack of, and availability of, any written or recorded documentation that would permit any further research into the individual bands of Apache peoples. Furthermore, it would be virtually impossible, given the current literature sources, to identify every single Apache band or tribe that traditionally existed in the areas in which Apache peoples called home.

Another significant problem that seems to be plaguing historical recollections of Apache past times is the Apaches lengthy and complicated relationship with the Spanish and Mexican governments and their peoples. Apache history does not begin at the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, and even after the signing it does not signify the first time that American citizens will have interactions with Apache peoples. The gaining of a large portion of Northern Mexican land by the United States only carries on a tradition of continued hostilities and attempts of dominance over Apache people, and begins a new chapter with a new invader. The experiences of Apache people in their dealings with the Spanish and Mexican governments are carried into the new era of United States imperialism, and because of this, much can be learned from this previous history. Remembering these significant points in history would

allow for a clearer understanding of the problems Apaches faced due to invasion and theft by American invaders.

Taking these various points and issues into perspective, it can be well understood that there is much work to be done to clarify and correct problems within the current literature. However, this should not discourage efforts to attempt to make the necessary corrections. What should also be taken into consideration is the need for consultation with any living elders who might hold valuable information that can be given by themselves, or by those who might hold that knowledge. What must also be acknowledged is the accessibility of that knowledge and information.

The search for knowledge has caused great suffering by those who seek to find and uncover information, to which they are not necessarily entitled. In a time when information is so readily available and easily accessible, there is an attitude that anything and everything can be given upon request. Indigenous ideologies do not support such methods of learning and it is only through a means of contribution to the people that one is granted access to the necessary information for a specific purpose. Despite this, the quest for knowledge by non-Indigenous peoples has caused much devastation, and has corrupted indigenous conceptions of life with the academy as a tool of assimilation. This is done by taking indigenous knowledge which is then reinterpreted by those deemed worthy by the imperialistic powers of the academy to reteach the indigenous mind.

Upon the arrival of Columbus in 1492, the Northern and Southern hemispheres were comprised of a population that was 100 percent indigenous. In the year 2013, according to the latest U.S. census data, the population of American Indians and

Alaskan Natives within United States borders only accounted for 2 percent of the total population. Destroying indigenous populations with a 98 percent decrease in population down from 100 percent in a little over 500 years is an astounding feat.

Within this 500-year span, the recollection, and methods of record on the various cultures of the North American continent have been produced and displayed by the invading and murderous force. As such, there has been little reliance on the people themselves, the people who had participated in the culture, as the authorities of their culture. Much of the interpretation, and in-depth research of indigenous cultures has traditionally been conducted primarily by the non-indigenous western hierarchical academic professional. There is a need for consultation of the indigenous peoples and a change in perception of the history that has been written that would allow for a more indigenous examination of the historical record.

“From an Indigenous perspective, the reproduction of colonial relationships persists inside institutional centres. It manifests itself in a variety of ways, most noticeably through Western-based policies and practices that govern research, and less explicitly through the cultural capital necessary to survive there.”<sup>3</sup> The unspoken truth of the matter regarding the principals and derivative authority on the topic of historical interpretation is that there must be a strict adherence to the established methods that will, supposedly, encourage and uphold a more reliable and proper account. This methodology, or ideology, does little, if at all, to invite any outside attempts to clarify, or enlighten the established entities with a perception that is not within the formulated standards.

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<sup>3</sup> Kovach, Margaret. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. 28

The problem of incorporating indigenous methodologies in a historical framework is one that needs to be addressed. The very nature of the Western academic establishment is to dissuade such attempts. However, the attempt will be made to place a more indigenous perception on the current ethno-historical published works to create a method by which a view of the works permits a greater understanding of a more indigenously oriented history.

Exploring a topic of discussion pertaining to Native American peoples using a form of communication that limits itself to a specific kind of understanding is difficult to examine thoroughly. There is a clear and present breakdown in communication when one attempts to translate or interpret a concept or idea of Native origin to a westernized mind; especially one that is so easily understood by an indigenous culture. The strict discipline and rigidity of the westernized mind rarely allows for much insight from any external influences and thus is unsuited to truly understand outside those clearly stated and formulated guidelines. Guidelines certified and maintained by non-indigenous institutions and run by non-indigenous people.

Western civilization is rooted in conceptions that allow for mainly a linear way of thinking, and is strongly connected to any historical writings present today. The concept of time is rationalized in a way that supports the linear model. “For the Western thinker time becomes a thing, a dimension, something that is itself measured. A reification of the concept of time allows Westerners to speak of traveling ‘in’ time. They can postulate traveling into the future or into the past as though the future and past



were places or things that exist somewhere out there.”<sup>4</sup> Everything moves forward, wealth is obtained and continuously sought after, and their histories allow for ways in which new manipulations to the present can be made to adjust for better ways to obtain wealth. Furthermore, western ideology focuses strongly on the individual and that individual’s usefulness to society. Thus, the western invading individual, even within their religious institutions, become strongly materialistic. They become obsessed with a need to obtain, gather, and hoard while at the same time objectifying anything that might be used as a tool to feed that hunger.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast, indigenous conceptions of wealth, knowledge, and culture are rooted in a tribal understanding. The past does not leave them, necessarily, but rather it is woven into the fabric of the people. Knowledge itself becomes a form of wealth for the society. The views of the world around them are examined, not from a point of objectification, but rather from a view that permits equilibrium with the surrounding environment. These two very distinct and contradicting methods of understanding should be taken into consideration when examining historical accounts, and the best method available to rectify the issue of exclusion within an academic framework is with the Peoplehood Model.

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<sup>4</sup> Cordova, Viola F. *How It Is: The Native American Philosophy of V.F. Cordova*. Edited by Kathleen Dean Moore, Kurt Peters, Ted Jojola, and Amber Lacy. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007. 108-109

<sup>5</sup> Vine Deloria Jr., *God is Red: A Native View of Religion* (Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 1973), 97. It should be well noted that the foundation and establishment of western civilization is strongly rooted in the attempts to Christianize the world, and as such, there was a need to record the history of those conquests. It is also one of the clearest distinctions that separate a western and non-western civilization. Deloria states, “The western preoccupation with history and a chronological description of reality was not a dominant factor in any tribal conception of either time or history. Indian tribes had little use for recording past events; the idea of keeping a careful chronological record of events never seemed to impress the greater number of tribes of the continent.”

The Peoplehood Model, or matrix, is a tool that was developed by Robert K. Thomas that helps to explain the interrelation between four very distinct areas of a culture that ultimately define a people. Thomas, in a concept first described in an opinion piece in the Americans Before Columbus (A.B.C.) newspaper published by the National Indian Youth Council, outlines the four areas of significance to a people that is common in nearly every society. The categories described consist of a common language, religion, place, and sacred history. These four areas play a significant role in what makes any people unique, and is the best measurement within current academia to describe an indigenous people. These areas are best seen as a graph with each piece as circular, interconnecting with each other as each circle interacts with the other and is necessary for the matrix to be complete.

However, once one of the pieces is lost, a change can occur that threatens to displace the people. As Thomas states in his article, “When a minority people loses their special characteristics they come more and more to look like the majority group which surrounds them. At that point, they will begin to see themselves simply as a variety of the national society; and usually as a low ranked and unworthy part of this larger society of which they now feel part.”<sup>6</sup> This is not to say that they cannot come back from a partial loss in the people’s culture. The people have the ability to make their identity whatever they choose, and this fact is the genius behind the peoplehood model. Each piece can be rebuilt when the people decide to do so. It is fluid with the people, and can be best described as a demonstration of the dynamic organic relationships among the people. It is not a static political identity that is defined by an

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<sup>6</sup> Robert K. Thomas, "The Taproots of Peoplehood." Americans Before Columbus, Vol. 10 no. 5. National Indian Youth Council Albuquerque, N.M. 1982.

external force. In understanding the peoplehood model there can be a clearer gauge as to how an indigenous group can be defined through, and by, the people's relationships. Ultimately, the identities of the various Indigenous tribes throughout the Americas should belong to, and remain with, those cultures, and not solely with the academics who would seek to promote a self-worth within the academy based on the exploits of a culture.

While the Peoplehood Model will be examined to better clarify and determine its significance to understanding indigenous peoples, it is necessary to state its importance in promoting a different point of view when discussing indigenous peoples within a historical context. Furthermore, it is necessary to understand the complexity of Apache history and the various points that have helped to shape the people into what they are today. Both of these points will help in understanding the contemporary nature of Apache identity and the problems that they face in the present, specifically regarding their homelands and sacred spaces.

In the case of identity, it appears that there is much confusion among academics today, regarding Apache people, as to where they are from, from whom are they descended, and what are the proper traditional attachments to sacred sites. With so many different bands of Apaches, that are particularly difficult to account for, there are conflicts that result in problems for the people. The information that is learned and gathered from academics, anthropologists, and historians relating to the people is interpreted by outside entities, and then relayed back to the very people that were studied. There is little authority given to the people themselves, and the knowledge they possess, which can in some cases, contradict and invalidate what is written and

stated in an academic piece. With an exclusion of actual indigenous, or in this case Apache, authority in the produced works, combined with a lack of elders passing down sacred knowledge due to internalized colonization and resonating past fears of repercussion, the only information available for the next generation is the research conducted and produced by these non-indigenous sources, further resulting in a manipulation of the people's identity. This can culminate into a loss of sacred land, internal fighting, and political upheaval. The research produced seeks to clarify the ambiguity of Apache history and identity using the peoplehood model as an approach to comprehend the complexity of indigenous thought. More specifically, the research will explore the forced consolidation of a multitude of various Apache groups, and other indigenous peoples, onto the San Carlos Apache reservation by an invading colonial power, which has caused a disruption in the peoples understanding of identity resulting in a disconnect of the people's specific place and history.

## **THE PEOPLEHOOD MODEL**

Currently, academia has been constructed in a way that separates and categorizes various subjects and areas by placing them into specific houses of knowledge. As a result, there is a limit placed on those areas of study that seem to prohibit an extension of that study into other areas. As interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary practices become more prevalent in the academy, there is an increase in the opportunities for Native studies to truly become decipherable to the non-indigenous. Until there is a clear understanding of how to communicate indigenous

ideology in a non-indigenous language, there will always be hindrances, even in with a partial understanding.

Indigenous thinking does something that the academy is not capable of doing, and that is seeing relationships in their lives, people, and culture. In this context, the word “relationship” does not do justice to the concepts that are inherently understood within indigenous communities. Relationship is something that is understood as primarily an interaction between people, however, within the indigenous context it goes beyond inter-human collaborations, and incorporates their surroundings into the concept of relationship. There is not just history, philosophy, sociology, science, or religion; there is only the people and culture. Everything is interrelated to the people, and the very foundation of this model is the understanding of relationships. The clearest example that can be made outside of indigeneity is Robert K. Thomas’ Peoplehood Model. The model was intended to provide clarification to the non-indigenous about the ways of indigenous thinking. “He deliberately chose the term ‘peoplehood’ to transcend the notions of statehood, nationalism, gender, ethnicity, and sectarian membership.”<sup>7</sup> Peoplehood was not just another term used to understand the creation of a political entity among indigenous cultures. More so, it was necessary to choose a term by which academic intellectualism could be expanded beyond its very guarded and exclusionist boundaries. With the refinements made by Holm, Pearson, and Chavis to the model in the form of a term change from “religion” to “ceremonial cycle” the model

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<sup>7</sup> Holm, Tom, J. Diane Pearson, and Ben Chavis. "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies." *WICAZO SA Review* 18, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 7-24. *ERIC*, EBSCOhost. 11.

has become a much more precise method of identifying and understanding Native groups.

This is a necessary tool in understanding how a people function. The definitions that are prevalent throughout out academia in regards to the functions and principals of a governing body are saturated with an invading, foreign, and Eurocentric ideology. As such, defining a people is typically regulated by these specific definitions, and it is necessary to point out what these definitions entail. Common words that have been used throughout the history of the United States are those that have sought to invoke patriotism and love of country. The British Empire was evil, and its rule was intrusive. Its imperialistic control was used to invoke contempt among the people, yet the concept of colonialism, a tool used and constructed by the empirical power, was believed to be a necessity and a staple of a type of patriotism that saw a nation ordained by God to stretch the American borders from coast to coast.

At the onset of the American Revolution, Americans fought the “imperialistic” control and invasion of the English Crown into their lives, a mode of governance that was perceived as inherently oppressive. At the same time, the continued need for expansion and “colonizing” the American continent was seen as necessary. “Imperialism is nothing less than an economic policy under which a given state seeks to control resources – human or otherwise – outside its own territorial boundaries. Colonization is the physical occupation of territories by an imperial state done to manage the economic policy.”<sup>8</sup> This implementation, and practice is prevalent in the form of settler colonialism throughout the history of the United States and their

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 17.

interactions with Native people groups. It was the attempt by the United States to rid itself of these peoples through whatever means necessary, because without these basic principles of governance, in their interpretation, there was no need to extend to the Natives of the country any legitimate governmental or political standing. They did not want to understand the socioeconomic and political structures of Native peoples.

What is unique about the Peoplehood model is the inclusion of the individual and the group. Relationships are important to the people, but this would assume that the people are defined as one singular group with a conscious mentality to cultivate the relationships that they are in communion with. This negates the fact that there are indeed individuals within the group. “Thus, in this model the regeneration of the Indigenous way of life begins with the individual. While most Native nations encouraged individuality and not individualism in their societies, it would be reasonable to assume that reclaiming Indigenous intellectual, political, and geographic space starts with the person.”<sup>9</sup> Everything comes down to “choice.” The people individually make the decision to become something more than themselves, by individually making the choice.

The contents of the model itself are very telling when it comes to indigenous ideology. The four circles include Sacred History, Sacred Space, Language, and Ceremonial Cycle, and they should be classified as circles. Each represents an interlocking part to another, and without each of the parts there becomes a problem of structural integrity for the people. Identity is also strongly associated with the diagram and helps to distinguish one group from the others. “The interpretive value of the

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<sup>9</sup> Lee, Lloyd L. "Reclaiming Indigenous Intellectual, Political, and Geographic Space: A Path for Navajo Nationhood." *American Indian Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (December 1, 2008): 96-110. *ERIC*, EBSCOhost . 99.

Peoplehood Matrix is in its ability to provide a culturally specific understanding of Native forms of knowledge, while, at the same time, promoting a heteroholistic epistemological framework. What is meant by this term is that Native epistemologies are not put forth as universally applicable intellectual systems that are mutually exclusive of one another, but as contingent explanatory frameworks that are understood to be specific and local in nature.”<sup>10</sup>

Identity, culture, and knowledge are the main outcomes of this particular model.

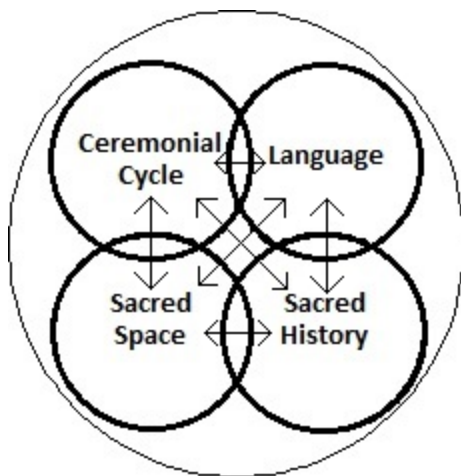


Figure 1 Peoplehood Model As Described in Holm, Pearson, and Chavis

The people derive their understanding of the world through these specific relationships.

Understanding each piece individually will grant the individual the necessary tools to become a part of this people. Language is significant as many of the activities, stories, and songs are understood through lines of communication. It is also significant in understanding place. “Language

defines place and vice versa.”<sup>11</sup> Words are created by the experiences they have in locations that appear to have some power, causing it to become sacred. Every human group has a kind of relationship with the land on which they reside. What that relationship is depends on the people.

<sup>10</sup> Stratton, Billy J., and Frances Washburn. "The Peoplehood Matrix: A New Theory for American Indian Literature." *Wicazo Sa Review* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 51-72. *America: History & Life*, EBSCOhost. 55

<sup>11</sup> Holm, Tom, J. Diane Pearson, and Ben Chavis. "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies." *WICAZO SA Review* 18, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 7-24. *ERIC*, EBSCOhost. 13.



Land is important. For the colonizer, it appears that land is something that is only good if it brings the individual great wealth. However, to the Indigenous, it is much more than this. “It is the living relationship in which humans use the land and consider it part of their heritage.”<sup>12</sup> This relationship goes beyond cultivation for the means of profit or exploitation of natural resources, rather it is a stewardship that incorporates place into the people as a part of their identity. As such, they do not need to be on it or near it for it to still be regarded by the people, much in the same way that Christians do not need to be on the Holy Lands in Jerusalem.

Sacred history and ceremonial cycle are close in their relationships to each other. One tells the stories of the people and where they come from, while the other expresses that understanding. The people do not forget who they are, and they are reminded by the ceremonies practiced. This is something that is much more expansive than a “religion” as defined as a system of beliefs. This becomes the very essence of the people. Furthermore, “A people’s sacred history is equally an explanation of its own distinct culture, customs, and political economy. Law is derived from within the peoplehood matrix.”<sup>13</sup> Sacred history also assists the people in understanding the proper times in which these ceremonies are necessary to perform. It can become the calendar, the law, and history of the people all at one time. Certain ceremonies must be performed in particular places (sacred places). These places are known in the sacred histories.

While each part is unique there comes a point in which this model is problematic. The loss of one can be devastating to a people, and with that loss, the risk

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

of losing the core of their identity becomes a very real problem. In the case of language among tribes in the United States, there has been a trend of native languages being excluded from a child's upbringing, which is something that has stemmed from a long history of a strict adherence to laws, now nullified, that forbade the speaking of a native languages. As a result, this has brought about devastating consequences for the people. "In such tribes the native language is almost extinct. The original native religion is no longer practiced and they have developed no native Christianity. Their land is no longer a Holy Land and hardly even a homeland. And their sacred history has become stories told simply to entertain."<sup>14</sup>

However, this is not always the case. As Thomas states, "Among some enduring peoples the very absence of, or the losing of, one of these important four symbols can, in itself, become a strong symbol of peoplehood."<sup>15</sup> Remembering who they once were by remembering their homelands, or remembering their stories can bring about a strong connection to the people, and invoke a sense of identity that can spawn a new conception of who they are as a people, thus creating a new peoplehood. This is not to say that there cannot, or will not, ever be an attempt by the group to revitalize their old ways. "If any one of these elements of identity, such as sacred history, is in danger of being lost, unified action can be taken to revitalize and restore that part of the community by utilizing relationships, which are the spiritual and cultural

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<sup>14</sup> Thomas, Robert K. *The Taproots of Peoplehood*. Americans Before Columbus, Vol. 10 no. 5. National Indian Youth Council Albuquerque, N.M. 1982. 29

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

foundations of Indigenous peoples.”<sup>16</sup> There is still a possibility for the rejuvenation of the peoples culture and identity, and if this is not possible, then new peoplehoods can always be constructed.

While the model itself is a great concept, questions must be asked regarding the practicality of such a model. Holm, Pearson, and Chavis have indeed answered this in works in their use of the peoplehood model for the explanation and determination of what Indigenous Sovereignty is in regards to the Native peoples of North America. Furthermore, Corntassel has expounded upon this conception by Holm, Pearson, and Chavis to include it as part of a global initiative for the application of identification of indigenous peoples throughout the world. He has written that its usefulness would help in creating, “...a working reference for practitioners and indigenous peoples in documenting the impact of historical and colonial legacies on contemporary indigenous communities and as a policy guide in the current global indigenous rights discourse.”<sup>17</sup>

There has always been a discourse within the academy regarding the various conceptions of civilization. Using the primary colonial language of old to identify the peoples of North America has placed the scholars of the time in a position where the language does not fully illustrate the complexity of indigenous peoples. It has hindered their ability to accurately interpret peoplehood among a Native group. Robert K. Thomas’ peoplehood model, in conjunction with the changes made by Holm, Pearson, and Chavis, has made it possible to explain a people within the academy. Its usefulness

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<sup>16</sup> Alfred, Taiaiake, and Jeff Corntassel. "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism." *Government & Opposition* 40, no. 4 (Fall2005 2005): 597-614. Academic Search Elite, EBSCOhost. 609.

<sup>17</sup> Corntassel, Jeff J. "Who is Indigenous? 'Peoplehood' and Ethnonationalist Approaches to Rearticulating Indigenous Identity." *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics* 9, no. 1 (Spring2003 2003): 75-100. *SocINDEX*, EBSCOhost. 91.

extends far beyond just identification, and can go so far as to explain the law, sovereignty, culture and history of a people.

## **OVERVIEW OF APACHE LITERATURE**

The history of the Apache people is vastly different from Apache history. From an academic point of view, Apache history is something static, a moment in time that resulted in A, B, and C. It is something that is studied, researched, and relayed to others in hopes of learning more about a people, or event, of the past. Indigenous conceptions of history, however, are something entirely different. History is living, and continues to live, among the people. It is the reason for their existence. It is also something that is not separate from other areas of an indigenous way of life. In relation to the Peoplehood Model, history is just one point of a people that is interrelated to the others. As such, examination of history from an indigenous perspective is necessary when interpreting a tribe's past. The view of the whole, as opposed to the individual, will garner a greater understanding, and in the current literature, the areas that seem to be of most interest is in individual accounts, though there are some that focus on a specific group, and even still, on a deeper level pertaining to intimate knowledge of the people.

Books published in the past, and recently, have placed their focus on specific individuals, and their views of Apache past times. While a great deal of information can be retrieved from these individuals, they will tend to focus on their specific band, or group, of people. The earliest known piece of literature written from this firsthand view is, of course, from Geronimo in his own autobiography. In his book, he gives the reader a glimpse into the world of the Apache leader from his own interpretation. As such,

names and places are told by the leader that pertain to the areas that he had traveled, as well as his own story and reasons for “going on the warpath.” Along with this, another autobiography from an Apache individual is from that of Jason Betzinez entitled *I Fought with Geronimo*. The title is a little misleading, as Betzinez never became a warrior and did not exactly fight side-by-side with Geronimo, however, his views and perceptions of the areas in which he traveled are very similar, and, from the footnotes and endnotes provided, there is support for the stories he tells that can be compared to any historical record. More recently, the book entitled *The Wrath of Cochise* by Terry Mort envisions an Apache leader and his role in the Apache Wars. What must be noted among all these leaders is that they were all “Apache” but they are not all the same. From an indigenous perspective, they are vastly different, and from entirely different people groups. Geronimo, per his own writings, is a *Bedonkohe*, while Jason Betzinez is Warm Springs, and Cochise is *Chokonon*. They are all from very distinct groups or bands, and should not be interpreted as being from the same people. While they might share some similarities in culture and language, the band they stem from would have entirely different perceptions of their own worlds.

These books are all, of course, involving a history of these specific people. However, their authority over the space and time in which they inhabited would seem to be interpreted by contemporary scholars as reliable and an important resource in understanding Apache culture. This of course would be true, to that specific people. However, in some cases, there are exceptions for the lack of interpretation of history pertaining to specific bands of Apache. In many instances, there simply is just not enough information given to determine which band of Apache were involved in any

given circumstance. Mark Santiago's *The Jar of Severed Hands*, is one instance where there is not enough relevant information given to determine which band of Apaches were affected by the Spanish's indigenous slave policies of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There Spanish had no need to determine individualized grouping of all the Apache bands in the area formerly known as Northern New Spain. The primary goal for the Spanish was to put an end to Apache hostilities on the *Haciendas* of the area by deporting Apaches to Mexico and Cuba. In similar respect, William S. Kiser's book, *Dragoons in Apacheland*, provides a similar issue regarding the United States' Western expansion into what is now the Southwestern United States. While there are some mentions of specific persons of contact for the Army officers, and mentions of bands of Western Apache in areas pertaining to U.S. Army expeditions, there is not enough data to determine which bands of Apache were causing the U.S. Army the greatest grief, as they perceived the situation.

While many of the sources pertain to a specific leader of a specific group, or is incapable of referencing a specific group, there are some scholars that make the point of telling a history of a specific band of Apache. Ian Record's book, *Big Sycamore Stands Alone: The Western Apaches, Aravaipa, and the Struggle for Place*, he provides an explanation of an Apache way of living off the land on the San Carlos Apache reservation. More specifically, he describes the lives of Aravaipa Apaches, and their history of hardship in the harsh deserts of Arizona. Record is also one of the few scholars who makes the attempt to distinguish between the various bands of Apaches that resided among, or near, the San Carlos Apache reservation.

Likewise, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh's book, *Massacre at Camp Grant: Forgetting and Remembering Apache History*, centers on a particular moment in Apache history, that of course being the Massacre at Camp Grant in 1871. In this telling of Apache history, Aravaipa Apaches who were settled near the U.S. Army fort Camp Grant, were attacked and murdered by a group of citizens from Tucson who were accompanied by Tohono O'odham Indians and Mexican-Americans. The history told is from members of the San Carlos Apache reservation who have a direct descendancy from the Aravaipa Apaches present on the day of the massacre. The intent of Colwell-Chanthaphonh's book is to clarify and expose the unprovoked attack as a case of misplaced blame and a senseless act of violence, something the City of Tucson seemed to want to forget, according to Colwell-Chanthaphonh.

Much of the current literature is extensive in its content, and while much of it pertains to a certain person, or group, there are some that have chosen to be specific in their nature. In the study of history, there is a limit as to what is available in regards to specific Apache history. However, to further expand upon a study of the Apache people, it is necessary to look outside of the history profession, and into the realm of anthropology.

The best studies of Apache culture and history come from the prominent Apache anthropologists Morris Opler and Grenville Goodwin whose works were published in the Early to Mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Both of these men have contributed greatly to the study of and understanding of the Apache peoples, and they are responsible for a large part of the available literature pertaining to Apache culture. However, it should be noted that Morris Opler's work has primarily focused on what would be considered Eastern

Apache bands, namely the Mescalero, and the Chiricahua bands, and include works like *An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, & Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians*, and *Apache Odyssey: A Journey Between Two Worlds*.

Grenville Goodwin's studies are among some of the greatest pieces available pertaining to individual bands of the Western Apache. His research includes works like *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*, and *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare*, first published in 1941. His most important and widely used source is his book on social organizations. In it, he is able to identify a great many bands within the Western Apache boundaries as well as their traditional homelands. This book is unique in that much of the information is gathered from the people themselves. Goodwin is able to use the Apache traditional languages to identify them with translations and meanings of each name, as well as the names of other bands that were used to identify each other. What makes this book authoritative is Goodwin's close relationship with members of the San Carlos Apache, and tribal council of the time, as well as the life he had living among them and engaging in the culture.

With so much being written on the "Apache" people, there is still so very little work being published on individual groups that is available within the current literature. The Apache group is unique in that there is not one Apache people, but many. Individualized histories of specific people are prominent in historical scholarly writings of Apaches, yet they do little to help in the understanding of the people. However, as is common with attempts in writing history pertaining to indigenous groups in North America, sometimes there is just not enough information to determine which group is which. This does not mean that it is impossible, as some historians have been able to



write about a specific Apache people and their unique history. There is still much work that is needed to be done to uncover a more precise Apache history that relates to the specific bands. Anthropologists like Grenville Goodwin and Morris Opler have already started this kind of work. Understanding what is available and what is needed will help in filling the gap in Apache history. The presented research will attempt to gather the available literature together to understand a history of a specific Apache people, and the implications of the forgotten reservation history.

## APACHE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The name “San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation” would seem to imply the singularity, and political centrality of one people, and one tribe within the politically specified, and imaginary, boundaries within the, also imaginary, borders of the State of Arizona. The problems are inherent from the very name of the designated peoples living on the reserve. The reasons for the name of the reservation are not entirely clear, however, it does derive its name from a band of Apache that traditionally resided in the area. There is some clarity regarding the name as a group term by Grenville Goodwin who states, “The term ‘San Carlos’ was not applied to one distinct band or group until Dr. [Pliny Earle] Goddard did so. Previously, it was used more as a reservation term...”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Grenville Goodwin *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. 3.

Many Apache bands, and non-Apachean groups have come and gone from the reservation. Apache, Navajo, Yavapai, and Pima peoples have, at one point in their history, been forcefully removed from their traditional homelands and onto this land.<sup>19</sup> While there have been clear distinctions made between the people groups in the area, such as Navajo, Yavapai, and Pima, there has been a lack of distinction between the various Apache bands. This is an attitude that has been prevalent throughout history between the United States and the Apaches of the Southwest. This was even more true when it came to matters of crimes committed against the U.S. and her settlers. More specifically, the Apache past time of raiding into European settler colonies became the biggest reason for a blanket punishment. Major John Green of the First Cavalry, who established the military post Camp Apache in the White Mountains in Eastern Arizona, when dealing with Apaches who continued raids into surrounding towns, believed that, "...all the Apaches of the region were guilty of marauding."<sup>20</sup> Little attention was paid, or seen as necessary, to classify the bands of Apache in times when punishment was deemed appropriate for crimes committed by another band. In many cases, knowledge of raids or skirmishes incited by a specific band may not even be relayed to surrounding bands and would therefore not be a party to any of the crimes committed.

Looking at the history from an indigenous, or, more importantly, an Apache perspective, it is easy to see that not all should have been punished or associated with a criminal action. Of course, this can be confusing to the reader not familiar with the

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<sup>19</sup> This information was gathered from a group of sources that named specific peoples. Those works include, but are not limited to: Goodwin, Grenville, *Western Apache Raiding & Warfare*, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*, Record, Ian, *Big Sycamore Stands Alone*, Kiser, William, *Dragoons in Apacheland*,

<sup>20</sup> Harte, John B. *The San Carlos Indian Reservation, 1872-1886: An Administrative History*. Dissertation, The University of Arizona, 1972. 34

subgroups of the Apache. To clarify, the Apache group, as seen to the non-Apache within academia, is divided into Western and Eastern groups. Eastern groups consist of the Kiowa-Apache (Apache Tribe of Oklahoma: Plains Apache), Mescalero, Lipan, Jicarilla, and Chiricahua, depending on the individual consulted. Western Apache has traditionally been the most frequently used academic term associated with the Apache who reside in Arizona. Furthermore, when making distinctions between the groups, they are most often associated with the names of their respective reservations: White Mountain (Fort Apache), or San Carlos Apache. Beyond this, it seems uncommon to further distinguish the peoples residing on the reservation. Whenever there is a band distinction there is most often a word remarking that this band is categorized as “Western Apache.” In regards to the names used to designate the various bands, these were ones that were given to them by the colonial invaders, and, as such, are not names that would have been typically used by the people themselves.

In the Apache perspective, the entities which comprise a people include several different distinctions that can be, in some instances, confusing to the outsider. The land in which they reside does not define peoplehood. It is something far greater than this. The relationships they are born into hold greater value in determining who they are as an Apache with their identities being divided into a band, clan, and family. Bands comprised of local groups, or clans, that shared a similar sacred space, sacred history, ceremonial cycle, and language. Clans are matrilineally distinct in their own right, such that, “In conversation clan membership may be referred to as *ni nt’i* (your lineage).”<sup>21</sup> Designating your clan means to tell other Apache your family of origin. Family being

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<sup>21</sup> Grenville, Goodwin. *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. 98.

defined as the relations that go beyond the American concept of the “nuclear” family. It is something far more important than a political distinction, and it has historically not been used as such, by Eurocentric, non-Native academics. Clan identification in most Apache cultures are matrilineal, and, as a result, clan is passed to children from the mother, as the maternity of the child is never in question. Clan kinship held with it a sense of belonging and place among the people who shared similar origins. However, this did not make it a political entity of sorts, rather, it became a way for the people to understand their position within the family.<sup>22</sup>

In terms of territory, clans held individual parcels of land, but not in the way that western culture understands exclusive private land ownership. They possessed, if that is the right word, farms that were the responsibility of the specific clan. Local groups, or Bands, could be comprised of several different clans. Bands resided on locations that they claimed as their own territorial region. This claim to territory should not be understood to mean that they claimed the land itself as being possessed by them, in the same ways that imperial forces perceived land ownership, but, more so, as a view of responsibility to their place as clan dictated. “The true power of clans lay in their far-flung network of obligations – obligations necessary because of a... kinship among all members of the same clan. It is important to note that clan obligations extended not only between members of the same group but to members of all groups, forming the fiber of the few existing intragroup blood kinship bonds.”<sup>23</sup> Each member of a clan had

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<sup>22</sup> Perry, Richard J. "Structural Resiliency and the Danger of the Dead: The Western Apache." *Ethnology* 11, no. 4 (1972): 380-85. doi:10.2307/3773069. 382-383

<sup>23</sup> Grenville Goodwin *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. 97

a duty to perform, and these roles were generally decided by both gender and the clan in which a member was born into.

While many of the Western Apaches shared a similar language, there were slight variations that made them distinct to their locality. What's more is that locality does not inherently entail specific area in regards to the clans. In many cases, a clan relationship could spread throughout several bands of Apache. This system transcended identification by band, and created a network of various relationships. As a result, the people themselves created a system that would ensure security, and support among each other. "Let us suppose, for example, that a man who lived in a local group of the Western White Mountain band belonged to the clan *descidn* ('horizontally red people'). Such a man was almost certain to have clan relatives in the Eastern White Mountain band, the San Carlos Band, and several others as well. He could travel throughout the territories of these bands and , having identified himself to his fellow *descidn*, expect to receive food and lodging."<sup>24</sup>

Continuing further, the individual family units that comprised these clans became even more important to the people. Who you belonged to governed the way a family functioned. Individual relationships within the family became a much more important aspect to the Western Apaches in general, and went so far as to say that, in some cases, a decision made by the eldest maternal member of the clan could out-way the decisions of a Chief. This is not to say that authority of a family lay primarily with the women. While the authority of the family rested with the father, "...the woman of the family, by expressing her desires, might shape family actions fully as much as her

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<sup>24</sup> Goodwin *Western Apache Raiding & Warfare*. Edited by Keith H. Basso. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1971.. 15.

husband...<sup>25</sup> Relationships within a people is the basis for the existence of the Apache people. Much in the same way that Robert K. Thomas' Peoplehood Model demonstrates, the Apache family make-up exemplifies the importance of relationships within an indigenous culture. Support in this system of family was necessary. They understood their relationship with the surrounding environment and the enemies that were prevalent in their area. Apaches knew that they should never wander the desert alone, and, as a result, a dependence on each other culminated into the family dynamics that are prevalent today.

“The term for a family cluster is *gotah*.”<sup>26</sup> As such, a family cluster, or *gotah*, usually consisted of several smaller families, widows, or divorced women who gathered in one area. These families, because of their matrilineal nature, were typically comprised of a woman's family. In the case of a marriage of a daughter, the husband would typically move into the wife's family cluster. However, the relationship between the mother-in-law and the son-in-law prohibited any co-habitation between families, thus, separate dwellings between the families was necessary. A now extinct practice among Apache from virtually every band in both Western and Eastern societies was the strict adherence of total avoidance by the son-in-law of select family members. “These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother.”<sup>27</sup> Some Apache believed that looking upon your wife's relatives held certain consequences for the incoming man. As one Chiricahua Apache

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<sup>25</sup> Grenville Goodwin *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. 126.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 127

<sup>27</sup> Opler, Morris E. *An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, & Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians*. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska, 1996. 164

explained, “If I run into the woman from whom I am supposed to hide and do it right along, she gets angry and calls me a witch. They say you’ll get blind if you keep looking at these in-laws.”<sup>28</sup> This did not mean that the men of the family had no respect for his in-laws. On the contrary, the men held their in-laws in high esteem. He respected the fact that he was provided for by his mother-in-law, who would prepare the meals for the families with the kill that was presented to them by the son-in-law.

The name of each of these groups was important as it was necessary to distinguish between the many Apache bands and clans from each other. Their current identifications, or names given to them by non-Apache, became synonymous with their geographical locations. Names of the various apache groups are numerous. There are names that have been given to them by other clans, groups, and even other tribes. In most cases, it seemed that the names they had for themselves were descriptive of where they resided, based on their own clan homelands. Names given to them by incoming settlers, and the governments that followed, became far more common, and in some instances, were not accurate in their depictions of the groups. Traditionally, there was not a distinct political entity among the groups, or bands and, as such, names of a group should not inherently be understood to mean that one leader of a group governed them. “Thus, neither group nor band was a complete political unit. They were only units in the sense of territorial limitations and cultural and linguistic similarities.”<sup>29</sup>

In regards to leadership, Chiefs were numerous with many groups holding several chiefs within their ranks. This, of course, was one of the most prominent issues

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 165

<sup>29</sup> Grenville Goodwin *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. 11.

that plagued the United States government's attempts at treaties, and peace agreements with tribes. The local group usually gave the Chief authority, and one could also come about becoming Chief as a result of family lineage. In some instances, leaders were determined by local group, and by clan identification, and could sometimes result in the same person. Sub chiefs were also prominent within the culture, and were typically appointed positions by the people. The act of public speaking became the exemplification of a good leader. The act of inspiring and instilling justice within the group was important and necessary to hold together a group, as allegiances could be swayed easily within family groups. However, there were limitations as to what the responsibilities of the Chief were. In most instances, this translated into dealing with matters pertaining to disputes among the people. "Although a chief had no authority over family matters outside his own relatives, serious family troubles might be brought to him for his advice."<sup>30</sup> More so, he played a role in handling issues of murder, and injury. Outside of this, there is little authority given to these men. In matters of war, the Chiefs were not inherently given authority over the party, and could be, instead, relieved of their power in favor of someone more experienced in battle. This did not mean a Chief was displaced in his role over the people, but was more specifically not entrusted with the responsibilities of a War Chief. It must also be noted that once the warpath was completed, the War Chief was extinguished from his role and would return to his normal life.

Distinction among Apache in regards to the band, clan, and family they belonged to was important and necessary. The group as a whole was much more

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 178.



diverse than that of other tribes on the North American continent. A local group, or band, had an important part in associating a people to a particular region. Beyond that, clan designation determined the lineage of the various people groups living within the band. Furthermore, family clusters, or *gotah*, are where their true identity became prominent. Each entity of the identifying group is important and determined an Apache's place and responsibilities within a family, clan, and band, with none determining a political position of any type. Family, and the relationships associated with that family became the deciding factors of governance among the people, and it was those relationships that established the definition of what it meant to be people.

## **THE SPECIFICITY OF APACHE HISTORY**

Much of the history that is portrayed in books pertaining to Apache peoples and their interactions with the United States is written from the non-indigenous perspective. The writings, reports, and letters that were produced at the time of the United States' illegal and imperial overtaking of Northern Mexico certainly did not come from Apache origin, however these sources are strongly relied upon to give a glimpse into the world that saw the Apache as a menacing beast in need of taming. While there is certainly a lack of sources available to relay the thoughts and perceptions of the Apaches that saw their lands, homes, and families invaded, it is still possible to interpret a written history from an indigenous perspective today.

It must be noted that it would be impossible to detail every event and circumstance relating to the Apache people as the bands, groups, and lives of the people are so sparsely spread throughout time, and space. It is because of this wide range of

history that the time specified for the purposes of this research will be from the time of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 to 1875, skipping the Civil War years and strictly limiting the work to the period of U.S. hegemony. This is necessary, as much of the current work accessible is limited and written during these time periods with English as the primary language. Work that is dated prior to this range will be brief from other American works, and necessary to establish the circumstances and attitudes towards the Apache going into reservation history. It will also be the attempt of this research to narrow down the most significant and necessary points that specifically relate to the San Carlos Apache reservation and the groups or bands that reside there today who have held a continuous residency. Moreover, the historical places typically associated with Apache bands relating to San Carlos will be a focus in the specificity of Apache history. This will be done to hopefully garner a certain understanding of the traditional homelands of particular bands of Apache and their conglomeration into a single reservation.

The United States' expansion efforts into the Southwestern territories by invading settler colonialists created many problems for the indigenous peoples. However, prior to the United States' possession of the territory, Mexican governmental authority was the norm for the Apache people. Raiding and warfare between the two peoples was common, and was a practice was incorporated into the Apache culture after over 150 years of contact with Spanish and Mexican peoples. "The Western Apache drew a sharp distinction between 'raiding' (literally: 'to search out enemy property')

and ‘warfare’ (‘to take death from an enemy’).<sup>31</sup> The Mexican federal, state, and local governments, who were continuing a Spanish imperial, colonial, and genocidal practice, implemented an extermination policy of sorts by issuing bounties on Apache scalps. Pricing was determined by the age and gender with the least amounts for scalps of children at 50 pesos, and the most being placed on a prized Apache warrior’s scalp at 200 pesos. This policy eventually put a strain on the treasury of the Mexican government.

With the raiding and warfare intensifying, it began costing the various Mexican governments thousands of pesos to protect the *haciendas* that were receiving the bulk of the attacks and aggression. At the conclusion of the Mexican-American war, it became necessary; in order to preserve what was left of the Mexican state, to negotiate with the United States, which resulted in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. What had once been a Mexican “problem” became a U.S. problem. With Mexico’s economy in shambles, its military exhausted, and citizens in dire straits, protection from a common enemy became a top priority. It was so important that it became necessary to include proper measures for protection from the Apache aggressions with a provision written into the treaty known as article 11. “According to the article’s provisions, the U.S. Army would protect Mexican citizens south of the border from Indian raiding and repatriate any Mexican captives recovered from the Indians to their families.”<sup>32</sup>

Prior to the Gadsden purchase in 1856, the U.S.-Mexican border was recognized as the Gila River. This placed much of the traditional Apache homelands in Mexican

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<sup>31</sup> Grenville Goodwin. *Western Apache Raiding & Warfare*. Edited by Keith H. Basso. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1971. 16.

<sup>32</sup> Kiser, William S. *Dragoons in Apacheland: Conquest and Resistance in Southern New Mexico, 1846 – 1861*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. 55-56

territory. Thus, raids continued to plague the Mexican people with the U.S. Army unable to intervene passed the border. Apaches soon understood the two-power's inability to cross an imaginary line in the sand. Apaches thus continued raids crossing over the border when it was necessary to protect themselves from the other country. However, as problems progressed politically between the two countries, and a policy of protection for the Mexican government and its people becoming costly, the Gadsden Purchase was made which, "...included a clause nullifying article 11, although by that time irreparable damage had been done as a result of ill-conceived enforcement attempts."<sup>33</sup> This move would place a majority of Apache territory within the borders of the United States, but this did not mean that Apaches would not continue to venture into Mexican territory. The Apache saw no need to respect any boundaries or laws put in place by an outside entity or force because of their own indigeneity to the land. To the Apache, they perceived the incoming threats as an invasion into their own homes. As such, it did not seem necessary to negotiate or acknowledge any overruling force instructing them to not be Apache.

With control of the "Apache problem" placed primarily in the hands of the United States, it became a priority to do what was necessary to extinguish the problem. As a result, hardened military units fresh off the battlefield directly following the Civil War saw new battles in the deserts of the Southwest. New Camps and Forts dotted the maps of Arizona, and attempts at eliminating Apaches from their territory became the objective to ensure continued prosperity for the invading settler colonists. However, this proved easier said than done. "By 1870, it was becoming increasingly clear that the

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 59.

Territory of Arizona lacked the military means to exterminate the Apaches.”<sup>34</sup> War seemed to become a staple of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the United States, and it was becoming tiresome for both the U.S. and the Apache people. Attempts at peace were constantly initiated by Apache groups, however, events such as the Camp Grant Massacre – wherein over 100 Apaches, primarily women and children, were slaughtered by a marauding group of Tucsonans, Tohono O’odham, and Mexicans – and the governments disregard for the well-being of the people caused continued strife between the two groups. This resulted in the United States’ new “Peace Policy” in the 1870s whereby Apaches were gathered together on reservations. “The Indians would be settled on their own lands, given protection against Anglos, and encouraged to make a living through agriculture or the raising of livestock.”<sup>35</sup> This policy became the new standard for the U.S. Army and Indian Agents when conducting business with the Apaches and surrounding tribes.

As a result of this new policy areas were designated to facilitate the incoming tribes. In 1871 and 1872, with the ending of treaty making by congress in 1871, an executive order signed by President Ulysses S. Grant designated land in Eastern Arizona as Apache territory which was used to establish both the Fort Apache and San Carlos Apache reservations. These reservations from the start fell under the supervision of separate agents. However, due to a lack of qualified professionals to fulfill the post at the San Carlos agency and the board at the Interior Department doing little to rectify the situation, in 1873, Secretary Delano of the Department of the Interior ordered that

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<sup>34</sup> Grenville Goodwin. *Western Apache Raiding & Warfare*. Edited by Keith H. Basso. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1971. 21.

<sup>35</sup> Basso, Keith. *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10., s.v. “Western Apache.” Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983. 480.

the agency be placed under the control of James E. Roberts, the agent at Camp Apache. After over a year it was believed that this move would become increasingly taxing for the agent, as the belief was that, "...the San Carlos Indians were among the most fractious and difficult to manage in Arizona."<sup>36</sup> In 1874 the decision was made to reinstate the agency as a separate and independent reservation with John P. Clum as its agent. Clum was a determined man who sought to bring the Apache into the fold of American society, and "...initiated programs aimed at encouraging Apache self-sufficiency in the mold of the Euro-American farmer."<sup>37</sup> This, of course, was all being done with the idea of colonizing the enemy, not for the betterment of the people, but as a way to place the Apache into a system where compliance with an oppressive system was deemed as necessary and right.

At the inclusion of a reinstated agency and Indian Agent at San Carlos, there were new challenges that seemed to be of great importance for the United States government – the need for continued expansion. "On July 21, [1874] President Grant signed an executive order returning to the public domain all lands lying east of 109° 30' west longitude, roughly the line of the Bonito River."<sup>38</sup> The land was given "back" to the public domain, with the implication that the land belonged to the "public," and not the Apache. Of course, the whole reason for this move by the President was the same as it is in most cases today, that being the discovery of precious metals in the rivers surrounding the reservation. With a decrease in land size, there came a new policy

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<sup>36</sup> Harte, John B. *The San Carlos Indian Reservation, 1872-1886: An Administrative History*. Dissertation, The University of Arizona, 1972. 186

<sup>37</sup> Record, Ian. *Big Sycamore Stands Alone: The Western Apaches, Aravaipa, and the Struggle for Place*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 31.

<sup>38</sup> Harte, John B. *The San Carlos Indian Reservation, 1872-1886: An Administrative History*. Dissertation, The University of Arizona, 1972. 184.

implementation that would put continued stress on the Apache. “In 1874 the Department of the Interior embarked upon a ‘removal program’ that had as its main objective the concentration of all Western Apache, Chiricahua, and Yavapai on a single reservation – San Carlos.”<sup>39</sup> An influx of various tribes, and bands of Apache would be forced into a central location against their wishes.

“In February 1875 more than 1,400 Tonto Apaches and Yavapais were brought to San Carlos from Camp Verde. A large body of White Mountain and Cibecue people followed them several months later from the region of Fort Apache. In 1875 a group of 325 Chiricahuas came in to San Carlos...”<sup>40</sup> Moreover, these peoples were strictly limited in their abilities to freely move throughout their traditional homelands. In an executive order that was preceded with a letter written to the President by General W.T. Sherman, it was stated that, “...if they wander outside they at once become objects of suspicion, liable to be attacked by the troops as hostile.”<sup>41</sup> The conditions were rife with disgruntled Indians who were forcefully placed in a harsh desert, with people that did not want them to be there. It seemed inevitable that there would eventually be an uprising. Many of the Indians on the reservation found the place unbearable, and relations between them and the San Carlos Apaches were non-existent. Jason Betzinez, a Warm Springs Apache from New Mexico, stated upon leaving the reservation, “We were thankful, too, at the opportunity to get away from the unfriendly San Carlos Indians, who had never invited us to share in their privileges or take part in tribal

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<sup>39</sup> Basso, Keith. *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 10., s.v. “Western Apache.” Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983. 481.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 481

<sup>41</sup> Ulysses S. Grant. *Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reserves from May 14, 1855 to July 1, 1902*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902. 17.

councils and business affairs. At the new reservation, we would be with the somewhat friendlier White Mountain Apaches.”<sup>42</sup> This process of Indians being moved on and off the reservation seemed to be constant throughout the history of San Carlos, with some staying and others receiving “approval” for their own lands, which ultimately caused much insecurity among the peoples as they were displaced from their homes.

It would appear to some that the intermixing of various groups of Indians on the reservation would eventually create an ambiguity regarding the lineage of the people born of numerous tribes. However, this would be the perception of a mind that seeks to create separation within oneself through an illusion of blood quantification. As stated previously, the identity of the people is passed through the matrilineal line. Apaches hold this relationship to be the backbone of the people. As such, if one is Apache, they are wholly Apache.

With the imaginary lines of borders being drawn throughout Apachería, the traditional territories once under Apache stewardship became scattered. Reservation lines placed a good amount of the land that many Apache had called home within its boundaries; however, many of their homelands lay outside of those imaginary lines. Furthermore, peoples that had previously called specific places sacred were no longer within their vicinity, or placed in lands they were unfamiliar with. This is true for the peoples of the San Carlos Reservation.

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<sup>42</sup> Betzinez, Jason. *I Fought with Geronimo*. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1959. 123.



Various Apache peoples were now forced into one territory, and essentially forced to become one people. However, this was not always possible. A great majority

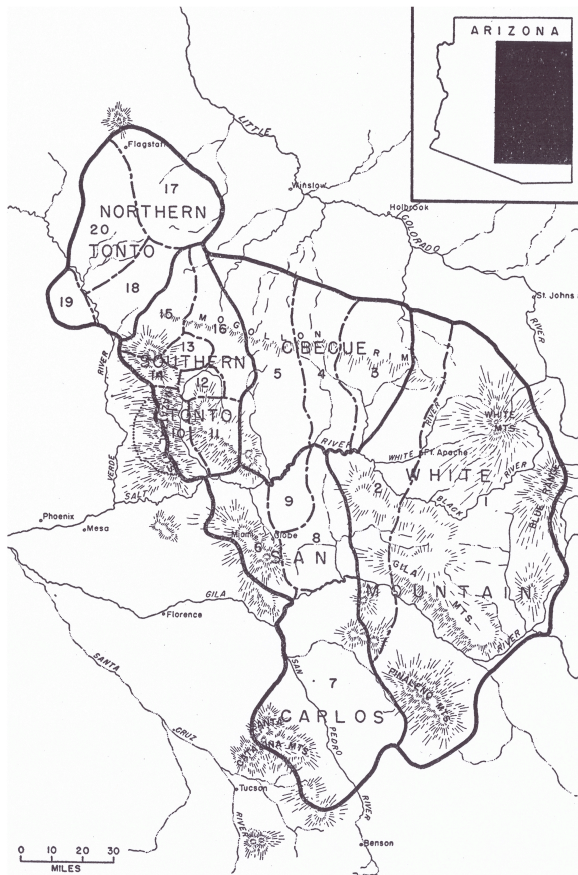


Figure 4: Traditional Apache Band Lands. As Seen in Grenville Goodwin's *The Social Organization of Western Apache*.

of the people remained in place. It is important to remember where those people were, and who they were. The result of a great conglomeration of peoples in a central location is the danger of forgetting. As people reside within the same social structure constructed for them by an invading and oppressive force they face the possibilities of losing their identities, histories, and ceremonies. Many of these same people remaining within the borders of their homelands had been forced into a single camp on the

reservation. Prior to this they were spread throughout the land, and the Apache bands that traditionally resided on the land were numerous, and were very distinct people groups. The land that is now politically known as the San Carlos Reservation contains six different major bands of Apache with some being completely displaced from their

original homelands. “The San Carlos group was composed of four bands: Aravaipa, Pinal, San Carlos proper, and Apache Peaks.”<sup>43</sup>

These groups made up only half of the land that is encompassed within the San

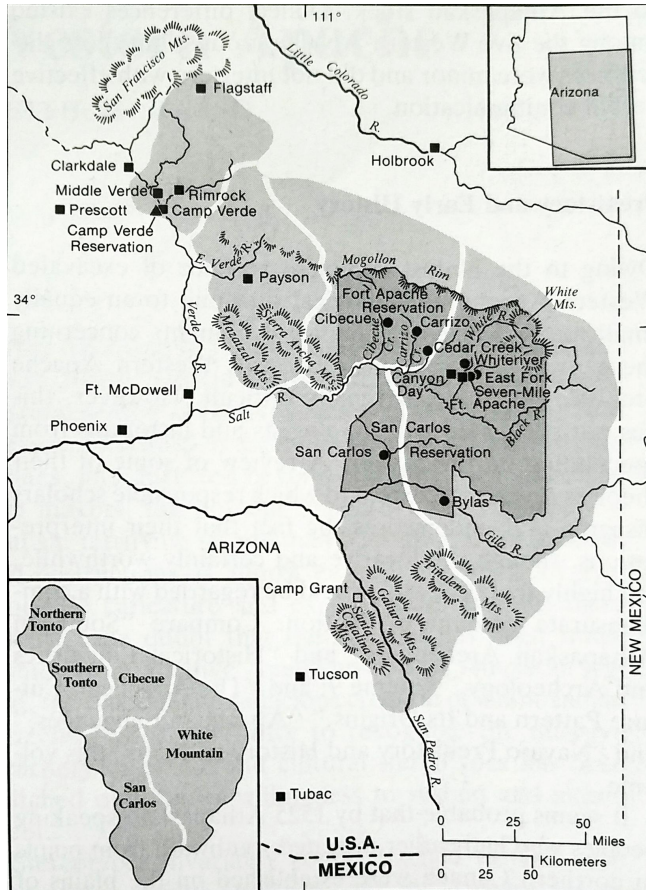


Figure 5: Current Apache Reservations Overlapping Traditional Lands. As Seen in Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 10: Southwest

Carlos reservation. The other half placed half of the Eastern and Western White Mountain band within the boundaries of the reservation. “Using military censuses, it is possible to compute a mean size between 1888 and 1890... For example the San Carlos band of the San Carlos subtribal group had only 53 members, while the Eastern White Mountain band of the White Mountain group numbered 748.”<sup>44</sup> With the San Carlos group’s four bands, and the White Mountain group’s two bands, it

would appear that the name “San Carlos Apache Reservation” is an erroneous assumption of the bands that resided within its boundaries.

What becomes even more complicated when it comes to identification are the names that were given and appropriated onto the possible misidentified bands.

<sup>43</sup> Record, Ian. *Big Sycamore Stands Alone: The Western Apaches, Aravaipa, and the Struggle for Place*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Grenville Goodwin. *Western Apache Raiding & Warfare*. Edited by Keith H. Basso. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 197. 114.

Grenville Goodwin makes note in his letters to Morris Opler in determining identity stating, “Those term ‘Pinal,’ ‘Pinal Coyotero,’ and ‘Pinaleño’ are darned confusing, aren’t they? And I think they’re going to turn out not to be all separate bands. The Aravaipa, if any at all, more deserve the name ‘Pinal,’ as the Pinal Mt. Range takes up a great part of what was their original range.”<sup>45</sup> Goodwin’s point is proven in his own study with the anthropological work done in conjunction with the people of the San Carlos reservation. He demonstrates in his maps that the Pinal band resided in areas that encompass the cities of Globe, and Miami, as well as their surrounding mountain ranges. This area was once included in the possession of the San Carlos Apache, however, “...the discovery of silver at present-day Globe, Arizona, prompted Grant to shrink the western end of the reservation considerably to allow the miners who were already extracting silver to do so legally.”<sup>46</sup>

The Aravaipa, holding most of the traditional San Carlos group’s territory, resided just west of the Pinaleño mountains and north of the Catalina mountains. This location placed the band within the vicinity of the mountain range that the Pinal Apaches are named after; a place they did not call home. In similar fashion to the Pinal Apaches, the Aravaipa lost a great majority of their traditional homelands. “In 1896 a government inspector produced an agreement that conceded more than 200,000 acres of the southern reservation lands, a region embracing the San Pedro River and Aravaipa

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<sup>45</sup> Grenville Goodwin, *Grenville Goodwin Among The Western Apache: Letters From the Field*. Edited by Morris E. Opler. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973. 25.

<sup>46</sup> Record, Ian. *Big Sycamore Stands Alone: The Western Apaches, Aravaipa, and the Struggle for Place*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 30.

Creek, for mineral development. In return the tribe was to receive fair compensation.”<sup>47</sup>

This arrangement did not bode well for the Aravaipa, but the decision was not entirely their own to make.

A consequence of their forced conglomeration into the San Carlos Apache Reservation hierarchy was the fate of the Aravaipa homelands being placed in the hands of others. “The decision was not left...to the Aravaipa band who traditionally lived in this area but to all adult male Apaches then residing at San Carlos, including Yavapai, and White Mountain Apaches.”<sup>48</sup> This resulted in a vote that saw the selling of the Aravaipa homelands by other bands, and tribes who lost nothing but gained financially at the Aravaipa’s expense. However, not all was lost, as the revenue and intentions of the land that were stipulated were not fulfilled, and “After years of controversy, 232,320 acres of Mineral Strip were ultimately given back to the tribe in the 1960s and 1970s.”<sup>49</sup> This would be an example of the importance of relationships by the various Apaches to the lands on which they resided. The Apaches that voted for the selling of Aravaipa lands did not share the same experiences as the Aravaipa had on these lands. As such, a majority of the Apaches, and others, did not see any harm to themselves in selling off reservation land.

Identification and identity became the most important aspects of the peoples who reside upon the San Carlos Apache reservation. As the history shows, the name San Carlos Apache is a confusing term for designating a great many number of peoples. Those who reside on the reservation today share a troublesome lineage. They share a

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<sup>47</sup> Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip. *Massacre at Camp Grant: Forgetting and Remembering Apache History*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2007. 76.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

lineage of forced conglomeration onto a land they had not previously called home. Their relationships were disrupted, not just in their own ways of living with the land, but in their social structure as well. The places in which they resided influenced their responsibilities to their lands, which governed their roles and place among their people. Their strong and far-reaching network of clan membership ceased to exist when many were forced into a single central camp. No longer would they have the ability to support each other. Freely moving about their lands was ended in order to make way for the miners, and incoming settler colonists. An entire region of indigenous culture was permanently disrupted with a new forced bureaucratic system of centralized government taking its place. Nothing would ever be the same and the effect of this trauma continues to be felt.

## **SPACE IN CONTEMPORARY APACHERÍA**

Land has always been a point of conflict for indigenous peoples in their relations with the United States. It seems as though the American lust for continued growth will never be satisfied. The continuous need to extract and produce could be seen as a cancer to the world in which we live. After many years of continued struggle, countless treaties and agreements, it appears that there will always be a reason to take more land from the indigenous peoples in order to feed the American machine. However, while there is a clear understanding of the non-indigenous entities that threaten the traditional ways of life, what is not so obvious is the enemy that lies within. It is an enemy so fierce that it has the power to destroy the people in a much quicker, and devastating manner. This enemy is the people themselves.

It is clear that corporations, business, and “advancement” have all been used as a catalyst to subvert and undermine the authority and rights of the people to be in communion with their homelands. What is not so obvious, to the current generation, is the history and understanding of why that relationship is so important to the people. Much of this is due to the forced assimilation methods of the past by the federal government to rid itself of the “Indian Problem,” and an internalization of those principals that sought to “Kill the Indian, and Save the Man.” Society and civilization has always been defined by a specific definition. A definition that has been forced upon the peoples of North America, and throughout the world that has resulted in a form of colonization that strikes at the very core of what it means to be indigenous. Knowledge has always been sacred, and forgetting is the danger that, if left unchecked, will destroy the people.

For the people of the San Carlos Apache reservation, it would seem that some have forgotten the peoples that they once were. The reasons why government and corporations would want to extract land from Indians is obvious in most cases, yet what is not so obvious are the reasons why the people of the tribe might support or oppose them. Land disputes with invading forces have always been the norm for indigenous peoples, and the San Carlos Apache are no different. They have endured two very significant blows to their lands in the last 30 years, with government sanction and private enterprise as the cause. In both instances there were Apaches who sided with and against these entities, and those who supported the government and corporations were often used to bolster support for the attempted land grabs. Often times the problems that the people faced came from within, and this was most often the worst

case imaginable. Understanding the importance and reasons for an internal conflict amongst the people, is necessary to better divert the people from such issues in future attacks. As such, it will be the attempt of this study to understand the disputes at Mt. Graham, and Oak Flat from a traditional, cultural, and historical perspective and display the results of forgetting.

The Mount Graham International Observatory in Safford, Arizona was a once hotly disputed issue in the late 80s to early 90s. The University of Arizona sought to construct this observatory atop Mt. Graham on lands that were held in high regard for the Apaches, and the university drew support from the clergy of the Catholic Church, who were financial supporters of the project. Mount Graham is a small mountain range that lies southwest of the town of Safford. This mountain range was once held in possession of the Apache people, and lay within the boundaries of *Apachería*. However, this land was stripped from their original peoples to make way for settlements. It is believed to have special powers by the San Carlos Apache and is considered sacred. Within this understanding it would be easy assume that *all* Apache considered it to be sacred, and the word *sacred* would seem to imply that a significant event took place on this land to cause it to become sacred. This would be far from the truth. Determining a site as sacred is something that comes from understanding the land itself. As Vine Deloria states, “Their sacredness does not depend on human occupancy but on the stories that describe the revelation that enabled human beings to experience the holiness there.”<sup>50</sup> In regards to the issue of whether or not the mountain is sacred, it would depend on the person being asked.

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<sup>50</sup> Deloira Jr., Vine. *God is Red: A Native View of Religion*. Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003. 278.

Growing up, the author of this research had been told all throughout life that the sacredness of Mt. Graham and the struggle surrounding it, was something of a myth, and that some Apaches were only doing this to gain notoriety. This is true, from a certain point of view. While a great majority of the Apaches residing on the reservation strongly supported the sacredness of Mt. Graham, some held no ties to the mountains. In order to understand why, it is important to understand the history. As stated previously the reservation was divided among several different bands of Apache. The once territorial lands of each of the bands has since been distributed among the American public, and sacred spaces now reside among protected lands held by the United States government in the form of national parks. As a result, the land in dispute would be seen as sacred to some, but not all.

The Pinaleño Mountains, known today as Mount Graham, was once the territory of a specific band of Apache. "The entire Pinaleño region fell within the Western Apache aboriginal homeland recognized by the U.S. Indian Claims Commission... and specifically within the territory of the Eastern White Mountain Band of the White Mountain Apache subtribe."<sup>51</sup> Goodwin displays this on his maps of aboriginal homelands. However, the map also displays the mountains crossing in to Aravaipa territory as well, and Goodwin, as quoted earlier in this study, made the comment that the Aravaipa were categorically misidentified, and would have been more suited for the name Pinal Apache due to their close proximity to the mountain range. Consequently, in regards to the question of whether or not Mount Graham, or the Pinaleño Mountains, are sacred, the answers would undoubtedly depend on who was being asked. Of the six

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<sup>51</sup> Welch, John R. "White Eye's Lies and the Battle for Dzil nchaa si'an." *American Indian Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1997 1997): 75-109. *ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials*, EBSCOhost



bands that encompass the current San Carlos reservation boundary lines, as well as the forced inclusion of other peoples, three have strong traditional ties to the land and mountains in dispute. However, because of the forced conglomeration, there were issues within the tribe to unanimously call the mountains sacred. Disputes among the people erupted, and the issue of its sacredness has never been dealt with in the proper manner; that being the lineage to specific people groups.

Currently, there is another argument that is ongoing relating to another sacred site, but, in the time-honored tradition of government relations, it involves the destruction of land for the sake of mineral extraction. Oak Flat was once seen as the oasis of the Arizona desert with its many streams, waterfalls, and magnificent canyons, which should be enough to consider such a rarity in a desert environment sacred. It is also a place where Apaches had come to perform ceremonies of old, most notably, the Sunrise Dance (Apache Coming of Age ceremony for women). The land itself is believed to hold special power for the ceremonies, and is thus considered sacred by some Apache. However, just as it was in the Mount Graham disputes, some Apache believed it held no religious significance, but unlike Mount Graham, a former San Carlos Apache tribal historian supported this.

Dale Miles, a San Carlos Apache tribal member and former historian, explained in an op-ed to the Arizona Republic newspaper on July 23, 2015, that there has not been a long tradition of use at Oak Flat, and that the San Carlos Apache never considered the place for any ceremonies previously. He stated, "From my personal perspective, the thought of having such a ceremony at Oak Flat, far from the support of relatives, clan

members and friends in the San Carlos tribal area is almost unthinkable.”<sup>52</sup> It is important to remark this statement as significant in the understanding of the San Carlos Apache tribal member today. In one instance, this gives the defense the means to move forward in destroying a sacred site, and in another, more significant point, it demonstrates the problem of forgetting. Miles specifically mentioned the San Carlos tribal area, and makes no attempt to clarify the bands or clans that he is speaking to. It would appear that, in his mind, the tribe operates and functions as a whole, and not as individual bands and tribes as they once did. Their distinctive qualities that had once traditionally placed them within their own lands, and system of kinship seem to have dissipated over time, which has resulted in tribal historians such as Miles.<sup>53</sup>

Much in the same manner as Mount Graham, it is necessary to incorporate the history of the area as it pertains to the Apache people. This region, according to Goodwin’s map, was once within the possession of the Pinal Apache band. Goodwin states, “The Pinal claim that, long ago, none of their people were living in any part of what is historically their territory; that all were north of the Upper Salt River, scattered between the Mazatzal Mountains on the west and the Cibecue on the east.”<sup>54</sup> The area Goodwin explained would indeed put the Pinal Apache very near the area known today as Oak Flat, with this particular area lying within their territory. Goodwin goes on to further explain the regions of their territory by stating, “On the east their land ran almost to the Apache Peaks, around which the friendly Apache Peaks band lived. To the

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<sup>52</sup> Miles, Dale. 2016. "Oak Flat Is A Sacred Site? It Never Was Before". *Azcentral*. <http://www.azcentral.com/story/opinion/op-ed/2015/07/23/oak-flat-sacred/30587803/>.

<sup>53</sup> Mile’s book, *The History of the San Carlos Apache published by the San Carlos Apache tribe*, could not be located to examine for the purposes of this research.

<sup>54</sup> Grenville Goodwin *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. 24

southeast they were bounded by the Gila River, and beyond it lived their most closely related band, the Aravaipa.”<sup>55</sup> The area described would place Oak Flat almost directly in the middle and well within their possession. Thus, this would prove Miles right in that the area would not be sacred to the San Carlos Apaches. Rather, it would hold a significant place among the Pinal Apache band.

Furthermore, the area encompassing Oak Flat would also hold significant purpose to the Pinal Apaches, and Apaches in general, separate from the spiritual. An Apache past time is the gathering of particular foods that consisted of the typical Apache diet. The most significant of these foods is a specific type of acorn used to make “acorn soup.” In a form submitted, and approved, by the National Register of Historic Places, it states, “Wild plant foods collected by Apachean groups in upland areas such as *Chi’Chil Bildagoteel* included acorns from the Emory oak...”<sup>56</sup> With the inclusion of this specific food within the area of Oak Flat, this would further increase the significance of the mountain area.

Mount Graham, and Oak Flat are only two examples of the effects of a forced centralization of Apache peoples. The results of such traumas are dire to the survival of a people. Infighting in the tribe becomes prevalent, and this culminates in historians of the people making broad generalizations without clarification. However, it must be noted that those who made the claims that specific lands held no sacredness, they were correct, when narrowly determined by a specific band whose homelands were located far from the area in question. The purpose of remembering the history of one’s people

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 25.

<sup>56</sup> National Register of Historic Places, *Chi’chil Bildagoteel* Historic District, Traditional Cultural Property, Pinal County, Arizona. 14.

is significant in creating a stable foundation. Within the Peoplehood Model, it would appear that the Apache of the San Carlos Reservation have displaced two significant areas of their own peoplehood, that being their land and sacred history. Without these two areas, they will continue to struggle as a people. Stories that are passed down to the next generation, in those rare occasions, have significance to the societies of old, but if the people have forgotten who they were, these stories can only serve to be a hindrance, and cause further strife between the people.

## CONCLUSION

Tribal history is incredibly complicated, even when there is only one tribe to examine. In the case of the San Carlos Apache reservation, it is even more complicated. The previous views of the people as a whole have placed certain implications on the history of the people. Perceptions have resulted in a one-sided history within the academy that has left the indigenous, or Apache, view to the wayside, and placed a particular view that seems to only serve the mindset of the Western trained individual. As a result, new, and almost contradictory, methods of interpretation are necessary to better suit the indigenous perspective within the academy. Robert K. Thomas' Peoplehood model is the best tool available that assists in necessitating the points that best clarify the indigenous perspective. This has culminated in the 4 areas of inter-relationship that create the foundation of understanding the indigenous mind, those being place, sacred history, ceremonial cycle, and language.

Using this tool to apply it to the current literature pertaining to Apache history, there is a need to clarify the various distinctions being made within each work that must be addressed. In this attempt, three categories can be presumed to be the facilitators of Apache history. Among the literature available, one would find works pertaining to Apache in areas of individualized history, general group history, or specific band history. These would include works like *Geronimo's* autobiography, *Western Apache Heritage*, and *Massacre at Camp Grant*. However to delve further into the social organization and development of the Apache people, one must look further than history and into the realm of anthropology with scholars like Grenville Goodwin, Morris Opler, and Keith Basso. However significant their work might be in the study of Apache culture, and history, there is still much more work that needs to be done.

To better understand the Apache, it is important to know the way an Apache lives. Social structure, by way of the Local Group, or Band, clan, and family are the best means to comprehend the Apache life-way. Furthermore, the history of those bands placement onto reservations is also necessary. The Apache bands have a long history of displacement and forced assimilation. More specifically, the San Carlos Apache Reservation has seen many changes, and many peoples come and go. From the Chiricahuas of New Mexico, to the Yavapai, and White Mountain bands, the San Carlos reservation has been saturated with Indians from all over the Southwest. As a consequence, there have been many peoples that have incorporated each other into their own cultures, but it is by way of the mothers and the matrilineal system that the people survive.

However, it is by force that the surviving people are brought into a conglomeration of peoples that resulted in a new centralized government that placed people of various bands and tribes in an authoritative position over others that were the rightful stewards of their lands. This had devastating results for bands like the Aravaipa, who saw the loss of their entire homelands by a majority vote for the purposes of mining and financial gain by the other groups residing on the reservation. It was clear that identity would become an issue, and with the loss of lands, and history, there could only be one outcome for the people of the San Carlos reservation.

Issues pertaining to the land of the San Carlos Apache are the resonating outcomes from past experiences and historical trauma. With the conglomeration of many peoples in one area, it seemed that it was only a matter of time before the people would forget where they originally came from. This has resulted in the issue pertaining to the observatory at Mount Graham, and the mining site at Oak Flat. With Mount Graham, the general talk seemed to be that some Apaches only sought to start a fight over land that was not considered sacred to all. Likewise, at Oak Flat, there were those who held a similar opinion, and, in this instance, had the support of a former tribal historian in Dale Miles. Without the knowledge of their past, they will never see that the opposition and defense are both right, from their respective perceptions.

As time progresses, and the elders become fewer and fewer, the loss of traditional knowledge will become ever more permanent. Thankfully, there are materials in print today that hold some knowledge. It will never be possible to extract all of the knowledge necessary to create a concise history of the Apache people, and, more importantly, there will never be enough Apache scholars to interpret the history

from an authoritative perspective. Not all knowledge is for the general public, and some must forever stay with the people themselves, as it should be. This research has only begun to uncover important and necessary details that will result in a much more precise history of Apache peoples. The standard thought of classifying the Apache of Arizona as something as broad as “Western Apache” is an injustice to the people. The “Western Apache” are comprised of peoples with distinct homelands and histories that separate them from the others. Names like San Carlos Apache negate the fact that they are individual peoples, and force the colonial implication of singularity and a much more centralized society. This method of colonization has had dire consequences on the people, and there is still much work to be done to rectify the problems of forgetting.

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