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Social change among the White Mountain Apache Indians from the 1800's to the present

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INTRODUCTION

The Fort Apache Indian Reservation, comprising approximately sixteen hundred square miles, is located in the rugged mountainous area of east central Arizona. The area's main resources are grazing land, pine timber, and undeveloped mineral resources of coal, asbestos, and iron.

The Apaches were not the first tribes to settle in Arizona but by the middle of the seventeenth century they had occupied all of New Mexico except a limited area along the Rio Grande occupied by the Pueblos, a part of western Texas, southern Arizona— which they disputed with other tribes as far as the Verde River—, and a portion of northern Mexico.

Before they were put on reservations, they roamed over the mountains and prairies. They had no fixed habitation and frequently changed their place of abode. They were the last of the blanket Indians and were the wildest and hardest to subdue of the native tribes.

The Apache nation belongs to the southern Athapascan family and consists of many tribes. Smaller bands exist within each tribe whose members are united by some bond of mutual interest.

This study will be limited to those Apaches now living on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. The Indian population of the reservation is approximately four thousand.
CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to analyze the social change in the lives of the White Mountain Apache Indians from the late eighties to the present time.

In many cases the culture of these reservation Indians contains traits which have changed little since the days when they were aboriginal tribes. People living under primitive social conditions are said to have a reverence for the past and a strong preference for doing a thing the way it has always been done. They resist change because of fear, ignorance, and superstition.¹

Many of the primitive cultural patterns are not conducive to a satisfactory and adequate adaptation to the culture in which the Indians are now forced to live. It is evident that if these Indians are to achieve an adaptation to rural life in America so that they are self-supporting and have reasonable security and health, many of their customs must change and continue to change in our dynamic world.

All people wish to survive both as individuals and as groups. To survive as such, certain patterns of values,

attitudes, and actions are necessary. Culture patterns change as the environment is altered and often cause a state of conflict between those who strive to retain the old culture and those who are willing to change and adopt the culture best adapted to present conditions.\(^2\)

An effort has been made to relate in an objective way the habits, living conditions, attitudes, and the degree of acculturation of these Indians from the late eighties to the present time.

An important phase of this study is the existing conditions on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation today, showing the direct influence that education and government control have had on the Apaches' lives, influencing their work, living, and worship.

The material for this study has been compiled through library research, old army records and reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on file at the Fort Apache Agency, interviews with long time residents of the reservation, interviews with Apache Indians, both old and young; and three years of work on the reservation as a government employee.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The term "White Mountain Apache" was used as early as 1748 to designate those Apaches living in the region of the White Mountains in Arizona, but probably, at that time, included other Apaches close by.

The Western Apaches, or those now living either on the Fort Apache Reservation or the San Carlos Reservation, were at one time divided into five major groups as follows: the White Mountain Apache, the Cibecue Apache, the San Carlos Apache, the Northern Tonto Apache, and the Southern Tonto Apache. In language and general culture there was such close resemblance among these groups that one hesitates to call them separate tribes. On the other hand, there were and still are differences among them in respect to dialect, versions of myths, and taboos. They even warred against one another at times, something that true bands of the same tribe will never do.¹

The kind of life led by these Apaches was not conducive to a complex social organization. They had no chiefs to keep tribal unity. Every Apache knew to what tribe he

¹Grenville Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apache, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 3. 1942.
belonged because he was familiar with the general customs and language peculiarities of that group. This was the only form of tribal unity. In the western section there were clans which disappeared towards the east and in the extreme east there were no traces of clans. Their only reason for forming large groups was geographical. People having the same interests gathered around the same place and this community of location was the tie that bound them together. These groups were purely informal arrangements, and were bound together by no formal ties. There were smaller geographical groups called "bands".2

A band was composed of several family groups or clans. While each clan or band was highly mobile and its economy was always geared for war, as a people, the Apaches were very loosely united. The Apache's first allegiance was to his family and his clan. It was seldom that the clans or bands were all united. While they spoke the same language and, for the most part, their customs were the same, many bands had no contact with each other except through individuals. If one clan encroached on another's preserve, they would fight each other as quickly as they would the Mexicans or Americans.3

As the Apaches were being located on reservations,

2Ruth M. Underhill, Southwest Indians, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, pp. 75-76.

between 1871 and 1873, they tended to divide themselves into distinct "tribal groups". In 1897, when the Fort Apache Reservation was separated from the San Carlos Reservation, no attempt was made to have the tribal group boundaries coincide with the reservation boundaries. As a result, part of the territory of the White Mountain Apaches was placed in the San Carlos Reservation. Those who lived on this strip of land were enrolled in the San Carlos Reservation and were known as Coyoteros. The majority of the White Mountain Apaches and all of the Cibecue Apaches were located in the Fort Apache Reservation. The Cibecue Apaches were designated as White Mountain Apaches.

The White Mountain Apaches were divided into two distinct and well defined bands, an eastern and a western. This distinction still exists today. The members of the eastern band live along East Fork River, Seven Mile Canyon, and Turkey Creek, all within their old territories. The western band has settlements at Cedar Creek and Canyon Day communities.4

Originally each band was further divided into what can be termed "local groups". The local group was the basic politico-economic unit of all the western Apaches. This group might or might not be blood related. If it were to their mutual interests, anyone might join the group. Each

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local group had its own chief or leader who directed the activities. A man became the leader or chief simply on merit. There were no hereditary chiefs unless the sons proved themselves to have leadership ability. There was real democracy among the Apaches and if a leader failed to fulfill his responsibilities, he was quickly dropped and ignored. It was within the local group that hunting, food gathering, raiding, and war expeditions were planned, and it was by members of the same local group working together that such plans were executed.5

5Santee, op. cit., p. 22
CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Family life. The word "family"\(^1\) is used to signify a man, his wife, and their children, a social unit forming one household. In the pre-reservation life of the Apaches, the "family cluster" was made up of several households living together because of blood, marital, or economic ties. The family as a separate entity living apart from the family cluster was very rare. In a family cluster there might be twenty to forty people representing several generations. This was the most important unit of organization and the only one in Apache life where people had definite duties and obligations.

The Apaches seldom traveled any distance alone. Solitary travel was considered unsafe not only because of enemies and dangerous animals, but also because of possible accident and injury. Women always went out in groups to gather wild foods and men avoided hunting by themselves. The laborious methods used in securing food invited cooperation between households and made group living most desirable.

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\(^1\)Grenville Goodwin, Social Organization of the Western Apaches, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942, p. 123.
The custom of sharing game and other food with neighbors and related households was an added inducement to the clustering of camps. Often the unfortunate were cared for by the fortunate, the indolent by the industrious, and the unfit by the fit. Out of all this has developed the extremely gregarious nature of the Apaches and their feelings of fear and loneliness when compelled by some demand or emergency, to live apart from the group.

Authority in the Apache family was vested in the husband or father, although the actual amount of control he exerted depended on his strength of character when compared with that of his wife. In any event, the woman of the family, by expressing her desires, shaped the family actions fully as much as her husband in such things as gathering wild foods or visiting relatives. The economic functions of the husband and wife were often combined, the family moving to a place where hunting was good and an abundance of wild food could be gathered.2

Clan relationships. A number of related clans of the Apaches live in the geographical area of the Fort Apache Reservation. Four of these clans were named the Pines, the Reeds, the Big Oaks, and the Red Hills. Each of these names signified the location in which the clan lived. The Pines designated the families who lived in the area of thick pine

woods. The Reeds lived in the lowlands near the river where many reeds grew. The Big Oaks and the Red Hills were also names descriptive of the location of other groups.

Nelson Lupe³ expressed clan relationship in the following manner:

An Apache knows to which clan he belongs and to which clan he is related, if he knows nothing else.

Among the Apaches, relationships on the mother's side are considered closer than on the father's side. Cousins are referred to as brothers and sisters. Clan relationship on the mother's side is considered almost as close as blood relationship. All members of one's mother's clan and its related clans, as well as, members of the paternal clan and its related clans are considered relatives. A distinction is made, however, between members who are considered close kin and those who are not. Sometimes, blood kin on the father's side is considered closer than a clan relative on the mother's side. Physical resemblance of some blood relative on the father's side gives the individual closer relationship than a clan member on the mother's side. The strongest ties and obligations are with the close blood relatives, particularly, on the mother's side of the family.⁴

⁴Ibid., Personal Interview.
It is very difficult to trace relationships of the Apaches back many generations because of their unwillingness to mention the name of a deceased person. Since the Apaches do not mention the name of a deceased relative, they do not retain knowledge of past generations and it is impossible to trace a very distant blood relationship.

Appearance and character traits. The greatest change taking place in the life of the Apaches since their location on reservations has been in their appearance, personality traits, and manner of living. People who have observed them over a long period of time have formed varied pictures and impressions of their appearance, character, and attitudes.

Cozzens\(^5\) in 1873 described them as:

> The dirtiest, filthiest, most degraded looking set of creatures in the guise of humanity. The men were naked except for a breech clout and moccasins. The women wore dirty old blankets tied around their waists and the upper part of their bodies exposed. The expression on the faces of all was cruel and brutal, with a look of cunning on each countenance. In character they resembled the prairie wolf, sneaking, cowardly, and revengeful. All the women were fat, ugly, and dirty with not a gleam of intelligence nor a line of beauty.

An Apache was trained from his earliest infancy to regard all other people as his natural enemies. He was taught that the chief excellence of man was to outwit his fellows. His whole system of life and training was to

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\(^5\)Samuel Woodworth Cozzens, *The Marvelous Country or Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico*, Shepard & Gill, Boston, 1873, p. 85.
plunder, murder, and deceive. There was no sympathy among them and they were on friendly terms with no people. 6

In contrast with the above, Lockwood 7 in his study of the Apaches of early times, emphasizes their superior mental qualities. He says that they were endowed with great acuteness of perception; marked ingenuity in overcoming the roughness of climate, soil, and topography; and shrewdness in forecasting the actions of their enemies. They were witty, possessed of a quick sense of humor, cheerful, companionable, and little disposed to pay any attention to the annoyances and uncertainties of life. They were very excitable, however, and ever on the alert.

Their code of morals was as deep-rooted and binding as that of American society today, but they were guided in their conduct by principles very different from those of the Anglo-American culture. Their highest conception of a virtuous man was that he engage in war and excel as a thief. The man who could kill without being killed, and could steal without being caught, was the most honored and admired among them. Pity was a feeling unknown to the early Apache and cruelty appeared to be almost an inborn quality.


Ross Santee, a cowboy of many years experience among the White Mountain Apaches, found them to be alert and to have a keen sense of humor. He relates that the Apache from earliest boyhood was trained in the age-old school of savagery. Pity, he had none and cruelty was a strongly conditioned trait. If an Apache wanted information from an enemy, the tortures were unspeakable. One of the favorite ways of torturing was to place the captive over an ant hill, smear his eyes and mouth with honey and leave him there. Another means of torture was to hang a prisoner head down over a slow fire while the squaws skinned him alive. Their hatred of the white man, he believed, was caused by the treatment they received from the army and government officials during the past century.

The dress of the Apache men in pre-reservation days consisted of breech clout and moccasins. The moccasins were made of buckskin and peculiarly adapted to protect the feet and legs from poisonous reptiles and thorny desert plants. The moccasins reached halfway to the thigh, and had tough soles extending beyond the foot and curved up at the toe.

The women wore skirts of deerskin, extending from the waist to the knees, with a fringe of thongs ornamented with bits of bright metal or glass. The moccasins worn by the women differed from those worn by the warriors. They came

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only a little above the ankle and were less durable than
those worn by the men.

Back in the seventies the Apache women adopted a
style of dress similar to that worn by army officers' wives.
That style called a "camp dress" is still being worn by
the older Apache women. This dress consists of a full skirt
and loose hanging blouse. The skirt requires from twelve to
eighteen yards of bright colored sateen or percale, either in
print or plain color. A deep flounce with several rows of
ornamental braid finishes the bottom of the skirt. The
blouse hangs loose from a smooth, square, high-necked yoke.
The sleeves are full with more braiding to match that of the
skirt.

Little Apache girls just able to toddle are commonly
dressed exactly like their mothers. The babies are carried
in canopied cradle-boards on the mothers' backs. The carry-
ing strap is often brought across the mother's head, leaving
the hands free to carry some other load or perform other tasks.

Through the influence of education on the reservation,
and better means of transportation whereby they are able to
get off the reservation to towns outside, the dress of the
younger Apache women and girls has changed greatly in the
last two decades. The most common present day dress of the

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9See Plate II, Page 15.
10See Plate I, Page 15.
Plate I

Apache Mother and Children

Plate II

Native "camp dresses" worn by Apache women

Taken from "Arizona Highways"
younger women and especially of the teen age girls consists of a simple cotton blouse and skirt, anklets, and low heeled oxfords.

During the ceremonials and social Indian dances, the young girls invariably wear the "camp dress" rather than the American style of clothes. The young Apaches are often chided by their elders for their acceptance of the "white culture" and for that reason, many who have accepted the Anglo-American way of life soon revert to the early tribal customs rather than oppose the ridicule of the aged members of their family or clan.

In most cases the young wife will, after marriage, put away her "school clothes" and again don the camp dress in order to gain status among the other married women in camp.

Superstition and custom are still strong forces of social control among the Apaches, in spite of the effort to impose the "white culture" upon them. An Apache boy and girl came home from boarding school and were married. They built a neat stucco house and furnished it comfortably in the manner of an average non-Indian home in that area. When their first baby was expected the girl went to the hospital for its delivery, instead of calling in the usual midwife and medicine man for their care and blessings. The

II (Dress and training in school. Effort to educate them to acceptance of Anglo-American culture often seems futile.)
baby was kept in a crib instead of a cradle-board, and was fed the milk and baby food prescribed by the agency physician. The young couple were harassed and chided by the old people for trying to be "white man". They were warned repeatedly that the child would not have a long life because it did not have the blessings of the shaman or medicine man. Before the baby was two years old, it contracted diphtheria and died in the agency hospital. This tragedy combined with social pressure was so great that the two young people finally gave up and reverted to the "camp dress" and other tribal customs, so prevalent on the reservation.  

The above incident illustrates the strong forces which reservation directors and personnel must combat in an effort to educate the Apaches to the acceptance of a way of life that better fits into the environment in which they find themselves today.

Courtship and marriage. Marriage has always been essential in the life of the Apaches. They believed that men and women could not get along without each other, and failure to marry was rare and abnormal. A man without a wife had no one to cook for him, no one to bear him children, and no one to gather and prepare wild foods; he was, therefore,

12Mrs. Virginia Le Baron, Personal Interview, May, 1952. (Former teacher and resident in the reservation for thirty-two years.)
to be pitied. The same was true of a woman without a husband; for she had no one to hunt for her, no one to bring her horses, and no one to give her children.

The mother's "wickiup" was the hub of the universe for an Apache girl. Mother and daughter were almost constantly together. They toiled side by side in domestic work and accompanied each other on expeditions to gather wild foods. After the maiden reached puberty and had passed through her puberty ceremony, she went with her mother to dances and other social affairs where she met the young men.

When girls reached puberty, usually about twelve to fourteen years of age, they began to show interest in boys. Boys began to show a similar interest in girls at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. Girls usually married between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, but occasionally a girl's family married her off before she reached puberty. Boys usually married between twenty and twenty-five years of age.

Casual social contacts between young people of the two sexes came mainly during dances or ceremonials where crowds were congregated. In social dancing the girls selected their partners, but rarely did the couple look at each other while they were dancing. In spite of the severity of the social code by which young people were hedged about, they always found ways to make their interests and

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\textsuperscript{15}\textsuperscript{\textcopyright} A crude oval shaped dwelling. Plate VI, Page 33.
mutual love known. There was ample opportunity for the couples to talk as they danced because the dancing was done outdoors around a campfire.

On some occasions young people made up parties to go in search of wild plants together. These might be mescal roasting parties or pinon nut gatherings. It was not unusual for several girls to call at a camp where boys lived and spend a few hours in storytelling with the older people.15

Reagan relates that in the courtship of the early day Apaches, the girl was the initiator of the courtship activities. By a look, a word, or a slap, while passing the man of her choice, she showed him that his attentions were welcome. She also chose him at the dances. After those advances he became the aggressor. It was a common custom for the young man to watch the girl's most frequented trail, usually the one over which she carried water. On both sides of this trail in some secluded spot, he placed stones for a distance from five to fifteen feet. Then he hid himself near by and waited for her to come along, showing himself to her through the bushes or by peeking over a ridge just before she reached the line of stones.

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14 See explanation on Page 35.

15 Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

If she passed to the side of the stones, it was a refusal, but if she passed on down the trail between the stones it was an acceptance.

Sometimes the girl slipped into her lover's house and stayed with him several nights, varying in different areas. After she had spent the night with him she cooked his breakfast, hung out his bedding to air, and caught his horse and saddled it for him. He showed his acceptance of her by eating the food she had cooked and taking the horse she had saddled for him. He must then buy her from her parents or guardian.

It is true that the families of both young men and women exerted a strong influence over them in their choice of a life partner. Yet in most cases the young people made the final choice themselves. After an Apache youth had made his choice, he must first secure the consent of his own family to the union. Next he must make known to the girl's parents, his desire to marry their daughter. This message was usually taken to the girl's parents by some member of the boy's family. It could be done by any member of his family, but was carried most commonly by his father or brother. Now came the actual proposal. This formality consisted in the offering of presents to the girl and her family. Since wealth was counted primarily

in horses, at night he would take two or more animals and tie them near the wickiup of the girl's parents. The number of horses he brought indicated to the family the measure of his riches and the degree of his love for the girl. If the girl took care of the horses, led them to water and fed them, the youth knew that his suit was successful; but if they were left uncared for, it was all too plain that he was rejected. The maiden was allowed four days to come to a decision. If the horses remained on the picket neglected and starving at the end of the fourth day, there was nothing for the lover to do but take them back.

After a suitor had been accepted, there followed a wedding feast that extended over three days. During this time the engaged couple were not allowed to speak to each other; but on the third night they would suddenly disappear, supposedly eluding the vigilance of the older people, and escape to the temporary wickiup provided by the groom in some hidden place in the woods not very far away. After an absence of a week or more, they would return unheralded and unnoticed. They would erect their wickiup near that of the girl's mother.

An age old custom of the Apaches forbids the son-in-law to look at or converse with his mother-in-law. This custom is still prevalent and quite common today.

Contrary to the old legendary belief, that a look at the mother-in-law would cause complete blindness or severe
illness of the son-in-law or both, Nelson Lupe, Sr., explained that the avoidance custom was to show the deepest respect for the wife's mother. Its purpose was to prevent trouble of any kind with the wife's mother. If she entered the house or wickiup, the son-in-law would leave and remain away until she had gone. If they met accidentally, each turned the head to keep from looking directly at the other. If it became necessary for them to converse, it was usually done in the third person. A woman was careful to try to keep out of sight when she knew that her son-in-law was near. He did the same for her.

When once married, a man said good-by forever to his own family. Its members no longer had any claim on him. His whole obligation after that was to the family of his mother-in-law. As long as he lived he must support and protect the domestic circle into which he had married. He must bring to them the spoils of the chase, and must be their avenger in case they suffered unjust injury. When he returned from the hunt, loaded with game, it was carried by the girl to her mother's wickiup. There it was dressed and cooked along with other food, and then their share was brought by the wife to be eaten with the husband and children in their wickiup. Divorces were few. No matter how dissatisfied a husband might become, or how hard his lot, he dared not seek separation except upon good and well-established

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18 Nelson Lupe, Sr., Personal Interview, May, 1952.
grounds. To run away would make him a social outcast and
draw upon his head the animosity of the entire family into
which he had married.\textsuperscript{19}

Benedict\textsuperscript{20} described the Dobuans, a primitive group
of New Guinea, as being very much like the early Day Apaches.
They too, were a lawless and treacherous group who put a
premium upon ill-will and deceit, and made these recognized
virtues of their society.

Although she described these traits of character as
being very similar to the primitive Apaches, their courtship
and marriage patterns differ greatly. In Dobuan society
marriage plans are begun by the mother-in-law blocking the
door of her house within which the youth is sleeping with
her daughter. He is, therefore, trapped for the public
betrothal ceremony. When the villagers see the mother-in-
law standing in the doorway, they gather and stare at the
couple for half an hour and gradually disperse. There is
nothing more; the couple is formally betrothed. The boy
must spend the following year working for his mother-in-law
before the marriage actually takes place. The marriage
ceremony itself, consists in the groom's receiving from his
mother-in-law a mouthful of food of her own cooking. From
marriage until death the couple lives alternate years in
the village of the husband and the village of his wife.

\textsuperscript{19}Lockwood, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 52-53.

\textsuperscript{20}Ruth Benedict, \textit{Patterns of Culture}, Houghton
Mifflin Company, New York, 1934, pp. 131-34.
Apache courtship and marriage practices are much the same today as they were before reservation days, but some of the aspects have changed with modern cultural adaptations. The age of marriageability for boys and girls has been raised, and marriage before puberty is now prevented by government regulation. Both sexes are required to attend school until they reach the age of eighteen years. A girl may marry with the consent of her parents at sixteen and of her own volition on reaching the age of eighteen.

School has brought the young people into a type of close association not experienced in the old culture. Dining room and classroom associations afford some opportunities for contacts, but it is usually on the grounds surrounding the school buildings and dormitories that an older boy and girl are seen talking to each other. School friendships are often lasting and frequently lead to marriage.

At the present time, through school and community influence, the young people have learned folk, square, and social dancing and take an active part in these along with the non-Indian people. At these social dances the boys select their partners and today the self-consciousness of the young people is not as apparent as in the earlier days. However, in the camps where the older Apaches are present at the native dances, the old custom of the girls choosing their dancing partners still exists.

Young people now seem to have greater influence in
choosing their mates and arranging their marriages than formerly. Two young people who fall in love may inform their parents that they intend to be married and do so in spite of parental objections.

A part of this breakdown in tribal control is due to the fact that the Apaches are now required to comply with state marriage laws. They must secure a license and be married by someone qualified to perform the ceremony, as one of the reservation missionaries or a justice of the peace. To the older Apaches, these alien laws are merely formalities and supplementary to the really important part of the marriage which is the arrangement between the couple and the respective families.

The custom of bringing gifts to the girl's family has just about died out, as has the custom of the young man forsaking his own family upon marriage. The young couple may now live in the locality of their own choice. They may live near the husband's family, the wife's, or in a community related to neither group. There still persists, however, a strong feeling of obligation on the part of the young people toward the care of their parents and the needy members of their clan. It is a common practice on most parts of the reservation for the young couples to live near the parent who needs the greater amount of care, whether it be physical or financial.

Divorces have increased with the breakdown of tribal control over the mating relationship. To obtain a divorce
Plate III
Apache Social Dancing

Plate IV
Square Dancing at Theodore Roosevelt School, Fort Apache Indian Reservation
a man and his wife must appear before the tribal judge and make the complaint. If a reconciliation cannot be achieved, the judge gives them six months for a trial separation. At the end of that time, if the couple still desire the divorce, it may be granted for a fee of twenty-five dollars. The wife is usually awarded the custody of the children. Property settlement is made out of court when possible.
Habitation. Due to the migrant nature of the Apaches, their dwellings were never of a permanent type. Until placed on the reservation, their occupations were hunting, raiding, warring, and plundering, therefore, it was necessary for them to move frequently where hunting and raiding were most plentiful.

Their dwellings were always made of the material that was available at the particular camp ground where they decided to stop. For that reason, many different descriptions of Apache homes may be found. Their dwellings were crude oval shaped structures called wickiups. These wickiups were built entirely by the Apache women.

To build a wickiup, a circle of long slender poles of juniper, mesquite, pine, or willow - whichever grew close by - were set a few inches into the ground about two feet apart. This circle was about twelve to fifteen feet in diameter and ten feet high. The tops of the poles were drawn together and securely lashed with strips of bear grass or yucca, thus completing the conical framework. A small hole was left in the top to let the smoke out. Now came the covering which varied in different locations. Some looked like mere huts because the poles were covered and packed
with mud; others were covered with brush or branches woven into the framework; and in some instances the whole framework was covered with bark from trees or even with deer-skins.¹

Since the Apaches were moved to the reservation, the manner of constructing the wickiups has become more or less uniform in all the camps. After the conical framework is completed, it is covered with bundles of bear grass placed side by side and lashed tightly with strips of yucca. At the present time the wickiups are usually covered with canvas or tarpaulins purchased from the traders. The canvas covering is placed on top of the bear grass and fastened either with wire or strips of yucca. The doorway is low, and sometimes a windbreak which may be made of poles or of wood with a tightly fitted door, extends from it. The doorway usually opens toward the east.

After the structure has been completed, a place is scooped out in the floor, from eighteen inches to two feet deep to serve as a bedroom. The dirt which was removed is packed around the base of the wickiup and is useful in giving solidity to the structure and in affording some protection against driving rains and storms.

The fire is built on the ground between the middle of the wickiup and the door. Some of the smoke goes out the

Plate V

Scenes of primitive living on Fort Apache Reservation
Whiteriver, Arizona
top of the roof; the rest stays and gets into the eyes. The wickiup is neither wind nor waterproof. However, since it takes but a few hours to build one, it can be burned or abandoned without regret.

The Apaches never erect one wickiup at any great distance from others. Ordinarily five or six of these shelters are built quite close together. When possible, they are built near streams. In pre-reservation and early reservation days, water was carried in a woven jug called a "tus". Later the woven water jugs were replaced by large milk cans which were fastened to the backs of burros and brought to the camp. Pick-up trucks have now largely replaced the burros for hauling water and wood.

In summer a shelter or remada is built beside the wickiup. This is composed of poles set into the ground and covered with brush to form a shade. It is here that the cooking and eating are done in warm weather. In cold or rainy weather it is done inside the wickiup.

The bedding used by the Apaches consists of skins and blankets which are placed in the dug out space inside the wickiup. During the day the bedding is either rolled up and placed around the sides of the wickiup or hung on bushes outside in the sunshine.

The Second World War had a remarkable effect on the lives of the White Mountain Apaches. Hundreds of young
Apache men entered the various branches of the armed services. They spent from three to five years off the reservation in military camps where they became accustomed to the conveniences of the "white culture", such as houses, comfortable beds, electric lights, refrigerators, and bathroom facilities.

Upon their return to the reservation, the veterans were no longer content to live in a one-room wickiup with a dirt floor, where facilities were not conducive to comfort, cleanliness, or health. Their complaints were soon taken to the superintendent of the reservation, who with the cooperation of the Veterans Administration, set up a vocational school for veterans on the reservation. The principal courses in this school were carpentry and woodworking. In these classes the veterans learned how to build houses and to make numerous pieces of furniture.

Most of the veterans married soon after their return from service. The new homes which they constructed are wooden structures of two or three rooms, rather than the traditional wickiup built by the bride's mother.

The number of houses on the reservation is rapidly increasing. The majority of them are built from native pine lumber which is produced on the reservation. Some of the houses are made of stucco and are built by skilled carpenters employed from off the reservation.

Electricity has replaced kerosene lamps or firelight
Plate VI

Early Apache Dwelling—"Wickiup"

Plate VII

Present Day Apache Dwellings
Fort Apache Indian Reservation, Whiteriver, Arizona
in most of the new homes. Bathroom facilities are rapidly replacing the outdoor toilets, and kitchen sinks are taking the place of the water jugs or milk cans. In many of the Apache homes may now be found sewing machines, washing machines, refrigerators, electric irons, and radios. It is not at all uncommon for an Apache boy or girl to bring his own portable radio or electric iron when he returns to the boarding school in the fall.

Although there are still many wickiups on the reservation and many instances of early tribal living, the manner of living of the younger Apaches is approaching that found in many other rural American communities.

Food and its preparation. The gathering, preparing, and storing of food consumed a great amount of time in the life of an Apache woman in pre-reservation days. From April to November she divided her time between farming and gathering wild foods, covering in all a very wide territory.

Food gathering parties often made long journeys that required several weeks before they could return to their homes. On these journeys men and boys always accompanied the women for protection and to assist in the heavy work. The parties were commonly made up of people from the same local group, but at times a family or family cluster might temporarily join a party from another local group.

The first wild food crop came in April with the sprouting of the mescal, a more common name for the agave
or century plant. If the Apaches lived far from the place where the mescal was plentiful, they made a long trip to obtain it, established a temporary camp, and prepared it there before returning home.

The stalks and the crown of the mescal were cut and baked or roasted in a pit. The pit was a round hole about seven or eight feet in diameter and three or four feet deep. It was evenly lined with rocks, then filled with wood laid in criss-cross layers. The fire was lighted on alternate sides beginning on the east. When the wood had burned to ashes the mescal was put into the pit. Wet grass was placed on top of the mescal, then dirt was put on top until the steam no longer came out. It took from two to four days for the mescal to become roasted, depending upon the size of the crowns. After it was roasted it must be eaten or pounded into sheets and dried to prevent spoilage.

When it was sufficiently dried it was put into loosely woven traylike containers made of yucca. These were fastened on the backs of horses and the homeward journey made. Most of the mescal was stored as sun-dried cakes.2

The planting of their crops came in May. The farms consisted of narrow fertile fields or strips along the streams, where the water could be used for irrigation. Corn, beans, and squash comprised the farm crops. After the corn
was up six to eight inches in height, a few old people or captives were left to tend the crops while the rest moved away.

During the latter part of July came the most important wild-food harvest, the acorns of Emory’s Oak. Almost every family participated in this. At times, a local group under its chief moved in a body to the acorn grounds and upon arrival separated into family clusters. The harvest lasted four weeks or more. When the families had gathered the amounts they desired they returned to their farming sites.

In August the mesquite beans ripened, but because these were a relatively unimportant food source, only a few families went in search of them.

In September the farm crops ripened and the families moved back to harvest and store their grain. The corn was gathered and shelled because shelled corn required less storage space. Corn was used in many ways for food. Most commonly, it was ground or pulverized on a hollowed out stone called a "metate," and then made into bread or tortillas. It was sometimes roasted in the husks in a bed of hot ashes. It was also used in making a drink called "tulapai".

Tulapai was made by boiling the kernals of the corn, then setting the mixture aside until it fermented. This drink was mildly intoxicating. Tulapai is still commonly

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See Plate VIII, Page 37.
Plate VIII

Stone metate used for grinding corn

Taken from "Arizona Highways"
though illegally used on the reservation.

November was the time for juniper berries and pinon nuts to be gathered. Both of these were important foods and many days were spent gathering and storing them.

Late fall was the favorite time for hunting deer. Parties of men were gone from camp from four to ten days at a time on these hunts. Meanwhile, raiding parties went south into Mexico returning with horses, mules, and cattle, or north to raid the peaceful Pueblos.

Many stories have been told on the reservation explaining the taboos the Apaches have for not eating certain foods, particularly fish and elk. Santee relates that a very old cowpuncher who had lived among the Apaches for many years told him that the custom of not eating fish originated after a long drought. The game had left the country and the Indians were living on trout. At the same time an epidemic of smallpox occurred and many of the Indians died. A medicine man said that it was the spots on the trout coming out.

Both Nelson Lupe and Chief Baha Alchesay denied

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5 Santee, op. cit., p. 11.
6 Nelson Lupe, Sr., Personal Interview, May, 1952.
7 Chief Baha Alchesay, Son of old Chief Alchesay, an old army scout, Personal Interview, May, 1952.
that any such custom or legend existed among the White Mountain Apaches. Chief Baha explained that the early Indians had no fish hooks and devised no means of catching fish, but with the present facilities, many of the Apaches now catch and eat trout. Some of the Indians do not eat elk because the meat has a stronger taste than deer or beef, and for that reason they do not like it, and not because of any superstition connected with it.

Beef has become the principal meat used since the White Mountain Apaches were placed on the reservation and do not have the freedom to roam in search of wild game. The beef is usually boiled or made into stew with the addition of corn or other vegetables. Much of their beef is cut into thin strips and dried, since it will keep almost indefinitely prepared in this way. The dried beef is usually boiled or used in gravies.

At the present time the diet of the Apache Indians is little different from the Anglo-American of similar economic status in that region. They may be seen at the trading posts purchasing milk, canned vegetables, fruit juices, and many fresh fruits and vegetables.

John Lee, who has been a trader at Whiteriver for more than thirty years, stated that one of the greatest changes in the lives of the Apaches was their improvement in the choice of foods they now include in their diet. Young mothers now buy cases of canned milk and baby foods,

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Trading Post, Fort Apache Reservation
Whiteriver, Arizona

Alohesay Hall—Community Recreation Building
(Built by the tribe from tribal funds)
which was unheard of ten years ago.

This change in diet and eating habits has come about largely through the combined efforts of the government home economist - who also doubles as a social worker - , the home economics department of the government boarding school, and the government field nurse.

Religion and ceremonials of the Apaches. Religion and superstition are interrelated among the Apaches as among many other primitive people.

Munk\(^9\) relates that the Apaches have nothing that can be called religion and no church has ever established a successful mission among them. They are superstitious about anything that seems mysterious and are afraid of the dark, death, and evil spirits. They believe in both good and evil spirits, but are not too concerned about the former, which cannot do them harm, but are constantly in fear of the latter and seek to pacify them.

Santee\(^10\) believes the Apache to be a deeply religious person who has ceremonies for almost everything from curing diseases to finding lost objects. The ceremonies usually consist of singing, dancing, and smoking. Two distinctive manifestations of this religious attitude in the Apache's life are seen in the ceremony for the girl's arrival at puberty, commonly called the "Sunrise Dance",


\(^10\) Santee, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
and in the curative ceremonies. Both of these ceremonies require the services of the medicine man or shaman.

The medicine man or shaman, who at one time exerted an extremely powerful influence on the lives of the Apaches, is rapidly losing his power. The influence of Christian religion and the establishment of the agency hospital with its medical staff have convinced many that the shaman's powers are limited. There are, however, still those who fear to disregard the medicine man for fear of the evil or misfortune he might bring them.

Chief Baha explained the early Apache religion in this manner. They believe in a supreme being called "U-sen" who is the giver of all life, and who is of no sex or place, nor can anyone approach this power directly. U-sen is conceived as a mighty force, but must work through some natural object as the wind, the lightning, the owl, the snake, the bear, or even some insect. Every Apache is considered a potential recipient of the effects of this power. Material embodiment of U-sen is seen through dreams and visions, and the particular form, through which the power is revealed, becomes the Apache's guardian spirit.

There are many objects which are held sacred by the Apaches and these are often used in the ceremonials. Among these objects are the eagle feather, the turquoise, the pollen from cat-tail grass, and colored beads which

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11Chief Baha, Personal Interview, May, 1952.
they find in old ruins.

The owl appears to be the most dreaded creature among the Apaches. It is believed that the owl understands and can speak the Apache language and that it comes to warn people of death or some great misfortune. Some believe that the "words" of the owl cause an illness which is known as "ghost sickness".

The ceremonial dances are many and varied. Although these dances are often put on during some celebration, such as that taking place on the Fourth of July or at the Reservation Fair, they are not performed for amusement or entertainment. At these times, many people are congregated and may participate. Many dances, including the Gun Dance, are performed by masked figures called "Devil Dancers". In early times the Gun Dance was performed on the eve of a raid or before going on the war path. It was a form of prayer that the warriors would return victorious. At the present time it is performed with the same fervor and solemnity, but the meaning of the prayer has been changed to a petition that the Apache boys in Korea will return safely and victoriously. The Hoop Dance and the Crown Dance are used in their curative ceremonies. The Crown Dance which has several variations is used when someone is ill. The variation used depends upon the illness, whether it is physical or mental.  

12 See Plate XIV, Page 50.

Probably the most colorful and most important of all the ceremonial dances is the "Sunrise Dance" which is performed at the time a girl reaches puberty. The puberty rites for an Apache girl are in direct contrast to those of the Carrier Indians of British Columbia. The Carrier Indians have a fear and horror of a girl's puberty. For several years she must live alone in the wilderness in a hut of branches, far from all beaten trails. She is a threat to any person who might see her, and even her footsteps defile any path which she uses. She is in danger from an evil spirit and is a source of danger to everyone else. On the other hand, the arrival of puberty is considered a potent supernatural blessing among the White Mountain Apaches.\footnote{Benedict, op. cit., pp. 28-29.}

In preparation for the Sunrise Dance the father collects a large amount of food and favors for both young and old. If he is poor, his friends assist him. Not only the father, but the whole tribe is responsible for the success of the rite. If there is an abundance of food for everyone and the people are happy, it symbolizes prosperity for the tribe and shows that the spirits favor them.

A special costume is made for the girl. This costume consists of a deerskin blouse, skirt, and moccasins. Sacred designs are inscribed on her clothing, consisting of the morning star, the crescent moon, the sun, and the rainbow.
When the designs are finished the dress must be dyed yellow, the color of pollen which symbolizes fertility. Little bells are attached to the fringes of the costume so that the girl makes music whenever she moves.

On the morning of the ceremony the attendant washes the girl's hair using the sap of the yucca root and then gives her final advice. She tells the maiden that she must be happy during all the ceremony so that her people may be happy. Their happiness can only come through her. She must not think bad thoughts or her mind will be filled with evil the rest of her days. When the attendant has finished, she puts pollen on the girl's face and the ceremony is ready to begin.

In the meantime, the male relatives have constructed the ceremonial hut. It consists of four small trees sheared of all limbs except a few at the top. These trees are raised into a conical framework and fastened together at the top after having been sprinkled generously with pollen. Two eagle feathers are fastened to the top of the hut to insure its stability. The floor of the hut is covered with pine needles.

The girl is led to the ceremonial hut by her attendant where she kneels and is again sprinkled with pollen. She now rises, faces her people, and is ready to bestow her blessings upon them.

By this time the people have formed a long line, and pass by with bowed heads for the girl to touch them in blessing. When the last of the supplicants has passed
An Apache maiden and her attendant being sprinkled with pollen at a Sunrise Dance, Whiteriver, Arizona
by, the girl lies down on a blanket with her head to the east and the attendant who has remained at her side during all this time, begins to massage her following a prescribed routine, of kneading powerfully from head to foot. This is done so that the girl will be supple and have good health all of her life.

When this part of the ceremony is over the feasting begins. The remainder of the day is spent in eating, drinking and visiting.

As darkness approaches, no light is seen except the huge fire which is fed with logs of pine and juniper. The masked Devil Dancers move into the firelight and begin their piercing calls and their violent and frantic movements, accompanied by the beating of the drums and the chants from a group of singers. The dancers now consider themselves as supernatural beings. They must not be recognized by their friends. No one can indicate in any way that he knows the identity of a dancer. No one may speak to them or touch them.

While the Devil Dancers are going through their movements and incantations, the medicine man enters the ceremonial hut where the girl is waiting for his prayers and advice. There he gives her an eagle feather which symbolizes the power given to her by the spirits. He then chants a prayer for a long and fruitful life for her. At the close of his invocation, the girl moves around the fire
Plate XII

Ceremonial hut being built

Plate XIII

Puberty Ceremony in Progress

Taken from "Arizona Highways"
and with her attendant leaves for her own dwelling. The
dancers then disappear into the darkness in a final burst
of frenzy, and the guests start their own social dancing.

This ritual is long and continues through three
days. The final event takes place at sunrise on the fourth
day. The girl stands in front of her dwelling and faces the
east. The medicine man faces her and using the eagle feather
he has given her, paints her face with white clay and again
daubs her with pollen. She makes four runs around a basket
containing sacred objects and then returns to her dwelling.
As she returns to her dwelling, the ceremonial hut is pushed
over toward the east and the poles must never be used for
anything else, not even firewood.

All of this ceremonial activity, pagan though it be
called by many, is a part of the Apache's religion. It is
a part of his relation between himself and the supernatural
beings in whom he believes. Into this atmosphere of magic
and superstition, representatives of the Christian religion
have come seeking to win the Apache to their mode of relig-
ious thought and practice.

How successful these missionaries have been in
actually converting the Apaches to Christian religion is a
matter of speculation. The Lutheran Church has maintained
a church and a mission school on Fort Apache Reservation
for more than forty years and has a membership of several
hundred on its church rolls.
Apache Devil Dancers Performing at a Puberty Ceremony

Taken from "Arizona Highways"
At the present time the Catholics, Mormons, and the Assembly of God denominations all have churches on the reservation and Apaches in attendance at their services.

Although the names of many Apaches are on the church rolls, they still engage in all the old magical and ceremonial rites.

Education. America has long boasted that it has been a melting pot, absorbing peoples from all races and cultures of the earth, teaching them the English language and assimilating them into the American way of life. This has been largely true. The American Indian, and especially the Apache, has resisted this assimilation with unusual tenacity. He was here in America before the Europeans arrived and quite satisfied with his way of life. Although he may have been to some degree submerged in the tidal wave of white immigration, he has steadfastly retained his language and many of his customs.

Formal education in the American type school was begun on the Fort Apache Reservation in the early part of 1892. A vacant soldier's barracks near the center of the garrison served as a school building. By the combined efforts of school officials, Indian scouts, and police, about thirty Indian boys were finally enrolled. Prejudice against schools at that time was very strong among the Apaches.

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15 Shailer Peterson, How Well Are Indian Children Educated? Haskell Institute Print Shop, Lawrence, Kansas, 1948, pp. 104-05.
The army maintained a garrison at Fort Apache continuously from 1870 to 1922 when the post was abandoned. In 1923 the Fort Apache Military Reservation with the post was transferred to the Department of the Interior for use by the Indian Service as an Indian school. The Theodore Roosevelt Indian School is now located at Fort Apache, and the parade ground used for fifty years by troops is now the football field and playground for Indian school children.\textsuperscript{16}

Attendance in the boarding school was hard to maintain in the early years. The students ran away and went many miles back to their homes. In 1898 the capacity of the boarding school at Fort Apache was only forty-two and was not filled. Day schools were then recommended at several different communities to try to meet the educational need at that time.\textsuperscript{17}

It must be remembered that the whole life pattern of the Apache was changed when he was placed on the reservation to live. Prior to this time he had received no formal education. His only training had come from his parents or the older members of his clan. It is little wonder then, that he seemed to learn slowly when he was placed in a boarding school. He had little knowledge of


the English language, how to take care of a room according to boarding school standards, or how to use bathroom facilities. In addition to his lack of understanding of the American language and way of life, he appeared to have learned no feeling except hate for the strange "white" people under whose supervision he was placed.

The educational policy of Indian Service now requires that the training of Indian children will be such that they will be able to make a living from the natural resources of their home environment as well as to make a living away from the reservation. This policy has placed emphasis on those skills needed to make the best use of the resources of the Apache's environment, as well as to train him for economic independence and good citizenship. While doing this his education in the usual type of academic instruction has not been neglected.

The curricula and teaching methods in the primary grades are necessarily different from those used in most public schools, because of the environmental differences between Indian and non-Indian children. Many things that are taken for granted by teachers of Anglo-American children in the kindergarten and first grade must be carefully explained by the teachers to the Indian children. 13

Few of the Apache children who enroll in school are able to understand or speak any English. The teachers of

13Peterson, op. cit., p. 10.
these students are confronted with the problem of teaching children who have been thinking and speaking only in their native tongue. The problem of having to teach the child English before he can be taught reading, writing, or arithmetic is another problem of the Indian Service. The first year that an Apache child is in school he is taught oral English, how to take care of his physical needs, and how to share, work, and play with other children of his own age.

It has long been a custom for Apache women to be reticent in the presence of a group of men and not to enter into group discussions at any time. In the early days of the boarding school the boys and girls even sat on opposite sides of the classrooms. Instruction was extremely difficult because the girls would not recite in the presence of the boys. Under this situation, home economics was the only class in which the girls would respond orally.\(^{19}\)

In contrast to the early boarding school days, the boys and girls of all ages now sit in mixed groups in both classrooms and dining room. The girls have been socially conditioned to a point where they enter into group discussions and recite orally in all classes the same as the boys.

At the present time there are four federally maintained schools on the reservation, two Lutheran mission schools, and three public schools. For special vocational training, which may not be offered in the schools on the

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\(^{19}\)Mrs. Virginia Le Baron, Personal Interview, May, 1952.
reservation, the high school students are privileged to attend one of the vocational schools federally maintained.

The boarding schools provide a varied activity program which includes athletics, weekly movies, and social dancing. Both boys and girls participate in these activities.

Health Education. The health education program is related to the school formally through classroom instruction and informally through dormitory living and training. Carry-over of the health program from the school to the community is very difficult, partly because of unfavorable social and economic conditions and partly because of the Apaches' belief in the supernatural causes of disease.

The medicine man has already been mentioned in the ceremonial activities. In the early life of the Apache the medicine man acted as spiritual guide, counselor, and physician. He used many means of curing ills. He gave medicines made from herbs, prayed to the spirits, sang long incantations, or touched the patient with some sacred object, such as a hoop, a staff, or a part of some animal.

The people knew nothing of the cause or prevention of diseases and it was not difficult for the medicine man to convince them that their illness was caused by an evil spirit or the anger of some clansman. Nor did the shaman render his services free. He was well paid for every service that he performed.

The government medical service came in with the army
in 1870 and has done a great deal for the Indians on this reservation. At first the Indians were skeptical of the "white" doctors and distrusted them as much as the other army personnel. The Apaches have grown to accept the medical services and to seek the services of the hospital staff in most cases of illness or injury. Under modern medical supervision the infant mortality rate has decreased tremendously within recent years. The hospital maintains a pre-natal clinic where expectant mothers may report regularly for care and instruction. The majority of babies now born on the reservation are born in the hospital.

There is a full time field doctor and a field nurse who visit the schools regularly giving vaccinations and inoculations against communicable diseases. They also give complete medical examinations annually to all school children on the reservation.

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ECONOMY

Although the Apaches are not entirely independent economically, much has been done in that direction.

The report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Charles D. Keyes in 1898 shows the economic status of the Apaches at that time. He reported that,

The Indians on this reservation are very poor. They have received no assistance from charitable institutions, and barring the meager support in the way of subsistence furnished by the government, they are dependent entirely upon their own resources. The post and the agency are their only market, and there is not enough money paid by the government for their products to support them for more than a few months. The products sold to the post and agency are corn, hay, wood, and beans.

When it is remembered that these Indians were placed on this reservation with absolutely nothing—the most hated of all the western Indians, kept strictly within the limits of the reservation with no market but the army post, and that what they now have is the result of their own labor, and considering the obstacles they had to overcome in this mountainous country—little as it seems, they have done exceedingly well.

The most valuable resource of the reservation is its vast grazing lands which vary from the desert type to the alpine type.

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It was not until 1912, however, that any form of a livestock program was begun. Upon completion of the course of study provided by the reservation school, boys and girls who appeared sincere in their desire to establish a herd were first given two and later a total of six head of breeding cattle. Sheep were issued to various Indian families about the same time. The Apaches had no interest in sheep raising and the flocks disappeared within a very short time. Another unsuccessful attempt to establish a sheep and cattle program was made in 1928. Both the sheep and cattle were butchered and eaten rather than left to become an economic unit.

The organization of a tribal council and later the stockmen's association has probably done more to further the success of the cattle industry than anything else. The tribal council was first organized according to the old Indian custom. It consisted of a head chief and a number of sub-chiefs. Each sub-chief represented his particular band. The council was to some extent elective. When a sub-chief died the band met and elected a successor. This man was then referred to the head chief who made the appointment. As a rule the head chief appointed the person elected by the band. The council consisted of one head chief and twelve sub-chiefs.

The present tribal council, organized under authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1932, has replaced the

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old tribal organization. The council is the legislative body of the tribe. Its representatives are from the principal communities on the reservation which are actually the old band territories functioning in disguise. The council has the authority to appropriate tribal funds for the welfare and benefit of the tribe and for development and protection of the reservation and its resources. It has taken over practically all tribal affairs, such as, supervision of law and order, range improvement, stockmen's associations, improvement of health, reforestation and timber control, and welfare of indigent Indians.

Through the efforts of the tribal council and agency personnel, stockmen's associations have been organized in the different communities. In most communities there is a white stockman trained in the work of caring for cattle. He works in cooperation with the Indian cattlemen at round-up, branding, and cattle sale time. In some areas Indian stockmen have replaced the white men and are taking over the entire responsibility of the cattle program.

The I. D. Ranch is maintained by the tribe for the purpose of producing registered bulls for use in the associations. It also provides the basic pure bred herd from which cattle are assigned to individuals on a repayment basis to start them in the cattle business.

Cattle sales for the past year on the Fort Apache Reservation exceeded well over $750,000. The ranges are
being improved by soil conservation measures and by juniper control, which means that more individuals will be issued cattle and there will be a greater income from cattle sales.

Besides the cattle industry, the reservation contains approximately one and a half billion board feet of commercial uncut timber. The majority of the timber is Ponderosa pine. The Southwest Lumber Mills Corporation operates a huge lumber mill at McNary which is on the reservation. The timber is purchased from the local tribe. The mill also provides employment for many Apache men.

There are many Apaches who leave the reservation and work as carpenters, plumbers, truck drivers or at other types of work for which their experience and training qualify them.

The change in economic status has changed many patterns of their daily living. Practically every Apache who has even a limited income, owns an automobile of some kind. The "pick-up" is the most common type of vehicle on the reservation. It affords a means of transportation, as well as, a means of hauling wood and water.

Probably the greatest drawback to the social economy of the Apaches is their drinking. Although liquor cannot be sold to Indians legally, they are able to obtain it from numerous sources, usually paying double the price from a "bootlegger" either on or off the reservation. Nor is their drinking a vice recently acquired from the "white" man.
The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, by Captain John Bullis\(^3\) shows its effects at that early date.

The greatest drawback at the present time to the improvement of these people is the drinking of "tis-win", made from corn. The result is generally a fight among themselves, frequently ending in the killing of one or more.

The making and drinking of "tulapai" and "tis-win" still exist among the Apaches with results much the same as sixty years ago.

According to the Special Officer\(^4\) the greatest number of cases brought into the tribal police court is for liquor violations. Drunkenness, crime and delinquency among the Apaches today point to the personal disorganization and feeling of insecurity that still exists among them. The majority of instances of crime and delinquencies result from drunkenness. These deviations serve as a means of escape from the frustration caused by the pressure from outside forces—tribal customs on one hand, and Anglo-American culture on the other.

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\(^4\)Guy T. McKinley, Special Officer, Fort Apache Indian Agency, Whiteriver, Arizona, Personal Interview, May, 1952.
CHAPTER VI

ACCUltURATION

Traits are not added to the cultural heritage of a group in indiscriminate fashion, but are consciously or unconsciously chosen in accordance with the prevailing patterns of the group. A new trait that is offered must find something to fit into, otherwise, it will not be adopted.¹

This is an important concept to keep in mind when studying a group, such as, the Apache Indians who only a few decades past were a raiding, murderous nomadic people. It enables one to understand the differences in culture to which these people have adjusted themselves within a relatively few years.

It is sometimes argued that the Indian is slow to appreciate the advantages of the white man's civilization, and that his failure to adopt it, is evidence of his non-adaptability and inferiority. Many of the traits and complexes of "white culture" in no way fit into the Indian's own pattern of culture and hence, they are not readily absorbed. People reject traits they do not understand or that do not fit into their pattern of living. Anglo-Americans reject foreign ideologies, as dictatorship or

polygyny; the Indians reject Anglo-American theories of law, morals, and religion. The principle in each case is identical; the complexes do not fit the pattern, and consequently, are not adopted.²

The many changes in governmental policies have been confusing to the Apaches who already resisted the culture that was being forced upon them. During the early years government agents were paid little and were shifted often. Each new agent came in with ideas and policies different from those of his predecessor. The Indians received an insufficient supply of food and clothing, and what they did receive was of poor quality. There was failure to provide good seed for planting at the proper time. Little attention was given to the health, education, or welfare of the Indians, but in spite of this short sighted governmental policy, antagonism on the part of the Apaches, and indifference on the part of most Anglo-Americans, these Indians have manifestly improved their lot during the past decades.³

The actual extent to which the Apaches have accepted the "white culture" is a subject long discussed among the employees, missionaries, traders, and other residents of the reservation.

There are many ways in which the Apaches have

²Eldridge, Ibid., p. 105.
³Lockwood, op. cit., pp. 332-33.
changed their patterns of living. They have become largely economically independent. All the children between the ages of six and eighteen who are physically and mentally capable are kept in school. Compulsory school attendance is enforced by the tribal council. They are more and more accepting the "white" man's mode of housing with its modern conveniences. The younger groups have accepted the English language and are gradually improving in the use of it.

There are still the very old members of the tribe who remember the treatment they received from the hands of the "white" dictators. They do not understand or speak English; they distrust the "white man"; and they resist all manner of Anglo-American acculturation.

The Christian religion apparently is making little headway. For a generation or more missionaries of high intellectual ability and moral integrity have labored devotedly among them and have been greatly respected by them. The Indians attend their services, but their course of life, except in rare cases, has remained almost unaffected by the Christian creed.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to analyze the social change among the White Mountain Apache Indians from the time, just prior to their placement on the reservation, to the present.

These Indians are still in a period of transition from their old native culture to that of the dominant "American" culture. This period is marked by more or less wide-spread personal disorganization. The old members of the tribe resist the change and hold steadfastly to their old traditions and customs. The young people are torn between two forces, each of which exerts a strong pull in opposite directions. They have gone to school, learned the English language, accepted the "American culture" to a great extent, and have become largely economically independent. They realize that the future of the tribe lies in their ability to adjust to the environment in which they now live. On the other hand, the age-old custom of respect and obligations they owe to their parents and grandparents is still strong in their minds.

How long it will be before the Apaches are assimilated into the dominant American culture cannot be
estimated with any degree of accuracy. A greater willingness on the part of the Apaches to accept the Anglo-American culture along with a willingness of the Anglo-Americans to accept the Indian as an equal can best be achieved by the cooperative efforts of tribal, federal, and state governments, working together through their social service branches.

More and better roads throughout the reservation, comparable state and federal laws governing whites and Indians, and opportunities for employment off the reservation with suitable living quarters are some of the factors which would facilitate the assimilation of these Indians.
A. BOOKS


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B. PUBLICATIONS OF LEARNED ORGANIZATIONS


