Fort Sill, the Chiricahua Apaches,

and the Government's Promise of Permanent Residence

*By Brenda L. Haes**

Beginning in April, 1886, the United States government incarcerated 516 Chiricahua Apaches for twenty-seven years, first in Florida, later in Alabama, and finally in Oklahoma. The army had transferred the prisoners of war east from the Arizona Territory as the result of the depredations of thirty-four individuals, Geronimo and his warriors, a small group known as the Apache Resistance. The Chiricahuas, including Geronimo's followers, spent the last nineteen years of internment, 1894 to 1913, at Fort Sill near Lawton.[1]

Throughout the long twenty-seven years of incarceration, numerous individuals and organizations noted that the Chiricahuas needed a place of permanent residence. Government documents and the records of the Indian Rights Association (IRA), a philanthropic organization that cooperated with the Indian Bureau in matters pertaining to Indian people, clearly show that the government had, in fact, pledged the Chiricahua Apaches the right of permanent residence at Fort Sill. In the end, the government denied such habitation, and it removed the Apache people from the post. Clearly, some need exists to show how the government through its Indian bureau officials planned to settle the Apaches permanently at Fort Sill.[2]

The process of finding a permanent place of residence began in 1876 when the United States government closed the Chiricahuas' mountainous reservation at Fort Bowie in the Arizona Territory. The government chose San Carlos Reservation, located some 100 miles northwest, hoping to operate a more efficient agency there and to bring a majority of the Apaches together at one location. The San Carlos environment was hot, dry, barren, and malarial, which became a factor in the difficulty of keeping Indian people on the new reservation. Accordingly, Geronimo, a Bedonkohe Chiricahua war and spiritual leader, and members of different Apache bands departed and reappeared at San Carlos numerous times between 1876 and 1885. At the same time, the Chiricahuas commenced a series of military engagements against the United States Army. The causes were many, but they stemmed primarily from encroachments by Anglo miners and ranchers upon the Chiricahuas' traditional lands, and, as a result, the Apaches left their reservation numerous times to protect their territory and to escape the San Carlos environment.[3]

The Apache Resistance left the reservation for a final time in May, 1885. For several months, they avoided capture by the army, but in late March, 1886, Geronimo surrendered to General George Crook. He disappeared again the same night. Following Geronimo's departure, however, seventy-seven Apaches, including some family members of the Apache Resistance, capitulated to General Crook. The party comprised the first Chiricahua Apaches sent by the army to Florida. Before the year concluded, the army interned four additional Chiricahua groups at either Fort Marion or Fort Pickens in the southeastern state and two years later reunited all of them at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, except the children attending Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

At the incarceration sites in Florida and Alabama, the Chiricahua people suffered from disease, alien environments, inadequate rations, and separation from family members. Because of high mortality rates at the locations, the government removed the Chiricahuas to Fort Sill, Oklahoma Territory, in October, 1894. President Grover Cleveland's administration concerned itself with the progress and improvement of the Chiricahuas at the Oklahoma post, a turning point in the Apaches' incarceration. Physicians at the site identified and addressed sources from which tuberculosis and malaria spread, and officers in charge of the prisoners took measures to insure the healthful advancement of the Apaches. Over the course of the next nineteen years, the officers and soldiers cut trade in illegal alcohol, taught ranching and farming techniques, and allowed the Chiricahuas to practice traditional lifeways again. All of the efforts made by the Cleveland administration and the doctors, officers, and soldiers at Fort Sill contributed to the prisoners' survival, improving their habitations and encouraging a sense of belonging at the post. The efforts advanced the belief that Fort Sill was a place of permanent residence.

Herbert Welsh, the secretary of the IRA, made the first reference to the necessity of permanence for the Chiricahua prisoners. As early as 1887, during the Apaches' incarceration in Florida, he had observed that the Chiricahuas needed placement on a reservation where they would acquire permanent farms and homes, as well as civilized habits.[4] Welsh's observance correlated with the government's assimilationist policy of the period, a policy introducing agriculture, education, and Christianity into the Indian people's lives, including the goal of one day incorporating the Apaches into Anglo society.

The idea of acculturation resurfaced in 1888. As his department considered, but did not select, either Fort Sill or a North Carolina reservation for the Apaches' relocation from Florida, Secretary of War William C. Endicott stated that "Fort Sill . . . was best adapted by climate, nature, and extent of land, military garrison, and other considerations for a permanent agricultural settlement of these prisoners."[5] Although at the time the government did not transfer the Chiricahuas to either site, the secretary's statement attested to the government's plan for permanent settlement in the future. The comment also reaffirmed the government's objectives of permanency of residence through horticultural self-reliance at Fort Sill.

In December, 1889, in Alabama, First Lieutenant Guy Howard wrote about the Chiricahuas in a report to the adjutant general, "Land, a portion of which may eventually become each Indian fami-

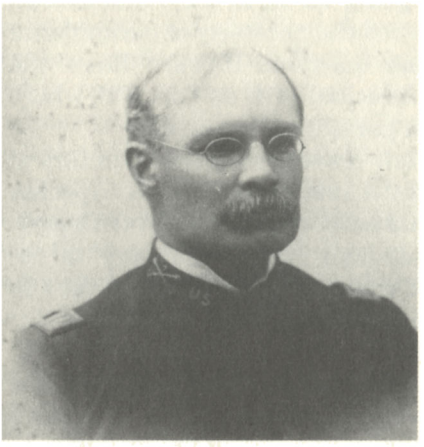
ly's own, including the means of going on it, is the fundamental need."[6] The remark strongly suggested the necessity of permanence in consideration of the Chiricahua question. Howard knew the Apaches were headed for another location, such as Fort Sill, where he too thought they would be given permanent residence.

Following circulation of Lieutenant Howard's report, Secretary of War Redfield Proctor recommended the 1890 transfer of the Apaches to Fort Sill "with a view to their final settlement."[7] The War Department recognized the importance of land and permanency to the Chiricahuas, but the campaign for the Apaches' relocation died in Congress. The Chiricahuas languished in Alabama another four years. But, clearly, most people expected them to end up at Fort Sill.

The IRA, General Crook, and later General Nelson A. Miles, the officer who had accepted Geronimo's final surrender, recommended Fort Sill as the Chiricahuas' destination. They liked the idea of a climate similar to the Apaches' native environment, the availability of similar foodstuffs, and terrain comparable to what the Chiricahuas had known in the Arizona Territory. Finally, in September, 1894, Captain Hugh L. Scott of Fort Sill visited the Apache people at Mount Vernon Barracks and ascertained that they wanted to move to the Oklahoma post.

Shortly afterward in October, the government transferred the Apaches to Fort Sill. Following the relocation, James Kaywaykla, a Chiricahua prisoner of war, recorded that General Miles visited the Apaches at the post. Kaywaykla noted that Miles told the prisoners of war "that they now own[ed] this land [Fort Sill]. That this was to be their permanent home. He told them to improve their land by farming it, building fences and water tanks; that the government would give them cattle and they could pay the government back later." Kaywaykla said the Chiricahuas followed Miles' suggestions, and they were successful with the endeavors. At the time, however, the Chiricahuas "were still under the War Department as prisoners of war."[8] Kaywaykla did not reveal the year in which Miles visited the post. Based on the general's comments the government apparently had not yet purchased cattle, nor were fences in existence. Thus, Miles' visitation likely occurred sometime in late 1894 or early 1895.

The army had expanded Fort Sill's military lands from the adjacent Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache (now the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma) reservation two years prior to the arrival of the prisoners of war in 1892. Four years later, a report from Captain Scott to the adjutant general recorded the issuance of a November, 1896, order from the secretary of war to report the potential for additional



Captain Hugh L. Scott, friend of the Chiricahuas. An Apache family in Sunday dress (p. 28) sits in the yard of their home in the Chiricahua village at Fort Sill (All photographs courtesy Fort Sill Museum).

acquisition of lands. The mandate's intent was to acquire a sufficient amount of land to allot the Chiricahuas 160 acres each at Fort Sill.[9]

In February, 1897, Scott and Captain Frank D. Baldwin, acting Indian agent for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache tribes, negotiated an agreement with the three Indian groups to obtain 26,987 acres of land. The IRA's annual report indicated that at the conference Baldwin told the three tribes that "the only reason the [g]overnment wants this addition is to provide a home for these Apache Indians, a place for them to live, and they think it better while this country, which is an Indian country now entirely, should be placed where they can select a home."[10] Captain Scott communicated his concern about the Chiricahua charges to Fort Sill's Major George W. Davis, "I am very glad that you see the importance of settling the title to the land this winter for the new administration will know little and care less about it and if it is not settled now it will end in a few years in the Apaches being dispossessed and thrown on the world without a protector." He added, "The area amounts to 23[,]940 acres by far the greater part of which is suitable only for grazing. . . . [I]f you consider the area as a whole it would provide allotments of 80 acres per capita—(the usual Indian allotment has been 160 acres per capita)."[11]

A January, 1902, letter from Secretary of War Elihu Root to the Committee on Military Affairs recorded the 1897 land extension at Fort Sill. The correspondence stated that the acquisition of land "was for the purpose of permanently locating the Apache prisoners of war thereon."[12] The 1896 orders from Root noted the department's intent to determine if adequate acreage existed for the allotment of the Chiricahuas at Fort Sill. When the fort's officers ascertained that the military post's acreage was inadequate for 160–acre plots, the army secured additional lands to fulfill the government's promise of permanent residence to the Apaches.

Observations of organizations such as the IRA noted the necessity of a permanent residence for the Chiricahua Apaches. Such residence would establish a sense of well-being and a spirit of permanency. General Oliver O. Howard sent his son, First Lieutenant Guy Howard, to report on the condition of the prisoners of war, and again the issue of permanence was raised, that time through the ownership of land by Chiricahua families. Secretary of War Endicott stressed the importance of Fort Sill as a potential site for the Chiricahuas' final relocation. He liked the climate and agricultural potential. During General Miles's visitation to Fort Sill, he stressed that the post lands belonged to the Apaches. Miles recommended that the Chiricahuas seize opportunities to farm, to establish a livestock trade, and to improve the lands to their benefit. Those facts, along with the 1897 acquisition of additional acreage to provide 160–acre allotments for the Chiricahua Apaches at Fort Sill, attest to the government's and the War Department's original intentions.

In 1902, after the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, the army began to consider the location of a field artillery school at Fort Sill.[13] Upon notification of the prospect, Captain Scott, although no longer in charge of the prisoners of war, wrote to the adjutant general. He reported that the War Department had already approved notification to the Chiricahuas of the intent to allot them at the post, if they concentrated on improvements in their conduct and of the land.[14] Thus, Scott implied that, by locating a field artillery school at the Oklahoma fort, the War Department would be reneging on promises of permanent residence made to the Apaches.

Regarding the Chiricahuas' situation, George Bird Grinnell, ethnologist, historian, and author, sent a letter in November, 1903, to the secretary of war. Considered an authority on Indian lifeways, Grinnell had accompanied General George Armstrong Custer on the infamous 1874 expedition to the Black Hills. He had lived for long periods of time with the northern Cheyenne, Pawnee, and Blackfeet nations, as well as other Indian people, intimately acquainting himself with their various cultures. Grinnell's observances on the Chiricahua predicament not only described the situation at hand but also identified the government's repetitive pattern of relations with other Indian tribes. In his communiqué, Grinnell observed that the government moved the Apaches from one place to another until the lands they were occupying interested the white man, and then they transferred the Chiricahuas somewhere else, repeating the process. Meanwhile, indigenous people developed a sense of permanence, and removal upset motivations for improve-

ment and a sense of balance in their lives. On behalf of the Chiricahuas, Grinnell contended that they had "frequently been assured by officers of high standing and character that this [Fort Sill] was their home; that they would not be moved again."[15]

The same year Special Agent Frank C. Armstrong with the War Department's Inspector General's Office examined the Chiricahua homes and farms in the Punch Bowl Basin at Fort Sill. He noted that the government in 1897 had procured the 27,000 acres of land from the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches for the special use of the Chiricahuas. He wrote, "These Indians have been given to understand that this is their future home. . . . [T]hey are not ready for allotments yet, but are coming to that stage in a steady and practical way."[16]

So what efforts did the Chiricahua Apaches themselves make to develop permanent residency at Fort Sill? Twelve influential men or headmen among the Chiricahuas considered and accepted a proposal made by Reverend Frank H. Wright, a Choctaw evangelist with the Dutch Reformed Church, to build a mission and a day school for young children in the Punch Bowl Basin. The church expanded the initial plans to include an orphanage for Apache children and a home for the mission workers.[17]

The Chiricahuas practiced subsistence agriculture with ten-acre family plots and communal fields. Produce from the family tracts included sugar (sweet) corn, sweet potatoes, onions, peas, beans, and pumpkins. They also raised watermelons and cantaloupes and sold the surpluses at Fort Sill. The sale of the produce gave each family pocket money, as well as taught the Apaches American monetary values.[18]

Apache men and women worked when they could obtain employment. The post paid individuals salaries of thirty-five cents daily for tasks such as cutting grass, driving teams, policing the post, and laboring on the roads or at the sawmills. The males also built irrigation wells on the reservation lands and constructed reservoirs to catch the rain overflow.[19]

The Chiricahuas learned how to farm and ranch. They raised grain for forage and cut and hauled prairie hay and sold it to the government. The Apaches built storehouses, sank wells, and fenced more than 50,000 acres of reservation lands for livestock.[20] The prisoners of war began ranching with a herd of 580 Hereford cattle (20 bulls and 560 heifers). The trials and tribulations of disease such as Texas Fever, a tick-borne malady, heel-flies, screw worms, anthrax, and Blackleg educated the Chiricahuas in the recognition and treatment of livestock afflictions. The Apaches joined the Texas

Cattle Association to keep abreast of the latest technological advances and to receive information on cross-breeding, as well as to help protect the livestock from cattle rustlers.[21]

At Fort Sill, forty-three of the Chiricahuas participated in a continued governmental experiment on acculturation through the introduction of Indians into the general population by enlisting in the army. The Apache soldiers rode escort for payrolls, assisted with soil conservation projects such as digging ponds, helped fence the reservation, constructed roads, and made other range improvements.[22]

Entrepreneurs like Geronimo made bows and arrows to sell outside Fort Sill's officers' quarters. Anything made, used, or even handled by Geronimo was extremely marketable. The war leader made personal appearances at various fairs, parades, meetings, and celebrations. The army did not limit Geronimo's business ventures to the local region, as he was in demand for international expositions and world fairs from 1898 to 1905. President Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 inaugural parade was the highlight of Geronimo's travels, an appearance for which the government paid him $171. The parade conveyed a message of success regarding Native Americans as the government guided the Indians through the civilization process.[23]

An important development in the Chiricahua Apaches' permanency was Geronimo's death in 1909. His passing, many Chiricahua supporters claimed, removed a crucial obstacle that had prohibited the Apaches from receiving allotments at Fort Sill, because the actions of Geronimo and the Apache Resistance had initially led to the internment of the Chiricahuas. Groups such as the IRA heartily promoted land allocations at Fort Sill for the Apaches. Geronimo's death and the encouragement for the Chiricahuas' final settlement at the post, therefore, brought to the forefront of public attention the intentions of the War Department to locate a field artillery school at Fort Sill. The War Department and the Apaches with their friends, the Department of the Interior, the Commission of Indian Affairs, and the various organizations and individuals sympathetic to the Chiricahuas' plight, drew battle lines over the Apaches' permanent residence at Fort Sill.

The IRA began a campaign of educating the American citizenry about the government's many promises. The Twenty-eighth Annual Report in 1910 from the Executive Committee meeting of the IRA recapped some of the legislative pledges made to the Apaches in the past. The council primarily focused on the fact that in June, 1902, Congress had recognized the prisoners' rights "to the permanent use and occupancy of [Fort Sill] lands." The committee further stip-

ulated that the February 18, 1904, act made provision for the internees' permanent establishment at the post.[24]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert Valentine referred in 1910 to several suggestions by the secretary of war, commenting that "the record [reflects] that Fort Sill was promised these Indians 'as their permanent home and that they would not be moved again.'" He added that the army increased the military reservation lands twice "for the express purpose of settling them there permanently." Valentine offered in conclusion, "In any event, the Chiricahuas had 'at least a right of occupancy in the lands of the original reservation' inasmuch as the additional would not have been procured 'but for the presence of the Indians thereon,' and of which additions they seemed to be the rightful owners."[25]

In December of the same year, Judge Advocate General George B. Davis made recommendations for the Apache prisoners of war. He stated that the legislative clause under the June 28, 1902, act stipulated that the declaration revealed the Chiricahuas "had been 'permanently established at Fort Sill, Okla[homa], under control of the War Department.'" He continued that the army's transaction of securing additional lands for the military reservation was not a treaty, "but it was a formal obligation entered into with bands of Indians having diverse and, to some extent, conflicting interests which were finally adjusted by the War Department, and, as so adjusted, were expressly recognized by Congress in an act of con-

Benedict Jozhe (l) and Talbot Gooday saw lumber for one of many construction projects undertaken by the Apaches at Fort Sill.

stitutional legislation." The judge concluded that "the result has been in the opinion of this office, to create a permanent status for the Apache Indians in the Fort Sill Reservation, which can only be removed, as it was created, with the consent of the Indians and the approval of Congress."[26]

While matters heated up on legislative fronts, concerns over field artillery protocol at Fort Sill intensified, especially pertaining to Lieutenant Colonel David Rumbough's Rules for Fire. The Chiricahuas had experienced opposition from the field artillery school regarding livestock on the firing ranges. Rumbough's Rules for Fire stated that the army's firing of artillery would not cease "even to drive cattle off the range." Captain Dan T. Moore, the school's first commandant, notified the officer in charge of the prisoners of that fact. In a February, 1911, letter to Moore, Colonel Edwin St. John Greble chastised the officer because "if the Indian people got a hold of" such news, it "would be a beautiful club in their hands to make us keep the Indians on the military reservation." Greble believed the military could "get these Indians to go."[27]

Several months later in July, 1911, Colonel Scott, still defending the Chiricahua prisoners of war, sent the War Department chief of staff a report noting a feeling of "trepidation" with his assignment to preside over departmental conferences with the Apaches. He stated that "the Indians had cause to feel that promises made to them had not yet been fulfilled." Scott confirmed that President Cleveland had made promises in his presence, as well as Secretary Lamont's and Major-General George W. Davis's, to obtain post land additions from the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches. The fort's increased acreage would permit Chiricahua allotments at the post when the army abandoned Fort Sill, although the government had set no date. With the erection of a field artillery school at the post, it pushed the army's abandonment into the future, therefore "in effect [it was] a violation of that promise so far as men now alive are concerned."[28]

Early the next year, Assistant Secretary of War Robert Shaw Oliver wrote to the secretary of the interior. He stated that administrative release of the Chiricahuas from their prisoner status would be advantageous to the Apaches. He continued, "But promises were made to them by the [g]overnment when they were removed from Alabama to Fort Sill that they would be established at this latter place, and they undoubtedly believe that those who desire to remain have a right to do so."[29] Oliver implied that, while the Chiricahuas remained at the post, the army would not release them as

Sam Haozous (l), an Apache ball player at Fort Sill in the 1890s, was the father of famous Apache artist Allen Houser. James Kaywaykla was an Apache scout.

prisoners of war. That situation proved to be the War Department's trump card in dealing with the Department of the Interior, for the government would only free the Apaches leaving for the Mescalero Reservation, not those remaining at Fort Sill.

By 1910 the United States government had noted advancements by the German army in the mobilization and training of artillery units, training that far exceeded their American counterparts. To catch up, something needed to be done. Three things sealed the Apaches' and the post's fate—America's fear of European military supremacy, Fort Sill artillery school commandant Dan T. Moore's training at the German army artillery school, and the lure of Fort Sill's varied topography of open grasslands, mountains, valleys, and boulder-laden terrain.[30] Ultimately, the decision to develop a new mission of field artillery for Fort Sill was a reaction to the German threat in Europe, which became a reality with the outbreak of World War I just as the Apaches were being removed.

The army utilized Colonel Scott, the Apaches' old friend, to persuade them into believing the government had provided lands at Fort Sill just for their use and occupancy, rather than for their permanent settlement. Scott must have succeeded for in April, 1913, some 183 of the 261–member Chiricahua band, survivors and de-

scendants of the original 516 internees, chose freedom and relocated to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. The remaining 78 Apaches continued as prisoners of war at Fort Sill until the government allotted lands to them off-post in 1914. Mildred Cleghorn, the former Fort Sill Apache tribal chairperson who was born a prisoner of war, explained that many of the people who went to Mescalero "hated to leave Fort Sill. . . . There was not so much the satisfaction of receiving one's freedom as there was the sadness of being denied the homes permanently promised them."[31]

In 1914 Chiricahua Apache tribal members in New Mexico realized they each had received only eighty acres of land, half of the acreage promised by the government. Congress had allocated monies for their relocation, but the reservation agency spent part of the funds on a water system and deducted housing costs from the remainder. Four years later in 1918 the New Mexico Chiricahuas finally received the pledged accommodations.[32]

In an ironic twist of fate, the Fort Sill Apaches found themselves in a similar predicament. The government allocated $3,000 to each head of family and $2,000 to each dependent to use in the purchase of allotments from the lands of deceased Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches. Cleghorn stated that the Chiricahuas' distributions varied between 23 and 158 acres.[33] She noted that the Apaches chose the locations based on traditional experiences in the Arizona and New Mexico territories, which is why all of the entitlements had creeks or running streams on the property. Water meant life.[34]

But water also led to smaller allotments. A 1910 statute on the disposition and sale of lands from deceased Indians provided that allotments should not exceed "forty acres of irrigable land or eighty acres of nonirrigable agricultural land or one hundred sixty acres of nonirrigable grazing land to any one Indian."[35] If the administration in fact utilized the law as its basis for the Fort Sill Apaches' distributions, the action would account for the government issuance of entitlements of less than 160 acres. Such action, however, denied the Chiricahuas an adequate land base for ranching operations and agricultural pursuits and ultimately led to their impoverishment.[36]

As officer in charge of the prisoners of war from their transfer in 1894 until 1897, Captain Hugh L. Scott sought every means of assuring the Apaches' progress and permanent settlement. He extensively researched drought-resistant Kaffir corn and brought it to the region and the Chiricahuas; in difficult years, it often was the only crop that produced a yield of substance. The captain encouraged the prisoners of war in daily efforts and in their search to

develop a sense of permanence, both of location and spirit. By the time of Scott's return to Fort Sill in 1911, as a colonel overseeing the conference proceedings with the prisoners on the War Department's behalf, his allegiances to the Chiricahuas were jeopardized. Scott convinced some of the Apaches to reconsider the Mescalero Reservation as their destination, thereby decreasing the number of Chiricahuas remaining at Fort Sill and with whom the War Department had to contend. Scott emerged from the Fort Sill predicament as tragically compromised.

In 1920 Scott, by then a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, visited the Mescalero Reservation and witnessed the New Mexico Chiricahuas' poverty firsthand. According to Raymond Loco, a former Chiricahua prisoner of war, "Scott gathered them together and said, 'I am sorry. I am responsible for your people moving here.' If any wished to return to Oklahoma, he said he would be glad to take them back." Loco noted that several individuals accepted his offer and returned.[37]

Nonetheless, by February 28, 1922, the government still lacked thirteen allotments for twelve minors and one adult in Oklahoma. The administrative reason for the oversight was that "selection of lands for purchase for these 13 persons [has] been made, but the purchase could not be closed because of a lack of funds." Several years passed before the money became available, a hardship for the Chiricahuas.[38]

Over the twenty-seven years of incarceration, friends of the Chiricahuas such as the Indian Rights Association raised public awareness of the Apaches' need for permanency of spirit and in location. Governmental officials from the War Department, the Commission of Indian Affairs, the Department of the Interior, army officers, and a noted ethnologist reported, recommended, and lobbied on behalf of the Chiricahua Apaches' permanent residence at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

The Chiricahuas themselves also contributed energies toward their permanent location at the post. The Apaches advanced the children's education through the acceptance of a mission and a school on post lands. They practiced ranching and horticulture with the goals of self-sufficiency and obtained Anglo-style employment, while others practiced and sold indigenous arts. Efforts in acculturation were furthered by the Chiricahua soldiers through information imparted to their families and friends.

The United States government had promised permanent residence to the Chiricahua Apaches at Fort Sill, but when the War

Department determined it was in the nation's best interest to retain Fort Sill as an army field artillery school, they reneged on the pledges. With the guarantee of release from their prisoner of war status, 70 percent of the Chiricahuas moved to the Mescalero Apache Reservation Agency in New Mexico in 1913. The army relocated the remaining 30 percent of Chiricahuas in 1914 on deceased Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache lands near Fort Sill. These actions uprooted both Chiricahua Apache groups from previously established homes and forced them to start anew, building homes and working the lands without the assistance and support of their brethren, in order to attain freedom.[39]

Mildred Imach (l) and her sister Myrtle were born at Fort Sill as prisoners of war. As Mildred Cleghorn, she later served her people as tribal chairperson.

Ironically, if the War Department had allowed the Chiricahuas to permanently reside at Fort Sill as promised, the 1897 addition of lands obtained from the Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches would have provided each Chiricahua Apache man, woman, and child a farm in the amount of 160 acres.[40]

ENDNOTES

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[1] Brenda L. Haes, "The Incarceration of the Chiricahua Apaches, 1886–1914: A Portrait of Survival" (M.A. thesis, Texas Tech University, 1997).

[2] Interview with Towana Spivey, director, Fort Sill Museum, August 18, 1997, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma. The topic of the Chiricahua Apaches' permanent residency remains a controversial issue at Fort Sill.

[3] Public Broadcasting System, "American Experience" Series, *Geronimo and the Apache Resistance*, 60 min., Peace River Films and WGBH Education Foundation, 1988, videocassette.

[4] Herbert Welsh, *The Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1887), 13.

[5] Congress, House, Report of the Secretary of War, *Apache Prisoners of War*, 53d Cong., 3d sess., Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 2, vol. 4: 27.

[6] Congress, Senate, *Apache Indians*, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890, S. Doc. 35, serial 2682, 11.

[7] Ibid., 2.

[8] James Kaywaykla, "State of Oklahoma County of Caddo," notarized manuscript, April 25, 1963, 2, Indian Files-Biography/Kaywaykla, James/Apache, Fort Sill Museum Archives, U.S. Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as FSM Archives).

[9] Hugh L. Scott, Fort Sill, O.T., to Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, June 30, 1897, 1–2, Hugh L. Scott Collection, Apache Prisoners of War, FSM (hereafter cited as Scott Collection).

[10] Indian Rights Association, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report of Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association on 14 December 1910* (Philadelphia: Office of the Indian Rights Association, 1911), 29, Native American Files/Apache/Prisoners of War Status, FSM Archives.

[11] Hugh L. Scott to Major Davis, Fort Sill, O.T., August 17, 1896, 7, Scott Papers, Oversized Papers 3, FSM Archives.

[12] Congress, House, *Lease of Lands on Fort Sill Military Reservation*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1903, H. Doc. 296, serial 4337, 1.

[13] Spivey interview.

[14] John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., "The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, 1894–1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1978), 93–94.

[15] George Bird Grinnell to Secretary of War, November 12, 1903, AGO 445841, and Robert Shaw Oliver to George Bird Grinnell, November 19, 1903, AGO 445841, quoted in Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners," 97–99.

[16] War Department, Inspector General's Office to Secretary of War, Report of Inspection at Fort Sill, O.T., made March 16–19, 1903, 5-6, Native American Files/ Apache/Prisoner of War Status, FSM Archives.

[17] Interview with the Reverend Doctor Robert Paul Chaat, by John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., Medicine Park, Oklahoma, November 10, 1976, and Francis H. Beach to Adjutant General's Office, August 26, 1898, National Archives (NA)–689, Roll 201, quoted in John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., *The Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War: Fort Sill, 1894–1914* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 71–72; Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners," 73; and Women's Executive Committee of the Board of Domestic Commissions, *The Apache Mission* (Holland: Reformed Church of America, 1904), 52–53, Native American Files-Religion/Apache Mission/Dutch Reformed Church, FSM Archives.

[18] Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 117; Frank C. Lockwood, *The Apache Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 322; Hugh Lenox Scott, *Some Memories of a Soldier* (New York: The Century Company, 1928), 198–199.

[19] Captain Marvin ? (name illegible), 1st Infantry, Aide-de-Camp, to Major General Nelson A. Miles, Commanding the Department of the Missouri, September 1, 1894, Scott Collection, FSM Archives; Boyer and Gayton, *Apache Mothers*, 118.

[20] Scott, *Some Memories*, 191–192.

[21] Captain H. M. Reeve, Acting Inspector General, Department of the Missouri to Secretary of War, May 2, 1902, 4, Native American Files/Apache/Prisoners of War Status, FSM Archives.

[22] Clifford P. Coppersmith, "Indians in the Army Professional Advocacy and the Regularization of Indian Military Service, 1889–1897," *Military History of the West*, 26 (Fall, 1996): 172, n21; Spivey interview.

[23] Russell Shorto, *Geronimo and the Struggle for Apache Freedom* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Press, 1989), 123; Angie Debo, *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 382–383; Towana Spivey in *Geronimo: The Last Renegade*, 60 min., A&E Television Network, 1996, videocassette.

[24] Indian Rights Association, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report*, 29–30.

[25] Robert G. Valentine to Secretary of Interior, January 12, 1910, File 53119–09–123, Kiowa, Central Files, 1907-1939, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Civil Archives Division, NA, quoted in Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners," 154–155.

[26] Congress, Senate, *Inquiry Concerning Apache Indians*, 62d Cong., 2d sess., 1912, S. Doc. 432, serial 6175, 5.

[27] Colonel Edwin St. John Greble to Dan T. Moore, Fort Sill, O.T., February 23, 1911, Moore-Greble Correspondence, Morris Swett Technical Library, Snow Hall, U.S. Army Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, quoted in Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners," 162–163.

[28] Colonel Hugh L. Scott, 3rd Cavalry to the War Department, Office of the Chief of Staff, November 3, 1911, 1, Scott Collection, FSM Archives.

[29] Congress, House, *Certain Information Relative to Certain Apache Indians at Fort Sill, Okla.*, 62d Cong., 2d sess., 1912, H.R. 489, serial 6135, 7.

[30] Spivey interview.

[31] Interview with Mildred Imach Cleghorn, by John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., Apache, Oklahoma, November 12, 1976, quoted in Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners," 262.

[32] Boyer and Gayton, *Apache Mothers*, 130–131.

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

[34] Ibid.

[35] *An Act to Provide for Determining the Heirs of Deceased Indians, for the Disposition and Sale of Allotments of Deceased Indians, for the Leasing of Allotments, and for other Purposes. Statutes At Large* 36 (1911), pt. 1: 860. The statute is known as Chapter 431, Public Law 313.

[36] Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners," vii.

[37] Interview with Raymond Loco, by John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr., Apache, Oklahoma, November 11, 1976, quoted in Turcheneske, *Chiricahua Apache Prisoners*, 180, and Turcheneske, "Apache Prisoners," 285–286.

[38] Congress, House, *Relief of Certain Apache Indians in Oklahoma*, 67th Cong., 2d sess., 1922, H.R. 743, serial 7955, 1.

[39] Stockel, *Survival of the Spirit*, 271.

[40] Lockwood, *Apache Indians*, 322.